

Book Reviews

Adshead, David and Taylor, David (ed), *Hardwick Hall – A Great Old Castle of Romance*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art and the National Trust (2016), 380 pp., 342 ills, £75.00. ISBN 978-0-300-21890-9.

It is a truism, too seldom challenged, in contemporary marketing (and counselling) that we need a narrative – that we are on a journey. Revisiting Hardwick in 2016, the narrative had taken precedence over the architecture. That ‘huge and splendid bulk... more window than wall, one of the most famous Elizabethan houses’ (D.H. Lawrence on ‘Chadwick Hall’, *Lady Chatterley’s Lover*, 1928, quoted by Oliver Garnett in this book), had become the mere backdrop for the story of our ‘Lost Queen’, Lady Arbella Stuart, granddaughter of the builder of the house Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury (Bess of Hardwick). So visitors were directed and could not double-back or divert from the prescribed route if something was missed, but had to go back to the beginning, where the relentlessly upbeat Keeper of the Snakes and Ladders board welcomed them for the second time and asked in the manner of Her Majesty whether they had come far: ‘only from the High Great Chamber’.

Yet now, just when one might reasonably have thought that the National Trust had lost the plot entirely, it has produced a major monograph in association with Yale U.P. and the Paul Mellon Centre on a house which, more than most, is fully deserving of the treatment. Visitors, armed with this sumptuous volume, will be left in no doubt of the architectural and artistic significance of Hardwick Hall, even if they do not fully appreciate it until they arrive home and put it on the lectern. As David Adshead states in his Introduction: ‘it is an icon of Elizabethan architecture and decoration. Its form is unique, much of its original decoration survives intact, and its collections are considered as being among the most important and most completely preserved in any great house of the period’. So a team of experts has been marshalled to describe and discuss the genesis of the design, the architectural achievement, iconography, tapestries, portraits, furniture, embroidery and needlework,

the household, almshouses and monument, the furniture again, libraries, the architecture again, the tapestries again, the gardens and park, the later pictures, the 6th Duke, beds and canopies, the transition to the National Trust and views of Hardwick through ‘The Fogs of Time’. This last is a sort of critical reception including literal views (from Joseph Nash’s *The Mansions of England in the Olden Time*, 1840, to John Piper a century later), and visitors’ remarks – the first guidebook (*Handbook of Chatsworth and Hardwick*) was written by the 6th Duke, who privately printed only twenty-five copies.

Just when we think that there is nothing more to be said, we have a welcome Afterword from the doyen of specialists in Elizabethan architecture and the work of Robert Smythson, Mark Girouard. Then there are Appendices on the archive, the evidence house, traditional elements in the design, picture frames, metalwork, a porcelain ewer and carpets. Only after all this do we arrive at the plans and sections and the family tree. There are twenty-one authors, twenty chapters, Introduction and Afterword, with seven Appendices. The obvious advantage in this sort of endeavour is that the individual chapters may be reliably considered to be authoritative; the difficulty lies in getting any sense of the whole when the parts of that whole are so fragmentarily treated, by period, rather than grouped by type (buildings, tapestries, pictures, furniture). This volume provides a superabundance of Authoritative Notes towards the Definition of Hardwick Hall, material enough and more for a single-author overview that one hopes one of the assembled company might be persuaded to attempt.

Still perhaps it is unfair to criticise a book for what it is not. There are many important findings and insights here, illuminating the history in a comprehensive treatment of the house and its occupants (not always fully in use, which is one reason for its survival intact) from Bess of Hardwick to the National Trust. Bess’s self-invention and self-promotion in the court of Elizabeth I is well described, although the Queen, notwithstanding the fact that her bed was made up ready for use during a royal progress, did not visit – there is a rich portrait of her instead of c.1599, described here by David Taylor, who suggests

that the iconographical message of the portrait acknowledges the monarch's superior status. True enough, but the single 'ER' on the back of the chair of state in the painting is far outnumbered by the 'ES' monograms which proliferate on the parapets and throughout the rest of the house in confirmation and celebration of ownership. In his chapter on Sources and Iconography, Anthony Wells-Cole notes the monograms and the role of prints (as sources for overmantels) in Bess's self-fashioning as 'an archetypal Renaissance prince, all the more remarkable at the time for being a woman'. Prince Charles was the first royal visitor, in 1619, to be received by Bess's son William: King James stayed in Derby.

Fifteen sets of tapestries, totalling seventy-eight individual hangings, were recorded in the inventory of 1601 drawn up to accompany Bess's will (she died in 1608). Some have now disappeared, others have been moved, later hangings have been added. Helen Wyld here reconstructs the original collection, taking us on the route through the house in which the decoration underlined the moral worldview of the patron. Ninety-seven pictures were recorded in the same inventory, sixty-seven of which were portraits which for Taylor 'served to support and further [Bess's] dynastic ambitions rather than reflect any personal taste in painting', recording her lineage and 'mindful of all future possibilities for her children and grandchildren' (including the aforementioned Arbella): she 'understood the power of visually presenting her loyalty to a monarchical system and a monarch whom she knew well'. The 16th century furniture – the 'sea dog' table, the 'Du Cerceau' cabinet, the Eglantine table, the inlaid tables – all of the greatest rarity, are described here by Simon Swynfen Jervis in a detective story tracing the evidence for the movement of objects between three neighbouring houses. Bess's first building, the nearby Old Hall (incorporating a medieval manor house), was built in 1587-92, only a few years before the New Hall, for which foundations had been dug in 1590, was completed in 1598. Chatsworth, the seat of the Cavendish family into which Bess had married (Sir William was the second of her four husbands) was only a few miles away. Chatsworth would in due course devolve to her oldest son Henry, her second son William inheriting Hardwick and her third son Charles later rebuilding at Bolsover.

For Nicholas Cooper and Ben Cowell, in their account of the later years of the house and its transfer to the National Trust in 1958 – a story continued by Adshead and Matthew Hirst in

an absorbing account of the process of transfer – 'the story of Hardwick has been the story of the successful management of change'. It is a complex story. This later history includes consideration of the risks to it during the Second World War, standing on an eminence in the middle of an industrial area subject to bombing raids – as D.H. Lawrence had earlier noted: 'out of date, passed over... God alone knows where the future lies'. It is left to Mark Girouard in 'Hardwick Memories' to reprise some of the themes adumbrated in *Enthusiasms* (2011), which includes his earlier memoir of 'Aunt Evie' (Evelyn, the Dowager Duchess of Devonshire) with whom he stayed regularly almost up to the time of her death in 1960 – 'The house to which I came... was still Bess's Hardwick: black, battered and patched, but still the actual stonework that her masons had quarried from the hillside... Now just the sight of its floor plans, with all that they say of movement inside them, and their combination of intricacy within order, and intricacy changing to simplicity and the rooms growing fewer and grander as the house moves up, gives me a lift of the heart'. It was here that Girouard the young architectural historian, studying for a PhD, poring over the Hardwick account books brought home from Chatsworth by Aunt Evie for the purpose, came in a Eureka moment upon Bess's suggestive, but tantalisingly unspecific payment to the Smythsons, the 'surveyour' Robert and his son John, in 1597. The rest is architectural history.

Thus to the architecture of the Old and New Halls at Hardwick. Nicholas Cooper, a prime mover in ensuring this publication, deals with both in an exemplary manner, clearly elucidating the genesis of each and the similarities and crucial differences between the two: 'the new Hall's organisation can be seen, in important respects, as a rationalisation of the improvised and accretive layout of the Old'. Both houses have a hitherto unprecedented transverse hall and 'the hierarchical and functional divisions that appear in the Old Hall would be repeated in their essentials in the New'. Cooper speculates on Bess's motives for having two houses close in proximity and date – accommodating her son, making provision for a royal visit – but they 'cannot be known for certain'. He goes on to show that the New Hall's plan is functional in form and layout, but strikingly unorthodox. There is a caveat – 'practicality is, to a degree, sacrificed to a formal aesthetic'. Cooper situates the house in the context of the evolution in Smythson's designs, notably Wollaton and the architect's drawings of house

plans. As an experienced investigator of building fabric he is alert to structure, showing how the roof is supported by a huge masonry arch, which carries the load over the void created by the interruption of the spine wall by the two storey Hall. Much of the thrill of Hardwick, as Girouard suggests in his comment on the floor plans and Cooper describes in his brilliant analysis of the staircase ('exceptional in its scale and in its form'), lies in the way in which one moves through the house: 'Hardwick's principal stair is among the most dramatic in any contemporary interior, as it rises from shade and complexity into openness and light'. It is precisely this experience of movement that is lost when marketing departments, rather than architectural historians, prescribe and proscribe routes. Although clear floor plans and sections of the house are provided at the back of the book (would a fold-out have been prohibitively expensive?), the sense of movement and ascent would have been enhanced for the reader, particularly the armchair visitor to the house, by an axonometric or cut-away drawing showing how the stair winds its way upwards – it is difficult from 2D drawings alone to gain an impression of the magnificence of the stately ascent.

Cooper is an excellent guide to the house, balancing documentation with observation and analysis: how the house was organised, floor by floor, informed by his great knowledge of what constituted the norm in both design and practice, so able to point out variations. The question of the responsibility for the realisation of the design is a case in point. Cooper has recorded and drawn twelve different mouldings on thirty-one jambs of door and fireplace surrounds (shown in an Appendix) and finding no obvious correlation between mouldings and masons' marks is able to conclude that although responsibility for decisions about detail probably lay with master workmen, variations in the price of lengths of mouldings would probably have required recourse to a higher authority for authorisation, possibly Bess herself, since she took a keen interest in the building and its cost, rather than 'the most original architect of the age'. There is no evidence that Smythson took any part in the supervision of the works – it would have been unusual for an architect at this time to have done so. Overall responsibility for the day-to-day possibly lay with John Balehouse, long employed by Bess at Chatsworth. Smythson however was responsible for the plan and it is here that Cooper has made his most significant and exciting discovery, which he rather remarkably

makes easy to miss. After a discussion of continental sources for the layout, citing precedents for it in Du Cerceau, Serlio and Palladio, he concludes that the centralising plan, matching façades, angle pavilions, colonnade and central hall occur in so many designs that it is probably wrong to look for specific models, but then, in no more than 200 words, he points out that, notwithstanding the centralising and double symmetries of continental plans, the elevations of Hardwick New Hall 'perpetuated modes of bay articulation, the projections, recessions and verticality that had characterised the late Gothic in England... [and] Furthermore, the way in which Smythson organised these elements was not arbitrary, nor based on Renaissance proportional systems, but was founded on a set of interrelated Pythagorean figures and ratios of a kind that had long been employed in the design of major buildings [in England]', so indicating that the architect 'was deeply versed in the traditional practices of the master mason'.

So in respect of geometry, we should not look to Hardwick for any long-sought evolutionary precursor to Inigo Jones. The early modern transition in design methods has generally been approached by way of style, but this finding suggests that we may have been looking in the wrong place, or at least suggests that there is more than one place in which to look to find what else may underlie stylistic approaches. Cooper's findings are detailed in the Appendix, along with his wholly traditional mouldings and masons' marks. Following a tutorial with Professor Peter Kidson, warmly acknowledged, Cooper has established the geometrical principles on which the plan was based and goes on to show that the proportions (and height) of the elevations derive from those of the plan, Smythson employing long-established formulae based on Pythagorean geometry which perhaps originated in the mathematics used for setting out squares on the ground (an endnote here appears to have been promised in vain). A laser survey has enabled an analysis of how this works and it is great fun for all would-be geometers to get out the dividers and follow Cooper's reasoning, although inexplicably there is no scale bar. There are also errors in the notation on the graphics which makes things harder to follow: Diagonal AC is not a diagonal, it should be AD and the 100 ft length should be AC. The Hall PQSR is not lettered and the elevations should be the width of Rectangle 3 not 2. So there are slips between cup and lip in the relating of text to graphics. This is not a major impediment, but

it is regrettable that, even though time and space may have been constrained, more was not made of the principles of the proportional system and the significance of the findings within the body of the text, perhaps with more counter-factual discussion included in the Appendix: how different would Hardwick have appeared, if at all, if Smythson had based his design on harmonic, geometrical or arithmetical proportions as described by Wittkower (*Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, 1949)?

This is a richly absorbing book about one of the finest houses in the country. It represents a tremendous achievement by all concerned. It is very well edited by Adshead and Taylor, well-illustrated and well presented by Yale U.P. (with the endnotes usefully placed at the end of each chapter rather than at the end of the book). It is not however a book for cover-to-cover reading. It is too fragmented and too densely written for that. It should be treated rather as an unusually lavish learned journal in which (unusually for such a journal) all the essays are valuable and rewarding, many offering insights within their subject areas which may be applicable to other times and situations. The National Trust is to be commended and we might hope that the marketing and education departments take due and careful note of what this excellent compilation offers in content and approach when it comes to reconsidering the presentation of Hardwick New Hall itself: this review has barely scratched the surface.

JOHN BOLD

Franklin, Geraint, *Howell Killick Partridge & Amis*, Swindon: Historic England (2017), 218 pp, 142 ills, £25. ISBN 978-1-84802-275-1.

This book is the most recent in the series of modestly sized monographs on 'Twentieth Century Architects', originating in 2009 as the product of collaboration between English Heritage (now Historic England), the Twentieth Century Society and RIBA Publishing. John Allan's generous review of earlier volumes in the series was published in *The Journal of Architecture*, 15, 6 (2010). Howell Killick Partridge and Amis (HKPA, 1950–92) typify the architects selected as deserving of more attention now, when at the height of their success they were well-known for major projects—in HKPA's case

at Oxford and Cambridge universities. 'Learning elsewhere' as the prerogative tone of one chapter heading has it, beyond Oxbridge they were responsible for a range of projects including several theatres and the Young Vic. Their later work, major institutional and infrastructural buildings, attracted less public attention: literally 'overlooked' in the case of the Regents Park Open Air Theatre or, less likely, appreciated by habitués of crown courts or the notorious Belmarsh Prison. As the author Geraint Franklin notes, this represented a move from 'enlightenment to enforcement' (paraphrasing Martin Pawley)—a view more generally suggestive of the move from a form of structural rationalism, within the ambit of the modern movement, to one that on occasion affected a mannered aestheticism.

There is a general perception that HKPA's most sophisticated work was produced in Cambridge during the 1960s: the University Graduate Centre and interventions at Darwin and Downing Colleges (as also in Oxford at St Anthony's College). Consequently, we have their respectable position in the annals of second phase post-war modern architecture in Britain (loosely associated with Brutalism), which correlates with this heritage monograph's representation of their work—its blue tinted cover suggestive of a conservative brand. In this account, HKPA are viewed as pragmatists, typical of their generation, whose self-possessed 'maverick' eclecticism clouded their explicit debt to 19th century structural rationalism. Viollet-le-Duc is not mentioned, nor is Frampton's seminal *Studies in Tectonic Culture*. Reference to history (or theory) is primarily limited to the partners' 'tastes' or those of their colleagues and peers. Franklin notes 'their strongest affinities lay closer to home' than the eclectic range of influences they identified from abroad (among which Kahn, Breuer, and BBPR stand out). Despite obligatory mention of modern 'masters', there is no reference to contemporary German expressionism (Hans Scharoun or Gottfried Böhm for example), whose idiosyncrasies surely resonate with the contradictory formal language of the shortlisted Churchill College competition entry of 1959. This was the precursor, as Franklin plausibly argues, for much of what followed at other Oxford and Cambridge colleges.

Aside from wider issues, the book contains useful inventories, referencing each building and project and including 'further reading' lists (confined to texts on and by the architects). In contrast to this impartial information, the emphasis of the main text is directly personal

and biographical, initially focused on each of the partners in turn. This approach merges with later accounts of the architects' networking, contacts and mentors (like Leslie Martin), and their relationship with clients, friends, colleagues and consultants in acquiring work and during the design development of individual projects. Their formative background was generally similar: public or grammar school, RAF or Fleet Air Arm, Cambridge and/or the AA, and working for the LCC at Roehampton (though Partridge seemingly was more 'grounded').

Catherine Croft bills the series as a set of enjoyable and accessible 'introductions', but to what audience are these 'stories' directed, in giving a 'flavour' of the mores and formative experiences of a certain class of post-war professional, their families, their houses and their practice? To architects, historians of the post-war period, students or interested outsiders? The book overall offers 'something' to them all, but lacks the architectural or historical insights of an introductory critical essay.

Franklin makes an interesting observation concerning the independent responsibilities yet collaborative (gentlemanly) interaction between the four partners, in contrast to an otherwise 'top down' (military) chain of command—albeit moderated by the 1970s. Given an emphasis on personal, social and institutional relationships (and back chat) between the leading protagonists, the reader is drawn into fragmentary insights derived from interviews and name dropping from retrospective conversations—an account largely embedded in HKPA's own terms of reference. For example, the architects' not untypical habit of citing historical precedent is rehearsed repeatedly by the author, but often seems unconvincingly present in the constitution of their architecture. This background has nonetheless undoubtedly been thoroughly researched.

Median sized architectural books are often anodyne, lacking the gravitas and pretension of a larger monographic 'complete works' or the accessibility of a small micro-monograph. The latter is best exemplified by the excellent Zanichelli 'Serie di Architettura' paperbacks published during the 1970s and 1980s on the work of salient modern architects. These, after brief introductions, provided sufficient visual documentation, albeit in small drawings and photographs, for the reader to be able to piece together individual buildings and projects (supported by minimal text captions). Chronologically catalogued by building type or

period, they concluded with a highly compressed 'archive' section, listing biographies, works and writings. An accessible, but dense, mine of information, they contrast with the more spacious format of the 'Twentieth Century Architects' series which, if the HKPA book is typical, prioritises a biographical and descriptive 'account' of the architects' work over more extensive visual documentation. Neither 'series' offers a wider 'critical' examination of architectural form set in its historical context and the conventional graphic format and style of the 'heritage' series, though redolent of the period it covers, lacks typographic fluency.

A related issue concerns the relationship between text and illustration. Franklin relies heavily, when it comes to the buildings, on factual description laced, at intervals and particularly in conclusion, with summary 'one liners'. Yet, while the book is reasonably well illustrated, the representations tend to be episodic, appropriately positioned, but less than demonstrable or comparative. This is partly a matter of emphasis and scale; several revealing drawings are small and at the margins of the book. The tendency of monographic completion is that, in marking out the parameters of a whole career or the history of a practice, the received view is usually confirmed, but its virtue also lies in revealing less well-known or contingent projects, which may go against the grain of established opinion.

The Cambridge Graduate Centre stands out in the received view for the refinement of its constructive elements: the precision of the Portland stone cladding panels and the materiality of highly polished pre-cast concrete surfaces. This aesthetic was not without contemporary criticism as indulgent, but Franklin notes Bill Howell's allusion to a ceramic 'glaze', and the rendering of angular carapace-like surfaces of the practice's pivotal 1959 Churchill competition entry are also, but in a different sense, suggestive of the brittle surface of a ceramic vessel (as represented in Barbara Jones' rendering). Inclined to hyperbole, Franklin describes the experience of the main staircase of the Graduate Centre, which 'lies at the emotional heart of the building'. Nonetheless, the principal space remains the dining hall, a grand space in the collegiate mould, but one whose tectonic combination of pre-cast concrete frame, infill, ring-beam and trussed up steel and timber, in spite of the sophistication of its different parts, doesn't quite gel—a void spanned by a lightweight assembly expressing the relationship between tension and

compression. This shortcoming was answered in the slightly later, cooler and more homogeneous grid-construction of the Hilda Besse Building at St Anthony's College Oxford, as also in the centralised form of the range of rotundas and oculi developed in a range of different buildings.

Essentially the chapters of the book are categorised by place, university or building type - mass housing, varsity colleges, other buildings for education, residential projects, theatres, and courts and prisons. 'Learning elsewhere', the title of Chapter 6, leads one to speculate whether formal typologies or structural tectonics might have been more revealing as themes. Two double-spread pages demonstrate the possibilities in juxtaposing monochrome and colour photographs of the subdued interior of Little Ruffo, a Cornish holiday house (1960), and the more elaborate enfilade entrance hall of the Neo-Californian / Japanese North House (1961). A domestic contrast prevails between the stolid white painted blockwork of the former and the reticulated timber frame of the latter. This evocative pairing also emphasises the relationship between tactile (the blockwork shelf and timber grain) and optical (the pictorial windows and the framed view of the garden) qualities, which is perhaps what tempers the insistent, but also sometimes over-bearing, structural rationale characteristic of HKPA's work.

Franklin talks perceptively of John Partridge's preference for a social architecture, epitomised perhaps at Acland Burghley comprehensive school in Tufnell Park, North London, where the author questionably asserts that the radial access routes inside repeat the pattern of the adjacent road junction. As in statements elsewhere, it is difficult to unpick whether this was Franklin's, or the architect's, explanation. A liberal interpretation of functionalist planning principles and a gritty brutalist materiality have accepted recent renovation and extension without compromising the building's angular geometries; this well-used complex, its planning and social programme, stand out distinctively within HKPA's wider *oeuvre*.

Cambridge is worlds apart, or is it? There is a slightly blurred photograph of Howell c.1967 sitting forward on a comfortable blue chair and gazing obliquely through one of the long horizontal windows of his Graduate Centre. Wearing a slightly crumpled brown jacket, a decorative tie hangs forward of his pale white collared shirt (*à la mode*). His fashionable heavy framed glasses reflect light from the window in which the pitched roofs of

neighbouring buildings are refracted and reflected (the scheme retained the adjacent pub). Two suited postgraduates recline in the middle ground. The ensemble is framed by the heavy concrete window surround, a single corner column, and the mirrored facet which doubles the interior structure. An informal ambience inhabits the structural armature of the building. This, like the photographs of the offices at Fitzroy Square c.1962 and the Old Pye Street reception c.1969, reveals aspects of the culture of the time and its architecture, quite as significant as potentially unreliable anecdotes and reminiscences. An overtly valedictory tone suffuses the book's conclusion. Perhaps the buildings should be left to stand for themselves, whether robust or exceptional in their contradictory aspects. David Lowenthal observes in *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* that 'Heritage is popular because we make it so, while all along remaking it. Awareness that heritage is not fixed but changes in response to our own needs is no less integral to our creative involvement with history'.

While this monograph accounts for HKPA's architecture in the local context of its production, it fails to grasp the opportunity to reinvigorate our perception of its qualities in the present.

ANDREW PECKHAM

McCarthy, Patricia, *Life in the Country House in Georgian Ireland*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press for The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art (2016), 260 pp., 188 ills., £45. ISBN 9780300218862.

It is hard to believe that it is forty years since Mark Girouard published, in 1978, his inspirational *Life in the English Country House*. Few other works of scholarship can have transformed the way in which we consider the houses of the elite than this masterpiece of social history. Its approach remains as valid as when it was first articulated by Girouard in his Slade Lectures at Oxford in 1975-76. Covering the period from the medieval house in a magisterial sweep down to World War II with pioneering excursions into country house culture and technology, it provided a template which has influenced a whole generation of later historians. Its lively prose remains as inspirational as when it was first published.

Patricia McCarthy duly acknowledges her debt to Girouard in her fascinating survey of life in the Irish country house over the long 18th Century. Inevitably her scope is more limited. Due to its troubled history, Ireland did not enjoy the country house building boom to the same extent as England in the early modern period. So she begins in 1720 with the building of Castletown for William Conolly, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, and ends with the Great Famine of 1845-49, which heralded a sharp decline in building activity. She draws attention to the absence of muniment rooms in many of the great houses and as a consequence she laments the lack of documentation for their building and furnishing. In addition, although it is not mentioned, the deliberate destruction of a significant number of country houses in the period between the two World Wars resulted in the sad loss of much physical evidence of their fabric and decoration. However, by the diligent exploration of letters, journals, diaries and accounts by privileged visitors and by judicious quotations from contemporary architectural treatises, she paints a vivid picture of how the owners and their families lived and entertained in the Georgian country house. The first part of the book is divided into chapters with the evocative titles of 'Approach and Arriving' and 'Crossing the Threshold' that cover the landscape setting and the mechanics of travel between houses in the town and country with a notable increase of country house tourism in the second half of the century. Changes in general planning and layout are explained with references to English practice and there are interesting observations on topics such as lighting, curtains and floor coverings. Once the house has been entered, there are chapters on dining, public rooms, family spaces, servants and privacy. The opulence of the interior decorations and furnishings are comprehensively discussed, with a balanced examination of more practical matters, such as the measures that were taken to combat the damp and cold in houses that were only occupied intermittently and the interesting question of whether couples shared bedrooms or had separate quarters.

It is an illuminating story told with an authority based on meticulous research. It would have benefitted from a concluding chapter to summarise the various themes, and in places the narrative is burdened with too many lists of individual features which betray its origins as a doctoral thesis. It was an exciting period in Irish

domestic architecture and the publishers have ensured that this book is a fitting tribute to the taste and manners of the elite and those who served them. As one has come to expect from Yale University Press, it is beautifully designed and generously illustrated. The author has managed to track down more than 200 original plans for fifty-eight houses and many of them are published here for the first time. It is an impressive corpus of graphic evidence, which enables her to analyse in considerable detail the way that spaces were arranged within the house and the changes that took place over the course of the period. They go a long way to compensate for the absence of detailed building accounts and contracts. Their value for future historians would have been even greater if she had provided a complete list of all the drawings together with their provenance as an appendix alongside the fully documented list of inventories at the end of the book. The drawings are complemented by an impressive number of topographical paintings, which, together with the modern and historic photographs, give an evocative impression of the beauty of the Irish Georgian house in its arcadian setting and the richness of its interior decoration.

If the scholarly prose does not quite excite the senses in the way that Girouard did in his seminal book, this is partly due to his influence on the approach to country house studies which we now take for granted. We are told that this study has been a long time in its gestation. It was well worth the wait and can be thoroughly recommended.

MALCOLM AIRS

Rush, Laurie and Millington, Luisa Benedettini, *The Carabinieri Command for the Protection of Cultural Property: Saving the World's Heritage*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press (2015), 210pp., 55 ills, £60. ISBN: 978-1-78327-056-9.

The Council of Europe Convention on Offences relating to Cultural Property came into force in May 2017, following a ministerial call for action ('The Namur Call', 2015) to combat 'the increasing number of acts of deliberate destruction of cultural heritage in the context of conflicts all over the world'. The Convention is broad in scope, addressing both the illegal despoliation of ancient sites and the illicit trafficking of cultural property:

after drugs and weapons, cultural property has been cited as the third most lucrative source of funding for illegal activities, closely linked with terrorism and organised crime (but it is in the nature of an illegal trade that figures remain elusive). The Convention seeks to enable the harmonisation of national initiatives and laws and to encourage co-operation between states, setting out criminal sanctions for offences against cultural property. It supersedes the unratified Delphi Convention (Council of Europe, 1985) and is seen as the completion of an international framework designed to protect cultural property, complementing the UNESCO Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (The Hague Convention, 1954), the UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Sale of Cultural Property (1970), the UNIDROIT Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects (1995) and the various regulations and directives of the European Union. The purpose of the new Convention is threefold: to prevent and combat the destruction of, damage to, and trafficking in cultural property by providing for the criminalisation of certain acts; to strengthen crime prevention and the criminal justice response; to promote national and international co-operation, thereby protecting cultural property. It is predicated on the notion that countries should collaborate in combating and solving common problems.

The increase in recent years in illicit trafficking from Middle Eastern countries beset by armed conflict and the consequent creation of a lucrative black market in works of art is being addressed by INTERPOL, which is now working to raise awareness of the problem among relevant organisations and the general public, encouraging not only the police, but also art and antique dealers, to share information. In a recent publication (*Creating a National Cultural Heritage Unit*, 2017), INTERPOL has urged individual countries to establish specialised police units to investigate cases of illicit trafficking (and forgery), creating national databases that can then be connected with its own Stolen Works of Art Database: created in 1995, this contains more than 50,000 items, submitted by 113 countries and registers some 40,000 searches every year. This has been available for online consultation since 2009. The Italian Carabinieri Command for the Protection of Cultural Heritage (per la Tutela del Patrimonio Culturale: TPC), variously translated as 'Heritage' or, in the book under review, as 'Property', active since 1969 and

reinforced by ministerial (1992) and presidential (2001) decrees, has been an important contributor to INTERPOL's database.

The scale of the problem is staggering. Rush and Millington investigate each of the regional Italian jurisdictions: 15,226 recovered works of art, archival materials and antiquities in Bologna, 2011; 6,000 volumes lost from the Girolamini Library in Naples, 1960-2007; 2,969 objects listed as missing on the Sicilian database. Between 1997 and 2007 the Carabinieri TPC recovered 202,924 works of art, including 8,032 found in and repatriated from other countries, 1,268 discovered in Italy and returned to their country of origin and over 250,000 fake objects seized by the counterfeiting section. It is important to note that many illegally trafficked artefacts are not such major headline-grabbing pieces as the 5th century BC statue of Aphrodite, returned to Sicily by the Getty Museum, but are much smaller and readily portable: mosaics, cuneiform tablets, cylinder seals, jars, coins and glass ('How antiquities are funding terrorism', *Financial Times*, 29.06.2015).

The problem of forgery falls outside the new Convention, but it features prominently in Rush and Millington's account, the forgery of modern art being a particular concern for the TPC. Almost half the fifty works displayed in a Modigliani exhibition in Palestrina in 2010 were shown to be fakes, the purpose of the activity being to legitimise them in order to increase their value for sale to the unsuspecting. Some forgeries are made to satisfy fraudulently a growing market in which originals are scarce (ancient Egyptian sculpture); some are made for purposes of money laundering (the example is given of a drug dealer who conceals his profit of €100,000 by commissioning a fake contemporary painting for €100 then 'selling' it on paper for €100,000, which he can then declare as profit from a wise art investment); some are made in advance of theft from museums in order to substitute the fake object for the stolen object to delay or prevent discovery. Some copies are legitimate: the copying of works of art by the original artist or studio to provide further versions of the same subject has long been fundamental to artistic practice; multiple editions of prints are similarly legitimate: 'in principle the work of art has always been reproducible' (W. Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, 1936). Replicas now are sometimes made for exhibition in place of the original, which then sits safely in climate-controlled storage: 'All such copies should be permanently

marked as facsimiles' (ICOM, *Code of Ethics for Museums*, 2013); but what if they are not and what if current knowledge of origins and circumstances dies with the owner? There is anecdotal evidence that legitimate copying takes place among the very rich – an original painting may be kept in one property (even a yacht) while the copy travels to another and is not subject to the same financial scrutiny and import charges, but over a period of time memories may become hazy: *caveat emptor*. But does it matter? Why are we so concerned about authenticity? What does it mean? For Benjamin 'the whole province of genuineness [authenticity] is beyond technological...reproducibility... The genuineness of a thing is the quintessence of everything about it since its creation that can be handed down, from its material duration to the historical witness that it bears'. However, this is culturally defined, not universal: in Japan (UNESCO, *The Nara Document on Authenticity*, 1994), authenticity does not reside in age, but in appearances, the manner in which they are achieved and the rituals they embody, whether house or temple. So our concern is perhaps not to do with the authenticity of the object itself, but with the act of deception by which one thing is passed off as another for profit at our expense.

Such deception is frequently supported by fake documentation (which according to the London Metropolitan Police Art and Antiques Unit is often easier to identify than the authenticity of the object itself), which may purport to offer legitimate provenance or evidence of lower value: Rush and Millington cite the case of a painting by Basquiat, probably worth \$8 million, which arrived in New York with a customs valuation of \$100, causing it initially to clear automatically. This is clearly fraudulent, notwithstanding the variations possible in valuations, but one of the difficulties involved in combating the illicit trade in works of art is that not all jurisdictions take the same view of offences – 'In France, art works that are revealed to be stolen cannot be legally sold on the art market, yet in Austria and Germany anyone who buys stolen artworks in good faith is allowed to maintain ownership or "good title" to them' (K. Connolly, 'Scandalous sale of old master looted by Nazis to go ahead despite protests', *The Guardian*, 24 April 2017). Hence the need for a ratified Convention, which aims to achieve an international consensus on what constitutes illicit activity and how it might be prevented. Tougher sentences may not be the answer. Rush and Millington both work in the United States, although Millington is Italian-born

and raised, and feel the need to explain that US-style armed violence is not a routine part of Italian law enforcement: the consequences of threatening an officer are far more serious than the punishment for looting a site. It may be frustrating that damage and looting is not treated as a serious crime, but the advantage is that, when the stakes are low, there is a reduced risk of bodily harm. Statutes of limitation also vary in length: looters may hide stolen property and place it on the market when the necessary period of time has elapsed, often accompanied by false documentation which purports to demonstrate a satisfactory provenance. It was the expiry of the time period through the statute of limitations which ended the prosecution in Rome of Marion True of the Getty Museum for crimes against Italian cultural property. Rush and Millington tell the story, but the focus on a single individual in this case leaves begging the question of institutional responsibility. It has been noted that problems in the antiquities department of the Getty predated True and implicated her superiors – the cultural arrogance of the Getty led to its employee being left very unfairly to bear the accusations alone. All that the Carabinieri wished to do in pursuing the case was to secure the return of stolen antiquities to Italy – this they achieved along with returns from other alarmed US museums (H. Eakin, 'What went wrong at the Getty', *The New York Review of Books*, 23 June 2011, and B. Fredericksen, *The Burdens of Wealth: Paul Getty and his Museum*, 2015).

Databases of stolen works of art may be enlisted in the falsification of provenance: the erroneous argument may be advanced that if the object is not on the database then clearly it has not been looted or stolen. Swiss law does not require proof that an object has not been looted from an archaeological site, so objects entering the country have been accompanied by paperwork stating that the artefact is from an undisclosed private collection, a situation compounded in Switzerland through Geneva being a Freeport where goods may be stored without import taxes or duty and sold on without the transaction tax, which is not payable until the object reaches its final destination. The European Commission has recently (July 2017) proposed a new import licensing system requiring proof that goods over 250 years old have been exported legally, giving customs officers the power to seize and retain when legal export cannot be demonstrated.

Illegal excavations present further problems since the artefacts which are discovered and

removed are undocumented. The Carabinieri are working in Iraq on survey, reconnaissance and confiscation, identifying suspects, making arrests and training guards in order to protect at source. However, in Iraq (and Syria) the looting of archaeological sites to supply a known market may be just another sort of subsistence farming for those hit by economic sanctions (if you are starving, you loot), believing that looting from a government that does nothing to make life economically bearable is perfectly reasonable, a belief which may be underpinned by questioning whose heritage is at stake: our 'cradle of civilisation' is 'desert land with 'fields' of pottery that [local people] have the right to take advantage of because, after all, they are the lords of this land...and the owners of all its possessions' (J.F. Bajjaly, 'Will Mesopotamia Survive the War?', P.G. Stone and J.F. Bajjaly, eds, *The Destruction of Cultural Heritage in Iraq*, 2008; see also D. George, 'The Looting of the Iraq National Museum' and U. Zottin, 'Italian Carabineers and the Protection of Iraqi Cultural Heritage', in the same volume). The Carabinieri would have been familiar with the approach of the Iraqi 'farmers' from experience at home, where, in the suburbs of Rome, 'the suspects were all born and raised in the areas they were looting and thus using their local knowledge to focus on critical archaeological areas. They were also being protected and aided by networks of family, neighbours and friends'.

The art market places a high premium on confidentiality in all its dealings. As Rush and Millington observe, 'the identities of collectors, buyers and sellers are kept secret by galleries and auction houses, a huge advantage for criminals in contrast to, for example, real estate transactions, where identities have to be included in deeds and titles'. In the ICOM *Code of Ethics*, the staff of museums are enjoined to make an exception to the confidentiality which lies at the heart of their participation in the market, in order to help the authorities to investigate cases of stolen property. The British Art Market Federation adopted 'Principles of Conduct' in 2000, but it may be time for the introduction of an international code of ethics for dealers and auction houses, as well as for museums, encouraging due diligence with full records of all transactions. The *Code* stresses the need for the full documentation of collections, clearly vital in collections management and crucial in the identification of stolen or looted objects. The compilation of a catalogue may demonstrate gaps in knowledge of provenance, causing alarm bells

to ring, but, in combating trafficking and looting, it will not be enough for individual institutions to compile databases, unless the information is accessible and shared, perhaps through an international database of stolen or looted objects. Although notions of the institutional ownership of information and the need for confidentiality have hampered progress on information sharing, such problems should surely be overcome in the interests of combating a global phenomenon. A shared database could usefully follow the example of INTERPOL and the Carabinieri Command (in its Databank Leonardo) in using OBJECT ID, the minimum 'core' data standard for the identification of cultural objects which was, ironically, developed by the Getty Information Institute in the 1990s and is now under the aegis of UNESCO. The standard allows for varying levels of sophistication in describing works of art and allows for the records to be modified in accordance with the growth of knowledge and the availability of expertise; so 'Woman in white dress, holding fan' might precede the fuller description 'Portrait of Queen Anne of Denmark, attributed to John de Critz the elder' (see also R. Thornes and J. Bold, eds, *Documenting the Cultural Heritage*, 1998). Even at the basic level, the compilation of inventories is time-consuming and demanding. Training is vital. As Rush and Millington note, the Carabinieri are police officers rather than art historians; candidates come from a variety of backgrounds, but it is personal interest, attributes, including languages, and education, which will determine whether they serve in the TPC, much of whose work is necessarily learned on the job, supplementing a four-stage training programme, here described.

In view of the pressing need to combat the international illicit trade in works of art and antiquities, Rush and Millington's exploration of 'The Italian Model', described in great detail in this book, has topical relevance. It is full of useful information and astonishing examples. Written, perhaps understandably, in a highly appreciative key, almost as an official report from the inside of the organisation it describes, with a foreword by the TPC Commander, it also through its structure – dealing in turn with each of the regional centres – risks both repetition and the scattering of slivers of information on particular topics in several different places. So it is a book that requires close attention and a degree of forbearance: 'The Italian region of Sicily has an extraordinary history'; 'There is no doubt about the importance of art in Italian society'.

When the authors do take a reflective step back in order to produce bullet-pointed lists, they provide very helpful summaries of problems and proposals. Among the former, the lack of co-ordination between different police forces (a problem which INTERPOL seeks to counter), lack of knowledge of the diverse methods used in the illicit market, slow exchange of information (failure to set up adequate national databases and failure to share such information as they have), and weak national legislation and enforcement (which the Council of Europe Convention seeks to rectify) are prominent. The proposals stress the importance of sharing information across databases and developing co-operation between public and private institutions. Better international co-operation will be key to solving this problem – London is an important transit city for works of art, with a vigorous market in art and antiquities, although dealers, auction houses and the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport believe that much of the illicit trade has moved elsewhere to less well-regulated jurisdictions (only one prosecution following the enactment of the Dealing in Cultural Objects (Offences) Act, 2003). Other observers of the market, including the Art Loss Register, the Metropolitan Police and Blue Shield (an international organisation for the protection of cultural heritage during conflict) are less sanguine. The government might surely do more to co-ordinate the fight against the illicit trade by working with other governments in establishing and maintaining international collaborative agencies (and databases) to combat international problems, notwithstanding the catastrophic potential isolationism of Brexit. There is some progress: the welcome, recent establishment in the UK of a Military Cultural Property Protection Working Group should here be noted. This initiative is related to the government's ratification, over 60 years on, of the Hague Convention. It arises from the need recognised by the military for the protection of cultural property from looting and the training of local people in conflict and post-conflict areas. It is believed that such action would not only protect the heritage, but would also be good for community relations on the ground. This is both a moral and a practical imperative – the prevention of looting may prevent the buying of weapons with which to attack the troops. It is greatly to the credit of the British Museum that the internationalism and sense of moral responsibility, evident particularly during the directorship of Neil MacGregor, supported and continued by a dedicated staff, notably Jonathan

Tubb and his colleagues, has enabled the museum to move swiftly in protecting antiquities in Iraq, rescuing and storing them for later return, and now, under the aegis of the British Council, helping the new military unit in archaeological training initiatives.

It is absolutely fundamental to the success of conventions and legislative actions that the general public, home and abroad, understands the issues and is kept fully informed – the illicit trafficking of works of art and antiquities is not a problem solely for the police and art experts. It affects us all. INTERPOL has indulged in pardonable hyperbole: 'The history of mankind is at stake in this fight against the illicit traffic and forgery of works of art worldwide. Every country can and should contribute' (*Creating a National Cultural Heritage Unit*). If the scale of the problem and the legislation required to address it are not understood, there is little hope of progress. It is better to educate and forestall than to pursue and prosecute after the event: public information campaigns are needed. Such campaigns might usefully draw on the many instances highlighted in this important, timely chronicle and celebration of the work of the Carabinieri TPC.

JOHN BOLD

Schofield, John, *St Paul's Cathedral: Archaeology and History*, Oxford and Philadelphia, Oxbow Books (2016), 189pp., 235 ills, £65. ISBN 978-1-78570-275-4 (hardcover). £50.59, 878-1-78570-276-1 (digital).

There is no shortage of histories and historical guides to St Paul's. Until recently archaeological matter has been confined to papers in uncommon journals. The scope of Dr Schofield's previous book, *St Paul's Cathedral before Wren* (2011) is identified on page 1 as 'the archaeology and history of the precinct and the successive cathedrals' and extends to material evidence found during Sir Christopher Wren's demolition of the medieval building after the Great Fire and site preparation for his new one. As with that earlier volume, Schofield is both an author and the editor, with contributions from eleven specialists on topics such as ceramics, bones and coffins, carpentry and an illuminating chapter by Robert Bowles, consultant civil engineer to the fabric, on Wren's structure. Although each

chapter is complete in itself, they are to some extent complementary and overlapping. The book under review is specifically subtitled, combining the results of excavation from Wren's time onwards with a re-examination of historical documents, notably, but not exclusively, the accounts printed or calendared in the *Wren Society* Vols XIII-XV and other manuscripts in Vol. XVI.

Wren was not only the architect, but also the first surveyor, of the new cathedral. John James, appointed his assistant in 1715, succeeded him in 1723. In 1750 the Dean thought that, as the cathedral was running smoothly, the post was no longer needed, but on receipt of a passionate letter from the incumbent Henry Flitcroft, age 53, he saw the light: there would always be work to organize and carry out. The appointment of an official archaeologist is a late 20th century idea, Schofield being the first holder, appointed in 1990.

Why archaeology? A good reason is that the discipline reminds us of what some architectural historians tend to forget: that buildings are made of materials, whose properties affect all the elements of Vitruvius's formula of commodity, firmness and delight. Yet a further good reason is 'because it's there', as the mountaineer Mallory replied when asked why he wanted to climb Everest. St. Paul's too is still there and any study that can tell us more about the building is worth the effort. St Paul's is outstanding in Wren's *oeuvre* in a variety of respects: as a symbol and a landmark for the City, a unique reinvention of the traditional latin cross cathedral form and, more generally, as a milestone in English architectural history, as well as a monumental tourist attraction. Wren is known to have enjoyed finding solutions to mathematical problems and leaving others to apply the new formula to the specific problem. From his surviving writings, he evidently addressed architectural problems in a similar manner. He accepted the challenge of building on a terrain of sand and London clay, basically constructing walls as outer and inner ashlar shells, filled in with rubble and old bricks bonded with lime mortar. He devoted, in sum, half a century to the problems of the cathedral, from the site and the footings to the top of the cupola.

Archaeology, it has been said, is the science that studies the extant relics of ancient times. Many of these relics have only survived, ironically, because either they were buried in the course of nature or by being built upon. For financial reasons, today's archaeology is usually opportunistic – 'rescue'-before one agent or the other renders the relics

irretrievable. Even in the 17th century the scholar's trowel was more delicate than the trencher's spade. In the 1670s and 80s John Conyers was taking the last chance to dig up and describe long-buried Roman pottery in advance of a new work force. It must have been then that someone lost a pretty little Chinese blue and white dish, which was found three centuries later near the north-west corner of Wren's crossing, during the enlargement of the underground office of works.

The new book concludes with a gazetteer of thirty-nine sites relevant to Wren's cathedral and its immediate environs. There were pragmatic reasons for all of them: attention to drains and sewers, cracks due to settlement, repair of war damage, reorganisation of the crypt spaces for conferences, and lecture or refreshment rooms and the book and souvenir shop. Underneath the crypt paving it could be seen that Wren's footings are at roughly the same level as the Gothic ones. The fall of a bomb through the vaulting of the north transept yielded valuable information about its construction. The Anglo-Saxons chose a site at the top of Ludgate Hill and flooding or waterlogging were not threats. Water supplies came from the New River Company and from wells on site. On the other hand, rainwater from a catchment of over 5,000 m² had to go somewhere and old drains and sewers of various dates survive. There was also a tendency for water engineers to route their tunnels uncomfortably close to the foundations.

The vast extent of the middle aisles laterally and the outer cupola upwards raised unprecedented problems of carpentry: a 45ft roof beam (nearly 14m) needed a whole oak trunk. Some timber came from Nottinghamshire and some may have come from the Baltic. Oak was a good choice because it lasted and Wren took care to keep the rain out. What must be the largest surviving construction of its time still holds some secrets. Wren was already known as a roof engineer: beam theory was much discussed in Oxford in the 1650s and the original roof girders of his Sheldonian Theatre had beams, overall 76ft (23m), made in sections with scarfjoints reinforced by vertical bolts and iron plates. In that instance flatness was essential, not only to hang the big canvases of Robert Streater's illusionistic ceiling, but also to support the learned volumes that made up the stock of the Clarendon Press, initially stored above them.

In Paris, in September 1665, Wren's mind was already on modernizing the cathedral. The efforts of 1,000 workers on extending the Louvre Palace

were for a while, as he wrote, his 'daily object'; a priceless summer course in building construction, technology and management. He may also have brought home a copy of Louis Savot's practical octavo builder's manual *L'Architecture Française des Bastimens Particuliers* (1624). The cathedral accounts say little about the raising of large stones to great heights, beyond mentioning pulleys and shears (wooden A-frame cranes), which have been known ever since Roman times. A Roman marble relief in the Vatican shows also the operation of a big human treadmill wheel, but there is no evidence of any such machine at St Paul's. In 1697 'two great stones' fell off a truck in the street. However, British stonemasons have been solving such problems for centuries. It is relevant that in the 1630s John Webb designed, for Inigo Jones's updating of the Gothic St Paul's, a single-mast pulley with a four-man capstan.

The building works seem to have aroused little curiosity in the City and only two enterprising printmakers tried – but failed – to enlighten the public before the turn of the century. Schofield reproduces Sutton Nicholls's naive perspective print, dated 1695, of the completed choir, with the north transept shrouded in wooden scaffold poles and wattle screens.

Schofield refers briefly and circumspectly to the conjecture, based on the dating of various extant drawings and the absence of others certainly made in the Wren office, that the screen walls were an afterthought of the mid-1680s. If this popular idea were the case, one might expect to find signs either of reinforcement in the choir foundations or of larger piers in the later nave. No evidence was found of either and the thickening of the masonry was among the dimensional changes Wren had made between the Warrant plan and the start of building. Negative evidence is seldom conclusive, but the screen walls that form the exterior upper storey are very thick and heavy between the windows. From his writings Wren's knowledge of statics was of his time and empirical, but patently adequate. A different conjecture might be that he was over-confident that the extra weight would not be a problem. However, having found his true vocation in architecture, he was surely not going to take such a risk of ruining his reputation; the most likely conjecture would be that he deliberately erred on the positive side from the beginning. In Chapter 7 Robert Bowles makes the case that Wren knew precisely what he was doing and was sure of himself. This breath-taking construction was, Bowles writes, both 'innovative in terms of its layout and ingenious in its details'

but 'even by the standards of the time... not a daring piece of engineering', unlike some Gothic structures. Wren anticipated potentially challenging situations and 'devised ways of avoiding them, rather than addressing them head on'.

Evidently he did not expect the structure to settle. In fact nature began that process even before completion; the masons had to repair numerous cracks in the inner and outer ashlar surfaces. After two centuries the cathedral's stability became visibly critical. In 1902 the surveyor, Somers Clarke, had found the portico parting from the west end and inserted steel plates and tie-rods to anchor it. In 1924 the building – in particular the crossing – was declared dangerous and the piers were grouted with concrete. Clarke had also, in 1901, plumbed the dome and found it leaning 111mm (4.4in) to the south-west. By 1913 the inclination had increased by 35mm (1.4in); presumably further movement was prevented by the extensive works in the crossing in the 1920s and 30s. More recently the whole building has been cleaned inside and out and many other faults have been remedied.

Authorities disagree on the further question of whether the screens have any practical structural value, but the architecture is three-dimensional and their bulk suggests that Wren did not imagine nor intend them to be merely cosmetic. Bowles also mentions the role of the four large bastions linking the nave and choir to the transepts and bolstering the dome. These also were enlarged from their Warrant size, but hollowed out to enclose three vestries and, on the south-west, the spiral stair. He also, looking forward to a cupola as yet not designed, prepared to thicken the masonry ring that would support a drum, deepening the eight arches by almost a quarter.

There is a singular and charming vignette on Lawrence Spencer (1648-1720), foreman from 1675 and clerk of works 1686-1718, who more or less lived and died in the cathedral – his lodgings were attached to the works office – and was buried in the crypt. His son, also Lawrence, succeeded him, but when the son died in February 1719 his father returned to work for another year. His son and wife were buried with him.

The book is beautifully printed, in England. Several sources cited in notes are not in the bibliography. The composition is generally accurate, apart from a reference to 'coarsed' masonry. Some of the illustrations, especially in colour, suffer from a lack of light or contrast and the jacket picture, of the rooftop view from the west, is spoilt by a large

label and also gives the impression of being moonlit. Only the large number of visitors and some red coats indicate that the clock reads 2:00 pm, not am. Fig. 41 is a small but complete print.

KERRY DOWNES

Temple, Philip and Thom, Colin (ed), *South-East Marylebone*, Parts 1 and 2, Survey of London, Vols 51 and 52, New Haven and London: Yale University Press (2017), xx + 913pp., 915 illustrations, £150. ISBN 978-0-300-22197-8.

These are weighty volumes – about 10 pounds 7 ounces avoirdupois on my kitchen scales (4.734 kg), not counting the slipcase. Macaulay similarly reviewed by weight Dr Nares' account of Lord Burleigh and his times, but went on to say that Nares' industry in finding sources was followed by such awful writing that he might as well have left the information where he had found it. No such criticism can be levelled at these two magnificent volumes, for they uphold the Survey's tradition of lucid writing, backed up by a great number of well-chosen illustrations. These last are a mixture of new and old photographs, prints, line drawings, maps and plans. As in recent Survey volumes, the new photographs are in colour and all the illustrations are integrated into the text.

Survey of London readers do not usually go to the volumes for the continuous narrative, rather they consult the volumes for specific information on individual buildings. Yet, if they skip the introduction to these two volumes, they will miss one of their greatest delights, not only a synthesis of the social, economic, religious, even political history of this important bit of London and the architecture it has produced, but also a delightful piece of writing. Architectural history often suffers from a limited range of adjectives, but the Survey manages to describe the Sanderson Hotel in one place as *louche* and in another as now furnished with sumptuous vulgarity. Is this willingness to be more adventurous in style and to criticise current design a reflection of the Survey's move from the official bureaucracy of English Heritage to a less restrictive home in the Bartlett School of Architecture at University College London? The adoption of modern presentational techniques is seen visually in the computer aided 3D axonometric reconstruction

of the interior of St Peter's Vere Street. The accounts of the individual streets also show a new approach by the Survey, with a short general section on the development and social character of each street before the individual property descriptions.

In pockets inside the rear covers of the volumes are loose folded maps of the area covered. The map in Part 1 (Vol 51) shows the area *c.*1870; that in part 2 (Vol 52) shows the same area in *c.*2010. Broadly speaking it is the part of Marylebone bounded on the south by Oxford Street, to the north by the Marylebone Road, the east by the line of Newman and Cleveland Streets, with a small outlier in the south east corner, where the historic parish and modern City of Westminster touch Tottenham Court Road at St Giles's Circus, and west by the irregular line of Marylebone Lane and Marylebone High Street, again with some outliers to the west to cover Stratford Place and the area around Paddington and Nottingham Streets. The greater part of this part of St Marylebone was the historic property of the Portland/Howard de Walden Estate, the opening of whose archive has greatly enriched the volumes. Those anxious to find the history of their favourite department store on Oxford Street will have to wait for a successor volume, as the southern fringe will have a volume to itself, but whereas the Survey's coverage of the parish of St James Westminster had left out the history of Regent Street, these volumes cover the street north of Oxford Circus.

This relatively small area has a rich architectural history, at least from the 18th century onwards. Some great names figure prominently. Gibbs was a leading figure in the early development of the Portland Estate around Cavendish Square and at the estate chapel, now St Peter's Vere Street; the Adam brothers later in the century in Portland Place, Mansfield Street and Chandos House; William Chambers appears in the development of his own property in Berners Street, all these showing how Georgian London benefited from the involvement of leading architects in speculative property development. For churches there are Thomas Hardwick's St Marylebone parish church, Nash's All Souls Langham Place and Butterfield's All Saints Margaret Street and there is Grey Wornum's RIBA headquarters for institutional buildings. Yet in many ways the stars of these volumes are the lesser known figures, craftsmen such as Thomas Huddle, George Mercer and the Devall family, who established the restrained and formal form of building on the rigid street pattern,

and then the architects of the terra-cotta revival who enlivened that pattern in the years around 1900 with some lively compositions, such as R.J. Worley's building at the corner of Harley Street and Wigmore Street, facing into Cavendish Square, an extravagant version of what the Survey describes as 'a subtler Marylebone style' promoted by architects such as Frank Elgood, Banister Fletcher and W. Henry Whyte.

With the more or less contemporary Grosvenor Estate south of Oxford Street the Portland/Howard de Walden Estate established the extensive grid-iron plan as typical of Georgian London, though not without some difficulty, both over time and individual sites. The convoluted history of the north side of Cavendish Square is explained, as a proposed great house for the Duke of Chandos eventually became the unusual pair of semi-detached houses (referred to as 'Butch houses' in one document); stone bought to build premises for the Society of Dilettanti was sold instead to build Spencer House in St James's, but the houses eventually built reflected the abandoned Dilettanti design, just as Spencer House did; the story involves the notorious Marylebone miser John Elwes and the mason/architect John Bastard. Equally problematic was the site of Foley House, where the Langham Hotel now stands. Here, in the mid-18th century slump in building, Lady Harley let ground to Thomas Foley, who built a large detached house designed by Stiff Leadbetter. The lease later caused a dispute between the estate and Foley, only solved (for political reasons over the control of the St Marylebone Vestry as much as for property interests) by an agreement which resulted in the extraordinary width of Portland Place and the creation of a small enclave on which James Wyatt built his own house. One consequence of the rigid grid-iron plan is both a series of attractive mews, once more squalid than they are now, and especially a series of 'bijou' or 'dwarf' houses on the east-west cross streets (New Cavendish Street, Weymouth Street and Devonshire Street) where the original mews buildings to large houses in the main north-south streets (Harley Street and Wimpole Street) were replaced by turn of the century low-rise houses almost all taken by doctors.

The rise of the medical profession, whereby Harley Street is synonymous with private medicine, is a background to much of the architectural history of the area west of Portland Place, more obvious now that the Middlesex Hospital has gone from the eastern part. The musical connections of the area, after the loss of the Queen's Hall, survive

at the Wigmore Hall, originally Bechstein Hall, while Brinsmead's connection is marked by the attractive Gilbert Bayes sculpture on the flank wall of 17 Cavendish Square. East of Portland Place South-East Marylebone is very different and less well known, less urbane and more commercial. That an area close to London's major shopping streets should be a centre for the garment trade is obvious enough, but the history of Great Portland Street as the centre of London's motor trade in the first half of the 20th century is one of the hitherto unknowns of London history, at least to this reviewer. A number of buildings there started as motor showrooms; there is a 1908 photograph of the interior of Nos 19-21 showing a staircase of opera house pretensions surrounded by cars which only the wealthiest of St Marylebone's residents could afford. The reconstruction of Great Portland Street Underground Station to include a motor showroom on its first floor must be one of the quirkiest bits of information unearthed, while at one time the former Philharmonic Hall, built in 1907-08, had a car showroom on the ground floor.

It is difficult to say that after nearly a thousand pages there could be more. There must be sympathy for the Survey's writers and editors in compressing vast amounts of information into a manageable compass. Even streets of Adam houses such as Portland Place and Mansfield Street get relatively short house-by-house entries, while in Margaret Street there is simply a gazetteer of existing buildings, no more than a list of addresses and the names of the architects responsible, but that list immediately precedes an extensive and lucid account of Butterfield's All Saints, with colour photographs of the interior following Colin Kerr's recent restoration. In other words, the Survey is bang up-to-date. It includes a sympathetic account of the BBC's New Broadcasting House as an addition to Val Myers' original building; it is less sympathetic in ending with the recent reconstruction of the Regent Street Polytechnic for the University of Westminster, quoting John Bold's words that 'it is no longer possible even to be disappointed'. Those of us who have got used to the Survey of London will have no cause for disappointment in these two volumes; the scholarly traditions of the Survey are more than maintained and the attractiveness of the product, both in words and pictures, seems ever to get better.

FRANK KELSALL