The Architecture of Joseph Michael Gandy (1771-1843) and Sir John Soane (1753-1837): An Exploration Into the Masonic and Occult Imagination of the Late Enlightenment

Terrance Gerard Galvin
University of Pennsylvania

Follow this and additional works at: http://repository.upenn.edu/edissertations

Part of the Architecture Commons, European History Commons, Social and Behavioral Sciences Commons, and the Theory and Criticism Commons

Recommended Citation
http://repository.upenn.edu/edissertations/996

This paper is posted at ScholarlyCommons. http://repository.upenn.edu/edissertations/996
For more information, please contact libraryrepository@pobox.upenn.edu.
The Architecture of Joseph Michael Gandy (1771-1843) and Sir John Soane (1753-1837): An Exploration Into the Masonic and Occult Imagination of the Late Enlightenment

Abstract
In examining select works of English architects Joseph Michael Gandy and Sir John Soane, this dissertation is intended to bring to light several important parallels between architectural theory and freemasonry during the late Enlightenment. Both architects developed architectural theories regarding the universal origins of architecture in an attempt to establish order as well as transcend the emerging historicism of the early nineteenth century. There are strong parallels between Soane's use of architectural narrative and his discussion of architectural 'model' in relation to Gandy's understanding of 'trans-historical' architecture. The primary textual sources discussed in this thesis include Soane's *Lectures on Architecture*, delivered at the Royal Academy from 1809 to 1836, and Gandy's unpublished treatise entitled the *Art, Philosophy, and Science of Architecture*, circa 1826. Soane's Museum at Lincoln's Inn Fields provides a three dimensional encyclopedia that is an embodiment of architectural vision and memory. I propose Soane's Museum as parallel to Gandy's architectural watercolor drawings, particularly his final series executed for "Comparative Architecture" from 1836 to 1838. While these works remain distinct, they are complementary examples of visual representation which rely upon architectural narrative through emblem and symbol.

Another correspondence between Soane and Gandy involves Soane's role as a Masonic architect and Gandy's role as an occult visionary. As the result of a planned reconciliation between two groups in freemasonry - the 'Antients' and the Moderns - Soane became the Grand Superintendent of Works for the United Grand Lodge of England in 1813. This led to Soane and Gandy's shared visions for London's Freemasons' Hall, designed and built between 1813-30 (and subsequently demolished in 1863). I argue that this is the architectural project through which Soane and Gandy's common interest in universal symbolism was made manifest, as evidenced by the design and presentation drawings held at the Soane Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum. In each of these collaborative works of architecture, Soane and Gandy displayed 'Masonic and occult imagination.'

Degree Type
Dissertation

Degree Name
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

Graduate Group
Architecture

First Advisor
Joseph Rykwert

Keywords
masonic, occult, enlightenment, John Michael Gandy, Sir John Soane, England

This dissertation is available at ScholarlyCommons: http://repository.upenn.edu/edissertations/996
THE ARCHITECTURE OF
JOSEPH MICHAEL GANDY (1771-1843) AND SIR JOHN SOANE (1753-1837):
AN EXPLORATION INTO THE MASONIC AND OCCULT IMAGINATION
OF THE LATE ENLIGHTENMENT

Terrance Gerard Galvin

A DISSERTATION
in
Architecture
Presented to the Graduate Group in Architecture of the University of Pennsylvania
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2003

Dissertation Supervisor:
(Professor Joseph Rykwert)

Graduate Group Chairperson:
(Professor David Leatherbarrow)
Acknowledgments

The first time I visited the Sir John Soane’s Museum was in the spring of 1992 while passing through London with a couple of architecture students en route to India. On one of many later visits to the museum, in the autumn of 1998, I was able to wake up in Soane’s residence and tip-toe downstairs among the collection of antiquities, before the staff and public joined in the museum experience. Being in the context of such a house, museum, and library makes research qualitatively different, since proximity to the source of Soane’s work permeates the house and by extension, its guests. Thankfully, the colored glass that was so important to the experience of the Soane Museum has been restored in the last decade, once more creating the painterly effects that Soane intended. Having visited the museum the first time with clear glass in place, the second visit was markedly different, and somehow more mysterious. Ironically, Gandy’s watercolor representations captured the lumière mystérieuse so well that they were used to assist in the production of new glass. He would have appreciated that a representation of a work of architecture could then be used to assist the faithful reconstruction of that image in concrete space. In such instances, the power of representation undergoes a dynamic process of creative renewal.

Throughout the course of writing this dissertation many people have contributed their ideas and friendship in order to guide me through the dark forest of interpretation. My first thanks goes to Professor Marco Frascari, who extended me the invitation to attend the Ph.D. Program at PENN, furthering a relationship that began several years ago at McGill University. I remain equally indebted to Professor Joseph Rykwert, who has been a model for academic life in guiding myself and colleagues in formulating our own investigations during seminar discussions at the University of Pennsylvania. Through his teachings and writings, Professor Rykwert has continually provided insight and wisdom on major
questions concerning the essential role of architecture within human history. Deep thanks also go to Dr. Brian Lukacher from the Department of Art History at Vassar College for his continued support and involvement with my dissertation committee. Without the primary research begun by Dr. Lukacher on Joseph Gandy in the 1980's, this dissertation would not have been possible. My gratitude also goes to Dr. David Leatherbarrow, Chair of the Ph.D. Program in Architecture at the University of Pennsylvania, for coordinating the defense proceedings and for his insight into the problems surrounding the English Enlightenment.

I would like to thank various scholars for reading parts of this draft: John Ashby and Margaret C. Jacob for commenting on Soane’s involvement with freemasonry; Brian Lukacher and Dalibor Vesely for reading the parts on Gandy’s feverish imagination; Joseph Rykwert for being a demanding supervisor and a precise editor; and Ghislaine Trombert for reading the entire manuscript at least as many times as I have myself. I remain indebted to many friends who have offered encouragement and humor throughout these years including Jonathan Hale, William Braham, Brian Geary and Essy Baniassad; and I remain enriched from the critical thinking and friendship of professor Ivan Illich, whose continual commitment to the ‘face to face’ relationship cultivated a sense of community at the University of Pennsylvania that established a grounding for academic life.

Various institutions provided research support throughout this investigation. My gratitude is expressed to the research staff at the Sir John Soane’s Museum in London, particularly Head Curator Margaret Richardson, and Librarian and Archivist Susan Palmer, who has heeded my every request in addition to producing her own elegant research on Soane. Special thanks are due once more to Mr. John Ashby, recently retired Curator & Deputy Librarian at the Freemasons’ Hall in London, who has been unfailingly generous with
information and enthusiastically regarded this research material when I was but a novice in all things Masonic. Dr. Neil Bingham at the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) Drawing Archives, Jane Collings at the RIBA Library, and Nicholas Savage at the Royal Academy have been helpful, as were the staff at the Victoria & Albert (V & A) National Art Library, Archive, and Photo Departments, as well as the National Portrait Gallery.

I would like to especially thank Mr. John Harris of London, and Mr. Vic Thompson of Bath, for opening the doors to their private collections and offering their respective insights on Joseph Gandy, even though they have only encountered each other through Gandy’s genius. Mr. Richard Livock, who now operates Gandy’s Storr’s Hall on Lake Windemere, was also most gracious. Lastly, in England as well as in Scotland, various Clerks of the Work, Masters of the Fabric, and at least one Grand Superintendent of Works have been open in discussing operative and speculative Masonry.

Philadelphia has continued to provide inspiration since the days of Benjamin Franklin, freemason and founder of the University of Pennsylvania. It has always provided me immense pleasure to read in the Furness Library, and to have at my disposal the resources of the libraries at the University of Pennsylvania. Thanks are due to the Philadelphia Masonic Hall Librarian, Glenys Waldman, who assisted me in filling gaps within my Masonic literature. At home in Montreal, I have had access to the excellent collection at the Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA), where I wish to thank Françoise Roux and Pierre Boisvert from the Research Library, as well as Howard Schubert, from the Drawings Collection, for allowing me to spend time with Gandy watercolors.

It is customary to express gratitude to the patrons of architecture that have made this research possible. Major funding was provided through a University Fellowship from the
Graduate School of Fine Arts at the University of Pennsylvania during 1994-97, where I particularly benefited from the kind support of the late Assistant Dean, Susan Coslett. A project grant from the Conseil des arts et des lettres du Québec enabled me to first visit the newly restored Sir John Soane’s Museum in the summer of 1995. As well, a doctoral bursary in architecture from the Fonds pour la Formation de Chercheurs et l’Aide à la Recherche (FCAR) made it possible to spend two years at PENN and embark upon intense periods of architectural research in both England and Italy during the summers of 1995-97; while the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) awarded me a doctoral fellowship when I returned to Canada during 1997-98.

Lastly, although in many ways the most gratifying, the Sir John Soane’s Museum Foundation in New York awarded me the annual ‘Soane Fellowship’ in 1998, which included the luxury of residing within the Soane Museum. I would particularly like to thank Mrs. Elizabeth Scott, for her assistance and encouragement, as well as Wendy Moonan and Dale Stott Cunningham, who assisted me greatly in preparing for the fourth Soane scholar’s lecture, presented in New York during January 2000. Each of these wonderful opportunities has made the pilgrimage of writing a dissertation possible.

_I dedicate this work to gt and gtg, my two pillars of strength_

L.g.

Montréal.

April 2003
Abstract

THE ARCHITECTURE OF
JOSEPH MICHAEL GANDY (1771-1843) AND SIR JOHN SOANE (1753-1837):
AN EXPLORATION INTO THE MASONIC AND OCCULT IMAGINATION
OF THE LATE ENLIGHTENMENT

AUTHOR
Terrance Galvin

SUPERVISOR
Professor Joseph Rykwert

In examining select works of English architects Joseph Michael Gandy and Sir John Soane, this dissertation is intended to bring to light several important parallels between architectural theory and freemasonry during the late Enlightenment. Both architects developed architectural theories regarding the universal origins of architecture in an attempt to establish order as well as transcend the emerging historicism of the early nineteenth century. There are strong parallels between Soane’s use of architectural narrative and his discussion of architectural ‘model’ in relation to Gandy’s understanding of ‘trans-historical’ architecture. The primary textual sources discussed in this thesis include Soane’s Lectures on Architecture, delivered at the Royal Academy from 1809 to 1836, and Gandy’s unpublished treatise entitled the Art, Philosophy, and Science of Architecture, circa 1826. Soane’s Museum at Lincoln’s Inn Fields provides a three dimensional encyclopedia that is an embodiment of architectural vision and memory. I propose Soane’s Museum as parallel to Gandy’s architectural watercolor drawings, particularly his final series executed for
"Comparative Architecture" from 1836 to 1838. While these works remain distinct, they are complementary examples of visual representation which rely upon architectural narrative through emblem and symbol.

Another correspondence between Soane and Gandy involves Soane’s role as a Masonic architect and Gandy’s role as an occult visionary. As the result of a planned reconciliation between two groups in freemasonry - the 'Antients' and the Moderns - Soane became the Grand Superintendent of Works for the United Grand Lodge of England in 1813. This led to Soane and Gandy’s shared visions for London’s Freemasons’ Hall, designed and built between 1813-30 (and subsequently demolished in 1863). I argue that this is the architectural project through which Soane and Gandy’s common interest in universal symbolism was made manifest, as evidenced by the design and presentation drawings held at the Soane Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum. In each of these collaborative works of architecture, Soane and Gandy displayed ‘Masonic and occult imagination.’
THE ARCHITECTURE OF
JOSEPH MICHAEL GANDY (1771-1843) AND SIR JOHN SOANE (1753-1837):
AN EXPLORATION INTO THE MASONIC AND OCCULT IMAGINATION
OF THE LATE ENLIGHTENMENT

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements iii-vi
Abstract vii-viii
Table of Contents ix-xii
List of Illustrations xiii-xxv
Frontispiece xxvi

Preface THE IDEA OF SACRED HISTORY AND SYMBOL DURING THE ENLIGHTENMENT xxvii-xxxiv
Sources and Summary of the Work xxx

PART I SIR JOHN SOANE AND JOSEPH MICHAEL GANDY
Chapter 1 SOANE AND THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF ARTS 1-21
Genius at the Royal Academy 2
The Models of Architecture 10
From the Picturesque to Eclecticism 15
A Question of Style? 18

Chapter 2 THE ENGLISH PIRANESI 22-46
Family Origins: 'The English Piranesi' 23
The Concorso Clementino 29
The Impending Invasion of Rome 35
Gandy's Professional Practice 39

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
**Chapter 3**  
**THE SOANE MUSEUM AND NARRATIVE**  
From Cabinet of Curiosity to Public Museum  
Reflections on the Picturesque  
Soane's Museum as Microcosm  
Soane and Britton's Union of the Arts  
The Pasticcio Column  
The Museum as 'A Place for Idlers'  

**Chapter 4**  
**THE MODEL OF THE TEMPLE**  
Imaginative Reconstruction  
The Masonic Tracing Board  
Thomas Sandby: London's First Freemasons' Hall  

**Chapter 5**  
**SOANE AND THE UNITED GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND**  
Freemasons' Hall and Environs  
Soane's Initiation into English Freemasonry  
The Union and the Ark of the Masonic Covenant  
Soane's Masonic Literature  
Soane, Britton, Gandy and Rosslyn Chapel  

**PART II**  
**JOSEPH GANDY'S HISTORY AND THEORY OF ARCHITECTURE**  
**Chapter 6**  
**GANDY'S COMPARATIVE PHILOSOPHY OF ARCHITECTURE**  
Characteristics in Architecture  
Taste and Genius in Architecture  
Two Measures of Comparative Architecture  
The Guardian Newspaper Attacks  

**Chapter 7**  
**THE ART, PHILOSOPHY, AND SCIENCE OF ARCHITECTURE**  
A Physical Description of the APSA  
Architecture's Original Model  
The Genesis of Natural Forms and Materials  

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
Chapter 8  ON THE ORIGINS OF TRANS-HISTORICAL ARCHITECTURE  156-182

Trans-Historical Architecture  157

Representations for "Comparative Architecture"  162

Comparative characteristics of thirteen selected styles of architecture (1836)  164

Architecture: its natural model (1838)  166

Architecture -- an emblematic sketch (1837)  169

The Unified Narrative of "Comparative Architecture"  179

Occult Enlightenment  181

PART III  SOANE & GANDY: DESIGNS FOR FREEMASONS' HALL

Chapter 9  MASON'S OPERATIVE AND SPECULATIVE  183-206

Operative Masonry  184

Anderson’s Constitutions (1723)  187

Freemasonry and the Jacobites  193

Origin of the Two Grand Lodges: Antients and Moderns  199

The French Lodges and the Grand Orient  203

Chapter 10  REPRESENTATIONS OF FREEMASONS' HALL  207-238

The Evolution of the Property at Freemason’s Tavern  208

Designs for Freemasons’ Hall, London  212

The Office Day Books  216

The Organ Case  224

Plan of the New Masonic Hall  226

Drawing Rituals/Ritual Drawings  234

Commentary on the Freemasons’ Hall Design  236

Chapter 11  ON THE THEATRICAL NATURE OF ARCHITECTURE & MASONRY  239-250

The Masonic Drama  240

The Hall Seen Through Gandy’s Eyes  241

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
Chapter 12  CONCLUSION  251-256

Appendices  APPENDIX A: List of Gandy Works Exhibited at The Royal Academy (R.A.), 1789-1838; and at the British Institution, 1820-1821  257-275

Illustrations  276-384

Bibliography  385-429

Index  430-436
List of Illustrations

frontispiece  "Model for a Museum."
from *The Soane Hours, (Horae: Noli me tangere.)* 
15th century illuminated MS. Sir John Soane’s Museum MS. 4 fol. 115vo. xxvi

PART I : SIR JOHN SOANE AND JOSEPH MICHAEL GANDY

chapter 1

| Title page | Portrait of John Soane as Grand Superintendent of Works by John Jackson, 1830. SM P 142. | 1 |
| fig. 1 | *Villa Capra La Rotunda,* drawn by Soane on the Grand Tour. | 276 |
| fig. 2 | Drawing of a student measuring the Temple of Castor and Pollux in Rome made to illustrate the Corinthian order for Soane’s *Lectures on Architecture* by Henry Parke, 1819. Sir John Soane’s Museum. | 277 |
| fig. 3 | *Theory* by Joshua Reynolds, 1779. Library Ceiling at Somerset House | 278 |
| fig. 4 | Frontispiece from *Recueil et Parallèle des Édifices* by Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand, 1800. | 279 |
| fig. 5 | Egyptian Temples (above) and Greek Temples (below). From *Recueil et Parallèle des Édifices* by Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand, 1800. | 279 |
| fig. 6 | “The Palace Gate,” George Wightwick’s *The Palace of Architecture,* 1840. | 280 |
| fig. 7. | Presentation model of the Law Courts at Westminster by John Soane. Original neo-Palladian design, 1826. | 281 |
| fig. 8 | Presentation model of the Law Courts at Westminster by John Soane. Neo-Gothic design, 1826. | 281 |

chapter 2


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
fig. 1  Plan of Washington by Pierre Charles L'Enfant, 1792.  
Map modified by Andrew Ellicott and Thomas Jefferson.  

fig. 2  Architectural Idea of the Hall of Pandemonium.  
by Joseph Gandy, Exhibited at the R.A., 1831.  

fig. 3  La Grande Galerie du Louvre, by Hubert Robert, 1796.  

fig. 4  La Grande Galerie du Louvre en ruines, by Hubert Robert, 1796.  

fig. 5  The Massacre on Chios, after Delacroix, by Thomas Barker, 1825.  
Doric House by Joseph Gandy, 1803.  

fig. 6  "A Sketch of the Arms of St. John...and part of the Phoenix Fire Office," Charing Cross. From Joseph Gandy to Abraham Cooper (Cooper neg. 157355).  

fig. 7  Temple of the Heroes, Storr's Hall, Windemere. Photo by the author.  
Original building by Joseph Gandy, circa 1804.  

fig. 8  Temple of the Winds, Athens. From The Antiquities of Athens by Stuart and Revett, 1762-1794.  

chapter 3  
Title page  View of the Dome area looking east, by Joseph Gandy. 1811.  

fig. 1  "Soane's Museum as Memory Theater." Photo by the author.  

fig. 2  Facade at No. 12-14 Lincoln's Inn Fields. Photo by the author.  


fig. 4  Reading the Soane Museum narrative. Photo by the author.  


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
fig. 6  The Dome (former Plaster Room) looking at Apollo Belvedere cast.  

fig. 7  "Plan and Section of the Sarcophagus of Seti I," from the Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting by John Britton, 1827. Plate XVI. CCA Collection, Montreal.

fig. 8  View of the Collection of Antiquities, from the head of the Pharaoh, by Joseph Gandy, dated 9 September 1825. Soane Museum, SM Sketches and Drawings (Vol. 82).

fig. 9  Interior Perspective of a Funerary Chamber, with Greek inscription: 'Gandy Architekton' by Joseph Gandy, circa 1800-1815. CCA Collection, Montreal DR: 1984: 1013.

fig. 10  "All the variety of Characters used on the Belzoni Sarcophagus," from the Art, Philosophy, and Science of Architecture (APSA) by Joseph Gandy, p. 200.

fig. 11  "Union of the three Sister Arts:" Soane's Roman bust, with Michelangelo (below left) and Raphael (below right). Soane Museum. Photo by the author.

fig. 12  Frontispiece, Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting by John Britton, 1827


fig. 15  Section through Monument Yard, showing Pasticcio Column, by Edward Foxhall. Sir John Soane's Museum, SM PSA 3.


fig. 18  Section of the Soane Museum showing spoils of 'Jupiter Statror.' Soane

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
annotations 19 July 1808. Sir John Soane's Museum, PSA 32/33, 44.

chapter 4
Title page

fig. 1.

fig. 2
Map of Jerusalem, showing Temple Precinct, from Bernard Lamy’s De Tabernaculo Foederis, de sancta civitate, 1720.

fig. 3
Temple of Solomon, speculative reconstruction after Jacob Judah Leon, from Archiectura Civil Recta y Obliqua, by Caramuel von Lobkowitz, 1678.

fig. 4
Temple of Solomon, speculative reconstruction after Villalpando, from Entwurff einer historischen Architektur, by J. Fischer von Erlach, 1721.

fig. 5
Plan of the Temple of Solomon, from Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended, by Sir Isaac Newton, 1728.

fig. 6
Ground Plan of the Temple of Solomon, from The Origin of Building, by John Wood, 1741.

fig. 7
A Meeting of Freemasons, for the Reception of Apprentices. Engraving by Thomas Palser, 1809.

fig. 8
Masonic Master’s Apron, circa 1789. Owned by Richard Harris, USA.

fig. 9
“Plan for a Masonic Lodge,” from Jachin and Boaz, London, 1776.

fig. 10

fig. 11
Assembly of Freemasons for Reception of Master Mason, from Bernigeroth, 1745.

fig. 13  Grand Temple, Freemasons' Hall, designed by Thomas Sandby 1775-76.

fig. 14  *Free Masons Tavern* at No. 61 Great Queen Street. Engraving pub. 1784.

fig. 15  View of Sandby's Great Hall during Masonic Foundation dinner for 'Girl's School,' 1788.

fig. 16  Frontispiece to Anderson’s *Constitutions*, 1784, showing Sandby’s Hall. Allegorical Plate drawn by Giovanni Battista Cipriani and Paul Sandy, 1784.

chapter 5

fig. 1.  Extract from *Minutes of Grand Master's Lodge*, showing John Soane’s name, one of five men made Master Masons, dated 25 November 1813. Courtesy of the United Grand Lodge Library and Museum, Ref. # SN 460.

fig. 2  The Arms of the 'Antients' Grand Lodge, 1751-1813.


fig. 4  Plan of Thomas Sandby’s Freemasons’ Hall on the night of the Union of the Antients and the Moderns, 27 December 1813. Note Soane’s Ark in front of the G.M.’s Throne.

fig. 5  Design for the Masonic Ark of the Covenant, drawn by George Underwood, 1813-14. I believe this is the final design. Underwood’s drawing was used to illustrate Soane’s Lectures on Architecture. Soane’s Museum, SM 14/4/6.

fig. 6  Three versions of Masonic podium, designs for the Society of Freemasons, 1815. Sir John Soane’s Museum, SM 52/4/2.
fig. 7  Design for Masonic Ark of the Covenant, with caduceus of Hermes, 1813. Sir John Soane’s Museum, SM 52/4/6. 324

fig. 8  Frontispiece to Anderson’s Constitutions, 1815, pub. by William Williams. Allegory of Concord symbolizing the Union of 1813 with Soane’s Ark in right foreground and the bust of George IV behind. 325

fig. 9  Portrait of Grand Master, the Duke of Sussex, with Soane’s Ark in foreground. Engraved by John Harris, 1833. 326

fig. 10  Frontispiece from The Constitutions of the Free-Masons, 1756 (3rd edition). Masonic allegory of Britannia with St. Paul’s Cathedral behind. 327

fig. 11  Frontispiece to Ahiman Rezon, 1778 (3rd edition), showing Tempietto type structure. Compare this image to Soane’s designs for the Masonic Ark. 327

fig. 12  Rosslyn Chapel interior showing five bay vault, with stained glass windows. Photo by the author. 328

fig. 13  The Apprentice Pillar, Rosslyn Chapel. Courtesy of Rosslyn Chapel. 329

fig. 14  The Mason’s Pillar, Rosslyn Chapel. Courtesy of Rosslyn Chapel. 330

fig. 15  Rosslyn Chapel - “The Elevation of part of the South Side,” from The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain. Volume III, Plate VI, 1812. Drawing by J.M. Gandy (circa 1806) for John Britton. Engraved by J. Burnett. 331

fig. 16  Rosslyn Chapel - “Elevation of the South Door with Window and Buttress” from J.M. Gandy Sketchbook (p. 21, recto), 1806. Sir John Soane’s Museum. 331

fig. 17  Sketches of Rosslyn Chapel including Elevation of Apprentice Pillar, from Joseph Gandy Sketchbook (p. 24, recto), 1806. Sir John Soane’s Museum. 332

fig. 18  “Roslyn Chapel, Ground Plan of Columns, Walls, & c. a the east end,” from The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain. Volume III, Plate II, 1812. Drawing by Joseph Gandy (circa 1806) for John Britton. 332
PART II: JOSEPH GANDY'S HISTORY AND THEORY OF ARCHITECTURE

chapter 6


fig. 4 “Round Temples” (Temples Ronds). Plate 3, Recueil et Parallèle des Édifices, by J.N.L. Durand, 1800.

fig. 5 “Church Domes” (Eglises Dômes). Plate 9, Recueil et Parallèle des Édifices by J.N.L. Durand, 1800.

fig. 6 “Plan of St. Peter’s in Rome.” Plate 11, Recueil et Parallèle des Édifices. by J.N.L. Durand, 1800.

fig. 7 “Elevation of St. Peter’s in Rome.” Plate 12, Recueil et Parallèle des Édifices by J.N.L. Durand, 1800.


fig. 9 “Temples.” Plate 6, Recueil et Parallèle des Édifices, by J.N.L. Durand, 1800.

fig. 10 Architectural Visions of Early Fancy in the gay morning of youth, and dreams in the evening of life. Sir John Soane’s Museum, SM P81.
chapter 7

Title page
Page from the treatise with emblematics showing the ark, etc. (page 228). From the *Art. Philosophy, and Science of Architecture* (APSA), by Joseph Gandy. Circa 1826.

fig. 1
Allegorical frontispiece showing Architecture instructing Genius, from Laugier’s *Essai sur l'architecture*, 1753.

fig. 2

fig. 3
Plate III showing the architectural evolution from Ark to temple. From *The Origin of Pagan Idolatry*, by G.S. Faber, 1816.

fig. 4
“The Moderns may use abbreviated marks as follows,” hieroglyphic alphabet (unpaginated). From the *Art. Philosophy, and Science of Architecture* (APSA), by Joseph Gandy.

fig. 5

fig. 6
*Campo Marzio dell'antica Roma*, by Giovanni Battista Piranesi, 18th century. 343

fig. 7
Side elevation of the Karlskirche, Vienna, by Johann Fischer von Erlach, 18th century.

fig. 8
Discussion of two point perspective - framed. (page 1537). From the *Art. Philosophy, and Science of Architecture* (APSA), by Joseph Gandy

chapter 8

Title page

fig. 1
*The Tomb of Agamemnon*, Joseph Gandy, 1818.

fig. 2
*Pandemonium, or part of the high capital of Satan and his peers*, by Joseph Gandy, 1805.
fig. 3  The Picture Gallery and the Mausoleum pursuant to the Will and at the expense of the late Sir Francis Bourgeois..., 1823. Soane Museum SM P265.

fig. 4  The Plan and Interior of the Ground Floor of a Town House.

fig. 5  A selection of parts of buildings, public and private, erected from the designs of John Soane, Esq., R.A. in the metropolis, and in other places of the United Kingdom between the years 1780 and 1815. by Joseph Gandy. Exhibited at R.A., 1818. Soane Museum, SM P87.

fig. 6  Architecture, its natural model. by Joseph Gandy.


fig. 8.  “The first representation of the supreme Deity was by a cylindrical stone.”
Page from Joseph Gandy’s treatise, the APSA, p. 220.
Courtesy of the RIBA Library, London

fig. 9  Zodiaque Circulaire de Denderah. Plate from C.F. Dupuis’ work, l’Origine de Tous les Cultes, ou religion universelle (abridged version) 1822. Note similarity to luminous disc in “Architecture, an emblematic sketch.”

fig. 10  Frontispiece to Dupuis’, l’Origine de Tous les Cultes, ou religion universelle (Nouvelle Edition), 1822. Many of the same emblems are encoded in Gandy’s painting, including the bull breaking the egg.


PART III: SOANE AND GANDY: DESIGNS FOR FREEMASONS’ HALL

chapter 9
Title page  Allegorical frontispiece to James Anderson’s Constituations, 1723.

fig. 1.  Assembly of Freemasons for a Reception of a Master Mason from J.M. Bemigeroth (Plate IV), 1745. United Grand Lodge of England.
chapter 10


fig. 2 Ground plan of the premises purchased in 1774, No. 61 Great Queen Street. Thomas Sandby’s Hall will occupy the empty garden to the south.

fig. 3 The Free Masons’ Tavern at no. 61 Great Queen Street, circa 1789. Sandby’s Masonic Hall was to the rear of the tavern.

fig. 4 The three floors (basement, ground, first) at No. 62 & No. 63 Great Queen Street, circa 1830. Soane’s new Hall is situated to the east of Sandby’s existing hall.

fig. 5 Sketch plan of the Principal floor for Freemasons’ Hall. Soane Museum SM 52/1/23.

fig. 6 Key plan of Soane’s Freemason’s Hall. Light wells indicated in yellow.

fig. 7 Section through zodiac lantern at Freemasons’ Hall, showing signs of the zodiac (above) and the five orders of architecture (below). Victoria and Albert Museum Ref. 3307.199.

fig. 8 The knotted columns Jachin and Booz, Wurzburg Cathedral (detail of capitals).
fig. 9  Free Masons' Hall, two early section studies (signed and approved on verso). Dated 13 October 1821. Soane Museum SM 52/3/4.

fig. 10  View, shewing the effect of the Hall, by removing the organ, and the columns under the gallery. Soane's study of Sandby's Great Hall, dated 17 October 1821. Soane Museum 52/4/12.

fig. 11  Artist's Impression showing No. 58 to No. 64 Great Queen Street, showing Freemasons' Tavern. Numbers are indicated: Soane's Hall was behind No. 62-63, at left of image.

fig. 12  View of Freemasons' Hall with inset painting showing kitchen below. Note Soane (left) and Gandy (right) in their creation. Victoria and Albert Museum Collection.

fig. 13  Exhibited as a general idea, to his R.H. the Duke of Sussex. Design for the new Masonic Hall, dated June 1828. Soane Museum 52/5/43.

fig. 14  Design for Organ to be made in the New Masonic Hall, dated 30 May 1829. Soane Museum 52/4/18.

fig. 15  Organ Case Freemasons, large scale detail of ornament for organ case. Dated 23 November 1829. Soane Museum SM 52/4/23.

fig. 16  Presentation Drawing of Freemasons' Hall, dated 12 November 1829. Soane Museum 52/5/20.

fig. 17  View of the New Masonic Hall looking south, dated 3 December 1828. Soane Museum SM 52/5/40.

fig. 18  Plan of the New Masonic Hall, shewing the arrangement of the seats, &c. Drawn by C.J. Richardson, dated 29 January 1830. Soane Museum 52/5/35.

fig. 19  "Plan of the Drawing on the Making of a Mason," from Jachin and Boaz, London (1767).

fig. 20  "Masonic Lodge Layout," from Three Distinct Knocks, London (1763).
fig. 21 French tracing board showing allegory of the Temple

fig. 22 View of the New Masonic Hall, shewing the arrangement of the seats, &c.
Drawn by C.J. Richardson, dated 27 January 1829. Soane Museum 52/5/36.

fig. 23 Design for the Roof of the New Masonic Hall, dated 13 August 1828.
Soane Museum 52/1/10.

fig. 24 Certificate from Grand Lodge to Sir John Soane, from H.R.H. Duke of
Sussex, dated 7 March 1832. Courtesy of United Grand Lodge of England,
Ref. 'Sir John Soane File.'

fig. 25 Design for the New Masonic Hall, section drawing with zodiac lantern fixed.
Dated 17 October 1828. Soane Museum SM 52/5/34.

fig. 26 Design for the New Masonic Hall, section drawing looking east, with chimney

fig. 27 "13 L.I.F. Section through Lantern Light in Study," dated July 1832.
Drawing shows the lantern as constructed to receive the model of the
Freemasons' Hall ceiling and lantern. Courtesy of Sir John Soane's Museum

chapter 11
Title page "Interior of an edifice devoted exclusively to Freemasonry adjoining
Freemasons' Hall, in Great Queen Street - an evening view made after the
completion of the building," by Joseph Gandy. Exhibited at the R.A. in

fig. 1. "The interior of a room erected in the year 1828, for the Society of
Freemasons, under the auspices of the Grand Master, by Joseph Gandy.
Exhibited at the R.A. in 1829 (#1039).

fig. 2 "Angels and spandrels:" View of the Dome area in the Sir John Soane's
Museum. Photo by the author.

fig. 3 "Design for New Masonic Hall," showing chimney-window fireplaces,
dated 25 August 1828 (SM 52/5/26).

fig. 4 "The Artist in his Museum," by Charles Willson Peale, 1822. Courtesy of
Pennsylvania Academy of the Arts, Philadelphia, USA.

xxiv

fig. 6  “Tribute of Respect from the British Architects:” Subscriber’s ticket belonging to C.J. Richardson. Victoria and Albert Museum Collection, London (Ref. No. 3307.286).

fig. 7  Caricature based on “The Rising of the Sun,” drawn by Henry Parke, 1818. The image portrays Soane’s apotheosis, throwing arrows. Victoria and Albert Museum Collection, London (Ref. 3307.242).

fig. 8  “Interior of the New Temple, Freemasons’ Hall,” showing the alterations done after Soane’s death. From the Freemasons’ Quarterly Review, 1838. p. 477.

fig. 9  “Soanean Exterior” from George Wightwick’s novel, The Palace of Architecture, 1840.

fig. 10  “Soanean Interior” from George Wightwick’s novel, The Palace of Architecture, 1840.

chapter 12
no images
"Model for a Museum"

(Horae: Nolli me tangere)

The Soane Hours.
15th century Illuminated MS.
Courtesy of Sir John Soane's Museum, MS.4, fol. 115vo

xxvi
Preface

THE IDEA OF SACRED HISTORY AND SYMBOL DURING THE ENLIGHTENMENT

In this thesis I demonstrate that Sir John Soane (1753-1837) and Joseph Michael Gandy (1771-1843) built and theorized an architecture capable of transmitting meaning through the use of symbol and emblem, even though they participated in the larger culture of allegory and romantic association, and the shift of architecture towards association and abstract impression. Symbols and emblems originate as characters and marks; the etymologies of both terms suggest that they are “thrown on” or “thrown in” architecture to give it character and meaning. Each type of sign has meaning, but only once signs are translated into symbols or emblems do they acquire material representation or architectural presence. Soane and Gandy remain unique in the nineteenth century in their handling of allegory and romantic association which transmit multiple meanings as do Soane’s Masonic Ark and the angels that support his pendentive domes.

Gandy’s use of emblem in architecture, witnessed over and over again in inscriptions to his Royal Academy exhibits, follows the classic understanding of an allegorical picture, often inscribed with a motto or words supplemental to the visual image with which it forms a single unit of meaning. One of his watercolors even bears the title “Architecture, an emblematic sketch,” informing the viewer of the procedure that conveys his story. I shall show that these two architects - in their collaboration and reciprocal contributions - remained dedicated to an architecture enriched with a surplus of meaning. In this respect, they held fundamentally different views from the painter Turner, whose work progressed towards abstraction, as well as from a series of their English contemporaries, including William Beckford and James Wyatt, who reduced the question of symbol - that has roots in ornament and expression - to questions of architectural style. In Soane and Gandy’s work, the symbol is a permanent bearer of meaning that requires narrative to make it complete, whether it be through Masonic allegory or architectural ritual. I would suggest that this allegorical use of symbol is the most enduring quality of Soane and Gandy’s contribution to architecture.

Another unique aspect of their respective work lies in an attempt to recover the origins of architecture. In both Soane and Gandy’s architectural theories, ‘origins’ were divine, while artifice, invention, and discovery remained within the realm of the human ‘beginnings’ of
building leading to architecture. In a search for origins which led Gandy to the Ark of Noah as architecture's sacred model, he was drawn to symbol in a modern manner that is close to our understanding of the term 'archetype.' Gandy's synthetic mind believed that all architecture was derived from a common origin, and that the various styles, or cultures, around the globe expressed general 'characteristics' of this original model. These symbols and emblems prompted Gandy to consider the notion of universal architecture.

This distinction between the divine origins of architecture, as in the Temple of Solomon and the Ark of Noah, opposes Gandy's theory against Laugier's Essai sur l'architecture, where the beginnings of architecture are traced to the human act of bending the branches of a tree in order to 'fabricate' architecture. Soane, by contrast, seems to have been a sympathetic reader of Laugier. Although it was a common theme in nineteenth century culture to search for the origins of language, religion, cults, etc., Gandy and Soane shared a belief that architecture had an origin; the source from which the first divine models of architecture emanated into the various forms constituting the history of architecture. Although lost, the origin lived on in the collective memory of man and was passed on through building practices such that all subsequent models were symbolic reenactments of this first sacred model.

The very notion that architecture has one or more 'sacred models' is crucial, since it immediately implies architectural meaning that transcends the prosaic. Soane's use of the term 'models of architecture' referred to the ancient precedents that guided his search for order, such as the Temple of Vesta or the Pantheon. While Soane spoke of the models of the ancients as the precedents for understanding the history of architecture, he was particularly rigorous at not copying these ancient forms: when he appropriated the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli for the Bank of England corner, it was modified and incorporated into the building fabric in such a way that it referred to the model and at the same time, translated it in such a way that made it new. Similarly, when the red and yellow glass of the skylights in his villa-museo cast hues recalling the light of Rome, Soane was aware that this effect of light in London also referenced landscape paintings and Gothic stained glass interiors. This is an essential characteristic of Soane's architectural theory, which he transmitted through the Royal Academy and translated into his built work.
In a secular Enlightenment society, the search for order and cosmology became a driving empirical force. During the first half of the nineteenth century in England, the roots of architecture were systematically traced to four primary sources: Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and Gothic. Soane’s subtle understanding of the models and principles of architecture allowed him to be relatively liberated of formalism, although he often engaged in fierce debates on architectural style during the Gothic and Greek Revivals, and rejected the historicism that the neo-classical movements had begun. As Joseph Gandy continued his quest for the origins of architecture, an argument for the primacy of the Gothic was well underway through the prolific writings of Augustus Welby Pugin (1812-1852), and while Gandy was hard at work becoming an architectural mythographer, Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-Le-Duc (1814-1879) began to argue for the structural rationalism of Gothic architecture; later John Ruskin (1819-1900) would poetically argue for 'the nature of Gothic,' translated from its natural principles of flora and foliage into stone. In all these instances, architectural theorists turned once again towards nature as the source of architectural form, as Gandy had already portrayed in his own version of natural history called “Architecture, its natural model.”

Along with symbol in architecture and the search for architecture’s divine origins, a third important influence on Soane that is rarely discussed was his direct involvement with English freemasonry. From an architect’s standpoint, this is particularly curious considering that eighteenth century freemasonry carried out its rituals and communicated its allegories through symbols and emblems, therefore there could be no better patron or client for Soane and Gandy from 1813 onwards than the Society of Free Masons led by the exuberant Duke of Sussex as Grand Master. Through their exchange over the years,

---

1 A.W. Pugin’s *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, 1841; *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England*, 1843; and *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume*, 1844, are all examples of the argument for Gothic, published towards the end of Gandy’s life. Gandy was no stranger to representations of Gothic architecture, having executed several ‘drawings in the Gothic manner,’ including: “A Gothic Arch, with alternative designs for a niche” (CCA Collection, DR: 1983: 591 recto); and another early Gothic drawing of a free standing pinnacle, or cross, done while in Rome; dated 4 March 1797. (Collection of Mr. Herbert Mitchell).

2 Ruskin published the *Seven Lamps of Architecture* in 1847.
Soane’s architectural imagination acquired Masonic influences while Gandy’s imagination became increasingly well versed in the occult (Egyptian ritual, the immortality of the soul, the Gothic novel, etc.), placing him within the drawing tradition of architects like Lequeu. Gandy could also be placed alongside another of his contemporaries, Humbert de Superville (1770-1849), who wrote on the issue of absolute signs in art, considering that Gandy himself spent his entire life in search of the key that would unlock absolute signs and symbols in architecture, before finally returning to the emanation of light as a pure expression of the Enlightenment.

**SOURCES AND SUMMARY OF THE WORK**

My argument has a tripartite structure, first focusing on the allegorical narrative of Soane’s Museum, then placing Gandy’s emblematic project “Comparative Architecture” in the context of his architectural theory, and finally speculating upon the project where their individual theories on architecture and symbolism are joined in the collaborative designs for Freemasons’ Hall. In this final project one not only sees how architecture and freemasonry were intertwined in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but also how Soane’s Museum and the Freemasons’ Hall have several key parallels.

*Part I* (chapters 1 to 5) deals with Soane and Gandy’s early lessons in architecture, followed by Soane’s career and Gandy’s exhibitions at the Royal Academy. Works by Soane which will be examined include his House, Museum, and Library at Lincoln’s Inn Fields; the Freemasons’ Hall on Greater Queen Street, London; and his major theoretical work entitled *Lectures on Architecture*, delivered at the Royal Academy (R.A.) in two courses of six lectures each from 1809 to 1837. The later chapters of Part I introduce Soane’s initiation and subsequent involvement with the Society of Free Masons on the eve of the Union of the two rival Grand Lodges. *Part II* (chapters 6 to 8) discusses Gandy’s writings on characteristics in architecture and comments on select passages from his unpublished treatise, the *Art, Philosophy, and Science of Architecture*. This treatise originally set out to be a comprehensive history of architecture, but transformed into a ‘sacred history’ where he wrote extensively on the divine origins of architecture. This work is then viewed as a companion to his equally grand visual project “Comparative Architecture,” which firmly places Gandy in the tradition of occult visionaries. Following an inclusive view of history, it is impossible to refer to any one work without considering it in relation to others, so that Gandy’s Doric house, his Bank of England in ruins drawing,
or his day and night views of Freemasons' Hall displaying all their pregnant drama are never far from view.

Part III (chapters 9 to 12) brings Soane and Gandy's architectural expertise and theories together in the designs for London's Freemasons' Hall, where architecture and freemasonry meet 'veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols.' This project has had very little critical interpretation, although it remains a prime example of Gandy's pursuit of the origins of architecture through symbol and emblem and Soane's articulate vision of architecture's 'models.' Through a detailed discussion of the Freemasons' Hall drawings,3 Chapters 10 and 11 demonstrate my claim that in this design, Soane and Gandy united to produce a theatrical framework for the Masonic drama which expressed many of the ideals of the late English Enlightenment. Several artifacts that were placed in the design of Freemasons' Hall have a double meaning, such as the domical lantern (combining a dome plus a cone) which admitted light into the centralized room and assisted in the mapping of the constellations onto the floor of the hall. The Freemasons' Hall may be better understood in comparison with the theatricality of Soane's museum, since, as in other projects, several ideas found there were first tested in his architectural laboratory-cum-museum.

Numerous independent studies have provided invaluable foundations for this research. In addition to Soane's own memoirs, museum descriptions, and published works which I have consulted at the Soane Museum and elsewhere (cited in the bibliography), the biographies by Arthur Bolton, The Portrait of Sir John Soane RA (1927), Dorothy Stroud, Sir John Soane Architect (1984), and Gillian Darley, John Soane: An Accidental Romantic (1999), have been extremely informative and enjoyable to read. Arthur Bolton's early edition of Soane's Lectures on Architecture (1929) and David Watkin's annotated version of the lectures, Sir John Soane: Enlightenment Thought and the Royal Academy Lectures (1996), have also provided key source material. Pierre du Prey's dissertation, "John Soane's Architectural Education 1753-80" (Princeton, 1972), followed by his book, John Soane, the Making of an Architect (1982), have laid further ground for serious scholarly research, while Susan Feinberg's dissertation on the Soane Museum, "Sir John Soane's 'Museum': An Analysis of the Architect's House-Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields, London" (University of Michigan, 1979), and her subsequent book, Sir John Soane's

---

3 The drawings for Freemasons' Hall are housed in the Soane Museum archives.

xxxi

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The numerous selected studies and catalogues that the Trustees of Sir John Soane’s Museum publishes, including the comprehensive catalogue accompanying the Royal Academy exhibition, John Soane: Master of Space and Light (1999), edited by Margaret Richardson and Mary Anne Stevens, have provided recent insight into Soane’s life and work. Soane and Death (1996), edited by Giles Waterfield, and published by the Dulwich Picture Gallery is also noteworthy. Dorothy Stroud’s biography, George Dance, Architect, 1741-1825, (1971), and John Summerson’s biography, The Life and Work of John Nash Architect, (1980) have provided other bases for comparative research. Summerson’s early book, Sir John Soane, 1753-1837, and his ninth edition of A New Description of Sir John Soane’s Museum, (1955) have remained constantly by my side. More contemporary creative speculation on Soane’s world began with Sue Palmer’s The Soanes at Home: Domestic Life at Lincoln’s Inn Fields (1997), and continued with the Soane Museum publication Visions of Ruin (1999), with a reprint of Soane’s wonderful fiction Crude Hints Towards a History of My House.

This thesis also re-examines several instances of misreading Gandy’s architectural career, which include placing him largely as one of Soane’s illustrators and draftsmen. Joseph Gandy’s primary works remain the hundred and twenty or so paintings which he exhibited at the Royal Academy’s Annual Exhibition, and at the lesser known British Institution, in addition to his 2,500 hundred page manuscript, “The Art, Philosophy, and Science of Architecture,” of which the surviving volumes are housed at the RIBA Library in London. Scholarly writings on Joseph Gandy are fewer, but no less important. John Summerson’s essay in Heavenly Mansions (1949) is a key starting point, followed by Brian Lukacher’s dissertation, “Joseph Michael Gandy and the Poetical Representation and Mythography of

---

I recently received “A New Description of Sir John Soane’s Museum” as a gift from a friend who visited the Museum while in London. The 10th edition, revised and fully illustrated, is edited by Curator Margaret Richardson (2001), and continues the tradition begun with Soane’s Description of 1830.

Several authors have surveyed Gandy’s work, often dividing his architectural production into three distinct phases: imaginary architectural visions, a few built projects, and later years of frustration at not having attained the success of his mentor Sir John Soane. Such distinctions are limited, considering it is common knowledge among scholars that Gandy largely illustrated the built and unbuilt architectural works of Soane. Architectural historians continue to emphasize a further separation between works on paper and built works, although such a distinction does not particularly assist us in interpreting Soane and Gandy’s contribution to architectural representation. Through his series of writings, Brian Lukacher stands alone in interpreting the overall mythography and iconography found in Gandy’s work, bringing it to bear on aesthetics and the natural philosophy theories of the early nineteenth century.

In this thesis, parallels between both men’s works are not placed in opposition or equivalence to each other, but may be interpreted as complementary projects that benefit

---

Cynthia Wolk Nachmani divides Gandy’s career into three episodes: Gandy the Architectural Historian, Architectural Illustrator, and Architectural Visionary. Although her dissertation on Gandy, entitled “Enrapt in a Cloud of Darkness... Joseph Michael Gandy, Architecture, and the Romantic Imagination” (1984) is a wonderfully erudite survey of Gandy’s career, in separating Gandy’s watercolor representations from his built work, the author overlooks the importance of his architectural production as an uninterrupted whole, composed of several discreet parts, not unlike one of his compositions.
from being considered in relation to one another. Soane’s commission for the Freemasons’ Hall, and the continual refinement of his museum collection narrative, point to a mind which exemplified both the rational and systemic thinking of the Enlightenment, and at the same time embodied the values of emerging Romanticism, reflective of a type of classical-romanticism. Soane reveals this dual nature of the architect and his work in his museum narrative through his alter ego, Padre Giovanni, an inhabitant of the Monk’s Parlour situated on the lower level of the museum. By contrast, the bust of Soane, represented in ancient Roman dress as the Augustan paragon of Architecture, occupies the upper level of the museum. Thus, ego and alter ego are two characters that co-inhabit Soane’s narrative in stone. Such an approach begins to frame the dual nature of the Enlightenment.

Acknowledging that the friendship and working relationship between the elder Soane and the younger Gandy is hard to precisely define, one need only read the affectionate letters between these two men to glimpse a much more subtle and reciprocal sharing of ideas. Soane built what Gandy could only imagine, and Gandy represented Soane’s ideas so that he and clients could grasp their shared vision. Asymmetric complementarity is a term that sheds more light on the collaborative nature of Soane and Gandy’s work, for it allows us to perceive a subtle reciprocity that was achieved through the combined talents of these two characters. In the Soane exhibition held at the Royal Academy in 1999, the accompanying text stated that we often see Soane’s meaning through Gandy’s eyes. Such language begins to sketch an appropriate metaphor with which to view their working relationship. This dissertation fills out that picture.

---

6 The Monk’s quarters, and parlour, may be found in the layout of medieval monasteries, such as in the plan of St. Gall. See Lorna Price, *The Plan of St. Gall: In Brief*, 1982. Soane had read G.S. Lewis’ novel *The Monk*, 1796, and therefore would have been familiar with English Garden references to the figure of the medieval hermit.

7 I have borrowed this term from one of my teachers, Ivan Illich, who used it to describe the concept of gender in one of his important studies. See Illich’s *Gender* (1982) on the concept of ‘Duality,’ p. 20, and on ‘Ambiguous Complementarity,’ pp. 75-76.

---

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
PART I: SIR JOHN SOANE AND JOSEPH MICHAEL GANDY

Chapter 1

SOANE AND THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF ARTS

Portrait of John Soane as Grand Superintendent of Works

J. Jackson, R.A. (exhibited 1830)
 Courtesy of Sir John Soane's Museum
 SM P142
Chapter 1
SOANE AND THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF ARTS

O Architecture! thou Queen of the Fine Arts.- my first love.- my friend through life, and the prop of my declining years, how art thou fallen, fallen, fallen!  

John Soane, Description, 1830

GENIUS AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY

Two pencil sketches of our Royal Academy Grand Tour architects capture their respective characters; a young John Soan(e), born in 1753, and a rather resplendent Joseph Gandy, born in 1771. Unlike Soane who would become a successful practitioner, holding positions as Architect to the Bank of England (1788), Clerk of the Works to the Royal Hospital, Chelsea (1807), and be elected a Royal Academician (1802) and Professor of Architecture at the Royal Academy (1806), the younger generation of architects - to which Gandy belonged - would not have building commissions on par with the Bank of England, the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, the Law Courts at Westminster, or Buckingham Palace, in great part due to the Napoleonic wars.


2 The young Soan added the 'e' to his name in 1784, at age thirty, following the grand tour and his marriage to Elizabeth Smith. This fact is significant, since his education at the Royal Academy, under the leadership of Sir Joshua Reynolds, began to point Soane in a direction that would leave behind his 'operative' roots and his social status, although his simplicity in handling brick and stone would recall his early exposure to his father's trade as a bricklayer. These beginnings would remain throughout his architectural career.

3 Soane and Gandy were both born under the sign of Virgo: Soane, September 10; and Gandy, September 2. The pencil sketch of Soane, by Nathaniel Dance, shows him at the age of twenty-one, before he travelled to Italy. This sketch captures Soane as a young eighteenth century English architect, with his hand in his waistcoat, displaying the promise fulfilled in later representations showing him with dividers in hand; his bust as a classical Roman architect; an older wise professor in his armchair; or the Masonic Grand Superintendent of Works, wearing his white glove. Gandy's sketch, by Henry William Pickersgill, presents him as the architect scholar he would have liked to have been, sitting with his hand turning the page of an ancient tome. Pickersgill also completed a dignified oil painting of Gandy, on loan to the Soane Museum, which occupies a prominent position in the research library.

4 The first parallel is that both architects received the Royal Academy Silver and Gold Medals and, subsequently, both spent formative years in Rome, the Eternal City: Soane from March 1788 until 1780 and Gandy from April 1794 to 1797. Soane obtained the Gold Medal in 1776, for his 'Design of a Triumphal Bridge,' while Gandy's Gold Medal was for the 'Design of a Triumphal Arch,' in 1790. When Joseph Gandy returned to London, his major employment was as an Assistant in Soane's office, an appointment that would begin a lifelong friendship and collaboration between the two men.
Soane's generation was the first in England to benefit from formal education at London’s Royal Academy, which was inspired by such sixteenth century Italian institutions as the Accademia del Disegno in Florence and the Accademia di S. Luca in Rome. Preceding the foundation of the Royal Academy of Arts in 1768, the "first academy of drawing and painting from life in London was opened on 18 October 1711 (St. Luke's Day), at premises in the middle of Great Queen Street, near the town house of Sir Godfrey Kneller who gave it his support and was elected its first Governor." Various incarnations of the fledgling academy to the patron Saint Luke took place. Sir James Thornhill opened a private drawing academy, called the St. Martin’s Lane School, and later William Hogarth, Thornhill’s son-in-law, reconstituted the ‘Academy for the Improvement of Painters and Sculptors by drawing from the Naked’ in 1735 on St. Martin’s Lane.

In 1755, a committee of sixteen members, including architect Thomas Sandby and painter Joshua Reynolds, issued a pamphlet entitled ‘The Plan of an Academy for the Better Cultivation, Improvement and Encouragement of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and the Arts of Design in General; the abstract of a Royal Charter as proposed for establishing the same, and a short Introduction.’ The debate regarding an art academy and an art exhibition in London continued to rage in the streets, coffee houses, taverns and public free houses where various meetings were held. Eventually two exhibition societies would become rivals: the Free Society of Artists and the Society of Artists.

As Architect to King George III, Sir William Chambers organized a ‘proposal for a new Society to promote the Arts of Design,’ which was signed by twenty-two artists and presented to the king on 28 November 1768 by Chambers, George Moser, Francis Cotes and Benjamin West. The mandate of the proposal was to establish an Academy of Design for the use of students in the arts, and to hold an Annual exhibition where all artists of distinguished merit would exhibit their work for public inspection. King George III favorably received their proposal, acknowledging the national importance of an Academy of Arts. The king approved and signed a much more detailed document known as the Instrument of Foundation of the Royal Academy, on 10 December 1768. From that date forward, the Royal Society of London for the Promotion of Natural Knowledge, founded

---

5 The patron saint of painters is St. Luke, whose feast day is 18 October.
7 From 1765, the latter group was called the Incorporated Society of Artists of Great Britain.
in 1660 and devoted to the study of sciences, would have a companion institute in the Royal Academy of Arts.

London’s newly founded Royal Academy, where training was to be free, isolated the three sister arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture as the ‘Arts of Design.’ Sir Joshua Reynolds was elected the first President of the Royal Academy, giving his inaugural discourse at the Pall Mall premises on 2 January 1769. As outlined in the twenty-six paragraphs of the original ‘Instrument of Foundation,’ there were to be Professors in Anatomy, Architecture, Painting, and Perspective and Geometry. According to the Royal Academy charter, students of architecture were to be versed in laws of composition, principles of beauty, and the science of structures. The Instrument of Foundation read:

“There shall be a Professor of Architecture, who shall read annually six public Lectures, calculated to form the taste of the Students, to instruct them in the laws and principles of composition, to point out to them the beauties or faults of celebrated productions, to fit them for an unprejudiced study of books, and a critical examination of structures.”

There was also to be a library of “Books of Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, and all the Sciences relating thereto,” opened one day every week, along with a collection of prints, bas-reliefs, vases, trophies, ornaments, instruments of war and art, etc. in order that the students at the Academy could draw directly from ‘originals.’ Equally important was the sitting of Models for life drawing classes and study of the human figure, although the Academy did not provide for a Professor of Sculpture at this early time.

A founder member of the Royal Academy, Thomas Sandby (1721-1798) was elected inaugural Professor of Architecture on 17 December 1768. The first Professor of

---

8 Hutchison, p. 129. The first three Professors of Architecture were freemason Thomas Sandby (1768-98), Soane’s former employer George Dance (1798-1805), and eventual Grand Superintendent of Works Sir John Soane (1806-37). At one time at the Royal Academy Henry Fuseli was Professor of Painting (1799-1805 and 1810-25), John Flaxman was the first Professor of Sculpture (1810-26), and J.M.W. Turner was Professor of Perspective (1807-37), a position he obtained over J.M. Gandy. With Soane as Professor of Architecture for over thirty years, this formed quite a formidable group of instructors. From Sidney Hutchison, “The Royal Academy Schools,” p. 131.


10 From 1796 to 1798, Edward Edwards read Sandby’s lectures at Somerset House. Sandby’s lectures
Sandby, who trained both as a painter and an architect, held his position from 1768-98, followed by George Dance (1798-1805), John Soane (1806-36),11 William Wilkins (1778-1839),12 and Charles Robert (C.R.) Cockerell (1839-56).13 Sandby delivered the first of his six lectures on 8 October 1770, where "he gave a brief general history of the rise and progress of architecture, and enumerated its attendant sciences, together with instructions for their study and practice."14 Sandby’s lectures became popular in part due to their copious illustrations; his sixth lecture was "illustrated by forty drawings of ancient and modern mansions, temples, theatres, and public buildings,"15 a tradition that Soane would continue to build upon in illustrating his own lectures. Soane’s succession to Sandby’s position at the Royal Academy would repeat itself as architect to the Society of Freemasons, where Soane would earn the opportunity to expand the premises next to his former professor’s hall.16

---

11 During Soane’s time as Professor of Architecture, Sir Anthony Carlisle was Professor of Anatomy (1808-24).
12 William Wilkins, the oldest son of architect William Wilkins senior, was a champion of the Greek Revival. The younger Wilkins initiated the archaeological Greek Revival in Britain, publishing Magna Grecia (1807) as well as Atheniensia, or Remarks on Topography and Building of Athens (1816). He also worked on a translation of Vitruvius, entitled the Civil Architecture of Vitruvius (1813). As a practicing architect he designed University College, London, with John Peter Gandy, between 1826-30; the Freemasons’ Hall in Bath during 1820-22; and worked on both Trinity and King’s College at Cambridge University. He later followed Soane as the Royal Academy Professor of Architecture, filling out his career as an architect, scholar and educator.
13 Charles Robert (C.R.) Cockerell (1754-1827) was the second son of Samuel Pepys Cockerell (1754-1827). He first apprenticed in his father’s architectural office and later with Sir Robert Smirke, leader of the Greek Revival in England. In 1833 he succeeded Soane as the Architect to the Bank of England, and later as Professor of Architecture at the R.A., from 1839-59. Among other projects, he designed the National Monument in Edinburgh, St. George's Hall in Liverpool (1851-54), and the Ashmolean Museum and Taylorian Institution (1841-45). C.R. Cockerell was awarded the first RIBA Gold Medal in 1848, and went on to become the first architect to be elected president of the RIBA in 1860-61. He retired from the R.A. in 1857 and from practice in 1859. His son, Frederick Pepys Cockerell (1833-1878), was a pupil of Philip Hardwicke and worked on the design for the Banqueting Hall at Freemasons’ Hall, following Soane’s work on the premises. For a full list of the Royal Academy Professors, see Sydney Hutchison’s The History of the Royal Academy 1768-1886, “Appendix C,” pp. 266-271.
14 William Sandby, Thomas and Paul Sandby, Royal Academicians: some account of their lives and works, 1892. p. 58. The RA Schools remained at Somerset House from 1780 to 1837.
15 Ibid., p. 59.
16 Soane seems to have calculated his moves in this regard. He was appointed to the position of his...
The first premiums were awarded at the Royal Academy the year following its foundation. As a young man, beginning in 1768, Soane had entered the office of George Dance the younger, and in 1770 he began work in the office of Henry Holland where he gained further experience as an apprentice. In October of 1771, an eighteen year old John Soane was admitted to the Royal Academy Schools, where the talented young architecture student obtained one of six silver medals awarded the following year.\footnote{17} Two Gold Medals were also awarded in 1772: one to John Keyse Sherwin in Painting, and the other to Thomas Engleheart in Sculpture. There were no Gold Medal candidates awarded for Architecture that year, the competition theme being 'A Nobleman's Townhouse, with Offices, &c.' Four years later, in 1776, John Soane was awarded the R.A. Gold Medal for his design of 'A Triumphal Bridge.'\footnote{18} On this occasion, Soane's fellow Gold Medalists included Charles Grignion in Painting, for his rendition of the 'Judgement of Hercules,' and Henry Webber in Sculpture, for his 'Judgement of Midas. Basso Rilievo.'\footnote{19}

Upon completing his training and receiving his gold medal, Soane departed for Italy, via Paris, on 18 March 1778. With the support of Chambers and Reynolds, the Royal Academy sent the apprenticing architect abroad on the grand tour, on a \textit{pension}, where he spent the next two years studying and recording ancient architecture in Rome. Soane arrived in Rome with Robert Furze Brettingham and soon made the acquaintance of fellow architect and countryman, Thomas Hardwick. Together, they carefully recorded the monuments of Rome, many of which occupied the Forum Romanum. Stroud notes that

\begin{flushright}
former teacher, Sandby, at the Royal Academy, and had made a similar gesture with the purchase of Pitzhanger Manor, designed by his mentor and employer George Dance. Soane would remodel Pitzhanger, both in defiance and in respect for Dance, who he would directly follow at the Royal Academy due to Dance's inability to deliver the required six lectures annually. Dance resigned his position as Professor of Architecture in 1806, whereupon Soane was appointed. Three medals were awarded to the artists of the Drawings Academy: Charles Shirreff, William Griffon, and John Howes; one medal was awarded to John Lochee of the Model Academy, and two awarded to the Architecture Academy, which included John Rudd and John Soane, for the presentation of the 'Front of the Banqueting House'.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
Soane's submission included supplementary Sketches for 'A Temple of Venus, and also for the Door of a Church Dedicated to the Evangelists.' From: \textit{Premiums - RA, 1769-1880 (A List of the Students of the Royal Academy who have obtained Premiums of Gold and, Silver Medals, in Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture. The subjects, sketches &c. and the year when given).} Courtesy of the Royal Academy of Arts Library, London.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
The awarding of gold medals at the Royal Academy was made biennial from 1772. See Sidney Hutchison, p. 129. Throughout this thesis, R.A. is the abbreviation used for the Royal Academy, also referred to as the Academy, or the RA Schools.
\end{flushright}
Soane slowly studied Italian and following advice from Chambers, 'forget not Piranesi,' "presented himself at the artist's studio in the Palazzo Tomati." Soane acquired several engraved plates by Piranesi in addition to filling his own Italian Sketches notebooks with drawings of the Pantheon, the Temple of Ceres at Paestum, and the Temples of Vesta, both in Rome and at Tivoli. In the course of his travels Soane journeyed to Paestum, Pompeii, and Naples to the south, and to Bologna, Milan, and Venice to the north of Rome in search of architecture [fig. 1]. Soane would return to England in 1780, losing his gold medal and drawings en route, with the intention of setting up his own practice in London the following year. Throughout a career that spanned the next five to six decades, Soane's involvement with the Royal Academy's summer exhibitions was constant, and in part responsible for his election as an Associate of the Royal Academy (A.R.A.) in 1795, and Royal Academician (R.A.) in 1802.

Taking his new responsibility as Professor of Architecture seriously, Soane remained constant from the onset that the sole focus of his Lectures on Architecture would be Civil Architecture, "both essential and ornamental: it is partly an Art, and partly a Science; it consists of the Theory and Practice of Building." In France, Jacques-François Blondel wrote that architecture consists of three branches: la civile, la militaire, et la navale, a tripartite division that Soane echoed in his first lecture delivered at the Royal Academy in 1809. Soane's search for the origins of civil architecture lead him to begin by tracing its history from primitive acts of building:

"Architecture from the earliest periods, has engaged the attention of mankind, nor can this be wondered at when we see how necessary and how useful it is. It protects us from the shivering Lightnings and furious Tempests, from the heats of Summer and the severities of Winter; and by its powers the comforts, conveniences, and refinements of life are increased."   

According to Soane, this was the role of architecture, to which he added rather more modest definitions of Military and Naval Architecture:

"Architecture likewise defends us from ambitious neighbours; it instructs us also in the Art of building Ships, by whose assistance we are enabled, in defiance of winds

---

20 Dorothy Stroud. Sir John Soane Architect. p. 32. This entire chapter on Soane's grand tour is well written and insightful.
22 Ibid., pp. 16-17.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
and waves, to penetrate into the most distant parts of the Globe, and to enrich our Country with the various productions of other climes.\textsuperscript{23}

This polemical division of the art and science of architecture, along with the separation between theory and practice, would continue to plague architectural theory in England throughout the late eighteenth century. Soane’s carefully constructed lectures follow a systematic history beginning with architecture’s ancient models, which he believed required constant study, and slowly traced the history of architecture up until his present time in England. Regarding architectural education, Soane’s belief was that students should learn from the theory and practice of the ancients with the intention of reuniting them as in the Augustan era [fig. 2]. Ironically, Soane’s disapproval of theory and his occasional caution against the fanciful imaginings of architects like Piranesi and Gandy was expressed during his third lecture:

"By the attentive reading of these works [Vitruvius & Alberti], by measuring and drawing the remains of Antiquity, and by serious reflecting on the principles on which those edifices have been produced, the taste of the student will be formed, but unless practice is added to his Theory he will be little more than a fine draughtsman. Drawing, although a desirable and most necessary qualification, makes a very small part of the requirements requisite to form an architect.\textsuperscript{24}

Where would such a position leave his imaginative friend Joseph Gandy, who built his career on the poetics of drawing? Was it even possible that Gandy’s practice was solely embedded in the domain of theory, rather than being engaged in the age old problems of representation? Midway through the fifth lecture, Soane directly cites Gandy’s architectural talent in a rather back-handed manner:

"A superior manner of Drawing is absolutely necessary, indeed, it is impossible not to admire the beauties, and almost magical effects, in the architectural drawings of a Clerisseau, a Gandy, or a Turner. Few architects, however, can hope to reach the excellency of those Artists, without devoting to Drawing too much of that time, which they ought to employ in the attainment of the higher and more essential qualifications of an Architect.\textsuperscript{25}"

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., p. 17. \\
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., p. 56. \\
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid., Lecture V, 1809. p. 88.
These words express Soane’s opinion that architectural representation was rapidly becoming a separate entity, more closely related to painting than to its profound original meaning underlying the creation and production of architecture.

Soane may have intended he and others to follow the architectural canon put forward by Vitruvius, but soon falls into a potentially reductivist dilemma by accepting an artificial division between theory and practice. As a ‘professional’ architect, Soane would reconcile this dilemma through his collaborations with Gandy. Although Soane was highly capable of obtaining commissions and having buildings built, he still needed the imaginative assistance of Gandy who often intervened in the project at a phase where Soane’s design was first made visible to a client. Several versions of a particular watercolor perspective were then executed, showing clear evidence of design changes that occurred as a result of the drawing being discussed. The visionary Gandy, who drew like an angel, had little difficulty in imagining his designs for Soane, particularly in his later career after his few major projects had been constructed. This division of labor between the two architects is indicative of an increasing removal of drawing ability from disegno that would not have presented itself to Michelangelo or Bernini, pointing to an endemic problem within architectural theory by the turn of the nineteenth century. Painters also addressed similar theoretical problems, such as what role history painting played in modern painting, and whether the copying of the works of the masters produced copyists rather than men of genius who transcended their ancestors. This was the collective challenge that the Royal Academy presented to students in promoting modern works of invention; Soane’s vision of the balance between the ancient and the modern was no different.

The problematic division between the theory and practice of architecture from the inception of Soane’s Lectures partially reveals the empirical rationalism present during the late Enlightenment [fig. 3]. Although both Soane and Gandy experienced this schism in architectural representation, their collaboration managed to invent an imaginative solution to the problem that Soane spelled out so clearly in his twelfth and final lecture:

"Genius, Theory, and Practice must be combined to make a great Artist. The seeds of Genius, the candidate for Architectural fame must receive from Nature. Theory in a great degree may be acquired in the course of his own study, by unremitting

__________________________

26 Assistant was the term formally used to describe Gandy’s position in Soane’s office.
application and deep research. Experience, and the knowledge of the practice of Building, can only be fully attained by Time."\(^{27}\)

After long years of study and careful observation, and with the combination of Gandy’s genius, Soane’s theory and practice were joined to produce a unified, if somewhat hybrid, body of work. Soane’s desire to unite theory and practice was also expressed in the genesis of his museum, with its activity as a private academy of arts, combined with its equal involvement in architectural education and practice. The museum remains direct evidence of Soane’s valiant attempt to bridge the separation of architectural theory from the building art.

Continued reductive formulations of the architectural imagination have led to the common misreading of Gandy as a failed architect because he drew more than he built. Not accepting these formulations of architectural meaning, Gandy’s world increasingly became focused on myth and symbol in architecture as a reaction to the structural rationalism of neo-Gothic, or the superficial use of architectural styles as mere cosmetic dressing. Having sensed an emerging crisis in the art of building, the theme of ‘the union of the arts,’ (running parallel to the union of theory and practice) is where authors John Britton and John Soane soon turned their attention in an attempt to return Architecture to its humanist roots and elevate her once more to her deserved place as ‘Queen of the Fine Arts.’ This division between theory and practice that Soane argued against has continued to endure in architectural theory over the past two centuries, creating an increasingly larger chasm that even Gandy’s genius could not completely bridge.

THE MODELS OF ARCHITECTURE

One of the major ideas that Soane structured his Lectures around was the importance of studying tradition in architecture which was found in the architectural examples and models of the Ancients:

"I shall endeavor to make the works of the Ancients and Moderns familiar to the Student, and point out to him, according to the best of my judgment and experience, their beauties and defects, and the various means by which the great Masters of Antiquity attained such superior excellence and such high pre-eminence."\(^{28}\)

---

\(^{27}\) Soane, Lecture XII, p. 197.

\(^{28}\) Ibid., Lecture I, p. 16.
As Professor of Architecture at the Royal Academy, it was Soane’s role, even his vocation, to instruct the students in the history of architecture from its inception to the present. This was the tradition at the Academy, which structured competition themes to address composition skills and sponsored the grand tour to further the knowledge of young architects through the direct experience and recording of these models. Soane was now compiling all that he had learned in writing his lectures on architectural history in order to pass on to others the knowledge of architecture he had acquired. Soane’s friend and colleague, Joseph Turner, even assisted Soane in preparation of his inaugural lecture.

With regard to the debate in architecture between the Ancients and the Moderns, Soane states his bias clearly: "We must never judge of the works of the Ancients without referring to their origin," which implies that the crisis of the Moderns was their general lack of understanding first principles. From Soane’s point of view this lack of knowledge of ancient architecture was synonymous with forgetting architecture’s origins which would inevitably lead to superficial capriciousness. Returning to Vitruvius as his guide, he maintained that, "by close study and unwearied attention," the young architect “should be learned in history, well informed of the primitive destination and origin of things, and on all occasions be able to trace every invention up to First Principles and Original Causes." For Soane, the study of civil architecture’s principles would reveal the key to the universal first forms which acted as the seed, or origin, of all subsequent models. Espousing this view, Soane carried on the classical tradition that the origins of architecture were divinely inspired and therefore revealed to their master builders, as in the instances of the Ark of Noah or the Temple of Solomon. These divine original models were then emulated in future constructions, creating a link between origins and beginnings through human artifice and through acts of mimesis. Such genealogy offered a highly poetic vision of the role of the architect as a giver of form who mirrored the Divine Artificer.

Another separation that was beginning to fragment the theory of architecture during the course of the nineteenth century was that between the arts of imitation and those of

---

29 Ibid., Lecture IX, p. 142.
30 Ibid., Lecture IV, p. 71.
31 Biblical tradition and Masonic legend concur on this point - Noah and Solomon were instructed on how to proceed through a dream which revealed their tasks as Master Masons.
invention. This reductive attitude towards architecture was reflected in an increasing lack of "principles concerning the analogy of the proportions of Architecture with our sensations." The rules governing measure and proportion in architecture had formed part of the ancient canon from Vitruvius to Alberti. Architectural theorists from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries defined the parameters of beauty, harmony, and propriety through the analogy between the measure of the human body and architecture. Le Camus even remarked that the "general proportions of Architecture have a striking analogy with those of the human body and seem to be taken from its general characteristics." Le Camus de Mézières held on to the belief that the analogy of the proportions of architecture with our sensations was still based on the notion of harmony:

"Constantly bear in mind and keep as your principal object the harmony of proportions and of the relations between all the parts; this alone forms the enchantment that delights our souls."35

This theme of the parts relating to the whole foreshadowed the emerging importance of the picturesque entering into architectural theory.

Soane clearly aligned himself with Le Camus in the study of first principles; his growing concern with the unbridled architectural imagination that departed from first principles may have been derived directly from Le Camus' treatise where he cautions:

"Let us say only that there must be some points of departure, and some laws to restrain our imagination, which is generally licentious. Left to itself, it knows no restraint or measure; it would produce monstrous composites, a crude mixture of all the genres; it would not shrink from combining them all within a single scheme of decoration."36

32 Le Camus de Mézières, Le génie de l'architecture, p. 72. Soane owned a copy of Le génie de l'architecture (1780) even translating it in part for himself as well as presumably to assist in his lectures. In his "Translator's Note," Robin Middleton mentions that Soane left a rough manuscript of about one-fifth of Le Camus de Mézières The Genius of Architecture; or, the Analogy of that Art with our Sensations.
33 Rudolf Wittkower and Joseph Rykwert are the two architectural historians who have written clearly about this issue in architectural theory from a contemporary viewpoint.
34 Le Camus de Mézières, p. 79.
35 Ibid., p. 72.
36 Ibid., p. 74.
In this regard, Soane had even ridiculed the heated imagination of artists, including Gandy. Artists and architects of the late eighteenth century, including Le Camus and Soane, believed that just as the artist who had cultivated taste would have good judgment, the genius who created works of art would be able to achieve harmony, 'ordonnance,' and proportion. Without such an understanding of the meaning of proportion, modern architecture would no longer be dependent on harmony, as Le Camus de Mézières had argued, and may even encourage architectural pastiche. While Le Camus and Soane attempted to carry on the long standing tradition of proportionality in architecture, the concept of classical proportion was beginning to fragment, along with the analogy between the human body and the building fabric. Reynolds preached at the Royal Academy that pure invention would inevitably require the artist of genius to deviate from ancient tradition and established rule. On what grounds then would architects continue to discuss architecture? Largely upon grounds of architectural style, or historical era, or of having a harmony of parts not unlike a painting or an English garden.

Modern galleries, including the Louvre and the British Museum, became informal academies where artists could copy the great works, carrying on the tradition of painting while leaving room for individual discovery and invention.37 Throughout the late eighteenth century, questions of harmony would continue to be replaced by linguistic analogies surrounding the poetry of architecture and architecture parlante, rooted more in romantic theories of artistic expression and feeling than in the questions of classical harmony or proportion. The classic understanding of proportionality diminished until Soane and Gandy began to search elsewhere for architecture's characteristics. By the early nineteenth century, in England as in France, ideas underlying the picturesque left room for interpreting under what compositional rules 'unity within variety,' or 'part within whole' applied, leading to an increasing belief that each individual had a subjective attitude towards compositional 'style.' This was, and still is, part of the romantic movement.

Situated between Soane and Gandy in age but not in temperament, Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand (1760-1834) studied architecture under Pierre Panzeron and had been a pupil and assistant of Boulée in pre-Revolutionary France. In his role as Professor of Architecture at

37 In post-revolutionary France, painters including Ingres (1780-1867) and Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863) would frequent the Louvre, making copies of the masters in the classical tradition of history painting.
the École Polytechnique in Paris, Durand classified architecture according to the same scale and typology in a physically comparative method [figs. 4 & 5]. In 1809, the same year that Soane began to deliver his Lectures on Architecture, L.G. Legrand published an explanatory text to Durand's *Recueil et parallèle des édifices de tout genre*, under the title "Essai sur Histoire Générale de l'Architecture." Legrand's essay was intended to complement Durand's treatise outlining his comparative method. Many of Legrand's principles correspond with the sentiments of Soane; both authors continually argue for the principles of Ancient architecture (especially Graeco-Roman architecture) over the Modern. Legrand writes:

"The primary duty of the architect is continual observation; the judicious appreciation of the models presented to him, and the combination of these into new forms, the thorough knowledge of all the monuments of ancient and modern peoples: these compel him to a task requiring sustained and constant labor."38

What Legrand does not address is the question of how to treat the study of the ancient 'models,' which may be dealt with in many ways, from merely copying them to freely interpreting the lessons embodied within. More will be said later regarding Durand's comparative method when we compare it to Gandy's interpretation of "Comparative Architecture," at the opposite end of the spectrum to that of Durand's positivistic *Parallèle.*39

In comparison with Durand, Soane's approach to teaching architecture was much less reductive and more inventive, choosing instead to convey meaning through an associative memory palace of models in architecture rather than through a systematic taxonomy of building types.40 As a visual companion to his lectures, Soane intended his museum to

---


39 Gandy would borrow the phrase "Comparative Architecture" as the title for his ambitious project involving 1000 drawings, which he announced at the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition of 1836. Gandy's comparative representations immediately distinguish his genius from the pastiche of George Wightwick's "Palace Gate," or even C.R. Cockerell's imitation of Gandy's graphic style in the painting "The Professor's Dream," which was used as a backdrop for Cockerell's Royal Academy lectures. The intentions underlying Gandy's encyclopedic endeavor are not to be confused with images which have adopted similar collage juxtapositions of architectural styles.

40 For a discussion of the implications of Durand's teaching method, see chapter 9 on "Durand and Functionalism," in Alberto Pérez-Gómez's *Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science*, 1983. Other pertinent critiques include Rykwert, *The First Moderns*, pp. 469-470; as well as the final
provide a setting where the study and discussion of 'Architecture as Queen of the Fine Arts' would take place:

"Students in Architecture should confer together on every occasion, and converse on the Beauties and Powers of Architecture. They should communicate to each other, reciprocally, the knowledge they have attained, the discoveries they have made, and by every effort endeavor to make this first of the liberal Arts as perfect as possible."41

Soane's academic advice to students at the Royal Academy appears to have equally applied to his working relationship with Joseph Gandy, although their views on architecture did not always coincide. While it was accepted at the Royal Academy that imitation was despised in poetry and painting, when Gandy created original architectural compositions, which he regularly exhibited at the R.A., he was often accused of having a heated imagination. With such criticism, Gandy felt that his own genius was under acknowledged more than once, especially unfair when his own designs - often fueled by great literary works - were stretching the limits of the architectural imagination. This art of architecture had become so unjust to the young visionary that the Royal Academy would not even raise his status beyond that of being an Associate (A.R.A.), although his case would come before the Academy on several occasions.

FROM THE PICTURESQUE TO ECLECTICISM

The eighteenth century's notion of eclecticism was not merely one of stylistic pluralism nor a superficial reaction to the classical tradition. In Soane's world, as in Gandy's later emblematic watercolors, the 'poetry of the fragment'42 was meant to open the doors to the imagination, and trigger associational theories of perception, following from the philosophy of Joseph Addison and continued in Richard Payne Knight's essay, An Analytical inquiry into the Principles of Taste (1805), where he asserted "all the pleasures of intellect arise from the association of ideas."43

42 I have borrowed this term from Edward Kaufman's article "A History of the Architectural Museum," in Fragments of Chicago's Past: A collection of the architectural fragments at the Art Institute of Chicago, p. 20. Courtesy of the CCA Library, Montreal.
43 See Richard Payne Knight's An Analytical inquiry into the Principles of Taste (1805), quoted in John Dixon Hunt, The Genius of the Place, p. 348. As well, see Joseph Addison's The Works (1721), which inspired landscape writers including Knight.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
"The associational aesthetics of the period, according to which architectural forms were valued for their power to suggest pleasurable thoughts or experiences, was based in part upon metonymy: a chimney stack represented the hearth attached to it, the hearth in turn the family seated around it, so that by a series of linkages, a drift of smoke could signify happy family life."\textsuperscript{44}

These types of emblematic devices had a profound impact on the picturesque, where part signified whole, and whole was represented by the part. The sequence of parts being strung together to form a continuous narrative incited the viewer to make associations among diverse fragments, thereby constituting a mental image of completeness in the mind's eye. In the Soane museum - as in a mind richly stored - synecdoche and metonymy were invaluable techniques representing the significance of the fragment, guiding the rules for invention and composition according to the narrative.

In 1826, while still working on his museum collection, Soane employed George Wightwick who would go on to write the bizarre architectural novel, \textit{The Palace of Architecture: A Romance of Art and History}, published after Soane's death in 1840. Wightwick's portal into the 'Palace of Architecture' was through the eclectic 'Palace Gate' [fig. 6], where he instructed the viewer: "Having studiously followed the windings of the templed walks to which it leads, you will return, competent to read the significant details of what, now, only vaguely addresses your understanding."\textsuperscript{45} For those not familiar with Wightwick's novel, the author enclosed a plan of several pavilions, each dedicated to an era in the history of architecture: Egyptian, Grecian, Roman, Chinese, etc., along with follies dedicated to various architectural styles including Greco-Roman, Gothic, Christian Pointed, and even Soanean. The 'Palace of Architecture' forms the centerpiece of the fictional English garden layout, where "the villa's program is a conventional allegory of life, leading from youth in the breakfast room to death in the chapel."\textsuperscript{46} In Wightwick's novel, the history of world architecture is presented as an allegory in a garden, where the historiographer has become a novelist. Such an intimate portrait of a personal journey in parallel with a path through the history of architecture could only have been gleaned from experience in Soane's office.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{44} Kaufman, "A History of the Architectural Museum," p. 19.
  \item \textsuperscript{45} Wightwick, George. \textit{The Palace of Architecture} (1840). p. 7.
  \item \textsuperscript{46} Kaufman, p. 28. The discussion which follows is influenced by references in Kaufman's article, although I do not necessarily share the author's leap from interior museums to the World's Fair grounds as an extension of exhibit type.
\end{itemize}
Unlike Gandy or Soane, who searched for models and principles underlying the history of architecture, the eclectic Wightwick literally 'applied' several ideas underlying the picturesque to the Gothic Revival:

"One of the leading advantages of Gothic design, is the facility it affords for impressive and picturesque clustering. Groupings of separate buildings in the 'classic styles' may be, doubtless, accomplished with much effect: but we are aware of no antique example, in which the positive conjunction of differing parts, is managed with a success equal to that exhibited in the North-eastern View of Wells Cathedral, where the Choir, Lady Chapel, Chapter House, and Close Gateway, are seen in united mass..."47

In viewing numerous eclectic architectural works from the early nineteenth century, the temptation is to categorize them all as mere flights of fancy, or simply as the result of Genius and invention championed by the Royal Academy. If one simply compares Gandy's compositions visually with George Wightwick's folly for the Palace of Architecture, Gandy's work may be viewed as a precursor to nineteenth century eclecticism, separating form from meaning. Gandy's watercolor compositions for "Comparative Architecture" may equally be misconstrued as the validation of an eclectic panoply of architectural styles - a by-product of the nineteenth century 'battle of the styles.'48 However, I would argue that we interpret Gandy's work in a different manner, taking into account that his struggle with trans-historical style foreshadows the problem of the various 'isms' that accompanied the Gothic and Greek Revivals. As J. Mordaunt Cook points out, in both his architectural writings and drawings, Gandy sought to develop "a symbolic system...perfect, durable and universal."49 It is this intention which allowed Gandy to transcend the superficial debate on choosing an architectural style of the time in favor of an insistent belief in the enduring universality of certain emblems, symbols, and architectural narratives. Gandy's interest in hieroglyphic symbols relating to the divine origins of language and of architecture is a final instance of the artist attempting to create an encoded world in microcosm; his intention was to develop a timeless language of architecture that would reconcile the development of historical styles. This leads to a very different project than one of stylistic eclecticism, as in Beckford's Fonthill Abbey.

47 Wightwick, p. 133.
48 J. Mordaunt Crook, The Dilemma of Style, p. 34.
49 Ibid., p. 39.
In much the same way, Soane's 'eclectic' museum was devoted to a syncretic perception, guided by the spatial narrative of the place which functions on multiple levels following the principle of classical allegory. It is at once both a pedagogical academy and an auto-portrait; it is filled with allusions to the memory of Rome together with future aspirations for Britannia. In essence, like its antecedent - the cabinet of curiosity - it was a work in progress for most of his adult life, and the record of its evolution and design changes is what characterizes the development of its spatial narrative. This narrative did not remain fixed, but followed the course of Soane's own life as an architect, collector, and architectural educator. The museum was constantly revisited and revised - highly unusual in architectural practice today - but nonetheless still the tradition maintained during Soane's work on the Bank of England, or Freemasons' Hall, where design and construction typically spanned several decades. Soane's world was much more continuous and cumulative during the building process; a process that remained intact even in Viollet-le-Duc's rational view of history:

"The life of a man is not long enough to allow any architect to absorb the totality of a task which is both intellectual and material, an architect can only form part of a whole; he begins what others will finish, or finishes what others have begun, but he cannot work in isolation, for his work is not his own personal achievement, like a painting or a poem."31

Having moved far away from the poetry of architecture found in the works of Gandy and Soane, the moral rationalism of A.W. Pugin's *Apology for Pointed or Christian Architecture* can be perceived as a reaction to the earlier capriciousness of English architects and artists.

A QUESTION OF STYLE?
Early on in his career, William Chambers had encouraged Soane to form 'a Style of his own,' advice which led Soane to develop a theory of architecture in addition to his own

---

50 This issue alone raises questions in contemporary architectural theory, where the building process is assumed to be fixed in time, and singular in form, as the work of a sole author or firm.

51 Peter Collins, *Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture*, p. 162. The author is quoting from the preface to Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire*. 

18

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
emerging architectural language. Commenting on the architecture of the Dulwich Picture Gallery, Joseph Rykwert observes:

"Soane's work belongs to that period when the 'Battle of the Styles' between the protagonists of gothic and classical architecture was only just beginning, and it was still possible to change styles without incurring moral condemnation. And Soane admired both gothic and classical architecture; moreover in his own work he attempted the creation of a style which would not rely entirely on precedent, but on the principles abstracted from the examples of the ancients; and by 'the ancients' Soane did not mean merely the Romans -- that is what a seventeenth- or eighteenth century architect would have understood when he used the word -- but he was also referring to medieval builders."  

Rykwert points out that Soane's "attempt to create a style based on ancient principles, without slavish adherence to precedent, and his concern with volume and light, did not inspire a following." Soane's constant passion for ancient principles was shared by Gandy as evidenced in his sketches recording Rosslyn chapel's mastery of construction and stone carving by medieval builders. Gandy's quest for the divine origins and human sources of architecture, through the great chain of being, is an important aspect of his work which developed in no small part through his working relationship with Soane. Far from having a following, neither Soane or Gandy were without detractors; Soane's critics referred to his work as Boeotian, while Gandy has seldom been elevated beyond the status of a 'draughtsman,' relegated to paper architecture. With the exception of Gandy's own sublime visions and mysteriously lit watercolors, Rykwert observes that "the decorative details and other appurtenances of the styles directed architects' energies away from any attempt to search for first principles; other, more profound and violent,  

---

53 Ibid., p. 159.
54 Ibid., p. 159.
55 Given Gandy's clarity of vision on paper, it is curious that his buildings do not have the same subtlety of grace, appearing quite heavy and singular when compared to his architectural watercolors.
56 According to the OED, Boeotian refers to an inhabitant 'of Boeotia, dull, stupid. A district of ancient Greece, proverbial for the stupidity of its inhabitants.' Soane had been attacked in the Knight's Quarterly Magazine, in 1824, for being the re-inventor of a Boeotian order of architecture. See Rykwert, "The architecture of Dulwich picture gallery," p. 159.
movements made architects withdraw from invention and take refuge in antiquarian pedantries.\textsuperscript{57}

Soane’s project for the Law Courts at Westminster (1822-25) is another case in point regarding the debate on architectural style. Soane had once again chosen to borrow from the lessons of Andrea Palladio, proposing and constructing a neo-Palladian design which respected John Vardy’s earlier Palladian type building to the south and west sides of the site. The Gothic and Greek revivals in England posed an equal threat to Soane’s architectural theory; such ignorance of first principles on the part of architects and building committees went against everything that Soane had professed throughout his career. However adamant his arguments, Soane lost the architectural debate and the Law Courts Selection Committee actually tore down his new construction, enforcing the neo-Gothic style that now reflected national taste. The new Gothic facade imposed upon Soane’s massing caused him to disown the design, spending the next decade arguing for his other model and even offering to fund the rebuilding of his initial design. Two presentation models of the project, dated 1826, clearly display the superficial change of architectural style which he had argued against throughout his career at the Royal Academy [figs. 7 & 8].

Soane managed to create his own language of built architecture; a language which he supported through the theory he developed over several decades while lecturing at the Royal Academy. Soane’s approach to architecture was cultivated by intense study of the works of the Ancients which gave him confidence in the creation of his own modern style. The Royal Academy, where Soane had occasion to present his arguments to the students of architecture, was an important venue that allowed him to represent the history of architecture in a comprehensive and progressive manner. The analogue to Soane’s Royal Academy lectures was his academy-cum-museum, where the visual arrangement of the history of architecture was visceral and visually based upon architectural narrative uniting word and image. Understood together, these two aspects of Soane’s pedagogical and didactic nature begin to form an important unity, especially when considered within the context of the nineteenth century’s concern for architectural composition where part related

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., p. 159.}  

20
to whole. Such unity of form remained the raison d'être of architectural composition, regardless of questions of style.

Less rational than Soane, Gandy's original attempt to step outside the question of style was ambivalent: on the one hand, it allowed him to search for the common origin of all architectural styles, which he believed to be expressed in three symbols; on the other hand, it allowed him to develop his own personal artistic expression, leading to his unique 'style' or language of architectural representation. Ultimately, Soane's theory of modern invention based upon drawing lessons from ancient models, and Gandy's notion of "Comparative Architecture," forged a direction in architectural theory that was largely abandoned after the 1830's as architects redirected their energies towards the Gothic and Greek revivals. The question of architectural style had come full circle.
Chapter 2

THE ENGLISH PIRANESI

Portrait of Joseph Michael Gandy
(circa 1822)

Henry William Pickersgill, R.A.
National Portrait Gallery: Reg. No. 5701

22

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
Chapter 2
THE ENGLISH PIRANESI

If you in drawing would improve.
With drawing you must fall in Love.
For true love true pains will call.
That's the charm which conquers all.

Joseph Gandy, Gandy Green Book, 1797

Drawing, although a desirable and most necessary qualification.
makes a very small part of the requirements requisite to form an architect.

John Soane, Lectures on Architecture, 1809

FAMILY ORIGINS: 'THE ENGLISH PIRANESI'
In 1763, at age nineteen, the wine merchant Thomas Gandy (1744-1814) married Sophia Adams. They had twelve children several of which died young. The four who survived were named Joseph, Michael, Peter, and Lois. Joseph Michael Gandy was born under the sign of Virgo on 2 September 1771, "at noon in the parish of Aldgate, in the City of London, a Cockney." As the eldest of three sons, Joseph took care of his father after his retirement from wine merchant John Martindale's firm and seems to have also been the overseer of his younger brothers Michael and Peter. When he grew to adulthood, Joseph Gandy married Eleanor Webb of Vine Street, and together they had nine children of their own of whom only five reached adulthood. After a productive but turbulent career that will be outlined in this chapter, several surviving descendants of Gandy inherited his various

1 Joseph Gandy, the Gandy Green Book, p. 107. The Gandy Green Book is officially titled the Journal of J.M. Gandy A.R.A. At least two typescript copies of it exist: one in the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) Library, and another in the Sir John Soane's Museum, London. The original diary manuscript belongs to the Gandy family.
2 John Soane, Lectures on Architecture, Lecture III, p. 56.
3 Gandy Green Book, p. 248. Note that both John Soane (born 10 September) and Joseph Gandy (born 2 September) were ruled under the sign of Virgo.
4 The Gandy children, in descending order, were as follows: Celia Mary (b. 1802), Olave (b. 1803), Orion (b. 1804), Thomas (b. 1806), Hannah (b. 1807), Mary (b. 1809), Elizabeth (b. 1811), Sophia (b. 1813), and Charles Joseph (b. 1815). While several survived, Olave died while still an infant, Orion died at age five, Elizabeth at age four, and Charles Joseph at age fourteen. From the Gandy Green Book, p. 256. I believe that Joseph Gandy's son Thomas became a portrait painter who exhibited as well at the Royal Academy.

23
belongings including paintings, manuscripts, and letters, from which we have been able to reconstruct the major lines that constitute a sketch of his life.

Joseph Gandy, whom Summerson labelled the 'English Piranesi,' kept a journal that contains a fairly intact record of the impressions of a young architect on the late eighteenth century grand tour. Called the Gandy Green Book, due to the color of its cover, the typed journal is in part a record of an exchange of letters between the young Joseph and his father during his travels abroad from 1794 to 1797; and is in part a collection of papers regarding the Gandy family genealogy and heraldry. The young Joseph traced his family heritage to the followers of William the Conqueror, noting that the family name Gandy was derived from a town in Normandy called Gand, or Cande, the 'y' being added later. According to Gandy, descendants of the family included the twelfth century Hugh de Gandeville, Thomas Glanville, and Hugo de Gandy. The young architect is proud to note: "On the Coast of Normandy is a port called Granville," and that the "diversity of arms of Granville, Glanville and Gandeville, or Gandy were relations and varied the colours of their arms as heads of families."5

According to the Gandy Green Book, the young Joseph's most eminent relative in England was John Gandy, born at Exeter in the seventeenth century. "He was a good divine and excellent Christian,"6 who became a Doctor of Divinity and a member of Oriel College at Oxford. Later, John Gandy became domestic chaplain to the Bishop of Salisbury. Joseph also sang the praises of two accomplished painters in the family; James Gandy, born in 1619, who had been instructed by Anthonie van Dyck7 and William Gandy, the son of the painter James, who in turn even made a portrait of Thomas Gandy when he was still a child. Joseph Gandy recounts that his cousin William "was a man of a most intractable disposition, very resentful, of unbounded pride, and in the latter part of his life both idle and luxurious."8 Joseph records that "His portraits are slight and sketchy and shew more of genius than labour," and that "Sir Joshua Reynolds said he had seen portraits by William Gandy which were equal to Rembrandt."9 Through these and other references, Joseph tries

---

6 Ibid., p. 260.
7 In the Gandy Green Book, the Flemish painter is referred to as vandyke.
8 Ibid., p. 262.
9 Ibid., p. 264.
to establish a strong family history supporting the idea that honor and genius were already present in the Gandy blood.10

At the age of fifteen, Joseph Gandy began his apprenticeship in the architectural offices of James Wyatt (1746-1813), R.A., who had led a prolific and fashionable London practice. His father, Benjamin Wyatt, had been an important builder in the late eighteenth century. During his training, the young James travelled to Italy with Richard Bagot in 1762, where he stayed recording the architecture of the ancients for six years. While in Italy Wyatt also became versed in English Palladianism through Venetian architect Antonio Visentini. Wyatt’s most impressive commission upon his return to London was the Pantheon assembly rooms, built between 1769 and 1772, and modelled on the work of the brothers Adam.11 The mature Wyatt - whose brother Samuel was also an architect - soon became the favoured architect of King George III, succeeding Sir William Chambers as surveyor-general and comptroller of the Office of Works. Diverse projects including the Radcliffe Observatory, Kew Palace, the restoration of Salisbury and Durham Cathedrals, and the Gothic vision of Fonthill Abbey were all part of Wyatt’s repertoire of architectural styles well into the early decades of the nineteenth century. Interests in archaeology, monumentality, neo-Palladianism, new techniques in cast iron construction, and the picturesque aspects of Gothic were each present in Wyatt’s specific works. James Wyatt even became the President of the Royal Academy for a brief period in 1805 while his professional star was still on the rise.

During his apprenticeship with Wyatt, the oldest of the Gandy brothers entered London’s Royal Academy of Arts Schools on 28 November 1788.12 Each year the Royal Academy set the theme for the medals competition; Gandy achieved early success at the Academy by capturing the Silver Medal in 1789, for his measured drawing of the ‘South Circular Portico of St. Paul’s,’13 and the Gold Medal in 1790 for his design of ‘A Triumphal

---

10 It is impossible to determine whether this section of the journal was added by Gandy himself, or by another member of the family.
11 James Wyatt had over three hundred commissions spanning over four decades. Wyatt’s architectural repertoire widened to include Heaton Hall in Lancashire; the Radcliffe Observatory at Oxford (1776-1794); the Mausoleum at Cobham, Kent (1783-84); and his Gothic folly for Fonthill Abbey (1796-1813) under the patronage of the eccentric literary virtuoso William Beckford. Following a prolific office practice, Wyatt died in a coach crash in 1813.
12 This information is taken from The Royal Academy Schools Register. 1769-1829. Courtesy of the Royal Academy Library, London.
13 In 1789, the R.A. awarded three Silver Medals: Joseph Allen (Drawing), Charles Taconet (Model),
In addition, five Silver Medals (three in Drawing and two in Architecture) were awarded the year that Gandy captured the Gold Medal.\(^{13}\)

In fact, all three of Thomas Gandy’s sons went on to study architecture. In May of 1795, once Joseph had already departed for the grand tour, he wrote to his younger brother Michael, advising him "not to adopt any other taste of Architecture except that of Mr. Wyatts," whose "Architecture is more truly antique and more in the Grecian manner than any other man in England at present, or has been before him, I think they will never find his equal, he may be said to rival the ancients."\(^{16}\) Following in his elder brother’s footsteps, and taking his advice, Michael Gandy (1778-1862) also apprenticed in the office of James Wyatt, entering the Royal Academy Schools in 1796. The younger Gandy brother later worked for Sir Jeffry Wyatville whose employment he stayed in for decades.\(^{17}\) The careers of the three Gandy brothers (J.M, M, and J.J*) have often been misconstrued one for the other as a result of the close overlap of their schooling and apprenticing. The third and youngest brother (John) Peter (1787-1850) also apprenticed with Wyatt and went on to receive the Silver Medal at the Royal Academy in 1805. The youngest of the architect brothers added the name Deering to his own in 1828, becoming John Peter Gandy-Deering who remains best known for his archeological work with Sir William Gell entitled: *Pompeiana: the Topography, Edifices and Ornaments of Pompeii*, published between 1817 and 1819.\(^{18}\)
As a reward for his own efforts, and having been awarded the R.A. silver and gold medals in the presence of Sir Joshua Reynolds, the talented and anxious Joseph Gandy embarked upon the grand tour, departing for his Italian voyage on 26 April 1794. During this time, Gandy was financially supported by his father's employer, John Martindale, who was also the proprietor of White's Club. While based in Rome, Joseph wrote extensively to his father in letters which form his journal called the *Gandy Green Book*. Much of Gandy's atmospheric imagery can be traced to his waking dream-like impressions of Rome during the last decade of the eighteenth century. While in Rome, Gandy had quite a different experience from that of Soane, although both architects visited many of the same monuments in the Eternal City. Gandy's terror of Rome stemmed in part from his being there during the French invasions of Italy. The war, along with an eruption from Vesuvius, impressed themselves upon Gandy's fertile imagination, causing him to express his feelings in letters home to the family. Gandy's journey to Italy by sea began with him having a terrifying dream where he confronts a man who turns out to be the devil:

"Then he immediately grasped me close, shut my eyes, and in his arms I was carried till I found my eyes were opened, that he had placed me in Hell where he left me. I looked about to the right then to the left, and could find no passage where I might get out, but I was resolved to seek, therefore walked on and viewed the things around me - ."  

Later in the dream, Gandy records one of his first architectural narratives, a foreshadowing of images that he would represent in later watercolors:

"I saw a light, then again I was in total darkness and was groping my way, at last I saw daylight peep through a hole above me which appeared to be above a mile high. On my left hand I saw a room with the Devil drinking with Lawyers, Aldermen etc. etc. etc. etc., but I passed these unnoticed and I surveyed this place sometime and discovered that it sloped up to the top, which if I ascended, as I very easily could, there was a great many men on this Hill, and they seemed piling it up with bottles which the Devil and his companions had emptied, as a trophy of what feats they had performed, and were striving to reach heaven with them."  

---

Deering also published the *Unedited Antiquities of Attica* in 1817. He was elected a member of the Society of Dilettanti in 1830.

20 Ibid., p. 15.
Part Babel and part Dante's *Commedia*, Gandy's dreamscape is a series of visual descriptions where waking and dreaming merge. Many impressions, such as the death of the ship's Captain due to fever weighed heavily upon Gandy as he was arriving in Italy, causing him to lament: "I confess my weak mind could not fix to one thing, and I fear my writing must have partaken of the same disorder. You must tell them [the family] likewise I meet with a great many things to put me out of my usual steady temper here."\(^2\)

Rome and environs provided the perfect context for Gandy to witness the marriage between nature and architecture over time. He wrote: "I have made two journeys from Rome since I wrote last, one to Tivoli and the other to Albano." At Tivoli, Gandy visited the Temple of Vesta and the grottoes of Neptune and the Sybils. True to his imaginings, he records that the grotto "lulls very soon people to sleep, and if they do not take the greatest care are drawn in."\(^2\) The young architect also visited Naples where he executed some fantastically precise architectural drawings of Pompeii, showing the conditions in which Pompeii was discovered with lava entering through walls and filling entire rooms. These drawings, I believe done in conjunction with Francesco Piranesi, are early records of the archaeological work being done there. They indicate that Gandy chose to represent Pompeii in the sublime state it was found as archaeologists excavated, and not in a 'corrected' or restored manner by removing the lava as in later representations.\(^3\) Instead, these images express the vitality of Italy at the crossroads of archaeology and architecture during the late eighteenth century. In the journal, Gandy even includes a translation of a letter by "his Excellency the Duke della Torre," describing Mount Vesuvius in which he quotes from Pliny's account of the eruption circa 79 AD.

Gandy's early visions of Rome, including a visit to the catacombs, often centered on the mysteries of Roman Catholicism that he had experienced as part of the crowd at St. Peter's Basilica. In one of his more artful accounts, Gandy magically describes St. Peter's:

"All night the Cathedral is illuminated by a cross of twenty five feet high and two broad, on all sides filled with lamps suspended from the Dome. You must conceive

\(^2\) Ibid., p. 41. Losing his steady temper would become increasingly frequent for the sensitive artist.

\(^2\) Ibid., p. 47.

\(^3\) I traveled to see these architectural etchings in one of the archaeology museums near Naples (either at Paestum, Herculaneum, or Pompeii) in the summer of 1996. They are a most fantastic record, not only of Pompeii, but of Gandy's powers of architectural representation as well. Unfortunately, there are no commercial reproductions of these images, and I cannot confirm where I first saw - or dreamt - them.
this cross how brilliant it must appear to the eye for there are no other lights in the Church, this giving sufficient light for the whole, the great depth of the aisles behind, the height of the Dome above, forms such an amazing contrast with the luminous cross as to give the effect I suppose that the sun would were it to issue from the sky on the sudden in the dead of night. In brilliancy it stands secondary to that great luminary."

For Gandy, the Christian cross would remain one of the three most powerful symbols, along with the disc of the sun and the crescent shaped ark. In his worship of the sun, Gandy would later return to the sacred origins of architecture as outlined in C.-F. Dupuis’ *l’Origine de tous les cultes, ou la Religion universelle*, published in 1794. In his popular occult study, Dupuis traces the influence of the sun in numerous eastern and western ancient cultures in order to return to the origins of sacred worship:

"Le scoliaste d’Hésiodenous dit également que 'le zodiaque, dans lequel le soleil acheve sa course annuelle, est la véritable carrière que parcourt Hercule dans la fable des douze travaux, et que, par son mariage avec Hébé, déesse de la jeunesse, qu’il épouse après avoir achevé sa carrière, on doit entendre l’année qui se renouvelle à la fin de chaque révolution.'"

**THE CONCORSO CLEMENTINO**

A few words must be said about various European academies that preceded the Royal Academy. Sidney Hutchison remarks:

"In Italy, the Accademia del Disegno in Florence and the Accademia di S. Luca in Rome had, since the second half of the sixteenth century, exerted considerable influence and, in France, the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, founded in the mid-seventeenth century, obtained almost dictatorial powers but there had been no comparable body of artists in Great Britain prior to the eighteenth century."

With the establishment of the Royal Academy in 1768, Great Britain soon had its own Academy to rival those of Italy and France although grand tour architects such as Joseph Gandy still entered concorso at the Accademia di S. Luca, named after the patron saint of painting. During his sojourn in Rome, one of Gandy’s more infamous events revolved around his participation in the Concorso Clementino at the Accademia di S. Luca. Gandy

---

had entered the *concorso* on 27 May 1795, executing his *prova* of a design for a Triumphal Arch in the annual competition. However, the circumstances surrounding the prize caused quite a stir since Gandy did not win the first prize, which was awarded equally to Italian architect, Giovanni Campana, and Spanish architect, Giorgio Duran.27

Gandy wrote home to his father28 expressing his dismay at running into such hatred against the 'Prova di Giuseppe Gandy Inglese,' executed with exacting terms within two hours. One of the architects in Rome, a Mr. Barberia, had accused Gandy of copying his own designs, which he alleged Gandy might have seen back in England. In a state of personal turmoil in Rome, his enemies had continued to slander his reputation, causing him to be "so sickened with such numbers of these evil reports spread of me (I scarce even stir from my studies) that I conceive myself in Hell and Rome contains nothing but devils."29

While Gandy felt he should have won the competition, he was denied the first premium by the judges, but afterward was awarded a 'special prize' for his obviously superior talent.30 Gandy's prize medal from the Accademia di San Luca remained a major personal triumph as he happily reported home:

"they are likewise to call me first when they deliver the premiums publicly, -- so you see I cannot have a greater honour conferred on me, and 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."31

From the young architect's own account, the entire event in Rome apparently increased the public awareness of his talents. In a letter dated 6 June 1795, Gandy even includes a sketch plan of the great room at the Campidoglio where the medals were conferred by the

---

28 In the *Gandy Green Book*, the author recounts his misfortune to his father in letters dated May 28th, 1795 (letter no. 14), and June 6th, 1795 (letter no. 15) where he even draws a plan of the seating arrangement for the ceremony.
29 *Gandy Green Book*, p. 145.
30 For a full account of this episode, please refer to the article by Frank Salmon already cited. Gandy had been in Rome with fellow countryman and sculptor Richard Westmacott, who studied in Italy with Canova. The two Englishmen also shared premiums in Rome's Accademia di San Luca, on 2 June 1795, for architecture and sculpture respectively. See *Gandy Green Book*, p. 75.
31 Ibid., p. 72.
"Cardinals of Rome." It is noteworthy that Gandy insisted that his special premium be awarded equally with the others:

"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 at the Senators' Palace on the Capitoline Hill on 2 June with the future Duke of Sussex, Prince Augustus Frederick, himself just elected an honorary member of the academy, in a position of honour."

With Prince Augustus now an Honorary Academician, and in sight of six cardinals and a number of prelates, princes, and other members of the retinue, Gandy received his premium for architecture, while Richard Westmacott received the first premium for sculpture doubling Gandy's national pride.

From its very founding, Rome has always been a city filled with the sacred juxtaposed against the profane. Gandy's emotions kept swinging back and forth like a pendulum, from the great emotional heights of his Academy of St. Luke's medal to the horror captured in this first-hand account of a condemned person's hanging in the Piazza del Popolo. Gandy describes the spectacle of the criminal whose:

"strength failed him as they led him towards the gallows, he grew paler every moment, his legs tottered under him, at the ladder he fainted, -- during these few moments amongst the spectators a horrid silence reigned -- a rope that was round his middle they dragged him up by and fixed the rope from his neck -- the sign was immediately given and they threw him off, the hangman at top slipped down the rope and placed his feet on his shoulders pressing them down with his weight and strength, two others at bottom clung to his legs, we heard his bones crash and thus he was finished without being sensible of any pain. I could not help thinking these were the Devil's agents who were thus dispatching him for the other World,... "

In the same letter as above, Gandy shifts his gaze once more to the architectural wonder of St. Peter's:

"I shall pass from this subject to the illumination of St. Peters which happened on the next day. Thus we pass from sorrow to joy and know the difference of what is pleasing and unpleasant. St. Peters when illumined forms one of the most beautiful sights you can conceive or conjecture, figure to yourself some fairy Palace stuck

32 Frank Salmon, "An Unaccountable Enemy..." p. 34. The important influence of the Duke of Sussex will be raised in relation to Soane and English freemasonry.
33 Gandy Green Book, p. 82.
full with diamonds, and the sun shining on them, and then you may have some idea of St. Peters. Every rib of the dome on the outside has lamps close to each other, between the ribs also they are put, the Ball, the Cross at top, in short every part of the exterior of the Church following the lines of the Architecture has lamps. From a distance the Dome has the appearance of a Crown or Papal Cap set with all sorts of precious stones from the variety of coloured lights. It is seen round the country for forty or fifty miles.”

Gandy's impressions of St. Peter’s are reminiscent of later imagery represented in his watercolor the "Tomb of Merlin," and his drawings of the Masonic Rosslyn Chapel; both smaller in scale in comparison to St. Peter’s, yet filled with architectural mastery and allegory. In reading through the Gandy Green Book, one becomes immediately aware that Gandy was by no means passively recording the ancient monuments and ruins; he was actively experiencing the architectural character of the ancient and baroque city at the close of the eighteenth century. The theatrical quality of Rome, particularly at night, filled the young architect's imagination with sublime imagery:

“What astonishes the Spectator still more is the mutation or rather an addition of greater lights which are lighted an hour after the others, it appears the effect of enchantment. I observed in the time the clock had struck three out of nine, every part of this stupendous fabric shone with superior splendour similar to the sun bursting forth from a dark cloud and gave us that were near light as bright as day, — think what the change must be when it changed from lights of six inch diameter to that of six, five, and four feet diameter, from seeing the people round me but obscurely I saw them perfectly clear....It is one of the grandest effects imaginable. I fear words can convey but a poor picture of it.”

Gandy’s journal correspondence also contains reflections upon his future prospects, which formed an important aspect of his time away from England. The young 'genius' had clearly wanted to succeed at the Royal Academy, and had. In Rome, he was once again being successful in addition to being polemical. However, upon Gandy’s return to England following the grand tour, he would never truly fulfill the promise of his visions of Rome. In a passage that eerily foreshadows his later career with John Soane, the young architect imagines his future in England:

"It may be said I can work for some Architect who has great business, then shall I become a journeyman instead of advancing forward I shall be going back from my present situation, disappointing every expectation, and losing all that I came here

---

34 Ibid., p. 83.
for, by giving all my labour to another man. I know very well I can that way maintain myself very decently, but it is my endeavor to be better than such an Artist.”

Both architect and artist, Gandy’s self awareness of unfulfilled genius is haunting. Already preoccupied by his lack of financial stability in Rome, Gandy was plotting to secure a position of rank:

"Before my return to England another thing should be considered, that is endeavoring to get some place which may remain as a situation for life, which may be had by looking for it as there are many in London. Every Parish has a surveyor, the only thing they have to do is to see that all buildings are made according to the Act of Parliament, besides being Architect to some Public building which requires to be kept in repair, such places are generally got by favour and interest...."

Sadly, Gandy would never attain the financially secure post that he dreamed of while in Rome. In his own career, Soane would manage to secure at least three such appointments: Architect to the Bank of England (1788); Clerk of Works at the Royal Hospital at Chelsea (1807); and Grand Superintendent of Works for the United Fraternity of Freemasons (1813) where he and Gandy carried out designs for Freemasons’ Hall.

Even in Rome, the talented Gandy reports on not having sufficient funds to buy antique objects and prints that he intended to resell back in England. The constant theme of being ‘very short of cash,’ was common throughout Gandy’s career; later in life he would even be held in the Fleet Street prison for his insolvency. This earlier situation, however, seemed unfair to the young architect, who had been trained in taste and ‘judgment’ at the Royal Academy. That such discerning taste was stopped from being executed merely due to finances became increasingly unjust, as expressed in this letter to his father:

“I do assure you it is not from any extravagance I have committed in Rome, but from the dearness of things, and my wish to improve myself as much as possible, in the time allowed me to stay in Italy, so many buildings are to be seen and they lay so far distant, that it takes large sums to go through every journey, there is not a place within forty miles of Rome, but what I have by some other means or other contrived to see, either going on foot or on assback through such a desolate country as the Campagne of Rome, it is by this means I get at buildings few other Architects visit, and it has led me into a study whereby I am making a series of designs without neglecting the antique adapting each for particular parts of the

---

36 Ibid., p. 88.
37 Ibid., p. 89.
country I visit. I travel with my stool and book under my arm, when arrived at a
good situation, which has some particularity or good view from it, I sit down and
make my design - this is a study that no Architect has made before me and will be
absolutely necessary on my return to England, if I should be fortunate enough to
build in England.”34

Gandy’s detailed letters give us a rather clear picture of his travails. Continuously drawing
money from Mr. Martindale and later his own father in order to pursue the study of Antique
Architecture, the young architect/entrepreneur intended to buy antiques in order to resell
them upon his return. Then there were expenses related to his designs for the annual
exhibition at the Royal Academy, his day to day living expenses, and the increasing
pressures related to the impending occupation of Rome by Napoleon. While on various
travels outside Rome, to towns such as Aquino, Ponte Corvo, Sanjermano, and Naples,
Gandy was often commissioned by English ‘Gentlemen’ to make certain designs which he
would then arrange to have sent home. From the account above, it is clear that during the
grand tour even the unique view became a commodity that architects increasingly gathered
as part of the spoils of architecture. No longer experiencing the luxurious grand tour of
other Englishmen, such as Lord Burlington, Robert Adam, or John Soane, Gandy was
experiencing real difficulties which no doubt supported his increasing view of the
struggling artist as the romantic genius.

At the same time, the young pensionnaire was in a place where many new ideas were
crossing his path. On the one hand, Gandy wanted to visit Venice, “a great school for
Architecture and next to Rome in the Arts,”39 while on the other hand he writes, “Tell Mr.
Chapman the plan of Washington he was so kind as to send me is now handing about in
the same manner.”40 This refers to Gandy having seen a plan of L’Enfant’s design for the
great new capital of America, the plan that had been commissioned by George Washington
in 1791 [fig. 1].41 However, L’Enfant’s temperament clashed with that of President
Washington, who dismissed him as engineer-in-charge the following year in 1792.
Nevertheless, when Gandy viewed L’Enfant’s design, he envisioned that even Rome

34 Ibid., p. 95. Letter dated 22 August 1795.
39 Ibid., p. 48.
41 The plan of Washington was designed by the French engineer and architect Pierre Charles L’Enfant
(1754-1825) who emigrated to America in 1777. The new capital replaced the former one,
Philadelphia, in 1800. Brian Lukacher believes the plan Gandy saw was ‘most likely the version
published by Ellicott in 1792.’ Please refer to citation by Lukacher in “Joseph Michael Gandy:
The Poetical Representation and Mythography of Architecture,” p. 35.
would wane when compared to the vision of the new city of Washington. The new world was beginning to gain priority over the ancient city as new forms of government and the dream of democracy moved westward across the Atlantic, a view consistent with the Enlightenment's influence upon the French and American revolutions.42

Gandy never travelled to Greece although he did plan to return to Naples in March of 1796, observing that his colleague Richard Westmacott had already departed. During his stay in Rome, Gandy was already indebted to his first real patron, John Martindale, as well as to his employer James Wyatt. At the start of 1797, however, Mr. Martindale's situation had worsened until he no longer answered Gandy's bills. Unfortunately, Martindale's wine merchant business on St. James Street in London soon incurred bankruptcy which determined Gandy's imminent departure from Rome. As Gandy's own financial situation declined, he sued a Mr. John Deare for not paying him properly for chimneyypiece designs he had produced.43

THE IMPENDING INVASION OF ROME.
As Gandy's time on the grand tour was drawing to a close, he continued to contemplate what lay ahead for an architect returning to London:

"The time is now drawing nigh when I must launch forth into the world without any certainty of anything but what may spring up from chance and my little present endeavors. I find on examination my bark yet weak, and that without assistance all my exertions will be in vain to gain any rank in the first line of artists, and yet if I look at what has already been afforded me I have no reason to despair."44

Gandy remained in Rome during the French Revolutionary Wars between France and Great Britain. He was already planning his departure from Rome, hoping to return to England in March or April of the same year, when the situation turned from bad to worse as he reports:

42 The Great Seal was adopted by Congress in 1782, while the pyramid above the motto is dated 1776. The Great Seal motto, *Novus Ordo Seclorum* (seen on the back of the US dollar bill), means 'A new order of the ages,' a vision that was embodied in the new capital city of Washington.

"All the English except myself and a few others are gone to Naples previous to the French
entering Rome." Indeed, in his last letter from Rome, dated 4 March 1797, Gandy
includes the often quoted list of antiquities he hoped to return with to England, including
"110 Etruscan or Greek vases, 83 modern vases, 154 Piranesi prints, etc."

The events happening in France marked important ideals concerning the French
Enlightenment as the French Revolution continued to gain momentum. In March of 1796,
Napoleon was appointed commander in chief of the army of Italy, and he took an interest in
the political organization of Italy. During Gandy’s time in Rome, France was at war with
Great Britain, and January of 1797 marked the last Austrian defeat. The impending
invasion of Rome and the chaos resulting from war caused an increasing sense of despair
in Gandy’s writing:

"The French Commissioners are now in Rome taking their choice of the best
pictures and statues...I cannot help telling you in the Sermons the priests gave the
people they mentioned the taking away the pictures and statues. Rome, they say,
will always be Rome, the French cannot carry away the Pantheon or Coliseum, nor
can you eat these statues, or will it save your souls to keep them, nor will these
statues show you the way to Paradise.

In his letters Gandy reports to his father that: "One hundred of the finest statues and the
same number of pictures are ordered to be packed up and sent to Paris by the French
Commissioners. I wish they would take the whole Museum, then I should not regret them
so much, they might be seen together." It was not the first time that the vast living
architectural museum called Rome was being sacked. Through the combined efforts of
English architects on the grand tour and the French engaged in the process of war, the
spoils of the Imperial City were once again being carried away to be placed within new
European contexts.

45 Ibid., p. 158.
46 Ibid., p. 159. This list is quoted by Cynthia Nachmani, Brian Lukacher and John Summers. The
letter which Gandy addressed to his father is dated Rome, March the 4th, 1797, and includes the
following antiquities which he intended to return with to London: '110 Etruscan vases, 83 modern
vases, 24 Books on Architecture, 154 Prints of Piranesi [sic], 105 Casts from Gems, 2 pictures of
Poussin, 4 pictures of Salvador Rosa, 6 new Gilt frames, 40 English Books, Italian ditto etc.,
Prints Music etc., 300 Studies, drawings in architecture, 30 books large and small of sketches and
memorandums in architecture, and Harp Strings,' which he was asked to bring back for a patron.
Taken from the BAL Manuscripts and Archives Collection, held at the RIBA Library, London.
The entry is listed under the "Gandy Family Papers."
47 Ibid., p. 132.
48 Ibid., p. 138.
As the destructive events of war weighed upon Joseph Gandy's mind, they acted as a catalyst for two of his designs representing the loss of paradise. He reports: "I have made two sketches lately, or rather Architectural designs from Milton which I intend exhibiting and engraving when I arrive in England. One is the Throne of God as described by Milton, and the other Pandemonium with a view of Hell." The passage which Gandy chose describing "Pandemonium" [fig. 2] evokes a particularly strong architectural image:

"Anon out of the earth a fabric huge rose like an exhaltation, with the sound Of dulcet symphonies and voices sweet, built like a temple, where pilasters round Were set, and Doric pillars overlaid with Golden Architecture, nor did there want Cornice or frieze, with bossy sculpture graven-----Not Babylon, Nor great Alcairo such magnificence equalled in all their glories The ascending pile stood fixed her stately highth." 

A few years later, Gandy would represent imperial glories, both in their pristine state and in a state of ruin, in the two images of the Bank of England Rotunda executed in 1798 (and exhibited at the Royal Academy decades later). The French painter Hubert Robert (1733-1808) had represented the Louvre museum in a similar state of majesty and lost grandeur in "La Grande Galerie du Louvre" [fig. 3] and "La Grande Galerie du Louvre en Ruines" [fig. 4], both executed in 1796. With the Imperial image of Rome once more at the mercy of conquering armies, Gandy followed the senior Robert's highly poetic visions of architectural ruins, a romantic theme that Gandy would return to in his overall view of the Bank of England in ruins, exhibited in 1832.

Having revisited Naples, in the author's own words, he would "from thence return to Rome on to Florence about July with an intention of staying a month, and so proceed to Venice in hopes to arrive in England through Germany about April twelve months as then

49 Ibid., p. 133.
50 Ibid., p. 135. Here Gandy is quoting lines from John Milton's epic poem Paradise Lost. John Martin (1789-1854) quoted from the same Milton passage in his mezzotint plate "Pandemonium" (1826). Martin created a later oil painting of the same subject in 1841. In addition to the twenty-four plates illustrating Paradise Lost, Martin was best known for the immense size of his sublime and epic paintings: "Joshua Commanding the Sun to Stand Still" (1816-18); "Belshazzar's Feast" (1821); and "The Deluge" (1826). There are several parallel themes in the architectural compositions of Gandy and Martin.

51 Both watercolor paintings of the Bank of England Rotunda date from 1798. The vision of the rotunda in ruins was curiously exhibited at the Royal Academy only in 1832, under the title "Architectural ruins: a vision," (R.A. catalogue # 992). Note the clock's position at 10:18 in one of the paintings.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
my three years will be finished unless something should prevent me and make me stay longer, which perhaps the war will oblige me to do."52 Joseph was forced into a difficult return journey from Rome until finally assisted in his return by a Mr. Hunter, one of the King's messengers. He managed to arrive in London by 10 June 1797, writing to his mother "after a journey of two and twenty days."53

Although Napoleon had not fully risen to power by the time Gandy had returned to England in 1797, the war between France and Great Britain placed great pressure on Gandy while in Rome and its environs.54 Napoleon's expedition to Egypt in 1798, and his hasty departure in 1799, prompted Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Turkey to join in a coalition against French forces. As Soane medalist Sir John Summerson observed in Heavenly Mansions, Gandy would return to England in full swing of the Napoleonic wars which had greatly damaged the economy and diminished the future patrons he had hoped to find, patrons of the kind that Soane had found before him. As a fitting testimony to his fate, Gandy's medals from the Concorso Clementino and many other drawings which he had to sell did not make the return journey to English soil.

Often plagued by financial difficulties, and a progressively troubled mind, Gandy never managed to achieve the professional success that he initially dreamed of and recorded as a young architect on the grand tour. Success in practice had come to other English architects upon their return from Italy, including Robert Adam, James Wyatt, and John Soane. Summerson's observations regarding Gandy's lot in life ring true, noting that 1771 was:

"a year more propitious for poetic than for architectural careers. His generation grew up in an atmosphere of ideological dispute and invasion scares; they heard the news of the French Revolution just as they were old enough to understand what it meant. They were twenty-two when Britain went to war with revolutionary France, twenty-nine at the Peace of Amiens, and forty-four at Waterloo. They ran a strenuous course, coming too late to enjoy the prosperous, not over-complacent England of Chatham's rule, and too early to play a full part in the epoch of bourgeois expansion after 1815. It was, moreover, a generation for which opportunities in the arts and professions did not come easily...It was an age for poets rather than architects."55

52 Gandy Green Book, p. 124.
53 Ibid., p. 159.
54 In the five years following his becoming First Consul, Napoleon would conquer not only France, but a majority of Europe, crowning himself Emperor of France in the presence of Pope Pius VII in 1804.
When considering the work of poetic architects such as Gandy or Boullée, one immediately begins to question Summerson’s last phrase, particularly since he had the distinct advantage of hindsight in forming his opinion of Gandy’s era. Although Gandy’s work may indeed share more with painters Thomas Cole or John Martin than with architects James Wyatt or John Nash, I do not share the idea that it was an age of poets rather than architects. The poetic activities of architects have often been most intense during times of war or economic depression where the conditions for the realization of building are not ripe. It has therefore become important to refer directly to the *Gandy Green Book* where the hopes and fears of a young architectural ‘genius’ fresh from the Royal Academy and embarking on the grand tour are recorded.

**GANDY’S PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE**

The publication of Joshua Reynolds’ *Discourses*, in 1797, coincided with the year of Gandy’s return from Rome. Simultaneously elated and deflated from his experiences as a young architect in Rome during the Napoleonic wars, it was in Soane’s office that the two architects began their collaboration and life-long friendship. The young architectural visionary entered Soane’s office as an ‘Assistant’ in January of 1798, with beautiful and sublime visions of Rome still dancing in his head, and worked there until March of 1801. Although Gandy turned to John Soane for patronage, his financial reliance upon the architect of the Bank of England should not overshadow the deep working collaboration between the two architects. Gandy’s journal records the following observation:

"Soane was the only architect who answered his wishes, to this Gentleman he has been under many obligations, for him he bent the whole of his genius in that line of direction which forwarded his views, all other considerations were secondary...".

Indeed, some of Soane’s final exhibitions at the annual R.A. Exhibition were attributed to Soane when he had already largely gone blind, demonstrating the importance of Gandy’s ‘eyes’ in giving flesh to Soane’s visions. Conversely, what Gandy could image, Soane would often build, demonstrating the interdependence between the increasingly disparate

---

56 *Gandy Green Book*, p. 159.
57 Ibid., p. 2.
58 *The Soane Museum* has at least sixty-nine watercolor drawings in Gandy’s hand that were attributed and exhibited as the works of John Soane.
activities of representation and construction. Returning to the idea of complementarity as it applies to their joint work, Summerson comments:

"One thinks of Soane and Gandy as inseparable. Without Soane, Gandy would have starved; without Gandy, Soane, who was no great draughtsman, would have been at a loss how to give his designs the haunting ambiance which makes them live."59

After a little more than three years in Soane’s employment, Joseph Gandy formally departed from Soane’s office, although he would continue to work as a freelance illustrator for his mentor throughout the remainder of his life. After leaving Soane’s employment Gandy attempted to set up his own short lived practice, in Liverpool, with the sculptor and furniture maker George Bullock. At this time he was also engaged by Soane to train his oldest son, John junior. Who better than Gandy to train the young apprentice in the art of drawing, "whose hand should be the index of his eye, whose eye is the index of his understanding."60 Entrusted by his father, John Soane the younger accompanied Gandy to Liverpool but showed little interest for his father's profession. Gandy and Bullock's partnership, which occupied offices at 55 Church Street in Liverpool, read: "Bullock, George, and Joseph Gandy, architects, modellers, sculptors, marble masons, cabinet makers, upholsterers..."61 Their short lived partnership lasted from April 1809 until September 1810, ending in part due to an argument over Gandy joining the Liverpool Academy of Arts foundation exhibition in 1810.

In addition to his regular exhibition appearances, it was during the early years of the nineteenth century that Gandy's architectural practice appeared to be forming its own shape. On 7 November 1803, J.M. Gandy was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy (A.R.A.); however, the increasingly hermetic architect's progression within the ranks of the Academy stopped here. Gandy was never elected a Royal Academician (R.A.), as were Soane and Wyatt, although he continued to exhibit at the annual exhibition until the end of his own life.62

---

59 The Gandy exhibition, held at the AA in 1982, was organized by Brian Lukacher and John Harris. The quote is from Sir John Summerson's "Introduction" to the AA Catalogue on Joseph Gandy. London: Architectural Association, 1982. p. 3.
61 See catalogue entitled George Bullock - Cabinet Maker, 1988. Introduction by Clive Wainwright. George Bullock was the President of the Liverpool Academy of Arts from 1810-12.
62 Gandy was proud of his selection into the Royal Academy, but for the rest of his life he would not
represent his architectural imagination largely through watercolors, exhibiting well over a hundred of his own paintings at the Royal Academy from 1789 to 1838. Diverse projects including Storr's Hall & Boathouse, Windermere; Phoenix Fire and Pelican Life Insurance Offices, Charing Cross; and Doric House at Bath were often under construction or completed when exhibited at the R.A. annual exhibition.

The total known architectural production of Gandy is manageable to list in its entirety, his principle commissions consisting of:

i. Doric House on Sion Hill in Bath, 1803; originally built as a studio and gallery for the artist Thomas Barker (1769-1847) as a place where he could display his pictures and entertain possible buyers. Gandy had met his contemporary Barker in Rome at the British Artists Supper. A large fresco by Barker, painted in 1825 and entitled "The Massacre on Chios," after Delacroix, spans the interior of the blind screen wall facing the street [fig. 5]. The correspondence between the interior narrative of the painting (depicting the rebellion of the Greeks against the Turks, and the subsequent massacre of 20,000), and the Greek Doric Temple form of the building are the closest that Gandy ever came to uniting narrative and architecture in his built work. Inspired also by the dramatic slope of the site, the design for the temple-like Doric House is one of Gandy's finest achievements. (Gandy exhibited designs for the Doric house at the R.A. in 1818).

be elected a Royal Academician (R.A.), a fact that continued to disturb the talented, albeit troubled, architect as he exhibited at the Academy for the next thirty-five years, until 1838. Between the years 1789-1838, Gandy exhibited one hundred and thirteen watercolor paintings and drawings, hanging his final submission in the year 1838. In fact, his most ambitious architectural project, entitled "Comparative Architecture," was only first announced in 1836, when the architectural visionary was already sixty-five years of age. For a full list of works Gandy exhibited at both the Royal Academy and the British Institution, see Appendix A at the end of this dissertation.

Nachmani asserts in her dissertation that there were only six commissions, four new projects and two renovations, but there were indeed others. Des Hill's article "Gandy's Professional Career," AA Catalogue (1982) gives a more proper chronology of Gandy's built work, while Sir John Summerson speculated on the whereabouts of a few projects that could easily have been executed by Gandy, although there is little proof, coupled with the fact that several of his projects have been demolished.

R.A. Catalogue, 1818: # 938. 'House at Sion Hill, Bath.'
ii. The Phoenix Fire Office and Pelican Life Insurance Office at Charing Cross in London, 1803-1805; completed in 1804, and demolished in the 1920’s upon the building of Trafalgar Square and the Mall [fig. 6]. A fine pair of buildings with mythical, emblematic names, where each facade was treated in a different architectural manner. (Exhibited at the R.A. in 1805).67

iii. Storr’s Hall and Boathouse in Windemere, including the Temple of Heroes [fig. 7]. The Hall was originally built for Liverpool merchant Sir John Legard. Another Liverpool business man, John Bolton, commissioned Gandy to undertake renovations and extensions to the building from 1808-11. The music room fireplace, with a frieze depicting Leda and the Swan, is attributed to Sir Richard Westmacott, with whom Gandy had been in Rome. Gandy was also engaged in both the design of the now demolished Boathouse, and the octagonal Temple of Heroes pavilion in 1804. The Temple - dedicated to admirals Howe, St. Vincent, Duncan, and Nelson,68 - frames incredible picturesque views of the lake and the landscape beyond. Clearly modelled after the Temple of the Winds in Athens [fig. 8], the small stone temple originally had stained glass in its lantern. (The Boathouse was exhibited at the R.A. in 1804 and Storr’s Hall was exhibited in 1808 and 1811).69

iv. Number 363 Kennington Lane in London,70 1825. Perhaps originally designed by Gandy as a fine townhouse for the Lord Chief Justice, the building now belongs to

---

67 R.A. Catalogue, 1805: # 772. 'The new Phoenix Fire office and Pelican Life Insurance office at Charing Cross.'

68 Today, Storr’s Hall is a luxury hotel, owned and operated by Mr. Richard Livock. Gandy’s internal top-lit stair is still dramatic. In the hotel are three watercolor views of Storr’s Hall, dated 1814, painted by Gandy’s contemporary John Buckler (1770-1851). Forty-two volumes of Buckler’s original sketches remain in the British Library, BL MSS 36356-97.

69 R.A. Catalogue, 1804: # 932. ‘A boat-house for Sir. J. Legard, Bart., on the lake Windemere.’ Storr’s Hall was exhibited in 1808: # 956. ‘Storr’s Hall, for J. Bolton, Esq.’ and 1811: # 814. ‘Storr’s Hall, etc.’

70 Sir John Summerson suggested that this townhouse had the mark of Gandy. I visited the building which is currently the rectory of St. Anne’s Catholic Church, in the Vauxhall area of London, and would have to agree. The parish priest certainly attributed it to Joseph Gandy, who he said designed the house originally for the Lord Chief Justice. According to the priest, the building in question, sitting somewhat peculiarly adjacent to the brick church, has been in the hands of St. Anne’s for the past hundred years.
St. Anne's Church and is used as a Presbytery. Not much is known of the history of the design. (Possibly exhibited at the R.A. in 1825. See Appendix A).\textsuperscript{71}

v. A Public Bath House in Lancaster, first opened in 1803. It is now a private residence. (Gandy exhibited the project at the R.A. in 1806).\textsuperscript{72}

vi. Renovations to Lancaster Castle, including the Prison, as well as the Civil Court (Shire Hall) and Criminal Court (Crown Hall), contained within a Norman building. Gandy worked on Lancaster Castle from 1802 until 1823, often in the Gothic manner, completing the work of architects Thomas Harrison and William Blackburn. Gandy would eventually spend time in London's Fleet Street and Whitecroft prisons himself. (The project was exhibited at the R.A. in 1817, 1822, and 1823).\textsuperscript{73}

vii. Finally, Desmond Hill writes: "Gandy's last known surviving building is Swerford House, near Chipping Norton in Oxfordshire. He was employed here between 1824 and 1829 by Sir Robert Bolton to extend and alter the existing eighteenth century house."\textsuperscript{74} The building is still existing. (Exhibited at the R.A. in 1824).\textsuperscript{75}

Aside from the project on Kennington Lane, there were supposedly other London townhouses designed by Gandy on Wandsworth Road that were demolished in 1953. "In the R.A. exhibition catalogue for 1824,\textsuperscript{76} an entry by Gandy described 'dwelling houses being built in Vauxhall Road, etc. Summerson speculated that this referred to Nos. 238-246 Wandsworth Road and also to No. 363 Kennington Lane."\textsuperscript{77} Very little is known as

\textsuperscript{71} R.A. Catalogue, 1825: # 884. 'Houses, Vauxhall Road.'
\textsuperscript{72} R.A. Catalogue, 1806: # 875. 'Design: Public bath at Lancaster.'
\textsuperscript{73} R.A. Catalogue, 1817: # 905. 'Prison at Lancaster;' 1822: # 888. 'Lancaster Castle Prison;' and 1823: # 964. 'County Hall, Lancaster.'
\textsuperscript{75} R.A. Catalogue, 1824: # 883. 'Alterations at Chipping Norton, for Sir R. Bolton.'
\textsuperscript{76} According to the Royal Academy catalogues, Gandy exhibited these in 1825, not in 1824 as John Harris and Des Hill have cited. The full entry in the R.A. catalogue (entry # 884) reads "Dwelling houses, &c. now building in Vauxhall Road, and other places." There are many such errors regarding Gandy's work.
\textsuperscript{77} Des Hill, p. 34. The author has taken his information largely from Summerson's essay in Heavenly Mansions. In a review of the AA exhibition, John Harris also refers to the houses in Kennington Lane and Wandsworth Road (exhib. 1824); AA Files 4, p. 91; and Cynthia Wolk Nachmani gives a detailed account of the house on Kennington Lane in her dissertation, pp. 53-56.
well of Bolton Hall, in Yorkshire, commissioned by John Bolton and designed by Gandy from 1806-10, overlapping with his designs for the same patron at Storr's Hall from 1808-11. Gandy rebuilt the south front of Bolton Hall in the Gothic manner; the building was demolished in 1959. Other architectural work by Gandy during his short stay in Liverpool may have included the Subscribers Billiard Room within the Rotunda of Bold Street and the Meeting Rooms to the rear of the Liverpool Arms Hotel. 

Apart from the list above, and contrary to popular belief, J.M. Gandy did have a series of commissions, albeit small in scope and often involving interior alterations and elevation reconstruction. The Doric House and the Phoenix Fire and Pelican Life Insurance Building, where Gandy designed and built the entire edifice, are exceptions to this pattern. By his early thirties, Gandy had begun to establish an architectural practice of diversity which ceased to grow and thrive into the next decades. Plagued by debt and increasing angst, the talented 'builder of imaginary prospects’ was in and out of debtor's prison on at least two occasions; the first time in 1816 and again in 1830.

GANDY'S WRITINGS AND ARCHITECTURAL THEORY
A fine portrait of Joseph Gandy by William Pickersgill shows the proud architectural visionary with a book opened before him and a gleam in his eye [ch. 2 title page]. This image of Gandy may indicate another example of his creative imagination at play, since he seemed to be constantly fighting for personal recognition within London circles, although he was clearly not a scholar. Published writings by Gandy include a two-part article in The Magazine of The Fine Arts called "On the Philosophy of Architecture" (1821). Intended to display his talents for architectural design to prospective patrons, Gandy also wrote and illustrated two books on cottage design: Designs for Cottages, Cottage Farms, and other Rural Buildings (1805), followed by The Rural Architect (1805).


78 Designs for 'Ball and Assembly rooms, etc.' and 'New Assembly room, Liverpool,' were exhibited at the R.A. in 1810; and a 'Billiard room, Liverpool, etc.' was exhibited in 1826.

79 The portrait in question belonged to the late J.R.K.W. Gandy, and is on long-term loan to the Soane Museum, courtesy of Mrs. Jill Gandy. In addition, there is a pencil sketch of Joseph Michael Gandy in the collection of the National Portrait Gallery. The painting by Henry William Pickersgill (1782-1875) was initially thought to be a portrait of Sir William Gell, who worked with John Peter Gandy-Deering on the recording of Pompeii.

80 Both pattern books were published in London, by J. Harding, in 1805. The first publication, Designs for Cottages..., was dedicated to the collector Thomas Hope, Esq., hoping to stir up patronage during a time when the young architect had several commissions underway. The
During the 1820's, it appears Gandy began to work on his most ambitious work, a voluminous treatise on the origins and history of architecture entitled the *Art, Philosophy, and Science of Architecture* (APSA). Compiled and written within the period 1821 to 1837, Gandy's hand written manuscript has never been fully published. Of the original seven volumes, Volumes I, V, and VI remain intact. Gandy's attempt to set out a complete theory of architecture - in parallel to Soane's lectures - is at times long-winded, repetitive, and contains moments where the author was clearly emotionally unstable. The treatise, however, remains an important source of his ideas and acts as a companion to his polemical and emblematic watercolors. Gandy's voluminous treatise on architecture was meant to be visual and synthetic rather than historical and chronological. Evidence in Gandy's text points to this interpretation shared by Brian Lukacher. Further on we will see that similar divisions between the theory and practice of architecture drove Gandy to write several invectives in his own defense in *The Guardian Newspaper*.

Curiously, the work which has engaged scholars most is a cursory description of an intended visual treatise entitled "Comparative Architecture," which Gandy announced in the Royal Academy catalogue for the first time in 1836. In this visual history of world architecture, which remained in embryonic form upon his death in 1843, Gandy promised to represent the trans-historical nature of architecture in upwards of one thousand representations comprised of 'comparative characteristics in architecture.' Following the announcement of such a bold architectural project, only five watercolors pertaining to his visual treatise were ever exhibited at the Academy. The three principal watercolors remaining from Gandy's last works are housed in the Sir John Soane's Museum, and have each been published on occasion in order to illustrate Gandy's prowess as a draftsman.
Parallel to his unpublished treatise, Gandy's final visual project 'Comparative Architecture' is the project that continues to engage the architectural imagination of contemporary scholars and architects alike. The relationship between 'Comparative Architecture' and the Art, Philosophy and Science of Architecture is there by analogy, but will require serious speculation in order to establish proper correspondence. For the time being, I would like to suggest a parallel between the written treatise and the visual treatise as two parts of a singular project, and then compare this oeuvre with Soane's written lectures and his visual history of architecture housed in the museum. This comparison will allow us to study the respective similarity of the two men's attitude towards 'comparative architecture.' Whereas Soane was able to order his cosmos in the text of the lectures as well as in the arrangement of his museum, Gandy's mind was not able to hold control over such a written compendium, although there remain glimmers of brilliance. On the other hand, when it came to mastery over visual synthesis, both men displayed the same sublime ability at architectural composition.

Despite Soane's warning to students of architecture that 'drawing makes a very small part of the requirements to from an architect,' there is no doubt that Gandy excelled on the 'canvas' where the density of his compositions reflects mastery of form and vision. This fact must have been obvious to his friend and patron Soane, who left him an annual sum of £100 in his own will in order to ease Gandy with his family's situation. During the last five years of his life, Gandy no longer exhibited at the Royal Academy. In part due to the loss of his life-long collaborator, Soane, which destroyed the mutual complementarity that they had found in each other. In 1843, Joseph Gandy died at age seventy-two, having struggled in vain much of his architectural career for professional and artistic recognition.

The main successes and failures of Gandy's professional life are relatively straightforward to recount. A more difficult task is to disentangle his thoughts and imaginings as his quest for the origins of architecture evolved; a task that will have to be attempted through a detailed decoding of selected watercolor paintings, in conjunction with his writings on universal symbolism and architectural emblems over personal style. In embarking upon such a personal quest for the origins of architecture, Gandy was reflecting upon one of the fundamental questions in architectural theory: to what origin, or model, do we give authority?
Chapter 3
THE SOANE MUSEUM AND NARRATIVE

View of the Dome looking east
Joseph Michael Gandy, 1811
Not exhibited at the R.A.
SM F384

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
Chapter 3
THE SOANE MUSEUM AND NARRATIVE

The word Museum now means a repository for things which have a relation to the arts and sciences, in the earliest periods these things were deposited in Temples dedicated to the Gods.¹

Joseph Gandy, APSA

FROM CABINET OF CURIOSITY TO PUBLIC MUSEUM

Considering Soane’s interest in bringing home to England the riches of the grand tour, it seems appropriate that the contemporary visitor can approach Lincoln’s Inn Fields by walking along London’s Remnant Street, whose name suggests spolia and memory. As in Rome, many cities still reveal their story through street names, architectural fragments, and urban traces which embody their collective history.² London is no exception. Number 13 Lincoln’s Inn Fields still marks the entrance to what the architect and antiquarian Soane referred to as his ‘House, Museum, and Library.’ The collection of books, drawings, paintings, and artifacts which Soane collected from auction houses and private sales was inspired by his memories of the grand tour at the close of the eighteenth century.

Behind the somewhat deceptive Georgian facade of the main entrance, the collection of architectural casts and fragments, along with paintings and sculptures, gathers together what Soane termed ‘models’ of architecture [fig. 1]. Seventeenth and eighteenth century cabinets of curiosities displayed a world within the confines of a house; this was truly heightened by Soane, who carefully orchestrated the visitor’s journey through his use of architectural narrative. One is led through his house, museum and library as through a labyrinth; although, unlike a labyrinth, Soane provides keys to orientation along the way. The cardinal points are provided over the doors in the Dining Room and in the Crypt, hinting at the changing patterns of habitation within the house during the course of the sun’s journey. With theatrical and painterly effects in mind, carefully placed colored glass

² Aldo Rossi spoke of this phenomenon in Architettura della città (1966), translated into English under the title The Architecture of the City (1982); as has Joseph Rykwert in The Idea of a Town (1966). I live on a street that used to be called rue des Carrières, pointing to it once having led to one of Montreal’s quarries. The space of the quarry (carrière) is not far away and is now a city park. The city’s memory is thus always embedded in its stones.
casts hues of amber and crimson so subtle as to make the visitor believe that the incoming light is that of the Mediterranean that Soane so cherished. Even on flat gray English days (although Soane was not in favor of admitting visitors in such poor light), the house plays with the viewer's perception.

Several authors have remarked that Soane's establishment of the first 'architectural' museum in England marks the transition from the private collection to the public museum. While this is true, at least in part, the lineage from Ferrante Imperato's sixteenth century museum in Naples, - with its "museum walls and ceilings, studded with fossils, shells, amphibians and other naturalia"3 - to Soane’s house-museum continues in a fairly uninterrupted manner. The tradition of the cabinet of curiosities, the Wunderkammer, and the studiolo were already firmly in place in seventeenth century England. Among many examples, Thomas Howard, the Earl of Arundel "first assembled a great collection of antiquities in his London house in conscious imitation of the Italian Renaissance villa-museo."4

Before the establishment of the British Museum in London, or the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, the Museum Tradescantianum, also known as The Ark, occupied the Lambeth residence of John Tradescant the elder and his son, John the younger, during the years 1626-78.5 The Tradescants were naturalists who largely collected curios. Through a bizarre string of events Elias Ashmole, member of the Order of the Garter, ended up with the museum collection after their deaths.6 The Tradescants’ interest in natural history was followed by collectors such as Alexander Pope, who had created his wonderful 'Grotto'

---

3 Susan Feinberg, p. 241.
4 Feinberg, ch. VI, p. 231. In the 1730's, Joseph Bonnier de la Mosson had a notable cabinet of curiosities in Paris, as did Richard Green of Lichfield during the late Eighteenth century in England. Numerous museum founders began to display their collections, including Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill in 1748, and Sir Walter Scott who established a collection of souvenirs at Abbotsford.
5 The first mention of Tradescants' Ark is in 1634. John Tradescant the Elder died in 1638, and John Tradescant the Younger in 1662. Mrs. Hester Tradescant was found drowned in her garden pond in Lambeth on 4 April 1678, and Elias Ashmole ended up with Tradescants' collection of curiosities and rarities. The tomb of the Tradescants lies in the churchyard at St. Mary's Lambeth, which has been appropriately converted into the Museum of Garden History. For a full account, see Ark to Ashmolean: The story of the Tradescants, Ashmole and the Ashmolean Museum, Ashmolean Museum, 1997, and Lawrence Weschler's Mr. Wilson’s Cabinet of Wonder (1995).
6 As a result, the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford remains Britain's oldest public museum, having opened its doors on 21 May 1683.
from the 1720's onwards. In the tradition of Pope's grotto, where the poet continuously worked and reworked his collection, the Soane museum moves towards its own *ars poetica*, returning architectural spoils to English soil and arranging them in situ.

The origin of the museum as a cabinet of curiosity presenting a collection of exotic objects is well documented. In London, the British Museum, established in June 1753 by George II, began as a result of the fantastic collection of over 79,575 objects belonging to the physician Sir Hans Sloane. It is important to recall that London's British Museum did not always appear - nor have its collection arranged - as it does today; it underwent a major transformation during the eighteenth century:

"With the application of more rigorous academic standards, the Museum was becoming less of a cabinet of curiosities and the importance of the antiquities' collections (previously an appendix of natural history) was at last recognized by the establishment in 1807 of a Department of Antiquities under the numismatist Taylor Combe."  

---

7 Pope's grotto and Soane's museum are both examples where artists profoundly argued that England should develop its own forms of local character and literature based upon English culture, as compared with William Kent's superficial Gothicizing at Gloucester Cathedral or Westminster Hall. Granted, Soane comes almost a century after Pope although he shares many of the same concerns. In a letter alluding to *Gulliver's Travels*, Pope wrote to Jonathan Swift, stating: "I mean no more translations, but something domestic, fit for my own country, and for my own time." See letter Pope to Swift, dated 14 September 1725, from *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, Vol. II, p. 322.

8 Alexander Pope is credited with introducing the term *picturesque* into England, which had origins in the rough Italian rustic scenes that were painted. Authors such as William Gilpin would continue to carry the term into landscape theory, and it would slowly come into use as a term describing 'picturesque' effects beyond the beautiful or the sublime.

9 Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753) had a vast private collection at 3 Bloomsbury Place, London, which he eventually moved to his county mansion in Chelsea in 1743. After his death, the seventeenth century French style chateau, Montagu House - originally designed by Robert Hooke - was chosen as a suitable repository. In May of 1776, the collection was divided into three parts: Printed Books, Manuscripts, and Everything Else. The British Museum opened its doors to the public on 15 January 1759, when Soane was a child of six and Gandy had not yet been born. Eventually, Sir Robert Smirke (1780-1867), who had briefly been one of Soane's trial pupils from 1796-97, would extend Montagu House, working on the British Museum from 1823 until he retired in 1845. In the *APSA*, Gandy mentions Montagu House as the work of the French architect Puget, after Hooke. The French architect possibly worked on the early building.

10 Marjorie Caygill, *The Story of the British Museum*, p. 18. With the arrival of the Rosetta Stone in 1802, and the Elgin Marbles in 1816, the British Museum entered a new era. Work started on the east wing of Montagu House in 1823, and the library was completed in 1827. When Robert Smirke retired in 1845, the task of completing the buildings was taken over by his younger brother Sydney Smirke. The last of old Montagu House was demolished in 1845, and the great

---
During this time, in addition "the medical and anatomical specimens, including the monsters, were transferred to the Hunterian Museum."\(^{11}\) The collection moved again in 1809 and was then housed in the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons, located at Number 41 and 42 Lincoln's Inn Fields, across the square from Soane's museum residence. The architect "commissioned to build a new gallery and theater for the Royal College of Surgeons" that was founded in 1800 was none other than Soane's former employer and mentor, George Dance.\(^{12}\) Dance's facade, completed in 1813, included an Ionic Greek portico with male statues of Machaon and Podalirius on the opposite side of Lincoln's Inn Fields, a fact which Soane played with in his narrative of the caryatids on the front loggia of his \textit{villa-museo}, copied from the Temple of Pandrosus in Athens [fig. 2].\(^{13}\)

If Soane's house and collection are imagined as a matrix of objects within a spatial narrative, this represents a very different 'type' from the modern museum, where classification is increasingly ruled by taxonomy. On the subject of collecting, Edward Kaufman makes a distinction relevant to the Soane Museum:

"The mechanisms by which architectural museums have represented the unattainable objects of desire are in essence two: synecdoche and metonymy; the representation of things by their parts and by their neighbours."\(^{14}\)

In both senses, Soane's museum still belongs to the tradition of the cabinet of curiosities, which was intended to be read as having a harmony between part and whole, as descriptions of the Museum make clear.

\(^{11}\) Susan Feinberg, p. 18. Feinberg notes that the scientist John Hunter acquired a collection of scientific \textit{curios} behind his house in Leicester Fields in 1785 which opened to the public in 1787.
\(^{13}\) See Susan Feinberg's reference to this episode; \textit{ibid.}, p. 251. Soane's 1835 \textit{Description}, and his \textit{Crude Hints Towards a History of My House} of 1812 also make ironic reference to the dialogue between the two pairs of mythological characters, one male and the other female. The two Dance statues were of the surgeon sons of Aesculapius, which would accompany the use of the Ionic order.
Soane and his circle would have certainly been familiar with Alexandre Lenoir and the prestigious Musée des Monuments Français, established in 1793 to collect French monuments—meaning medieval Gothic artifacts that belonged to their heritage. Henry Holland, Soane's former employer, had also collected fragments and casts of objects from antiquity [fig. 3]. By 1800, with a domestic view towards collecting, Soane had purchased Pitzhanger Manor with the intention of building his own architectural museum. By the turn of the nineteenth century, there were numerous private collectors in and around London who shared the experience of their intimate collections among Georgian social circles. The collector Thomas Hope presented a series of period rooms that Soane admired, devoting "an entire story of his residence to a museum which opened in 1804 to the public by application from the onset." Antiquarian John Britton referred to Hope's collection on Duchess Street, where furniture and interior decorations were matched, as 'unrivalled in this country.' Architect Lewis Nockalls Cottingham housed a vast collection of casts of medieval edifices from 1815 to 1825. In the manner of Hope, Cottingham even had a specially designed house at No. 43 Waterloo Bridge Road in Lambeth, arranging his collection around period rooms as well. Similarly, Augustus Charles Pugin, member of the Architects and Antiquaries Club, displayed a medieval architecture collection of Gothic fragments, which acted as a nursery for his son, A.W. Pugin, who would mature to become the future champion of the Gothic Revival.

Sir Henry Englefield, as well, amassed a collection at the same time as Thomas Hope on Duchess Street and John Soane at Lincoln's Inn Fields, although Britton notes that Englefield's collection had been dispersed by 1827. Soane's rival in architecture, John

According to Susan Feinburg, Soane owned at least four descriptions of Lenoir's collection of antiquities, the Musée des Monuments Français, which was dispersed in 1815. The site of this museum in the old convent of Petits Augustins, with its exterior Jardin Elysée, became the Ecole des Beaux Arts in 1820. Feinberg notes that many architectural monuments found a final resting place in Père La Chaise cemetery, completing a certain poetic justice regarding ruined fragments.

As Commissioner of Fine Arts for the Great Exhibition, it is not by chance that the younger Pugin organized a major Gothic exhibit held within the Crystal Palace. The books that A.W. Pugin published which championed French Gothic building include: Gothic Furniture in the Style of the Fifteenth Century (1835); Contrasts (1836); The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture (1841); and An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England (1843).
Nash, also had a private collection in London, and Soane’s friend Joseph Turner established a painting Gallery, completed by 1822, with the same ambitions as Soane to leave his permanent collection to the nation. Of particular notoriety in London’s growing metropolis was the Gothic house-museum of the eccentric William Beckford, perhaps best known for his fiction of the Arab world entitled *Vathek*. Beckford’s eclectic taste was displayed in Fonthill Abbey, which had been inspired by the Portuguese monastery 'Batalha.' While this list of private museums is by no means complete, the shift from Renaissance antiquarianism to the period room, followed by the rise of medieval Gothic collections, was firmly established in England by the first decades of the nineteenth century. Soane’s museum, however, remained unique in its union of architecture, sculpture, and painting.

**REFLECTIONS ON THE PICTURESQUE**

The philosophy of the Enlightenment gave birth to the collective ventures of the encyclopedia, the museum, and speculative freemasonry; each with its own emphasis on allegory and hermetic knowledge. We have touched upon two of the debates at the Royal Academy during Soane’s tenure: the problematic division between theory and practice, and the primacy of the architecture of the ancients versus the moderns. A third discussion surrounded the influence of the picturesque upon the visual arts, including architecture. Having been introduced from painting and literature to landscape gardening, and finally to architecture, the theory of the picturesque gave rise to a progressively retinal emphasis in perception during the eighteenth century. The most powerful aspect of the construction of picturesque theory remains its Romantic sensibility found in the sublime landscape paintings of Salvator Rosa (1615-1673), and later in the grandeur and ruins of the paintings of Hubert Robert (1733-1808). Gandy’s rival John Martin (1789-1854) would continue to represent picturesque themes at monumental and epic scale,\(^\text{19}\) while Caspar David Friedrich (1774-1840) often portrayed the Romantic individual lost in the infinitely large universe.

Having a different set of associations than in painting, in landscape garden design the architecture of the late eighteenth century English garden followed the rules of picturesque composition combined with literary narrative. Allegory formed no small part of the experience of the garden which relied on being decoded by the observer moving through it:

\(^\text{19}\) Martin’s painting “Joshua commanding the sun to stand still” at Freemasons’ Hall in London has a Masonic reference to the second degree. I thank Mr. John Ashby for this reference.
a rustic hut for an imaginary hermit; a crennelated Gothic folly; a Grecian temple for
reflection; a temple for British Worthies; a Rostrum column monument; a Grotto with a
cavernous waterfall descending into the underworld; an allusion to the Elysian Fields; an
illusionary ha-ha; a grassy amphitheater; a serpentine lake; a Victorian conservatory;
labyrinths in the form of mazes; an orangery, an herb garden, and perhaps even a tower in
the form of a Chinese pagoda. According to picturesque sensibility, each element within the
garden remained a separate part, and 'style' of architecture, which only made sense as a
whole once the viewer formed a mental picture derived from a careful reading of the
narrative of the garden.

English garden designers attempted to mirror Nature in her endless variety, as Joseph
Addison observed: "in the wide fields of nature, the sight wanders up and down without
confinement and is fed with a variety of images." Each artifact is one in a series of
emblems that requires the viewer to decode its context within the narrative of the garden; movement through the three-dimensional composition animates the experience of
the garden as an overall image begins to take shape, placing particular emphasis on individual
impressions. This transformation occurred in the English gardens of Stowe and Stourhead,
and continued to evolve into the 'corrective' architectural compositions of landscape
gardener Humphry Repton (1752-1818).

In architecture, the theory of the picturesque had an impact upon questions concerning
architectural composition and the theory of sensation in architecture, as expressed in the
writings of Le Camus de Mézières. Based on Soane's understanding of architecture having
both a symbolic role through artifacts and a narrative role through association, the Soane
museum may be conceived of as an introverted picturesque garden that creates a history

---

21 The Gardens at Stowe remain a prime example of the philosophy of the picturesque. For references to William Shenstone's interest in picturesque ruins, see Hunt's essay "Emblem and Expression in the Eighteenth-Century Landscape Garden," pp. 75-102.
22 Repton continued the landscape tradition of Capability Brown, counted among his friends James Wyatt and William Wilkins, and had on occasion, worked with John Nash receiving 2 1/2 percent of the fees for his efforts.
23 Since its origin, the Musaeum has been connected with the nine Muses (daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne) and the arts inspired by them. According to ancient tradition, Mount Helicon held a Musaeum housing a manuscript from Hesiod. Clearly, Soane's villa-museo held classical allusions to such a place of divine inspiration. Apollo, being the son of Zeus, ruled directly over the nine Muses, and therefore makes symbolic sense as the axis mundi of the Dome area in Soane's

54
of world architecture in microcosm. The pieces of the house and collection are not just mere parts of an architectural pastiche; they remain mnemonic emblems to be read and freely associated by the viewer. At times, their context is given through the built fabric of the architecture; at other times a literary reference is required to decode the contextual meaning of a part. Almost always, a juxtaposition of parts is required in order to grasp the larger narrative that the museum embodies. Just as the English garden requires the decoding and addition of emblems in order to form an imaginary picture of the whole, Soane interiorized picturesque theory within the confines of a building envelope gazing inward upon itself. One critic aptly compared Soane’s museum to a kaleidoscope - the nineteenth century optical device that employed colored glass and mirrors which multiplied views.\(^{24}\)

Pursuing this analogy, Soane’s house-museum may also be read as an experiment in the picturesque on a microcosmic scale, further inspired by his memories of eighteenth century Rome, and conceived of as a series of incremental ruined fragments within a precinct.\(^{25}\) This formal organization can be observed in both the plan of the Bank of England and in the poché plan of the Soane Museum, where discreet walled-in compounds relate to one another, displaying picturesque composition. The character of both plans suggests that they would look equally magnificent as ruins. Allusions to medieval city fabric and to the ancient Roman house are also present, the whole being composed of many parts, as Richard Payne Knight announces in his poem:

\begin{quote}
“Component parts in all the eye requires:
One formal mass for ever palls and tires.”\(^{26}\)
\end{quote}

As in most western art movements, which appear to culminate in a period of mannerism just prior to their decline, the picturesque eventually gave way to the visual eclecticism of Horace Walpole’s Strawberry Hill (1749-1790’s) and John Foulston’s public follies.

\(^{24}\) The kaleidoscope was patented by Sir David Brewster in 1817.
\(^{25}\) For an account of the architectural fragment as a part within a ruin, see the modest Soane Museum publication *Visions of Ruin*, 1999. The connection between the ruined fragment and the picturesque has been overstated, so I will spare the reader further except to mention Soane’s *Crude Hints Towards a History of my House* written in 1812, a fiction where the author imagines his house-museum as an archaeological ruin being uncovered in the future. Along the same lines is Gandy’s future-ruin, “\textit{A bird’s-eye view of the Bank of England},” exhibited at the R.A. in 1830. In my view, the two works may be considered in the same vein.
\(^{26}\) See Richard Payne Knight, “\textit{The Landscape, A Didactic Poem}” (1794), in \textit{The Genius of the Place}, edited by John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis, p. 342.
erected in Devonport (1823-24). In the midst of all this collecting, Soane's house-museum remained unique, being "the first architectural museum designed to exhibit an encyclopedic store of models, casts, and fragments."\(^{27}\) Our concern remains: How to read such a history of architecture? Is it linear or progressive, chronological or encyclopedic, allegorical or based upon narrative? [fig. 4].

SOANE'S MUSEUM AS MICRO COSM
The spatial narrative of Soane's house-museum is governed by the manner in which he acquired the premises [fig. 5]. In 1790, Soane came into some money from his wife Eliza's deceased uncle, George Wyatt; two years later he purchased the first of three townhouses, No. 12 Lincoln's Inn Fields. From 1792 to 1794 Soane remodeled this first row house, with a dining room to the front, breakfast room in the middle, and office and dressing room to the rear separated from the breakfast room by a small court, or inner yard. The family then moved into No. 12 in 1794. Three years later, as his collection was beginning to grow, Soane purchased one of his first drawings at Christie's, by Charles-Louis Clérisseau, and later bought his first oil painting, a landscape by Zuccarelli, in 1800. In the same year, Soane purchased his country villa in Ealing - Pitzhanger Manor - where he began assembling his collection with the intention of establishing a private academy for his two sons, John junior and young George. As biographers have pointed out, this dream was shattered, and a disillusioned Soane sold Pitzhanger in 1810 and moved his collection instead to Lincoln's Inn Fields (L.I.F.).

In 1808, before the sale of Pitzhanger, Soane purchased the adjoining property to the east, No. 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields, demolishing the existing building. Number 13 was larger than his residence, and it is here that the designs for his Museum begun at Pitzhanger continued in the form of a 'Plaister Room,' or 'Model Room' [fig. 6]. Over time, this area evolved into the present Dome, with the Crypt housing the Belzoni sarcophagus situated below. By 1809, the Dome (Museum) and new offices were completed to the rear of No. 13, retaining No. 12 as his principle residence where he would soon move his entire house and collection. Soane's next large acquisition, the cast of the statue of the Apollo Belvedere, arrived in 1811 and soon became the center piece of the upper Museum. The Apollo cast supposedly belonged to Lord Burlington at Chiswick. Like Burlington, Soane

\(^{27}\) Feinberg, p. 263. Even John Sanders, Soane's former pupil from 1784-90, established a collection of classical specimens around 1810.
lived among a generation of artists still trained in history painting and allegory, and therefore established multiple narratives across time and between characters within his residence. For instance, Soane's bust that he commissioned from Sir Francis Chantrey, in 1829, portrays the aging architect in a Roman manner.

Number 13 L.I.F. was rebuilt in 1812, so that the Dome and the offices to the rear could be accessed directly. It is important to note that Soane auctioned off the materials of the pre-existing building, for a time turning the demolition site into a modern ruin. Not surprisingly, this set of activities coincided with Soane's archaeological fiction, Crude Hints Towards a History of my House, along with the purchase of the Coade stone caryatids for the porch facade at No. 13, recalling the original statues on the Erechtheion. In 1813, Soane and his wife finally moved into No. 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields, which was a more spacious townhouse than the one to the west, although his collection was becoming increasingly dense. Two other significant events during 1813 included Soane's appointment as Attached Architect to the Office of Works and his appointment as Grand Superintendent of Works for the United Grand Lodge of England.

The next phase in the life of the Museum is not as directly related to building but is nonetheless important as a narrative record of Soane's life. In 1815, Eliza Soane died, sending her husband into a period of deep melancholy. In 1819, the unique Pasticcio column (which will be discussed shortly) was erected in the Monument Court of No. 13, to the east of the breakfast room. Built in 1821 and altered in 1824, the Upper Drawing Office was added as a work place, where Soane's apprentices were afforded "a bird's eye view of part of the Museum,"28 in part for architectural inspiration and as a reference guide to details. In 1823, Soane purchased No. 14 L.I.F, the third and final row house just east of No. 13, and began rebuilding it the following year.

Summerson notes that 1824 was an important year for building changes, adding the new Picture Room and the fictional Monk's Parlour, which coincided with his acquisition of the Egyptian sarcophagus of Seti I, affectionately called the Belzoni Sarcophagus after the Italian archaeologist who discovered it [fig. 7]. As was the case with the arrival of the Apollo Belvedere, the colossal Seti I (for which Soane paid £2000) caused him to remove a

28 John Summerson, A New Description, p. 23.
large portion of wall at the rear in order to accommodate its arrival into the Sepulchral Chamber. The trace of this event is still evident on the north wall where timber and hoists were used to transfer the monolithic alabaster tomb into place below the Dome.

In true Romantic sublime fashion, in March of 1825 Soane held a three evening 'spectacle' surrounding the alabaster tomb which was augmented by lamplight and visited by several hundred invited guests, including Coleridge, Turner and the asthmatic Duke of Sussex:

"The ground floor and basement were illuminated by candles and oil lamps hired, at considerable cost, from William Collins, the stained-glass manufacturer; so proud was Soane of his acquisition which had in itself cost him the enormous sum of £2,000."  

These occult Egyptian evening galas, celebrating la lumière mystérieuse, would have transformed the museum into a most theatrical interior, reminiscent of guides showing tourists the Roman ruins and catacombs by torch light, or the elaborate initiation rites dedicated to the cult of Isis described in Sethos, the eighteenth century novel by the Abbé Jean Terrasson. During these truly sublime evenings, "the outside of the house was also illuminated by means of 256 lamps with glass containers for outdoor use, by John Patrick. More than 890 invitation cards were printed and the guests were served with cakes and tea or coffee. The servants were given ale and porter." Gandy's watercolor of the Museum, "View of part of the Collection of Antiquities, from the head of the Pharaoh" [fig. 8], dated September 1825, captures the presence of the sarcophagus in the Crypt by day, in atmospheric contrast to the magnificent lamp-lit interiors in two of his other evening paintings: "The Tomb of Merlin" and an "Interior Perspective of a Funerary Chamber" [fig. 9]. Being fascinated with characteristics and markings, Gandy also recorded 'all the variety of characters used on the Belzoni Sarcophagus' in his treatise called the Art, and Philosophy and Science of Architecture [fig. 10].

---

29 The lamp-lit spectacles took place on the 23rd, 26th, and 30th of March, 1825.
30 Peter Thornton and Helen Dorey, A Miscellany of Objects from Sir John Soane's Museum, p. 59. Engravings such as those by Carlo Labruzzi in Via Appia illustrata ab urbe Roma ad Capuam, Rome, 1794. SM Library AL 30. See Thornton and Dorey, p. 64.
31 Ibid., p. 59.
32 The latter watercolor belongs to the CCA Collection in Montreal (DR: 1984:1013), and is thought to have been executed circa 1800-15.
In the same year that the evening spectacles took place, Soane added a third story to his residence at No. 13, articulated from the other two houses by side skylights. This provided more room for the ever increasing amount of plaster casts and architectural fragments from antiquity to be mounted upon the walls. Today, a plaster cast of the marble bust of the painter Thomas Lawrence, by Sievier, occupies the Upper Drawing Office aperture to the west directly above the bust of Soane, uniting the architect Soane and the painter Lawrence, quite literally, when viewed from the Crypt below; a brilliantly orchestrated effect created where the two busts optically appear to be continuous. The bust of Soane, by the sculptor Chantrey,\textsuperscript{34} represents Architecture and is situated on a very carefully placed pedestal in the Dome, flanked by two smaller statuettes - one of Michelangelo, representing Sculpture, and the other of Raphael, representing Painting.\textsuperscript{35} The statuettes of Michelangelo and Raphael were made by the sculptor Flaxman for the painter Lawrence [fig. 11]. They were donated by Flaxman’s sister in law after Soane’s death and were placed where they remain today “according to a wish [Soane] had expressed to associate the work of Flaxman and Chantry in this way.”\textsuperscript{36} Here, the parallel between Soane’s ancient lineage, and Britton’s \textit{Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting}, is clearly made in physical and narrative forms. This story is further strengthened by the assemblage of the three fine arts placed directly opposite the giant figure of the ruler of the Muses - Apollo Belvedere - that Soane gazes upon for divine inspiration under diffused light from above.

According to the placement of these works a dual narrative is revealed; Soane (architecture), Michelangelo (sculpture), and Raphael (painting), symbolize a ‘Union of the Arts’ in the classical tradition, while the British worthies Flaxman, Chantrey, and Lawrence, symbolize a second modern union. Completing this allegory of the Fine Arts centered upon Soane, the architectural narrative of the tripartite section is organized from the light and Apollo in the Dome above, to the characters occupying the middle strata of the Museum, and finally to the Crypt and mortality below. This backdrop is essential, recalling at once the cycle of the rise, meridian, and setting of the sun, an important allegory derived from classical mythology found in nineteenth century freemasonry. Soane’s position facing

\textsuperscript{34} Note that the portrait of Soane by Lawrence was commissioned in 1828.

\textsuperscript{35} The statuettes of Michelangelo and Raphael were made by Flaxman for the painter, Sir Thomas Lawrence, furthering a parallel narrative between the English sculptor and painter.

\textsuperscript{36} John Summerson, \textit{A New Description}, p. 47.
Apollo, who symbolizes the sun, seamlessly interweaves his particular auto-biographical 'setting' and Architecture's general 'decline' from ancient principles.

Speaking of the museum as a microcosm where the laws of Nature were mirrored in the laws and designs of Man, the Enlightenment artist saw within his own creative process an analogous relationship with the macrocosmic process of the Creator. Commenting upon this analogy, Ernst Cassirer unwittingly captures the spirit of the Soane Museum:

"Only the artist who constantly brings forth from within himself worlds in miniature giving them definite shape will be able to understand the universe as the creation of the same forces of which he is aware in his own creative processes. For him all being is but a symbol of the hieroglyph of the Divine; he reads the soul of the artist in his Apollo." 37

This uncanny passage identifies some essential characteristics of the museum narrative where Soane situates Architecture once more upon her pedestal, while personifying his own figure as defender of her principles. Added to this tableau is the placement of the collection of characters within the Dome area of the museum, dramatically lit from above (hinting at apotheosis), and deferring to the narrative of the Egyptian tomb of Seti I in the Crypt below. Through the arrangement of objects, the spatial narrative from death to apotheosis is fused with the sectional qualities of Soane's architecture, creating an architectural effect in a manner at once didactic and enlightened.

In 1829 the ground floor loggia, or porch, was glazed in and the fictional Monk's cell and Parlour were created. With the creation of the character Padre Giovanni, Soane now clearly envisioned himself the solitary hermit, having been dealt a first blow with the death of his wife, followed by the premature death of his eldest son and namesake, and finally the estrangement from his younger son George. Soon after, in 1830, Soane published the first of three "Descriptions" of the house, indicating that the work on the museum had been substantially completed:

"The interest created in the mind of the spectator, on visiting the abode of the Monk, will not be weakened by wandering among the ruins of his once noble monastery. The rich Canopy, and other decorations of this venerable spot, are objects which cannot fail to produce the most powerful sensations in the minds of

37 Ernst Cassirer, The Philosophy of the Enlightenment, p. 317.
the admirers of the piety of our forefathers, who raised such structures for the worship of the Almighty Disposer of events."

Each of Soane's architectural fictions: 'Ruins of a Monastery,' the 'Tomb of the Monk,' and the grave of the family dog 'Fanny,' represent his vocation to uphold reverence for the Museum and for Architecture, just as the Monk upholds the beliefs of the Monastery and the Almighty.

As in the case of the busts uniting painting, sculpture and architecture, several of Soane's acquisitions combine personal narrative intertwined with historical narrative. The bust of the French anatomist George Cuvier, for instance, had previously belonged to Thomas Lawrence, having been received from Mrs. Cuvier herself. Baron Cuvier was highly regarded by Napoleon, who in turn was admired by Soane, an avid collector of all forms of Napoleonic paraphernalia from pistols to coins. The interweaving of their personal narratives continues with Soane being knighted the same year as 'Baron' Cuvier was ennobled. Cuvier's lecture style was famous in Paris, having first closely studied the way the actor Talma performed and then adapting the style of the star of the Comédie Française to his own lectures. An obvious parallel emerges between Cuvier's position as Professor of Comparative Anatomy, and Soane's position as Professor of Architecture and curator of a collection dedicated to 'comparative architecture.' Inspired partially by Cuvier, Soane mentions the importance of lectures in comparative architecture at the close of his Lectures on Architecture, while Gandy, similarly inspired by both, would go on to attempt a vast visual treatise entitled "Comparative Architecture."

The remaining major architectural alterations to Soane's house and museum took place in 1834, with the glazing of the open loggias on the first and second storey and the execution of the ceiling panels by Henry Howard in both the Library and Dining Room. The following year, Soane's third and final Description was published, coinciding with his receipt of the gold medal from 'The British Architects' in honor of his multiple contributions to the discipline of architecture, as collector, antiquarian, professor and bibliophile. By 1835, the aging man of reason had become the most overall respected English architect since the brothers Adam, whose fifty-four volumes of drawings Soane

---

38 John Soane, Description, p. 6.
had acquired for £200 in 1833. To round out his collection, in 1836 he finally purchased the drawings of his mentor George Dance for the sum of £500.

**SOANE AND BRITTON'S UNION OF THE ARTS**

Upon Soane's death, as first curator of the Soane Museum, George Bailey inventoried nearly 3,000 'exhibits,' 7,783 books in the library and over 20,000 drawings and manuscripts. In addition to Soane's *Crude Hints Towards a History of my House* (1812), and John Britton's *Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting* (1827), Soane wrote his own ongoing narrative entitled *Description of the House and Museum on the north side of Lincoln's-Inn-Fields: the residence of John Soane* (1830), with second and third editions printed in 1832 and 1835.

Considering that the complex of three townhouses and stables at the rear was a work in progress which spanned over forty years, a chronological understanding of the museum design is important to give the reader a general context of its physical transformation. Soane's and Britton's particular narrative based descriptions of the architecture were equally important literary devices used to assist the viewer while making visual associations as the marriage between collection and architecture remains inseparable. An alternative to the English Enlightenment's obsession with systems of classification, the initiate passes

---


41 It is significant that both the 1832 and 1835 *Descriptions* were dedicated to Soane's patron and Grand Master, the Duke of Sussex, who was responsible for Soane's entry into freemasonry.
through a didactic and encyclopedic history of architecture from the crypt to the Tribune, and from the works of antiquity to the present. Britton's term for this 'union' had been Soane's obsession in arranging and rearranging his Museum.

The antiquarian and topographer, John Britton, became largely responsible for recording the monuments and ruins of Britain, carrying on the tradition of Winckelmann's work conducted in Italy and Greece. Britton was a proponent of the eighteenth century's new found relationship between archaeology and architecture, dedicating his five volume work *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain* to John Soane, Esquire. First published in London in 1812, Britton's *Antiquities* preceded another one of his important works directly related to Soane's architecture, the *Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, published in 1827 [fig. 12]. In this concise sixty page treatise, Britton uses Soane's house and museum collection in Lincoln's Inn Fields to make a compelling argument for a renewed union of the visual arts in England which, as noted previously, were becoming increasingly separated:

"Archaeology is certainly most indispensibly connected with it [architecture], in order to familiarize the student with the models of antiquity, and to enable him to catch their spirit, and to emulate their principles of composition, whether generally, or with respect to details; and we may venture to affirm, that the more thoroughly the artist understands these, the less liable will he be to copy their beauties servilely, and to apply them indiscriminately; as he will at once be able to judge how far they ought to be modified, according to the peculiar circumstances of his own design." 42

In the *Union*, Britton cleverly uses the ensemble of Soane's townhouses to lecture on the virtues of the picturesque, architectural invention, and the guiding light of architectural genius studied through the architect's marriage of his collection of painting and sculpture with architecture. Britton continually repeats the two principles of classical composition; unity within variety, and contrast with harmony. According to the author, Soane's house displays the qualities of harmony from the outside while the interior plays with contrast:

"When he decorates the front of his house, he builds rather for others than for himself; but here he might introduce the riches of architecture for his own gratification. In this respect again, Mr. Soane has done much for the improvement

of our domestic architecture, having exhibited some very beautiful examples of what may be accomplished in this way."\textsuperscript{43}

Like day and night, what happens on the inside of the museum is quite another story.\textsuperscript{44} Soane cleverly conceals his picturesque interior with a set of simple Georgian brick facades, creating a surprising series of \textit{Wunderkammern} lit from above:

"When we perceive the truly picturesque result thus produced, we cannot but applaud the skilful manner in which various styles, apparently so irreconcilable, have been blended, so as to form a beautiful and also an harmonious \textit{tout ensemble}. In less able hands, such a combination might have been very chaotic,—a mere juxtaposition without union,—but, as here exhibited, it reminds us of those playful and graceful sculptural caprices known by the name of \textit{arabesques}, in which animal and vegetable forms are connected with so much elegance of fancy."\textsuperscript{45}

Time and again, Britton draws an analogy between the picturesque garden and the museum interior, without directly referring to the influences of painting or landscape gardening, while emphasizing Soane's mastery of the English domestic interior. "Till lately, \textit{interior architecture}, which is certainly of the very first importance in a country where the climate compels us to seek our social enjoyments and relaxations within our dwellings, has not been sufficiently attended to by the higher class of architects, nor has it formed the subject of any graphic work."\textsuperscript{46} Britton argues that Soane's genius lay in his joint arrangement of the plan and the interior:

"By skilful arrangement of plan, he will be able to form beautiful vistas, and views that unexpectedly burst upon the spectator, so as to fascinate him with delight; — to give an appearance of greater extent to the building, and to produce that species of complexity which destroys all monotony. Instead of disclosing the whole beauties of interior at once, the artist ought rather so to distribute the various divisions, as to present a succession of apartments gradually increasing in effect, to contrast them

\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., p. 20.
\textsuperscript{44} I am alluding to the double meaning of the word story, which is lost in English but still retained in the Latin languages. The French term \textit{histoire}, and the Italian word \textit{storia}, continue this profound connection between story-telling and collective history. In both senses of the word the Soane Museum tells a story.
\textsuperscript{45} Britton, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid., p. 3. Here one begins to think of the interior architecture of the eighteenth century Masonic Lodge, with its graphic symbols and paraphernalia such as the tracing board.
judiciously, and occasionally to admit distant glimpses of remoter parts, in such a manner as shall forcibly affect the imagination."47

Britton gives us insight into the late eighteenth century architectural imagination as he hints at the modern qualities of the Soane museum: compression and layering of planes, framing of specific views, orchestration of the spatial progression of the viewer, etc. Soane often spoke himself of 'painting with light' and creating effects of light and shade that are found within his collection in the works of Canaletto, Pannini, Clerisseau, Reynolds, and Turner. This poetry of painting indirectly translates into Soane's picturesque interior, as well as being captured in Gandy's painting "View of the Dome area by lamplight looking south-east" (1811) [fig. 13], particularly through the use of colored glass that casts hues reminiscent of Rome and its environs. Britton writes:

"Little advantage has hitherto been taken by our modern architects, of Stained Glass, as if it were an absolute incongruity in classical design: we ought therefore to thank Mr. Soane for having, by his successful adaptation of this truly valuable accessory, done much to remove such a prejudice, and for showing how it may be applied so as to create many picturesque effects. We are thus enabled to diffuse a sunny glow over halls and galleries that would otherwise have too chilling an appearance; -- to rival the amber hue of a warm evening atmosphere; or to mitigate the sultry heats of summer, by tinging the light with a cool gray tint; or lastly, by a luxuriant combination of colours, to shed the voluptuous charm of a mingled splendour on the scene around us."48

Already mentioned, one of the central tenets of the Royal Academy was the study of the rules of ancient authors followed by artistic invention. Britton echoes Reynolds' theory of the artistic process in design:

"Rules can be considered merely as the grammar and syntax of architecture: of themselves they are utterly incapable of producing any great master-piece. They may indeed tell us what to avoid, and perhaps what ought to be aimed at, but beyond this they can effect little; they can never inform us how new and original combinations of elementary forms will be produced. Neither is it desirable that they should; for then art would lose its essence and name, and become only a matter of calculation, in which the merely mechanical artizan and the man of genius would be reduced to the same level."49

48 Ibid., p. 17.
49 Ibid., p. 5. As a practicing architect Soane built up a working relationship with a constant group of trades people who continued to work on numerous projects, including Freemasons' Hall. For a
Beyond its picturesque arrangement, Soane’s museum also conveys an auto-portrait of the man, a fact that Britton celebrates by elevating the architect who has studied and collected the ancients, but has not been afraid to exercise his own taste:

"It is incumbent on the architect to study incessantly those rich stores of materials which antiquity has bequeathed to him, and thoroughly to imbue himself with their spirit; but it does not follow that he is to stop here. He ought rather to consider such materials merely as the vocabulary of the language he is to employ; how best to turn to advantage the riches he has thus acquired, must be left to his own taste and impulse."

In the second and third chapters of the *Union*, Britton takes the reader on an architectural tour of the museum, using his description to point out its poetic effects as a means of praising Soane’s achievement:

"We have now conducted the reader, step by step, through the apartments on these two floors, appropriated to the reception of works of art; and may safely assert, that no where within a similar extent does there exist such a succession of varied and beautiful architectural scenery, so many striking points of view, so many fascinating combinations and contrasts,—so much originality, invention, contrivance, convenience, and taste."

Following this literary description, accompanied by several engraved plates, the author leaves the judgment of Soane’s museum to the reader’s taste:

"In examining what has been here effected, we shall find much for which he has had no authority in the works of his predecessors; and not a little that may appear to contradict established rules,—that is, mere arbitrary rules; but we shall perceive that he has uniformly been guided by those principles which ought ever to direct the
artist:—rules serve him only as a chart; principles must be the compass and the star
to guide him across the illimitable expanse into which genius alone can safely
venture."52

Britton once again echoes the main teachings of the Royal Academy; while principles and
rules underlay tradition and convention, the modern artist goes beyond the ancients in
allowing genius to inspire his architectural invention. Stating that architecture 'is purely an
art of invention,'53 Britton refers to Soane's achievement in a manner which distinguishes
modern architecture from the classical, and true genius from that of the mere copyist. In the
hands of a truly inventive, modern, architect:

"We here perceive what beautiful and novel effects may be attained by ingenious
and tasteful contrivance,—what rich and picturesque architectural scenery may be
created within the most confined space, and without the least aid of external view.
After witnessing what has been accomplished here, let no architect complain that
private residences afford little scope for the display of originality and fancy; or that
striking effects cannot be produced on a small scale; or that picturesque beauty
cannot be obtained, except at the expense of convenience."54

In introducing a linguistic analogy common to architectural theory, Britton relates the visual
fragment to words or synonyms within an architectural grammar.

"This marked variety of character, in the same order, is of singular advantage to the
architect, as it enables him to diversify his compositions. They may be regarded as
synonymes [sic] in his vocabulary, by means of which he has it in his power to
express those delicate, and almost evanescent shades of meaning which cannot
otherwise be conveyed, and to point out with precision the sentiment he intends to
convey."55

Britton's romanticism suggests that Soane's artistry causes a rush of sentiments in the
viewer, a theme that Soane would pursue in soliciting individual accounts of both male and
female visitors to his house by candlelight or lamplight, as well as in his own Description
of 1830.56 These references to sentiment in architecture recall once more the writings of

52 Britton, Union, p. 6.
53 Ibid., p. 21.
54 Ibid., pp. 28-29.
55 Britton, p. 39.
56 Soane owned a copy of Count Francesco Algarotti's Opere del Conte Algarotti, published in
Venice, 1791-94. Soane's literary recording of impressions from female visitors - such as those

67
Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières, author of *Le génie de l'architecture: ou l'analogie de cet art avec nos sensations*:

"The arrangement of forms, their character, and their combination are thus an inexhaustible source of illusion. We must start from this principle whenever we intend to arouse emotion through Architecture, when we set out to address the mind and to stimulate the soul, rather than to build by piling one stone on another, indiscriminately copying arrangements and ornaments that are imposed by convention or borrowed without reflection. Effects and sensations spring from the considered intention that governs the ensemble, the proportions, and the arrangements of the various parts."

The picturesque and romantic 'union of the fine arts' that forms the main theme of Britton's work was similar to Le Camus de Mézières' concern for the overall ensemble of the various parts. These were of great concern to the didactic Soane, who had commissioned this work from his antiquarian friend. In his seventh lecture at the Academy, Soane makes reference to the subtle differences between the three principle fine arts according to his own theory:

"Painters and Sculptors have generally the originals before them of what they are required to do; even if ideal beauty is to be represented it is collected from a variety of sources and objects, all of them to a certain degree, or extent, in existence. Thus Painting and Sculpture, with all the mighty and justly admired powers they possess, are Arts chiefly of Imitation, but Architecture is an Art purely of Invention, and Invention is the most painful and the most difficult exercise of the human mind."

In phrasing it this way, and in amassing his Plaister Room (later christened the 'Museum'), Soane hoped that in surrounding himself with all types of models, Architecture might be enthroned once again as 'Queen of the Fine Arts.'

---


58 Soane, Lecture VII, p. 119.

59 Soane's intent to create a family dynasty using his collection, first at Pitzhanger, and later at L.I.F., has been extensively remarked upon. This was never to happen, and instead the architect bequeathed his collection to the nation, which continues to benefit students of the fine arts today. Through his actions, Soane did succeed in contributing to raise Architecture up from its fallen state once more. See Chapter 1, footnote #1 for a full reference to Soane's lament.
The visual corollaries to Britton's *Union* are Gandy's watercolor views of the museum, with their amber light and sublime chiaroscuro imagery. By the time Gandy painted images such as "View of the Dome area looking east" [ch. 3 title page] in 1811,60 Soane's residence had transformed from a simple interior with selected objects to a layered, three dimensional and densely populated collection of objects, paintings, and architectural effects. Interestingly, one of the earliest images of the museum, a sectional perspective of the Dome area, was executed by John Soane junior circa 1809-10, clearly demonstrating the influence of his drawing teacher, Joseph Gandy [fig. 14].

Soane's residence was an embodiment of the philosophy underlying nineteenth century notions of harmony, as Britton concludes:

"Considered as a collection of architectural fragments and models, this gallery is unrivalled in Great Britain; for, with that enthusiasm for his profession, which is the characteristic of the real artist, Mr. Soane has here accumulated the most valuable specimens of architectural details of almost every period, and may be said to have set an example that deserves to be adopted by government."61

This was in fact exactly what would happen when, in 1833, through an Act of Parliament Soane entrusted his private Museum to the public for posterity.

THE PASTICCIO COLUMN

In order to illustrate Soane and Gandy's pursuit of the origins of architecture, and the symbolism associated with this imaginative process, let us examine a final narrative surrounding the Pasticcio Column62 that had once occupied the Monument Court [fig. 15].

60 "View of the Dome area by lamplight looking south-east," SM 14/6/5, and "View of the Dome area looking east," SM P384. Both images of the museum were executed by Gandy in 1811. Note that the latter image does not illustrate the Belzoni Sarcophagus since Soane only acquired it from Henry Salt, Belzoni's patron, in 1824. The Egyptian Sarcophagus was nick-named after its discoverer, Giovanni Baptista Belzoni (1778-1823), an Italian Egyptologist and freemason who accompanied Napoleon on his exploits. Belzoni discovered the Sarcophagus of Seti I in Thebes in October 1817; it was deposited in the British Museum in September 1821, and the luminous alabaster piece was then installed in Soane's residence on 12 May 1824, where it is still one of the museum's centerpieces. It would have been spectacularly filled with 'la lumiere mysterieuse' when Soane hosted his three-evening theatrical event, by invitation only, in 1825.


62 The column displaying this comparative assemblage of fragments was erected in 1819, and subsequently dismantled in the 1890's, and "is known only now from a line drawing." See Brian
If the theme of the Crypt was Egyptian, or the Monk's Parlour Gothic, the Pasticcio column "was intended as an impressionistic survey of historical styles," openly displaying Soane's attitude towards architecture according to the evolution of style throughout different cultures and times. Soane's first Description of 1830 gives the visitor a preamble to this monumental folly:

"Leaving the ruins of the monastery, the attention is next directed to a small internal enclosure, designated the Monument Court. In the center of this court is an architectural Pasticcio of about thirty feet high. This Pasticcio is composed of the pedestal upon which the cast of the Belvedere Apollo, now in the Museum, was charged; a marble Capital of Hindu architecture; a Capital in stone, like those of the Temple at Tivoli, and of the same dimensions; and another Capital of Gothic invention. These are surmounted by architectural Groups of varied forms, composed of fragments from different works, chiefly in cast iron, placed one upon the other; the whole terminated with a Pine Apple."[fig. 16].

Composed of a series of architectural fragments, a similar concept underlies Gandy's syncretic "Comparative Architecture," where he often attempts to 'collage' many different styles of architecture together in order to unveil their common characteristics.

In contemporary Greek (pastizio, or pastichio) and Italian (pasticcio), the word is still related to its origins in pasta, or dough, given that the term refers either to a pasta dish, or to a pastry, as both are made from paste. In precise gastronomic terms, it refers to a dish, akin to shepherd's pie, or any type of peasant dish composed of 'leftovers.' The word is also associated with confectioneries, like the Italian sweet shop -called a Pasticceria - where Baroque looking cakes with edible forms piled high upon the other are displayed. The Lukacher. "Joseph Michael Gandy: The Poetical Representation and Mythography of Architecture," p. 225. There are other representations of the Pasticcio column in the Soane Museum collection. See illustrations at the end of the chapter. The contemporary drawing is by the London firm YRM, who were hoping to have a chance to recreate the Pasticcio.

Feinberg, Ph.D. dissertation, ch. 4., p. 162.

63 Soane, Description. pp. 6-7. In classical references, the pineapple symbolizes eternity.

64 In 1830, Soane exhibited a composition by Gandy called "An architectural pasticcio," at the R.A. Gandy would call his own works 'Architectural composition;' only in later representations for "Comparative Architecture" would his version of architectural pasticcio become expressed.

65 In culinary terms, a pasticcio is 'any manner of pastie or pye.' Also, 'A medley of various ingredients; a hothchpotch, farrago, jumble.' Specifically, it is a peasant dish which contains macaroni and some form of meat as the chief ingredients. In Italian, it also means 'a mess.'

66 Other expressions involving pasticcio include Bel pasticcio: "There's a nice mess;" and Trovarsi nei pasticci: "To be in a fix."

70
idea of a pot-pourri, a medley of various ingredients 'pasted' together, or a picture in 'professed imitation of the style of another artist,' expanded the definition of pasticcio in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In opera, a pasticcio was often used as a musical introduction before the principal work, where parts of favorite songs of the day were composed and played together in sequence. From the time of Horace Walpole to John Soane, the concept of pasticcio was used to describe 'a picture or design made up of fragments pieced together or copied with modification from an original.'68 This is the sense of the term that Soane applied to architecture which enabled him to make compositions using various fragments from antiquity. The meaning of pasticcio and its use in the nineteenth century is no longer equivalent to the term's later use, pastiche, generally considered derisive in relation to a work of art or architecture.

It appears that Soane was also highly aware of the homologous relationship between the Pasticcio column and the edible. To begin with, the Monument Court was situated just east of the Breakfast Parlour, and north of the Dining Room. In his Crude Hints Towards My House in L.J.F., Soane offers the following humorous gastronomic reference: "The architects of this work (for two are said to have joined their talents to produce this pasticcio of modern taste) were determined not to imitate the Bachelors dinner: tongues first cover, tongues second, tongues the third & so on."69 One has only to imagine enjoying dinner with Soane and his company of friends in the dining room, while looking out into the Monument Court, to appreciate the subtlety of such architectural humor.70 The spatial

68 By the latter part of the nineteenth century, the French term pastiche was in general use to describe a composition having borrowed from various styles; however, by the early twentieth century its meaning had transformed yet again and the term took on negative connotations, as the modern art critic Roger Fry commented: "One doesn't like to be called a pasticheur." The first reference of the term pasticheur in English occurred in 1912. Not long after, collage became an accepted mechanism of artistic production, in the creation of an original composition. The root of 'collage' once again implies the sticking together of various unrelated fragments, such as found objects, but with glue the analogy to food is no longer present.

69 The reference to the concept of pasticcio and dining is implicit. Helen Dorey points out that the reference to the Bachelor's dinner may lie in Jonathan Swift's Polite Conversation. Earlier, on the same page of his fictional account, Soane speaks about 'beauty without' being 'therefore not more valuable than a pudding without salt.' See "Crude Hints Towards a History of my House," published in Visions of Ruin. Soane Museum publication, 1999. p. 66. Note also Soane's reference to 'two having joined their talents;' most probably referring to he and Gandy. The hybrid pasticcio reinforces our image of the double-faced Janus as a symbol of their complementary collaboration.

70 When one visits the Soane Museum today, a series of assembled fragments still occupy the courtyards surrounding the Monument Court and the Monk's Yard. Rather than being crowned by a
arrangement of the house gives fairly concrete narrative clues as to where to place such an odd juxtaposition of architectural fragments, since both breakfast parlour and dining room had views onto the court, linked by the Pasticcio column. Susan Feinberg notes that the column does not follow the chronological order of architectural history, a further testament to the narrative of the house-museum being one of association, where fragments and objects from the past would inform and give pleasure in the present.

This interlacing of temporal and spatial architectural narratives hopefully gives the reader a feeling of Soane's museum as a rather intimate, spatially complex, three dimensional encyclopedia which requires the participant to 'read' the narrative, or rather layers of parallel narrative, that Soane intentionally established. Just as Soane's Lectures were meant to be read aloud for full effect, the narrative of his Museum must be 'read' through embodied experience. In his use of analogy, the mature Soane succeeded in capturing the 'spirit' of Rome, a quality embodied in the architecture of the Eternal City. Something deeper suggests that Soane understood the idea of the city in history as a repository of memory and an unparalleled human artifact. In establishing multiple correspondences between museum and history, as between building and city, Soane's house-museum truly becomes a microcosm that invites the viewer to contemplate William Blake's world in a grain of sand [fig. 17]. In some ways, Soane and Blake share a Romantic world view in envisioning their own histories and, as a result, creating their own cosmologies.

THE MUSEUM AS 'A PLACE FOR IDLERS'
"Remarks on the Architectural Museum of Sir John Soane" was published in Architectural Magazine, the same year as Soane's third edition of his own Description (1835). The author mentions that "the people most likely to benefit" from the collection "were mere idlers and loungers." This is not in any way a disparaging comment, for Soane was

---

Pine Apple, the current set of fragments is crowned by a model strangely similar to the form of Soane's Ark of the Masonic Covenant, the original ark having been consumed by fire.

William Blake (1757-1827) refers to the fundamental analogy between macrocosm and microcosm in his poem Auguries of Innocence:

To see a World in a Grain of Sand
And a Heaven in a Wild Flower
Hold Infinity in the palm of your hand
And Eternity in an hour.

aware that his collection of over 3,000 architectural artifacts alone would take numerous extended visits in order to familiarize oneself. Then there are the books, stored in every cabinet and in the research library, and finally, the complex spatial organization and narrative of the house itself. Each of these separate components could fill a lifetime of study, as its author had spent and intended others to do. An ironic, yet essential, principle remains that the house, museum, and library must be studied as an entity if one intends to grasp the overall complexity of Soane's endeavor.

This notion further emphasizes the importance of the concept of architectural 'union' according to picturesque theory, a concept whose loss had already begun to point to an increasing separation among the arts and within architectural theory. By the mid nineteenth century, such a separation between the art and science of architecture would be virtually complete: a separation Gandy was seemingly aware of in naming his treatise *The Art, Philosophy, and Science of Architecture*. Peter Collins referred to this as "the recurrent dilemma of reconciling the notion of architecture as a science with the notion of architecture as an art?" Such a division would oppose rationalism against expressionism, classic against romantic, and ancient principles against modern invention. While Gandy was clearly not a defender of reductive thinking, his position fully embraced the romantic ideal of the creative isolated genius who, at the same time, sought to uncover universal principles. These would transcend the dilemma of architectural style, while guiding and improving public taste that was at the mercy of the various revivals ignited by historical consciousness.

Significant parallels may be drawn between Gandy's narrative representations and Soane's narrative house-museum, since both visual texts require a knowledge of literary devices. Soane's familiarity with the novel by M.G. Lewis, entitled *The Monk, a Romance* (1796) may have directly assisted him in the invention of his alter-ego Padre Giovanni and in the creation of the Monk's Parlour. The sources of his numerous references to monkishness remain many but nonetheless enrich the work by constant hermetic references [fig. 18].

---

73 By the turn of the twentieth century, architects such as Charles Rennie Mackintosh would literally wear two ties: one in the office as an architect, and a flowing cravat in the studio as an artist.

his final lecture, Soane mentioned that in addition to discourses on construction, 'some Lectures on Comparative Architecture would also be desirable,' in order to round out the student's education. For this purpose, Soane amassed his own comparative collection of models, casts, drawings, and books that he housed at Lincoln's Inn Fields. Finally, at the close of Lecture XII, read for John Soane by Henry Howard in 1833, the aging professor dedicated his House and Collection to the purpose of promoting the study of Architecture and the Allied Arts for all students of architecture.

While Soane argued relentlessly for the study of the architectural principles of the Ancients at the Royal Academy, he also considered himself a Modern who was free to compose and invent new forms based on his knowledge of the classical language of architecture. It is thus fair to consider Soane not only a classical Romantic, but to consider the Soane museum a 'modern' work of architecture, both in the nineteenth century and at the dawn of the twenty-first century. Soane achieved this through a complex spatial arrangement of planes, framed views, volumetric layering (creating a sense of sequential depth), and a dematerialization of surfaces which create intentional ambiguity between the inside and the outside [fig. 19]. Each of these same principles could be used to describe a number of contemporary works of architecture, pointing to the fact that the design and construction of Soane's museum foreshadowed the emergence of modernity. In the recent essay, "Modern Architecture in the Making," Kurt Forster writes:

"...when John Soane exhorted his listeners to recognize the difference between 'first principles' and 'mere imitations,' a distinction that alone ensures the possibility of genuine newness, he appealed to the consuming desire for invention in modern times. Without invention and without the avid incorporation of the inventions of other disciplines into the realm of architecture, most of the developments that mark the modern period might not have occurred at all."76

Although our cultural context has radically changed during the past two centuries, the small museum on Lincoln's Inn Fields provides architectural continuity between tradition and

---

75 Soane's Lectures on Architecture, edited by Arthur Bolton and published in 1929. Please refer to Editor's Note, p. 197. See also the republished lectures by David Watkin, entitled Enlightenment Thought and the Royal Academy Lectures, 1996.

modernity, as is found in other great works of architecture. Joseph Gandy would have called the characteristics of such architecture universal.
Chapter 4
THE MODEL OF THE TEMPLE

Masonic Certificate

Designs for Freemasons' Hall
Soane Museum: SM Drawer 52/4/11
Chapter 4
THE MODEL OF THE TEMPLE

Of the Temple of Solomon at Jerusalem, however, so completely have the Prophecies been fulfilled that not one stone is left upon another.\(^1\)

John Soane, *Lecture II*

IMAGINATIVE RECONSTRUCTION

At the Royal Academy, John Soane often used the term ‘model’ to describe precedents from the history of architecture, such as the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli [fig. 1]. According to his theory, these models were the archetypes containing first principles that needed to be mastered by students of architecture. Regarding the image of the Temple of Solomon, Soane clearly believed that the original Temple was meant to remain an ideal model for architecture that was not meant to be reconstituted:

"Many ingenious men, visionary, and enthusiastic like Villalpandus [sic], have exercised their talents in attempting to give an idea of the Temple of Solomon in its pristine glory; but having no other data beyond those Villalpandus possessed, however much we may feel inclined to praise their ingenuity, we can only consider their works, like those of Villalpandus, merely as flights of fancy, the off-spring of a heated imagination."\(^2\)

Soane commented upon the Jesuit Juan Bautista Villalpanda’s historical reconstruction with some authority, having owned a copy of his great sixteenth century folios on the dream of Ezekiel, *In Ezechielem Explanationes*. Nonetheless, the professor of architecture laments the passing of architecture’s original model.

"From all these circumstances the want of correct information respecting this wonderful building must be of serious regret, as this work alone would have been sufficient to guide us in our inquiries; but as we have no remains of this great work we must search the ruins of the great works of the Greeks and Romans for information in whatever relates to Architecture."\(^3\)

---

\(^1\) John Soane, *Lectures on Architecture*, Lecture II, p. 27.

\(^2\) Ibid., p. 27. Professor Soane also showed two illustrations of the Temple of Solomon, from Villalpanda, accompanying this lecture (Plates No. 1 and 3). See also the article by Wolfgang Hermann, "Unknown Designs for the "Temple of Jerusalem by Claude Perrault," in *Essays Presented to Rudolf Whittkower on his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, 1967.

\(^3\) Soane, *Lectures on Architecture*, p. 27.
The idea is that if the original model is no longer, other ancient models may continue to contain some of the principles or qualities of the sacred original. One of Soane's early Masonic references to architecture's original model occurs in the second lecture where he states:

"The Temple of Solomon is said to have surpassed, in magnitude, splendor, and beauty, every building that preceded it. Nor can this be wondered at when we learn from Holy Writ that the whole design was revealed by the Almighty Architect of the Universe, to that great and wise monarch in a dream."4

Soane is referring to the dream of Ezekiel, as well as using the Masonic phrase denoting the Almighty Architect of the Universe (A.A.O.T.U.) as the supreme giver of form. The key aspect is that the demiurge, or Divine Creator, had a role in architecture's original models, as read in the Old Testament instances of God issuing divine instruction to Man:

"In like manner we are told, from the same high authority, that in succeeding ages, King David, and his son Solomon did nothing in the construction of the Holy City of Jerusalem, or in the building of the Temple therein, but in conformity with those ideas which the Almighty Creator himself was pleased to reveal unto them."5

Within western imagination, the Temple represents the symbolic centre of the world as well as the cosmos in microcosm. Helen Rosenau reminds us that "the word templum in its original Latin meaning defines a measured space, either on earth or in heaven."6 As the first building of permanence described in biblical accounts in the Book of Kings I and Chronicles II,7 the Temple of Solomon at Jerusalem has remained the paradigmatic model

---

4 Ibid., p. 27.
5 Ibid., p. 120.
6 See Helen Rosenau's valuable study entitled, Vision of the Temple: the Image of the Temple of Jerusalem in Judaism and Christianity, p. 13. On the concept of templum, Rosenau refers the reader to various texts, including Joseph Rykwert's The Idea of a Town. Rykwert, quoting from Varro, writes that 'Templum is used in three ways:...with reference to nature, in the sky; to divination, on the ground; and to resemblance underground.' (p. 45). In our discussion, it is useful to contemplate templum as a cut, or hew (derived from the Greek temno) in relation to foundation rituals, including the making of a Masonic lodge, where the floor cloth would act as a template in the procedure of 'squaring the lodge.'
7 The other constructions include the Ark of Noah, the ill-fated Tower of Babel, and Moses' tent-like Tabernacle in the Desert. Not until the Temple of Solomon do we encounter a permanent human edifice, built under Divine instruction. It has been argued that the Temple therefore marks the origins of architecture and is one of architecture's original 'models.' Joseph Gandy's theory departs from this line of thinking, in favor of the arcae Noah.
of architecture in the western architectural tradition. Solomon, the King of Israel and the son of King David, was given assistance by Hiram, King of Tyre, who sent his chief master builder, Hiram Abbif, to coordinate the work. The original Temple built by Solomon occurred during the tenth century BC; its restoration was undertaken by Zerubbabel five centuries later, and a third version of the Temple was begun by King Herod I, a contemporary of Christ, where it stood until it was destroyed by Roman legions in 70 AD. Joseph Rykwert comments: "The temple had a uniquely binding force: unlike Noah's Ark or the desert tabernacle, it was the only human work done on God's direct and explicit command, whose traces could still be seen on earth."8

Many historians have placed the Temple within a historical chronology. Flavius Josephus places the construction of the Temple three thousand, one hundred and two years after Adam, 'the first man who was created.' Josephus writes that Solomon, who took seven years to build the Temple, "laid the foundations very deep in the ground, and the materials were strong stones, and such as would resist the force of time: these were to unite themselves with the earth, and become a basis and a sure foundation for that superstructure which was to be erected over it."9 While each author who recounts the building of the temple offers somewhat different numbers as to its dimensions and possible form, Josephus reports on several key aspects of the Temple, including that of the divine instruction given to Solomon:

"Now the whole structure of the temple was made, with great skill, of polished stones, and those laid together so very harmoniously and smoothly, that there appeared to the spectators no sign of any hammer, or other instrument of architecture, but as if, without any use of them, the entire materials had naturally united themselves together, that the agreement of one part with another seemed rather to have been natural, than to have arisen from the force of tools upon them."10

During the twelfth century, the alleged site of the Temple of Solomon became associated with a group of French Crusaders, called the Order of the Knights of the Temple, or the Knights Templar. The 'Knights Templar,' who defended the site of the original temple,

---

10 Ibid., p. 174.
were led by the first Grand Master, Hugues de Payns, and Geoffrey St. Omers\textsuperscript{11} in guiding French noblemen to the Holy Land [fig. 2]. In 1128, Pope Honorius II officially recognized the Templars as a separate Order, and in the twelfth century, the Order also established quarters in London as the areas 'Temple'\textsuperscript{12} and 'Temple Bar' still attest to where Fleet Street meets The Strand.

"The Templars were always known as builders, going back to the Order on the site of Solomon's Temple."\textsuperscript{13} By the turn of the fourteenth century, through money lending and the acquisition of vast amounts of land, the Knights Templars - who guarded the Temple precinct and answered only to the Pope - had become powerful enough in Europe to pose a threat to the powers of the monarchy and the church. With the main Temple headquarters now in Paris, the Order "had branches in Scotland, England, Aragon, Castile, Portugal, Germany, and the Kingdom of Naples."\textsuperscript{14} In 1307, the freedom of the Templars was put to an end when "Philippe IV of France ordered the arrest of all Templars in his domains."\textsuperscript{15} In an attempt to acquire the Order of the Knights Templars' funds and properties, the King seized the Temple in Paris, and imprisoned the Grand Master of the Order.

Grand Master Jacques de Molay, who had been a friend to King Philip IV as well as godfather to the king's daughter, was promised life in prison if he confessed to his crimes in public. Proclaiming innocence, the chivalrous knight and last Grand Master of the Order

---

\textsuperscript{11} The Encyclopaedia Britannica lists the following entry under 'Templars': a religious order instituted at Jerusalem, about the year 1118. Some religious gentlemen put themselves under the government of the patriarch of Jerusalem, renounced property, made the vow of celibacy and obedience and lived like canons regular... They took the name of Knights Templar, because their first house stood near the temple dedicated to our Saviour at Jerusalem... Many crimes and enormities being alleged against them, they were prosecuted in France, Italy, and Spain; and at last, the Pope, by his bull of the 22nd of May 1312, given in the council of Vienna, pronounced the extinction of the order of the Templars, and united their estates to the order of St. John of Jerusalem. From Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. III, 1771. p. 891.

\textsuperscript{12} The Temple in London was formerly the property of the Knights Templars (from 1184 to 1313), and then of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. Today, it belongs to two of the Inns of Court: Inner and Middle Temple. The other two Inns of Court are Gray's Inn (where Francis Bacon was said to have been a student) and Lincoln's Inn, just perpendicular to the Soane Museum and Lincoln's Inn Fields. Going as far back as the thirteenth century, Temple Bar was the western entrance gate to the City of London. It remains one of the four great Inns of Court listed above. From the entry "Order of the Knights Templar," in Harper's Encyclopedia of Mystical and Paranormal Experience, edited by Rosemary Guiley, p. 417.

\textsuperscript{13} From "Order of the Knights Templar," in the Encyclopedia of Mystical and Paranormal Experience, p. 416. R. Guiley, editor.

\textsuperscript{14} Michael Baigent and Richard Leigh. The Temple and the Lodge, p. 40.
would do no such thing, so he was "burned at the stake on Ile de la Cité in 1314, on a charge of treachery of the King of France and Pope Clement V." Some writers have since argued that the Templars fled into exile and arrived in Scotland disguised as stonemasons, where their identity remained secret. This would account for the connection with the St. Clair family as the Grand Masters of Scotland, whose descendants built Rosslyn Chapel. A further hypothesis for the whereabouts of the survivors of the Inquisition speculates that the remaining Templars "borrowed Masonic symbols and called themselves Freemasons." In many histories of freemasonry, including Anderson’s *Constitutions*, guarding the secrets of Geometry and Masonry in Great Britain was credited to Scottish Masons. As in all accounts of the Temple, while the actual Temple Precinct stood in ruins, its ideal has remained embedded in the collective memory of the west.

The enduring image of the original Temple has kindled the architectural imagination of countless authors and visionaries, and inspired generations of architects to propose imaginative reconstructions. In the Renaissance, architects including Alberti and Filarete were consciously aware of the Temple as a precedent for architecture as well as a metaphor of virtue. The idealized making of architecture (*ars res*) was often described as a means of attaining virtue, analogous to the pure form of the Tempietto:

"Architects and builder-craftsmen have always occupied a place of honor in society, dating back to ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome. Building symbolizes creation, the raising of an edifice in which to glorify and worship gods and humankind, and correlates to the improvement of the body and mind as a temple for the soul."  

Through imaginary reconstruction, recreation, and restitution architects have continued to represent the power of the Temple of Solomon. Johann Fischer von Erlach, John Wood,  

---

16 Ibid., p. 40.
18 The Temple Precinct is also still imbued with incredible geomantic power today, holding meaning for Jews, Christians, and Muslims alike. The fact that today the Islamic Dome of the Rock occupies the supposed site of the Temple of Solomon gives the sacred site further meaning.
19 Antonio Averlino, called Filarete, even renamed himself a lover of virtue (*arete*).
21 I owe this term to Pierre du Prey, whose lecture "The Temple of Jerusalem seen through English Baroque Eyes" was held at McGill University on 24 November 1998. Professor du Prey spoke about several architectural representations of the temple, which form "The Temple Collection," now housed at Queen’s University in Kingston, Ontario.
Sir Isaac Newton, Jacob Judah Leon, Juan Bautista Villalpanda, Juan de Herrera (chief architect of the Escorial), Caramuel de Lobkowitz, Claude Perrault, Bernard Lamy, and Maimonides are only a few of the many personages who have been consumed with representing architecture’s most artful original model in visual or descriptive form [figs. 3 & 4]. The tradition of rebuilding, reconstructing, or reenacting the story of the original temple remains firmly established in architectural theory and Masonic history; the Temple continues to symbolize the origin of permanent architecture through Geometry and number.

In England and in France, the eighteenth century fraternity of freemasons pursued this quest allegorically by invoking the story, or legend, of the Temple as their inspiration for Masonic ritual. Since its inception, speculative freemasonry adopted architecture in a similar way as a path to virtue. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, Masonic allegories surrounding the founding of the Temple of Solomon were interwoven with moral philosophy. One of the shared intentions in architectural theory and freemasonry was to attain virtue through a knowledge of architecture. The doctrine that the laws of Nature were mirrored in the creations of man was built upon the moral foundations of the philosophy of the Enlightenment. While operative masonry formed the basis for the oral transmission of architectural theory, and its application through practical geometry, the science of speculative, or non-operative masonry, established a set of rituals and practices based on the architectural paradigm of the Temple at Jerusalem.

Dr. Anderson’s Constitutions was among the first examples in speculative freemasonry of placing the Temple as the origin of the language of architecture. The parallel origins of language and architecture were already embedded in architectural theory beginning with the Roman writer Vitruvius. In his Essai sur l’Origine des Langues (1815), Jean-Jacques Rousseau echoes Vitruvius:

"...they gathered around a common hearth, they made feasts there and danced; the sweet ties of custom imperceptibly drew man to his fellows, and on this rustic

---

See Hermann’s “Unknown Designs by Claude Perrault for the ‘Temple of Solomon,’...” Perrault is one of many architects who produced architectural representations of the reconstruction of the Temple. Fischer von Erlach’s engravings are quite beautiful and fanciful, while the studies of the Jesuit Villalpanda are much more reasoned and serious. The question of where the imagination comes into play places an important distinction between authors who took on the problem as one of scholarly or theological interpretation of scripture, versus those who embraced the image of the Temple as one of inspiring historical fiction.
hearth burned the sacred fire which carried the first sentiment of humanity to the
depth of all hearts."23

Sir Isaac Newton, member of the Royal Society, turned his attention to the Temple of
Solomon in a Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended, to which is Prefix'd A Short
Chronicle from the first Memory Of Things in Europe, to the Conquest of Persia by
Alexander the Great, published in 1728. Newton's reconstruction of the Temple, built by
Solomon and Hiram, is based on the two biblical accounts as well as the vision of Ezekiel,
which he quotes at length. The fifth chapter, "A Description of the Temple of Solomon,"
includes three plates accompanying the text that offer a reconstruction of the Temple in
plan, each plate focusing on increasing detail [fig. 5]. Newton cites the dimensions of the
Temple as "sixty cubits long, and sixty broad, being only two stories in height, and having
only one row of treasure-chambers about it."24 Newton's work offers insight into the
problems of rebuilding the Temple in the tradition of historical reconstruction, and is
certainly less fanciful than freemason William Stukeley's English recasting of the Temple
of Solomon. In this respect both works are again different from James Anderson's
historical account of the Temple in the Constitutions (1723), although all three works recall
the building of the Temple according to a complex narrative that reflects the eighteenth
century's concern to establish the origins of architecture.

British architect John Wood the Elder, who built the Circus at Bath and wrote An Essay
Towards a Description of Bath (1742-43), compiled an earlier book on the origins of
classical architecture, entitled The Origin of Building: or, the Plagiarism of the Heathens
Detected (1741). Largely influenced by the work of Villalpanda, Wood gives his account of
the divine origins of architecture in five books, contrasting Moses with Vitruvius, and
outlining the advent of building from the Ark of Noah to the Tabernacle in the Desert.
Wood's argument is intended to show that the classical orders were anticipated in Biblical
times, having been integrated in the Temple of Solomon and hence passed down
continuously to influence his own English Palladianism. Culminating in an account of the
three versions of the Temple [fig. 6]. Wood writes:

---
23 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Essai sur l’Origine des Langues (1815), quoted by Anthony Vidler in "The
Architecture of the Lodges: Ritual Form and Associational Life in the Late Enlightenment." 
Oppositions 5, (Summer 1976). p. 95.
24 Ibid., p. 342.
"In this Temple, GOD himself was the Historiographer of the most beautiful and explicit Kind of History the World ever produced; all the Ornaments of the Tabernacle were there collected together, and improved to the utmost Degree, beyond Imagination itself."25

In Wood's argument, which is fundamentally different from John Soane's less than a century later, his use of the term 'model' refers to the temple as the prototype for architecture in the Judeo-Christian tradition, where he interprets the description of the Temple quite literally. In architecture, John Soane was one of Wood's critics, believing that his Circus was an essay in inaccurate archaeology, a criticism that would equally apply to the self-educated antiquarian's reconstruction of the Temple. Wood's chronology traces the origin and 'Progress of Building, from the completion of the Tabernacle to the Finishing of Solomon's Temple,' which gathers together the macrocosm: "The Temple being supposed to have represented the Universe, the Entablature round the Inside of that Structure may be conceived to have intimated the Division between heaven and Earth."26

For eighteenth century architects who were also freemasons, the origin of architecture was traced to the Almighty Architect of the Universe (A.A.O.T.U.).27 A modern encyclopedia entry on Freemasonry states: "The legends of the temple form the cornerstone of Masonry's founding; but in order to remove any direct references to Judaism or Christianity, the story concentrates on Hiram Abiff, the architect and builder assigned to the construction."28 We do know that the origins of English freemasonry are inextricably linked to the Temple legend as the rituals associated with the three degrees remain allegorical reenactments of the first temple [fig. 7]. The death of the famous master mason became a cornerstone for Masonic initiation, alluding to the allegorical symbolism of the cyclical nature of birth, death, and rebirth. For instance, the ritual death of Hiram Abiff is mirrored in Masonry through the allegorical death of the initiate and his eventual rebirth in the spiritual bonds of freemasonry. Such an allegorical pairing of Solomon-Hiram contains a double meaning29 as the archetypal hybrid between visionary and master mason,30

26 Ibid., p. 124. Curiously, Wood also published a book in 1747 on the stone circle of Stonehenge, showing that it was a temple of British Druids, where the open air temple could be equally interpreted as the division between - or the joining together of - heaven and earth.
27 This term A.A.O.T.U. and Great Architect of the Universe (G.A.O.T.U.) are both used in Masonry.
28 Guiley, p. 216.
29 The "doubles" associated with the Temple Legend become quite complex when one considers that
demonstrating that the Temple Legend has become embroidered with an incredible iconography associated with the Masonic Lodge, its rituals, and its paraphernalia.

THE MASONIC TRACING BOARD
The visual representation of rituals surrounding freemasonry have produced countless intriguing art works during the past two hundred years, many of which incorporate symbols and emblems related to architecture. The Mason’s emblematic floor cloth, tracing board, and apron are among the paraphernalia of freemasonry that explicitly portray symbols borrowed from architecture’s operative roots. The fundamental idea underlying the drawing of the lodge is based upon the sacred space of the assembly with other brethren, and in the action of drawing the lodge, which recalls similar foundation rituals to those found in the building art. The tools used include the plumb line, the square, and the level; and items such as the mason’s apron also recall the operative mason’s garment [fig. 8]. The gestures of the freemasons also reenact the principles of building, captured in their moving and bending at right angles. These movements are in turn translated into the figure of the oblong square and the drawing of the lodge [fig. 9]. The markings of a lodge, drawn in chalk or charcoal upon the floor, are representations that translate the gesture or sign into a series of symbols, or characters. The marking out of a lodge is therefore a primal act found in numerous drawing rituals, such as in the making of a mandala. One early account of the initiation of an apprentice, who awaits upon the first step of the lodge, captures the ephemeral, yet highly gestural nature of the drawing:

“This plan is drawn on the Floor, East and West; the Master stands in the East with the Square about his Neck and the Bible before him, which he takes up and walks forward to the West, near the first step of an oblong Square; where he kneels down in order to give that Solemn Obligation to him that has already knelt down with his Left-knee bare, bent upon the first step; his Right-foot forms a square with his naked Right hand upon the holy Bible, etc.”

there are two Kings (Hiram of Tyre and Solomon of Israel), coupled with the two Hirams (Hiram the King of Tyre and Hiram Abiff).

As a variation on this thought, Joseph Rykwert notes: “The relation Solomon-Hiram is often taken as a type of employer-craftsman or even architect-mason.” See The First Moderns, p. 212 (fn. 109). Further to this, Adoniram is a term related to both Solomon and Hiram, since Adonai is derived from Hebrew, meaning ‘my Lords,’ was commonly used in relation to the Deity, or the Supreme Being. In the Old Testament, it was used for the ineffable name JHVH (Jahveh, or Jehovah). Gandy mentions the Adoniram on more than one occasion in relation to Hiram.

A related issue in relation to architecture is that the form of the lodge is acted out in space and, in a profound way, is similar to practices found in dance notation or in tracing a figure in the sand to designate a sacred enclosure. The drawing of the lodge is an important way of distinguishing sacred space from that of the profane as well as giving concrete form to gestures and signs. The question of how one moves from such embodied gestures, which were originally mopped up when the lodge was complete, to the tracing board, and finally to the Masonic interior with its sequence of rooms and symbolic architecture, must be discussed in relation to the emerging architecture of freemasonry.

As a Masonic tableau, the lode tracing board is an example of an emblematic representation of the Temple which frames an allegorical ritual [fig. 10].

Anthony Vidler speculates on the early floor drawings, or drawing boards, used in French freemasonry during the mid-eighteenth century:

"Allegorical of the first Temple of Solomon and its attributes, they were evidently laid out to describe a route from the point of entry into the lodge to the point of reception - the route of initiation. The drawings were differentiated according to the ordered stages of the initiation process, and to the three grades of initiation of Apprentice, Companion, and Master."

Ritualistic devices from the tracing board to the apron and other Masonic regalia, were necessary tools in order to establish an allegorical connection between the Masonic brotherhood and the ideal of Solomon's Temple. Vidler refers to developments in French freemasonry during the mid eighteenth century, observing that the "architectural significance of the typical lodge, as it developed around the middle of the century, should then not be seen in terms of its specific aesthetic attributes or iconographic references to Biblical precedent, but rather in its concretion of ritual in space."

---

32 For an account of the Tracing Board, please refer to Dring's article quoted above, as well as to T.O. Haunch, "Tracing Boards: Their Development and Their Designers," AQC 75, 1962, pp. 182-203. In addition to Vidler's article cited earlier, another evocative article on the meaning of the Masonic tableau as an image of the Temple by Robert Jan van Pelt is entitled "The Word and the Image: Imaginary Architecture and the Problem of Redemption," Modulus 18, 1987, pp. 89-105.

33 Vidler, p. 81.

34 Ibid., p. 84.
We may consider the various ways in which the model of the Temple, in its multitude of forms, has been a consistent source of imagery for architecture and freemasonry. One of the shared interests between the two has been the framing of ritual through symbols. Various legends have transmitted the mythology surrounding the temple, including the Temple legend, the *Quatuor Coronati*, and the history of the Knights Templar; even the customs of the operative guilds were folded into the "mytho-poiesis" of speculative freemasonry. In France, Vidler observes:

"Reviving the terminology of the old 'operative' Masonic guilds, the aristocratic and middle-class fraternity of the mid-eighteenth century still talked of 'building the Temple,' and of 'constructing the social edifice.' In their workshops and ateliers, the brothers 'worked' with all the tools of masonry -- compass, square, and plumb line -- emblematic of their assumed heritage. Their *Constitutions* traced the history of architecture as taught to Adam and his sons by the Grand Architect of the Universe, and reaching its apogee in the revealed forms of Solomon's Temple."\(^{35}\)

This is a key notion for the esoteric foundations of freemasonry, with the Masonic tableau, or tracing board, remaining a powerful instance of recalling the image of the Temple in an allegorical and emblematic manner. In the early days of freemasonry it appears that it was not the physical forms of architecture that were essential for the ritual, but rather the moral edifice created by the gathering of its participants.\(^{36}\) Passing from the tracing board to the design of an architectural interior, in the form of a Masonic hall, implies a major transformation in the increasing formalization of the institution of freemasonry which occurred during the late eighteenth century. In Paris, this took place with Poncet's architectural design of the Grand Orient, and in London it would take place quite differently with the design of Sandby's Great Hall.

**THOMAS SANDBY: LONDON'S FIRST FREEMASONS' HALL**

While the tradition of meeting in ale houses and free houses continued in London, the institution of the Society of Freemasons expressed a desire to take on physical permanence and construct a headquarters for freemasonry. While many eighteenth century architects

---

\(^{35}\) Ibid., p. 79.

\(^{36}\) In *The Idea of a Town* (p. 23), Rykwert quotes Nicias: "You are yourselves the town...It is men that make the city, not the walls and ships without them." The origin of the term ecclesiastic is similarly rooted in the assembly of people being the primary entity, not the physical architecture. The origins of the institution of freemasonry appear to have been rooted in this type of 'gathering' tradition.
were speculative freemasons, only a few Masonic architects ever had the opportunity to
design and realize a Masonic Temple for their country.

The original Freemasons' Hall on Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, was designed by
Craft architect Thomas Sandby, who was first appointed Grand Architect (G.A.) of the
Order of Freemasons and then commissioned to design the new building. The connection
between Sandby and Soane is important, since the former was the Professor of
Architecture whose lectures 'Soan(e)' would have listened to as a student at the Royal
Academy beginning in 1771.37

The first Freemasons' Hall occupied the south side of Great Queen Street, between Covent
Garden and Lincoln's Inn Fields, not far from Soane's eventual residence.38 The original
property, acquired by the Grand Lodge in 1744, consisted of a front house on Great Queen
Street and a rear house behind. Between the two was a small courtyard, and behind these
lay a garden; a complex partition of land not unlike Soane's property at No. 12 Lincoln's
Inn Fields. Freemason Luke Reilly rented the front house, and established the
Freemasons' Tavern and Coffee House on the premises. A sign hung on the tavern with the Masonic
motto 'Vide, Audi, Tace,' words that still grace the front of the Freemasons' Hall in
emblematic form today. Due to its division of front and rear house, with a court in
between, it was affectionately named the 'house with a niche.' Eventually, Freemasons'
Tavern occupied No. 61 Great Queen Street and the garden at the rear became the site of
Sandby's proposed hall [fig. 11]:

"When this property consisting of a frontage of 44 feet and a depth of 200 feet was
purchased by Grand Lodge in 1774 there was the front house already described as
divided into two, and a small house in the rear which may well have been one of the
coach houses of the original scheme."39

37 Sandby was the first Professor of Architecture at the R.A. from 1768-1798, and therefore would
have taught both Soane and later Gandy. He was then succeeded by Soane's later employer, George
Dance, from 1798-1805, and finally John Soane himself from 1806-1836.
38 I am indebted here to the article on "Freemasons' Hall and its Environs" by Brother J.W. Stubbs,
published in AQC 82, 1969. "In 1768 a fund was raised by the managers of the United Lodges
of Freemasons to build a central hall for their meetings, and in 1774 a plot of ground and premises
in Lincoln's Inn Fields were purchased for £3,150." From William Sandby's Thomas and Paul
39 Stubbs, p. 17.
The new hall was originally thought to cost £5,000, but this figure soon rose to £15,000, so a decision was made to raise the necessary funds through the Lodges. "Much of the extra cost was due to an insistence on siting the hall, which was to be used for Masonic as well as social purposes, at first floor level, and a need to produce a vaulted basement to support it." On 1 May 1775 soon after the architect for the design was chosen, the foundation stone for the first hall was laid by M.W. Bro. Lord Petre. At the foundation ceremony, the Grand Secretary read the text of the foundation stone out loud in Latin and Greek while translating it into English. Grand Architect Thomas Sandby's Masonic Hall was dedicated in just over a year on 23 May 1776, marking a significant shift from meetings previously held in taverns like the Goose and Gridiron Alehouse [fig. 12].

Sandby’s hall was entered through the Committee Room on a north-south axis, with the portal placed in the center of three arches [fig. 13]. Seemingly inspired by the work of the brothers’ Adam, the height of the Great Hall was double, with a dais and an organ niche to the far south of the room. The upper part of the Hall consisted of separate galleries; one over the northern entrance portal, and another over the organ against the south wall. The new Temple provided a grand gathering hall used for the Grand Assembly during Masonic meetings. Below the hall, the Freemasons' Tavern continued to occupy the width of two row houses on the south side of Great Queen Street. In 1788 it was decided to pull down the original house occupying No. 61 Great Queen Street and start again. Another building was erected in the same location, which continued as the Freemasons’ Tavern [fig. 14]. The front building had two entrance doors on the ground floor; the entrance to the east led to the tavern, and the entrance to the west lead through a passage and up the stairs to Sandby’s Hall on the first floor level.

Sandby’s Great Hall was not solely used for Masonic purposes; many concerts, readings, dinners, and public assemblies took place within, where as many as two thousand people could be accommodated [fig. 15]. While the architecture of the hall incorporated Masonic

---

40 Ibid., p. 17.
41 Sandby’s Hall was initially meant to cost £3000; it opened on May 23, 1776, and was dedicated to ‘Masonry, Virtue, Universal Charity, and Benevolence.’ According to the Grand Master’s accounts in 1792, over £20,000 had been expended on Sandby’s edifice, as reported in Thomas and Paul Sandby, pp. 67-68.
42 Demolished in 1894, the Goose & Gridiron Alehouse was the location of the first Grand Lodge in London.
43 From its original opening until the 1860’s, the Freemason’s Hall functioned as such, when it began to be referred to as the Grand Temple.
symbols and included light from above through clerestory windows at the top of the wall, the hall was transformed during lodge ceremonies, as is demonstrated in the frontispiece to the 1784 edition of Anderson’s *Constitutions*. The allegorical plate drawn by Paul Sandby, the architect’s brother, and Giovanni Battista Cipriani, displays the interior of Sandby’s Hall, framing TRUTH, holding a mirror, and reflecting light upon the instruments and tools of Masonry: the armillary sphere, the celestial and terrestrial globes, and the table which holds a trowel, dividers, a lewis, and the holy bible [fig. 16]. The light of TRUTH is attended by the three theological virtues: FAITH, HOPE, and CHARITY. In mid air, the GENIUS OF MASONRY is seen descending into the Hall, bearing a lighted torch; on her arm hangs a ribbon and medal pendent, with which she is to invest the Grand Master with enlightened Benevolence in token of the Divine approbation of a Building sacred to Charity and Benevolence.

In 1825, Sandby’s Hall - the first in London - was described in *The Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London*, by John Britton and A.W. Pugin:

“The Great Apartment or Hall is an elegant and finely proportioned room, and both in architectural character and decoration is strictly appropriate to the purpose for which it was designed. Its length is ninety-two feet, the breadth forty-three feet, and its height upwards of sixty feet. It is built of a composed order and surrounded by pilasters and square fluted columns... Over the entablature on each side of the Hall is a range of semicircular windows, which are placed thus high in order to prevent the Masonic ceremonies being overlooked by the adjacent houses.”

The Great Hall that was the setting for countless Masonic events and rituals for more than a century appears to have been the only architectural work of consequence that Thomas Sandby carried out in London. The next Masonic Temple would be designed and coordinated by John Soane in collaboration with his mystical counterpart Gandy. Their Masonic project would not fall into the historical category of a “faithful reconstruction” of the Temple, but may be understood as a reinterpretation of the memory of the Temple according to the rituals and language of modern speculative freemasonry. How the ephemeral nature of the assembly and its communication through symbols and emblems

---

44 To my knowledge there has never been an edition of Anderson’s *Constitutions* with a frontispiece depicting Soane’s Hall.
45 G.B. Cipriani (1727-1785) entered the Lodge of the Nine Muses (Lodge No. 235), in London, on 27 January 1777. F. Bartolozzi was made a Mason in the same lodge on 13 February 1777.
evolved into permanent architecture, and where these began to complement each other, will be the subject of the chapter regarding the second phase of Freemasons' Hall. However, before critically interpreting Soane and Gandy's emblematic designs, Soane's initiation into freemasonry will be examined as well as Joseph Gandy's evolving architectural theory.
Chapter 5
SOANE AND THE UNITED GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND

Design for the New Masonic Ark
Study sketch by John Soane, 1813
Soane Museum: SM Drawer 52/4/7
Chapter 5
SOANE AND THE UNITED GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND

Of the various modes of communicating instruction to
the uninformed, the Masonic student is particularly
interested in two: namely, the instruction by legends,
and that by symbols.¹

Albert Mackey, *History of Freemasonry* (1898)

FREEMASONS’ HALL AND ENVIRONS

Not far from Lincoln’s Inn Fields, as one approaches the ominous Temple comprising
London’s Freemasons’ Hall on Great Queen Street, several traces of eighteenth century
freemasonry surround the great meeting place of the United Grand Lodge. The waning of
the guild roots of ‘operative masonry,’ and the rise of its counterpart ‘speculative
masonry,’ was central to the intellectual birth of freemasonry during the eighteenth century.
A great number of ale and coffee houses surround the site of London’s first Freemasons’
Hall, designed by Thomas Sandby, where the United Grand Lodge of England now
stands.² In the vicinity even today stand several pubs including *The Freemasons Arms* on
Long Acre Street, and *Hercules Pillars* on Great Queen Street, that evoke associations to
the Craft. The exterior signs which announces these “pub” interiors are rich in Masonic
emblems, from Jachin and Boaz to the set square and anvil of the Masons.

Masonic events and festivals were symbolically planned to be held during one of the two
Saint John days, either the feast of St. John the Baptist (June 24), or the feast of St. John
the Evangelist (December 27), as was the case of the United Grand Lodge ceremony in
1813.³ In order to recount Soane’s involvement with the Craft, and its influence upon his

¹ Albert Mackey, *History of Freemasonry* (1898), Vol. VII. Part 4: chapter 4, “Legends and
Symbols of Freemasonry.” p. 1755.
² For example, the freemason William Hogarth portrayed ‘Gin Lane’ in a famous engraving. Several
of Hogarth’s images have Masonic references, including the tongue in cheek, “The Free Masons
Surpriz’d, or the Secret Discovered. A True Tale from a Masons Lodge, in Canterbury,” published
in 1754; “Night,” and the satirical parade, “The Mystery of Masonry brought to Light by the
Gorgomons.”
³ Having adopted the two Christian saints as the patron saints of Masonry, their feast days
traditionally marked midsummer and midwinter; being approximations of the astrological events of
the earth reorienting once more towards the sun. St. Thomas is the traditional patron saint of
architecture, we must trace events which took place in England just prior to 1813, on the
eve of the union of the two rival lodges.

SOANE'S INITIATION INTO ENGLISH FREEMASONRY

In spite of various attempts at reconciliation beginning in the 1790's, the major schism
which occurred in freemasonry in 1751 between the "Antients" and the "Moderns"
remained. Events leading up to the 'Union' of the two Grand Lodges include the Premier
Grand Lodge establishing a 'Lodge of Promulgation' in 1809 to look into, and proclaim,
the differences between the two rival systems of Masonry. This action eventually paved the
way for the United Grand Lodge, founded in 1813, a year that marked Soane's initiation
into the Craft. Douglas Burford notes that prior to his entry into freemasonry: "On 14
August 1813, Soane was bidden to Kensington Palace, together with Sir William Rawlins
and W.H. White for an audience with the Duke of Sussex." According to T.O. Haunch,
some three months later, on 15 November 1813, at the Grand Master's Lodge held at the
Crown and Anchor Tavern on the Strand:

"'Brother James Perry (P.D.G. Master) proposed John Soane, Esq. (Royal
Academician & Architect)' to be made a Mason in Grand Master's Lodge No. 1.
On 25 November 1813, an emergency lodge was convened where four candidates,
including Soane, were balloted for; these 'Brethren being admitted to the first
degree of Masonry, were Pass'd to a Fellow Craft and afterwards Rais'd to the
Sublime degree of Master Masons.'"6

Haunch also observes a common error made by historians. The "statement that Soane was
initiated on the 1st of December 1813 is incorrect and arises from a common
misunderstanding of the entry in the Antients Membership Register which, unlike those of
the Premier Grand Lodge, does not record the date of making of candidates but of that of

4 Soane was Grand Superintendent of Works from 1813-1836. Fellow Masonic architect Philip
Hardwicke was appointed Soane's successor as G.S.W. from 1837-1855.
Biographical File (unpaginated). Courtesy of The Library and Museum of Freemasonry, United
Grand Lodge of England (U.G.L.E.). I have verified the same information in the 'Minutes of
Grand Lodge,' held at the U.G.L.E., reference SN 460.
the return on which their names are shown." It was therefore on 25 November that John Soane had the rare good fortune of being admitted as an Entered Apprentice, passed to the Second Degree and finally raised to the Third Degree within a single Masonic meeting [fig. 1]. In the essay "Soane and Freemasonry," John Taylor comments on the architect’s rapid initiation into the Craft:

"Seldom has any initiate been propelled so quickly into the upper ranks of Freemasonry as was John Soane. He joined the order later in life - he was sixty-five years of age - but he came upon the scene at a critical time, when his talents were in particular demand."

It is fitting, given Soane’s advocacy for ancient principles in architecture, that he entered into the Grand Master’s Lodge (No. 1) of the Antients [fig. 2].† The month following, on 11 December, Soane was "bidden to attend at Freemasons’ Hall where he was installed by the Duke as Grand Superintendent of Works" † just sixteen days before the triumphal union of the two rival lodges.

Soane’s newly created position as Grand Superintendent of Works involved ongoing maintenance of the premises and immediate preparation for the ceremony joining the two lodges. These factors in part account for the speed with which Soane had become a Master Mason, for within a month he would have to finish the design and construction of the Ark of the Masonic Covenant that was to contain the important Articles of Union.‡ For what

---

7 Ibid., "Letter from Bro. T.O. Haunch to Bro. John Taylor, dated 6th December 1979." Several historians, including David Watkin, have incorrectly observed that John Soane was "Initiated as a Freemason on 1 December 1813." See Royal Academy exhibition catalogue, Sir John Soane. Architect: Master of Space and Light, p. 264.


9 On 15 November 1813, Soane was proposed to Freemasonry; on 25 November 1813 he was initiated, passed and was raised; and on 11 December 1813 he became the newly appointed Grand Superintendent of Works by the Duke of Sussex. The reader may recall that these terms refer to the three degrees of Freemasonry: Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft, and Master Mason. Note that Soane, like Mozart in Vienna during 1784, was immediately raised to the degree of Master Mason. Dorothy Stroud, Sir John Soane, p. 96. Offices similar to the title ‘Grand Superintendent of Works’ would include ‘Master of the Fabric,’ or the ‘Clerk of the Works,’ still used, for instance, at Wells Cathedral. Soane was Clerk of the Works for the Royal Hospital, Chelsea.

10 In a letter dated 30th March 1981, Brother T.O. Haunch, Librarian and Curator of the U.G.L.E. notes that the Ark of the Masonic Covenant was constructed 'by Mr. Thomas Martyr, paid £53.10s.0d. for it.' He is therein quoting from Miss Dorothy Stroud’s unpublished typescript Catalogue of the Architectural Works of Sir John Soane, including his unexecuted designs, 1956.

11 Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
other purposes had the freemasons accelerated the accomplished architect's entry into the
Craft? John Ashby notes that Soane's rapid promotion was in no small part connected with
his help in obtaining the properties for the new hall. Although this is certainly true, was it
not perhaps also due to Soane's use of symbolism in architecture and his deep
understanding of allegory and architectural narrative - qualities already found in his house-
museum - that would suggest Soane as the perfect candidate to build a sequence of rooms
in order to frame the rituals of Masonry?

THE UNION AND THE ARK OF THE MASONIC COVENANT

Soane's patron for the Society of Freemasons was H.R.H., the Duke of Sussex (Augustus
Frederick), who in 1798 had been initiated in Berlin in the Lodge, Victorious Truth. Upon
his return to England, Augustus Frederick became Grand Master of the 'Modems' Premier
Grand Lodge. On Wednesday, 1 December 1813, in a rare event for English freemasonry,
where the newly initiated Bro. John Soane was in attendance, the Duke of Sussex "was
made an Antient mason on that day in order that he might be present at the Installation of
his brother, the Duke of Kent, as Grand Master of the Antients later the same day."12 As
Grand Master of the Moderns, and with his older brother Edward (Duke of Kent)
becoming Grand Master of the Antients,13 plans to create the United Grand Lodge of
England (U.G.L.E.) were solidifying. With both Grand Masters in place, who were
fraternal in both senses of the word, the historic union would attempt to transcend the
schism that had divided English freemasonry for almost seventy years; the inaugural Grand
Assembly of the two Grand Lodges was to be held in Sandby's Great Hall on 27 December
1813.

On Saturday, 11 December 1813, the day that Soane was appointed Grand Superintendent
of Works (G.S.W.), he met once again with the Duke of Sussex, taking along three
drawings of the Freemasons' Tavern designs. This meeting took place at Great Queen
Street, where, according to Douglas Burford, SGW, Soane presented drawings of the Ark.

---

For the correspondence, please refer to "Letter from Bro. T.O. Haunch to Miss Dorothy Stroud,
dated 30th March 1981," Soane Biographical File (unpaginated). Courtesy of The Library and
Museum of Freemasonry, U.G.L.E.

Taylor, p. 197.

The Antient Grand Lodge was also known as the Atholl Masons, after John, the Duke of Atholl,
who was G.M. of the Antients from 1775-81, and from 1791-1813, at which time the Duke of
Kent became G.M.
As the inaugural Grand Superintendent of Works, and with the upcoming ‘Union’ of the two Grand lodges in a matter of weeks, the design of the actual ceremony, and of the Ark, became the first architectural activities of the newly initiated Soane. Soane and George Basevi began work on sketches for a 'Monument for Freemasons' from 14 to 18 December 1813. This appears to be the first architectural reference to the sacred piece of Masonic furniture which was to contain the Act of Union. Burford notes: "The details were fed through piecemeal to Soane's favorite cabinet maker, Richard Martyr, who faithfully translated the design into reality." This is confirmed by the account dated 25 December 1813 which included '70 days Carpenters' fees,' suggesting that there was extensive "craft" employed for the Craft shortly before the Act of Union took place.

Martyr's three bills to Soane for work done on the mahogany Ark on 25 December 1813, 1 January and 16 April 1814, leave doubt as to whether Soane's new Masonic Ark was completed by the evening of the Union at the Grand Assembly. Understanding the way in which Soane evolved designs over fairly long periods of time, it is thoroughly possible that a 'model' or temporary version of the Ark of the Masonic Covenant was used during the Grand Assembly, and that further work was then carried out by Mr. Martyr between December 1813 and January 1817. This speculation is confirmed by a note from the cabinet maker for 'Altering the model 4 1/2 days' in the account dated 16 April 1814.

On the night of the Union, during the grand procession into the hall which began in two adjoining rooms, one Grand Lodge was flanked by the Duke of Kent and the other Grand Lodge was flanked by his brother, the Duke of Sussex. The Grand Director of Ceremonies was Sir George Naylor whose responsibilities included reading aloud the Act of Union between the two Grand Lodges. The rituals and ceremony surrounding the Union of the Antients and the Moderns were centered on the written 'Act of Union,' to be housed in the Ark of the Masonic Covenant. The "pillar of the junior Grand Warden of the Antients, on a pedestal, was borne by Brother John Soane...Then the Act of Union, duly ratified and confirmed by both bodies separately, was read, ratified and confirmed anew, and

---

14 Taylor, p. 206.
15 Following the creation of the United Grand Lodge of England, Soane's assistant George Underwood worked intensively on 'Drawing the Masonic Ark' from 30 December 1813 through 15 January 1814. Evidence suggests that this particular drawing may have been used for Soane's Royal Academy lectures.
proclaimed."\textsuperscript{16} Following Craft tradition Soane's Masonic Ark "was to be consecrated according to ancient rite with corn, wine, and oil, and sanctified and dedicated as the edifice of Union."\textsuperscript{17} At this point in the Grand Assembly, the two Grand Masters ritualistically approached the Ark, which had been placed in front of the throne [fig. 3] in order to:

"...apply the square to that part of the said Ark which is square, the plumb to the several edges of the same and the level above it in three positions and, lastly, will give it three knocks with the mallet saying: 'May the Great Architect of the Universe enable us to hold the Grand Edifice of the Union, of which this Ark of the Covenant is the symbol which shall contain within it the instrument of our Brotherly love, and bear upon it the Holy Bible, square and compass as the light of our faith and the rule of our works.'"\textsuperscript{18}

During these ceremonies the Duke of Sussex was elected the Most Worshipful Grand Master of the newly formed United Grand Lodge of England. At the close of the evening, the two royal Grand Masters placed the Act of Union (which contained twenty-one 'Articles of Union') in the interior of the Masonic Ark before the brotherhood retired to banquet and song. Following this historic union, a special 'Lodge of Reconciliation' was warranted in order to reconcile the two former systems of freemasonry and bring about a standard form of ritual.\textsuperscript{19} This standard system was never written down fully, but instead was demonstrated and passed on by word of mouth, in addition to reading from the various 'Constitutions.'

This account of the Grand Union, and the blessing of the Ark, recalls the symbolic importance of number and geometry for all freemasons. It remains important, according to Soane's architectural theory, that his designs for the Ark were not based upon the biblical description or any other ancient account of the original Ark of the Covenant [fig. 4]; a fact which continues to puzzle several Masonic scholars:

"Somewhat surprisingly perhaps, the Ark of the Masonic Covenant bore no likeness to the biblical ark that appears in the crest of the Arms of the United Grand Lodge of England, and had previously figured in the Arms of the 'Ancient Grand Lodge according to the Old Institutions'. That was based upon the directions given

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., p. 197.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., p. 206. The three offerings signify plenty (corn); joy, or happiness (oil); and health, spirituality (wine). Corn, wine, and oil are also used in consecrating cornerstones, and in the founding of a new lodge.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., p. 203.
\textsuperscript{19} See Hamill, p. 75.
to Moses in *Exodus* 25, to make an Ark of shittim wood (acacia) for the repository of God's Testimony."

Given Soane’s clear understanding of learning from the principles of the past, rather than attempt to imitate historical form or present a literal reconstruction of facts, why is this form surprising? Soane’s triangular design equally relies on geometry. Although it may appear to be unusual for an Ark, I would argue that its form has to do with its multiple layers of symbolism.

Soane’s designs for the Masonic Ark are recorded in several sketches drawn by George Underwood and other office apprentices. Of the five variations of Soane’s design that are recorded in the Freemasons’ Hall archive, each of them is triangular in plan, although they display various articulations and architectural ornament. The final symbolic design was elaborated into a triangle supporting a three pointed pendentive dome removed during ceremonies [fig. 5]. Soane’s formal exploration of the Ark extended to the designs for the Masonic podium including square, circular and triangular forms with a star of David emblazoned on the base [fig. 6]. The question regarding the form of Soane’s Masonic Ark is best considered by referring to a report following the fire in London’s Freemasons’ Hall:

"That which was lost in the fire on 3 May 1883 and was seemingly irreplaceable was a quite unique and static piece of mahogany furniture, triangular in plan and in the form of a pedestal cabinet, and was not meant to be transportable like the biblical Ark. Its entablature was supported at the corners by the three classical orders of architecture which respectively symbolized wisdom, strength and beauty, and was surmounted by a triangular-based dome. The Ark measured in height about 3 ft. 6 in. or just over a metre to the top of the entablature and about 4 ft. 3 in. to the top of the dome. The sides of the equilateral triangular base measured about 3 ft. 4 in. or one metre and the columns at the corners were set at about 2 ft. apart."

A further architectural reading of the particular design requires one to trace why Soane constructed the Ark of the Masonic Covenant not in the form of a rectangle, but in the form of an equilateral triangle. To begin with the three orders of architecture, following

---

20 Taylor, p. 204.
21 The Freemasons’ Hall drawings belong to the Sir John Soane Museum. The five sets of architectural drawings are kept in SM Drawer 52.
Vitruvius, support the classical canon in architecture. The original orders of architecture formed the basis for Soane's equilateral design of the Masonic Ark, one order anchoring each of the corners of the base in an egalitarian manner that also symbolized the union of two groups to form one. Soane thus rests the Ark, and the Act of Union, upon the foundations of the Ancients, a position that he repeatedly stated in his lectures. The inventive Master Mason Soane employed a translation of the form of the Ark of the Masonic Covenant, an operation that he would again repeat in his and Gandy's placement of the zodiac lantern within the Freemasons' Hall.

A second reference has to do with the symbolism associated with the orders, both in architecture and in freemasonry. In the seventeenth century, Sir Henry Wotton restated Vitruvius: "Well building hath three conditions: commoditie, firmness, and delight." While the Doric column traditionally corresponded to the male form and to strength, and the Ionic column corresponded to the female form and commodity, or utility, they now became inverted. I believe that architectural theory and freemasonry crossed meaning at this point as the three classical orders were used to represent the Masonic trilogy, following Wotton, who had transposed Doric and Ionic correspondences. Instead: Wisdom (Doric), Strength (Ionic), and Beauty (Corinthian) would now become the accepted references of the orders in Masonry.

---

Vitruvius recounts the origin of the three orders: Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian, corresponding respectively to the male, the female and the young maiden from Greece. In his writings, Vitruvius also uses the terms firmitas (firmness), commoditas (commodity) and venustas (beauty) as qualities of architecture. These three terms have been translated into English as firmness, commodity, and delight, while in freemasonry the three orders have become associated with the symbols: Doric (Wisdom), Ionic (Strength) and Corinthian (Beauty). While the origin of the orders in freemasonry also appears to be Vitruvian, it is curious how the Doric and Ionic orders became inverted in terms of symbolism. I believe that Sir Henry Wotton is responsible for translating the Vitruvian triad as utilitas (utility), firmitas (firmness), and venustas (beauty). From this transposition into English, recorded in his treatise The Elements of Architecture (1624), the three orders became associated with Doric (utility), Ionic (firmness) and Corinthian (beauty). The subsequent Masonic association of Wisdom (Doric), Strength (Ionic), and Beauty (Corinthian) eventually became the accepted interpretation. This explanation accounts for the discrepancy found in Masonic images which indicate the three architectural orders, where the Ionic order, rather than the Doric order, represents strength. For a discussion touching on this issue, please refer to Christopher Haffner's article, "The Eighteenth-Century Lodge as a School of Architecture," AQC 101, 1988. pp. 160-200.

---


100

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
Third, in changing the Ark's shape to an equilateral triangle in plan, Soane also made reference to the three great lights and the three lesser lights of Masonry. Soane's design studies for the Ark and for the altar supporting the three great lights are all pure forms as he explores the geometry of square, triangular, and circular plans. Once the triangular design for the Ark was decided upon, it accommodated the Masonic altar's Bible, square, and compasses, taken together as a symbol of Freemasonry. Soane's Ark also gave architectural form to the geometry of the triangle "inasmuch as it is the simplest closed figure which can be formed of straight lines."23 Above all, in his designs for the Masonic Ark, Soane demonstrates his love of ancient principles as inspiration for modern invention; this is precisely why he would not attempt to copy from biblical descriptions or historical accounts of the Ark. Rather than pursue the historical form of architecture, Soane sought to uncover its principles and then express this essence through symbols and architectural character.

Lastly, according to the Temple legend, Hiram-Abiff, the Master Mason of the Temple Legend was the descendent of Tubal Cain, who was murdered by three apprentices, but not before throwing the Golden Triangle that he wore around his neck down a well.26 This Golden Triangle is thought to have had engraved upon it the Master Mason's secret word. Before Hiram's eventual death, "he pointed to the place where the Golden Triangle was to be found. This was then collected and brought to the Molten Sea and both were preserved together in the Holy of Holies. They are only to be discovered by those who can understand the meaning of the Temple of Solomon and its Master Builder Hiram."27 In summary, the three orders of architecture, the Masonic symbolism of the three degrees, the mallet striking the Ark thrice, and perhaps even the legend of the Golden Triangle, are all allusions to the symbolism of the number three in freemasonry that appear to have guided

---

25 *Pocket Encyclopaedia of Masonic Symbols*, p. 56. Soane's design may be associated with the three degrees, three lights (lesser and greater), three senior officers, etc. The triangle with the eye is a Christian symbol and is found on tympani. The Craft was originally Christian until the Union of 1813. As a quasi Masonic symbol, the triangle with the eye appears on the US dollar bill as a pyramid with the eye of God.

26 For a learned discussion surrounding the descendants of the legendary smith, Tubal Cain, and his connection to the artificer who assisted King Solomon, please refer to Albert Mackey, *The History of Freemasonry*, "The Legend of Hiram Abif," pp. 412-432. This is an abridged version, published in 1996, of the larger well known work by Mackey.

Soane's understanding of principles and choice of form for the Ark that was to represent the Union of the Antients and the Moderns.

Another design challenge for Soane was how to terminate the Ark of the Masonic Covenant, and by what means could the rather small piece of furniture achieve monumental proportions? One of the five design studies makes the Ark appear as large as the lantern which crowns the Dulwich picture gallery and another as symbolic as the Soane family tomb [ch. title page], when in reality the Ark was only between three and a half to four and a half feet in height. Similarly, Soane's studies for finials vary from a pine cone (the symbol of eternity) which crowned the Pasticcio column, to the caduceus of Hermes (the god of commerce and symbol of the union of opposites) that Soane employed on the main doors to the Bank of England [fig. 7]. The figure of Hermes, often used as a symbol of mystical illumination, is quite powerful in conjunction with the United Grand Lodge, but in the end this symbol was rejected. In the design finally chosen, Soane's Ark incorporated three steps into its pedestal, which may be understood as an allegorical representation of the three degrees of freemasonry: Entered Apprentice (EA), Fellow Craft (FC), and Master Mason (MM). These steps may also be interpreted corresponding to the three phases of life: youth, manhood, and old age, often portrayed on Master's carpets and on tracing boards.

Soane's architectural object is recorded only in words and in a few images, including his original design drawings. An important record in this regard is the 1815 edition of the Constitutions, where Soane's Ark of the Masonic Covenant is depicted on the frontispiece [fig. 8]. This edition was published by William Williams after the Union, and it portrays Concord as a classical female figure, holding in her right hand a bundle of fasces (rods) symbolizing unity. The bust of King George IV is behind her, and the three cardinal virtues are shown in niches. On the ledge above the virtues is an inscription of the Duke of Sussex's role as M.W.G.M., and above this is represented Soane's Masonic Ark. "Behind her there is a ceremonial bowl inscribed with the words 'To Concord,' in which the flame

---

28 Drawings SM 52/4/3 to 52/4/7 show designs for terminating the Masonic Ark, including a pine cone (symbol of the Creator), the caduceus of Hermes (symbol of the union of opposites), and the three-pointed Soanean dome (symbolizing the three orders of Architecture and the three lights of Masonry). A separate drawing of the Ark done for Soane's lectures by George Underwood is not part of the Freemasons' Hall archive. Executed sometime in 1813-14, this representation is filed under SM 14/4/6.

29 I am specifically speaking of the drawing labelled SM 52/4/7. Please see list of illustrations.
of Concord is burning." Ursula Terner quite rightly observes that the frontispiece is an allegory of the union, with Concord as the personification of the events surrounding 1813. Since Soane had not yet applied his talents to the design of the new hall for the Society of Freemasons, and considering that there are only a handful of representations which portray Soane's Ark - including an engraved portrait of the Duke of Sussex by John Harris (1833) [fig. 9] - it is fitting to see it gracing the frontispiece of one of the Masonic books which Soane had in his collection. The actual Masonic Ark was lost in the fire which took place at Freemasons' Hall, in 1883, mentioned earlier.

**SOANE'S MASONIC LITERATURE**

An entire chapter could be devoted to Soane's library collection related to architecture and freemasonry, but that would take us beyond the scope of this study. Like any responsible nineteenth century freemason, John Soane had three Masonic texts: James Anderson's *The Constitutions of the Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons* (3rd edition, 1756); Laurence Dermott's *Ahiman Rezon; or a help to all that are, or would be, Free and Accepted Masons* (3rd edition, 1778); and an exposé entitled *Jachin and Boaz, or, an authentic key to the door of Freemasonry, both ancient and modern* (25th edition, 1812). In addition to these standard Masonic texts, Soane owned a copy of the Masonic exposure *L'Ordre des Francs-Macons trahi et leur secret révélé*, and works related to the origins of freemasonry including Solomon Bennett's *The Temple of Ezekiel* (1824); and

---

30 Ursula Terner. "A Brief Look at Masonic Images: Secret meanings in Freemasonry?" *AQC* 109, 1996. p. 228. I gratefully acknowledge this article by Ms. Terner, which John Ashby brought to my attention. The entire decoding of the allegory of Concord is worth reading, in conjunction with the accompanying plate of the frontispiece.

31 For references to other representations of Soane's Ark, please see Douglas Burford's article (*AQC* 105, 1993). Aside from the frontispiece in the *Constitutions*, as mentioned, there is an engraving by John Harris of the Duke of Sussex, enthroned as the Grand Master (1833), and a painting by S. Rosenthal showing Soane's Ark during "The Investiture of the Prince of Wales as Past Grand Master at Freemasons' Hall, London, December 1969. The quite distinct architectural form of the Ark is clear in all three images.

32 The best article on Soane's library is by Eileen Harris, "Sir John Soane's Library," in *Apollo Magazine*, April, 1990 (special issue on Soane). pp. 242-247. However, it does not address the collection of books crossing between architecture and freemasonry. This research remains to be done.

33 For an interesting interpretation of Masonic symbols in book illustrations, see Ursula Terner's article cited above, where she points out the representation of Soane's Ark of the Covenant in the 1815 edition of the *Constitutions*, published by William Williams. The author, who undertook her doctorate on "The Iconography of Masonic Symbols," had the image pointed out to her by John Ashby of the U.G.I.E. Library.
André Lenoir’s *La franche-maçonnerie rendue à sa véritable origine, ou l’antiquité de la franche-maçonnerie prouvée par l’explication des mystères anciens et modernes* (1814).

The frontispiece from Soane’s third edition of Anderson’s *Constitutions* (one of only five hundred copies) is interesting to compare with that of the first edition described earlier. Soane’s copy displays the figure of Britannia enthroned amongst the arms of the Freemasons, holding a spear and corn [fig. 10]. Behind her lies the river Thames with the prominent dome of Sir Christopher Wren’s St. Paul’s Cathedral. In the foreground lies the checkered floor associated with the tylers, upon which rest the tools of Masonry: a mallet, set square, triangle, dividers, plumb line, and a lewis. Also visible are several church spires, built by London masons, and the Monument Column designed by Wren to commemorate the great conflagration of 1666. Britannia rests by a fluted classical column, and the sun shines brightly upon her lands. On the horizon, the sun is setting (or is the moon rising?). The imagery of this engraving is quite nationalistic and differs from the classically engraved frontispiece accompanying the first edition of the *Constitutions*. In Soane’s edition, Britannia is smiling on her native soil and architecture is flourishing before her. This image would change again in the fifth edition frontispiece which depicts the Masonic interior of Thomas Sandby’s Freemasons’ Hall of 1776, the new architectural headquarters of the freemasons to which Soane would add alterations and additions.

The opposition to Anderson’s *Constitutions* was Laurence Dermott’s *Ahiman Rezon*, a reactionary defense to the ‘Moderns.’ In his role as Grand Secretary of the ‘Antients,’ Dermott was a fierce upholder of the Old Institutions of Freemasonry. On the frontispiece of Soane’s third edition of *Ahiman Rezon* (1778), there is a depiction of a small Tempietto type structure [fig. 11]. The round tholos, with its back providing a niche, is crowned by a dome supported on three columns (representing wisdom, strength, and beauty). This frontispiece alludes to the classical precedents which ancient freemasonry upheld, largely corresponding with Soane’s views on the principles and models of the Ancients. There is a particularly strong resemblance between this frontispiece and the symbolism embedded in

---

34 The first edition was reprinted in Philadelphia, in 1734, by Benjamin Franklin. A second edition of the *Constitutions* followed this reprint in 1738, followed by the third edition of 1756.

35 The lewis is an iron lifting ring, or tripod, used on operative masons’ building sites. It is an iron cramp consisting of three sections which can be linked with a pin. It has also become used for the son of a mason.
Soane's designs for the Masonic Ark. Instead of crowning his Ark with a statue, Soane uses a finial; where there would be two smaller statues flanking the main one, he places funerary urns. In Soane's design for the Ark, the 'Antient' traditions of Architecture and Masonry are preserved. As particular as Soane was in all his collecting, I would argue that although it is ironic that Soane would align himself with Dermott on certain grounds, it is significant that his library holds this particular edition.

After all, he was initiated into the Antients Grand Master's Lodge. Soane's various Masonic editions suggest that his view of Masonry was consistent with his architectural theory and his architecture - at once both Ancient and Modern. Finally, as the first Grand Superintendent of Works for the United Grand Lodge of England, Soane became a symbol of the reconciliation of the two former rival groups aligning him symbolically with Hermes.

Soane's encyclopedic view of architecture was like a tree, where each branch is related to the next and all branches have common roots in tradition. To see how this vision of architectural theory began to disintegrate during the second half of the nineteenth century, we only need to cite the instance where curator Arthur Bolton separated Soane's book collection into two catalogues: 'Books in the General Library,' and 'Books in the Architectural Library.' From that point forward, architectural theory and Masonic history would not only remain on divergent paths, they would no longer be able to commiserate upon the shelves of the Soane Museum.

Soane, Britton, Gandy and Rosslyn Chapel

In examining the Masonic imagination found in the architecture of Soane and Gandy, we must once more consider the important role played by the antiquarian John Britton, whose Masonic return is filed in the Minutes of the Grand Master's Lodge, held at the Crown & Anchor Tavern, Strand, on Monday, 20 December 1813. The record states that, in addition to the twenty-four members of the Lodge, and several visitors in attendance, including the Duke of Sussex, Britton was one of the initiates:

---

36 In his Lectures, Soane defended the position of the Ancients; in his involvement with Masonry, he belonged to the Antients Grand Master's Lodge No. 1. Here, too, it appears that the Ark of the Masonic Covenant was inspired, at least in part, by the 'Constitutions' of the Antients.

37 See "Minutes of Grand Master's Lodge," dated December 20th, 1813. UGLE, reference SN460. Brother Soane's fee of 'Initiation' is listed as £ 5.5, as was Brother Soane's fee of 'Making.'
"John Britton Esquire, proposed on the 30th November last to be made a Mason in this Lodge, was this day balloted for and approved and admitted to the first two degrees of Masonry, and Raised to the sublime degree of a Master Mason - and paid the fee of five Guineas."

The Masonic connection between Soane and his antiquarian friend is clear, having both joined Grand Master's Lodge Number 1. Encouraged by Soane, if not directly invited by him, Britton also entered Masonry on the eve of the Union of the rival lodges, which was less than a month away.

In a previous chapter we discussed Britton's defense of Soane's architectural museum in his *Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*. Prior to Soane and Britton's fraternal bond taking place in 1813, Britton had commissioned architect Joseph Gandy to do a series of engravings for the third volume of *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, published in 1812. Displaying admiration for his architect friend and fellow antiquarian, the inscription of John Britton's third volume of the five volume work, published between 1807-26, reads:

Dedicated to John Soane, Esq.
Architect, F.S.A., R.A.
Member of the Academies of Parma and Florence and
Professor of Architecture in the Royal Academy

Britton and Gandy's subject matter, the fantastic architecture of Rosslyn Chapel near Edinburgh, was quite specifically related to freemasonry. Gandy's original sketches for the

---

38 Minutes of Grand Master's Lodge, dated December 20th, 1813. U.G.L.E., reference SN 460. Although John Soane did not appear to be present for Britton's initiation, at least three members of the same lodge who had been present when Soane was balloted for were present: Thomas Harper, Treasurer, Hymen Cohen Junior, who had been balloted for and made a Master Mason during the same meeting as John Soane, (15/11/1813); and Thomas Harper Junior, who had seconded Brother James Perry's motion to initiate Soane in the same lodge, on 15 November, 1813. Although it appears that Britton was 'proposed' on 30 November 1813, and initiated on 20 December 1813, the *Grand Lodge Admissions* (1813-36), G.S.L. 274 [1.194] states Britton, John, F.S.A., date of initiation Dec. 1, 1813. I cannot account for this discrepancy in the dates.

39 The discovery of Britton's entering the same lodge as Soane, presumably under Soane's encouragement, and their individual collaborations with Gandy, reinforces the tripartite relation between Joseph Gandy, John Britton, and John Soane. Gandy had worked on archaeological measured drawings of Rosslyn chapel for Britton's work, and Britton in turn had written a description of the Soane museum. That Rosslyn Chapel is an important place for Masons has been long established.
measured drawings of 'Rosslyn Chapel,' a place with a long history related to the Craft, provides further proof of his Masonic interest and influences. During the time that Gandy was designing Storr's Hall for J. Bolton on Lake Windemere, his travel sketchbook was filled with numerous measured drawings and studies for 'Roslin Chapel.' Some of his informative architectural studies, dated September 1806, include a 'Section of Roslin Chapel,' 'Plan of the Ceiling of Roslin Chapel,' and 'Caps to Columns inside Roslin Chapel.'

The medieval architecture of Rosslyn Chapel, also known as the Collegiate Chapel of St. Matthew, held great importance in the legends of the Knights Templar and the Crusades for centuries. During the twelfth century, the first Knights Templar leader, Hugues de Payen, was married to Katherine St. Clair whose descendent, Sir William St. Clair, founded the Chapel in 1446. This tiny Catholic chapel, incomplete after forty years of labor, has remained to this day in the St. Clair family who were legendary Grand Masters of Scotland:

"The lords of Rosslyn were formerly hereditary grand masters of the Free-masons of Scotland, and as such were considered the patrons and protectors of that class of men. In a petition from them to 'Sir Wm. St. Clair' they call themselves 'deacons, masters, hammermen, and freemen of the masons.'"

By the end of the sixteenth century, with the Protestant Reformation and the persecution of Catholics and heretics in England, the chapel fell into disrepair. The situation worsened still for the St. Clairs when William of Orange landed in England in November, 1688, causing the flight of James II to France. The Chapel of St. Matthew subsequently remained abandoned until 1736, when James St. Clair glazed the windows for the first time and built a boundary wall around the stone chapel [fig. 12].

40 During the Crusades, the builder's ancestor, William de St. Clair, had died in Spain in 1330 while trying to escort the heart of Robert Bruce to the Holy Land. Note that the spelling of the chapel's name varies from Rosslin to Rosslyn, or Roslyin. For an interesting account of Gandy's influence from Rosslyn Chapel, see "Poetic Stones: Roslin Chapel in Gandy's Sketchbook and Daguerre's Diorama," by Angelo Maggi, in Architectural History, vol. 42, 1999. pp. 263-283.


42 Not until 1861 did Sunday services begin again at Rosslyn Chapel.
It may appear surprising that a Catholic chapel would display Masonic characters and symbols, until we consider the traditions of medieval operative masonry and the history of Jacobite freemasonry, with its emphasis upon Christian chivalry and the Knights Templar. Within this intimate and dimly lit interior, 'The Apprentice Pillar,' situated next to the rather plain Mason's Pillar in the south-east angle of the Chapel, is an extraordinary example of the legend of the Craft [figs. 13 & 14]. In 1744, the Bishop of Caithness, Dr. Forbes, wrote "An Account of the Chapel of Rosslyn" that Gandy would most likely have been familiar with:

"The Master Mason, having received from the Founder, the model of a pillar of exquisite workmanship and design, hesitated to carry it out until he had been to Rome or some other foreign part and seen the original. He went abroad and in his absence an apprentice, having dreamt that he had finished the pillar, at once set to work and carried out the design as it now stands, a perfect marvel of workmanship. The Master Mason on his return, seeing the pillar completed, instead of being delighted at the success of his pupil, was so stung with envy that he asked who had dared to do it in his absence. On being told that it was his apprentice, he was so inflamed with rage and passion that he struck him with his mallet, killed him on the spot and paid the penalty for his rash and cruel act."43

Supporting this legend further, the apprentice, the mother of the apprentice, and the master mason are each represented in carvings found elsewhere in the iconography of the chapel, as are the hanged man (a Tarot card symbol), over a hundred versions of the Green man, and typical medieval representations of the seven virtues along with the seven deadly sins.

Britton provided "An Essay Towards an History and Description of Roslin Chapel, Scotland" to accompany Gandy's fifteen architectural plates in the third volume. One of Gandy's meticulously drawn plates from the Architectural Antiquities is devoted solely to "Pinnacles," confirming his interest in the secrets of operative masonry in medieval building. In the case of Rosslyn Chapel, the ornamentation of the architecture provides a text in the tradition of the medieval biblia puaperum. Gandy's romantic obsession with the medieval lore associated with Rosslyn is also evident in his quoting long passages from The Lay of the Last Minstrel, by poet and freemason Sir Walter Scott.44 Following his typical practice of entering works in the Royal Academy Exhibition, Gandy exhibited his

44 Sir Walter Scott was made a Mason in Lodge St. David, No. 36, Edinburgh, in 1801.
first drawing of Rosslyn, entitled "Roslin Chapel and Castle, taken from actual
measurement on the spot," in 1807, followed by a second drawing entitled "Roslyn chapel"
which he exhibited in 1809.45

In a recent article on Gandy's recordings of Rosslyn, Angelo Maggi observes that once
Gandy returned to London with his measured drawings, he then freely composed the
studies in making the final engravings for Britton's third volume [figs. 15 & 16].46 This is
extremely telling since Gandy, like Piranesi before him, was less concerned with a prosaic
recording of the place than with the 'poetical' representation of architecture. Upon visiting
the tiny architectural jewel of Rosslyn, it is not difficult to see how the syncretic symbolism
of the chapel would have inflamed Gandy's imagination; he was already prone to
architectural dream-visions and therefore would have been drawn to the esoteric story of
the apprentice.

Several of Gandy's later watercolors, including "The Tomb of Merlin" (1815), were clearly
inspired by his visit to the intricately ornamented chapel at Rosslyn. In this painting, the
focus is generally on the interior glow of the alabaster tomb.47 However, Gandy does
portray the three pillars of the Romanesque vaults in true Rosslyn splendor; the pillar on the
far right is a direct quotation of the elaborate Apprentice Pillar with its vertical fluting

45 Gandy's sketchbook was on long-term loan to the Soane Museum (SM), by Sean McCormack.
The Soane Museum has only recently purchased it. The cover of the small travel sketchbook has
an inscription on the cover which reads: 'Roslin, Melrose, Church Lancaster, Storrs.' Clearly, the
sketchbook records Gandy's combined trips to Rosslyn Chapel and Castle, and Melrose Abbey,
with his designs for Storr's Hall on Lake Windemere for J. Bolton. As mentioned, his R.A.
exhibited watercolors of 1807 (#458) and 1809 (#325), are interspersed with designs exhibited for
Storr's Hall in 1808 (#956), and 1811 (#814). Finally, in 1815 (#799), Gandy exhibited the 'Tomb
of Merlin,' which certainly has an air of Rosslyn about it, not to mention the pillar shown. On
one of my visits to the Soane Museum, I travelled to Storr's Hall, and then on to Rosslyn. When I
returned, Margaret Richardson showed me the small original sketchbook, confirming that a
similar route was travelled by Gandy in 1806. Gandy's sketches of 'Roslin' have been published in
Angelo Maggi's article, "Poetic Stones: Roslin Chapel in Gandy's Sketchbook and Daguerré's
Diorama," which I thank Brian Lukacher for bringing to my attention.

46 Maggi's observation supports the idea that, like Piranesi before him, Gandy took liberties in
representation while composing each drawing according to his own inventione.

47 For other commentary on this painting, see Brian Lukacher, "Phantasmagoria and Emanations:
(1941). pp. 89-90. The Masonic connection between Gandy's painting and Rosslyn chapel has not
been made directly before.
contrasted against its mounting spiral carved motif [fig. 17]. Looking east towards the illuminated Lady Chapel in Rosslyn, the three pillars in the foreground of the painting progress from the most simple, an allusion to the Mason’s Pillar, to the central Journeyman’s Pillar, and finally to the most elaborate Apprentice Pillar. These pillars in Rosslyn Chapel refer as well to the three degrees in freemasonry [fig. 18]. In “The Tomb of Merlin” the continuous barrel vault of the alabaster tomb, with its five bays, also echoes the form of the interior of Rosslyn, supporting Gandy’s use of repeated motifs - like a Russian doll - within the same painting. Gandy situates the viewer looking into the interior of a church (much like Rosslyn) towards the north-east, which contains an exterior view of the sacred object in miniature that the viewer is standing within. Even the figure kneeling on the steps with his helmet beside him could be one of the St. Clairs about to embark on a crusade with the Scottish Knights Templar. Finally, a female figure (symbolic of the Lady Chapel ?) enters into the chapel from the north carrying the illumination. This narrative, that collapses Rosslyn Chapel with the tomb of Merlin, confirms the blending of Gandy’s Masonic and occult imagination from 1815 onwards, that would culminate in his even more esoteric and emblematic final watercolors.

Considering that Britton and Soane entered English freemasonry the year following the publication of The Architectural Antiquities of Great Brittain, in 1813, the connection between these three characters and the architecture of the Craft becomes increasingly complex. Through the architecture of Rosslyn, a three way relation is established between brothers Soane and Britton, and Joseph Gandy. The symbols embedded in Rosslyn Chapel certainly fueled Gandy’s architectural imagination. With Soane’s initiation into freemasonry and Gandy’s occult interests becoming more and more cultivated, both architects were becoming increasingly familiar with the Craft; their knowledge of Masonic symbolism would soon find a venue in the architectural expression of the designs for London’s Freemasons’ Hall. As Gandy’s sketches and watercolors of architecture evolved,

\[48\] It was while searching for evidence of Gandy’s name in numerous lodge books at the United Grand Lodge of England (U.G.L.E.), that I came across the return for John Britton, who most certainly would have been introduced to Grand Master’s Lodge by John Soane himself.

\[49\] Having searched several volumes of the Grand Lodge Admissions, from 1813-36, at the Freemasons’ Hall Library in London (G.S.L. 274, 1.194), lodges which admitted architects in Gandy’s day include the Egyptian, Pythagorean, Vitruvian, Temple, Jerusalem, and Tuscan Lodges, but no evidence can be found for Gandy’s entrance into the Craft. By contrast, the entries for John Soane and John Britton are clearly found in Grand Masters Lodge No. 1.
his philosophy of architecture went beyond the eclectic nature of Masonic history in favor of a syncretic and hermetic system that he alone developed in a quest to discover the divine origins of architecture. The increasing emphasis on iconography and emblems in his work would prepare Gandy as the perfect Masonic collaborator with Soane.

During the decade immediately following the unification of the two rival lodges, Soane benefited greatly through his friendship with the Duke of Sussex as patron of the Society of Freemasons. Soane held his post as Grand Superintendent of Works for twenty-four seasons, his final appointment taking place at the Annual Grand Festival on 27 April 1836. The story of the acquisition of the freemasons’ premises on Great Queen Street, Soane’s respect for Sandby’s original Masonic Hall, and his joint representations with Gandy of the new Freemasons’ Hall, will be told. But first, Gandy’s syncretic theory of trans-historical architecture, involving both Masonic and occult influences, requires further examination.
PART II: JOSEPH GANDY'S HISTORY AND THEORY OF ARCHITECTURE

Chapter 6

GANDY'S COMPARATIVE PHILOSOPHY OF ARCHITECTURE

Comparative characteristics of thirteen selected styles of architecture

Joseph Michael Gandy
Exhibited at the R.A., 1836
Courtesy of Sir John Soane's Museum, SM XP6
Chapter 6
GANDY'S COMPARATIVE PHILOSOPHY OF ARCHITECTURE

Comparative characteristics of thirteen selected styles of architecture:
one of a series of subjects intended to illustrate essays on its divine origin.
and natural model to contrast ancient emblematic fabrics
with the undesigned aspect of modern buildings:...¹

Joseph Gandy. "Comparative Architecture” 1836

...Lectures on Comparative Architecture would also be desirable.
Without these additional Lectures, the Labours of the Professor
will be still very incomplete.²

John Soane, Lecture XII

CHARACTERISTICS IN ARCHITECTURE

The main successes and failures of Gandy's professional life have been relatively
straightforward to recount. A more subtle challenge involves tracing his thoughts and
imaginings as his quest for the origins of architecture evolved; this task requires a detailed
decoding of selected watercolor paintings in conjunction with his writings on architectural
emblematics and universal symbolism over personal style. In embarking upon his quest,
Gandy confronted two of the fundamental questions in architectural theory: what are the
origins of architecture, and to what model do we give authority?

In 1821, Gandy submitted two short, dense essays entitled "On the Philosophy of
Architecture" to the editors of the Magazine of the Fine Arts.³ The second of these two
essays ends with the comment: "Your correspondents and readers must apply Mercury's
rod, to reconcile, for the present, any seeming contradictions, until they shall be explained
in a future paper,"⁴ seemingly promising a third installment which never appeared.³ In the

¹ Joseph Gandy, excerpt from the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition text for 1836, (entry # 936).
² See Appendix A at the end of this dissertation.
³ Sir John Soane, Lectures on Architecture, Lecture XII, p. 197.
⁴ Joseph Gandy, Esq., A.R.A. "On the Philosophy of Architecture," in Magazine of the Fine Arts,
Vol. 1, 1821. The articles appeared respectively in Volume 1, No. 4 (pp. 289-293) and 'Letter II,'
Volume 1, No. 5 (pp. 370-379). A third installment was announced but never appeared.
⁵ Ibid., No. 5, p. 379.
two brief essays that were published, Gandy gives the reader an overview of what he termed 'characteristics' in architecture. His notion of characteristic, as applied to architecture, was clearly distinct from style or principle, and even from Soane's understanding of model. Embedded in Gandy's notion of characteristic was the essence of a particular building manner, expressed in material form. Gandy was searching for the common characteristics among different styles of architecture in order to discover their original form or model (what Goethe would call Urformen). These characteristics in architecture were derived from a model embodying a common origin:

"The architecture of the ancient Egyptians, Hindostanese, and Persians, seems to have had but one origin. Its characteristics were overhanging bricks and stones, somewhat resembling arches and domes. The most ancient pyramidal temples of Hindostan or Jayn architecture, and the vaults in the pyramids of Cairo, have a similar construction. Such work is called 'gathering over'."

It is apparent from this passage that Gandy's notion of 'characteristic' as applied to architecture is a hybrid between a form, or forms, and a principle which, arising from a common origin, becomes specific to a particular culture with respect to climate, material, language, etc. In the late eighteenth century the term character still applied, in a general sense, to any mark that carried a meaning, whether this be letters, signs, or sounds. The mark holds within it the character of the thing which is expressed, like an abbreviation, through the symbol. For instance, the symbol for geometry was a circle with a dot in its center (⊙). Such characters were and are still used in all forms of writing, as well as in astronomy, grammar, geometry, chemistry and each of the sciences to denote specific phenomenon or principles. Gandy carries the original meaning of style as that of a mark, or character, into architectural markings, hieroglyphics, and eventually into ornament in architecture.

In dramatic poetry, character referred to "that which is peculiar in the manner of any person, and distinguishes him from all others." The idea the character of a person marked their distinguishing characteristics was a running theme throughout the seventeenth century in the theories of Charles Le Brun and other members of the Académie Royale. The future essay might have led.

---

8 See Le Brun's Conférence sur l'expression, 1698 (translated into English in 1701). For further reference to Le Brun and French theories of human expression and character as they relate to...
concept of 'Character' was the subject of a long article in Diderot and D'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* in 1751, and was subsequently extensively examined by A.-C. Quatremère de Quincy's article in the *Encyclopédie Methodique*, although the use of character was not yet used to describe the qualities of architecture. In England, the Earl of Shaftesbury spoke of characteristics in men, qualities which were now being transposed to measure and assess the qualities of architecture. Christopher Hussey notes that later Humphry Repton used the term "characteristicness" to denote that whatever a building's style, it ought "to proclaim above all its character," suggesting that a house ought to look like a house, a temple should look like a temple, and so on. The term Gandy appropriates to describe architecture is no longer character, but 'characteristics,' which relates more closely to the original meaning of a mark that conveys a concealed meaning. The mystical Gandy speaks of architecture's general characteristics as markings derived and developed from an original model.

As a formal architectural expression of a particular people as they make their mark, Gandy includes ornament as integral to the varying characteristics in architecture. Architectural characteristics thus lead to a further expression found in ornament:

"If we search for characteristics in architecture, it will be perceived the Egyptians made their walls scriptural and sculptural, pictorial and pyramidal. The Greeks simplified their designs, and substituted columns for external walls with a happy effect, derived from the chiaro-scuro of nature. To these they added acroteria roofs and pediments."[10]

While Gandy contrasts these general characteristics in order to visually refer to their common origin, he argues that as the history of architecture progressively develops, these characteristics become specific and evolve into ornament. The relationship between architectural ornament and symbol is deeply rooted, as one modern writer comments: "In ancient civilizations ornamentation often functioned not only as a decorative element but

---

9 architectural theory, see the introductory essay by Robin Middleton in the translation of Le Camus de Mézières' *Le génie de l'architecture* (Getty Center, 1992), pp. 22-25.


also with symbolic meaning. In Egypt, too, ornamentation cannot be attributed solely to an urge towards artistic style; it is far more a symbol and lifts the object, which conveys it into a higher realm... The concept of the structure of cosmic order could be indicated in ornamentation."

In the second installment of "On the Philosophy of Architecture," Gandy sets out to defend a similar idea in his theory "that all ornaments in architecture are derived from intellectual sources, and represent certain ideas in emblematical forms." This idea fits within his pursuit of determining the particular or unique characteristic of each nation's architecture. Gandy then makes a leap from the encoded nature of architecture through symbols and emblems to the notion of a universal language composed of signs and symbols. For Gandy, Egyptian hieroglyphics and other forms of ancient cuneiform characters fulfill such emblematic form, as he continues to speculate on their common origin:

"All the ornaments of architecture are geometric forms; and in mythology became one continued allegory, from the first astronomical hieroglyphics and statue gods, down to Christian virtues and heraldic devices. Scripture is full of hieroglyphic language."

The central theme that Gandy traces is that architecture 'speaks' through its language of symbol, emblem, and ornament. With regard to written language during the nineteenth century, the term character was still used to denote Greek characters, Roman characters, Hebrew characters and so on. Archaeologists and historians spoke of markings made as a translation of oral language into some form of script or graffiti, as found within Egyptian art and architecture. Gandy's philosophy of architecture expanded to include emblems, heraldry, and hieroglyphics, which he would further develop in his architectural treatise through a series of charts and diagrams attempting to infuse architecture with a universal visual language. In examining Gandy's sketches of the zodiac and of the alphabet from the Art, Philosophy, and Science of Architecture (APSA), the correspondence becomes quite clear.

---

14 Ibid., No. 5. p. 377.
15 Professor Brian Lukacher has been instrumental in identifying the worth of Gandy's treatise. The RIBA British Architectural Library (BAL) dates the architectural treatise circa 1826, but it appears Gandy continued his work in progress until the end of his life.
As an extension of the idea of character, or marking, Gandy’s theory of architecture may be interpreted as follows: the seed of architecture is contained in its original model; architecture then blossoms into various characteristics based upon local tradition and culture; and finally, pursuing a linguistic analogy, these various forms take on hieroglyphic and emblematic markings in the form of ornament. According to Gandy, architecture speaks of one continuous story which becomes particularized in each language through signs; thus the path of architecture travels from the universal origin to the particular form, expressed through emblem and symbol. For Gandy, it is in this manner that architecture speaks (architecture parlante), and may therefore be read as text, or at least as textual.

Continuing to pursue this idea in his second published essay, Gandy confirms that the artist must have knowledge of what Joshua Reynolds and John Soane termed first principles, that express themselves through the characteristics of architecture:

"Nothing can contribute more effectually to produce a general sense of the necessity of principle and character in our own architecture, than a knowledge of the characteristics of the ancient styles, and the principles in which they originated."

The Encyclopaedia Britannica of 1771 states: "Character is also used in several of the arts, for a symbol, contrived for the more concise and immediate conveyance of the knowledge of things." Some sixty years later, when Gandy was creating his last series of watercolors, character was still an accepted short-hand for the encoded symbol that would then be decoded by the initiate. Gandy’s idea that character was embedded within architecture through its characteristics suggests as well that architecture remains the science of signs and correspondences between symbols. For Gandy, the sign, or primitive marking, could be read as a microcosm (minuscule) of a much larger referent (majuscule) that has occult qualities, placing Gandy’s work quite clearly in the magic tradition.

Paracelsus convincingly argued in the sixteenth century that alchemy was the science of correspondences between microcosm and macrocosm. It is not by chance that Gandy’s last exhibited painting at the R.A., entitled “Composition of a design for the ceiling of a library,” demonstrated the library as a microcosm of the universe. Although the present whereabouts of this painting is unknown, Gandy’s accompanying text states:

---

This sketch made for our comparative architecture mentioned in the catalogue of the Royal Academy exhibition of 1836 and 1837, shows some ideas of the emblems of the zodiac, hieroglyphics, and heraldry, which led to the abbreviated marks of sound and writing, propagating information to all mankind. By combinations of two or three individual signs, they represent a second and third series, or notices of the seasons under the influence of pagan divinities.1

In the tradition of Paracelsus and Ripa, Gandy appears to have continued his belief in the power of signs through the ars combinatoria. As architecture was the bearer of meaning through signs, the zodiac was also represented through a series of twelve signs or figures. It was, and still is, common practice in astrology to speak of one's birth sign as determining many of one's characteristics - although the science of astronomy was valued as superior to that of occult astrology by the early nineteenth century.19 Gandy's theory regarding a descending order of the cosmos from the signs of the zodiac to the characteristics of architecture can be traced back to architecture's original model. Nonetheless, the correspondences between architecture and cosmos remained a mystery that Gandy unceasingly tried to unlock and decode through architectural representation.

By this stage in life, Gandy had fully articulated his role as an encoder of architectural symbols based on an occult understanding of signs.20 His method of concealing the meaning of his paintings from view made his work increasingly available only to the initiate, placing him in the role of the architect-alchemist who was responsible for bringing supernatural powers under human control. As a result, Gandy's focus on uncovering a clavis universalis for architecture continued throughout the following two decades.

TASTE AND GENIUS IN ARCHITECTURE

---

18 Joseph Gandy. Royal Academy Summer Exhibition, 1838 (entry # 1172). From the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition Catalogues.
19 The Encyclopaedia Britannica (1771) refers to "Astrology" as 'a conjectural science, which teaches to judge the effects and influences of the stars...' The simple paragraph entry ends by stating: 'This science has long ago become a just subject of contempt and ridicule.' (Volume 1, p. 433). By contrast, the essay on "Astronomy" runs some sixty-six pages (pp. 434-500), including twelve engraved Plates (xxxix-l); it covers the subject of the skies from the alignment of the planets, to tidal waves, and even includes a chronology entitled "A Table of Remarkable Eras and Events."
20 Gandy was highly aware, for instance, of Charles-François Dupuis' zodiac chart of 'Denderah,' from L'Origine de tous les Cultes ou la Religion universelle (1794), which clarified the science of signs and correspondences. From ancient astronomy to the science of alchemy, zodiac signs have remained an instance of relating the microcosm to the macrocosm through symbols.
Gandy’s essays “On the Philosophy of Architecture” address several key issues. As character was important in tracing architecture’s origins, Gandy was equally concerned with the artistic role of the maker in searching for a language of form appropriate to his own time and place. As a theorist, Gandy was conscious of the conventional notions of taste and genius; two concepts that he had been immersed in at the Royal Academy under the presidency of Benjamin West and the watchful eye of Joshua Reynolds who “expounded the hierarchy of the various types or genres of painting. He emphasized the intellectual and morally uplifting qualities of history painting, which derived its subject matter from classical mythology and ancient history as well as from the Bible.” While there is no disputing that Gandy’s early works were established on this foundation, it appears that in formulating the notion of characteristics in architecture, he was seeking to transcend the restrictive view of one dominant architectural style of the day. Common origins and national characteristics became Gandy’s concerns over the question of architectural style.

Returning to the concept of first principles and the tradition of the ‘Ancients’ that Soane and Gandy upheld, in his Discourses Reynolds espoused the view that although the artist first learns from his masters, those of genius go beyond their masters in creating original works. In Discourse VI, Reynolds makes it clear that those artists who confuse imitation with invention will not achieve greatness, since ‘genius begins where rules end.’ In the second essay outlining his philosophy of architecture, Gandy describes his hopes for the syncretic taste of Genius:

"Thus expanding the wings of architectural genius, the genuine artist soars beyond the schools of Vitruvius and Palladio, the guides and tutors of his youth... Those celebrated masters judiciously arranged a theory in art upon one particular style: it seems incumbent on the moderns to prepare a system selected from all tastes, without prepossession for or against any. The appropriate designs of ancient and modern times are placed in competition before the tribunal of our judgment: let them be canvassed publicly, and let no favoritism or patronage influence our decision. Thus the beauties of every clime and age may be selected, by modern art, with taste, judgment, and poetic conception; and an architectural union may combine a

---

21 Reynolds delivered his fifteen Discourses to the students and Academicians of the Royal Academy, between 1769 and 1790. Soane entered the R.A. in 1771 (the year of Gandy’s birth), and Gandy followed in 1789. Therefore, first Soane - and later Gandy - would have heard Reynolds’ lectures as students of the Academy.

22 Royal Academy. From Reynolds to Lawrence: the first sixty years of the Royal Academy of Arts and its Collections, edited by MaryAnne Stevens. p. 31.
variety of scattered beauties, as the sculptors of Greece ultimately fashioned their god-like statues."  

Two critical observations are made by Gandy; the first follows pure picturesque theory, where the viewer has the capacity to combine a variety of parts into a significant whole, an ideal equally embodied in an eighteenth century English garden and in the Soane Museum. The second observation, related to an 'architectural union' from ancient and modern sources, would become exemplified in Britton's Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, not published until 1827. Gandy interprets this architectural union as capable of drawing from a multitude of styles and combining them in a harmonious manner. For Gandy, as for Reynolds, the latter operation was the domain of architectural genius.

Related to this issue, and reminiscent of fellow countryman Alexander Pope, Gandy could no longer tolerate imitation of the works of other nations, believing that modern genius should develop, or evolve, its own forms. Gandy rhetorically chides the editors of The Magazine of Fine Arts regarding public taste in England:

"The majority of the learned will agree with you that many prejudices are to be overcome before a general characteristic in architecture can be adopted; the practice of raising good or even good imitations of the works of other nations is unworthy of modern genius. We abound in models, museums, and copies of originals; but have no compositions of our own. What are those who perpetually plagiarize and build their fame on purloined materials? In poetry and painting they are despised. Why are budding novelties in architecture nipped before they ripen into full blossoms."

Gandy's ambitious architectural thesis was aimed at finding common characteristics in architecture that would have universal appeal, satisfy his own beliefs in pansophy, and at the same time, represent an English architecture on a national level.

In order to explain the concept of modern genius, Gandy once again echoing the words of Reynolds, continues to pursue the relation between taste and genius beyond that of the individual, while defending his interest in various occult practices:

---

24 Gandy also shared Pope's passion for natural history. When Pope was building his grotto, he contacted Reverend William Borlase for his expertise in geology. Gandy listed Borlase's book, The Natural History of Cornwall, 1758, as one of the books to consult for his own treatise.
"The taste and genius of a nation is not confined to a single possessor; a comprehensive mind will select from all sources: and perhaps societies of builders, like the original Free Masons, the Dionysiacs of Ionia, known to each other by signs and tokens, the Cyclops of Egypt, the Titans and Giants of fabulous history, the Cuthites, their descendants, a cast of men under Hindoo and Egyptian laws, whose sons were compelled to follow the profession of their fathers, and of whom a branch settled in early Greece, and another was employed by Solomon, under Hiram, and whose minds tended to generalize art, - such societies were more likely to characterize a country, by the results of free discussion, than the jarring, isolated, interested builders, speculators, or architects of modern times, whose ideas cannot be thought to bear on one focus."**

It is here that Gandy begins to reveal architecture's operative masonry roots which upheld the long-standing tradition of trade secrets being handed down from generation to generation among members of the same guild. Gandy's mention of the original Free Masons is also not surprising given the context of the English Enlightenment, where ritual and lodge were veiled in allegory and secrecy. It is important to note that in Gandy's letters to the editors of the *Magazine of the Fine Arts* in 1821, several Masonic references are concurrent with his and Soane's early designs for Freemasons' Hall.

Another recurring theme in Gandy's writings - as well as a central allegory in freemasonry - is the analogy between the realms of the celestial and terrestrial. In attempting to describe the origin of the pyramid, tumuli, citadels and other architectural models, he concludes "that many plans in early architecture had an astronomical origin."** Later the zodiac will be discussed as a form of architectural ornament in the design of London's Freemasons' Hall.* In addition to its role as an architectural motif, the representation of the zodiac may also refer to the mapping of the Temple which takes place during Masonic rituals, relating it anagogically to dance notation, labyrinth dances, and other forms of ritual in space that traditionally demarcate sacred time. Thus, the movement of the sun across the hemisphere; the mapping of the constellations via the symbols of the zodiac; and the drawing of the lodge as a sacred template may be seen as ever telescoping graphic representations of the sacred origins of worship. On this point, Gandy directly addresses the importance of astronomy to architecture and worship in his second essay:

---

**Ibid., No. 5. pp. 292-293.
27 Ibid., No. 5. p. 375.
28 Indeed, a model of the zodiac lantern still graces the Soane Museum.
"The Ethiopians had a table of the sun, with twelve signs or gods. It was an immense altar, four cubits high, situated in a great plain. For twelve days in each year it was filled with all kinds of meats and fruits, a sanctuary where any person might go and satisfy his hunger. To this origin we may ascribe feasts and festivals, the Saturnalia, Druid, and Christian holidays. The zodiac, or golden circle of Osymandes (one of the earliest kings of Egypt), divided into 365 parts, with the engraved aspects of the stars, was an imitation of the Ethiopian altar. The statue of the king was a gnomon to this sundial."

In his quest for the sacred origin of architecture, Gandy expands his architectural history to include astronomy, emblems, hieroglyphics, and other esoteric phenomena, all employed in the service of encoding the common characteristics of architecture. Conversely, Gandy notes that each occult group had its own shaman or priest whose role was to act as the decoder of sacred signs:

"Priestly astronomers were called magi in Persia, gymnosophists in India, philosophers in Greece, sapientes in Italy, propetae and sacerdotes in Egypt, wizards among the Saxons, and thammins in Siberia."

Such occult references to the symbols of the ancient Egyptians again relates Gandy’s interests to that of C.F. Dupuis’ decoding of the circular zodiac on the doors of the Temple of Dendera, where the eighteenth century mystic observes:

"Nous trouvons un embleme, le plus naturel qu’on ait pu imaginer pour designer une tres-grande hauteur; c’est une pyramide surmontee du disque solaire, et au bas de laquelle est une image ou figure qui parait être celle du genie qui conduisait cet astre, ou d’Osiris. Le symbole est parlant; car le soleil arrive au cancer répondait presque verticalement sur le temple de Dendera et sur ce zodiaque, comme son disque répond verticalement sur la pyramide symbolique."

Gandy and Soane’s sources relating freemasonry to astronomy are seldom explicit. In architecture, however, the symbolism of light is always present in some form; one could assert along with Gandy that light in architecture has universal symbolism. For instance, Soane and Gandy knew that the symbolism of the Most Worshipful Grand Master’s throne being situated in the Masonic east was based on the allegory that enlightenment resides in the east, and that the sun moves east to west through the south. Similar references to

---

30 Ibid., No. 5, p. 378.
31 C. F. Dupuis, Abrégé de l’Origine de Tous les Cultes, 1836, p. 476.
32 The north quadrant of the Masonic lodge represents darkness (ignorance); the north-east corner of the lodge is the place where the Entered Apprentice begins his ‘orientation’ towards enlightenment.
Ptolemy, the Almighty Architect of the Universe, and correspondences between the macrocosm and the microcosm are common in the Craft. According to ancient tradition, the classical analogy between the Temple and the human body had to do with measure and proportion; this analogy was put into question by the end of the eighteenth century as the subjective cosmos gained priority.

TWO MEASURES OF COMPARATIVE ARCHITECTURE

We know that local units of measure were traditionally reflected in the architectural orders, the buildings, and the actual physical dimensions of the urban fabric. These dimensions, or ordering systems, always had their foundation in mathematics, measure, rhythm, and perfect modulation, whether found in music or in architecture. In contrast to the Imperial system, based upon the physical dimensions of the body, the metric system was devised and later adopted according to scientific calculation. This would have serious implications on the theories of measuring and representing architecture.

In 1791, when John Soane was thirty-eight, and Joseph Gandy was a young student at the Royal Academy, "the metre was historically defined by the French Academy of Sciences... as 1/10,000,000 of the quadrant of the Earth's circumference running from the North Pole through Paris to the Equator." The defining of a fundamental unit of length as an international system of measurement created a standard which overshadowed previous units of measurement originating in the parts of the human body. More precisely, in France, the introduction of a standard unit of measure symbolized the new ideal of democratic 'rule.' From the invention of the metre onwards, mensuration was no longer to be derived from Euclidean geometry. The metre would hold universal application, no longer confusing independent measuring systems with hierarchical power structure. The standard metric scale in architecture soon began to allow things of qualitatively different natures to be analyzed and compared through the 'comparative method,' - a method which held a fundamentally different meaning in anatomy or in biology than in Gandy's final mythographic use of the phrase "Comparative Architecture."

---

33 In freemasonry, this is often noted as Grand, or Great, Architect of the Universe (G.A.O.T.U.).
34 In the German medieval city of Quedlingburg, for instance, the town hall lobby still displays the scales for the Quedlingburg foot and yard, different from those of Berlin, Philadelphia, or Montreal. The New Encyclopaedia Britannica (15th edition), Vol. 8. Entry on "Metre," p. 72.
Gandy's comparative architecture theory led him to trace the origins of architecture beyond any particular style: Egyptian, Romanesque, Neo-Palladian, Neo-Gothic, Greek-revival, or any combination of these. An informative example of his desire to transcend the question of style remains a book of twenty-six watercolor sketches entitled *Designs by Joseph Gandy, ARA, Illustrating various styles of Architecture upon one Elevation.* Executed in 1826, and drawn to the same scale, each of the watercolors shows the same elevation wearing various stylistic costumes as 'cladding' [fig. 1]. At first glance it appears that Gandy is embarking upon a classic exercise of comparative architecture in the spirit of Durand; however, upon further examination of the sketchbook's annotations it becomes clear that Gandy was looking at the isolated bones of the same building elevation and then exploring its varied characteristics [figs. 2 & 3]. In this way, he was making a critical visual commentary regarding the ensuing debate on architectural style. These drawings may also be considered as preparatory sketches to larger compositions that would follow, such as "Comparative characteristics of thirteen selected styles of architecture" [ch. title page], where individual building styles are juxtaposed against one another in order to show their syncretic relation.

In contrast to Gandy's sketchbook, a further instance of the abstract rationalization associated with the metre can be found in the frontispiece to Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand's *Recueil et Parallèle Des Édifices*, published in France in 1800. As a former student of Étienne-Louis Boullée, Durand was trained as an architect and became Professor of Architecture at the École Polytechnique in Paris, where the metre had been 'invented.' According to Durand, the idea of presenting the paradigmatic models of architecture together in one folio, drawn to the same scale, would allow the student of architecture to use the 'comparative method' to his advantage [figs. 4 & 5]. The scale chosen was decidedly the metre, although the other scales subsumed by the standard 200 metre scale are shown on the frontispiece: 100 toises, 100 palmes de Rome, 500 pieds d'Espagne, 500 pieds d'Allemagne, and 500 pieds d'Angleterre. Two scales run simultaneously throughout.

---

36 Previously belonging to Soane's pupil C.J. Richardson, Gandy's sketchbook is now in the Victoria & Albert Collection. Although the book inscription states that the folio contains twenty-six drawings, there are only twenty-four studies completed; the last two drawings (no.'s 25 and 26) show preparatory regulating lines only.

37 In English, the title of Durand's treatise is translated as *Survey and Comparison of Building of All Types. Ancient and Modern*, but the complete original title offers insight regarding the intentions of the author: *Recueil et Parallèle Des Édifices De Tout Genre Anciens et Modernes, remarquables pour leur beauté, pour le grandeur, ou pour leur singularité, et dessinés sur une même echelle.*
the first sixty-three plates (which comprise a history of buildings and monuments),
indicating that Durand and his studio engravers knew that the elevations had to be twice as
large as the ichnographic representations in order to be legible [figs. 6 & 7].

Durand's method offered the total universalization of a single scale which would render all
buildings equal. The *Recueil et Parallèle* also reduced architectural representation from its
historical narrative by placing several buildings on the same page without either foreground
or background [figs. 8 & 9]. Such ongoing reductive treatment of architecture would
continue in the systematic comparisons of Julien-David Le Roy and Jean-Baptiste Séroux
d'Agincourt, and would culminate in England with Sir Banister Fletcher's world view in
the *History of Architecture on the Comparative Method* (1896). Fletcher, both architect
and freemason, outlined the madness of his own comparative method as follows:

"The analytical and comparative method adopted enables the essentials of individual
styles to be easily grasped; thus the character of Gothic is emphasized by
comparison with Classic and Renaissance architecture, a similar treatment being
followed throughout the book."  

With their functional reductionism, both Durand's and Fletcher's comparative surveys
remain at the opposite end of the spectrum from the tradition upheld in Fischer von Erlach's
*Entwurff Einer Historischen Architektur* (1721) and Gandy's "Comparative Architecture"
(1836). While Fischer and Gandy's works are synthetic and place architectural
representation within a rich imaginary context, Durand and Fletcher's works are primarily
analytic, reducing the power of representation to a series of surveyed objects at the same
scale. Although Durand and Fletcher both use the term 'comparative' to describe their
approaches towards the study of architecture, the implications of their approach towards
architectural representation is fundamentally opposed to Gandy's, making explicit the
divergent aspects of the late Enlightenment.  

---

38 Durand's comparative survey at the turn of the nineteenth century follows a reductive line of
thinking representing the more centripetal aspect of the Enlightenment. Other works which
continue Durand's formal decontextualizing include James Fergusson's *A History of Architecture
from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (1855) and Banister Fletcher's work cited below.

39 Banister Fletcher. *A History of Architecture complete for the student, craftsman, and amateur,
being a comparative view of the historical styles from the earliest period.* London, 1896. See the

40 In contrast to Durand's method, there exists another tradition employing the synthetic imagination
- more centrifugal - from Fischer von Erlach to Gandy. Aby Warburg's unfinished visual history,
entitled *Mnemosyne*, could be added to this latter tradition as well.
THE GUARDIAN NEWSPAPER ATTACKS
While Soane and Gandy shared a complex view of the history of architecture when compared with Durand, one of the underlying problems with Gandy's theory of the comprehensive mind selecting from a series of architectural styles in producing synthetic works of architecture is that it opens up the possibility of indiscriminately employing multiple styles leading to architectural eclecticism. This left both Soane and Gandy's positions open to criticism. It was publicly known, for instance, that Soane's unique architectural style was no longer in favor with certain proponents of the Greek or Gothic revivals.

The same year that Gandy published his articles "On the Philosophy of Architecture," the editors of The Guardian Newspaper conducted a viciously sarcastic review of the Royal Academy's annual Exhibition of 1821. While architects George Dance and Robert Smirke were immediately dismissed by the critics, the editors at first spoke eloquently of Soane, proclaiming:

"Mr. Soane is left the Atlas of the Architectural fame of the Academy! He stands alone, for we have long since ceased to consider the Associate Gandy as an Architect; in this case we regret it - in every other we should have rejoiced at it."41

While the editors continued their review of Soane and Gandy's submissions to the exhibition, they tried to convince the public that Soane's greatest sin was novelty, the very idea encouraged by Reynolds under the guise of Genius:

"Nature, common sense, propriety, simplicity, are all immolated to his idol - Novelty. It was most fortunate for the good taste of the county, that the knowledge of the Grecian style became general just at the time it did. It acted as an antidote to the deterious [sic] mixtures of Mr. Soane, and saved us from the scorn of the world."42

---

41 Guardian, No. 77. May 27, 1821. The article under the Fine Arts section of the newspaper was entitled "Cursory Observations on Architecture, in answer to Criticisms inserted in The Guardian Newspaper," (pages 1-3). Courtesy of Sir John Soane's Museum, SM Private Correspondence III. G.1.52. All following references to the Guardian are from this document.

42 Ibid., No. 77. May 27, 1821. In the quote, "deterious" refers to diminishing quality or character as in 'to deteriorate.'
Next, the editors slandered Gandy's collaboration with Soane, accusing him of often exhibiting unbuilt works at the Royal Academy, or worse yet, versions of projects either in their historical past or future:

"The Professor this year does not amuse us with his 'dreams,' nor treat us with superannuated designs, 'made by order.' He has turned his attention to the realities of the current time, and has furnished a design for a palace and four designs for churches; or, more correctly speaking, one design, and three variations, without any real difference."43

Writing about the slow but steady effect of the picturesque on architecture during the eighteenth century, Hussey notes: "The enfranchisement of all styles, of which Adam's own work is an example, brought about the fall of the classic tradition...The collapse left critics without a clear body of principles whereby to estimate excellence."44 Not content with placing Soane's architectural style outside of the Greek or Gothic revivals, his pursuers continue their attack:

"The arrangement of the plans is of the commonest kind: and what can be less original, unfortunately for taste, than the want of composition in the elevations? There is nothing remarkable about them but frequent violations of propriety, and a repetition of the affected and capricious forms, in the ornamental parts, which have for so long been characteristic of this Architect."45

It is difficult to imagine that the editors are referring to the architect who controlled the design of the Bank of England, masterfully composing it into a series of courtyard buildings, while adjusting the Tivoli corner and carefully arranging the stone of the blank screen wall with its series of temples resting upon a plinth.

By this stage in his illustrious career, the mature professor of architecture was less phased by such a public attack than was Joseph Gandy. With his sensitive temperament, Gandy

43 Ibid., No. 77. May 27, 1821. The drawings that the editors referred to, exhibited in 1821, were a "Bird's eye view of a design for a royal residence;" "Sketch for a Church proposed to be built in the Regent's Park;" "Sketches for a Church proposed to be built in the Regent's Park;" and "Sketch for a Church proposed to be built in the Regent's Park." The same title being used virtually three times no doubt helped to support the editors' criticism regarding lack of difference. For the "Drawings Exhibited at the Royal Academy" quoted herein, see Dorothy Stroud's Sir John Soane Architect, p. 288. In addition, Gandy had exhibited three of his own architectural drawings at the R.A. in 1821.

44 Hussey, p. 191.

45 Guardian, No. 78. May 27, 1821.
took it upon himself to write a series of five invectives to the editors of *The Guardian* who would only identify themselves by their initials, adding particular insult to injury. Along with dismissing him as an architect, which Gandy called a 'direct falsehood,' the editors had cut Gandy to the quick by criticizing his lack of real building practice, stating that "nothing would give us greater pleasure than to be convinced that his talents in the 'real,' have been as conspicuous and as splendid as they have been in the 'ideal.'"

Perhaps most harmful was that Gandy's professional credibility had been shaken by *The Guardian*. He was equally enraged by the recurring phrase 'we have long ceased to consider the Associate Gandy an architect,' claiming it to be:

"a sentence, abstractly taken, calculated to do, and tends to, a most serious personal injury, by direct falsehood, against a profession he has never ceased to study and to practice; and for the last twenty years, on a reference to the Catalogues of the Exhibitions at the Royal Academy, you will find some public or private building, designed and executed under his direction, submitted; constantly contributing to fill the walls of the Royal Academy --."#4

Gandy's published rebuttals are logical, and his command of language powerful, as he once more defends his position principally as an architect and an artist engaged in representation, adding: "however I may sometimes by malignancy be said to deviate in a strict, yet undefinable line, that would shackle the mind to one particular department of Architecture."#4 The problematic division between theory and practice addressed by Soane in his lectures may be seen as parallel to the division between the ideal and the real that the editors now provoked. Having spent his career attempting to transcend such prosaic categories as ideal versus real, Gandy the Romantic classicist vehemently responds:

"I must now correct your abstract of my works called 'impossible, imaginative.' Some of them are perfect representations of buildings now existing, others are restorations, and all are compositions from the remains of antiquity, and other authorities; so are two out of three drawings, not 'four,' made from Mr. Soane's collection, now in his Museum...All those with poetic effect I dare any professed Architect at your elbow to prove impossible to build; not one would cover that vast

---

*Guardian*, No. 78. June 3, 1821. Note that until 1903, Academicians and regular contributors to the Royal Academy annual exhibition could submit up to eight works. Since that time, Academicians are allowed six works while non-members are limited to three entries. See Eric Shane, *The Genius of the Royal Academy*, p. 7.

*Guardian*, No. 78. June 3, 1821. This marks Gandy's first response to the editors.
and extensive space the Eastern nations have performed; nor is there any part without consideration to the plan and possibility."

Gandy did not shy away from the public criticism which undermined the very foundation of his training at the Royal Academy, or misconstrued his profound understanding of architectural representation as the art of the possible. He also remained clear about his own metier as an architect in the Vitruvian and Renaissance traditions; studying and practicing the fine arts and the building sciences in a manner that explored the various departments of Architecture, responding:

"nor ought we to consider less of antient and modern Architects because they were and are painters or sculptors, and practiced in many sciences at the same time. If the author had said I was not a speculating builder he would have been more correct. Fabricators, or Fabrick-caterers, are infinite; for the definition of Architect, vide Vitruvius,..."*

Gandy's arguments above also clarify that his imaginative compositions were presented as 'possible constructions,' displaying a high level of understanding of the idea of design (disegno).** However, such pleas to consider the complexities of architectural representation fell on deaf ears. During his fourth and fifth responses to the newspaper, Gandy's style of writing becomes more fragmentary and virtually aphoristic: "The genius of Literature and art, like the bee, depends not on one flower for honey, but sips from all;"*1 "Genius will seek more into nature and into itself for resources, rather than travel, only to strut in borrowed plumes;"*2 and further in the text, "England is an Architectural warehouse, where ignorance, and the self-elected Architect and Critic select parts for patterns, while Genius is neglected, he broods, soars, and waits for another generation."*3

These fragmented passages demonstrate that Gandy felt his own talent had not been properly recognized, first at the Royal Academy, and subsequently by sneering critics who dismissed him as a practicing architect. How far he had descended from the heights of the

---

48 Ibid. This is from Gandy's second response published on the same page, simply dated June, 1821.
49 Ibid., June, 1821 (second response).
51 Guardian, June, 1821 (fourth response).
52 Ibid., June, 1821 (fifth response).
53 Ibid., June, 1821 (fifth response).
grand tour, where his youthful visions of becoming an architect of acclaim, full of talent and imagination, now led him to be defending his theories regarding the philosophy of architecture to a small band of, what he considered, unimaginative critics.

In 1820, the year prior to the Guardian attacks, Soane had submitted to the annual Academy exhibition a Gandy watercolor that displayed several of his own designs in a single image entitled, "Architectural visions of early Fancy, in the gay morning of youth; and dreams in the evening of life" [fig. 10]. Ironically, at age fifty, Gandy's own gay morning of youth was gradually turning towards a bitter twilight. True to his invocation of 'Genius' that would await another generation, Gandy increasingly turned inward while continuing to develop his own emblematic language of architectural ciphers. Later emblematic compositions, such as "Architecture; its natural model," would draw heavily upon natural philosophy, while "Architecture - an emblematic sketch" [ch. 8 title page] presents an encoded architecture related to universal religion borrowed from numerous occult sources.

Having suffered the attacks of mediocre critics and style mongers throughout his career, Gandy's prescient "Comparative Architecture" watercolors would indeed have to await future generations to uncover their poetic and imaginative contribution to architectural theory.
Chapter 7

THE ART, PHILOSOPHY, AND SCIENCE OF ARCHITECTURE


Page from the treatise with emblems showing the ark, etc.

Joseph Gandy, A.R.A.
The Art, Philosophy, and Science of Architecture, p. 228
Courtesy of the RIBA Library, London

131
Chapter 7

THE ART, PHILOSOPHY, AND SCIENCE OF ARCHITECTURE

God has given us but weak understanding,
and causes us to draw conclusions sometimes totally
incompatible with his divine Sense.¹

Joseph Gandy, 1807

A PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE APSA

Throughout the 1820's and 1830's Gandy worked on a history of architecture, entitled the Art, Philosophy, and Science of Architecture (APSA), that has never been published. Unlike Soane's Lectures on Architecture, Gandy's immense treatise never progressed beyond the state of a pen and ink manuscript written in longhand. The existing volumes of the manuscript indicate that the original work was a vast compendium of over 2,500 pages, "covering a multitude of topics from the art, science, history and philosophy of architecture to astrology, furniture, heraldry, hieroglyphics, painting, perspective drawing and sculpture."² The bound volumes are marked on their spine in a series from Volume I to VII,³ although Gandy also refers to them as Books I through VII in the 'List of Contents.' The RIBA library in London now holds Volumes I, V, and VI, along with a thin, similarly bound unmarked volume.⁴ Gandy's notes suggest that he intended an eighth volume as a

² This quote is taken from the RIBA library entry for Gandy's treatise, the Art, Philosophy, and Science of Architecture (APSA), circa 1820's. RIBA BAL: Ref. GaFam/2-4.
³ An obvious error occurs in Volume I, page 297, under the section entitled 'Caverns and Excavations.' Gandy marks this section Book 2nd, however, in the 'List of Contents' this section is still part of Volume I. This marking of the beginning of the second book within the first volume is most probably a Gandy error, for the first volume ends on an unmarked page facing page 361, close to the pagination listed in the 'List of Contents.' The volume also contains an important section on "Babylonian, Abyssinian and Chaldean Architecture" which should accord with page 333 in Book 1. Further on in the same volume, an essay on "Persian or Median Architecture" runs from pages 356 to 362, which coincides with the correct pagination listed in this volume.

The modern definitions are: Chaldean: Chaldaios (Greek), an astrologer. One of an ancient Semitic people that formed the dominant element in Babylonia...the indigenous Semitic language of the Chaldeans, Aramaic being used as an auxiliary language...pertaining to astrology, occult learning, etc.; Median: of or pertaining to Media, the Medes, or their language...a Mede... the Iranian language of ancient Media, contemporaneous with Old Persian (1595-1605).

⁴ The extant volumes of the Art, Philosophy, and Science of Architecture include Volumes I, V, and VI, along with a rather thin ancillary volume; missing are Volumes II, III, IV, and VII. Volume I (Books 1 and 2: pp. 1-362) begins with a "Preface" (pp. i-vii) followed by Gandy's main summary entitled a "General Outline and History of Architecture" (pp. 1-48); Volume V...
'General Index;' whether he ever produced this is open to speculation, but seems highly unlikely due to the incomplete nature of the fragments which remain.

The structure and intention of such a complex and enigmatic work needs to be described in some detail. To begin, the three remaining volumes are difficult to study although they do reveal that the document was under constant revision as a work in progress. These volumes are backed in vellum and composed of various types of paper (including ledger, lined, and watercolor) which were then stitched together. Many passages and multiple pages are entirely scratched out while numerous errors require detective work in order to be decoded. Pagination is often non-sequential; some pages are scribbled over or torn out and several volumes have additional pages inserted which differ from the original watermarked paper in use the majority of the time.5 Other pages are listed twice while substantial newly written sections are placed between paginated ones, making the order of the manuscript extremely hard to follow.6 One of the first noticeable inconsistencies in the MS. is the way the 'List of Contents' at the beginning of the treatise differs from the 'List of Contents' on the back cover of Volume I which records a total of eight books, including a final book labeled the 'General Index.' In this second list, the contents of each book begins with different pagination from the 'List of Contents' on the title page. As an instance of this mismatch contains (Book 4: pp. 1449-1815); and Volume VI contains (Book 6: pp. 1817-2098). The Supplementary Volume, which begins on page 2395, is largely scratched up with text crossed out, presumably by the author. Although this next list does not correspond to the one just cited (except for Book 6), following the outline of the 'List of Contents' recorded in Volume I, the seven books of the APSA were as follows: Book 1, pp. 1-374 (preface to Book 1 is the implied first page); Book 2, pp. 375-708; Book 3, pp. 709-1080; Book 4, pp. 1081-1448; Book 5, pp. 1449-1816; Book 6, pp. 1817-2098; and Book 7, p. 2099 onwards, exceeding 2,500 pages, although the final page remains unknown due to the lost final volume. Clearly, the two lists differ, so I have empirically followed the existing volume page numbers.

Some of the paper is watermarked W. Warren, 1837. The volumes, in vertical format, measure approximately 8" x 12 3/4" (Other pages measure 7 3/4" x 12 5/16"). Brian Lukacher notes that the watermarks of the volumes vary from 1821, 1826, 1833, and 1837; noting that the first ten pages of Volume I has an 1833 watermark. See B. Lukacher’s article “Gandy and the Mythography of Architecture, JSAH (September 1994), fn. 14, p. 283.

Further hints that Gandy's treatise is much more a work in progress than a completed manuscript include pages 1762 to 1801 having been totally scratched out in pen. The same type of editing occurs between pages 1805 to 1809. Volume VI begins with the 'Preface to Book 6th,' followed by an essay on 'Commercial Buildings or Civil Architecture' (commencing on page 1817). This also correctly corresponds to the 'List of Contents' in the first volume. The final section in this book is on the subject of 'Baths' (ending on page 2098).
between volume and book. Volume V of the treatise begins with a 'Preface to the Builders Practice Book 4th.'

Adding to the incomplete quality of the treatise is the fact that Gandy drew numerous illustrations on onion skin paper, often on less than full size sheets, that have been loosely inserted into the volumes by the author at strategic points in order to illustrate textual explanations. These appear often to be study sketches for Gandy as he draws the architecture, heraldry, chevron, or hieroglyph described in words. All these factors contribute to the APSA reading as a first draft for a history of architecture rather than a synthesized or edited document intended for publication.

The inscription on the title page of Volume I suggests Gandy may have intended the seven volumes of the treatise to mirror the numerology of the story of creation as told in the Book of Genesis:

"To imitate the works of God and create a new world it is necessary to comprehend the Pansophy of the one we live in."9

While studying this sentence in the original MS., I noticed that Gandy clearly erased a word which had previously occupied the space of the word 'pansophy;' perhaps the word 'philosophy,' or even 'design' had been previously used. His final choice of the word pansophy, indicating universal knowledge or wisdom, more precisely describes the intention of his vast synthetic work as an attempt to find the common source, or origin, of world architecture. Such a trans-historical, meta-stylistic, and syncretic view of architecture could only be achieved through a world view involving pansophy; a view that the rational and scientific thinking of the late English Enlightenment was abandoning.

---

7 This disjunction is most likely a typographical error by Gandy, since further on in the volume, the section on 'Doors' (beginning on page 1449), coincides with the 'List of Contents' for Book 5, not Book 4.
8 Since these illustrations are not generally bound within the text, but sit freely interspersed throughout, they may no longer be in their original locations. The first time that I saw the treatise in 1995, the illustrations (often executed on onion thin paper) were loosely interlaced with the volumes. Since that time, the unbound illustration sketches have been separated out and placed in plastic archival sleeves for conservation purposes. They now remain stored with the treatise in its three boxes.
9 Gandy, APSA, Volume I, title page (unpaginated).
As the title of the treatise indicates, the *Art, Philosophy, and Science of Architecture*, was for Gandy both an art *and* a science whose philosophy was driven by a search to uncover the unknowable first forms, or common origins, of architecture:

"It is the intention of the author if life is prolonged to make sketches &c. of every object mentioned in this work, to make clear that which words cannot express."\(^{10}\)

Gandy's intention suggests that he would attempt to go beyond the literary style of Soane's *Lectures on Architecture*. This is consistent with the fact that Gandy's preferred form of expression remained visual representation. His desire to produce a visual history of architecture where text and image would become one continuous narrative in true emblematic form foreshadows his later project, "Comparative Architecture," where he would visually approximate the concept of Soane's architectural museum. Gandy's analogy between the treatise and the museum are further disclosed in the *APSA* inscription:

"These Books still contain the crude material of a system of architectural art and science, much may be abridged and polished like the collection of an immense Museum,..."\(^{11}\)

Brian Lukacher notes that Gandy had proposed his own museum project in Volume VI of his treatise; not surprisingly a 'pansophic' museum to house "a very extensive collection fit to adorn the Metropolis of a great Kingdom."\(^{12}\) Gandy's imaginary museum was intended to "encompass the natural world, from mineral and fossil cabinets to exotic gardens and menageries, the museum housing everything from libraries, sculpture galleries, and art academies, to anatomical theaters, mechanical demonstrations, and global panoramas."\(^{13}\) In essence, this would be a theater of the world whose prototype could be traced back to the collections housed in the Ark of Noah.

According to the 'List of Contents,' the seventh and final volume, now lost, would have included a chronology of ecclesiastical architecture covering churches, memorials, tombs.

---

\(^{10}\) Gandy, *APSA*, Volume I, inside front cover (unpaginated).

\(^{11}\) Ibid., inside back cover (unpaginated). Gandy clearly conceived of his treatise as an encyclopedic system in enlightenment terms. Rather than adopt a classification system according to historical chronology, or building style, or type, he chose his own open ended relational structure.


\(^{13}\) Ibid., p. 296. Lukacher gives the museum prospectus reference as the *APSA*, Volume 6, p. 2088.
cemeteries and even sarcophagi. Volume VII (or Book 7) was devoted to castles and military architecture, along with the history of hospitals, prisons, colleges and schools. The crowning glory to the treatise's final volume was meant to be an account on 'Palaces,' one of Soane and Gandy's favorite imperial and architectural subjects. Here and elsewhere in his writings, Gandy interprets the Ark of Noah as the seed of the astrological observatory, the temple, and the palace.

ARCHITECTURE'S ORIGINAL MODEL

Many of the key underlying themes in the Art, Philosophy and Science of Architecture are found in the introductory essay of Volume I, entitled a "General Outline and History of Architecture," where Gandy compiles his history of the origins of architecture. The forty-eight page essay is a concise 'sacred history' gleaned from a variety of classical sources, including a bibliography of books to consult, the Old Testament, ancient authors including Josephus, Maimonides, Pausanias, and Pliny, a large number of nineteenth century mystical and occult sources, and Gandy's own extensive knowledge of architecture. Not uncommon, Gandy begins his narrative with a date important to Masonic history, 4004 BC:

"Adam called the first man whose name signifies red earth for true virgin earth is red, and Eve another word for spring, Moses says they formed a [haven] and cultivated a Garden ... when driven from Eden it is said he raised a shelter for rest and invented many things."

Beginning with Adam as the first architect, and running from Noah through Shem to Nimrod, the history of architecture and of human settlements run parallel, including the

14 The account on 'Palaces' begins on page 2497, or page 2545, depending on which index is given authority. The final unmarked volume is not sequentially paginated in the same manner as the preceding volumes. Thin in comparison to the others, it contains an essay on 'Defenses and Military Architecture,' (commencing on page 2395), but soon the pagination stops. Some pages in this volume are torn or cut out, many pages are scribbled over, and still others, such as the last section on 'Battle Places from 519 AC to 1642,' are marked by a large diagonal line, scratching out the chronological text from the top right to the bottom left of each page. This last section, from page 175 onwards, suggests that it has been inserted from another source since it does not follow typical pagination. I feel that this volume lies outside the main body of Gandy's treatise, and does not represent one of the original seven books comprising the APSA.

15 Gandy, Magazine of the Fine Arts, p. 374.

16 The Encyclopaedia Britannica of 1771 lists the creation of the world as 4007 BC, following Mr. Bedford and Mr. Kennedy (Vol. I, p. 495); in the sixteenth century James Ussher put forward 4003 BC as a creation date. In freemasonry, Anno Lucis takes 4000 years (i.e. 2003 AD = 6003 AL). Gandy, APSA, Volume I. p. 1.
founding of Babylon, which Gandy observes "became most famous, and many splendid cities were built from its model in the succeeding ages..."18 Although it is virtually impossible to categorize Gandy's religious affiliations, the occult architect recounts the history of architecture from its mythical origins after the Fall and continues to trace the genealogy of architecture from its first shelter:

"After the fall Adam's numerous and wandering descendants dwelt in caves, woods, and hovels, hunting was their occupation and the skins of the beasts sacrificed..."19

Rather than acknowledging Adam and Eve as humankind's symbolic parents, Gandy begins with the postdiluvian world, stating that "Noah and his wife were the Parents of Mankind."20 This line dividing the antediluvian from postdiluvian worlds runs consistently throughout Gandy's writings and allows him to establish the moment when the original model of architecture makes its appearance.

In several of his drawings, Gandy evokes the legend of Noah through the depiction of the arca noae at its resting place21 atop Mount Ararat in present day eastern Turkey. The importance of Noah's ark for Gandy is visible in the paintings which comprise "Comparative Architecture," where all three representations include the presence of the ark as architecture's sacred model, supporting Gandy's observation that "Temples and oracles took the ark as a model."22 The relation between the ark and cave dwellings, such as Elephanta or Fingal's cave, was of continual interest to Gandy as he traces the progress of civilization through the descendants of Noah; literally descending to the great plains from the shelter of mountain ranges such as the Himalayas. Once again, the ark provides the model for dwelling:

---

18 Ibid., Volume I, p. 7.1
19 Ibid., Volume I (unpaginated: between p. 1 and p. 1.2). Ref. GaFam/2.4. The pagination in this section of Volume I, "General Outline and History of Architecture," is irregular. Gandy only numbers the right hand page: due to revisions, the early right hand page numbers are (1, 1.2, 3, 3.1, 5.1, and 7.1), while left hand pages are not numbered. From page 9 onwards, right hand pages are numbered consistently (9, 11, 13, 15...) which allows the reader to deduce the left hand page numbers. Therefore, citing early pages in this section remains difficult. In discussion with the RIBA Library archivist, Jane Collings, I have chosen to indicate the page location between numbered pages.
20 Ibid., p. 213.
21 According to Gandy, the name Noah was derived from Hebrew meaning 'rest.'
22 Gandy, APSA, p. 292.
"The ark a model for caverns in all alpine countries, retained settlers around it, with huts and tumuli &c. for the living and dead, this assemblage was imitated by those who descended to the plains whose efforts were pyramidal rivaling in [greatness] heights and extent those objects they had left...."23

For Laugier, the first model of architecture remained the primitive hut composed of four posts forming a square in plan, an entablature, and a pediment [fig. 1]. For ‘Speculative Masons,’ the Temple of Solomon constituted the first permanent and divinely instructed edifice. For Gandy, time and again the Ark of Noah was considered the original model of architecture, marking the watershed moment between antediluvian and postdiluvian epochs, and thus the source of architecture’s sacred origins. Gandy asserted that the "antediluvian world left no records of its buildings;"24 therefore the origins of recorded architecture coincide with the building of the ark:

"The ark built by Noah was held together by scientific carpentry, clearly defined in the description of it: it became a sacred model and a traditionary image, impressed on the minds of the successive descendants of Noah."25

Noah and the ark remain Gandy’s precedent not only for architecture, but for the sacred remains of civilization that would have otherwise perished in the Deluge. "Josephus says the ark was built near Babylon of cypress, cedar, or jasper wood and they pitched it with bitumen both inside and without and formed numerous cabins within."26 With this reference, the ark may be also be credited as the first cabinet of curiosities, containing a museological collection of wonders, while at the same time be interpreted as a sacred relic itself.27 Gandy remained true to his belief in the sacred nature of the Ark of Noah as both relic and reliquary: "Those who made pilgrimages to the ark broke pieces of the bitumen from it from which they made amulets and wore them to avert evil."28 According to Gandy’s symbolic history, the relics of the ark became the origin of bodily decoration, such as the talisman. At the same time, descendants of Noah led humanity to the knowledge of building ornament as they:

23 Ibid., “General Outline and History of Architecture,” p. 45.
24 Gandy, Magazine of the Fine Arts, p. 372.
25 Ibid., p. 372.
26 Gandy, APSA, Volume I (unpaginated: between p. 1.2 and p. 3). Ref. GaFam/2.4.
27 On its physical dimensions, Gandy notes that the “plan of the ark was 1/6 of its length, the height 2/3 of the width in the end elevation, the side was 1/10 of its length. From the APSA, Volume I (unpaginated: between p. 1.2 and p. 3). Ref. GaFam/2.4.
28 Ibid., p. 9.
"exerted their skill in sculpture and architectural ornaments, inventing, they chiseled their celestial zodiac emblems of which they might have had some traces left in the ark, these sculptures and pictorial decorations would be adapted to the nature of such stony observatories afterwards."

The symbolic relationship between knowledge and architecture also connects to the sacred origins of language. There are numerous accounts of how humans came to acquire various types of knowledge from the gods; from the archetypal Promethean fire to the invention of writing, music, and architecture. According to the Book of Enoch, the first language was thought to be guarded by angels, and the transmission of knowledge to humans was considered potentially sacrilegious when revealing secrets from divine sources. Gandy’s obsession with the antediluvian world is an example of his search for the divine common origins of things. Gandy notes two descendants of Cain who practiced the arts of invention: Jubal who ‘invented the harp and music’ and Tubal Cain ‘who suggested the art of forging.’ The secrets of invention which Noah took on board his construction therefore took on symbolic significance, for they were the only remaining connection to the lost antediluvian world.

Following a different allegorical narrative to that of Solomon building his earthly temple, Noah’s mythology derives its origins from that of the waters of the Flood. While embarking on his watery pilgrimage, Noah would have had to navigate the ark according to the heavenly constellations, naming the signs of the zodiac as he sailed. Different as well from the symbolism associated with Eden, or the Fall, Gandy develops a navigational connection between architecture and the ark, where traces of the zodiac symbols would have issued forth [fig. 2]. Gandy cites ancient worship, from the Chaldeans to the Egyptians, that appears to have been centered around star gazing which was soon expressed through the signs of the zodiac - in characters, and in the form of celestial observatories - in temples. Gandy’s interest in Chaldean astronomy and the meaning of

---

29 Ibid., p. 9.
30 Ibid., Volume I (unpaginated: between p. 1 and 1.2). Joseph Rykwert mentions the same two characters, along with the crafty artificer Daedalus and the inventor of the alphabet, Palamedes in On Adam’s House in Paradise, p. 16.
31 On the subject of the Pillars of Seth, Lukacher comments: ‘Gandy was stirred by accounts of such legendary monuments as the antediluvian columns of Seth, which were to have been inscribed with all of the sacred and scientific knowledge known to man, bridging the two epochs separated by the Great Flood.’ See Brian Lukacher, “Joseph Michael Gandy: The Poetical Representation and Mythography of Architecture,” Ph.D. Dissertation, p. 206.
zodiac emblems would have an opportunity to express itself in the design of the zodiac lantern for Freemasons’ Hall, where John Soane and he would bring together the two concepts of the temple and the ark as a microcosm of the heavens.

Astral and astrological references to the position of the stars, as they relate to the forms of early worship, were not uncommon to nineteenth century occult philosophy or to Gandy’s history of architecture as he weaves Noah, the first chronicler, into his narrative:

"The place of the ark was an observatory for astronomy in which Noah (whose name signifies resting) and his descendants studied and lived, they taught the first [mode] of keeping chronology..."32

As Gandy looks towards the ark on Mount Ararat, and beyond the ark towards the starry heavens, the evolution from ark to observatory marks a parallel passage from astronomy to the mapping of the zodiac’s symbols upon the earth. Later on in Gandy’s narrative, the ark becomes the prototype for both the observatory and the temple:

"The children of Seth pursued agriculture and were given to devotion, viz. the study of the stars or astronomy hence they were called sons of God. Moses says they were also the [protectors] of writing and letters, their descendants mistook the symbols of the stars for God, hence that Idolatry commenced which infected them and which Noah knew.”33

Gandy continues to establish a formal relationship between the ark and the stupa or pyramid, as a means of carrying forward the memory of the original model into architecture. The form of the ark atop the mountain is akin to the primeval observatory on the platform summit of the stupa. Lukacher has identified the connection between Gandy’s theory and G.S. Faber’s work, The Origin of Pagan Idolatry (1816), where the ark shown in one of Faber’s plates appears quite clearly to have influenced Gandy’s visual imagination [fig. 3]. As the first temple and original place of worship, the ark subsequently generated the idea of the sacrificial altar according to Gandy’s evolution of form:

"From the time of Noah religious ceremonies were performed on altars of earth on the tops of hills and mountains, and such were those of Cain and Abel before him, and such were the seven altars of Balsam. In the woods and plains they celebrated festivals amongst close trees or in walled places destined for prayers and sacrifices,

32 Gandy, APSA, p. 3.

140
a view of the sky from all parts, they were the first kind of open temples, but being
found inconvenient in bad weather they added a covered cell or Adytum sometimes
using a cavern where their heroes were buried.”34

In his Lectures on Architecture, Soane made mention of a similar genealogy:

"Noah likewise immediately after the Flood, was directed to raise an Altar to
commemorate that great event; and such was the high estimation in which our Art
was held in those early periods of the World that Bezaleel and Aholiab, two of the
most ancient Artists mentioned in Holy Writ, are there to be endowed by the great
Creator of the Universe with all kinds of knowledge useful to Mankind."35

Gandy’s syncretic religious beliefs would appear to align him with the followers of Noah
as well as with Christian deists. At the turn of the seventeenth century, the poet John
Dryden commented that 'Deism, or the principles of natural worship' were 'only the faint
remnants or dying flames of revealed religion in the posterity of Noah.'36 By the late
eighteenth century, deists were considered those "persons in Christian countries, who,
acknowledging all the obligations and duties of natural religion, disbelieve the Christian
scheme, or revealed religion."37 What can be said with certainty is that Gandy’s writings
repeatedly refer to a Supreme Being, and that he believed the origins of architecture issued
from a divine source.

Gandy goes on to identify Noah’s ark not only as the original model for the temple, the
altar, and the observatory, but also as the seed that engendered fortifications and even
menagerie. In The History of Freemasonry, Albert Mackey notes that in eighteenth century
Masonry, there were "two classes or lines of Masons, the one descending from the Temple
of Solomon, who were called Hiramites, and the other tracing their origin to Noah, who

34 Ibid., p. 19.
35 Soane, Lectures on Architecture (Lecture VII), p. 120.
36 OED (2nd edition), entry on 'Deism,' p. 405.
37 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1771. Vol. II, entry on 'Deists,' p. 413. The author goes on to divide
deists into four groups, each believing in a Supreme Being; however, he argues that the only true
deists are those who believe in the existence of a Supreme Being, "together with his providence in
the government of the world, as also the obligations of natural religion; but so far only as these
things are discoverable by the light of nature alone, without believing any divine revelation."
These views would seem consistent with Gandy's enlightenment beliefs. Other references to this
issue include: Chevalier Ramsay’s The Travels of Cyrus, to which is Annexed a Discourse upon
the Theology and Mythology of the Ancients, London (1728); and Daniel P. Walker’s The Ancient
Theology, studies in Christian Platonism from the 15th to the 18th centuries, London (1972).
were styled Noachites." This distinction equally applies to Soane the architect and freemason, who spoke of the model of the Temple of Solomon, and to Joseph Gandy the self-styled Noachite and occultist.

Gandy’s insistent tracing of architecture to its primordial roots led him far beyond the chronological time of the Temple of Solomon to the Ark of Noah, which he believed to represent the first model of civil and naval architecture. For Gandy, the ark was metaphorically the seed from which all architecture (civil, military, and naval) was derived. One may wonder why Gandy did not evoke the remaining divine archetypal model of dwelling, the Garden of Eden, which symbolizes the conditions of pre-architecture. Although Paradise remains the prototype for earthly dwelling according to Genesis, it was not relevant to Gandy’s theory that architecture was derived from an artificial - not a natural - construction.

THE GENESIS OF NATURAL FORMS AND MATERIALS
Gandy’s version of the genesis of architecture according to the APSA may be summarized as follows: Beginning in Eden, Man moved from land (Paradise) to water (the Deluge) and then to complete the cycle, moved once more from water to land via the ark. Then, from atop the mountains following the Flood, Man originally sought shelter in caves, and only gradually descended to the valleys and forests. Certain tribes used these natural formations, such as excavated caves for sacred temples, as prototypes for dwelling:

"In our course around the world a source is traced for the origin of architecture in the long chain of mountains surely surrounding the globe called generally the Tartarian, and in Hindostan the Himalay[an] heights reaching to Caucasus &c..."

In the next phase of development, before tracing the settlement patterns formed as a result of architecture’s first model, Gandy imagines that "Architecture had three origins or three materials to guide its works in its origin viz. the rocky mountains the muddy plains and the wood forests." After the Deluge, and according to Gandy’s natural formation of

---

38 Albert Mackey, History of Freemasonry, p. 409. (unabridged version). Joseph Rykwert points out that the group called Noachites existed only in French freemasonry.
39 For a different view of the potential origins of architecture, see Joseph Rykwert’s evocative study, On Adam’s House in Paradise, 1972.
40 Gandy, APSA, p. 11.
41 Ibid., p. 27.
architecture, the first materials encountered would have been stone from the mountains, mud used for bricks, and wood used as timber, supplying mankind with natural building materials.

Having begun with the ark, Gandy continues to develop his own natural history through the tracing of the evolution of architecture’s original models. In contrast to Soane’s triad of Civil, Military, and Naval Architecture, Gandy’s triad of mountains (cave), earth (hut), and forests (temple) is based upon the natural materials for architecture, and their corresponding archetypal forms. While the cave and the clearing in the forest are two variations on the primitive temple which sprang from the original model of architecture, through the course of time, Gandy argues that cave dwellings were replaced by primitive temples built of wood or huts built of mud. In Gandy’s account of the genesis of architecture and the subsequent array of cultures which blossomed upon initially issuing from the ark of Noah, he restates an important distinction between general principles and particular characteristics:

"philosophy says every nation or climate determines its own architecture, much depends on the manners customs and dietetic wants, and much on the atmosphere and soil they cultivate and the inculcated ideas of their leaders...."44

Having established architecture’s original model and its equally sacred natural materials and forms, Gandy’s introductory essay of the APSA, entitled a “General Outline and History of Architecture,” sets out to discuss the rise and progress of the numerous styles which sprung from the seed of architecture. One original aspect of Gandy’s vision of architectural history is that it encompasses the globe, moving from mountain ranges and geographic conditions across both western and eastern cultures in an attempt to be inclusive of all styles or characteristics:

"in tracing the history of Architecture it will be observed that all nations point to some prior state or to some model from whence architecture had its beginning; Babylonia cannot have risen all at once to perfection and greatness in building, she

---

42 In various articles, Brian Lukacher lists some of Gandy’s influences regarding natural history, including: George Faber’s The Origin of Pagan Idolatry (1816), J.A. Coussin’s Du Génie de l’Architecture (1822), Simeon Shaw’s Nature Displayed in the Heavens and on the Earth (1823) and James Rennie’s Insect Architecture (1830); to which I would add Erasmus Darwin’s The Temple of Nature: or, the Origin of Society (1803).

43 Soane, Lectures on Architecture, p. 17.

44 Gandy, APSA , p. 10.
must have arisen by degrees and these must have been [cogitated] in the mind to produce the wonderful and [perspective] science and art there displayed..."45

In all cultures, Gandy’s prime interest lay in tracing the history of each style back to its original model. Following ancient chronology, Gandy shows how the Egyptians influenced the Greeks who in turn influenced the Romans:

"It was the Egyptians and Phoenicians who first taught the Grecians to build cities, cloth themselves, and live in a state of regulated society who gave them their religious ceremonies worship and sacrifices. The priests of Greece were always intimately connected with those of Egypt. When cavern worship ceased under Sesostris and was fixed in their temples, Greece followed the example, and she erected those [crude] open temples with columns called Doric buildings with shrines and small chambers dedicated to their deities, nearly similar in form to the portable tabernacle of Moses."46

Gandy inevitably returned to the divine origins of architecture, a theory which enabled him to develop novel forms of architectural representation. In lengthy passages which rely on many borrowed authorities, Gandy follows the evolution of architecture across Egypt, Babylonia, Chaldea, Egypt and Rome, until he arrives at Gothic architecture:

"It is said the beginning of Gothic is traceable in Italy before the Roman architecture declined, the manner of building between the time of Augustus and Adrian are remarkable for a rigid and manly plainness, the distinct characters of the three orders are preserved with some degree of purity."47

In this section of the treatise, one can begin to connect Gandy’s logic to paintings such as “Comparative characteristics of thirteen selected styles of architecture” where the various characteristics, or styles, of architecture are placed within an overall comparative composition. However, in order to grasp Gandy’s general theory, one need only refer to a stream of consciousness passage where the visionary of sacred history (i.e. mythology) metaphorically reveals his entire philosophy of architecture:

"Let truth be in the above remarks, that the seed of Architecture was preserved in the ark, from whence it was planted and nourished in the rocky Alps. Sometimes scattered in vallies near rivers amongst men who cherished it for its usefulness and as society improved its stems, fibres, and buds appeared still weak and sickly [...]. Egypt and Indostan brought the plant to full vigour and strength, transplanted in

45 Ibid., p. 47.
46 Ibid., p. 29.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
Greece it blossomed and produced fruit ripe and delicate, when the Romans transplanted it into the soil of Italy it degenerated although sometimes signs of convalescence appeared and kept it alive through many ages, it was at length rudely trampled in the dust and mangled as it was, Falconetti [sic] Palladio’s master, and both gave some tokens they would revive its remains, alas! the plant was too much exhausted to refLOURISH in its antient pristine splendour and beauty, the povery of mind in modern nations are unequal to the task, they have first to gather their dormant seeds amongst the ruins of many Empires, and if not fitted for these times Genius must nurse or propagate its roots with a mind congenial with the [tree] of inculcation and begin a new epoch in Architecture.49

It is poignant that Gandy’s analogy between the plant of architecture and the seeds of a ‘genus’ had begun with the antediluvians in Eden, then emanated from the ark of Noah in the postdiluvian world, and was presently residing within the author’s Genius. Gandy’s version of the origins of architecture makes the APSA a repository, or encyclopedia, of sacred history related to the continuous rise and fall of architecture through all of its florid characteristics. For Gandy, in the apple was the seed; and in the seed, the divine Primum Mobile. This gave ultimate meaning to architecture that transcended the battle of the styles.

WORD AND IMAGE

We know that artists and architects often incorporated text with visual representations when exhibiting at the Royal Academy’s annual exhibition. In Gandy’s early career Ariosto, Dante, Shakespeare, and Milton all provided poetic verses which fanned the flames of his imagination, enabling Gandy to give architectural form to these literary fragments. Eventually, the masterful iconographer decided to write his own historical text while simultaneously developing a visual language, believing that the true and divine nature of architectural representation would be revealed. Both Gandy’s hieroglyphic alphabet and his emblematic drawings of the nature of architecture illustrate his continuous pursuit of a

48 I believe that Gandy is referring to Giovanni Maria Falconetto who was born in Verona and worked in the Gothic manner in northern Italy. Falconetto died in Padua where he had been the municipal architect, and had influenced Jacopo Sansovino. According to Gandy, Falconetto was also one of stone mason Andrea Palladio’s masters.

49 Gandy, APSA, pp. 30-31. The gist of Gandy’s argument is uncannily similar to a comment elsewhere by Joseph Rykwert: “In the continuity Antiquity had a privileged position: the Egyptians had handed their secrets to the Greeks; the Greeks devised the orders and passed the secret on to the Romans. The barbarians had wrecked the heritage, but it was rediscovered in the fifteenth century and given its definite form by Palladio. Inigo Jones was Palladio’s true heir. This is how the argument looked from Britain in the middle of the eighteenth century.” From Rykwert’s The First Moderns, ch. 6, p. 197. The skeleton of this argument was still guarded by Gandy (although slightly embellished) some eighty years following the situation that Rykwert refers to.

50 The meaning of genus, as ‘an assemblage of species possessing certain characters in common,’ is apt, since the Latin term is the root of both ‘Genesis’ and ‘Genius.’
universal language emanating from the divine origins of architecture. Along with Gandy, one may ask the question: Was this origin forever lost, or could it be recovered through architectural representation?

The passages of the APSA that I have read in detail demonstrate Gandy's process of thinking and drawing simultaneously. The APSA covers heraldry, hieroglyphics, and individual sketches of world architecture, including an Arabian mosque, the tomb of 'Boodha' [sic], a 'Hindoo' temple, the 'Pont Nouilly' [sic], and the 'Road of Pillars' in China. These drawings form one type of representation that record specific types of architecture. Distinguished from these are visual representations incorporated within the actual text which vary from a graphic alphabet to be used by the Moderns - indicating the symbol of dividers for Architecture (Λ) or the same symbol resting on one point on the ground for Dialling (Λ) - to the figure for Geometry which shows a triangle inscribed in a square encompassed by a circle (Ω) [fig. 4].

If I were to choose only one image from Gandy’s treatise, perhaps most telling is his final sketch of the Ouroboros, with its various emblems encircling an allegory of creation. This emblematic representation may be read as an example of the author’s comprehension of the cyclical nature of history: Gandy’s notion of time and of civilization is founded in the eternal return symbolized by the Ouroboros. Soane had used the same symbol on the family tomb erected in 1816, as several sketch studies and the final incised Portland stone of the tomb’s dome attest to. With their shared interest in the symbol of triumph over time, and Gandy’s interest in the union between the chthonic and celestial principles, it should therefore come as no surprise that Gandy drew the serpentine figure more than once in the Art, Philosophy, and Science of Architecture; in this instance along with a text to explain his encoded allegory [fig. 5]:

Gandy’s symbolic figure of the serpent eating its own tail, symbolizing the cyclical time of eternity, was expressed as well in T.S. Eliot’s opening lines of “Burnt Norton” (from T.S. Eliot: Collected Poems 1909-1962):

“Time present and time past
Are both perhaps in time future,
And time future contained in time past.”

See Christopher Woodward’s entry on “The Soane Family Tomb” in Sir John Soane Architect: Master of Space and Light (1999), pp. 196-199. The pen and ink sketch of the Ouroborus by Soane, during 1816, is of particular interest (SM 63/7/3) in relation to Gandy’s later drawing.
"I am alpha and Omega (1) king (2) thou man a slave (3) must kneel and worship
my name. In mine house (4) my will is done, bow down thou head (5) to it, if you
wish to enter and partake of its glories. I have given you eyes (6) for Daylight and
understanding and caused the corn (7) to grow for thy food, if you neglect to gather
it the scourge hunger (8) will overtake thee. I have placed a barrier (9) between thee
[10] and evil thine enemy (11) if temptation does not lead thee to rebel and break it
down, mine is the best kingdom, the power (12) and glory - in all eternity- (13)."54

In the image above, alpha and omega are joined by the archetypal figure of the serpent
consuming its own tail. It is an important drawing that confirms Gandy's progressive
movement towards encoding the world with symbols which he then composes into
emblematic representations. This drawing is also reminiscent of the form of representation
found on eighteenth century Masonic tracing boards where figures are often encoded and
numbered. The artist William Hogarth also used this technique to explain the action in his
allegorical and Masonic engravings.55 Both Gandy's hieroglyphic alphabet and his
emblematic drawing of the universe illustrate his pursuit of a universal language which
would disclose the divine origins of speech and architecture, as intertwined in the oral
transmission of architectural history as the caduceus of Hermes.56

---

53 Figure (10) appears to be 'thee' in the text, but is not indicated (a mind overflowing with symbols
is bound to skip a beat once in a while).
54 Gandy, APSA, Volume I (unpaginated). This drawing is part of the section on hieroglyphics, but
has fallen out and is now placed separately with illustrations.
55 Hogarth was a freemason, and a member of the lodge at the Bear and Harrow, so perhaps the
connection between his encoded allegories and Masonic tracing boards is more than just formal. It
certainly is not arbitrary.
56 I again refer to the article by Joseph Rykwert that relates language, song, and operative masonry
14-27. The tradition of the mason's word, and the importance of music or song within eighteenth
and nineteenth freemasonry cannot be overemphasized. Further study on the shared importance of
the oral transmission in the history of architecture, and in the development of freemasonry, needs

147
It is of interest to imagine how Gandy might have represented both text and illustrations together if he had ever managed to publish his manuscript. Soane had faced a similar problem regarding representation in his Lectures on Architecture, which he dealt with by having his office produce large architectural renderings for the actual lecture, and later, folio sized duplications which were bound with the text and kept in his house and office at Lincoln's Inn Fields. The question remains: Why could Gandy not manage to clearly articulate his mythico-logico system of architecture in words? Moments of lucidity are juxtaposed against rambling passages often restating the position outlined a few pages earlier. Visions and revisions follow each other in a continual process of attempting to approach the common characteristics of universal architecture. Part factual and part speculation, not unlike Gandy's inspired watercolor compositions, the treatise envisions a history of architecture which transcends stylistic differences in favor of constant renewal in the retelling of myth, symbolized by the Ouroborus.

The essay on 'Mythology' in the first edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica (1771) states that in pagan antiquity there were three different religions which may be divided into three categories. The first religion was that of the philosophers who treated the nature of the universe created by the Supreme Being metaphysically. The second religion was that of pagan worship involving the natural elements (such as the pyramids and astrological divination) which the author notes, was 'frequently mystic, and always allegoric.' The third religion, centered on the populace, involved the making of idols for worship which lead to heathen idolatry. Although the main lines of this history can also be found in Gandy’s arguments regarding the evolution of architecture from astrological observatories to the making of pagan icons and symbols in architecture through relics, emblems and ornamentation, Gandy remained aware of his own position with respect to mythology as sacred history:

"The heathen mythology is one continued allegory, the only means of conveying information to a multitude without Book and but few manuscripts. These allegories were the ornaments to every kind of architecture and sculpture they recorded events to be undertaken."

57 For the benefit of students of architecture, Soane eventually had the images for his spoken Lectures put on display - both before and after the lecture - in his Museum at Lincoln's Inn Fields.
and gave notices for ceremonies, without which architecture would be a skeleton without life of spirit.\textsuperscript{58}

This understanding of mythology, where the artist communicates to his audience through a \emph{biblia pauperum} of encoded symbols and emblems, is one of the prime reasons Gandy intended to produce a visual history of 'sacred' architecture.

**LITERARY REFERENCES FOR THE APSA**

At the end of the fifth volume of the \textit{Art, Philosophy, and Science of Architecture},\textsuperscript{59} Joseph Gandy wrote a list of 'Books to Consult' containing over five-hundred numbered titles in alphabetical order. Several of the numbers have been checked off, suggesting that he had consulted them during his writing. Gandy's partial bibliography indicates not only which books he had access to via Soane's library, it also places emphasis on the books that Gandy himself held in a position of authority. Without going into an in-depth analysis of this bibliography, highlighting a miscellany of titles will give us insight into his eclectic mind and personal canon.\textsuperscript{60} Pausanias, one of Gandy's favorite classical authors, was consulted for his work on ancient Greece, while there is also mention of the Greek historian Strabo 'in Italian, 1562.' As a man of letters, Gandy lists Vasari's \textit{Lives of the Artists}, and two visionary works: Thomas More's popular 'Utopia' along with Francis Bacon's 'Atlantis.'

Concerning architectural theory, Adam and Alberti are placed under 'Archelogia,'\textsuperscript{61} while Blondel and Durand are listed under 'Cours de architecture.'\textsuperscript{62} Durand's 'Cour de Architecture,'\textsuperscript{63} is listed a second time, referring to both F. Blondel and J.-F. Blondel's lectures on architecture. Francesco Milizia's book 'Architecture, Ancient and Modern, 1750'\textsuperscript{64} is noted, as are the decorative 'works' of Percier\textsuperscript{65} which Gandy would have

\textsuperscript{58} Gandy. APSA, p. 217.
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., Volume V, pp. 1811-1814.
\textsuperscript{60} I have intentionally retained Gandy's spelling (although they may appear as errors) and have placed book titles in the footnotes that follow.
\textsuperscript{61} Adam, Robert and James. \textit{The Works in Architecture}, 1773-78.
\textsuperscript{62} Alberi, Leon Battista. \textit{De Re Aedificatoria}, 1452 (first printed 1485).
\textsuperscript{64} Surely Gandy meant J.N.L. Durand's \textit{Précis des Leçons d'Architecture}, Paris, 1802-1805.
\textsuperscript{65} Milizia, Francesco. \textit{Memorie degli Architetti Antichi e Moderni}, 1781. Gandy erroneously spells his name 'Milanea.'
\textsuperscript{65} Percier, Charles and P.-L. Fontaine. \textit{Recueil de Décorations Intérieures}, 1801.
studied for their beautifully drawn interiors. A 'Description' of the Grotto at Versailles was consulted, as was the 'Equation of Arches' by Gwilt, who is again made reference to with an entry 'On shadows.' Related to Gandy's interests in practical perspective and the problems of projection and shadows are several citations including John Cowley's 'Perspective,' Andrea Posso [sic] on 'Perspective,' Peter Nicholson's 'Perspective,' Richard Brown's 'Perspective,' and Gaspard Monge's 'Geometrie.'

The works of Britton, Chambers, and Clérisseau were all common references for Gandy's generation. William Chambers' 'Works' are specifically cited in addition to his treatise on 'Oriental Gardening.' There are several entries related to books on gardening and rural architecture, including Gandy's own 'Rural Architecture,' two other books with the same title by Elsam and Atkinson, and a work by John Papworth entitled 'Rural Cottages.'

---

66 Joseph Rykwert identifies this work as André Félibien's *Description du Chateau de Versailles, de ses Peintures et d'Autres Ouvrages, Fait pour le roy.* Paris, 1696.
67 Gwilt, Joseph. *An Encyclopedia of Architecture, historical, theoretical, and practical.* London, 1822. Gwilt published a *Treatise on the Equilibrium of Arches,* 1811, which Gandy refers to, already in its third edition by 1839. Gwilt also wrote on sciography and worked on a translation of Vitruvius, although his best known work was the illustrated encyclopedia, which included 'a brief synoptical list of the principal architects, ancient and modern, with their chief works.' By 1842, Gwilt's *Encyclopedia* included over 1,000 engravings on wood.
71 Nicholson, Peter. *The student's instructor in drawing and working the five orders of architecture,* New York, 1837. Nicholson wrote a vast amount of practical 'how to' guides aimed at the various trades, as well as an *Encyclopedia of Architecture,* 1811-19. The other possible work Gandy is referring to is: *The Principles of Architecture, containing the fundamental rules of the art, in geometry, arithmetic, and mensuration with the application of those rules to practice: also the true method of drawing the iconography and orthography of objects, geometrical rules for shadows, various examples of Grecian and Roman Antiquities, and many useful and elegant ornaments, with the rules for projecting them....* 3 vols. London, 1795-98.
73 Monge, Gaspard. *Géométrie Descriptive.* 1795.
Related to the nineteenth century's interest in the *ferme ornée*, Gandy's contemporary in landscape gardening, J.C. Loudon, is listed under 'E. on Farming, etc.' while Soane's contemporary in landscape gardening, Humphry Repton, is listed under 'Hints on Gardening.' Along with various picturesque voyage descriptions that he had access to through Soane's library, including 'Voyage Picturesque, 1792' (author unknown), Richard Chandler's 'Travels in Asia' would have provided Gandy with references to non-western models of architecture. Although Gandy never travelled to the Orient, his interests in eastern mythology and forms of symbolism in architecture often led him to consult images from eastern sources which are found referenced in his writings and watercolors.

Reflecting Gandy's national pride, works by fellow countrymen John Britton, Lord Burlington, William Chambers, James Gibbs, Inigo Jones, and Batty Langley figure prominently. The Masonic architect Batty Langley's 'Jewel' was a standard builder's guide that Gandy duly referenced. William Halfpenny has several items listed below his name, including 'York,' 'Gothic Ornaments,' and 'Rural Architecture.' Continuing the

---

77 Papworth, John. *Rural Residences: consisting of a series of designs for cottages, decorated cottages, small villas and other ornamental buildings: accompanied by hints on situation, construction, arrangement and decoration in the theory and practice of rural architecture interspersed with some observations on landscape architecture.* London, 1818 (2nd edition, 1832). Papworth (1775-1847) was contemporary with Joseph Gandy and wrote on practical subjects ranging from dry rot in buildings to ornamental gardening. He was one of twelve architects who attended a meeting on 2 July, 1834, which led to the foundation of the RIBA. Papworth later acted as Vice President of the RIBA from 1844-45.

78 Loudon, J.C. *An Encyclopaedia of Agriculture comprising the theory and practice of the valuation..., 1825, or An Encyclopaedia of cottage, farm, villa architecture and furniture, 1842.* The Soane Museum Library has Loudon's Engravings, with descriptions illustrative of the difference between the modern style of rural architecture and the improvement of scenery, and that displayed in a treatise on country residences, and practiced by the author. London, 1807. Gandy would have most likely been familiar with this edition.

79 Repton, Humphry. *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening.* 1795. Repton is best known for his *Red Books*, beginning in 1789, where he made corrections to views in landscape garden situations. His work carried on the picturesque theories of Uvedale Price and Richard Payne Knight. Repton was in partnership with Soane's rival, John Nash, for many years, and is distinguished for having a calling card with his profession listed as 'Landscape Gardener.'

80 Gandy did not indicate an author. In Soane's library a possible match may be found: S. Weibel, *Voyage Pittoresque de l'Oberland,* Paris (1812). Other possibilities for the title Gandy cites are Jacques Gerard Milbert's *Voyage Pittoresque a l'Ile de France,* Paris (1812), or Jean Claude Richard de Saint Non's *Voyage Pittoresque a Naples et en Sicile,* Paris (1829).


eclectic and far reaching nature of Gandy's interests, which included the plans of cities such as Washington, DC that he had seen while in Rome, Gandy notes as well that ‘The plans of ‘St. Petersburg’ and the ‘Louvre’ require further study.

Among various studies of Rome, which recall Gandy’s days on the grand tour, are Desgodez’s ‘Rome,’ numerous individual buildings of the Eternal City, such as the Pantheon, and Jean Rondelet’s ‘Aqueducts of Rome.’ Making reference to the maestro of speculative archaeology, Gandy wrote the annotation ‘29 vol.’ next to Giambattista Piranesi along with several indecipherable notes scribbled below. Continuing Gandy’s interest in Roman archaeology, William Gell is listed as the author of ‘Pompeiana,’ a curious entry considering that John Peter Gandy, Joseph’s younger brother, was co-author. Further cultivating his knowledge of the Palladian Revival that was ushered into England with Lord Burlington and Inigo Jones, Palladio’s ‘I quattro [sic] libri dell architettura’ is listed, separated into ‘1 Book’ and ‘4 Books,’ followed by citations for various other editions of Palladio including Isaac Ware’s English translation.

Other English translations of French treatises that one would expect Gandy to have listed include Pierre Patte’s treatise on ‘Architecture’ and Claude Perrault’s ‘5 columns’ on the ‘Orders.’ An unidentified ‘Recueil,’ with a note reminding Gandy to check on ‘arabesques,’ makes one wonder about Gandy’s interest in Durand’s book on comparative architecture. Continuing with French architecture, one of the Peyre brothers has a citation

---

85 Ware, Isaac. *The Four Books of Andrea Palladio’s Architecture wherein, after a short treatise on the five orders, those observations that are most necessary in building private houses, streets, bridges, piazza, xisit, and temples are treated of*, 1738. Palladio’s Italian treatise was first published in Venice in 1616. Ware, the protégé of Lord Burlington, was responsible for the diffusion of Palladianism in England. John Soane owned Ware’s *The First Book of A. Palladio’s Architecture*, London, 1742.
under 'Pantheon, Paris,' while a reference to 'Theatre' listed under the name Boulet possibly refers to a work by the French architect Pierre Bullet.\(^9\)

Multiple entries of works by the same author, and various subjects interspersed among an alphabetical list of authors, is typical of Gandy's lateral thinking. There are at least three entries under the subject of Solomon's Temple, reinforcing Gandy's general interest in Masonic history and the speculative origins of architecture. Lamy's book on 'Solomon's Temple'\(^9\) is the first title listed, while towards the end of the bibliography mention is made of Villapandus [sic] 'Solomon's Temple.'\(^9\) Surprisingly, Newton's work dealing in part with the Temple of Solomon, *Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended*, published in London in 1728, is absent from Gandy's select bibliography.\(^9\)

Although a knowledge of Vitruvius and Alberti remained a central part of Gandy's education, missing from the list of books to consult is Vitruvius' architectural treatise as well as Soane's published titles - although Gandy would have known Soane's work by heart, having represented most of his architecture in painted watercolors. Fischer von Erlach's 'Civil architecture,'\(^9\) although an obvious source, is a pleasant surprise to discover on Gandy's bibliography since his drawings capture the same spirit as those of Piranesi. Together, Piranesi, Fisher von Erlach, and Gandy are within a certain tradition of precise and inventive drawing which leads to rich trans-historical fictions [fig. 6]. All three artists drew upon the historical facts of their recordings, but then freely composed them in the mind's eye creating images which allow tradition to become present through *inventione* [fig. 7].\(^9\)

Another conspicuously absent reference is Laugier's *Essai sur l'architecture* (1755), considering Gandy's obsession with original models of architecture and his later rendering

\(^9\) Joseph Rykwert identifies this as Pierre Bullet's *Architecture Pratique de M. Bullet*, Paris (1788).


\(^9\) Villalpando, Juan Bautista. *In Ezechielem Explanationes*, 1594-1605. Soane's Library held three volume copies from Rome, 1596, as well as another edition dated 1604.

\(^9\) A copy of the 1728 edition is in Sir John Soane's library, which makes one wonder about Gandy's knowledge of the work.


\(^9\) Gandy's contemporary Friedrich Schinkel may also be placed quite convincingly within this tradition of architectural representation.
of "Architecture; its natural model" (1838). On the subject of natural history, Reverend Borlace's book on the geology of 'Cornwall'\textsuperscript{95} is listed, matching perfectly with Gandy's interest in basalt columns and the Giant's causeway. Like many of Gandy's taxonomies, it may be that the list of books he compiled, which he may not have known thoroughly but had heard of or seen in passing, contained passages which were specific to his own interests.

This brief survey of some of the books which Gandy intended to consult demonstrates the wide ranging interests of an early nineteenth century architect: the classical orders, ancient literary authors, and the antiquities of Rome and Paris, alongside English theorists, poets, picturesque garden designers, and the history of the Craft. Italian, French, and English theories of design were collected and studied by Gandy, just as the spoils from the grand tour were generally taken home as inspiration. In the course of executing one of his paintings, an eclectic mind like Gandy's would typically grapple with the mechanics of perspective [fig. 8], the sublime scale and color of painting, and literary sources describing epic events. Similarly, in compiling his historical treatise, a book by an author named Emerson may be consulted on 'Mekanicks'\textsuperscript{96} next to architectural folios by Inigo Jones and Jombert.\textsuperscript{97} It is sobering to compare Gandy's modest list of five-hundred book titles and nineteen drawings to Soane's library of 7,783 titles which Gandy would have had access to during most of his life. What is most impressive though is how interdisciplinary both Soane and Gandy were, whose theories on architecture drew from a vast array of material and subjects - both practical and theoretical - that were reflected in their visual works.

Equally important to the composite bibliography for the APSA is a list on the inside front cover of Volume V that indicates 'Drawings to be Made.'\textsuperscript{98} Here, Gandy numbers a series


\textsuperscript{96} William Emerson. \textit{Tracts. Containing I. Mechanics or the doctrine of motion, II. The projection of the sphere, III. The laws of centripetal and centrifugal force...} London, 1793. From Soane Museum Library.

\textsuperscript{97} Charles-Antoine Jombert's \textit{Architecture Moderne, etc.} (2 vols.), Paris, 1764, is also in the Soane Museum Library collection. Jombert lived in France from 1712-1784.

\textsuperscript{98} On the title page facing the inside cover of Volume V, Gandy once more lists the contents for this volume, having a different order from the one accompanying Volume I. Changes such as these
of intended drawings (1 through 19), suggesting that his treatise was meant to have substantial illustrations accompanying the text. Of importance to our discussion is a note by Gandy regarding the first models of architecture according to his philosophy: a mountain cavern, a forest shelter, and a mud hut. Later in Volume I of the treatise, while reading Gandy’s introductory essay, the reader discovers that he believed each of these models to have sprung from the Ark of Noah - and so the cyclical reading of history continues.

As outlined in this chapter, Gandy’s APSA is a challenging work to consult on several levels. It is an encyclopedic book, filled with numerous tables, compendiums, and chronologies. It is also filled with sketches showing comparative images of heraldry and emblems, including a visual alphabet of pictograms, which the author meant to be used by the ‘Moderns’ as abbreviations, characters, or symbols. Gandy often incorporated such emblems in his own works, such as the ark of Noah, or the architect’s dividers, to encode his meaning. One of the lessons retained from the APSA is that the mystical Gandy meant the entire history of architecture to be perceived in universal terms, at one point even referring to the whole treatise "as an immense Museum." Unfortunately, the Art, Philosophy, and Science of Architecture (APSA) remains more a compendium than a treatise, and more a draft of a collection of thoughts and working notes than a continuous architectural history or theory. The main scholarly importance of Gandy’s vast syncretic theory - in which making/drawing and thinking/drawing were inseparable acts - is only fully understood by considering his treatise in relation to his final watercolors for “Comparative Architecture,” where word and image are finally reconciled in a dialectical manner.

99 A completed set of drawings or watercolors never materialized except for the five major works accompanying “Comparative Architecture” that Gandy exhibited at the Royal Academy from 1836 to 1838. The list of “Drawings to be Made” is found on the inside left cover of Book 4th (Volume V), in the Art, Philosophy, and Science of Architecture (APSA). For the full list of titles of ‘Drawings to be Made,’ please refer to the Appendix in Brian Lukacher’s article “Joseph Gandy and the Mythography of Architecture, JSAH (Sept. 1994), p. 299.

100 There are also instances of pages cut out (such as those preceding page 199 in Volume I), and many pages where Gandy has revised his text, and thus scratched out the pages line by line in ink. The first index indicates the last section beginning on page 2497, and the second indicates the same section beginning on page 2545.

101 Gandy, APSA, Volume I, back cover (unpaginated).
Chapter 8
ON THE ORIGINS OF TRANS-HISTORICAL ARCHITECTURE

Comparative Architecture – an emblematic sketch
Joseph Michael Gandy
Exhibited at the R.A., 1837
Courtesy of Sir John Soane's Museum, SM 14/8/2
Chapter 8
ON THE ORIGINS OF TRANS-HISTORICAL ARCHITECTURE

The three greatest Epochs in the history of the world are the creation, the flood and Christianity, the ancients picture the first by an egg, the second by a boat, or a arcpart [sic], the third is more modern its style is a cross.¹

Joseph Gandy, APSA

TRANS-HISTORICAL ARCHITECTURE²

When considering the works of Joseph Gandy as a complete oeuvre, his unrelenting quest for the universal and trans-historical origins of architecture is most palpable and consistent. Like John Martin, Charles Louis Clérissseau, James Stephanoff, and even the young J.M.W. Turner,³ Gandy began his career as an architect from within the tradition of history painting. His early compositions were heavily inspired by literary sources, which he often quoted at great length to be included as ‘textile’ narratives with the exhibited paintings. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries this was an accepted way of introducing narrative into works of art, for a literate populace would still have grasped references to classical authors Pausanius, Ariosto, or Dante, while English painters gave vision to the modern lyrical poetry of Shakespeare, Milton, and Sir Walter Scott.

It is not difficult to situate Gandy’s painterly compositions within the English picturesque tradition which had become highly refined in both English landscape painting and garden design.⁴ During Gandy’s career, and parallel with the development of the theory of the picturesque, the emphasis in painting shifted away from literary references and history painting to the individual feelings and impressions of the viewer.⁵ An example of this

¹ Joseph Gandy, the Art, Philosophy, and Science of Architecture (APSA), p. 220.
² I have borrowed this term from Brian Lukacher. For the context in which he uses the term, please see his dissertation “Joseph Michael Gandy: The Poetical Representation and Mythography of Architecture,” p. 112.
³ Gandy competed, and lost, against Turner for the post of Professor of Perspective at the Royal Academy. This injury was added to Gandy being refused entry as a Royal Academician (R.A) on a number of occasions.
⁴ It is important to remember that landscape gardener Humphrey Repton (1752-1818) was contemporary with Soane, while J.C. Loudon (1783-1843), who died tragically in a boating accident, was contemporary with Gandy. Repton’s Red Books are the apogee of picturesque landscape correction, while Loudon preferred to write encyclopedias on agriculture, gardens, and cottage and farm architecture; the latter being contemporary with Gandy’s books on rural architecture.
⁵ For an explanation of the shift away from a shared set of references, associated with classical

157
shifting sensibility from classical realism is the painter Joseph Turner, whose work increasingly turned to abstract sensation and the experience of the individual in relation to the canvas. While picturesque and romantic sensibilities in English painting slowly took root during the first decades of the nineteenth century, Gandy's later paintings moved in the opposite direction, becoming increasingly encoded with emblematics, focusing on a shared and common human origin expressed in particular detail through symbol. Summerson commented that Gandy "wanted architecture to signify, to be a kind of language rich in metaphor and symbol." In his later paintings, Gandy draws the viewer into the canvas towards a realization of the universal character and nature of architecture through the inclusion and addition of particular symbols. Although Gandy intended to speak of architecture's universal language, ironically, his work became increasingly hermetic and more difficult to share with the public or even with the members of the Royal Academy. In the end his work would contain his own private language, veiled in universal mysticism and occult allusions.

One of the things that makes Gandy's contribution to architectural discourse provocative is that he applied fragmentary and associational narratives to architectural subject matter and settings. In so doing, he began to eliminate the distinction between architectural styles as well as challenge the modern notions of chronological and historical time, approaching his ideal of trans-historical architecture. Before entering into the iconography of Gandy's final watercolors, a few observations on his watercolor and oil paintings are necessary. I propose to consider at least four approaches that Gandy explored during the evolution of his architectural style. Early on in his Royal Academy career, Gandy's drawings were largely perspective views with elaborate architectural backgrounds laden with literary references, typical of history painting. With this training at the Academy and later in Rome, Gandy became exceptionally adept in the handling of color in order to create depth, atmosphere and evoke romantic expression. Two examples from this early phase of representation are "The Tomb of Agamemnon" (1818), and "Pandemonium, or part of the high capital of Satan and his peers" (1805). [figs. 1 & 2].
Gandy then developed a second form of representation that was often executed in two point perspective (*veduta per angolo*), illustrating a particular view that also included the plan of the building, creating a crude type of simultaneous view. This technique of the small vignette within the larger view was known to Gandy, since Italian artists including Pozzo, Panini, Piranesi, and numerous garden painters, including John Rocque, had used the same technique in order to represent multiple views on a flat plane. Gandy continued to perfect his forms of representation from ideas found both in landscape painting and garden design. In his study on the *picturesque*, Christopher Hussey credits architect Sir John Vanbrugh as the one "who first conceived the approximation of gardens to painted landscape, with lakes, vistas, temples, and woods worked into a composed whole."7 Gandy used these same effects to great advantage, incorporating picturesque travel principles into his technique, where parts of the drawing refer to each other, further demonstrating his notion of architectural narrative. Examples of this genre include Gandy’s images of “The Picture Gallery and the Mausoleum pursuant to the Will and at the expense of the late Sir Francis Bourgeois..., (1823), and "The Plan and Ground Floor of a town house” in Lincoln’s Inn Fields” (1822). [figs. 3 & 4].

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Gandy had developed yet another form of representation which closely resembled that of proto-montage. In this approach, Gandy begins to show several simultaneous views painted next to each other, where the effect of motion through time is heightened by juxtaposition on a two dimensional surface. A century earlier, Batty Langley expressed similar techniques of framing in his *New Principles of Gardening* (1728) as "a continued series of new and delightful scenes every step we take."8 Hussey’s comment on eighteenth century garden design equally applies to Soane and Gandy's visual knowledge of the picturesque:

"The principle of his [Shenstone's] garden design lay-out was that when a building or other object had once been viewed from its proper point, the foot should never travel to it by the same path which the eye had travelled over before. 'Lose the object and draw nigh obliquely.'"9

In picturesque garden design, the connective tissue between the parts of the composition relies upon motion over time to work on the senses and therefore 'make sense.'

---

8 Ibid., p. 130.
9 Ibid., p. 130.
borrows from this principle in two-dimensional representation, and through his use of juxtaposition, plays on the effect of the fragment which allows the viewer to connect the parts of the composition following the same intellectual process that would occur in the English garden. Examples of this architectural technique which build upon the picturesque point of view include: "A selection of parts of buildings, public and private, erected from the designs of J. Soane, Esq., R.A. in the metropolis, and in other places of the United Kingdom between the years 1780 and 1815" (1818); and "Comparative characteristics of thirteen selected styles of architecture" (1836). [fig. 5 & ch. 6 title page].

In each of these artifacts - the English garden, Soane's house-museum, and Gandy's watercolors of this period - the leitmotif is the same: the addition of irregular fragments constituted into a whole in the mind of the viewer. During the course of the nineteenth century this sensibility would evolve into the cult of the ruin, a fascination which Gandy and other English artists had begun to develop through observing the antique fragments of Rome. During these three phases of his career, the content of Gandy's paintings shifts away from ancient authors and literary references towards his own accumulated source of experience.

A fourth level of abstraction is found in Gandy's final watercolors, where several disparate elements are then brought together in a single image, forming an imaginary composition. With this effect he captures the theatrical qualities of an encoded ritual where the resultant seamless image is meant to be read as a whole. In these architectural representations the images are highly emblematic, requiring the viewer to decode the hermetic narrative in order to discover its meaning. By selecting such eclectic and stylistically disparate elements and composing them, he begins to create his own version of architectural 'pasticcio.'

Having already discussed Soane's use of Pasticcio and the Pasticcio column, Gandy's later images often evoke the same spatial depth embodied within the interior of Soane's museum. Examples from this most abstract yet synthetic phase of Gandy's career include: "Comparative Architecture -- an emblematic sketch," (1837) and "Architecture, its natural model," (1838). [ch. 8 title page & fig. 6]

---

10 See Soane's use of the Pasticcio column in his museum during 1819 (representation exhibited at the R.A. in 1830). The meaning and use of the Pasticcio Column has been already been discussed in an earlier chapter.
From his later writings and outpouring of architectural visions, it is clear that Gandy sought to transcend the debate on style, and in so doing begin to trace the source of architecture to its primordial beginnings and divine origin. As he journeyed in time on a quest for the origins of architecture, language, and symbol, he also began to realize that no one 'style' could hold universal truth. This rejection of any single style led him to further his explorations, placing all styles (or certainly as many as possible) within one synthetic and trans-historical composition. Beginning with "Comparative characteristics of thirteen selected styles of architecture," Gandy is able to achieve architectural unity from the juxtaposition of individual parts that he synthesizes into a composite whole. Gandy’s procedure no doubt delighted theorists of the picturesque, whose tenet, 'variety within unity,' was taken quite literally by Gandy.

At times, Gandy represents imaginary reconstructions of literary descriptions as in his "Tomb of Merlin," while at other times he conveys built works of architecture, by Soane or by other authors, alongside unbuilt works. The paintings often establish their own narrative, such as Gandy's multiple views of Soane's residence situated within the same canvas. In their juxtaposition, his composite images are almost always infused with a sense of mystery, while creating sublime associations within the mind's eye of the viewer. By using conventional techniques of representation (i.e. elevation, one and two point perspective), the compositional quality of these representations forms a key aspect to understanding Gandy's architectural imagination as he plays with architectural scale and places one image inside another.

Gandy's intention was to create images that were syncretic and idiosyncratic, where various historical styles and building methods could be simultaneously viewed. This collapsing of time lead the mature Gandy to develop forms of representation for "Comparative Architecture" that would be unimaginable to superimpose in the actual building fabric. The elements within these final paintings are typically decontextualized from their real situation and then recombined within the space of the canvas creating a hybrid image. This continuous combination of architectural fragments places Gandy firmly within the tradition of the *ars combinatoria*, yielding different forms in a magical fashion.

Understanding Soane and Gandy's shared interest in the architecture of the fragment, it is appropriate to draw an analogy between Gandy's fragmentary assemblages and the interior
of the Soane Museum, where the same type of irregular composition through association is at work. Hussey notes that "the effect of the picturesque on architecture was to set up irregularity in place of regularity as the essential of design." Classical symmetry and proportion were replaced by picturesque asymmetry and association as rules governing composition and motion in garden design, painting, and architecture. This relation between the individual part and the unifying whole is an underlying principle of the picturesque which also heavily influenced Soane and Gandy, who together considered architecture from the point of view "not as a form complete in itself, but as the background of a picture." On par with Soane's museum, Gandy's paintings may therefore be understood as essays in picturesque effects.

Gandy certainly explored other kinds of drawings in addition to the categories outlined above: neoclassical competition drawings, where he drew upon building type; measured drawings, such as those recording Rosslyn chapel; studies of ruins, such as the renowned "Birds-eye view of the Bank of England" [fig. 7] or his records of Pompeii and Rome; and study sketches and presentation drawings that were highly dramatic, such as those executed for Freemasons' Hall. While these various phases in Gandy's imaginative expression are more continuous than distinct or categorical, his personal style of representation evolved significantly over the decades of the nineteenth century from history painting to the elaborately encoded works that Lukacher terms 'Mythography.' Most central to the present discussion, Gandy's final representations for "Comparative Architecture" ran parallel to the evolution of his architectural theory outlined in the APSA from the 1820's onwards. Since the paintings from his final project are his most compelling and relevant to his overall architectural theory, they will need to be considered alongside his writings.

REPRESENTATIONS FOR "COMPARATIVE ARCHITECTURE"

An essential function of the imagination lies in the profound human impulse to make representations. Both Soane and Gandy spent their respective careers engaged in trying to uncover the imagination and articulate its connection to genius and invention. Having developed a thesis on the subject of 'comparative architecture,' at the close of Lecture XII in 1833, Soane reflects upon the possible education a student of architecture might undertake in order to have a well-rounded knowledge:

11 Hussey, p. 187.
12 Ibid., p. 193.
"To accomplish these objects several additional Discourses on Construction, accompanied not only with explanatory Drawings and Models, together with the results of practical experiments, would be necessary, but likewise some Lectures on Comparative Architecture would also be desirable. Without these additional Lectures, the Labours of the Professor will still be very incomplete."13

Among others, Gandy took Soane seriously. In 1836, he announced his oft quoted plan for a vast visual history of comparative architecture. A clue as to how Gandy might have illustrated his treatise is given in his first public announcement of "Comparative Architecture:"

"Comparative characteristics of thirteen selected styles of architecture: one of a series of subjects intended to illustrate essays on its divine origin, and natural model to contrast ancient emblematic fabrics with the undesigned aspect of modern buildings; to place in opposition the mannerism of many builders with each other, and to show the progress of edifices in chronological epochs, displaying the detail of practical, philosophical, and scientific constructions."14

Through years of experience gained at the Royal Academy, Gandy was increasingly able to develop ideas that he expressed in his final representations. Exhibited at the R.A., the five representations from his pictorial history of world architecture entitled "Comparative Architecture" were:

i. "Groups of capitals to columns in detail, composed for comparative characteristics in architecture," (1836)

ii. "Comparative characteristics of thirteen selected styles of architecture," (1836)

iii. "Comparative Architecture continued -- an emblematic sketch," (1837)

iv. "Architecture, its natural model," (1838)

v. "Composition of a design for the ceiling of a library," (1838) 15

---

13 Soane, Lecture XII, p. 197.
14 "The Exhibition of the Royal Academy." The Royal Academy Summer Exhibition Catalogues, 1831-1840. Catalogue entry #936, 1836.
15 Of this series of five watercolors, intended to be part of one thousand images, only three remain to my knowledge: "Comparative characteristics of thirteen selected styles of architecture," "Comparative Architecture -- an emblematic sketch," and "Architecture, its natural model."
The first painting, whereabouts unknown, must have shown details from various architectural characteristics in which Gandy studied the ornamentation of capitals. Presented the same year as the large composite painting, “Comparative characteristics of thirteen selected styles of architecture,” it would have been the partner work displaying both the theme and detail for “Comparative Architecture.” Similarly, the location of the final painting that Gandy exhibited alongside “Architecture, its natural model,” is presently unknown, except for Gandy’s description that states it was made for ‘comparative architecture.’ It depicted a “Composition of a design for the ceiling of a library” bringing together ‘emblems of the zodiac, hieroglyphics, and heraldry,’ that again focused on the origins of ornament. This painting makes sense to pair with the previously exhibited “Architecture, an emblematic sketch,” in that Gandy’s elemental ciphers recall the zodiac and the four elements in a room devoted to universal knowledge.16 Of these original five paintings, the three which survive are key to decoding Gandy’s theory of architecture. In these large watercolors Gandy manages to present his architectural visions in a highly complex manner that needs to be understood as an analogue to his treatise.17

Gandy’s particularly modern form of comparative architecture was also intended to create a sense of wonder within the viewer. In contrast to the architect’s written treatise, the remaining part of his visual treatise does not follow a chronological imperative. Here, the conventional chronology of historical time and the placement of buildings within their stylistic historical space implodes. When viewed in such a collapsed temporal and comparative manner, Gandy isolates the common characteristics of form and presents them to the viewer. Following the implosion, this universe of form explodes during which time Gandy gathers the fragments of architecture and once again reassembles them. In place of chronology, “Comparative Architecture” offers us a series of images which demonstrate his thesis that architecture evolved from divine origins into a plethora of comparative styles. Although these paintings are typically shown alone without their textual descriptions by the author, it is helpful to read the full entries from the Royal Academy Exhibition while viewing each of these images.

Comparative characteristics of thirteen selected styles of architecture [see ch. 6 title page]:

16 For a full citation, see Appendix A, #1172: “Composition of a design for the ceiling of a library,” (1838).
17 This position has already been stated with conviction by Brian Lukacher in his various writings on Gandy.

164
Gandy’s introductory painting to the series, “Comparative characteristics of thirteen selected styles of architecture” is not an image intended to display architecture’s chronological progress, but is rather an attempt to demonstrate the common language of architectural form - its origin - from which a variety of architectural styles were subsequently engendered. Gandy combines the various styles of architecture he selects as representative of this common origin and places them upon a single elevation. While the first five styles follow an accepted ancient chronology, the next five place England’s Druid roots close to the source of architecture. The textual description accompanying the watercolor outlines his comprehensive theory:

"The centre of this sketch exhibits the architecture of Babylonia, Egypt, Greece, Rome, and Gothic. On the right appears the Druidical, Persian, Hindoo, Saxon, and Saracenic tastes. At the base of the centre is an emblem of the Deluge, a rocking stone embowered in a wood between tumuli mounds. At the summit shines forth in glory, to illumine the pile, the conventional sign of all Christians. It is supposed the idea of the above, and the other compositions of all fabrics on this globe, will comprise upwards of one thousand drawings, displaying forty national styles of building, with three periods to each."

The three emblems that Gandy illustrates alongside the ten styles of architecture are not styles per se, but remain archaic symbols that the author encodes as characteristics: the Ark of Noah ( ), a rocking stone ( ), and the Christian cross ( ). Gandy distilled these three icons into symbols that support his particular theory of the divine origins of architecture. [fig. 8]. In this image Gandy brings together diverse architectural traditions while highlighting architecture’s varying characteristics in an attempt to demonstrate their common origin: western and eastern; ancient and modern; English and global.

In "Comparative characteristics of thirteen selected styles of architecture," imaginary space is created by the decontextualizing of historical forms, as when the Druid monument Stonehenge is suddenly juxtaposed against Gothic or Saracenic architecture. The question of the importance of a particular architectural style gives way to the overall imaginary

---

18 R.A. Catalogue entry # 936, 1836. We shall return later to the final representation of the design for the ceiling of a library in the chapter on the designs for London’s Freemasons’ Hall.

19 Elsewhere in the APSA (on page 220), Gandy calls upon the same symbols with different names: Creation (an egg), the Deluge (Gandy referred to as an arc-part), and Christianity (a cross). In an ars combinatoria manner, he creates new emblems from the various combination of these three forms. These produce different hybrid symbols, including one for the Holy Trinity, where the sun is placed on top, the cross in the middle, and the dove (in a crescent shape) below. This hybrid symbol has formal similarities to that of John Dee’s alchemical Monas hieroglyphica.
comparison, creating a truly inventive expression that could be called post-perspective. Relying heavily upon the mechanism of juxtaposition, Gandy's trans-historical approach creates new forms of representation that demonstrate the notion of simultaneity and the expression of narrative through symbol. In this particular painting we are left with a section through time that displays the various characteristics of architecture in a single view. Following Gandy's writings in the APSA, this composite image may also be viewed as a genealogical portrait of the subsequent generations of architecture derived from the ark of Noah.

Considering the density of Gandy's compositions, his illustrations of forty national building styles, comprising upwards of one thousand drawings, would have formed a monumental visual history of architecture when combined with a treatise of over twenty-five hundred pages. This intended encyclopedic enterprise would have brought together the best of the encyclopedia and the museum; two systems of classification concerned with the tree of universal knowledge and the interconnection of its various branches.

Architectural Theory: Its Natural Model  
(see fig. 6):
It is ironic, but consistent with Gandy's theory, that the last architectural representation exhibited at the Royal Academy was "Architecture, its natural model." In this composition, the question of the authority of Anglo-Norman, Greco-Roman, Gothic, or Hindoo architecture no longer remains. Here we bear witness to the primordial landscape with two 'human' figures, surrounded by a series of natural models: bee-hives, basalt columns, and natural cave dwellings. Above the figures is the omnipresent Noah's ark, recalling the Deluge and reminding us once again of architecture's divine origins. Gandy would have been familiar with Vitruvius' telling of the allegorical invention of fire that developed hand in hand with language, enabling man to alter Nature and begin human artifice.

Gandy's last exhibited image also returns to the ancient tradition of cyclical over linear time, reminding us of his previous references to the Ouroborus. It is in this spirit that "Architecture, its natural model" could also be placed as the first painting chronologically, since it portrays the conditions of pre-architecture following the Flood: Fingals cave, the beehive and beaver damn, the primitive hut, the natural column, and a remnant of Noah's ark seen on the distant Mount. This painting, portraying the natural origins of human
artifice, has repeatedly caused historians difficulty in understanding why Gandy apparently ends his architectural career on the threshold of the postdiluvian world.

Gandy's full description accompanying the watercolor is now helpful in light of our discussion regarding origins:

The natural models for building, most authors agree, are derived from stoney caverns, alluvial soils for bricks, and forests for timber, with these men raised their huts, carved their lares, and formed their furniture; they first clothed themselves with the leaves of trees, and twisted the branches of shrubs into shady bowers, and by observing the instincts of other animals, they applied their hints for making tools, &c. Supposing there were antediluvian irons for marine fabrics like Noah's ark, and accidental caves or pre-adamite dwellings, we have exemplars remote as Chinese chronology. One writer says 'the earth is a dwelling the skies a canopy, the grass a carpet, the heavenly bodies constitute a pycthomen [sic],20 and clouds are screens.'

Detached masses of granite, the sketch endeavours to pourtray [sic] became objects of veneration, natural bridges over chasms and rivers. The Giant's Causeway, or basaltic formations in Ireland, Scotland, Hebrides, and Caserides mountain of Wales, also the Dresden caves, those of the Thoas and Mexico, natural Cliers' or staircases to caverns, within and over caverns, and various entrances and passages extending many miles under limestone hills, the seven hundred semi-angular pillars over a water-fall in Thibet, many were models for good masonry in horizontal beds and articulations, or joints of pillars imitated by the earliest Nepha-lims, Titans and Cycloprians in their works, called the giant race and companion builders of antiquity, who afterwards studied spontaneous cements, mortars, and plaster for adoption.

The icebergs of the arctic circles, suggest the form of icicled palaces, the spires of the glaciers exhibit scenic and ever various pictured models to an intuitive genius. The aiguille of the Dom river, the pyramidal and pinnacle-pointed Alpine mountains, piles sustained by subterranean vaults and piers, the ascents being left by subsiding waters, are now seen in steppes, prairies, and terminate terraces.

The Royal Academy catalogue lists the word as 'pycthomen,' which I believe might have been written by Gandy as 'pictomen,' meaning visual omen. If the heavenly bodies represented 'a visual omen,' this would relate the stars as an augury, that from which a prediction is drawn. Gandy's knowledge of signs or characters would relate this term to the idea of prognostication. The second half of the term, omen, has origins connected with the terms for 'mouth' and 'ear;' omen is also related with the verbs 'to divine' or 'to predict.' Thus, in Gandy's description, if the heavenly bodies constitute a visual omen, and clouds are screens, then at times the omen is obscured or concealed. Gandy wrote in his treatise that during these times of low celestial visibility, people made icons and statues as cult figures to replace the figures in the skies. This would explain his use of the phrase more fully although, in any event, there is clearly a typographic error. Lukacher translates the same phrase as “the heavenly bodies constitute a 'nychthemeron,'” a Greek term that would translate as ‘night and day.’ This would provide an equally evocative symbolism in relation to the stars (night) and the sun (day) in terms of Gandy’s interest in correspondences. See his article “Joseph Gandy and the Mythography of Architecture,” JSAAH (Sept. 1994), p. 298; as well as in the exhibition text accompanying the AA Catalogue of 1982.
After the Deluge, all of these natural formations emerged to shelter the rebirth of mankind. Human culture first used these natural models as man’s first dwellings and emulated them, inventing architecture as an artificial creation. Poised somewhere between Laugier and Rudofsky, Gandy’s tectonic inspiration continues:

The Banyan tree, a prototype of a beamed ceiling, the palm and oak, the vine and water-lily, creepers entwined in rich foliage, have all been copied by mankind, the musk-rat and beaver associated lumberers, raise dams and lakes to sustain their lodges, and the white ants build conical huts twelve feet high, arranged like camps and villages; also the cayenne fly, and the bees’ hexagonal honey-combs economizing space, who gather in colonies and repair their citadelled labyrinth and rafter covered ways, with many other winged tribes that form nests, webs, and mechanism, the razor shell animal that bores holes in porphyry, the cochlea piercing chalky hills, and the shell-fish that penetrates our navies’ planks, the serpent’s jaws suggesting to Talus, nephew of Daedalus, the first idea of a saw, even the ouran-outan of Sierra Leone erects a dwelling to protect his female and young, commodious as the natives, help to form an ichnographic sienography [sic], a protocol of architecture composed in the sketch before us.

According to Gandy’s ‘protocol of architecture,’ these natural forms engendered the forms of architecture and of invention: the Banyan tree - a ceiling; the saw toothed jaws that inspired Daedalus’ nephew - a tool; and the Basalt columns of the Giant’s causeway - steps. Gandy believed that each of these natural models would in turn be used as prototypes, reenacted through human mimesis in the creation of architecture. It appears that for Gandy, “Architecture; its natural model” finally unlocked the secrets of Urformen - a term use by Goethe to denote nature’s first forms.

---

21 Again, there are different readings of Gandy’s use of terms. From the R.A. Catalogue, the word is clearly ichnographic. In architecture this term is used ‘to describe a horizontal cut’ (i.e. a plan) as well as to denote a footprint, or a footstep. My interpretation, ‘Ichnographic scenography’ (not sienography), would refer to a plan drawn in perspective, the mode of representation that Gandy chose for this image. The other two “Comparative Architecture” paintings are executed in elevation. In addition scenography refers to ‘the general appearance or natural features of a place,’ which would fit well with this image’s emphasis on natural history. In theatre, scenography refers to the dramatic or theatrical, other useful adjectives relating to Gandy’s scene. Lukacher interprets the phrase as “ichonographic scenography,” which refers more specifically to icons. See Lukacher in “Joseph Gandy and the Mythography of Architecture,” JSAH (Sept. 1994), p. 298.

22 The phrase ‘a protocol of architecture’ is also an interesting turn of phrase chosen by Gandy. The word protocol is derived from the Latin, protocollum, which was the first leaf glued to the cylinder round which a legal document was rolled. In modern usage, protocol still refers to a record or registry, as well as to the rules of etiquette. Gandy’s ‘protocol of architecture’ is rolled out before the viewer, with his lengthy text and natural habitat (hence the leaf reference) described in detail. The image and text of “Architecture, its natural model” is therefore intended to be read as a scroll.
This painting is an essay on Gandy's influences from natural history. A passage regarding the distinction between animal and human building that appears in Gandy's essay "On the Philosophy of Architecture," presents another position written almost two decades earlier:

"A poetical imagination may compare human industry to that of the bee, the beaver, the ant, and swallow; but these, though similitudes, are not models for man. Architecture could borrow nothing from them; nor from the mole who dwells under ground, nor the soldier lobster, nor the snail that carries his house on his back. Architecture is an artificial, not a natural covering and shelter; it might as well be thought to have originated from the skin of an animal, used as covering or shelter from sun or rain."25

Gandy's early rejection of the analogy between architecture and other types of building which exist in the animal kingdom and in natural phenomena is important. Although numerous architectural theorists, including Gandy, have argued that natural forms or shelters made from animals are prototypes of architecture, Joseph Rykwert makes a relevant distinction regarding the difference between the natural and human habitat which defines a dialectic between nature and culture: "man is the quintessential metaphoric animal, and making metaphors is a human activity...; the architect is the person who thinks before he builds and anyone who does that in my vocabulary is an architect. Therefore I would say that a hut only happens when the man who bends the bows and twines the elastic branches around thick bits sees in that activity and in that shape something that has not made itself but refers to other things."24 This leads us to Gandy's final cosmological painting where nature and artifice coexist as distinct models.

Architecture -- an emblematic sketch  [see ch. 8 title page]:

---

25 Gandy, "On the Philosophy of Architecture," Magazine of the Fine Arts, p. 292. In the early nineteenth century, popular accounts of animal architecture include James Rennie's Insect Architecture (1830) and Rev. John G. Wood's Homes without Hands, being a description of the habitation of animals (1866). More contemporary accounts on the human fascination with the 'architecture' of bees, ants, and other creatures include: Bernard Rudofsky, The Prodigious Builders: notes towards a natural history of architecture (1977); George Hersey, The Monumental Impulse, Architecture's Biological Roots (1999); and Juhan Pallasmaa, Animal Architects: Ecological functionalism of animal constructions (2001). One art critic recently pointed out that our analogy between these types of building and human dwelling is put into question once we observe that species much closer to human intelligence, such as apes, do not build in a comparable manner. This analogy may simply be a formal one, driven by what Gandy termed 'a poetical imagination.'

In an important essay entitled “Joseph Gandy and the Mythography of Architecture,” Brian Lukacher gives an interpretation of this image in which he states: “The composition of Gandy’s Emblematic sketch is itself ‘emblematic’ with the primary spiritual symbols arranged on a central vertical axis.” While this reading of the image is accurate and considering that Gandy himself did not give a detailed written narrative to accompany this painting, in light of our discussion on Gandy’s universal symbols I would like to offer another critical interpretation of “Architecture, an emblematic sketch.” It is not uncommon for biblical scripture to begin with the phrase: ‘In the beginning, God said let there be Light’ (fMt lux). The luminous Sun, the Ark of Noah, and the Holy Cross are symbols placed on axis displaying the three great epochs according to Gandy: the Creation (circle), the Flood (crescent), and Christianity (cross). Arranged progressively in elevation from the earthly to the astral spheres, Gandy’s emblematic trinity causes the viewer’s eye to move upward from the cross towards the divine source of all emanations - the Sun.

The foundation of the image begins with three stones, each one round like an omphalos, with a skull and dragon atop. The dragon - symbolically representing the antediluvian beast and a universal primordial enemy to be conquered - is pinned to the earth by the triumphant figure of Christ on the cross, situated within the centre of a triad of stepped pyramids. These represent the making of early temples as forms of worship to the celestial macrocosm. Above the cross floats the dove of the Holy Spirit. One of the three aspects of Christianity; the dove is a symbol for the gift of tongues during the feast of Pentecost, as well as being a symbol of the soul or anima. Above this sits a large cross-legged eastern sage or Sadu (apparently Brahma resting on a lotus flower) flanked by two smaller unidentified sacerdotal figures. Situated on top of the three stepped pyramids, the three priests represent the unity of world religions, each flanked by mounting worshippers who are shown walking up and down the ziggurats as they follow the course of the sun. The artificial form of the pyramid is a reflection of the archetypal mountain (in this case Mount

---


26 Lukacher believes the central figure to be Brahma. In both writings, he also suggests the imagery of the Boar Vara (also called Varaha) as the avatar of Vishnu, as well as the Persian lion in coitus with a human figure.
Ararat) which lies behind it in elevation, suggesting the mirroring of nature in architecture. This stepped form symbolizes the world view of many ancient cultures that Gandy studied, including the Egyptians, for whom the temple of worship was an emulation of the primeval mountain that acted as a celestial observatory.27

In the centre of the painting, acting as the hinge between earth and sky, the Ark of Noah appears resplendent. “Both on the material and spiritual planes the ark symbolizes the power to preserve all things and to ensure their rebirth.”28 In universal terms, which Gandy portrays by placing the ark in the geometrical navel of the painting, the ark is associated with the womb and with guarding the seed of life “until such time as a rebirth creates the conditions necessary for the re-emergence of these essences into external life.”29 René Guénon suggests that the Ark which floats on the lower ocean and the rainbow which floats on the upper heaven are complementary and complete the circle of Oneness. They “correspond to the two halves of the ancient circle of the world egg,”30 a symbol that appears on dry land to the right of the ark. As the source from which architecture emanates, the archetypal ark is flanked by two ethereal orbs; the first, a ram; and the second, a unicorn; both legendary animals symbolizing the spirit and purity. While the ram, also the symbol for Aries, is one of the recurring themes in the painting for the creative impulse, the legendary unicorn was thought to live for a thousand years and is associated as well with the white dove. In Christianity the purity of the unicorn represents the noblest of animals; it is “also an emblem of the sword or of the word of God.”31

The animals that emerged from the ark, two by two, set up the diptych composition of the painting. Under these animals, in the smoky distant light evocative of the time before the ark’s landing, are two other figures: on the left, an elephant and on the right, a boar. In a broad sense, the elephant represents strength and wisdom and is associated with the power of the libido. Gandy cleverly places the elephant as the symbol of the clouds: “A mountain-top or a cloud, elephantine in outline, could represent an axis of the universe.”32 In Indian mythology the figure of the elephant is placed on the cosmic axis as a caryatid of the

27 Both Hindu and Mexican mythologies have similar references to such beliefs.
30 Ibid., p. 19.
31 Ibid., p. 357.
32 Ibid., p. 96.
universe. While the elephant is associated with sky and clouds, the wild boar opposite represents the earth. Here, as Lukacher identifies, the boar appears to be the third avatar of the Hindu creator Vishnu. In this legend, according to Indian cosmology, Vishnu takes the form of Varaha: "the god appeared on earth as a wild boar, symbolic for the Creator who raised the earth up from the sea like a hog pushing up the mud." Thus, the boar Varaha is symbolically linked to the seated figure in the painting of the god Brahma who began the universe by waking up at the dawn of Creation.

On either side of the resting ark on dry land are other symbolic animals. On the left, the mythical sphinx and the lion (shown coupling with a human), and on the right, a cow and the bull breaking the cosmic egg of Chaos. Seen together, these four symbols are suggestive of the complementary solar and earthly elements. They may also be read as the passive feminine principle (Yin) found in earth, and the active masculine principle (Yang) found in heaven. Their interaction is implicit in the principle of dualism which the entire painting portrays repeatedly. Under the fifth sign of the zodiac Leo represents solar power, the will, and fire. "In Egypt, it used to be believed that the lion presided over the annual floods of the Nile," which coincided with the zodiac sign of Leo. The lion corresponds to the sun itself and is associated with the Persian sun god Mithras. The solar lion symbol is therefore connected with virility and emotions, hence the lion shown in coitus with a female figure. This also eludes to the origin of monstrous progeny being part human and part animal, such as the sphinx or the Minotaur.

Behind the lion is a related symbol, the sphinx. A fabulous monster with human breasts, the body of a bull, claws of a lion, tail of a dragon, and wings of a bird, the sphinx is a symbol of union in its very composition. In Egypt, the sphinx "is shown contemplating the rising sun and seems to embrace both heaven and earth in its meaning." Associated with


The three characters sitting on the top of the stupa may represent the Hindu gods Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva, but this remains speculation. Certainly, Gandy evokes the Christian Holy Trinity and the Hindu trifold Creator in emblems found within the painting.

Soane owned a bronze statue of 'the Bull breaking the egg' which he had purchased from the Cosway sale. It now occupies the Dressing Room in the Soane Museum, below the model of the zodiac lantern that was made for Freemasons' Hall. Soane had the lantern moved to the Dressing Room from the Lobby in the adjoining room in 1832.

This interpretation is based on the archetypal symbols placed in the painting, whether or not Gandy was totally conscious of all their associations.

Cirlot, p. 189.

Ibid., p. 304.
the symbolism of the sun and rebirth since ancient Egypt, the Sphinx also symbolizes the enigma which, in alchemical terms, "alludes to the relationship between the macrocosm and the microcosm." In creating his own encoded cosmology, Gandy would intentionally include this occult reference: "Being the supreme embodiment of the enigma, the sphinx keeps watch over an ultimate meaning which must remain forever beyond the understanding of man." Although both lion and sphinx are symbols associated with the sun and with solar power, in combination, the sphinx and lion represent complementarity.

Shown opposite these two solar images, the bull and cow represent the equally important powers of the earth and its fecundity. "The basic idea of the bull as the force which animates forms of all kinds is deeply rooted in a great many myths." As the second sign of the zodiac, Taurus, the bull is related to the primordial sacrifice, as told in the myth of Mithras. A universal symbol of fertility, the bull was particularly worshipped in Mycenaean and Persian cultures as found in the architecture of Knossos and Persepolis. The fact "that the sign of Taurus corresponds to the number two relates it to the principle of duality composed of the masculine and the feminine." Gandy portrays this in the double symbolism of the two corresponding zodiac signs - Leo and Taurus - which each have a symbolic role to play in the narrative.

In the APSA, Gandy refers to several zoomorphic symbols related to the Ark of Noah after the animals issued forth. The bull is one of his central references represented in the painting:

"Noah then sacrificed a tommy bull which gave name to Mount Taurus where the bulls pastured - amongst the domestic animals was the serpent and lizard and many parts of these ranges of mountains were typified by other animals. Thus, the bull mountains by a bull with the head of the king who governed it was the Minotaur, the goat, lion and serpent signified these districts hence the origins of the griffin, an eagle and lion, the guardian of treasure were emblems of different regions of the bull mountains where the ark rested."

---

79 Ibid., p. 97.
80 Ibid., p. 304.
81 Ibid., p. 331.
82 Ibid., p. 331.
83 Gandy, APSA, Volume I, p. 3.1.

173

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
About to break the cosmic egg, the lunar bull is also equated with the crescent moon suggested morphologically through the shape of its horns. In Egyptian hieroglyphs, the egg represents potentiality, the seed of generation and the mystery of life. In Gandy's image, the symbolism of the cosmic egg and the divine ark are similar generators of form. We witness the cosmic egg of creation, representative of the Chaos that precedes the ordering of the world, as both a symbol of the occult aspect of creation as well as of immortality. Behind the bull is seated a 'sacred cow,' representing idolatry according to Gandy's narrative. The cow is associated with the earth and is a symbol of the watery matrix. In Hindu mythology "the bull and the cow represent the active and the passive aspects of the generating forces of the universe." In front of the stylized sacred cow is a sculpted figure that represents the making of icons for worship, a development that replaced human and animal sacrifice portrayed on the opposite side of the painting. To complete this narrative sequence, behind the two pagan idols (Egyptian statue and sacred cow) is situated the Holy of Holies.

Returning for a moment to the cosmic symbolism of the bull, Gandy was extremely familiar with the bull breaking the egg of Chaos, a common motif referring to the central meaning of creation myths: 'out of Chaos, Cosmos.' Gandy places the image of Hancarville's bull with its powers of fecundity as one of architecture's central emblems, directly opposite to and symmetrical with the solar lion as an expression of alchemical \textit{conjunctio}. Facing each other in a reconciliation of opposites, the solar lion relates to the sun, while the bull imagery relates to either moon or sun, depending on the mythology. Together, these four characters represent the archetypal union of heaven and earth, with the ark floating in between. Reuniting the individual symbols once more, the bull in the painting is standing on an altar, or cairn; the form of the altar as well being an extension of the form of the ark according to Gandy.\footnote{\textit{Cirlot}, p. 66.}

\footnote{David Watkin is responsible for bringing to our attention that an engraving from Baron D'Hancarville's book inspired this section of Gandy's painting; in both we view the bull about to break the cosmic egg, a symbol of fertility and regeneration.}

Having ascended midway along the central axis of the celestial hierarchy, we descend to begin ascent once more from the surface of the earth. On either side of Gandy's emblematic cosmology are the primitive prototypes of dwelling: the cave, the forest, and natural and geological rock formations. On the bottom left of the composition there is a powerful
formal juxtaposition between a twisted ‘natural’ column (that looks strangely like the Apprentice Pillar at Roslin Chapel) placed below a tree with an entwined serpent, representative of the Ouroboros. Formally, the three bottom images - cave, stepped pyramid, and cave again - each have a vertical element displayed within them. Like the Holy Cross occupying the central pyramid, Gandy suggests that the djed pillar, the pillars of Seth, and the Gothic chapter house column, are all derived from primitive columns (such as the tree trunk or stalagmite) that mark the vertical axis mundi in architecture.

Symmetrically arranged around the central axis flanking the ark above the cave dwellings, are two trees with serpents wound around them recalling the Garden of Eden as well as world serpent mythology from Egypt to Greece.

Above these and parallel to the ark, on the left is the Tent of Abraham, shown covering an altar plinth that symbolizes the change from human to animal sacrifice; and on the right, seen in the distance with smoke rising around the Holy of Holies, is the Tabernacle in the Desert which housed the covenant given to Moses. The sacred trinity of Noah, Abraham, and Moses are a line of men who each received divine instructions regarding sacrifice and architecture. The placement of their respective shelters in the painting, amidst light that gradually turns into cloudy atmospheric luminosity, indicates the evolution of architecture from the natural to the human dwelling. Following from the original natural dwellings of caves and arbors seen below, these early forms of artifice also mark a shift away from the pagan buildings of worship, such as the pyramid or the stupa.

---

46 Masonic Historian Harry Mendoza has an interesting theory regarding how the zodiac relates to the twelve tribes of Israel at the foundation of the Tabernacle in the Desert. See Mendoza's study, *The Ensigns of the Twelve Tribes of Israel*, Lewis Masonic, 1989. The discussion surrounding the symbolism of the zodiac in freemasonry is helpful in terms of the analogy between Temple and Universe, found cleverly engraved in Soane's domical lantern for the Freemasons' Hall.

47 Noah, tenth in the line of Adam, received assistance in building the ark from Aholiab and Bezaleel. Following in the line of Noah, Abraham left Ur and went to Canaan. He set up a sacrificial altar to the Lord in order to offer his only son, Isaac; under divine instruction he then replaced this human sacrifice with animal sacrifice (choosing a ram), which changed the nature of religious worship. Thus, a connection between the Ark of Noah as the prototype of the altar and the sacrificial altar of Abraham exists. In his turn, Moses led the Israelites from Egypt to Canaan, taking with him the laws which formed the covenant between god and man. Thus, the Ark of the Covenant became a most sacred object and was housed within the Tabernacle in the Desert. Eventually, this ark would make its way into the building of the Temple of Solomon. Altar (inside Abraham's Tent) and reliquary (Tabernacle in the Desert) represent sacrifice and icon worship respectively; both represented in Gandy's emblems.
In the upper centre of the image, on axis just above the ark of Noah, a winged disc is attached to a double headed dragon with its two tails entwined like the caduceus of Hermes/Mercury. According to Gandy’s narrative this unidentified orb formally emulating the crescent shape of the ark, would make sense as the moon although it appears more alchemical than astronomical as the representation of the union of opposites. This is only one of three winged creatures, along with two triform winged chimeras (with faces of an eagle, a lion, and a human), upon which the enormous wheel of the zodiac is suspended. Lukacher associates these figures with Mithraic mythology, however, they seem to be taken directly from the plate in Dupuis’ work, “Zodiaque circulaire de Denderah” [fig. 9]. Due to their placement in the lunar sphere, they may be interpreted as symbols for the planetary god Mercury who is the emblem of the word and often shown in triform. “In astronomy, he is the son of heaven and light,” and in alchemy, Mercury is associated with both lunar and feminine principles. Portrayed as the active intermediary between opposing forces, the symbol of the Rebis is associated with transmutation and intellectual energy. Mercury’s double nature is that “of a chthonian god and a celestial god - a hermaphrodite.” Thus, the central figure of the moon flanked by its pair of hermaphroditic winged figures transports us from the ark to the lunar sphere - as from involution to evolution - towards the characters of the zodiac.

The presence of the zodiac also confirms Gandy’s obsession with Sabaism - the worship of the heavenly bodies; or in Hebrew, the heavenly host - and its associations from Noah and the Deluge to the advent of astrology. Seven of the twelve signs of the zodiac are illustrated. The other five zodiac characters are concealed from sight, including Gandy’s own sign of Virgo, which is governed by Mercury and characterized by dual forces. On axis in the centre of the constellation ring, Gandy intentionally places the first sign of the zodiac, Aries, the ram, which is “a symbol of the creative impulse and of the spirit at the moment of inception.” As the first zodiac character, Aries stands for the initial impulse through which the potential becomes actual; it is therefore related to Spring and to the

---

48 While the central face is clearly human, the repeated figures may have four different faces. I am uncertain as to whether the bird is an eagle or a falcon; its opposite face appears to be a lion in one instance and a bear in the other figure. If this is a representation of Mercury, the solar lion joining with the eagle would make symbolic sense from an alchemical point of view. In this case, the bird faced image may also be the portrayal of a turtle, an animal associated with Hermes/Mercury.

49 Cirlot, p. 207.

50 Ibid., p. 207.

51 Ibid., p. 18.
beginning of any life cycle, or process of creation. As the center of cosmic forces, Aries controls the “center of the individual’s physical and spiritual energies” and therefore occupies the place directly below the emanation of the sun. Aries also symbolizes the original cause which emerged from the primordial waters, and in Hindu symbolism stands for the undifferentiated whole.

I am convinced that Gandy chose the rotation of the zodiac symbols carefully in order to display Aries. To the right of Aries are the signs Taurus, Gemini, and Cancer; and to the left of Aries are the three preceding signs: Pisces, Aquarius, and Capricorn. With Aquarius, the water bearer, both “Eastern and Western traditions relate this archetype to the symbolic flood which stands not only for the end of a formal universe but also for the completion of any cycle by the destruction of the power which held its components together.” In Hindu mythology, the water symbolism of Aquarius and Pisces is conceived of as Alpha and Omega, where “each end carries the seed of a new beginning (Ouroborus).” When considered as a whole, the zodiac (meaning wheel of life) represents the cycles of existence, a symbol expressed abstractly in the continuous figure of the Ouroborus and also in the form of the mandala. In A Dictionary of Symbols, J.E. Cirlot summarizes the meaning of the zodiac characters in the sky most eloquently: “The general significance of the Zodiac concerns the process by which ‘primordial energy’ once fecundated, passes from the potential to the virtual, from unity to multiplicity, from spirit to matter, from the non-formal world to the world of forms,’ and then returns along the same path.” This cycle is consistent with Gandy’s understanding of the volatile form of architecture as he creates his own cosmology.

In the upper centre of the composition, forming a counterpoint to the zodiac ring that is witnessed at night, a brilliant sun looms in all its crowning glory. The sun and the zodiac - day and night - were complementary sources of inspiration for pagan worship in all cultures and religions. Fulfilling his own mystical doctrine, from the geometric centre of the sun emanates a tiny white spark, or atom, that fills the entire centre of the painting with an amber light, as luminous as the source of existence. Gandy’s archetypal symbols are all located in a vertical hierarchy of emblems around a central axis building up to this

---

52 Ibid., p. 19.
53 Ibid., p. 15.
54 Ibid., p. 15.
55 Ibid., p. 382.
crescendo: the Crucifixion, the Holy Ghost, Brahma, Noah’s Ark, the moon, zodiac, sun, and finally the Supreme Source. The three zones of earth, horizon, and heaven each serve to reinforce the vertical inertia of the image towards the ‘Oneness’ of things. Gandy masterfully presents us with the divine power of the cosmos with Architecture manifested as one of its supreme emanations. In his writings, Gandy recorded his preoccupation with the doctrine of emanation, speculating on the sacred origins of the universe which began from a common source before each culture embellished this origin with various ‘characteristics:’

"Man is but an atom of an emanation, as sparks from a fire, yet mentally blind he knows not his origin or his extinction. If the origin of man cannot be traced, why may not his existence after death be continued, without the earthly particles being carried with it. Is not mind like the radii of the Sun, a limited part of the sacred Aum to which God has not set bounds except in the law of his general principles."36

In “Architecture, an emblematic sketch,” Gandy plays on the recurring imagery of Aries and Taurus, the first two signs of the zodiac and both symbols of the earth and fertility. He also cleverly makes correspondences between fire and water symbolism, from Leo to Aquarius. This painting demonstrates Gandy’s belief that the Ark of Noah and the astral signs were linked in navigation and in early worship. In “Architecture; its natural model” he wrote that the heavenly bodies constitute a ‘pictomen’57 which may be interpreted as a ‘visual omen’ to be read by an augur. The ritual of divination associated with the constellations as omens also alludes to the occult power of prognostication, symbolized by the ring of the celestial signs. Gandy’s magical beliefs in the powers of natural philosophy, and the mutual actions of one body upon another, are constantly revealed in his dualistic encoding of the painting. In Gandy’s universe, reinforced by the bilateral symmetry of the composition, the distinctions between natural history, natural philosophy, and cultural artifice begin to reconcile as they are all presented in one giant harmonious tableau.

Visual comparisons between “Architecture, an emblematic sketch” and other esoteric works, mentioned by both Lukacher and Watkin,58 range from Dupuis’ frontispiece for

---

56 Gandy Green Book, p. 249.
57 Although the transcription is not clear from the Royal Academy dictionary (compiled by Algemon Graves), that lists the word as ‘pychomen,’ Lukacher (who most likely made his interpretation from the actual painting) interprets the term as ‘nychthemon.’ Given the context of the phrase, I feel that the word may be pictomen. Please see the discussion of this phrase in footnote 20 of this chapter.
58 Both Dupuis and Baron D’Hancarville have been referenced by Brian Lukacher and David Watkin in
Origine de tous les cultes, ou religion universelle (1822 edition) [fig. 10], to Baron D'Hancarville's frontispiece for Recherches sur l'origine, l'esprit, et les progrès des arts de la Grèce... (1785) [fig. 11]. These references demonstrate that Gandy was not working within a vacuum and that he felt he could borrow freely from the lexicon of images that supported his narrative. Another reference that could virtually act as an accompanying text for the occult painting is the esoteric passage from Swedenborg's Heavens and its Wonders and Hell:

"What has been said in this work about heaven, the world of spirits, and hell, will be obscure to those who have no interest in learning about spiritual truths, but will be clear to those who have such an interest, and especially to those who have an affection for truth because it is truth; for whatever is then loved enters with light into the mind's thought, especially truth that is loved, because all truth is in light."59

THE UNIFIED NARRATIVE OF "COMPARATIVE ARCHITECTURE"

"Architecture, an emblematic sketch" is an awe-inspiring sublime image that reflects Gandy's Romanticism in creating his own cosmos. However, in terms of Gandy's mystical architectural theory, where he has now become the demiurge, the painting only fully makes sense when understood as the culmination of a continuous narrative in relation to its two partner images. That each of the three existing paintings for "Comparative Architecture" displays an image of the ark of Noah is enlightening evidence that Gandy's universe had two origins; the first by divine Genesis (antediluvian), and the second following the Deluge (postdiluvian). The world's rebirth, with the divinely inspired Noah as its architect, led to the creation of the first human model of architecture. Why else would the ark appear as a unifying motif, or symbol, in images as diverse as "Comparative characteristics of thirteen selected styles of architecture" (1836), "Comparative Architecture -- an emblematic sketch" (1837), and "Architecture; its natural model" (1838).

In terms of artifice, the Ark of Noah and the Ark of the Covenant each fall into a category involving human industry that was assisted by divine instruction. In Gandy's final paintings, we are certainly confronted with the divine origins of architecture presented in three stages. Slightly shuffling the order in which these paintings were exhibited at the Academy will allow us to see Gandy's intended narrative sequence for his "Comparative

---

59 Emanuel Swedenborg, Heaven and its Wonders and Hell (1758), trans. by J.C. Ager, 1900. p. 573.
Architecture” project. This informed speculation will follow Gandy’s three epochs of architecture. In the first of three stages, “Comparative characteristics of thirteen selected styles of architecture,” portrays the present (Christian era); the varied cultural artifacts of architecture are placed upon a common ground, having evolved their different characteristics, or styles, from the seed of the Ark of Noah which appears directly at the bottom of the image. When viewing this painting in elevation, one stands in the present looking at a rainbow of characteristics which draws the eye downward and back in time.

The next stage is portrayed in “Architecture; its natural model;” an image that has been decoded by many authors. Through perspective, Gandy illustrates the world after the waters have receded and human artifice begins (Postdiluvian). In this second stage of humankind, portraying an earlier time than the first image, man appears in his natural habitat, having descended from the ark situated on the distant horizon. Having first sought shelter in the natural world, the primitive couple in the foreground will accordingly ‘ape,’ or imitate, the natural models of architecture displayed in the image. Here, the eye is drawn upward towards the ark as we look back in time recalling the Flood. The viewer is placed closer to the memory of architecture’s first model.

During the third and final stage of consciousness - even Enlightenment - which is displayed in “Architecture, an emblematic sketch,” Gandy assembles all the world’s religions and sacred forms - both prototypes and archetypes (Creation). Gleaned from natural and artificial sources, the two forms of nature and culture are montaged. The sequential narrative of “Comparative Architecture” is tied together by the presence of the ark as Gandy takes the viewer on a fabulous voyage through time marking an event which he categorized as one of “the three greatest Epochs in the history of the world”⁶⁰ that are now shown simultaneously: Christianity, the Deluge, and the primal Sun of Creation. Having approached the eternal present, the blinding light emanating from the solar disc remains the overwhelming first impression of the painting.

In each of the three paintings one senses the presence of the ark. First the ark is below the viewer, next the viewer is below the ark, and finally, the viewer is confronted by Gandy’s original model of architecture. These three stages may also be interpreted as time present, past, and future, in which case we are possibly witnessing the eternal present of Being.

⁶⁰ Gandy, APSA, p. 220.
The sequence of these three images moves from Gandy’s present historical moment, to that following the Flood, and finally towards the horizon of the world’s rebirth and its divine origins. Suspended with the Ark of Noah, the viewer now confronts the dawn of Creation.

For Gandy, Noah’s Ark possessed a clavis universalis which in turn unlocked the divine nature of architecture. Having arrived at the divine seed housed in the ark, there were no further architectural representations for Gandy to make, except for perhaps vocalizing the AUM associated with the harmony of the universe:

"There is a God, Omnipotent, Omnigent, Omniscent, that made, pervades, and commands the Universe, the sacred Aum or Om of all antiquity, incomprehensible, like time, space, and eternity his habitation and being, he is a circle without beginning or end, and radii everywhere, his laws are immutable, formed on general principles although they appear partial to limited man." 61

OCCULT ENLIGHTENMENT

One of the strengths of Gandy’s overall vision of “Comparative Architecture” lay in his refusal to accept a linear chronology for his model of architectural history. He retained this belief while creating a visual universe where architectural styles coexisted as independent cultural achievements each derived from an original ‘model.’ In numerous passages of his writing, Gandy evokes the universal essence of the sacred expressed in the ancient idea of the Ouroboros, combined with the pantheistic tradition of the Greeks. Following this syncretic view, Gandy’s religious views appear to be a mixture of paganism, Christianity, deism, and eastern philosophy. Gandy mystically credits the creation of the world to a Supreme Being, or First Principle, but afterwards aligns his views with ‘natural religion,’ seen on display in his final watercolors. In his journal, Gandy’s cosmic mysticism combines to formulate a universal theory consisting of:

"Life, light, spirit, mind, soul, wisdom, genius as a bundle of colors in a ray of the sun are but different names, or attributes of a constituent part of the Deity. Man possesses these in a more or less eminent degree, arising from some yet undiscovered general principle, perhaps incomprehensible principle belonging to God alone." 62

---

61 Ibid., p. 249.
62 Ibid., p. 250.
Gandy’s final form for the incommensurable and incomprehensible first principle which finds expression in the natural world is divine light. Man therefore mirrors nature in order to emulate the divine, and hence he arrives at the belief in the sacred and mystical origins of architecture. Inspired by the *systema naturae* of Linnaeus which arranged natural phenomena into classes, orders, genera, and species, Gandy developed his own method of arranging the natural history of architecture into styles, ornament, characteristics, and original models.

The visionary Gandy was also too aware of architecture’s occult and esoteric sources to engage in a superficial battle regarding architectural styles, having translated his ideas through architectural narrative that traced the origins of architecture back to the story of Creation. Following man’s initial arrogance culminating in the confusion of language associated with the building of Babel, Gandy searched for a universal language that would resolve the dialectic between language and building, and ultimately between language and meaning. Try as he might, however, Gandy could not organize his written architectural language into a coherent system, although he did masterfully represent it through these individual images that continue to play upon the architectural imagination. Given the social and philosophical contexts of the 1840’s, Gandy’s quest for a trans-historical and mythographic theory of architecture marks an end of the classic tradition with regard to sacred history. By the final decade of his life, Gandy’s visual encyclopedia of ‘comparative’ world architecture was eclipsed by the early stages of industrial production and the future version of myth - the myth of progress.
Chapter 9
MASONS OPERATIVE AND SPECULATIVE

Allegorical Frontispiece to James Anderson's Constitutions
Giovanni Battista Cipriani and Paul Sandby
Engraved by F. Bartolozzi and J. Fittler, c. 1784

183
Chapter 9

MASONS OPERATIVE AND SPECULATIVE

"To keep their science to themselves they dwelt in huts near the buildings on which they were engaged, and for the same reason they conversed with each other chiefly by signs understood by themselves. Hence mankind, not having free access to the real source from whence this Society derived its knowledge, knows so little with certainty of the origin of this peculiar style of building."1

John Soane, Lecture V

The grammar rules instruct the tongue and pen.
Rhetorick teaches eloquence to men:
By logick we are taught to reason well,
Music has charms beyond our power to tell:
The use of numbers numberless we find.
Geometry give measure to mankind.
The heavenly system elevates the mind.
All those, and many secrets more.
The Masons taught in days of yore.

"On the Seven Liberal Arts & Sciences," Ahiman Rezon, 1778

OPERATIVE MASONRY

Although freemasonry borrows from the history of architecture to form its foundation myths and develop its allegories, 'speculative' masons never assumed the responsibilities of 'operative' masons and the building art. While they remain different disciplines, an indirect influence of the history of architecture upon the history of freemasonry involved the practices of medieval operative masons, whose traditions were passed on from master to apprentice and whose operative knowledge was transmitted through the lodges, songs, signs, and instructions reserved for initiates [fig. 1]. The earliest records of the practices, traditions and operative knowledge of these masons, prior to the founding of the Grand Lodge, are known as the 'Old Charges.'2 "The various MS. Constitutions of Masonry (commonly called the 'Old Charges') consist of a body of regulations, i.e., the Charges properly speaking, prefaced by a legendary account of the origin of the building industry

1 John Soane, Lectures on Architecture, p. 80.
2 Anderson's Constitutions includes operative masons’ 'Old Charges' in the form of ancient Charters which outlined the conduct of medieval masons on the building site.
and the supposed manner in which the regulations came into being."³ These manuscripts, dating from the end of the fourteenth century to the late seventeenth century, describe in general the guidelines, or charges, for the social behavior of Masons, both within their Craft and within society at large.⁴ The two oldest extant ancient manuscripts of Masonry are the Regius MS., written in verse, from about 1390,⁵ followed by the Cooke MS.,⁶ written in prose circa 1430.⁷ Knoop and Jones comment on the possible meaning of the poetic form of the Cooke MS.:

“If, as is likely, the majority of masons in the period of extensive building were migratory, and moved about as our investigations seem to show, and that individually rather than in organized groups, it is not very probable that the rules of the craft would be carried about in writing, but quite conceivable that they would be orally transmitted. In these circumstances, the metrical form might have had value as a mnemotechnic device, comparable to the rhymes by which medical students remembered part of their art, or the stanza by means of which children today remember the number of days in each month.”⁸

The ‘Old Charges’ dealt with masons’ customs and the accepted and prohibited actions both within and outside of the building lodge. There was often a description of the seven liberal Arts and Sciences (comprised of the trivium and quadrivium)⁹ that the medieval and monastic institutions followed. By 1400, with the vast amount of ecclesiastical building ongoing in medieval Europe, masons certainly held the power to move freely from one building site to another, and upon occasion, might be granted a royal charter. In 1463, the Worshipful Company of Masons of the City of London erected its first hall. Less than a

⁴ For a list of the various early MSS. influencing freemasonry, see John Hamill’s informative study entitled The History of English Freemasonry, 1994. Hamill is the Librarian and Curator of the United Grand Lodge of England. Of particular note is Appendix C, “Chronology,” p. 181. This is sometimes referred to as the Halliwell Manuscript.
⁵ By 1376, the Freemason and Mason Company of London was in existence. For a full list of the Old Charges, or operative MSS., see Albert Mackey’s abridged version of The History of Freemasonry. New York: Gramercy Books, 1996. p. 15.
⁸ The seven liberal arts included the trivium: Grammar, Rhetoric, and Logic; followed by the quadrivium: Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, and Astronomy. Architecture is often described as a sub-division of Geometry, relating it to Masonry. Please refer to song quoted at the opening of this chapter.
decade later, in 1472, the Masons' Company of London was granted a coat of arms, and was later incorporated by Charles II in 1677. Over the centuries, operative masons' lodges continued to hold an increasing amount of power over their members, until finally, as Knoop and Jones note:

"In the seventeenth century the powers of the London Masons' Company extended to any place within seven miles of the City of London or Westminster, and it may be that the London masons possessed similar powers by earlier charters."

The direct links between operative masonry and the development of speculative freemasonry have been debated at great length. At the turn of the seventeenth century, the first record of the admission of a non-operative Mason into a Lodge in Scotland was found; and by 1621, the records of the Worshipful Company of Freemasons of London indicated the admission of both 'accepted' and 'operative' members. Aside from sharing Anderson's legendary history of building, and borrowing the terms for officers of freemasonry including master mason, warden, and apprentice, the ties between the two groups still appear to remain more symbolic than actual. Several scholars of freemasonry have argued that the speculative science of freemasonry developed along its own lines as a fraternity; although the symbolic influences of operative masonry and of architecture remain clearly present in numerous aspects of Masonic ritual.

The antiquarian Elias Ashmole (1617-1692) remains one of the more famous early non-operative masons in England. Ashmole dabbled in alchemy, studied astrology, was an officer in the court of Charles II, wrote a history of the 'Order of the Garter,' published in 1672, and intended to write a history of Masonry as well. According to his diary entry dated 16 October 1646, he claims he "was made a Free-Mason at Warrington in Lancashire with Coll. Henry Mainwaring of Karincham in Cheshire." Along with founder members Christopher Wren and Bishop John Wilkins of the Royal Society, which was incorporated in 1662, Ashmole was elected a Fellow of the Society on 20 May 1663.

---

10 In 1655, 'The Company of Freemasons of the City of London' changed its name to 'The Company of Masons.'
11 Knoop and Jones, p. 274.
12 The collector also ended up with the Tradescants' cabinet of curiosities, which became the core of the Ashmolean Museum that opened to the public in 1683.
14 In Living the Enlightenment, Margaret C. Jacob cites evidence from de Vignoles (1744) and
By the end of the seventeenth century in England these honorary 'accepted' Masons began to outnumber the skilled craftsmen called 'free' Masons. In 1682, Ashmole recounts in his diary his summons to Masons Hall for the admission of six gentlemen, none of whom were operative masons, into the Fellowship of Free Masons at London: "We all dyed at the Halfe Moon Taverne in Cheapside, at a Noble Dinner prepared at the charge of the New-accepted Masons."\textsuperscript{15} Ashmole's account of entering freemasonry is not unusual, considering that both the York MS. and Scarborough MS. 'Old Charges' list members just before and after the turn of the eighteenth century. What remains important to our discussion is that over the course of the seventeenth century, freemasonry gave way to the dominance of speculative over operative masons, as the new Society of Free and Accepted Masons took shape. To appreciate the important role freemasonry played in the early nineteenth century requires examining some of the major influences that may have contributed to this Enlightenment shift: England's political changes, its involvement in war, and the intellectual and cultural expansion which took place beginning in the mid seventeenth century.

**ANDERSON'S CONSTITUTIONS (1723)**

Organized freemasonry began in England when the first Grand Lodge of London and Westminster\textsuperscript{16} was formed on the feast of St. John the Baptist, 24 June 1717, at the Goose and Gridiron Tavern \textsuperscript{[ch. 4 fig. 12]}\textsuperscript{17} In 1721, four years after Anthony Sayer was first elected Grand Lodge Master, John, the 2nd Duke of Montagu, was made the official Grand Master of the Premier Grand Lodge, an event recorded on the frontispiece to Dr. James Anderson's book *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons*.\textsuperscript{18}

The Reverend Dr. James Anderson (1680-1739) was born in Aberdeen where he trained as a theologian, became an MA of the Marischal College, and was also chaplain to the Earl of Buchan. After becoming a minister in the Church of Scotland, Anderson moved to London to

---

\textsuperscript{15} Edward Oakley (1728) claiming that architect Christopher Wren was Grand Master of the society of 'accepted' Masons in 1710, and may have been part of the brotherhood as early as 1681. See Jacob, chapter 3, p. 92.

\textsuperscript{16} Hamill, p. 36.

\textsuperscript{17} Precursor to the Grand Lodge of England.

\textsuperscript{17} In 1716, a group of Masons who met at the Apple Tree Tavern resolved to gather again the following year, which resulted in the auspicious meeting at the Goose and Gridiron.

\textsuperscript{18} The first Minute Book of Grand Lodge opens on June 23, 1723.
where, by 1710, he led the ministry of a Presbyterian Chapel in Swallow Street, Piccadilly, until 1734. In 1721, however, Anderson was commissioned by London’s Grand Lodge to compile a new book of Masonic constitutions. Anderson writes that the “book was undertaken under the command” of the Duke of Montagu as Grand Master of the Premier Grand Lodge. Dr. Anderson’s charge was to study the Old Institutions, or Charges, in order to write a comprehensive history of freemasonry, as well as record a new method for English 'Speculative' Masonry. On 27 December 1721, Montagu appointed fourteen learned brethren ‘to examine the manuscript’ which was to be printed once it had been approved.

Anderson’s collaborator, John Theophilus Desaguliers (1673-1744) was a Huguenot and a man of letters associated early on with English freemasonry. He was a clergyman of the Anglican church and had been chaplain to the Prince of Wales, who had been admitted to freemasonry under himself. A fellow of the Royal Society and an assistant of Newton, who had been elected to the Royal Society in 1671, Desaguliers lectured on mechanical and experimental philosophy in London and, in 1719, was elected Grand Master of the Premier Grand Lodge becoming an invaluable editor to Anderson’s work. At the time of compiling the *Constitutions*, the Duke of Wharton was Grand Master of Grand Lodge; J. T. Desaguliers (who wrote the Dedication of the *Constitutions* in honor of the Duke of Montagu) was the Deputy Grand Master; and the Duke of Montagu was past Grand Master.

After much labour, the book was finally finished for the Quarterly Communication of 17 January, 1722-23, and was first published in 1723, with a second edition appearing as soon as 1738. Although the frontispiece remains unaltered for the two editions, the second edition includes an expanded legendary history of freemasonry. Both editions have an historical essay followed by summary extracts from the ancient records and Charges, called “The Charges of a Free-Mason.” These Charges outline the conduct of a Mason concerning God and religion, the ideals of Masonry, the actions of Masons in society, the definition of a Lodge, the role of the Officers of Masonry, and so on. General regulations, the method of constituting a new lodge, an approbation, and Masonic songs for the three degrees - plus the Warden’s Song - form other parts of Anderson’s work. My commentary will be

---

20 After 1751, the Premier Grand Lodge would also be called the ‘Modems.’
restricted to the first edition with particular reference to the historical essay and the symbolism of its frontispiece.

Anderson’s frontispiece for the first edition of the *Constitutions* depicts the Duke of Montagu standing in the foreground, handing a roll of the ‘Constitutions’ to his successor, Philip, Duke of Wharton. Behind Wharton, on the right and dressed in cleric’s robes, is Deputy Grand Master Desaguliers. Inscribed upon the gridded perspectival floor of the temple between the two Grand Masters appears Euclid’s forty-seventh theorem, demonstrating the properties of constructive Geometry and reminding the viewer that Masonry is based upon this constructive science. The scenic backdrop for the frontispiece shows the five orders of Architecture (from Composite to Doric) presented in classically doubled columns receding in perspective and forming an arcade ending in an archway that frames a distant view of Nature. An example of both Architecture and Masonry, another arch in the foreground is supported by Composite columns; and finally, above, in the vaulted ‘sky’ of the arcade is an Apollo-Phoebus figure in the act of apotheosis riding a chariot across the heavens.21 The meaning of the frontispiece is self-evident, affirming the foundation of freemasonry upon Geometry and Architecture, as Grand Master Montagu passes the torch to the incoming Grand Master Wharton.

As in song, the history of Masonry was, and still is, passed on through words that are shared and renewed on each new occasion. During the admission of a new brother, it remains important that passages from the introductory essay in *The Constitution, History, Laws, Charges, Orders, Regulations, and Usages, of the Right Worshipful Fraternity of Accepted Free Masons* be read aloud among the collective fraternity, assuring that the entering apprentice be exposed to the oral traditions constituting the history of the Craft. Working with his French colleague, Anderson set about writing this legendary history of the Craft, beginning with the parallel origins of Geometry and Masonry. Anderson’s genealogy commences with the beginning of recorded time,22 with Adam, “our first Parent, created after the image of God, the great Architect of the Universe,”23 who, the

21 The same motif will be discussed in relation to the Soane Festival where Soane’s allegorical apotheosis took place.
22 Anderson begins with Year 1 according to the Anno Mundi (A.M.); corresponding to 4003 BC. James Ussher (1581-1656) put forward 4003 BC as a date for creation, used by freemasons as Anno Lucis and taking 4000 years. Thus, 2003 AD corresponds with 6003 AL. I thank John Ashby for bringing Ussher to my attention.
23 These and the following quotes are taken from the 1924 reprint of Anderson’s *Constitutions*
author writes, must have had Geometry ‘written on his Heart.’ The chronology of the ‘old World,’ according to Anderson, lasted from Adam to the Flood - a period covering 1,656 years. Following Josephus and other classical sources, Adam’s sons are named as two Princes of Mankind; one line descending from Cain, and the other from Seth. Anderson doesn’t focus on the construction of the Ark of Noah, although he notes that after the Flood, Noah and his three sons, Japhet, Shem, and Ham - ‘all Masons true’ - brought with them the traditions of Masonry, settling on the plains of Shinar.

The Constitutions traces the history of the ‘Royal Art’ of Masonry through the ages, stopping at the wonders of the ancient world, and progressing through the great builders and monuments of Egypt, Greece, and Rome. Following the construction of the Tower of Babel, Noah’s descendants dispersed throughout Assyria, continuing to transmit the good Science of Geometry through the Chaldees and Magi, finally reaching Egypt and Mitzraim, the second son of Ham. As Geometry continued to be passed on, Anderson arrives at the model of the Temple at Jerusalem, built in just seven years and six months, to the ‘Amazement of all the World.’

The combined efforts of King Solomon and Hiram, ‘The most accomplished Mason upon Earth,’ allowed King David’s son and his Master Mason to erect the Temple by Divine Direction, ‘without the Noise of Work-mens Tools.’ According to Anderson’s account, the legendary Temple engaged the craft of 3,600 Master Masons, 80,000 Fellow Craftsmen, and 70,000 Labourers, becoming the ‘finest piece of Masonry upon Earth.’ With its 1,453 Columns of Parian Marble and housing 300,000 persons, the Temple “was dedicated, or consecrated, in the most solemn manner by King Solomon” in 3000 Anno Mundi (which equates to 1004 BC). Upon raising such a magnificent monument, King Solomon became Grand Master of the Lodge at Jerusalem, while King Hiram was Grand Master of the Lodge at Tyre. After the completion of Solomon’s Temple, an increasing number of Masons once again dispersed throughout ‘Syria, Mesopotamia, Africa, Chaldea, Babylonia,’ and Europe, becoming Grand Masters ‘each in his own Territory.’ ‘At length the Royal Art’ was carried from Egypt and Jerusalem into Greece, supporting Anderson’s claim that through tradition, Geometry and Masonry were disseminated from Adam’s seed to the whole earth.

---

24 Anderson, p. 9. (original pagination)
From this point onwards in the 1723 text, Anderson makes a set of assertions largely based on legend that he uses to support his history of Masonry. With the art of the Craft eventually flourishing in Egypt, Greece, and Asia, the next Geometricians of notoriety were Pythagoras and Archimedes, from the island of Sicily. The Romans, in turn, would learn the science and art of Geometry from Sicily and other nations, with Rome soon becoming ‘the Center of Learning’ and the major Imperial Power under Augustus Caesar. The reign of Augustus would witness the births of “the great Architect of the Church,” Jesus Christ, and the learned scholar Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, “the father of all true Architects to this Day.”26 According to Anderson, Emperor Augustus was the Grand Master of the Lodge at Rome, and through his patronage of Vitruvius, fostered the ‘Augustan Stile’ in Architecture which establishes the Royalist tone of Anderson’s text. From Augustan Rome, the torch was passed from Vitruvius to several other great Masons of the Renaissance who built grand public temples, churches, and palaces.

Contemporaries at the time of Anderson’s writing on the history of freemasonry include Colen Campbell, Lord Burlington, William Kent, and James Leoni who were all actively engaged in English Palladianism. Anderson was familiar with Colen Campbell’s Vitruvius Brittanicus; or the British Architect, published in London between 1715-1717, “with a clear direction towards Vitruvius, Palladio and Inigo Jones.”28 Campbell shared a passion for Palladian architecture along with Lord Burlington. What the masterful Inigo Jones had done for Palladian architecture in England during the seventeenth century, Burlington continued as a patron of the arts in supporting the Palladian style, having hired architects James Gibbs and Colen Campbell to work on his house in Piccadilly. Later inspired by Villa Rotunda, the neo-Palladian Chiswick House was designed by William Kent, with Burlington’s assistance, and completed by 1727.

Concurrent with Campbell’s first volume of Vitruvius Brittanicus, James Leoni worked on the English translation of Palladio between 1715-19, finally publishing Palladio’s Four Books on Architecture in 1721, the same year that Anderson was commissioned to write

---

26 Anderson, pp. 24-25.
27 Ibid., p. 25. This is also when Anderson’s treatise changes over from using the double dates of Anno Mundi (A.M.), or BC, to Anno Domini (A.D.).
28 For a provocative paper that touches on the meaning of Anderson’s theory, please refer to “The Eighteenth-Century Lodge as a School of Architecture” by Christopher Haffner. AQC 101 (1988), pp. 160-185. This quote is taken from p. 165.
his version of the history of freemasonry. Through Anderson’s history, Jones the Italophile is recast as a master mason now building on English soil; Campbell would recast Jones as the ‘Vitruvius Britannicus’ in similar homage. Christopher Haffner observes that in the second edition of the *Constitutions* (1738), Anderson reaffirms his support of the Augustan style in England:

“Inigo Jones, upon his Return, laid aside his Pencil, and took up the Square, Level, and Plumb, and became the Vitruvius Britannicus, the Rival of Palladio and all the Italian Revivers.”

In Anderson’s chronology each character in the ancient world, from Adam to Vitruvius, was skilled in the arts of Geometry and Masonry. His ‘modern’ genealogy from Vitruvius to Palladio and Jones, however, moves through the history of Britain’s Grand Masters. Having established a direct line all the way from Adam to Jones, the Scottish line of kings leads to the figure of James VI of Scotland, the first King of Great Britain who was the patron to Inigo Jones. The King and Jones join forces at a cross-roads where the Royal Art of Masonry begins to flourish in England. Anderson recounts how the great Master Mason Jones travelled to Italy, recovering Roman Architecture from Gothic ignorance, and championing the Augustan Style in buildings including the Royal Palace of Whitehall and the Banqueting House, ‘the finest one Room upon Earth.’ Once again, Anderson acknowledges that Jones owed much to the memory of Italian luminaries, including: “Bramante, Barbaro, Sansovino, Sangallo, Michael Angelo, Raphael Urbin, Julio Romano, Serglio, Labaco, Scamozi, Vignola, and many other bright Architects; but above all the great Palladio,” who was justly rivalled in England by Jones himself.

The Restoration of Charles II to the throne in 1660 marked the reopening of the theaters in Britain, the patronage of architect Christopher Wren, and a Royal Charter granted to the “Royal Society of London for the Promotion of Natural Knowledge.” According to Anderson’s history, following the next high point in England with the architecture of Wren, the Lodges of Free-Masons descended once more into ignorance during the reign of James II. With the sudden death of King Charles II in 1685, and the ascension to the

---

30 Ibid., p. 39. Haffner points out that this list is also virtually taken from Campbell’s treatise, with the addition of Vignola’s name that Palladio had included in his *Quattro Libri* - a further example of architectural treatises influencing Masonic history, p. 174.
thrones of his brother King James II of England (and VII of Scotland), Catholics were once
again appointed to public office, the king built Whitehall Palace and the British military
assumed control over Ireland. In this section of the Constitutions Anderson glides over the
exile of the Stuarts and the ensuing Jacobite rebellion, although in 1688, Mary of Modena
gave birth to the son of James II, the future James Stewart (the Old Pretender), which
caused an invitation to William of Orange and Mary to ascend the British throne. When

Anderson and Desaguliers relate Masonry and the founding of the lodges ultimately to
George I and to the worthy Grand Master, Prince John, the Duke of Montagu, to whom the
book of Constitutions was dedicated. Under King George I, Anderson observes that the
British developed ‘their happy Genius for Masonry;’ now the most ancient and worshipful
Fraternity were so securely founded that “the whole Body resembles a well built Arch,”31
as seen in the frontispiece of the Constitutions. With the full allegory in place, it becomes
increasingly clear that freemasonry required its own legendary history of architecture to
structure its Royalist edifice:

"The whole internal structure of Freemasonry's ritual is permeated with and built
around matters of architecture and of building, not used for their original purpose,
but for the more noble and glorious purpose of setting forth some principle of life,
some philosophy, some aspect of character making."32

The principles and ideals of brotherly love, of the betterment of society, of individual
liberty and moral goodness, each grew out of the philosophy of the Enlightenment. In
freemasonry, these ideals were framed by referencing the moral edifice to the act of making
architecture.33 Allegory and symbol were related to the principles of Masonry, just as in
Soane’s lectures where architecture relied on the principles of ancient models in
architecture. While English Freemasonry dealt with philosophical and moral principles, the
Royal Academy dealt with the underlying principles of the problems of architectural form.

FREEMASONRY AND THE JACOBITES

31 Anderson, p. 48.  
32 From the Pocket Encyclopedia of Masonic Symbols, p. 11.  
33 The primary source for freemasons remains the Temple of Solomon, an equally important
precedent in architectural theory, being the first recorded permanent building of the four archetypal
constructions in the Old Testament. See chapter 4 for discussion.

193
It was from Paris, between 1688 and 1691, that a small number of Stuart supporters (in French the spelling changed from Stewart) rallied together to lead the Jacobite Rebellion. One French lodge, whose origins dated to 1688, claimed it was founded by an Irish regiment in the service of France. In whatever complex manner freemasonry spread from England to Ireland, the Grand Lodge of Ireland was established concurrently with the *Constitutions* in 1723-24. The first Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Ireland was none other than the Duke of Montagu, who had previously been elected the fifth Grand Master of the Premier Grand Lodge of England in 1721. The founding of the Irish Grand Lodge was some six years after the founding of the Grand Lodge of England, although only two years separated Montagu’s appointment as Grand Master of each lodge. Montagu was the godson of King George I and pro-Hanoverian.

Even with the death of King George I in 1727, and the subsequent crowning of his son George II, the Jacobites continued to plot. Their hopes for the future remained in the hands of Charles Edward Stewart (1720-1788), grandson of James II, who was raised in France before leaving for Scotland in a last attempt to regain the English throne. The events surrounding the exiled Scottish rebel Jacobites remained instrumental in the formation of French Freemasonry from their arrival in 1680 until at least 1745. Anthony Vidler, along with Margaret Jacob and other historians, has noted that freemasonry was imported from England into France sometime after 1725, and that the first recorded lodge in Paris dated from 1726. Various Saint Germain lodges, occupying the left bank of the Seine, were the

---

34 The struggle between the Antients and the Moderns may be defined, at least in part, by the ongoing dissidence between the Jacobites and the Royalist Hanoverians.

35 For a compelling overview of the French Lodges, see "The Architecture of the Lodges: Ritual Form and Associational Life in the Late Enlightenment," by Anthony Vidler in *Oppositions*, 5 (summer, 1976), pp. 75-97. According to Vidler, the first known Masonic lodge in Paris was in 1726. Bro. Hughan notes that the Grand Lodge of England constituted its first lodge in Paris in 1732 (although Joseph Rykwert argues that the St. Germaine Lodge was earlier). The architect for the Grand Orient Lodge, inaugurated in August 1774, was Pierre Poncelet. Voltaire was initiated into Les Neuf Soeurs (the Nine Sisters) Lodge in Paris, in the spring of 1778, five years after the founding of the Grand Orient. At Voltaire’s initiation, which was attended by Benjamin Franklin and presided over by Jérôme de Lalande, Antoine Court de Gebelin read from his great work, *Le Monde Primitif*. The history of freemasonry in France, from 1688 until 1745, including its rituals and emblems, was extremely influenced by Scottish and Irish Catholics who supported the Jacobite cause against the Hanoverians in England.

36 As Masonry spread across the Atlantic, Benjamin Franklin, who also founded the University of Pennsylvania, reprinted Anderson’s *Constitutions* in 1734, granting it the honor of being the first Masonic book published in America. Also in 1734, the Masonic Temple was erected in Philadelphia, and the Great Seal of the United States was adopted by the Continental Congress in Philadelphia on 29 June 1782. The Great Seal symbolizes the Masonic Enlightenment in the new country, symbolized through the pyramid, sunburst, and the watchful eye of God. The thirteen
favorite salons of the Jacobites during the years spanning 1726 to 1735. Activities that began in fashionable Paris social clubs and salons became of increasing interest in forming the socio-political climate in Paris during the ancien régime. For instance, a lodge was held in Paris at the home of British Ambassador James Waldegrave, who was the grandson of James II, during 1725-26.37

However, it was two men of Scottish origin, Charles Radclyffe (the future Earl of Derwentwater) and Sir James Hector Maclean, who were the co-founders of the first recorded lodge in France. Like the Duke of Montagu who had gone on to become the first Grand Master in Irish Grand Lodge, his successor in England, the Duke of Wharton, now became the first Grand Master in France.38 It appears that since his depiction on the frontispiece of the Constitutions, the Duke of Wharton had increasingly developed Jacobite sympathies, converting to Catholicism and becoming an agent of James Edward Stewart, the Old Pretender, who remained in France. Wharton eventually promoted freemasonry in Vienna and Rome, and finally presided over a Masonic lodge in Madrid during 1728.

Another colorful character from Scotland who influenced the early decades of French freemasonry was Andrew Michael Ramsay (1686-1743). The son of a baker, Ramsay attended Edinburgh University in Scotland where he was a private tutor before moving first to London, and then on to Paris. While in Rome, the itinerant scholar tutored the Old Pretender’s sons, including the young Charles Edward Stewart. Consistent with his allegiance to the Jacobites, he later refused a post to tutor the Duke of Cumberland, who went on to defeat the Jacobites in 1745. Ramsay wrote a biography of the life of the archbishop Fénélon in 1720, and when he arrived in Paris became friends with the Duc

---

37 James Waldegrave was the eldest son of Sir Henry Waldegrave and was educated in France. He married a Catholic in 1714, but upon her death in 1718-19 he declared himself a Protestant. He held a seat in the House of Lords in 1721-22, was made a lord of the bedchamber to George I in 1723, and in September 1725 was sent as an ambassador to Paris, conveying congratulations from George I and Prince of Wales to Louis XV upon his marriage. (from D.N.B.). It was during this time that his involvement with freemasonry would have taken place in Paris. I would thank Margaret Jacob for bringing Waldegrave to my attention.

38 The Duke of Wharton was succeeded as Grand Master of Grand Lodge in France by Sir James Hector Maclean, who was in turn succeeded by Charles Radclyffe. Wharton eventually converted to Catholicism.
d'Orléans. He remained in Paris from 1715 until the late 1720's, belonging to the Order of St. Lazarus where he picked up the name 'Chevalier' Ramsay.

In 1728, after time spent in Paris, the Catholic Jacobite Ramsay returned to England for some two years where he was awarded a doctor of civil law degree from Oxford, and was immediately admitted into the Royal Society. Around 1730, Ramsay returned to France. While the French monarchy supported the Scottish Royal House, King Louis XV wanted peace with England, which was contrary to the wishes of Ramsay and other Jacobite freemasons who had hoped that, with a united Franco-Scottish front, the Stuarts might finally be restored to their rightful place on the throne. On 26 December 1736, Ramsay, who was then Chancellor of the Grand Lodge of France, gave his famous Masonic 'Oration' which condemned Grand Lodge as 'heretical, apostate, and republican.' Later published in Dublin as the "Apology for the Free and Accepted Masons," Ramsay argued that the origins of freemasonry lay in the ancient mysteries that were largely Christian and had begun with the Crusaders in the Holy Land.

The Scottish idea of returning freemasonry to the Order of the Knights Templar was equally present in Jacobite politics. By invoking the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, Ramsay hoped to incite French Catholic Masons towards his ancient principles, proclaiming that 'the Order was set up to make men lovers of virtue rather than reward.' In his attempt to create a united Franco-Scottish front, thereby winning the support of Louis XV, it appears that Ramsay's Masonic oration backfired, and on 1 August 1737, a police investigation of freemasonry was begun in Paris. As freemasonry continued to gain prominence during the Enlightenment, it began to be perceived as a possible threat to the Catholic church, and was soon interdicted in France on 2 August 1737, along with the arrest of the Grand Secretary. Following the police arrests and reports, a Papal bull was decreed against freemasonry by Pope Clement XII on 24 April 1738. As a result of these actions, the decade of the 1740's remained highly volatile for freemasonry in France.

---

39 J.M. Roberts states that Ramsay's oration was first published in English in Dublin in 1732; interestingly enough ten years later, in 1742, the Chevalier's "Apology" was issued with the French translation of Anderson's Constitutions.
40 The police investigation is where Jacob begins tracing the origins of eighteenth century freemasonry. Her argument is very well synthesized, and places many accounts of freemasonry within the context of revisionist history.
41 This somehow repeated the pattern of the Knights Templar Inquisition in France several centuries earlier.
The importation of English freemasonry into France is further supported by the fact that Anderson's *Constitutions* was first translated into French in 1736, and again in 1742. The second translation was surprisingly prefaced by Ramsay's "Apology for the Free and Accepted Masons." In *Living the Enlightenment*, Margaret Jacob begins by tracing freemasonry's democratic roots with the Paris police raids of 1737, where the police inquisitions made anyone belonging to freemasonry appear to be involved in a conspiracy theory. Jacob observes that the forms of elected government in England that freemasonry adopted as its structure, were radically new:

"The lodge, the philosophical society, the scientific academy became the underpinning,...for the republican and democratic forms of government that evolved slowly and fitfully in Western Europe from the late eighteenth century on."42

As discussed, men of French nationality had begun to be appointed to the higher offices in freemasonry several decades earlier. Whereas the Earl of Derwentwater, Charles Radclyffe, had been the First Grand Master in Paris in 1736, by 1738, the Duc d'Antin had been elected Grand Master of Grand Lodge. Records indicate that while there were some five lodges in Paris by 1735, there were as many as twenty-two by 1742. The Grand Lodge of Paris received its warrant in 1743, and the Comte de Clermont, who had remained under suspicion during the Paris police raids of the late thirties and early forties, was installed as the Grand Master of France in 1743.

The 1740's also witnessed a series of Masonic 'exposures' in both France and England [fig. 2]. Between 1742 and 1747, various authors unleashed attacks against freemasonry, allegedly revealing the rituals surrounding initiation and exposing lodge drawings on French tracing boards, like the images prepared for the Abbé Larudan's publication, *Les Francs-Maçons Écrasés* (1747) [fig. 3]. However, even these types of exposures and papal bulls could not stop the spread of French freemasonry, and in 1747 - the same year that Larudan exposed the brotherhood - the Chevalier Beauchaine was installed as Grand Master of Grand Lodge. In eighteenth century French architectural theory, men including the Abbé Marc Antoine Laugier (1711-1769) and A.-C. Quatremère de Quincy (1755-

---

42 Margaret C. Jacob. *Living the Enlightenment*, p. 5.
1849) were members of French lodges, while Masonic intellectuals like Court de Gebelin (1719-1784), who read from his Monde Primitif at Voltaire’s initiation, published writings examining the primitive origins of architecture and of happiness that would later influence visionary architects including Joseph Gandy. The Church of Rome also put freemasonry under suspicion for potentially creating an assembly of people who formed bonds in brotherhood, devoid of a particular religious belief, but having collective power and belief in spiritual and civic virtue. The secularization of French society was nonetheless running counter to the mission of the Roman Catholic church.

It appears that the various edicts did succeed, directly or indirectly, in lessening the importance of Jacobite leaders in French freemasonry. Almost immediately, Radclyffe was replaced as Grand Master of France by the French aristocrat, the Duc d’Antin, one of the illegitimate offspring of Louis XIV, who had held the post of ‘Surintendant des Bâtiments du Roi.’ Despite the papal bulls and police bans against freemasonry, an increasing amount of French Catholic intellectuals and noblemen, like the Duc d’Antin, entered French lodges. More than ever, the lodge now offered a common bond and an opportunity for dialogue in a convivial setting that crossed social barriers. Across the English Channel, the Grand Lodge was becoming increasingly divorced from religion and politics. Freemasons, both in England and on the Continent, invoked the ‘Great Architect of the Universe’ as the source of the divine without attributing his power to any particular religion, although the Craft was originally Christian until the Union of 1813.

As the Jacobites exploited Freemasonry politically by aligning it with “Antient” principles, they also ‘reintegrated it with elements of its own origin and heritage.’ Chevalier Ramsay, who unfortunately died in 1743, did not live to see the final Jacobite Rebellion led by Bonnie Prince Charlie (Charles Edward Stewart) who landed in Scotland and marched on Derby on 4 December 1745. Regaining the throne, however, was not to be his fate, and the

---

43 Vidler notes that Quatremère belonged to the lodge Thalie in Paris from 1782 until 1786 when he departed for Rome. French theorists who were freemasons include: Jean Antoine Houdon, Marquis de Lafayette, Abbé Laugier, A.-C. Quatremère de Quincy, and Voltaire (already mentioned). For a list of Parisian freemasons between 1773-1789, see Alain le Bihan, Francs-Maçons Parisiens du Grand Orient de France. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1966, as well as the section in Vidler’s The Writing of the Walls, 1987.

44 J. Rykwert and A. Vidler have both brought attention to a Masonic poem by the ex-Jesuit Abbé Laugier that was a probable response to these bulls. See Vidler, “The Architecture of the Lodges,” fn. 26.
Young Pretender and his Jacobite supporters were crushed by the Duke of Cumberland's army on 16 April 1746. Several months later, on 20 September 1746, the young Prince Charles escaped once more to France. Former Grand Master Charles Radclyffe's fate was worse; he was captured at sea by the English, tried as a Jacobite, and later executed at Tower Hill in London.

As the exiled supporters of Prince Charles were either killed, imprisoned, or had fled in exile, the Jacobite dream of restoring the Stuarts to the British throne was finally extinguished. French freemasonry therefore changed direction before the mid-eighteenth century, with Jacobite refugees and deportees being sent to several English colonies, including America. A second Papal bull was issued against freemasonry on 18 May 1751 by Pope Benedict XIV; and on 2 July 1751, King Ferdinand VI suppressed the Order in Spain, just fifteen days before the 'Antients' Grand Lodge was constituted in England. Others who fled were possibly among the group of itinerant Irish Masons who landed in London after these events and formed the core of the Antients, led by Laurence Dermott.

I have here emphasized the overlap between the histories of French and English freemasonry because there is sufficient reason to speculate that the lineage between Scottish and Irish Masons, the Jacobite cause in Catholic France, and the advent of the rival Antients Grand Lodge in England, beginning in 1751, remains integral to the history of English freemasonry.

ORIGIN OF THE TWO GRAND LODGES: ANTIENTS AND MODERNS

The birth of freemasonry and the emergence of modernity have equally been traced to the early eighteenth century. Speculative freemasonry's legacy began in the coffee houses and taverns of London and spread to the cafes, clubs, and salons of Paris. The trade secrets of the operative masons became the metaphor for the esoteric secrets of the speculative masons as the guilds gave way to the philosophical initiation of lovers of virtue marked by

---

Pope Clement XII issued the first official edict of the Roman Catholic Church against the Craft on April 28, 1731. The Papal bull in *Eminenti* was followed on May 18, 1751 by Pope Benedict XIV issuing another bull *Providas* against the Craft. It was rumored that prior to becoming Pope, Benedict was made a Mason in his native Bologna. In July of 1751, the Antients Grand Lodge was formed in London, just two months following the Papal bull. In 1775, Ferdinand IV, King of the Two Sicilies, issued another edict against Freemasonry. See Alphonse Cerza, *Masonic Parallels with History: a Chronology of General and Masonic History*, 1955.
the Enlightenment. In addition, events leading up to the revolution in France had their own trajectory in establishing a civil society as Jacob comments:

"Once divorced from its guild origins, the new freemasonry, as it spread from London first to the towns and cities of western Europe and then beyond, came to embody a variety of ethical prescriptions for living in this world, a stance that was secular and philosophical as distinct from religious and doctrinal."46

This ideal was held in common between London and Paris, although from there both English and French freemasonry went on to develop different histories. The first crucial rivalry among Masonic lodges in England surfaced during the mid-eighteenth century. On 17 July 1751, a group established largely by itinerant Irish Masons,47 formed 'The Grand Lodge of England According to the Old Institutions,' in reaction to the practices of the Grand Lodge of 1717, who were now termed the 'Moderns.' The dissident Irish group, who wished to follow the old charges of the Masons, chose to name themselves the 'Antients' Grand Lodge to distinguish themselves from the original group who they felt had lost their way.

In 1752, the 'Antients' had appointed Irishman Laurence Dermott as Secretary48 of the Antient Grand Lodge of England. Dermott was a journeyman painter who moved from Dublin to London where he became a successful wine merchant. While Anderson had written an account of Masonry which placed the origins of Geometry and Architecture in an historical context from the beginning of recorded time, the newly founded Antients attempted no such history when they published their version of the old charges, called *Ahiman Rezon; or a help to all that are, or would be, Free and Accepted Masons* [fig. 4].

Dermott's argument in *Ahiman Rezon* certainly reiterates the tension in English freemasonry between the aristocratic dominance of speculative Masons over their bourgeois and commercial class brothers. The Antients defended the poor man and the artisan as the true ancestors of the freemasons, as opposed to the increasing number of English

---

46 Margaret Jacob, p. 22.
47 Freemasonry was made illegal in Ireland in 1823. For an account, please refer to the article by P.R. James, entitled "The Grand-Mastership of H.R.H. The Duke of Sussex, 1813-1843." *AQC*, 75. p. 42.
48 Initiated in a Dublin lodge in 1741, Dermott was Grand Secretary of the 'Antients' from 1752-1771, Deputy Grand Master from 1771-1777, and was elected again from 1783-1787. See John Hamill, *The History of English Freemasonry*, p. 57.
aristocracy that had taken over 'Modern Masonry.' With clear overtones of Ramsay, the rival Antients wished to return freemasonry to its ancient origins with the aim of 'bringing back their architecture to its first institution.'

John Hamill notes Dermott was also a "forceful character, a master politician, and a very able administrator" who "cajoled, bullied, and moulded the Antients into an equal to the premier Grand Lodge so that when the movement towards Union began the Antients were able to treat with the premier Grand Lodge without any sense of inferiority and to insist on certain conditions before they would agree to the Union." In 1756, *Ahiman Rezon* was published as the 'constitution of the Antients,' which "included an historical essay by Dermott that was largely a vituperative diatribe against the premier Grand Lodge that had departed from the 'Ancient Landmarks' and perverted pure ancient Masonry."

Rather than write another legendary history of freemasonry, Dermott chose to present his argument for Ancient Masonry in the form of a dream, entitled "The Editor to the Reader." After a tongue in cheek apology about why he first fancied himself an historian, in keeping with the tradition of revelation, Dermott falls into a slumber and is visited by four Brothers: Shallum, Ahiman, Akhub, and Talmon, who had been the gate keepers under King Solomon and were now sojourners. The brother Ahiman acts as the translator between Dermott and his dream account of Solomon's Temple. In this dream, a High Priest, wearing a robe encrusted with jewels engraved with the Twelve Tribes of Israel, addresses the author. The High Priest's breastplate is so bright that it blinds Dermott as he instructs him not to bother writing a history of Masonry, but that he 'may write many other Things of great Service to the Fraternity.' Interpreting his dream, Dermott decides to write a second part in the form of the title essay where he makes his argument for the principles of Antient Masonry, claiming: "I have inserted nothing but what are undeniable Truths."

---

49 This is certainly true in England, where only the first four Grand Masters (Anthony Sayer, George Payne - elected twice, and J.T. Desaguliers) were not of royal blood. From the Duke of Montagu onward, the noble lineage has remained constant. David Watkin attributes Frederick, Prince of Wales (1707-51), who was also the patron of William Chambers, as the first link between the royal family and English Freemasonry, but it appears to go even further back in time to the Duke of Montagu. Watkin is correct in that the Prince of Wales' son was first in a succession of three noblemen who were Grand Masters for a continuous period of over sixty years: the Duke of Cumberland (1782-90), the Prince of Wales (1790-1813), and the Duke of Sussex (1813-1843). It was supposedly Desaguliers who admitted the Prince of Wales into freemasonry.

50 Ibid., p. 57.

51 Ibid., p. 57.

52 Dermott, *Ahiman Rezon*, p. xvi. Note that the US Declaration of Independence used the phrase:
Given that Anderson had framed his history in such a manner that it dovetails with the history of architecture, Haffner argues that by omitting any historical section in his equivalent of the ‘Constitutions,’ Dermott severs the connection between architectural theory and freemasonry. Dermott is also accused of being “unable to find an architectural style to which he could commit his Grand Lodge”53 to vie with Anderson’s Palladianism. However, Dermott’s text points to the dream tradition (like the Dream of Ezekiel), founded in the ancient mysteries, that incorporates forms of initiation with hermetic knowledge. This is why he places such emphasis on Harpocrates and the importance of keeping silence in freemasonry. In Ahiman Rezon, Dermott claims:

“The first thing that Pythagoras taught his Scholars was to be silent, therefore (for a certain Time) he kept them without speaking, to the End that they might better learn to preserve the valuable secrets he had to communicate to them, and never to speak but when Time required, expressing thereby that Secrecy was the rarest Virtue.”

Dermott repeatedly argues for the virtues of secrecy and silence. A difference between his and Anderson’s theory is that while Anderson traces Masonry back to Adam, Dermott begins with Noah’s Ark, which would align him with a tradition that Gandy would later subscribe to:

On Arrarat’s Mount, after the mighty Storm
There stood their Ark and open’d Lodge in Form;
There the Mason, of his own Accord
Built an Altar to the heavenly Lord; 55

In compiling the first of the Old Charges, following his opening essay, Dermott borrows from an ancient operative charge which states: “A Mason is obliged by his Tenure to observe the moral Law as a true Noachida;” asserting that the first name of Free-Masons was derived from the sons of Noah.56 The charge goes on to state that in ancient times, “the Christian Masons were charged to comply with the Christian Usages of each

---

`We hold these truths to be self evident;` very much in the same spirit as Dermott’s ‘undeniable truths.’

53 Haffner, p. 177.
54 Dermott, p. 8.
55 Ibid., p. 11.
56 This may illuminate Joseph Gandy’s religious beliefs; upon several occasions he states an identical position in relation to architecture beginning with Noah and the ark, a commonly held belief in nineteenth century mysticism.
Country." These two excerpts demonstrate that Dermott’s intention was to trace freemasonry back to its Christian and supposed Crusader origins. It is highly probable that Dermott was continuing the Jacobite rhetoric of Chevalier Ramsay, which would have opposed the itinerant Irish Masons to the Premier Grand Lodge of England. After all, would the emerging ‘Antients’ not have shared more with their Scottish allies in France than with the Hanoverian Moderns?

Dermott’s vision of freemasonry was for a democratic fraternity which did not rely on status by birth as much as merit; a vision that reclaimed ancient masonry upon the model of the guilds and tradesmen over the aristocrats and luminaries of the Premier Grand Lodge. This debate in freemasonry mirrors a debate that has continued in architectural theory from Brunelleschi onwards, when, as Rykwert has observed, the profession of architect emerged in Italy during the mid fifteenth century. Artisans and builders versus the men of letters and professional architects continued to divide the discipline of architecture during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as the debate first played out between operative and speculative masons continued between the Antients and the Moderns Grand Lodge. A similar type of schism happened in Paris between the Grand Orient and the Grand Lodge of France.

While the recurring quarrel between the two Grand Lodges continued in English freemasonry from 1751 until well into the next century, the Premier Grand Lodge continued to follow Anderson’s Constitutions in order to establish the constitution of a lodge and the making of Masons. Three other Grand Lodges sprang up in England during the eighteenth century but were short lived, posing no real threat to the two rival lodges based in London. As seen with the design of Sandby’s first Masonic Hall in London, it was only during the late eighteenth century that the architecture of the lodge moved out of the coffee houses and taverns, following the lead of the Grand Orient.

THE FRENCH LODGES AND THE GRAND ORIENT

57 The most comprehensive interpretation of this history is found in Joseph Rykwert, "Initiates to Amateurs," The First Moderns. Chapter 6, pp. 121-261.

58 Masonic lodges have traditionally mixed assembly with feast as part of their ritual. The Freemasons’ Tavern being retained in London until the nineteenth century, when the institution became increasingly politically correct, finally separating the two.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
The foundation of the Grand Orient in 1773, whose membership was largely aristocratic, marked another benchmark in French freemasonry. It would become by far the most ornate Masonic lodge in Paris, surrounded by grand Masonic ceremony when the young Duc de Chartres was installed as Grand Master on 22 October 1773. The Duc de Chartres' right hand man was the Prince de Montmorency-Luxembourg, who acted as his regular substitute, and became the Administrator General for Grand Lodge in 1772. Following the installation of the Grand Master, the Grand Orient searched for new quarters and quickly engaged the services of architect Pierre Poncet who then converted the old Jesuit Novitiate in Fauberg Saint Germain on the rue Pot-de-fer. Poncet's project for the Grand Orient was contemporary with Charles de Wailly's unexecuted designs for a Masonic Temple and was just prior to Sandby's design for the first Masonic Hall in London, previously discussed.

The new Grand Orient had three magnificent halls raised above the level of the street, where the installation of the Masonic temple took place on 12 August 1774. The three Masonic halls also concretized symbolic Masonry with its three degrees, culminating in the magnificent chamber called the Orient. This last of the lodge rooms in sequence:

"...was twenty-seven feet long and thirty-five feet high; the three tiered platform mounted to the grand throne, with the officers arranged on the first stage. Beyond this hall was the large banqueting room, again decorated in blue and red, with a blue ceiling, a raised dais for the grand Master, and almost the same size as the lodge room." 59

The proportions of the architecture, the richness of the textures and materials, and the feelings evoked by the starry vault of the halls would have unquestionably caused one to feel the presence of the Grand Architect of the Universe.

An equally important character at the Grand Orient was Jérôme de Lalande (1732-1807), who was a member of the Académie des Sciences, Professor of Astronomy at the College de France from 1762 onwards, and Orator at the Grand Orient during its inauguration. De Lalande later became the founder of the Paris Lodge called Les Neuf Soeurs in 1776, and was responsible for writing the essay on 'Franc-Maçons' in the Encyclopédie supplement in 1777. Anthony Vidler writes eloquently about the interior world of Masonic architecture

59 Vidler, p. 85.
and the role of 'the route of initiation as the primary space of ritual.' He argues that the lodge 'type' in France was fixed in its distribution and spatial sequencing of rooms:

"The apartments, salons and lodges that served as the active centers of bourgeois sociability in the closing years of the ancien régime were all planned, or at least decorated, to characterize and ratify the intimate life of the group, to affirm its nature as an institution."\(^{60}\)

By 1780, there were over eighty Masonic lodges in Paris, the most renowned remaining the Grand Orient. During the decade that spanned the Revolution in France, mysteries, occult practices, and esoteric cults sprang up all around Paris. On the eve of the Revolution, it is estimated that the number of freemasons in France may have numbered well over 100,000. As the Revolution progressed. King Louis XVI was beheaded, and his cousin, the former Duc de Chartres was now the Duc d'Orléans. In his own defense during the Reign of Terror, at which time "he was the object of deep suspicion,"\(^{61}\) the Duc d'Orléans wrote a manuscript entitled *Voici mon histoire maçonnique* (1793). Having adopted his new post-revolution image, which now included the name Philippe d'Egalité, the Duc wrote:

"At a time when no one could have foreseen the revolution, I attached myself to freemasonry, which offered a kind of image of equality, just as I attached myself to the parliaments, which offered a kind of image of liberty."\(^{62}\)

Philippe's rhetoric of equality and liberty, with its implied fraternity associated with freemasonry, has classic French revolutionary overtones. However, his third title in life and his defense of freemasonry were short lived, for he too was executed later that same year.

The esoteric and occult visions of the works of French architects Ledoux, Boullée, and Lequeu are in a Masonic spirit which is not self-evident, although they do provide us with connections to understand Gandy's preoccupation with mysterious atmospheric light, his use of allegory, and his constant referencing to symbols and emblems from religions the world over. As in Lequeu's evocative images of the "Temple of Divination" or "The Gothic

\(^{60}\) Ibid., p. 78.  
\(^{61}\) Jacob, p. 203.  
\(^{62}\) Ibid.

205
House,” the initiation rituals associated with the elements and ritualistic mysteries took on a meaning that was a mixture of processional route, symbolic ablution, and some form of transformation or transcendence. From Ledoux to Beckford, and from Lequeu to Gandy, numerous images and accounts remained quasi-Masonic, such as “The Tomb of Merlin,” although they did imply a sequence and progression of spaces that were highly architectonic.

The formalization of ritual in space is one of the fundamental aspects of architecture; it was through the narrative associated with the form of the lodge, in both ritualistic and allegorical terms, that Masonic architects from Poncet to Sandy and Soane drew their architectural inspiration. Certainly, the making of the lodge, the form of the oblong square, and the development of the tracing board all point to an increasing visual imperative and use of emblems in eighteenth century lodges. A logical and rational extension of the assembly of brothers was to make an architecture that symbolically framed the institution of freemasonry, which had now been achieved at the Grand Orient in France and the Premier Grand Lodge in England.

These first Masonic halls in Paris and in London were built at the close of the 1770’s. The next important event surrounded the Union of the Antients and the Moderns in 1813, an event that we have seen led to John Soane’s appointment as the Grand Superintendent of Works for the United Grand Lodge. With Gandy’s assistance, during the following decades Soane would execute designs for a new Masonic hall adjacent to Sandby’s salle des travaux. With a refined and developed interest in the role of symbol and emblem, this is the project where their collaboration crystallized. Soane and Gandy’s designs would soon represent the architecture of the late Enlightenment.
Section on the line AB

Designs for Freemasons' Hall
August, 1828
Soane Museum: SM Drawer 52/5/24

207
Chapter 10

REPRESENTATIONS OF FREEMASONS’ HALL

"To account for the great learning of the Chaldeans in the times immediately succeeding the flood, authors have been obliged to either give Noah and his sons the whole erudition of the East, or to suppose that part of their knowledge was obtained from the two pillars left by the antediluvians." ¹


THE EVOLUTION OF THE PROPERTY AT FREEMASONS’ TAVERN

Although drawings for the project were exhibited at the Royal Academy and a fairly complete set of design drawings are held at the Soane Museum, the Freemasons’ Hall has remained overlooked by art historians and architectural scholars who have not perceived what I believe to be a direct relationship between the symbolism of the hall and certain aspects of the Soane Museum. Both projects rely upon architectural narrative and associational theory to unfold their spatial sequences behind facades which protect them from public scrutiny and place them in a context of shared meaning for a particular group. In studying the numerous designs, working drawings, and presentation drawings for the Freemasons’ Hall, held at both the Soane Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum, Soane’s design process may be seen at play.² Both he and Gandy explored numerous representations at a variety of different scales, designing furniture and ornamentation in addition to the overall interior volume.

Following the Act of Union in 1813, John Soane inherited the nucleus of Sandby’s Great Hall, commencing designs for its alterations on behalf of the Society of Freemasons. As the first appointed Grand Superintendent of Works, Soane’s designs for the Society of

² The bulk of the design and presentation drawings for the project belong to the Soane Museum. The few remaining drawings related to the Freemasons’ Hall design are held at the Victoria & Albert Prints and Drawings room, where they were catalogued by Pierre du Prey, and published in 1985, under the title Sir John Soane: Catalogues of Architectural Drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum.
Freemasons continued until the construction of the new hall was completed in 1831.\(^3\) The new Freemasons' Hall was situated adjacent to and behind the existing *Free Masons' Tavern* at No. 61 Great Queen Street. If we study the composite plan of the site,\(^4\) a pattern of building by the freemasons on the south side of Great Queen Street begins to emerge [fig. 1].

On the *Free Masons' Tavern* site, Thomas Sandby had worked with the original front and back houses, separated by an open court and a large garden to the rear. With the design of the *Free Masons' Tavern* placed in the front house, Sandby located the entrance to the hall through the western most door of the facade on Great Queen Street, which, passing through a long corridor, communicated through a stair to arrive in a vestibule where one finally entered a long double storey hall upon the north-south axis [fig. 2]. In the basement of the four storey building were services including the larder, scullery, and storage rooms for wine, beer, lumber, plates, etc. On the ground floor, and directly accessed from the street, was the central room of the tavern (the Blue Parlour), the bar, Mr. White's office, a stair in the passage between the two houses and a series of wine and beer 'public' rooms in the rear beneath the hall.

On the first floor above ground level (called the 'one pair'\(^5\) in England) in front of Sandby's hall was the Committee Room with its four windows looking into the open air court. To the north of the Committee Room, above the Blue Parlour overlooking Great Queen Street, was the Dining Room.\(^6\) Just above, on the second floor, was a smaller dining hall and Card Room connected by a narrow flight of stairs to the Glee Room (above the Committee Room), followed by a Tea Room across from the main stair. Between these two rooms was a corridor leading to the colonnaded gallery situated on the north side of the great hall, directly above its three arched main entry. At the southern end of the great hall, above the dais with the organ niche, was another small gallery that ran in a horseshoe shape. The sequence of rooms thus progressed from the public street side to the more

\(^3\) Several entries in the *Office Day Books* continue until 1835.

\(^4\) This plan was drawn up by Brother T.O. Haunch in 1969, and is the most comprehensive document of the site. It has been published in various places, including Bro. Stubbs' article "Great Queen Street — Freemasons' Hall and its Environs," *AQC 82* (1969).

\(^5\) The term 'One pair' refers to the *piano nobile*, 'Two pair' refers to the second floor above ground level, etc.

\(^6\) The Dining room had a height of 14'-9."
sheltered garden side; and from the ground floor along the western passage and up the central stair to the Masonic hall, hidden from view and having controlled access. The Committee and Glee Rooms acted as buffers between the tavern and great hall while drawing light from the open court to the east. The architect for the subsequent *Free Masons' Tavern*, built in 1786 [fig. 3], was the freemason William Tyler "who had already promoted the building of Sandby's Masonic Hall."^{7}

According to one of Soane's early site plan drawings, the lot dimensions, including the tavern, were approximately 44 feet wide by 197 feet long. His first site plan, dated 1813, indicates the names 'Cuff and Pope' at No. 62 and No. 63 Great Queen Street, on the adjoining houses to the tavern.^{8} Soane's business acumen had directly helped secure a purchase previously denied in 1814; he was involved in the acquisition of the land, including the row houses to the east (actually north-east) of the *Free Masons' Tavern*. A communication issued by the freemasons, dated 8 January 1816, makes the Master Mason's involvement clear:

"The W. Brother Soane, Grand Superintendent of Works, reported that a purchase had been made of the Two Freehold Houses, next adjoining eastward to the Freemasons' Tavern, in the name of Mr. J.J. Cuff,^{9} for the use of the Grand Lodge, for the sum of £3,200, exclusive of repairs, which sum had been advanced by him, the said Brother Soane, for and on behalf of the Fraternity."^{10}

This same communication, issued under the direction of the Grand Master by Grand Secretary William White (with Edward Harper), continues "that this purchase had been

---


^{8} From information gathered through the Freemasons' Hall Drawings, *SM Drawer 52. SM 52/1/1.*

^{9} It appears that for some time Mr. Cuff had been the principal tenant of the Freemasons' Tavern, having had a lease with the Society of Freemasons. Several years later, in a letter in Soane's hand dated 22 December 1823, the Grand Superintendent of Works reports on the "Free Masons tavern and the two Houses adjoining thereto in Great Queen Street," stating that Mr. Cuff's lease of these premises was to be granted, at No. 63 Great Queen Street, for a term of seven years, "at a clear Annual Rent of One Thousand pounds and a fine of Five Hundred pounds to be paid on signing the agreement for a lease." From *Minutes of the Board of General Purposes Relative to the Freemasons' Tavern, etc.* Soane's letter was reported at a Board of General Purposes meeting, held on Monday, 26th January 1824, by Simon McGillivray. As G.S.W., Soane was also a member of the Board of General Purposes. Courtesy of the U.G.L.E. Library, Freemasons' Hall, Historic Correspondence 11/A/12 (1824). No. 1 (unpaginated).

completed for a sum not amounting to one-half of the price demanded two years since."\(^{11}\)

Soane's initial design work done on the premises corresponds with the activities recorded in his *Office Day Books*, where he writes "it is also understood that Mr. Cuff is to have the advantage of the alterations and improvements intended to be made in the premises without any addition to the Rent."\(^{12}\) However, a rather shrewd clause in the lease states that whenever the organ in the hall was to be used by the tenant 'he shall pay two guineas per time to be added to the rent,' which was quite a large sum for the time.

A drawing in the Freemasons' Hall archive dated 5 February 1816, indicates work done after this acquisition. Also, a measured drawing entitled "Plan of the Basement Story of the Freemasons' Tavern, and the Two Houses adjoining eastwards thereof,"\(^{13}\) shows the tavern occupying a double row house and the two houses mentioned in the title, forming another double bay, increasing the full frontage to the width of four row houses [fig. 4]. Sandby's 'Great Hall' remained behind *Free Masons' Tavern* to the south, while Soane's 'New Hall' was to be built behind the two recently acquired houses to the east, adjacent to the existing hall. Stubbs concurs that the houses were acquired with Soane's generous assistance who "then designed additional premises behind the two houses." However, this initial phase involved little new architecture. Another fifteen years would lapse before the "work which began in 1828 was virtually completed by 1832."\(^{14}\)

Now that the "Antients" and the "Moderns" had joined to form the United Grand Lodge, Soane's new Masonic hall was intended in part to expand the facilities, as an increase in membership to Grand Lodge was expected. Along with Sandby's 'Great Hall,' Soane's project would add a greater complexity to the sequence of the spaces in the lodge. While the buildings fronting Great Queen Street housed the *Free Masons' Tavern* and other public rooms, both Masonic Halls occupied the more private upper floors, along with the Grand Master's Room and other related office, as the concealment of the Masonic chambers was intended to remove assembly from public view. Soane originally designed the new hall on a long axis perpendicular to Sandby's Great Hall; the design eventually became a

\(^{11}\) Ibid., p. 2.
\(^{12}\) Ibid., No. 1 (unpaginated).
\(^{13}\) SM 52/1/5. This drawing, along with 52/1/4 from the same date, records the existing conditions at Freemasons' Tavern and the adjoining houses. These drawings were needed before new design alterations could take place.
\(^{14}\) Stubbs, p. 18.
centralized room covered with a dome. In this final design masterfully woven into the overall fabric of the site, Soane’s hall runs parallel to Sandby’s on a north-south axis and is connected by a new service stair and probable ‘Serving Room’ to the south [fig. 5].

As in his house-museum at Lincoln’s Inn Fields, Soane’s design narrative was resolved in both plan and section. He placed the kitchen below the new hall and introduced two new ‘courts;’ one to the north, separating the front house and offices from the new hall (following Sandby), and a second ‘court’ to the east, which introduced light into the room and buffered the chamber against any building activity to the east of the site [fig. 6]. Soane then placed the organ in its own niche on the eastern wall and built chimney-windows over the four new fireplaces - three of which were naturally lit from the internal courts. Soane’s plans for the new Freemasons’ Hall were not intended to replace the great hall, which was still used for all types of public occasions, but was conceived as part of a sequence of spatial ‘moments’ related to Masonic assembly and banquet.

DESIGNS FOR FREEMASONS’ HALL, LONDON

In her biography of Soane, Dorothy Stroud devotes a brief description to this project which she categorizes as belonging to Soane’s late works executed between 1820 and 1833. Stroud notes, rather disparagingly:

"Although during the first few years he supervised minor repairs and alterations for the Freemason’s Tavern and the adjoining hall, he made no important changes until 1821, when he increased the accommodation of the latter with a new gallery."

---

Soane and Gandy introduced two fireplaces on the western wall, and two on the eastern wall. The fireplace in the south-west corner of the room was not lit naturally from a court, or light-well, as were the other three. There is much puzzlement over the placement of chimney flues which would support such an architectural illusion, as well as support the thrust of the arches which bore their weight over the chimney windows.

Dorothy Stroud. *Sir John Soane, Architect*, p. 234. Stroud devotes less than two pages to Soane’s design for the Freemasons’ Hall (pp. 234-235), and a mere paragraph in her section on ‘List of Works’ 1821-1827 (p. 278), indicating that, like Sir John Summerson, she did not see this commission as an important work in Soane’s overall architectural career. I have come across several letters from Ms. Stroud in the collection of the Masonic Library on Great Queen Street, made when preparing her description for the draft of her book, which clearly display some interest in Soane’s Masonic career. As Watkin points out, in her biography of Soane, she did not publish Soane’s Masonic portrait which still hangs in the Soane Museum.

212
Stroud also points out that four plans were prepared by Soane in 1826 "for a new hall to be built behind two houses which stood to the east of the Tavern, but the project was delayed." Over the course of the design, Soane's plans - augmented by Gandy's presentation drawings - were approved on several occasions by the Duke of Sussex, who remained Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge from its inception until 1843. Ms. Stroud describes the Freemasons' Hall as completed:

"The walls and ceiling of the Chamber were grained and varnished, and there was a good deal of gilding and bronzing of details. The pilasters of the doorcases were painted in imitation of Sienna marble, and the windows were filled with colored glass including strips with a diaper pattern on an orange ground, 'frette borders', rosettes and signs of the zodiac. There are also references in the accounts to yellow glass patterned with the 'Five Orders of Antiquity'."

One of the unique and unusual features of Soane's Masonic Hall is the zodiac lantern that was incorporated into the final building section. It appears that Soane was not alone in his use of the zodiac as ornament since the ceiling decoration of Sandby's original 'Great Hall' also made reference to the constellations:

"In the centre, within a large circle, is represented the sun in burnished gold, surrounded by the twelve signs of the zodiac, which are distinguished by their respective symbols. All the other parts are wrought with numerous intersecting circles, including suns, stars, etc."

However, Soane remains unique in his use of the zodiac lantern that allowed concealed light into the room and supported the overall symbolism of his architecture in Enlightenment terms. In a preceding chapter, the Soane Museum's narrative was

---

17 Ibid., p. 234.
18 Augustus Frederick, the Duke of Sussex (1773-1843), was the sixth son of King George III and Queen Charlotte.
19 Stroud, p. 235.
20 John Ashby comments that the zodiac presents an interesting problem. The zodiac is present in some Royal Arch tracing boards (Harris, 1836). Preston's second lecture (1812) refers to the zodiac, and the jewel of a Scottish Royal Arch Mason also shows the signs.
21 William Sandby, Thomas and Paul Sandby, p. 67. Ashby notes that in Sandby's Hall was a carpet bearing the signs of the zodiac as well.
22 A window of similar description had been situated in the Soane Museum, which a Masonic staff member at the museum first brought to my attention in 1995, as further testament to the Museum as a laboratory for Soane's motifs. The coloured glass window, situated in the fictional Monk's Parlour, can be glimpsed in Britton's frontispiece for the Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and...
discussed as a microcosm, a narrative that equally applies to allegorical reconstructions of the Temple, as in the Freemasons’ Hall. In the context of a Masonic Hall, what were the possible meanings associated with the astrological zodiac that Soane transforms into a domical lantern? [fig. 7].

There are several possible meanings, each one having to do with correspondences. I have already discussed Gandy’s deep interest in the signs of the zodiac in connection with Noah’s Ark as the prototype for the observatory, and we have seen how Baron Cuvier - Napoleon’s scientific adviser - was entranced by John Martin’s painting “The Deluge” for representing astral phenomena. In examining the Masonic symbolism associated with festivals during the French Revolution, Mona Ozouf comments on “the evident dialectic from the Temple-Building to the Temple- Universe.” Establishing further parallels between the Temple, the Masonic Hall, and the zodiac, she writes:

“When Daubermesnil was looking for a place that would be suitable for certain ceremonies that he wanted to establish, he imagined an “asylum,” that is, a sacred place, crowned with an observatory stuffed with instruments and books, where scholars would come and study the course of the stars. With the signs of the zodiac on the walls and, inside, frescoes depicting the seasons, the temple is, significantly, both the place of astronomy and the place of the civic cult, a living illustration of the link established by the famous, and then quite recent book by Dupuis on the origin of cults.”

In England, both Soane and Gandy were familiar with C.F. Dupuis’ writings. Soane’s use of a zodiac lantern may be interpreted as an astrological and sacred reference to the heavens, foreshadowing Gandy’s “Architecture, an emblematic sketch.” Similar references were found in the Festival of the Supreme Being, held in revolutionary France as it turned from church and monarchy towards a secular and universal quasi-religious society. In both France and England, the influence of freemasonry was equally strong, where the underlying concept of the Great Architect of the Universe (G.A.O.T.U.) and universal brotherhood still had their corollaries in the analogy between macrocosm and microcosm, and between celestial and terrestrial bodies. This analogy also holds true for the bond

---

Painting (1827).
Ibid., p. 278.

214
between brothers in the Masonic fraternity who shared a collective, rather than a romantic ‘individualist’ understanding of meaning. The shared banquet, the breaking of bread together around a common table, and the initiation rites and rituals would all take place under the signs of the zodiac, making the lodge a symbolic microcosm of the universal order.

In freemasonry the globes surmounting the two legendary columns from antiquity, Joachin and Boaz, also depict the earth and the heavens in microcosm. Josephus writes that “Upon Adam’s prediction that the world was to be destroyed at one time by the force of fire, and at another time by the violence and quantity of water, they made two pillars; the one of brick, the other of stone” which contained the discoveries of mankind before the Flood. These Antediluvian columns were known as the Pillars of Seth; they are symbolically recast as the two hollow pillars, made by the artificer Hiram out of brass, which were then placed before the entrance porch of the Temple of Solomom. On the right hand was Jachin and on the left hand, Booz. The legendary pillars ‘said to have been constructed as to withstand inundation and conflagration’ were then adopted by Masons. In freemasonry the antediluvian pillars were also thought to be hollow in order to archive the constitutions and charges of the Masons for posterity. The merging of various myths surrounding the Pillars of Seth, Solomon’s Pillars, and the two globes which crown the Masonic pillars is an appropriate example of how symbols often freely transmigrate within freemasonry. Eventually, two symbolic pillars - one with a celestial globe and the other with a terrestrial globe - came to be represented on Masonic tracing boards and aprons where their image has passed down to us in that form. Soane placed no such pillars in his Masonic architecture,

---

Josephus recounts these in his account of Solomon’s Temple, “Antiquities of the Jews,” Chapter III, p. 175. The editor notes that the pillar Jachin would have been on the south of the Temple entrance, while Booz would have occupied the north of the Temple. Typical of transcription ‘errors’ from Hebrew and Latin to English, spellings vary from Boaz to Booz; and from Joachin, or Joachim, to Jachin.

26 See Alex Home, “King Solomon’s Temple In the Masonic Tradition.” AQC 75, p. 226. Home’s discussion of the two pillars traces them from the biblical accounts to early operative charges, including the Cooke MS., and finally into seventeenth century Masonry. See pp. 221-227.

27 The legendary Pillars of Seth are also ‘the two pillars left by the antediluvians’ mentioned by Gandy, quoted at the beginning of this chapter. Two free-standing pillars were thought to contain universal knowledge of the time before the flood, and hence acted as an archive or symbolic museum. In antiquity, one was of brick and the other of stone, both inscribed with the same discoveries; in the event that one column perished, the other could be erected for mankind. Similar legends surround the ‘Pillars of Hercules’ near Gibraltar. Originally, Jachin and Boaz were the two
another example of his constant rejection of historical form; instead he stayed with the representation of the orders of architecture.

**THE OFFICE DAY BOOKS**

The Soane Museum has several documents related to the designs for Freemasons' Hall which require constant cross referencing. These consist of *Drawer 52*, containing five sets of architectural drawings; the *Bill Books*, which contain information on materials and accounts; *Journal No.7*; and lastly, the *Office Day Books*. Together with the architectural drawings, and Gandy's presentation watercolors, the 'Day Books' are a solid foundation from which to trace the design development of the project for the Society of Freemasons.

The first *Office Day Book* covers the period January 1, 1813 to October 8, 1814. During this first phase of the design Soane worked on the project with the assistance of pupils George Bailey, George Basevi, Robert Chantrell, Charles Tyrrell, and assistant George Underwood. A total of fifteen of Soane's office employees worked on the designs for Freemasons' Hall. The first record of work on the site occurred in March, 1813, when Soane's pupils Underwood, Tyrrell, and Chantrell made plans for the Free Masons' Tavern and adjoining houses. They began to make measured drawings in March which continued throughout May and June of 1813. Since Gandy was no longer an office assistant, but rather a collaborator with Soane during the important design phases involving architectural representation, he was not recorded in the *Day Books* during this period.

---

29 Various apprentices were in Soane's employment, including: George Bailey (August 1806 to January 1837), George Basevi (December 1810 to June 1816), Charles Tyrrell (January 1811 to March 1817), and G.A. Underwood (September 1807 to May 1815). Bailey would stay on in Soane's office until the architect's death in 1837, becoming the first Curator of the Soane Museum. Tyrrell had been an R.A. Silver Medalist in 1815. George Basevi was not as brilliant a painter as Gandy, but his drawings are nonetheless accomplished. Underwood, like Gandy and Ives, was officially an 'Assistant' in Soane's office.

30 The information on Soane's apprentices is taken from the "Tabular List of Pupils, Assistants, and Clerks in the office of John Soane, RA (1784-1837)." The list of fifty-five apprentices, including Joseph Gandy, was compiled by Walter Spiers, and completed by Arthur Bolton. Given fifty-five employees, more than one in four overall worked on the designs for Freemasons' Hall.
Cross-referencing the *Day Books* with the "23 Miscellaneous Drawings of Designs for Masonic Arks, Organ Cases and Other Fittings, 1815 to 1830," five drawings show alternative designs for the Masonic Ark, two drawings explore possibilities for a Masonic table, or altar, and ten drawings relate to the design of the Masonic organ. As recounted previously, the design of the new Masonic Ark was Soane's first real architectural involvement as a freemason. Following the Grand Assembly, Burford points out that Soane was ill from the end of December 1813 until the end of March 1814. In May, Bailey and Tyrrell began 'taking plans of the Freemasons' Tavern,' and continued to make architectural recordings of the premises.

The second *Day Book* covers the period October 19, 1814 to July 6, 1816. In addition to Soane's apprentices Bailey, Basevi, Tyrrell, and assistant George Underwood, two new pupils, Edward Foxhall and Henry Parke began work on the designs. It was during this period that Gandy joined the project as Soane's freelance assistant and is recorded as having been paid twice for his contribution to the designs, on 15 April and 11 May 1816. On 16 May 1816, the Society of Freemasons paid James Spiller, Esq., 'for valuation' of the adjoining houses, and on the following day John Soane met with the Duke of Sussex. Soane presented four drawings 'of a design for the new room proposed to be built at the back of the houses in Queen Street adjoining the Tavern,' including plans of the basement, principle floor, Sandby and Soane's Great Hall floor (meaning the "one pair" above the principle floor), and an important 'view of the interior of the new room.' This drawing was most likely the result of a collaboration between Soane and Gandy for which Gandy had already been paid. Soane's meeting with Sussex would have been important for the conclusion of this design phase, the day book noting that 'the Drawings were approved by the Duke and brought back by Mr. Soane.' As usual, George Bailey continued to monitor the accounts, while Basevi and Foxhall continued to work on the plans. Following his successful meeting with Grand Master Sussex on 23 May 1816, Soane paid the Freemasons' Charity School a sum of £21, supporting an important aspect of the

---

31 SM 52/4/3 to 52/4/7 show Soane's evolution for the designs of his monumental Masonic Ark. Edward Foxhall was a Soane pupil (November 1812 to January 1821), as was Henry Parke (November 1814 to May 1820). Foxhall was willed £100 by Soane, while Henry Parke travelled to Paris with his mentor in 1819. Parke later designed the reverse of the Gold Medal in honor of Soane, and was the author of the amusing caricatures of Soane's apotheosis for the Soane Festival, held at Freemasons' Hall in 1835.

32 Gandy was paid £30 in April and £35 in May of 1816.

217
benevolence of the Society of Freemasons. In addition to social functions, the freemasons were linked to community charity in England.

By this stage in his Masonic career, Soane had been a member of the Board of Works and the Board of General Purposes, in addition to his dual role as architect and Grand Superintendent of Works, which included managing the premises. This was duly noted at the Board of General Purposes:

"The President and Vice President accordingly waited upon Brother Soane and amongst other information learned from him that his permission was that [sic] meant to be obtained for using the Hall, and that in fact it never was used without notice in writing being given him."34

The third Office Day Book records minimal activity during the period July 8, 1816 to April 4, 1818. There was no new design team, nor any new payments issued for the efforts of Gandy. The records indicate George Bailey entering 'abstracts' of work done and continuing the settling of accounts for the project. However, the Society of Freemasons paid W. and D. Bailey for smith's work, as well as William Watson for glazing done at the Freemasons' Hall. The next important development was the payment of £53:10:0 to Mr. Martyr 'for the Masonic Ark' on 14 January 1817. This entry refers to the continuation, or completion, of the design work on the Ark begun by Basevi in December 1813, and continued by Underwood in January 1814.35 Richard Martyr seems to have finally finished construction of the Ark, three years less a day since Underwood's entry indicated 'Made Drawings of the Masonic Ark.' It also raises the earlier question as to which Ark was used during the ceremony for the Union if Mr. Martyr was only being paid for his work in 1817.36 However, this payment for work done on the Masonic Ark design appears final, since it is not mentioned further in the Day Books.37 Not by chance perhaps, the day

34 From "Minutes of the Board of General Purposes Relative to the Freemasons' Tavern, etc." Meeting, held on Monday, 26th January 1824, by Simon McGillivray. Courtesy of the U.G.L.E. Library, Freemasons' Hall, Historic Correspondence 11/1/12 (1824). No. 1 (unpaginated).
35 Underwood's drawing does not appear to be part of SM Drawer 52, but is filed in SM 14/4/6. It was prepared for Soane's Royal Academy lectures.
36 If the accounts are added that Martyr submitted earlier, they amount to £53:10:11. And since Martyr was paid £53:10:0 in January, 1817, it is within a shilling, and therefore I assume was for the same work.
37 In this regard, I am not in agreement with Bro. Burford, who held Soane's position as Grand Superintendent of Works from 1987-92. If the Ark was finished for the Union, this does not account for Mr. Martyr only being paid for finishing his work on the Ark in January 1817.
Martyr was paid for the Ark, fellow Grand Master's lodge member John Britton with his wife, dined with the aging Grand Superintendent of Works at Lincoln's Inn Fields. Soane was now quite alone, having been widowed since November 1815.

The next phase of the design is recorded in the fourth Office Day Book which covers the period July 18, 1821 to April 23, 1823. Although Joseph Gandy is not mentioned in the records during this time, three new Soane pupils began work on the designs for Freemasons' Hall: Arthur Mee, David Mocatta, and C.E. Papendick, along with assistant G.E. Ives. 38 October 1821 found Papendick and Mocatta drawing plans and sections of the Freemasons' Hall [fig. 9]. They were joined that same month by Mee and Ives in making plans and sections. On 12 October 1821, Mee was 'Drawing a view of the Freemasons' Hall,' while Papendick and Ives drew sections of the building. Ives was also engaged in 'Drawing [a] plan of the stair-case for Freemasons' Hall.' On 19 October, the Free Masons' Tavern and alterations of Sandby's Great Hall are mentioned, as distinct from Soane's new room. Also dated October 1821 is a "View, shewing the effect of the Hall, by removing the organ and the columns under the Gallery," [sic] which appears to be an exploration in relocating the organ within Sandby's Great Hall [fig. 10]. 39 In each of these instances, Soane was studying the existing architecture while developing a strategy for adding to the spatial sequence of the overall architectural composition. The route of initiation would commence from the street, pass through the tavern, up the stairs and into the banqueting room and chambers of initiation. In keeping with Masonic tradition as well as social hierarchy in mixing assembly and feast, John Soane dined at Kensington Palace during Christmas eve of 1821.

On 17 April 1822, Mr. Soane received payment from the Society of Freemasons for work done at the Freemasons' Hall up to December 1821: an amount equaling £959:19:8. Later that month, the Society of Freemasons paid bills to eleven workmen, including some of the tradesmen that continued to work on the project through July 1825 and beyond. The main

---

38 G.E. Ives was Soane's assistant (September 1821 to March 1822), while pupils Arthur Patrick Mee (January 1818 to November 1823), David Mocatta (March 1821 to February 1827), and Charles Edward Papendick (January 1818 to March 1824) all worked for Soane. A.P. Mee was an R.A. student in 1822. Moses Mocatta (1768-1857), David's father, was the translator of Hizuk emunah, or Faith Strengthened (1851), a work by 16th century author Troki, Isaac ben Abraham.

39 SM 52/4/12, dated 17 October, 1821, before Soane's office began the design and construction of the new room.
tradesmen included: Mr. Stutely (bricklayer), Mr. Grundy (mason), Mr. Perry (carpenter), Mr. Burton (plumber), Mr. Grace (painter), Mr. Cutler\(^4\) (smith), Mr. Sharp (slater), and Mr. Sutton (tarpaulins). The close of 1821 ended the second major phase of work done at Great Queen Street for the freemasons. The firth Office Day Book covers the period April 24, 1823 to January 22, 1825. Neither this book nor the drawing archive display any new material for the Freemasons' Hall designs. This is consistent with the fact that the first designs were now completed, and Soane had not yet begun to exhibit Gandy's drawings of their project at the Royal Academy summer exhibitions.

The sixth Office Day Book is dated January 24, 1825 to October 31, 1826. The project team includes two newcomers: Soane's pupil Stephen Burchell and a clerk named Slade.\(^4\) In July 1825, the Society of Freemasons paid once more for substantial work done at the Freemasons' Hall during construction. The bricklayer, mason, carpenter, and slater remained on the project, along with minor trades including plumbing, painting, smithery, and the provision of tarpaulins. Earlier that month, a cheque was received from a Mr. Harper,\(^4\) who appears to have worked for the freemasons' society. In September 1825 Burchell began making a drawing 'About [the] plan of the parts round the Hall,' assisted this time by Slade who was 'taking plans of the kitchen at Freemasons' Tavern.' Dorothy Stroud outlines this phase of the work in her brief account:

"In 1826 he prepared four plans for a new hall to be built behind two houses which stood to the east of the Tavern, but the project was delayed. Further plans were drawn out in 1828 and approved by the Duke of Sussex as Grand Master. They provided for a large room which was to serve as a council chamber, with a smaller room placed at a right angle to its southern end, with access to a staircase which communicated with a kitchen and scullery in the basement."\(^4\)

\(^4\) This name could be 'Cutter,' or 'Cutler.'

\(^4\) Stephen Burchell (January 1823 to April 1828) was a student at the R.A. in 1825, and an R.A. Silver Medalist in 1828. Slade, whose time in Soane's office was short (August to October, 1825), was a clerk used mostly to assist in measuring, etc.

\(^4\) There are three possible characters. Mr. Edward Harper was Grand Secretary (along with William White) while Soane was Grand Superintendent; Thomas Harper was a Past Master and a member of the Grand Master's Lodge when Soane and Britton were initiated; while Thomas Harper, Junior, is listed as the Treasurer of the same lodge. I would tend to believe that he and Soane were together responsible for payment of bills on behalf of the Society of Freemasons.

\(^4\) Stroud, p. 234. Please refer to this passage for Stroud's full descriptive account of the architecture of the Freemasons' Hall.
With the sequence of three rooms, including the existing hall, Soane’s highly developed scheme begins to take shape. By 1830, in the overall plan of the premises, a visitor could enter the Free Masons’ Tavern at No. 61 either directly from the eastern entrance, or indirectly from the western entrance [fig. 11]. Choosing the western entrance to the hall, the visitor passed through a long corridor and walked counter-clockwise until arriving at a landing which lead to a smaller central corridor. This in turn lead north to the Committee Room, or south into Sandby’s Hall. Opposite the stair was a smaller enclosed room, most likely used as a waiting room for candidates about to be initiated. Perpendicular to the triple vaulted porch leading into Sandby’s great hall, Soane placed an opening in the eastern wall allowing access to the large new service stair. For the service brethren, this stair was adjacent to a ‘Serving Room,’ or small ‘Banquet Room,’ with three large windows facing south. From this room, one entered directly through doors into Soane’s new Masonic chamber. Continuing the notion of ‘back-house’ activities, the service stair acted as a joint between the two halls, allowing direct access to both during meals and festivities, while keeping the services on the ground level below. It was typical that while the lodge was in session, serving brethren would prepare food and refreshment to follow.

The more ceremonial route into the freemasons’ quarters - what Vidler has termed the route of initiation - remained on the Great Queen Street side. Soane now doubled the entrances, providing another access through the tavern behind the Blue Parlour and up a stair, which gave access to a much shorter corridor along the western party wall between No.’s 61 and 62 [see fig. 2]. Turning north, this led to the Grand Master’s Room and adjacent Dining Room, while turning south the corridor led past the Grand Secretaries’ offices and up three risers to a landing outside the new Masonic chamber. Just before the risers (which coincided with the number of the three degrees as well as the three steps in Soane’s Ark) was a small enclosed room which I imagine also doubled as a waiting room for incoming candidates before the lodge. The entrance into Soane’s hall appeared as one of three doors along the northern wall, but this was a deception since the other two blank openings faced into the northern open air court. Now orchestrated, both Masonic halls profited from top lighting and neither one admitted windows with direct views into the hall, assuring privacy during lodge meetings.

The new double height kitchen was placed underneath the new hall with a ‘gallery of communication’ connecting the service stair to the south. This room also received light
from three courtyards to the north, west, and east, while the south wall of the kitchen was connected to another large service room, located over the ‘Scullery’ in the basement. Several of Gandy’s drawings depict the kitchen and scullery below the main hall, with its heavy wooden trusses supporting a sky-lit room above. Gandy displays a view of the new Freemasons’ Hall above, where both he and Grand Superintendent Soane are apparently discussing their designs in the room itself while indicating, within the overall view, the kitchen below in a smaller framed drawing [fig. 12]. Through this clever technique, the watercolor acts as a narrative of their collaboration and clearly shows the intended logic of the new room adjacent to Sandby’s Great Hall. On the ground floor level, behind the Blue Parlour at No. 61, Soane placed the ‘Glass Room,’ ‘Desert Room,’ and ‘Mr. Cuff’s Room.’ The use of the rooms immediately behind the facades of No. 62 and No. 63 is not immediately clear, but would no doubt have been related to the tavern and its various administrative functions as they faced onto the public street. Below these rooms, in the basement, were the pastry room, servant’s hall, bakery, china scullery, and several other rooms related to the large kitchen and scullery to the south.

A clear rationale behind Soane’s site organization is now evident as the sequence of rooms rises from the service oriented crypt to the first floor Masonic temples, and from the public Free Masons’ Tavern across the three building lots moving from west to east. It does not require too great a leap to compare this strategy with the three town houses at L.I.F. that formed Soane’s house, museum, and library, as both projects rely on weaving together the building fabric. The subtlety of the overall composition was one of Soane’s architectural strengths in urban conditions which he handles here quite masterfully, while meeting the requirements for a series of interconnected rooms devoted to Masonry.

The seventh Office Day Book covers an intense period of activity from November 19, 1827 to January 30, 1830. It was during this third phase of the project that the largest portion of Soane and Gandy’s design was built. George Bailey, C.J. Richardson, and David Paton were now the core members of the design team; Bailey and Richardson would remain the final two employees in Soane’s office from 1830 until his death.44 While July of 1827

44 George Bailey has already been mentioned. David Paton was an assistant (November 1829 to May 1830), and Charles James (C.J.) Richardson (February 1824 to January 1837) worked for Soane as a pupil until the end; his ticket to the Soane Festival, in March 1835, is preserved in the V & A Prints and Drawings Collection.
found C.J. Richardson working on a section for the new room at *Free Masons' Tavern*, by September he was working on a 'Drawing of Ionic Capital column in New Room, Freemasons' Tavern,' and Bailey was working on the masonry brickwork for the new building. A key drawing entitled 'Design for the New Masonic Hall' dated June 1828, bears the inscription: 'Exhibited as a general idea, to His R.H. the Duke of Sussex at Kensington Palace' [fig. 13]. The drawing shows a heavily trussed, triple barrel vaulted hall with a central isle and leaded diamond windows. The architecture portrayed here - quite obviously not drawn by Gandy - is so unlike Soane's style that the representation appears to be a caricature of Tudor architecture. Given this first view shown to the Grand Master, the evolution of the design over the next two years was most dramatic. During this period Gandy made several presentation drawings of the project for which payment was mentioned on five occasions. In October 1828, Bailey was measuring the carpenter's work on site and Joseph Gandy was paid £30:9:0 for his drawings. This supports my idea that Soane and Gandy's collaboration centered on design, since the design and presentation drawing 'dialogue' allowed the two architects to clarify their language of architecture through drawing.

By November of that same year, Bailey continued to measure the brick work and plasterer's work on site, while Richardson was 'making a drawing of the five orders' for Mr. Watson. Previously mentioned as Soane's glazier, Watson would have been busy incorporating the orders of architecture into the ornamental glasswork for Freemasons' Hall [see fig. 7]. Stroud mentions this ornamental glass in her own account: 'There are also references in the accounts to yellow glass patterned with the 'Five Orders of Antiquity'.' The drawings of the orders, worked on from November 13 to 27, 1828, were made as ornament studies to adorn the clerestory glazing above the niche for the organ and the niche on the opposite wall. This causes me to speculate that Mr. Watson would have been responsible for the colored glazing on the zodiac lantern as well.

---

43 SM 52/5/43. A heavy trussed Tudor version indicates the first idea.
44 Gandy's payments were on the following dates: 2 October 1828 (£30:9:0), 2 December 1828 (£5:0:0), 19 January 1829 (£49:7:6), 3 September 1829 (£18:18:0) and 22 December 1829 (£44:2:0). The total he was paid during this period was £147:16:6, and from 1813-30, a total of £65 plus the previous amount.
45 Stroud, p. 235.
During January 1829, Bailey was measuring the joiner's work while Gandy was once again paid for his design drawings. C.J. Richardson continued to assist 'About writing and printing for Mr. Gandy's drawing' from 3 to 5 February 1829. In May of the same year, Soane sent the Grand Secretary of the Society of Freemasons an amount of £4,428, for 'sums he wished to have advanced to several tradesmen,' indicating that a majority of the work was in progress. Further evidence of the completion of the Hall is found in Soane's first Description, which includes a letter dated 6 February 1830, from his Masonic brother and Grand Secretary, William White:

"I have received the command of the M.W. Grand Master, His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, to express to you the great satisfaction His Royal Highness felt upon inspecting the New Masonic Hall on the 27th of last month; and His Royal Highness feels assured that all will experience the same satisfactions when the room shall be opened for the use of the fraternity." 

With such favorable endorsement from his royal patron, Soane's second edition of his museum Description, dated March 1832, was dedicated: To His Royal Highness Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex, &c. &c. &c. &c.50

THE ORGAN CASE
It is well known that music and song forms a central component in Masonic events and social gatherings. Since the eighteenth century, many of the officer’s drinking songs have been written down and enjoyed by brothers as they regale the joys of the Craft. As in a chapel, or a theater, the organ is an essential element for Masonic meetings, since song remains one of the ways in which the oral tradition of speculative freemasonry continues to be transmitted. Not only were songs dedicated for each of the three degrees, but for a whole panoply of other Masonic activities, including meals, festivals, and evening soirées. From 28 May to 9 July 1829, both Richardson and Bailey worked on the design, elevation,

48 During the major phase of construction of the new Freemasons' Hall, in May 1829, a Mr. Donne was paid £11 for a water-closet apparatus on the premises of the Tavern.
50 In fact, both second and third editions of the Description (1832 and 1835) were dedicated to the Duke of Sussex.
and views of the organ case for the new room [fig. 14]. Presumably built by Mr. John Gray, the organ builder, this was an important Masonic artifact. Like the Ark, it was a piece of furniture that portrayed the symbols of freemasonry. A drawing dated 30 June 1829 indicates 'Number of pipes to be determined by Mr. Gray,' and another, dated 11 July 1829, notes 'projection to be determined by Mr. Gray' showing the organ and the organ niche, complete with the casing and decoration.

On 14 September 1829, Richardson was working on a 'drawing of musical ornaments, to be carved in [the] organ case' - possibly a reference to a full size elevation drawing in the archive of the "Organ Case Freemasons," showing the fretwork with acanthus leaves and a continuous wave motif associated with the Greeks to symbolize eternity [fig. 15]. This drawing indicates that the organ case was to be made from one solid piece of wood. As in the case of the Masonic Ark, the designs for the organ case underwent a continuous evolution with its carved ornamental musical motifs, including the lyre of Orpheus, allusions to Apollo, and sketches of the star of David. In the final design, both the organ and the Grand Master's throne occupied niches within the larger room; as portrayed in Gandy's final watercolor, the organ occupies a prominent niche in the Hall, perpendicular to the Grand Master's throne.

Several entries in the Office Day Books pertain to the continued saga of the overpriced organ case and the various workmen involved in its completion. On 7 November 1829, Mr. Gray called in at L.I.F. leaving 'four drawings of the organ case.' Bailey notes unhappily, 'the estimate exceeding by £40 the sum allowed.' On 20 November 1829, Bailey began working on his own estimate for the organ case, with C.J. Richardson doing the same. On 23 November 1829, David Paton was introduced to the project, 'drawing

52 Drawer 52 in the Soane Museum has ten drawings related to the organ placement and design: 52/4/14 to 52/4/23, including some drawings with recto and verso studies. This set does not include the drawing of Sandby's Great Hall organ.

53 Drawings SM 52/4/14 and 52/4/22 respectively. Mr. Gray's organ building firm had been established in 1774 by Robert Gray, followed by his son John who then went into partnership with Frederick Davison, a freemason, in 1838. The firm that Soane worked with still exists. I thank Mr. John Ashby for this information.

54 SM 52/4/23. The drawing title is "Organ Case Freemasons," and the description states 'The Ornament of Organ Case.'

55 Traditionally, the Grand Master's throne occupies the "Masonic" east, which does not necessarily accord with true geographical east. This 'orientation' is important for the symbolism surrounding the rising and setting of the sun.

225
three plans of mouldings and parts at larger of the proposed organ case.' Later that day a 'Mr. Hale returned to Mr. White the four drawings of the proposed organ case received from Mr. Gray (Nov. 9) with a letter from Mr. Soane.'

Less problematic, the Grand Master's throne was among the most important pieces of Masonic regalia. The archive holds two untitled elevation drawings, dated November 1829, of a dais with the blue and gold Masonic throne situated between two Ionic columns [fig. 16]. Soane employed Masonic paraphernalia, such as the Ark or the three lights of Masonry, with the same symbolic treatment as the use of fixed elements such as the orders, or the construction of the zodiac skylight. The architecture of the new Freemasons' Hall framed Masonic ritual through symbol and through qualities of concealed light which supported this subtle narrative. As the design developed, the placement of the organ migrated from the mezzanine to the main floor, while a bust - initially integrated into the back of the Masonic throne - was situated on top of the niche and incorporated above the design of the classical moulding bordering the room. Soane's final placement of the bust in Freemason's Hall is reminiscent of his treatment of Chantrey's bust of himself, or the suspended bust of Sir Thomas Lawrence in his own Museum. Soane was no doubt working with the appropriate symbolism regarding the throne: "As the Sun rises in the East to open and enliven the day so the Worshipful Master is placed in the East to open the Lodge and employ and instruct the brethren in freemasonry." As the Grand Master occupied the throne, the bust of the King (or the Grand Master) overlooked the lodge.

**PLAN OF THE NEW MASONIC HALL**

On 1 and 2 December 1828, C.J. Richardson was working on a plan and section of the new room at Freemasons' Tavern for Mr. Gandy, apparently coordinating information with the design architect so that he could prepare perspective views of the new hall. Gandy's drawing, entitled "View of the New Masonic Hall, looking South" and dated 3 December

---

56 SM 52/5/20 and 52/5/21. These elevations, both dated 12 November, 1829, show the throne. Two separate, undated and untitled drawings (SM 52/5/18 and 52/5/19) show designs for the throne and dais; eventually the bust is above the throne, as part of the wall moulding, and the dais is increased from one to three steps.

57 This is a quote, I believe, from Masonic ritual mentioned to me in a letter from Mr. John Ashby, dated 10 October 2002.

58 As is typical, following is Gandy's £5 payment by Soane.
1828, displays the Masonic Hall's floating dome, chandeliers, zodiac lantern, and south door ajar, with busts above the smaller side doors on the south wall [fig. 17]. The four fireplace chimney-windows, as well as Gandy and Soane, are included in the view, once again demonstrating their collaboration. Several months later, on 13-14 July 1829, C.J. Richardson remarked in the day books: 'About [the] plan of seats for new room,' referring to the architectural floor plan of the Freemasons' Hall, which should not be confused with the Masonic drawing for the 'making of a lodge.' The architectural plan of the new hall, which framed the layout of the rites and rituals used by English freemasons, needs to be placed in context [fig. 18].

The term 'squaring the lodge,' used in eighteenth century freemasonry, denotes drawing the lodge on the floor which would then be circumnavigated by the brethren. Freemasons ritually follow the path of the sun and would walk clockwise, as Harry Carr observes:

"In the small tavern rooms which were the principle places of meeting there cannot have been much space left for traversing the lodge and, if the 'drawing' or 'floorcloth' was to be protected, a certain amount of squaring was inevitable."61

This practice eventually evolved into the drawing or painting of the lodge onto the 'Tracing Board' which was then used as a permanent template in 'making a lodge.' Early examples of the arrangement of speculative lodges include: "Plan of the Drawing on the Floor at the Making of a Mason"[fig. 19] published in the 1767 edition of Jachin and Boaz; or An Authentic Key to the Door of Free-Masonry, Both Ancient and Modern (1767); and the "Masonic Lodge Layout" illustrated in Three Distinct Knocks, Or the Door of the Most Ancient Free-Masonry,...(1763) [fig. 20]. In both of these eighteenth century illustrations,

---

59 SM 52/5/40.
60 Mr. Ashby notes that some workings insist that any officer walk clockwise but others allow short-cuts in some movements.
61 Harry Carr. The Freemason at Work (1976). p. 35. Following the drawings made upon the floor of the lodge, which were then washed away or erased, the more permanent Tracing Board, or Trestle Board, developed. Most probably a precursor to the Tracing Board, the 'floor-cloth' mentioned here was a third type of drawing of the lodge which was rolled out in the middle of the floor, and then removed after the lodge, being midway in permanence between the ephemeral plan drawn at the time of the lodge and the quite permanent tracing board. For a chronological overview of developments in the drawings of lodges during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Terence (T.O.) Haunch's article "Tracing Boards: Their Development and Their Designers," AQC 75 (1962), pp. 182-203; and E.H. Dring, "The Evolution and Development of the Tracing or Lodge Board," AQC 29 (1916), pp. 243-264.

227

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
an east-west axis was preserved in ‘drawing the lodge,’ where the Grand Master’s throne was placed in the ‘Masonic’ east. The two drawings also indicate the first degree of Masonry furthest to the west, and the Master’s degree closest to enlightenment in the east. Regarding the placement of the seven officers, both plans of the lodge place the Past Master in the south-east corner; the Junior Warden in the south; the Secretary opposite the Junior Warden to the north; and the Junior Deacon to the south-west. While Jachin and Boaz places the Senior Deacon in the north-east corner, Three Distinct Knocks (revealing ‘Antient’ Masonry)\textsuperscript{62} indicates this as the Senior Warden’s place; the inversion of these two positions appears to indicate a difference of ritual.

According to Terence Haunch, as the drawings of the form of the lodge became more permanent, they also became considerably smaller. This has important implications for architectural representation as one moves from the full scale participation of the body to the reduced scale drawing. The latter becomes a record, and a replacement, of another experience which leads to the use of symbol and emblem as an analogue for the embodied experience. Drawing the ‘form of the lodge’ became the duty of the ‘tyler’ during the eighteenth century. John Hamill explains the role of the ‘tyler:’

“The Tyler, or Outer Guard, is the last of the original lodge officers. His duty is to stand guard outside the door of the lodge to keep out intruders and to prepare the candidates for each degree...Before the introduction of Tracing Boards and their immediate predecessors, painted floor cloths, it was the Tyler’s duty to ‘draw the lodge’ with chalk on the floor when a ceremony was to be worked. The ‘lodge’ was an oblong enclosing a drawing of the emblems and symbols of each degree.”\textsuperscript{63}

It seems likely that the floor drawn in perspective seen on the frontispiece of the Constitutions evolved into the black and white floor tiles represented on later tracing boards; the perspective grid facilitated the drawing of the lodge upon the floor, similar to plotting points through early perspective mechanical devices.\textsuperscript{64} This would give further

\textsuperscript{62} The first book exposes the Modern view (both Ancient and Modern), while the latter book defended ‘Antient’ principles of Masonry, relating to the earlier discussion of the mid-eighteenth century schism in freemasonry.

\textsuperscript{63} John Hamill, pp. 77-78.

\textsuperscript{64} By the seventeenth century, the technique of projected geometry was standard drawing practice. For images showing similar projections from the human eye onto horizontal planes, see Abraham Bosse’s treatise on perspective entitled: Manière Universelle de M. Desargues pour Pratiquer la Perspective (1648); or Bernardo Vittone’s Instruzioni Elementari (1760). With the advent of
importance and meaning to the act of mapping out the allegorical Temple each time that the lodge members assembled [fig. 21].

Before comparing Soane's architectural plan with the symbolic 'form of the lodge,' a description of the lodge layout is necessary:

"In English Lodges, the Secretary sits on the N. side of the Lodge, facing the J.W. in the S. The S.D. sits in the N.E. corner and, after the minutes have been read and confirmed, it is his duty to collect the Minute-book from the Secretary's desk, some ten feet away (anti-clockwise), and take it to the W.M. for signature. Then, to take the book back to the Secretary and return to his own place. All perfectly neat and simple; but in lodges that worship the clockwise procedure, this would not be permitted. The S.D. must cross the lodge from N.E. to S.E., then down to the J.W. in the South, then cross again, South to North, to take the book from the Secretary's table, and lastly, with the book, to the W.M."55

This description informs us on two counts. First, it corresponds with the plan layout in Jachin and Boaz regarding the positions of the officers, and second, it confirms the influence of the movement of the sun from east to west upon the symbolism of Masonic rituals.

The first degree of Masonry, the Entered Apprentice, revolves around the story of the building of the Temple of King Solomon, while introducing the candidate to important Masonic and enlightenment doctrines. In preparation for initiation, the candidate is blindfolded and ushered into the lodge by his guide. Through the repetition of this act, the candidate is brought to Light in Masonry:

"The candidate, after his admission to the lodge-room, follows the ancient custom of all the mysteries in a perambulation, which is a symbol of the Sun in his annual course through the twelve signs of the Zodiac, as also his diurnal course from east to west by way of the south. The candidates in the ancient mysteries were said to 'imitate the Sun and follow his beneficent example.' This symbolism referred to the

---

55 Carr, p. 36. The terms referred to are: J.W. (Junior Warden), S.D. (Senior Deacon), and W.M. (Worshipful Master).

229
Soane's concerns for Masonic ritual and architectural narrative were equally focused on architectural form. In January 1830, Richardson was once more engaged in 'Making [a] view of seats in New Room' for the Society of Freemasons, continuing to map out the position of the various wardens and officers of the Masonic lodge that he had begun to draw earlier that July. A plan for the Masonic assembly dated January 1830 [see fig. 18], and a perspective sketch, both indicate the layout of the positions for the major officers, along with other Masonic furnishings [fig. 22]. From the dates of the two drawings, executed a year apart, it appears that the final plan layout was derived in conjunction with a perspective study; perhaps a continuation of the design by Richardson. Soane's designs had already cleverly played with orientation and reinterpreted several conventions, such as the form of the Masonic Ark. In the plan dated January 1830, an apparent inversion is the placement of the organ niche along the eastern wall, since this is the position that one would expect the Grand Master's throne to occupy. In reference to the cardinal points, the Grand Master's throne occupies the south, the Junior Warden's the west, the Senior Warden's the north, and the organ is oriented to the east; this retains the triangular relationship between Grand Master opposite Senior Warden, with Junior Warden perpendicular. Soane's design, however, was laid out according to 'Masonic east' which

Mackey, *History of Freemasonry*, p. 1765. Note that the word ‘Candidate’ is derived from the Latin *candidus*, meaning white.

SM 52/5/35, “Plan of the New Masonic Hall, showing the arrangement of the seats, etc.” and 52/5/36, “View of the New Masonic Hall, showing the arrangement of the seats, etc.” respectively dated 29 January 1830 and 27 January 1829.

This is the only plan showing the furnishings of the lodge. Dated 29 January, 1830, it is late enough to make me believe it was the final layout, and it corresponds to Gandy's watercolor views. SM 52/5/35. It follows the layout of a perspective sketch entitled "View of the New Masonic Hall showing the arrangement of the Seats, etc..." dated 27 January 1829. The sketch is made while looking from north to south, showing the Junior Warden's position to the right.

Traditionally, there are seven Masonic officers including the Grand Master. Past Master and Senior Deacon flank the Grand Master in the east, Senior Warden and Junior Deacon are opposite in the west, while the Junior Warden is opposite the Secretary, who resides in the north; both officers are on an axis perpendicular to that of the Grand Master. Soane retained this order, but apparently placed the Grand Master's position in the geographic south, actually south-east, due to the London street pattern. It is accepted that geographic east and Masonic east do not always correspond, which would account for the apparent discrepancy in orientation of the Masonic chamber. What remains constant is the symbolic orientation of the three degrees, and of the rituals associated with the Craft and enlightenment.
allowed his new chamber to remain parallel to Sandby's Great Hall; this created a more
dramatic approach to the room, and may have had an effect on Masonic ritual in both
rooms.

In the final version of the design, one enters the chamber of the lodge from a door at the
north-west corner of the north wall in which there are three openings, including a central
double-door on axis with the Grand Master's (G.M.) throne [see fig. 18]. One of Gandy’s
perspective sketches shows the central doors framed between Corinthian columns much
larger in scale than the two smaller side openings. The scale of the room was also
heightened by the inclusion of court light-wells to the north and east, allowing the hall to
draw light from the east, while concealing all direct views. The development of both
longitudinal and cross sections of the room reveals an exquisite resolution of fire and light.
The fireplaces, with their chimney-windows rising up, culminate in long horizontal
skylights above, following the arches of the coffered ceiling decorated with rosettes. On the
east and west walls, ornamental glazing reveals the orders of architecture. Within the
floating pendentive ceiling, this movement is centered around the domical zodiac skylight,
symbolically relating the room to the larger macrocosm, reminiscent of a Renaissance sala
del mappamondo. Four glass and bronze chandeliers are suspended at the corners of the
pendentive ceiling, further enhancing the ethereal character of the room. In the same sketch,
dated January 1829,70 the G.M.’s throne is framed between two Ionic columns, suggesting
that this order was the final one chosen over the earlier Corinthian order [see fig. 16].

Regarding the symbolism of light, Soane and Gandy’s scheme took advantage of the
qualities of the interior light wells, cleverly weaving the new hall behind and above the
facade of the existing Free Masons’ Tavern. Sandby’s earlier Masonic Hall had done the
same, continuing the established bond between tavern and lodge. However, Soane’s new
hall, costing over £8,820, was to be devoted exclusively to Masonry. As in many of
Soane’s projects, the proportions of the new hall were modest. The room measured 45’-0”
long by 35’-0” wide, giving it a 9:7 ratio, or a 5 foot module. The centralized ceiling
measured approximately 16’-0” in diameter, and within this, the ceiling oculus had a
diameter of 5’-0,” (equivalent to 1 module) that tapered upwards crowned by the domical
lantern displaying the zodiac. This demonstrates that Soane’s new hall was laid out in

70 The drawing is catalogued as SM 52/5/36.

231

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
general according to number and ratio; in addition, he and Gandy relied upon symbol and emblem to generate architectural meaning at the level of ornament. The room to the south, which I believe was used as a serving room or small banquet room, measured 32'-10" by 17'-6". The ceiling design for the hall is recorded in a wonderful design and construction drawing titled "Design for the Roof of the New Masonic Hall" [fig. 23]. The watercolor plan of the roof demonstrates how Soane's architecture would admit light from above into the hall. Transversal and longitudinal sections sketched around the framing plan indicate Soane’s concerns with the structural framing of buildings which not only support, but enhance, the concealment of light. The rendered roof plan is dimensioned, showing the main beams topped by purlins, and the incorporation of a central dome, reminiscent of the one in the breakfast room at Lincoln’s Inn Fields. Soane intended that the dome be supported by a sloped timber beam roof that spanned over 8'-0" to the center. In order to prevent the common problem of dry rot in the wood structure, he notes: "Air to pass round the sides and ends of all timbers laid end ways into the walls." At the springing point of the shallow dome, a classical cornice was also introduced. In later designs, this would evolve into the floating pendentive ceiling, carrying vertical chains for the four suspended chandeliers anchoring the ceiling’s corners and offsetting the lantern and recessed skylights. David Watkin notes that the supplier for the chandeliers was William Collins, 'Glass Enameller and Glass Manufacturer.'

In September of 1829, Gandy was once again paid by Soane for his efforts, while Bailey continued measuring and abstracting the carpenter’s and joiner’s work that October. That month Bailey recorded a note: ‘About drawing of new Room’ (for King’s bust), most

---

71 The dimensions for the new hall and the adjoining room are taken from David Watkin’s article “Freemasonry and Sir John Soane,” JSAH 54, no. 4, (December 1995), p. 411. I have not discovered any numerical symbolism in the sequence or the proportion of this second smaller room.

72 SM 52/1/10. Dated at Chelsea, 13 August 1828.

73 The note 6" x 9" timber beams, that ‘fall’ 4'-0" over 16'-2" describes the roof slope which was to accommodate the oculus in the ceiling with the domical lantern above.

74 Ibid. SM 52/1/10.

75 Watkin, “Freemasonry and Sir John Soane,” p. 413. fn. 42. SM Bill Book K. Watkin notes that Collins also supplied eight ‘japanned back lamps for lighting the dome.’

76 In November, David Paton was engaged in a drawing for the Freemasons’ Tavern water-closet.
likely a reference to the bust which Soane had by then incorporated above the moulding of
the niche that held the Grand Master’s throne. On 22 December 1829, Gandy was paid a
final £44:2:0, and two bills for glazing done at the Freemasons’ tavern were also settled.
Finally, in January of 1830, Bailey was measuring the joiner’s work at the Grand Master’s
room, which was situated to No. 62. Great Queen Street to the north of Soane’s chamber,
indicating that the interior finishes were progressing.

By 1830, the major components of the Freemasons’ Hall design were completed, and the
aging architect’s office had been reduced to Richardson and Bailey.77 Dorothy Stroud
notes:

“By now Soane’s private practice had come virtually to an end. George Bailey and
C.J. Richardson were still with him, but the past pupils, David Mocatta and
Stephen Burchell had left in 1827 and 1828 respectively, while the assistant David
Paton departed in 1830 shortly before emigrating to America.”

On 26 April 1831, Soane noted in his Journal: “Rec’d of the Society of Freemasons the
balance of account for commission on the Works at the New Buildings adjoining
Freemasons’ Hall and the alterations made in the Tavern, etc.,”79 in the amount of
£313:17:0. In September 1831 Soane was knighted by King William IV, and in January
1832, he offered the Society of Freemasons a donation of five-hundred pounds ”in aid of
the Expenses incurred in the Erection of the New Masonic Hall, and other Buildings.”80 It

1830 was an exceptional year for Gandy at the annual Summer Exhibition held at the Royal
Academy, for in the same show he exhibited "An Architectural pasticcio,” "An evening view of the
New Masons’ Hall, in Freemasons’ Tavern,” and his most famous watercolor today, "A bird’s-eye
view of the Bank of England.” It is ironic that all three watercolors were presented under Soane’s
name, although it makes sense since they were parts of various Soane projects. The pasticcio was
no doubt inspired by the column of architectural fragments raised in Soane’s house, the
Freemasons’ Hall design used emblematics to evoke meaning, and the Bank of England in ruins
forecast Imperial grandeur in a fallen state. All three projects dealt with the notion of the
fragment, for even the Freemasons’ Hall dealt not with a ruin, but with an interpretation of
Masonic ideals of the Temple of Jerusalem, expressed through individual symbols and architectural
allusions. All three representations speak of the whole through the part, and each link the
architectural project with ancient principles. 1830 also marked the year that Gandy was incarcerated
in Whitecroft Street prison for insolvency, being one of only five years that he did not exhibit any
works under his own name at the Royal Academy.

SM Journal No. 7, from 1st January 1831 to 1832. Entry for April 26, 1831, p. 5 (repeated on
p. 62 of same journal). On the same day, Soane notes ‘Paid Masonic Fees, 6 years £12:12:0.
Soane’s donation is recorded in a ‘Certificate’ dated 7 March 1832 from H.R.H. Duke of Sussex,
was a fitting tribute that the annual Grand Festival, which replaced Masonic ceremonies on the two St. John feast days, was held four months later on 25 April 'in Soane's Freemasons' Hall.'\textsuperscript{41} Soane could finally be considered a Masonic architect.

\textbf{DRAWING RITUALS / RITUAL DRAWINGS}

The separation of light from darkness is one of the primordial acts of creation in most cosmologies. In Soane's architectural vocabulary, light is often introduced from above, while being partially concealed. The mystery of light making matter visible allowed Soane to pursue what he referred to as \textit{la lumière mystérieuse} \textsuperscript{42} in various architectural works. At one level, Soane's general handling of light from above represents the secular light of the Enlightenment; in his Museum the tinted colored light represents the light of Italy, creating painterly effects; and in the Freemasons' Hall Soane's domical lantern with its colored signs of the zodiac is suggestive of the cosmological mapping of the macrocosm within the Temple. Soane's particular use of light as a symbol of enlightenment also lends itself to the allegorical 'Light of Freemasonry,' symbolized through initiation rites which recall the path of the Sun. The symbolism of light is one of the fundamental principles which joins the poetic concerns of architecture and freemasonry: procession, sequence, orientation, and worship are all rituals common to both practices.

Equally poetic to revealing that which is invisible through the making of architecture, the laying of a foundation stone has always been cause for important ceremony in building rituals. Another informative drawing in the Freemasons' Hall archive titled 'New Masonic Hall,' dated 22 July 1828, has an accompanying annotation in Soane's hand: "Begun laying foundation stone next [to] the Tavern on Thursday the 21st of July 1828."\textsuperscript{43} This entry is not repeated in the \textit{Day Books}, but the architectural archive provides further information surrounding the commencement of construction and the evolution of this

---

\textsuperscript{41} In the final \textit{Day Book}, C.J. Richardson records 'About view of Freemasons' Room' during March 25-28, 1835, possibly in relation to one of Joseph Gandy's many watercolor views, or as one of Soane's lecture illustrations.

\textsuperscript{42} See Soane's \textit{Lectures on Architecture}, p. 126.

\textsuperscript{43} Like many drawings in the archive, the one entitled "New Masonic Hall" (SM 52/1/15), has two dates written upon it: 22 July 1828, and 27 July 1828. This unremarkable drawing shows the plan of the kitchen, with revisions being planned. The important part of the drawing is the dated annotation.

234
design phase from June to October 1828. One of the most impressive architectural drawings from the archive in this regard is a building section dated 2 August 1828. It is a longitudinal section taken through the hall showing the addition of the zodiac lantern, sketched over the drafted and rendered section in pen and ink [fig. 25]. The drawing changes sketched over the original drawing are dated 13 October, confirming that between August and October the design had continued to evolve and develop, introducing light and ornament through the centralized dome. The drawing also displays pencil sketches on the upper portion of the page, showing designs for a spandrel ornament with compasses, and once again the star of David. These design changes were then incorporated into the transversal section drawing entitled "Design for the New Masonic Hall," dated at Chelsea, 15 August 1828 [fig. 26].

Many of these drawings were dated from Soane's office in Chelsea, where he was working on the Royal Hospital in his position as Clerk of Works, during the same time he was making designs for Freemasons' Hall. The drawing mentioned above (SM 52/5/34) has design notes in Soane's hand dated 17 October, stating: "The light in the center of the Great Arch over the chimneys...ought to have been (had memory permitted) at least two feet higher." And in another location, Soane's annotation reads: "began to fix the ribs over the chimneys (2 o'clock)...I have seen two of the ribs boxed and my opinion is confirmed." Watkin comments that Soane "further stressed the constructional daring by resting the coffered vaults not on solid walls but on the heads of the windows, thus suggesting that solid masonry was supported on glass." The carefully drawn section looking east, with its precise annotations, allows us to see Soane fine tuning the overall design in ways which again support enlightenment symbolism. Two companion sectional drawings display glimpses of his Masonic imagination best: conical zodiac lantern, horizontal side skylights,

84 SM 52/5/24. This is one of the key architectural drawings of the whole archive, since it shows Soane thinking in section, and the wonderful way concealed light is introduced from above. Its companion drawing, showing the transverse section with the zodiac light, and the fireplace chimney-windows drafted properly is SM 52/5/34. This section also shows the horizontal skylights flanking the zodiac lantern, which work with the structure of the arch decorations continuing the vertical movement of the chimneys.

85 There is a similar plaster cast of the spandrel details from the Freemasons' Hall, SM 90 (M14), but it is not an exact match.

86 SM 52/5/34.

87 Ibid. SM 52/5/34.

88 Ibid. SM 52/5/34.

fireplaces with chimney-windows, and springing arches and wall niches with clerestory lights above. In contrast to this elegant top-lit room, expressive of the clear rationale of the Enlightenment coupled with the symbolism of freemasonry, the service kitchen below is supported by heavy masonry arches and roof timbers, conveying the spirit of an English Tudor hall. The entire design supports a narrative of light above and shadow below.

COMMENTARY ON THE FREEMASONS' HALL DESIGN

As the connections between architectural theory and freemasonry began to fade during the course of the nineteenth century, scholars began to overlook the importance of Soane's Freemasons' Hall as a major architectural commission. In recent scholarship, Joseph Rykwert has been the main architectural historian to write about the important ties between architecture and freemasonry during the eighteenth century, followed by Anthony Vidler's writings on the architecture of the Masonic lodge during the French Enlightenment. More recently, David Watkin commented that Soane's important design for Freemasons' Hall "has never been fully discussed by historians of architecture." In examining what has been written about Soane's designs for Freemasons' Hall, very little has been said about the architectural meaning underlying the project. Stroud notes that Soane supervised and made minor repairs on the hall until important changes began in 1821. In the present work, the design has been traced through 1828, at which time the foundation stone was laid, and Soane commissioned his portrait wearing Masonic jewels as Grand Superintendent of Works from John Jackson. The portrait was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1830, and still hangs with others in the Soane Museum, providing one of many emblems regarding Soane's Masonic career in architecture.

Soane's renovation and expansion of Sandby's 'Temple to the Craft' was executed in a mature 'Soanean' spirit, having built blank screen temple walls in several other projects, including the Bank of England and the Dulwich Picture Gallery; which may be read as 'Temples' to Exchange and to Art respectively. It is also clear that one of Soane's strengths as an architect was working within the envelope of an existing building (as in his own

---

90 A further drawing, SM 52/5/23, is dated 15 August, 1828, with a large detail of the chimney-window, and the accompanying comment, "chimney sash to be hung."

91 Watkin, "Freemasonry and Sir John Soane," p. 402. Chapter 6 of Rykwert's The First Moderns remains the most evocative and densely written modern argument relating architecture’s ties to freemasonry.
‘Temple to Memory’ at Lincoln’s Inn Fields), not only because he then had a physical
context to respond to through counterpoint, but also because this accretion over time
through building allowed him to apply lessons he had learned in Rome. Working within the
physical building fabric, Soane developed a series of discreet rooms, related by their
physical juxtaposition and narrative sequence. In this regard, the plan of the Bank of
England is very much in keeping with his Roman ideal where a series of courtyard houses,
or ‘temples,’ are placed within the confines of the large screen wall that surrounds the
premises. Added to this was Soane’s obsession with narratives of death, having lost his
wife and son.\textsuperscript{92} The polarities of life and death were mirrored both in the sectional
arrangement of his Museum narrative, and in the sequence of rooms leading up to the
Mausoleum of the Dulwich Picture Gallery. In addition, the narrative of birth, ritualistic
death, and rebirth was one that Soane had already experienced in freemasonry and could
now draw upon.

Similar to the strategy he employed for his house-museum at Lincoln’s Inn Fields, Soane
cleverly maneuvered the Freemasons’ Hall site to obtain a series of light-wells between the
buildings, while at the same time respecting Sandby’s Great Hall. He also went through an
exploration within the design process that I have partially described through the drawings.
Finally, the shape of the lantern crowning the Masonic chamber became conical, and
colored glass was added to adorn and embellish the ascending circles of the zodiac. In
addition to the increasingly light quality of the floating pendentive ceiling, the glazing and
other symbols revealing the orders of architecture gave a central verticality to the character
of the room - equally mysterious by day or ominous by night.

The continuous narrative between the Freemasons’ Hall and Soane’s Museum would not
be complete without supporting the observation that several architectural and sculptural
motifs moved freely between the two projects, as in the ‘models’ of the zodiac lantern
.fig. 27] and the bust. Further evidence of his museum as a laboratory is found in the
“Model of the Domical Light in the new Masonic Hall of the Freemasons,”\textsuperscript{93} situated in a

\textsuperscript{92} For an extensive discussion of this theme in Soane’s work, see \textit{Soane and Death: The Tombs and

\textsuperscript{93} The reference to the domical light model and the next one of the ceiling model are from Soane’s
\textit{Description} (1830), p. 17. Note that today the same zodiac lantern for Freemasons’ Hall occupies
the ceiling of the Dressing-Room; according to Summerson’s \textit{New Description} (p. 67), Soane had
small Lobby off the Dressing Room; as well as on the north side over the door of the Dressing Room where Soane placed “an aperture shewing the Ceiling in the Freemasons’ New Masonic Hall.” Lastly, using a parallel technique found in Gandy’s painting, “Public and Private Buildings Executed by Sir John Soane between 1780 and 1815” (1818), in the Picture Room Soane displayed “Two Perspective Views of the New Masonic Hall in the Freemasons’ Tavern” in addition to his own Masonic portrait.

With the Freemasons’ Hall representations complete, and the new hall now in use, Gandy would embark upon his own final project “Comparative Architecture” the following year, in 1836. Having discussed the hermetic direction in which this project led Gandy, much of the occult symbolism shared between the Freemasons’ Hall and “Architecture, an emblematic sketch” makes it difficult at best to determine where the influence of one project ends and the other begins.

---

It moved from the little lobby to the north in 1832. Today, in the Model Room there is also a ‘Model of plaster Spandrel from the Masonic Hall’ dated 1828, which I have looked at.

Ibid., p. 15.

238
Chapter 11
ON THE THEATRICAL NATURE OF ARCHITECTURE & MASONRY

Freemasons' Hall: Council Chamber by Night
Joseph Gandy, exhibited 1832
Courtesy of Sir John Soane's Museum, SM P268

239
Chapter 11
ON THE THEATRICAL NATURE OF ARCHITECTURE AND MASONRY

On, On, my dear brethren,
pursue your great Lecture.
And refine on the rules of old architecture:
High honour to masons the craft daily brings.
To those brothers of Princes and fellows of Kings.

The noble five Orders composed with such art.
Will amaze the fixed eye and engage the whole heart:
Proportions sweet harmony Gracing the Whole
Gives our Work, like the glorious Creation, a Soul.¹

"The Deputy Grand Master's Song," Constitutions, 1756

THE MASONIC DRAMA
The connections between freemasonry and theater design in eighteenth century France have been touched upon by Alan Braham and later, David Watkin, who recalls architect Charles de Wailly's (1729-1798) unexecuted designs for a Masonic Temple during 1774-75. De Wailly was the celebrated architect of the Comédie Française, as well as a member of the same lodge as Le Camus de Mézières,² whose Masonic designs were contemporary with the design of the Grand Lodge in London by Sandby. While the theatrical aspect of freemasonry should be self-evident by now and has been commented upon in various texts, Braham writes that "the building of a new theater for the Comediens du Roi was a subject of widespread public interest and debate, all the more intense as the theater in the later eighteenth century was a place of worship far more potent than the church."³ In post revolutionary France, collective ceremony moved away from the church towards the theater, the academy, and other social institutions including the Masonic lodge.

In writing about the convivial nature of the lodges during eighteenth century France, Vidler comments:

¹ James Anderson. The Constitutions of the Free-Masons, 1756. "The Deputy Grand Master's Song," (verses 1 and 3 respectively), p. 327. The song has six verses in all.
² Watkin states that both architects belonged to the 'Respectable Loge des Coeurs Simples de l'Etoile Polaire à l'Orient de Paris' was where de Wailly was initiated in 1744.
"It was by no means a coincidence that the notion of the festival and the banquets pervaded both real social existence and utopian romance in the second half of the [eighteenth] century. The festival was, after all, that instant of daily life where normal routines, even normal mores, were for a moment suspended. In the festive life of the Masonic societies, withdrawn from the world, the festive life could be lived to an even greater extreme."4

What insight into festive life is gained by studying Soane’s design process, which involved precise sectional drawings that explored the introduction of light and the reduction of mass through ornamentation in the Freemasons’ Hall? As in other projects, Soane’s real mastery was knowing how to maximize lighting effects on tight urban sites. The introduction of strategically placed light-wells enabled Soane and Gandy to create theatrical effects, such as placing the rear lit windows above the fireplaces in the new hall. As well, the ceiling planes appear to hover through the use of floating pendentives and an oculus. Theatrical as well, Gandy’s watercolors frame the room in such a way that it appears unveiled behind a partially lifted curtain; a motif commonly used for Masonic certificates and other paraphernalia associated with the Craft.

THE HALL SEEN THROUGH GANDY’S EYES

The text accompanying the Soane exhibit, which was held at the Royal Academy in 1997, states that ‘from 1798 onwards, we see Soane’s buildings largely through Gandy’s eyes.’ Even as Soane’s eyes began to fail him in the 1830’s, Gandy was still producing architectural drawings for the annual exhibit at the Royal Academy solely under Soane’s name. In the case of Freemasons’ Hall, Soane exhibited these drawings at the Academy on three different occasions.5 Two of Gandy’s principal watercolor paintings - one portraying a day view and the second an evening view of the Freemasons’ Hall - were amongst these

---

5 Interior views of the Freemasons’ Hall were exhibited by Soane at the Royal Academy in 1829, 1830, and 1832. Their respective titles were:

1829:  (#1039) "The interior of a room erected in the year 1828, for the Society of Freemasons, under the auspices of the Grand Master..."

1830:  (#1042) "An evening view of the new Masons’ Hall, in Freemasons’ Tavern" (the same year as Gandy’s magnificent bird’s eye view of the Bank of England was exhibited by Soane)

1832:  (#998) "Interior of an edifice devoted exclusively to Freemasonry adjoining Freemasons’ Hall, in Great Queen Street - an evening view made after the completion of the building"
and should be understood within the context of the collaborative design process which he and Soane largely undertook together.⁶

In Gandy’s two framed views beyond the lifted curtain that he introduces as a theatrical proscenium, we see the Freemasons’ Hall complete with its architectural decoration and Masonic furnishings. The first watercolor perspective of the new chamber is titled: “The interior of a room erected in the year 1828, for the Society of Freemasons, under the auspices of the Grand Master” [fig. 1]. This painting displays the room along the main axis as seen from the position of the Grand Master’s throne, relating the painting narrative to its title. Companion to the later night view, this day view shows Gandy and Soane within the interior of their architectural creation. While Gandy stands just inside the threshold of the entrance door, Soane is approaching the Junior Warden’s chair. In the middle of the room, Gandy has inset a smaller painting showing the kitchen below the new hall. Looking north, the organ is opposite the Junior Warden’s niche, whose chair is associated with the ritual. The chandeliers are supported by the wings of the pendentive ceiling which display supporting angels, a motif Soane used at the Dulwich Picture Gallery Mausoleum and also incorporated into parts of the Bank of England. Soane’s architecture expresses symbolically that angel’s wings ‘spread’ the load where arches spring in both directions from a corner pier or column, just as the ancient Acropolis caryatids symbolically ‘carry’ the horizontal load. They are symbols of the unbearable lightness of construction [fig. 2].

Gandy’s second painting,⁷ “Interior of an edifice devoted exclusively to Freemasonry adjoining Freemasons’ Hall, in Great Queen Street - an evening view made after the completion of the building,” places the viewer looking south towards the assembly [ch. title page]. The Masonic Ark occupies the center below the zodiac lantern, the organ is once again situated on the east wall, and the Grand Master’s niche occupies the far end of the room on the south wall. The centralized perspective gives the illusion that the rectangular room is infinitely longer and larger than in actuality. By placing the three lights that rest on the desks of the Wardens and the pedestal in front of the Grand Master, the Ark appears to be resting on one of the tables. This effect is the result of a cleverly placed shadow by

⁷ This is the painting exhibited in 1832 (#998) at the R.A. Exhibition. It is now catalogued in the Soane Museum as SM P268.
Gandy, used to trick the eye into perceiving that the Ark is larger and more monumental than it would have been in situ. If he had followed the rules of 'correct' perspective, the Masonic Ark would be concealed by the table in the foreground, so Gandy chose to 'represent' it for dramatic effect. The orientation of the image places the viewer in the position of the entering apprentice, or initiate, about to move towards the Grand Master and enlightenment to the east. This representation captures the somber mood of the hall before an evening meeting: a glowing lantern above softly casts colored light (possibly moonlight) into the room while floating pendentives with their suspended chandeliers masterfully conceal the builder's art. Three of the four fireplaces display windows above which give onto light-wells beyond, displaying once again the tectonic acrobatics of its master builders [fig. 3].

Gandy's representation of smoke rising up from the fire below through the back-lit windows has led to serious questioning about the mechanics of the flues. Pragmatically, Soane writes that "Chimnies should always be placed fronting the light, except in a bedchamber." In this setting however, beyond the use of the fireplaces for heat, the collaborative architects allude to the poetic and occult principles and practices of architecture. Although this theatrical backdrop was for the use of the Grand Lodge, we know that in eighteenth century quasi-Masonic Egyptian rituals related to the cult of Isis, the four elements played a key role in initiation. From Piranesi to Lequeu's mystical "Temple of Divination," Egyptian rituals were imagined in all their smoke and mirror glory. In this instance, the back-lit smoke, rising above the fireplaces towards the heavens, would have added a general element of mystery during Masonic gatherings. One can only begin to imagine the effect that Soane and Gandy intended.

From information gathered through the Freemasons' Hall Drawings, SM Drawer 52. SM 52/2 (survey notes).


While Soane's employees worked on making the plans and drawing the details of the project to move the designs forward, it is significant that of the three views of the Freemasons' Hall exhibited at the Royal Academy, two remain evening views. The essential temporal and theatrical relationship between Masonic ceremony and the 'willing suspension of disbelief,' cannot be overlooked in Gandy's architectural images of the new hall. Soane relied on Gandy's hand and eye to represent the narrative of the Freemasons' Hall according to a proper sense of spectacle. Again, one imagines the blindfolded initiate entering into this majestic room at night as the drama is about to unfold; all that awaits is the opening of a lodge to commence the drama, framed by Soane's poetry of architecture.

THE SOANE FESTIVAL APOTHEOSIS
The power of concealing the room, and then revealing it to the viewer by pulling back the curtain is also present in Charles Willson Peale's "The Artist in His Museum" (1822). In Peale's painting, a cabinet of curiosities is dramatically revealed to the viewer [fig. 4]. Such imagery, which is present throughout the design drawings for Freemasons' Hall, allows one to speculate on the interconnection between the museum, the theater, and freemasonry. The narrative cycle connecting these three institutions would complete itself when the 'British Architects' honored Sir John Soane with the Gold Medal Festival on the night of 24 March 1835.

For the first time relating Soane's Museum and the Freemason's Hall directly, both architectural interiors were employed to celebrate the Masonic architect's professional career. The ceremony involving the British Architects took place at noon, where a presentation of the medal of honor was made at No. 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields by Sir Jeffry Wyatville, in front of three-hundred subscribers. The Duke of Sussex, who had hoped to attend, was absent due to the temporary loss of his sight. Instead, the Worshipful Master sent a letter to be read aloud offering his expressions and sentiments to his architect, friend, and Masonic brother. Pierre du Prey comments upon "Soane's bitter-sweet moment of triumph and recognition when his architectural colleagues, Richardson among them, presented the grand old man of the profession with the first impression of William Wyon's"

---

The American painter Peale, perfectly captures the theatrical spirit of the cabinet of curiosities in "The Artist in His Museum." This auto-portrait portrays the artist lifting the curtain, allowing the viewer to see beyond into his collection of natural curiosities. Painted in 1822, it is contemporary with Soane's world, and is evocative of the theatrical nature of the era. Peale's painting belongs to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Arts collection, in Philadelphia.
beautiful Soane Medal."12 The organizers also arranged to have silver and bronze13 reproductions of Soane's Medal presented to subscribers.

This was followed by an honorary ball at the Freemasons' Hall, amidst the majesty of fraternal and collegial repast.14 At this late stage in life, the elderly Soane was too frail to attend the commemorative ball that was held in his honour, but many others including Sir Francis Chantrey and C.J. Richardson were at the event. Perhaps John Britton and Richard Westmacott were among the illustrious crowd that evening; while the whereabouts of collaborator Joseph Gandy and Soane's old friend, Joseph Turner, are not confirmed in popular accounts. Other of Soane's colleagues from the Royal Academy had already died, including Sir Thomas Lawrence in 1830, and John Flaxman in 1826.

It is fitting that the Grand Superintendent of Works would have a "Tribute of Respect from the British Architects"15 in London's most prestigious Masonic Hall. The festivities for the evening were coordinated by Soane's pupil John Goldicutt, who decorated the room with the master's architectural works, and centered his bust "enshrined at one end."16 The Victoria and Albert Museum has three drawing sheets of Goldicutt's decorations at the Freemasons' Hall for this occasion. The collection includes a perspective sketch by Goldicutt showing the busts of Inigo Jones, Christopher Wren, and James Wyatt, with Soane's bust occupying an honorary niche on the end wall [fig. 5].17 Soane had lent Chantrey's bust of himself which was placed on a pedestal alongside these British luminaries.14 The four "British Worthies" carried on the tradition of other "Ancient"

---

12 Pierre du Prey, p. 112.
13 One author stated that silver and gold reproductions were handed out, but silver and bronze seems more likely; Soane having received the gold version. Paid for by subscribers, the gold medal was modeled on the bust of Soane made by Chantrey.
14 It is not absolutely clear in which of the two Masonic halls the ball actually took place. Pierre du Prey cites Soane's New Hall in his V & A catalogue; David Watkin disagrees with this in favor of Sandby's Great Hall. In comparing the drawing by Goldicutt, dated 25 March 1835, with the engravings of Sandby's hall, I side with Watkin in his observation. The festival certainly might have moved around within the premises, including both halls as well as the Freemasons' Tavern (mentioned in annotations).
15 See C.J. Richardson's subscribers ticket for the event. From the Victoria and Albert catalogue, # 3307-286. Note that the Institute of British Architects was founded in 1834. The Architects of England were the precursor to the present RIBA.
16 Pierre du Prey, p. 112.
17 The perspective sketch is housed in the Victoria and Albert Prints and Drawings collection. V & A drawing # 3307-238. It is dated March 25 (presumably 1835).
18 Stroud includes the Italian busts and that of Robert Adam. I am not aware of any evidence for this
architects presented in the room, including Vitruvius, Michelangelo and Palladio. Goldicutt’s drawing, dated 25 March,\(^1\) appears to be a record of the decoration of the Freemasons’ Hall the day following the event. C.J. Richardson’s\(^2\) admission ticket for the evening is also preserved in the V & A collection, bearing the inscription: ‘Tribute of Respect from the British Architects’ [fig. 6], along with a humorous caricature of Soane drawn by former pupil Henry Parke, who had also designed the reverse side of the Soane Medal.\(^21\)

Parke’s use of references from the Soane Museum is strikingly humorous [fig. 7].\(^22\) The charioteer, portrayed as ‘Genius in a triumphal car,’ is situated below Soane’s bust, with both tableaux facing Apollo. Roundels of the rising and setting of the sun\(^23\) surround Soane’s caricature in the center, throwing thunderbolts (one presumes) at his postillion apprentices! Soane had been transformed by Parke into the figure in the rising sun chariot, accompanied by the flying Fame above and the figure of a river god below. The classical theme of the rising and setting of the sun equally alludes both to Architecture as ‘Queen of the Arts’ and to Masonic symbolism. Whether or not the latter reference was intentional - as already mentioned the sun’s rising, meridian, and setting plays a significant role in freemasonry - the movements of the sun are repeated in rituals of the Craft, as in the procedure around the lodge.\(^24\) Parke’s allegorical caricature of this momentous occasion marks the apotheosis of Soane, who had finally achieved the status of one of the narratives in his house-museum, and appeared remarkably similar to the figure seen streaking through the sky on the frontispiece of the *Constitutions*. In addition to having been knighted in

---

\(^1\) See V & A catalogue by Pierre du Prey (3307.238), p. 112, for a description of the drawing. There is no image of the hall in the catalogue.

\(^2\) Charles James (C.J.) Richardson had also been Soane’s pupil from 1824 until his death. From 1830 onwards, Richardson and George Bailey were the only two employees in Soane’s office. Gandy, continued to freelance as an assistant to Soane, who willed him £100 pounds per annum.

\(^21\) Parke had been a pupil at Soane’s office from November 1814 to May 1820. He died quite young, in 1835, not long after Soane’s festival celebration.

\(^22\) In his collection Soane had a ‘Genius in a Triumphant Car,’ from ‘Adrian’s villa,’ as well as Casts from the ‘Apotheosis of Homer.’ See Soane’s *Description* (1830). p. 3. The Rising and Setting of the Sun were often referred to by Soane as well (see below).

\(^23\) One of the Freemasons’ Hall sketches by Gandy shows a very similar (if not identical) roundel in one of the niches. Parke’s drawing seems to be based upon this image.

\(^24\) For a discussion of the sun’s movement as an allegory for Masonic enlightenment in freemasonry, see Harry Carr, *The Freemason at Work*, p. 38.
1831,\textsuperscript{25} having the gold medal presented to him by the Architects of England was the
crowning achievement in Soane's professional career, an event which would forever forge
his bond between architecture and freemasonry.

Soane's symbolic apotheosis at the festival may have sealed his importance to the
profession, but sadly his Freemasons' Hall was short lived. Little more than three decades
after its completion Soane's building was demolished:

"In 1863, not content with renumbering its Lodges and closing up the gaps caused
by withdrawals to form independent Grand Lodges and erasures since 1832, Grand
Lodge decided to demolish the whole existing structure except for Sandby's Hall,
and to seek designs for a new pair of buildings\textsuperscript{26} which were designed by F.P.
Cockerell."\textsuperscript{27}

Following in the tradition of the ideal image of the Temple, Soane's building has physically
disappeared without a trace. The Masonic Ark perished twenty years later, in 1883, having
been reduced to ashes as a result of a fire in Sandby's Great Hall. This first hall was
initially restored following the fire, and then regretfully demolished in 1933 to make way
for the present Grand Temple which occupies the corner and north side of Great Queen
Street.\textsuperscript{28}

\textbf{THE TEMPLE AND MEMORY}

After his death from influenza on 20 January 1837, Soane's obituary was published in the
Masonic magazine \textit{The Freemasons' Quarterly}. The 'Masonic Intelligence' gives a full
account of Soane's various positions and appointments with the Society of Freemasons:

\begin{enumerate}
\item Soane was knighted on 21 September 1831, at age 78, by King William IV.
\item Stubbs, p. 18.
\item The son of C.R. Cockerell, F.P. Cockerell, designed the next hall for the freemasons, which was
built from 1864-69. The Freemasons' Tavern and Freemasons' Hall were finally severed: "John
Havers to whom the overall plan had been entrusted laid it down axiomatic that the fronts and
entrances of the two buildings were intended to be completely distinct. All to the east of the west
wall of the tavern was to be Tavern, all to the west to be Hall." Finally, the Masonic Library and
Museum was established in 1899. The Masonic Peace Memorial, which is the Freemasons' Hall
today, was built on an expanded site at the corner of Great Queen Street and Wild Street from
1927-33; it houses the present Grand Temple.
\item Sandby's Great Hall remained on the site from 1776-1933. After a life of one-hundred and fifty years, it was
reported that grave defects in the fabric of the building made it structurally unfit for Masonic purposes. By
contrast, Soane's Freemasons' Hall existed a mere thirty-five years, from 1828-1863.
\end{enumerate}
"In 1813 he was appointed Grand Superintendent of Works to the fraternity of Freemasons; in 1828 he built the present smaller Hall, in Queen-street, and gave 500£ towards the expense of its erection. In 1815 he was appointed one of the architects to the Office of Works, which he held until the Office was abolished in 1832."\(^{29}\)

It was also well known that in his office as Grand Superintendent of Works, the aging architect contributed funds on occasion:

"Our Charitable Institutions were not forgotten: -- for each of the two Schools he was a donor to the amount of 50£, and he held the distinguished rank of Vice President in both of them. It was expected by some that Sir John would have bequeathed largely to the Society, but we have not heard that such has been the case -- he was sufficiently liberal when living."\(^{30}\)

This last phrase marks an important aspect of Soane's character as a Mason. He was sociable and always supported causes, from the acquisition of land to the Masonic charities. Although the obituary captures Brother Soane's virtue as a patron of the arts and architecture, by contrast, the editors of the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review* were not as kind to Soane's design of Freemasons' Hall when they reviewed it the year following his death:

"The 'New Temple,' Freemasons' Hall was erected a few years since, from the design, and under the direction of our late Grand Superintendent of Works, and was by him considered to be among the first, if not the very best, of his works. On entering it, every person conversant with his peculiar style of architecture, would at once trace the fanciful genius of Sir John Soane -- but we candidly confess we do not like to see Defiance hurled at Rome and Greece,' and therefore are not very great admirers of the Soanean style. We have always considered the 'New Temple' to be overloaded with ornament, and cut up into too many minor parts, each perfect in itself, but wanting in the perfection of dignity as a whole. The ceiling is low and heavy; and that heaviness is greatly increased by the pendants to which the lamps are suspended."\(^{31}\)

Similar to previous criticisms of Soane's work, the editors of the Masonic review go on to defend Philip Hardwicke's expansion and modifications to Soane's Hall [fig. 8] as vast improvements over the original design, which was too ornate and cramped, 'not being of sufficient size to contain Brethren in Grand Lodge assembled.'\(^{32}\) Once again, Soane's


\(^{30}\) Ibid., pp. 90-91.

\(^{31}\) *Freemasons' Quarterly Review,* September 1838. p. 476.

\(^{32}\) Philip Hardwicke was Soane's successor as G.S.W. from 1837-55. He was in turn succeeded by
picturesque manner of composing each part within the whole was misconstrued as having 'too many minor parts.' The fact that Soane's critics acknowledged that each part was perfect in itself reaffirms the reaction against his language of form and the loss of shared allegory and emblematics during the mid century rise of the Greek Revival. While the Duke of Sussex would have grasped such symbolism in choosing Soane as his architect and Master Mason, by the late 1830's even his brethren at the Freemasons' Quarterly Review were no longer able to appreciate such subtle architectural complexity.

The fact remains that Soane and Gandy each developed their own individual 'style'- a unique language of expression - that would leave them both open to criticism depending upon the stylistic favor of the decade. During both Greek and Gothic revivals, Soane remained continually disappointed by such literal translations of architecture's 'models' to which he constantly referred. It was to the lessons of the ancients that Soane and Gandy incessantly returned, having spent their lives studying the classical tradition. Nonetheless, as a modern architect, Soane would continue to embrace the techniques, materials and forms of his own day. Perhaps Soane's former pupil, George Wightwick, summarized it best in The Palace of Architecture, where he comments on Soane's influence on the history of architecture:

It may possibly prove hereafter to have been more than an episode - an essential passage in the progress of Architectural taste. Sir John Soane, in his later day, struck out a style of his own, - not perhaps, to be taken as model worthy, but certainly to be studied, as containing much that is extremely beautiful, and evincing a more playful fancy - if not a more vigorous genius - than had been exhibited for centuries.33

Wightwick even displays images of an idealized 'Soanean Exterior' and a 'Soanean Interior' to support his case [figs. 9 & 10]. Certainly, Soane and Gandy's shared quest was to combine the lessons from antiquity in an attempt to form an architecture that would speak to the collective institutions of man. This ideal was linked to Soane's social practices at the academy, the lodge, and various other social clubs to which he belonged.

S. W. Daukes (1856-63) and then by F. P. Cockerell (1863-78).
George Wightwick, The Palace of Architecture (1840), p. 191. In the opening paragraphs, Wightwick describes the author of the eclectic Palace of Architecture, 'resolved on the attainment of a Masonic glory, which should eclipse even that of Solomon or the imperial Adrian.' It is within this context that we find Soanean architecture alongside mosques, temples, palaces, gardens, etc.

249
I suspect that one of the reasons why the Society of Freemasons approached Soane to work on the design of their furnishings and Masonic hall was the fact that his particular style and motifs were already well developed in projects ranging from the Bank of England to the Dulwich Picture Gallery. Soane's inwardly focused interiors, volumes with clerestory windows and lanterns lit from above, and blank screen walls with several temple-like structures adorning them were extremely mysterious and monumental interiors representative of the Enlightenment. There was, in addition, his deep commitment to architectural narrative as well as to what Vidler terms the 'associational life' of the lodges, supported by Soane's knowledge of architectural 'models.'

The enormous blank screen walls of the Bank of England, the discreet facades of the Georgian townhouses at Lincoln's Inn Fields, and the tavern fronting Freemasons' Hall each held secrets behind them as the visitor passed through the threshold and into another world in microcosm. With the interior world of Masonic architecture emphasizing as well the spatial sequencing of rooms from one to another culminating in the chambers of initiation, there was something already in the architect's work which clearly expressed Masonic ideals. I have tried to show that these ideals were translated in two of his most symbolic and theatrical projects: the first of these, the present Soane Museum, and the second, the now demolished Freemasons' Hall.

There is no doubt that the architectural 'styles' of the day had moved on to the various neoclassical revivals, and that Soane's skills as an architect died with him. Having lost his inspiration, Joseph Gandy would exhibit his last emblematic watercolor drawings the following year, in 1838.34

---

34 Five years later Gandy died at age seventy-two, having struggled in vain much of his architectural career for professional and artistic recognition.
RICORSO

The Enlightenment witnessed the mythical cosmos give way to an empirical and secular model of the universe centered increasingly upon the individual. From the seventeenth century onwards architects (including Christopher Wren and Claude Perrault) were often engaged in science before turning their attention to architecture. By the late eighteenth century architectural education had begun at the Royal Academy where Soane and Gandy were trained, followed by participation in the grand tour. In a manner much like Gandy, the eighteenth century philosopher Giambattista Vico traced the order of human institutions to "first the forests, after that the huts, then the villages, next the cities, and finally the academies."1 In England, the secular philosophy of the Enlightenment established both the academy and freemasonry as important institutions and places to conduct business, socialize, and freely exchange ideas regarding man's place in society as well as in the universe. These were all signs of a genuine desire for the betterment of society that would be built upon the foundations of universal knowledge. For philosophes, this knowledge was represented through the Encyclopaedia and various academies, while for freemasons it was represented by the allegory of the Temple of Solomon.

Both Soane and Gandy were caught up in the Enlightenment philosophy's passion for universal knowledge which led to a shared search for the universal origins of architecture. During their respective searches, Soane and Gandy were building on the work of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's Essai sur l'Origine des Langues and Dr. John Wilkins of the Royal Society who searched for the origins of universal language; elsewhere Charles Dupuis searched for the common origins of religious cults and Antoine Court de Gébelin returned to the Monde Primitif. Although Gandy and Soane developed quite different theories regarding architecture's divine origins (one returning to the Ark of Noah and the other to the idea of the Temple of Solomon), I trust that the parallels found in their works have now become more explicit.

With the late eighteenth century marked by a general movement to recover the origins of culture, in his book on the search for the primitive hut, Joseph Rykwert comments: “The return to origins is a constant of human development and in this matter architecture conforms to all other human activities.”2 Thinkers, from Vico to Diderot, were engaged in arranging this vast amount of universal knowledge into some type of human ordering system. Ernst Cassirer places Soane and Gandy’s era within an historical context that precisely expresses the tension and creative energy inherent in this dilemma:

“The thought of the Enlightenment again and again breaks through the rigid barriers of system and tries, especially among its greatest and most original minds, to escape this strict systemic discipline. The true nature of Enlightenment thinking cannot be seen in its purest and clearest form where it is formulated into particular doctrines, axioms, and theorems; but rather where it is in process, where it is doubting and seeking, tearing down and building up.”3

These observations are insightful and account for the revolutionary aspect of eighteenth century institutions, including freemasonry, that framed the heated debates in newspapers, salons, and coffee houses. In this regard, John Soane led an associational life, having been made a member of various guilds and academies during his long and distinguished career, including the Academies of Parma, Florence, and Vienna. He belonged to the Architects’ Club with William Chambers, Thomas Sandby, and Robert Adam, and frequented the Athenaeum Club in London when he wasn’t at the Royal Academy. Perhaps his best ‘social self’ was cultivated at the banquets and events associated with his Masonic affiliation. Soane’s involvement with the Society of Freemasons as a Master Mason and architect also led to his participation in festive and associational life through the Craft resting on the foundations of universal brotherhood.

Then there was Soane’s constant public involvement with the Royal Academy coupled with the gregarious aspect of his Museum. These last two institutions were germane in helping to externalize and expand Soane’s personal experience and individual language of architecture into an extrinsic theory recorded in his Lectures on Architecture, that ordered and described the art of building from its mythical origins and sacred beginnings as exemplified by the Temple and other ‘models’ for architecture. For Gandy, any attempt to classify architecture according to a chronological system was bound to overlook the

---

complexity of the history of architecture and its characteristics. His approach was more reliant upon the divine and trans-historical sources of architecture. Rather than accept a reductive or positivistic approach to building - witnessed in the various attempts to cast architecture as a series of types, styles, or historical eras - Soane and Gandy united to defend the ancient principles of building.

Perhaps the most important legacy of the sublime was the power of the Romantic imagination. In this respect, Soane and Gandy equally defended the integrity of the architectural imagination, for in order to represent architecture in all of its profound human glory, as Gandy elegantly demonstrated time after time, one has first of all to dream. As an extension of this innate human ability, both architects were highly aware that every architectural drawing, or painting, begins by imagining a possible world. Given this potential within the very idea of design, we inevitably look back in order to move forward. Thus, the 'quest for origins,' in order to rediscover the past, and the 'myth of progress,' in order to speculate upon the future, were two additional aspects of the dialectic of the Enlightenment that artists and architects continued to struggle with.

With this double direction of time in mind, Soane and Gandy held several essential views that are relevant to contemporary architectural theory. Studying the problems of form in architecture according to principles implies a fundamentally different method than merely emulating the form which has led to aestheticism and historicism among other 'isms.' To support this claim, how many times has Soane been considered under the banner of neo-classicism or Gandy been appropriated by post-modernism? The ambiguous and eclectic nature of their work allows these formal readings, but there is as much content as form underlying their collaboration.

I have argued that a view of architecture that is synthetic and spatially complex is present in Soane and Gandy's complementary works, which were based on a common foundation that valued historical continuity. Although this foundation was often shaken as debates and even schisms between groups aligning themselves as 'ancients' or 'moderns' took place during the eighteenth century, the potential continuity between tradition and modernity which marked their position can be traced throughout the history of architecture, from

---

Michelangelo's stair in the Laurentian Library to Guarini's basket weave dome in San Lorenzo, and finally to the Soane Museum itself. In each of these buildings the architects were knowledgeable about the works of the past, but having deeply learned the language of architecture they remained free to invent their own architectural forms. In Soane's work this issue is particularly subtle, contributed to by his sophisticated understanding of transformation, analogy, and metonymy, all terms that he employed when invoking the "poetry of architecture."

Another fundamental question that arises through the work of Gandy and Soane is: How does one interpret what makes a work of architecture engaging across time? Their works of architecture, largely drawings in the case of Gandy and buildings in the case of Soane, communicate and engage each of us to discover their multiple layers of symbolism and meaning. Meaningful works of architecture tend to have been built or arisen at a time of extreme transition between one world-view and another, often fueled by the conflict inherent in change. This trans-historical view of the works of architecture certainly opens up endless possibilities for interpretation. In one sense, the Soane Museum and "Architecture, an emblematic sketch" are potentially as engaging today as they were almost two centuries ago. This suggests that these works have a depth of meaning that requires them to be repeatedly experienced and studied in order to be fully appreciated. Following Merleau Ponty's observation "To perceive is to render oneself present through the body,"

whether it is one of Gandy's encoded paintings or Merleau-Ponty's discussion of the relation between the visible and the invisible, the phenomenology of architecture inevitably leads us towards an understanding of the complex spatial relationship between our bodies and the built world.

As an integral part of aesthetics, beauty, harmony, and a sense of completeness have always been important criteria used in art and in architecture. By the early nineteenth century, architects were aware that the rules of architecture were no longer fixed, and that there was no longer a canon to guide principles of design through proportion, although Soane still relied on Vitruvius as his measure. Soane wished to reunite the fine arts in order to achieve harmony and elevate the art of architecture, however, both the ruin and the fragment would become perceived independently and associated with the Romantic

---


254
movement. While in simple terms, Soane’s collection may be read as a singular act, an attempt to order the history of architecture under one roof for the benefit of his own ego, a more precise reading allows us to perceive the museum as parallel to his theory on architecture, as a microcosm of the universal or general qualities in architecture as they respond to particular form and place. Combined with his lectures, Soane’s activities embodied a desire to create a meta-view that remains a legacy of his work: the lessons in words and the lessons in stone.

In Gandy’s case, his work is best interpreted through the occult tradition. During the Renaissance, magic and alchemy were traditions that architects participated in as part of a cosmological world-view. Along with William Blake, Gandy continued these esoteric traditions that concealed the full meaning of his work through symbols. In contrast to Soane, Gandy’s attempt to develop a comprehensive written theory of architecture remained incomplete, in large part due to his inability to externalize his personal and Romantic ‘world of the work’ into a more general body of principles, rules, or models. Having championed Gandy’s work throughout this thesis, one of the inherent difficulties with his position remains, that at one level as an individual thinker - with his own creation of the pictorial image - Gandy attempts to step outside of the historical process. In his final paintings, the lone visionary’s cosmology places him in the centre of his universe as a microcosmic deity, fulfilling the prophesy of the entire Romantic generation. As I continue to study his complex iconographic representations, I wonder: Can an image actually create architectural order, or is this not in fact the essence of all forms of architectural representation? I would now speculate that the major point of distinction between Soane and Gandy’s practices and their implication for the modern world remains the problem of how to participate in culture once a shared cosmology is no longer in place. The issues concerning Gandy’s mythical history as only another solipsistic illusion of Romanticism, or Soane’s museum primarily as an eccentric self-portrait, are still with us in architectural theory.

Taking a critical position which assumes that there is meaning - as well as meaning in the search - I would argue that the works of architecture and the work of architects, from Piranesi to Gandy through Soane, will continue to have an aura that invites the human imagination to wonder. Soane’s pursuit of architecture’s roots led to an understanding of the models of architecture that guided his own thinking; this concept of ‘model’ remains
pregnant with potential, inviting one to think of twentieth century architects who share a common understanding of the continuity between tradition and modernity. Louis Kahn, Carlo Scarpa, Joze Plecnik, and Sigurd Lewerentz are a few architects whose work lies within this Soanean tradition, having developed their own unique language of architecture.

I also continue to wonder about Joseph Gandy’s assumption that architecture could express itself through universal and transcending symbols. Since the origins of architecture began, mankind has continued to frame the human condition through ritual and language, emblem and symbol. Vico, akin to Gandy’s theory, asserted in the Scienza nuova that in the three ages of man: the gods spoke in sacred language (hieroglyphic); the heroes spoke through figurative language (symbolic); and man spoke in vulgar language employing conventional signs. In our experience of this third age of man, although some symbols and gestures change from culture to culture, or across time, and others are considered universal, we still communicate in architecture, as in language, through shared symbols. In returning to the poetic wisdom of the ancients, possibly the most important lesson for architects, as makers, is to recognize that certain stories remain powerful, and that in time their memory becomes part of our collective imagination, as in the image of the first Temple or the stars above us.

---

5 Vico, p. 69.
Joseph Michael Gandy first exhibited at the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition in 1789 at the age of eighteen. Throughout the next forty-nine years (1789-1838), he exhibited a total of 112 R.A. entries. Gandy was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy (A.R.A.) in the year 1803 and remained with such rank throughout his entire professional career at the Royal Academy. Unlike Soane, who was elected Associate of the Royal Academy (A.R.A.) in 1795 and Royal Academician (R.A.) in 1801, Gandy was never elevated to the status of Royal Academician. During his lifetime as an exhibitor to the R.A., there were only five years in which Gandy did not exhibit new work: 1798, 1799, 1814, 1829 and 1830.

The following appendix is a full list of the titles exhibited at the R.A., as entered in the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition Catalogues for the years 1769-84; 1785-1800; 1801-10; 1811-20; 1821-30; and 1831-40. The list has been compiled from the R.A. catalogues held in the Victoria & Albert National Library. In addition to his R.A. activity of 112 representations, Gandy displayed 14 paintings at the British Institution (BI) during the years 1820 and 1821. The titles of the drawings exhibited at the BI are also included here, making this a full appendix of the works of J.M. Gandy, exhibited both at the Royal Academy and the British Institution during his own lifetime.

While 1769 marked the first exhibition of the Royal Academy, Gandy began to exhibit at the R.A. during its twenty-first exhibition in 1789. The Royal Academy Summer Exhibition Catalogue, also titled "The Exhibition of the Royal Academy," was printed in London on Bow Street, Covent Garden by B. McMillan, Printer to the Royal Academy. In addition to the Exhibition Catalogues of both the R.A. and BI, please refer to the following works:

Volumes 1 to 6: 1769-84; 1785-1800; 1801-10; 1811-20; 1821-30; and 1831-40.


**WORKS EXHIBITED AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY SUMMER EXHIBITION**

1789

#513  Design for a Casino  J.M. Gandy

1790

#579  Perspective elevation of a design for a mausoleum

1791

#452  Perspective view inside of a bath

#477  Perspective view of a design for a bath

1792

#546  Design for a public library

#673  Design for a nobleman's hall

1793

#820  Design in perspective of part of the inside of a museum

258
#833 Design in perspective of part of a banqueting room

1794

#565 Design for the inside of a temple, in perspective (listed as J. Gandy, Rome)

1795

#644 Design for a bath (listed as M. Gandy)

1796

#768 The inside of a room (listed as M. Gandy)

1797

#1087 Inside of a mausoleum (listed as M. Gandy, at Mr. J. Wyatt’s)

1798 No drawings or paintings exhibited

1799 No drawings or paintings exhibited

1800

#432 Sepulchral Chamber

1801

#474 A temple

#972 Design for a public library and offices

1802

#373 Subterranean temple

The hint of this design is taken from those caverns and temples of the oracles of the Cybell, on the lake Avernus, near Naples, and from the adytum of the Greeks. Vide Pausanias. — Thus, we may imagine a structure upon this idea to have been erected to some of the infernal deities: suppose the three judges at the entrance to the infernal regions, viz. Minos, Rhadamantus, and Aecus, two of whom appear in the drawing: the other ornaments of the temple would be the monsters of Pluto’s dominions, according to the Heathen Mythology. The centre, which gives the light, and is fancied to be of a transparent material, receives its luminous appearance from a sub adytum, or from the infernal region itself.

#911 Design for a temple and bridge in the wall to a nobleman’s park

259
Phaeton's access to the palace of the Sun to his father
"The sun's bright palace, on high columns rais'd,
With burnish'd gold and flaming rubies blaz'd;
The roof with polished ivory was inlaid,
The folding doors a silver light display'd;
Rich was the ground on which the work was wrought,
But far inferior to the workman's thought.
For Vulcan there in curious sculpture curl'd
The waving ocean round the girded world;
The rounded world he stretched below; on high
Hung the surrounded cover of the sky;
In their own sea the deities were plac'd.

High above these, heaven's glitt'ring image shines,
Grac'd on each side with six refulgent signs:
There the youth, climbing up the steep ascent

The god in purple robes adorn'd the throne,
That with a blaze of lucid emeralds shone,

and ages stand,
There stood the spring with flow'ry garlands crown'd

There autumn, stain'd with purple juice, appear'd."

Vide Ovid's Metamorphoses, Book 2d.

Design of a gallery to be built

[citation as A.R.A.]

A tomb as a beacon

A monument

A boat-house designed for Sir. J. Legard, Bart. on the lake Windmere

A cenotaph

Pandemonium, or part of the high capital of Satan and his peers
"A dungeon horrible," on the side of "a hill, whose grisly top
beitch'd fire and rolling smoke," in a "dreary plain, forlorn and
wild, the seat of desolation," by a fiery deluge fed, many a
frozen, many a fiery alp, arose out of the earth; a fabric huge
rose like an exhalation."

Pandemonium, called the high capital of Satan. "All in a moment,
thro' the gloom, were seen ten thousand banners rise into the air;
advanc'd in view, they stand (Satan's legions), of dreadful
length, with order'd spear and shield; thither, by harpy-footed furies hal'd, at certain revolutions, all the damn'd are
brought, **** from beds of raging fire, to starve in ice."

Vide Paradise Lost, books i. and ii.

#772 The new Phoenix Fire-office, and Pelican Life Insurance-office, at Charing-cross

1806

#875 Design of an entrance to a public bath, built at Lancaster

#906 The Odeum, or Music-school, -- Vide Pau. Att.

1807

#458 Roslin chapel and castle, taken from actual measurement on the spot, and from
the Lay of the Last Minstrel

"O'ER Roslin all that dreary night,
A wond'rous light was seen to gleam;
'Twas broader than the watch-fire light,
And redder than the bright moon's beam.
It glar'd on Roslin's castled rock,
It ruddied all the copse-wood glen.

* * * * * * * * * * * *
Seem'd all on fire that chapel proud.
* * * * * * * * * * * *
Seem'd all on fire within, around.
* * * * * * * * * * * *
Blaz'd battlement and pinnet high,
Blaz'd every rose-carv'd buttress fair:
So still they blaze when fate is nigh,
The lordly line of high St. Clair."

#948 Design for J. Marshal, Esq. to rebuild Ballon Town, in the county of Carlow, Ireland, on the road
between Carlow and Myshall

1808

#314 A temple and portico, with the drowning of Aristobulus. -- Vide Josephus, book 15, chap. 3.

#355 The open Temple and Temple Tower of the Greeks, designed from various remarks in
Pausanias's Description of Greece.

#956 The north front of Storr's-hall, on the lake Windermere, Westmoreland, one of the seats designed
and built for J. Bolton, Esq.
1809

#325 View of the east end of Rosslyn chapel, near Edinburgh

#359 The interior part of a sea-port. Vide Pausanias, b. ii. c. xii.

1810

[#3971

[The environs of an ancient city]

(author is J.P. Gandy -- most likely John Peter Gandy, Architect brother to J.M. Gandy. Catalogue Entry for 1810 under GANDY, Joseph lists only 2 entries and does not include # 397). Furthermore, in the index “an alphabetical list of the Exhibitors” within the RA Catalogue - no entry for J.P. Gandy is cited for 1810.

#698 View of the New Assembly Room, designed for the town of Liverpool

# 880 Interior of a new Ball and Assembly-room surrounded by a promenade, designed for the town of Liverpool

1811

#301 A room of architectural antiquities, from the remains of Greek and Roman works, belonging to John Soane, Esq. -- J. Gandy, A.R.A.

#814 North Elevation of Storr’s Hall, on Windermere, in Westmoreland, the seat of J. Bolton, Esq.

1812

#805 A trophy: The model designed to decorate a hall and staircase in the Grecian style of architecture.

#815 One of the four fronts of the new Senate-house, Quebec

#817 A tomb designed to decorate a sequestered spot in the wood of a park

#837 A composition in Gothic architecture, designed from the Romance of the Castle of Otranto:

"Subterraneous vaults led from the castle to the church of St. Nicholas * * * Two convents, one for holy virgins, the other for friars, were contiguous to the cathedral and castle."

Chap. i. p. 17, Chap. iii. p. 79.

"The moon was at its height * * * a clap of thunder shook the castle to its foundations; part of the walls were thrown down, and the form of Alfonso, dilated to an immense magnitude, appeared in the centre of the ruins * * * the clouds parting asunder, the form of St. Nicholas was seen receiving Alfonso’s shade * * * The beholders fell prostrate."

262
A composition in Grecian architecture, designed from Pausanias’s description of Greece. — Vide Achaias, chap. xxi.

Architectural Antiquities, from the remains of Greek and Roman works belonging to John Soane, Esq. R.A.

1813

Architectural composition: The vapour rising from the miraculous fountain of Agno to supply the earth with rain, in the mountain of Lycaeus, agreeably to the wishes of the Arcadians. — Vide Pausanias, b. viii. c. 38

A villa designed to be built in Lancashire

No drawings or paintings exhibited

The great temple of Ceres at Eleusis: A composition of Greek embellishments from Pausanias and other authors, and from discoveries made on the spot by the last mission of the Dilletanti Society

An entrance to a ball and concert room

The tomb of Merlin. This drawing is a composition from the school of Constantinople, where the adoption of early Christian emblems began, giving rise to a new style of architecture. Vide Eusebius, and other ecclesiastical writers; also medals, and a description of the temple of the Apostles, which held Constantine’s tomb

"This was a church most solemn and devout, And raised by art on arches all about And strait she saw the stately tomb erected Of marble pure The very marble was so clear and bright, That though the sun no light unto it gave, The tomb itself did lighten all the cave.”

263
The Oracle of Mercury: a Hermes in the market-place of Patrae. Vide Taylor's Pausanias, Achaiacs, book vii. c. 22. -- The Hermes were not only used as marks for boundaries to land, amongst the ancients, but adorned the door-posts of the Athenian houses and temples, as the god protector of thieves.

1816

The Persian porch, and place of consultation of the Lacedemonians. -- Vide Pausanias, b. iii. c. 11.

Monument, designed and built for a nobleman

A proposed town, residence for the Duke of Wellington, to commemorate the battle of Waterloo, surrounded by villas and dwelling-houses, forming a circus and trophied garden, corresponding with the plan made for the Mary-le-bone park estate by the late J. White, Esq. in 1809, and now improved by J. White, jun. Vide his publication in 1815.

1817

Idea of a bridge and palace amongst the Plataxenses, to commemorate the victories by sea and land against the Persians. -- Vide Pausanias

Interior view of the castle and county prison at Lancaster, with various additions, built during the last fifteen years

1818

An idea of an approach to a Greek town

A selection of parts of buildings, public and private, erected from the designs of J. Soane, Esq. R.A. in the metropolis, and in other places in the united Kingdom, between the years 1780 and 1815.

An idea of the Tomb of Agamemnon. Vide the Choephorae of Aeschylus.

The Mount of Congregation. Vide Milton's Paradise Lost.

---light and darkness---
Lodge and dislodge by turns.

-----night, with clouds exhal'd,
To grateful twilight——

Raised on a mount, with pyramids and towers, ——

Messiah was declared——

Fuming from golden censers——

the Most High ——

his secret cloud

the angelic throng ——

Dispersed——

amongst the trees of life

Pavilions numberless, and ——

Celestial tabernacles.

Pavement, that like a sea of jasper shone,

Impurpled with celestial roses——

With plant, fruit, flower ambrosial, gems and gold.

That day as other solemn days they spent

In song and dance ——

Mystical dance——

mazes intricate

yet regular,

when most irregular they seem.

The passive air upbore

Their nimble tread——

Tables are set——

With Angels' food——

Pagodas; forming part of the ruins of Buddra Nuggar, an ancient Jayn city on the Gulph of Cutch, East Indies; from original sketches made on the spot, by Lieut. Col. Johnson, C.B. of Engineers

Design for the front of a house now building on Sion-hill, Bath

Hassan, the camel driver

"Here rocks alone and tasteless sands are found

And faint and sickly winds for ever howl around."

265
Vide Collin's Second Eclogue

#351 Selin, or the Shepherd's Moral

"When sweet, and blushing like a virgin bride,

The radiant mom resum'd her orient pride."

Vide Collin's First Eclogue

#1027 An Altar of Ceres

#1029 A house and offices now building near Laytonstone

#1041 Court and Bath in the interior of a palace


#1165 Design for a villa to be built near Birmingham

1820

#10 Idea of an approach to a Greek town: Asketch

#453 Landscape composition: Abra, or the Georgian Sultana. Vide Collin's Third Eclogue

"What time 'tis sweet o'er fields of corn to stray

Or scent the breathing maize at setting day."

#893 Proposed additions to Clumber (??), designed for his Grace the Duke of Newcastle

1821

#574 A trophy and temple, leading to a sepulchral cavern

#971 Temple of Diana Isora

#1080 Composition after the manner of Piranesi, of various friezes and pieces of plate, designed for E.H.

Baily, Esq. R.A. Elect.

1822

#350 The Fugitives

-- "And nearer fires appeared --

The affrighted shepherds through the dews of night

Wide o'er the moonlight hills renewed their flight."
Vide Collin’s 4th oriental Eclogue

#888 Perspective sectional plan, elevation and section, of an inspection tower, with surrounding cells for promoting the industry of female convicts, forming part of the arrangements of Lancaster Castle prison, designed and now building under the direction of the architect.

1823

#964 Part of the County Hall, Lancaster Castle, for trying civil causes, and electing the Members of Parliament for Lancashire

#969 An additional composition, from an idea of the hollow way between Argos and Mycenae, on reading Pausanias, book ii, chap. 23 and 24

#982 A Military Trophaeal Tower: a sketch made in 1816, on ideas then promulgated

#983 A Marine Trophaeal Tower: a sketch made in 1816, on ideas then promulgated

1824

#841 Elevation of three Houses designed for the same plan, as examples of the plain, simple, and exuberant styles of building

#844 A geometrical elevation of part of one of the fronts of an idea for an Imperial Palace for the Sovereigns of the British Empire, estimated to be built in ten years at £300,000 per Annum. The subbase may be Cornwall granite, the base stone the superior fabric of the (?) white marble of Sutherland, and the roof covered with the glazed tiles of Staffordshire. The central entrance for carriages to drive under is an octagonal temple dedicated to Victory.

The foreground is composed of the trophies of the late war, within a garden

"I am the Palace of the famed Anastatius,
The scourge of tyrants, none surpass me
In beauty, and in wonderful contrivance;
When the surveyors view’d my mighty bulk,
My height, my length, and my extensive breadth,
Twas thought beyond the reach of human pow’r
To roof at top my widely gaping walls.
But young Aetherius, ancient in his art,
This building finished, and an offering made
To our good Emperor ——-
**********with a chariot entrance

267
In honour of Victory, and the brave
Defenders of their country.”

Vide Chalca, in Bell’s Constantinople.

A sketch of the alterations and additions now erecting for General Sir Robert Bolton, near
Chipping Norton
1825

One of the interior courts of a design for a palace, exhibited in 1824, viewed from the audience
chamber: supposed to be built in Hyde Park; the nearest and most salubrious spot about the
metropolis, where a dry soil, a solid foundation, and wholesome springs abound

“A British Monarch rear’d yon stately pile,
Whence the rapt vision in its hurried glance
The broad interminable feature scans
Of yonder wide expanse -- what see’st thou! speak?
Beneath me lies the world’s metropolis,
As some dark giant’s slumbering limbs - beyond
Turret, and temple, palace, fane, and tow’r.
Rcede in slow succession: further yet
In all the blooming witchery of life,
Nature’s extended beauty, plain and grave;
Garden and landscape burst upon the sight.
And thou art there, old Thames, -- thy silver tide
Rolls proudly on with slow majestic heaving,
’Till that its weary wave in slumber sinks
Pillow’d on hoary ocean’s azure breast.”

Dwelling houses, &c. now building in Vauxhall Road, and other places
1826

Perspective sketch of a trophal entrance to part of the front of a design for a palace, imagined to be
erected in Hyde Park, and seen A.D. 2500 - comformable to the plans and elevations exhibited in

“The Palace stands on an eminence, raised above the Serpentine river. It is divided into many
squares and courts, with greater or lesser magnificence, according to the rank of those for whom
they were designed. The roofs were turned upon arches of massy stone joined by a cement that
grew harder by time, and the building stood from century to century deriding the solstitial rains and
equinoxial hurricanes, without need of reparation.”

Vide Johnson’s Rasselas.
"Thy park, delightful Hyde, here let us sweep
The boundless landscape."

Vide Thomson’s Seasons — Summer, line 1398 to 1429

"O’er yon fair pile, o’er yonder splendid scene
No exhalations thro’ the tainted air
Cast their mephitic vapours — all is peace
And beauty unalloyed. Yon princely form
Soars o’er the lowly dell in conscious pride,
Arch upon arch and tow’r upon tow’r upreared
Rise in majestic strength, as if they mocked
The idle fury of the rolling storm.
There in the rich parterre, where fruit and flower
Glitter in rival grace, the warrior forms
Of marble heroes seem to glow with life
And smile again o’er Britain’s trophied spoils.
Ask ye who bade yon fair proportions rise?
The monarch’s grandeur and the people’s love
Stamp’d the bright emblem of Britannia’s pow’r."

#994 The subscriber’s billiard room, Liverpool, decorated for a ball prior to the tables being fixed, built
under his superintendence.

1827

#935 Perspective sketch of a chapel, viewed from the basement court; part of a design for a palace,
supposed to be erected in Hyde Park, conformable to the plans submitted to the public in
1824-56. Vide catalogues of the Royal Academy Exhibitors

"It is the house of prayer! and here full oft
the parent monarch’s heav’n directed voice
Pleads to his maker for his people’s weal."

1828

#1026 Sketch of the second-best stair-case leading to the ballrooms, &c.: part of the designs for a palace,
exhibited in the Royal Academy, in the years 1824-5-6-7

"Oh! busy fancy, how thy magic pow’r
Can rend the veil of time, and give a being
To all its bright ideal fantasies;

269
Gaze on this scene until it almost sees
The fairy form of young and noble beauty
Flit o'er the marble pavement; their light feet
Responsive to the soft harmonious strains
Which swell around with their ethereal chords,
Until the cheated sense sighs for its dream,
Dazzled and wild with loveliness — away!
I dare not look again."

1829 No drawings or paintings exhibited
1830 No drawings or paintings exhibited
1831
#960 Architectural idea of the hall of Pandemonium, from Milton's Paradise Lost
#1010 Composition in Architecture, for a scene in the Orestes of Euripides
1832
#968 An idea of the staircase leading to the gates of Heaven. From "Milton's Paradise Lost."
Vide b. iii. l. 501.

1833
#1021 Design for the entrance hall at Ince, a seat of H. Blundell, Esq.
#1025 Sketch of an idea from the Iphigenia in Taurus of Euripides
1833

#977 Bridge over Chaos
"And with asphaltic slime, broad as the gate
Deep to the roots of Hell, the gathered beach
He fastened, and the mole immense wrought on,
Over the foaming deep, high arched a bridge
Of length prodigious
* • • • • •
• • • • • • • • • • down to Hell."
Vide Milton, B. x. L. 282 to 303.

"Pav'd after him a broad and beaten way
Over the dark abyss, whose boiling gulph
Tamely endured a bridge of wondrous length."
Vide Milton, B. ii. L. 1026.

#1015 Idea of a carriage-entrance to a senate-house
#1026 Idea of the Temple of Apollo from the "Furies" of Aeschylus
Geometrical sketch of an idea of one of the thirty parts (vide elevation of the whole beneath), which altogether cost Alexander the Great £1,800,000, dedicated as a tomb in memory of Hephestion, his favorite general, built by Dinocrates, the architect of Alexandria; now composed from the descriptions of Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and other ancient historical authors.

"Six furlongs of the wall of Babylon was pulled down to erect it on. It was divided into thirty square parts of similar construction. The base contained 240 prows of vessels, and two at each end, like the bridge of boats over which Alexander passed the Tanais in India. Between the prows, purple cloth was hung, of sails, &c. for the purpose of defending the troops, who should pass over on straw-stuffed skins, from the arrows of the enemy. The horses were held by the bridles, swimming at the stems: in the vessels were statues of archers six feet high, kneeling on one leg, and other upright statues completely armed, seven feet six inches high, who protected the rowers by their shields. Above these was a colonnade of flambeaux like those used in sieges, fifteen cubits high, with crowns of gold, and terminating with eagles, whose wings, expanded, supported the entablature. Dragons were fixed at the bases to keep the torches steady. A relievo in the third story represented the hunting of wild beasts, in memory of Alexander killing a lion in single combat, in the forests and woods of Besaria, surrounded with walls and towers for accommodation; and where the animals of all kinds had been enclosed for four ages: on this occasion 4,000 were killed. On the fourth story was the battle of the Centaurs, memorials of the Macedonian and Thessalian horse, the chief phalanx of Alexander's army. On the fifth story were golden lions and bulls, religious sacrifices to Hephestion; the tops terminated with military trophies, symbols of as many victories. On the entablatures and roofs were carved syrens. The whole was 195 feet high, rising above the walls of Babylon 120 feet; and displayed a magnificence of all the eastern architecture of those times, founded on Grecian principles."

Composition, an idea of the temple of Apollo Delphi, from the Ion of Euripides

Sketch for new Senate Houses

In submitting a sketch for new Senate Houses, it is suggested that an eligible spot may be selected on the south side of St. James's Park, with a bridge of communication over the canal which separates St. James's Palace from Thorney Island. The Houses of Parliament would then form a part of a palatinate circuit (like the ancient edifices of the Roman Forum), encompassing a garden, bounded by palaces, government offices, and other public fabrics now existent. The drawing represents the Houses of Legislature, surrounded by all the required rooms peculiar to them in the vicinity of Westminster Hall, &c., designed in a Grecian style of architecture, contrasted by a group of intricate Gothic buildings in a late conflagration. The foreground exhibits part of a
ceremony to commemorate the foundation, built under the auspices of His Majesty William the Fourth, and consecrated to the protection of the Supreme Being by all the Bishops of the British dominions.

#1039 Architectural idea, from the Alcestes of Euripides

1836

#929 Groups of capitals to columns in detail, composed for comparative characteristics in architecture.

*Vide* Sketch marked 936 in this exhibition.

#936 Comparative characteristics of thirteen selected styles of architecture: one of a series of subjects intended to illustrate essays on its divine origin, and natural model to contrast ancient, emblematic fabrics with the undesigned aspect of modern buildings; to place in opposition the mannerism of many builders with each other, and to show the progress of edifices in chronological epochs, displaying the detail of practical, philosophical, and scientific constructions.

The centre of this sketch exhibits the architecture of Babylonia, Egypt, Greece, Rome, and Gothic. On the right appears the Druidical, Persian, Hindoo, Saxon, and Saracenic tastes. At the base of the centre is an emblem of the Deluge, a rocking stone embowered in a wood between tumuli mounds. At the summit shines forth in glory, to illumine the pile, the conventional sign of all Christians. It is supposed the idea of the above, and the other compositions of all fabrics on this globe, will comprise upwards of one thousand drawings, displaying forty national styles of building, with three periods to each. *-- Vide* Sketch 929 in this exhibition-room, as an example in detail of the various chosen capitals to the columns of this drawing composed in groups.

#942 Sketch of an entrance to the New Houses of Parliament; a part of a general design exhibited in the years 1833 and 1835 in the Royal Academy. *-- Vide Catalogue of the Exhibitions of those years.*

1837

#1030 Comparative architecture continued, vide Catalogue of the Exhibition, 1836, No. 936. *-- an emblematic sketch*

#1033 Design for an auction-room, and for the sale of pictures, &c.

#1035 British Legislative Mansions

The sketch exhibits a view from the height of Westminster Bridge, the pass of many travellers, forming a magnificent group of buildings ar-
ranged in detached masses. All the turrets in the angles form closets to the galleries and lobbies, and staircases to the roof, &c.; the lower stories will contain all the rooms necessarily wanted beyond the limits of this drawing.

1838

#1153 Sketch of a design for a cast-iron Necropolis, adapted for churchyards, or other cemeteries

Scripture and the ancient Orientals deemed it pollution to come in contact with the dead, and they forbid ground capable of other use or cultivation to deposit them therein. They chose the mountain cavern, the deep forest, and the clay earth of the plains, for their domus aeterna. They committed the dead to the elements of fire, water, air, or earth, and some nations gave them a living sepulchre. They deposited the dead under tumuli as mummies, and on open towers. This sketch proposes to place them in metal cylinders of various forms, and to place them in a supine, a sitting, or an upright posture; some might be deposited in pyramids raised above the earth; the end of each cell would receive a separate corpse, and hoisted to its place on the catacomb by a moveable scaffold, the end of each cell to have an inscription on cast-iron covers, hermetically sealed with cast iron cement, when the funeral service was performed.

#1165 Architecture: its natural model — Vide Catalogue of Royal Academy Exhibition, 1836, for a textile notice

The natural models for building, most authors agree, are derived from stony caverns, alluvial soils for bricks, and forests for timber, with these men raised their huts, carved their lares, and formed their furniture; they first clothed themselves with the leaves of trees, and twisted the branches of shrubs into shady bowers, and by observing the instincts of other animals, they applied their hints for making tools, &c. Supposing there were antediluvian irons for marine fabrics like Noah's ark, and accidental caves or pre-adamite dwellings, we have exemplars remote as Chinese chronology. One writer says "the earth is a dwelling, the skies a canopy, the grass a carpet, the heavenly bodies constitute a pythomen, and clouds are screens."

Detached masses of granite, the sketch endeavours to pourtray became objects of veneration, natural bridges over chasms and rivers. The Giant's Causeway, or basaltic formations in Ireland, Scotland, Hebrides, and Caserides mountain of Wales, also the Dresden caves, those of the Thonas and Mexico, natural Clier's or staircases to caverns, within and over caverns, and various entrances and passages extending many miles under limestone hills, the seven hundred semi-angular pillars over a water-fall in Thibet, many were models for good masonry in horizontal beds and articulations, or joints of pillars imitated by the earliest Nepha-
lims, Titans and Cyclopians in their works, called the giant race and companion builders of antiquity, who afterwards studied spontaneous cements, mortars, and plaster for adoption.

The icebergs of the arctic circles, suggest the form of icicled palaces, the spires of the glaciers exhibit scenic and ever various pictured models to an intuitive genius. The aiguille of the Dom river, the pyramidal and pinnacle-pointed Alpine mountains, piles sustained by subterranean vaults and piers, the ascents being left by subdividing waters, are now seen in steppes, prairies, and interminate terraces.

The Banian tree, a prototype of a beamed ceiling, the palm and oak, the vine and water-lily, creepers entwined in rich foliages, have all been copied by mankind, the musk-rat and beaver associated lumberers, raise dams and lakes to sustain their lodges, and the white ants build conical huts twelve feet high, arranged like camps and villages; also the cayenne fly, and the bees' hexagonal honey-combs economizing space, who gather in colonies and repair their citadelled labyrinth and rafter covered ways, with many other winged tribes that form nests, webs, and mechanism, the razor shell animal that bores holes in porphyry, the cochlea piercing chalky hills, and the shell-fish that penetrates our navies' planks, the serpent's jaws suggesting to Talus, nephew of Daedalus, the first idea of a saw, even the ouran-outan of Sierra Leone erects a dwelling to protect his female and young, commodious as the natives, help to form an ichnographic stenography, a protocol of architecture composed in the sketch before us.

#1172 Composition of a design for the ceiling of a library

This sketch made for our comparative architecture mentioned in the catalogue of the Royal Academy exhibition of 1836 and 1837, shows some ideas of the emblems of the zodiac, hieroglyphics, and heraldry, which led to the abbreviated marks of sound and writing, propagating information to all mankind. By combinations of two or three individual signs, they represent a second and third series, or notices of the seasons under the influence of pagan divinities. The symbols of heraldry, derived from a similar origin, explain by emblems of various focal powers; thus the dominion of great Britain as a frieze to a palatial mansion figuring the diadem and sceptre; the mitre and crozier denote sovereign sway, the trident and sword nautical and military power. The spandrils of the drawing show the elements denoted by marks to signify fire, water, air, and earth, interspersed with the simplest skeleton lines, on which the origin of all ornaments are clothed.
WORKS EXHIBITED AT THE BRITISH INSTITUTION (BI), 1820-21

The British Institution for promoting the Fine Arts in the United kingdom was founded on June 4, 1805, and opened January 18, 1806. Acting as patron was "The King's Most Excellent majesty;" vice patron was HRH the Prince of Wales; and the president was the Earl of Dartmouth. Joseph Michael Gandy displayed 14 drawings at the BI during two consecutive years: 1820 and 1821. The BI ceased to exist in the year 1867.

Following are the titles of the architectural subjects exhibited:

1820

#122 Idea of Titana from the Pira grove. — Vide Pau. Cor. c. xi.
#127 A Trophy and Temple.
#135 A Landing Place to a Temple.
#169 Temple of Neptune, Taenarius.
#183 Conway, North Wales.
#191 Selim, or the Shepherd's Moral; Morning.
#202 Summa toward, a rock fortified by Tippo Saib, East Indies, from a drawing by Lieut.-Col. Johnson, C.B. of Engineers.
#309 Landscape; Composition.

1821

#43 A Landing-place to a Temple of Victory through the Gate of Minerva; a Composition.
#57 Aberconway, from the Eastern shore.
#142 Landscape; composition. — Vide Collins's Third Eclogue of Abra, or the Georgiana Sultana.
#301 Hassan the Camel-driver. — Vide Collins's Third Eclogue of Abra, or the Georgiana Sultana.
ch. 1 fig. 1  Villa Capra La Rotunda, drawn by Soane on the Grand Tour.

276
ch. 1 fig. 2 Drawing of a student measuring the Temple of Castor and Pollux in Rome made to illustrate the Corinthian order for Soane’s Lectures on Architecture by Henry Parke, 1819. Sir John Soane’s Museum.
ch. 1 fig. 3  *Theory* by Joshua Reynolds, 1779. Library Ceiling at Somerset House.

278
ch. 1 fig. 4  Frontispiece from *Recueil et Parallèle des Édifices* by Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand, 1800.

ch. 1 fig. 5  Egyptian Temples (above) and Greek Temples (below).
From *Recueil et Parallèle des Édifices* by Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand, 1800.

279

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
ch. 1 fig. 7. Presentation model of the Law Courts at Westminster by John Soane. Original neo-Palladian design, 1826.

ch. 1 fig. 8 Presentation model of the Law Courts at Westminster by John Soane. Neo-Gothic design, 1826.
ch. 2 fig. 1  Plan of Washington by Pierre Charles L’Enfant, 1792. 
Map modified by Andrew Ellicott and Thomas Jefferson.
ch. 2 fig. 3  *La Grande Galerie du Louvre*, by Hubert Robert, 1796.

ch. 2 fig. 4  *La Grande Galerie du Louvre en ruines*, by Hubert Robert, 1796.
ch. 2 fig. 5  The Massacre on Chios, after Delacroix, by Thomas Barker, 1825.
Doric House by Joseph Gandy, 1803.

285
ch. 2 fig. 6  "A Sketch of the Arms of St. John...and part of the Phoenix Fire Office," Charing Cross. From Joseph Gandy to Abraham Cooper (Cooper neg. 157355).
ch. 2 fig. 7  Temple of the Heroes, Storr's Hall, Windemere. Photo by the author. Original building by Joseph Gandy, circa 1804.

ch. 2 fig. 8  Temple of the Winds, Athens. From The Antiquities of Athens by Stuart and Revett, 1762-1794.
ch. 3 fig. 1  "Soane's Museum as Memory Theater." Photo by the author.
ch. 3 fig. 2 Facade at No. 12-14 Lincoln's Inn Fields. Photo by the author.
Various Antique Fragments collected at Rome for Henry Holland, Esq.,

290

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
Reading the Soane Museum narrative. Photo by the author.
ch. 3 fig. 5  Ground Floor Plan of Soane's villa-museo in 1796, 1810, 1822, and 1827.  
ch. 3 fig. 6  The Dome (former Plaster Room) looking at Apollo Belvedere cast

293
ch. 3 fig. 7  "Plan and Section of the Sarcophagus of Seti I." from the Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting by John Britton, 1827. Plate XVI. CCA Collection, Montreal.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
View of the Collection of Antiquities, from the head of the Pharaoh,
by Joseph Gandy, dated 9 September 1825.
Soane Museum, SM Sketches and Drawings (Vol. 82).
ch. 3 fig. 9  

*Interior Perspective of a Funery Chamber,* with Greek inscription:  
‘Gandy Architekton’ by Joseph Gandy, circa 1800-1815.  
CCA Collection, Montreal DR: 1984: 1013.
ch. 3 fig. 10  "All the variety of Characters used on the Belzoni Sarcophagus,"
from the *Art, Philosophy, and Science of Architecture (APSA)*
by Joseph Gandy, p. 200.
ch. 3 fig. 11  "Union of the three Sister Arts:" Soane's Roman bust, with Michelangelo (below left) and Raphael (below right). Soane Museum. Photo by the author.

298
ch. 3 fig. 12  Frontispiece, *Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting* by John Britton, 1827.
ch. 3 fig. 13  View of the Dome Area by lamplight looking south-east.
by Joseph Gandy, 1811. Sir John Soane’s Museum. SM 14/6/5.

300

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
ch. 3 fig. 14  Sectional Perspective of the dome area looking east,
ch. 3 fig. 15  Section through Monument Yard, showing Pasticcio Column, by Edward Foxhall.
ch. 3 fig. 16

Plans and Elevation of Pasticcio for Monument Court Yard, dated L.I.F., 30 July 1819.
ch. 3 fig. 17  "Microcosmos: Blake's World in a Grain of Sand." Collage by the author.

304
ch. 3 fig. 18  

Section of the Soane Museum showing spoils of 'Jupiter Stator.' Soane annotations 19 July 1808. Sir John Soane's Museum, PSA 32/33, 44.
ch. 3 fig. 19  "Imaginary Section: Inside-Out." Collage by the author
Map of Jerusalem, showing Temple Precinct, from Bernard Lamy’s *De Tabernaculo Foederis, de sancta civitate*. 1720.
ch. 4 fig. 3  Temple of Solomon, speculative reconstruction after Jacob Judah Leon, from *Architectura Civil Recta y Obliqua*, by Caramuel von Lobkowitz, 1678.

ch. 4 fig. 4  Temple of Solomon, speculative reconstruction after Villalpando, from *Entwurff einer historischen Architektur*, by J. Fischer von Erlach, 1721.
ch. 4 fig. 5  Plan of the Temple of Solomon, from *Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended*, by Sir Isaac Newton, 1728.

ch. 4 fig. 6  Ground Plan of the Temple of Solomon, from *The Origin of Building*, by John Wood, 1741.
ch. 4 fig. 7.  

*Meeting of Freemasons for the Reception of Apprentices.*

Engraving by Thomas Palsen, 1809.
ch. 4 fig. 8  Masonic Master’s Apron, circa 1789. Owned by Richard Harris, USA.
ch. 4 fig. 9  "Plan for a Masonic Lodge," from *Jachin and Boaz*, London, 1776.

ch. 4 fig. 10  A set of English Tracing Boards, early 19th century.
Courtesy of the United Grand Lodge of England.
Assembly of Freemasons for Reception of Master Mason, from Bernieroth, 1745.
ch. 4 fig. 13  Grand Temple, Freemasons' Hall, designed by Thomas Sandby 1775-76.
ch. 4 fig. 14  *Free Masons Tavern* at No. 61 Great Queen Street. Engraving pub. 1784.

ch. 4 fig. 15  View of Sandby's Great Hall during Masonic Foundation dinner for 'Girl's School.' 1788.
ch. 4 fig. 16  Frontispiece to Anderson’s *Constitutions*, 1784, showing Sandby’s Hall. Allegorical Plate drawn by Giovanni Battista Cipriani and Paul Sandy, 1784.
The following brethren being admitted to the first degree of Masonry, were
made to be Fellow Craft afterwards raised to the Sublime Degree of Master
Masons.

Brother Thomas Foster
Richard Gibly
John Taylor
John Soane

All being being finished the Lodge
was closed in due form.

Arms of the 'Antients' Grand Lodge, 1751-1813.

ch. 5 fig. 1. Extract from Minutes of Grand Master's Lodge, showing John Soane's name,
one of five men made Master Masons, dated 25 November 1813.
Courtesy of the United Grand Lodge Library and Museum. Ref. # SN 460.

ch. 5 fig. 2 The Arms of the 'Antients' Grand Lodge, 1751-1813.
Design for Masonic Ark of the Covenant. Note Corinthian order and tympanum with eye of God and sun burst, 1813.
Plan of Thomas Sandby's Freemasons' Hall on the night of the Union of the Antients and the Moderns, 27 December 1813. Note Soane's Ark in front of the G.M.'s Throne.

321
Design for the Masonic Ark of the Covenant, drawn by George Underwood, 1813-14. I believe this is the final design. Underwood’s drawing was used to illustrate Soane’s Lectures on Architecture. Soane Museum, SM 14/4/6.
ch. 5 fig. 6 Three versions of Masonic podium, designs for the Society of Freemasons, 1815. Sir John Soane's Museum, SM 52/4/2.
Design for Masonic Ark of the Covenant, with caduceus of Hermes, 1813.

324
Frontispiece to Anderson's *Constitutions*, 1815, pub. by William Williams. Allegory of Concord symbolizing the Union of 1813 with Soane's Ark in right foreground and the bust of George IV behind.
Portrait of Grand Master, the Duke of Sussex, with Soane's Ark in foreground. Engraved by John Harris, 1833.
ch. 5 fig. 10 Frontispiece from *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons*, 1756 (3rd edition). Masonic allegory of Britannia with St. Paul's Cathedral behind.

ch. 5 fig. 11 Frontispiece to *Ahiman Rezon*, 1778 (3rd edition), showing Tempietto type structure. Compare this image to Soane's designs for the Masonic Ark.
Rosslyn Chapel interior showing five bay vault, with stained glass windows. Photo by the author.
ch. 5 fig. 13  The Apprentice Pillar, Rosslyn Chapel. Courtesy of Rosslyn Chapel.
ch. 5 fig. 14  The Mason's Pillar, Rosslyn Chapel. Courtesy of Rosslyn Chapel.

330

ch. 5 fig. 16  Rosslyn Chapel - “Elevation of the South Door with Window and Buttress” from J.M. Gandy Sketchbook (p. 21, recto), 1806. Sir John Soane’s Museum.
ch. 5 fig. 17  Sketches of Rosslyn Chapel including Elevation of Apprentice Pillar, from Joseph Gandy Sketchbook (p. 24. recto), 1806. Sir John Soane's Museum.


ch. 6 fig. 4  "Round Temples" (Temples Ronds). Plate 3, Recueil et Parallèle des Édifices, by J.N.L. Durand, 1800.

ch. 6 fig. 5  "Church Domes" (Eglises Dômes). Plate 9, Recueil et Parallèle des Édifices by J.N.L. Durand, 1800.

ch. 6 fig. 8  "Forum Marchés, Places Publiques des Anciens." Plate 13.  


337
Architectural Visions of Early Fancy in the gay morning of youth,
ch. 7 fig. 1. Allegorical frontispiece showing Architecture instructing Genius, from Laugier's *Essai sur l'architecture*, 1753.
ch. 7 fig. 2  Drawing of the Winds and the Zodiac Signs (page 129). From the Art, Philosophy, and Science of Architecture (APSA), by Joseph Gandy.
Plate III showing the architectural evolution from Ark to temple. From *The Origin of Pagan Idolatry*, by G.S. Faber. 1816.
"The Moderns may use abbreviated marks as follows," hieroglyphic alphabet (unpaginated). From the *Art, Philosophy, and Science of Architecture* (APSA), by Joseph Gandy.
ch. 7 fig. 5  Drawing of the Ouroborus with emblematic description (see. ch. 7, p. 147).

ch. 7 fig. 6  Campo Marzio dell'antica Roma, by Giovanni Battista Piranesi. 18th century.
ch. 7 fig. 7     Side elevation of the Karlskirche, Vienna, by Johann Fischer von Erlach, 18th century.

344
ch. 7 fig. 8 Discussion of two point perspective - framed. (page 1537). From the *Art, Philosophy, and Science of Architecture (APSA)*, by Joseph Gandy

ch. 8 fig. 2  *Pandemonium, or part of the high capital of Satan and his peers*, by Joseph Gandy. 1805. Private Collection.
The Picture Gallery and the Mausoleum pursuant to the Will and at the expense of the late Sir Francis Bourgeois.... 1823. Soane Museum SM P265.
ch. 8 fig. 4  The Plan and Interior of the Ground Floor of a Town House, by Joseph Gandy. Exhibited at R.A., 1822. Soane Museum SM P86.
ch. 8 fig. 5  

A selection of parts of buildings, public and private, erected from the designs of John Soane, Esq., R.A. in the metropolis, and in other places of the United Kingdom between the years 1780 and 1815, by Joseph Gandy. Exhibited at R.A., 1818. Soane Museum, SM P87.
ch. 8 fig. 6  *Architecture, its natural model*, by Joseph Gandy.

350

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
ch. 8 fig. 7  

The first representation of the supreme Deity was by a cylindrical stone. The second stone represented the sun, a little polished stone, the earth, a square cylindrical stone was a symbol of truth and wisdom, slavery and chastisement in the tabernacle of the tabernacle. In brief, says Ephes 4, ° the earth was represented by a cylindrical stone square. Since it symbolized the four seasons, an octagon stone, the four cardinal winds, and the three the four elements.

The three principal stones in the history of the world are these stones.

The earth was represented by a cylindrical stone, or a square stone, on which the stone was placed. The stone was represented by a cylinder, or a square stone, as the symbol of water. The earth was represented by a stone, or the air by wings or stars. The air was represented by a stone, or the wind by wings or stars. The stone was represented by a stone, or the earth by wings or stars.

The earth was represented by a stone, or the wind by wings or stars. The wind was represented by a stone, or the earth by wings or stars. The earth was represented by a stone, or the wind by wings or stars. The wind was represented by a stone, or the earth by wings or stars. The earth was represented by a stone, or the wind by wings or stars. The wind was represented by a stone, or the earth by wings or stars.
Zodiaque Circulaire de Denderah. Plate from C.F. Dupuis' work, l'Origine de Tous les Cultes ou religion universelle (abridged version) 1822. Note similarity to luminous disc in "Architecture, an emblematic sketch."
ch. 8 fig. 10 Frontispiece to Dupuis', *l'Origine de Tous les Cultes. ou religion universelle* (Nouvelle Edition), 1822. Many of the same emblems are encoded in Gandy's painting, including the bull breaking the egg.

ch. 8 fig. 11 "The Bull breaking the Cosmic Egg." from Baron d'Hancarville, *Recherches sur l'origine, l'esprit et les progrès des arts de la Grèce*, 1785. Vol. I, Plate VIII A.
ch. 9 fig. 1. Assembly of Freemasons for a Reception of a Master Mason from J.M. Bermigeroth (Plate IV), 1745. United Grand Lodge of England

355
ch. 9 fig. 2 Unveiling the candidate, from Abbé Gabriel-Louis Perau's French exposure Le Secret des Francs-Maçons, 1742.

ch. 9 fig. 3 French Masonic exposure showing supposed lodge rituals. From Abbé Larudan, Les Francs-Maçons Écrasés, 1747.

356

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
AHIMAN REZON:
OR,
A Help to a Brother;
Shewing the
EXCELLENCY of SECRECY,
And the True Cause, or Motive, of the Institution of
FREE-MASONRY;
THE PRINCIPLES of the CRAFT,
And the
Benefits arising from a strict Observance thereof;
What Sort of Men ought to be initiated into the MYSTERY,
And what Sort of Masons are fit to govern Lodges,
With their Behaviour in and out of the Lodge,
Likewise the
Prayers used in the Jewish and Christian Lodges,
The Ancient Manners of
Constituting new Lodges, with all the Charges &c.
And the
OLD and NEW REGULATIONS,
The Manner of Chaining and Instructing Grand Masters, and Officers and other useful Particulars not pretended here to mention,
To which is added
The greatest Collection of Masonic Games
Public View, with many entertaining Mistakes;
Together with
SOLOMON'S TEMPLE AND ORATORY
As it was performed by the Benefit of
FREE-Masons.
By Brother LAURENCE DERMOTT, S.C.
LONDON,
Printed for the Editor, and sold by John James Rivington, Printer, in St. Paul's Church Yard.
MOORE, 1756

ch. 9 fig. 4
Title Page from Ahiman Rezon: or, A Help to a Brother, by Laurence Dermott, 1756.
This book was the new 'Constitutions' of the rival 'Antients' Grand Lodge.

357

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
ch. 10 fig. 2  Ground plan of the premises purchased in 1774, No. 61 Great Queen Street. Thomas Sandby's Hall will occupy the empty garden to the south.

ch. 10 fig. 3  The Free Masons' Tavern at No. 61 Great Queen Street, circa 1789. Sandby's Masonic Hall was to the rear of the tavern.

359
The three floors (basement, ground, first) at No. 62 & No. 63 Great Queen Street, circa 1830. Soane's new Hall is situated to the east of Sandby's existing hall.
ch. 10 fig. 5  Sketch plan of the Principal floor for Freemasons' Hall. Soane Museum SM 52/1/23.

ch. 10 fig. 6  Key plan of Soane's Freemason's Hall. Light wells indicated in yellow.

361
19, 20 Cathedral of Würzburg, capitals of two mediaeval columns (Würzburg, Bischofliches Bauamt)

Section through zodiac lantern at Freemasons’ Hall, showing signs of the zodiac (above) and the five orders of architecture (below). Victoria and Albert Museum Ref. 3307.199.

ch. 10 fig. 7 Section through zodiac lantern at Freemasons’ Hall, showing signs of the zodiac (above) and the five orders of architecture (below). Victoria and Albert Museum Ref. 3307.199.

ch. 10 fig. 8 The knotted columns Jachin and Booz, Wurzburg Cathedral (detail of capitals).

362
ch. 10 fig. 9  Free Masons’ Hall, two early section studies (signed and approved on verso).

363
ch. 10 fig. 10  View, shewing the effect of the Hall, by removing the organ, and the columns under the gallery. Soane’s study of Sandby’s Great Hall, dated 17 October 1821. Soane Museum 52/4/12.
ch. 10 fig. 11 Artist's Impression showing No. 58 to No. 64 Great Queen Street, showing *Freemasons' Tavern*. Numbers are indicated: Soane's Hall was behind No. 62-63, at left of image.

ch. 10 fig. 12 View of Freemasons' Hall with inset painting showing kitchen below. Note Soane (left) and Gandy (right) in their creation. Victoria and Albert Museum Collection.
Exhibited as a general idea to his R.H. the Duke of Sussex. Design for the new Masonic Hall, dated June 1828. Soane Museum 52/5/43.
Design for Organ to be made in the New Masonic Hall, dated 30 May 1829.
Soane Museum 52/4/18.
ch. 10 fig. 15 Organ Case Freemasons, large scale detail of ornament for organ case.
ch. 10 fig. 16  Presentation Drawing of Freemasons' Hall, dated 12 November 1829.
Soane Museum 52/5/20.
ch. 10 fig. 17  View of the New Masonic Hall looking south, dated 3 December 1828.
Soane Museum SM 52/5/40...
ch. 10 fig. 18  *Plan of the New Masonic Hall, shewing the arrangement of the seats, &c.*
Drawn by C.J. Richardson, dated 29 January 1830. Soane Museum 52/5/35.

371

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
Plan of the Drawing on the Making of a Mason, from Jachin and Boaz, London (1767).

Masonic Lodge Layout, from Three Distinct Knocks, London (1763).

Explanations:
- A Senior Master, with a Black Rod.
- A Past Master, with the Trowel and Compasses, and a String of Carps.
- A Senior Warden, with the Level, and a Column in his Hand.
- A Junior Warden, with a Column in his Hand.
- An Apprentice, with the Right Stroke.
- An Apprentice, with the Left Stroke.

N.B.
ch. 10 fig. 21  French tracing board showing allegory of the Temple.

373
ch. 10 fig. 22  View of the New Masonic Hall, shewing the arrangement of the seats, &c.
Drawn by C.J. Richardson, dated 27 January 1829. Soane Museum 52/5/36.
Design for the Roof of the New Masonic Hall, dated 13 August 1828.
Soane Museum 52/1/10.
The inscription reads: "That the Grand Lodge accepts with gratitude the magnificent donation of the W. Brother SIR JOHN SOANE, Grand Superintendent of Works, of five hundred pounds towards defraying the expense of erecting the New Masonic Hall to be devoted exclusively to the purposes of Masonry: And whilst tendering their thanks to that W. Brother, for this renewed manifestation of his liberality and zealous attachment to the Craft, the Grand Lodge cannot but record with feelings of brotherly and affectionate regard their esteem and approval of the skill and talent displayed by him in the progress and completion of the Work."


376
ch. 10 fig. 25  *Design for the New Masonic Hall*, section drawing with zodiac lantern fixed. Dated 17 October 1828. Soane Museum SM 52/5/34.

ch. 10 fig. 26  *Design for the New Masonic Hall*, section drawing looking east, with chimney windows. Dated 11 August 1828. Soane Museum SM 52/5/23.
"13 L.I.F. Section through Lantern Light in Study," dated July 1832. Drawing shows the lantern as constructed to receive the model of the Freemasons' Hall ceiling and lantern. Courtesy of Sir John Soane's Museum.
ch. 11 fig. 1. The interior of a room erected in the year 1828, for the Society of Freemasons, under the auspices of the Grand Master, by Joseph Gandy. Exhibited at the R.A. in 1829 (#1039).

ch. 11 fig. 2. "Angels and spandrels:" View of the Dome area in the Sir John Soane's Museum. Photo by the author.
Design for New Masonic Hall, showing chimney-window fireplaces, dated 25 August 1828 (SM 52/5/26).
ch. 11 fig. 4  The Artist in his Museum, by Charles Willson Peale, 1822.  
Courtesy of Pennsylvania Academy of the Arts, Philadelphia, USA.


This bibliography is organized alphabetically, although an emphasis remains on the following key words as categories within the undifferentiated list of primary versus secondary sources: APSA, architectural theory, Ark of Noah, *ars quatuor coronatorum* articles, cabinets of curiosity, Comparative Architecture, emblems, encyclopedia, Enlightenment philosophy, freemasonry, Freemasons' Hall, Gandy, the grand tour, *Lectures on Architecture*, Masonic Ark, Masonic imagination, models of architecture, mythography, natural history, occult imagination, origins of architecture, Ouroborus, picturesque theory, Rome, Royal Academy, Soane, Soane Museum, symbols, Temple of Solomon, universal language, wonder, and zodiac.

**PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SOURCES**


Alberti, Leon Battista. *De Re Aedificatoria*. 1452 (1st printed 1485).


----------. *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting; Exemplified by a Series of Illustrations, with Descriptive Accounts of the House and Galleries of John Soane*. London, 1827.


----------. *Sacred Architecture; its rise, progress, and present state*. London, 1845.


Campbell, Colen. *Vitruvius Britannicus; or the British Architect, Containing the Plans, Elevations and Sections of the Regular Buildings, both Publick and Private in Great Britain*. London, 1715; 1717; 1725.


Congar, Yves M. *The Mystery of the Temple; or, the manner of God's presence to his creatures from Genesis to the Apocalypse*. Westminster Md.: Newman Press, 1962.


-----------

*Le Monde primitif, analysé et comparé avec le monde moderne, considéré sans son génie et dans les allégories auxquelles conduisit ce génie*. Paris, 1777.


-----------


391


de Herrara, Juan. *Trazas de Juan de Herrera...Para el Monasterio del Escorial*. Madrid: Biblioteca de Palacio, Madrid. (treatise published in 1589).

Dermott, Laurence. *Ahiman Rezon; or a help to all that are, or would be, Free and Accepted Masons*. 8 vols. London, 1756. 2nd ed. 1764.


Désaguliers, John Theophilus. *The whole works...: wherein are discovered, the true foundation and principles of the art of physic...; done from the Latin original by George Sewell and J. T. Désaguliers; with some account of the author*. 3rd. ed. London: Printed for F. Noble, 1740.


*Dictionary of British Architects*. London: British Architectural Library, RIBA.


----------. *Abrégé de l'Origine de Tous les Cultes, par Dupuis.* Paris, 1836.


393
 Precis des leçons d'architecture, données à l'École Polytechnique.
Paris, 1802.


Encyclopaedia Britannica: or, a Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, compiled upon a new plan. Illustrated with one hundred and sixty copperplates. (3 vols.). Engravings by Andrew Bell. Edinburgh: A. Bell and C. Macfarquhar, 1771.


"Exhibition of the Royal Academy (The.)" *The Royal Academy Summer Exhibition Catalogues*. London: Printed by B. McMillan, Bow Street, Covent Garden, Printer to the Royal Academy.


*Tree and Serpent Worship, or Illustrations of mythology and art in India in the first and fourth centruy after Christ*. London: India Museum, 1868.


Fletcher, Banister. *A History of Architecture complete for the student, craftsman and amateur, being a comparative view of the historical styles from the earliest period.* London: Batsford, 1896.


"On the Philosophy of Architecture" (Letter II). *The Magazine of the Fine Arts*, Vol. I, no. 5 (1821), pp. 370-379. (The article was meant to be continued in Letter III, but never was...).


Gregory, John M. An Account of the sepulchres of the antients, and a description of their monuments, from the creation of the world to the Building of the pyramids, and from thence to the destruction of Jerusalem. London. 1712.


--------. *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration, executed from Designs by Thomas Hope.* London, 1807.


*Jachin and Boaz; or an authentic key to the door of Freemasonry, both ancient and modern*. 8 vols. London, 1812.


404

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.


Langley, Batty. *Practical geometry applied to the useful arts of building, surveying, gardening and mensuration: calculated for the service of gentlemen as well as artisans, and set to view in four parts...* 2nd ed. London: Printed for A. Ward, 1729.

---------.  *Ancient masonry, both in the theory and practice, demonstrating the useful rules of arithmetick, geometry and architecture, in the proportions and orders of the most eminent masters of all nations...* London: Printed for and sold by the author, 1736.

---------.  *The builder's compleat assistant, or, A library of arts and sciences, absolutely necessary to be understood by builders and workmen in general...* 3rd ed. London: Printed for C. Ware, [1745?].

---------.  *The builder's jewel, or, The youth's instructor, and workman's remembrancer: explaining short and easy rules, made familiar to the meanest capacity, for drawing and working. I. The five orders of columns... II. Block and cantaliver...*


--------- Afbeeldinghe van den Tempel Salomonis. Amsterdam, 1642.


---------. *An Encyclopaedia of Agriculture*, London: Longmans, 1825.

---------. *An Encyclopaedia of Plants*, London, 1829.


*Paradise lost: a poem in twelve books; with the life of the author*. Edinburgh: Thomas Turnbull, 1806.


Palladio, Andrea. *I Quattro Libri dell'architettura*. Venetia, 1616.


----------. *Opere varie di architettura prospettive grotteschi antichita sul gusto degli antichi romani.* Roma, 1750.


Pocket Encyclopedia of Masonic Symbols. Silver Spring, Md: The Masonic Service Association (22nd printing), 1996.


---------. Essays on the picturesque, as compared with the sublime and the beautiful; and, on the use of studying pictures, for the purpose of improving real landscape. United Kingdom: Gregg Int., 1971. London, 1810.


Soane, Sir John. *An appeal to the public, occasioned by the suspension of the architectural lectures in the Royal Academy: to which is subjoined an account of a critical work, published a few years ago, entitled 'The exhibition: or, a second anticipation'...* London: Printed for William Miller by James Moyes, 1812.

----------. *Civil architecture: designs for completing some of the public buildings in Westminster and for correcting defects in others...* London: Printed by J. Moyes, 1829.


----------. *Designs in architecture: consisting of plans, elevations, and sections, for temples, baths, cassines, pavilions, garden-seats, obelisks, and other buildings; for*


Lectures on architecture / by Sir John Soane... as delivered to the students of the Royal Academy from 1809 to 1836 in two courses of six lectures each; edited from the original MS by Arthur T. Bolton. Sir John Soane's Museum and Library, Sir John Soane's Museum Publication. London: Printed by Jordan-Gaskell, 1929.

Memoirs of the Professional Life of an Architect Between the Years 1768 and 1835. London: James Moyes, 1835.


Les Dix livres d'architecture de Vitrave, corrigé et traduits nouvellement... par M. Claude Perrault. Paris, 1684 (2nd edition). Note: Since there is no extant original of Vitruvius, also refer to Colin Campbell's Vitruvius Britannicus, and Appendix B at the end of this work for Soane's editions of Vitruvius.


Ware, Isaac. The Four Books of Andrea Palladio's Architecture wherein, after a short treatise on the five orders, these observations that are most necessary in building, private houses, streets, bridges, piazza, xisti, and temples are treated of. London, 1738.


Weisse, John Adam. *The obelisk and Freemasonry according to the discoveries of Belzoni and Commander Gorringe: also, Egyptian symbols compared with those discovered in American mounds.* New York: J. W. Bouton, 1880.


----------. *Civil Architecture of Vitruvius.* London, 1813.


Monumenti antichi inediti spiegati ed illustrati. Roma, 1767.


INDEX

— A —

Abiff, Hiram (see Hiram Abiff)

Académie Royale, 29, 114

Accademia di San Luca, 30, (see Concorso Clementino)

Adam, 25, 87, 136, 137, 139, 142, 149, 169, 175, 189, 190, 192, 202, 215

Adam, Robert (or James), 25, 34, 38, 61, 127, 252

Addison, Joseph, 15, 54

Adoniram, 85

Ahiman Rezon, 103, 104, 184, 200, 201, 202 (see Dermot Laurence)

Alberti, Leon Battista, 8, 12, 81, 149, 153

alchemy, 117, 118, 176, 186, 255

alchemical, 165, 173, 174, 176

allegory, xxvii, xxxi, 167, 168, 242, 243

Apostle of the Universe, 78, 84, 123 (see Great Architect of the Universe)

analogy, 12, 13, 46, 55, 60, 64, 67, 71, 72, 117, 121, 123, 161, 169, 175, 254

Ancients (Antients) and Moderns, 10, 94, 95, 96, 97, 102, 104, 105, 194, 199, 200, 201, 203, 206, 211

Anderson, Rev. Dr. James, 81, 82, 83, 90, 103, 104, 183, 184, 186-194, 196, 197, 200, 202, 203, 240
(See the Constitutions of the Free Masons)

antedituvian, 137, 138, 139, 167, 170, 179, 215

Apollo Belvedere, 56, 57, 59

apothecary, 60, 189, 217, 246, 247

Archer, 6, 85, 108, 109, 184, 186, 189, 243

Apprentice Pillar, (see Rosslyn Chapel)

archaeology, 25, 28, 63, 152

Architecture,


civil (architecture), 5, 7, 133

narrative (architectural), 17, 27, 48, 59, 72, 96, 159, 208, 230, 250

origins (architecture), xxvii, xxxii, xxix, xxx, ix, 11, 29, 69, 78, 83, 111, 113, 124, 136, 141, 142, 144, 145, 146, 153, 157, 161, 165, 179, 198, 251, 256


architecture parlante, 117

Ark, Masonic (see Masonic Ark)


Ark of the Covenant, 98, 103, 175, 179

Ars Quatuor Coronatorum, 99

Art, Philosophy, and Science of Architecture, (see Joseph Gandy)

ars combinatoria, 118, 161

Articles of Union, 95, 98

Ashby, John, 53, 96, 101, 103, 189, 213, 224, 225, 226, 227

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
Ashmole, Elias, 49, 186, 187
associational life, 250, 252
associational theory, 208
asymmetric complementarity, xxxiv

—B—
Bailey, George, 62, 216, 217, 218, 222, 223, 224, 225, 232, 233, 246
Battle of the Styles, 19
Beckford, William, xxvii, 17, 25, 53
Belzoni Sarcophagus, 57, 58, 60, 69
Blake, William, 72, 255
Bolton, Arthur, xxxi, 105, 216
Bolton, John, 42, 44
Britannia, 104
British Museum, 13, 49, 50, 52, 69
Britton, John, 5, 10, 52, 59, 62-69, 90, 105-110, 120, 150, 151, 219, 220, 245
Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, 63, 106, 110
Union of Architecture. Sculpture, and Painting, 59, 62, 63, 106, 120
Bullock, George, 40
Burford, Douglas, 94, 97, 99, 103, 217, 218
Burlington, Lord, 34, 56, 151, 152, 191

—C—
cabinets of curiosity, 49, 50, 51, 138, 186, 244
Campbell, Colen, 191, 192
caryatids, 51, 57, 242
Cassirer, Ernst, 60, 252, 253
Chambers, Sir William, 3, 6, 18, 25, 150, 151, 201, 252

—D—
D'Hancarville, Baron (P.-F. Hugues), 174, 179
Recherches sur l'origine l'esprit et le progrès des arts de la Grèce, 179
Dance, George, xxxii, 4, 5, 6, 51, 62, 126
Dance, Nathaniel, 2
deism, 181
de Lalande, Jérôme, 194, 204, demiurge, 78, 179
Dermott, Laurence, 103, 104, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203
Desaguliers, John T., 188, 189, 193, 201
Diderot, Denis, 115, 252
domical lantern, xxxi, 175, 214, 231, 232, 234
(see zodiac lantern)
Doric House, Bath, 41, 44
Dulwich Picture Gallery, xxxii, 19, 41, 102, 236, 242, 250
Dupuis, C.F., 29, 118, 122, 176, 178, 214, 251
l'Origine de tous les cultes, ou religion universelle, 179
Durand, J.N.L., 13, 14, 124-126, 149, 152
Recueil et Parallèle, 14, 124, 125, 149, 152
—E—
eclecticism, 15, 17, 55, 126
Emblem and Expression, 54, 158
Encyclopædia Brittanica, 114, 117, 118, 123, 136, 141, 148
Encyclopédie, 115, 204
Enlightenment, xxix, xxx, xxxi, xxxiv, 9, 15, 35, 36, 53, 60, 62, 74, 82, 83, 121, 125, 134, 180, 186, 187, 193, 194, 196, 197, 200, 213, 234, 236, 240, 243, 250, 251, 252, 253
Enlightenment philosophy, 251
—F—
Feinberg, Susan, xxxi, 49, 51, 52, 56, 62, 70, 72
Filarete, 81
Fischer von Erlach, Johann, 81, 82, 125, 153
Flaxman, John, 4, 59, 245
Fletcher, Sir Banister, 125
Fonthill Abbey, 17, 25, 53
Franklin, Benjamin, 104, 194
Freemasonry, drama, xxxi
initiation, 86, 205, 219, 221, 243
ritual, 82, 121, 186, 226, 229, 230
Freemasons' Hall, xxx, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii, 5, 33, 53, 65, 76, 99, 100, 101, 103, 111, 121, 175, 207, 208, 212, 214, 234-239, 241, 242, 244, 246, 247, 250
Freemasons' Tavern, 209, 210, 221, 222, 238, 245
French Revolution, 35, 36, 38, 214
—G—
Gandy Green Book, 23, 24, 26, 27, 29, 30-32, 35, 38, 39
Gandy, John Peter (Deering), 26, 152
Architecture — an emblematic sketch, 156, 160, 169-179
Architecture, its natural model, xxix, 160, 163, 164, 166, 168
Art, Philosophy, and Science of Architecture, xxx, xxxii, 40, 45, 48, 50, 73, 116, 131-
Comparative characteristics of thirteen selected styles of architecture, 112, 113, 124, 144, 160, 161, 163, 164, 165, 179, 180

Composition of a design for the ceiling of a library, 117, 157, 163, 164

Groups of capitals to columns in detail, 163

Gandy, Michael, 23, 26,

Genius, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 24, 32, 33, 34, 39, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 73, 119, 120, 121, 129, 162, 167, 181, 248, 249

George I, 3, 4, 25, 26, 50, 102, 193-195, 213

Goose and Gridiron Tavern, 89, 187

Gothic Revival, 17, 52

Grand Lodge, xxx, 57, 88, 89, 93, 94, 96, 97, 98, 102, 105, 106, 110, 184, 185, 187, 188, 194-204, 211, 213, 224, 234, 240, 243, 247, 248

Grand Orient de France, 87, 194, 198, 203-205

Grand Tour, 2

Great Architect of the Universe, 84, 98, 198, 214 (see Almighty Architect of the Universe)

Greek Revival, xxix, 5, 17, 249

Hamill, John, 98, 185, 186, 187, 200, 201, 228

Hardwicke, Philip, 5, 94, 248

Heavens, celestial, 90, 121, 139, 146, 167, 170, 174, 176, 178, 215

Hiram Abiff, 79, 84, 85, 101

Hogarth, William, 3, 93, 147

Holland, Henry, 6, 52

Humbert de Superville, xxx

Imagination (see occult)

Initiation (see Freemasonry - initiation)

Jachin and Boaz (Booz), 93, 103, 215

Jacob, Margaret C., 82, 186, 194, 195, 196, 197, 200

Jacobites (The), 194-195, 198

James I, 107, 192, 194

James II, 107, 192, 194

Jones, Inigo, 145, 151, 152, 154, 191, 192, 245


Knight, Richard Payne, 15, 55, 151

Laugier, Marc Antoine, xxviii, 138, 153, 168, 197, 198

Lawrence, Sir Thomas, 59, 61, 226, 245

Lay of the Last Minstrel, 108

Le Camus de Mézières, Nicolas, 12, 13, 54, 68, 115, 240

Lectures on Architecture, xxx, xxxi, 7, 14, 23, 61, 77, 113, 132, 135, 141, 143, 148, 184, 234, 243, 252

Lequeu, Jean-Jacques, xxx, 205, 243

Lewis, M.G., 73

Lukacher, Brian, xxxii, xxxiii, 34, 35, 36, 40, 45, 70, 109, 116, 133, 135, 139, 140, 143, 155, 157, 162, 164, 167, 168, 170, 172, 176, 178

Martin, John, 23, 27, 35, 39, 53, 157, 214
Recueil et Parallèle,
(see Durand, J.N.L.)

Reynolds, Sir Joshua, 2, 3, 4, 6, 13, 24, 27, 39, 63, 66, 117, 119, 120, 126

Robert, Hubert, 37, 53

Romanticism, xxxi, xxxiii, 53, 58, 66, 72, 128, 253, 255

Rosenau, Helen, 78

Rosslyn Chapel, 32, 81, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110
  Apprentice Pillar, 108, 109, 175
  Mason's Pillar, 110
  St. Clair Family, 81, 107, 110

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 82, 83, 251


Royal Society (The), 3, 83, 186, 188, 192, 196, 251

Ruskin, John, xxix

Rykwert, Joseph, 12, 14, 19, 48, 78, 79, 85, 87, 139, 142, 145, 147, 150, 153, 169, 194, 198, 203, 236, 252

Salmon, Frank, 30, 31, 35

Sandby, Paul, 5, 89, 90, 183, 213

Sandby, Thomas, 3, 4, 5, 6, 87-90, 93, 96, 104, 111, 183, 203, 204, 208, 209, 211, 212, 213, 217, 219, 221, 222, 225, 231, 236, 237, 240, 245, 247, 252

Sandby's Freemasons' Hall, 87, 222, 231, 245

Sensation, 54, 158

Soane, Sir Hans, 50

Smirke, Sir Robert, 5, 50, 126

Soane Medal Festival, 189, 222

Soane Museum, xxix, xxxii, 2, 24, 39, 44, 51, 55, 60, 62, 64, 70, 71, 76, 80, 92, 99, 105, 109, 120, 121, 151, 154, 162, 172, 207, 208, 213, 216, 225, 236, 242, 246, 250, 254


Solomon's Temple, xxviii, 11, 77-83, 86, 101, 138, 141, 142, 153, 175, 190, 193, 201, 215, 251

Spandrels, 235

St. Clair Family, (see Rosslyn Chapel)

Sussex, Duke of (Augustus Frederick), xxix, 58, 62, 94-98, 102, 103, 111, 200, 201, 213, 217, 220, 223, 224, 244, 249

Swedenborg, Emmanuel, 179


- T -

Tabernacle in the Desert, 78, 83, 175

Taste, 4, 8, 13, 20, 26, 33, 53, 66, 71, 73, 119, 120, 121, 126, 127, 249

Temple of the Winds, 42

Temple of Vesta, xxviii, 28, 77

Templum, 78
Terrier, Ursula, 103

Tomb of Merlin, 32, 38, 58, 109, 161

Tracing Board (Masonic), 85-87, 102, 197, 206, 215, 227, 228

Tradesman, John (Elder and Younger), 49

Turner, Joseph (J.M.W.), xxvii, 4, 8, 11, 53, 58, 65, 157, 158, 245

—U—

Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, (see John Britton)

United Grand Lodge of England, 57, 93, 96, 97, 98, 105, 185

Urformen, 114, 168

—V—

Vico, Giambattista, 251, 252, 256

Vidler, Anthony, 83, 86, 87, 194, 198, 204, 221, 236, 241, 243, 250

Villalpando, Juan Bautista, 77, 82, 83, 153

Viollet-Le-Duc, Eugène-Emmanuel, xxix, 18

Vitruvius, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 82, 83, 100, 119, 129, 150, 153, 166, 191, 192, 246, 254

Vitruvius Britannicus, 191, 192

(see Colen Campbell)

—W—

Watkin, David, xxxi, 95, 174, 178, 201, 210, 212, 232, 235, 246, 240, 245

Wightwick, George, 14, 16, 17, 249

Wilkins, William, 5, 54

'world of the work,' 255

Wren, Sir Christopher, 104, 186, 187, 192, 245, 246, 251

Wunderkammer, 49, 64

Wyatt, James, xxvii, 25, 26, 35, 38, 39, 40, 54, 56, 245, 246

Wyatville, Jeffry, 26, 244

—Z—


zodiac lantern, 100, 121, 140, 172, 213, 214, 227, 235, 237, 242

(see domical lantern)