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WHICH JAMES? GIBBS AND THE DESIGN OF THE SENATE HOUSE AT CAMBRIDGE

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In the 2019 volume of this Journal, devoted to the Architect James Gibbs, Geoffrey Tyack published an elevation found in the Ashmolean Museum's Gibbs Albums which he identified as an early design for the Senate House of the University in Cambridge (Fig. 1).¹ Tyack did not have space on that occasion to develop the full implications of his discovery. However, he did link the design with one by Gibbs known to have been offered to the University in late 1721 by his patron Edward Harley, soon to be 2nd

Earl of Oxford, from his nearby home at Wimpole Hall in Cambridgeshire. Tyack noted (as has been known since Bryan Little's pioneering 1955 monograph on Gibbs) that the thanks the University returned to Harley in a letter from Dr Edward Lany, a member of the Syndicate (committee) charged with delivering the building, stated that 'I doubt [fear] we have already a design very near the same from Mr Burroughs.'² This was James Burroughs, a Fellow of Caius College and another member of

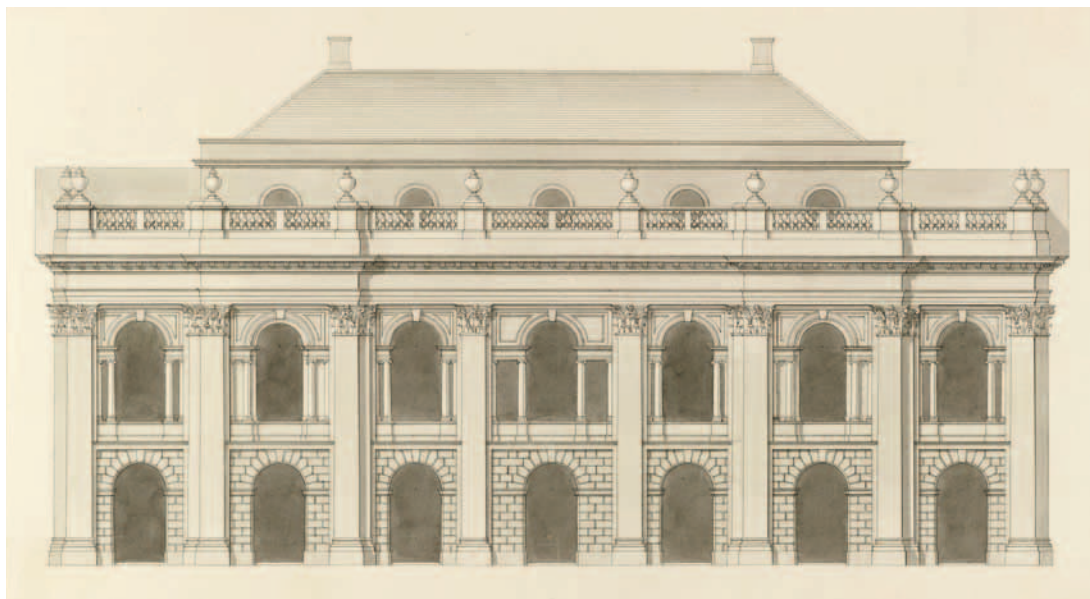


Fig. 1. James Gibbs, lateral elevation of a design, likely a proposal for the Senate House, University of Cambridge, of 1721. (Image © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, WA 1925.341.76)



Fig. 2. James Gibbs, Senate House, Cambridge from the south-east, 1722–30.
(Photo: Author)

the Syndicate, later to establish himself as a notable amateur architect. Gibbs's formal involvement in the project began on 27 February 1722 when the Syndics asked him to come from London 'to give his advice about a Plan & such other directions about ye publick Building as are necessary for ye Occasion'. Little more than a week later, on 8 March, Gibbs was officially 'imploy'd and retain'd to supervise & conduct ye said work', it being agreed that he would 'take up wth him to London Mr Burrough's Plan of ye Intended publick Buildings & make what improvements he shall think necessary upon it'.³

Around this documented history a narrative grew up that it was Burrough who effectively designed the Senate House as it stands today, Gibbs's role having been to modify Burrough's ideas. That narrative has proved tenaciously resistant to counter argument. John Summerson, for example, was persuaded by it to the extent that he 'would more willingly give

[the design] to the young amateur, Burrough, than to the experienced Gibbs'.⁴ Summerson's opinion, first expressed in 1953 in *Architecture in Britain 1530–1830*, remained unaltered down to the last edition of his still standard text book, by which time he had decided that the image of the Senate House essentially as built, which Gibbs published as his own in his 1728 *Book of Architecture*, was indeed only an 'elaboration' of Burrough's design.⁵ The equally authoritative *History of the University of Cambridge* of 2004 similarly credits the design 'to Burrough and Gibbs jointly ... most probably'.⁶ It is worth asking, then, how the drawing now published by Geoffrey Tyack might affect our understanding of the genesis of this important public building of the 1720s (Fig. 2).

In fairness to those who have accepted the hand of Burrough in the design of the Senate House as it stands, it must be recorded that this belief was

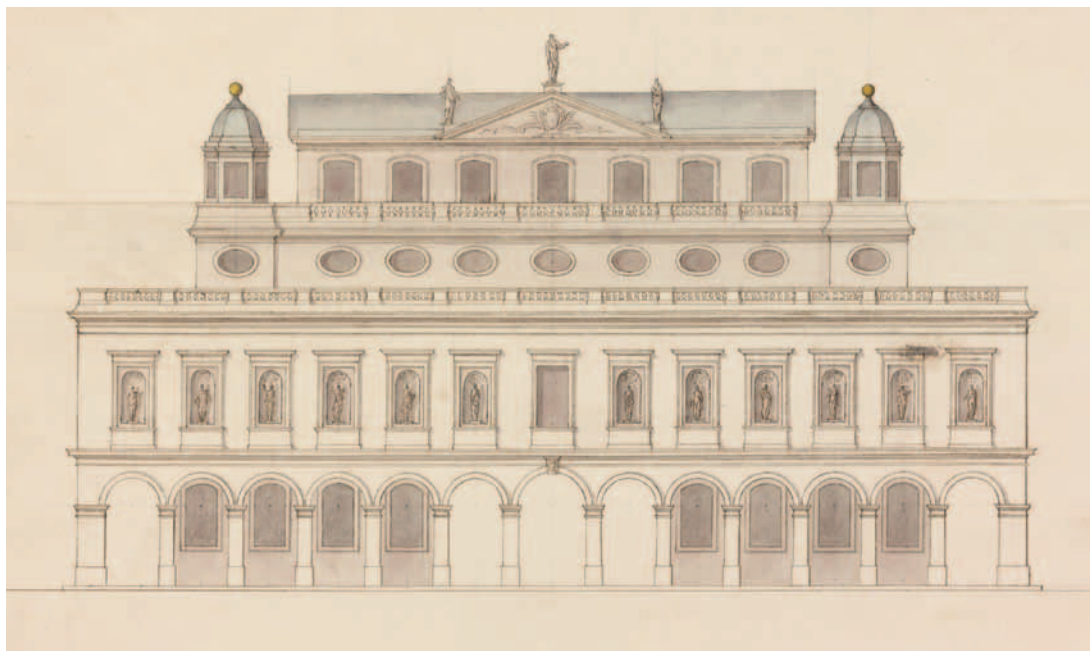


Fig. 3. Christopher Wren, east elevation of a proposal for a Library and, behind, a Commencement House, University of Cambridge, 1675. (*The Warden and Fellows of All Souls' College, Oxford, AS I.55*)

shared by some of his own contemporaries. John Willis Clark cited a comment by William Cole that his recently deceased friend Burrough had 'designed' the building, to which T.P. Hudson, writing in 1972, added two further statements made to the same effect before the eighteenth century was out.⁷ However, Hudson also pointed out the likelihood that these assertions originated in Burrough's much more recent attempt (of 1752) to add to the Senate House the Royal Library and offices blocks that had been intended to accompany it from the start as parts of a three-sided court (see Fig. 9). Only in 1754–59 was the Library front added on the west side – and then to the design of Stephen Wright rather than to that advanced at the mid-century by Burrough, by then residually associated with the Senate House completed a quarter of a century earlier. There is no evidence that, by 1721, Burrough had produced any major architectural design, his sole

documented work by that date being for a rectory in Northamptonshire. Hudson's view was that, whatever scheme for the Senate House Burrough had in hand in 1721, he was acting as proxy for someone else. Indeed, as Hudson also pointed out, the wording of the 1721–22 documents quoted above does not prove unequivocally that the design that was certainly in Burrough's possession had actually been conceived by him at all. Hudson's candidate for the architect of that design was yet another James, John James of the Office of Works, who, alongside his colleague William Dickinson, was to receive the substantial sum of 20 guineas from the University in January 1723 for 'coming to Camb, measuring ye Ground & drawing Plans for a new Commencment House, tho' we proceeded on another Scheme'.⁸

The likelihood of this scenario is increased by the fact that the design published as Gibbs's by Tyack (which, it will be recalled, Edward Lany

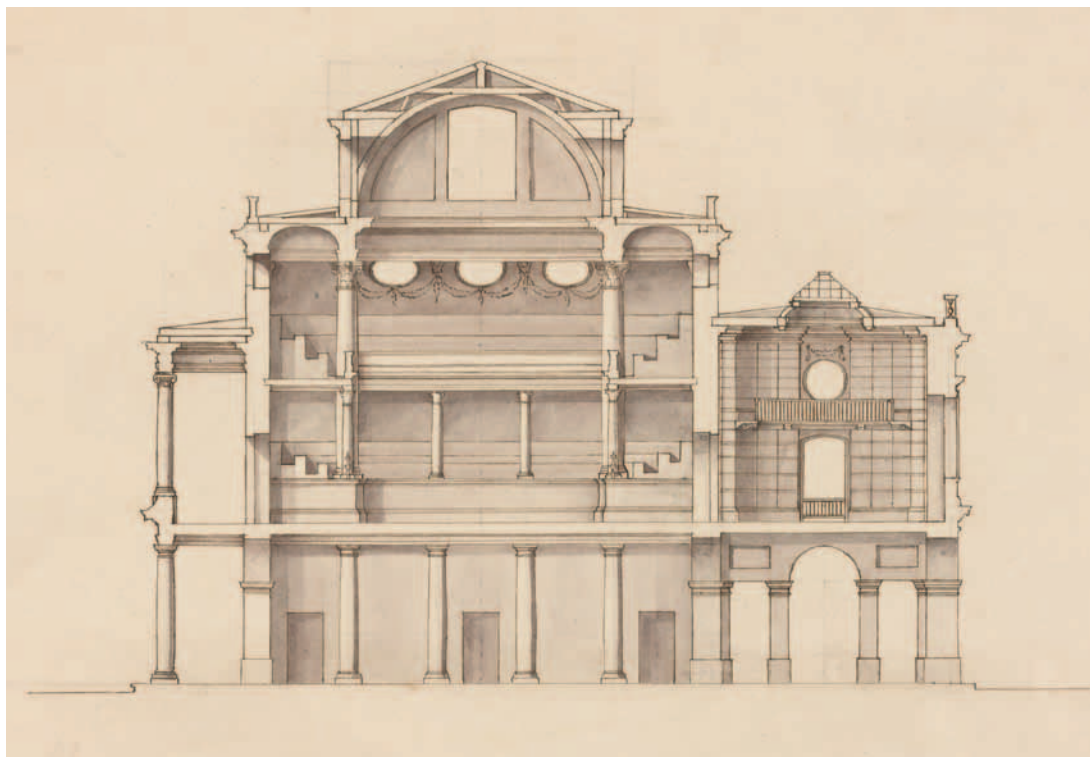


Fig. 4. Christopher Wren, cross section looking north of a proposal for a Commencement House (left) and Library (right), University of Cambridge 1675. (*The Warden and Fellows of All Souls' College*, AS 1.53)

described as 'very near the same' as that being promoted by Burroughs) is surely related to the abortive project for a Commencement House and Library at Cambridge produced by Christopher Wren in 1675, when Surveyor of the Office of Works (Fig. 3). Four drawings survive from Wren's scheme – now at All Souls' College, Oxford, but, until 1723, kept in the Office in London, where James and Dickinson would have had access to them.⁹ Gibbs had been dismissed from his post as joint Surveyor to the Commission for Building Fifty New Churches in 1716, but the reason for that had been overtly political. In terms of his standing as an architect, Gibbs had received the strong personal support of Wren in 1713 for his undeniable abilities and

experience, and there is no evidence that this respect diminished over the ensuing years.¹⁰ It is reasonable to suppose that he, too, could have had access to Office of Works resources in London in 1721 – even though his next formal appointment (to the Board of Ordnance) still lay six years ahead.

Wren's proposal to Cambridge had been for a combined Commencement House and Library on a north-south axis, that is at right angles to where the Senate House would eventually be built. The principal rooms were set at first-floor level, the assembly space supported centrally on a tripartite ground-level passageway with two rows of Tuscan columns (Fig. 4). The passageway led to a double-height Tuscan/Ionic external gallery at the centre

of the west side of the proposed Commencement House (left of Fig. 4), this being the means by which Wren interlocked his design with the existing east front of the Old Schools administrative buildings of the University. Adjacent to the gallery was a south-side staircase providing direct access from the Old Schools to the Commencement House (not seen in the section, which is taken almost through the centre east-west line). The Commencement House and the Library to its east could also be reached by small U-shaped staircases at each of the four corners of the assembly space's undercroft (again, not seen in the section). The ground plan of the newly proposed Gibbs scheme for the Senate House reduced those four staircases to two, but made them more prominent and potentially ceremonial (Fig. 5). It followed Wren in also providing a ground-level open arcade and a first-floor open gallery, but both now completely encircled the building (Figs. 5, 6, and see Fig. 1). Although the ground plan gives no information about the site (or the scale), the lack of any engagement with the Old Schools suggests that this must have been intended as a freestanding building – perhaps now re-orientated to the east-west position and on the northern side of the site, where the Senate House was eventually to be built. Such an interpretation would also explain why this design does not make any provision for a Library (assuming this was still intended for the west side of the site and oriented north-south), when it had been George I's 1715 donation to Cambridge of the books and manuscripts of the late Bishop of Ely, John Moore, that led the University in 1718 to re-open the question of new accommodation in the vicinity of its medieval headquarters.¹¹

The interior of Wren's Commencement House was to have been a triple-height space, lit at balcony level by oval clerestory windows and, in the barrel-vaulted attic, by massive haunch-headed windows all the way around (Figs. 3 and 4). Gibbs's design replaced this attic with a flat ceiling, lighting the double-height space from both long flanks by round

clerestorey windows and full-length windows giving onto the surrounding open first-floor gallery (see Fig. 1). There was, however, to be no lighting of the assembly room from the end elevations (Fig. 7). Gibbs's plan of the first-floor space (Fig. 6) suggests that, if internal mezzanine galleries were intended, they can only have been small, cantilevered ones (as eventually built on the north, south and west sides).¹² Indeed, none of Gibbs's surviving drawings for the Senate House as built, including that he published in his *Book of Architecture*, indicates large galleries supported on columns other than that over the east-end entrance.

In this context, it is worth noting that the word 'theatre', used frequently to describe the Cambridge Commencement House project in the 1660–70s (and doubtless related to Wren's recently completed Sheldonian Theatre in Oxford) is far less evident in the documentation of the 1720s.¹³ The building, in Whiggish Cambridge, was conceived to be a flexible assembly hall with minimal fixed furniture, not a theatre like the Sheldonian which, as Anthony Geraghty has shown, partly derived its character from Oxford's previous Commencement arrangements inside St Mary's Church and from the University's pre- and post-Civil War Laudian politics.¹⁴ This significant change of concept was consistent with the different period of time and represents a Palladian reversion to the type of semi-public space exemplified by Inigo Jones's Banqueting House. Indeed, given the almost square shape and likely size of Gibbs's proposed assembly space (see Fig. 6), the Great Hall of the Queen's House at Greenwich, with its cantilevered balconies, would have been a more precise Jonesian model for what we see here. At an estimated 40 feet square, Gibbs's scheme would surely have been too small a space for the purposes of the Senate House (in Wren's design the room would have had a similar footprint to that eventually built, of about 100 by 40 feet). However, if Gibbs's design is indeed the unsolicited one sent to the University

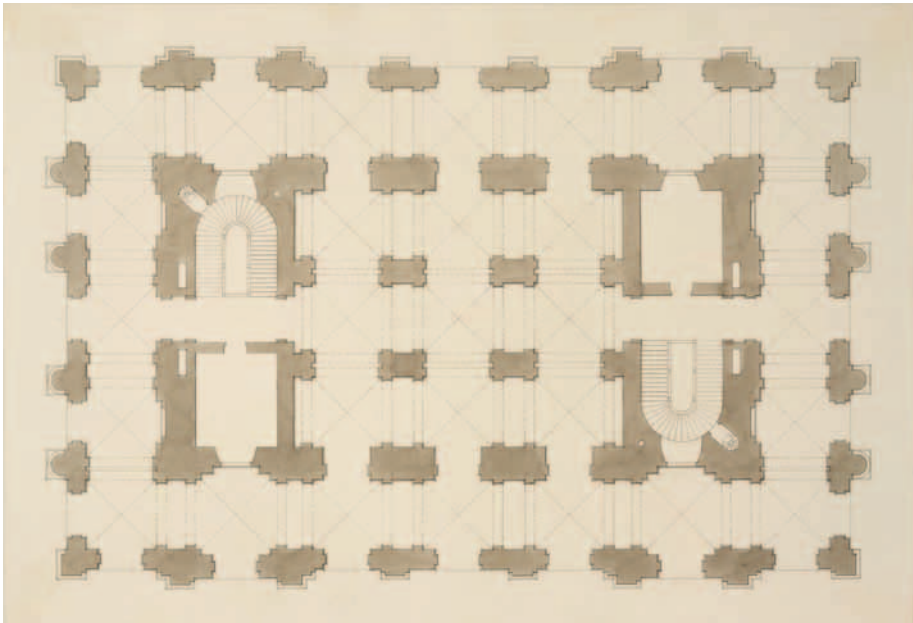


Fig. 5. James Gibbs, ground plan of a design, likely a proposal for the Senate House of 1721.
(Image © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, WA 1925.341.74)

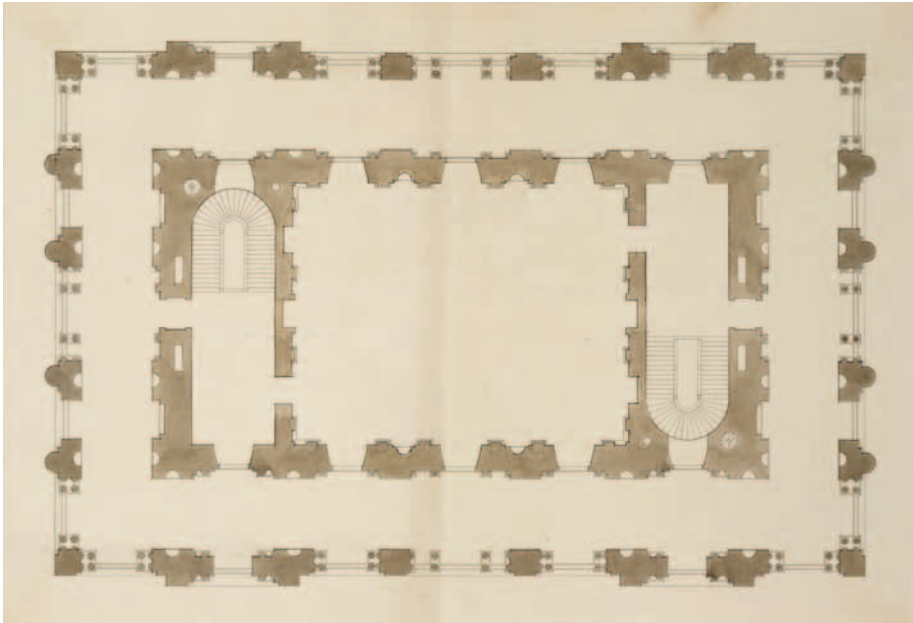


Fig. 6. James Gibbs, first-floor plan of a design, likely a proposal for the Senate House of 1721.
(Image © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, WA 1925.341.75)

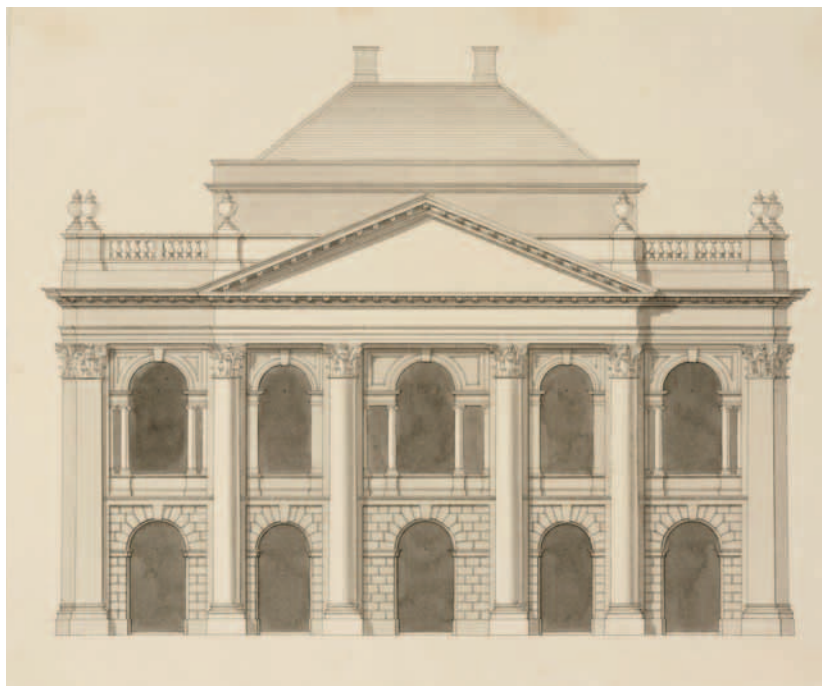


Fig. 7. James Gibbs, end elevation of a design, likely a proposal for the Senate House of 1721. (Image © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, WA 1925.341.77)

Fig. 8. George Vertue, engraving of Chapel of Lincoln's Inn, 1751. (Trustees of the British Museum, 1880,1113.4361)

by Lord Harley, it must be appreciated that the architect would not have been working to any clear specification. The drawings would, rather, have been intended to demonstrate his design credentials.¹⁵ In that respect, it is worth observing the way Gibbs updated Wren's elevational details with forms contemporary to the fashion of the early 1720s (Figs. 1, 3 and 7). He introduced a giant order of pilasters and attached columns with a pediment to each end; he rusticated the walls and arches opening to the undercroft; and he deployed Venetian window openings for the first-floor gallery (ubiquitously on the side flanks), taking the idea, as Tyack appreciated, from Palladio's Basilica in Vicenza. Given all this, we would have to ask what other purpose this set of Gibbs drawings could possibly have been related to, if not Cambridge University's intention to build a Senate House with which he had become involved through Edward Harley at the very end of 1721.





Fig. 9. Henry Hulsbergh, after James Gibbs, printed perspective view from the east of 'The New Building at Cambridge', July 1722. The Senate House is on the right (north).
 (Topographical Collection/Alamy Stock Photo)

If this design, inspired by Wren's but brought up to date, was indeed the one described by Edward Lany as nearly identical to the design in James Burrough's possession, Lany did at least draw attention to one significant difference between them – which was that in the Burrough version 'our building' was set 'upon rustic pillars, not unlike those that support Lincoln's Inn Chapel.'¹⁶ Despite Lany's modest accompanying protestation that he had 'not skill enough to judge' architecture, this observation shows he had sufficient knowledge to make this very specific visual comparison. In an endnote in his 1984 monograph on Gibbs, Terry Friedman usefully related the comment to George Vertue's 1751 engraving of the early seventeenth-century Lincoln's Inn Chapel (Fig. 8).¹⁷ When Vertue's illustration is considered, it is evident that

what Lany must have meant by 'rustic pillars' were the attached Tuscan columns which were seen to support the Chapel's undercroft. The words 'pillar' and 'column' were still used interchangeably in some quarters in the early eighteenth century. In 1755 Dr Johnson defined the word 'pillar' as 'a column', still taking this understanding from Henry Wotton, whilst the various meanings Johnson gives to the word 'rustick' include its association with simplicity and plainness – no mention being made of the 'rustication' of wall surfaces in architecture. Thus we can infer that the design, possibly by John James, that was in Burrough's hands was linked more closely to Wren's design for the Commencement House with its supportive Tuscan columns of half a century previously (Fig. 4) than was Gibbs's which, as the ground plan shows, entirely deployed

structural piers ornamented with pilasters within the undercroft (see Fig. 5).

It must be stressed, in relation to Lany's much quoted statement that the design Burrough was holding was for a building 'upon ... pillars', that this scheme was therefore to have been for a raised, first-floor assembly space.¹⁸ Regardless, then, of whether or not the design now identified by Tyack and further discussed here is indeed accepted as Gibbs's 1721 unsolicited effort as submitted by Harley, the lost 'Burrough' design is unlikely to have had any direct relation with the Senate House as built (as some of Burrough's contemporaries later claimed), since the assembly space in the present design is set at ground level and entered directly from outside. This much is apparent from Henry Hulsbergh's print 'of ye Model of ye Publick Building', of which the University agreed on 22 June 1722 up to a thousand copies should be made (if Gibbs judged that many necessary), doubtless with the intention of encouraging financial contributions (Fig. 9).¹⁹ The decision to commit to that outlay and to publicize a scheme confirms, of course, that a final design had been settled on, and it appears that four foundation stones of the Senate House were ceremonially laid by the Vice-Chancellor on the same day.²⁰ Thus, three and a half months after he had been formally appointed architect and sent away with a mandate to improve on the 'Burrough' design, it appears that Gibbs had returned to Cambridge with a proposal for a wholly new 'Publick Building' scheme of his own devising, one that now included the Royal Library on the west side and a matching block for the Vice-Chancellor's Court and Registry's offices on the south. The perspective drawing he must have shown to the Syndics, from which Hulsbergh shortly afterwards made the engraving (with just a few changes to the staffage), survives in the Ashmolean Album.²¹ Burrough's reactions to this development are not recorded, but the deference he had shown to Gibbs the previous Spring is clear from that fact that, as Clark first noted, he had signed the Syndics'

orders both asking for Gibbs to come to Cambridge to consult with them and then employing the architect, further empowering him to alter the design Burrough himself was promoting in any way Gibbs 'shall think necessary'.²²

It might seem implausible that Gibbs could have achieved so swift a transformation as seems to have occurred but, on closer inspection, it can be seen that there were continuities, in that the east front of the Library in the Spring 1722 design is really no more than a slight adaptation of the side elevations of the design published by Tyack as an initial Gibbs Senate House proposal of late 1721 (Figs. 9 and 7). This linkage offers further – indeed perhaps definitive – reason to link this Ashmolean set of drawings with the Cambridge Senate House. The rustication had been extended to encompass the first as well as the ground floor and the first-floor Venetian window gallery openings had been replaced by single-arch actual windows. The balustrading and rooftop urns had stayed. Gibbs mirrored the centrepiece motif on the east ends of the Senate House and office building, although for the ground storeys of these blocks (no longer open arcades) he switched to rectangular windows. In essence, the July 1722 print already shows the Senate House as it would be built (albeit without its neighbours), although in development over the coming months the surface rustication would be removed, the ground-storey windows pedimented, and the centre of the south front also given an attached portico. The east end attached portico then received the additional visual strengthening of a pair of pilasters beside its outer columns.

For Summerson, determined to sense the hand of Burrough, the 'rich but somewhat pedestrian composition' represented by Figure 9 resembled Henry Aldrich's 1707–14 Peckwater Quadrangle at Christ Church, Oxford, and shared its faults – that is to say its 'banal junction of the centre with the two side wings'.²³ Perhaps it was the speed at which Gibbs designed the tripartite assemblage,

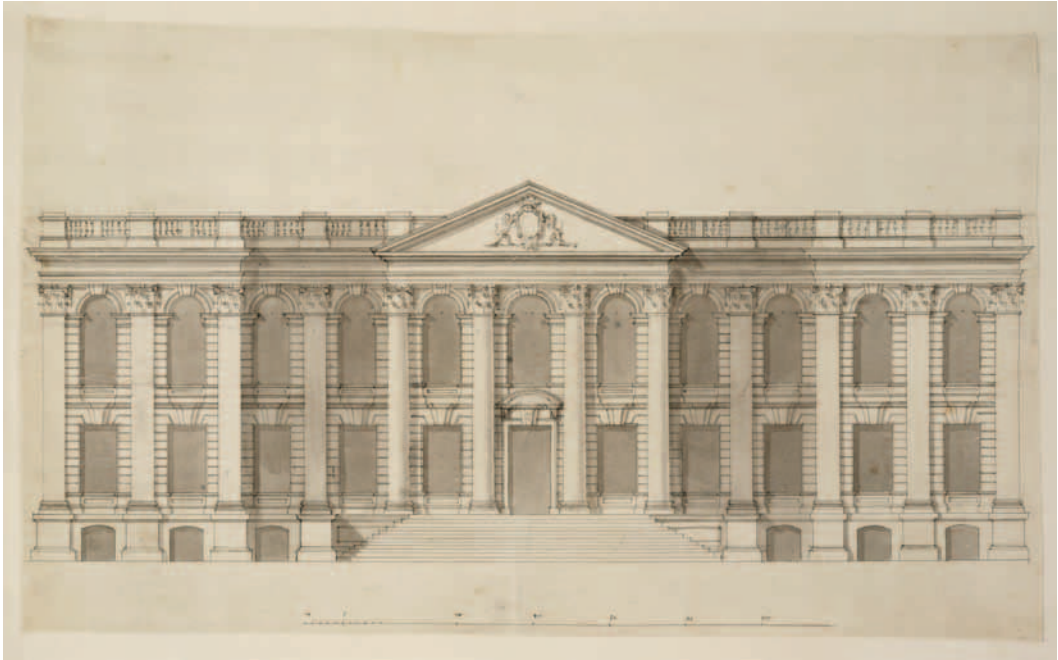


Fig. 10. James Gibbs, elevation of a building for an earl, possibly for the south front of Cannons, c.1716–19.
(Image © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, WA 1925.343.12)

coupled to the fact the University was still in process of acquiring the land, that led to this perceived awkwardness – and to a design which, had it been executed, would arguably have produced a narrow and dank courtyard, overshadowed for most of the day by the offices block on its south side. As the design was to progress and he sought to move the offices block progressively further south, Gibbs did indeed experiment with improving the corner junctions.²⁴

However, and as other architectural historians have noted, the formal language of the Senate House is consonant with Gibbs's secular work elsewhere of the same period of time – including in the years shortly before. Hudson linked the unpedimented courtside elevations of Figure 9 to engraved illustrations showing south and east elevations for Cannons, the Middlesex house of James Brydges,

Earl of Carnarvon (from April 1719, Duke of Chandos), for whom Gibbs worked from 1716 until his departure shortly after September 1719.²⁵ A still closer connection between Cannons and Cambridge was mooted by Friedman, who identified an eleven-bay elevation in the first volume of the Ashmolean Gibbs albums as being for Chandos's Portland stone house, fruitfully comparing it with the eventual south elevation of the Senate House.²⁶ There seems, however, to be little evidence linking this design definitively with Cannons, an ascription for which Friedman provided no evidence. The Ashmolean albums were compiled by Gibbs himself later in life, the first volume being concerned with drawings he had published or intended to publish. The elevation identified as for Cannons by Friedman remained unpublished, though located on the same page as an elevation for Milton Hall near Peterborough,

an unbuilt commission of 1726 for the 2nd Earl of Fitzwilliam which Gibbs did include in his *Book of Architecture* in 1728. It is unlikely that the elevation published by Friedman as of Cannons could be for Milton because, although it appears to show the (blank) arms of an earl within its pediment, the pair of rampant lion supporters does not square with the quite different supporters of Fitzwilliam's arms (a pair of club-wielding wild men). The evidence of the supporters would also argue against the elevation showing Cannons, as Brydges' arms were supported by a pair of otters.²⁷ William Aslet has recently mooted an alternative identification for this 'Cannons' elevation – as a design made by Gibbs for the south front of Burlington House in Piccadilly of c.1716.²⁸

Whatever the purpose of this elevation, evidently for an earl's house, it is clear that Gibbs intended that it should be associated by posterity with the Cambridge Senate House project, for he mounted a less well finished variant elevation of the same scheme immediately before two of his Senate House designs in Ashmolean Album IV (Fig. 10).²⁹ Both versions of the earl's house elevation have a tetrastyle applied Corinthian portico and giant pilasters, complete rows of round-headed windows on the first floor over rectangular ones below, and extensive rustication on both principal floors – except for this last particular all as in the Senate House as built (see Fig. 2). Moreover, for the variant (Fig. 10) Gibbs had removed rooftop statuary and replaced curved-sided steps with angled ones – making this still further like the Senate House. Indeed, once Gibbs had removed an outer bay from each side of this design (as well as the slight two-bay end projections), removed the basement in favour of taller and pedimented ground-floor windows, and removed the surface rustication, the elevation quickly became almost identical with the south front of the built Senate House in overall concept, as well as in width and height.

In her biography of the Duke of Chandos, Susan Jenkins followed Friedman in identifying Figure 10 as an elevation for Cannons but, importantly, she

also re-evaluated the relationship between the Duke and Gibbs.³⁰ Howard Colvin had recorded that the former had 'dismissed' the architect in late 1719.³¹ Friedman similarly regarded Gibbs's departure from the Duke's service as 'sudden and inexplicable', whereas Jenkins has concluded simply that Gibbs 'left Cannons ... to work on other projects', noting that he happily returned to Chandos's employment in 1735.³² This is important because it suggests that there was no ongoing animosity between Gibbs and Chandos who, as Gibbs surely knew, had been one of the first and most generous benefactors of the Cambridge building project in 1720. The £800 given by Chandos together with his son John, Marquess of Carnarvon, comprised the most substantial opening donation after the King's. Indeed, the University's register of 'Benefactors to ye new Building' lists Chandos and his son as the first donors after the King, the gifts of the 'Prince' [of Wales] and of the Duke of Somerset (Chancellor of the University) rather remarkably being scored out and re-inserted further down so as to give greater prominence to the munificence of the Brydges.³³ Whether or not Figure 10 shows an elevation first intended for Cannons, then, there remains reason to speculate that Gibbs may have intended to recognise his recent patron's generosity both to himself and to the University, if not in the design of the building itself then in its pedimental cartouches.³⁴ To this day, the arms in the south and east pediment remain unscribed (see Fig. 2), in striking contrast to the Sheldonian Theatre in Oxford, where the donor's arms are boldly emblazoned over the main entrance.

The subsequent, rather tortuous history of the Senate House's design and building has been narrated on a number of occasions and need not be re-told on this one, except in regard to one point of qualification. It was observed from the very start, by cognoscenti, that Gibbs had, as he put it, taken the 'Corinthian Order having all its Members enrich'd' from the Temple of Castor and Pollux, a ruin he later described as 'very Particular for ye beauty of

ye Capitells'.³⁵ Just as this article began by posing the question 'which James?', it might end by asking 'which Temple of Castor and Pollux'? For the capital and architrave of the Senate House Gibbs did indeed turn to the celebrated order of the Temple of Castor and Pollux in the Forum in Rome, except that he omitted the band of decoration that runs across the centre of the architrave. The details, in particular of the interlocking helices of the capital, suggest that he probably worked from his copy of Antoine Desgodetz's 1682 *Edifices antiques de Rome* rather than from Palladio's more rudimentary woodcut in the *Quattro libri*, of which Gibbs owned a 1601 edition. For the enrichment of the cornice, however, Gibbs did turn to his Palladio – and to Book IV page 97. This shows the order of the now lost Temple of Castor and Pollux at Naples, a building which had also featured interlocking helices in its capital. In its small way, this esoteric nicety of combining orders of familial though subtly different character from two different Roman temples in two different cities is just another sign of inventive genius left to us by an architect working in his full, professional maturity. It was appreciation of that sense of genius which, it seems, persuaded the Cambridge Senate House Syndicate, in June 1722, to abandon a design possibly made John James and put forward by James Burrough, adopting instead one by James Gibbs.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank Geoffrey Tyack, William Aslet and Richard Hewlings for the knowledge and advice they have generously shared with me in relation to this work – and also Adam Gardner, whose Master's dissertation on Gibbs's work in Cambridge provoked me to think about the early history of the Senate House building afresh. This piece is dedicated, 'med tak', to another James, my friend and Cambridge colleague, Professor James Campbell.

ENDNOTES

- 1 G. Tyack, 'Gibbs and the Universities', *The Georgian Group Journal*, 27 (2019), pp. 59–60.
- 2 B. Little, *James Gibbs 1682–1754* (London, 1955), p. 55. The letter, of 11 December 1721, is fully transcribed in Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Portland*, 5, (Norwich, 1899), p. 630.
- 3 Cambridge University Library, University Archives, GBR/0265/UA/CUR/46, Senate House [1673–1925], p. 10 [inset booklet of 'Orders relating to the new Buildings 1719–1769'], sub-pages pp. 31 and 34 [hereafter CUR 46, 'Orders']. All dates in this article are given New Style.
- 4 J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530–1830* (Harmondsworth, 1953), p. 195. The strength of Summerson's doubt about Gibbs's involvement was such that he expressly chose to discuss the Senate House in his general Chapter 19 on 'Churches and the Universities 1702–1736', rather than in Chapter 21 on 'The Individual Contribution of James Gibbs'.
- 5 J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530–1830* (New Haven and London, 1993), p. 294, and see J. Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments by James Gibbs* (London, 1728), plate 36.
- 6 V. Morgan, *A History of the University of Cambridge, Volume II, 1546–1750* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 59–60 and 61 (this chapter, on 'The Buildings of Cambridge', was written by Christopher Brooke). In his *ODNB* entry on Burrough of the same year (accessed 8 February 2021), David Watkin skirted the issue by saying that Gibbs's 'executed design was said to be partially based on [Burrough's]'. It should be noted here that Gibbs is known to have become involved, in 1728, in helping Magdalen College Oxford prepare and partially realise designs conceived either by a Fellow, Edward Holdsworth, or by the local architect William Townesend, although in that case Gibbs seems to have seconded the work to his draughtsman John Borlach (see T. Friedman, *James Gibbs* (New Haven and London, 1984), pp. 238–40).
- 7 See R. Willis and J.W. Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge and of the Colleges of Cambridge and Eton* (Cambridge,

- 1886), III, pp. 64 and 537 (this passage and the whole chapter on the Senate House were written by Clark, using Willis's notes where available), and T.P. Hudson, 'James Gibbs's designs for University Buildings at Cambridge', *The Burlington Magazine*, 114 (December 1972), p. 844, n. 25.
- 8 CUR, 46, 'Orders', sub-page 44. The payment to James, though not to Dickinson, is confirmed in the University's 'Audit Book 1660–1740' (Cambridge University Library, University Archives, U.Ac. 2/2, p. 506). See Richard Hewlings, 'Three Drawings by John James at Audley End', *English Heritage Historical Review*, 1 (2006), p. 78, where it is pointed out that a visit to Cambridge by John James 'to take a view of the ground for the Theatre and King's College' is documented in July 1720, when James was already rebuilding the chapel of Burrough's College, Gonville and Caius. Use of the terms 'Theatre' and 'Commencement House' might suggest that the Senate House component of the University's overall intentions in building was being treated discretely from the Royal Library and offices blocks. However, as the documents of February–March 1722 show, the singular and plural terms 'Publick Building(s)' were being used interchangeably at this time by the Syndicate so it is impossible to use them as reliable evidence for this distinction. Gibbs himself referred to the three buildings collectively in 1728 in singular terms as 'The Publick Building' (see Gibbs, *Book of Architecture*, p. ix, and the caption 'The New Building' to Fig. 9 below).
 - 9 A. Geraghty, *The Architectural Drawings of Sir Christopher Wren at All Souls' College, Oxford: A Complete Catalogue* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT, 2007), pp. 27–29, and https://library.asc.ox.ac.uk/wren/senate_house.html.
 - 10 In Gibbs's autobiography, which William Aslet has recently shown to very likely date from the end of his life, Gibbs stated that Wren had been 'much his friend' in the 1710s (W. Aslet, 'The Gibbs Manuscript in Sir John Soane's Museum, London', *The Walpole Society*, 83 (2021), p. 165).
 - 11 In the typescript 'Catalogue of the Drawings of James Gibbs in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford', William Wright Crandall suggested (under II.40) that the design published by Tyack might in fact be a late proposal by Gibbs for a University Library in Cambridge, like Oxford's 'Radcliffe scheme done on a rectangular plan'. However, the interior walls of Gibbs's corresponding plan for the great room (see Fig. 6) comprises entirely windows or recesses, with no provision made for bookcases.
 - 12 It seems unlikely that galleries were proposed, however, as no suitable access was provided (the pair of small spiral stairs shown in the plans did not lead to the central space and were presumably intended for maintenance access to the roofs).
 - 13 The Cambridge building was generally called the 'Commencement House' or the 'Publick Building' (see note 8 above) and occasionally the 'New-Regent-House' or 'University Building'. The term 'Senate House' was used relatively infrequently, for the first (and apparently the only) time during the design and construction period by Gibbs in 1725 (CUR 46, p. 13r).
 - 14 A. Geraghty, *The Sheldonian Theatre: Architecture and Learning in Seventeenth-Century Oxford* (New Haven and London, 2013).
 - 15 Whilst the two elevations are quite highly finished there are signs of haste in the execution of the plans, and the articulation of the outer-corner pilasters does not correspond between the plans and the elevations.
 - 16 HMC, *Portland*, 5, p. 630.
 - 17 Friedman, *Gibbs*, pp. 225–26 and p. 346, n. 6.
 - 18 Little speculated (*Gibbs*, p. 56) that Lany could have been referring to the Royal Library part of a Burrough design for all three intended buildings, noting that Gibbs also intended an open arcade below his Royal Library (see Fig. 9). However, Little was proceeding on the insecure basis (drawn from A. Shipley, *Cambridge Cameos* (London, 1923), p. 92) that the print reproduced here as Fig. 9 'may be [the design] of Burrough' – notwithstanding that there are, in fact, no 'rustic pillars' to be seen in the print.
 - 19 CUR, 46, 'Orders', sub-page 45; Friedman, *Gibbs*, p. 226, notes that Hulsbergh was paid 8 guineas for the copper plate on 2 July 1722 and that the prints were available a few weeks' later. The total cost, handled by Gibbs, was £17. 14. 0. (see Willis and Clark, *Architectural History*, III, p. 46).
 - 20 Willis and Clark, *Architectural History*, III, p. 46. Clark noted that the only authority for this laying

- ceremony was Edmund Carter's *The History of the University of Cambridge* (London, 1753), p. 11, but the specificity of the date and details given by Carter do suggest an eye-witness or near second-hand account.
- 21 Ashmolean Museum, Gibbs Album, WA 1925.342.160. Hudson, 'James Gibbs's designs', p. 843, n. 5, suggests that the lines of the drawing are still indented from when Hulsbergh used it to mark out the copper plate for engraving, but the indentations do not penetrate the sheet and more likely result from Gibbs's initial setting out of the drawing, since they run right through elements such as the roof-top urns. Interesting *pentimenti* on the east front of the Senate House in this drawing show Gibbs already contemplating angled steps as built on the south front of the Senate House, rather than the straight flight shown in the engraving (Fig. 9). Friedman, *Gibbs*, p. 226, believed that this, rather than the scheme identified by Tyack and discussed in this article, was the design that Harley had submitted in late 1721, but admitted to 'confusion' around the sequence of events.
 - 22 Willis and Clark, *Architectural History*, III, p. 44. Little, *Gibbs*, p. 56, also saw 'the decisive period' as 'those industrious weeks in the first half of 1722', though he still considered this to have been Gibbs at work under instruction from Burrough rather than on his own design.
 - 23 Summerson, *Architecture in Britain* (1953), pp. 195 and 192. These comments had been removed by the time of the last edition of the book (Summerson, *Architecture in Britain* (1993), pp. 293–94), perhaps given the growing sense among other architectural historians that the building is a Gibbs masterpiece.
 - 24 See, for example, the design 584 copies of which were issued as a second Hulsbergh print (April–July 1723), where the Library portico was increased from tetrastyle to hexastyle and its corner bays were given niches with statuary (Hudson, 'James Gibbs's designs', p. 845, fig. 70 and Friedman, *Gibbs*, p. 227, fig. 251). The Gibbs drawing from which this print was derived is in the Ashmolean Museum, WA 1925.343.47.
 - 25 Hudson, 'James Gibbs's designs', p. 844.
 - 26 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, WA 1925.340.51: Friedman, *Gibbs*, p. 111 and plate 107.
 - 27 The pair of panther supporters shown in a 1722 mezzotint after a Michael Dahl portrait of Chandos must be an engraver's error (see Susan Jenkins, *Portrait of a Patron: The Patronage and Collecting of James Brydges, 1st Duke of Chandos (1674–1744)*, Aldershot 2007, p. 21).
 - 28 Verbal communication. The supporters of Richard Boyle 3rd Earl of Burlington's arms were, at least in relation to Piccadilly (and Chiswick), a pair of rampant lions.
 - 29 These two Ashmolean Museum Senate House drawings are WA 1925.343.13 and 14 (for illustration of which see Hudson, 'James Gibbs's designs', p. 847, Figs. 74 and 72 respectively). Crandall (IV.13 and 14) therefore hypothesised that Figure 10 here was, in fact, a design for a Library to face the Senate House, though without reference to the evidence of the pedimental arms. Friedman, *Gibbs*, p. 315, recognised that this was a version of the 'Cannons' elevation, overlooking Gibbs's own placement of it in relation to Senate House drawings.
 - 30 Jenkins, *Portrait*, p. 41 and p. 43, fig. 13. The elevation would probably have been for the south front, not the west as Jenkins has it.
 - 31 H. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects 1660–1840*, London 1954, p. 233 (unchanged in all subsequent editions).
 - 32 Friedman, *Gibbs*, p. 133, and Jenkins, *Portrait*, p. 44.
 - 33 Friedman, *Gibbs*, pp. 225–26 and n. 5, and CUR, 46, p. 9r, 'Benefactors to ye new Building', where Chandos is recorded as gifting £500 and his son the Marquess of Carnarvon £300.
 - 34 Over a period of four years Gibbs had received the enormous sum of £5,500 for his work for Chandos, which included the splendid Cannons Chapel (Friedman, *Gibbs*, p. 315).
 - 35 Gibbs, *Book of Architecture*, p. ix, and Aslet, 'The Gibbs Manuscript', p. 151. For the contemporary understanding, see the comment by a visitor to Cambridge in 1724 citing (what was then known as) the 'Jupiter Stator Temple in Rome', quoted in Friedman, *Gibbs*, p. 232. For a recent reiteration of this identification, see Simon Bradley and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Cambridgeshire* (New Haven and London, 2014), p. 248.