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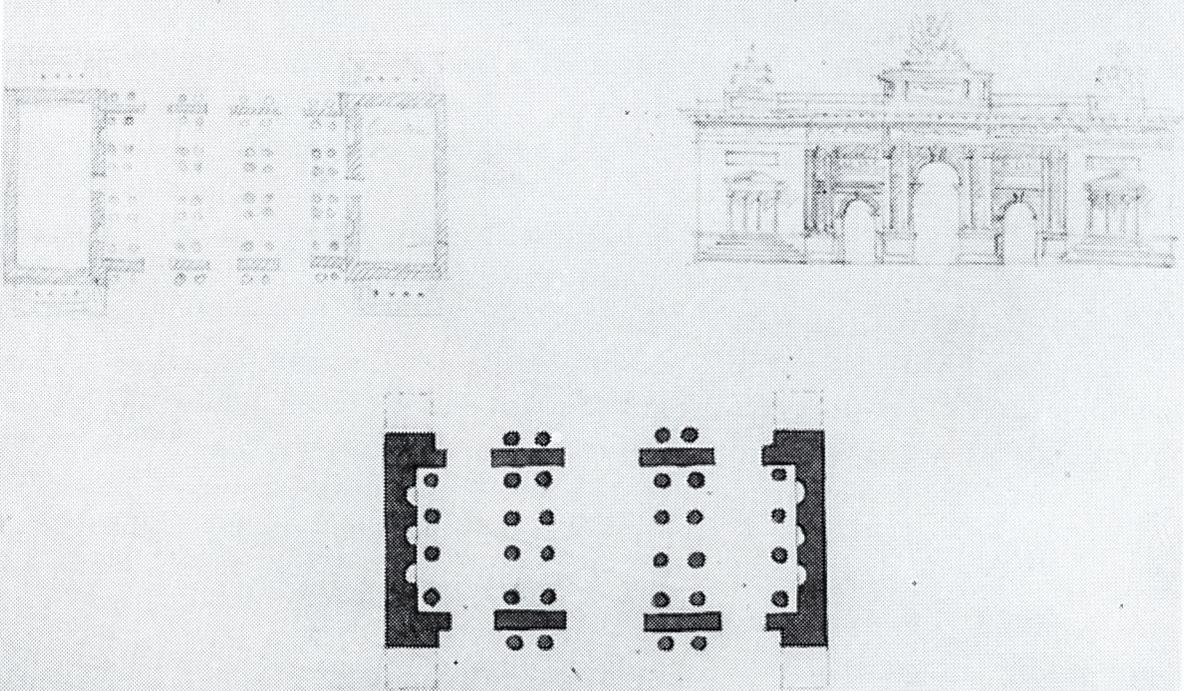
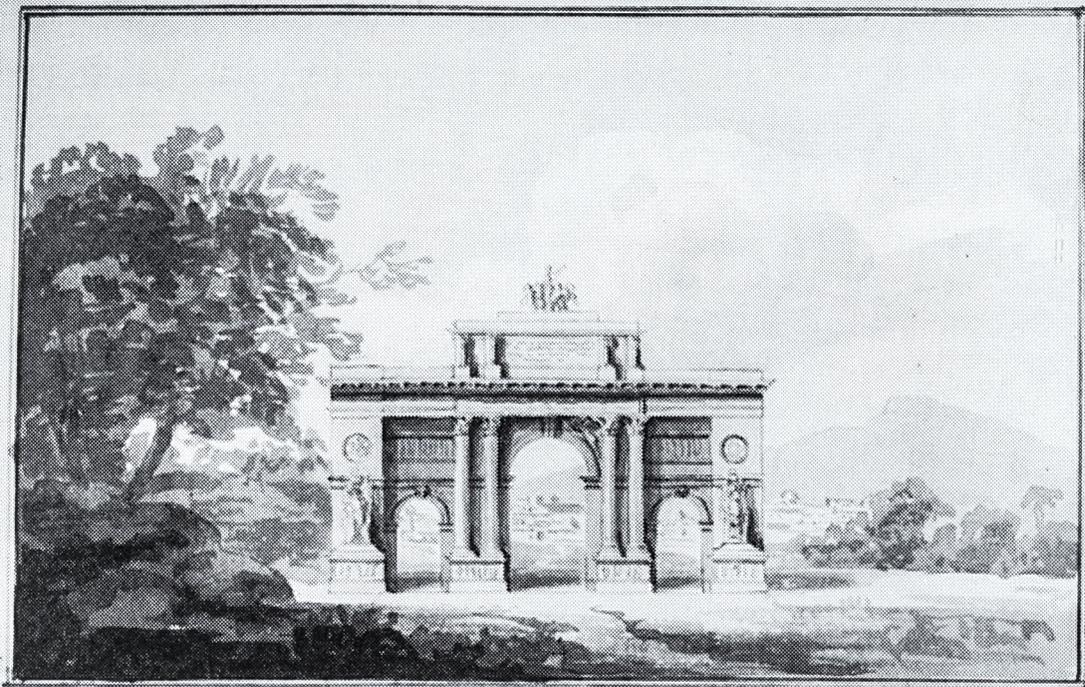
An Unaccountable Enemy: Joseph Michael Gandy and the Accademia di San Luca in Rome

Frank Salmon

The collection of the Cooper-Hewitt Museum in New York contains a previously unreproduced student drawing by Joseph Michael Gandy.¹ (Fig. 1) The drawing, showing Neo-classical designs for a triumphal arch in a picturesque setting, offers in itself an attractive insight to the ideas of a young English architect at the close of the eighteenth century. It also belongs, however, to a wider context, for it was executed exactly two hundred years ago during the two hours following noon on 27 May 1795 as Gandy's extemporaneous *prova* for the *Concorso Clementino* of that year held by the Accademia di San Luca in Rome.² The architecture *prova* was effectively an examination in design which provided the judges (comprising all of the architect-members of the academy who chose to attend) with evidence of a candidate's ability additional to that provided by design drawings on a specified subject given out by the institution many months earlier.³

Gandy (1771–1843), a pupil of James Wyatt and later to become famous as the visionary draughtsman working for John Soane, had arrived in Rome in early July 1794.⁴ More than two decades had elapsed since any British architect had entered one of the competitions organized by the Accademia di San Luca. In 1773 Thomas Harrison had competed in the *Concorso Balestra*, only to be placed third behind two Italians. On that occasion the judgement had been so clearly partial that Harrison successfully petitioned Pope Clement XIV to force the academy to elect him *Accademico di Merito*, or full member.⁵ Although this result arguably led to useful publicity for Harrison (it was reported in full in the Rome newsletter of the day⁶), travelling British architects must have wondered whether the acquisition of Italian academic credentials was worth such trouble, especially once the newly founded Royal Academy in Britain had established comparable prizes for students and memberships for professionals. Harrison's experience effectively ended the sequence which had seen three British architects enter competitions of the Accademia di San Luca between 1758 and 1773, and two the *concorso* of the academy at Parma within the same period.⁷

Although Gandy had won the silver and the gold medals of the Royal Academy in 1789 and 1790 respectively, he none the less determined on arrival at Rome to become an entrant in the first (the most exacting) of the three classes in architecture of the *Concorso Clementino*. The first class subject for 1795, a noble sepulchral chapel, had been set by Melchior Passalacqua on 1 December 1793, six months before Gandy's arrival in the city.⁸ On 16 October 1794 the architect wrote informing his father that 'I am drawing for the Gold Medal here. The designs are made and half finished, and they have at present the approbation of all'.⁹ On 12 April 1795 the academy chose 15 May as the date when submission of designs and the *prova* examination would take place, but on 24 April Gandy wrote to his father saying that the *concorso* 'has been delayed by some of the Candidates who have not



Prova di Giuseppe Gandy Inglese

Fig. 1 Joseph Michael Gandy, Two Plans and Elevations for a Triumphal Arch, 27 May 1795; Graphite, Pen and Ink, Brush, Grey Wash; 47.5 × 31.8 cm. Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York, Friends of the Museum Purchase DP1901.39.271

their drawings ready, and which power any candidate has so do not be surprised if it should be delayed longer'.¹⁰ The competitors finally presented themselves at the academy's rooms in Via Bonella near the Forum on 27 May, as seen above. One can only imagine the Englishman's surprise and delight when the subject for the *prova*, the elevation and plan of a magnificent triumphal arch, was announced by Virgilio Bracci,¹¹ for it was a triumphal arch design which had won Gandy the gold medal of the Royal Academy in London five years previously.¹²

Although Gandy's Royal Academy gold medal design is not known to survive, it is possible that he reused elements of it for the *prova* carried out in Rome since this is, by any standards, an accomplished drawing for the work of two hours. (Fig. 1) Taking the paper on the vertical axis, Gandy first experimented in pencil across the sheet two thirds of the way down. His initial plan proposed a tripartite arch as deep as a propylaeum, flanked either side by large rooms (possibly functioning as guard chambers, although Gandy went no further than writing '*Camera per . . .*' on the plan). The front and rear elevations of these flanks were to have small blind tetrastyle porticos, and the rooms were to be entered from the central cross axis beneath the arch. This created a problem, as Gandy intended to place the 52 columns inside the arch on continuous plinths running through the structure from front to rear. Entry to the rooms would thus only be possible from the lateral bays of the arch and by breaking the two plinths at either side. Furthermore, the presence of the two rooms gave the elevation a dull horizontality, and offsetting this by the placement of sculptured trophies at roof level either side diminished the power of the central feature with its trophies. Gandy's response to these problems was to simplify the design by the removal of the side rooms. Retaining most of the features from the central part of his initial elevation, he produced a plan at the bottom of the sheet in which 24 inner columns could stand free on pedestals, producing an open effect not dissimilar to that employed so successfully by William Chambers for the Strand entrance to Somerset House. Having arrived at this felicitous solution, Gandy then turned to the top half of the sheet and placed his elevation in a landscape reminiscent of that of the Campagna with Rome in the distance, using grey washes and even ruling a border to give the effect of a presentation watercolour.

The quality of Gandy's work can be seen clearly if his *prova* is compared with those of two other entrants for the first class in architecture: a Neapolitan, Giovanni Campana, and a Spaniard, Giorgio Duran.¹³ (Figs. 2 and 3) Campana, given a much larger sheet of paper than Gandy or Duran, envisaged a very simple plan of four L-shaped piers, each outer face decorated with pairs of columns. The piers support a drum and small hemispherical dome, surmounted by a colossal figure of Pope Pius VI on a pedestal. The elevation is dominated by disproportionate figurative sculpture, including a row of four acolytes at the base of the drum carrying unfeasibly large swags. Like Gandy, Duran designed a tripartite arch, proposing not two but four small chambers. Unlike Gandy, however, Duran persisted with these chambers and thereby produced a dull horizontal elevation, unsatisfactorily terminated by the edges of the sheet. The central arched attic, with its winged reliefs and unidentified figure on top, appears to bear little relation to the rest of the design. In contrast to the sureness of Gandy's handling of the problems, both Campana's and Duran's sheets show many pencil pentimenti, Duran having even resorted to ruling a series of grids onto the paper.

When the judgements of the first class in architecture were made on 28 May, the minutes of the academy first record that Gandy was to be awarded a 'separate prize' as his designs, though of merit, could not be premiated in the usual way because they had 'departed from the subject specified'. The first prize proper was then awarded equally to Campana and Duran.¹⁴ This prosaic statement, however, conceals the tumultuous events which had in

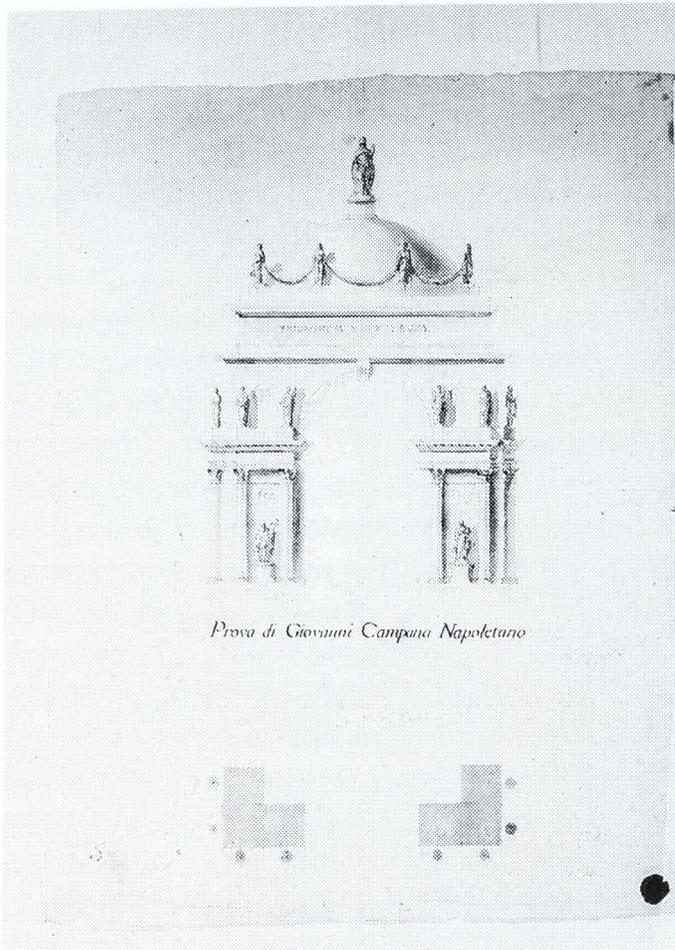


Fig. 2 Giovanni Campana, Elevation and Half Plan of a Triumphal Arch; 27 May 1795; Pen and Ink, Wash; 67 × 51 cm. Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Rome, no. 908.

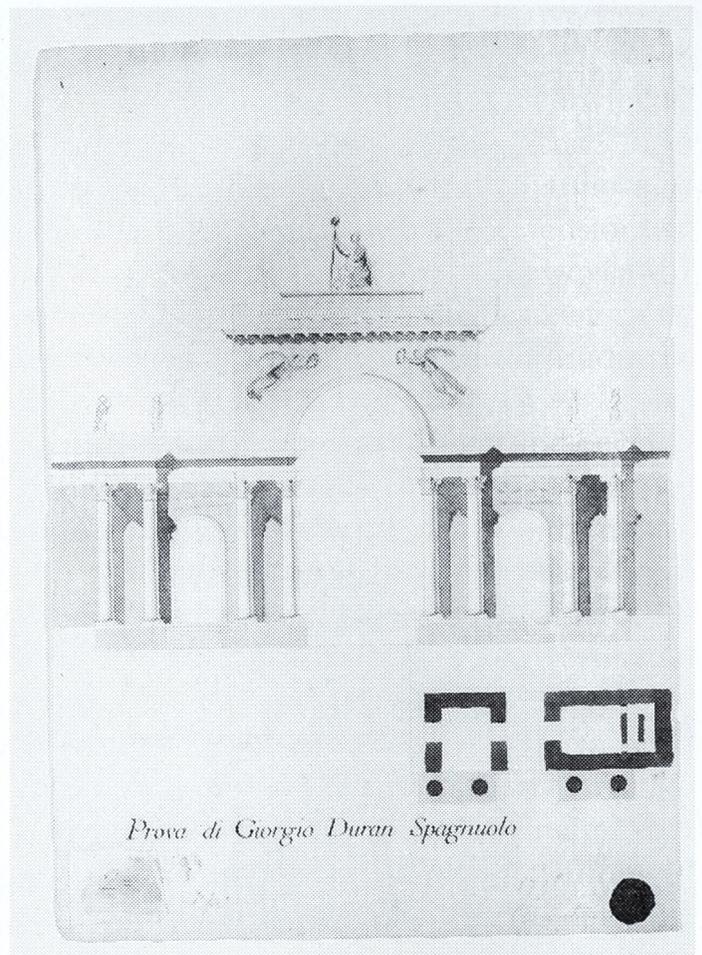


Fig. 3 Giorgio Duran, Elevation and Half Plan of a Triumphal Arch; 27 May 1795; Pen and Ink, Wash; 55 × 36 cm. Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Rome, no. 913.

reality surrounded the competition. The fortuitous survival of Gandy's letters provides his view of what happened, but even Gandy did not know the whole truth of the affair which, as will be seen below, represents a truly scandalous example of hypocrisy and partiality.

On 28 May Gandy wrote to his father: 'I have unaccountably met with an enemy, whose invidious insinuations have gained so much strength against me and my designs for the Premium that it has put my drawings out of the usual order and regulations of the Academicians'.¹⁵ This antagonist was the Roman architect Giuseppe Barberi (1746–1809), a notoriously irascible Jacobite.¹⁶ Barberi had been placed third in the third class of the *Concorso Clementino* of 1762 for his measured drawings and reconstructions of the Basilica of Maxentius,¹⁷ becoming *Accademico di Merito* in July 1787, and setting the first class architecture subject later the same year for the 1789 *Concorso Clementino*.¹⁸ Gandy reported that Barberi 'for no certain reason conceived the strongest hatred one person can [have] for another towards me'. He suspected, however, that Barberi was acting in support of other competitors, for he wrote: 'I must tell you his son was one of the candidates against me, besides a pupil of Mr Barberia's'. Gandy was in fact partly mistaken in this. Although Barberi was aggressively partisan in favour of his family (in 1794 he had had the chaplain of the academy dismissed so that he could secure the post for his third son Scipione¹⁹), his second son Paolo Emilio was actually an entrant for (and indeed winner of the first prize in) the architecture second class of 1795, and thus was not in direct competition with Gandy.²⁰ The Neapolitan

Giovanni Campana who shared the first class first prize with Duran was, however, Giuseppe Barberi's pupil.

The night before submission of the sepulchral chapel designs to the academy was due, Barberi had suddenly claimed that Gandy had plagiarized drawings of his own sent to England some years previously with a Mr Manley.²¹ A shocked Gandy ('you may conceive how I was alarmed') enlisted the support of the English Neo-classical painter and member of the academy, Guy Head.²² According to Gandy, Head informed the academicians that Barberi's claims were:

absolute falsehood, as he had seen me at different times make the sketches of the whole. The Academicians' reply was that it would entirely depend on the proven (or proof drawing), and unless Mr Barberia would bring drawings or copies of what he had sent, and also prove that I had seen them, it would answer no purpose his making a protest for the rejection of myself.²³

Barberi, however, was not to be deterred from interfering with the competition. Gandy's letter continued:

On the day of the prova Mr Barberia again endeavoured to baffle me and against all rule insisted upon having the subject he should give put for the prova, the common way is for every Academician to put his subject in the urn, from which one is drawn, which rule they followed though much against his will as I make no doubt he had prepared his son for the Idea.

As seen above, the random selection of Bracci's triumphal arch as the subject of the *prova* suited Gandy better than Barberi can have known. Scrutiny of the *provas* certainly formed a part of the judgement process,²⁴ and Gandy reported that: 'I made in the time allowed (two hours) two ideas both superior as they themselves say to any of the others'. Barberi, however, was still not to be defeated:

and as he saw the Academicians inclined to favour me . . . began by criticising on every part of the drawing first sent in [the sepulchral chapel designs], and at last made out that they were not answerable to the description of the subject printed . . . this then being a clause by which they could reject me entirely, which Mr Barberia would have done, out aside my performances and of course my prova.

Such, then, were the circumstances behind the simple statement in the academy's archives that Gandy was to be premiated separately for having departed from the specified subject. Whilst the academicians evidently accepted Barberi's objections, however, it might be wondered whether the grounds for Gandy's exclusion were reasonable or whether the decision had been taken merely in order to pacify their truculent colleague.

Passalacqua's subject had called for a noble sepulchral chapel with symmetrical stairs, majestically elevated from the floor of a great circular piazza enclosed within a continuous colonnaded portico, itself raised on steps or sloping ground. The chapel was to have a principal altar and four subsidiary ones for masses of sufferance, and the stairs were to give access to a crypt, again with altars. Remembrance chapels might be situated in the colonnade around the piazza, and a modest residence for clergy was to be provided.²⁵ When Gandy's designs are considered, it is evident that he fulfilled these requirements closely.²⁶ (Figs. 4, 5, and 6) His plan shows the circular colonnade set within a square enclosing wall, entered on four sides through hexastyle porticos. (Fig. 4) This arrangement enabled him to use the four corner spaces between circle and square to provide accommodation on the monastic model for fifty priests: a refectory, chapter house, library, sacristy, hospital, guest house and quarters for the superior at ground level, with monks' cells above. From the raised outer colonnade, four further colonnades (intended to provide cover from the rain and the sun) led from the entrance porticos to the circular chapel itself. This had a central altar under a canopy of six columns and four subsidiary altars in niches around the sides, alternating with the four doors. The

elevation shows the austere complex from the exterior, with its Roman doric porticos and niches for figures and trophies. (Fig. 5) The central chapel rises behind, surmounted by a Pantheon dome. The section (not reproduced here) suggests that Gandy allowed ample space in the crypts beneath the central chapel and covered walkways for the required lower altars.²⁷

It is therefore hard to envisage the grounds on which Barberi was able to persuade his fellow academicians to exclude Gandy's designs. Possibly he criticized the employment of the colonnades linking the outer ring of the piazza to the central chapel, which form such a striking element in the splendid perspective view. (Fig. 6) Neither Duran nor Campana linked the chapel to the colonnade in this way.²⁸ (Figs. 7 and 8) Duran drew on the round piazza theme to produce a plan almost entirely formed of concentric circles. Whilst this enabled him to design with a profusion of columns (Greek Doric for the outer colonnade and Corinthian around and within the sepulchral chapel), it also meant that four service rooms around the chapel were awkwardly narrow and curved in shape. Campana submitted three different sets of drawings for the *concorso*, the plan displaying his first 'idea' and his second and third 'ideas' together on the left.²⁹ (Fig. 8) In his first 'idea', Campana set the circular piazza within a square, as Gandy had done, but gave the corners bold pyramids. His sepulchral chapel was entered on four sides by decastyle porticos of double depth.³⁰

Another point of difference was that Gandy's plan envisaged the sepulchral chapel itself as the location for acts of public devotion, for which purpose he provided galleries for musicians,³¹ whereas Duran and Campana responded to the invitation in the specification to place chapels for this purpose in the colonnade around the piazza. The final regard in which Gandy

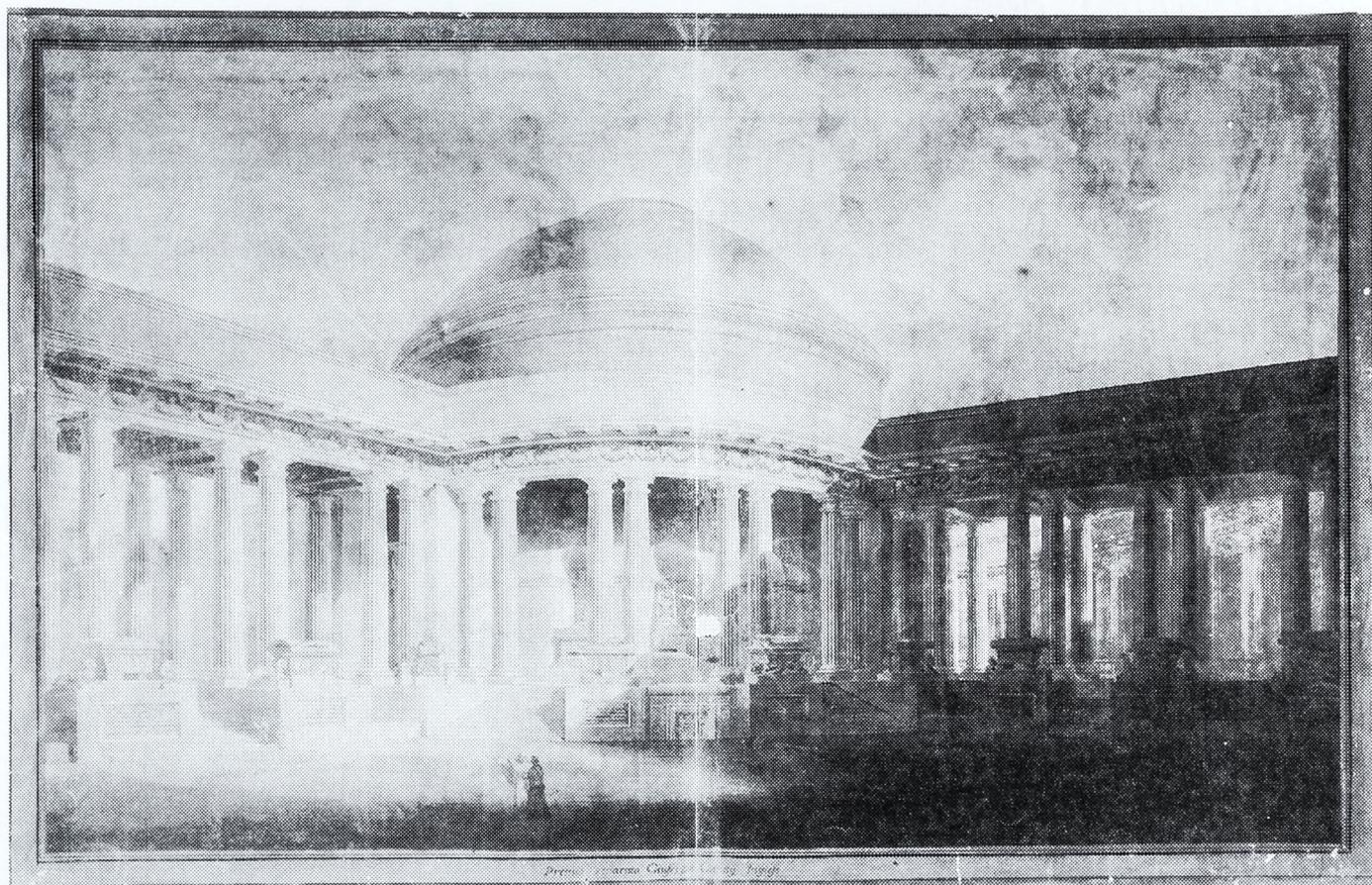


Fig. 6 Joseph Michael Gandy, Perspective of a Sepulchral Chapel; July 1794–27 May 1795; Oil on Paper; 60 × 100 cm. Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Rome, no. 917.

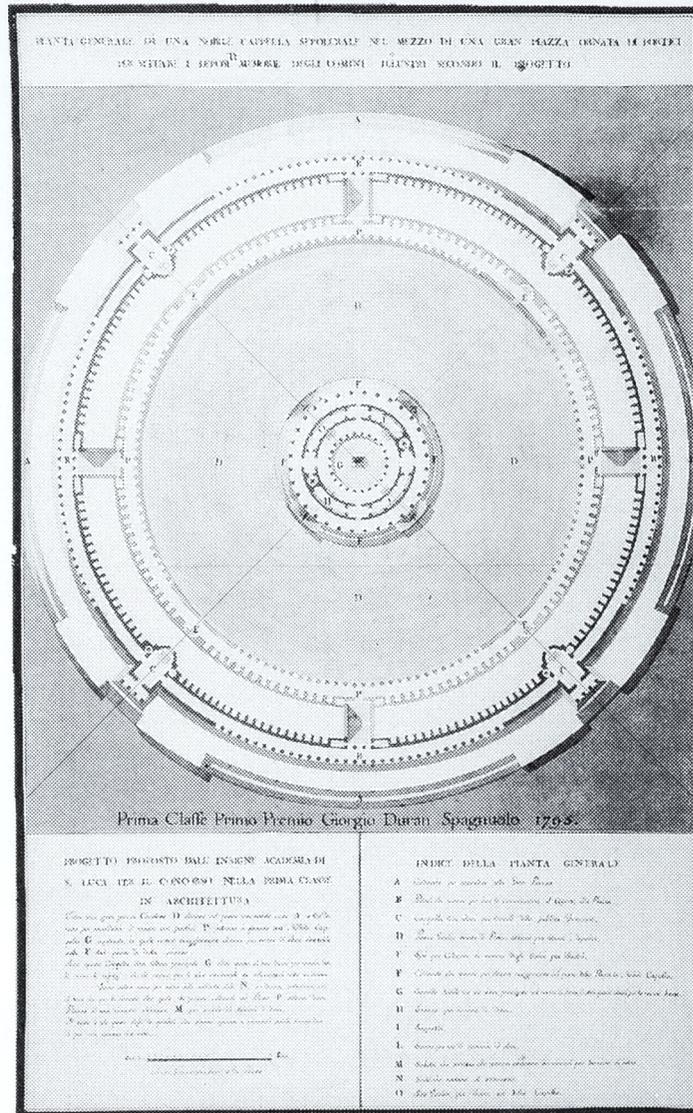


Fig. 7 Giorgio Duran, Plan of a Sepulchral Chapel;
 1 December 1793–27 May 1795;
 Pen and Ink, Wash; 100 × 60 cm.
 Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Rome, no. 909.

may have been open to criticism lay in the scale and placing of the clergy accommodations between the circular colonnade and the outer wall. Whilst the subject specification was clearly open to such an interpretation, both Duran and Campana incorporated these features into the substructures of the sepulchral chapel itself.³² (Figs. 9 and 10) With the exception of Campana's second 'idea', the result of these decisions was to produce highly impracticable living areas.

Attention to practical function and construction (or even constructability), however, were clearly insignificant factors in the minds of the architect-academicians who judged the *concorsi* generally in the later eighteenth century, coming well behind their admiration for megalomaniacal scale. In this regard, it must be admitted that the chapel drawings of both Duran and Campana are far more impressive than those of Gandy, a somewhat ironic point in the light of Gandy's later reputation as author of the sublime images produced in Soane's office. Duran's drawings, in particular, each a metre in width and with their pink, crimson, orange and grey washes, represent brilliant imaginative architecture. It surely strikes us as odd, however, that the author of such magnificent drawings was only capable of producing a design of

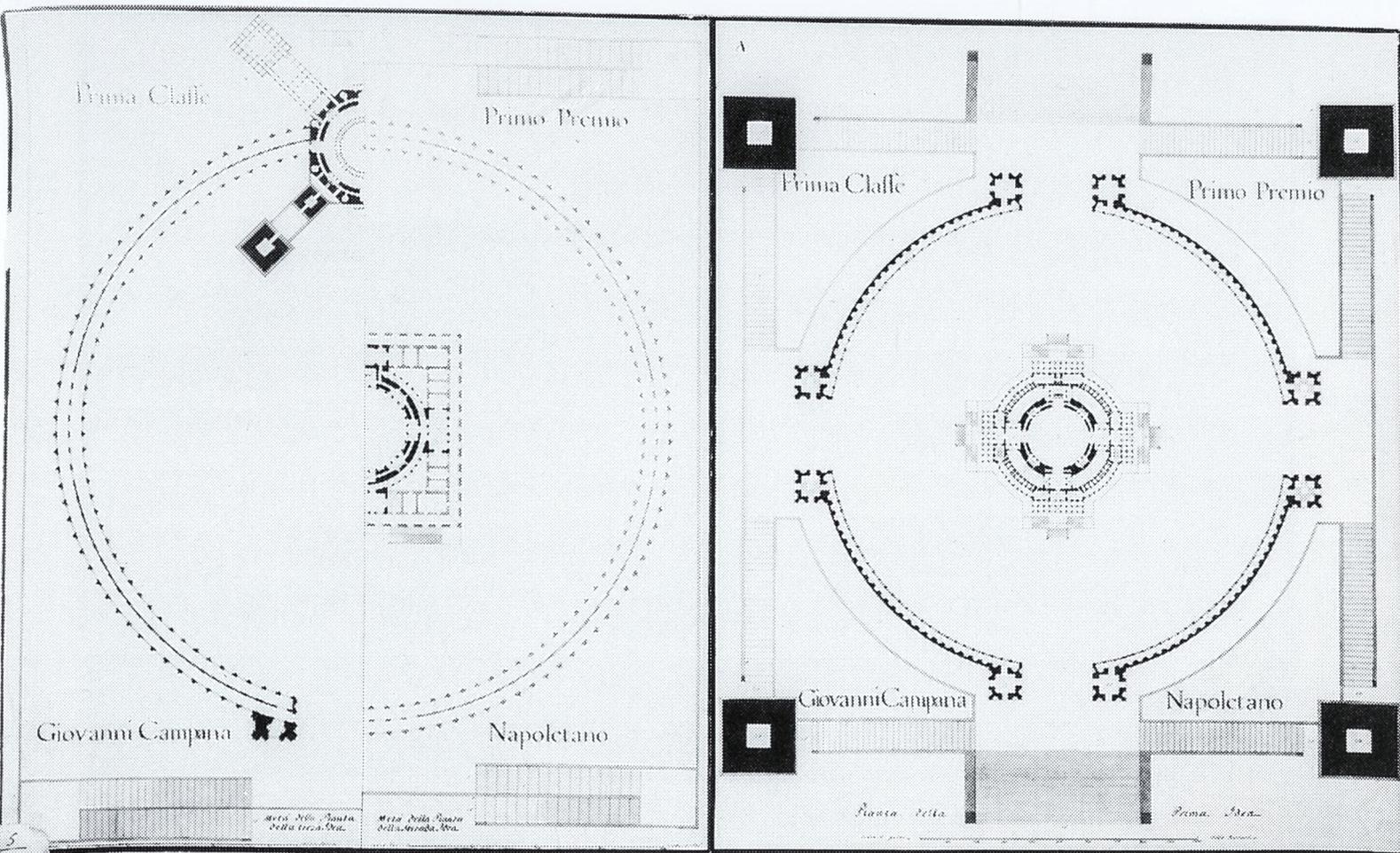


Fig. 8 Giovanni Campana, Plans of Three 'Ideas' for a Sepulchral Chapel; 1 December 1793–27 May 1795; Pen and Ink, Wash; 60 × 102 cm. Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, no. 904.

poor quality when confronted with a blank sheet and two hours in which to work. (Fig. 3) Although little is known about Duran, it must be likely that he was a son of the Spanish painter Gabriel Duran (1749–1806), who lived at Rome from 1776 until his death, becoming *Accademico di Merito* of the Accademia di San Luca in 1781 and an active member thereafter.³³ It can reasonably be inferred that the young architect had received considerable assistance with his design drawings from his father's colleagues or friends during the previous 18 months.

The case of Barberi's protégé Campana, also the author of a weak *prova*, is even clearer in this regard. (Fig. 2) Not only had he submitted three different sets of design drawings (surely a more blatant infringement of the rules or spirit of the competition than anything done by Gandy), but also the dramatic perspective view of his third 'idea' is almost identical to a drawing by his master Barberi now in the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, where another drawing by Barberi is a perspective sketch of Campana's first 'idea'.³⁴ It is possible of course that Barberi may have copied his pupil's work later, but there is further reason to believe that his hand lay behind Campana's 'designs' since other drawings by Barberi also in the Cooper-Hewitt Museum relate very closely to the public library design for which his son, Paolo Emilio, won the first prize in the second class of architecture in the same *concorso*.³⁵

Since they were prepared over a period of up to two years, students' *concorso* design drawings were inevitably seen and commented on during their creation by established architects. Gandy himself may have received some assistance since, as noted above, he had reported in

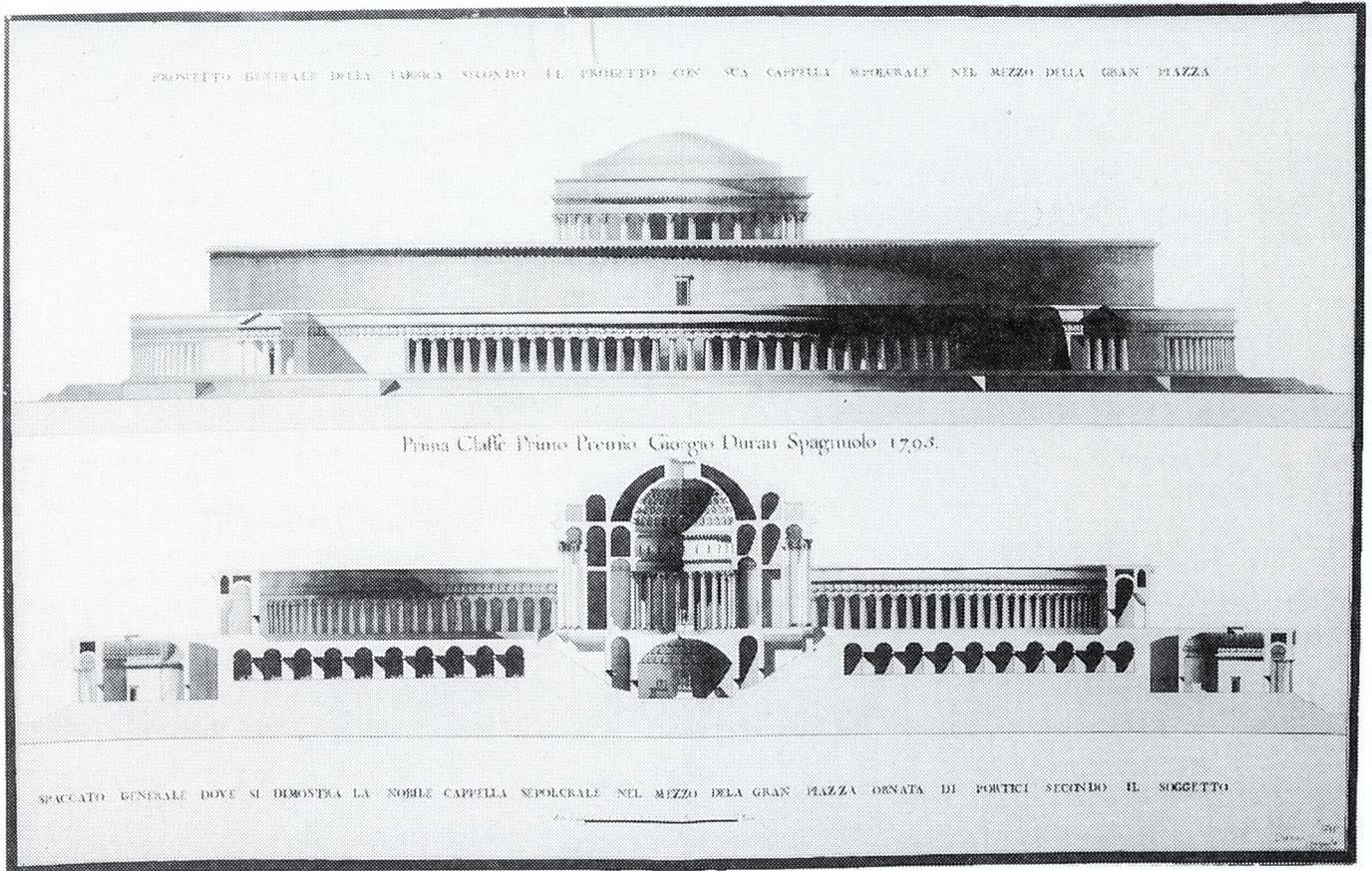


Fig. 9 Giorgio Duran, Elevation and Section of a Sepulchral Chapel; 1 December 1793–27 May 1795; Pen and Ink, Wash; 60 × 100 cm. Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Rome, no. 911.

October 1794 that his designs had ‘the approbation of all’ and at the same time that another drawing had ‘gained me the friendship of the First Architect here, a Mr Spruche whose favour I mean to solicit at the Academy’.³⁶ This supporter was Prince Borghese’s architect Antonio Asprucci (1723–1808), who had himself been Prince (president) of the Academy from 1790 until 1792.³⁷ The object of the *prova*, however, was to establish what a student was really capable of. Here Gandy’s ability stood out clearly, and his defeat was probably due to nepotism in the case of Duran and to outright fraud in that of Campana. Perhaps it is a sign of the academy’s embarrassment that Gandy’s evidently superior *prova* was not retained in the usual way for its archives along with his other drawings and those of his competitors.³⁸ (Fig. 1)

Confronted with the academy’s decision to premiate him separately, Gandy refused to accept any award unless it was equal in value and public appearance to the first prizes proper. The academicians therefore agreed to present Gandy with four silver medals, the same as those given to Duran and Campana, and to place him first in the line of students to receive the medals at the ceremony of presentation, which took place in the Senators’ Palace on the Capitoline Hill on 2 June with the later Duke of Sussex, Prince Augustus Frederick, himself just elected an honorary member of the academy, in a position of honour.³⁹ In a letter to his father of 6 June, Gandy reported a final moment of hostility from the Barberi contingent in which he had found Campana sitting in the first prize winner’s place: ‘I politely told him he had mistaken his seat, he answered proudly he did not know . . . I then took [off] my hat and forced him lower down and got my proper seat’.⁴⁰ After an oration by a Monsignor Massimi and a cantata by Giovanni Battista Cavi with libretto by an Abbate Petrosellini, the medals were presented by the Roman Cardinals: ‘We are three that received the first premium, but

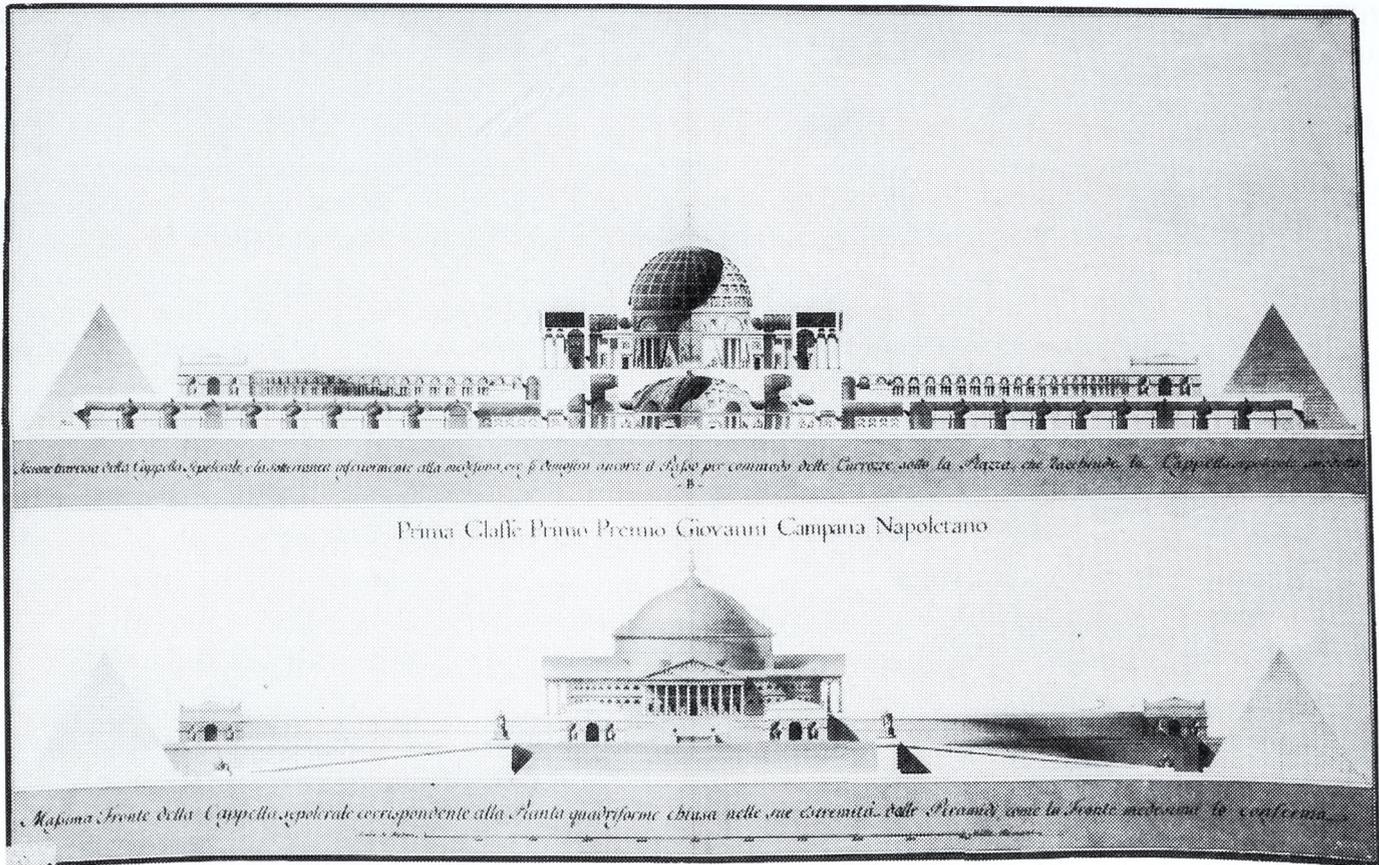


Fig. 10 Giovanni Campana, Elevation and Section of First 'Idea' for a Sepulchral Chapel; 1 December 1793–27 May 1795; Pen and Ink, Wash; 60 × 102 cm. Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Rome, no. 905.

mine first and distinct from the rest. The other two were very much offended at this, and would not let me sit quiet in my seat, abused me and threatened the Academicians'.

Despite these troubles, Gandy considered that: 'the bustle made by Mr Barberia proved of the greatest advantage to me for it has made a great noise in Rome and is the subject of every conversation, such an honour never was conferred before though the Academy has existed two hundred years . . . I have done honour to my country, to Mr Wyatt, and to myself'.⁴¹ But participation in the 1795 *Concorso Clementino* also cost the young Englishman dearly. He had been accused of plagiarism by an academician who was himself assisting other competitors in anything but an honest way. Despite his superior abilities, shown by the *prova* now in New York, he had been disqualified on spurious grounds and abused when a compromise was struck. He had had to find funds from his meagre resources to pay for expensive frames for his drawings, to make the customary *ex gratia* gifts to servants of the academy and to pay off four groups of drummers and three sets of musicians who created a cacophony outside his lodgings in Piazza Barberini for a whole week after the result of the competition had been made known.⁴² Given these circumstances it is perhaps not surprising that Gandy was the last British architect ever to enter one of the competitions of the Accademia di San Luca. The value of such an academic victory never regained its currency after the hiatus in British architectural travel caused by the Napoleonic Wars. Two decades later, when Gandy's own professional fortunes were at their lowest ebb,⁴³ Soane's pupil in Rome, George Basevi, was both encouraged to enter a *concorso* and given an assurance of support by the leading architect and professor of the academy Giuseppe Camporese. But Basevi was not remotely interested in the prospect, writing to his brother: 'I have no idea of offering myself as a candidate, the

honor is not worth notice for it is not of the first class of prizes, holding much the same rank as our [Royal Academy's] architectural silver medals'.⁴⁴

Acknowledgements

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- 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

- conoscenza dell'opera dell'architetto Giuseppe Barberi', *Quaderni dell'Istituto storia di architettura*, lii (1962), pp. 24–40; R. Berliner: 'Zeichnungen des römischen Architekten Giuseppe Barberi', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, vi (1965), pp. 165–216, and vii (1966), pp. 201–13.
- 17 ANSL, vol. 52, fol. 41r; Marconi et al: *I disegni*, 1, nos. 636–40.
 - 18 ANSL, vol. 54, fols. 81v and 84v. Barberi's *morçeau de réception* in 1787 was a set of six design drawings for a Braschi family palace (see Marconi et al: *I disegni*, 2, nos. 2112–17).
 - 19 ANSL, vol. 54, fol. 97r; vol. 55, fols. 15r–v.
 - 20 ANSL, vol. 55, fol. 25v: 'In Seconda Classe Primo Premio seg[nato] a Paolo Emilio Barberi Romano'. For P. E. Barberi's drawings see Marconi et al: *I disegni*, 1, nos. 928–32 and C. Pietrangeli et al: *L'Accademia Nazionale di San Luca*, (Rome, 1974), pp. 286–91, figs. 13–16. Lukacher: 'Joseph Michael Gandy', p. 20, followed Gandy in stating incorrectly that Barberi was his direct competitor in the first class.
 - 21 Probably George Manley, who in May 1791 obtained a licence in Rome to export 70 paintings, curiously said to include something attributed to a 'Gandy' (Archivio di Stato, Roma, Camerale II, Antichità e Belle Arti, Busta 13, fasc. 296). Manley is first documented at Rome in August 1790 and in May 1791 he left the city to return to England. He was in Rome once more in 1793, where he evidently died before 1 March 1794 (British Library, Add. Mss. 36496, fols. 189, 191, 320; and 36497, fols. 69, 288). There is nothing in the documents to suggest any connection with Barberi. I am grateful to Mr John Ingamells of the Brinsley Ford Archive at the Paul Mellon Centre, London, for these references.
 - 22 For Guy Head and the Accademia di San Luca see F. Salmon: 'Guy Head's 'Oedipus' in the Academy at Parma', *The Burlington Magazine*, cxxxiii (August 1991), pp. 514–17 (516, nn. 25 and 26). In August 1790 James Irvine reported to George Cumberland that Mrs Head and Mrs Manley had both given birth at Rome, suggesting a possible (and likely) link between Head and Manley themselves (British Library, Add. Ms. 36496, fol. 189).
 - 23 Gandy Letters, p. 71. The three quotations that follow are also from this page.
 - 24 ANSL, vol. 55, fol. 24v: 'Intervennero all'Esame, e giudizio de sogetti delle prove, e delle opere de Concorrenti li stessi accademici e fatte le più mature riflessioni sulle medesime hanno assegnati i Premi...'
 - 25 ANSL, vol. 55, fol. 6v-7r, the printed version reproduced in Marconi et al: *I disegni*, 1, p. 29: 'Entro una grande Piazza Circolare elevata dal piano con nobili Scale, o Cordonate per ascendervi ed ornata con Portici intorno si formerà una Nobile Cappella Sepolcrale, la quale resterà maggiormente elevata per mezzo di altre Semetriche Scale dal piano di detta Piazza. Avrà questa Cappella oltre l'Altare principale altri quattro Altari bassi per comodo delle Messe de Suffraggi, e che sia capace per li soliti Anniversarii da solennizzarsi nella medesima. Dovrà in oltre avere per mezzo delle anzidette Scale in decente Sotteraneo con Altari; Siti per le Memorie; oltre quelle, che possono collocarsi nei Portici attorno detta Piazza, ed una ristretta Abitazione per servizio de Ministri di detta'. In the partial transcription of Stillman: *Neo-classical Architecture*, 2, p. 534, n. 78, for 'unaggiornamente' read 'maggiormente'.
 - 26 Marconi et al: *I disegni*, 1, nos. 914, 915 and 917.
 - 27 Marconi et al: *I disegni*, 1, no. 916, also reproduced in Stillman: *Neo-classical Architecture*, 1, p. 74.
 - 28 Marconi et al: *I disegni*, 1, nos. 909 and 904. Mazzoli (second prize) and Lazzarini (third prize) also left the sepulchral chapel wholly free-standing (Marconi et al: *I disegni*, nos. 918 and 923).
 - 29 In addition to these plans, Campana submitted elevations and sections of both his first and second 'ideas' and a perspective of his third 'idea' (Marconi et al: *I disegni*, 1, nos. 905 (Fig. 10 here), 906 and 907 respectively).
 - 30 For an analysis of the schemes of Duran and Campana see W. Oechslin: 'Pyramide et Sphère: Notes sur l'Architecture Révolutionnaire du XVIIIe Siècle et Ses Sources Italiennes', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, lxxvii (1971), pp. 201–38 (203–5).
 - 31 'Dovendosi celebrare una Messa Funebre vi è sito bastante ancora di fare l'orchestre che possono servire per la Musica e queste sarebbero dentro le nicchie e sopra l'Ingresso della Cappella segnato No. 11' (Fig. 4, above the inscription bottom right).
 - 32 Marconi et al: *I disegni*, 1, nos. 911 and 905. Again, Mazzoli's and Lazzarini's designs are consistent with Duran's and Campana's, rather than with Gandy's on this point.
 - 33 ANSL, vol. 54, fol. 4r. Gabriel Duran attended the academy's 'congregation', as its monthly assembly was termed, with frequency after 1788. For the little that is known of him see U. Thieme, F. Becker et al: *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler*, 38 vols, (Leipzig, 1907–50), x (1914), p. 197. Lukacher: 'Joseph Michael Gandy', p. 21, is mistaken in thinking Giorgio Duran a French rather than a Spanish student.
 - 34 Marconi et al: *I disegni*, 1, no. 907; Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York, 1938.88.1135 and 1938.88.163. For Barberi's drawings see C. Bernard, assisted by E. Dee: *Crosscurrents: French and Italian Neoclassical Drawings and Prints from the*

- Cooper-Hewitt Museum*, (Washington D.C., 1978), pp. 28–29, nos. 10 and 9 respectively. On page 28 Campana's drawing is erroneously associated with the Accademia Clementina, Bologna, rather than with the Accademia di San Luca, Rome. For a third drawing by Barberi in the Cooper-Hewitt collection (1938.88.1129) which certainly relates to Campana's designs see E. Kaufmann: *Architecture in the Age of Reason* (Cambridge Mass., 1955), Fig. 81 (attributed there to Giuseppe Valadier).
- 35 Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York, 1938.88.1092 and 1938.88.1093. See Bernard: *Crosscurrents*, pp. 27–28, nos. 7–8, and Marconi et al: *I disegni*, 1, no. 931. This connection was noted and illustrated by Berliner: 'Giuseppe Barberi', vii (1966), 210–11, plates 11–12. Kaufmann: *Age of Reason*, figs. 78–80, reproduced other Barberi sketches at the Cooper-Hewitt of possible relevance to his son's 'designs'.
- 36 Gandy Letters, p. 44.
- 37 ANSL, vol. 54, fols. 105r–138v. It is conceivable that Gandy was in some sense perceived as Asprucci's 'candidate', and thus part of a rival camp to those of Giuseppe Barberi and Gabriel Duran.
- 38 The *prova* was still on public display with all the other *concorso* drawings in the Senators' Palace in November 1795 'and there to remain as long as they can hold together in the Campadoglio' (Gandy Letters, p. 103). After that, its provenance places it in the collection of Giovanni Piancastelli, curator of the Borghese Gallery in the early nineteenth century. It is tempting to speculate that the drawing was the 'premium' which the anonymous introduction to the Gandy Letters (p. 2) says the architect had to sell (perhaps to Asprucci, directly to Piancastelli, or to someone else connected with the Borghese) in order to escape from Rome in May 1797 when the city was occupied by the French. This 'premium' has commonly been thought to be Gandy's medals (see J. Summerson: 'The Vision of J.M. Gandy', *Heavenly Mansions* (London, 1949), pp 111–34 (115); Stillman: 'British Architects', p. 44, n. 7; Lukacher: 'Joseph Michael Gandy', p. 38). In fact Gandy had sent the medals to London with Richard Westmacott Junior in May 1796 (Gandy Letters, pp. 126–8). His father acknowledged receipt of them in August (Gandy Letters, p. 201) although he suspected Westmacott, who had lost the medals he won for the sculpture first class first prize in the same *concorso* as Gandy, of substituting replicas for two of Gandy's medals.
- 39 ANSL, vol. 55, fols. 25v–26r. Gandy himself drew an annotated sketch plan of the seating arrangements (Gandy Letters, p. 74).
- 40 Gandy Letters, p. 74.
- 41 Gandy Letters, pp. 72–3.
- 42 Gandy Letters, p. 75.
- 43 In 1816 Gandy served a term of imprisonment in the Fleet as an undischarged bankrupt. See D. Hill: 'Gandy's Professional Career', *Joseph Michael Gandy*, Architectural Association Exhibition Catalogue (London, 1982), pp. 26–35 (31).
- 44 Sir John Soane's Museum, London, Typed Transcript of Basevi's Travel Letters, pp. 97–8 (29 March 1817).

NOTES TO PAGES 37–50

- 1 As quoted in *The King's Visit to Dublin As discoursed by Andrew Walsh, Darby Morris and John Simpson*, printed by G. Bull, 3 Redmond Hill, 1st edition 1822.
- 2 I am greatly indebted to the work done in this area by Ann Saunders *Regent's Park from 1806 to the present*, London 1981, Sir John Summerson *The Life and Works of John Nash, Architect*, London 1980, Rodney Mace, *Trafalgar Square Emblem of Empire*, London 1976, and Hermione Hobhouse – *A History of Regent Street*, London, 1975. My Ph.D. research on 'Decimus Burton (1800–1881): architect and town planner' has examined Burton's role in the development of Regent's Park, Regent's Street, the Royal Parks and the Metropolitan Improvements in the light of the politics and society of London 1800–1830.
- 3 Sir John Summerson, *The Life and Work of John Nash, Architect*, London 1980, p. 75.
- 4 It is important to note that the area now known as the city was the centre of London in the mid seventeenth century and much of the West End was open fields with Soho and Covent garden being the western edge of the capital.
- 5 Sir Christopher Wren's plan and three drawn up by John Evelyn are reproduced in *Vestuta Monumenta*, II, 1789. Evelyn's description of his plan for London is published in E. S. de Beer (ed.) *John Evelyn: London Revived*, Oxford 1938.
- 6 For a biographical outline of Fordyce and an appraisal of his abilities as a civil servant see Saunders op. cit. pp. 63–6 esp.
- 7 Letter from T. Moore to James Carry, 24 October 1811 as quoted in J. Summerson, *John Nash Architect to King George IV*, London 1949, pp. 107.
- 8 This is mentioned in a lease taken out by James Burton on a plot of land in Regent's Park, PRO Cres 6/131 f. 47. The conditions laid down by Nash were typical for those of the whole Regent's Park and Regent's Street project.
- 9 John Nash's creation of a Picturesque effect in the Regent's Park and Regent's Street development as a result of a series of muddles and accidents is