



Theses and Dissertations

2012-11-27

Building the New Rome: Charles Cameron as the Architect of Catherine the Great's New Eternal City

Inna A. Bell

Brigham Young University - Provo

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd>



Part of the [Classics Commons](#), and the [Comparative Literature Commons](#)

BYU ScholarsArchive Citation

Bell, Inna A., "Building the New Rome: Charles Cameron as the Architect of Catherine the Great's New Eternal City" (2012). *Theses and Dissertations*. 3388.

<https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd/3388>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by BYU ScholarsArchive. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of BYU ScholarsArchive. For more information, please contact scholarsarchive@byu.edu, ellen_amatangelo@byu.edu.

Building the New Rome: Charles Cameron as the Architect of
Catherine the Great's New Eternal City

Inna Bell

A thesis submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Larry Peer, Chair
Carl Sederholm
Francesca Lawson

Department of Humanities, Classics, and Comparative Literature

Brigham Young University

December 2012

Copyright © 2012 Inna Bell

All Rights Reserved

ABSTRACT

Building the New Rome: Charles Cameron as the Architect of Catherine the Great's New Eternal City

Inna Bell

Department of Humanities, Classics, and Comparative Literature, BYU
Master of Arts

Catherine the Great, The Empress of Russia, considered herself to be an enlightened ruler. Like many enlightened minds of the eighteenth century, she was fascinated with classical antiquity, especially with ancient Rome. In 1779, she invited a Scottish architect named Charles Cameron to complete a series of building projects for her that would create a "second Rome" in Tsarskoye Selo and in Pavlovsk, Russia. Cameron, an expert on classical antiquity because of his studies of the Roman ruins and the publication of his book, *The Baths of the Romans*, had a special interest in and a dedication to classical antiquity, desiring to make Catherine's Rome as "authentic" as possible. Cameron's expertise was not the only reason why Catherine hired him and made him her imperial architect; Catherine was also fascinated with his background as a Scottish aristocrat and the leader of the Lochiel clan in exile. However, Cameron falsified his identity as a Highlander to make himself more attractive to Catherine; in addition, his own skill in creating an entirely new identity made him more qualified to produce a simulation of Rome that would seem real. Catherine's fascination with Cameron could also be explained by the fact that both Catherine and Cameron were foreigners trying to validate their presence in Russia through their identities. But regardless of Cameron's true identity, his wonderful buildings are great contributions to the eighteenth century neoclassicism.

Keywords: Charles Cameron; Catherine the Great; neoclassicism; Enlightenment; Tsarskoye Selo; Pavlovsk; Cameron Gallery; Agate Rooms, Tsarskoye Selo; Temple of Friendship, Pavlovsk

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to sincerely thank my wonderful committee chair, Dr. Peer, who helped me develop my academic interests by making Enlightenment and eighteenth century neoclassicism very interesting subjects to study and to research. I would also like to thank my other great committee members, Dr. Sederholm, and Dr. Lawson, for helping me with this work and spending hours of their time reading and reviewing. Another person that I would like to thank is my loving husband, who always encouraged me. And lastly, I would like to thank my daughter for being a good baby and not making this achievement impossible.

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1: Charles Cameron, Architect.....	19
Chapter 2: Catherine’s Favorite Builder.....	30
Chapter 3: Cameron’s Works.....	37
Conclusion.....	54
Bibliography.....	63
Endnotes.....	66

Introduction



“Charles Cameron”. Portrait by A. O. Orlovsky.

While the name of Charles Cameron sounds familiar to those who are knowledgeable in Russian art and architecture, his work still remains mostly unexplored in Western scholarship. Many facts about Cameron’s life were undiscovered until later in the twentieth century, more than 150 years after the architect’s death. Although Cameron has been studied somewhat in Russia, since most archival evidence of Cameron’s activity exists there, particularly around St. Petersburg, only three major books have been written about him in the Western world. Scholars are simply unfamiliar with his contributions to eighteenth century neoclassicism and Palladianism. His achievements in neoclassicism and his interesting personal story regarding the question of his true identity are compelling reasons for our interest in Charles Cameron, especially because of the possibility of expanding our understanding of eighteenth century neoclassicism.

Cameron came to Russia in 1779 by invitation from Catherine the Great. Her role in his rise to architectural stardom was very important in his life, although he singlehandedly created an image of himself as an expert in ancient Roman baths. Charles Cameron recommended himself as “Scottish by nationality, Jacobite by persuasion... brought up in the Pretender’s household at Rome... nephew of Miss Jenny Cameron” (Rae 17) to Catherine the Great of Russia in order to gain employment as her state architect and to realize his neoclassical architectural dream. However, today we know that what Cameron told her was not true. But why did Cameron say it? Catherine the Great, like many educated minds of the eighteenth century, was fascinated with classical antiquity and wanted to construct a New Rome in Russia’s capital, St. Petersburg. Catherine looked for an architect who had the skill and the training to build neoclassical buildings at her residence in Tsarskoye Selo. However, Cameron’s lower class origins and difficult personal history in England could have prohibited him from gaining employment with Catherine. Charles Cameron, a Scottish architect with a false identity, was, for Catherine the Great, the best candidate to realize her idea of building a “classical Rome” in St. Petersburg because of his experience of excavating the Roman baths as well as his constructed identity as a Scottish Highlander aristocrat, providing Catherine with his exquisite classical taste refined for generations.

The fact that Cameron could be considered an expert on Roman architecture because of his book *The Baths of the Romans*, published in 1772 in London, is widely agreed on by the three main Cameron scholars; however, each one of them builds on the information provided by the earlier explorations of Cameron’s identity, life, and works. The first scholar who turned his attention to Charles Cameron was Georges Loukomski. His book, although not very long, sheds light on basic facts of Cameron’s biography and provides an extended list of his works and

illustrations, elaborating on Cameron's style of drawing and building. For example, Loukomski says the following about Cameron's drawing album full of sketches of classical architecture and architectural elements:

“All Cameron's drawings are easily distinguishable from those by other contemporary architects, such as Quarenghi. Their manner is delicate and veiled, the line is very often broken, full of fancy and brio, all is dictated by temperament, rather feminine, and displays impatient emotion bordering on ecstasy” (Loukomski 76).

It is quite noticeable throughout Loukomski's work that while he greatly admires Cameron's work and sees its contribution to eighteenth century neoclassicism and world architecture in general, he nonetheless recognizes that little is known about Cameron's life at that point.

Loukomski's *Charles Cameron: An Illustrated Monograph on His Life in Russia, Particularly at Tsarskoe Selo and Pavlovsk, in Architecture, Interior Decoration, Furniture Design and Landscape Gardening*, published in London in 1943, is still a remarkable and one-of-a-kind book that introduces the architect to the scholarly discourse. Modern findings, however, disprove some of Loukomski's assertions. For example, Loukomski maintains that Charles Cameron was actually a Highland aristocrat and occupied a position of power in the Lochiel clan (30). Further archival research proved that Charles Cameron was, in fact, an impostor and never was a leader of the Lochiel.

The second major work on Charles Cameron was Isobel Rae's *Charles Cameron, Architect to the Court of Russia*, also published in London in 1971. Cameron, forgotten for nearly 30 years, was once again a subject of an entire book. Rae's approach, unlike that of Loukomski, is mainly biographical. She completes an impressive amount of archival research and, by looking carefully through London's publishing records, proves that another Charles

Cameron, a Highlander and one of the leaders of the Lochiel, was in Rome while Charles Cameron the architect published his *The Baths of the Romans* in London in 1772 (Rae 28). She also speculates on the ways in which Cameron could have come to Catherine the Great's attention, making a few convincing educated guesses, although no actual confirmation exists of how exactly Catherine became familiar with Cameron. Rae's work sheds more light on the enigma of Charles Cameron and points the reader's attention to Cameron's life as well as his significant works.

The last scholar whose work on Charles Cameron is available in the Western world is Dmitri Shvidkovsky's *The Empress and the Architect: British Architecture and Gardens at the Court of Catherine the Great*. Shvidkovsky, a Russian scholar, is currently the most well-known Charles Cameron expert in the field. *The Empress and the Architect* is almost equivalent to another work in Russian, in which Shvidkovsky shifts the focus slightly from British influence in the Russian court to Cameron's biography. Shvidkovsky, providing a quite extensive chapter on Cameron in *The Empress and the Architect*, expands some facts and anecdotes from Cameron's life in *Charles Cameron at the Court of Catherine the Second*¹. *The Empress and the Architect* provides the most updated research on Charles Cameron and his architectural works and influence at the Russian court; however, Shvidkovsky builds on Isobel Rae's claims about Cameron's identity and confirms her assertions with the facts that he discovered during his archival research. Shvidkovsky's books accumulate the current state of research on Charles Cameron; however, it is possible that additional information exists elsewhere in Russian or European archives.

Shvidkovsky, who is also an expert on Russian architecture in general, wrote more books that mention Charles Cameron at least briefly: *Russian Architecture and the West* and *St.*

Petersburg: Architecture of the Tsars. Both large and extensive works, they provide additional information specifically on Cameron's role in building Russian neoclassicism and reflecting the ideals of the Enlightenment that were so important to Catherine. *St. Petersburg: Architecture of the Tsars* explores the logic behind new Russian urban planning as it was employed in building of St. Petersburg, a new city of the Enlightenment as desired by Catherine. In *Russian Architecture and the West* Shvidkovsky once again focuses on foreign influences in Russian architecture, although he is less specific than in *The Empress and the Architect*, which is about British influence in Russian neoclassicism. In this book Shvidkovsky follows the development of Russian architecture and the West's influence on it by describing historical periods in chronological order, mentioning Cameron in connection to the Enlightenment.

While experts like Loukouski, Rae, and more recently Shvidkovsky published their research on Charles Cameron and uncovered many important biographical facts, a certain enigma still surrounds Cameron. Why is it that Catherine the Great picked him, an architect in name only, from hundreds of very talented and distinguished foreign architects? Much can still be explored in relation to Charles Cameron, and my intention is to determine how exactly the connection developed between Catherine's fascination with ancient Rome, classicism, and Charles Cameron.

Catherine the Great, considering herself as one of the enlightened minds of the eighteenth century, wanted to make herself known to European monarchs and thinkers². She corresponded extensively with such prominent Enlightenment philosophes as Voltaire and Diderot, in order to spread propaganda about her own enlightened reign and philosophical image abroad (Durant 448). In addition, G.P. Gooch writes that

“[r]eal friendship [between Catherine and Voltaire] could never be, for they never met and never wished to meet; yet each recognized the market value of the relationship, and the stream of correspondence flowed freely and smoothly till the death of the Patriarch of Ferney in 1778 [...]” (56-57).

However, she tried to help the philosophes when they needed assistance to further promote her humanitarian image. For example, she bought Diderot’s library when he was in financial trouble and gifted it to him (Shvidkovsky, *St. Petersburg: Architecture of the Tsars* 87). In addition, she invited him to spend time with her in Russia, which he did, although he was already an old man and the journey was of considerable difficulty to him. Catherine and Diderot often discussed Russia’s future together, and Diderot even “told her in some detail how Russia could be transformed into Utopia”. Although Catherine doubted that Utopia could happen (Durant 448), she nonetheless instigated a number of reforms that could potentially make Russia seem more enlightened to the West. One of these changes was in architecture, particularly Catherine’s obsession with neoclassicism and her desire to build a city that would be equal to Rome in its grandeur and rational planning.

Catherine’s reforms, however, had a different effect within the country than enlightening the population. The serfs were tied to the land with more binding laws than before, virtually making them slaves of the wealthy aristocratic land owners. According to Will and Ariel Durant, Catherine tried to “play Justinian” and rewrite Russian law to “consolidate her power” (Durant 450). In her attempts to reform the previous way of life, “government artistic patronage was seen as an essential complement to political and economic reform”, writes Shvidkovsky (*St. Petersburg: Architecture of the Tsars* 87). He continues to add that “[t]he domestic reforms initiated under her rule in the fields of legislation, administrative reorganization, commercial and

urban development, agriculture, and the church were even more successful” (*St. Petersburg: Architecture of the Tsars* 84). In other words, her domestic reforms did not encounter much opposition, once again affirming her position as an “enlightened despot”.

In order to understand Catherine’s fascination with neoclassicism, one must first examine the nature of this artistic movement and its connection to the Enlightenment, as well as understand how Russian neoclassicism was different from that of Europe. Peter Gay, author of *The Enlightenment*, states that neoclassicism was more like of a way of looking at all the arts rather than a particular artistic style. Gay writes:

“Neoclassicism had taught that art is scientific, moral, orderly, and refined, capable of developing objective standards, and improving, as it entertained, its public. It required strict separation of genres, the three unities of time, place, and action in the drama, obedience to hierarchies in painting, with historical painting at the top and still lifes [sic] on the bottom, and the imitation of nature without coarseness” (Gay 219-220).

Therefore, neoclassical influences, concrete as they were, were meant for improvement: artistic, personal, or social. This development echoes the ideal of the Enlightenment that advocated progress in all spheres. Part of that innovation meant borrowing from the antique cultures that the Enlightenment thinkers believed to be very close to the achievement of perfection; however, these cultures were seen as those that still could have some room for improvement. That way neoclassicism became a search for perfection in the aesthetic sphere that could bring about perfection in additional areas such as social, economic, and political spheres.

Neoclassicism in the eighteenth century was certainly a product of the Enlightenment and its emphasis on reason and rationality. The term “neoclassicism” itself does imply going back to the classical ideals in art and literature; however, this attempt at recreating the style of antiquity

and its ideals was not mere copying. Neoclassicism combined Greek and Roman roots with contemporary ideas about the arts, which included rational thought and structure. John Yolton defines neoclassicism as a combination of “both the romance and science of archaeology with a rationalism especially appropriate for the age of the Enlightenment” (Yolton 362). In addition, Daniela Tarabra states that perhaps the Baroque and the Rococo were not adequate enough to represent the rationalist ideals of the Enlightenment in their innovative and even asymmetrical nature (109). It is interesting to note that interest in antiquity also became scientific; antiquity became something that could be explored, thought out, and reflected upon. That way neoclassicism of the eighteenth century was both a science and a reflection, as well as a means for studying and interpreting the inter-relationships among history, reason, and art³.

Neoclassicism specific to the eighteenth century began in Rome in the 1740s and 1750s, and from there spread across Europe. However, the beginnings of imitating the classical styles of Greece and Rome had already begun much earlier in the Renaissance. The word “classicus” began to be used as a synonym not only for “excellent” but also for “antique” in the seventeenth century, and the term “neoclassical” was coined at the end of the nineteenth century and had a negative connotation at first. In Germany, for example, the term used is “Klassizismus”, although Schmitz separates a submovement of “Frühklassizismus”, or the first half of the development of the classical movement (8). Schmitz, interestingly, writes that the name “Frühklassizismus” is “unlucky” but still is better than “Louis Seize”, the art style that was popular at the same time in France⁴ (8). However, the term “classicism” withstood the test of a few different variations in usage (Rykwert 2). In the period of time between the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries, antiquity was considered to be “unified and homogenous”. In the eighteenth century new scholarship on the classical art emerged, exemplified by Johann Joachim

Winckelmann's *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerie und Bildhauerkunst* in 1755 and *Geschichte der Kunst des Althertums* in 1764 (Yolton 362), and Abbé Laugier's *Essai sur l'architecture* from 1753, which explored the Doric style (Saisselin 4). In his dispute with Charles Batteux, Winckelmann said that imitating classical antiquity was important, while Batteux believed that it prevented a connection to nature because of its prevalence⁵ (Borinski 203). Also, with the circulation of more antique texts, some noticed that there were discrepancies between the texts and the actual remnants of ancient civilizations. For example, descriptions in architectural texts of Vitruvius sometimes did not match the ruins that were still present (Rykwert 3). In addition, some ideas about the way the ancient world worked were also proven incorrect. This kind of neoclassicism, then, was more concerned with rediscovering the past (Tarabra 69), which included correcting the information that was previously gathered. Thus, a new way of looking at Greek and Roman cultures was born. The ancient world was no longer simply an ideal source for inspiration, but rather something valuable to draw from and combine with current values.

However, I believe that the influence of neoclassicism is best illustrated by exploring the architecture of that time and the ideas behind building in this particular style. Architecture illustrates neoclassicism well because architectural remnants from Greece and Rome were the most prevalent artifacts left from those civilizations. In addition, buildings erected during the eighteenth century still stand due to the nature of building—to preserve the tastes of the time for posterity. Buildings, due to their size and magnificence, their solid standing and their ability to define a geographical location become not only landmarks, but markers of history and of the way of thinking. A foremost feature of neoclassical architecture was the fact that the three classical orders were still used, but the way the architectural elements were combined differed from the

way they were built in antiquity (Etlin 90). Etlin also states that eighteenth century neoclassicism had been “freed from the conventions of Renaissance and Baroque classicism, which had been based upon an expression of a successful channeling of forces of gravity down to the ground through either one of the two models or through their combination” (15). The first model consisted of placing a building on a rather heavy base, sometimes also complete with a heavy ground floor. The second model focused instead on decoration: lighter or more intricate decoration usually adorned higher floors. For example, Doric columns or pilasters would be placed on the ground floor, Ionic on the level above, and Corinthian on the one above that. These architectural features were a hallmark of Renaissance neoclassicism.

Eighteenth century neoclassicism, building on the ideals of the Enlightenment, also incorporated other styles. According to N.F. Gulianitsky, neoclassicism is an equation, a combination of classical antiquity, the Renaissance, and the Baroque (22). Hermann Schmitz also mentions that certain movements within these two styles had already existed that emphasized strict following of the rules⁶ (340), much like neoclassicism itself. The interest in the Roman ruins and the significance of their discovery prompted new developments and visions. Shvidkovsky in *The Empress and the Architect* writes:

“This undertaking [republishing of Palladio] was of great importance for the development of architecture of European neo-classicism. The study of ancient monuments would be directed along the path marked by the great sixteenth century master from Vicenza, and the two ideals that ruled the minds of eighteenth-century architects would be joined together: those of ancient Rome and the Renaissance. The revival of antiquity would be fused with the revival of the Renaissance” (17).

In other words, the culture of neoclassicism is that of reviving the great epochs of the European

past. Russian neoclassicism, however, did not have the same base to build on; Russia did not necessarily emphasize classical antiquity, and the Russian Renaissance, if it can be called such, barely happened through very limited exposure to the West. Although Catherine and her thinkers tried to construct a chain of inheritance in which Russia was considered the rightful inheritor of the Roman Empire, this construction either needed academic proof or actual proof manifested in the buildings built by the empress and her architect.

Because of the questionable roots of Russian neoclassicism, Russia took a particular road of development that was different from other European countries. Shvidkovsky explains the first stage of the Russian neoclassicism as follows:

“During the 1760s and 1770s classicism in Russia had been understood as an academic system of compositional principles and modes, using the orders to create a feeling of restraint and peace that contrasted with the dynamism of the baroque” (*The Empress and the Architect* 44).

The Baroque, a symbol of the times of the Empress Elizabeth since it was her favorite style, was shunned by the likes of Catherine and Cameron, the people of the enlightened age of philosophical rulers who looked to classical antiquity for inspiration. This early neoclassicism built on its simplicity and lack of elaborate decoration to carefully and scientifically differentiate itself from the Baroque.

Moreover, Russian neoclassicism of the 1780s and 1790s, the years of Cameron’s activity as the royal architect, was Palladianism brought to Russia by men like Cameron. It is also important to mention that the English were the leaders in designing Palladian houses and palaces⁷ (Schmitz 344), which also could be important for Catherine’s choice of Cameron, since he spent most of his life in London. A man named Nikolai Lvov translated Palladio’s *Four*

Books of Architecture into Russian, so Catherine was familiar with Palladio's works. Catherine favored Palladio's argument for classical architecture as the "clean" building style, which aligned with her dislike of French architects like Etienne-Louis Boullée, the leading neoclassical French master. Catherine considered his works "incomprehensible and overly complicated" (Shvidkovsky, *St. Petersburg: Architecture of the Tsars* 100). Instead, Catherine chose Cameron. Interestingly, it was not the Italians that were direct descendants of ancient Romans in the empress' eyes, but a Scot from London who brought classical antiquity to Russia and built Russian neoclassicism.

Interestingly, in Russia of that time a particular architectural style was associated primarily with the monarch who desired to build in that style. An example was Empress Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, who favored Baroque style exclusively in architecture and painting (Shvidkovsky, *St. Petersburg: Architecture of the Tsars* 84). After Elizabeth, her son and Catherine's husband Peter III did not reign long enough to leave his mark on the new capital. To put her own style forward, Catherine embraced strict neoclassicism and rejected the Baroque. Interestingly, Charles Cameron also shared her dislike for that style (Koz'myan 639). Additionally, Catherine's fascination with neoclassicism also extended into urban planning. She created a special commission to oversee building in St. Petersburg and Moscow, and the builders had to "impose Vitruvian notions of architectural harmony" (Shviskovsky, *St. Petersburg: Architecture of the Tsars* 87). In addition, Shvidkovsky mentions that

"Russian urban planning in this period was imagined along lines consistent with the classical theater: Enlightenment Russia attempted to build cities gathered into a single entity (unity of place), in accordance with precise structural indications (unity of action), as a result of which they would remain for eternity (unity of time)" (Shvidkovsky, *St.*

Petersburg: Architecture of the Tsars 87).

That way fascination with antiquity manifested itself in planning and constructing a new reality that would be equal to that of the widely held belief in perfection of the ancient world.

While fascination with Greece and Rome extended to urban planning, it was the eternal nature of Rome that was so attractive to Catherine, who already had a special fondness for all things Roman. She even wrote a history of the Roman emperors during her reign (Durant 463). The Durants also state that “[her] mind [was] influenced by the Roman excavations at Herculaneum and the books of Caylus and Winckelmann” (463). Catherine even initiated an allegorical coronation for herself entitled “The Triumph of Minerva”—a ceremony that proclaimed to Russia and all of Europe the Enlightenment ideals of reason and perfection that were very much her focus (Shvidkovsky, *Russian Architecture and the West* 229). To her, interest in classical antiquity was a mark of an enlightened philosophe, and the Roman Empire represented the epitome of eternity. Since many Roman buildings, although in ruins, still stood magnificent and boggled the imaginations of many, Catherine wanted to simulate that grandeur by creating architectural monuments reminiscent of an empire long gone. Through building up her own enlightened empire in stone and marble, Catherine could be remembered for centuries to come as a great empress and philosophe.

While Catherine knew that she could not rebuild what was already there of St. Petersburg, she embraced what was believed to be the genuine lifestyle of the Greeks and the Romans by endorsing what was called the “Greek project”. She first explained the project to the Austrian emperor Joseph II in 1782 (Zorin 33), a few years after Cameron arrived in Russia at a time when his work and popularity were at their peak. One part of the project was to conquer Istanbul, formerly Constantinople, as a capital of the Eastern Roman Empire (Zorin 33). While

conquering or even accessing the real Rome was obviously not possible for Catherine, declaring war on Turkey seemed a more likely option. Zorin suggests that Catherine's logic worked as follows: because Constantinople had been a Christian city after Constantine made Christianity the official religion of the Roman Empire, Russia was a religious heiress to Rome and Byzantium, especially because Byzantine Christianity had been Orthodox. She considered her religious and cultural heritage evidence of an unbroken line of inheritance from Greece and Rome in the beginning, to Byzantium, and eventually to Russia as the country that rightfully inherited the cultural torch of antiquity (Zorin 36). However, it is important to point out that while a distinction was beginning to be apparent between ancient Greece and Rome, as well as Byzantium in the eighteenth century, Catherine's aspiration mixed the three powerhouses of antiquity. In addition to restoring Christianity to Constantinople/Istanbul, the "Greek project" entailed the conquest of Crimea, formerly a Greek colony of Tauris (Zorin 100), and for Catherine's second grandson, appropriately named Constantine, to be the sovereign of the New Byzantium. Constantine was given a Greek nurse and Greek children to play with as he got older so he could be accustomed to his predestined role determined for him by his royal grandmother. The "Greek project" was declared on Catherine's "European channels" (Shvidkovsky, *Russian Architecture and the West* 230), so the enlightened minds of these European countries could potentially admire her desire to appropriate the essence of antiquity in validating her reign.

So how did Catherine's interest in classical antiquity grow into a desire to build her own version of Rome? While Catherine wrote to her friend Melchior Grimm that "[i]n the next world, when [she] sees Caesar and Alexander and other old friends..." (Shvidkovsky, *Russian Architecture and the West* 236), she wanted classical antiquity to surround her before she made it into "the next world". In addition to training her grandson to be the sovereign of the New

Byzantium, the way to surround herself with classical antiquity, was to build. Catherine famously wrote to Grimm in 1779:

“[...] the mania for building is stronger with us than ever, and no earthquake ever demolished as many structures as we have set up... This mania is an infernal thing; it runs away with money, and the more one builds, the more one wants to build; it is a disease, like drunkenness” (Durant 467⁸).

As she pondered her options in choosing architects for her projects, she tried at first to bring in French architects. In a letter to the French Academy she wrote:

“[...] one architect or a group of architects shall seek out [details of] a house [...] from Greek or Roman Antiquity, with all its furnishings [...]. The object is to recreate the age of the Emperors, Augustus, the Ciceros and the Maecenases [...] and build a house in which all these might have been present together [...]” (Shvidkovsky, *Russian Architecture and the West* 254).

Shvidkovsky points out that two Frenchmen responded to her request, Charles de Wailly and Charles-Louis Clérisseau. De Wailly designed a building called “Pavilion of Minerva” that Catherine did not like and that was never built, and Clérisseau designed a bathhouse similar to Diocletian’s baths. Catherine thought the project was too grand, so it was also not completed. After the Frenchmen she tried to bring in Italian architects, who were similarly rejected (254). Finally, she invited Charles Cameron to Russia, whose work suited her needs perfectly. What was it about the Scottish architect that made him more appropriate for building Roman buildings for the Russian empress?

After the publication of *The Baths of the Romans*, Cameron, became Europe’s unofficial expert in Roman baths and other types of classical architecture. However, his fame was not

widespread: the book did not receive a review in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, “which, in its *Catalogue of New Publications*, gave no more than the title, under the heading ‘scientific books’” (Rae 31). While Isobel Rae believes that Cameron was recommended to Catherine by one of her art scouts in Rome, Dmitri Shvidkovsky suggests that Catherine discovered Cameron through examining *The Baths of the Romans* first; he states in *Russian Architecture and the West* that Catherine and her court were also familiar with Colen Campbell’s *Vitruvius Britannicus*, a work that focused on British country houses (239). Catherine’s interest in English gardens and landscaping was well-known, and, therefore, it might not be surprising that considering her interest in British architecture she was also familiar with Cameron’s *The Baths of the Romans*.

Concerned with the authenticity of her projects, Catherine actually tried to import some artifacts to Russia. As archaeological excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum were all the rage among enlightened minds of the eighteenth century, Catherine also pursued authentic Roman materials in order to appear as one of those minds. In a letter to Melchior Grimm from June 5th, 1779, she writes about some mosaics of Empress Claudia that were just discovered: “See to it that you obtain them [...] they might go in the apartment that [...] in two thousand years’ time they might be taken from here by an emperor of China or some other idiotic tyrant ruling most of the world” (Shvidkovsky, *Russian Architecture and the West* 257). Clearly, Catherine considered authenticity as well as her heritage and legacy as important components in creating her own classical fantasy. As an empress, she could have imagined herself as a continuation of the line of Roman emperors who built grand buildings and were famous for their deeds and reforms.

Catherine named her place of royal residence Tsarskoye Selo¹⁰ which became her own ancient Roman sanctuary. Shvidkovsky writes in his book *The Empress and the Architect*:

“When in 1779 the Empress of Russia, Catherine the Great, conceived a plan for her

palace at Tsarskoye Selo, to create an ancient house with all its décor, where everything would be authentically arranged and where Roman dishes would be served and Roman clothes would be worn, it was not surprising that she should turn to Charles Cameron to help realize this idea. His book had earned him a reputation as a ‘great expert on antiquity’” (25).

I agree with Shvidkovsky that Cameron, in Catherine’s eyes, was an expert on classical antiquity. However, I believe that this was not the only reason that she chose him to become the architect to fulfill her ancient Roman dream; in order to be noticed, Cameron needed to create an interesting history for himself that would make him stand out. A level of sympathy with Jacobites had already existed in the Russian court. Peter the Great, for example, had a Scottish physician, Dr. Erskine, who “roused in his royal patient some sympathy for the Jacobite cause” (Rae 15). Peter, being an outstanding example of an extraordinary ruler for many years, had certain influence on the opinions of the courtiers even after his death. Presenting himself as a leader of a well-known clan and a Jacobite, Charles Cameron won Catherine’s sympathies. I think that Catherine’s attachment to Cameron also has to do with his persona and the intriguing way he presented himself to the empress. Building his own fate and identity and becoming an aristocrat and an architect in Catherine’s eyes, Cameron provides an impression of confidence and expertise also because of his supposed personal background and not just his education in Rome. In addition, I believe that Cameron’s ability to create a simulation of Rome for Catherine partially comes from his ability to create a simulated identity for himself.

Another reason why Catherine favored Cameron could be because of his Scottish roots, as she was known to favor foreign artists to decorate her capital¹¹ (Durant 466-467), since she was also a foreigner in Russia. When Catherine the Great was crowned, she decided to leave her

mark on the capital, just as her predecessors had done. Catherine, however, a German herself, tried to recruit foreign masters to paint, sculpt, and build. G.P. Gooch believes that being German was a “decisive factor” for Catherine, because “[s]he carried with her something of the *aura* of Western civilization”, since she had seen German royal courts and could compare their state to that of the Russian one (55). However, according to Loukomski, while Catherine did not think that Russian architects were familiar enough with the classical revival as other European architects, she established the Institute of Laureats of the Academy of Fine Arts, so new Russian architects could study in Rome and Paris (26-29). That way Russia could have its own architects that understood neoclassicism. And while there were architects that began working in the neoclassic style some time at the end of the eighteenth century, Catherine (as a foreigner herself) still favored foreign architects, possibly because she could have had a particular disposition to other foreigners that were trying to make a living in Russia. In addition, she believed that the West created spectacular achievements in art and that Russia could benefit from exposure to it (Durant 466). And as for Charles Cameron, I believe that Catherine’s and Cameron’s personalities were similar and attracted to each other not only because of the foreign origins of these people but because they were foreigners that shared the same dream. Both Catherine and Cameron, obsessed with neoclassicism, tried to validate themselves in a country alien to them; in order to create a place for themselves, they were writing their own personal narratives by means of creating identities as an architect and an heiress of classical antiquity. As far as their ideas were concerned, they were soul mates; this is why with Catherine’s death, Cameron suddenly found himself completely out of place.

Chapter 1: Charles Cameron, Architect.

According to Loukomski, Charles Cameron was labeled a “forgotten architect” at the time when his book *Charles Cameron: An Illustrated Monograph on His Life in Russia* was published (6). Loukomski, aware of the fact that the name of Cameron was not even brought up in discussions about neoclassicism among art historians, wrote: “So far as the English reading public is concerned, Cameron has had to wait a long time for recognition, and it would seem that much of his own history is still uncertain” (6). To echo Loukomski’s statement, it is safe to say that Charles Cameron is still an enigmatic figure. As I have researched his life and works, I realized how little known he actually is. However, it is possible to roughly piece together the facts of his eventful life, despite the many gaps in his biography.

Charles Cameron, according to G.K. Koz’myan, was in fact Scottish (638), but he was born in London. His grandfather, according to London’s genealogical records, was from Edinburgh, but his father Walter Cameron was a Londoner (Koz’myan 638). Cameron, then, did have a link to the Highlands and could trace his heritage to the Scottish mountaineers. However, it is not clear if Charles Cameron had ever visited the Highlands. Cameron was born some time during the 1740s (Shvidkovsky, *The Empress and the Architect* 14), although the exact date is uncertain. What is known for a fact, though, is that his father was a member of the Carpenters’ Company in London, since his name remained on their records. Young Charles was his father’s own apprentice, so his destiny should have been of less mystery than it turned out to be. However, as Charles became older, he decided not to join the Carpenters’ Company and quit his apprenticeship with his own father and pursued architecture instead (Shvidkovsky, *The Empress and the Architect* 14).

Charles' interest in architecture blossomed after he became acquainted with a British architect named Isaac Ware. Cameron, who was already independently dabbling in the study of architecture and teaching himself to draw (Koz'myan 638), became interested in Ware's long-desired project. Ware was deeply interested in classical Roman architecture and was an avid follower of Andrea Palladio. His dream was to republish Palladio's works on Roman baths (Shvidkovsky, *The Empress and the Architect* 17), which, of course, coincided with Cameron's own project *The Baths of the Romans*. Ware took in Cameron as his pupil and required him to draw constantly, developing Cameron's talent even further. Cameron's interest in architecture increased even more (Shvidkovsky, *Charles Cameron At the Court of Catherine the Second* 109) as he followed Ware's directions in documenting various elements of classical architecture. Cameron himself became infatuated with Palladio. He became an eager defender of Palladio and believed him to be the greatest modern architect (Rae 80). Isaac Ware died in 1766, and Cameron decided to finish Ware's project of republishing Palladio's works and began calling himself an "architect" (Shvidkovsky, *The Empress and the Architect* 19), declaring his new career path publicly, although at that time he had not completed a single architectural project.

In the eighteenth century, the term "architect" did not mean the same thing as it does today, which actually opened more opportunities for Cameron. While in the modern world an architect is an educated professional, "[in] the eighteenth century 'architect' was a self-bestowed title that was won neither by examination nor training, but presumably the men who used it were certain that they were capable of designing sound structures" (Rae 28). This was unmistakably true in Cameron's case, although his ambitions became clear as he announced his intentions in 1768 to go to Italy and to not just republish Palladio, but to correct his errors (Shvidkovsky, *The Empress and the Architect* 19).

Cameron's plans became reality when he actually made it to Rome to work on Ware's project that by then became his own. Cameron, while spending time in Rome, traveled to various locations of the ruins, measuring, documenting, and drawing what he saw. During that time, something that Shvidkovsky calls "Rome fever" (*The Empress and the Architect* 20-21) is prominent among educated Europeans. It is manifest in an obsession with excavations, a certain nostalgia and lament for the perfection of Rome and classical antiquity in general, and an interest in all things Roman, from architecture and artifacts to the rituals of daily life. While in Rome Cameron wrote that it was the greatest city in the world. In *Charles Cameron at the Court of Catherine II*, Shvidkovsky suggests that Cameron's writing is suggestive of the ideas of Italian humanists, which in turn brings out Cameron's special enlightened worldview (137-140). Cameron, very much a person of the eighteenth century, becomes infected with the "Rome fever" and sees the city as the epitome of perfection as well as an inspiration to become the architect he had always wanted to be.

Cameron's path to the profession did not involve perfecting his craft through building. Rather, he chose a more scholarly approach. While in Rome, he carefully studied classical buildings, made sketches, measured, and even requested some permits for excavations. A careful study of ancient architecture was the result. In 1772 Cameron published his book known as *The Baths of the Romans* (Shvidkovsky, *The Empress and the Architect* 21), although the full title of the work reads *The Baths of the Romans Explained and Illustrated. With the Restorations of Palladio Corrected and Improved. To Which Is Prefixed, an Introductory Preface, Pointing Out the Nature of the Work. And a Dissertation upon the State of the Arts During the Different Periods of the Roman Empire*. The book, according to Shvidkovsky, was expensive (21). It contains many illustrations by Cameron himself, and most of the second half of the book

contains his sketches and explanations of Roman architectural elements. The book was also published in both English and French in the same volume and included quotations in Greek and Latin (Cameron); however, it is not clear whether Cameron knew French, and the French half of the work could be someone else's translation. The book, unfortunately, did not bring its author many commissions (Rae 31). On the other hand, the work on *The Baths of the Romans* did establish Cameron's expertise on classical architecture.

Three years later, in 1775, another problem occurred in Charles Cameron's life, this time a more personal one that put much stress on his career. His father, the carpenter Walter Cameron, went bankrupt. Charles owned many books and drawings, some of which he acquired in Italy, and they had significant personal value to the new architect. It is not clear whether Walter Cameron tried to sell Charles' possessions to help resolve his financial problems, or whether the books and drawings were taken for the payment of the debt, but that same year Charles sued his father and demanded the return of his items (Shvidkovsky, *The Empress and the Architect* 25). Shvidkovsky also writes that this unfortunate situation brought even more problems for Charles, including family dishonor and overall bad reputation, since Walter Cameron was thrown into debtors' prison (25). Charles also suffered professionally because he became known as the man who sued his own father. It is not known how Cameron survived during the next few years; most likely, he completed small commissions for various private customers, but no major works were created. Most likely, the architect lived in poverty, but later events, such as the mention of his large library of rare books in Russia, suggest that his books and drawings were, in fact, saved from being sold or confiscated (Rae 34-35). However, this bad experience and the lack of work in England prompted Cameron to be more open to new opportunities.

In 1779 Catherine the Great summoned the Scottish architect Charles Cameron, the author of *The Baths of the Romans*, to St. Petersburg to become one of her personal architects. Cameron responded to the offer in a positive way and in August of the same year, left for Russia to work in St. Petersburg, which was mostly built in the Baroque style at that time (Shvidkovsky, *The Empress and the Architect* 25). In Russia, Cameron immediately charmed Catherine, introducing himself to her as “Scottish by nationality, Jacobite by persuasion... brought up in the Pretender’s household at Rome... nephew of Miss Jenny Cameron” (Rae 17). Cameron immediately begins to work on the projects that Catherine demands of him, such as redecorating some rooms in the palace at Tsarskoye Selo and building her own Roman baths in the same residence. Cameron was said to live as a recluse, removing himself from everyday life in Russia and even from Catherine’s court, and refusing to speak Russian (Shvidkovsky, *The Empress and the Architect* 25). It appears that Cameron felt that he needed to keep up with all the different aspects of the persona he created for himself: a Highlander, an aristocrat from the Lochiel clan, as well as an artist. Cameron was living a fantasy life that included his dreams of fame and lineage and his love for classical antiquity. In any case, Cameron succeeded in creating a mysterious persona for himself that caused both resentment and admiration.

This is where the real enigma of Charles Cameron begins. Who exactly was the man that studied Roman buildings and proclaimed himself an aristocrat, a political refugee, and an architect? History can be the best judge of that: his buildings still stand as a witness of both Roman and Catherine’s grandeur and are still as beautiful and magnificent as they were when they were built, despite the extensive damage during the Second World War and the meticulous restoration afterwards. Does it even matter who the real Charles Cameron was? Aside from the

excitement of playing historical detective, I think that trying to piece together his personal story can be rewarding in bringing new insights into eighteenth-century neoclassicism. If we can figure out what exactly drove Cameron to proclaim the importance of classical architecture even as he was deceiving Catherine and the Russian court about his identity, we can better understand his unusual role as an eighteenth-century neoclassical architect.

In *The Empress and the Architect* Shvidkovsky states that one of the letters that Catherine wrote to Voltaire contained a statement of her admiration of Charles Cameron's works and also explained that he was the nephew of Miss Jenny Cameron of Lochiel (11). It is a known fact that Jenny Cameron was a famous (or infamous) person in Europe of the eighteenth century mainly due to British anti-Jacobite propaganda. Miss Jenny Cameron became a Jacobite legend as she showed her support for the Scottish rebels by providing them with a gift of 250 soldiers and a herd of cattle (Rae 16). Another story that circulated about her was that she was in love with the Pretender's¹² elder son (Shvidkovsky, *Charles Cameron at the Court of Catherine II* 92-93). In *Charles Cameron at the Court of Catherine II*, Shvidkovsky states that Jenny Cameron was also an incognito figure in that questions about where she was born or lived for most of her life, whether she had any children, or where her grave was located remain unanswered (92). To some extent this can be ascribed to the abundance of false information spread about Jenny Cameron by the British; Shvidkovsky provides such facts as rumors about her "bad temper" and multiple lovers, husbands, and pregnancies (*Charles Cameron at the Court of Catherine II* 92-93). She was also banded the wife of a leader of a group of marauders, assuming the position of leadership after the murder of her husband and eventually heading the Jacobite rebellion 20 years later. Additionally, she was imprisoned for years yet mysteriously escaped from captivity (*Ibid.*, 94-95). In addition, the life of a Highlander woman of an important standing like Jenny Cameron

might not have been well-documented because of the historical circumstances. However, one thing is certain: Jenny's persona is mysterious and enigmatic—much like the tale Cameron told about himself.

Jenny Cameron, however, did have a connection to a person named Charles Cameron, which could make Cameron's story more convincing even to himself. Shvidkovsky in *The Empress and the Architect* points out that this Charles Cameron was the son of Jenny's cousin Donald, who commanded the rebel Jacobite troops at the battle of Culloden in April of 1746. The more important Jacobites were exiled to France after the failure of the rebellion. After amnesty was granted years later by the British government, Charles Cameron returned to Scotland and became the head of the Lochiel clan (12). As his leadership of the Lochiel was reinstated, Charles Cameron the architect was in Russia, so this can be offered as proof that it was definitely not the same person. In addition, when *The Baths of the Romans* was published in 1772, Charles Cameron of Lochiel was in exile in continental Europe, but the address supplied for the publication of *The Baths of the Romans* was that of Walter Cameron, the architect's father, in London (Rae 28). Shvidkovsky also writes that the Lochiel coat of arms was not drawn correctly in one of the architect's albums (*The Empress and the Architect* 12), which, of course, could indicate the artist's unfamiliarity with that particular coat of arms. All these facts point out a difference between the two Camerons, and it seems that the actual leader of the Lochiel and Jenny Cameron's relative was active in Europe while Charles Cameron the architect built for Catherine the Great in Russia. However, the confusion about the architect's identity does not take away from his knowledge of classical antiquity. It seems that he felt he needed to supplement his image in order to become noticed by the Russian monarch.

Charles Cameron of Lochiel, however, also tried his hand at writing, which could possibly make the matter of identity between the two men even more confusing. In 1785 he published a book in Rome titled *Memori per le Belle Arti*, which for a time was considered to be a work by Charles Cameron the architect (Shvidkovsky, *The Empress and the Architect* 13). Shvidkovsky writes that the book provided evidence of tours of various historical sites in Italy, as well as meeting with famous Italian and other European artists and poets (*Ibid.*, 13). It seems, however, that some of these encounters happened while Cameron was building in Russia, although no exact date was provided. The book also briefly mentions Charles Cameron, an architect who was excavating the ruins of the Roman baths. *Memori per le Belle Arti* contains a chapter on excavations of Roman ruins in general (*Ibid.*, 13), showing the author's interest in some aspects of history and classical antiquity. Shvidkovsky suggests that the two Camerons could possibly have met in Rome (*Ibid.*, 13), which could be a plausible explanation for the architect's level of familiarity with the leader of the Lochiel and Jenny Cameron. It is not clear when exactly Charles Cameron the architect decided to tweak facts related to his identity, but Charles Cameron of Lochiel could be a candidate for a surrogate story, since the likelihood of his traveling to Russia was slim. I believe that Charles Cameron of Lochiel, by unknowingly giving Cameron the architect a part of his identity, gave him a higher social and intellectual standing. As Cameron the architect lacked formal education, he achieved an illusion of credibility by borrowing someone else's aristocratic background. That way his knowledge of classical antiquity became validated in a certain way as well, since his namesake shared his interest.

Charles Cameron the architect could also have developed a connection to the Jacobites through another exposure to his namesake much earlier in his childhood. In *Charles Cameron at the Court of Catherine II*, Shvidkovsky shares the story of Archibald Cameron, a Scottish

Jacobite, Laird of Lochiel, and physician that was imprisoned in London and a friend of Walter Cameron, the father of the architect (98-105). Archibald Cameron was involved in a scheme to restore the Stuarts to power in 1752 devised by “Alexander Murray, brother of Patrick Murray, fifth Lord Elibank, [who] involved the fomenting of a rising in Scotland to coincide with a coup in London initiated by assaults on St James's and the Tower” (Turner). The uprising was not successful, and Dr. Cameron was sentenced to death for his Jacobite convictions:

“After a short period of imprisonment at Edinburgh Castle, Cameron was sent to London. Notwithstanding clear evidence of his involvement in the so-called Elibank plot, Cameron was arraigned before the court of king's bench upon the act of attainder passed in 1746 against him and others for their involvement in the rising of 1745 and sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. Despite the desperate efforts of his wife to save him by petitioning the king and leading members of the aristocracy, the sentence was carried out on 7 June 1753” (Turner).

However, while in London, Walter Cameron visited his friend in the Tower, and a record remains of that event (Shvidkovsky 102).

A new chain of familiar names also emerges as one examines the connection between Archibald Cameron's family and that of Walter Cameron. Archibald Cameron had eight children with his wife, who was named Jenny. His fifth child was a son named Charles, so it is possible that the two younger Camerons met during their childhood, since their fathers were close. It is possible that Walter and Archibald Cameron knew each other since they both were Freemasons, or it could be that their wives were related or were familiar with each other. The son of Archibald Cameron, as a young man, went to France and studied there, and after completing his studies he joined the French army and became an officer. It is also known that this Charles

Cameron spent some time in Rome (Shvidkovsky, *Charles Cameron at the Court of Catherine II* 98-105). It appears that the architect's assumed identity came most likely from the Lochiel's Charles Cameron, the son of Miss Jenny Cameron's cousin Donald Cameron. No matter what the relation between Charles Cameron the architect and the two namesakes, it shows that Charles Cameron was indirectly connected to Scottish aristocracy and the Jacobite movement, and as a result, he was connected to a certain degree to the Scottish enlightenment (Shvidkovsky, *Charles Cameron at the Court of Catherine II* 105). Because at least some of the ideas from those social circles reached the aspiring architect, it could very well be that this is how he became interested in classical antiquity and the construction of Rome that was so prevalent during that time.

As for Charles Cameron's character, aside from the widely different opinions of others, Loukomski states that he could tell from Cameron's letters that he was a "perfect gentleman" but could be harsh to someone with "ulterior motives" (42). Cameron's education was informal but very extensive, as one of his favorite past times was reading. His library included around three thousand volumes, and Shvidkovsky in *Charles Cameron at the Court of Catherine II* writes that he favored stories from history about various coups and conspiracies, especially those that happened in Rome. He also enjoyed reading Roman authors (192), and it is probably safe to assume that he taught himself Latin. Koz'myan states that Cameron's library also included the works of the Enlightenment philosophes and that he possessed some rare editions of Roman and Greek authors (644). Cameron's interest in classical antiquity extended to Greece as well, and he traveled there and described Acropolis and other classical buildings in Athens in his journals. He was known for his criticism of the Baroque and everything "new" (Koz'myan 639), strongly favoring a return to classical ideals. Cameron was married to the daughter of John Busch, Catherine's British gardener from Tsarskoye Selo (Rae 42).

Cameron's interest in architecture manifested itself not only in his work on *The Baths of the Romans* but also in carefully following his own aesthetical neoclassical ideals while working in Tsarskoye Selo and later in Pavlovsk for Catherine's son, Grand Duke Paul. Koz'myan writes:

“Cameron's statements about the meaning of architecture are very interesting. He thought that architecture is art that expresses and embodies grandiose and great ideas, and that lack in thought and poor workmanship lower the value of architecture. Architecture is also one of the most exact characteristics of an era. That way, by expressing his opinion on architecture, literature, and art carefully defined his aesthetic ideals” (639)¹³.

Charles Cameron constructed his own identity to find employment but also, most importantly, to realize his dream of becoming an architect and creating his own neoclassical works. Although much in his life seems false, Cameron's actions speak of nothing but his desire to share his interest and spark an appreciation for classical antiquity in others. Therefore, Charles Cameron becomes a champion of ancient Rome, desiring to define neoclassicism in his own terms based solely on the rules of classical Roman architecture.

Chapter 2: Catherine's Favorite Builder

Cameron's legacy, the grandeur of his buildings in Tsarskoye Selo and his later projects in Pavlovsk still stand as witnesses of Catherine's approval and support of Cameron. He was given many projects to complete, and Catherine even tried to convince her son, the Grand Duke Paul, to make Cameron his main architect. Catherine's attempts were not successful, however, due to personality clashes between Paul, his wife Grand Duchess Maria and Cameron, even though they recognized him as a master of his trade (Rae 61). However, Catherine herself was very taken by Cameron:

“Catherine was delighted with the brilliance and delicacy with which he adorned—with silver, lacquer, glass, jasper, agate, and polychrome marble—the private apartment that she reserved for herself, her lovers, and her dogs in the Grand Palace at Tsarskoye Selo. ‘I have never seen the equal of these newly decorated rooms,’ she wrote; ‘during the last nine weeks I have never tired of contemplating them’” (Durant 468).

Aside from his creativity, Catherine also admired Cameron's willingness to cooperate with her own ideas. Both of them shared a passion for classical antiquity: Catherine wanted her own Roman sanctuary, and the neoclassical tradition was the only aesthetic canon that Cameron recognized and held timeless. As a result, works that Cameron produced in Tsarskoye Selo and Pavlovsk reflect Catherine's and Cameron's common passion.

Once Cameron arrived in St. Petersburg, he began to build immediately, proclaiming his status as a great neoclassical architect. Isobel Rae believes that although it is very possible that Catherine became familiar with Cameron through her acquisition of his book *The Baths of the Romans*, perhaps one of Catherine's art agents in Rome became acquainted with him and decided to provide a recommendation. Alternatively, Cameron could have accidentally met

someone in Rome, presumably a man named Reiffenstein, Director of the Russian Academy, who was Catherine's own agent in Rome who may have provided a recommendation to her for the mysterious and talented Scottish architect (Rae 36). It could also have been a Bavarian man named Baron Melchior Grimm, whose task it was to obtain art books for Catherine in Rome. However, that version seems improbable, as some years later Catherine mentioned Cameron in a letter to Grimm in a way that does not imply Grimm's familiarity with Cameron (Rae 37). Whatever their means of introduction, Cameron quickly adapted to the demands of his royal employer. Cameron himself never mentioned how exactly he was summoned to Catherine's court, but it appears that he rather preferred to position himself as an architect who was already famous due to his work on excavations in Rome.

In the beginning Catherine decided to create a three-year contract for Cameron's employment, showing that at first she wanted to evaluate his work for herself. Rae writes:

“Rarely has a modern architect designed a distinguished group of buildings—and Cameron certainly achieved that—without leaving behind him some apprentice work by which his development can be judged. But in the case of Cameron any early buildings of his may exist are clothed in such impenetrable anonymity that they elude research” (79).

It is understandable that certain doubts surfaced in Catherine's mind as she had only Cameron's book to prove his ability to build. Even during these first three years, however, Catherine's admiration of Cameron's work quickly grew. He began signing his drafts as “AMI”, or “Architect majestique Imperial”. After the contract expired, Catherine indefinitely renewed it and raised his pay (Koz'myan 641). Cameron, having achieved the status of a distinguished architect and a specialist on classical antiquity, remained in Russia for the rest of his life, where

he could do what he loved and maintain his professional and mysterious image, at least until Catherine's death.

Cameron charmed Catherine not only with his credentials as a student of Palladio and an admirer of classical antiquity but also with his personality and interesting personal story.

Cameron arrived in St. Petersburg in August of 1779, and on August 23rd, 1779, later that same month, Catherine wrote to Melchior Grimm, her friend and art specialist: "At present I am very taken with Mr Cameron, a Scot by nationality and a Jacobite, a great draughtsman, well versed in Antique monuments and well known for his book on the baths of Ancient Rome [...]"

(Shvidkovsky, *Russian Architecture and the West* 258). While Catherine admitted her fascination with Cameron, Georges Loukomski believes that her kindness toward Cameron and her patronage were more due to pity than anything else, although Cameron eventually proved his value by the quality of his works. According to Loukomski, "Catherine alone, great Patron of Art and great Empress, was able to discover and appreciate this poor, lonely, yet delighted Cameron" (95). While Loukomski's book is an earlier work and contains facts about Cameron's identity as a Lochiel leader that were later proven not to be true, his claim about Catherine's pity toward Cameron could also be incorrect. However, it is certain that she was trying out a new approach to building her own Rome as she summoned Cameron to Russia: he was not trained at the French Academy as Charles de Wailly and Charles-Louis Clérisseau were, but his book validated his talent.

Cameron's main works in Russia are all associated with classical antiquity, demonstrating his devotion to its ideal. He is famous for building the baths in Tsarskoye Selo, Cameron Gallery—one of the very few buildings that bears the name of its creator. The interior decorations in the palace in Tsarskoye Selo include the Agate Rooms, the famous Green Dining

Room, and the palace complex in Pavlovsk, complete with the main palace, a large park with various pavilions and buildings. All works were endorsed by Catherine, who never seemed unhappy with the result of Cameron's building. Cameron himself was very particular about the quality and the appearance of his structures, since Roman buildings were known to withstand the test of time (Rae 50-53). Creating buildings that last for many centuries was also Catherine's aim in order to emphasize the parallel between the Roman and the Russian empires. However, Catherine and Cameron appeared to have different aims in building: while Catherine wanted to create a "Greco-Roman rhapsody" in Tsarskoye Selo (Shvidkovsky, *Charles Cameron at the Court of Catherine II* 203), Cameron wanted to realize his dream of building neoclassical buildings in Russia, since, according to European opinion, Russia was an architectural blank slate (Shvidkovsky, *Charles Cameron in the Court of Catherine II* 200). This argument of the blank slate could be expanded to suggest that the idea behind building in Greco-Roman style was to shape society in a certain way, to make it develop in a certain direction and, in this case, to become enlightened and to embrace cultural and intellectual ideals of the eighteenth century.

Cameron spent his first year in Russia settling and planning with Catherine the projects that they both were thrilled about. On August 17th, 1780 Catherine appointed Cameron to be in charge of buildings in Tsarskoye Selo, including the redecoration as well as new constructions (Shvidkovsky, *The Empress and the Architect* 28). In his other book, *Russian Architecture and the West*, Shvidkovsky adds:

"At this time Cameron worked on his contributions to the ensemble at Tsarskoye Selo, the cold baths on two levels, the Agate Rooms, the Gallery which bears his name, and the ramp to which the triumphal alley leads across the park. Cameron was the first to reconstruct Ancient Roman architecture in Russia. Scholar and archaeologist, he would

often capture authentic detail; in the Agate Rooms he reproduced in the interior decoration of Titus' baths, and in the apartments of the empress and the heir to the throne in the Catherine Palace he brought the wall-paintings of Pompeii to life" (258).

Shvidkovsky sums up Cameron's architectural goals at Tsarskoye Selo. True to Catherine's expectations, Cameron tried to make everything as authentically Roman as possible, such as implementing actual designs he witnessed in Rome into the decorations of Catherine's palace.

Significantly, a clearer idea of classical antiquity appeared in the eighteenth century than during the Renaissance. For example, Greece and Rome were more often separated as distinct cultures and not considered just one entity with the same heritage; in other words, the enlightened minds of the eighteenth century had a concrete idea of what classical antiquity was and held it to be absolutely true (Yolton, *Ancients and Moderns* 25-26, *Graeco-Roman Polemic* 202). One can say that every culture aspires to defining or creating absolute truths. However, eighteenth century intellectuals believed that through their study of historical sources, they could piece together what Rome was really like. Cameron, having read Roman authors and having excavated Roman ruins, had his own idea about the authenticity of his convictions. Therefore, as he recreated Rome for Catherine, he believed that he was creating the setting as it really was about two thousand years earlier.

As Cameron was creating his own version of Rome that also satisfied Catherine, he was creating an artificial environment that echoed the feel of Rome and where Catherine could indulge herself in reminiscence of classical antiquity and her pursuit of the ideals of the enlightenment. In *Charles Cameron in the Court of Catherine II* Shvidkovsky called Tsarskoye Selo "the world of dreams"¹⁴ (200) since Catherine had the desire and the resources to create anything she wanted. However, I suggest that modern ideas proposed by Jean Baudrillard in his

book *Simulacra and Simulation* could be applied to what Cameron was doing at Tsarskoye Selo. Baudrillard argues that in the modern world many images and concepts that we routinely see and imagine to be true are in fact not reality, but mere representations of reality, or simulacra (3). For example, we, as a society, get used to seeing certain historical images in the media. These images that often represent certain historical events become substitutions for these events in our minds, since we ourselves did not experience these events and have no actual memories of them. For Cameron, what he read about ancient Roman culture, and the ruins he saw became the simulacra of Rome, and he built Rome referencing the images he created in his mind. Therefore, Baudrillard's idea of simulacra becomes relevant to Catherine's and Cameron's perception of Rome; Cameron's task was to create an effective simulacrum that would contain many qualities of the original, despite its historical and cultural distance from ancient Greece and Rome. Because the simulacrum is the only experience available to the participants, the simulacrum takes over the original in its representation of reality, encouraging the simulation even further. In this way, Cameron's desire to build another Rome takes on a new significance—he is creating his own reality through simulacra.

Baudrillard believes that in the modern world simulacra are even more active than they were in the previous centuries (2). However, I would argue that because many of our prominent modern ideas, such as the idea of awareness and the idea of sympathy, come from the Enlightenment, it is possible that the idea of the construction of reality might have also originated during that period. Baudrillard writes:

“[Today the] real is produced from miniaturized cells, matrices, and memory banks, models of control—and it can be reproduced an indefinite number of times from these. It no longer needs to be rational, because it no longer measures itself against either an ideal

or negative instance. It is no longer anything but operational. In fact, it is no longer really the real, because no imaginary envelops it any more. It is a hyperreal, produced from a radiating synthesis of combinatory models in a hyperspace without atmosphere” (2).

While today simulacra can be mass produced through technology, in the eighteenth century this construction of reality would require a different process. A modern image can be produced in a matter of seconds as a photograph, or it can be painstakingly created by an artist. However, once in the electronic media, the image can be reproduced multiple times. As for Cameron and his time, an opportunity to mass produce something of such grand scale as a building could not be possibly achieved. So this reproduction of Roman reality required specialized skills and careful supervision. For Catherine, Cameron became such a specialist, a master of reproduction who combined Roman elements with his own aesthetic ideals, manifested in his quality workmanship and choice of expensive materials.

By simulating an environment that was so authentically Roman, Cameron further provided Catherine with proof that they shared a common goal for the development of architecture in a country that was an architectural “blank canvas”. As two foreigners in a culture much different from their own, they together created a third, “Roman” layer of identity that brought them even closer together and helped them validate their presence in Russia as bringers of Enlightenment. The simulation was a necessary step for their relationship.

Chapter 3: Cameron's Works

Cameron was very particular about making his buildings as authentically Roman as possible. While in Rome, he carefully studied not only the decorations and the building style of the baths, but also the engineering and construction principles that went into building them.

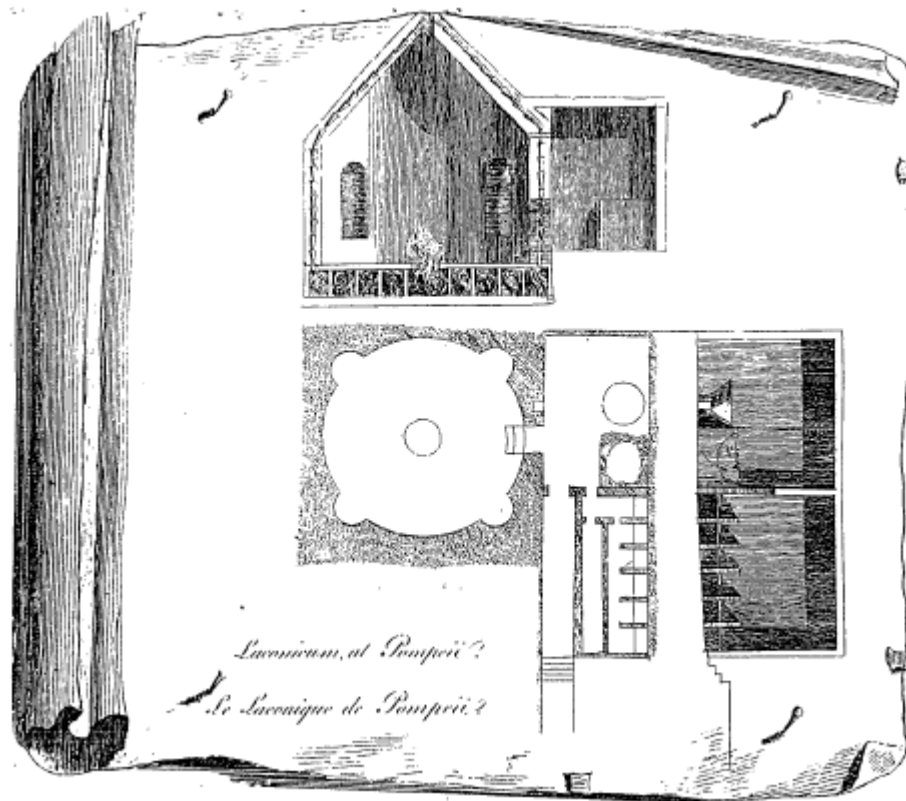
According to Shvidkovsky,

“the architect attempted to discover the construction elements of the Romans, the specifics of their engineering technologies (for example, how the system of heating the water worked, furnaces, pipes, etc.), the secrets of placement and the way of building of certain rooms (for example, which rooms should have been placed on the sunny side and which on the shady side, what the perimeter of the peristyle, meant for strolling, should have amounted to, etc.)¹⁵” (*Charles Cameron at the Court of Catherine the Great* 143).

Shvidkovsky also states that Cameron used his engravings of Roman baths as his way of “proof” that he had actually been to Rome and studied the baths (*Ibid.*, 144), instead of relying solely on Palladio’s own drawings. Cameron also studied everyday life of the Romans. For example, he dedicated some time to studying the typical Roman scheduling of time during the day by including details such as the hours between 6 and 8 in the evening, which were visiting/social hours (*Ibid.*, 143-144). That way Cameron’s version of Rome could be as close to the original as possible, so Catherine’s dream world of Tsarskoye Selo could be more complete. Cameron’s attention to detail and his painstaking study of Roman life as he tried to recreate it through architecture made him different from other neoclassical architects.

The baths were the first building that Cameron worked on in Tsarskoye Selo. The architect held the baths in special significance—in *The Baths of the Romans* he wrote:

“The Temples were confined to religious rites and ceremonies; the Theatres, Amphitheatres, Basilicas, &c. had each their distinct and separate province assigned to them; but in the Baths all these seem to have been united. Besides the amazing number of chambers, and other necessary accommodation for the purposes of Bathing, they were furnished with spacious Halls and Porticos for walking, which Exedrae and Seats for the meetings of the Philosophers. The most complete libraries in the city were transported thither, and the people, in the great space they inclosed, were treated with theatrical entertainments, as well as she shews of the gladiators” (Cameron ii).



Charles Cameron. A drawing of the typical Roman baths from *The Baths of the Romans*.

Cameron, having become an authority on Roman baths, was given a specific assignment by Catherine: to modify the floor plans of Diocletian’s baths. Diocletian’s baths could accommodate

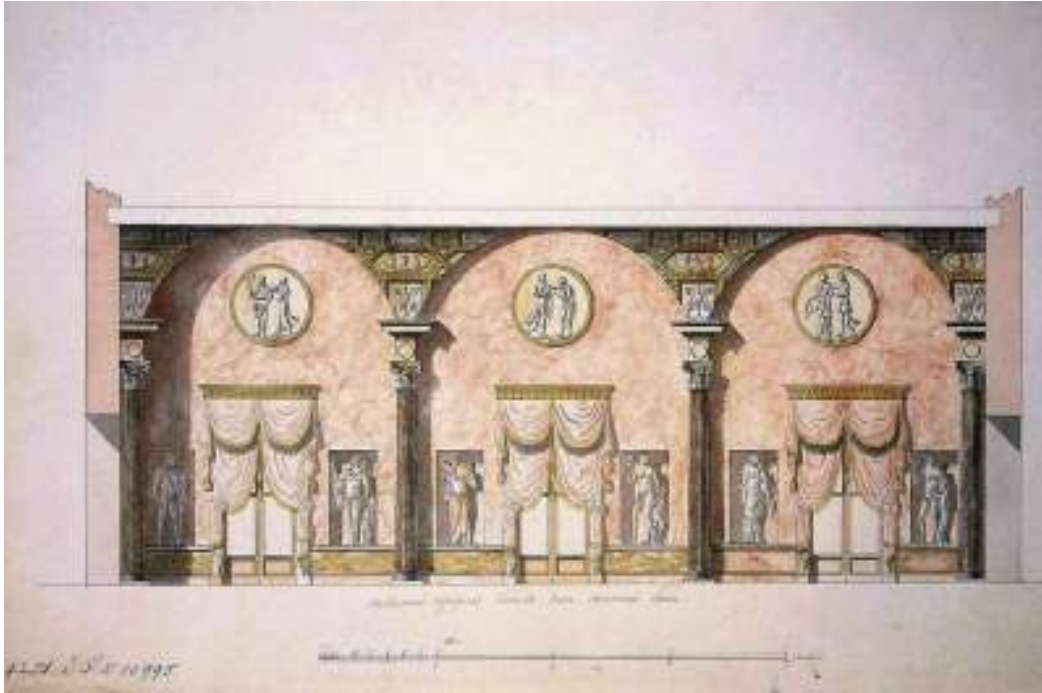
around 18,000 people at the same time; however, in Tsarskoye Selo the baths needed to accommodate only Catherine and some of her court (Koz'myan 645-646). Cameron redrafted the floor plans and created sketches of potential "authentic" wall decorations inside the baths. One obstacle he faced was making the baths cheaper than he originally planned: Cameron wanted to use the most expensive, finest materials and other luxurious options for his royal patron. Despite his wishes, he had to go through layers of Russian bureaucracy to secure enough funding for his elaborate plan. Not all of his intentions came to fruition: trying to make the project somewhat cheaper, Catherine decided that it was a good idea to cut expenses (Koz'myan 646). Of course, that cooled Cameron's desire to build somewhat, but he did not give up. His vision still coincided with Catherine's, although the cost of her many reforms and the Russo-Turkish wars most likely restricted the funds available to Cameron.

Cameron's authority in the building of the baths rested not only on his own studies but also on those by Andrea Palladio. Palladio, arguably one of the most important architects in the Western tradition due to his work on Roman buildings and his great contributions to Renaissance and later to the Enlightenment neoclassicism, was influenced by the well-known ancient Roman architect Vitruvius, famous for his work *De Architectura*¹⁶. Palladio's authority, then, rests on that of Vitruvius,--a connection that further validated Palladio's work. Palladio wrote a work titled *The Four Books of Architecture*, complete with images and explanations on classical architecture and its advantages in terms of functionality, cleanliness, and timeless style (Richardson). A chain of succession, then, becomes apparent, since Cameron's aim in *The Baths of the Romans* was to remeasure Roman baths and correct Palladio's conclusions about them. According to Loukomski, the drawings of baths of "Agrippa, Nero, Titus, Domitian, Trajan, Caracalla, Diocletian and of Constantine" in Cameron's collection were actually Palladio's

drawings, but “Cameron corrected and improved them” (55). If to keep Palladio in mind as an inevitable link between Vitruvius and Cameron, one can suggest that Cameron’s knowledge of Roman architecture also came from Vitruvius, whose work he also studied. However, Palladio, as a middle man and a beginner in the European study of classical architecture, was not an ultimate authority, although he still held a very special place as the first architect to describe the benefits of neoclassicism as a way to bring back the “eternal authority” of the Roman Empire. But even if Cameron “needed to correct” Palladio, his own authority still depended on his desire for authenticity as well as the fame of Palladio and Vitruvius.



Charles Cameron. Baths and Agate Rooms in Tsarskoye Selo.



Charles Cameron. Drawing of the Agate Pavilion.

The inside of the baths in Tsarskoye Selo was unique because it not only imitated the style of Roman baths, but it also conformed to Catherine's tastes and her role as an empress. The baths featured white marble almost everywhere, and the taps were gilded bronze, supposedly copying the way Roman baths were originally decorated (Loukomski 87). The famous Agate Rooms are located on the second floor above the baths. There Cameron's task was to create an exclusive neoclassical interior that pleased the empress. Cameron decorated the inside in dark red tones which signify the royal nature of their inhabitant. Catherine enjoyed the Agate Pavilion and often spent time there writing letters and reading important government documents; there she could feel herself as a Roman empress governing her vast empire and making decisions that would impact countless people. The interior of the pavilion also features a row of pilasters and a row of columns similar to Corinthian capitals that are ornate and gold-plated, echoing the traditional Russian architectural tradition. The ceiling, either vaulted or domed, depending on where one is in the Agate Pavilion, is also coffered, and each square is decorated with gold

motifs. Vases that look like the ones excavated from the ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum are widely used as decorations. In the big ballroom of the Agate Pavilion Cameron proposed carving niches out of the walls and placing classically inspired statues there made of light-colored marble to create an even stronger classical antiquity feel. Above the statues and large windows with cascading curtains that separate the niches with the statues are large medallions depicting relief scenes from classical mythology. Loukomski also points out that medallions were Cameron's favorite decorative motif (78). By combining classical antiquity, European chic manifested in Rococo-inspired furniture, and Russian traditional architecture, Cameron created a perfect neoclassical sanctuary for Catherine's working hours.

The exterior of the baths also features neoclassical detailing, reflecting the overall "antiquarian" purpose of the building. Similar medallions adorn the top of the walls, and niches with statues are located below them. While the building is structurally proportional, the bottom floor seems a little heavier than the top one. The top floor is mainly painted in a lighter shade of yellow, and the niches behind the statues and the background of the medallions are dark red, in harmony with the interior of the Agate Pavilion. The use of primary colors, a more subtle shade of yellow with a deeper, royal shade of red echo the balance between elements and the simplicity and the clean feel of classical architecture, as well as natural tones of pigments available during the days of the Greeks and the Romans. The red and the yellow also complement the blue of the walls of the main palace of Tsarskoye Selo, completing the ensemble of primary colors. The bottom floor of the baths, however, is covered in gray stone which seems very textured and even rough. While the bottom floor is of the same square footage as the top, the gray stone makes it appear more monumental and stable, providing an effect of proportionality, and the lighter top seems to be rising up toward the sky. A portico with Doric gray stone columns is located outside

of the building, inviting the visitor in. In the baths Cameron combined primary colors and exquisite balance that makes the building so classical and yet so modern.

Aside from the baths, the palace complex in Tsarskoye Selo includes another building called the Cameron Gallery, which served as a temple to the philosophers and thinkers of classical antiquity.

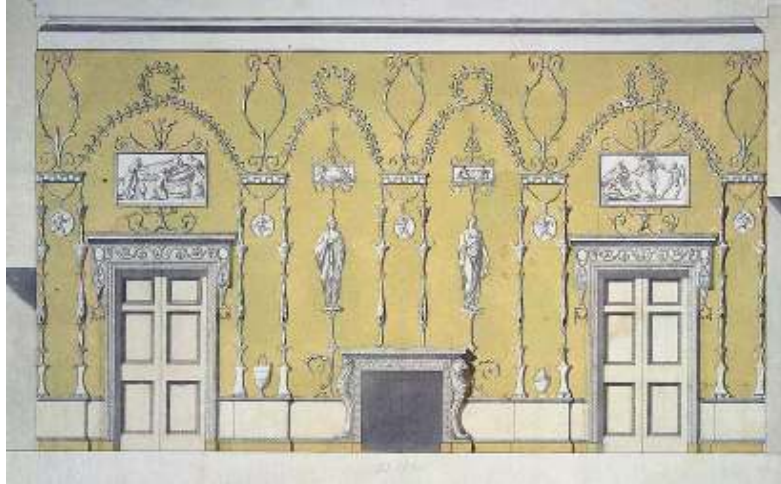


Cameron Gallery in Tsarskoye Selo.

Catherine enjoyed going for walks there while speaking with her ministers and officials about government business. The gallery looks very much like a classical temple, more in the Greek style than Roman. A narrow elongated room is at the center of the gallery, combined with large windows on its sides. Rows of columns of the Ionic order surround it and support the triangular roof, creating a gallery on each side of the central room. The building is white in color, although the bottom floor, once again, is built out of large blocks of rough gray stone, once again in harmony with the baths. One of the most interesting features of the gallery is the staircase:

separated in two parts, it descends from the point furthest from the gallery. The curved staircases then combine into one wide straight one, which leads into the park. Aside from looking similar to Parthenon, the Cameron Gallery had one more feature to inspire Catherine's thoughts: as she strolled along its walkways, busts of Greek and Roman famous thinkers lined her way on their pedestals, inspiring her thoughts and adding to the atmosphere of classical antiquity in Tsarskoye Selo. This final touch, created by Cameron, clearly cites the inspiration for the project and puts philosophers from the classical antiquity into Catherine's company, making them her walking companions as she contemplated matters of the state. In addition, their watchful eyes supervised her ruling of the empire, provoking her to be enlightened and reasonable as they were.

The interior decoration of the main palace in Tsarskoye Selo was a different project from building the baths and the Cameron Gallery, because it asserted the influence of classical antiquity on something that was already previously there, with the classical style triumphing over the Baroque. The palace, built by Antonio Rinaldi, was decorated exclusively in the Baroque style. Catherine, favoring neoclassicism more, wanted to redecorate the rooms that she used the most. As the rooms were decorated, Cameron used motifs from classical antiquity once again, but he specifically focused on Roman mythology. For example, he used scenes from the life of Bacchus in one of Catherine's rooms (Koz'myan 661). One bedroom also featured wall paintings that imitated the barely discovered Pompeiian wall panels (Loukomski 55). The Green Dining Room, however, is a good example of mixing eighteenth century neoclassicism with Rococo trends such as using stucco for wall decoration. While neoclassicism makes the building or room that is being decorated strict, clean, simple, and timeless, the elaborate decorations of Rococo add more of a touch of wealth and royalty; the combination, therefore, produces an effect that Catherine thought to be admirable.

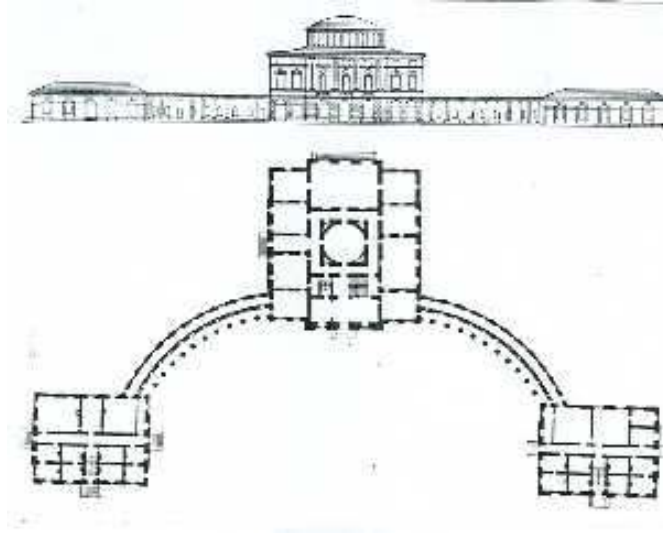


Charles Cameron. Drawing of the Green Dining Room and the Green Dining Room in the Palace in Tsarskoye Selo.

Cameron began drawing designs for the Green Dining Room and planned out decorations that would make the room feel more like a Roman banquet hall. In his drawing the walls are yellow, but in the end a subtle shade of green was chosen that was not too bright or ostentatious. The green, calming on the eyes, is well-matched with the white stucco wall designs and the light yellow background of wall medallions and decorative panels. The stucco decorations bring classical mythology back to life again in sculptures of people and gods, as well as various patterns made from intertwining grape leaves, thin ornate columns, and vases. The medallions

are not very large, but each depicts a scene or a character from classical mythology, and the medallions, while not joined in the pattern of intertwining leaves and columns, complete the overall design and add a harmonious finishing touch. The panels feature a light yellow background, matching the medallions, and depict similar subjects that are in fact a part of the pattern, providing a certain matching reference for the medallions. While the room still contained lavish furniture fit for an empress and gold decoration near the ceiling, it still radiated calm and majestic grandeur pictured as it might have been in an emperor's palace or in homes of wealthy citizens in ancient Rome.

Two years after Cameron's debut in Catherine's court and at the beginning of his work on Tsarskoye Selo, Catherine asked Cameron to plan out a palace complex in Pavlovsk, the residence of her son, the Grand Duke Paul. Cameron began the planning in 1781, and he based his ideas on the eighteenth century English Palladianism, since the English style, especially English gardens, appealed to Catherine. Cameron, who was at some point close to the British architect Isaac Ware, became also familiar with Lord Burlington, who had Palladio's plans of Roman buildings. To complete his study of English Palladianism, Cameron also looked at English country houses built in this style, such as Kedleston and Sion House (Shvidkovsky, *St. Petersburg: Architecture of the Tsars* 294). Cameron used his English landscaping expertise to create a park around the palace and filled it not with follies of ruins, which were fashionable in England, but with functional buildings that looked like temples from classical antiquity. His purpose was to effect a transformation of those who entered the temples into citizens of the Roman Empire rather than simply create an illusion the distant past.



Charles Cameron. Palace in Pavlovsk and plan.



Charles Cameron. Palace in Pavlovsk.

The palace in Pavlovsk, which Catherine intended to be a present to her son in order to inspire the love of classical antiquity, is a neoclassical building, similar to Cameron's other projects and just as grandiose. It has three floors; the third floor is lower than the first two, but the building does not look out of proportion since Cameron balanced it with a different shape and size of windows. The bottom two floors are similar in height, although the first floor is once again tiled with stone of a different color than the rest of the walls, and in the case of the Pavlovsk palace, the difference is not as striking as in the baths and the Cameron Gallery in

Tsarskoye Selo. The walls are painted in the same subtle yellow color so favored by Catherine and Cameron, and the detailing, such as decorations on the walls, are white. Cameron decorated the walls with medallions once again, and the façade features a colonnade of the Corinthian order. The wooden window frames are light brown, completing the classical color palette; the inside of the palace, on the other hand, is once again lavishly decorated by Cameron but with strict observance of neoclassical principles. The palace has a dome in the center of the roof, giving it a subtle similarity with the Pantheon, making it a temple to all the virtues of the Russian royalty as well as the ideals of neoclassicism and the Enlightenment.

However, the most interesting features in Pavlovsk are the park and the gardens, complete with pavilions and small neoclassical buildings of their own. Shvidkovsky in *St. Petersburg: Architecture of the Tsars* mentions that the Pavlovsk garden used to be an “Anglo-Chinese” one (297), meaning that although the planning was begun as that of an English garden, it also reflected the Enlightenment interest in the Orient by featuring special places in which buildings and decorations stood in a Chinese style. According to Shvidkovsky,

“Cameron set out to transform it into a typical English [Palladian] landscape park that would heighten the ‘genius of the place’. This approach allowed considerable latitude, and Cameron opted for an idealized landscape charged with intimations of classical [Roman] poetry and filled with pavilions and sculpture conceived along ancient lines” (*Ibid.*, 297).

Cameron’s approach was, as I mentioned, not longing for the past but creating an atmosphere that transported Catherine and Paul’s court into classical antiquity. However, this fantasy world had a mythological quality to it: when one wandered the park, he or she came upon small temples hidden in the wooded parts of the park and saw personages from classical mythology

made out of marble frolicking around. It appeared that the wanderers of the park were in the world of the myths, exploring mysterious buildings and meeting fantastical creatures. By taking this particular approach, unlike that of the usual follies, Cameron created a unique park that boggled the imaginations of many.

Cameron was asked to complete not only the palace but other buildings that would make the Pavlovsk residence a true complex and not just one building with a particular neoclassical character. Together with the palace, these buildings provide a special unity and harmony for the place, adding to its aura of classical antiquity. The complex then becomes a refuge, an even more efficient way to escape contemporary life and turn to philosophy, reading, art, classical mythology, and other pleasures of the Enlightenment. In addition to the palace, Cameron's contributions to the Pavlovsk complex included an aviary for exotic birds to complete the fantastic and surreal feel of the residence, a "flowered boudoir" for Grand Duchess Maria (Shvidkovsky, *St. Petersburg: Architecture of the Czars* 298). The more distinguished buildings in the park and the palace complex itself included the Temple to the Three Graces, the Apollo Colonnade, and the Temple of Friendship that was first named the Temple of Gratitude, Cameron's last contribution to Pavlovsk (Shvidkovsky, *St. Petersburg: Architecture of the Czars* 302). The Temple to the Three Graces, more often referred to the Pavilion of the Three Graces in English, is another classically inspired building, somewhat similar to the Parthenon and the Cameron Gallery. Completed in 1801, it represents Cameron's developing understanding and conceptualization of neoclassicism. The building is not lavishly decorated and is simpler in style than his earlier works. Four Ionic columns on two sides and six on the other two sides support a triangular roof. The ceiling features coffering, which Cameron liked to use in his interiors, and the frieze is decorated with classically inspired relief sculptures. The columns and the sculptures

are white, and the background of the frieze, as well as some other minor detailing, are a pale yellow color that matches that of the palace. The foundation, a small one compared to Cameron's earlier works, is covered in his signature rough gray stone, contrasting with the smooth and light nature of the rest of the Pavilion. It appears that with this building Cameron retreated earlier into the sources of classical antiquity, going back to Greece for inspiration rather than more advanced and intricately decorated Roman buildings to create more of an aura of authenticity for his neoclassical creations.



Charles Cameron. Apollo's Colonnade.

The Apollo Colonnade, a feature built by Cameron and hidden inside the Pavlovsk park, is a tribute to classical antiquity and the ancient religion of the Olympian gods. Its secretive position can imply that even though Christianity is now a dominant religion, the religion of the Greeks and the Romans had never quite disappeared, and its subtle influences are still present. The colonnade is a roofless structure standing in the forested part of the park, forming a circle with a rather small opening as an entrance into the colonnade. The columns form two rows and are of the Doric order. Above the rows of columns Cameron created designs of garlands and medallions, but just like with the Pavilion of the Three Graces, the decorations are not as

elaborate as they used to be in Cameron's earlier works. The two sides of the circle look like two outstretched arms, willing to receive a welcome visitor. In the center of the colonnade a statue of the god Apollo stands on a square pedestal, decorated with antique motifs of garlands of intertwined leaves. A large piece of fabric is draped over Apollo and one of his arms, cascading gently to the ground. The god's left arm is outstretched toward the viewers, welcoming them in as well. It appears that the Apollo Colonnade forms a tribute to the god of the sun and light in a northern city often covered with clouds and snow. It can also suggest that the light of classical antiquity, now transplanted to St. Petersburg and the new largest empire in the world, could shine once again even from the depths of the wilderness, symbolized by the forested park. Apollo welcomes any visitor, granting them wisdom and light and showing them the grace, beauty, and knowledge of the ancient world. Interestingly, Cameron once again reverted to Greek beginnings of classical antiquity instead of his former favoring of Rome; Greece, as the culture that came before Rome, was another source of inspiration, an even more ancient one.



Charles Cameron. Temple of Friendship.

The Temple of Friendship, first called the Temple of Gratitude, was one of Cameron's

last works as the main architect for the royal family. Another structure hidden inside the Pavlovsk park, it shows Cameron's return to simpler structures once again. Cameron, going back to the roots of classical antiquity, also uses the Doric order in this small circular building with a center and a row of columns around it to support the domed roof. The center part of the building, painted light yellow once again, has only white medallions with scenes from classical mythology to decorate it. The domed roof, white in color, has ridges as decorations, and the foundation of the building is small, with minimal quantity of gray stone used to cover it. Cameron, stepping even farther away from any decorative detail, decided to forgo even the foundations that he greatly favored in the past years to create a building pure and clean, representing the essence of classical antiquity and unveiling the essence of neoclassicism as well. While this building was completed after Catherine's death, it represents her desire to become an enlightened ruler, pure in its nakedness, without any of the political, social, and other shells around it. Because of the timing of the building's completion, Cameron had more choice in its design, since he no longer had to follow Catherine's particular taste. Her intentions to be the empress of the great northern empire and to bring the principles of the Enlightenment to Russia can be remembered through Cameron's contributions to her reign, supplementing it with the great buildings that still stand more than two centuries after Catherine's death.

Cameron's ability to capture Catherine's love for antiquity in stone, preserving it for posterity, was what made him her favorite architect. He listened to her and was able to add his own perspective to every structure that he built. His works, so reliant on ancient Roman aesthetics in the beginning, combined with the lavishness of Rococo in some of his projects, such as interior decorations in the palace in Tsarskoye Selo, turned to the Greek origins of classical antiquity in the later years of Cameron's activity, showing the simplicity and the purity of

classical architecture. A follower of neoclassicism, Cameron was nonetheless an innovator; he created “friezes with mythological designs, mural paintings, niches with vases and statuettes, mantelpieces with bas-reliefs and often wedgewood plaques, and the use of marbles of different colours, of bronzes, and porcelaine” (Loukomski 78), materials used for the first time in Russia. Throughout his years in Russia, Cameron worked hard and created projects that are still admired. An expert on classical antiquity, a false aristocrat, a foreigner in a country considered wild and untamed by many, Cameron, although not quite a philosophe in the traditional sense of the word, brought the visual beauty of the Enlightenment with him to Russia, helping Catherine achieve her dream of living in her own fantasy version of Rome, of classical antiquity, of the world of ancient philosophers and great empires.

Conclusion

The story of Charles Cameron can be considered a success, and even though he finished his life doing what he loved best, he eventually fell out of favor with the Russian royalty. However, during his years of working for Catherine he enjoyed her favors, Catherine, desiring to create her own Roman sanctuary in St. Petersburg, chose Cameron to be her architect for more than one reason: Cameron appeared to have the necessary qualifications to build neoclassical buildings because of his authorship of *The Baths of the Romans*, he presented himself as a Scottish aristocrat, which appealed to Catherine and the Russian court in general, and, it can also be suggested, that by simulating his own identity he acquired a special ability to create simulations, such as Catherine's new Rome. In addition, Catherine was a foreigner herself, which was yet another important reason why she may have been attracted to him and his carefully constructed image. Cameron's personal story is a fascinating one; he achieved his ultimate dream, as if only for some time, and because of that his life becomes a true success of the Enlightenment, a global experience spanning not only through different countries and cultures, but also through time, from classical antiquity to modernity.

Catherine's fascination with classical antiquity and neoclassicism left its mark on the Russian capital. Shvidkovsky in *St. Petersburg: Architecture of the Tsars* writes that "St. Petersburg was to become progressively more severe and majestic as the second half of the eighteenth century advanced; exoticism and the rococo were to penetrate the classical façades with increasing rarity" (98) Catherine in her desire to be different from Elizabeth and to demonstrate her power as an enlightened ruler, made sure that Rococo was no longer used in new constructions. In addition, Will and Ariel Durant provide an account of Prince de Ligne, who admired St. Petersburg : "the Prince de Ligne, after seeing nearly all Europe, concluded that

‘in spite of Catherine’s shortcomings, her public and private edifices make St. Petersburg the finest city in the world’” (469). That way Catherine’s wish to use her correspondence with the philosophes of the day to uphold her image as an enlightened ruler also manifested itself in the favoring of neoclassicism. Her architectural choices made St. Petersburg a one-of-a-kind city, completely new and unmarred by the many past architectural styles like the Romanesque and the Gothic, so it could start afresh. Her aspiration was for St. Petersburg to become the new Rome of the north, a city of the Enlightenment tracing its line of inheritance from classical antiquity. St. Petersburg, seen by European travelers, would go down in their travel narratives as the city of neoclassicism, affirming its position as the urban architectural heir of Rome.

Russia became exposed to the West through Peter the Great at the beginning of the eighteenth century, who, enforcing westernization, was cruel in his intentions to make Russia a “European” country. Since then Russian traditional architecture was used only in building churches rather than other public or private city buildings. Russia became exposed to styles like Baroque and Rococo that quickly gained popularity among the aristocracy, who wanted to appear westernized. Russian neoclassicism developed in opposition to those styles that took over during the reign of the Empress Elizabeth. Architects like Bartholomeo Rastrelli, another foreigner, were building Baroque buildings; their students worked mainly with Rococo. Then beginning in the early 1760s, Antonio Rinaldi built famous constructions such as Oranienbaum, Gatchina, and Tsarskoye Selo. And finally, the famous Vallin de la Motte was invited to teach at the St. Petersburg Academy of Fine Arts and began to promote the spirit of and the reasoning behind neoclassicism as the style of the enlightened Europe (Shvidkovsky, *St. Petersburg: Architecture of the Tsars* 91). All of these influences eventually opened doors to Russia for people like Cameron, who helped Catherine achieve her ultimate neoclassical dream.

Cameron did not favor the grandeur of the Baroque and other styles of art that came before it. In *The Baths of the Romans* he explains his position:

“A great impediment to the advancement of the Arts, in the time we are speaking of [centuries between the Roman Empire and the Enlightenment], arose from the love of novelty; which was carried to so great a height, that an artist found a surer recommendation to the favour of the public, in following the caprice of his own imagination, than those pure, and genuine models from whence he professed to derive his skill. The truth is, those who first obtruded upon the world this false taste, were men of real merit and genius, who having acquired, deservedly, the greatest praise in the arts of Painting and Sculpture, obtained, for their novelties in Architecture, that implicit respect and obedience, which a superiority of understanding, over the rest of their countrymen, taught them to expect. Hence, those wild, and fantastick inventions, which are to be met with, in the greatest number, in those places where the Arts have flourished most: hence, that tribe of imitators, who, struck by the praise, unmerited in this point at least, which their masters had acquired, reduced Architecture to so confused, and corrupt a state, as hardly to be exceeded by that Gothick Barbarism which they themselves held in the utmost contempt” (iii).

While Rome had all the rich heritage of classical antiquity that a neoclassicist could possibly desire, it was “tainted” by centuries of history and the artistic styles that came with them.

However, Russia was different: while Russia had its own architectural style, it was very different from those found in the West. This traditional style, therefore, did not pose a threat to the developing neoclassicism. That way Cameron, having read Roman authors like Cicero, Tertulian, Seneca, Livy, Tacitus, Strabo, and Sallust, could safely omit all the previous styles

without feeling any special attachment to them, and build according to the conventions of these famous authors.

Regardless of Cameron's personal origins and his informal education, his buildings still stand as magnificent reminders of Catherine's aspirations and the classical ideals of the Enlightenment. Although Cameron's buildings are major tourist attractions, not everyone who views them understands the degree of planning and contemplation that Cameron put into his works. However, many are capable of experiencing the beauty of symmetry and balance that marks Cameron's structures. Shvidkovsky, for example, refers to Cameron's buildings as those of "Olympian, divine beauty"¹⁷; famous Aleksandr Pushkin called Cameron's work "a temple of the Russian Minerva"¹⁸ (*Charles Cameron at the Court of Catherine II* 205-207).

Cameron's character was not always favorable, and he promptly fell out of royal favor exactly three weeks after Catherine's death in 1796 (Shvidkovsky, *The Empress and the Architect* 33). Due to his strained relationship with the Grand Duke Paul, Cameron lost all of his privileges in the Russian court. Forced to look for new means of employment, Cameron began to look for private commissions. For a time he built for Count Vorontsov, a prominent and wealthy aristocrat. Later he traveled to the Ukraine in search for more commissions; there he built for a Ukrainian aristocrat Count Razumovsky (Loukanski 34-41). Razumovsky's residence is built in the Palladian style so favored by Cameron.



Charles Cameron. Residence of Count Kirill Razumovsky in Baturino, Ukraine.

After visiting the Ukraine, Cameron traveled back to St. Petersburg where he acquired stable employment with the state once again in 1800 (Shvidkovsky, *The Empress and the Architect* 34). He was employed mainly by the Russian Admiralty, where he worked for the rest of his life, planning ports and various structures for the ship building industry, as well as working on the maritime hospital in Oranienbaum (*Ibid.*, 36). The end of Cameron's life appears to be mixed: episodes of struggle and seeking employment interchanged with planning and building—something that Cameron loved to do. Loukomski states that Cameron's employment at the Admiralty was fortunate, because it helped him regain some favor, although he never enjoyed the same privileges that he had with Catherine (Loukomski 41).

Cameron's dedication to perfection in his building style and quality, as well as to his carefully maintained Scottish identity, manifested itself in a particular story from his experience in Russia. Determined to invite exclusively Scottish builders and craftsmen to work on Catherine's projects, Cameron provided an ad in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*:

“For her Majesty the Empress of all the Russias

Wanted

Two clerks, who have been employed by an Architect or very considerable Builder, who can draw well, such as figures and ornaments for rooms, etc, etc,

Two Master Masons

Two Master Bricklayers

A Master Smith who can make locks, hinges, etc

Several Journeymen Plasterers

Several Journeymen Bricklayers [...] (Rice; Rae 50-51)”

The ad went on to specify that all workers would have to provide certification of their abilities, and that “the master bricklayers and men will have a pice (sic) of Ground given to them” (Rice; Rae 51). Shvidkovsky, however, states that Cameron placed this ad without the knowledge of Catherine or any other Russian officials involved in the building projects. While he encountered difficulties at first to provide the seventy workers that arrived with their families, the officials finally agreed to formally employ them. Some of the workers stayed in Russia permanently (*The Empress and the Architect* 30). Cameron, not caring about the reaction from his patron and those working for her, decided on his own to invite Scottish workers to contribute to Catherine’s new Rome. The workers went on to provide high-quality results for Catherine, and Cameron was known to care very much about the way his builders approached their tasks (Shvidkovsky, *The Empress and the Architect* 30). Perfection and idealism were his priority, as well as showing his dedication to his Scottish heritage.

Georges Loukouski called Cameron the “missing link” between the Baroque and nineteenth century neoclassicism (76). It is a human impulse to put everything in categories and to connect the cause and the effect of something; however, the idea of the “missing link” is

different in the sense that it characterizes something that is in-between, not a defined link in itself. I think that Cameron was different from the typical image of the “missing link” that had been cultivated in the modern Western culture because his aim was to replicate classical antiquity and champion that period of human history—two clear and well-defined goals. Cameron tried to create a coherent movement with the ideals of neoclassicism by exploring classical antiquity at its roots and carefully studying the buildings and not merely copying the Greek and the Roman styles. Despite his obscurity in the Western scholarship, Cameron occupied a very particular and solid niche in the history of world architecture; no other architect actually undertook a task as daunting as building another Rome.

Cameron possessed not only the skill of analysis of ancient buildings and related their functionality to Roman history, but he also possessed the skill of interpretation. Cameron had a gift for analyzing a building, a ruin, as one would analyze a text. He looked at everything, including the materials used, the decorations, the location of the building, and the cultural customs of the time. Because of this particular skill, Cameron became the expert on classical architecture—he really understood the style,—not merely the visual qualities that appealed superficially to the public eager for imitation. Shvidkovsky writes: “[Cameron] was one of the first architects in Russia to see antiquity not as an abstraction or a scheme but as an immortal ideal capable of being constantly reinterpreted in a contemporary work of art” (*The Empress and the Architect* 44-45). His imagination built what the evidence couldn’t for the reason of its absence; Cameron could read what he saw and to fill the gaps with his own imagination. Like a detective, he followed the clues from the ancient ruins and figured out how something should have been build or how something worked. Knowing classical antiquity so well, Cameron, could reinterpret, take details apart and incorporate them freely into his own structures when he built

for Catherine.

Cameron was exceptionally idealistic when building in Tsarskoye Selo and in Pavlovsk, and his perfectionism is what still makes his buildings so noticeable and so magnificent. According to Shvidkovsky, “He managed to suggest the presence of the antique world by means of those visual forms which still dominate our conceptions of ideal ancient beauty”. He continues to add: “And yet the baths at Tsarskoye Selo represent the very flesh of classicism: they are the realization of the deepest, intimate, personal belief of Cameron in the ancient ideal” (*The Empress and the Architect* 46). However, it would be helpful to carefully define that ideal, because it would help us understand Cameron and his works better. It is clear that he admired the craftsmanship of the ancients, their flawless planning, and aesthetically pleasing timeless decorations that seem beautiful even thousands of years later. The style that lasts longer than any others, inspired by the ancient gods and their stories, was what truly moved Cameron to do his own work. A perfect combination of beautiful and practical, a celebration of the human body and of functionality and grandeur all assembled into one structure—that was the ancient ideal that Cameron religiously followed.

Because of this strong dedication, it can be argued that Cameron’s influence on world neoclassicism could be potentially profound. However, because his works and his biography are not well known, his contributions are mainly overlooked or only briefly mentioned. I believe that the life and work of Charles Cameron, a truly interesting and intriguing artist, provide new insights into the development of eighteenth century neoclassicism and the way that the creators of these magnificent buildings thought and mixed their own understanding of classical antiquity, functionality, and Enlightenment rationalism. Cameron’s contributions, however, would be unknown if it weren’t for Catherine and her desire to create a Roman sanctuary for herself.

Loukomski writes: “I believe that persons of all shades of opinion are agreed upon the taste and wisdom of that extraordinary woman”; he also asserts that “Charles Cameron was her favorite architect [...]” (5). On the other hand, however substantial Catherine’s contribution to Cameron’s legacy, Cameron’s genius and personality, as well as his dedication to the ideals of classical antiquity, shine through and affirm the ideas of the Enlightenment.

Bibliography

Baudrillard, Jean. *Simulacra and Simulation*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1994. Print.

Borinski, Karl. *Die Antike in Poetik und Kunsttheorie*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1965. Print.

Durant, Will, and Ariel Durant. *Rousseau and the Revolution: A History of Civilization in France, England, and Germany from 1756, and the Remainder of Europe from 1715, to 1789*. Vol. X. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967. Print. *The Story of Civilization*.

Gay, Peter. *The Enlightenment*. New York: Norton, 1996. Print.

Gooch, G.P. *Catherine the Great and Other Studies*. London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1954. Print.

Gulianitsky, N. F. *Peterburg I Drugie Novye Rossiiskie Goroda XVIII-pervoĭ Poloviny XIX Vekov*. Moskva: Stroizdat, 1995. Print.

Hawley, Henry. "The Neo-classic Style." *Neo-classicism: Style and Motif*. Ed. Henry Hawley. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1964. Print.

Koz'myan, G. K. "Charles Cameron." *Zodchiye Sankt-Peterburga XVIII Vek*. Ed. U. V. Artem'yeva and S. A. Prokhvatilova. Sankt-Peterburg: Lenizdat, 1997. 637-720. Print.

Loukomski, Georges. *Charles Cameron: An Illustrated Monograph on His Life in Russia, Particularly at Tsarskoe Selo and Pavlovsk, in Architecture, Interior Decoration, Furniture Design and Landscape Gardening*. London: Nicholson & Watson - The Commodore Press, 1943. Print.

Massie, Robert K. *Catherine the Great: Portrait of a Woman*. New York: Random House, 2011. Print.

Rae, Isobel. *Charles Cameron, Architect to the Court of Russia*. London: Elek, 1971. Print.

- Rice, Tamara T. "Charles Cameron, Architect to the Imperial Russian Court." *Charles Cameron c. 1740-1812*. London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1968. 7-24. Print.
- Richardson, Margaret A. "Andrea Palladio." *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., n.d. Web.
 <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/439923/Andrea-Palladio>>.
- Rykwert, Joseph. *The First Moderns: The Architects of the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge, MA: MIT, 1980. Print.
- Saisselin, Rémy G. "Neo-classicism: Virtue, Reason and Nature." *Neo-classicism: Style and Motif*. Ed. Henry Hawley. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1964. 1-8. Print.
- Schmitz, Hermann. *Kunst Und Kultur Des 18. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland*. München: Verlag F. Bruckmann A. -G., 1922. Print.
- Shvidkovsky, Dmitri. *Charles Cameron Pri Dvore Ekateriny II*. Moskva: Uleĭ, 2010. Print.
- Shvidkovsky, Dmitri, and Ekaterina Shorban. *Russian Architecture and the West*. New Haven: Yale UP, 2007. Print.
- Shvidkovsky, Dmitri, and Alexander Orloff. *St. Petersburg: Architecture of the Tsars*. New York: Abbeville, 1996. Print.
- Shvidkovsky, Dmitri. *The Empress and the Architect: British Architecture and Gardens at the Court of Catherine the Great*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1996. Print.
- Tait, A. A. "British Architects in the Service of Catherine II." *Charles Cameron c. 1740-1812*. London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1968. 25-26. Print.
- Tarabra, Daniela. *European Art of the Eighteenth Century*. Trans. Rosanna M. Giammanco Frongia. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2008. Print.

Turner, Roger. "Cameron, Archibald (1707–1753)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, May 2006. Web. 17 July 2012.

<<http://www.oxforddnb.com.eri.lib.byu.edu/view/article/4435>>.

Waliszewski, K. *The Romance of an Empress: Catherine II of Russia*. United States: Archon Books, 1968. Print.

Yolton, John W. *The Blackwell Companion to the Enlightenment*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1992. Print.

Zorin, A. L. *Kormia Dvuglavogo Orla--: Literatura I Gosudarstvennaia Ideologiiia v Rossii v Posledneĭ Treti XVIII-pervoĭ Treti XIX Veka*. Moskva: Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie, 2001. Print.

Endnotes

¹ Russian title of the work is *Чарлз Камерон при дворе Екатерины II*.

² According to Will and Ariel Durant, Catherine was very interested in classical philosophy, as well as contemporary philosophy. They write: “We get a measure of the high repute won by the French *philosophes* when we see the two ablest rulers of the eighteenth century [one of them being Catherine] proud to correspond with them, and competing for their praise” (Durant 446-447). The Durants also mention Catherine’s desire to become an “enlightened despot” (447). However, it can be suggested that Catherine’s aim to be known as an enlightened monarch could be related to her position as a foreigner in Russia, representing progressive European thinking in a country that hadn’t had much exposure to the Enlightenment since Peter the Great and his efforts.

³ Neoclassicism, as a combination of two very different ages in human history, is a complex phenomenon. It also could be viewed a combination of antiquity and all the experience that humankind accumulated in the centuries since those cultures flourished. Rémy Saisselin argues that neoclassicism was a reaction against rococo and its extensive decoration. Going back to Greek and Roman styles was also significant because both of those cultures represented historic milestones of human achievement. The Greeks, for example, were believed to live in harmony with nature and reason. Therefore, their style was considered to be rational and harmonious at the same time. The style itself then evolved not just as a copy of classical buildings but as an also appeal to the general tastes of the eighteenth century public (Saisselin 3). Hawley states that “[t]he neo-classic style derived its artistic ideas and motifs primarily from two sources—the Graeco-Roman past and the classicizing tradition which had existed in Western art since the Renaissance” (Hawley 9). Therefore, it seems that neoclassicism was a culmination of extracting the best from both antiquity and the Enlightenment, and its execution in the arts relied on much of the previous experience from the centuries in-between.

⁴ “Der Name [Frühklassizismus] ist nicht glücklich, allein besser als der des ‘Lousseize’, der nur für die gleichzeitige Entwicklung Frankreichs berechnet ist, oder gar der des ‘Zopf’” (Schmitz 8).

⁵ “Batteux hatte behauptet, daß die Nachahmung der antiken Werke bisher als Surrogat für die Nachahmung der Natur gedient und durch einen Wall von Regeln den unmittelbaren Anschluß der Neueren an die Natur verhindert habe. Winckelmann verkündet als aus der Natur geschöpften Erfahrungssatz, daß die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke ‘mehr als Natur’ und außer ihr für die Neueren kein Heil sei” (Borinski 203).

⁶ [...] neben der Hauptentwicklung des Barock und Rokoko immer eine Strömung hergegangen ist, die die Einhaltung der strengsten Gesetzlichkeit betonte” (Schmitz 340).

⁷ “In der Schloß- und Landhausarchitektur wirken Anregungen von England [...]” (Schmitz 344). Schmitz is referring to the English being the leaders in these areas in Germany specifically, which is relevant in Catherine’s context as well.

⁸ The original quote by Catherine is unavailable. The Durants quote K. Waliszewski, who provides the quote in English in his book *The Romance of an Empress: Catherine II of Russia* (349). The book itself, according to the “Translator’s Preface” in the beginning, was written in French by a Russian author.

⁹ The original quote by Catherine is also unavailable. Shvidkovsky provides a translation of the quote that he found in a Russian work entitled *Imperial Russian Historical Society: Collected Papers (Императорское русское историческое общество)*. However, I could not access that

work, because only one copy can be found in a library in Russia. In addition, I am not even sure that this particular work cites the quote in the original French.

¹⁰ Tsarskoye Selo is now a city called Pushkin, located in the vicinity of St. Petersburg.

¹¹ Also see Chapter 3.

¹² Charles Edward Stuart, a contender for the British throne.

¹³ My translation. The original quote reads:

«Интересны высказывания Камерона о значении архитектуры. Он считал, что архитектура—искусство, выражающее, воплощающее грандиозные и великие идеи, что бедность замысла и посредственность выполнения снижают ее ценность, что архитектура всегда очень точно характеризует эпоху. Таким образом, Камерон, высказываясь об архитектуре, литературе, искусстве, четко определил свои эстетические идеалы» (Козьян 639).

¹⁴ “Мир грёз”.

¹⁵ My translation. The original quote:

«Зодчий стремился выявить конструктивные приемы римлян, особенности их инженерной техники (как была устроена система нагрева воды, печи, трубы и т.д.), секреты расположения и построения тех или иных помещений (какие комнаты следовало помещать на солнечной, какие на теневой стороне, чему должен был равняться периметр перистиля, предназначенного для прогулок и т.д.)» (Швидковский, *Чарлз Камерон при дворе Екатерины II* 143).

¹⁶ *On Architecture* (Latin).

¹⁷ «Олимпийская, божественная красота».

¹⁸ «Храм российский Минервы».