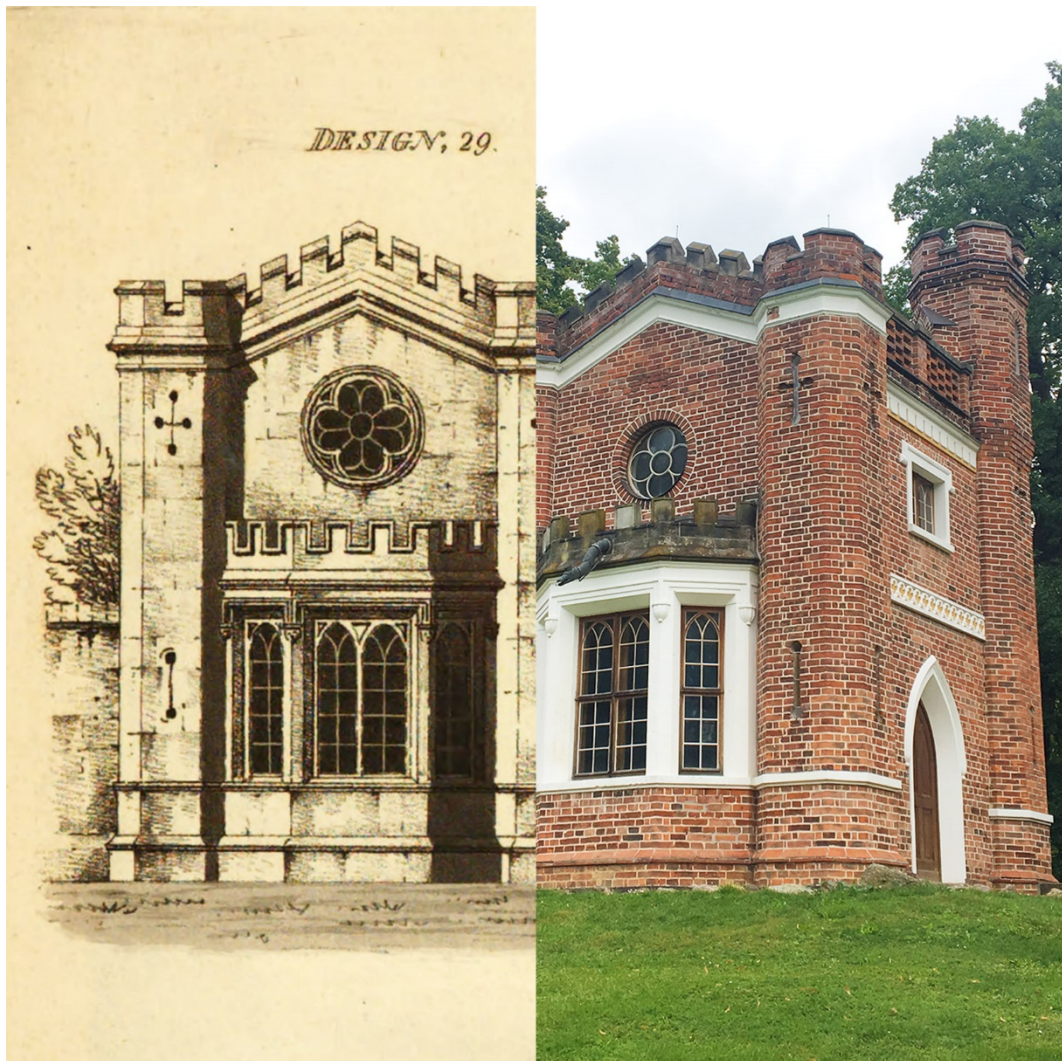


## MA Dissertation

# The use of English and German pattern books at the Garden Kingdom of Dessau-Wörlitz at the turn of the 19th century



MA Dissertation in CONSERVATION of the HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT  
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## Abstract

This dissertation investigates the use of pattern books of British and German origin in the design of three late 18<sup>th</sup> century case studies at the landscape gardens of Wörlitz and Luisium within the Garden Kingdom of Dessau Wörlitz in Germany. This UNESCO World Heritage Site was highly influential to the development of landscape gardens, neoclassical and ne-gothic architecture, education and agriculture in Germany and continental Europe. The case studies chosen are smaller buildings and structures within the setting of landscape gardens and their relationship to their respective pattern book origins were at the start of this research under-explored. The author argues that the story of their conception can be used to illustrate and draw conclusions on the wider German and British context of architectural design and cultural transfer of architectural ideas at the time and ultimately warrants a re-evaluation of their significance.

The main methods employed for this research was a literature review on the subjects of pattern books, architectural publications in Germany and Britain and cultural transfer between the two countries at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Additionally, British and German pattern books of the time were compared and evaluated. This was complemented by personal communication with experts in the field and site visits.

The research found that each case study illustrates a differing aspect of an intricate process of replication, translation and adaptation of designs and their built counterparts. Additional stages within this process, such as the copying of content in German publications from earlier British authors without reference offer thought-provoking insights into copyright and authorship issues. Finally, case study 2 – the so called ‘Schlangenhäus’ or ‘snake house’ at Luisium Landscape garden - opens up the prospect that its built form could have informed a British pattern book design, a possibility that would reverse the predominant direction of cultural and architectural transfer between the countries. It is one of the further research recommendations that the construction date of this case study needs to be re-examined. However, the author also demonstrates that the necessary actors, personal and commercial relationships between Dessau-Wörlitz, Germany and Britain existed which would have been able to provide the necessary ‘means, motive, and opportunity’ for the Schlangenhäus to act as a precedent for a British pattern book – a fascinating prospect.

The author concludes that the significance of all three case studies is tied to how intimately they were embedded in the architectural discourse of 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe and how this discourse was carried out in the use of pattern books.

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Context

The Garden Kingdom of Dessau-Wörlitz is one of the first and largest ensembles of English landscape parks in continental Europe. Its vision by Leopold III Frederick Franz, Duke of Anhalt-Dessau (1740-1817) was comprehensive and encompassed not only buildings and garden architecture but reforms to education, agriculture, religious freedom, art and administration throughout the principality of Anhalt-Dessau in the age of enlightenment. Duke Leopold III was a great admirer of the political, cultural and economic reforms that occurred in Britain at the time and considered Britain his spiritual home.

„Das Nützliche mit dem Schönen verbinden“ – „To unite the useful and the beautiful“ was the motto of the creations at Wörlitz. With prolific architect Friedrich Wilhelm Erdmannsdorff (1736 – 1800) on his side, the various parks and gardens in Wörlitz and around Dessau developed over a period from 1768 to the duke's death in 1817.

The design of the major buildings and structures in the gardens was inspired by repeated visits to the buildings, temples and ruins of the recently re-discovered Roman and Greek past and to English landscape gardens but also reflects the appropriation of historic architectural styles within the architectural and cultural debate of the time. Buildings, structures and architectural details carried meaning and wider cultural references important to the architect and his client and friend.

However, some of the smaller garden buildings and structures at Dessau-Wörlitz were conceived by adapting generic designs published in pattern books of British origin. These catalogues of built or proposed designs for villas, cottages, buildings, furniture, memorials, bridges and many smaller garden structures became popular at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and could be modified to suit a particular client, taste or site.

Three case studies at Wörlitz and Luisium landscape gardens, built between 1797 and 1816 and their conception are at the heart of this dissertation and are used to draw conclusions about the wider German and British context of architectural design and cultural transfer of architectural ideas at the time.



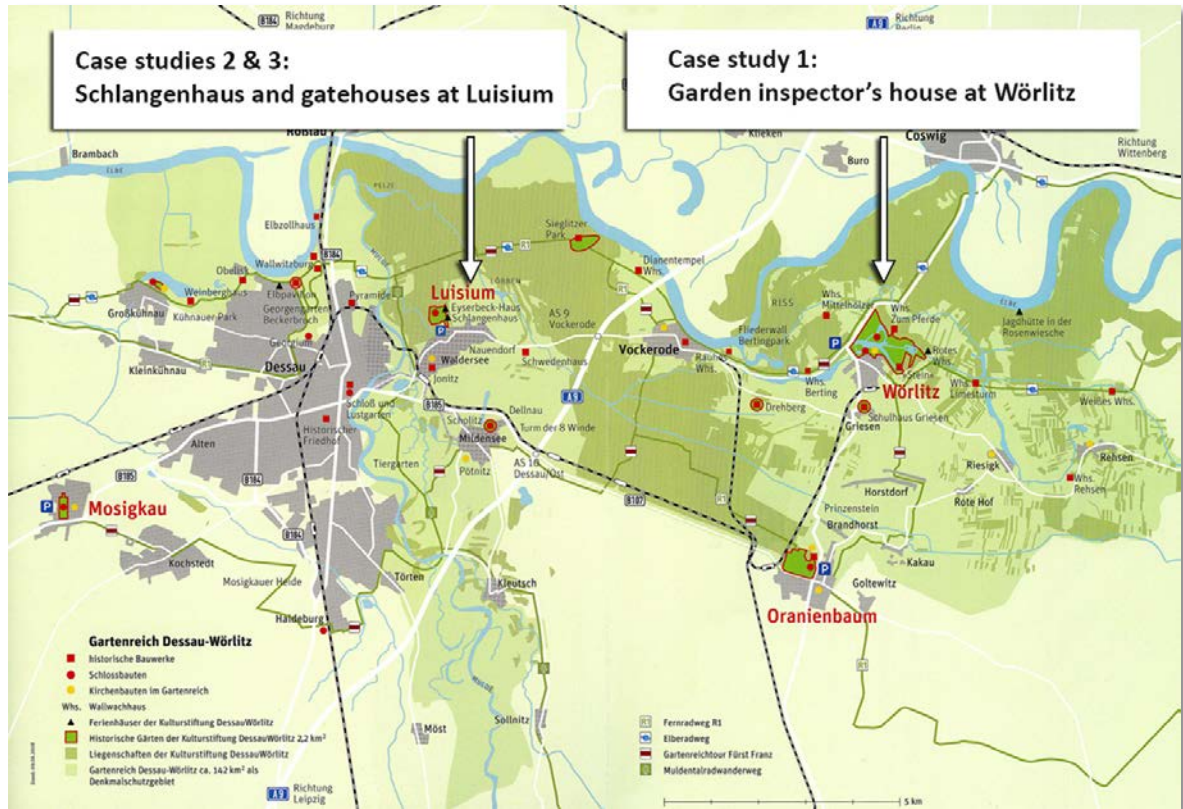


Figure 1: Map of the Garden Kingdom of Dessau Wörlitz with location of case studies. Source: Kulturstiftung Dessau Wörlitz with annotations by the author (2018)

## 1.2 Research question

***What impact on their significance has the relationship of three garden structures at the Garden Kingdom of Dessau-Wörlitz in Germany with their British pattern book designs?***

## 1.3 Aims and objectives

The aim of this dissertation is to explore the complex relationships that existed between publications comprising architectural designs for use in gardens and their built counterparts. This is achieved by using three case study examples in two gardens at Dessau-Wörlitz:

1. The garden inspector's house at Wörlitz landscape garden
2. The Schlangenhäuser – a garden pavilion at Luisium landscape garden
3. The gate houses at the East gate at Luisium landscape garden

These smaller buildings were not designed by Friedrich Wilhelm Erdmannsdorff who is responsible for many of the larger key structures at Dessau-Wörlitz. They have been little mentioned and

celebrated in the guidebooks and descriptions of the day and the present and employ a different frame of reference. Here, the executing architect is either unknown or in question and in one case so is the date of construction. They utilise designs produced hundreds of miles away and without any reference to their location at Dessau-Wörlitz. The authors of their design never visited the gardens at Dessau-Wörlitz and yet, their built designs form part of this aesthetic entity.

Each case study relates to its pattern book in a unique way and offers opportunities to examine different aspects of the subject matter. The design for the garden inspector's house was taken from a German pattern book that copied an earlier British design. The gate houses were built according to plans by British author and architect James Malton. Of particular interest is the fact that the construction date of the third case study, the ‚Schlangenhäuser‘ at Luisium landscape garden, pre-dates the publication of its design in the aforementioned pattern book by James Malton. Although the research presented here found that it is likely, that the construction date might need to be revised following further research, it does nevertheless raise the question of whether or not James Malton could have copied his designs from the completed building at Luisium. This would have implications on the impact and the role of Dessau-Wörlitz as a source of European inspiration.

Of particular interest are therefore the following questions:

- How do the case studies relate to the context of the making of Dessau-Wörlitz?
- How did their designs find their way to Germany and into the hands of Duke Leopold III?
- Who chose and adapted their designs and authorised their construction?
- How do they relate to the architectural debate of the time?
- Do the case studies represent a different and possibly more pragmatic approach to satisfying aesthetic and functional needs?
- What conclusions can be drawn from the story of their conception about the process of design and development and the use of pattern books at an inter-European level.

## 1.4 Rationale

The author believes that the dissertation will contribute to the following research topics:

- 1. Expand the understanding of and generate a useful debate on the subject of authorship and design ownership at Dessau-Wörlitz;**
- 2. Raise awareness of and bring recognition to the under-explored topic of pattern-book designed buildings and their relationship to architectural reality in Germany at the turn of the 19th century;**
- 3. Contribute to the knowledge on cultural transfer between Britain and Germany around 1800;**
- 4. Generate a better understanding of the historic significance of the case study buildings in question;**
- 5. Make recommendations for further research.**

## 1.5 Methodology

### 1.5.1 Structure

The dissertation briefly introduces the setting of the case studies within the context of the Garden Kingdom of Dessau-Wörlitz. It then presents three built garden structures and relates them to their published pattern book counterparts. This exercise allows to compare basic design and construction data and establishes similarities and notable differences between the two. It also lists the British publications from where some of the designs in the German pattern book used were taken from. Froesch (2002) provided additional information on the history of the landscape garden at Luisium.

Chapters 3 to 6 utilise the unique way in which each case study relates to its pattern book precedent to investigate different aspects of the way these publications were being obtained and used.

An evaluation of the significance of the case studies would not be possible without putting them into the context in which their designs were produced. Pattern books represent a different model of the designer / client relationship from that prevailing at Dessau-Wörlitz. One that is much more embedded within the architectural discourse in Germany and Britain at the time and within the use and dissemination of publications on both sides of the Channel. Of particular interest here is the domestic and utilitarian scale of the case studies and their partially neo-gothic design. Both aspects call for their evaluation within the wider setting of changes in architectural theory and design - the subject of chapter 4.

A great number of pattern books of the time can be accessed through digital archives. Here, Archer (1985) was of great use in getting an overview over domestic architectural literature in Britain. The author compared their content with German pattern books and in particular strove to establish additional British sources for German pattern book designs. Various current publications were reviewed to assess the role of neo-gothic architecture in Britain and Germany with Philipp (1997) and Dilly and Murnane (2014) being of particular interest. White (2017) proved useful in reviewing the role of cottage designs in Britain at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Personal communications with experts at English Heritage, National Trust and Kulturstiftung Dessau-Wörlitz helped to assess the existence of other built and surviving examples of pattern book designs related to the case studies.

Since Grohmann (1796b) and other German publishers heavily copied designs from British publications, the case of the garden inspector's house at Wörlitz must be viewed as an example of how architectural theory and ideas were conceived in Britain and subsequently influenced the architectural debate and market in Germany. Chapter 5 explores this aspect and also assesses Duke Leopold's III's own library at Wörlitz using von Kloeden (2008).

Chapter 6 considers the question of whether the transfer of architectural ideas could have also worked in the opposite direction – from Germany to Britain. Rise for this theory gives the case study of the Schlangenhäus at Luisium, whose currently assumed construction date (1794/95) pre-

dates the publication of its design in Malton (1802). A number of possible avenues for this cultural transfer is explored, from the possible role of personalities connected to Dessau-Wörlitz, British-German cultural transfer and the book trade of German publications in Britain. Key literature provided Jefcoate (2002); Jefcoate (2007); Reed (2007); Johns (2014) and various booksellers' catalogues of the time. Finally, a closer look at the author of the pattern book in question, James Malton, is an attempt to establish whether or not that he could have been a possible recipient of the German design of the Schlangenhaus.

## 1.5.2 Research sources

The sources consulted include:

### Publications

- Refer to bibliography and paragraph 1.5.1

### Online and archival resources

- Archives at Kulturstiftung Dessau-Wörlitz
- Landesarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt at Dessau
- Stadtarchiv and Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek Dessau
- Sächsische Landesbibliothek Dresden
- Digital Library - University of Heidelberg
- Digital Library – Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
- Eighteenth Century Collections Online – Gale Cengage Learning Database
- Digital Library - Hathi Trust
- British Library Archives
- RIBA Archives
- Internet access to digitised publications on Google Books

### Personal communication with:

- Annette Scholtka - Kulturstiftung Dessau-Wörlitz – Head of Conservation
- Uwe Quilitzsch - Kulturstiftung Dessau-Wörlitz – Head of Archives
- Michael Keller - Kulturstiftung Dessau-Wörlitz – Head of Gardens
- Erhard Hirsch – Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg and author a numerous publication on Dessau-Wörlitz
- Reinhard Melzer – Kulturstiftung Dessau-Wörlitz, retired
- Emily Parker - Landscape Advisor - English Heritage
- Richard Wheeler - National Specialist in Garden History - National Trust
- Mike Calnan – Head of Gardens - National Trust
- Dr. Heinrich Dilly – Professor for art history – Martin Luther Universität, Halle-Wittenberg
- Dr. Christine Holm – Lecturer Germanistic – Martin Luther Universität, Halle-Wittenberg
- Dr. Annette Graczyk – German Literature – Martin Luther Universität, Halle-Wittenberg
- Barry Murnane, Associate Professor of German - University of Oxford
- Roger White – author of 'Cottages Ornés' 2017
- Harald Kleinschmidt - Baudenkmalpflegeamt Halle/Saale

### Site Visits

- Dessau-Wörlitz garden kingdom and case study precedents in question
- English landscape gardens at Stowe, Wimpole, Stourhead, Shugborough, Gibside, Hagley

## 1.6 Limitations

Much of the original archives and documents recording the conception and construction of the three garden structures at Dessau-Wörlitz were lost or destroyed in World War II. This leaves only secondary sources or circumstantial evidence to pinpoint intention, architect, design drawings and construction dates. The library of Duke Leopold III at Wörlitz or Dessau has also been dispersed so that a comprehensive list of publications available to him or owned by him cannot be established. In addition, one of the important secondary references for determining the construction date of the Schlangenhäuser, Haetge and Harksen (1943), appears to be not always reliable. Whilst this generates scope for speculation and some of the questions raised in this dissertation, it also creates an evidential vacuum unlikely to be filled.

The influence of French publications and pattern books has not been evaluated in this dissertation due to language barriers. Whilst Britain was one of the main sources of inspiration for Duke Leopold III, French gardens and buildings as well as architects had a major impact on the architectural debate in Europe at the time and research in this field would have likely contributed to a better understanding of the subject.

## 2. The making of Dessau-Wörlitz

### 2.1 Creating the Dessau-Wörlitz Garden Kingdom

The description to its world heritage list entry states:

*'The Garden Kingdom of Dessau-Wörlitz, located in Saxony-Anhalt in the Middle Elbe Region, is an exceptional example of landscape design and planning from the Age of the Enlightenment in the 18th century. Its diverse components – the outstanding buildings, English-style landscaped parks and gardens, and subtly modified expanses of agricultural land – served aesthetic, educational and economic purposes in an exemplary manner.'* UNESCO (2000)

This network of landscape gardens, buildings and model agriculture, developed over a period of 40 years. Smaller gardens and palaces in and around the capital of this small principality, Dessau, include those at Luisium, Georgium, Mosigkau, Oranienbaum and Großkühnau. Many of the achievements accomplished here were 'firsts' in their time and had a profound influence on the development of landscape gardens, neoclassical and ne-gothic architecture, education and agriculture in Germany and continental Europe.

All components to this 'Gesamtkunstwerk' were part of a spirit that promoted modernity, technological progress and social reform. It aimed at the *'integration of aesthetics and education into the landscape ... and facilitated the convergence of 18th century grandeur of design with the beginnings of 19th century industrial society.* (UNESCO, 2000).

The garden buildings and structures with which this dissertation is concerned are a small part of the landscape gardens at Wörlitz and Luisium and built during the later phase in their conception.

Dessau-Wörlitz is the result of the vision, initiative and work of Duke Leopold III Friedrich Franz of Anhalt-Dessau (1740-1817) and his architect and friend Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorff (1736-1800). This long-standing relationship offered continuity within the large amount of development that took place. Erdmannsdorff provided designs more the majority of buildings to the approval and with the close involvement of Duke Leopold III.

According to Hirsch (1987) Duke Leopold III must be credited with the overall design and direction of the gardens themselves. Important contributions came from head gardener Johann Friedrich Eysenbeck (1734-1818), and gardeners Johann Christian Neumark (1741-1811) and Johann Leopold Ludwig Schoch (1728-1793) and Johann Georg Schoch (1753-1826)



*Figure 2: Mansion House, Gothic House and artificial volcano with Villa Hamilton at Wörlitz landscape garden. Source: Kulturstiftung Dessau Wörlitz (2018)*

## 2.2 Inspired Wörlitz

The programme at Dessau-Wörlitz was inspired by social, technological, aesthetic and philosophical developments in Europe and Germany. This was a time of great change.

The exchange of knowledge and ideas took place in a multitude of ways. The inventory of Leopold III's library at Wörlitz (chapter 5.4) shows the great range and international outlook of his collection of books and publications. Jean-Jacques Rousseau's (1712-1778) philosophy on the place of the individual in society and the educational functions of the natural landscape and agriculture provided important cornerstones for his thinking.

Nurturing personal relationships and correspondence, such as with Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768), whose understanding of Greek and Roman art and architecture influenced the works in Dessau-Wörlitz heavily, played a vital role. Promising and progressive minds such as the educator Johann Bernhard Basedow (1724-1790) were called to work in Dessau.

Extensive travels provided first-hand accounts of buildings and gardens and insights into developments in other parts of Germany and Europe. Here, the visits of Duke Leopold III and Erdmannsdorff to England, Italy and France had lasting effects on the design of the gardens and buildings in Dessau-Wörlitz. Leopold III considered England his spiritual home and undertook no less than four tours of England between 1763 and 1785, three in the company of Erdmannsdorff. The influence of the neo-classical gardens at Stourhead and Stowe, the personal encounter with architect William Chambers and a visit to the newly completed neo-gothic Strawberry Hill House had direct effects on the development at Wörlitz. The travel diaries of Georg Heinrich von Berenhorst give a vivid insight into the density of meetings, social events and visits during the Grand Tour 1765 -1768 (Losfeld *et al.*, 2012).

By a process of skilful interpretation, adaptation and innovation, these ideas and precedents came to form what is now known as the Garden Kingdom of Dessau-Wörlitz and in turn uniquely influenced the debate on design and aesthetics as well as landscape and social reform in Germany.



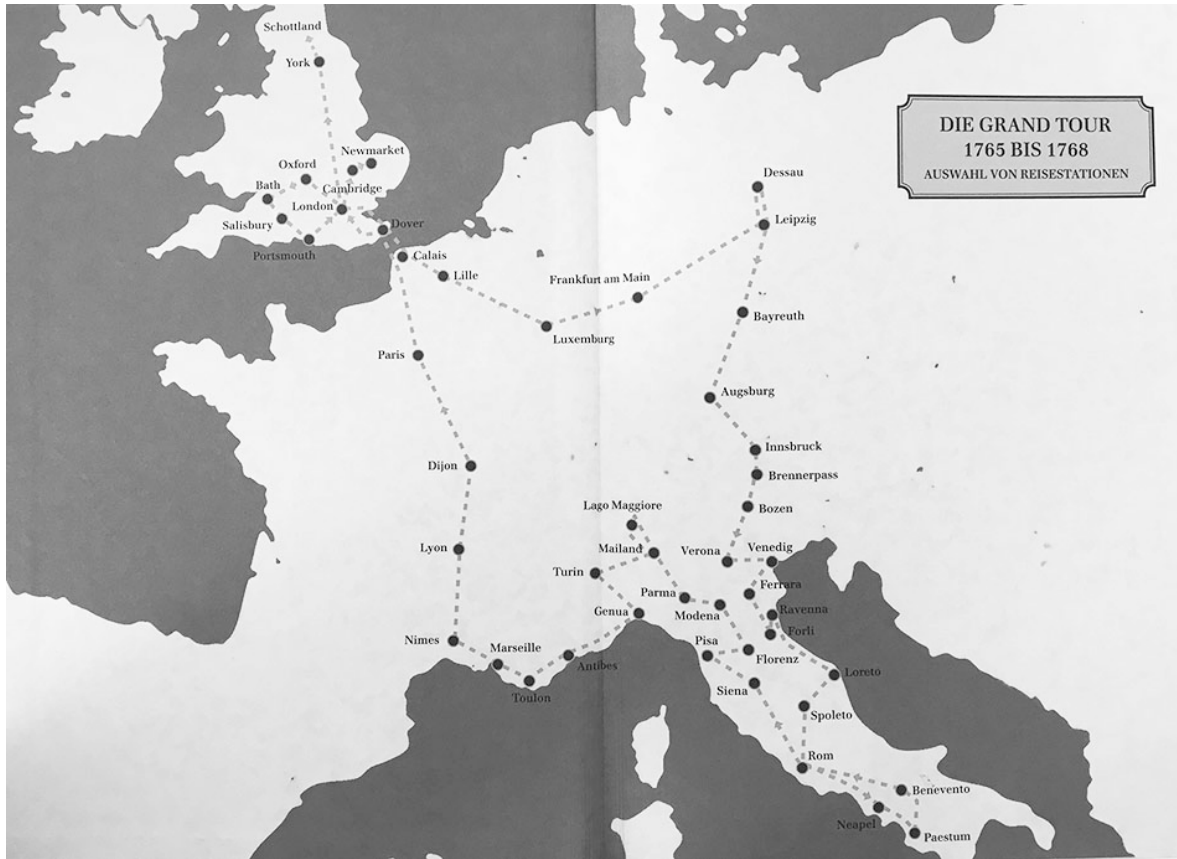


Figure 3: Outline route of Duke Leopold III Grand Tour 1765-1768. Source: Losfeld et al. (2012)



Figure 4: View onto the Palatine in Rome - Sketch by Erdmannsdorff. Source: Kadatz (1986)

### 3. Three Dessau-Wörlitz case studies and their pattern book counterparts

#### 3.1 The garden inspector's house at Wörlitz



Figure 5: Satellite image of Wörlitz landscape garden with location of case studies. Source: Google Maps with annotations by the author (2018)

##### 3.1.1 Building

The garden inspector's house (GIH) was built between 1797 and 1799 as the home for the head gardener at Wörlitz. It is located in the North Western part of the garden on the road to the ferry across the Elbe, built at a mature phase in its development. The area is largely dominated by agricultural use and also comprises the nursery and the neo-gothic palm house. The nearby buildings of the falconry are similar in style and materiality.

The building resembles a two-storey cottage with single-story wings either side and is strictly symmetrical with neo-gothic detailing of windows and ornamentation. The main elevations are predominantly red brick with painted timber infills around the entrance porch / loggia and lightly rendered tops to the crenelated single-storey gable ends and within the central turret. The roof is red clay tiling. The building is elevated on an artificial mound which provides for a sloped garden to the main elevation due South East and is expressed within the North-Eastern part of the building as a full-storey bolder plinth containing basement storage. The raised floor level is no doubt owed to the prospect of flooding by the nearby river Elbe.

Internally the Ground Floor today serves as offices for the gardening department whereas the First Floor flat is used by a tenant. A current floor plan is not available but a site visit by the author suggests that the Ground Floor layout might have been altered throughout the existence of the building as it does not correspond with the symmetrical exterior and as might be expected with the change of use to offices. The first floor corresponds well to the exterior and is symmetrical. A 19<sup>th</sup> century photograph seen by the author (in the archives of Kulturstiftung Dessau Wörlitz but without reproduction rights) and an 1850 drawing labelled 'gardener's apartment' advocate solely residential use of the building in the past. At some point before 1940 entrance doors to the left and right of the loggia appear to have been blocked up and a central door within the loggia was installed. This might also have been the occasion of internal changes to the layout.



Figure 6: The front of the garden inspector's house at Wörlitz. Source: Author (2018)

### 3.1.2 Pattern book references

Grohmann (1796b) can clearly be identified as the model for the building. For this '*Villa in a countryside style*' Grohmann alludes to the design as being modelled on a '*fishing hut*' for a Mr. Drummond near the river Aron in England. The pattern book only gives a Ground Floor plan and one elevation as was customary in contemporary publications.

The Ground Floor plan is wrapped around a central oval-shaped '*Saal*' or parlour and an open porch or gallery to the front. Kitchen and lounge are towards the rear whereas a bedroom and study are contained within the two wings. Not much is made of the two stairs leading up to the first floor and together with the low First Floor height it can be assumed that only minor spaces such as accommodation for a maid was anticipated here. The main entrance can be presumed to

be at the front and through the porch. A second entrance is indicated at an intersection between the right-hand wing and the kitchen. The purpose of a circular annex or bay window at the rear connecting lounge and kitchen is unclear but could provide a separate entrance or a place for sitting.

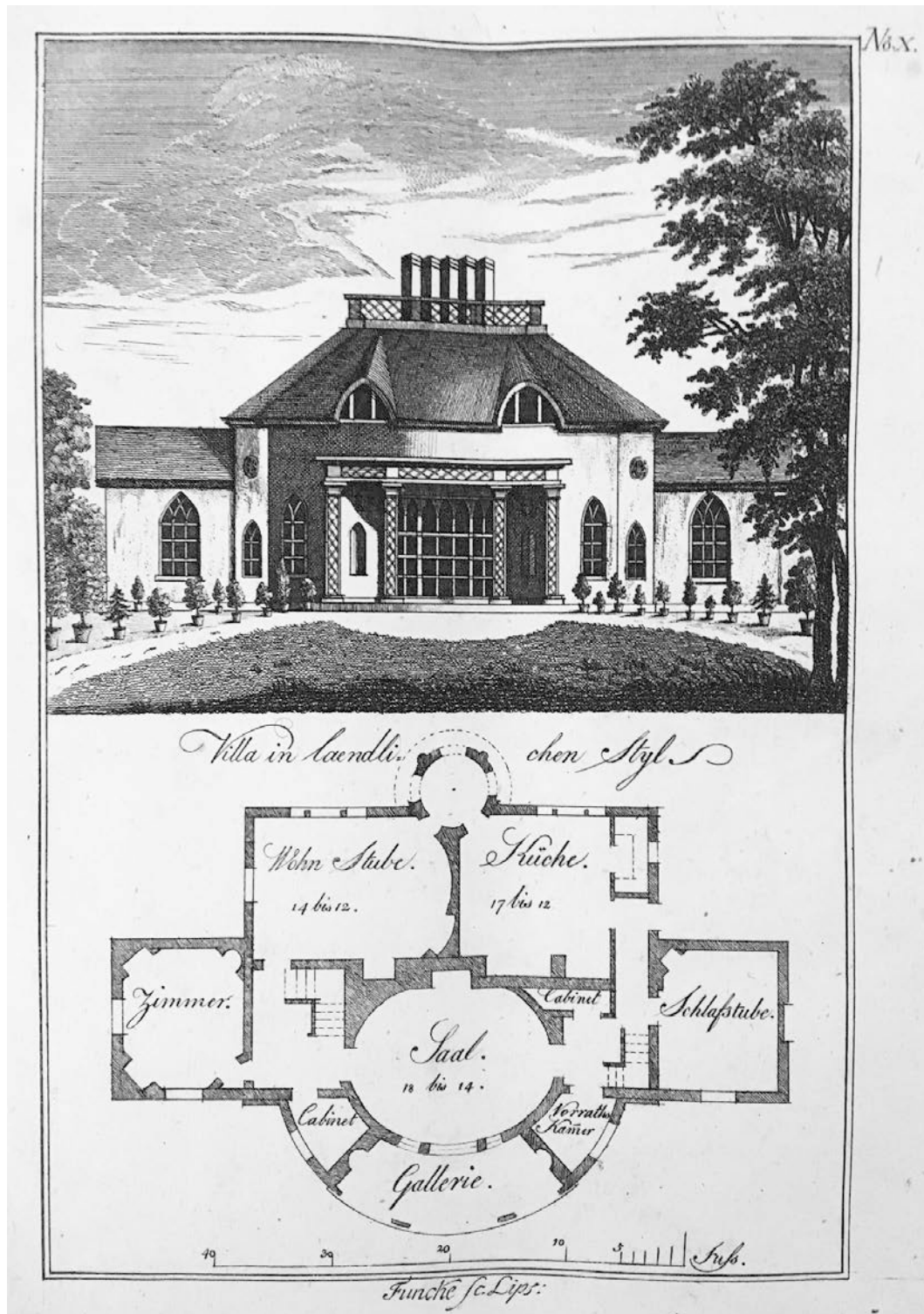


Figure 7: Grohmann's 1796 plate depicting the design for the garden inspector's house. Source: Author from 1796 magazine held at Kulturstiftung Dessau Wörlitz (2017)

Grohmann's design (and numerous other designs in the same issue) is a copy of an earlier publication by Plaw (1795), a fact he fails to mention. Like Grohmann, Plaw's description of the plate refers to a 'fishing cottage' for a Mr. Drummond with the addition of a First Floor. The plates of both, elevation and floor plan, are virtually identical with German annotations added by Grohmann. Plaw refers to the central oval space as 'Best Parlour' and the Lounge as 'Common Parlour' whereas the study is described as a 'Dressing Room'.

An interesting oversight occurs in Grohmann as dimensions for the kitchen and lounge are annotated wrongly when compared to Plaw, therefore clearly not matching the overall proportions of the space. This could be attributed to the nature of copying content and the absence of an editor concerned with building matters.

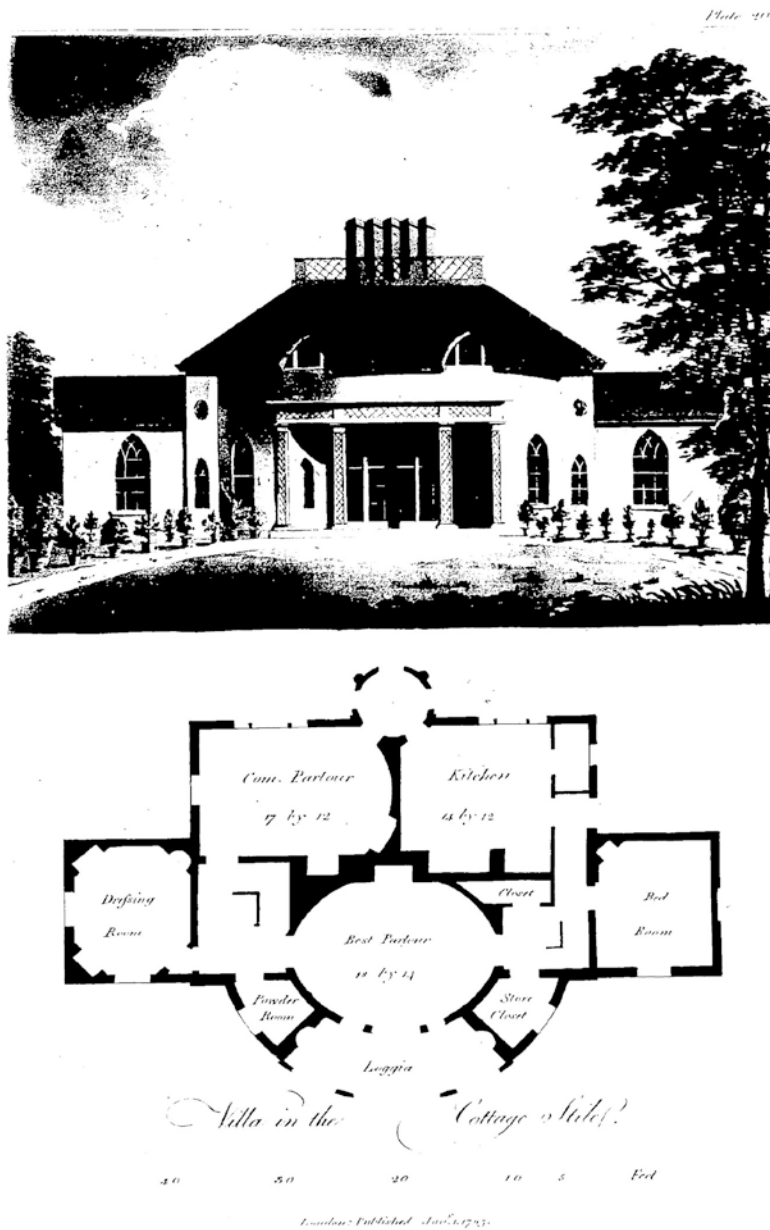


Figure 8: John Plaw's 1795 plate depicting the design for the garden inspector's house. Source: Eighteenth Century Collections Online at Gale Cengage Learning (2018)

### **3.1.3 Relationship between pattern books and building**

Externally, the garden inspector's house (GIH) is a close execution of the design shown in Grohmann and Plaw. Major differences are that the GIH is built in brick (rather than what appears to be render) and on a full-storey bolder plinth and that a central turret was added, enabling access to the central part of the roof. The First Floor height of the GIH was raised for increased floor space. This leads to a much larger property than anticipated in the design with more essential accommodation upstairs. It can be speculated that this necessitated a different internal layout right from the start and has enabled the conversion of the Ground Floor into offices later on. It can also be assumed that the circular annex to the rear of the building has accommodated a stair from the beginning, since its external appearance as shown on a painting from 1830 resembles today's exterior.

It is unclear whether or not the oval central '*Best Parlour*' has ever been executed. In Plaw's design the individual rooms are rather isolated from each other in plan and by any standard difficult to be dwelled in. Residents had to pass through rather awkward small spaces from one to another main space, which would make living, representing and working equally challenging. It is therefore not difficult to see the need to adapt the internal layout to given necessities and comfort.

However, overall, the setting and use of the GIH provides a very good match in respect to the intentions of Plaw's design for a rural cottage / villa.

## 3.2 The SchlangenhauS at Luisium landscape garden

### 3.2.1 Building



Figure 9: Satellite image of Luisium landscape garden with location of case studies. Source: Google Maps with annotations by the author (2018)

This Garden Pavilion at Luisium landscape garden is also called 'SchlangenhauS' or 'snake house' for the shape of its rainwater spouts. Available records state it as being built around 1794 / 95 as a neo-gothic guest house for the estate. Hirsch (1987) mentions poets Müller and Matthisson as well as Italian pianist and composer Enrico Toselli as summer residents. One of the corner turrets was extended upwards in 1816.

The garden was the country retreat of Princess Louise of Anhalt-Dessau, Duke Leopold III's wife. It also features a small Palladian villa designed by Erdmannsdorff, an orangery, neo-gothic gate houses (see next chapter) and a stud farm. The park can roughly be divided into an English landscape setting around the villa and an ornamented kitchen garden to the East and an outer stud farm to the West. The landscaped part of the garden was given to Louise by her husband, who retained ownership over the kitchen garden. It is in the latter in which the SchlangenhauS is located. It forms the Eastern focus of an East – West vista between the neo-gothic stud farm to the West and a grotto at the heart of the park.

The SchlangenhauS is a simple neo-gothic two-storey brick building with castellated corner turrets and parapet. A vaulted souterrain, larger than its above-ground footprint, is landscaped on three sides, thus creating an artificial mound. A retaining wall on the fourth elevation contains an entrance to the souterrain. The main entrance is at Ground floor level. A large Ground Floor bay

window allows views into the garden. One of the corner turrets extends upwards to enable access to the roof terrace. Window surrounds are stone and partially painted in white.

Both Ground and First Floor contain a single square room. A small circular staircase in one of the turrets provides access to all floors and the roof. The other turrets are used for cupboards and as small niches.

Today, the house provides holiday accommodation managed by the Kulturstiftung Dessau Wörlitz.



Figure 10: The West elevation of the Schlangenhaus at Luisium landscape garden.

Source: Author (2018)

### 3.2.2 Pattern book reference

Malton (1802) provides a very close reference in his 'Design 29'. A Ground Floor plan and the main elevation is given for this 'single lodge for a gateway' next to another design on the same page. In his descriptive text for the designs, he refers to their small scale and exhaustive amount of precedents available but nevertheless claims to put forward '*... ideas which I look upon to be new, and consider applicable and elegant.*' (Malton, 1802)

Externally the building resembles the description and appearance of the Schlangenhaus given above. However, some differences can be observed. Malton's design has no souterrain and is (in



line with its intended use as a gatehouse) connected to an enclosing wall on one side. The external fabric is stone with a slate roof. All turrets are of the same height.

A staircase with windings steps at each end and a straight middle section is inserted along the wall opposite the entrance and separated from the Ground Floor 'waiting room' by a partition wall. Malton elaborates that a bedroom is intended to be on the First Floor. The turrets are used for a cupboard and storage.

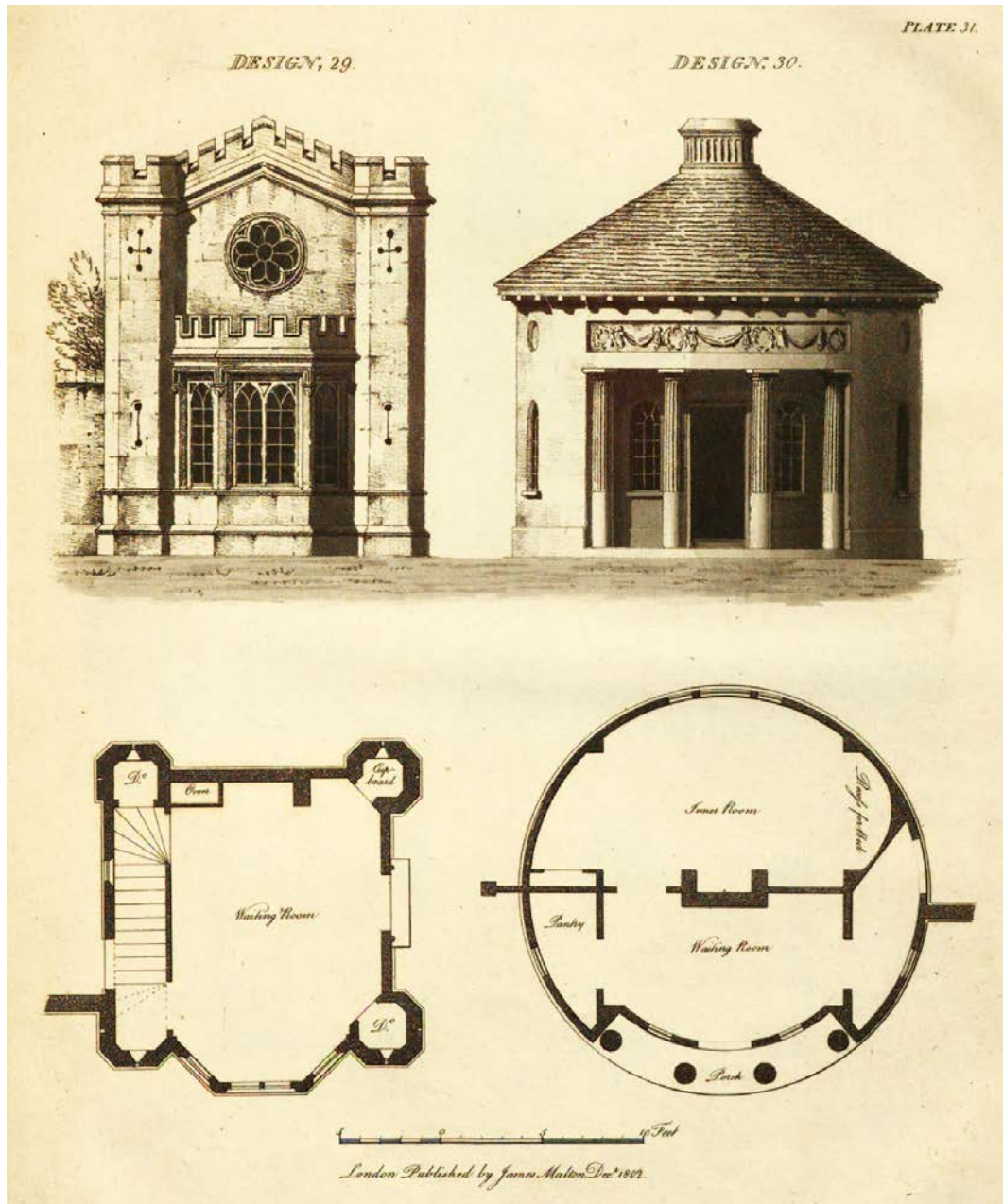


Figure 11: James Malton's 1802 plate depicting the design of the Schlangenhäuser. Source: Digital Library at Hathi Trust (2018)

### 3.2.3 Relationship between pattern book and building

The Schlangenhäus and Malton's design are very closely related. The external detailing matches almost exactly. The main entrance is located on the same side in both. We also have to assume, that at the time when Malton's published, the turrets at the Schlangenhäus were of the same height (see chapter 3.2.1). The addition of a souterrain would have proved useful as a precaution against the frequent flooding of the Luisium by the adjacent river Mulde.

Malton's design is somewhat smaller (approx. 4.3 x 4.3m in plan externally as opposed to approx. 6 x 6m) which might seem appropriate for a gatehouse but makes a big difference in its usability as a guest house. The internal location and shape of the stairs is different, as the turrets in Malton's design are too small to house spiral stairs.

The most puzzling aspect of a comparison is the fact that Malton potentially published after the house had been completed for 7 to 8 years. Given that his publication was a first edition and that the plate is labelled as 1802, this gives rise to a number of possible options for the relationship between building and publication as follows:

1. **The Schlangenhäus was built after Malton published (and its construction date therefore needs to be revised) so that Malton's design was used as the precedent.**
2. **The Schlangenhäus was essentially re-built in 1815/16 to Malton's design in lieu of an earlier version of the building. This would coincide with the construction of the gatehouses at Luisium also featured in Malton's publication and with the fact that the date given for the extension of the rear turret is 1816.**
3. **Malton used a pre-dating engraving or publication of the Schlangenhäus as a precedent for his design.**
4. **Malton and the design of the Schlangenhäus were both inspired by an earlier publication or building such as the gothic towers at Whitton Place or Windsor Castle put forward by Froesch (2002).**



Figure 12: *The gothic tower at Whitton Place, Twickham - detail from wall painting at Wörlitz.* Source: Losfeld et al. (2012)

### 3.2.4 A note on the construction date of the building

The main available record for the construction date of the Schlangenhaus is Haetge and Harksen (1943). It references various documents and gives us 1794/95 as the built date and 1816 as the date when the towered roof top was created, presumably to make the roof accessible. Original records, cited by Haetge and Harksen, have since been destroyed in WWII. There are a number of unanswered questions that might suggest that the Schlangenhaus was built later than 1794/95, a fact which will be crucial in establishing the relationship of this '*gothic garden building*' and its corresponding pattern book.

1. Head Gardener Eyserbeck's 1790 survey drawing of the garden (1790 according to Haetge and Harksen but possibly 1782 according to Froesch (2002)) does not show a building where the Schlangenhaus is located. However, the East – West vista between the neo-gothic stud farm to the West and a grotto at the heart of the park is clearly emphasised in said plan and would make the siting of a structure or building there desirable.
2. In 1794/95, the East part of the park was a kitchen, fruit and vegetable garden and as Krußer (1796) puts it '*... not really for pleasure...*' This poses the question why a guest house would be located here. Furthermore, this part of the garden was owned by Duke Leopold III himself. As he spent much more time at Luisium in his final years and remodelled the grounds in 1815/16 to suit, the need for a guest house would be far more plausible than at an earlier date. This would also correspond with the construction date for the gatehouses at the East gate (see next chapter), also found in Malton (1802).
3. In their separate accounts of visits to Luisium (likely undertaken in 1794 or 95) neither Krußer (1796) nor Grohmann (1796a) report the existence of the Schlangenhaus, but do mention other buildings and structures.
4. In Louise's own diaries, later edited by her and written up by her poet and personal secretary Friedrich Matthisson (Kulturstiftung Dessau Wörlitz, 2010), Louise repeatedly mentions building works to her own properties at Wörlitz and Luisium between 1790 and 1805 but references to the construction of the Schlangenhaus are not specifically pointed out. A 1797 entry refers to the prolonged stay of a Madam Donop at 'the new garden room' at Luisium, although it is not clear to the author, which building is meant. Individual visitors did stay at Luisium for days or sometimes weeks at a time and as the main villa would have provided restricted space for accommodating them, the 'gardeners residence' was one place they were moved into, such as was the case for Matthisson himself in 1794. If the 'new garden room' was indeed the Schlangenhaus, then records of its erection are missing. This might be explained by the fact that the building was in the ownership of Leopold III rather than Louise, although it seems peculiar for Louise not to mention a building that would have been quite instrumental in accommodating her guests. The author found no evidence in the diaries of a prolonged stay of Matthisson at the Schlangenhaus during this period as alluded to by Hirsch (1987).

Taking the above into account, Hirsch (2018) agrees with the author that it is more likely than not, that the Schlangenhäuser was built after Malton published, possibly at the same time as the construction of the gatehouses at Luisium in 1815/16.

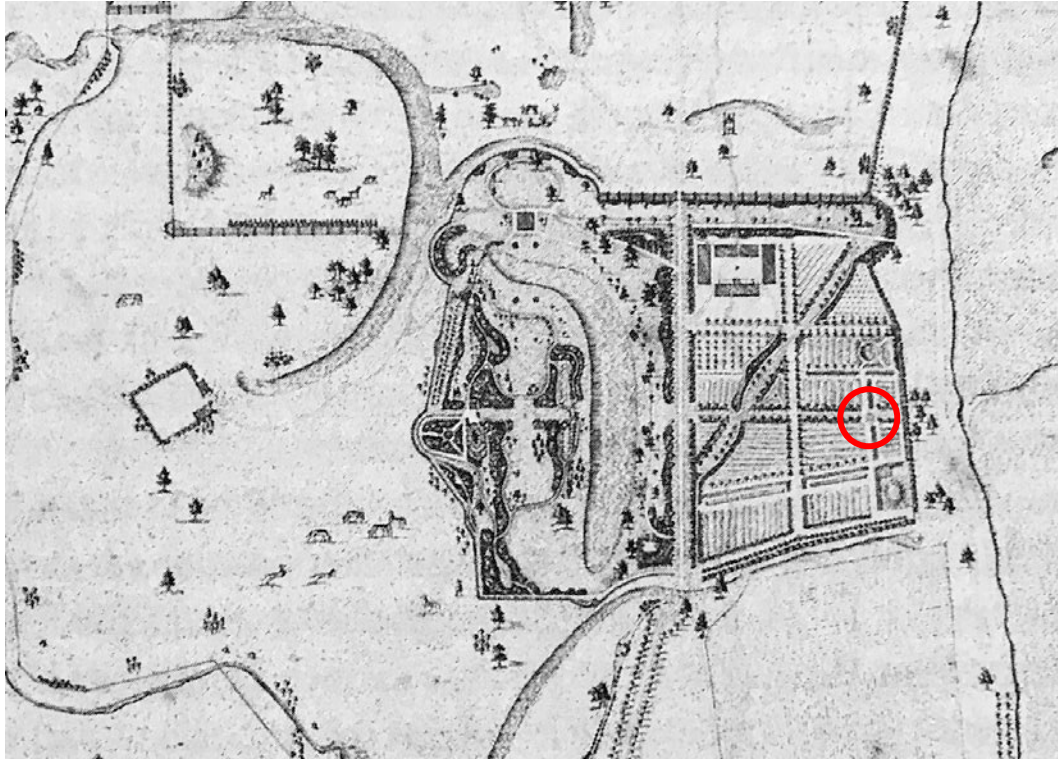


Figure 13: Gardener Johann Eyserbeck - existing plan of Luisium landscape garden 1790. Source: Froesch (2002) with annotation by Author (2018)

## 3.3 The gatehouses at Luisium landscape garden

### 3.3.1 Building

The building constitutes a pair of identical neo-gothic gatehouses with tripartite iron gates between stone gateposts at the East entrance to the park. The gatehouses were built in 1815/16 as one of the last garden structures and after the death of Louise, Duchess of Anhalt-Dessau. At that time Duke Leopold III increasingly used the Luisium and commissioned several improvements to the park.

The gatehouses are octagonal in shape with one large gothicised window located in each elevation and one entrance door facing the park. Relief columns mark the corners. The material for the infill panels around the windows is brick. A frieze runs around the perimeter below the eaves. The roof is made of slate. Internally the octagonal space is not divided.



Figure 14: The East elevation of the gatehouses at Luisium landscape garden. Source: Author (2018)

### 3.3.2 Pattern book reference

The gatehouses ‘Design 28’ in Malton (1802) match the description and appearance of the gatehouses at Luisium above with a number of deviations, the most notable of which is the introduction of a square entablature with corner posts between octagonal plan and octagonal roof. Malton describes the design:

*‘The lodges present four similar fronts to views, and from being octangular, under a square entablature, would at all times from a pleasing diversity of light and shade.’*

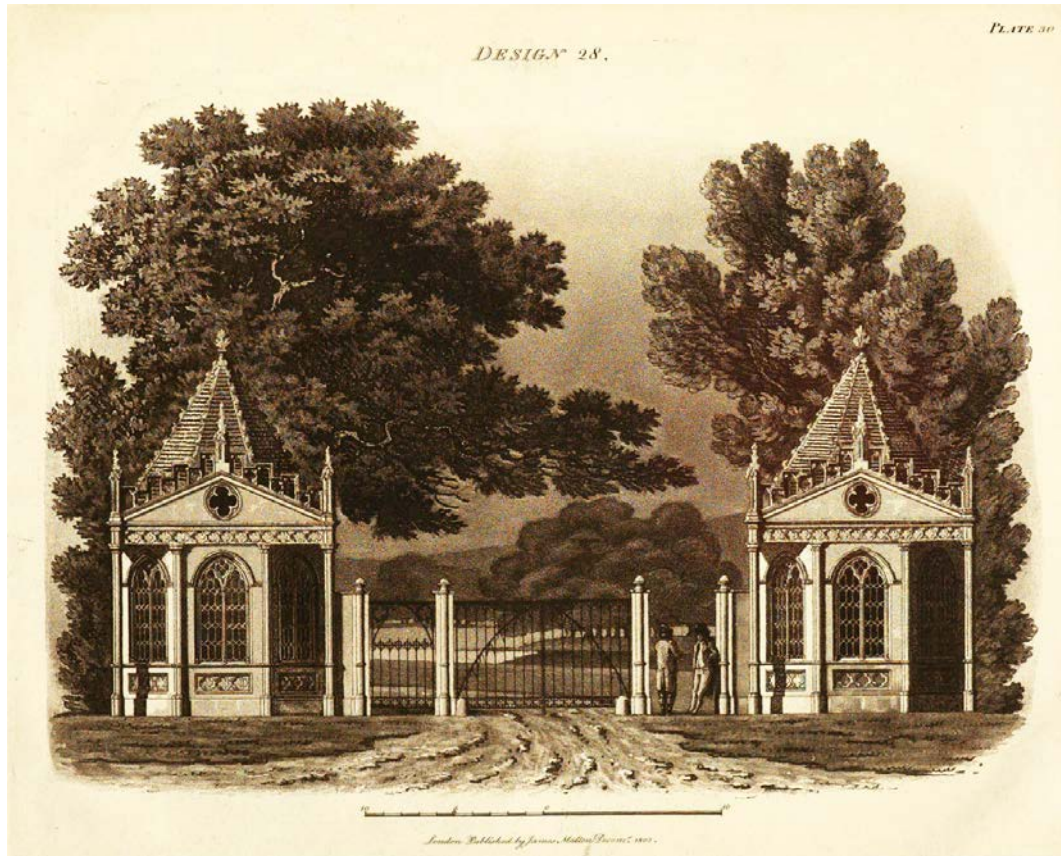


Figure 15: James Malton's 1802 plate depicting the design of the gatehouses. Source: Digital Library at Hathi Trust (2018)

### 3.3.3 Relationship between pattern book and building

Although the omission of the square entablature represents a major departure from Malton's design, the detailing of the windows, ornamentation and the detailing of the iron gates themselves suggest that Malton provided the model for the design of the gatehouses.

Malton himself suggests that *'Should they be thought too profuse of ornament, they can be very well abridged a considerable deal....'* It can be speculated, that pragmatic reasons might be the cause for omitting the entablature. The intersection between the octagonal roof and square entablature generates a potentially awkward detail at the eaves. As the gatehouses are surrounded by trees this would also necessitate regular cleaning of the eaves area in order for rainwater to discharge easily. The slight roof overhang adopted at the Luisium allows for the omission of any kind of guttering and is significantly easier to maintain.

## 4. Pattern books and the architectural debate at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century

### 4.1 Introduction

The case studies illustrated in this dissertation fit into the wider architectural context of the time. Designs of buildings and gardens were hotly discussed topics and held great importance as the carriers of meaning within a much wider philosophical and political debate and in a pretext of societal change.

They also represent a mechanism and process of the conception of buildings through generic designs that differs from the notion of site-specific architect designs inspired by classical examples seen in Italy or Greece. The lively discussions and passionate exchange of opinions amongst designers of buildings on their appropriate style, importance, character and use marks the emergence of the architectural profession.

The following chapter will give a brief overview over the wider architectural context in which pattern books existed and illustrate their role in the architectural debate in Britain and Germany at the time and put the case study pattern books in relation to it.

### 4.2 The architectural debate at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century

#### 4.2.1 Neo-Gothic vs Neo-classicism

Since the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, neo-classicism was the predominant style in which to build country houses and buildings on country estates and civic buildings in Britain. Turning to examples from Roman and Greek antiquity and the Italian renaissance was a reaction against the elaborate and ornate architecture of the Baroque and Rococo, associated with European absolute monarchies such as those in France and Spain. A pre-industrial Britain on the other hand, defining itself by its constitutional monarchy, free trade and under the more liberal influence of the Whigs, saw its ideals better represented in the ideas of Greek democracy and freedom than absolute power. Neo-classicism came to signify these ideas with an architecture that promoted measurable order, proportion, geometry and clarity and spread quickly throughout Europe. It is no coincidence that the design and patronage of Stowe house and gardens, which influenced the design of Wörlitz, was deeply interwoven with Whig politics and politicians. The dissemination of neo-classical designs for villas and country houses was facilitated by the publication of the three volumes of Colen Campbell's 'Virtruvius Britannicus' 1715 to 1725, who himself drew on the designs of Andrea Palladio (1508-1580). In time, the landscape gardens in Britain became populated with neo-classical architecture of all sizes.

The neo-gothic style was of different origin and outlook. Again, a wider symbolism dominated its agenda. For Batty and Thomas Langley in 1742, the Gothic recalls '*Saxon*' and '*true British*' political freedoms from before the Norman Conquest. Langley attempts to trace the beginnings of gothic architecture back to the moment when the Romans left Britain and the first Anglo-Saxon and

British kingdoms emerged and mentions surviving examples for each period. He argues that existing Gothic buildings are just as beautiful in proportion and geometric rules as 'Grecian or Roman orders' and points out that Gothic buildings were still much dismissed by his contemporaries. He concludes to assure any potential client that

*'..it will take to erect all sorts of buildings in the Saxon mode that may be required, if free from enrichments, no greater expense than a plain building of the same magnitude in the Grecian mode would come to..'* (Langley and Langley, 1747).

The style started to gain popularity in garden designs for the picturesque quality of 'Gothic' ruins and follies. Additionally, an opportunity arose for landed gentry in both, Britain and Germany to re-connect to their own history and to legitimise their status in society as descendants of 'Ancient' dynasties. One of the first examples of the use of this 'Gothick' style was Strawberry Hill House (1749 onwards), owned by another important Whig - Horace Walpole. It was visited by and much inspired Duke Leopold III and Erdmannsdorff in the design of the 'Gothic House' at Wörlitz (begun 1773) (Dilly and Murnane, 2014).

By the end of the century the style was (together with other historic revival styles) well established in Britain. Attempts were made to approach the history of gothic architecture in Britain in a more scientific manner. Warton *et al.* (1800) provides a good example with other publications on the subject listed in the appendix. The famous landscape architect Repton (1794) values its '*perpendicular character*' in contrast to the '*horizontal character*' of the Grecian style and advocates its use and in combination with classical architecture wherever its picturesque effects compliment the overall appearance of the garden or house. Dilly and Murnane (2014) name Stourhead as an example for a concentric relationship between neoclassicism (house), neo-gothic (iconography in the park) and 'primitive' architecture (within the wider landscape).



Figure 16: Stowe landscape garden with Palladian bridge, gothic temple and Lord Cobham's pillar. Source: Author (2018)



In Germany, split into kingdoms and principalities, a national architectural debate was longer in the making. Indeed, Philipp (1997) argues that a nation-wide neo-classical style and debate in Germany was not established until the 1790's and many earlier ,enlightened' examples drew heavily on theory and built practice developed in Britain. German gentry visited Britain and France for inspiration on their Grand Tour as was certainly the case for Duke Leopold III himself.

In this context, the acceptance of neo-gothic architecture encountered great resistance right into the new century. In his famous guide to Wörlitz, August Rode (1788) calls the 'Gothick House' 'wasteful' and 'strange' and early examples of neo-gothic architecture were seen widely as a danger to the cultivation of good taste. A first longer summary on the history of gothic architecture can be found in Stieglitz (1792-98) 'Encyklopädie der Baukunst', although still far from being either empirical or comprehensive. It was only the Napoleonic occupation of Germany in 1806 that led to 'rediscovery of nationality and interest in medieval architecture' (Ludwig Catel in 1815 in Philipp (1997)). It was widely argued that neo-gothic architecture should strictly be used in the confines and setting of 'natural gardens', for small garden buildings and where a romantic emotion was desired (Meinert, 1798-1804).

#### 4.2.2 Symmetry

Interconnected with the debate over architectural style was the issue of symmetry. Classical architecture promoted symmetry whilst neo-gothic designs were perceived as encouraging asymmetry. It is easy to see how an asymmetrical design might suggest a building that has developed ad-hoc or over time, either by being altered, added to or by parts of it having withered away. As such the discussion amongst the community of designers was also about authenticity and related in particular to smaller and vernacular buildings such as lodges, farmers cottages and buildings. It is harder to force all necessary functions of a small building into a symmetric design and vernacular precedents suggested a less dogmatic approach.

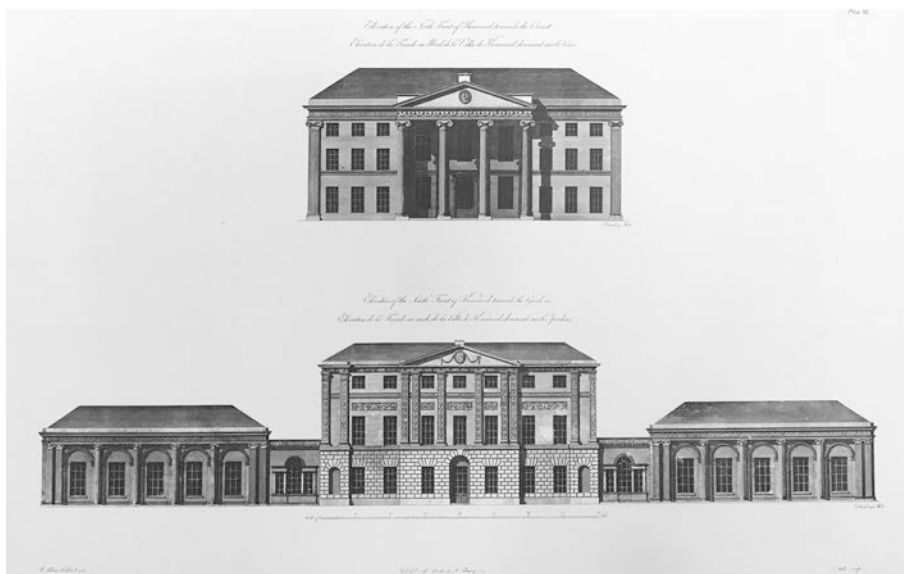


Figure 17: The elevations of Kenwood House as designed and published by Robert and James Adam. Source: Adam (1778)

James Malton and John Plaw, the authors of the pattern books this dissertation is concerned with, were at loggerheads over the matter of symmetry in cottage design. Whilst Malton (1798) advocated asymmetry in order to simulate the effects of time, development and utility, for Plaw (1800) such buildings served as '*beacons of danger, warnings of bad taste*'.

### 4.2.3 Utility

The appetite for garden structures in country estates continuously grew during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. So much so that Rowan (1968) notes that gardens became overcrowded by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and refers to Stowe with over 40 temples, grottos, lodges, arches, monuments, pavilions, bridges and statues. This led to a dramatic reduction in garden buildings by the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and 'usefulness' or utility as a growing criteria for the appropriateness of their design. The ascent of the middle classes as clients for prospective designs is reflected in the increased publication of designs for lodges, cottages and conservatories. Both, Plaw's and Malton's pattern books in question, were directed at this audience.



Figure 18: Design for a cottage from James Malton's '*Essay on British cottage architecture*'. Source: Malton (1798)

### 4.3 Designers, authorship and copyright

One has to imagine that the boundaries between what we today might call distinct professions were still very much in flux during the 18<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and that was also true in the field of design and architecture. The charter for the Royal Institute of British Architects was not granted until 1837 and the individuals carrying out building designs had varying backgrounds and overlapping areas of interest. Many members of the landed gentry themselves designed gardens and associated structures with the help of gardeners, draughtsmen and builders. For those with less wealthy means but with the necessary talent, patronage might have been considered the necessary prerequisites for entering the architectural profession during the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Architects such as William Kent, Sir John Soane or Robert Adam came from comparatively humble backgrounds. Their talent brought them to the attention and into the employment of wealthy land owners wishing to improve their estates and who in many cases helped to finance their Grand Tour to France, Italy and Greece. Built projects then secured new commissions.

In the act of design, re-purposing and ‘improving’ historic styles was a legitimate prerequisite and necessitated taking inspiration from and adapting historic precedents. Erdmannsdorff himself is representative for this process of assimilation as it could be applied to European designers of the day. His Grand Tours to Italy, France, England and the Netherlands provided ample opportunities to consider historic and contemporary examples which he retrospectively drew on in his designs (Hirsch, 1987) and (Kadatz, 1986).

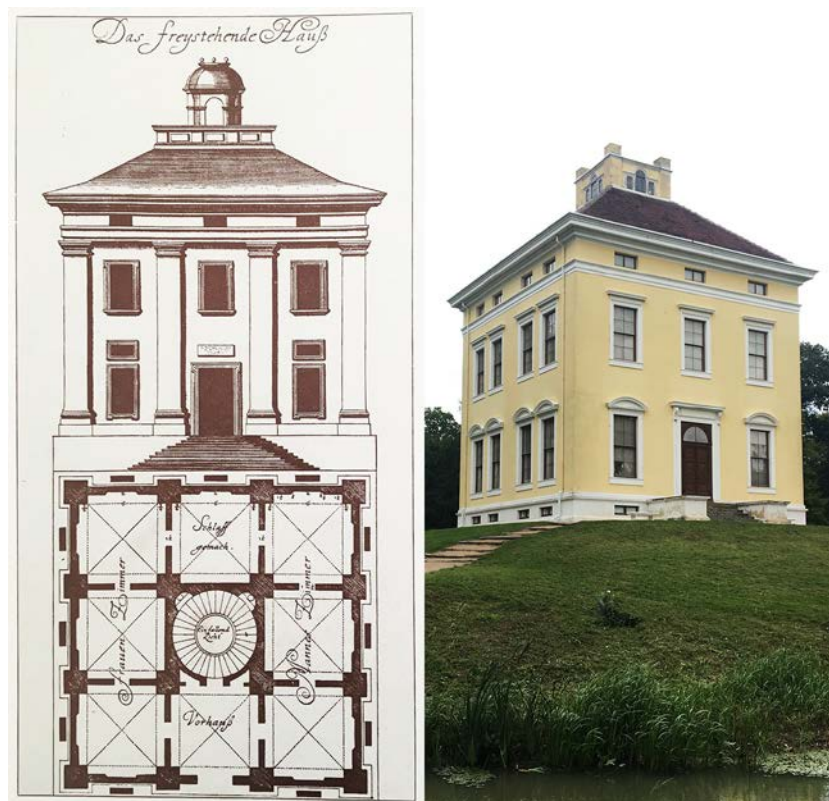


Figure 19: The villa at Luisium landscape garden and its inspiration ‘Das freystehende Haus’ in Christoph Leonhard Sturm’s ‘Civilbaukunst 1708’.  
Sources: Kadatz (1986) and Author (2018)

Publications featuring one's own designs or establishing the author as an expert in a particular field played an important role in the increase of one's exposure. Many architects and designers published essays, guide books as well as engravings of built designs aimed at inspiring potential clients to commission the author with further work. Forays into other fields such as landscaping, agriculture, machinery or art were commonplace. Landscape designer Batty Langley (1696 –1751) wrote a wide range of books on 'Ancient Masonry', landscape gardening, gothic architecture and several builder's handbooks. This iterative approach to design produced an environment where matters of copyright were often dealt with rather liberally. Archer (1985) notes that although a Copyright Act was passed in Britain in 1709, copyright was only truly enforceable with the advent of additional legislation in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This meant that designs and publications could be re-printed or altered without permission and in many cases without declaring the original source.

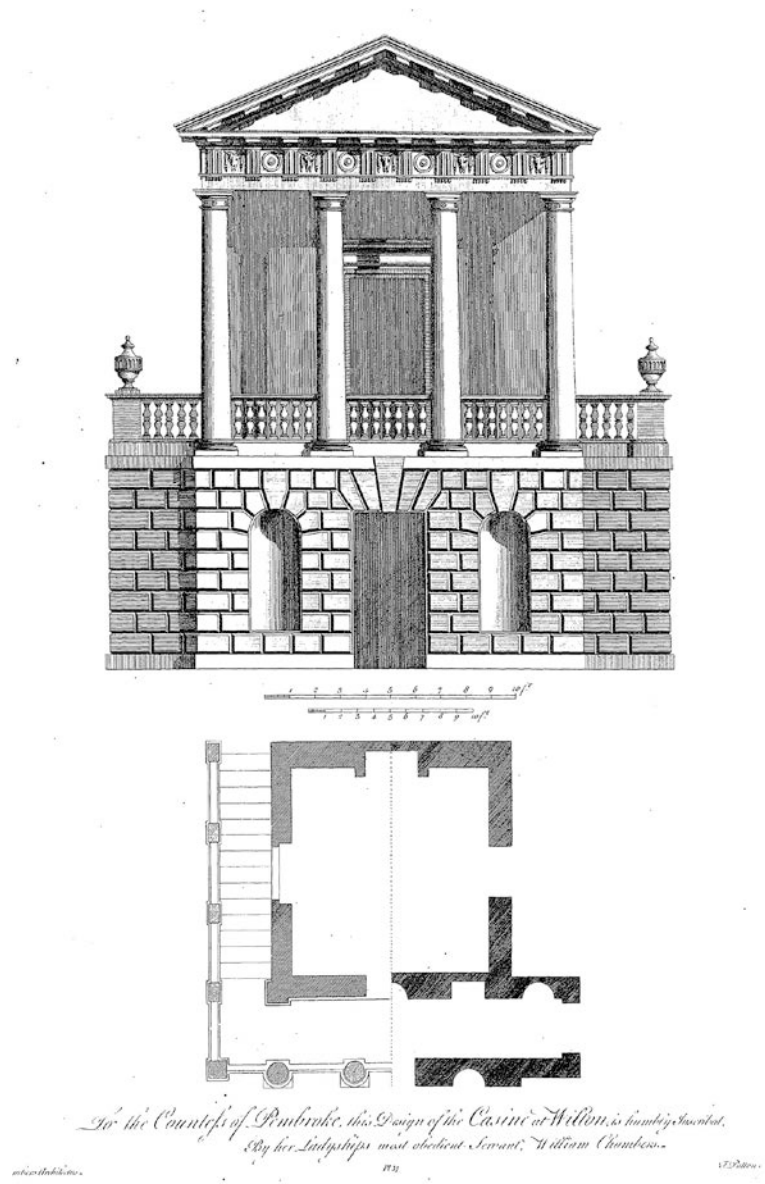


Figure 20: The design for the Casino in Wilton by William Chambers - the inspiration for the Floratempel in Wörlitz. Source: Chambers (1759)

## 4.4 Domestic architectural publications

The market for architectural publications in Britain was relatively small. The catalogue of one of the main architectural publishers J. Taylor's Architectural Library in London contains approx. 135 titles at the turn of the century (Taylor, 1802).

Archer (1985) has researched this field of domestic architectural publications, to which pattern books can be counted, extensively and gives an overview over its publishing practices and trends. He shows that at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, publishers would acquire all rights for a title from the author with a single payment. Rights could be sold and passed on to other publishers and booksellers. Including dedications was a means of financing a publication and of increasing its standing, although the method declined sharply in the latter half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Books might also be produced by the author using up-front subscriptions. A subscribers' list would be included in the title which was used to raise interest in subsequent editions. Later in the century, the author might negotiate to retain a stake in the sales by part-financing the book or have it printed on commission. Editions would, dependent on their nature, be produced at sizes of between 50 and 1,000 copies. In comparison with other strands of literature, this would be considered small. A handful of publishers, such as J. Taylor's Architectural Library and Rudolf Ackermann became more specialised in the subject than others.

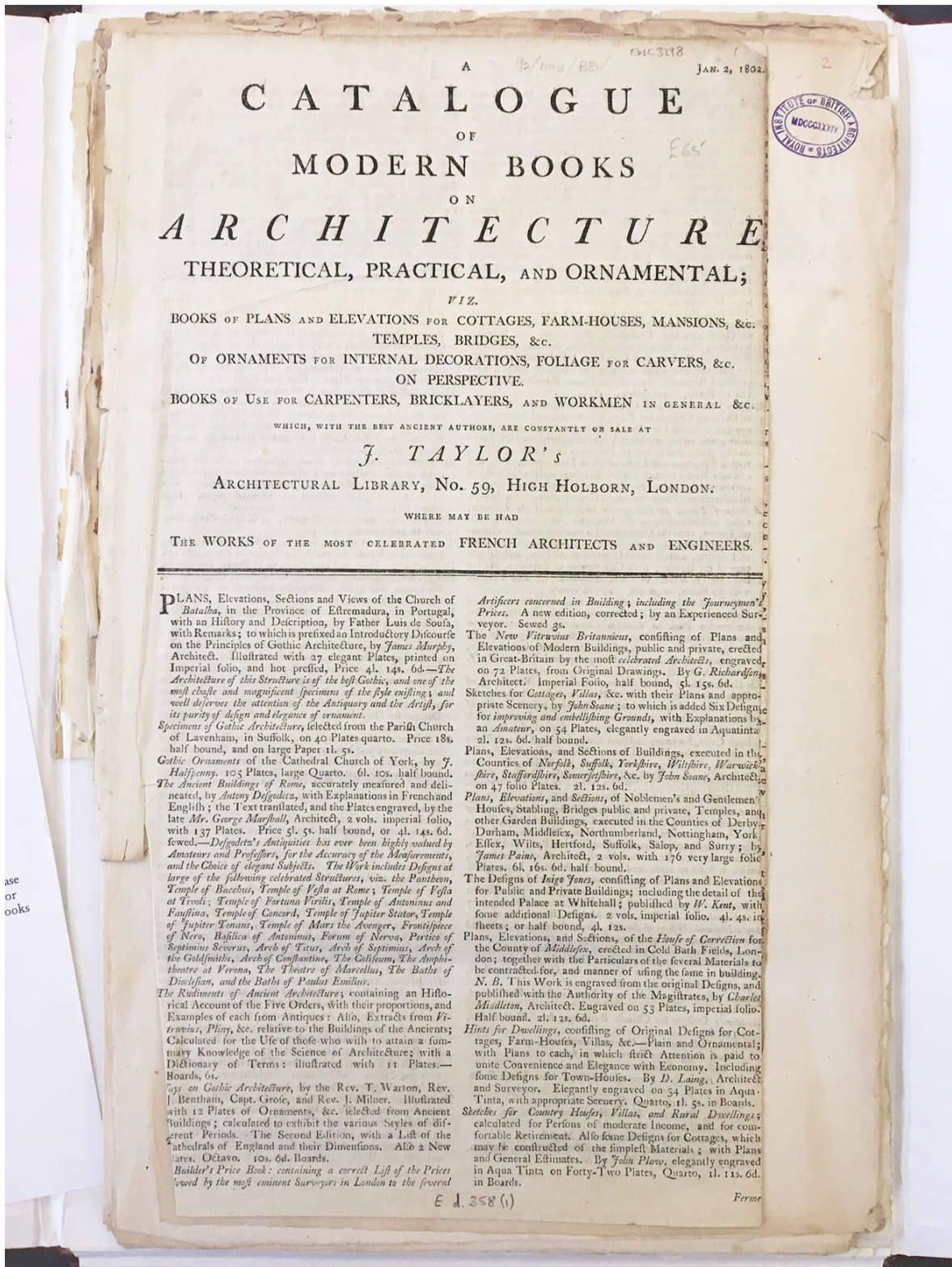
Specific treatises and their respective audiences could be divided into the following five types:

1. Folio collections of elegant designs for aristocratic clients and amateurs
2. Handbooks for artisans and labourers
3. Manuals for those who lived in remote areas or who had little education
4. Commentaries for members of the architectural profession.
5. Picturesque 'idea books' for middle-class clients of modest means

The domestic architectural book trade changed and expanded considerably at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. A growing and literate middle class became a sought after clientele and many publications now catered for their more moderate needs.

The first German architectural magazine was published 1789 followed by a great rise in illustrated architectural publications over the next two decades. This period can be characterised by a relatively low amount of built projects but large number of designs by independent thinkers and designers, partially due to the effects of the Napoleonic wars. (Philipp, 1997).

It can be assumed that publishing in this market was a risky undertaking and required the author (and publisher) to have business acumen in order to be financially successful.



A 90/1104/BB/ ENC 3178 JAN. 2, 1802. 2  
CATALOGUE  
OF  
MODERN BOOKS  
ON  
ARCHITECTURE  
THEORETICAL, PRACTICAL, AND ORNAMENTAL;

VIZ.  
BOOKS OF PLANS AND ELEVATIONS FOR COTTAGES, FARM-HOUSES, MANSIONS, &c.  
TEMPLES, BRIDGES, &c.  
OF ORNAMENTS FOR INTERNAL DECORATIONS, FOLIAGE FOR CARVERS, &c.  
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Figure 21: J. Taylor's catalogue of architectural books 1802. Source: RIBA library (2018)

## 4.5 Pattern books in Britain and Germany

By the time of the publication of the Malton (1802) and Plaw (1795) pattern books in question in this dissertation, pattern books were a well-established entity on the book market. English Heritage (2011) estimates that at least sixty pattern books were published in Britain between 1780 and 1840. Numbers grew exponentially from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and designs became progressively eclectic with a variety of styles for villas, cottages and rural architecture being employed. A growing emphasis on utility and affordability (cottages and conservatories) catered for the increasing wealth and number of the middle class. The reach of pattern books in Britain contributed to a shift from a local towards a national catalogue of architectural ideas (Johnson, 2010). Architects producing successful pattern books could look forward to reaping financial rewards from the sale of the books but also from acquiring clients wishing to realise the advertised designs.

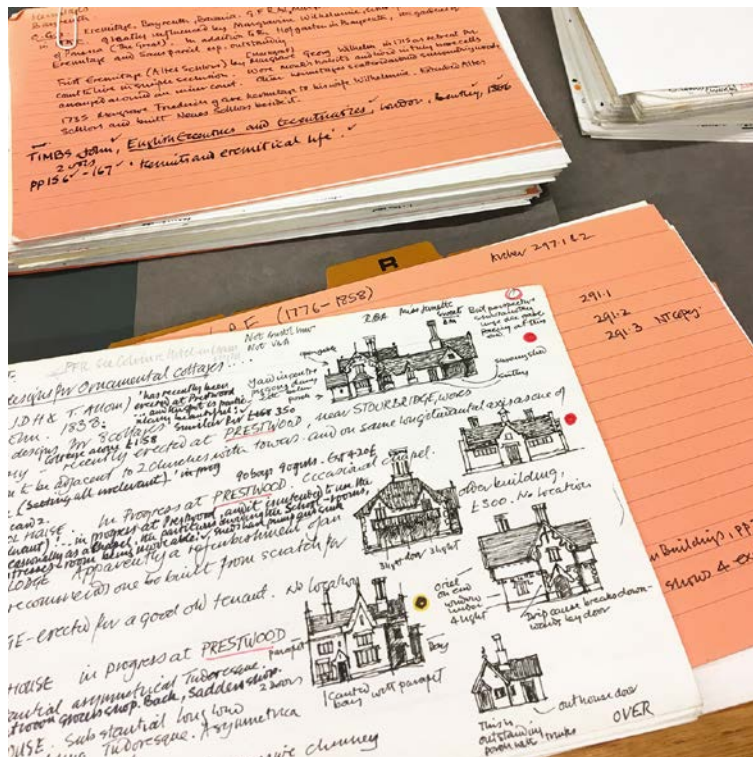


Figure 22: Nigel Temple's research material for a publication on English pattern books. Source: Temple (1980 - 1985) at RIBA archives

Architects like Soane (1778) provided a mixture of small and larger buildings in an attempt to appeal to owners of country estates with their need for a variety of buildings. The highly successful Robert and James Adam make available their own designs of country seats, villas and public buildings, written in English and French (Adam, 1778). By the beginning of the new century, Lugar (1805) dedicates his designs for cottages and villas entirely 'in the Grecian, Gothic and fancy styles' to 'persons of genteel life and moderate fortune'.

White (2017) records that:

*'They were bought not just by potential clients but also by other architects, obviously on the lookout for ideas in a genre they hoped to be able to exploit. John Nash owned cottage books by Joseph Gandy, Robert Lugar, James Malton and John Plaw, and John Soane, though not himself a cottage designer, also bought several.'*

A typical pattern book might have the following format:

1. Introductory chapter
2. An treatise on a subject connected to the designs published
3. Small paragraph and explanation on each of the plates / designs
4. Main floor plan and elevation of the object / building
5. Intermittent prints of landscape settings incorporating some of the designs

The designs were produced as monochrome engravings or aquatints and vary in quality considerably. The subjects at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century ranged from ceiling patterns, garden furniture, fencing and bridges, gates and lodges, tombs and memorials, pavilions, agricultural buildings, temples, cottages to villas and entire country houses.

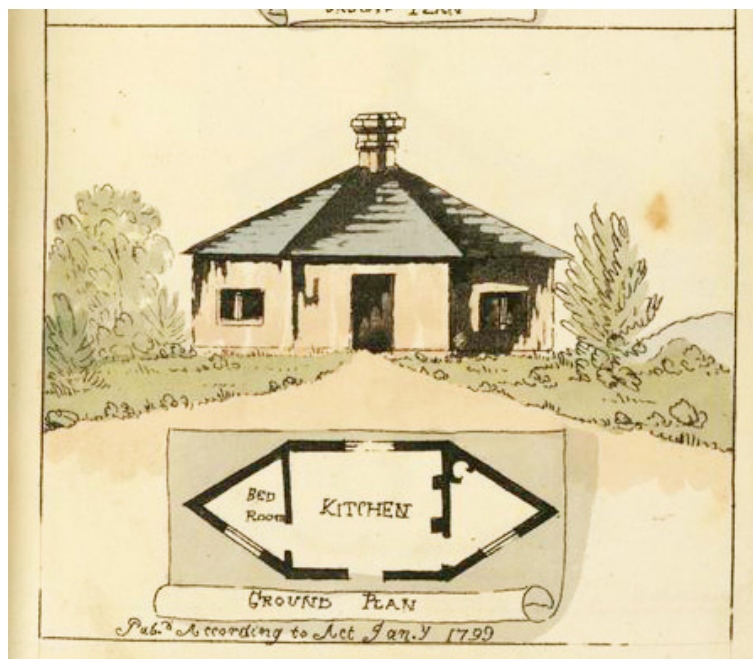


Figure 23: Cottage design. Source: Middleton (1799)

Pattern books in changing shape and form would continue to be produced and used right into the 20th century.

Important German pattern book publications are rather eclectic Grohmann (1796b) and Leo (1795-99) with content mostly copied from earlier British pattern books. Stieglitz (1800) shows a great number of larger houses and churches, monuments and a hospital based on European precedents whereas Becker (1799) increasingly draws on designs by German architects. Examples of British pattern books being translated into German include Parkyns (1796) and Malton (1805).



## 4.6 Pattern books and built structures

The impact of pattern books on the built environment of the time is harder to quantify. On one hand, many books retrospectively published executed designs like Paine (1767) and Adam (1778). Building and adapting published designs of historic origin was another way in which pattern book designs became reality. Examples are the Doric Temple, Hadrian's Arch and the Tower of the Winds built at Shugborough Estate by James 'Athenian' Stuart after his publishing of 'Antiquities of Athens' in 1762 adding 'authenticity' to the commission.

Many of the designs in pattern books and in particular those related to garden architecture are not necessarily of a size, importance and durability to survive more than 200 years without constant maintenance and repair and many examples have since vanished. Nevertheless, John Plaw seems to have been more successful than others in getting architectural commissions. Early surviving buildings by Plaw not contained in his pattern books are the round Belle Isle House in Windermere (1744) and St Mary on Paddington Green Church (1791). His publications however, did inspire a number of executed cottage buildings. White (2017) lists the following:

<i>Building</i>	<i>Pattern Book Reference</i>
Garteninspektorhaus, Wörlitz, Germany	Plaw (1795)
Cottage at Whatlington, East Sussex,	Plaw (1795)
The Round House at Ickworth House, Suffolk (1830s)	Plaw (1800)
Lodges at the Duke of Hamilton's estate at Easton, Suffolk	Plaw (1800)
Beehive Lodge, Costessey	Plaw (1800)
Round House, Ixworth Abbey, Suffolk	Plaw (1800)
Elm Cottage, East Cowes Castle, Isle of White	Plaw (1800)
Thatched House, Wateringbury, Kent	Plaw (1800)
Blackbrook Cottage, Fareham	Plaw (1800)
Harford Hills House, Norwich	Plaw (1800)
Umbrella Cottage at Lyme Regis	Plaw (1800)

*Table 1: Built examples of cottages to pattern book designs by John Plaw. Source: White (2017)*

White notes that the close similarity of some of the buildings above and their location near Southampton, where John Plaw lived at the time, suggests that they may have been executed by himself. Other examples of realised cottage buildings include designs from patter books by Robert Lugar (1805), Peter Frederick Robinson and Francis Goodwin.

Surviving buildings to designs by James Malton are not mentioned either by White or indeed by any other source consulted. Additional enquiries by the author with Parker (2018) at English Heritage and Wheeler (2018) at National Trust as to surviving pattern book buildings by Malton or Plaw reaped no results. It could not be shown that other examples of the designs of the three case studies which are the subject of this dissertation were ever build.

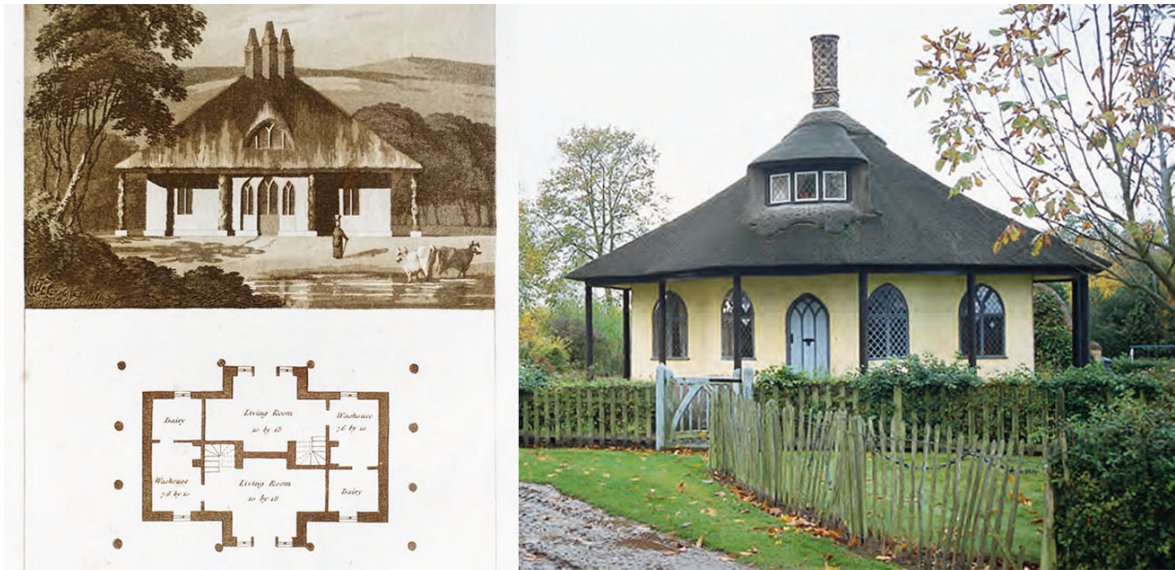


Figure 24: John Plaw's design for a cottage in 'Sketches for Country Houses' 1800 and Round House, Ixworth Abbey, Suffolk. Source: White (2017)

## 4.7 The pattern books related to the case studies

The two pattern books that shaped the design of the three case studies at Wörlitz and Luisium warrant a closer look as to their make-up and intentions.

The design for the garden inspector's house is contained within the first volume of Johann Gottfried Grohmann (1796b) 'Ideenkatalog für Liebhaber von Gärten, englischen Anlagen und für Besitzer von Landgütern' – a series of 60 magazines published between 1796 and 1806. Duke Leopold III was a subscriber. He also appropriated the design for a church at Jonitz (1816/17) from Grohmann's magazine 48 (1805) (Bechtoldt and Weiss, 1996).

As the title suggests, the publication was aimed at owners and lovers of gardens and landed gentry. It contains an eclectic mix of structures, buildings, contraptions and garden furniture. Volumes 1-6 cover depictions of garden seats, gates, temples, a windmill, an American-style house, a Dutch barn, temples, monuments, garden bridges, Chinese boats, agricultural buildings, obelisks and Turkish tents. Some of the plates are aquatint. A description of each design is given in both, German and French.

In his introduction to the first magazine Grohmann alludes to the fact that he obtained the originals from England and for this reason retains English scale bars and units. He is not referencing original authors or publications but does on occasion make reference to built examples like that of the Temple of Aeolus at Kew Gardens (in volume 3) and various German as well as some French examples. In volumes 1-6 alone, the author has identified designs from Plaw (1795), Miller (1789) and Soane (1778). The designs were copied onto new plates with great accuracy. One volume at least utilises a Humphrey Repton – like red-book overlay for a small cottage before and after

intervention. Later volumes suggest that German architects donated designs in exchange for a mention of their authorship.

Signs of catering for his audience can be identified in volume 4 where Grohmann includes designs for fences at the request of subscribers. Perhaps in recognition of his wealthy subscriber volume 10 mentions the Gothic preferences in Duke Leopold III's gardens at Wörlitz and Dessau and volume 24 contains a plate illustrating a ruin at Georgium landscape garden in Dessau.

'A collection of designs for rural retreats, as villas...' by James Malton (1802) and containing the designs for the Schlangenhäuser as well as for the gatehouses at Luisium is different in nature. In many ways it reflects a programme that mirrors the architectural debate of the time. In the preface Malton offers to modify any of the designs to suit a client's taste, budget and site. He then sets the tone for the publication in a pamphlet on the '*... needs and advantage of temporary retirement*'. He also argues for retirement and country houses to be modest in scale, both, for those with ample and moderate means and gives a cost of no more than £10,000 for each of his schemes. Finally he explains benefits of his mostly neo-gothic designs as he considers this style to be more picturesque and less expensive in decoration.

Accordingly, most of the villas and country retreats are of a size suggesting the use by a more or less wealthy middle class family with very few or no servants and are comparable with a comfortable detached house of today's standards. The extent of neo-gothic and castellated decoration on the elevations varies greatly. The latter part of the volume contains different 'rural' building types such as a dairy and lodges and gateways as well as some buildings which he considers to be flexible enough to be either a bath, library or a museum.

The overall impression that Malton's book gives is that of a publication purposefully aimed at an audience that might appreciate the theoretical and stylistic messages and choices the author conveys. Rather than adopting a 'pick & mix' approach, he concentrates on buildings of a certain size, cost and style.

In contrast to his beliefs published in 'An essay on British cottage architecture' (1798), arguing for an asymmetric approach to cottage design and although he advises that '*...exact symmetry ... is rather to be avoided in a gothic building*', his pattern book designs are predominantly symmetrical.

The aquatint prints are of high quality and include perspective views of designs within a landscape setting, befitting his previous record as a master draughtsman.



Figure 25: Opening plate for Grohmann's 4th volume subtitled 'Beautified nature'. Source: Grohmann (1796b)

# 5. The Garden inspector's house: Inspiration Made in Britain

## 5.1 Introduction

Throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Britain grew into and occupied a dominating position in the expression of new architectural ideas. Britain was a progressive country ruled by a constitutional monarchy. The onset of the industrial and scientific revolution brought with it seismic shifts in society. Industrial activity coupled with international trade contributed to the rise of a new influential middle class. Inherited privileges were being challenged and the achievements of enterprising and 'enlightened' individuals valued and rewarded. These developments were reflected in the architectural debate described in the previous chapter. And whilst France clung on to its absolute monarchy until the advent of the French Revolution, Germany was still divided into multiple and warring feudal states. Many of the progressive European members of the aristocracy and middle classes were inspired by the developments in Britain.

The designs for the case studies chosen for this dissertation, although located in Germany, originate in Britain. It is therefore important to examine, how they found their way to Germany and finally into the portfolio of structures at Wörlitz and Luisium landscape gardens. This warrants a closer look at the dissemination and assimilation of English architectural publications in Germany and indeed at German architectural books using home-grown designers. The conception of the garden inspector's house at Wörlitz will serve as an example to exemplify this process.

## 5.2 Dissemination and assimilation of British architectural trends and precedents in Germany

Improvements in book printing technology and transport led to an explosion in printing and publishing activities towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Books did not only cater for a domestic market but were an important vehicle for the cultural transfer of ideas between the European countries and North America.

Foreign books were widely sold at English booksellers. Lackington and Co (1799) catalogue features foreign language sections in Latin and Greek, French, Italian, Spanish, German, Dutch and Swedish. Taylor and Taylor (1793) proudly state that they are '*... where may be had the works of the most celebrated French architects and engineers*'.

Some architectural publications were published simultaneously in more than one language. Adam (1778) is written in English and French and as already pointed out, Grohmann (1796b) published in German and French. Lewis (1780) brought out his pattern books of villas, mansions and town-houses in English and Italian and names about 250 subscribers from Italy, France, Russia and Sweden. Publishing and book-selling was an international and interconnected business.

### **5.2.1 British publications in Germany**

Germany was a prime importer and consumer of British books during the period of the Personal Union between the House of Hanover and the British throne between 1714 and 1837. Jefcoate (2002) estimates that the number of English publications translated into German during the 18th century equates to about 8,000 titles. In 1776, approximately 76 percent of novels published in England were translated into German (Johns, 2014). Important nodes for the reception and dissemination of English literature were Göttingen (with its ties to the British throne), Leipzig as the place of the important Leipzig book fair and Hamburg, which had close commercial connections with Britain.

Architectural publications constituted only a small part of the overall number of books. Many English titles were imported in their original format and language (refer to examples in Duke Leopold III's library at Wörlitz in chapter 5.4). Other books were translated into German. Parkyns (1796) illustrated portfolio of designs for six landscape gardens is one such example. Malton (1798) 'An essay on British cottage architecture' was translated and published in Leipzig (Malton, 1805).

### **5.2.2 British and European precedents utilised in German publications**

But German publishers and editors ventured beyond the mere re-printing or translating of English titles. The author has already described the approach of Grohmann (1796b), picking and re-shuffling designs from different English pattern books for a German audience. Grohmann himself was not an architect but a professor in philosophy, editor, publisher and businessman. The speed of the European book trade can be gauged by the fact that he had purchased, re-engraved and published Plaw's designs within a year of its publication in London.

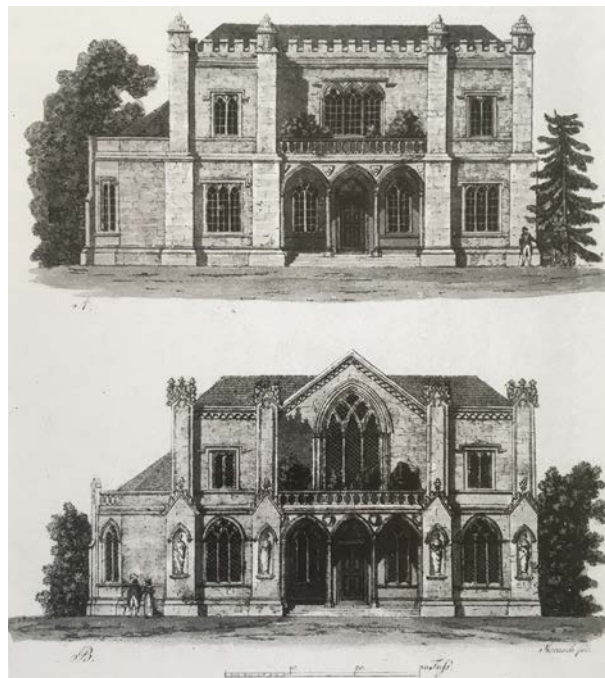
British designs and precedents found ample use in German publications. The comprehensive and important 'Theorie der Gartenkunst' by Hirschfeld (1779-1785) contains descriptions and engravings of many English landscape gardens and their buildings such as Stowe, Kenwood, Wentworth, Hagley, Stourhead, Kew and Windsor. English authors who are mentioned or whose designs are re-produced include the Adam brothers, Inigo Jones, William Kent, William Halfpenny, James Paine and James Lewis. Together with gardens of German, French and Italian origin they serve as illustrations for essays on the origins, different styles and aspects of gardens.

Stieglitz (1800) collection of designs for houses, bridges, churches, monuments and a hospital follows more closely the format of a pattern book. It comes with the expressed wish that the reader might utilise and adapt any of the designs for their own building projects although the buildings are rather large in size for that to be a likely scenario without the use of an architect. An essay on the subject of beauty in architecture prefaces the designs which include built projects sited in Southampton, Wentworth, Durham, London and Scotland. The book acknowledges the support and help of James Ogilvy, 7th Earl of Findlater and 4th Earl of Seafield, who had by that time moved to Bohemia (and would later move to and die in Dresden). He provided all the engravings for the book for copy but the acknowledgment does not further elaborate on the original source or author.

An example of a pattern book for garden and farm buildings mainly based on the designs of a German architect (Karl Schaffer) is Becker (1799). However, volume three also contains built examples from Park Place, Kew and Langley Hall in Norfolk. Grohmann (1802) did also publish a collection of gothic buildings and designs in which he freely combines representations and details of German gothic churches with gothic windows taken from Langley and Langley (1747).

Just how well-informed the architectural press in Germany (and it can be presumed, in Europe) was at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century can be illustrated using the examples of two periodicals of the time. The second part of the second volume of 'Allgemeines Magazin für die bürgerliche Baukunst' (Huth, 1796) and published in Weimar runs to 440 pages and contains essays on a great variety of subjects, amongst them translations of treaties from the Académie Française and the Swedish Academy. Subjects concern the matter of good taste in architecture, the use of slag in construction, the production of specialist mortars and bricks, the use of waterproof cement in bridge construction amongst others. These are followed by news clippings from around Europe amongst which can be found a detailed description of the architecture of London and the use of flint in a Norwich building. Not dissimilar is David Gilly (1799) collection of construction news and essays, published twice-yearly in Berlin and running to 140 pages. Designs by James Malton featured in various German publications such as Grohmann (after 1800) and Meinert (1798-1804) in 1802.

The above-mentioned exemplifies a well-established market for publications on architecture and constructions-related knowledge. Authors and buildings of English origin featured widely in German publications and catered for a diverse audience, well-informed on subjects covering the European continent.



*Figure 26: James Malton's design for a gothicised cottage originally published 1802 in Meinert 1798-1804. Source: Philipp (1997)*

## 5.3 German publications on rural architecture and cottages

The fact that so many of the designs for cottages and smaller rural homes in Grohmann (1796b) and other German publications were copies of British or French designs points to a shortage of more home-grown proposals at the time. Stieglitz (1792-98) in 1796 laments the lack of pattern books and design proposals for improved, useful and efficient rural buildings and hopes that this will be addressed in the future.

Philipp (1997) argues that Grohmann's 'Ideenmagazin..' 1796-1806 was one of the first and commercially most successful examples to cater for the huge appetite for pattern books in Germany, aimed at providing ideas which can be '*executed easily and without great expense*' whilst contributing to improving taste. Whilst his first volumes are almost entirely based on British designs and aimed at aristocratic clients, later editions utilised mostly young German architects. Two early examples are the designs for a romantic fishing hut and a swiss cottage by Gottfried Klinsky. Later volumes became increasingly more varied and featured villas in the restrained classical style of Berlin architects and even utilising vernacular German timber constructions adapted to the needs of a middle class family. However, Grohmann knew that he could not have been as successful by employing German architecture only. He copied British content with breathtaking speed, sometimes with alterations for a less radical German taste such as is the case with John Soanes design for a cottage. Grohmann also acknowledged Malton's influence for the development of picturesque style in Germany through his translated 'Essay on British Cottage Architecture' and later publishes at least three of his cottage designs, although the Schlangenhau was not amongst them.

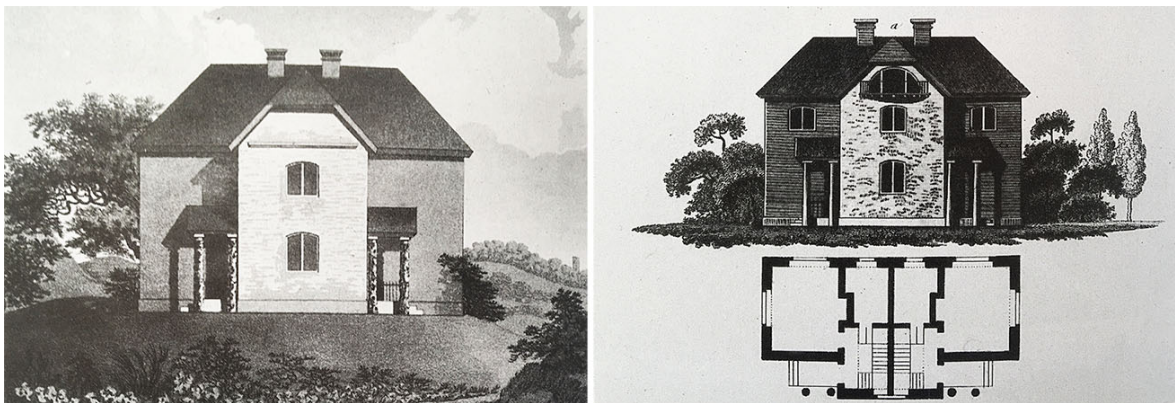


Figure 27: John Soane's design for a cottage 1798 (left) and its adaptation in Grohmann 1796 – 1806 (right).  
Source: Philipp (1997)



Other important milestones on the way to expanding the portfolio and depth of identifiable German contributions to domestic architectural design are Becker (1799) with his 'Neue Garten und Landschaftsgebäude' (promoting the talented young architect Karl Friedrich Schaffer) and Meinert (1798-1804) 'Schöne Landbaukunst'. With Meinert, a trend can be observed towards more restraint and clarity, promoting aesthetically pleasing and useful relationships between elevation and plans / spaces and aimed less at the novelty and playfulness of Grohmann's proposals.

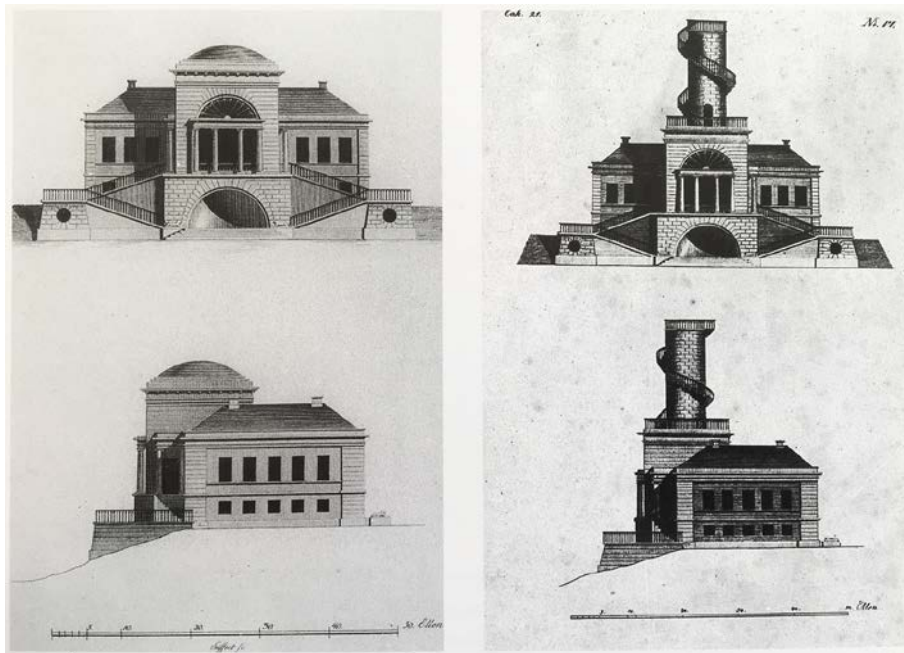


Figure 28: Designs for a rural retreat in Meinert 1798-1804 (left) and Grohmann 1796-1806 (right). Source: Philipp (1997)

## 5.4 Duke Leopold III's library at Wörlitz

In the creation of the Garden Kingdom of Dessau-Wörlitz, books and publications play an important role. Reading complimented the travels, visits and personal encounters undertaken by Duke Leopold III and his advisers. But books were also used as tools for educating visitors and the general public. Furthering education was a central element of the vision for reform in the enlightened principality. Since pattern books are at the heart of this dissertation, it is useful to put them into the context of books and publications read and available at Wörlitz. The mansions at Wörlitz and Luisium featured libraries and were open to visitors. In Wörlitz, the exquisitely furnished square library contained books as well as collections of portraits, reliefs and a dactyliotheque. Unfortunately, many books were sold to an unknown buyer in 1931 and up to date could not be traced, although a complete edition of 'Ideenmagazin für Liebhaber ...' by Grohmann (1796b) originally present was acquired by the Dessau-Wörlitz foundation in 1992 and is being kept at Wörlitz.

The only available inventory (von Kloeden, 2008) dates from 1778 - too early to contain direct references to the case studies subject of this dissertation. Nevertheless, the document gives an insight into the nature, quality and focus of the books in the library at Wörlitz.

The inventory of 1778 lists 1007 entries. The collection is organised in the following six categories:

1. German books (212)
2. French books (240)
3. Economy and architecture (117)
4. Miscellaneous (188)
5. Books for behind the desk (18)
6. English books (232)

Of interest for the subject of this dissertation is the following:

The German section holds a precursor of Hirschfeld (1779-1785) 'Theorie der Gartenkunst'.

Publications on architecture, gardening and antiquities feature authors such as Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Robert Wood, James 'Athenian' Stuart and Nicholas Revett and Robert Adam. William Chambers 'Designs of Chinese Buildings ...' (1757) and Designs for Kew (1763) are part of the collection as is 'Architecture of Andrea Palladio' (1742). Other British works present in this section are primarily on the subjects of husbandry, modern gardening and travel descriptions of different parts of the English counties.

The miscellaneous section holds a copy of William Pain's 1778 'The practical builder, or workman's general assistant...'.

The English book section covers English translations of classical writers as well as popular English authors of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century. Publications that provide links to important personalities of

the time and their architectural legacy are George Anson's 1776 'A Voyage around the World' (note his link to Shugborough estate), William Hamilton's 1774 'Observations on Mount Vesuvius ...', Colin Campbells 1725 'Vitruvius Britannicus' and Thomas More's 'Utopia'.

Overall, the library of 1778 contains a broad spectrum of publications. Immediately, the importance placed on French and English books is apparent. The English publications point to an in-depth and intimate relationship with a large variety of subjects and interests. Many publication dates of English (and other) books are recent, indicating a relative ease with which to get hold of new releases.

Whether or not Malton (1802) formed part of a later collection is unknown. However, Malton's 'An essay on British cottage architecture' (Malton, 1798) was available in German (Malton, 1805).

Number	Title	Number	Title
506860	Zahamel du Menecau phisiqua	92	Chamber's designs of China
	arbus 2 Tom	93	Ken
61	des François	94	Guercini
	des tois	95	L'Amphitheatro Flavio
62	eliments de	96 97	Antiquita Etrusque Grecque et Romane
	l'Architecture navale	98 101	Le pitture di Ercolano 4 Tom
63	du semis et	102 103	Di tiorie di Ercolano 2 Tom
	plantation des arbres	104	Catalogo di Ant. Mon. di Ercolano
64-68	Nöyquisse Econonmische Nachrichten	105	Veteris arcus Augustorum
	1775 bis 1777	106	Dominicini
69	Lucyoli Einleitung zur Landwirthschaft	107	Picturae antiquae Aegyptiarum Romanarum et sepulchre Nasonum
70-73	Six months tour 4 Tom	108-112	Palaeo Architectura by Leon 5 Tom
74-77	Youngs eastern tour 4 Tom	113	Prospectus urbis Venetiarum
78-83	Museum rusticum 6 Tom	114	Admiranda romanorum Antiquitates
84	Kints to gentleman	115	Colonna di Antonio Trajana
85	Principi de Romanorum magnificientia et architectura	116	..... Trajana
86	Le pitture di Pellegr. Tibaldi et di N. Albani	117	Gli antichi Sepolchri
87	Ruins of Balbec		
88	Antiquities of Athens		
89	Ruins of Palmira		
90	Ionian Antiquities		
91	Adami ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian	1-3	Alte Römischer Kunst 3 Hefte

Figure 29: 1778 index of Duke Leopold III's library at Wörlitz - Cabinet 3 / English books. Source: von Kloeden (2008)

## 5.5 What does the choice for the design of the garden inspector's house in Wörlitz indicate?

It is not possible to conclusively determine why Duke Leopold III commissioned the garden inspector's house at Wörlitz to a design derived from Grohmann's 1796 pattern book. However, the choice represents a decision and mind-set that can be analysed and interpreted within the context of contemporary thinking and developments. Clearly, Erdmannsdorff would have been a more than capable architect to design the building. Its programme and scale are not unfamiliar compared to his previous designs for houses or utilitarian buildings. However, most buildings Erdmannsdorff designed accorded to a Palladian or neo-gothic style and are not, whilst sometimes in a vernacular context, vernacular in nature. It can be speculated whether Erdmannsdorff's large array of responsibilities and commitments played a role in the decision to model the garden inspector's house on available patterns book designs. At the time of construction of the building in 1796 he took on the role of artistic director at the Chalkographische Gesellschaft in Dessau and was dealing with the death of his wife in 1795. Kadatz (1986) also lists an array of villas in Dessau designed by him at that time.

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the discussion in Germany on the character and value of German vernacular architecture was in its infancy and lagged behind the exploration of the subject the other side of the Channel. Cottage designs, if one would have desired to apply them, were only to be had from a British source. Even Grohmann's volumes offer few alternatives to that of the garden inspector's house. The design for the garden inspector's house renders the building part of an 'original' vernacular and rural landscape and setting. This idea might have been at the forefront of a decision to employ this design. Its character and size make it a fitting choice for the functional and moderately representative needs of a position such as that of a garden inspector.

The garden inspector's house is unique in the context of Wörlitz. More than a picturesque or romantic implement to the garden, it also departs from the neo-classical and neo-gothic ideas within the setting of a landscape garden and represents a typology that would dominate the architectural debate in the 19<sup>th</sup> century – the suburban villa and the rural cottage for the middle-class and working-class family.



Figure 30: Front and rear elevation of the garden inspector's house in Wörlitz. Source: Author (2018)

# 6. The Schlangenhaus: Could Malton have copied its design from the Luisium?

## 6.1 Introduction

Given the currently assumed date for the construction of the Schlangenhaus at Luisium landscape garden (1795) and the publication date of Malton (1802), the possibility that the design of the Schlangenhaus informed Malton's pattern book must be considered. Was there potential for the executed architectural and landscape designs of the Wörlitz Garden Kingdom to influence designers and thinkers not just in Germany, but in Britain? The following chapter explores some of the possible channels, players and cultural links through which this might have been possible. It will take a concentric approach looking at layers of influence with Wörlitz at its centre.

## 6.2 From within Dessau-Wörlitz

The reforms and vision of Duke Leopold III at Wörlitz Garden Kingdom provided an environment that inspired and sought the contribution of many progressive personalities of the time. Dessau was also home to a unique set of institutions who left their mark on the development of education, publishing, philosophy, art and culture of the times. The following chapter highlights some of the individuals and organisations that provide relevant links to Britain and / or opportunities for the dissemination of information on the buildings and designs at the Garden Kingdom into the remainder of Germany and beyond. If a depiction of the design of the Schlangenhaus reached Malton prior to the publication of his pattern book in 1802, could it have originated in Dessau?

### 6.2.1 Die Chalkographische Gesellschaft

The Chalkographische Gesellschaft in Dessau was set up in 1796 to break Britain's monopoly on the production and reproduction of engravings of works of art (Hirsch, 1987). Erdmannsdorff became the artistic director. A drawing school was established soon after. The undertaking found wide-ranging support, not the least from Johann Wolfgang Goethe, who visited Dessau early in 1797 and commends the enterprise for publishing so many depictions of the Dessau-Wörlitz garden realm. (Höhling, 2012). In fact, 1 in 8 of the 163 prints which were produced and printed in its seven years of existence depict views of Garden Kingdom. Warehouses holding prints were established in all larger German as well as important European and American cities including London.

Erdmannsdorff's Palladian villa at Luisium was subject of a 1799 engraving. Although, to the knowledge of the author, a depiction of the Schlangenhaus was not amongst the known produced works, the presence of a great number of engravers and artists and a distribution network spanning across Europe provides a tangible possibility that such a print or drawing could have been produced and available in London between 1796 and 1802.



*Figure 31: Aquatint of the Palladian villa at Luisium landscape garden produced for Chalkographische Gesellschaft 1799. Source: Froesch (2002)*

## **6.2.2 Die Allgemeine Buchhandlung**

Die Allgemeine Buchhandlung für Gelehrte und Künstler or ‘general bookstore and publisher for scholars and artists’ was another ambitious project conceived and put into practice in Dessau which influenced German publishing and had branches and agents all over Europe. Founded in 1781 by Carl Christoph Reiche, it set out to reform the publishing practices of the time. Authors were self-publishing at very favourable conditions with much greater financial rewards. This found many supporters and soon the enterprise claimed to be publishing 800 books of more than 200 authors, amongst them successful and established artist and writers such as Goethe and Lavater and Herder (Hirsch, 1987). Hirschfeld published a garden calendar here. Again, the existence of such a high-profile publishing house in Dessau at the eve of the 18<sup>th</sup> century demonstrates how Dessau occupied an important space within the European book trade with far reaching personal and business connections. This creates the conditions in which cultural transfer takes place in two directions, inwards and outwards. A depiction of the Schlangenhau could have been such an item of exchange through established channels.

## **6.2.3 Publicising the Luisium**

Information, depictions and descriptions of Luisium landscape garden were produced although to a much lesser extent than those for Wörlitz. Froesch (2002) surmises that Louse’s desire for greater privacy might have been one reason for that. The garden was reviewed and described by (Krußer, 1796) and Grohmann (1796a) and Karl Morgenstern in 1800 (Froesch, 2002). Head Gardener Eyserbeck provided several (as built) master plans for the gardens. There are no known design or construction drawings of the Schlangenhau by Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorff. Froesch (2002) states that director of buildings to the court, Georg Christoph Hesekei (1732-1818), is

ascribed with the production of construction drawings and the supervision of the building site although no proof of this survives.

August Rode was a prominent and prolific writer and politician closely linked to the Garden Kingdom Dessau-Wörlitz and a confidant of Duke Leopold III. After publishing the first authorised guide book for Wörlitz (including 5 engravings) (Rode, 1788) he followed up its great success with a travel guide to the sights in and around Dessau in 1795/96 but left out the Luisium, for yet unknown reasons, presumably to cater for a need for increased privacy at the duchess' refuge (Froesch, 2002). An overall picture emerges in which the dissemination of depictions or information about the Luisium might have been discouraged. That, however, does not mean that it did not exist.

Rode's other architectural publications include the translation of Vitruvius' 'de architectura' into German in 1796 and a biography of Erdmannsdorff (Rode, 1801b). A copy of the engravings for his Vitruvius translation can still today be found at the RIBA archives in London. With his intimate knowledge of Wörlitz and Dessau, his publishing experience on architectural subjects and his high profile within Germany and beyond, Rode would have been in a prime position to disseminate information, engravings and drawings related to the Luisium. However, if a guide to the Luisium was ever drafted, it would have likely followed the format established at Wörlitz and contained very few plates, likely of Erdmannsdorff's Palladian residence only.

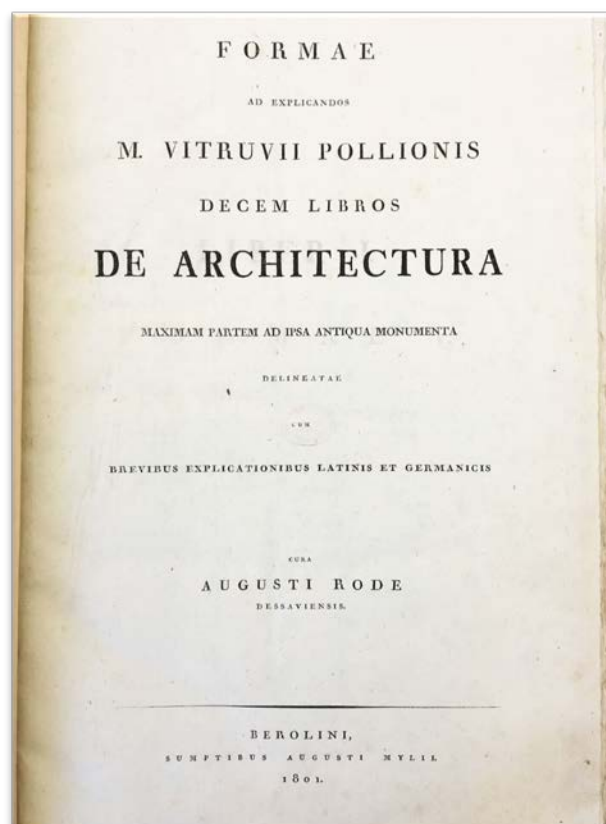


Figure 32: Title page of August Rode's 1801 Vitruvius translation at RIBA library in London. Source: Author (2018)

## 6.3 Influence within Germany

The architectural and garden designs implemented in the various gardens at Dessau-Wörlitz were visited, described and discussed in what was to become Germany. It would go beyond the limits of this dissertation to attempt to comprehensively describe the subject of Dessau-Wörlitz Garden Kingdom's influence within the German-speaking countries. So instead, a few important examples of publications and personalities and their relationship to Dessau-Wörlitz are explored. This aims to set the scene for firstly, how important Dessau-Wörlitz was within Germany and secondly what level of information on its buildings and gardens was in wider circulation within Germany.

### 6.3.1 Hirschfeld's 'Theorie der Gartenkunst' 1779-1785

'Theorie der Gartenkunst' by Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld (1779-1785) aimed to comprehensively educate the reader on all aspects of gardens and gardening, from different types and styles of gardens and garden buildings to the use of paths, trees and flowers. Its five volumes, although heavily text based, contain a great number of prints with a mixture of subjects depicting examples from Germany as well as England (such as Hagley, Stowe, Kenwood and Wentworth), France, Italy and makes reference to authors and designers such as Inigo Jones, William Kent and the Adam's brothers.

Although many gardens are described in great detail, the garden at Wörlitz is not. Hirschfeld did not himself visit Wörlitz and relied on published material and guides for his book, of which there was none available at the time. Only in volume five one finds plans and elevations of the house and garden later used in Rode's authorised guide book in 1788. Although Hirschfeld counts Wörlitz 'amongst the finest gardens' he is critical of its wide use of the gothic style and Wörlitz finds itself effectively side-lined. The Luisium does not feature.

### 6.3.2 Johann Gottfried Grohmann

We have already mentioned Johann Gottfried Grohmann in his capacity as the editor and publisher of the 'Ideenmagazin für Liebhaber von Gärten..' which contains the design for the garden inspector house. (Grohmann, 1796b). Grohmann too mentions the neo-gothic preferences Duke Leopold III's gardens at Wörlitz and Dessau (volume 10) and volume 24 contains a plate illustrating a ruin at Georgium garden in Dessau.

In 1795 and 1796 he also contributed to Wilhelm Gottlieb Beckers 'Taschenbuch für Gartenfreunde' with a description of his impressions of the gardens at Wörlitz and Luisium. Here, he compares and contrasts the impression of Luisium as a '*natural*' and '*simple*' garden provoking feelings and promotes it as a model for a 'German garden' as opposed to the 'English Wörlitz' (Grohmann, 1796a; Froesch, 2002). Grohmann was a prolific publisher and would have been read all over Germany.



### 6.3.3 Christian Ludwig Stieglitz

Philipp (1997) cites Christian Ludwig Stieglitz's 'Encyklopädie der bürgerlichen Baukunst' (Stieglitz, 1792-98) as the most important standard architectural publication around 1800. Mainly concerned with rural buildings and construction methods, it also laments the lack of pattern books and design proposals for improved, useful and efficient rural buildings and hopes that this will be addressed in the future.

Stieglitz also published a pattern book on predominantly stately homes and churches and dedicates each print of built and proposed designs to members of the aristocracy, clergy, middle class and personalities. (Stieglitz, 1800). Amongst dedications to the kings of Sweden, Britain and Denmark we find a dedication to Duke Leopold III and interestingly one to Erdmannsdorff. These dedications indicate the importance Stieglitz assigned to both men as potential promoters of his book but also as reputable personalities in the field of European design and architecture.



Figure 34: Dedication to Duke Leopold III at bottom of design for a mansion. Source: Stieglitz (1800)

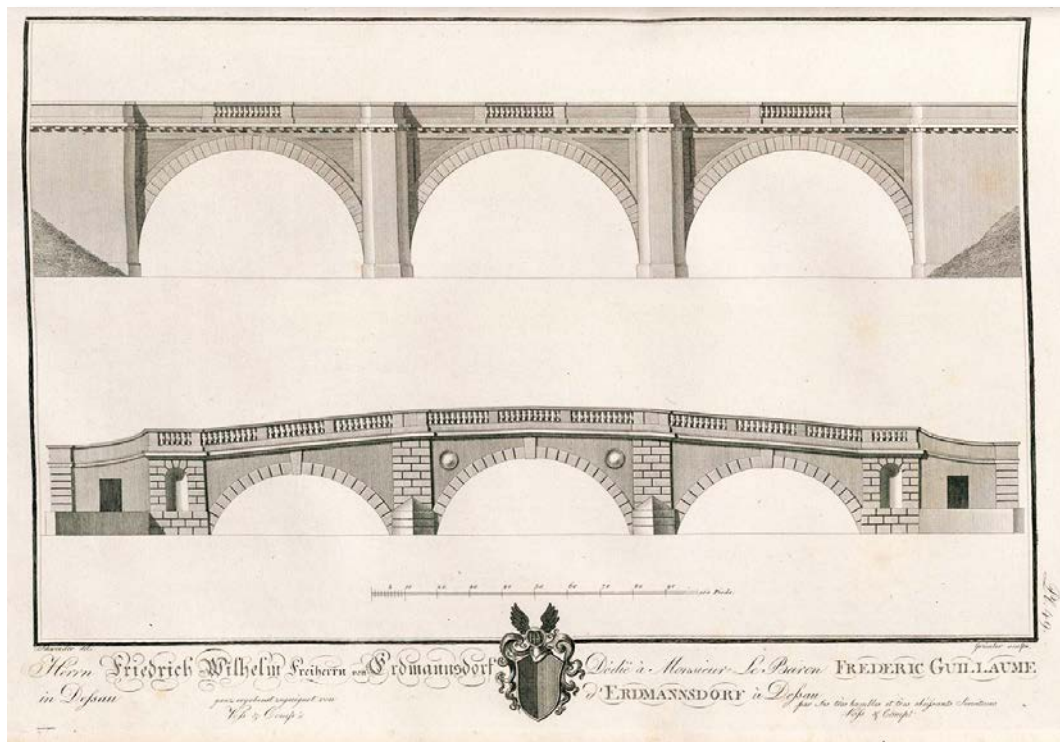


Figure 33: Dedication to Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorff at bottom of design for two bridges. Source: Stieglitz (1800)

### **6.3.4 Wilhelm Gottlieb Becker**

The author has already mentioned how Wilhelm Gottlieb Becker (1753 – 1813) contributed to the dissemination of information about the gardens at Dessau-Wörlitz by publishing Grohmann's descriptions of Wörlitz and Grohmann's and Krußer's accounts of Luisium in his 'Taschenbuch für Gartenfreunde' (Grohmann, 1796a; Krußer, 1796). He also taught at the Philantropinum in Dessau for a period and was intimately connected to Dessau-Wörlitz.

### **6.3.5 Charles Joseph de Ligne**

The Wallonian field marshal Charles Joseph de Ligne (1735-1814) travelled extensively and published a review of 130 European gardens (amongst them Wörlitz and Luisium), followed by a German translation by Wilhelm Gottlieb Becker in 1799. Whilst enthusiastic in his verdict on Wörlitz he expresses a much more distanced view of his visit to Luisium in 1796, criticising its setting, architecture and interior (Bechtoldt and Weiss, 1996; Froesch, 2002).

## **6.4 German - British cultural transfer**

The previous chapter established the importance Dessau-Wörlitz had for the introduction and dissemination of ideas and execution of English landscape gardens in Germany and the role of neoclassical and neo-gothic architecture within. But was its influence such that these ideas could have reached back into the country where so much of its inspiration came from – Britain? Was there indeed a transfer of architectural ideas that did not merely constitute a one way street and more specifically, would it have been conceivable that architectural designs, such as that for the Schlangenhäuser, could have come to the attention and could have been used as precedents for English pattern books such as in Malton (1802)?

### **6.4.1 German – British cultural transfer in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century**

Johns (2014) has explored the multitude of ways in which the transfer of cultural ideas between Britain and Germany occurred during the period of the Personal Union of the House of Hanover and the English throne between 1714 and 1837. The two countries were deeply interrelated. In Germany, Göttingen became a node of expanding internationalization and especially anglicisation, a characteristic it shared with Hamburg, which had long had close commercial ties with Britain. The newly-found University of Göttingen enrolled 5% British students specialising in law, medicine, and theology but also political science and history. The open reception Duke Leopold III found in the royal and aristocratic circles of London and England during his Grand Tour 1768 – 68 is to some extent testament to the ease and normality with which the political elite communicated with each other in the 18th century (Losfeld et al., 2012). But entrepreneurs, merchants, scientists, philosophers also moved between the two countries.

According to Johns (2014), the garden at Wörlitz epitomises the ongoing European transfer of ideas, goods, people, and methods for progressive enlightenment into the nineteenth century. Amongst the many visitors to Wörlitz was botanist, garden designer and author John Claudius

Loudon (1783–1843) who visited Wörlitz in 1814 (and describes the volcano) and went on to publish important works such as 'An Encyclopaedia of Gardening' in 1822.

In Johns' evaluation, this process of exchange between Britain and Germany characterises a two-way relationship between dynamically interrelated regions, '*...regions better viewed as porous and internally differentiated cultural zones*'.

#### **6.4.2 German printing, publishing and bookselling in Britain at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century**

Books occupied a special place in the exchange of ideas between Germany and Britain. In Germany, English works were translated with amazing rapidity. Johns (2014) estimates that in 1776, for instance, 76 percent of the novels published in England were translated into German. Vice versa, 36 percent of the titles published per year in Britain were translations, amongst them some of German and (even Dessau) origin. As an example, she refers to how the ideas of progressive educator Johann Bernhard Basedow developed in the famous Philanthropist school in Dessau made their way back to Mary Wollstonecraft and Joseph Johnson in England, who published translations of German Philanthropists in order to further new pedagogies in Britain.

The first German press, run by a German was established in London in 1749. German printing, publishing and bookselling companies were partially aimed at the 20,000 German immigrants living in London by the end of the 18th century (Reed, 2007). Jefcoate (2002) distinguishes three phases of German book trade activity in London:

##### **1. 1705 -1749**

- Focused on selling Pietist literature with connections to Waisenhausbuchhandlung in Halle/Saale and university bookshop and library at Göttingen University

##### **2. 1749 - 93**

- First German press in London: Johann Christoph Haberkorn - New testament, German Grammar, Memoirs of the House of Brunswick;
- Haberkorn also published Chippendale's 'The Gentleman and Cabinet-maker's Director' (1754) and William Chamber's 'Designs of Chinese Buildings...' (1757), 'A Treatise on Civil Architecture' (1759), 'Plans, Elevations, Sections and Perspective Views of the Gardens and Buildings at Kew' (1763), James Stuart's first volume of 'The Antiquities of Athens' - all to be found in the library at Wörlitz (von Kloeden, 2008)
- Carl Heydinger, specialising in devotional, medical and scientific literature from about 1760–1784, was the first London bookseller and printer attending the Leipzig book fair from 1770-1773.

##### **3. 1793 – 1802**

- period of specialist German booksellers seeking to profit from a sudden rise in interest in German language, literature, dramas
- capability for high quality prints

Were German architectural publications traded in London? A look into some of the publishers' catalogues around 1800 indicates a distinct absence. James Remnant, who markets himself as a specialist in German books has no architectural titles (Remnant, 1794), as are absent from J. Taylor's Architectural Library (Taylor, 1802). Although Lackington's catalogue runs to 428 pages, only about 180 of those are German, Dutch and Swedish titles. Of those, the only architectural books are a description of interior of Sanssouci Palace in Potsdam (1770) and (what must be presumed to be Rode's translation of) Vitruvius's Architecture (Lackington and Co, 1800). Rode's translation can still today be found at the RIBA archives in London (Rode, 1801a). Prince and Cooke (1789) 'Select catalogue of German books' features Hirschfeld's 'Theory of gardening' (1779-85) and various travel descriptions, amongst them of the palace and garden at Rheinsberg, Prussia.

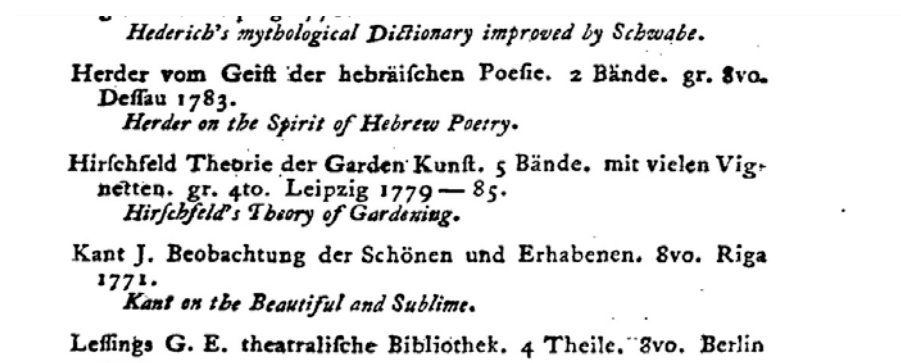
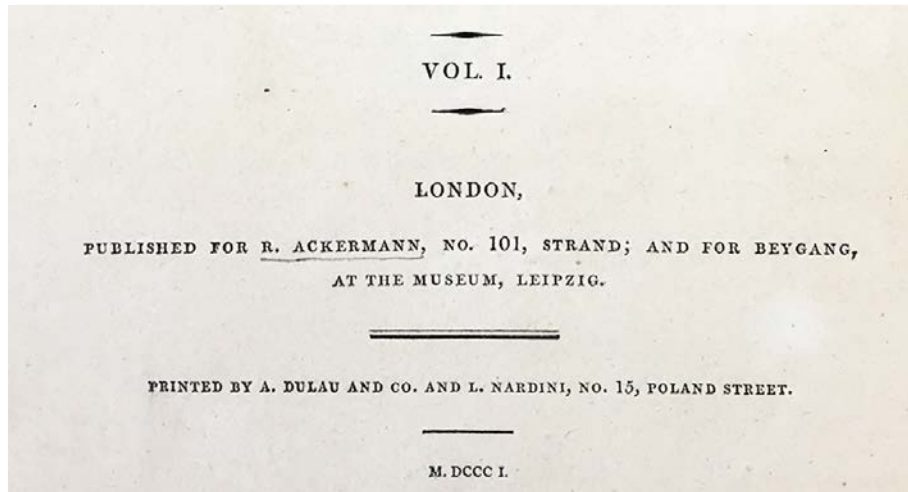


Figure 35: Entry on Hirschfeld's 'Theory of gardening' in Prince & Cooke's German book catalogue. Source: Prince and Cooke (1789)

Finally, a mention of Rudolf Ackermann is necessary. Born in 1764 in Saxony, Ackermann moved to London in his twenties and after working as a carriage designer, started trading in prints, books and artist materials in 1795. Ackermann was influential in furthering lithographic illustration in Britain, set up his own press and published the first English treatise on the subject (a translation of a German book). Ackermann published many important, elegantly illustrated topographical books as well as 'The Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions and Politics' – a highly successful monthly periodical (Archer, 1985). His 'Designs for architects, upholsterers, cabinet-makers...' and displaying designs on 30 copper plates were published jointly in London and by I. G Beygang in Leipzig (Ackermann and Beygang, 1801).



*Figure 36: Publishing details on title page of Ackermann's 'Designs for architects ...'.  
Source: Ackermann and Beygang (1801)*

Jefcoate (2007) summarises that German books in the 18<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were not consumed in large quantities in London and Britain and many even celebrated authors remained unknown. German books translated into English equated to only about 10% of English books translated into German. German bookselling and printing enterprises were forced to diversify into niche markets and often ended in business failure. Despite this difficult and competitive market, some German and English publishers and booksellers tried to take advantage of a resurgence in interest in German culture and science by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and specialised by language, by format or genre. Individual personalities had very close ties to the book trade industry in Germany. Evidence for a market for German architectural publications is, in the opinion of the author, very scant. However, the capability to obtain originals and produce high-quality prints was well established in the two closely linked countries. Furthermore, the period between the supposed construction of the Schlangenhäuser and Malton's publication falls within a period of a sudden rise in interest in German publications and high quality prints.

## 6.5 James Malton – architectural draughtsman, designer and businessman

As the question arises whether James Malton, the author of the pattern book that depicts the designs for the Schlangenhäuser and the gatehouses at Luisium could have had access to and would have been inclined to use designs originating in Dessau-Wörlitz, the author will briefly establish some details of his life and career.

James Malton came from a family in which his father, Thomas Malton the Elder as well as his three sons, Thomas Malton the Younger, James & William were skilled architectural draughtsmen. Thomas Malton the Elder (1726-1801) was born in London and adopted a career in draughtsmanship after originally keeping an upholsterer shop, subsequently exhibiting at the Royal Academy and publishing and teaching on perspective and geometry. In 1785 he left London due to 'pecuniary embarrassment' and settled in Dublin. His eldest son, Thomas the Younger (1748-1804), returned to London and exhibited repeatedly at the Royal Academy, chiefly views of London, drawn with great accuracy. He also contributed engravings to various publications.

James Malton (1763-1803) was employed as a draughtsman during the building of the Custom House in Dublin but after three years in service dismissed for '*breaches of confidence and other irregularities*'. In 1792 he published 25 aquatint plates with 'Views of the City of Dublin'. The drawings are of great accuracy and detail and Raftery (1955) states that it is obvious, that Malton had access to and freely used drawings for the buildings he depicts. After having moved to London, Malton exhibited regularly at the Royal Academy and puts in print a treatise on perspective.



Figure 37: James Malton's 'The Custom House in Dublin', Aquatint 1793. Source: Available at [www.nationalgallery.ie](http://www.nationalgallery.ie) (accessed 2018)

Malton's transformation from draughtsman to designer and contributor to the architectural debate occurred when he published the '*seminal*' (Archer, 1985) 'Essay on British Cottage Architecture' (Malton, 1798). Here, he advocates irregularity, asymmetry and simplicity as design virtues (refer to chapter 4.2). He backs his views by including 14 cottage designs with in parts interchangeable design features. The designs strike the reader as well-proportioned, mature and modern with features that owe little to Neoclassicism or the Neo-gothic but utilise vernacular materials and forms.

In his 'Collection of Rural Retreats..' (Malton, 1802) Malton turns his attention to the design of country retreats in a variety of Neo-gothic and Neoclassical styles. In the introduction he spends considerable effort in arguing his view on the superiority of the architect over the builder. Malton makes at least two references to precedents he observed in Ireland and England. The designs are well-explained and reasoned as to their design intent.

Malton appears to not have spent any prolonged periods outside of Ireland and Great Britain. His designs and publications on cottages and rural retreats were however translated (Malton, 1805) and used in Germany such as in one of Grohmann's later (1804?) editions of 'Ideenmagazin ...' and in Friedrich Meinert's 1804 'Die schöne Landbaukunst' (Philipp, 1997). He became a point of reference within the German architectural discourse.

James Malton was clearly a man who seized business opportunities and no stranger to exploiting the work of others in order to further his standing. He was also a gifted draughtsman who could derive accurate drawings of buildings from building plans or visual inspection and adapt designs to specific needs. This would place him firmly in a context where he could and would have been inclined to use to his advantage design information on the Schlangenhäuser, if it had been available to him in some shape or form. However, the authenticity of his designs for cottages and rural retreats is supported by the coherence of his work in design and associated writings.

## 7. Conclusions

The varied relationships of the three case studies at the Garden Kingdom of Dessau-Wörlitz with their British pattern book designs impacts on their significance. All three case studies at the Garden Kingdom of Dessau-Wörlitz relate to designs published in Britain differently. All of them are rare, if not unique built and surviving examples of their respective design as the author has found no evidence of other instances within the research sources used.

### **The garden inspector's house**

The garden inspector's house at Wörlitz landscape garden illustrates the great speed by which pattern book designs published in Britain were copied and reconfigured for an eager German audience. Grohmann (1796b) did assimilate a number of British authors and publications and had the plates re-engraved, a process that often caused the introduction of minor errors and differences between the copies and the originals. Grohmann's model for the garden inspector's house was Plaw (1795), a fact that Grohmann fails to mention as the idea of copyright was only in its infancy at the time. Plaw's design were popular in Britain and various built examples survive there, however, none was found of this particular design nor any in Germany. The design at Wörlitz was built within three years of the publication of the British pattern book. It could not be established who adapted the design to the site and use of the building but major alterations were made. These show changes to materials, size and internal layout that affected positively its usability and the requirements of the site. The building sets itself apart from most other neoclassical or neo-gothic buildings at Wörlitz in that it emphasises its rural character in the form of a compact cottage, capable of satisfying the needs of a family of moderate means. The evidence suggest that a British design had to be relied upon as this typology was only becoming part of the German architectural debate after its completion. It is an early contribution on German soil to the development of a Europe-wide trend towards rural houses aimed at a progressively important middle class. It also provides a meaningful and pragmatic answer to the critique of the time that landscape gardens were increasingly becoming overcrowded with buildings and structures of limited or no use.

### **The Schlangenhäus**

The significance of the Schlangenhäus at Luisium landscape garden depends considerably on verifying the date for its construction. Although efforts were made by the author, it has not been possible to establish certainty in this matter. Nonetheless, the author concludes that based on the almost identical designs of Malton (1802) and the case study, the idea that both utilised and adapted simultaneously earlier publications or built examples such as the gothic towers at Whitton Place or Windsor Castle as suggested by Froesch (2002) does not appear feasible.

The evidence presented here suggests that it is more likely than not that the Schlangenhäus was built (or significantly altered) sometime after Malton published his designs, possibly simultaneously with the gate houses (1816). This would necessitate a revision of the construction date (1795-96) established by Haetge and Harksen (1943) and would put the building into the context of a Germany that had become well accustomed to the use of neo-gothic architecture as a means of



reassuring its identity during and after the Napoleonic occupation. Although it is unknown whether Malton's pattern book was in the possession of Duke Leopold III although he was a well-established author on the subject of rural retreats and neo-gothic buildings both, in Britain and Germany.

On the other hand, it would have wide-ranging implications for the significance of the building and the role of Wörlitz as a source of European inspiration if the construction date (1795-96) established by Haetge and Harksen (1943) could be proved to be correct. That would imply that Malton used a pre-dating engraving or publication of the built Schlangenhaus as the pattern for his design. The author believes that circumstances with the necessary 'means, motive, and opportunity' did exist for such a drawing or print to make its way from Germany to Britain. This would reverse the main thrust of architectural transfer between the two countries at the time. It would also put the building into a time-frame when the use neo-gothic architecture was still largely rejected in Germany. It is certainly conceivable for Duke Leopold III, who commissioned the radical Gothic House at Wörlitz as early as 1773, to have commissioned this early contribution to the neo-gothic architectural debate in Germany.

The author recommends to exhaust other avenues of further research into clarifying the construction date on this important matter.

### **The gate houses**

The gate houses were commissioned at a time of abundant choice in respect to available pattern books.

They follow the concentric principle put forward by Repton (1794) that neo-gothic architecture should balance the neoclassical architecture of the main house by providing the iconography in the park.

It is due to the competence of that choice that they form a successful ensemble with the other (and earlier) neo-gothic buildings at Luisium landscape park such as the stud farm and the Schlangenhaus. As such they excel not in their originality but in their skilful integration into the whole.

The significance of all three case studies benefits positively from their connection to pattern books of German and British origin. This dissertation has shown that this fact embeds them firmly into the architectural trends and discourses that dominated Europe at the time. The way they were conceived was different from the architect-designed buildings of Erdmannsdorff. Their design intended to appeal to unknown prospective clients rather than to be site specific. The manner in which they were adapted to use adds another important layer of information about the way pattern books were applied. All of the above gives them an exemplary status in the context of the Garden Realm of Dessau-Wörlitz.

## 7.1 Recommendations for further research

### 1. Built examples

It would be of great interest to establish whether any of the case studies have been replicated elsewhere in Britain or Europe. Whilst the research sources used suggest otherwise, a comprehensive review of garden buildings in either country is not available. National heritage organisations or regional foundations such as the National Trust or Kulturstiftung Dessau Wörlitz with a large number of buildings in their care would need to combine resources with landscape gardens in private ownership to accomplish such a commission. A first step would be a comprehensive literature review on the subject to identify sites with the greatest number of surviving buildings. Comparing the nature, number and location of garden buildings could form the subject of PhD-level research.

### 2. Construction date of the Schlangenhäus

The author has previously emphasised that reviewing the construction date of this case study would be important with potentially wider implications for the significance of Dessau-Wörlitz. The following research is recommended:

- Hirsch (1987) mentions that Louise's personal secretary Friedrich Matthisson stayed at the Schlangenhäus (see chapter 3.2.4). Since his service to her lasts from 1794 to Louise's death in 1811, his stay at the building could give vital clues to its construction date. As a first measure Hirsch should be approached to clarify the source for his reference.
- Froesch (2002) mentions a written description of Luisium landscape garden by philologist Karl Morgenstern from around 1800, which could contain a mention of the case study and therefore pre-date the publication of Malton (1802). According to her, the document is currently at the university library at Tartu in Estonia and does not appear to be available online. A request for a scanned copy of that document could be submitted to the university, presumably initiated by Kulturstiftung Dessau Wörlitz.
- Direct research into the fabric of the building such as obtaining a dendrochronological record of the timber used could provide certainty and specifically exclude building dates prior to a finding. A first step would be to identify suitable mediums, approaches and location within the building.

### 3. French publications

Further research on the influence of French gardens, buildings and pattern books could disclose additional insights into the development of particular typologies such as cottages and neo-gothic garden structures and further the understanding of the subject.

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# Appendix 1 – Chronological outline

Chronological outline of significant events and development at Dessau - Wörlitz	
1714 - 1837	Personal Union between the House of Hanover and the British throne
1762	Begin of re-modelling of garden at Luisium in an 'English' fashion
1763-64	1st Tour to England and The Netherlands (Erdmannsdorff and Leopold III)
1764	Start of construction at Wörlitz; English Seat at Wörlitz landscape garden
1765-67	Grand Tour to Italy, France, England, Scotland and Ireland (Erdmannsdorff and Leopold III)
1768 - 68	Nymphaeum at Wörlitz landscape garden
1769 - 73	Mansion house at Wörlitz landscape garden
1769	Wallwachhaus zum Pferde at Wörlitz landscape garden
1770/71	Two floods destroy much of the garden at Wörlitz;
1770-1772	Kitchen building and summer palais at Wörlitz landscape garden
1772	Rotes Wallwachhaus at Wörlitz landscape garden
1773 - 1813	Gothic House at Wörlitz landscape garden (1773 classical façade facing the canal, 1784-86 neo-gothic façade facing the lake)
1774-78	Paladian villa and summer residence at Luisium landscape garden
1775-1783	American Revolutionary War
1775	3rd Tour to England and France (Erdmannsdorff, Leopold III and Louise)
after 1780	Schloss Georgium, Fremdenhaus and various small buildings at Georgium landscape garden
1781	Founding of the Buchhandlung der Gelehrten and of the Verlagskasse in Dessau
1783 - 87	Domäne Wörlitz
1785	4th Tour to England (Leopold III and Rode but without Erdmannsdorff)
1785 - 87	Gasthof zum Eichenkranz at Wörlitz landscape garden
1786	Friedrich II of Prussia dies
1786 - 89	Erdmannsdorff in Berlin
1787 - 90	Synagoge in Wörlitz village
1789-94	French Revolution
<b>1790/95</b>	<b>Case study 2: Schlangenhäus (with tower added in 1816) at Luisium landscape garden</b>
1791 - 94	Artificial volcano and Villa Hamilton at Wörlitz landscape garden
1794	Venus temple at Wörlitz landscape garden
<b>1794</b>	<b><i>John Plaw 'Ferme ornée; or Rural improvements..' published, containing the design for the garden inspector's house at Wörlitz</i></b>
1795 - 1803/06	Chalkographische Gesellschaft Dessau
1795 - 97	Pantheon at Wörlitz landscape garden
1796	Propstei at Wörlitz village
<b>1796</b>	<b><i>Johann Gottfried Grohmann 'Ideenmagazin für Liebhaber...' published, containing the design for the garden inspector's house at Wörlitz</i></b>
1797 - 98	Flora temple at Wörlitz landscape garden
<b>1797-99</b>	<b>Case study 1: Garden inspector's house at Wörlitz landscape garden</b>
1800	Erdmannsdorff dies
<b>1802</b>	<b><i>James Malton 'A collection of designs for rural retreats, as villas..' published, containing the designs for the Schlangenhäus and the gatehouses at Luisium</i></b>
1804 - 07	Monument at Wörlitz landscape garden
1804 - 10	Neo-gothic church at Wörlitz village
1807-1813	Napoleonic occupation of Prussia
1811	Louise dies
<b>1815/16</b>	<b>Case study 3: Gatehouses (East gate) at Luisium landscape garden</b>
1817	Leopold III Friedrich Franz of Anhalt - Dessau dies

Table 2: Chronological outline of significant events and development at Dessau - Wörlitz. Source: Author (2018)