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‘A landed gentleman’s paradise’? Literature and the representation of landscape in Wales during the eighteenth century

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I *Wales and Arcadian conventions*

From the middle of the eighteenth century particular sets of associations began to attain to Wales (as, indeed they did to such other mountainous regions as the Lake District which tourists were beginning to discover). These included variously Arcadian, Pastoral, aesthetics of fertility and ideas about mountains. I am going to consider the interaction between visual landscape representation and literary views, focussing on classical texts, seventeenth and eighteenth century poetry and contemporary travel literature. During this period, literary perceptions of landscape influenced ideas that were circulated via travel literature. Both affected the visual construction of landscape,

Firstly there is the notion of Wales as arcadia, as a kind of paradise that men could retreat to, an ideal region of rural contentment. Arcadia was contemporarily described as:

an inland country of Pelopennesus, surrounded on every side by land. It is situate [sic] between Achaia, Messenia, Elis and Argolis. . . . It was antiently [sic] called Drymodes, on account of the great number of oaks it produced. . . . The country has been much celebrated by the poets, and was famous for its mountains. The inhabitants were for the most part all shepherds,¹

In his *Arcadia*² first published in 1577, Sidney described it as a paradise on earth, ‘partly for the sweetness of the air and other natural benefits, . . . Even the muses seemed to approve their good determination by choosing that country as their chiefest repairing place, and by bestowing their perfections so largely . . .’³

The locating of the place mattered less. While many writers (correctly) located Arcadia in Greece, others such as Virgil and Ovid were less topographically specific, and later poets located Arcadia outside Rome.

The idea of Wales as Arcadia was expressed in the early travel literature and persisted well into the nineteenth century. Lord Lyttleton’s description of the Vale of Ffestiniog (which he visited in 1756) was as the landscape of poetic retirement: ‘With the woman one loves, with the friend of one’s heart, . . . one might pass an age there, and think it a day. If you have a mind to live long, and renew your youth, come . . . and settle at Festiniog.’⁴

This reaction was suggestive enough to be quoted by later visitors. And some forty years later, Samuel Jackson Pratt wrote effusively of the scenery around Machynleth – ‘I was enveloped – *emparadised* let me call it rather, in blissful solitude.’⁵

Some visitors (such as Henry Wyndhan in 1774 and 1777, and Samuel Ireland in 1797) associated parts of Wales with the scenery and climate of Italy, extolling the Sylvan walks which were worthy of the pencil of Claude.’⁶ This was a potent analogy since

Claudian/Italianate landscapes had particular associations.⁷ So the linking of the landscape of Wales with that of Italy by invoking such pictorial references could turn Wales into a 'sub-species' of Arcadia. David Solkin has for example, pointed out (in his study of Richard Wilson) that in the 1760s Wilson presented Wales as 'classic ground', in order to appeal to conservative landed aristocratic clients, and to present Wales as a 'landed gentleman's paradise'.⁸

Solkin refers to Wilson's *Llyn Peris and Dolbadarn Castle* (c. 1760–3) as a case in point, although his argument is not in this case much helped by our not knowing who commissioned the work. (Fig. 1) Solkin is right though, to make the conflation between the image of Wales as Arcady and a formal pictorial language which was derived from the landscape paintings of Claude Lorrain and Gaspar Poussin. This species of landscape imagery persisted into the middle of the nineteenth century when the connection with Arcadia was presumably a less specific one and/or different types of picture making evolved to suggest Arcadia.⁹

Dolbadarn itself was an ancient Welsh fort built to defend the pass into the interior parts of Snowdonia. Like most Welsh castles it was a remote site, situated on a craggy hill and because Owain Goch had been held prisoner there for twenty years, it was powerfully associated with Wales' violent and war-torn past.

While Wilson's painting is loosely based on the appearance of the site, it significantly ignores the drama and grandeur other painters emphasised in their representations of the scene, smoothing down the steep verticality of the rugged mountain range behind the tower,



Fig. 1 Richard Wilson 1713–1782. *Llyn Peris and Dolbadarn Castle* c. 1760–63 oil on canvas. 85.5 × 131.4 cm. Felton Bequest, 1948–9

so that it looks like a gently rising hill. (Fig. 2) The mountain was then shifted further into the background and the size of the tower slightly exaggerated to make it the focal point, relieved from the domination of the Snowdon range. The composition is based on the ideal landscapes of Gaspar Poussin. The foreground is largely invented, with a framing horseshoe shaped arrangement through which the spectator has a view of the landscape. From here a series of contrasting light and dark planes recede into space, articulating the distance in a seemingly lucid and logical fashion. Furthermore the soft lighting and muted tones – suggestive of late afternoon – add to the overall ‘soothing’ effect.

It is a landscape that has been rigorously subjected to the time-honoured classical principles of order, balance, grace and harmony. This scene serves as an example of the ‘Beautiful’, not only because it embodies these qualities, but also because it is a fertile, abundant landscape which has been ordered and civilised by the hand of man. The two ‘peasants’ reclining in the foreground reinforce the image of Wales-in-Arcady. Here ‘classical’ landscape composition is being used in conjunction with ‘Arcadian’ imagery, to make the connection between Wales and Arcadia. Wilson’s composition is extremely skilled. No feature is forced, jarring or added as an afterthought, while his colour, particularly the ‘fresh’ greens, and light effects which, (realised through a liquid handling of paint) impress the viewer with the seemingly natural appearance of the scene, to emphasise its credibility. We accept Wilson’s representation as natural in the sense of ‘true’. We don’t query his vision. This must mean that not only is he creating a particular fiction, but he is validating it in terms that potential buyers would have found comforting.¹⁰



Fig. 2 Dolbadarn Castle and Llanberis Lake, photograph showing the steep verticality of the mountain range.

We must ask why, when presumably he knew the scene, Wilson created this fictive variant of it. David Solkin has presented part of the answer: Wilson was trying to equate North Wales with social stability and to ignore its violent war-torn past, that was at odds with 'an obviously tranquil Present,'¹¹ in a way that would have appealed to the Anglo-Welsh aristocracy. The classical idiom also presumably reinforced the apparent stability, coherence and harmony of the image as well as employing a language which appealed to the cultural pretensions of prospective clients who were familiar with the paintings of Claude and Gaspar. However this can't be the sole explanation. As I have already suggested, part of the appeal of these paintings has to do with their 'natural' appearance.¹² For many also a verisimilitudinous representation of the scene would have been completely unacceptable.¹³

Wales could accept Wilson's mode of representation because of its remoteness, and because of its perceptible differences from other parts of Britain. The fact that Wales had a venerable history, language and mythology of its own, complete with bardic characters and druidic monuments, is I think important in the notion of Wales as Arcady. Welsh history and mythology could act as a substitute for that of ancient Greece and Rome. Furthermore, in the eighteenth century the Arcadians like the Welsh were noted for their love of music. Like the Welsh they took pride in their lineage and 'thought themselves more antient than the moon.'¹⁴ They were also courageous and like their Celtic counterparts, famed for their warlike chieftains.

In his *Tours in Wales* of 1781, the Welsh landowner and antiquarian Thomas Pennant made the connection between the landscape of Wales and classical landscapes, singling out Snowdon as a Welsh Arcadia: 'Snowdon was held as sacred by the ancient Britons as Parnassus was by the Greeks and Ida by the Cretans. It is still said, that whoever slept upon Snowdon would wake inspired, as much as if he had taken a nap on the hill of Apollo.'¹⁵

This imagery was still potent enough later on to be exploited by Turner, who was generally more inclined to make a connection between Welsh history and the violent scenes centring around the English conquest of Wales (doubtless fuelled by his reading of Pennant and Thomas Gray). His watercolour of *Caernarvon castle, North Wales* (exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1800), is an idyllic view of rolling scenery illuminated by a warm yellowy light with Caernarvon castle in the distance. (Fig. 3) In the foreground a bard, complete with harp, holds forth to a number of 'swains of Arvon' who are reclining under the shade of a number of trees. The verses which accompanied the exhibited work (probably composed by the artist) made this association clearer:

And now on Arvon's Haughty tow'rs
The Bard the song of pity pours,
... The swains of Arvon round him throng,
And join the sorrows of his song.

Andrew Wilton has suggested that Turner deliberately intended this landscape to be a conscious imitation of the 'Beautiful' and distinguished from the Sublime.'¹⁶ He intended to contrast this with another watercolour showing Edward I's extermination of the bards, as related in Gray's poem. The second watercolour was to be in the manner of the Sublime which he considered more appropriate for scenes of this nature.

Turner visited Wales five times in the 1790s (that is, well before his trips to the Alps and to Italy). The landscape in *Caernarvon Castle, North Wales*, suggests that for Turner, Wales was a land redolent with Arcadian associations. Furthermore, the bardic figures were a reminder that Britain had a venerable history, culture and mythology, comparable with that of ancient Greece or Italy. These figures also reinforced connections with the Arcadians of ancient times – a conjunction that Turner would have enjoyed.



Fig. 3 J. M. W. Turner, *Caernarvon Castle, North Wales* (1800). Watercolour. Tate Gallery, TB LXX-X

More routinely the image of Wales as Arcadia was communicated in several ways via engravings. Firstly and most rarely, it was signified by staffage in flowing 'classical' robes, as in W. Birch's engraving of *Conway Castle* (1790), which included Conway castle and (improbably) Snowdon lurking behind it.¹⁷ This is virtually a topographical fabrication. But the costumes of the figures may be connected with the Celtic Revival, perhaps to present this as an historical recreation of an earlier Britain, peopled by bard-like inhabitants. The fact that it was engraved suggests that by 1790 this sort of imaging was judged popular and 'saleable'.

Secondly, as we have seen in the discussion of Wilson's *Llyn Peris and Dolbadern Castle* a pictorial language formally related to Claude and Gaspar could itself imbue landscapes with Arcadian connotations. In some cases, Claudian schemata suggested the idea of Wales as 'classic' ground to make a fairly obvious connection with Italy that was also described in contemporary travel literature.¹⁸ The attraction of this kind of representation is evident even half a century later when Thomas McLean employed Claudian lighting effects to idealise the Vale of Ffestiniog and to present it as a pastoral paradise in his aquatint of that scene published in 1823. To emphasise the connection between this place and a kind of paradise in which men might find refuge he quoted Lord Lyttleton – '... one might pass here an age and think it a day'. In this context, Claudian references were persistent to the point of becoming conventional.

This suggests that, as we might expect, the historical meanings of the formal conventions

of classical landscapes, changed during this period. In *Llyn Peris and Dolbadern Castle*, Wilson adjusted both the appearance and the content of the landscape to make a point about the stability and prosperity of Wales under 'wise English rule'.¹⁹ This notion of Wales would have appealed to a restricted group of conservative aristocratic landowners, typically men whose own taste in landscape had been shaped by the landscapes of Claude and Gaspar, whose works it had become fashionable to collect.²⁰

II *Wales as Italy*

As the century progressed, the market for landscape painting expanded and the classical mode, as it became less socially exclusive, also became diluted with meanings, since it became available to a far wider group of people – industrialists, the mercantile classes, other town dwellers who had *not* necessarily been on the Grand Tour. The Napoleonic Wars reinforced its poignancy. The idea of Rome as an exemplar remained strong but now gained an added appeal with Italy out of bounds for English travellers and most particularly, artists. It now reached the stage that British substitutes for Italy were looked for, and found, in Britain. Besides Wales, according to the travel guides, the Lakes and Devon were also regions which could be perceived as appropriate replacements in terms of both landscape and climate.²¹

By the 1820s the imaging of Wales as Italy may have been fuelled by a desire to attract people (and now that international tourism was in full swing, these would have been mainly urban dwellers) back to Britain's own beauty spots – a desire that would seem to have been fuelled both by nationalism and enterprise. This much is clear from some of the illustrated travel books from this period. Thomas McLean in the preface to his *A Picturesque Description of North Wales* (1823) lamented the popular fashion for visiting foreign countries:

[at] a time when the whole of the public attention seems to be engrossed by the attractions of foreign countries, whilst travellers of every class, possessing or wholly devoid of taste, are leaving their homes by thousands and tens of thousands, in search of the picturesque and the beautiful, it may be difficult, but no less laudable, to endeavour to draw some small portion of regard for those luxuriant and exquisite scenes that abound throughout the British Isles – scenes that cannot be surpassed, and very many of them unequalled.²²

Finally, it may have been partly to attract would be continental tourists back to Britain, as well as evidence of the persistence of the 'Arcadian' association, that some artists began to picture Wales as if it *were* Italy. This is particularly evident in some nineteenth-century views of both the town and the Vale of Llangollen (Fig. 4). There is a shift here in terms of the presentation of the landscape, when the buildings and landscape may look contemporarily Italian. This accords with McLean's remarks, that British scenes could vie with those of France and Italy. These associations were not exclusive to Welsh landscapes and were applied to both the Lakes and (later) to Devon.²⁹

III *Wales and the Pastoral*

Besides the Arcadian, pastoral associations were important in relation to views of Wales – unsurprisingly as the Arcadians were generally perceived to have been shepherds. Pratt made this connection when he visited Ffestiniog 'which was certainly as pastoral as if it had been the arcadia of primitive times'.²⁴ The whole notion of the Pastoral is more immediately associated with eighteenth century English poetry.²⁵ Raymond Williams has described it as 'a feeling of paradise in the garden'.²⁶ Milton's *Paradise Lost*, one of the most widely read texts in the eighteenth century, invokes this tradition of the Pastoral in the description of the garden of Eden.²⁷

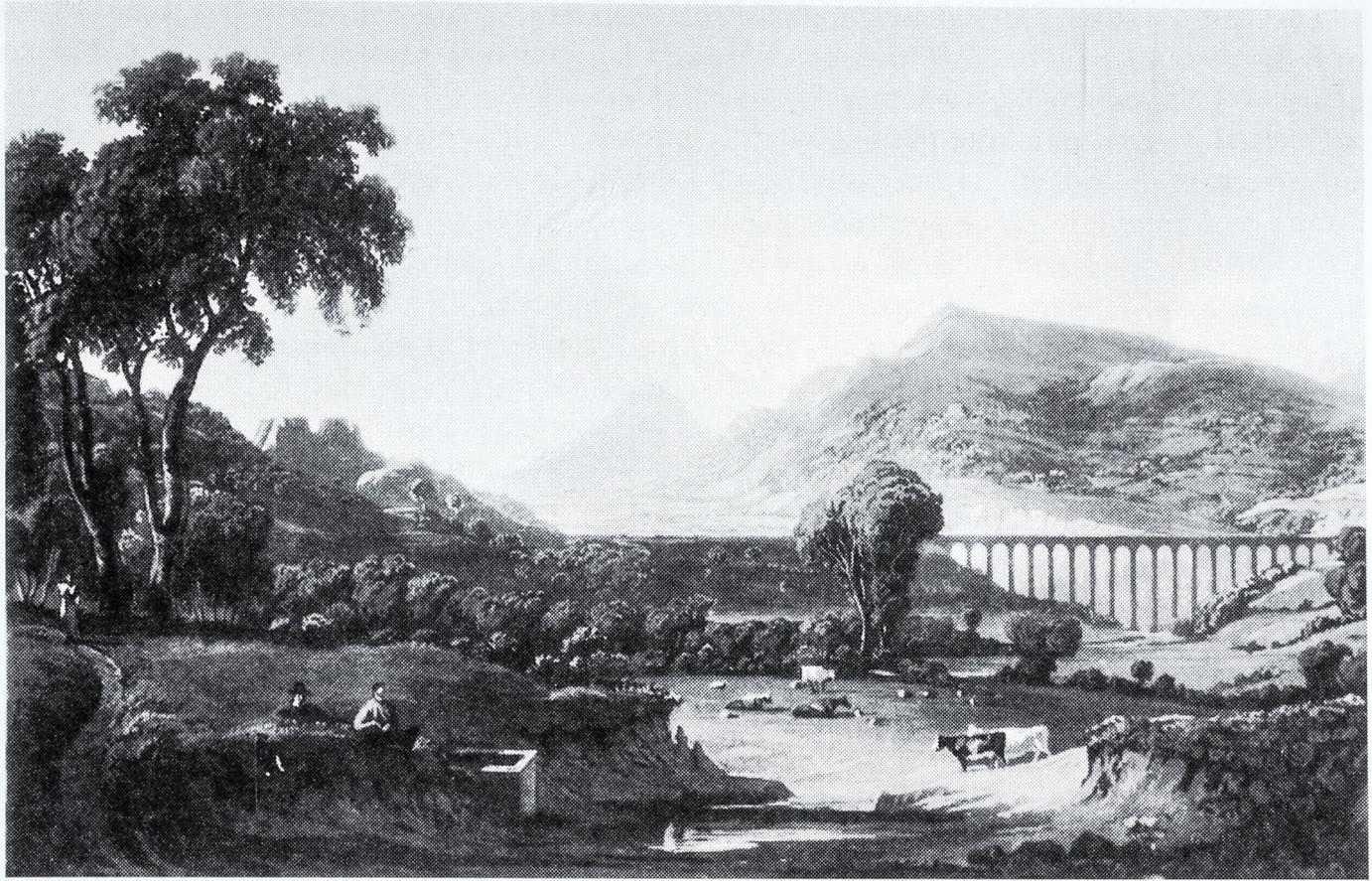


Fig. 4 George Robson, *Llangollen Vale* (1820). Aquatint. Private collection

Central to the Pastoral was the idea of a Golden Age, an age of pastoral simplicity, '[t]he Pastoral was supposed to be the first state of civilised man once he left behind him the solitary activities of hunting and fruit-collecting, and entered society as a shepherd or herdsman.'²⁸

In relation to this Thomson's *Seasons* are important. First published in 1730,²⁹ the poem articulated attitudes towards landscape and rural life that were to prevail throughout the century and beyond. *The Seasons* enjoyed massive popularity and was not only widely read but also frequently quoted by travel writers, writers and artists.³⁰ *Summer* in particular can be regarded as disseminating what came to be the popular notion of the Pastoral and is of interest in relation to Welsh views since it was often quoted by eighteenth century travellers. In its most simple form the poem can be seen as a panegyric to English country life. It praises the golden fertile landscape and the happy labourers who people this country – shepherds and ruddy maids. The village, secure, cosy and domestic, is the very hub of this idealised view. Labour is a joyous task and either takes place via some natural osmotic process where no-one really works, or is carried out cheerfully and watched over by a beneficent God.³¹

Barrell and Bull have pointed out that Thomson's poem presents the mid-eighteenth century in England as the Golden Age, making connections too, between this English Golden Age and the age of Augustus so that the 'valley of the Thames becomes for Thomson a new Roman *campagna*.'³²

The Thomsonian pastoral was significantly utilized by writers on Wales. Pratt for instance (as we have seen), extolled the beauty of a place (in this case Machynleth) which Thomson's Musidora could have chosen. It is worth reminding ourselves of his lines:

I can assure you, and Musidoras too, amongst the peasantry in particular, the swains being as hale, happy a set of round-faced, rosy-cheeked youths, and the damsels as well featured a race of white-toothed, black-eyed, red-lipped lasses, as in any part of the world.³³

Pastoral imagery also occurred in pictorial representations, particularly of sites like Conway and Caernarvon. Wilson, Sandby and the Welsh artist Moses Griffith all variously presented Caernarvon thus.

Of all the painters who visited Wales in the eighteenth century, Paul Sandby is probably the most significant for popularizing a Pastoral image of the Welsh landscape. This is especially true of his views of castles – St. Donats, Chepstow and Cardiff – all of which were published in aquatint form.³⁴ Sandby however displayed his inventiveness in an aquatint of the abbey of *Valle Crucis* (*Views in North Wales no.V*). (Fig. 5) He depicted the abbey almost like a cottage, nestling in a clump of trees. In the foreground two shepherds are conversing. In the far distance is the ruined Welsh castle of Dinas Bran and more barren mountainous scenery – all securely *distanced* from the viewer (one way of making mountains acceptable). This print raises two significant points. First that the reality of rural conditions in Wales (economically poorer and more ‘backward’ than England and largely pastoral in terms of production) may have lent itself to this kind of fictionalised representation as an unspoilt country inhabited by carefree shepherds.

Second, the Pastoral in turn was frequently associated with what was to become a standard landscape aesthetic in relation to cultivated landscape. This could be called an aesthetic of *fertility*.



Fig. 5 Paul Sandby, *Valle Crucis Abbey* (1777). Aquatint. Private collection.

IV *Aesthetic of Fertility*

From the middle of the century a number of books were published to help the uninitiated who might have difficulty identifying a perfect prospect, or were hesitant about their taste in landscape. While this phenomenon is considered at greater length elsewhere, John Gilbert Cooper's pronouncements on the subject in his *Essays on Taste* are pertinent here in terms of expressing an aesthetic of fertility, cultivation and habitation:

Suppose you were to behold from an Eminence, thro' a small range of Mountains covered with Woods, several little streams gushing out of Rocks, . . . and a few gliding smoothly in willow-shaded Rivulets thro green Meadows, till their tributary Waters are all collected by some River God of a larger Urn, who at some few miles *distance* [author's italics] is lost in the ocean. . . Now to heighten this beautiful landscape, let us throw in Corn Fields, here and there a Country Seat, and, at proper Distances, small Hamlets, together with Spires and Towers.³⁵

By the end of the century one can almost predict the 'formula' that appealed the most, as well as the type of language used. The most favoured composition consisted of fertile 'covered' valley, rolling and 'well-wooded' hills, a meandering river (or water of some sort) and some evidence of habitation. Certainly evidence of ownership was important and most writers began their descriptions of newly encountered scenes by locating the seat of the presiding gentry. A significant proportion of travel books too, consisted of books of views of country seats. This is not surprising, given the importance attached to property and ownership during this period, together with the preference for cultivated landscapes and the increasing interest in landscape gardening. Again poetry and the travel literature are useful in terms of identifying responses to landscape. John Dyer's *Grongar hill* (1725), written about his native Carmarthenshire expressed his delight in the lush scenery around the 'Towy's flood' with the occasional hill to add variety to the compositions.³⁶

Michael Rosenthal has noted that these sorts of preferences were common among cultivated people and that they could set off a string of associations. Furthermore this kind of view was appealing not only for aesthetic but also for 'moral' reasons – that is, they were additionally satisfying because of their 'utility' as units of production.³⁷

George Lyttleton's reactions in 1755 when he toured Wales were typical of a period which preferred landscape that was lush, fertile, varied, cultivated, well-watered and 'inclosed'. He wrote that '[t]his country is admirably shaded with hedgerows. It has a lovely mixture of corn-fields and meadows, though more of the latter.'³⁸ Glowing descriptions of this type of scenery in the travel literature, such as Richard Pennant's response to the prospect of Mold (1778), continued throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century. An early nineteenth century case in point is J. T. Barber's response to the Vale of Towy in 1803:

[i]mmediatly beneath, the expansive vale of TOWEY appears in the fullest display of its charms; a hue of the richest green marks the luxuriance of the soil through the course of the valley, which, continually intersected with dusky hedge-rows, boasts all the elegance of garden parterres. The translucid Towey here wantons in perpetual variety among gay meadows and embowering plantations, where the eye with pleasure traces its fantastic meanders until they disappear behind projecting groves. The rich wood that surrounds the castellated hill clothes a precipitous descent to the water's edge, and, with other sylvan decorations of Newton park, forms the nearest boundary of the vale.³⁹

Part of the pleasure in viewing such a scene came not only from the appearance of the 'luxuriance' of the soil and the 'rich wood' bordering the 'translucid Towey' but also from the fact that this signified the productivity and commercial potential of that landscape. The river was an important component in the transport network of South Wales, as well as being used for irrigation and an integral part of the process of iron smelting, while the woods also supplied valuable timber.⁴⁰

In relation to this aesthetic, Henry Wyndham made many of the same points in his account of his tour through Monmouthshire and Wales in 1775, but with one important addition- 'The prospects are terminated at proper distances with mountains . . .'.⁴¹ Mountains were acceptable as long as they were distanced properly from the viewer. And because Wales is particularly mountainous, we must understand there to be a potential conflict between the perceived actuality of the Principality and the imposition of particular Arcadian imagery.

V *Pre-Burkian views of mountains*

Until at least the middle of the eighteenth century, mountains were seldom considered aesthetically, but were frequently regarded with fear and suspicion. During the seventeenth century, as Marjorie Hope Nicholson has pointed out, travellers and writers were all 'conditioned by their attitudes towards the grander aspects of nature by their literary and religious heritage, to such an extent that they described mountains only as books had taught them to speak.'⁴² So that, in the days before the widespread availability of guidebooks, their literary and religious education prepared people for their responses to natural scenery, particularly grand and overwhelming landscapes. This suggests that direct experience was rated below received knowledge.

It is worth considering Thomas Burnet's *The Sacred Theory of the Earth* published in 1671, and Milton's *Paradise Lost* in some detail since they were 'the two most widely read theodices of the early eighteenth century'.⁴³ That *Paradise Lost* first published in 1667 was reprinted 47 times in the eighteenth century is an indicator of its popularity.⁴⁴

Milton's highly evocative use of language and his vivid and imaginative description of the exotic and of heaven and hell (particularly his description of the latter) all fired the imagination of later poets and writers. He proposed an iconography for descriptions of hell and such like, which was rarely matched by later writers in its evocation of the din; the darkness and the hideous smells of that nether region.⁴⁵

In 1671 Thomas Burnet accompanied the Earl of Wiltshire on his Grand Tour. He began writing *The Sacred Theory of the Earth* as a result of his experiences while crossing the Alps. Before this, Burnet had still been able to believe in the notion of order and regularity in nature as reflections of God's work.⁴⁶ He wrote that 'the sight of those wild, vast and indigested heaps of Stones and Earth, did so deeply strike my fancy, that I could not ease till I could give my self some tolerable account how that confusion came in Nature.'⁴⁷ Burnet also noted that if a man:

was carri'd asleep out of a Plain Country amongst the Alps, and left there when he wak'd . . . [he] would think himself in an Incharmed Country . . . Rocks standing naked round him; and the hollow Valleys gaping under him; . . . he would be convinc'd, at least, that there are some Regions of it [the earth] strangely ruid [sic], and ruine-like.⁴⁸

Such descriptions of the mountains of Europe were included in order 'to remove that prejudice. . . That the present Earth is regularly form'd'.⁴⁹

Burnet managed to account for this chaos of 'indigested nature' by arguing that the first earth fell into an abyss of Deluge and that this 'exterior Orb of the Earth'⁵⁰ was larger than the interior which it had fallen upon, so that the fallen 'heaps' were irregular. This, he posited, was in keeping with the teaching of the scriptures which had stated that the earth had first risen from a chaos.

His use of language is particularly interesting. According to Burnet, the mountains of the Alps were unformed and irregular and he was both impressed and horrified by these forms which were: 'ruine-like', 'rubbish'. Furthermore their appearance was, 'rude', 'barren', 'des-

olate' and 'naked'. Similar and frequently identical language was to be employed later by visitors to the Welsh mountains.

Since Thomson's *Seasons* was important in disseminating key ideas about mountains, I would like to consider it at this point.⁵¹ In *Summer*, Thomson turned his attention to the Deluge and then for the first time described the wilder almost anarchic aspects of nature in Britain in a manner which seems to forcefully contradict his earlier view of the English scene. Significantly the only recognizable landscape in the Deluge at home is *Snowdonia*:

Amid Carnarvon's mountains rages loud
The repercussive roar: with mighty crush,
Into the flashing deep, from the rude rocks
Of Penmanmaur heaped hideous to the sky,⁵¹

For Thomson then, both the Deluge at home and Sublime scenery meant Snowdon. There is no record of the poet ever visiting Wales, so his reference to Snowdon at this early date is therefore both interesting and unusual. He may have been motivated by a desire to point out that the culture and scenery of 'modern' Britain was the equal of 'ancient' Europe. He was one of the first to air the notion that the British landscape (here epitomised by Caernarvonshire) had the same rich associations as Italy, Greece or Switzerland – an idea which later travel writers and artists were to take up – as we have seen.

Having then, briefly considered some of the more important literature for travellers at the beginning of the eighteenth century, I want to consider in more detail than above, one of the early accounts of a tour to Wales (when tours of this nature were still relatively rare) made by George, Lord Lyttleton in 1755, which is important because of its description of mountain scenery. His *Account of a journey into Wales: in two letters to Mr Bower* was published as part of *The works of George, Lord Lyttleton*.⁵² Lyttleton is, of course, of added interest as a patron not only of Thomson but also other writers such as Fielding and Burke. His interest in landscape improvements and prospects as well as his interest in natural scenery is evident in his delighted response to scenes of cultivation, fertility and habitation.

Lyttleton's reaction to the more mountainous regions of Wales, including Snowdon, is less enthusiastic. His letters are of interest as reactions to Welsh mountainous scenery *before* Edmund Burke published his enormously influential *Enquiry . . .*, in 1757. Lyttleton's reading of Burnet must have affected his response to Snowdon. This is clear from his record of his first impression: '[t]he formidable mountains of Snowdon, black and naked rocks, which seem to be piled one above the other. They do altogether strongly excite the idea of Burnet, of their being a fragment of a demolished world.'⁵³

In his letters it is clear that Lyttleton disliked the 'unclothed', barren appearance of these mountains. They represented nature in chaos and were thus a disruption of a safe, secure world view in which all of nature is comfortably explained as God's making. He makes this clear in his description of Berwyn mountain:

a prospect opened to us which struck the mind with awful astonishment. Nature is in all her majesty there; but it is the majesty of a tyrant, frowning over the ruins and desolation of a country . . . There is not upon these mountains a tree or a shrub, or a blade of grass; nor did we see any marks of habitations or culture in the whole space. Between them is a solitude fit for Despair to inhabit; whereas all we had seen before in Wales seemed formed to inspire the meditations of love.⁵⁴

Here Lyttleton was making what must have seemed to the contemporary reader, to have been a very 'modern' connection between mountains, solitude and despair.

Obviously then, Lyttleton was aware of current theories associated with the Sublime; of Burnet's views and of the controversy surrounding wild, grand and awesome scenery which

seemed to challenge the very nature of man's existence and previous, firmly held, religious convictions, Lyttleton's reaction to the reality of Snowdonia contrasts with Thomson's fictional description. But then Lyttleton was recording his responses to scenery as he progressed through Wales. Significantly also, unlike Thomson, Lyttleton was communicating at first hand his experience of *viewing* Sublime scenery and this may account for the difference in response. While Lyttleton admired Thomson's *Seasons* as the product of an imagination 'rich, extensive and sublime',⁵⁵ for him the physical reality of mountainous scenery was an unpleasant experience. Unpleasant because of the black and naked appearance of these 'rocks' which when viewed, were bleak and threatening.

Lyttleton's reaction to Snowdon and Berwyn mountain was closer to Burnet (whom he cited) when he wrote that these scenes were the 'fragments of a demolished world'.⁵⁶ His *Account of a Journey into Wales* is important in the history of travel literature relating to Wales, for its articulation of pre-Burkian attitudes to mountain scenery, and also because his taste is one that prevails for several decades – certainly until well into the nineteenth century – as we shall see.

John Boydell's engraving of *Snowdon*, published in 1750 is a good example of pre-Burkian Sublime. (Fig. 6) The image suggests that the artist had the same problem that Lyttleton had in associating mountains with 'art'. The view of Snowdon and the surrounding mountains shows them as barren and bleak, covered with weirdly shaped rocks – presented in fact, as a



Fig. 6 John Boydell, *A View of Snowdon in the Vale of Llanberis* (1750). Engraving. Private collection.

geological freak. It is an unappealing view of mountain scenery, in which all the shapes are rigidly defined with an attempt at topographical exactitude. Although the view does show human beings – like the men shipping slate across the water in the left foreground, some people in a boat further back and two figures on the roughly hewn steps on the right – most of it is taken up with delineating the stark surface of the mountains. Furthermore, the viewer is distanced from the scene by the slightly raised viewpoint and further blocked by the rocky outcrop that takes up a large part of the foreground. Boydell's main interest was in recording the scene and noting the peculiar shapes of the rocks. Mountains had no aesthetic or dramatic impact. The viewer has control over the classically balanced scene; a scene that was not intended to provoke terror or awe in the beholder.

This engraving fits in with the way in which the generality reacted to the region as stark and unaesthetic and is unusual in having existed at all since it can't have been an inducement to intending travellers. The question is why would Boydell have chosen to make an engraving like this of Snowdon. His reasons must have been dictated by the specifics of the site – most strikingly the rocks, which are presented as geological curiosities, but would certainly not have been an incentive to visit Wales. He may also have meant the view to have been a record of commercial interests since it depicts the transportation of slate, an industry which was to 'take-off' in north Wales and became highly lucrative in subsequent decades.

VI *Mountains and the Burkian Sublime*

The publication of Edmund Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* in 1757, was significant principally in clarifying the character of the Sublime and distinguishing it from the Beautiful, and (because the Sublime was most readily to be found in mountainous regions), in promoting an aesthetic of mountain scenery.

It should be examined within the context of the surge of aesthetic publications in the 1750's suggesting a rising popular interest in matters of taste. John Barrell has noted the expansion in the reading public during the eighteenth century which he has related to the increasing wealth of the nation. He analyses the 'concept of English culture as a source of national pride.'⁵⁷ While Barrell is mainly referring to literature, one could arguably explain the expansion of interest in the visual arts in Britain in relation to these developments in economic power and rising national pride. 'This new enthusiasm is also one reason why aesthetic theorizing became a growth industry from this time onwards'.⁵⁸ While, as we have seen, in the 1750s there were a number of publications on this subject, such as Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty*, (1753) and Cooper's *Essays on Taste* (1755), Burke's *Enquiry* was more influential. Its popularity may be most readily gauged by the fact that by the time of Burke's death in 1797, 16 editions of the book had been published. By 1782 the book was in its ninth edition.⁵⁹

Since Burke's ideas were widely influential, it is worth considering then in some detail at this stage. His theory of the Sublime made a space for an aesthetic of mountains and other phenomena (waterfalls, chasms etc.) that were not contained within concepts of order and regularity – that is, landscape that was not 'beautiful'. Burke's contribution was to address himself more particularly to a definition of Sublime scenery within an aesthetic, rather than a specifically religious or literary context.

According to Burke, pain, danger and terror were all a source of the Sublime. Since pain was a stronger sensation than pleasure it followed that terror was the strongest reaction associated with the Sublime – 'terror, also the common stock of everything that is Sublime'.⁶⁰

Astonishment was also important in this initial reaction: 'The passion caused by the great and sublime in nature, when these causes operate most powerfully, is Astonishment; . . . in which all its motions are suspended, with some degree of horror.'⁶¹

Certain qualities were associated with the Sublime – first and foremost, power; 'privations' such as vacuity, darkness, solitude and silence; vastness – here the notion of extension was important. Of the three types of extension, length, height and depth, depth was the most grand. In fact, Burke announced that looking down a precipice was the most Sublime experience. Darkness was also considered Sublime, in particular, the contrast of light and shade. A dark and gloomy mountain was more Sublime than the same mountain shining green in the sun. Similarly a cloudy sky was more Sublime than a clear blue one. The landscape of Wales then, could readily be accommodated within Burkian aesthetics.

Was the Sublime, associated with events, objects or emotional reactions? Burke seemed to consider the Sublime more as emotion that we recognize as a result of certain experiences. The very process of recognising and pinpointing emotions with the aid of imagination that Burke describes, seems to be an analytical process susceptible to the laws of reason. For Burke conformity of psychological response implied conformity of aesthetic reaction.

One of the major contributions of the *Enquiry* was that not only did Burke make a space for natural forms previously not considered aesthetic, but he also codified emotional reactions like terror and astonishment which had not previously been associated with landscape appreciation. In fact, in the conclusion to the section on taste, Burke himself said that his introduction had been 'an attempt to range and methodise some of our most leading passions'.⁶² Burke's approach then, involved an intellectual dissection of both the qualities and emotions associated with the Sublime. It seems to me that Burke's theory allowed the viewer/readers to acknowledge both the qualities inherent in the Sublime and also enabled them to *distance* themselves from such emotions. Through categorisation, the Sublime could be defused of its terrors.

One visual example demonstrating the rhetoric and theatricality which characterised the Burkian Sublime is John Warwick Smith's response to Pont Aberglaslyn in his watercolour of *The Thunderstorm* painted by that artist in the summer of 1792, when he and Julius Caesar Ibbetson accompanied Robert Fulke Greville on a tour of Wales. (Fig. 7) The watercolour depicts an incident – or as inscribed on the mount, an

Actual Occurrence, on the steepest Ascent of the Mountain Road between Pont Aberglaslyn and Tany Bwlch; during a most violent Thunder Storm, which so terrified the horses, that in consequence they have refused collar.

Merionethshire.

The view shows the phaeton on the mountain road, the driver is desperately trying to control the terrified horses while another figure (the artist?) throws up his hands in a gesture of horror and amazement. It is theatrically lit by a flash of lightning that adds to the drama of the event. The rest of the scene shows a rocky inhospitable landscape. The landscape is Burkian in the sense that the viewer is not directly involved in the scene, but responds with a frisson of fear to the event taking place – in other words reactions to the event could be categorised as 'stock' Sublime. The viewpoint is both distanced from the scene and the viewer is situated above it, giving 'us' a sense of control.

It is noticeable, however, that the sublimity of the region was emphasised more in the travel literature than in images of Snowdonia. In his *Account of some of the most Romantic Parts*



Fig. 7 John Warwick Smith, *The Thunder Storm* (1792). Watercolour. National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

of *North Wales* (1770), Joseph Cradock's description of Pont Aberglaslyn relied on literary associations, and also Burke in his admiration of the 'Finely Horrid':

but having passed the bridge, how shall I express my feelings! – the dark tremendous precipices, the rapid river roaring over disjointed rocks, black caverns, and issuing cataracts, – all serve to make this the noblest specimen of the Finely Horrid, the eye can possibly behold, – the Poet, has not described, nor the Painter pictured so gloomy a retreat, – it is the last Approach to the mansion of Pluto through the regions of Despair.⁶³

By the end of the century there were a spate of descriptions of Snowdon that employed Burkian terminology.

The *Enquiry* acknowledged, clarified and popularized the *rhetoric* of the Sublime previously explored by poets like Thomson, Milton and Gray. This involved an objectification of the emotions and persisted as a way of talking about grand and overwhelming scenery until the end of the century. While Burke's contribution was to make a space for an aesthetic of mountains and other phenomena that were not contained within concepts of order and regularity, and thus not previously associated with ideas of beauty, he also addressed himself more particularly to a definition of Sublime scenery within the context of aesthetics. Certainly I think that the *development* of an aesthetic of mountains from the end of the nineteenth century was separate but may have been parallel to the Burkian Sublime – but that is another story.

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and 1756, No. 120; Cawthorne, op. cit.

37. Jackson, *ibid.*

38. Spence, op. cit., p. 119.

39. John Barrell, *The infection of Thomas De Quincey*, Yale U.P., New Haven and London, 1991, introduction and Ch. 10.

40. *Confessions of an English opium-eater*, 1822, May 1818.

41. *The last essays of Elia*, 1833, 'Old China'.

42. Quoted by Christopher Hibbert, *The dragon wakes*, Longman, London, 1970, p. 228.

43. Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Hermit of Peking*, (1976), Penguin Books revised edition, Harmondsworth, 1978, p. 348. The 'Diary' appears in J. O. P. Bland and E. Backhouse, *China under the Empress Dowager*, William Heinemann, London, 1910, Ch. XVII, 'The Diary of his excellency Ching Shan'.

NOTES TO PAGES 9-24

1 J. Lempriere. *Bibliotheca Classica; or, A Classical Dictionary*. . . . Reading, 1788.

2 First published as *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*. (*The Old Arcadia*) in 1577. In 1593 a hybrid version was published which included sections from *The Old Arcadia* and was influential for later writers.

3 Sir Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (*The Old Arcadia*). ed. J. Robertson, (Oxford, 1977)

4 G. Lyttleton, *The Works of George, Lord Lyttleton*, 3 vols (London, 1774); ed. J. Dodsley (London, 1776) p. 339.

5 S. J. Pratt, *Gleanings through Wales, Holland and Westphalia; with views of peace and war at home and abroad*. (London, 1796) pp. 26-7.

6 H. P. Wyndham, *A Gentlemans Tour through Monmouthshire and Wales* (London, 1775); S. Ireland, *Picturesque views on the River Wye*. . . . (London, 1797).

7 The standard work here is E. W. Manwaring, *Italian Landscape and Eighteenth Century England., a study chiefly of the influence of Claude Lorraine and Salvator Rosa on English Taste 1740-1800*. (New York and Oxford, 1925) especially chapter 3. See also *Classic Ground, British Artists and the Landscape of Italy 1740-1830*. (Exh. cat. ed. D. Bull; Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, 1981.)

8 *Richard Wilson, The Landscape of Reaction*. (exh. cat. ed. D. Solkin) Tate Gallery, London, 1982 p. 82).

9 *Ibid.* pp. 7-10.

10 For nature as a validating ideology, see A. Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology. The English Rustic Tradition 1740-1860*. (London, 1987) pp. 17 ff.

11 *Ibid.* p. 93.

12 See Bermingham (op. cit. p. 20) on the 'natural' and the appearance of naturalness that masks the

facility with which art is used 'to collapse the opposition between nature and the cultural processes that appropriate it'.

13 A more realistic representation could be loaded in the sense that it was more particularly suited to the tastes of a wider class group that would have included the 'middling' classes. See also J. Barrell, 'The Public prospect and the private view'. J. C. Eade, ed.; *Projecting the landscape* (Canberra, Australian National University, 1987).

14 Lempriere, op. cit.

15 T. Pennant, *Tours in Wales*, vol. ii (London, 1781) pp. 150, 168.

16 *Turner In Wales*. (Exh. cat. ed. A. Wilton; Mostyn Art Gallery, Llandudno, 1984. pp. 28-9) In so doing he was making a distinction that would have been understood by comparatively large numbers of people who were conversant with Burke's ideas, which I detail below.

17 According to the title, it is after a painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds. This seems unlikely on stylistic grounds, Furthermore there is no mention of the painting in any of the Reynold's catalogues, nor is it mentioned in the catalogue of the sale of the artist's works after his death. Dr. Martin Postle has kindly suggested that the explanation may lie in the general confusion over the titles of some of Reynold's works at his death.

18 This is evident in some of Wilson's Welsh scenes painted during the 1760's and in some of Sandby's paintings and aquatints of the 1770's, For example, Sandby's aquatint of *Conway Castle in the county of Caernarvon*, no. xi in *Views in Worth Wales*. 1776; Wilson's *View near Wynnstay the seat of Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn Bt.* (1770-1) and *Dinas Bran from Llangollen* (1770-1), both in the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.

19 Solkin, op. cit, p. 95.

20 See Manwaring op. cit.: J. Barrell and J. Bull, *The Penguin book of English Pastoral Verse* (London, 1974); J. Barrell, *The idea of landscape and the sense of place*. (Cambridge, 1972).

21 See S. Smiles, 'Turner in the West Country: From topography to idealisation', in *Projecting the landscape* op. cit. and *The Discovery of the The Lake District*, (Exh. cat. ed. John Murdoch; Victoria and Albert Museum. London, 1984.

22 T. McLean, *Picturesque description of North Wales* (London, 1823).

23 Indeed the Lakes appear to have been considered a more suitable candidate for a British Arcadia (in the Claudian Gaspardian sense) than Wales.

24 Pratt, op. cit. p. 68.

25 The Pastoral and what happened to it has been dealt with at some length by others. See R. Williams, *The Country and the city* (London, 1973):

- Barrell and Bull, op. cit. For the connection between poetry and eighteenth century/early nineteenth century painting see J. Barrell, *The Dark side of the landscape. The Rural poor in English painting 1730–1840*. (Cambridge, 1980): Solkin op. cit; M. Rosenthal *Constable. The Painter and his landscape* (New Haven, 1983).
- 26 R. Williams, op. cit, p. 44.
- 27 Adam the goodliest man of men since borne
His sons . . .
. . . by a fresh fountain side
They sat them down, and after no more toil . . .
. . . to their supper fruits they fell,
Nectarin Fruits which the compliant boughes
Yielded to them, side-long as they sat recline.
J. Milton, *Paradise Lost* (London, 1667); ed. H. Parbisure, *The Poetical Works of John Milton, Vol. I. Paradise lost*, (Oxford, 1952)
- 28 Barrell and Bull, op. cit. p. 4.
- 29 Thomson first published *Winter* in 1726. This was followed by the publication of *Summer* in 1727; *Spring* in 1728 and *Autumn* 1730.
- 30 It reached its thirty-third edition by the end of the century (British Library catalogue).
- 31 (line 397).
The shepherd sit, and whet the sounding shears.
The housewife waits to roll her fleecy stores,
With all her gay-drest maidens attending round.
One . . .
Shines o'er the rest, the pastoral queen, and rays
Her smiles sweet-beaming on her shepherd-king;
J. L. Robertson ed., *The Seasons*. London, 1908.
The complexities of the poem are discussed by Barrell, *The Dark side of the landscape* . . . op. cit.; Solkin, op. cit. and Rosenthal, *Constable* . . . op. cit.
- 32 Barrell and Bull, op. cit. p. 295.
- 33 Pratt, op. cit. p. 31.
- 34 *North West view of St. Donats Castle* (no. IV. in *Views in South Wales*, 1775) employs a raised viewpoint and conventional framing devices to offset the castle in the centre of the painting. In the foreground is a pleasant pastoral scene – on the left a shepherd with sheep, while over on the right a young woman engages in idle conversation with a 'swain' leaning against a tree. Little labour is engaged in by the 'hale and happy' swains and damsels in this lush and pleasant setting. The dominating presence is that of the castle. The engraving celebrates leisure, tranquility and the virtues of a simple rural existence from which toil seems to have been banished.
- 35 J. G. Cooper, *Essays in Taste*. (London, 1757).
- 36 John Dyer, *Grongar Hill* in R. Lonsdale ed, *The New Oxford Book of Eighteenth century Verse*. (Oxford, 1984).
- 37 M. Rosenthal, 'The Landscape moralised in mid eighteenth-century Britain', *Australian Journal of Art*, iv, (1985), pp. 40–2. See also Barrell, *The Idea of landscape* op. cit.
- 38 Lyttleton, op. cit, p. 336.
- 39 J. T. Barber, *A Tour throughout South Wales . . .* (London 1803) p. 129.
- 40 See Rosenthal, 'The Landscape moralised' op. cit. Also Solkin, op. cit. (pp. 28 ff.) for his discussion of the way in which Boydell's views were admired for their specific description of commercial and maritime prosperity.
- 41 Wyndham, op. cit. p. 201.
- 42 M. H. Nicholson, *Mountain gloom and mountain glory. The Development of aesthetics of the infinite*. (Cornell, 1959) p. 60.
- 43 Ibid. p. 273.
- 44 See British Library catalogue.
- 45 . . . the sudden blaze
Farr round illum'd Hell: highly they rag'd . . .
There stood a Hill not farr whose griesly top
Belch'd fire and rowling smoak; the vast entire
Shon with a glossie scurff, undoubted sign
That in his womb was hid metallic ore,
The work of Sulfur . . .
Paradise Lost, op. cit. Book 1.
- 46 Marjorie Hope Nicholson, op. cit. p. 212.
- 47 T. Burnet, *The Sacred Theory of the Earth*. 1st ed., 1671 (London, 1697) p. 95. 48, Ibid. p. 96.
- 49 Ibid. p. 97.
- 50 Ibid. pp. 99–100.
- 51 *Summer*, op. cit. Certainly Thomson's description of the exotic and of far away places and then of the Deluge was fired by *Paradise Lost*. Again the rhetorical Sublime had already been suggested by Milton in poetry and visually by Salvator Rosa and both Nicholas and Gaspar Poussin, as a setting for history paintings in a European context, but so far had not been found appropriate for representations of the British scene.
- 52 These ideas were given a public airing when the letters were also published in Wyndham's *Tour* . . . op. cit., of 1781.
- 53 Lyttleton, op. cit. p. 340.
- 54 Ibid. p. 338.
- 55 Ibid. p. 342.
- 56 Lyttleton, *Dialogues of the Dead* (London, 1760) p. 129. Quoted in Wilton, op. cit.
- 57 J. Barrell, *English literature in history 1730–80*. (London, 1983) p. 21.
- 58 M. Rosenthal, *British landscape painting* (Oxford, 1982) p. 45.
- 59 While both the print runs and therefore the readership of these editions are difficult to determine, it must be remembered that the actual readership would have been several times the number of volumes sold, as the book would also have been

- passed around via circulating libraries. See also I. Watt, *The Rise of the novel* (London, 1957).
- 60 E. Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry into the origin of our ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London, 1757) reprinted (London, 1970) Pt. ii. Section v.
- 61 Ibid. Pt. ii. Section i. It is worth pointing out that other authors disagreed – most notably Payne-Knight: ‘the word *sublime*, both according to its use and etymology must signify *high* or *exalted*; and, if an individual chooses that . . . it should signify *terrible*, he only involves his meaning in a confusion of terms’. R. Payne-Knight, *An Analytical Inquiry Into the Principles of Taste* (London, 1805) p. 332.
- 62 Ibid. Introduction.
- 63 J. Cradock, *Letters from Snowdon . . .*, (1st ed. London 1770) (London, 1777) p. 37.

NOTES TO PAGES 25–36

- 1 Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York, 1901.39.271. See R. P. Wunder: ‘The Architect’s Eye’, *Cooper Union Museum Chronicle*, iii (September 1962), pp. 3–52 (31, no. 89), where the date is given as ‘about 1794’; and J. Harris: *A Catalogue of British Drawings for Architecture . . . in American Collections*, (Upper Saddle River, 1971), p. 103. The accession number given for the drawing by Harris (1901.39.241) is incorrect, as is the date (of 1797), and the size should read 475 × 318 mm (not 320 × 240 mm).
- 2 Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Roma (hereafter ANSL), Archivio vol. 55, fol. 24r. The fullest account to date of Gandy’s participation in the *concorso* can be found in B. Lukacher: ‘Joseph Michael Gandy: The Poetical Representation and Mythography of Architecture’, Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware (1987), pp. 6–23.
- 3 The purpose of the *prova* is still often misunderstood. See, for example, A. A. Tait: *Robert Adam: Drawings and Imagination*, (Cambridge, 1993), p. 59, for the suggestion that the 1758 *prova* of the Scottish architect Robert Mylne was a ‘bizarre thanks-offering’ to the Accademia di San Luca.
- 4 Sir John Soane’s Museum, London, Typed Transcript of Gandy’s Italian Letters (hereafter Gandy Letters), pp. 38–39. Another copy of this transcript exists at the British Architectural Library.
- 5 ANSL, vol. 53, fols. 33v–36r and vol. 180, carta 20. Much of this documentation has been published in L. Pirota: ‘Thomas Harrison architetto inglese, accademico di San Luca per sovrano motu proprio’, *Strenna dei Romanisti*, xxi (1960), pp. 257–63.
- 6 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Diario Ordinario*, no. 8484, (19 June 1773), pp. 12–13.
- 7 See D. Stillman: ‘British Architects and Italian Architectural Competitions, 1758–1780’, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, xxxii (1973), pp. 43–66. Harrison’s experience bore out the disdain for the Roman *concorsi* expressed in 1762 by George Richardson who thought that ‘if a Student have good Interest he may obtain a praemium tho’ of no great Merit’ (Stillman: ‘British Architects’, p. 43), and the opinion of George Dance the Younger who, in choosing to compete at Parma in 1763, wrote that ‘in Rome the judgment is so partial and protections of Cardinals, Princes etc. are of such consequence that in reality little honor is to be gained by it’ (Stillman: ‘British Architects’, p. 44). Conversely, however, British architects happily exploited the honorary membership of Italian academies available to them (see F. Salmon: ‘British Architects and the Florentine Academy, 1753–1794’, *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, xxxiv (1990), pp. 199–214).
- 8 ANSL, vol. 55, fols. 6v–7r.
- 9 Gandy Letters, p. 44.
- 10 ANSL, vol. 55, fol. 20v; Gandy Letters, p. 67.
- 11 ANSL, vol. 55, fol. 24r: ‘Prospetto con indicazione della pianta di un Magnifico Arco Trionfale’.
- 12 W. Sandby: *The History of the Royal Academy*, 2 vols (London, 1862), 2, p. 412.
- 13 P. Marconi, A. Cipriani and E. Valeriani: *I disegni di architettura dell’Archivio Storico dell’Accademia di San Luca*, 2 vols [fully illustrated] (Rome, 1974), 1, nos. 908 and 913. In addition to the drawings of Gandy, Campana and Duran, two further sets survive for the first class in architecture, by Basilio Mazzoli and Giovanni Lazzarini. Their *provas* are also still at the academy, (nos. 922 and 927).
- 14 ANSL, vol. 55, fol. 25r: ‘In Architettura: Premio Separato in Prima Classe seg[nato] a Giuseppe Gandij Inglese. L’Accademia ha creduto di dare il Premio separato a questo Giovane in vista del Merito del Disegno senza collocarlo fra gli altri della Prima Classe per essersi scostato dal soggetto proposto. Primo Premio seg[nato] a Sig. Giovanni Campana Napoletano, Giorgio Duran Spagnolo lo seg[nato] a 2’ [during the *prova* candidates were identified by number only, and Duran’s number 2 can be seen at the bottom left of figure 3]. The decision regarding Gandy was also inscribed on the Englishman’s plan (Fig. 4 here). See Stillman: ‘British Architects’, p. 44, n. 7, and *Idem*, *English Neo-classical Architecture*, 2 vols (London, 1988), 2, p. 534, n. 78. Stillman omits to mention that Campana was first prize winner equally with Duran.
- 15 Gandy Letters, p. 70.
- 16 See A. Busiri Vici: ‘Giuseppe Barberi architetto romano giacobino’, *Capitolium*, xxxvi, no. 10 (October 1961), pp. 3–14, and no. 11 (November 1961), pp. 3–17; F. Fasolo: ‘Contributo alla