Book Reviews

Bettley, James and Pevsner, Nikolaus, *Suffolk*, The Buildings of England series, New Haven and London: Yale University Press (2015): *East* 677pp, 118 col. pls. ISBN 978-0-300-19654-2; *West* 635pp, 117 col. pls. ISBN 978-0-300-19655-9; £35 each.

The form of the Pevsner Architectural Guides will be well known to readers, comprising a topographical introduction explaining a county's geology and local building materials; followed by a chronological overview of settlement from pre-history to the present, becoming more sharply architecturally focussed as the modern era is approached.

It is astonishing to realise that Nikolaus Pevsner originally spent just the month of August 1957 surveying Suffolk, driven around by his long-suffering wife Lola. He clearly enjoyed himself, stating: 'The weather was clement, the natives friendly, the scenery and the buildings a delight. Besides, work was easy compared with other counties'. Nevertheless, fact checking took him rather longer than he had anticipated and the volume was not published until early in 1961.

A second edition in 1975 was coordinated and revised by Enid Radcliffe, mainly comprising corrections and minor additions and leaving Pevsner's text essentially unaltered, but she could not help but refer to some substantial changes, such as the London County Council's Expanding Towns programme that, from the late 1950s, bolted several thousand new houses and industrial estates onto previously quiet, ill-equipped market towns like Haverhill and Sudbury.

By the time James Bettley embarked on his thorough and much needed revision of Suffolk, over half a century had elapsed since Pevsner had briefly toured the county. A new edition is therefore both long overdue and very welcome indeed. It has taken six years to bring the county with so many architectural riches thoroughly up to date. This has enabled a significant reappraisal of Victorian buildings to be made - an era which Pevsner tended to treat with some caution and which appeared not to have captured his personal interest. Key buildings in the county from the second half of the 20th century have also been added including for example the brooding, intrusive presence of the Post Office Engineering Research Station, Martlesham and Sizewell B Power Station; huge functional buildings that starkly illustrate that not all notable architecture in the county is beautiful.

So comprehensive has been the revision and so extensive are the architectural treasures, that two substantial volumes are now required in the larger format that has been the hallmark of the series since the 1980s. Neither volume now slips easily into even a generous overcoat pocket. On long visits to locations on the margin between east and west, using both weighty books requires some stamina.

Pevsner was always concerned that the historic boundaries of counties be respected wherever possible and the former administrative divisions of East and West Suffolk from 1888 to 1974 might have proved adequate, had the entries also been evenly distributed. As this proved not to be the case, instead the current edition, slightly contentiously, has been split along the county's principal south-north trunk road network either side of the A12 from the Essex border around the west side of Ipswich (following a short section of the A14) and then up the A140 Norwich road to the Norfolk border. This is a simple and easily remembered demarcation and produces volumes of about equal length.

One of the challenges for anyone revising a volume in the Buildings of England series is to determine the extent and for how long after his initial odyssey, the authentic voice and sometimes idiosyncratic opinions of Pevsner are retained. Bettley's clear intention has been to 'add rather than alter', which, though a difficult balancing act, has on the whole been successfully achieved. He had already completed an acclaimed revision of Essex, the county Pevsner considered had been the nadir of his experiences when writing his first edition.

So much historical and architectural research has emerged in the past half century that no fewer than eight pages of further reading are suggested. Bettley's assimilation of so much of this new and accumulated wisdom about Suffolk buildings and its distillation and incorporation in a seamless, informative and unobtrusive way into the new edition is a great achievement.

The increasing democratization of heritage and its wide public enjoyment is a phenomenon that Pevsner would have appreciated and that the

Buildings of England series did so much to cultivate. Many more Suffolk churches now arrange to be open at times convenient to non-worshippers and more private houses are now accessible to visitors than in the 1950s - although this is partly a response to encouraging a contribution to the increasing burden of their upkeep. Also, a much more widely accepted range of buildings and landscapes is considered noteworthy than half a century ago and some included in the latest edition may come to be thought of as heritage assets worthy of formal protection in the future.

With a few notable exceptions, such as Heveningham (illustrated on the rear cover of *East*) and Ickworth, this is not a county of great country houses, but it is a county of great country churches. There are so many of the latter that it would be invidious to identify specific outstanding examples here and it was a bold choice of the publisher to illustrate the front cover of *West* with the tower of the cathedral church at Bury St Edmunds by Stephen Dykes Bower, finally completed in 2005, rather than, for example, the medieval splendours of Lavenham or Long Melford.

The most comprehensive reappraisal in the county has been of Ipswich, a town often compared unfavourably architecturally to its East Anglian neighbours of similar size. Alec Clifton-Taylor's response when asked if he would appraise Ipswich as part of his historic towns series was an emphatic 'Never!' - a revised copy of *East* might have confounded his low expectations.

The first edition devoted just twenty pages to Ipswich, but the entry has now been expanded to over seventy-five and, with so much more now to appreciate, the five idiosyncratic 'perambulations' of the first edition have been increased to nine. As substantial pre-recession redevelopment has occurred, particularly around what Pevsner would have known as the Wet Dock, but what is now known more fashionably (and for marketing purposes) as Ipswich Waterfront, Bettley sensibly left the town until last, realising that rapid change might continue throughout the revision and Ipswich certainly benefited from the deferment.

No reader, living, working or holidaying in Suffolk can sensibly be without these two volumes, enhanced by an entirely new set of colour plates, mostly taken by Paul Highnam. This is triumphant revision and will add immensely to the pleasure of experiencing and understanding the county for many years to come.

Bob Kindred

Brown, David, ed., *Durham Cathedral, History, Fabric and Culture*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press (2015), 602 pp., 400 ills, £75. ISBN 978-0-300-208184.

Some subjects are so well known, so thoroughly researched and published, that it might be regarded as self-indulgent to revisit them at length; Durham Cathedral is one such. However, as this splendid and lavish new book demonstrates, there is a huge amount to be gained by bringing together thirty-four essays by thirty-seven contributors, each offering different ways in which the cathedral and surrounding buildings, their contents, culture and history contribute to our understanding of the institution and its power over the centuries.

In his Introduction, the editor, David Brown, notes the models on which the book is based: co-authored cathedral monographs, especially the most recent, on St Pauls in London. It has indeed become a genre – beginning with that on York Minster in 1977 – but this volume on Durham is the most ambitious and comprehensive. This is possible in part because the resources are so special. Durham has a great saint, Cuthbert and his relics; it has its library and its muniments, it had a number of dependent priories, substantial remains of which survive in a few cases. The material is thus remarkably rich and colourful and this is very well represented in the essays themselves and the accompanying illustrations.

Unlike some cathedral studies aimed at a largely academic audience, *Durham Cathedral* has been written and edited, very successfully, to eliminate 'omissions... style or vocabulary that would inhibit easy comprehension by the general reader'. In general, the policy is to begin each essay with an introduction to the topic and to set out its context and significance, before invoking detail to support the point of view being presented. The result is a balance and consistency that is accessible and also provides detail and insight for specialists and interested public alike. Much of this is due to the quality of the contributors, who are well-versed in the material and the issues it raises, but also skilled communicators.

The contents are categorised under four headings: Historical Overview (eight essays), Architecture, Art and Setting (twelve), Worship, Spirituality and Social Change (five) and Letters and Learning (nine). While the balance might thus seem to favour materiality over spirituality, there is a very welcome and thoughtful 'anthropological-sociological perspective' on Modern Ethos and

Spirituality in Changing Times. In a wide-ranging discussion of 'the emotion-rooted and culturally framed nature of experience', it does not baulk at discussing such things as 'issues of finance and entry charges'. As a whole, the book is free of rose-tinted pretence, preferring a down to earth approach. To exemplify the point, the second illustration shows 'The lane that once led to the monastic brewery and which now contains the stonemasons' and joiners' yard' and the next one is an atmospheric photograph from 1936 of three woodcarvers working on the doors to St Cuthbert's shrine. This book focuses on actualities rooted in people as much as it does on historical events and monuments and on the recent past as well as early history.

Thus, for example, the essay on Textiles gives due weight to the outstanding gold and silk embroideries of the 10th century, and other rare medieval survivals, but as much space is devoted to material from the 20th century. A similar balance is observed in the discussion of the Library and of Music. Several essays are devoted specifically to the work of the last two centuries: on the stained glass, on art works, and on monuments. The effect overall conveys the impression that, incomparably rich as its medieval heritage is, no period should be regarded as more important than any other in the unfolding story, which begins with the travels of St Cuthbert's body and the treasures associated with it from Lindisfarne to Chester-le-Street, before reaching Durham, over a thousand years ago. Thus, while the editor notes and even laments the omission of some potential topics, I am more inclined to agree with the Archbishop of Canterbury's assessment in the Foreword, that this 'is the definitive "big book" about Durham Cathedral for this century'.

Sandy Heslop

Guilding, Ruth, *Owning the Past – Why the English Collected Antique Sculpture, 1640-1840*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art (2014), 410 pp., 318 ills, £55. ISBN 978-0-300-20819-1.

In her remarkable 'romance', *The Volcano Lover*, based on the life of Sir William Hamilton (who features strongly in Ruth Guilding's book), Susan Sontag considered the nature of collectors and the objects of their attention: 'So the collector is a dissembler, someone whose joys are never unalloyed with anxiety. Because there is always more. Or something better. You must have it because it is one step toward an ideal completing of your collection. But this ideal completion for which every collector hungers is a delusive goal...The great collections are vast, not complete... There is always one more' (1993, 72).

In this superb survey of the ways in which antique sculptures were sought out and brought to Britain to populate the sculpture galleries of great houses, Guilding identifies the motivations which drove the collectors: 'pride in acquisition, possession, provenance and posterity, as well as hierarchy and cultural snobbery'. Here was the past 'made almost-flesh' through the mediation of these 'eyewitnesses of history'. Guilding has a gift for the telling phrase and the neat encapsulation. Although beginning with the collections of Lord Arundel, dispersed in the later 17th century, and Lord Pembroke, whose collection at Wilton House remained intact until after the Second World War, it is within the 'contrived and calculated' totality of the Palladian house, in which the collections of antique sculpture complemented the grandeur of the architecture, that the language of entitlement could be best appreciated: Houghton, a statement of national pride, political power and prime-ministerial, quasi-senatorial bombast; Holkham, a more learned and didactic exercise in Roman virtue, praised in 1757 by the poet and politician Robert Potter for its embodiment of 'Magnificence allied to Use', a non-pejorative 'magnificence' which signified a noble liberality and a sense of public responsibility. Holkham's creator, Thomas Coke, Earl of Leicester had intended a book of designs of the house to rival Isaac Ware's *Houghton*, but it fell to his widow to memorialise his achievement by completing both the house and the book, enabling Matthew Brettingham to set his imprimatur on proceedings, disregarding the contribution of 'Our Great Master Kent' to the complex design history of the house, unpicked by Frank Salmon in a masterful reassessment, now contested in a rejoinder by Leo Schmidt (*Architectural History* 56, 2013 and 58, 2015).

Margaret, the dowager Countess, made Holkham much more accessible, showing the house herself on Thursdays and publishing a guidebook. Elsewhere the private was often made public during the Georgian era as country-house visiting, with entrance fees and substantial tips, became a popular pursuit for aristocrats and gentry, during a period described by John Harris in which 'Architecture

became every gentleman's recreation' and there was a corresponding 'liberality of access almost assumed of a landed owner'. Guidebooks described features in their order of interest, so at Stowe the gardens, at Wilton the marbles. Mrs Lybbe Powys, visiting the latter in 1776, noted from the list in the porter's lodge that 2,324 persons had visited in the preceding year (J. Harris, 'English Country House Guides, 1740-1840', in J. Summerson, ed., *Concerning Architecture*, 1968). At Petworth, as Guilding describes, the 3rd Earl of Egremont's antique busts were interpolated into the 'dynastic thicket' of family portraits, 'to extend his family's title backwards by a cast drawn from over a thousand years'. This collector-earl, blessed with an enormous fortune and a vigorous constitution, seems to have been compulsively sociable, nearly 30,000 dining at the house (above and below stairs) in 1828, let alone merely visiting to see the Palladian sculpture gallery created by his father. At Chatsworth, it was reported in 1844, the Duke of Devonshire opened the house and gardens every day of the year from 10 until 5: 'the humblest individual is not only shown the whole, but the Duke has expressly ordered the waterworks to be played for everyone without exception. This is acting in the true spirit of great wealth and enlightened liberality; let us add, also, in the spirit of wisdom'. Yet, notwithstanding exceptional numbers in some cases, owners of large country houses on grand and remote landed estates, far from the capital, could not expect high visibility, either for their antique sculpture or for the modern masterpieces commissioned to accompany them. As Guilding explains, classical sculpture remained 'the symbolic defining feature of the stately entrance-hall-cum-atrium until it was routed by the Victorian trappings of a revived chivalric age, and despatched to signal Roman virtue and Athenian democracy to the free citizenry of Great Britain in its public museums and temples of art'. As Haskell and Penny have noted, 'Sculptures in the British Museum clearly stood a better chance of achieving international celebrity than those in private houses whether in London or the country – a fate so obscure ... that they might as well never have been excavated' (*Taste and the Antique*, 1981, 68).

Commissioning architecture and collecting sculpture were, and remain, competitive pursuits. This is well illustrated by Guilding's account of the Tory MP Sir Nathaniel Curzon (later ennobled as Lord Scarsdale) at Kedleston, where 'wide-awake to the significance of the Whig language of Roman dominance and authority' he rebuilt his house, successively employing Brettingham, Paine and Adam, and furnished it with sculpture on the Holkham model, albeit plaster-casts rather than originals: 'With the rebuilding of Kedleston Hall, Scarsdales's ambitions were fully realised in stone, his Caesars in the rustic standing as moral alibis and his Saxon kings as founders of British law and the liberty of the individual. His classical gods and goddesses bought *en bloc*, coats of arms and modish neoclassical architecture all made a powerful statement of long tradition and entitlement, in spite of the overwhelming newness of everything about him... He had arrived'.

As demand exceeded supply, the gods and goddesses favoured by the Palladians, often repaired, re-worked and polished, re-named to match far-fetched claims, and re-configured – Henry Blundell at Ince Blundell by judicious excision transforming a *Reclining Hermaphrodite* into a *Sleeping Venus* – were no longer available and were perforce replaced by replicas. Replication enhanced the reputation for the antiquity and authenticity of the originals, but casts and replicas have a history, resonance and authenticity of their own, as does the neoclassical sculpture inspired by, and commissioned to stand beside, the ancients. These modern products appeared to express a language of continuity, until the momentous arrival of the Elgin (Parthenon) marbles, whose 'real flesh' and 'beautiful nature' caused Canova to realise that the Roman works upon which he had based his style were conventional copies by comparison. As Robin Lane Fox has noted: 'The art in this period [5th century BC] does not stand still, but the best of it has a contemplative naturalism which exists only in antiquity in Greek culture, and only elsewhere because of it' (*The Classical World*, 2005, 137). Initially considered inferior to the huge collection of Roman antiquities amassed by Charles Townley, which passed on his death to the British Museum, the Elgin marbles appeared to be damaged and imperfect. Guilding reproduces Cruickshank's 'John Bull' satire of 1816 on their purchase for the museum ('we don't want stones ... give us Bread', 'Let him take his Stones back again to the Turks we don't want them in this country'), but a wave of support from artists, painters and writers swayed the argument in their favour: Haydon drew them, Archer painted them, Ben West had already copied them (on the Nelson pediment at Greenwich Hospital), Hazlitt rhapsodised ('Greek statues are marble to the touch and to the heart ... they appear sufficient to themselves ...they are raised above

the frailties of pain or passion'). Now, for Guilding, the Elgin marbles 'exercise their numinous power in the religious atmosphere of the marble-tiled gallery named after its donor, Joseph Duveen, rising superbly above controversial politicking about illicit cleanings, ownership and restitution'. Clearly there are degrees of authenticity.

Townley's marbles now hold a subordinate place in the British Museum's collections, one of his acquisitions, the small *Venus Emerging from her Bath*, being now displayed at floor level in a cabinet in the Enlightenment Gallery, with little to recall its previous celebrity as the cynosure of Richard Cosway's conversation piece *Charles Townley with a Group of Connoisseurs*, known formerly as *The Lecture on Venus's Arse.* The story forms part of an entertaining intermezzo in Guilding's narrative, 'The Connoisseurship of Libertinism', in which she explores aspects of the 'swaggering sexuality' of 18th century upper-class male culture and the 'aesthetic and sexual connoisseurship of the Grand Tour'. When Rowlandson depicted Emma Hart performing her 'attitudes', he depicted her as a Venus of the Townley torso type and, indeed, the great collector Sir William Hamilton treated Emma, whom subsequently he married, 'as an object for his connoisseurship from their first meeting', commissioning portraits from both Romney and Reynolds. Following Hamilton's election to the Society of Dilettanti, Reynolds produced two (recently decoded) group portraits to mark the event. In their combination of the high-minded and the lewd these paintings encapsulate the English ideal of connoisseurship, taste and learning worn lightly.

Demonstrations of taste could be bought for display, often at very high price. In attempting to break into the class of those 'on familiar, easy terms with the productions of antiquity', William Weddell of Newby Hall, enriched through inheritance, presents a case study of 'a recent outsider turned customer in the pursuit of taste'. On his highly commercialised Grand Tour, Weddell spent more than £8,000 on sculpture. Hampered by inexperience, 'with no Italian and little French', he was reliant upon the antiquities dealer Thomas Jenkins, the grateful recipient of the bulk of his money. Both Weddell and Jenkins maintained silence on the cost of the most expensive acquisition, which consequently became one of the most famous statues in England, the *Barberini*, later *Newby*, *Venus*, a sculpture of the *Venus de' Medici* type, whose head and body were said to have been only recently brought together. Set in the sculpture gallery designed by Robert Adam, 'smothered with a new style of 'pseudo-archaeological' decoration', the flickering candlelight 'transformed marble statuary into the appearance of animated flesh'. The *Newby Venus* was sold at Christies in 2002 for nearly £8m to the Emir of Qatar, a man 'with a new national museum to fill'.

Antique sculpture was a commodity, but commodification was *infra dig* since it threatened to destabilise notions of 'virtu'. Lyde Browne, a merchant-collector with no reservations about authenticity or qualms about pastiches, filled his suburban villa and garden at Wimbledon with pieces of varying quality, all for sale. He talked-up his latest purchases, many made in partnership with the ubiquitous Jenkins, at the Society of Antiquaries, of which he was a Fellow, 'despite the Fellows' manifest preference for axe heads, Roman cloak pins and medieval church fonts'. Guilding cites the Society's minute books for this insight. Browne turned his attention to the more fertile Society of Dilettanti, before deciding to dispose of his assets in an over-inflated market, eventually coming unstuck in a deal to supply Catherine the Great, in which his chosen St Petersburg banker went bankrupt. Browne, having lost £12,000, died from an apoplectic fit. Guilding appears to be unsympathetic: 'Treating 'virtu' as an investment opportunity to be exploited and marketed or disposed of at whim, he had threatened the integrity of the whole connoisseurial ideal'.

However, as Guilding observes, the claims of scholarship were seldom completely divorced from the marketplace, so marketing and commodification are questions of degree rather than principle, the buying and selling of antique sculpture, increasing its availability and visibility, encouraging the Enlightenment dream of a Linnaean classification, which would establish the keys to the classical past and, by extension, all history. This notion of potential completeness, of one universal system of classification and understanding, informed the acquisition policies of the more cerebral collectors, notwithstanding their equally chimerical desire for personal glory; Guilding is sharp on the subject of the motivations and frailties of her subjects.

She brings the story up to date in a consideration of the negative effects of 20th century restoration, or deconstruction, in search of an elusive authenticity in which the pure fragment trumped the re-assembled, polished and finished: Getty's *Leda and the Swan*, to take one example,

becoming 'an unexhibitable, cannibalised torso'; others lost noses, arms and legs in procedures which privileged the earliest state of objects over their historical evolution, a process regarded by Guilding as 'mutilation' in 'quest of archaeological 'truth' and original surfaces', an obsession which, in the Getty Museum at least, has now been abandoned in favour of re-restoration to 'a simulacrum of eighteenth-century wholeness', a wholeness which has been preserved in those sculptures fortunate to remain in their country house niches undisturbed by transfer into public collections. Much depends upon the taste of the day, occasionally with instructive and amusing consequences. The gigantic *Farnese Hercules* in the Museo Nazionale, Naples, was discovered without legs, so substitutes were supplied by Giuglielmo della Porta, a student of Michelangelo. Although the missing legs were unearthed shortly after, the Renaissance versions were long preferred, until 1787, when the originals were reinstated by Albacini. Goethe found it impossible to understand how Della Porta's substitutes were for so long considered superior. They are displayed now nearby with an explanatory note. Original appearances have been further achieved with the removal of the 'brazen foliage' shown in Haskell and Penny.

Although a new generation of Hearsts and Gettys is now collecting antique sculpture – Christian Levett, founder of the world's largest commodities hedge fund, is cited – it is the continuum of old money and *noblesse oblige*, which attracts the author and leads her towards her rather downbeat and somewhat perfunctory conclusion to an otherwise exciting narrative. The 18th Earl of Pembroke is here depicted (twice) in country-casual matching-separates. He has been at pains to revive the collections at Wilton and to buy back those items sold by his grandfather, an 'atavistic reparation, the rightness of one generation doing the proper protectionist thing, mending gaps in his country's cultural heritage and reviving family honour ...'. He is not the only grandee to be depicted in this book, an entertaining change from the usual depopulated interiors of art history. Elsewhere we have Lady Katie Percy on a motorbike (unidentified) in the hall at Syon; Richard Compton at Newby, where he has replaced the *Venus* sold to Qatar with a facsimile; the Countess of Pembroke in Wyatt's romantic, medievalising cloister at Wilton, fortunate to be photographed by Cecil Beaton (1934); Mrs Leon Max modelling Dior on a marble table at Easton Neston in a pose recalling Jacques Louis David's Madame Récamier (in reverse), underlining the continuity from the miraculously draped antique, through neo-classicism to *haute couture* – there is another story to be told here of the consonances of flesh and marble, of the apparent liquidity inherent in tailoring and carving designed both to conceal and reveal the body. Best of all are the cleaning ladies (un-named, with attributes – buckets and mops) in the hall at Castle Howard, with the seen-it-all-before air of those who know how the dust covers should be tied, how to maintain appearances and keep the show on the road.

This is an excellent book, formidably detailed in research, elegantly written and beautifully produced. Entertaining descriptions of the collectors, their collections and their houses are interwoven with, and illuminated by recurring themes – connoisseurship, 'annexing history', buying and selling taste, competition, the language of entitlement, privacy and publicity, authority and power. Such interweaving results in owners, houses and collections cropping up in more than one place, without cross-referencing. So this is not a book for quick and easy reference, but one that should be read in its entirety: this is not a hardship. Possibilities for further thematic exploration are not exhausted: the subject appears to demand, but does not sufficiently receive, an exploration of the evolving and much contested notion of authenticity. The *Newby Venus*, a re-configured antique, now replaced at the eponymous house by a replica, might have provided the occasion for such a discussion.

As Guilding acknowledges, the book has been long in the making. There are, however, signs of haste in its concluding: there are some proof reading errors, some small failures of correlation between notes and bibliography and incorrect titling of Payne Knight's *Worship of Priapus* in the captions to two illustrations. It is fashion rather than haste, however, which has created a much more significant impediment – the visibility of the too-feint captions. Perhaps it is a function of age - book designers getting younger, readers getting older; perhaps it is a result of laying out pages on brightly-lit screens. The otherwise exemplary production staff at Yale might usefully heed Atul Gawande's observation: 'the amount of light reaching the retina of a healthy sixty-year-old is one-third that of a twenty-year-old' (*Being Mortal*, 2014, 34-5).

A more important lesson to be learned (not for the first time) from this splendid book is that academic specialisation, notwithstanding its value for in-depth analysis of the particular, inhibits our ability to take a more rounded view of culture and

its manifestations. The analysis of the collection and display of antique sculpture and its surrogates here offers rich material for an holistic view in which painting, sculpture and architecture may be seen as mutually informing elements within a broad cultural, social, economic and political context – everything connects; nothing is complete.

JOHN BOLD

Hall, Michael, *George Frederick Bodley and the Later Gothic Revival in Britain and America*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press (2014), 508 pp., 300 ills, £50. ISBN 978-030020-802-3.

Unlike today, churches were of great importance in the architectural culture of Victorian England. In the serious debates about 'style', ecclesiastical buildings were at the very core. Firstly, the church was central to Pugin in his ongoing crusade to persuade the architectural establishment to accept medieval models for its buildings. Then George Gilbert Scott took up the neo-gothic standard with his St Giles's, Camberwell in 1842. Although he did not always satisfy the strictures of the Ecclesiological Society, he introduced a robust medieval style which was transformed by his many pupils, among them G. E. Street, William White and G. F. Bodley.

Bodley, the subject of the book under review, began his career just at the time the High Church party of the Church of England was in the ascendency. The return to ritual gave greater scope for the introduction of art into church building, both through decoration and the arrangement of space and light and, as Michael Hall admirably demonstrates, Bodley developed his own unity of aesthetic in every aspect of his work. At first his churches, as in St Michael Brighton (Sussex) (1858-62), followed continental models, but in All Saints, Cambridge (1861-4) he changed his design from one based on French gothic to one using late 13th century English forms. This was the beginning of Bodley's personal style of church architecture, in which every element of the building and its decoration contributed to an overall effect, whose purpose was to aspire to the beautiful.

Bodley's reputation as a High Church architect gave him access to many wealthy clients, as well as to new suburban parishes, where the ritualists held sway and wanted churches suited to their own preferred rites. To help him achieve his ends, Bodley sought the assistance of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co. for stained glass, and later two other firms, Burlison and Grylls and C. E. Kempe. For sculpture he turned to the London firm of Farmer and Brindley. In 1874, Bodley, his then partner Thomas Garner and G. G. Scott Jr founded their own firm of decorators, Watts and Co., which offered a full service of painting, textiles and wallpapers. However, details were never left to the craftsmen, but were always in the hands of the architect.

Hall quotes Bodley's advice to students at the RIBA in 1900: 'Let me advise you, when you get your first opportunity of designing a building, to shut your eyes, and with your mind's eye, call up the vision of the edifice as entire and as complete as it will stand'. Then he advises the students to draw their inner vision in all its detail, a method that will encompass all the elements of, for example, a church design from the general form of nave, aisles and chancel to the vaulting, window tracery, rood screen, reredos, organ case, stained glass and wall decoration. The results were many very beautiful churches of different moods and character, such as Holy Angel, Hoar Cross (Staffs.) (1872-6), which, as a memorial to the husband of Emily Meynell Ingram, contrasted a short, dark nave with the soaring chancel, bathed in light.

Bodley had a long career, during which he had two partners. Firstly, Thomas Warner, from 1869, with whom he designed the distinctive St Augustine, Pendlebury (Lancs.) (1870-4). They continued in partnership until 1896, although from the 1880s they were working largely independently. In 1907, the last year of his life, he took into partnership Cecil Hare, when he gained the commissions for Washington Cathedral and Grace Cathedral in San Francisco, two jobs demonstrating the esteem in which Bodley was held. This is where Hall ends his admirable monograph, but perhaps more telling is the design for Liverpool Cathedral. Bodley was one of the assessors of the 1902 competition for the new cathedral, won by the twenty-two year old Giles Gilbert Scott, grandson of Bodley's teacher. There was a proviso, however, that Bodley would be joint architect on the project, for which he had to approve all Scott's drawings. The experience seems to have caused mutual frustration, with Bodley criticizing every detail and Scott looking to a more robust architecture than advocated by Bodley, whose work now seemed dated. After his mentor died at the end of 1907, Scott redesigned his cathedral, but he surely

learned from the care that Bodley had shown in his apparently fussy criticisms.

Hall is certainly to be congratulated for producing such a wide-ranging monograph on Bodley's career, in which he draws out the many different aspects of his work. Although most of Bodley's buildings were ecclesiastical or collegiate, he also engaged in designing houses in an advanced 'Queen Anne' style and the London School Board on the Embankment illustrated how the 'Renaissance' could be used in public buildings. Hall's triumph is in presenting the milieu in which Bodley worked, the clients, the builders, artists and craftsmen. His book is much more than the story of a life; it is also the story of architecture within the aesthetic movement at the end of the Victorian period. What is more, the book is beautifully illustrated and engagingly written.

TANIS HINCHCLIFFE

Heslin, Peter, *The Museum of Augustus. The Temple of Apollo in Pompeii, the Portico of Philippus in Rome, and Latin Poetry*, Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum (2015), 352 pp., 32 col. & 52 b/w ills, £50. ISBN 978–60606-421-4.

In Book VIII of his treatise on architecture, dedicated to the Emperor Augustus, that grumpy architect/writer, Vitruvius, gives us an account of wall-painting in Roman buildings. His notion was that the paintings were first made in imitation of more permanent materials, representing 'different kinds of marble slabs [...] and blocks of yellow ochre'. Then, the imitation was not just of costly materials, but of architectural elements: columns, pediments, stage scenes, and, most importantly for the book under review: 'pictures designed in the grand style, with [...] the battles at Troy, or the wanderings of Ulysses.' It is these Homeric allusions in Augustus's Rome (and Pompeii) that are the subject of Peter Heslin's book.

The Museum of Augustus has a long — and accurate — sub-title. It is about three different examples of paintings of 'the battles at Troy', each in a different context, and each discussed in a different way. It is the manifest aim of the book to establish links between the three examples: links that are stated as axiomatic from the outset. One is reminded of that (pre-digital) format of the art-history lecture: two slides projected side-by-side, and then one replaced by a third: the argument is constructed not by a chain of reasoning, but by (visual) comparisons. Relationships in the sequence of images are powerfully suggested to the audience by their very juxtaposition.

The three examples, two real, one fictional, are: first, the cycle of painted scenes from the Trojan war known to have existed in the Temple of Apollo at Pompeii; second, a cycle, mentioned by Pliny the Elder, but now lost, in the Augustan portico surrounding the Temple of Hercules of the Muses in Rome and third, a fictional cycle, drawn for us by Virgil in Book I of the *Aeneid*, where, in Dido's temple of Juno in Carthage, Aeneas is overcome by the sight of the scenes of the battle from which he had so recently escaped.

I The Temple of Apollo in Pompeii

The first part, which takes up just over three/fifths of the text, is a study of the temple of Apollo, just to the west of the Forum, at Pompeii. Its method has been described by Hélène Dessales, working in another part of Pompeii, as 'excavation of the archives'. Each of the buildings of the city unearthed in the 18th and 19th centuries became at once at risk. Walls and mosaics crumble, paintings are removed or fade away; the process is inexorable. Further work of measuring, recording — excavation even — may reveal more information, but even as this new information is gained, earlier information is slipping away; but all is not lost. The first published works, especially when corrected by modern investigations, remain a starting point, but fortunately there is more: the early explorers, notably Sir William Gell (1777–1836), François Mazois (1783–1826) and many *pensionnaires* of the *Villa Médici* in Rome, left innumerable drafts and sketches, many in colour, which have become dispersed in archives in Paris, Naples and London. Much has been collected in a beautiful volume published by the Italians (*Disegnatori Pompei: Pitture e mosaici; La documentazione nell'opera di disegnatori e pittori dei secoli XVIII e XIX*, Rome: Istituto della enciclopedia italiana, 1995), but perhaps one of the most spectacular archives of all is the cork, wood, and plaster model, to a scale of 1:100, in the museum at Naples. The model we see today was started in 1861, but was based on an earlier larger model at a scale of 1:48. Much had already been lost, but much lost since had been recorded in watercolour drawings pasted to the cork walls: a surprising amount of detail is shown. Heslin pleads for a proper photographic publication

of the model by the *Soprintendenza* at Naples, but his own photographs are surprisingly revealing (it is a difficult object to photograph).

With all this information, it is possible to piece together a reconstruction of the temple portico and its painting. These paintings, Heslin believes, were modelled on the cycle at the portico of Philippus and seem to have been much imitated subsequently in private houses in the city. The argument of this first part of the book is painstakingly assembled from the archival material and from the remains of the temple and its portico: it is a sort of detective story, but, for my part, the missing element is a modern survey tracing ancient walls down to foundation level (bomb damage in World War II makes this necessary for understanding the building). Yet it is an absorbing story, well told, carrying conviction.

The remaining two sections are very much shorter, each taking up only about a fifth of the book.

II The Portico of Philippus in Rome

If the method of Heslin's first section was through archival study, quite another method is needed for a discussion of Roman topography. There are few remains, few drawings, but many texts. Amanda Claridge has written that in Rome every ancient building was potentially a political act — and it is this aspect of the portico and its contents that Heslin stresses. His argument is that the portico — built by L. Marcius Philippus, a kinsman of Augustus — played a key role in the Emperor's cultural policy. Containing (looted) statues of the Muses, as well as the Trojan cycle mentioned by Pliny, it was intended by Augustus to be the equivalent (of a suitably un-regal character) of the Hellenistic Museum of Alexandria, to encourage literary production in support of the political ideology of Augustus's new Rome.

III Imaginary Temples

In his final section, Heslin adopts another discipline: that of a (Classical) literary critic. His text is lines 441 to 494 of book I of the *Aeneid*. The fictional Trojan war cycle in Dido's Carthage, is clearly — he believes — a fictional parallel to the real cycle in Augustus's Museum at the portico of Phillipus and as emulated in Pompeii. The reflexivity of this is attractive — the notion enriches modern understanding and enjoyment of both the real and the imaginary temples. (He gathers other poetical examples, too, to support the thesis.)

However, in conclusion, one has to ask oneself, do the three (unequal) parts of this book hang together. For this reviewer, the first, longest, part, the 'excavation of the archives' is gripping and convincing; it stands on its own. The two short sections, by contrast, have the air of assertion rather than argument: the two-projector trick of the art history lecture. Perhaps this perception is due to the changes in disciplinary focus and the nature of the material being studied in each section, but it is disconcerting. This may, of course, be due to the background of this reviewer, an archaeologically-minded architect. A more roundly educated critic might well find otherwise.

The book is handsomely put together by the Getty Foundation; they have done their author proud.

MARTIN GOALEN

Kadish, Sharman, *Jewish Heritage in Britain and Ireland: An architectural guide*, Swindon: Historic England (revised second ed. 2015), 286 pp., 300 ills, £20. ISBN 978-1-84802-237-9.

This updated and amended guidebook is essential reading for anyone wishing to visit Jewish sites in Britain and Ireland and is interested in the history and topography of the Jewish community. Sharman Kadish is the Director of Jewish Heritage UK and has produced outstanding research over the years; her previously publications include *The Synagogues of Britain and Ireland. An Architectural and Social History* (2011); she states 'this guide is intended to appeal to the specialist and the tourist alike'; this it certainly does.

While the subtitle of the book is 'An architectural guide', it is more than this. It discusses architectural details of 350 buildings with Jewish connections and also details *c.*180 cemeteries, with interesting funerary architectural curiosities; many of these cemeteries are still extant. This second edition has been expanded to 286 pages; it includes sites in Wales, Scotland, Ireland, the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man, helpfully moving beyond the normal geographic range of Historic England publications. It has new images and some of the original figures are enlarged. This updated guide creates a unique and important source of information on the heritage of the Jewish community.

The new guidebook also details restoration.

With a £0.5m. grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund, Deane Road Cemetery in Liverpool, established *c.*1836, but at the time of the original survey badly neglected, has now been fully restored. In Ponsharden, near Falmouth, Cornwall, the cemetery, established *c.*1780 and designated as a Scheduled Ancient Monument, is now protected with a secure gate and a temporary fence, with support from the local council, Sainsbury's and the Friends of Ponsharden Cemeteries, formed in 2013. Details of the *Nuevo* or *Novo* Cemetery (London E1) of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, established *c.*1733, have been expanded and updated. In 2012 a major landscaping project was completed. A raised platform and viewing platform with new signage and explanation have been installed. Easy to miss without the aid of this guide, is a bronze plaque commemorating Daniel Mendoza (1764-1836) the champion boxer, originally buried in the *Nuevo*. There are several other examples of recent restoration works.

Also listed are street names with Jewish connections such as Synagogue Lane in Cheltenham and Synagogue Place in Exeter. As one would expect most of the plaques indicating former Jewish sites are in the City of London, such as, in Duke's Place, the site of the Great Synagogue EC3 destroyed during the Blitz in 1941.

The Guide also includes helpful information, for example up to date estimated community sizes, such as Liverpool *c.*7,500 in 1976 and 2,100 in 2011, Glasgow *c.*4,830 in 2001, and *c.*3,400 in 2011 and, in the Irish Republic, which peaked after the war at 4,000, the 2011 Census indicated *c.*1,900. For first time visitors, the Heritage Trails around former Jewish quarters are very useful. They include the East End of London, Manchester, Birmingham and Brighton and also guides to the medieval past in Lincoln, Norwich and York. A must see is Clifford's Tower in York, which is a Scheduled Ancient Monument. There is a slate plaque at the bottom of the steps leading to the Tower, which gives a brief description of the massacre in 1190.

The guide shows the effects of the declining Jewish communities, with many cemeteries suffering from neglect and overgrown, headstones broken or unreadable due to the effects of acid rain. Kadish's guide records for future generations the declining physical evidence of the oldest non-conformist community in Britain and as such is an invaluable record. This amended edition, published nine years after the first, shows that the evidence of Jewish Heritage is not static. One hopes that Kadish will be able to update it again in future years. The Jewish past in Britain and Ireland is always changing, but in the meantime this revised guide should be on the book shelves of every Jewish home and all students of Jewish history in Britain and Ireland.

KEN MARKS

Leech, Roger H., *The Town House in Medieval and Early Modern Bristol*, Swindon: English Heritage (2014), xi + 440 pp, many ills; with CD-ROM, £100. ISBN 978-1-84802-053-5.

Superficially, Bristol appears to have suffered so much redevelopment and war damage as to make it an unsatisfactory subject for the study of early town houses. This magnificent book demonstrates the incorrectness of this view. Not only do more than 100 pre-1700 houses survive, but documents and early drawings add greatly to our knowledge of the buildings. Introductory chapters examine the growth of the city and the character of the tenement plots. Their influence on a distinctive urban mentality is seen in concerns about security – doors and locked gates, the granting of easements for gutters and the network of drains that apparently existed. The 14th century saw no less than forty proclamations aimed at curbing annoying and un-neighbourly behaviour.

The next two chapters examine the distinction between *Hallhouse* and *Shophouse*, which the author presents as crucial in understanding medieval and later house plans and lifestyles. The terms are encountered in 1473, in a survey of the property of Canynges Charity, although the concepts were clearly present earlier. The first is identified as a house with an open hall, generally placed behind a storied street range, on one of the typical narrow Bristol burgage plots. Leech follows the decline in the social significance of the hall, from its centrality in the 12th-13th centuries, to its becoming more ceremonial and symbolic, displaying the owner's arms and armour, and perhaps even unheated. Simultaneously parlours, from *c.*1400 and especially from the late 15th century became luxurious (as seen in early inventories). They might hold embroidered chairs, as against stools in the hall. In lesser houses, halls might become workplaces and were sometimes transformed into taverns.

The second type, the *Shophouse*, is a house without a hall, comprising a street-front shop with one or two chambers over it. Such houses, often with no hearths or other signs of heating, have been identified in many English towns and have been dismissed as non-domestic: lock-up shops with storage rooms over. The author challenges this assumption, suggesting that heating was not essential in a town well-equipped with cook-shops and with warmth to be found in taverns. By the end of the 15th century chimneys might be added to such houses, but, even in 1618, an inventory describes a one-room plan house comprising a shop and two storeys of unheated chambers above it. Developing from this type, in the 1670-80s, two rows of buildings are recorded, respectively of four and seven units, comprising street-front shops with single-room living accommodation behind them. A contrasting development by the 1740s saw houses being built specifically for business, rather than domestic, use.

The following chapter traces the complexities of commercial functions. The selds along High Street, named in pre-1350 documents, are identified as subdivided bazaars for particular trades, as they seem too large to be individual stalls. Other distinctive commercial premises include store houses, meat- and fish-stalls and cellars functioning as taverns, sometimes with moulded timber ceiling beams (rather than vaulting). Soap-making, a noxious trade, was banished to outhouses, to reduce fire risk. An intriguing ordinance of 1346 required that looms had to be in sight, in halls or shops, not cellars or solars – presumably to control the quality of the cloth being produced.

Residential houses, without shops or workshops, begin to appear from the 16th century onwards, often with traditional plans; these are well-illustrated in two later 17th century collections of plans (Bodleian Rawlinson D.710 and the *Kings Weston Book of Drawings*). The smallest houses had one room per floor, but, typically, artisan houses had two-room plans. The numerous variations found in larger houses raise the question of whether social norms influenced the choice of plan or the reverse. Leech prefers the former, though perhaps under-weighting the evidence for people of similar social standing living in very different types of house.

A notable chapter examines 'Garden Houses or Lodges'. These were secondary residences, for retreat and seclusion, like the 'comely buildings and pleasant gardens' recorded in 1679 on St Michael's Hill. They were often quite small, sometimes of tower form with flat roofs, and their windows revealed pleasant panoramas over the gardens and the city. Such houses surely cannot be a purely Bristol phenomenon, though they have found little mention in other discussions of urban buildings. Certainly, in towns such as Coventry, prosperous citizens had gardens detached from their main houses in the cramped city centre, but their buildings seem to have been stables and coach-houses rather than alternative dwellings. One factor encouraging them in Bristol, rather than elsewhere, may have been its ability to expand outwards, rather than being constricted by open fields.

The names of rooms and their changing functions are examined in relation to the evolution of domestic space. 17th century surveys and inventories show the characteristic demotion of the hall (already hinted at in the chapter on *Hallhouses*), with its living functions taken up by the parlour, and 'hall' developing its modern meaning. In wealthy houses, visitors might be received there, to be impressed by a magnificent staircase. The position of the kitchen also changed, in accordance with Roger North's advice on smells. Generally, it occupied the rear of a two-room plan house, but larger houses seem to have kept their kitchens in detached rear blocks, until the basement kitchen appeared (the earliest in 1725). Inventories show that servants' rooms were typically in attics and Leech identifies hierarchies of moulding profiles and (from the inventories) of furniture quality, both reflecting the lower status of the occupiers of these rooms.

The final chapters examine the evidence for changing housing patterns as Bristol grew. Medieval great houses were situated close to the river, but otherwise were dispersed among their smaller neighbours. It was not until the 18th century that new elite residential areas appeared. Bristol's links with the Atlantic world played an important part in the economy of the city and Leech suggests that it occasionally exerted direct influence on Caribbean houses, citing the notable example of a house in St Kitts with shaped gables; however, the very different climate and the slave society must have limited the transfer of such ideas.

The volume is completed by a CD-ROM, providing a selective inventory of recorded houses, covering all those dating from before *c.*1700 for which plan and form can be discussed. Disappointingly, although this is clearly a valuable resource, it is very unsatisfactory to use. The texts, illustrations and captions are all in separate files and no contents list is provided, let alone hot-links from

one section to another. Thus, finding a particular building is difficult.

Bristol was for centuries England's second city; its wealth of standing buildings and especially early drawings and documents have allowed Leech to tell a fascinating story of its houses and how its inhabitants lived in them, from the 13th to the 18th century. It can be strongly recommended to everyone with an interest in urban housing.

NAT ALCOCK

McKellar, Elizabeth, *Landscapes of London: The City, The Country and the Suburbs, 1660-1840*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, (2013), 260 pp., 195 ills, £45. ISBN 978-0-300-10913-9.

For many people the suburban history of London is a phenomenon of the 19th and early 20th centuries, its inhabitants typified by Mr Pooter in the Grossmiths' *Diary of a Nobody* (1892). It is the account of the development of places like Holloway, Wembley and Shooters Hill and is as much the story of the expansion of the railways, as it is of house-building. Yet historians of the capital have long recognised that, by the early 17th century, a suburban landscape was emerging as London grew beyond the city walls. Metropolitan life, culture and society went well beyond the City and the immediate suburbs of Hackney, Southwark and Islington, spreading tentacles along trading routes towards the Home Counties, especially in Essex, Hertfordshire, Kent and Surrey.

In *Landscapes of London*, Elizabeth McKellar provides clear and convincing evidence that refutes the often accepted fact that London was just one thing - urban, while outside was rural. An altogether different landscape existed on the edge of the city well before the 19th century, when suburbia became a more accepted concept. It is this landscape (or number of landscapes), that the author explores in its broadest sense in *Landscapes of London*. McKellar uses multiple sources to document the environment and culture of the inhabitants of this new environment that emerged in outer London during the long 18th century. These range from literary descriptions from guidebooks, popular literature, poems and ballad sheets, to images produced by mapmakers, engravers and artists. In addition, plans and architectural drawings illuminate the buildings and topography of the places on the edge. As explained in the preface, it is an examination of 'outer London as a totality - a terrain - of the built and the unbuilt, the man-made and the natural'.

There is much to like about this book. The quality of the reproductions of paintings and prints is a joy (as is usual with Yale publications) and the extensive number chosen by the author enhances the text. Of particular significance are the drawings and etchings of J. B. C. Chatelain and Samuel Hieronymus Grimm, which capture the unplanned developments and semi-rural nature of places like Islington and Fulham in the mid-18th century. No one could fail to be impressed by the 1698 oil painting by Jan Siberechts, *View of a House and its Estate in Belsize*, with its verdant greenery, contrasting with the smoke rising from the chimneys of the city in the distance.

The author's extensive knowledge of the history of mapping London is evident and many examples are reproduced here, with varying degrees of success. Today we are all used to being able to access maps online and to enlarge and zoom in on particular areas of interest. In Chapter 1, *Mapping the Landscapes of London*, some maps are produced at such a small scale that it is frustrating to not really be able to see anything. Overviews are fine, but where we have close-up details, as from John Cary's *Survey of the High Roads from London* published in 1790, they are fascinating. Plate 48 depicts a section of the road leading northwards towards Epping Forest, entitled 'Buckhurst Green and Epping'; between Woodford and Woodford Wells, the road is thronged by named gentlemen's homes. At Woodford Wells there had been a short-lived spa at the beginning of the 18th century and, by mid-century, the houses in Woodford were said to be of brick, several storeys high, well built and some of them handsome. Just twelve years later, over 85% of the houses in the parish were classed as mansions. Many architectural innovations came from the wealthy merchant classes, who by the 18th century had moved out to places such as Woodford and Highgate.

Throughout the book, much use is made of the guidebooks that proliferated in the long 18th century (often written by schoolmasters, according to McKellar) and no doubt all readers will be heading to libraries to look at various titles and editions that were unknown to them. I, for one, want to know more about Daniel Lysons' *Supplement*, written in 1811, which updated his better-known *Environs of London* of 1792-6 and examined the rapid

changes that had occurred in the suburbs in the first decade of the 19th century.

The second half of the book is devoted to what McKellar calls 'Inhabited Landscapes'. Here three fascinating sections - *Landscapes of Pleasure 1660-1790*, *Landscapes of Mobility 1660-1770* and *Landscapes of Selectivity, 1770-1840* - explore how the outer environs were used. The pleasure gardens, spas and resorts of the Londoner are examined, especially those in Marylebone and Hampstead, 'the hill-top retreat'. These spas and resorts were usually within walking distance of the city and were places for the entertainment of residents of London. Although a health-giving element was present, they had as much to do with a pleasurable excursion or a day out. In the 17th century Pepys was a great fan of Barnet Wells, a two-hour coach journey from the city, where he drank the waters and ended up in the 'Great Room' of the Red Lion where he ate 'some of the best cheese-cakes that I had ever eat in my life'. The quintessential urban 18th century phenomenon, the pleasure garden, is examined in relation to Marylebone Gardens, and McKellar tells a fascinating story (depicted on a fan), of the house of Thomas Osborne of Hampstead, where duck-hunting, dancing, tea-drinking and other pursuits took place in 1754.

McKellar then looks in detail at Highgate, the place where she feels it is best to get an idea of one of these outer suburbs and that retains the feel of the early 18th century. Here are numerous early examples of innovative architecture such as Cromwell House (1637-8) and later, other places for the 18th century middle-class commuters, who made it their home. It was a place of roads, inns, carriages and travelers - and as such had a similar feel to Hackney and especially Clapton, which was just a short carriage drive from central London and also accessible by regular public stage-coach. Hackney had a half-hourly service from the Bank of England in 1780 and, by 1795, Clapton had an hourly service of its own.

In *Landscapes of Transition 1790-1840*, the development of the Eyre Estate, with its picturesque setting, the New Road (on the boundary of built-up London), and the creation of Regent's Park are examined. The evolution of the plans for the development of what became Regent's Park make fascinating reading and the choice of accompanying illustrations is well made.

This is a book for those who have a good knowledge of London, the long 18th century and an interest in the well-to-do classes, who sought a semi-rural lifestyle that did not ape the aristocracy in the West End, nor the country pursuits of the rural landowner. The middling sort were more content with tending their gardens than riding to hounds. It is a book that is informative and inspiring, and which makes you wonder what happened in your own favourite outer London suburb.

ANN ROBEY

Michell, George, *Late Temple Architecture in India, 15th to 19th Centuries: Continuities, Revivals, Appropriations, and Innovations*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press (2015), 352 pp., 302 b/w ills and 15 maps, Rs.2,315/£48.99. ISBN 0-19-945467-1.

The temples of India represent one of the great architectural traditions of the world. From the earliest structures dating to the 4th century AD in the north, large numbers of elaborate stone, and occasionally brick, temples were built between the 6th and 13th centuries all across the region. The arrival of Islam in South Asia from the 12th century further enriched the architectural landscape with the construction of tombs, mosques and palaces. The iconoclasm and disruption to Hindu religious practice brought about by sultanate incursions and the establishment of Islamic rule across some of the region in the 13th and 14th centuries might be assumed to have resulted in the gradual termination of the rich traditions of temple architecture. However, as George Michell demonstrates in this original new book, temples continued to be built from the 15th century under the Islamic rule of the sultanates and the subsequent great Mughal Empire and, indeed, during the colonial dominance of the British.

George Michell has been travelling to India for fifty years, visiting sites all over this vast country, research that has resulted in well over forty books: guides, detailed studies of key monuments and sites, introductory surveys, and edited volumes. Though his doctoral research was on a group of early stone Hindu temples dating to the 6th to 8th centuries AD in the Deccan region of south India, much of his later career has addressed the history of architecture – Hindu, Jain and Islamic – of more recent periods, especially in southern India. This new book is the culmination of his extensive travels and research in many parts of South Asia and surveys the Hindu

and Jain temple architecture of India over five centuries from the 15th century to *c.*1900.

Architectural historians have devoted much of their energies in the past century to the origins and early developments of the temple before the arrival of Islam. Despite the wealth of monuments, no single book to date has surveyed the temple architecture of the long 'later' period across the whole of India, sometimes termed 'late medieval' or the Islamic – or in the 19th century 'Muhammadan' – period and the subsequent era of colonial rule. The temples of India first encountered by Europeans in the late 18th and early 19th centuries were appreciated for their grandeur and monumentality. Some antiquarians compared the excavated cave- temples of western India and the temple cities of the far south, with their high walls and soaring pyramidal gateways, to the recently discovered temples of ancient Egypt. However, as aesthetic tastes changed in Victorian Britain and both Hinduism and Indian culture more generally began to be looked upon less favourably, so the temple architecture of more recent centuries began to be denigrated as 'decadent', lacking in originality or just poor quality in comparison with earlier monuments. India was often presented in the 19th century as a culture in decline, the architecture and sculpture degenerating from a 'golden age' in the early centuries AD to its present state. This was made explicit in some early authorities, such as James Fergusson in both his *History of Architecture of All Nations from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (1865) and *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (1876, revised edition 1910). Yet Fergusson did include many 'later' temples in his pioneering survey of Indian architecture and offered many perceptive insights into their design, while at the same time lamenting the seeming decline in the artistic tradition.

The preference for studying the earliest monuments was not only concerned with aesthetics, but also a matter of practicality, for many of the more recently-constructed temples discussed in this book have remained in active worship rather than falling from use. During the tenure of Lord Curzon as Viceroy of India (1899 to 1905), the passing of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act 1904 codified the awkward separation of 'archaeological' from 'religious' sites of historic interest. The archaeologists and historians of the Archaeological Survey of India that had been established in 1861 had only limited access to and authority over the many later temples designated 'religious'. For many scholars writing in the early to mid-20th century, the 'authentic' temples meriting their attention were those built before the arrival of Islam in South Asia. The archaeological sites were also free from later architectural accretions that disturbed the appreciation of the original monument, or indeed the material residues of Hindu worship. Furthermore, the brightly-coloured ornament of living temples in India repelled many architectural historians in a manner similar to the initial discomfort felt by the discoverers of the polychromy of ancient Greek and Roman temples. It was not until the 1980s and '90s that the hybrid character of 'later' Indian temple architecture was seen positively and attracted scholarly interest.

Michell's *Late Temple Architecture* is divided into two sections, in which several initial chapters outline the historical and religious context and the architectural themes and issues to be discussed and are followed by an inventory of key monuments. The historical outline discusses the destruction of many earlier temples in the centuries of disruption brought about by the arrival of Afghan and Turkic peoples from the northwest in the 11th to 13th centuries, and the subsequent spread of the rule of the Sultanate of Delhi across much of India in the 14th century. Some major temples were indeed sacked, damaged and destroyed – especially in north and west India – but the loss of royal or other patronage can account for the gradual neglect of many early Hindu and Jain temples, rather than the violence of 'Muslim iconoclasm'. The Portuguese can make a better claim to have destroyed many Hindu temples in the 16th and 17th centuries, not only in Goa, the capital of Portuguese Asia, but in other port cities such as Madras. For many Hindu and Jain communities, it is the site, not the architectural fabric, that is sacred, resulting in the repeated renovation of their own temples often to the point of the wholesale replacement of an ancient shrine.

The following chapters survey the architecture of this period under three themes: continuities and revivals, appropriations and innovations. These chapters offer a good introduction to the distinctive character and significance of the 15th to 19th centuries for the study of the Indian temple. In many regions later temple architecture is a conscious adaptation or revival of earlier traditions. In South India, the developing conception of the temple as a complex of structures built within a series of concentric enclosures, entered through monumental pyramidal gateways (*gopuras*), came to its fullest fruition in the Tamil cities of Srirangam and Madurai. In the 16th century, this

regional Tamil idea of the temple became more broadly south Indian within the boundaries of the Vijayanagara Empire. In the 19th century the soaring pyramidal *gopura* gateways ornamented with brightly-painted deities were the most visible signs of the Hindu temples built by south Indian communities migrating within the British Empire to Burma, Malaya, Sri Lanka, South Africa and the Caribbean.

Still, among the most interesting early modern Indian temples are those that assimilate aspects of design from the contemporary Islamic architecture of the sultanates and Mughals, or indeed European Neoclassical or Baroque buildings. This is evident in changes in the external ornament: for example, the reduction of figural ornament, the profusion of sculpted images of multi-armed deities and divine beings that animate the surfaces of many medieval temples in favour of plainer surfaces, or architectural rather than sculptural complexity. Or, it is suggested, by the inclusion of domes, arches and more expansive, brighter interiors in contrast to the darker, more enclosed halls and chambers of early trabeate Hindu temples. The changing nature of Hindu worship had a direct impact on temple design and layout in this period. In northern India, new forms of devotion and congregational worship to Krishna resulted in temples with more expansive interiors to accommodate larger numbers of worshippers. Some temples were based upon the design of the *haveli* or north Indian courtyard house, blurring the formerly clear distinction between domestic and religious architecture. In south India in the 16th and 17th centuries the proliferation of public temple festivals resulted in the construction of grand columned halls, stepped water-filled reservoirs or tanks, and even the adaptation of the urban configuration of streets, all designed for the temporary residence and entertainment of deities carried in procession. As Michell makes evident, the centuries under discussion are in many ways the most inventive in the continued manipulation of the earliest languages of temple design developed in the 7th to 12th centuries.

Just over half the book is occupied by an inventory of 300 key monuments arranged into seventeen geographical zones; the temples were selected for their architectural and historical significance, their stylistic qualities and their variety. The temples discussed are primarily Hindu, the majority religion in India, though temples built for the significant Jain minority are also included. The Buddhist monastic architecture of the Indian Himalayas is excluded from the discussion, but the absence from this book of Sikh temples or *gurudwaras* in the northwest Punjab region is a less comprehensible omission. Sikhism emerged as a distinct religion in the period encompassed by this book and, given the paucity of critical histories of Sikh architecture, some discussion would be welcome. The individual descriptive entries on temples are brief and include a single small illustration and, where available, a plan, to convey some understanding of their layout and design. Some areas and specific groups of temples have been subject to critical scholarship and are comparatively well-known to architectural historians of India, such as the 15th to 17th century temples of southern India or indeed the 16th to 18th century brick temples of Bengal. On the other hand, the architecture of some regions, such as Assam in the far northeast, has received little scholarly attention. Many of the temples mentioned do not feature even briefly in any other accessible publication. Few architectural historians have examined any temples – or indeed mosques – from the colonial period as yet, though the Neoclassical, Gothic and 'Indo-Saracenic' public buildings of British India have received significant critical analysis.

One criticism of this book, particularly as it is from a reputable university press, is the poor quality of the thin paper and the inadequate binding, especially given the £49 price-tag. I would recommend interested readers buy a cheaper copy in India, when visiting some of the temples described. The broad scope of the book means that no temple receives detailed attention or analysis; a bibliography at the conclusion of each regional section suggests further readings. Michell's survey of the architectural trends during this period – the continuities, revivals, appropriations and innovations - demonstrate how dynamic and creative the temple architecture of India in the 15th to the 19th centuries was, contrary to the judgements of earlier scholars. It is for the next generation of scholars to build upon George Michell's foundations to critically evaluate many of the temples he discusses, for the 'later' temple architecture of India merits greater critical attention. I am sure he would be delighted if this book was just such a catalyst.

CRISPIN BRANFOOT

Mohsen Mostafavi and Hélène Binet, *Nicholas Hawksmoor London Churches,* Zurich, Lars Mueller Publishers (2015), 179pp., 127 ills, £30. ISBN 978-3-03778-349-8.

Literature on Nicholas Hawksmoor – long dominated by Kerry Downes' pioneering monographs (*Hawksmoor,* Zwemmer, London 1959 and 1979); *Hawksmoor,* Thames & Hudson, London 1969 and 1987) - blossomed with work by Pierre de la Ruffinière du Prey (*Hawksmoor's London Churches,* Chicago and London 2000), on the liturgy and politics that informed his commissions, and by Vaughan Hart (*Nicholas Hawksmoor,* New Haven and London 2002), with research into the collaborations in Wren's Office of the King's Works. The latter has, in several cases, promoted Hawksmoor's cause by establishing his extensive influence and outright authorship, in the essentially collaborative Office under Wren. Both younger scholars have emphasised the extent to which Hawksmoor was excited by recreating elements of legendary monuments of the ancient world and have gone some way to unravelling his highly distinctive accretive approach to design.

Then there has been another school of Hawksmoor publishing. This has avoided the rigours of architectural history and has focused on Hawksmoor as a fictionalised life in early modern London. This school has picked up on the powerful impact of Hawksmoor's built designs and has sought to join the dots between the private, little known individual and his unforgettable buildings by means of speculative imaginings. They have posited sacred geometry from masonic rites; the cosmic alignments of his buildings; and more gravely that Hawksmoor was a necromancer, devil worshipper and spectator of child sacrifice. To all this, so the tale goes, Hawksmoor's career was a veil of respectability masking his allegiances. Such imaginings purport to account, variously, for why his churches seem over-designed for their brief; why they were extensively revised even once building was under way; why the buildings have such a powerful impact that they make many contemporary baroque churches seem lightweight by comparison. The first such musings were in Iain Sinclair's poem *King Lud* (*Lud Heat,* 1971) and the darker notions emerged in Peter Ackroyd's skilful time-shifting novel *Hawksmoor* (1985). They represent not so much a psycho-geographical interpretation of the baroque as a psycho-historical one – and there have been spin-offs and derivatives, from film to pop music. The psycho-historian school of Hawksmoor publishing has captured strands of aesthetic truth about the non-verbal eloquence of Hawksmoor's designs – though the taunting blasphemy of much of this writing leaves one a little queasy.

In both schools – serious scholarship and dark poetics – there are common themes: a low-born man over-shadowed by his well-connected master Wren; then by his flamboyant colleague Vanbrugh; a striver seemingly never satisfied with what he drew; a taciturn and dour figure, if the one contemporary portrait bust is to be believed; and an architect rapidly eclipsed by Burlington and his neo-Palladian smart set. Nevertheless, this once little known English baroque figure has been elevated in little more than five decades to a niche of a prominence reserved for the greatest architects of Europe.

Two authors are cited in the above-the-title credits to the present book: Hélène Binet and Moshen Mostafavi. The material first appeared in the fringe of the 13th Venice Architecture Biennale (I saw it on tour at Somerset House in London); this is the book of the show. Happily, the howlers in the exhibition captions do not reappear here.

Binet has established herself as the photographer of choice for many contemporary architects, who have correctly perceived that outstanding images are crucial to the management of a contemporary architectural reputation. Binet has reliably provided them. I recall my first conscious encounter with her work in a set of 1999 images of the New Art Gallery, Walsall, by Caruso St John. Binet's ravishing photographs helped launch an international reputation from an unvisited West Midlands back lot. A stoical devotee of analogue photography, Binet works exclusively in film and her photos also have the sense of being carefully and patiently researched, especially with respect to changing light and weather, so that her images are experienced as a direct encounter with their subject structures. She is strong in capturing materials and textures, but she is not seduced by them and responds primarily to architectural composition (rather than the composition of the image crop). Binet is therefore the ideal photographer for Hawksmoor's London churches; she clearly enjoys the agglomerative design technique of Hawksmoor, the grain of their Portland stone cladding, the disjunctions of scale the architect loved, the grittiness of their rain streaking and the ample opportunities for shadow-play in such plastic compositions. This book contains a collection of truly beautiful monochrome photos by her.

Then there is the rest of the matter. Newly made drawings are printed in orange reversed out of solid black pages, which challenges the eyes. Plans show modern chair layouts, lighting pillars, access ramps and so on. These badly obstruct an appreciation of Hawksmoor's geometry and hierarchy. Modern townscapes are added, which are nothing like the city layout of Hawksmoor's time, or in some cases that of today either. (So, a Curtis Green bank building is shunted down the road in Spitalfields). At St George's Bloomsbury mansion blocks crowd the church. We know that this site was constrained, hence Hawksmoor's highly idiosyncratic original plan; the original axis has been restored in a recent restoration. At St Mary Woolnoth Edwardian shops are drawn with more emphasis than the 18th century church. There are flagpole stays that read as solid pyramids, and the triumphant lanterns of St Anne's Limehouse and St George in the East are rendered to look like apple corers. Most puzzling are drawings of towers severed from their churches as stand-alone objects. (At the exhibition there were three-dimensional models on plinths, similarly severed).

There is a short essay by Mostafavi which makes little of recent scholarship. This is surprising as the author, formerly of the Architectural Association School, is now Head of Harvard School of Design. Mostafavi claims the drawings in the book represent the churches as '...measure and specification. This is, after all, what architects do'.

For Binet's black and white photography this book should find a place on the shelves of all Hawksmoor enthusiasts - but it should be shelved under 'Photography' rather than 'Architectural History'.

ROLAND JEFFERY

Orbach, Julian and Pevsner, Nikolaus, *Somerset: South and West,* Pevsner Architectural Guides: Buildings of England series, New Haven and London: Yale University Press (2015), xix + 789pp., 127 photographs, 62 text ills and building plans and 7 maps, £35. ISBN 978-0-300-12668-6.

The Pevsner Architectural Guides (hereafter 'the series') are well known to readers. This volume is the reviser, Julian Orbach's, first foray into the Buildings of England, though he is a well-established contributor to the Buildings of Wales. He has expanded and updated Pevsner's 1958 volume, slightly differently entitled *South and West Somerset.* Though it has been reprinted several times, unlike some, such as *Cornwall* (new edition reviewed in Vol. 59, p.152) and *Suffolk* (new two-volume edition reviewed above), there was no intervening light revision. With over half a century having elapsed, there was sore need for a full revision, which Orbach provides. He has been aided in his task by recent research and publication – for example Volumes III to XI of the *Victoria County History for Somerset* have been published since 1974, all covering parishes within this volume, as Orbach handsomely acknowledges both in the Foreword and the Further Reading.

The other revised volume on the county, *Somerset: North and Bristol,* appeared in 2011. It covered the more urban north of the county, including Bristol, Weston and Bath, taking all the cathedrals within it, though Glastonbury falls within the volume under review (it gets eight of the photographs and twenty-four pages, eleven on the Abbey alone). Interestingly, the difference between the two halves or the need for speed of revision meant that different revisers were found for the two parts of the county, with Andrew Foyle, already the author of the City Volume *Bristol,* doing the *North.* The boundaries between the two volumes are also slightly different from those in the 1950s version; the Axe and the A361 now constitutes the boundary line; eighteen entries for places previously covered in the *North* are now to be found in *South and West.* It seems that the updating of the West Country volumes of the series goes ahead apace, because I read Orbach is now busily engaged on revising the *Wiltshire* volume. On the evidence of this work, we can all look forward to that.

The coverage of this southern part of the county is substantially enhanced: 648 pages of Gazetteer (as opposed to 284 pages in the first edition), themselves some 20% larger, as well as a lengthy Introduction, including a bibliographical essay, good Indices and a Glossary, with a welcome and generous allocation of text figures. A general Introduction is followed by the usual essay on geology and building materials (Desmond Donovan and Hugh Prudden). There follows Chris Webster's essay on the Prehistoric and Roman periods; the author provides the rest of the Introduction. As is usual in this series, the Introduction is solid and informative, soundly telling of the county's buildings and their historical context. It would, of

course, be perfectly possible to consult the Gazetteer without reading the Introduction, but the user would lose thereby.

South Somerset, as the Introduction outlines, is quite varied. Down by the Axe we are in the Levels, but the land then rises to meet Devon and Dorset. As a result, historically and architecturally there is a blending. The traditional county boundaries were a great administrative achievement of the Anglo-Saxon Monarchy, but inevitably, in a country as gentle and rolling as Southern England, the difference between one county and its neighbour can be limited. Orbach rightly stresses the role of the Anglo-Saxon Minsters in spreading the English presence in Somerset, even if sadly so little remains from that period, but this was equally true of East Devon and West Dorset to the south. Indeed, the network of small towns, often with a history both of a textile industry and of religious radicalism, stretches across these county borders. Taunton and Lyme were equally held for Parliament, Monmouth's rising attracted support throughout the area, whilst building types and materials equally permeate such divisions - for example the Ham Hill Stone was used across the county boundaries and, of course, is quite wonderful when, as in Ilminster, practically the whole Church is constructed from it.

Industrialisation, including its new building techniques and opportunities, get proper attention in this new revision, but one item that particularly struck this reviewer is in relation to the entry for West Camel – readers may recall, if they ever drive westwards on the A303, seeing a series of buildings to their left, looking rather like truncated aircraft hangars, as they drive past on a single carriageway section. The 1956 edition gave you no assistance on this, but Orbach, in the Introduction, notes that these were 'An unusual experimental council house type... developed... from the wartime Nissen hut... four at West Camel, all in 1925-8, before the design was rejected as more expensive than conventional houses'. These are duly noted in the Gazetteer entry, with a cross reference to the Introduction and are also the subject of one of the new colour photographs; this demonstrates how far this book is a comprehensive architectural survey.

Similarly, the Introduction gives us an account of the railway development of the county, while the individual Gazetteer entries have good accounts of the stations, including those that fell victim to Dr Beeching, but survive as buildings, if not as stations, for example Chard. Canals too receive their rightful due.

Victorian stately homes, never one of Pevsner's enthusiasms, also get good coverage. An example is Knowle Manor (in fact available for rental for events, so access is sometimes possible), at Timberscombe, on the fringes of Exmoor. Indeed, the coverage of stately homes in general is excellent. The account of Barrington Court - a nice example of Ham stone - (perhaps most familiar to readers as the recent setting for the televisation of *Wolf Hall*), not only significantly expands the original account, especially in regard to its refurbishment in the 1920s, but corrects a number of errors therein, including the dating of the house.

What of the perambulations, always a key feature of a Pevsner volume? Let us take the example of Crewkerne, itself an example of those Anglo-Saxon Minster towns that became prosperous from textiles in later years. You have to be a little careful in your architectural attribution when walking round Crewkerne, for the Georgian style was much favoured there and continued to be used rather later than in other places. The account starts as ever with its large parish church, showing the prosperity of the medieval town. A good deal of Pevsner's account is retained, but with additions and corrections. As ever in the series, the account of the medieval ecclesiastical architecture is excellent, but the revision, as well as expanding this account, gives us a full description of later developments; a 1930s stained glass window of the Tree of Jesse is well worth a look. The account of the walk around the town is very full, though one would have liked some mention of an ashlared building in the Egyptian style on the corner of Church Street and Market Street. So a good account of the architectural richness and occasional peculiarities of the town; if you follow this you will have a pleasant, though not lengthy, stroll, followed by plentiful opportunities and time for refreshment.

So we have another fine updating and expansion in the series. There is so much in this revision; not just text, but a broader chronological range, correction of errors and balance. Happily, Orbach seems to have striven to retain Pevsner's words wherever that was a reasonable option. As always, this is a book to be used, as well as consulted. You will want it in your car glove box as you travel the County (alas, it must be highly questionable if any other means of seeing many of the villages and even towns is practicable or even possible). The indices are good and user friendly and the production quality is up to Yale's usual high standards, with one *caveat.* As mentioned in reviews

in Volumes 58 and 59, the computer-generated Index Map on the unnumbered pages following the title page seems ill-designed for a double-page spread and the print too small. This is clearly a design issue. The significantly smaller pages of the 1958 edition had a map of greater clarity than that in this edition. These maps are important; they are the way you navigate around the county, identifying the location of what you want to see. Any weakness in this is a significant issue for users and the editors still need to address this.

GRAHAM KENT

Parissien, Steven, *The English Railway Station*, Swindon, English Heritage (2014), viii + 164 pp., profusely ill., £25 ISBN 978-1-84802-236-2.

This is a superbly illustrated book, with photographs of both stations lost and stations still with us and, indeed, in some cases, such as Bedford, examples both of what has gone and what has replaced it. It is one of a number of books with which English Heritage publications division has recently been illustrating and describing England's recent architectural heritage, especially that of the industrial age (reviews of their books on *Buildings of the Labour Movement* and *Seaside Piers* appeared in Volume 59). As ever, a constraint of being published by English Heritage, as Steven Parissien notes in his Introduction, is that 'its focus has accordingly been kept to England'. In relation to Railway Architecture, at least, this is a somewhat artificial division, though the fact that individual railway companies tended to have their own distinctive architectural style, as this work documents, may mean that there would be a case for a separate study of Scotland and, certainly, of Ireland, with its very different companies and different gauge. In the case of Wales, dominated by the Great Western Railway, any distinctiveness must be more questionable. Arguably, the work lacks a dimension that some comparative analysis would add, for example with continental practices, though Parissien does use his experience and knowledge, shown in his publication record, of American stations to make some fruitful comparison, such as the lack of 'union' stations in England. On the other hand, the brevity of the work leaves little space for such analysis.

This book is of course all the more welcome because of the shortage of works on this theme. The list of Further Reading, to be found on page 159, despite its considerable brevity, misses very little of significance, though one that is missing is Alan A. Jackson's *London Termini*. It is hardly an obscure work, receiving as it did three editions, one of them in paperback. Not included are, of course, a host of works on individual railway companies, but few of these pay much attention to the architecture, being more interested in the construction, locomotives, rolling stock and working practices and so are rightly passed over, as are most general histories, in that list. No mention is made either, equally inevitably, of general architectural works. Pevsner guides are mentioned in passing in the text, though not in that List, but then, although the ongoing revisions give a much better coverage of railway history (see *passim* reviews of these works in earlier volumes), Pevsner himself conceded, when interviewed on television at the completion of his great work, that he had paid insufficient attention to railways.

There are a number of weaknesses, perhaps inevitable in such a short work on such a wide subject. One particular problem, though surely editorial rather than authorial in origin, is that the otherwise helpful and usable Index has no entries for individual railway companies, though the text does address their distinctive architectural styles. So, anyone wishing to look, for example, for the text and photographs of stations of the London and South Western Railway and its successor, the Southern Railway/Region, would find the index of little assistance.

I cannot pass over one major error to be found on page 10, where it is stated, in discussing Liverpool Lime Street, that 'Liverpool [was] the first city with a single central terminus - in contrast to its great Lancashire rival, Manchester, which had three dislocated termini serving different lines', but this was precisely also the case in Liverpool. Parissien has overlooked the existence of both Liverpool Central, terminus of the Cheshire Lines Committee, and Liverpool Exchange, terminus of the Lancashire and Yorkshire. Furthermore, these were not insignificant stations and, regrettably, I have seen this error extracted and given prominence in a lengthy review elsewhere. Moreover, given Parissien's interest in railway hotels, he ought all the more to have spotted this, because the Midland Railway, one of the part owners of the Cheshire Lines Committee, built and operated the Adelphi Hotel. This was certainly at the time Liverpool's

major hotel, where you stayed before catching your Liner from Pierhead; it was in its heyday, surely one of Britain's premier hotels. This also raises another issue; he is harsh on the directors of the London Midland Scottish (LMS) in relation to their management of their hotel estate. In relation to Liverpool, they are criticised for closing the Great North Western Hotel (the public frontage for Liverpool Lime Street Station) in 1933. However, the Adelphi was equally under their domain, as the 1922 grouping brought both the London and North Western and the Midland Railways into the LMS; they may well have felt that the former was surplus to requirements, especially, as even by 1933, eight baths and thirty-seven WCs would seem to be quite inadequate for 200 rooms. Equally, Liverpool Exchange station (no longer standing) was the Lancashire and Yorkshire's second terminus station on the site and it too had a substantial station hotel incorporated into it. If this dwells a little too much on hotels, it is to be noted that they are a significant feature of the book. This is not a criticism, as they often constituted the acme of railway architecture, though Parissien rightly queries if railway architects designed the best in hotels and equally if general architects always appreciated railway needs when designing stations. Moreover, as Parissien notes, the hotels were frequently, though not invariably, incorporated into station buildings. As noted above, though, he does seem to excessively criticise the LMS directors, confronted as they were with an often out of date portfolio of hotels that required rationalisation and modernisation. Indeed, though Morecambe Promenade station gets mentioned, the substantial railway hotel that the LMS built between the wars, at no little expense and effort, opposite that station - the superb Art Deco Midland Hotel - gets no mention.

Though this is an architectural work, Parissien clearly shares, as does this reviewer, the general concern of writers about railways for the massive closures of the Beeching era and beyond. He rightly criticises Beeching and the relevant Minister of Transport, Ernest Marples, casting justifiable doubts on the competence of the former and the integrity of the latter. However, as the book notes, they do not have sole responsibility, so it seems a little unfair to cast these two as the principal villains. Regrettably, other Transport Ministers had the chance to review and change their destructive work and took little or no advantage of that opportunity. It may well be that the Wilson government would not have initiated the Beeching Axe, but it definitely did little to stop it. Finally, on a factual point, it is not true, as is stated on page 113, that Marples never returned to the country, though it is certainly true that he spent the bulk of his last years overseas.

Still, these are lesser points; this is a worthwhile and in many senses pioneering work; the space available to Parissien was limited and the 164 pages include many photographs of fine quality, which illustrate the text in all the meanings of that word. On almost every page there is at least one and some pages are wholly or entirely given over to two photographs, often providing helpful contrasts of differing stations on the same site or the same station at different stages of its evolution. Though Biddle's *Britain's Historic Railway Buildings* will remain the principal source of reference, it is essentially a Gazetteer, whereas this work is a well-written and readable general survey of the subject, with a superbly chosen set of photographs, which both illustrate and enhance the points made in the text. Regrettably, railway enthusiasts, who certainly ought to read this work and would enjoy doing so, may remain unaware of a publication by English Heritage, but if they fail to add this to their libraries, it will be their loss. Indeed, this does lead one to wonder more generally if these fine publications get sufficient attention, though the *Transactions* does its best in that respect.

GRAHAM KENT

Stevenson, Christine, *The City and the King: Architecture and Politics in Restoration London*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press (2013), 401 pp., 152 ills, £45. ISBN 978-0-300-19022-9.

This book throws a fresh and sometimes unexpected light on the architecture of the City of London in the pre- and post-Fire period. Taking architecture and politics as her theme, in a new departure Stevenson shows how the contours of the Square Mile operated as a public space, in which the tensions between Court and City were played out and embodied as architecture. She follows John Onians in considering how buildings might operate as 'bearers of meaning' and sets out to demonstrate why they were thought such an important arena for doing so in the late 17th century (J. Onians, *Bearers of Meaning*, Cambridge 1988). In fact Stevenson's account begins earlier, examining key civic monuments and rituals, such

as the City gates and royal processions in the pre-Restoration period and argues that such structures accrued symbolic value through such ceremonial use. This theme is developed further through an in-depth examination of Charles II's own entry into London. The architectural writer Balthazar Gerbier wrote in 1662 of the processional arches that lined the king's route as a form of *architecture parlant*: 'Nor is it the quantity of Timber or Stone, that speaks love in an Arch; but rather when it is composed of the hearts of Loyal Subjects'. Following this the book traces a chronological line from 1660 to the early 1680s, using a series of case studies to examine the increasing assertion of the monarch's authority in the City, following two decades of Civil War and Parliamentary rule, during which time London had been firmly in the latter camp. How this shift in power was represented in bricks and mortar and to what extent the new London post-1666 can be interpreted in such a way is the theme of this volume.

The earlier chapters on the pre-Restoration and early 1660s era provide a powerful picture of London as a city of movement and spatiality defined by its walls, gates and monuments and the connections made between them by people's passage through and around them. As well as bricks and mortar, ephemeral architecture, particularly the temporary archways thrown up to celebrate coronations and royal progresses, play an important role in Stevenson's account, following the work of early modern scholars who have established the rhetorical significance of festivities in civic culture. In the later chapters on the post-Fire rebuilding Stevenson offers a welcome new analysis of four key structures: Temple Bar, Ludgate, the Royal Exchange and Guildhall Yard. She also posits an interesting re-conceptualisation of the dual inferences of the term 'restoration' in which its political and structural meanings are brought together in the urban context. Much of this more nuanced reading of the architecture of the time and its inception arises from Stevenson's extensive use of contemporary tracts and literature and her informed understanding of such textual sources is one of her great strengths. This is as richly detailed an account as one of the densely woven tapestries or embroideries of the period which those unfamiliar with the topic may find somewhat overwhelming in places. However, it is worth persevering, as such writings provide us with as near a commentary by contemporaries on the architecture of the City at the time as we are every likely to find. Equally, the numerous illustrations, both contemporary prints and photographs (many taken before the bombing of the area in World War II), are used to provide illumination of many small enrichments and quirky elements in otherwise famous buildings.

Stevenson is excellent at applying the microscope to architectural details, just as Robert Hooke designed his Monument as a magnifying machine on a giant scale. This emblematic structure epitomises for Stevenson less the conjunction of architecture and science, as it has been presented by other writers, but rather for her it embodies Hooke's ideas about memory, as well as the centrality of viewing as a means of understanding the city. The last chapter is on 'Prospects: Looking at London', in which the significance of elevation, of surveying London from on high, is used to bring the book to a conclusion. The issue of the role and place of tall buildings in the city will have a particular resonance for modern-day Londoners.

For those wanting an introduction to the pre- and post-Fire City and its architecture this is not the place to start, but, for those who want to build on their knowledge of existing scholarship from the pioneering accounts of T. F. Reddaway (*The Rebuilding of London after the Great Fire*, 1943), J. Summerson (*Georgian London*, 1945) and onwards (E. McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London*, 1999), this work offers an exciting new perspective which politicizes the narrative of the rebuilding of the City. Stevenson, in line with current trends in architectural history, moves away from the traditional focus in urban studies on matters of planning, construction and makers, to tackle issues of the meaning and experience of spaces and buildings and their place in shaping and exemplifying political identities. In presenting and interpreting contemporary responses to the architecture and monuments of the Restoration City, drawn from a wide range of sources, including pamphlets, poems, paintings and treatises, Stevenson has immeasurably enriched our understanding of this crucial period and place in both London's and the nation's history.

ELIZABETH MCKELLAR

Walasek, Helen with contributions by Carlton, Richard, Hadžimuhamedović, Amra, Perry, Valerie and Wik, Tina *Bosnia and the Destruction of Cultural Heritage,* Farnham: Ashgate (2015), 399 pp., 126 ills, 1 map, £80. ISBN 978-1-4094-3704-8.

This remarkable book documents in great detail and for the first time in a single and easily accessible place (although not at a very affordable price), the extent of wartime damage carried out during the last major European war when the systematic destruction of the cultural heritage of the enemy was used as an extension of ethnic cleansing. It is a timely publication, as the self-styled Islamic State shocks the world with its barbaric killings and destruction of cultural heritage and offers some parallels and possibly lessons to be learned. The ethno-religious wars of 1991-5 that followed the breakup of Yugoslavia followed a pattern that has been well described by the Czech historian, Milan Hübl (quoted by Milan Kundera in *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting,* 1980): 'The first step in liquidating a people is to erase its memory. Destroy its books, its culture, its history. Then have somebody write new books, manufacture a new culture, invent a new history. Before long the nation will begin to forget what it is and what it was. The world around it will forget even faster.'

The opening shots, the bombardment of Dubrovnik in October 1991, were televised throughout the world, as was the destruction of the National Library in Sarajevo and the 16th century bridge at Mostar, all of which events assumed a sort of iconic significance. Although attacks on cultural property were widespread in the region (and were to be again, in Kosovo in the late 1990s and Macedonia in 2001-4), the bulk of destruction took place in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1991-2, but remained largely hidden from, or rather overlooked by, an international community for so long uncertain as to how to intervene at all. It is the massive scale of systematic destruction and the ineffectiveness of the international response that this book sets out to present. Of 582 listed monuments, 92 (16%) were destroyed and 246 (42%) damaged. Of 1,701 mosques—under-represented on the lists of protected monuments—832 were destroyed and 348 badly damaged. The figures for Roman Catholic churches were 188 destroyed and 392 damaged and, for Orthodox churches, 121 destroyed and 169 damaged. It is sobering to remember that, alongside such enormous damage to cultural monuments and not mentioned here, 60% of Bosnia's housing stock was damaged and 18% totally destroyed.

The chilling feature about this destruction is that, in the main, it took place well away from the fronts and active military operations. In Banja Luka, 'where there were no hostilities at any time', the Bosnian Serb authorities masterminded the demolition of fifteen mosques, some of them dating from the 16th century and of outstanding architectural importance. All buildings that represented Islamic culture, including private houses considered to be of Turkish character, baths (*hamams*), schools (*medressas*) and hostels (*hans*) were targeted. Throughout the country, mosques, especially, were mined by military units (although the authorities blamed Muslim extremists) and the sites deliberately degraded, often converted into parking lots; the debris was variously tipped into rivers, buried in municipal dumps or toppled onto mass graves. Roman Catholic churches were also burned, over half in the diocese of Banja Luka being totally destroyed. In the short-lived and illegal Croat Herceg-Bosna republic, the Orthodox church in the historic town of Stolac was the first building representing the culture of the 'other' to go, followed by thirty-three Islamic monuments, some dating from the 16th century, cleared in such a way that it 'became a town without a centre which no longer had the nature of being a place' (pp. 262-3). Resistance to rebuilding or restoring monuments remained strong long after the war: responding to the High Representative's request to facilitate the reconstruction of mosques in Banja Luka, the mayor dismissed them as being monuments to 'the cruel Turkish occupation' and said that to rebuild them would be 'the blackest humiliation' to the Bosnian Serb people' (p.235). Such sentiments were (and still are) widespread.

Access to destroyed religious sites remained dangerous for many years after the war, although intrepid journalists, including some from the region, notably from the Croat-based *Feral Tribune,* ensured stories got through, but it remained difficult to quantify and verify the true scale of the loss overall. Commentators writing before it became possible to assess the damage with any precision, tended to fall into the easy habit of assuming that damage was indiscriminate on all sides, 'a pattern of mutual destruction'. This book sets out to put the record straight. A central assertion is that the multi-ethnic nature of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where people of different cultures rubbed along, was poorly understood in the west. This 'negative framing'—the assumption that there was no such

thing as a Bosnian identity; the failure to appreciate the nationalistic imperatives that were driving the Bosnian Serbs and Croats (even though, in reality, this was widely recognized in the western media at the time); and a significant degree of Islamophobia—tended (it is argued) to obscure the fact that the Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims) were the victims of a systematic assault designed to eliminate their identity. Yet it is here that the book's conclusions need to be treated with some caution. The statistics are clear enough, derived as they are from independent sources such as the International Court of Justice, the reports of the European Community Monitoring Mission, the Office of the High Representative and so forth: scrupulously presented and referenced (the bibliography extends to over thirty pages), they confirm that damage to the cultural heritage was overwhelmingly the result of Serb and Croat action. The weakness of the book is more a matter of tone than of substance. Underlying its thesis is a model of the ideal Bosnia. Targeting cultural monuments, like ethnic cleansing, would be 'an attack on the sense of Bosnia as cultural and state entity' (p.183); elsewhere we are told that although they committed 'grave breaches' of the Geneva Conventions, Bosnian forces 'did not have a policy of ethnic cleansing and did not carry out such operations' (p.6): but it remains the case that over 28% of damage to Christian places of worship was inflicted by 'the multi-ethnic but Muslim-dominated army'—was it all collateral damage? Nor, in a book of nearly 400 pages, do we get many insights into how military and political leaders developed their theories of so-called 'cultural genocide': hardly any of the many recent studies of the war and the post-war settlement are cited that throw light on the motivations of these men (and almost all of them were men), their erratic and frustrated careers, and the *ad hoc* nature of the military outfits they ran—men for whom the Hague Convention was not in the forefront of their mind nor, in peacetime, the niceties of the planning legislation that international bodies were urging them to adopt. The authors were all deeply involved in the post-war reconstruction of Bosnia and the experience has understandably seared them. Even though the evidence largely bears them out, the impassioned tone creates an impression of partiality that sometimes reduces the impact of the argument.

The book raises important issues about the international response to the destruction of cultural heritage. The French politician, Jacques Baumel, himself a veteran of the Resistance, noted in 1992 the 'continual intergovernmental reticence' regarding the 'cultural catastrophe in the heart of Europe', despite the evidence collected by the UNHCR and others, that the Hague Convention was not working. He urged that human suffering should not be used as a sort of shield to justify lack of action on the heritage front, a pre-echo of the current discomfort some feel about raising heritage issues while people are being killed in Syria and Iraq. Potential donors also felt reluctant to contribute to the rebuilding of places of worship because it might be construed as favouring one side over another. Others, both Christian and Muslim had no such scruples: plenty of Islamic aid went into the reconstruction of mosques, often in a style that was wholly alien to Bosnian traditions; some rebuilt churches doubled in size. Iconic, 'neutral' monuments such as the Mostar Bridge swallowed up a disproportionate amount of foreign aid. The destruction of distinctive vernacular buildings went almost un-noticed: where they were rebuilt with foreign aid, it was often with inappropriate materials and on an insensitive scale. Sometimes, international bodies, working within a spirit of democratic dialogue and perhaps suffering also from a form of Balkan fatigue, tended to favour compromise over principle. A large EU Enlargement Fund grant to restore primarily Islamic monuments in Stolac, intended to foster reconciliation and attract returnees to the town, met with hard resistance on the part of the local political leaders; in the end, with the agreement of both parties, the funds were diverted to other causes, not in themselves bad ones—the medieval (largely pre-Ottoman) castle, various mills and bridges, and one 18th-century Turkish-style house chosen more for the fact that it housed the works of Branko Ŝotra, a Stolac-born artist who specialized in ikon painting.

Above all, despite the post-war priority to forge a multi-ethnic state, the Dayton Agreement (the treaty that brought the war to a close) created a situation where ethnic exclusivism would be fossilized. Dayton is a great rarity among international peace treaties in that it imposed requirements about the safeguarding and management of cultural heritage (Annex 8), which was closely associated with issues of reconciliation and the rights of returnees (Annex 7)—the one being seen as an indispensable component of the other. It set up a state-level Commission to Preserve National Monuments, in a state structure where most functions operated at entity level, responsible for compiling lists of protected monuments and

contingent planning constraints. (I should declare here that I am a member of the Commission.) The chink in the armour of Annex 8 was that eligibility for designation required a monument to be 'of great importance to a *group of people with common cultural, historic, religious or ethnic heritage*' (my emphasis)—that is, not necessarily to the citizenry as a whole. In the spirit of this requirement, the Commission was required to respond to petitions from the public (rather than embark on systematic programmes of survey, for instance of threatened buildings). The status of the Commission is highly contested: the state authorities have for some years failed to appoint new commissioners—but it still struggles on; other state-level bodies, such as the National Museum and the National Gallery, have been forced to close. It is this culpable political inertia that is most likely to lead to the demise at least of this part of Dayton.

Finally, the book addresses one of the issues that lies at the heart of the debate about cultural heritage and the sense of place: the extent to which the reconstruction of buildings that were part of a community's sense of identity is a pre-requisite for reconciliation and the return of displaced people. The authors provide some circumstantial evidence that this might have been so in some cases, but 'in the short term at least, there is little evidence to support the assertion that reconstruction of the cultural heritage led the way towards reconciliation'. Yet it is the longer term that matters. The destruction of cultural heritage in itself does not fall within the definition of 'genocide' in the Genocide Convention, a position necessarily maintained by the Courts, but they recognize it as an act of persecution, and, increasingly, it is seen, by the Human Rights Committee of the UN and the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, for instance, as a crime against humanity.

This raises various issues. One touches on the question of authenticity, a notion that is central to conservation theory, but slippery in practice. The Paris Declaration and Venice Charter both adopt a purist stance that has come under fire from several directions, not least in response to the systematic destruction of cultural heritage in the Balkans in the 1990s. The current Council of Europe and EU heritage regeneration initiatives in South East Europe (under the Ljubljana Process banner) have encouraged the high-quality reconstruction of certain maliciously destroyed monuments as being crucial to reconciliation, to re-creating a once-cherished environment to which displaced people will be encouraged to return, a development, even so, that some have considered to be an unacceptable assault on heritage doctrine. (For this, see Bold, J. and Pickard, R. (2013), 'Reconstructing Europe: the Need for Guidelines', *The Historic Environment Policy & Practice*, 4/2).

The fact that the book under review found little connection *in the short term* between reconstruction of the cultural heritage and reconciliation might at first appear to lend weight to the conventional viewpoint regarding authenticity. Yet a response to the loss of a cultural monument, however close to the heart of an individual's or community's sense of identity, may not be immediate. Several studies have shown that other solidarities, such as family, are more binding during periods of acute upheaval and distress. Reclaiming the connection with place as a part of the process of restoring identities appears to be a secondary stage of what is in effect a form of grieving. This places a massive responsibility on national and international agencies to intervene quickly to protect fractured monuments from further deterioration—much that was war-damaged in Bosnia was lost through lack of emergency repair and stabilization. If lost, reconstruction might be the fairest and most humane course of action. Two quotations from the book under review make the point: one from a Bosnian Croat militiaman—'It is not enough to cleanse Mostar of the Muslims, the relics must also be destroyed'—the other from an old inhabitant of Stolac who, when the minaret of the Čaršija mosque was re-erected said, 'Now I feel I am at home' (pp. 57, 275). Furthermore, the view that the long-term rehabilitation of historic places needs to be managed in partnership with local communities is widely built into conservation management and this is best served if investment in cultural heritage can be seen as contributing to greater prosperity and enhancing the quality of life. It is striking how few aid packages for monuments built any economic dividend into their heritage projects: 'the international aid community did not know how to situate heritage in the broader scheme of things in Bosnia'; the work carried out by York University's Post-war Reconstruction and Development Unit at Počitelj and the revitalization of Jajce under the auspices of Cultural Heritage without Borders remain notable exceptions. The EU and the Council of Europe have for some years placed heritage regeneration at the heart of their work in South East Europe. For Bosnia and Herzegovina, which has the lowest ratio of protected buildings to head of population

and the smallest area of protected landscapes in the region, this will require a different kind of 'war'—on political paralysis, corruption and obstruction of the planning system.

MARTIN CHERRY

Whyte, William, *Redbrick: a social and architectural history of Britain's civic universities*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (2015), 389 pp., 50 ills, £65. ISBN: 978-0-19-871612-9.

William Whyte tells a good story and the curious characters behind many of our most prestigious centres of academic learning provide him with excellent material. This is a book dominated not by architecture, but by visionaries like Charles Kelsall, an advocate of church reform and Greek independence, Charles Inglis, an American loyalist, who secured funding from the British government for a college at Windsor, Nova Scotia, and the 5th Earl of Guildford, a philhellene Orthodox convert who founded an academy on Corfu. A feature of the breakaway American colonies was the large number of colleges founded to give its young men a foundation in law, theology and even science and the early 19th century saw the foundation of three more colleges in Canada and the beginning of higher education in Australia and elsewhere. Britain itself lagged behind: there were four small foundations in Scotland, but England had only Oxford and Cambridge, open solely to communicants of the Church of England and, despite reforms in the 1790s, only Anglicans could win prizes or hold office at Trinity College, Dublin. The French Revolution brought many Roman Catholic priests to Britain, leading to the foundation of schools like Oscott and Ampleforth and, in Ireland, to the foundation of Maynooth College, which even secured a £10,000 government grant. The re-emergence of the old universities across Europe after 1815 only highlighted Britain's limitations elsewhere, raising demands for an end to religious exclusions and a widening of the curriculum. However, whereas the British government found itself obliged to support Maynooth, a non-denominational Academic Institution in Belfast and the Anglican St David's College, Lampeter, it was much less generous in England. The first new university for 250 years was founded and funded by the Bishop of Durham in 1832, although it soon expanded from theological training to pioneer courses in civil engineering and sciences.

Other new institutions were forced to be more experimental in their funding. University College London was a non-denominational college founded by a joint stock company in 1828, which prompted High Church Tories to found their own King's College in 1831. Catholic Emancipation in 1829 cut away much of the latter's purpose and, while King's built a large chapel, in practice both colleges were open to all-comers and some of King's courses were more innovative than those at UCL. The London colleges survived on the fortunes of the secondary schools and teaching hospitals they established, but they had one lasting bearing on the development of higher education elsewhere, with the foundation of an umbrella University of London, whose examinations were open to anyone in the world. New foundations thereafter had a safe framework on which to base themselves until they were ready to demand their own charters. Slowly the provincial cities asserted their growing might by opening colleges, initially failing at Birmingham, but succeeding at Manchester, where John Owens left his fortune in 1845 to establish an institution to instruct young men in the 'learning and science' subjects taught at Oxford and Cambridge. Here was the model of a new kind of establishment and, as colleges followed in Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, Bristol and Dundee, so they began to assume a common form, big institutional buildings that contained halls, lecture theatres and tutorial rooms in a single imposing block or quadrangle and teaching substantial numbers of women as well as men. Taking the Oxbridge ideal, the campus of individual buildings evolved from Princeton to Berkeley, California, whose imposing Gothic towers were re-exported to Birmingham and Bristol, thanks to the munificence of Sir Joseph Chamberlain and the Wills family of cigarette makers. Jesse Boot endowed a picturesquely classical version at Nottingham in the 1920s. By 1900, Manchester could claim better laboratories than Cambridge and the older institutions spent much of the 20th century catching up.

Whyte's strength is social history and anecdote, for he has read round his subject comprehensively and visited many archives. The difficulties with the book arrive in its second half; once the Redbrick institutions of his title have been built, and particularly after 1943, when Edgar Allison Peers, a.k.a. Bruce Truscot, christened

them, through an examination of the provincial universities based on his own experience of teaching at Alfred Waterhouse's liverish complex at Liverpool, *Red Brick University*, as surprising a wartime best-seller as *The County of London Plan*. Whyte's anecdotes continue, but the lack of sense of what the buildings looked like or how they were planned becomes genuinely confusing, even to those of us who know them. Whyte makes much, in his preface and introduction, that nobody has written a book on the architecture of the civic universities. This remains true, for Whyte studiously avoids architectural discussion.

From the 1950s the problem worsens. Whyte throws the book open to the new universities established by the government, the former colleges of technology aggrandised after 1963, and his last sections concentrate almost entirely on the polytechnics ennobled in 1992, with a heavy debt to John Carslake and contemporary academics and administrators from the late 1990s. He makes the pertinent comment that the later universities followed the form of the 'Redbrick' institutions, although the most ambitious like Sussex and York truly aped Oxford and Cambridge and gained their own epithet, as 'plate-glass universities'; much closer to Redbrick's tight, mixed-use complex set behind a grand façade is the latest wholly new campus at Lincoln. Whyte has spent a decade writing this book, but along the way it has turned into a history of university management, yet there are several of those already. If you want to know what staff and students thought of their experience there, their funding and rag weeks, then read happily on; if you want to know why the buildings are as they are, look elsewhere.

ELAIN HARWOOD