

MAUSOLUS

THE JOURNAL OF THE MAUSOLEA & MONUMENTS TRUST

SUMMER 2015



The Mausolea & Monuments Trust
70 Cowcross Street
London EC1M 6EJ

07856 985974
www.mmtrust.org.uk

ISSN 2042-3071

Patrons

Professor James Stevens Curl
Tim Knox

Honorary Secretary

John St. Brioc Hooper

Chairman

Carolyn Cocke

Trustees

Alexander Bagnall
Roger Bowdler
Gabriel Byng
Carolyn Cocke (Membership Secretary)
Tim Ellis
Robert Heathcote (Treasurer)
Ian Johnson
Hannah Parham
Frances Sands
Gavin Stamp
Charles Wagner

Mausolus is published twice a year by the Mausolea & Monuments Trust. All contents © MMT 2015 except where otherwise indicated.

Members and others are warmly encouraged to contribute photos, news and features to:

Dr Gabriel Byng
Church House,
London,
SW1P 3NZ
mausolus@mmtrust.org.uk

Contents

News	Page 5
MMT Visit to the Monuments of the Oxfordshire Cotswolds <i>Peter Britton</i>	Page 5
Hope Springs Eternal - Heritage Lottery grant success <i>Alexander Bagnall</i>	Page 7
The Desenfans Mausoleum at Charlotte Street Mausolus Essay Prize Runner Up <i>Tom Drysdale</i>	Page 10
The Tomb Of Sir John Moore In La Coruña (Corunna), Spain Mausolus Essay Prize Runner Up <i>Mark Guscini</i>	Page 18
Redipuglia and the dead Mausolus Essay Prize Winner <i>Hannah Malone</i>	Page 26
Reviews Milltown Cemetery: The History of Belfast, Written in Stone <i>Professor James Stevens Curl</i>	Page 34
Reviews The Oxford Dictionary of Architecture (Third Edition) <i>Anna Shelley</i>	Page 35
Future Event	Page 36

From the Editor

I am delighted to announce that Dr Hannah Malone is the winner of the first Mausolus Essay Prize. We received a very large number of excellent entries and the judges faced a difficult challenge in selecting a winner. Tom Drysdale and Mark Guscini were chosen as runners up, and the essays of Fozia Parveen and Aleksandra Szymanowicz-Hren were highly commended. The judges applauded all our winning entries for their original research, fine exposition and important conclusions.

The prize was generously sponsored in memory of the architectural historian Thomas Cocke and the winners and runners up will also receive complementary membership of the Trust. I am grateful to the other members of the judging panel for their help: Carolyn Cocke, Dr Roger Bowdler, Gavin Stamp, Hannah Parham and Dr Frances Sands.

You will see that the format of this special edition of Mausolus has been changed in order to allow us to include more and longer essays. For these reasons we intend to use this format annually for the summer edition, with a shorter newsletter in the winter to keep you updated about news and events at the Trust. We hope you will enjoy this extended edition of Mausolus.

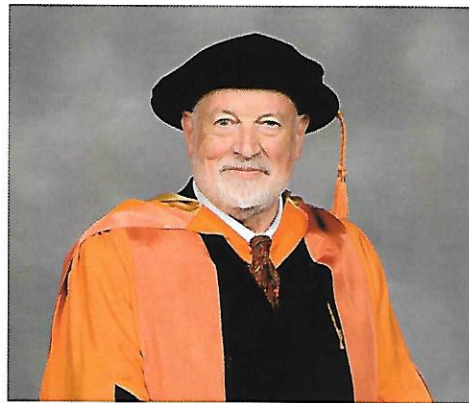
As always, I am glad to receive news, photographs and articles from members.

Please send any submissions to:
mausolus@mmtrust.org.uk

Dr Gabriel Byng, Summer 2015

News

We are delighted to inform readers that in July 2014 the Degree of Honorary Doctor of Arts was conferred on our patron Professor James Stevens Curl by De Montfort University, Leicester, for his 'outstanding contribution to the intellectual and cultural life of the nation' and for his 'distinctive contribution to the study of architectural history'.



MMT Visit to the Monuments of the Oxfordshire Cotswolds *Peter Britton*



Some 19 members of the Trust were blessed with a beautiful spring day for their visit to the monuments of the Oxfordshire Cotswolds, organised by Trust member Peter Britton.

The day started at All Saints Church, Spelsbury, which has been adapted over the years to house the tombs of the Lee and Dillon families who lived at nearby Ditchley Park, designed by James Gibbs and enriched by William Kent. A knowledgeable introduction to the tombs was given by Christopher Galloway, a past administrator of Ditchley Park. Each generation of the family created a monument resonant of the architectural style and spirit of their age. These range from the exuberant Jacobean tomb of Sir Henry Lee carved by Samuel Baldwin of Gloucester, whose work was derived from the Southwark School of Flemish immigrant craftsmen, to the splendid nineteenth-century gothic revival monument of Charles, 14th Viscount Dillon.

Of particular interest was the neo-classical monument to George Henry Lee, 3rd Earl of Litchfield, designed by Henry Keene and carved by William Tyler RA, which is described by John Martin Robinson in his excellent guide book as one of the most interesting neo-classical monuments in England. Mr Galloway told us that the 3rd Earl was the fourth in descent from Charles 1st, as was his wife from Oliver Cromwell. Recently restored by Sue and Laurence Kellard, whose report on the tombs was available for inspection, they are now in superb condition. A collection of brass plates from coffins in the crypt of the church was on display, including one to the 2nd Earl of Rochester, the famous libertine and wit of the Restoration Court.

Then on to St. Mary, Swinbrook, its huge east window illuminating the memorials to the Fettiplace family, stacked on shelves along the north wall of the chancel. The Fettiplaces were an ancient family, whose house close to the church was demolished in 1806. The memorials are in two sets dating from the beginning and the end of the seventeenth century. Whilst only 70 years separate the two sets of figures, the earlier ones were very stiff and uncomfortably supported by their elbows on cushions, whilst the later figures are more realistic, illustrating how styles had changed during this period. In the churchyard we saw the gravestones to the Mitford sisters: Unity, Diana and Nancy.

After lunch at the Swan Inn, the party visited the remote and atmospheric church of St. Oswalds, Widford. Once within a village, long since gone, the church now sits alone above the meadows of the Windrush. The

church had become a farm building at the beginning of the last century, but still retains remnants of a fifteenth-century screen incorporated into its pulpit and remains of medieval wall paintings. We finished our day at St. John the Baptist, Burford, which deserves more than a fleeting visit, but the party endeavoured to concentrate on its monuments. The fine array of seventeenth-century bale tombs in the churchyard, unique to this part of the world, including a twentieth-century reproduction to a church benefactor, grabbed the party's attention.

The sixteenth-century renaissance memorial erected by Edward Harman particularly caught our eye, with a very early representation in England, if not the earliest on a memorial, of native inhabitants of the New World.

No visit to Burford church would be complete without admiring the ornate Tanfield monument. This colossal monument, erected by the wife of Sir Laurence Tanfield, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, dates from 1625. The Tanfields were not popular with the townfolk of Burford and Lady Tanfield erected this tomb, which fills the north chancel chapel, without the permission of the churchwardens, stating that he should have been buried in a more illustrious setting (she wanted Westminster Abbey).

The figure of their grandson Lucius Carey, kneeling at their feet, is particularly endearing. The memorial to Christopher Kempster, stonemason to Sir Christopher Wren, reminded us that stone from the Burford area was used in the building of St. Paul's Cathedral.

Carved on a corbel high up above the nave is an image of W. A. Cass, the nineteenth-century high church incumbent at the time of the G.E. Street restoration of the church, who when challenged by William Morris, retorted "the Church, Sir, is mine, and if I choose to, I shall stand on my head in it". Morris as

we know went on to found the SPAB and the start of the conservation movement, of which our Trust is part; an appropriate note on which to end an enjoyable day.

Hope Springs Eternal - Heritage Lottery grant success

Alexander Bagnall

Following our campaign to rescue the Hope Mausoleum, we are delighted to announce that the Hope Springs Eternal project has been awarded a £1 million Heritage Lottery Grant. The grant will also relink the mausoleum to its setting, the Grade II* Deepdene Gardens, and enable visitors to visit this wonderful lost gem of a landscape created by Regency arbiter of taste Thomas Hope (1769-1831).

The mausoleum was built by Hope in 1818 following the death of his son Charles in Rome, and is the first recorded work by Hope at Deepdene. The house was remodelled soon after, creating one of the most arresting and inventive country estates of its time. It was praised by John Claudius Loudon as an exemplar of landscape architecture.

Sadly by the end of the 19th century the



Hope Mausoleum uncovered and unsealed March 2015

estate was in decline. The Deepdene was broken up in the early 20th century with the land divided into small parcels and sold. The

mausoleum was retained by the family and continued to be used until 1942. Following an attempted break in, the structure was sealed in 1957 and buried soon after, laying forgotten in a secluded wood, less than a mile from Dorking town centre. Deepdene House was demolished in 1969 and it seemed that this highly important estate was largely lost.

Following the 2008 exhibition on Thomas Hope at the Victoria & Albert Museum, the

mausoleum's owner, Mole Valley District Council (MVDC) approached the Mausolea & Monuments Trust to help rescue this remarkable structure.

In 2010 the MMT launched its campaign to rescue the mausoleum whilst MVDC began to uncover the surrounding park and gardens. The uncovered mausoleum was found to be in good condition despite the partial demolition of the courtyard and loss of external ironwork. The interior is



Hope Mausoleum after partial uncovering in February 2010

remarkably well preserved, revealing a hugely atmospheric glimpse into Hope's world having remained untouched since its consecration in 1818. Local volunteers (the Friends of Deepdene) worked tirelessly to clear historic paths and vistas and uncovered the network of paths that linked the estate. Beneath 70 years of laurel and secondary woodland scrub the bones of Deepdene lay much as it has done since its regency heyday.

The repair of the mausoleum will be the first stage of the two year project that will see historic paths reinstated, public access provided to Deepdene Gardens and Betchworth Castle, and a virtual re-creation of the estate as it was in 1825. A range of activities will also be developed to engage people and help them learn about Hope and the Deepdene. By the end of 2015 members will be able to visit the mausoleum and see this great landscape revealed.



The Mausolus Essay Prize

The Desenfans Mausoleum at Charlotte Street Mausolus Essay Prize Runner Up

Tom Drysdale

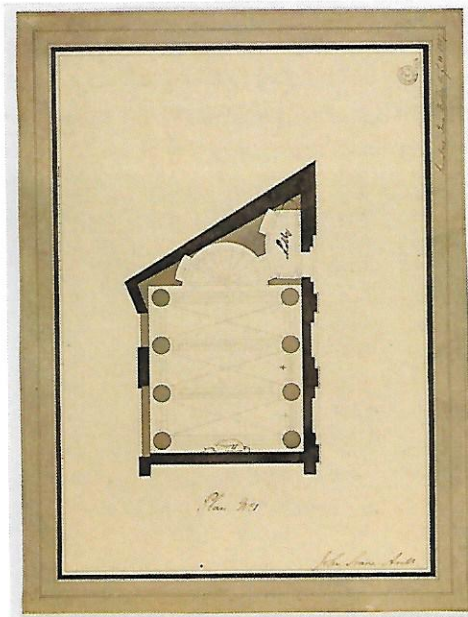


Figure 1: Soane Office, preliminary design 'No 1' for the Charlotte Street mausoleum. 15 August, 1807. SM 67/6/2. By courtesy of the Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum. Photo: Ardon Bar-Hama.

When the dying Sir Francis Bourgeois (1753-1811) spoke of the mausoleum he had constructed for his friend, Noel Desenfans, near to his house at Charlotte Street, a visiting acquaintance, Lancelot Baugh Allen, was forced to admit that he 'had never been in the Chapel, or indeed heard of it'.¹ While it would not be fair to say that history, like Allen, is ignorant of the Charlotte Street mausoleum, it is true that it has been overshadowed by its successor - the mausoleum at Dulwich Picture Gallery.

Although it is widely acknowledged that the Charlotte Street mausoleum was the prototype for the Dulwich mausoleum, historians have tended to neglect the original, or else to study it only with reference to Dulwich. The aim of this essay is to bring attention to the Charlotte Street mausoleum as an independent entity and, consequently, to offer a new interpretation of its design and purpose.

Both the Dulwich mausoleum and Soane's interest in the 'furniture of death' have been the focus of a good deal of attention from architectural historians, beginning with an article written by Sir John Summerson in 1978.² An exhibition on Soane and Death at Dulwich Picture Gallery (1996) offered some insight into the Charlotte Street mausoleum but, save for the inclusion of two drawings and a brief analysis of the structure in the accompanying catalogue, the focus remained on Dulwich.³ Elsewhere, Todd Willmert mentioned the original mausoleum only in passing while Andrew Ballantyne neglected it completely in his essay on the Dulwich mausoleum.⁴ There is no disagreement over the fact that the Charlotte Street mausoleum provided the prototype for the Dulwich mausoleum, but this makes its omission from the existing literature even more remarkable. Although the Charlotte Street mausoleum no longer survives, it is well represented by the surviving drawings at Sir John Soane's Museum and the Victoria & Albert Museum, as well as by references in Soane's Day Books, Bill Books and Journals. Analysis of these sources,

it is argued here, provides new insights into the design of the original mausoleum. Most significantly, similarities between the interior of the mausoleum and Soane's entrance halls are recognised, offering a new understanding of Soane's intentions. An overview of the commission will be followed by an analysis of the design to prove that identifying the origins of the design is key to understanding the mausoleum.

Noel Joseph Desenfans (1745-1807) was a French collector of works of art. In 1783-4 he purchased 39 Charlotte (now Hallam) Street, a large house at the north edge of the Portland estate, where he lived with his wife, Margaret, and his friend, the Swiss-born artist, Sir Peter Francis Bourgeois. In 1791 he was commissioned by King Stanislaus II of Poland to assemble a group of paintings that would form a national collection for that country. Working together with Bourgeois, Desenfans brought together a corpus that included works by the likes of Rembrandt and Veronese, as well as pieces by Bourgeois himself. Unfortunately for Desenfans, however, the division of Poland and the subsequent abdication and death of the King in 1795 before any official transactions had been made left the collection in his possession. Attempts to sell it on to the Russian and British governments were unsuccessful, and the paintings remained with Desenfans at 39 Charlotte Street at his death on 8 July 1807 when they were bequeathed to Bourgeois, who ultimately left them to Dulwich College.

It was within weeks of Desenfans' death that Bourgeois commissioned Soane to build a mausoleum to commemorate his friend. Bourgeois had been elected as an Associate of the Royal Academy in 1789, becoming a full member four years later, and it is possible that the Academy provided the setting for his first contact with Soane, who himself became

an Associate in 1795 and a full Member in 1802, and served as its Professor of Architecture from 1806 to 1837.⁵ They were certainly friends – Bourgeois was a frequent visitor to Pitzhanger Manor, Soane's country house, and later supported Soane in the controversy over his fourth lecture in 1810, in which the Professor had criticised Robert Smirke's Covent Garden Theatre.⁶ In the surviving correspondence between Bourgeois and Soane there is no mention of the mausoleum. The first reference to it in the Day Books of the Soane Office appears on Saturday, 15 August 1807, when Henry Hake Seward and Francis Edwards, two of Soane's pupils, are recorded as 'Making Sketches' and 'Making Plans'.⁷ Drawings continued to be made through to the beginning of September when work appears to have begun immediately on the construction of the mausoleum.⁸ In October

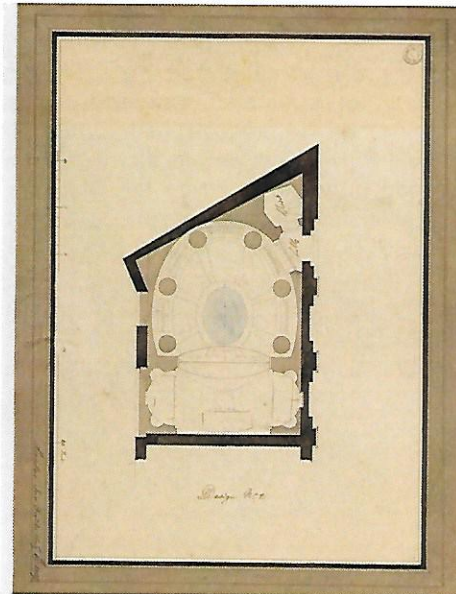


Figure 2: Soane Office, preliminary design 'No 2' for the Charlotte Street mausoleum. 15 August, 1807. SM 67/6/1. By courtesy of the Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum. Photo: Ardon Bar-Hama.

Soane received bills from the plumber, Lancelot Burton, for the lead flashing of the lantern, and from Underwood and Doyle for the metal sashes, and in early November from William Rothwell, the plasterer, and Thomas Grundy, the mason. Thomas Moore was paid for attending the works for 29 days from 5 September to 1 November.⁹ The total expenditure was £458.12.1.¹⁰

The precise location of the mausoleum has yet to be satisfactorily determined. Soane himself described it as being 'contiguous to [Bourgeois'] dwelling-house in Charlotte Street, Portland Place'.¹¹ Dorothy Stroud's interpretation was that it was built at the rear of 38 Charlotte Street, the terraced house to the south of No. 39 that was also leased by Desenfans. This view was widely accepted until challenged by Ptolemy Dean, who instead has argued that the mausoleum extended north from the side wall of No. 40 Charlotte Street and is shown on Horwood's map of London.¹² However, this interpretation cannot be right, for the structure that appears on Horwood's plan is far larger than the mausoleum which in the surviving drawings is shown as roughly 18 feet wide on what would be the Charlotte Street side. While an accurate measurement is impossible, the structure on the Horwood plan is more than twice as wide as No. 38 Charlotte Street, and is therefore much too large to represent the mausoleum.¹³ The forthcoming Survey of London volumes on Marylebone promise to offer some clarification.¹⁴ What is certain, though, is that the mausoleum was incorporated into an existing structure. Allen recorded Bourgeois telling him that 'Soane had built it out of a Coach House 25ft long'.¹⁵ Soane's drawings show that the architect retained the walls of the original building, blocking the entrances on one side and inserting a regular interior into the skewed site.¹⁶ The widest wall had three shallow stepped recesses, one of

which framed an entrance that may have existed before Soane's involvement.¹⁷

The plan of the mausoleum evolved through three permutations, as can be seen in the drawings at Sir John Soane's Museum. The first design, labelled 'Plan No 1' and dated 'Augst 15 1807', shows a rectangular chamber with an apse at one end (figure 1).¹⁸ The chamber is lined with columns from which springs a vaulted ceiling with three groin vaults, and is entered through a lobby at the apse end of the chamber. At the other end, Soane added to the drawing a 'Shrine' in the form of a wall tablet. A corresponding perspective of the interior shows the columns as baseless, fluted, Greek Doric with dossierets, between which are relief panels and, above these, three lunette windows.¹⁹ At the end of the chamber are three wall tablets beneath a wide relief panel. Apart from anything else, the existence of this design contradicts the argument that the 'circular plan of the mausoleum was determined by the skew boundary that Soane knew he could always maximise with a curved edge'; the circular plan was not inevitable.²⁰

The second design, of the same date, displays a much more complex arrangement, wherein a smaller lobby leads to a $\frac{3}{4}$ oval-shaped chamber that has six columns and a domed ceiling with a lantern (figure 2).²¹

At the end of the chamber are three steps that lead to a rectangular ante-chamber with apses on the two short sides. As in the first design, a corresponding perspective shows baseless Greek Doric columns, this time supporting a full entablature carrying the domed ceiling.²² Between the columns and in the apses of the burial chamber are urns in niches and, on the end wall, memorial tablets in the form of Roman cinerary urns. Three sarcophagi were added to the plan later by Soane.

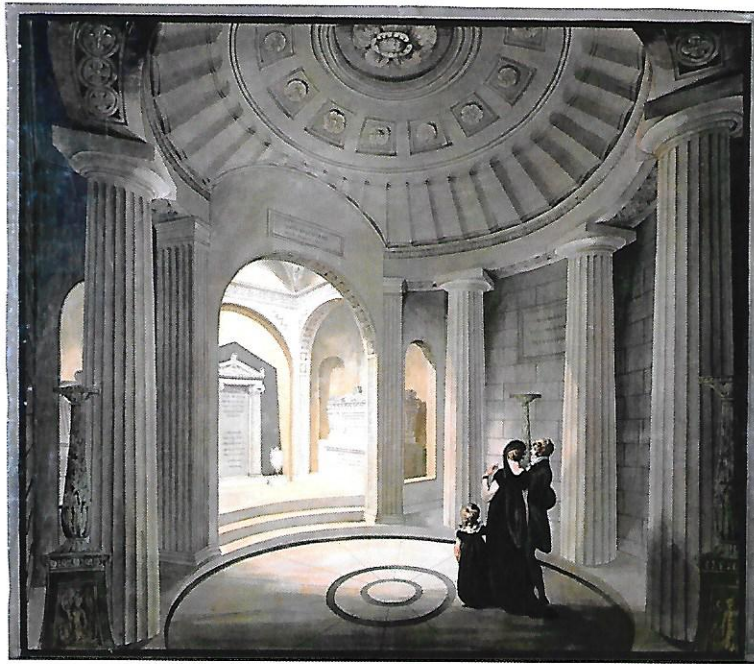


Figure 3: J. M. Gandy, perspective of the Charlotte Street mausoleum, inscribed: 'To the memory of Noel Desenfans Esq' / his saltem accumulem donis et fungar inani / munere'. November, 1807. SM 15/2/1. By courtesy of the Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum.

Neither of these two designs was executed, but the second did form the basis of a third version that was built. This is first shown in a perspective dated 'Aug 26 1807'.²³ The main chamber in this design is circular in plan, the lantern has been removed and replaced with a roundel with a dove, and in the ante-chamber the three sarcophagi have been arranged around a plinth that is set against the end wall. Above the archway that separates the chapel from the ante-chamber is a pedimented tablet, and candelabra have been placed between the columns. A section on the same sheet shows a circular lantern above the burial chamber, which also has a lunette filled with coloured glass, in front of which is an urn. The same drawing gives some of the dimensions of the mausoleum: the circular chamber has a diameter of 16 feet 4 inches, the height from the floor to the

top of the dome is 16 feet and the height of the columns is 10 feet 9 inches. Another section (CD) shows that the plinth for the sarcophagi is ornamented with incised pilasters and the sarcophagi themselves are strigillated and pedimented.²⁴ A second section (EF) on the same sheet shows the contrast between the unlit chapel and the illuminated burial chamber. The remaining drawings offer minor variations on the same theme of a three-sided lobby, a circular chamber and a rectangular ante-chamber. A perspective of the interior of the mausoleum by Joseph Michael Gandy, Soane's former assistant and principal draughtsman for exhibition drawings, shows the mausoleum structurally as built, although the extent of the executed decoration may have been exaggerated in this view (figure 3).²⁵



Figure 4: J. M. Gandy, perspective of the entrance hall, Bentley Priory. Datable to May 1798. SM 14/1/8. By courtesy of the Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum. Photo: Ardon Bar-Hama.

Having documented the development of the design of the Charlotte Street mausoleum, attention will now turn to the interpretation of the design in the context of its stylistic forbears. The typology of the mausoleum has understandably led historians to seek the basis for its design in religious and sepulchral architecture. Thus it has been argued that the Dulwich mausoleum (and, by insinuation, the Charlotte Street mausoleum) sits within the tradition of the temple (or 'tholos') or the private chapel, or elsewhere that it is archetypical of the 'cave-paradigm' – that is, its origins can be traced to the catacombs of the Early Christians.²⁶ As far as studies of the Dulwich mausoleum go, the inspiration for that structure has been attributed to several different sources including the Pantheon, the Brocklesby mausoleum and the Darnley mausoleum (both by James Wyatt).²⁷ But what most commentators have failed to mention is the importance of Soane's own, secular, architecture – particularly his entrance halls – to the design of the Charlotte Street

mausoleum. The connection has been made previously, although only in vague terms. According to Gillian Darley, for example, 'progress from a darkened lobby or vestibule towards a luminous space beyond was... a favourite effect of Soane's', while for Dean, Soane repeated at Dulwich 'a well-tested theme of composing vistas enclosed by columns in his country house eating rooms and also the Tivoli corner at the Bank [of England]'.²⁸ Although both of these statements are true, it is possible to be more specific in identifying examples from Soane's own practice of sources for the design of the Charlotte Street mausoleum.

Soane did not talk explicitly about entrance halls in his Royal Academy lectures, therefore the suggestion that they were the antecedents of the Charlotte Street mausoleum relies on a visual comparison of the mausoleum to his other works, coupled with an analysis of the intended function of the mausoleum. Soane's entrance halls do not follow a set pattern, but three common,

recurrent features are columns, steps and contrast between darkness and light, all of which were features of the Charlotte Street mausoleum.

One example of this combination of columns, steps and varying light levels is provided by the entrance hall at Bentley Priory, Stanmore, built by Soane in 1798-9. An exhibition drawing by Gandy shows the interior with baseless, fluted, Greek Doric columns with dossierets that are interspaced with round-headed windows containing coloured glass and support a groin-vaulted ceiling (figure 4).²⁹ At the end of the hall two steps lead towards the interior of the house. Gandy's drawing clearly demonstrates the 'lumière mystérieuse' that Soane hoped to create through the use of coloured glass, an effect that was key to creating an atmosphere that was both 'mysterieux et triste'.³⁰ The individual architectural elements combine to encourage the passage of the visitor into the house while manipulating his or her experience of the space.

Similarly, the entrance hall at Tyringham, Buckinghamshire, the country house designed by Soane for William Praed in 1793-7, combined Soane's characteristic entrance hall features to draw the visitor into the house. At Tyringham, a rectangular vestibule with baseless, fluted, Greek Doric columns with dossierets and a groin-vaulted ceiling preceded a short flight of steps that led to a tribune at the centre of the house (figure 5).³¹ The light from this tribune, in contrast to the dimness of the entrance vestibule, lured the visitor into the interior of the house. Likewise at Pitzhanger Manor, Soane's own country house in Ealing, a dark vestibule followed by ascending steps and a second, top-lit vestibule was intended to have the same effect, although Soane was prevented from incorporating columns in the entrance hall due to the smaller scale of

the house. The entrance halls at Macartney House, Greenwich and 33 St James's Square, Westminster also exhibit similarities in the use of steps, columns and progression from darkness to light.³²

Another example worth mentioning is the Princes Street entrance at the Bank of England, sometimes referred to as the 'Doric Vestibule'. This hall had a cruciform plan with pairs of Doric columns carrying a shallow-domed ceiling, with short flights of steps leading to the corridors that took visitors into the heart of the Bank.³³ The columns acted as a framing device, something which Soane repeated in a number of his other entrance halls. Worthy of note are Moggerhanger, Bedfordshire, and Holwood House, Kent, for which one design featured a circle of fluted Doric columns with an entablature.³⁴ The Doric order was evidently seen by Soane as appropriate to funereal architecture. His monument to Edward and Julia Evelyn at Felbridge, Surrey, for example, was designed as a giant, two-thirds fluted Doric column with a dossieret supporting a strigillated altar and a sculptural flame.³⁵

While Soane's intentions may not be explicit, it is surely of some significance that a miniaturised version of Gandy's perspective of the Charlotte Street mausoleum appears alongside a tiny version of a perspective of the entrance at Tyringham, as if in direct comparison, in Gandy's *Public and Private Buildings* (1818).³⁶ The confluence between the interior of the Desenfans mausoleum and Soane's entrance halls was not, though, merely cosmetic. To appreciate the significance of their stylistic similarities it should be remembered that the mausoleum was an active space that was meant to accommodate visitors. It is significant that the first entry in the Soane Museum Day Books refers to the mausoleum as a 'Chapel', that the same term is used in the

surviving drawings and that Allen referred to Bourgeois' 'Chapel' in 1811. Nor was this just a nominal description, as the chapel played host to 'Divine services' conducted by the Rev. Robert Corry, a fellow of Dulwich College.³⁷ Notably, Gandy's perspective of the mausoleum includes three mourners in the chapel. The mausoleum was, therefore, an active space.³⁸ Although this argument is not new, the connection between the design of the mausoleum and its function is. The similarities between the mausoleum at Charlotte Street and Soane's entrance halls suggest that his intention was to encourage visitors to enter the chapel to pay their respects to Desenfans.

The idea of the mausoleum as an active space was developed further by Soane at Dulwich, where the Charlotte Street prototype was replicated as a mausoleum

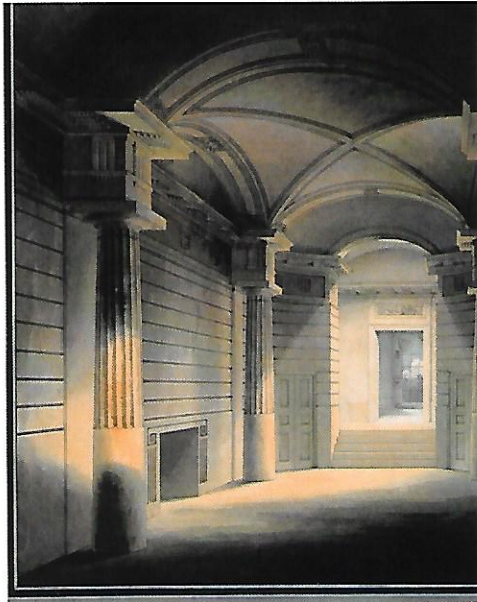


Figure 5: J. M. Gandy, perspective of the entrance hall with plans of part of the ground and chamber floors, Tyingham. 1798. SM 13/5/5. By courtesy of the Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum.

appended to the picture gallery. In an early design the mausoleum was positioned at the end of the enfilade created by the connected galleries, serving as the focal point and destination for visitors.³⁹ The experience of visitors to the gallery and mausoleum was clearly important to Soane. In his *Description of the House and Museum on the North Side of Lincoln's Inn Fields* (1835), the architect complained about the addition of a door to the mausoleum at Dulwich which spoiled the arrangement.⁴⁰ Indeed, access to the chapel was vital to the experience that Soane wanted to create. It has even been suggested that different heating systems were installed in the gallery and chapel so that the mausoleum provided a cold, dark contrast to the well-lit and comfortable ambience of the galleries.⁴¹ The concept of funereal architecture providing an experience for the user as well as a setting for commemoration also found expression elsewhere. At the Pitt Cenotaph, erected in 1823 at the rear of the National Debt Redemption Office, Richard Westmacott's statue of William Pitt sat at the centre of a light well as the locus of the structure, similar to the way in which the sarcophagi of Bourgeois and the Desenfans monopolised the light in the Charlotte Street mausoleum.

The Charlotte Street mausoleum was, then, stylistically and functionally similar to Soane's entrance halls. It would perhaps be unwise to pursue the psychological connotations of this connection. Nevertheless, the use of entrance halls as an inspiration is revealing of Soane's intentions. In designing the mausoleum as an entrance hall, Soane encouraged visitors to enter the chapel to pay their respects to the departed, while placing the sarcophagi at the end of the chapel rendered the grave physically and symbolically as the ultimate destination.

Acknowledgements

I am extremely grateful to Peter Guillery for allowing me to see his draft of the relevant passages in the forthcoming Survey of London volumes on Marylebone, and to Jill Lever, Sue Palmer and Stephen Astley for reading through and commenting on earlier drafts of this essay.

(Endnotes)

1. Lancelot Baugh Allen, 'The last testament of Sir Francis Bourgeois', in Soane and Death, ed. G. Waterfield (London: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 1996), 124.
2. John Summerson, 'Sir John Soane and the furniture of death', *Architectural Review* 163 (March, 1978): 147-58.
3. Giles Waterfield, ed., *Soane and Death* (London: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 1996), 93-95.
4. Andrew Ballantyne, 'First principles and ancient errors: Soane at Dulwich', *Architectural History* 37 (1994): 96-111; Todd Willmert, 'Heating methods and their impact on Soane's work: Lincoln's Inn Fields and Dulwich Picture Gallery', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 52, 1 (March, 1993): 52.
5. Soane and Bourgeois also sat together on the hanging committee in 1803 and Bourgeois campaigned for Soane's appointment to the professorship.
6. Gillian Darley, *John Soane: An Accidental Romantic* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999), 157 and 170-1; Arthur T. Bolton, ed., *The Portrait of Sir John Soane, R.A.* (London: Sir John Soane's Museum, 1927), 152.
7. Soane Museum (SM) Day Book, 1 March 1806 - 31 December 1807, 231.
8. SM Bill Book E, 155.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.* Bourgeois overstated the amount in his last testament, claiming that 'the estimate was £600, and that he [Soane] built it for about £580'. (Allen, 'Last testament', 125).
11. John Soane, *Memoirs of the Professional Life of an Architect* (London, 1835), 37.
12. Dorothy Stroud, *Sir John Soane, Architect* (London: De La Mare, 1996), 270; Ptolemy Dean, *Sir John Soane and London* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Lund Humphries, 2006), 206-7. Darley says the Mausoleum was 'to the rear of 36 Charlotte (now Hallam) Street' (Darley, *Accidental Romantic*, 182).
13. Richard Horwood, *Plan of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark and Parts adjoining Shewing every House* (London: 1792-99), accessed 4 March, 2015, <http://www.motco.com/map/81005/>.
14. *Survey of London: Vols LI-LII: South-eastern Marylebone* (forthcoming, 2016).
15. Allen, 'Last testament', 124.
16. SM 67/6/1-2.
17. There is nothing in the drawings to suggest that the entrance was added by Soane. Indeed, its unusual – even awkward – off-centre position would seem to verify that Soane made use of an existing aperture.
18. SM 67/6/2.
19. V&A 3307.115.
20. Dean, *Soane and London*, 55.
21. SM 67/6/1.
22. SM 67/6/15.
23. V&A 3307.116.
24. SM 67/6/9.
25. SM 15/2/1. A preparatory sketch, dated 'Oct 22 1807', also survives (V&A 3307.114). Waterfield, *Soane and Death*, 95.
26. Howard Colvin, *Architecture and the After-life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 360; Waterfield, *Soane and Death*, 62; Ballantyne, 'First principles', 107.
27. Darley, *Accidental Romantic*, 183. The Pantheon and the Brocklesby mausoleum both have circular plans, while the Darnley mausoleum incorporates a circle of columns supporting an entablature and a domed ceiling. Soane visited both the Pantheon and the Darnley Mausoleum himself and knew of the Brocklesby mausoleum through J. M. W. Turner, who lent him a print in 1804.
28. *Ibid.*, 183; Dean, *Soane and London*, 60.
29. SM 14/1/8.
30. David Watkin, 'Monuments and mausolea in the age of enlightenment', in Waterfield, *Soane and Death*, 17. Watkin argues that Soane's use of light was influenced by Blondel and Le Camus de Mézières.
31. SM 13/5/5.
32. Tendring Hall, Suffolk, Blundeston House, Suffolk, Sulby Lodge, Northamptonshire and Norwood Hall, Southall, also share some of these features.
33. Similar in form is the extant Downing Street entrance to the Privy Council Offices.
34. SM volume 69/28.
35. SM 65/3/6. The column survives, although it stands now in the grounds of Lemmington Hall, Northumberland.
36. SM P87.
37. *Soane, Memoirs*, 37; Waterfield, *Soane and Death*, 62.
38. Colvin described the relationship between the chapel and the burial chamber as similar to that of the auditorium and the stage in a theatre. However, as Gandy's view shows and as Bowdler argues, it was the mourners who were the 'principal players'. (Colvin, *Architecture and the After-life*, 360; Roger Bowdler, 'Et in Arcadia Ego: the neoclassical tomb 1760-1840, in Waterfield, *Soane and Death*, 27).
39. Waterfield, *Soane and Death*, 68.
40. *Ibid.*, 68; Sir John Soane, *Description of the House and Museum on the North Side of Lincoln's Inn Fields* (London, 1835), 70.
41. Willmert, 'Heating methods', 52-57.

THE MAUSOLUS ESSAY PRIZE 2015

THE TOMB OF SIR JOHN MOORE IN LA CORUÑA (CORUNNA), SPAIN

Mausolus Essay Prize Runner Up

Mark Guscini

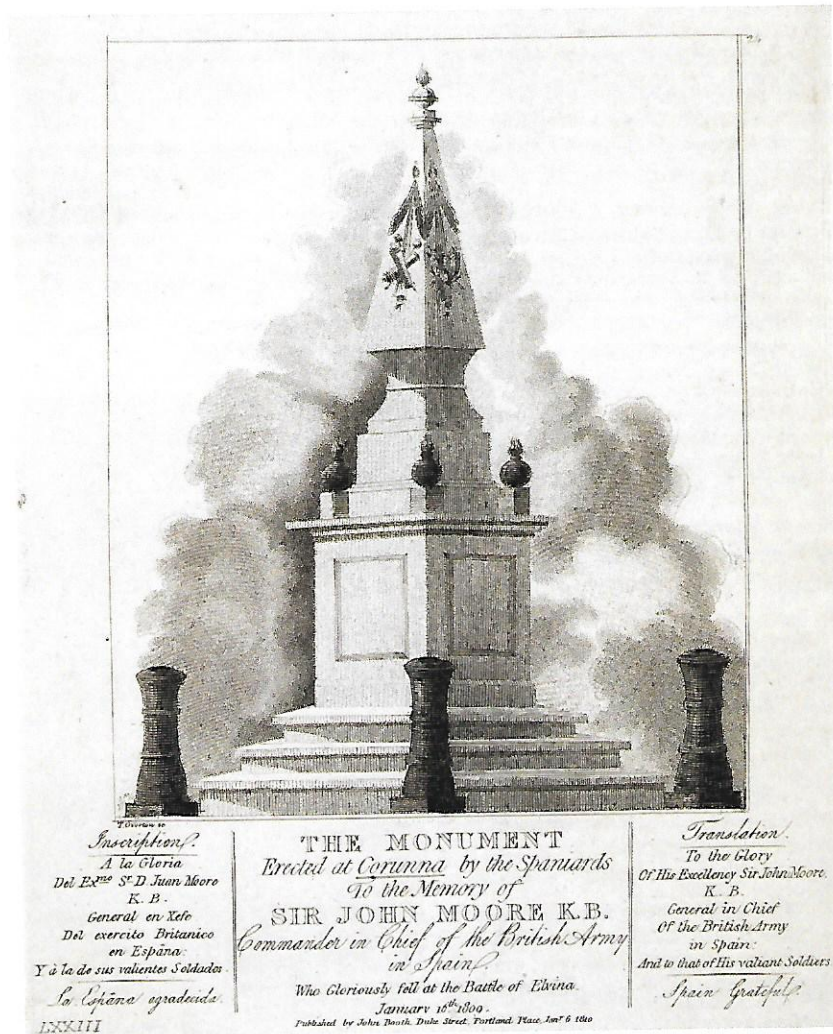


Figure 1: The monument erected by the Marquis de la Romana in Corunna, 1809.

Background: The Retreat to Corunna, the Battle and the Death of Sir John Moore

In September 1808, Sir John Moore K.B. was appointed commander in chief of the British forces in the Iberian Peninsula, with the mission of advancing from Portugal into Spain and with the co-operation of the Spanish armies to drive back the French invader. Unaware that he was now vastly outnumbered, Sir John advanced to Salamanca, where due to the impossibility of joining up with the few remaining Spanish forces, he contemplated retreating, but finally decided to strike a blow at the French communication lines in Valladolid or Burgos.

On advancing from Salamanca in December, a stroke of luck made him change the plan of attack – a letter from Marshal Berthier in Madrid to Marshal Soult in the north was intercepted, and the contents of the missive showed that the French were not even aware that Moore's forces were still in Spain. Sir John decided to attack Soult by surprise, but on the first news of the French advancing from Madrid, he would retreat to the sea. After an initial victory at Sahagún, the British troops had actually started the advance against Soult, and the much desired co-operation with the Spanish under the Marquis de la Romana was only hours away from becoming reality, when spies informed the British general that the French troops from Madrid were coming under Napoleon himself.

Moore immediately ordered his troops to retreat to Corunna, one of the most difficult and dramatic movements of the whole Peninsular War. From 26 December to 11 January, when the troops finally reached Corunna, the British army lost over 5,000 men from the inclemency of the winter weather, lack of food, and from sheer exhaustion after forced marches of up to 36 hours. Had the British ships been waiting in Corunna, Moore's forces would have embarked with no delay, thus avoiding battle, but the winter

storms had delayed their entry into the port. After some skirmishing on 15 January, the French troops attacked the British shortly after noon on the following day. The battle lasted until sundown, with no significant gains on either side, which at least assured that Moore's weary troops could embark safely. However, at about 3 o'clock, a cannon ball had struck Moore on the left shoulder, virtually tearing his arm off and leaving his lung exposed. He realised that he was mortally wounded, although he never lost consciousness despite the great pain. He was carried back to his headquarters by his faithful Highlanders, raising his head every few minutes to see how the battle was progressing.

He was accompanied by his old friend Paul Anderson, and told him that this was how he had always wished to die, serving his country on the field of battle. He also expressed a wish to be buried in Corunna, where he had fallen. Shortly before midnight, he expired amidst the tears of his generals and friends. Moore's sound judgement had saved his army from certain defeat at the hands of Napoleon, and many of his soldiers later returned to Spain under Wellington, finally driving the French troops out. Meanwhile, the British troops, now under General Hope, successfully embarked all through the night of the 16 January and the following day. Moore was buried in the early morning of 17 January in the bastion of San Diego, which was demolished in 1965, and in the words of the immortal poem by Charles Wolfe, left "alone with his glory".

The first monument

Once the French had abandoned the city of Corunna, in June 1809, the Spanish Marquis de la Romana, who had tried to collaborate with Moore, removed the body from San Diego and raised a monument to the British general. The monument is described in a letter from General Sir William Parker Carroll, sent from Corunna to Castlereagh on 26 July 1809¹:

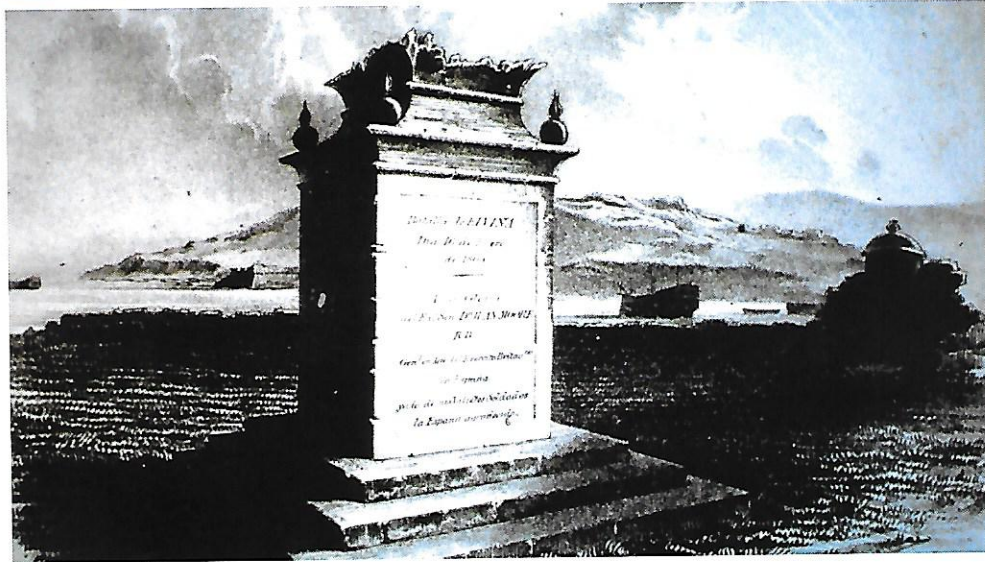


Figure 2: The monument erected by the Marquis de la Romana after the wooden obelisk had been destroyed by bad weather

A very elegant and appropriate monument has been erected by the Marquis de la Romana to perpetuate the memory and record the heroic actions of General Sir John Moore.

His remains have been removed from the place where they were originally interred and placed under the monument in a more conspicuous situation.

The inscription on the monument:

A la Gloria
del general inglés²
Sir John Moore K.B.
y sus valientes compatriotas
La España agradecida³

Parker Carroll includes in the letter a sketch of the monument on a scale of 3 inches to 6 feet, which would mean the monument was almost 14 feet high. The Marquis de la Romana apparently included the inscription in his own hand, writing in black chalk⁴. A print of the monument (Figure 1)⁵ shows the obelisk standing on three steps, with four cannons, one at each corner. Both Carroll's sketch and the engraving show three steps

at the base of the monument.

On 6 October 1810, however, this situation is put in doubt in a letter from General Walker in Corunna to Lord Liverpool⁶:

The body of General Sir John Moore is still laying under a heap of rubbish in a dirty obscure corner of one of the ramparts of this citadel, without a stone or distinction of any kind to mark it. The Spaniards some time since erected a little obelisk of painted wood to his memory in one of the squares of the port and endeavoured to remove the body to it, but not being found in a state capable of it, it was covered up again and left in its original situation.

Just over four months later, Walker write again to Lord Liverpool to admit his mistake⁷. He had indeed been told this story, but can now affirm that "not a word of all this was fact". Walker goes on to explain how the wooden monument was put up by the Marquis immediately on his entering Corunna, and the body was removed from

its original burial place during the night and placed under the obelisk. The body was entire and uncorrupted and dressed in uniform, although the boots had come off at some point as the feet were naked.

In his first letter, Walker also described how "even that frail monument of Spanish gratitude has been destroyed by the weather". This letter dates from October 1810, which means that Romana's monument lasted a little over a year at most. An anonymous print shows the monument as it stood once the obelisk had been destroyed (Figure 2).

The second monument

Absolutely essential testimony is provided by Charles Steevens in his book of military memoirs⁸. While describing the death and burial of Sir John Moore in 1809, he jumps forward in his narrative to his return to the city in 1812 (no month is specified):

Poor Sir John Moore was buried at Corunna. I visited his tomb in 1812 when on our way to join Lord Wellington. The tomb was quite plain, without any inscription, having a cannon sunk in the ground at each corner; some time afterwards the Spanish put an inscription on it.

When the narrative reaches 1812 in chronological order, Steevens regrets the short time they spent in Corunna as he would have liked to walk over the battlefield, although they did find time to visit the tomb of "our brave Commander". We can conclude from Steevens' testimony that there was a tomb in 1812, with a cannon at each corner and no inscription. This can be verified by a later letter, sent by the aide-de-camp Mr. White to Colonel Bunbury⁹, which includes a translation into English of the original contract signed for erecting the tomb. According to the contract, dated 6 September 1811 and signed by one Cipriano Fernández, the price for the work involved was "700 hard dollars".

General George Ramsay, the 9th Earl of Dalhousie (1770-1838), visited Corunna in September 1812 and ordered railing to be put up around the tomb, which shows that the tomb had been put in place in or before this month. There was clearly a delay in the railing project, as a letter dated 10 March 1813, sent from Corunna by Michael Bourke to Colonel Bunbury¹⁰, opens with the following words:

I asked you some time ago whether the inscription and railing for Sir John Moore's tomb were likely to be sent out speedily?

Another letter, this time sent by General Howard Douglas from High Wycombe¹¹, recommends keeping the inscription made by the Marquis de la Romana; this was not to be. It was James Moore (Sir John's brother and his first biographer) who entrusted Dr. Parr with the Latin inscription for the tomb (Parr had written inscriptions for Dr. Johnson and Edward Gibbon). In a letter dated 23 March 1814¹², one Richard Westmorcott wrote to James explaining that the inscription would not fit on the tomb as it was, and that the tomb would have to be taken apart in order to engrave the words on it. He proposes a solution (Figure 3), which would leave the tomb as it was but adding a large headstone with a helmet, shield and sword on the top and a plaque with more space for the inscription. The tomb erected in 1812 is clearly shown and is the one that is still in Corunna today.

Neither the addition to the tomb nor the inscription in question were ever made. The lengthy inscription in question can be found in James' biography of Sir John¹³:

H.S.E.
 JOANNES MOORE
 Allectus in equestrem ordinem Balnei
 A Georgio Tertio Britanniarum Rege;
 Ortu Scotus,
 Imperator fortis idemque innocens,
 Et rei militaris peritissimus

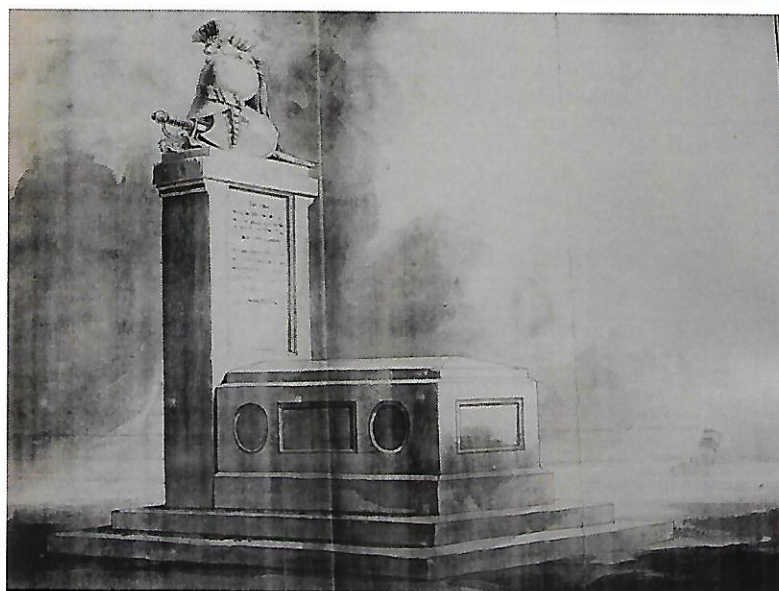


Figure 3: The planned addition to the tomb to make room for the lengthy inscription

Scientia et usu:
 Qui
 In Batavia, Corsica, Aegypto, India
 Occidentali,
 Hostes fugatos vidit;
 Hispanorum tetra et detestabili tyrannide
 oppressorum
 Jura, leges, aras et focos,
 Summo qui potuit studio tutatus est;
 Et post varios belli casus,
 Cum ad Corunnam aegre accessisset,
 Milites suos,
 Longo itinere, fame, frigore, enectos,
 Ad subeundem proelii dimicationem
 Hortando erexit,
 Audendo confirmavit;
 Et Gallis numero copiarum fretis
 Et felicitate ducis paene perpetua
 superbientibus
 Victoriam e manibus eripuit,
 Legioni quadragesimae secundae,
 Societate periculorum diu secum
 conjunctissimae,
 Et memori rerum in Aegypto prospere
 gestarum,

De virtute digna commilitonibus suis
 Gratulatus est;
 Et vulnere pro patria sociisque ejus
 accepto,
 Vitam, uti multum et saepe optaverat,
 Bene consummavit
 XVII kal. Februar. Anno Sacro MDCCIX

GEORGIUS,
 GEORGII TERTII FILIUS,
 Britanniarum regnum unitum regens.
 Et qui Regiae Majestati a sanctoribus
 consiliis sunt,
 Hoc Monumentum
 Ponendum curaverunt.
 Anno Sacro
 MDCCCXIII¹⁴

Colonel Bunbury must have written to James Moore telling him that it was the 52nd and not the 42nd regiment that Moore's last words before being wounded were addressed to, as the reply from James¹⁵, dated 1 April 1814, corrects him and explains that it was

indeed the 42nd Highlanders.

An interesting point is that James says the inscription is on a marble monument erected at Corunna. Such a lengthy text would require a large plaque to be legible, and would certainly never have fitted on the tomb as it stood without the proposed addition and there are no records of such a monument or inscription anywhere else.

A fascinating book by Harold Small¹⁶ provides an answer to the mystery. In the bibliography, which includes short comments on the books in question, Small declares that "... it is erroneously stated that the epitaph is inscribed on the monument at Corunna", and again¹⁷, "A monument to accommodate his [sc. Dr. Parr's] tribute would have had to rival the obelisk by St. Peter's if the inscription were to be legible".

The cenotaph

In 1824, the British Consul, Mr. Bartlett, repaired the tomb, which had fallen into disuse. A faded plaque still survives inside the enclosure, not visible to visitors from the outside. The text reads:

This Barrier Built and the
Monument Repaired By
Order of the British Government
A.D. 1824.
Richard Bartlett, Consul.

A decade later, the Governor of the city of Corunna, General Francisco Mazarredo built the gardens of San Carlos around the tomb and in 1839, placed a cenotaph on top of the 1812 tomb.

These events are recorded in a book by Richard Ford¹⁸:

In 1824 it was restored and enclosed by our consul Mr. Bartlett, also at our government's order and expense

and

... 1839, when General Mazarredo, who had lived much in England, raised a subscription among the English, cleansed the tomb and planted some two acres for a public Alameda.

This gave the tomb the aspect it essentially conserves today, apart from a white marble plaque that was attached to the front most probably for, or in preparation for, the hundredth anniversary of the battle and Moore's death¹⁹. The text on the plaque reads:

IN MEMORY OF GENERAL SIR JOHN
MOORE
WHO FELL AT THE BATTLE OF ELVIÑA²⁰
WHILE COVERING
THE EMBARKATION OF THE BRITISH
TROOPS
16TH JANUARY 1809

Conclusions

Visitors today to the tomb (numerous ex-servicemen coming to the city on cruise liners leave poppy wreaths on the fence around the actual monument) see mainly the cenotaph, and often think that if the monument consists of a cenotaph, then Sir John Moore's body is not actually buried there. However, what cannot be clearly seen from the outside is doubtless the most interesting part.

There are three quite different parts to the monument as it stands today. The base, consisting of three stone steps, visible on the engravings of the obelisk erected by the Marquis de la Romana in 1809, and the four cannons at each corner, seen on one of the engravings, are still there (Figure 4) although they cannot be seen from outside the iron fence. This, together with the related texts analysed above, shows that the body of Sir John Moore is indeed buried under the monument.

The tomb raised in 1812, described by Charles Steevens and shown on the design of the proposed addition, sits on these steps.



Figure 4: A contemporary photograph of the steps from the Marquis de la Romana's monument and the cannons

The lengthy inscription proposed by James Moore was abandoned for the much shorter and simpler

JOHANNES MOORE
EXERCITUS BRITANNICI DUX
PRAELIO OCCISUS
A.D. 1809

an inscription which once again is hidden from public view.

Finally, the upper part of the monument, the cenotaph, dates from 1839 and was erected by the city governor, who raised "a subscription among the English" to pay for the work (presumably while living in

England).

The monument today (Figure 5) is well-looked after by the local authorities and homage is paid to Sir John and the rest of the fallen every 16 January under the organisation of the local historical and cultural association "The Royal Green Jackets". H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester visited the tomb in 1999 and laid a wreath at the foot of the tomb in memory of the British army in 1809 and its Commander in Chief, Sir John Moore.

There is a monument to Sir John Moore inside St Paul's Cathedral in London, a statue in George Square, Glasgow (where Moore was born), and a plaque on the battle field that was unveiled in 1931 by the Prince of Wales, who later reigned briefly as Edward VIII. An oak tree that was planted by Moore in his garden in Cobham, Surrey, shortly before leaving England for the Peninsula, is still alive, and preserved by government order. Seedlings from this tree were brought to Corunna in 2001; one of them was planted and is thriving just a few metres away from the tomb: a fitting tribute to the soldier without whom Lord Wellington said that he could never have defeated Napoleon.

(Endnotes)

- 1 General William Parker Carroll to Lord Castlereagh, 26 July 1809, MS W.O. 1/241, 569-579, National Archives, London.
- 2 It is still customary (although incorrect) in Spain to refer to anybody from the British Isles as "inglés" (English).
- 3 To the glory of the English general Sir John Moore K.B. and his valiant countrymen, Spain in gratitude.
- 4 See Stephen Watson Fullom, *Life of Sir Douglas Howard* (London: John Murray, 1863), 99.
- 5 Published by John Booth, Duke Street, Portland Place, 6 January 1810. Held at the British Library under catalogue number Maps K. Top. 73.48.1.
- 6 General Walker to Lord Liverpool, 6 October 2010, MS W.O. 1/261, 99-105, National Archives, London.
- 7 General Walker to Lord Liverpool, 20 February 1811, MS W.O. 1/261, 229-238, National Archives, London.
- 8 Charles Steevens. *Reminiscences of my Military Life from 1795 to 1818*, ed. Nathaniel Steevens, (Winchester: Warren and Son, 1878), 78-79.



Figure 5: The tomb of Sir John Moore in La Coruña (Corunna) in 2015

9 Mr. White to Colonel Bunbury, 27 September 1814, MS W.O. 1/1132, 565-568, National Archives, London.

10 Michael Bourke to Colonel Bunbury, 10 March 1813, MS W.O. 1/267, 89-90, National Archives, London.

11 General Howard Douglas to unknown addressee, 3 April 1813, MS W.O. 1/267, 385-386, National Archives, London.

12 Richard Westmorcott to James Moore, 23 March 1814, MS W.O. 1/267, 99-100, National Archives, London.

13 James Moore, *The Life of Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore* (London: John Murray, 1834), Vol. 2, 238-239.

14 Here lies John Moore, appointed Knight of the Order of Bath by George III, King of Great Britain. Born in Scotland, he was a strong and honest commander, highly skilled in both military science and practice. He defeated the enemy in Holland, Corsica, Egypt and the West Indies. He defended the laws, altars and homes of the Spanish, oppressed by the hateful tyrant, as best he could, and after various battles he arrived exhausted at Corunna, and encouraged his soldiers, worn out by the long journey, hunger and cold, to fight in battle, giving them an example in his own valour. The French trusted in their numbers, proud of their commander's almost perpetual fortune, but (Moore) snatched the victory

from their hands. He thanked his soldiers from the 42nd regiment for their meritorious virtue, as they had been so many times in danger with him, recalling the success achieved in Egypt. He was wounded fighting for his country and his fellow men, and died as he had wished on 16 January in the year of grace 1809. George, the son of George III, reigning over the United Kingdom of the British people, and His Majesty's ministers, erected this monument in the year of grace 1814.

15 James Moore to Colonel Bunbury, 1 April 1814, MS W.O. 1/1132, 81-82, National Archives, London.

16 Harold Small, *The Field of His Fame: A Ramble in the Curious History of Charles Wolfe's Poem, the Burial of Sir John Moore* (Oakland: University of California Press, 1953), 47.

17 Small, *Field*, 38.

18 Richard Ford, *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain* (John Murray: London, 1845), 597.

19 Local historian Francisco Tettamancy, writing in 1910, states that it had been placed on the tomb a few years previously. Cf. Francisco Tettamancy, *Galos y Britanos* (Imprenta Ferrer: La Coruña, 1910), 145.

20 Elviña was the village at the centre of the battle, and the battle is best known by this name in Spanish.

Redipuglia and the dead

Mausolus Essay Prize Winner

Hannah Malone

Over a hundred thousand bodies are buried in the ossuary of Redipuglia. Created in north-eastern Italy under the fascist state in 1935–8, it is the largest burial site of the Great War worldwide.¹ It encloses the remains of Italian soldiers who died in battle within a colossal stone staircase that emits a powerful sensation of absence, and a silence that suggests that the dead have been submitted to the rule of the dictatorship. Over thirty ossuaries were created by the fascist regime in the 1920s and '30s as part of a campaign to exploit death for political gain. The memory of the

may serve political ends that overwhelm, or erase, the identity of the individual.

Between 1915 and 1918, over 650,000 Italian soldiers died in a relatively small area that stretches across the Italian regions of Trentino, Friuli, and the Veneto, and which extends into what is now Slovenia. Those who fell in battle were buried wherever possible, in makeshift cemeteries or in mass graves close to the battlefields. Immediately after the war, those burial places were rearranged into small cemeteries that were scattered along the former front lines.² They

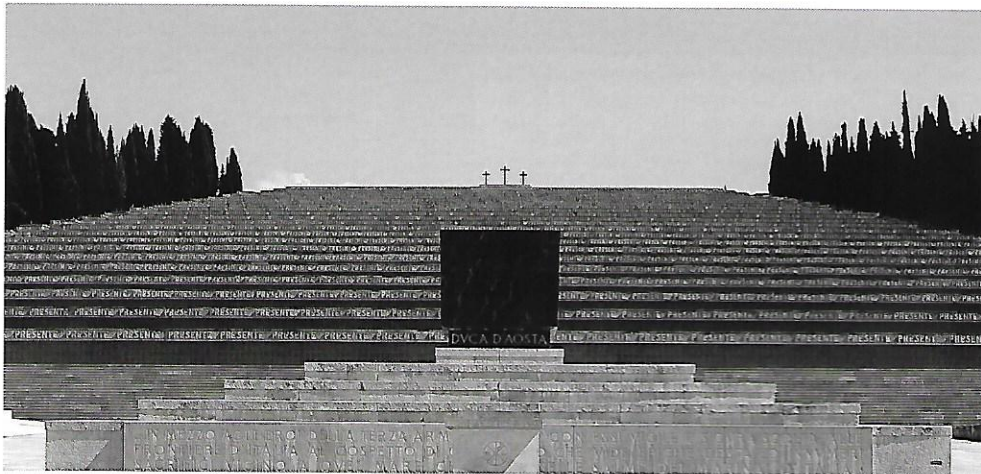


Figure 1: Redipuglia, Italy 1935-8.

Great War was harnessed as propaganda for the promotion of militarism, nationalism, and imperialism. When Benito Mussolini opened Redipuglia in 1938, Italy was stumbling into another global conflict. Thus, Redipuglia is a powerful example of how funerary monuments may act as instruments of power, or how the memory of the dead

were relatively small, modest, similar in form to minor civilian cemeteries, and under the control of local councils. In 1927, the fascist authorities declared that state of affairs to be unsatisfactory and launched a major campaign to award 'glorious burial' to the war dead. Hundreds of thousands of bodies were exhumed from the existing cemeteries

and re-buried in new ossuaries that were built relatively close to the earlier burial grounds and what had been the battlefields. The older cemeteries were then demolished.

The main objective of the programme of re-burial, as outlined in a report of 1930, was 'centralization'.³ A large number of small burial grounds were replaced by fewer large ossuaries. Redipuglia accommodated remains from eighty-nine smaller, local burial sites⁴ – the largest of which was the

helmets, boots, or individual epigraphs. By the early 1930s, Colle Sant'Elia was judged to be unsuited to the strategies of the fascist regime. Its trench-like terraces recalled the reality of warfare, rather than glory or other politically useful abstractions. Already aging, the cemetery suggested the passage of time, instead of an unfading victory. Moreover, the diversity of its graves conveyed a sense of personalised commemoration, rather than the massed unity of a collective memory. In 1935, Mussolini dismissed Colle Sant'Elia



Figure 2: Colle Sant'Elia, 1919–23. Source: *Per gli Invitti della terza armata: Consacrazione del cimitero degli Invitti* (Udine: Tipografia E. Passero, 1923).

cemetery of Colle Sant'Elia, which was established in the aftermath of the war and opened in 1923 (fig. 2). Colle Sant'Elia housed the fallen from the army of the 'undefeated' (*'invitti'*) – so called because for its reputation to hold ground against the enemy.⁵ The cemetery embodied a tower of Babel with concentric rings like Dante's Purgatory. The dead were placed in graves in the ground that bore individual markers, or memorials, to which comrades and relatives contributed personal memorabilia, such as

as a 'scrap metal yard'.⁶ Work began on the new ossuary of Redipuglia and the old cemetery was eventually destroyed.

The process of centralisation meant that the remains of the dead were reorganised within the new, and remarkably different, 'social structures' of Redipuglia that underlined the contrast between individual and mass burial. In the new ossuary, rather than individual graves, the fallen were packed into a vast monument, with little or no distinction



Figure 3: Redipuglia

between one set of remains and the next as, in a totalitarian regime, the individual is subordinated to an all-embracing authority and subsumed within the mass. Identified bodies were slotted into small niches marked by names and arranged in a grid within a stepped structure, which ascends a slope that is delineated by cypress trees. Unknown remains belonging to over sixty thousand men were massed into a crypt at the top of the monument, which is reached by a prescribed route of crisscrossing stairs flanking the hill. As expressed in 1938, the aim was 'to immortalize and exalt the memory of heroes', rather than to satisfy 'individual affections, feelings or memories'.⁷ Individual memories, and the capacity for private mourning, were practically eliminated in favour of meanings that reinforced the unity of the state, its power over the individual, and visions for a cohesive and unified society.⁸

The collective order is overlaid by an established military hierarchy, and thus by an allied structure of social relationships that divided the commanders from the commanded. Six tombs stand apart (fig. 3). The largest, which is at the front, is that of the commander, the Duke of Aosta,

Emanuele Filiberto di Savoia, a cousin of the King, and a fervent fascist. Behind him are his five generals. Behind them, the dead are arranged in serried ranks, as in a zombie army that is ready to march into battle under the leadership of its commanders (who in real life were seldom at the front). As described in 1941, 'Redipuglia is not a Cemetery, but a rally of devout sons and warriors [...] of the Fatherland'.⁹ The soldiers' readiness to fight is suggested by the obsessive repetition of the word *PRESENTE* that runs along the face of the ascending steps (fig. 4). This is the fascist ritual of the *appello* or roll-call, when a leader calls out the name of the dead and his comrades answer 'presente', meaning that the dead are forever present in the memory of the living and always ready to serve. Yet, at Redipuglia, the actual identities of the fallen are practically annihilated. The dead are not remembered as husbands, fathers, and sons, but only as soldiers. Despite the reiteration of 'presente', individual histories and memories are notably absent. This annulment is elitist rather than egalitarian. The celebrated commanders are separated from the mass, despite their reputation for incompetence, and their elevation was line in a fascist attachment to the principle of hierarchy and to the cult of the leader.¹⁰

Thus, there is no sense of the fact that, unlike the hundred thousand soldiers, none of the commanders died in battle but passed away peacefully in post-war Italy.

The geographical concentration of the fallen was accompanied by a process of political centralisation. The programme for re-burial was run entirely by a special commission under the aegis of the Ministry of War (now the Ministry of Defence). Initially, the commemoration of the fallen was left to

to monopolise and control commemoration, and to benefit from the cultural and political advantages associated with remembrance.

Redipuglia was begun in 1935, as Italy's invasion of Ethiopia reinforced the need to use commemoration for the promotion of war. In the same year, the new director of the commission charged with the construction of the ossuaries, the General Ugo Cei, dissolved its advisory committee and responded directly to Mussolini. Cei

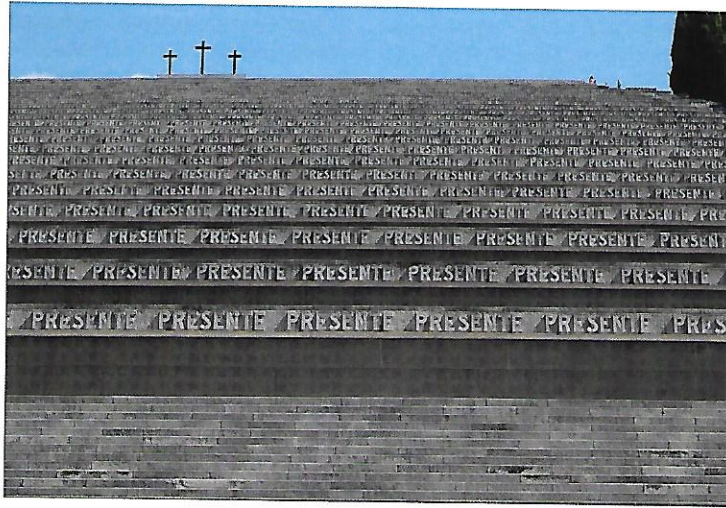


Figure 4: Redipuglia

mourners, local councils, and Veterans' groups. However, in 1927, a law was introduced that suppressed local initiatives, and curtailed rights to build monuments and to hold ceremonies to the dead. Effectively, the fascist regime monopolised the right to pay homage to the fallen; although, in demolishing Colle Sant'Elia and the other front-line cemeteries, it was going against the wishes of many of the bereaved. The state met with some resistance, particularly from veterans, and from the clergy as a group that had a stake in commemoration. However, the regime's objective was not to provide solace and consolation, but rather

also replaced the designers selected by his predecessors with his own appointees; namely, the architect Giovanni Greppi (1884–1960) and the sculptor Giannino Castiglioni (1884–1971). Together, they completed Redipuglia and eight other major ossuaries between 1935 and 1941, but are now largely forgotten, perhaps because of a reluctance to acknowledge artists and architects who were once associated with the fascist dictatorship.

The creation of Redipuglia was a massive undertaking that was driven by specific political aims. Having seized control in 1922

by undemocratic means, the fascist regime needed to legitimize and strengthen its power. Redipuglia served both to express, and in turn to reinforce, fundamental elements of fascist ideology. The first objective was to 're-write' the memory of Great War. The war represented a caesura, or rupture, in Italian history.¹¹ There were many who thought that, although Italy was on the winning side, the nation had lost much and gained little. The peace negotiations brought disappointment, and deepened the divisions between those for whom the conflict was a triumphant victory and others for whom it represented a pointless slaughter. Resentment was such that veterans were spat upon in the street. The fascist leadership drew strength from that social fracture and, once in power, imposed its own memory of the past. In effect, the war became a keystone of fascist ideology, which could exploit the fact that the conflict had exposed Italy's weaknesses in terms of its military skills, foreign relations, and international standing. As a monument to the 'sacrifices and glory of the fatherland',

Ultimately, it helped to prepare the nation for new wars. Its 'Heroic Route' (*Via Eroica*) was marked by plaques commemorating thirty-eight battles in the surrounding area. Thus, while Redipuglia and the other ossuaries might help commit history to memory, they were also about forgetting in that they served to repress unfavourable memories of the war and to silence discordant voices, particularly those of pacifists and neutralists.

Redipuglia also served to foster a cult of the dead through the veneration of the fallen. The process of gathering what might have been millions of bones in one location afforded scale, and created a secular site of pilgrimage that could host large, officious public ceremonies and provide a 'source of profound grateful reverence and just pride' (fig. 5).¹³ To that end, the ossuary was situated close to the railway and was promoted by means of propaganda, guidebooks, pamphlets, newspaper articles, and other publicity that was targeted particularly at veterans and young people.



Figure 5: Inauguration of Redipuglia, 18th September 1938.

Redipuglia was part of the cultural mechanisms put in place by the regime to restore the nation's honour and dignity.¹² It made a retrospective claim for a glorious victory that fascism appropriated as its own.

The number of recorded visits under the dictatorship suggests that the propaganda was relatively successful.

The veneration of the fallen was a useful

political instrument. First, it helped bind the living together by means of a common memory of the dead, thereby bolstering a sense of unity among the Italian population, or at least that part of it that was sympathetic to fascism. Second, the celebration of political martyrdom served as a call to arms, as the living were persuaded that they owed it to the dead to fight for their country. Redipuglia was described as a 'virile school for the living'.¹⁴ Italians were encouraged to ask if any death could be 'more beautiful than that of a soldier in battle'.¹⁵ That rhetoric underpinned the exaltation of war as something that was necessary to the rebirth of the nation. It prepared the Italians for future military engagements, and functioned in relation to the regime's imperialist ambitions and colonial wars.

Redipuglia combined mechanisms of propaganda that were political and religious. The three crosses at the top of the steps were intended to represent the Calvary of the fallen. Like Christ, the dead were seen to have sacrificed their lives to redeem the nation. Visitors were meant to ascend via the demanding lateral staircases to give thanks for the sacrifices of the dead. They were akin to pilgrims who must express indebtedness and also faith in that for which lives have been lost. The iconography shows how fascism borrowed opportunistically from Catholicism. The fallen are depicted martyrs and Redipuglia is called a *sacrario*, or a shrine that enclose relics. That convergence of politics and religion is symptomatic of how, with the rise of modern nationalism, the nation became an object of faith – as politicians adopted the ideological instruments of the Church under conditions that marked an uneasy alliance between competing forces.¹⁶

The monument was a geographical marker in the landscape of war. It was located in the region of Friuli that was appropriated from the Austro-Hungarian Empire as a result of the Great War. Thus, it staked a claim on

land acquired through the loss of military lives, thereby justifying the price paid for the new territory. It was also part of efforts to 'italianize' the local population, which involved the repression of Slavic languages and local culture. The monument projected a myth of unity for the Italian cause in an area where most of the local men had fought on the Austrian side.¹⁷ In a rural region that was economically deprived, the ossuary was also a social project that carried political and economic value. Its vast budget of over ten million Lira represented a significant opportunity to alleviate unemployment and to generate revenue.¹⁸ However, it is perhaps strange that Slavic workmen were employed to inscribe each one of the 5784 letters commemorating their former enemy, at the cost of seven Lira per letter, or under half the daily wage of a manual labourer.¹⁹

Redipuglia was strategically placed on the Carso Plateau, thereby giving value to a major battleground and, in turn, gaining power from its proximity. In that sense, it politicised the landscape by turning it into a national monument, or a repository for a national memories. The relationship between architecture and landscape was physical, as well as symbolic. The staircase exploited the topography of the hillside, its views, and the sense of ascension. Thus, the monument formed an artificial addition, or extension, to the landscape. The balance between architecture and landscape defines the two main traditions in the design of cemeteries. Redipuglia, like the other Italian ossuaries of the Great War, is an architectural mausoleum, unlike the landscaped war cemeteries created by France, the United States, and the Commonwealth. If parallels are to be drawn with Redipuglia, then they must be with Germany and the re-burial of the fallen in *Totenburgen*, or 'fortresses of the dead', in the 1930s.²⁰ Although it is difficult to ascertain direct Italian influences, similarities in form might be due to ideological affinities between Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, and common tendencies

involving nationalism and militarism. Equally, the difference between the architectural approach adopted at Redipuglia and the landscaped model adopted by the Commonwealth countries might reflect differing attitudes towards the dead. In burial grounds of the Commonwealth, efforts were made to preserve the identity of the fallen by providing individual and separated graves, without distinctions of rank, and in broadly horizontal layouts that suggest egalitarianism and fraternity.²¹ This is in marked contrast to the monolithic, hierarchical, and vertical arrangement of Redipuglia.

Architecturally, Redipuglia was formed by a typically fascist interplay between modernity and tradition. It responded to a demand for mass burial that was relatively new, and which resulted from the unprecedented bloodshed of modern warfare. The designers, Greppi and Castiglioni, exploited the lack of an obvious prototype to develop a format that was innovative and suited to the needs of the dictatorship. Although that format draws on classical planning traditions and is axial and symmetrical, its style is far from the bombastic classicism that is often associated with totalitarianism. Redipuglia was shaped by a process that minimised detailing in order to expose the essential nature of architectural forms, such as the monumental staircase, the stepped fountain, and the ancient Roman columbarium. Although the layout points to historical precedents, the surfaces eschew historicism in favour of a stripped or abstracted language that may owe something to Italian 'modernism'. The conjunction of tradition and innovation reflected underlying tensions between reactionary and revolutionary elements in fascist culture. It also mirrored a desire among architects of the fascist period to create architecture that was simultaneously modern and Italian, or an architecture that was both rooted in Italy's history and suited to the new status of Fascist Italy. However, the aesthetics of Redipuglia also followed from the economics of a

regime that maximised the ideological value of architecture by focusing on impact and mass, while limiting the costs of decoration and detailing that might require high levels of skill and expense.

Redipuglia might also be understood in terms of its voids, rather than its solids. It is composed of a sequence of spaces, or a processional route, that is intended to accommodate mass gatherings, ceremonies, and rituals. In that respect, there are resonances with ecclesiastical architecture and the Italian tradition of the *sacro monte*, or up-hill pilgrimage of Renaissance origin.²² The staircase appears taller as it tapers at the top – an illusionistic effect that may point to the architect Greppi's previous employment as a set designer. Basically, Redipuglia is a theatrical stage for the unholy tragedy of the war and a silent travesty of the Italian piazza. As a collaborative design, it lies at the border between architecture and sculpture. That fusion between architecture and art, as realised at Redipuglia, was a central objective of the cultural programme of fascist regime and its ambition to generate consensus or shared beliefs.

In time, the dictatorship fell, but Redipuglia remained. As ideologies moved on, it was 'de-fascistized' or stripped of some, but by no means all, of its fascist symbols. Having lost its original function as an instrument of fascist propaganda, Redipuglia was re-invented as a monument of Republican Italy and, from 1948, accommodated state and military ceremonies.²³ It is uncanny that, despite its militarist symbolism, it has also been re-cast as a monument to pacifism. In that respect, it offers a vivid example of the versatility of funerary monuments, or how they may be re-employed. It also testifies to the enduring manipulation of the memory of the dead to suit the politics of the living. Ultimately, however, Redipuglia is a monument to the silence of a hundred thousand dead, whose bodies were institutionalised by Mussolini's dictatorship and appropriated to serve the

fascist cause.

(Endnotes)

- 1 Bruno Tobia, "Dal milite ignoto al nazionalismo monumentale fascista (1921-1943)", in *Storia d'Italia, Annali* 18 (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 2002), 605.
- 2 Lisa Bregantin, *Per non morire mai: la percezione della morte in guerra e il culto dei caduti nel primo conflitto mondiale* (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 2010), 193-233.
- 3 Archivio del Commissariato Generale per le Onoranze ai Caduti, "Memoria sulla sistemazione definitiva delle salme dei militari italiani caduti in guerra", 11 March 1930.
- 4 Archivio del Commissariato Generale per le Onoranze ai Caduti, "Elenco dei cimiteri da cui sono tratte le salme", uncatalogued.
- 5 *Per gli Invitti della terza armata: Consacrazione del cimitero degli Invitti* (Udine: Tipografia E. Passero, 1923); Ministero della Difesa, *Sacrari Militari della Prima Guerra Mondiale: Redipuglia, Oslavia (ed altri sacrari del Friuli Venezia Giulia e d'oltre confine)* (Rome: Ministero della Difesa, 1988), 22-36 and 42-4; John Foot, *Italy's Divided Memory* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 46-8.
- 6 'deposito di un ferro-vecchio', Anna Maria Fiore, "La monumentalizzazione dei luoghi teatro della Grande Guerra: Il sacrario di Redipuglia di Giovanni Greppi e Giannino Castiglioni", *Annali di Architettura* 15 (2003): 239.
- 7 'eternare la memora degli eroi e di esaltarla nel tempo', 'più che ad affetti, sentimenti e ricordi individuali', anon., "I sacrari per le salme dei caduti nella Grande Guerra", *Rassegna di architettura* X (Oct. 1938): 401.
- 8 Paolo Nicoloso, *Architetture per un'identità italiana: Progetti e opere per fare gli italiani fascisti* (Udine: P. Gaspari, 2012), 94-7.
- 9 'Redipuglia non è, dunque, un Cimitero, ma una adunata di figli devoti, di guerrieri [...] della Patria', Attilio Fuiabo, *Credo nella resurrezione degli Eroi* (Milan: Corticelli, 1941), 227. See also Ministero della Difesa, *Sacrari Militari della Prima Guerra Mondiale: Redipuglia*, 7.
- 10 Patrizia Dogliani, "Redipuglia", in *I luoghi della memoria: Simboli e miti dell'Italia unita*, ed. Mario Isnenghi and Ersilia Alessandrone Perona (Rome: Laterza, 1996), 383-4.
- 11 Giovanni Sabbatucci, "La Grande Guerra come fattore di divisione," in *Due nazioni: Legittimazione e delegittimazione nella storia dell'Italia contemporanea*, ed. Loreto di Nucci and Ernesto Galli della Loggia (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2003).
- 12 'dei sacrifici e della gloria della Patria', plaque at the foot of the monument.
- 13 'fonte di profonda grata reverenza e di giusto orgoglio', Renato Michelesi, "Dove riposano gli eroi della Grande Guerra", *Le vie d'Italia: rivista mensile della consociazione turistica italiana* XLV, 11 (Nov. 1939): 1436.
- 14 'virile scuola per i viventi', Fiore, "La monumentalizzazione dei luoghi teatro", 233.
- 15 'quale più bella, più pura morte sia quella del soldato sul campo?', Giannino Antona-Traversi-Grismondi, "Cimiteri di guerra", in *Il Decennale, X anniversario della Vittoria* (Florence: Associazione Nazionale Volontari di Guerra, 1929), 465.
- 16 Emilio Gentile, *The Sacralization of Politics in Fascist Italy* (London: Harvard University Press, 1996).
- 17 Paolo Rumiz, *Come cavalli che dormono in piedi* (Milan: Feltrinelli Editore, 2014), 19-21.
- 18 Archivio del Commissariato Generale per le Onoranze ai Caduti, *Dati dei principali sacrari riferiti alla loro costruzione*, uncatalogued.
- 19 Archivio del Commissariato Generale per le Onoranze ai Caduti, "Capitolato n. 17", b. 4, f. 2; Lucio Fabi, *Redipuglia: Storia, memoria, arte e mito di un monumento che parla di pace* (Trieste: Lint, 2002); Foot, *Italy's Divided Memory*, 49.
- 20 George Mosse, "National Cemeteries and National Revival: The Cult of the Fallen Soldiers in Germany", *Journal of Contemporary History* 14, 1 (1 January 1979): 5-6; Gunnar Brands, "From World War I Cemeteries to the Nazi 'Fortresses of the Dead'", in *Places of Commemoration: Search for Identity and Landscape Design*, ed. Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2001).
- 21 Gavin Stamp, *Silent Cities: An Exhibition of the Memorial and Cemetery Architecture of the Great War* (London: Royal Institute of British Architects, 1977); Edwin Gibson and G. Ward Kingsley, *Courage Remembered: The Story behind the Construction and Maintenance of the Commonwealth's Military Cemeteries and Memorials of the Wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1989).
- 22 Rudolf Wittkower, "'Sacri Monti' in the Italian Alps", in *Idea and Image: Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1978), 175-83; Mauro Quercioli, *I Sacri Monti* (Rome: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato), 2005.
- 23 Fabi, *Redipuglia*, 32-4; Foot, *Italy's divided memory*, 50-2.

REVIEWS

Tom Hartley

Milltown Cemetery: The History of Belfast, Written in Stone

(Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 2014)

413 pp., many illus., ISBN 978-0-85640-925-7 (pbk.) £12-99, also published as EPUB ISBN 978-0-85640-753-6 and KINDLE ISBN 978-0-85640-795-6

Review by Professor James Stevens Curl

Tom Hartley's first foray into coemeterial studies was his *Written in Stone: The History of Belfast City Cemetery*, published in Belfast by The Brehon Press (2006), with a second, revised edition (2010). The present writer had the pleasure of reviewing the 2006 edition when it first appeared: that book remains an admirable guide to one of the finest Victorian landscaped cemeteries in these islands, designed by William Gay (1814-93), whose work may also be seen at Undercliffe Cemetery, Bradford, Yorks. (1852-5—with John Dale [1821-70]), and the public park at Saltaire, Shipley, near Bradford (1870-1), among other places. Hartley's achievements are remarkable and thorough, and his contributions to the history and understanding of his native city are admirable, although infelicities of expression sometime jar, perhaps on occasion distracting the reader's attention. Nevertheless, his two books on these Belfast cemeteries are major studies, and deserve our admiration and gratitude.

It should be said at the outset that Milltown Cemetery (consecrated 1870), like the Belfast City Cemetery (opened 1869), is situated on the Falls Road, but unlike the Corporation's municipal cemetery, was intended solely for Roman Catholics, and is wholly lacking in considered landscape-design: indeed, it is a 'sprawling tract of land, criss-crossed by pathways and dominated by headstones', sloping 'uphill towards the Falls Road' from low-lying boglands, and its appearance is somewhat bleak and

bare, devoid of the cunningly designed and well-planted curving paths found in the City Cemetery not far away.

Hartley describes the unedifying and very lengthy squabbles that led to the arguments for a separate Roman Catholic cemetery (originally, part of the City Cemetery was to be set aside for Roman Catholics, separated from the rest of the cemetery by an underground wall [the mind boggles], and with other restrictions demanded by the Church hierarchy to retain control), so Milltown was duly consecrated some six months after the City Cemetery opened. Nowadays, many Roman Catholics prefer burial in the beautifully planted City Cemetery, so fears of contamination by seepage would appear to have dissipated, though demand for burial has led to some paths being used for the purpose, a deplorable practice that has bedevilled Kensal Green and other London cemeteries where space is at a premium, and has contributed to the blurring and erosion of the original layouts.

Milltown Cemetery, therefore, is really a Roman Catholic Valhalla, dominated by tall Celtic crosses in its posher sections, with overwhelmingly Roman Catholic imagery, and many inscriptions in Irish. Associated with Irish Republican military-style funerals, it is also redolent with political and religious meanings which Hartley describes, giving potted biographies of many protagonists interred therein. Indeed, the history of

Victorian and twentieth-century Belfast can come to life in these two very different necropoleis, and Hartley succeeds in doing just that. The contrast between the cleverly landscaped and planted City Cemetery (in which the Great and Good of the mercantile, professional, and landed classes of Protestant Ulster lie, commemorated by many impressive monuments) and Milltown (in which Irish Republicanism and all things associated with Irish Catholicism are overwhelmingly dominant) could hardly be greater. The two sides of historical Belfast are almost painfully (but very clearly) expressed in these two extraordinarily evocative places.

Hartley's new book should be read with his earlier volume on the City Cemetery to enable a rounded understanding of Belfast's peculiar history to begin to be understood. No such startling contrasts between the

two places is mirrored when considering the General Cemetery of All Souls at Kensal Green and the adjoining Roman Catholic Cemetery, and this underscores the difference between English and Irish Roman Catholicism in a very powerful way.

Milltown Cemetery is a useful addition to the literature on Belfast, but the copy-editing could have been more rigorous. Thomas Russell (1767-1803), we are told, 'embarked for India in 1783', where 'he remained until 1887', and 'lived in Dublin between 1887 and 1890', then moved to Belfast in 1790, a pretty impressive itinerary by any standards, even for someone alive. He 'was hung' instead of 'hanged', and there are numerous other clangers that mar the work. Let us hope Hartley will pick up these errors in future editions, for his study is otherwise painstaking, informative, and valuable.

James Stevens Curl and Susan Wilson

The Oxford Dictionary of Architecture (Third Edition)

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)

1040 pp., many illus., ISBN 978-0-19-967498-5 (pbk.) £45.00, also published as eISBN 978-0-19-105385-6

Review by Anna Shelley

The second edition of James Stevens Curl's *Oxford Dictionary of Architecture* opened, rather charmingly, with a quote from Samuel Johnson from his own *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755), stating that 'the lexicographer can only hope to escape reproach'. On the publication of the third edition of the same work, now in collaboration with the landscape historian, Dr Susan Wilson, the reference to Johnson remains apposite, albeit perhaps unwittingly; for, following the publication of the first edition in 1999, Stevens Curl's *Dictionary* became swiftly a definitive reference work for architecture, a position it

maintains today.

Eluding serious reproach then, the third edition, which incorporates extensive new material, will certainly ensure the Dictionary's enduring success. This edition pursues and develops approaches trialled successfully in the second, published in 2006. It presents significant expansion into two further areas: in architectural biography, of which there are over six hundred new entries; and in landscape architecture, contributed largely by Dr Wilson, who has been involved closely with the project since 2012. Further changes include additional line drawings by

Stevens Curl, while biographical details of living architects, which had been included previously, have been omitted.

In making these revisions, Stevens Curl and Wilson achieve greater clarity of purpose. This shift is very much to the benefit of the reader. Rather than being an architectural lexicon for the present, this offers a language with which to unlock the historic built environment, which meets a significant gap in the present architectural curriculum.

Readers will note that the *Dictionary* is strong particularly on cemeteries, funerary monuments and mausolea, and this fine-grained information is woven skillfully into the biographical and terminological entries demanded of such a tome. Karl Friedrich Schinkel's entry embodies this approach, as well as demonstrating the additional benefit of the work's international scope. The text moves deftly, flitting over Schinkel's use of materials throughout his career, important stylistic influences, and key examples of his city planning, buildings, mausolea and tomb-markers (notable examples include a Greek-Doric mausoleum of 1810 at Charlottenburg for Queen Luise, the tomb-marker for General Gerhard Johann David von Scharnhorst of 1820-24 at the Invaliden-Friedhof, Berlin, and Schinkel's own grave-marker, a Greek stele modeled on his own

design of 1833 for the scientist Sigmund Friedrich Hermbstaedt).

There is a relative paucity of modern architectural terms, processes and figures, as these do not fall within this work's intended remit, and there is a tendency towards disparagement when addressing those aspects of modern architecture that do feature. This is well illustrated in the entry for *pilotti*, of which a brief description is rounded by the statement, 'its widespread adoption in the UK has created many unpleasant spaces.' Although not altogether untrue, a greater sense of connection between the architectural past and its present is better forged by elucidating connections, rather than crystalising distinctions.

This highly detailed approach, with the enhanced syntheses of architectural, landscape, monumental and sculptural terminology, is the third edition's great strength. The clear approach adopted in this revision ensures its continued reputation as the touchstone of architectural lexicography. It has been noted of previous editions that the work is more encyclopedia than dictionary, an assertion with which the present author is inclined to agree. Stevens Curl and Wilson together succeed very well in creating a truly holistic architectural-historical language: an all-round education indeed.

Future Event

Young's Night Thoughts and the Origins of the Garden Cemetery

3 November 2015 at 7.00 pm:

Professor James Stevens Curl will give an illustrated lecture tracing the sensational success of Young's work, especially on the Continent, and how his strictures changed perceptions and attitudes, prompting burial in gardens, and thus creating the images for

the first Garden Cemeteries.

Venue

The Gallery, 70 Cowcross Street, EC1

Cost

£10 members: £15 guests

For more information contact:

info@mmtrust.org.uk or 07856 985974