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Editorial

The breadth of the study of monuments and mausolea is, I believe, amply expressed by the articles in this summer issue of *Mausolus*. Where else would you find focussed studies of architectural history concerning Italy, Turkey and the States abutting chilling tales of lead-guzzling squirrels?

The forthcoming pages also reflect, in reviews and introductions, the wealth of newly published literature of interest to MMT members, covering such broad-ranging subjects as Enlightenment architects and medieval tomb sculpture.

In all this, of course, the MMT would be nothing without its ineffable sense of humour, so look out for the wry citations from Bierce's *Devil's Dictionary*.

Readers are invited to submit letters responding to the content via the editor's email address given on the left. I look forward to publishing your comments and ideas in the Winter Issue.

Amy Jeffs



News

Ian Johnson with updates on events and projects

There are now two events on the near horizon for the MMT: the visit to Great Witley in Worcestershire on 12th August and the lecture on Mestrovic or later in November. This is not to ignore of course the AGM at West Norwood Cemetery. This year we are the guests of the Friends of West Norwood Cemetery and a we shall be given a tour after the normal administrative AGM formalities. You will have already received flyers/forms for all of these events. Do please try to come along to one, or indeed all, of them as not only are the events themselves fascinating but they also afford an opportunity to meet and mingle with other members and trustees.

The MMT has a number of longer term projects under way as well as the normal care and maintenance of its

mausolea. Work is due to begin soon to repair the damage to the roof of the Heathcote mausoleum at Hursley caused by squirrels gnawing the lead flashing, yet to be agreed with the church authorities, to reduce future damage by cutting back overhanging trees. Some further restoration work is under consideration too. The mausoleum will be open to visitors as part of the Open House weekend on Sunday 10th September, as indeed will other MMT mausolea -Boileau and Sacheverell-Bateman.

Preparatory work continues on the project to rebuild the Guise mausoleum in Gloucestershire. Headed by two trustees Charles Wagner and Tom Drysdale the aim is to rebuild the mausoleum which collapsed in 1917.

The Trust is holding

discussion with owners of the Huth mausoleum (see photo) in Kensal Green Cemetery and the Friends of Kensal Green Cemetery with a view to restoring, at least in some measure, this mausoleum, the largest one in the cemetery. It suffered damage by vandals from the 1960s but is of architectural and historical merit, as is all the more clear since the recent publication of a biography of Frederick Huth (who founded the banking dynasty). In 2016 there was one further interment into the mausoleum but it required builders to knock down the bricked-up doorway. It is hope that it may be possible to restore the doorway and undertake other basic maintenance to prevent further deterioration.

The Scarisbrick mausoleum in Crossens (near Formby in

Lancashire) has now been restored with the help of the MMT and we are helping plan for its future. A meeting with the monument's guardian is due to take place in June.

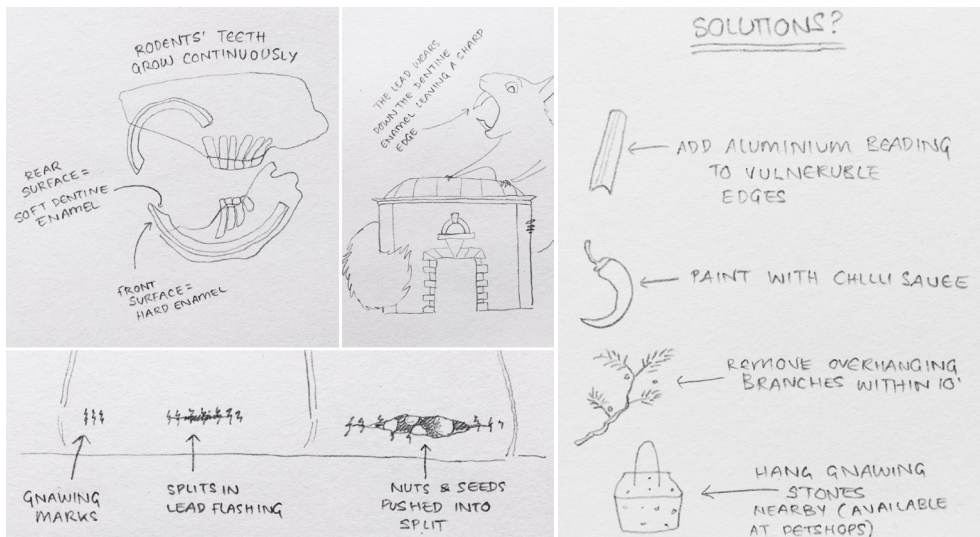
In November two trustees, Gavin Stamp and Roger Bowdler, will be giving a lecture on the Croat artist Ivan Mestrovic. Mestrovic is widely regarded as one of the great

sculptors of the 20th century. He died in 1962 but amongst his works are war memorials and memorials at many burial sites. It is to be held at the Gallery in Cowcross Street.

Finally I have to let you know that the trust has gained one new trustee and another has resigned. Amy Jeffs a doctoral student at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge,

has joined us and taken charge of *Mausolus*, having published one edition already. Clifford Hodgetts who provided us with excellent advice has decided to step down but kindly offered to continue to help us where he can. Welcome to Amy and my sincere thanks to Clifford for his help over quite a time.

Squirrel Attacks on Lead Flashing: causes and solutions



Being rodents, squirrels' front teeth grow continuously. They therefore gnaw on hard surfaces to wear down the soft dentine enamel and, more slowly, the harder outer enamel, leaving a sharp edge. Unfortunately, this natural impulse has been directed at the lead on the roof of the hapless Heathcote Mausoleum. Sympathetic solutions are being explored.

Classical Rotundas, Gothic Towers, and Memorialising a Modern Mythology for Yale

Stephen Gage explores the American reception of revival styles

In 1921, the *Yale Alumni Weekly* published a retrospective celebrating two decades of “the most remarkable period of expansion that Yale has ever seen,” the largest in its 220-year history.¹ Bookending either end of this period were two touchstone projects, each memorial in character. Thus, 1901 saw the completion of the Bicentennial Buildings, a monumental Classical group centred on a domed rotunda commemorating Yale’s war dead. Then, at the end of the period in 1921, Yale completed the Memorial Quadrangle, a Gothic dormitory complex crowned by the soaring Harkness Tower. The later

edifice was a symbolic memorial structure that instantly became the most prominent landmark on the campus. Although both projects intended to instil a sense of institutional unity and pride by commemorating Yale’s past, they received vastly different receptions. The Bicentennial memorial was frequently seen as an expensive misstep, and made little lasting impact on Yale’s self-image. By contrast, ecstatic praise was heaped on the Memorial Quadrangle from the moment the first drawings were published and the project was seen to epitomise Yale’s values as an institution. More broadly, the story of these two monuments reveals strikingly

different attitudes towards memorialisation in early twentieth-century America, with the Gothic providing a richer and more potent sense of symbolic expression.

By the late nineteenth century, Yale had expanded beyond its early eighteenth-century roots as a small college focused on the training of the clergy. The College’s liberal arts curriculum remained prominent, but it was joined by the Sheffield Scientific School, the Law School, and other emerging graduate and professional programs. At the same time, sporadic and unplanned expansion had made its campus in New Haven, Connecticut,



Fig 1

jumbled and incoherent. Its original "Brick Row" of austere dormitories competed with examples from a myriad of nineteenth-century revival styles (Fig. 1). The Bicentennial Buildings, built for the occasion of Yale's two-hundredth anniversary, were intended to rectify this by providing a central unifying space for the entire University. The goal was thus to commemorate the past *and* celebrate the modern centralised organisation that had developed under President Timothy Dwight and continued during the tenure of his successor, Arthur T. Hadley.²

The project's importance and large scale led Yale to forgo its usual practice of selecting an architect at will, and an invited competition was held in 1899, with noted architect George B. Post brought in as chief juror. The winning design was by Carrère & Hastings, a rising firm who would go on to complete the New York Public Library several years later. The project consisted of a dining hall and a large auditorium, joined together by the Memorial Rotunda to form two sides of a formal courtyard. Whereas Yale's earliest buildings were in a more vernacular Colonial/Georgian style, the winning design was in the monumental Classical tradition of the French Beaux Arts, then at the height of its popularity. The Rotunda is loosely based on Bramante's Tempietto (1502), itself based on various ancient Roman precedents. Thus, the Rotunda's memorial

function was strongly tied to the typological precedent of the funereal mausoleum as developed over centuries of Western architecture. The dome, much shallower in the competition entry, was raised in the final design to create more usable interior space, thus giving a sense of Baroque exuberance to an otherwise sombre memorial.

In its positioning, the Rotunda not only served as the means of giving access to the different functions of the complex, but provided a conspicuous urban presence at the corner of Grove and College Streets (Fig. 2). Lined with prominent public entrances on both sides, the Rotunda connected Yale's historic central campus green with its outlying scientific buildings and thus marked the central junction point of the campus, literally and symbolically (Fig. 3). Inside, the walls of the Rotunda were carved with the names of Yale's dead from many different conflicts, including the Revolutionary War and the Civil War (Fig. 4). In this way, people walking through the building were directly confronted with a visual tribute to Yale's past.³

The Rotunda functioned in many ways: a highly practical urban circulation link; a visual monument to the centralising power of the University; and a serious memorial symbolising the sacrifice made by Yale's students for their country. The Classical/Renaissance style



Fig 2



Fig 3



Fig 4

chosen by the architects was particularly suited to meeting these varied expectations; rich in historic associations, it was also closely related to contemporary American civic culture, seen in projects like the redesign of the Mall in Washington DC and the civic centre plans of Daniel Burnham.⁴ As architectural historian Catherine Lynn notes, these links made the Bicentennial Buildings “the university’s emblem of progressive aspiration.”⁵ Further, their Classical style could claim roots in Yale’s Brick Row, a more monumental expression of the Colonial classicism of these earliest buildings.

However, the image of a unified institution promised by the monumental classicism of the Bicentennial Group never took hold.⁶ Even as it was being completed, Yale continued to construct dormitories, laboratories, and other structures in various styles, particularly the Gothic. These Gothic roots dated to the Library building of 1846, a miniaturised version of King’s College Chapel in Cambridge (Fig. 5). Over the next half century, the university began demolishing the buildings of the old Brick Row, replacing them with a fortress-like perimeter of Gothic dormitories that created a large enclosed quadrangle on the original Old Campus. While there was little stylistic coherency between most of these buildings, the idea of a quadrangle being Yale’s

dominant form became deeply rooted.⁷

The Memorial Quadrangle, designed by James Gamble Rogers, brought this longstanding Gothic trend to a new level (Fig. 6). The project was donated by the Harkness family in memory of Charles W. Harkness, who graduated from Yale in 1883 and died in 1916.⁸ With a virtually unlimited budget, the site occupied an entire city block immediately west of the Old Campus, on which Rogers created a series of seven quadrangles providing dormitory space for over 600 students. Dominating the whole was Harkness

the positioning of the Rotunda had sought a symbolic joining of old and new conceived in relation to the urban scale of the entire campus, Harkness Tower connected old and new in a more direct and personal way. The tower was carefully positioned so that it would be seen directly from the Old Campus Quadrangle, assuming a conspicuous physical presence not found in the smaller-scaled Rotunda (Fig. 8). An ornate Memorial Gateway beside the Tower provided the main entrance to the complex, accessed directly from the Old Campus across the street (Fig. 9).



Fig 5

Tower, a two hundred-foot ornamental bell tower based loosely on St Botolph’s church in Boston, England (Fig. 7). If



Fig 6

In a further parallel, just as the Rotunda of the Bicentennial Buildings served as a centrepiece memorial based on Classical mausoleum precedents, Harkness Tower fulfilled a similar function; it was conceived as a memorial to Charles W. Harkness, and included within it an elaborate Memorial Room. This space was crowned by an authentic masonry fan vault, proclaimed as the first to be newly-erected



Fig 7



Fig 8



Fig 9

in several centuries.⁹ Thus, medieval religious precedent was invoked as the appropriate memorial language for the Quadrangle, with its most sacred symbolic space achieved through authentic medieval building methods. Unlike the Rotunda, which was public and open to the surrounding city, the Memorial Room was withdrawn from the public eye, a place of mystery only hinted to the outside observer through its large traceried window (Fig. 10). And similar to their different positioning strategies, the Tower's single fan vault and single Gothic

window established a sense of singularity that contrasted the more anonymous collective effect represented by the Rotunda's hundreds of carved names.

This sense of privacy was perhaps fitting given the character of Harkness himself, known for his shy and withdrawn personality, but also for his intense sense of loyalty. If the Memorial Room and Tower represented Harkness directly, they formed a highly personal example of the project's larger ambition—to memorialise the loyal and selfless "Yale Man", whose character would be

Fig 10



Mausolus - Summer 2017

directly shaped by his time living at Yale.¹⁰ As President Hadley summarised at the building's dedication, "This is a memorial to a man who lived at Yale and loved it...In its whole design we see embodied the things which he cared for."¹¹ Hadley went on to connect the project's sense of mission by invoking the destruction of the First World War:

The waste of war is destroying churches and castles and glorious monuments of antiquity... Doubly important, then, it is to renew our supply of tradition and inspiration by buildings like this; to bring home to the students who shall live within these walls the lessons of affection and loyalty and love of the beautiful which should go into the life of an ancient college.¹²

In Hadley's vision, the Quadrangle almost assumes the character of a War memorial, symbolising not those who died, but the values of Western culture as a whole and their manifestation through architectural monuments.

Hadley also invokes the idea of institutional loyalty. In the Quadrangle, this was achieved in the way traditional Gothic imagery was combined with extensive symbolic invocations of Yale's own history. Every gate, doorway, and common space within the project was inscribed with the names of famous Yale figures, and Harkness Tower was crowned with statues of Yale's most illustrious, including Eli Whitney, Nathan Hale and



Fig 11

Noah Webster (Fig. 11).¹³ As J Layng Mills commented in the *Yale Alumni Weekly* in 1921, "[Rogers created] an atmosphere of his own—something more pregnant than a mere repetition of the historic styles of architecture—and he has done it by working into his fabric every vital and significant fact he could find in Yale's history...Our past is so much richer than we had realized."¹⁴ This symbolism was further cultivated through the elaborate ceremonies accompanying its construction and dedication. The cornerstone, for example, was laid 8 October 1917, exactly 200 years to the day when construction began on the first building on Yale's New Haven campus.¹⁵

Thus, even more directly than the Memorial Rotunda, the Memorial Quadrangle

attempted to permanently enshrine Yale's history as an institution. It manufactured a kind of past-that-never-was by expressing names, places and events from its actual history with a romanticised Gothic vocabulary intended to maximise picturesque effect and the mysterious allure associated more generally with the medieval (Fig. 12). The simple red brick barracks of its early days, so recently demolished, were not worth remembering in this new vision of resplendent Gothic details. As architectural critic Paul Goldberger has commented, "Yale before the Memorial Quadrangle was an entirely different place from Yale after it...No single building project has changed Yale as much, or contributed as much to the creation of its architectural

image.”¹⁶ Rogers’ memorial established an almost mythic sense of Yale’s illustrious past, a sense of heightened poetry that was absent from the austere classicism of the Bicentennial Buildings.

The success of this endeavour is seen in the ecstatic reactions by the architectural press upon the Quadrangle’s completion in 1921. *The Architectural Review*, *Architecture Record*, and *Architecture* all dedicated entire issues to the project and, in a direct rebuke of the earlier Bicentennial Buildings, all three journals editorialise the project by touting its Gothic style at the expense of the Renaissance. The *Review* commented that “To have designed this Quadrangle in Renaissance would have robbed the architect

of his...immortal tower,”¹⁷ while *Record* wrote that Classical architecture “lacked that spirit of life which nothing but union with the people can give.”¹⁸ Most direct of all was architect and Yale alumnus Charles Collens: “the Bicentennial Buildings, dignified in their way...in no sense [symbolize] the life of Yale...Gothic speaks of other things...Its originality in detail, its pliability, joyousness, and intimacy of treatment bespeak literature, art, music, contemplation, interwoven with all the elements of a liberal education.”¹⁹ This promotion of Gothic at the expense of the Classical went hand in hand with elaborate praise of the Quadrangle’s design, above all the Harkness Tower. As the *Review* summarised, “To describe it in words is rather

futile. The tower has no rival in modern architecture...It is so superior to anything of the kind so far erected in this country, or in modern Europe.”²⁰

These reactions point to the peculiar suitability of Rogers’ picturesque Gothic as a flexible language of memorialisation. While Classical architecture was also driven by the adaptation of precedent and a sense of reverence for the past (in this case, Antiquity and the Renaissance), in the eyes of early twentieth-century observers its poetic power paled in comparison to Gothic romanticism. This is underscored by the fact that the Memorial Quadrangle was so fervently embraced by insiders and outsiders alike, even though Yale’s actual Colonial roots had more direct links to the



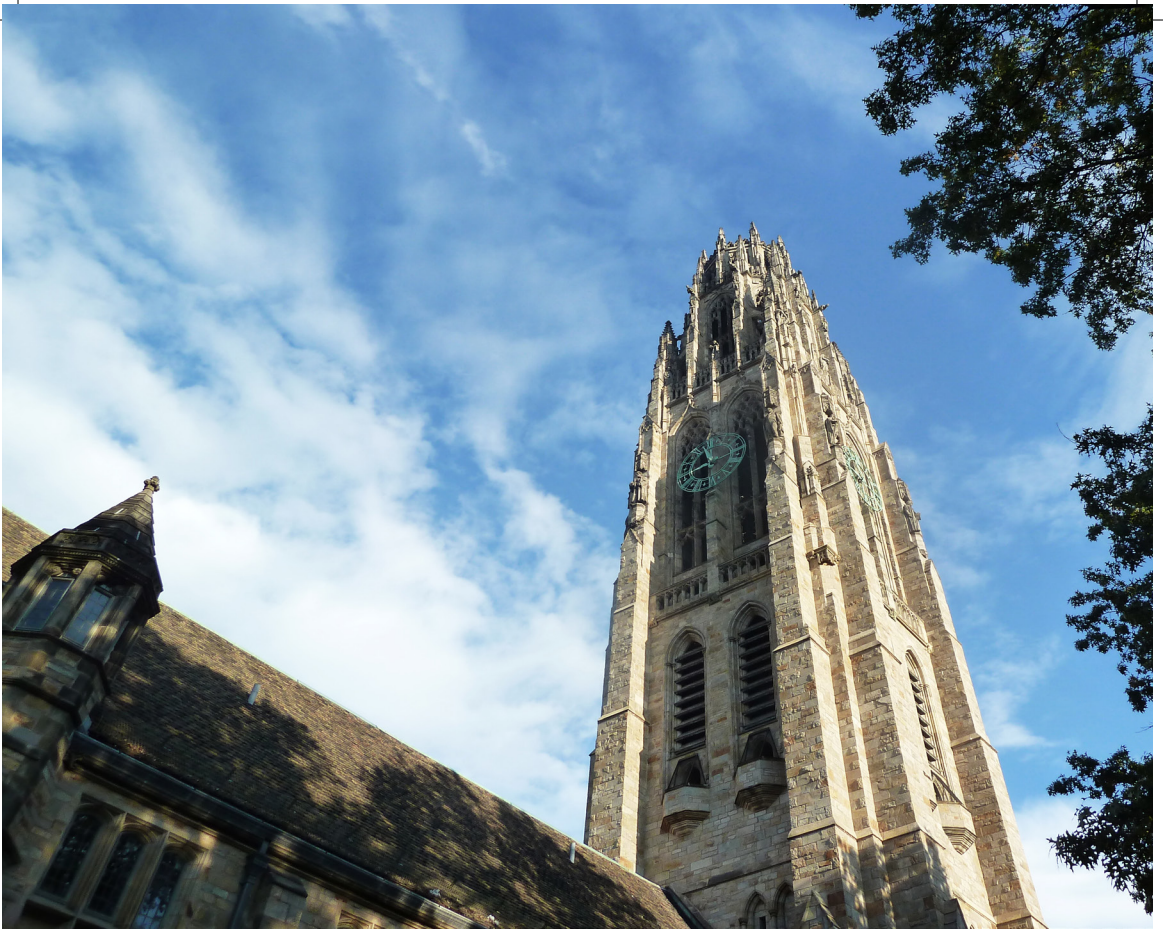


Fig 13

Classical tradition as developed in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Certainly, a sense of connection to Oxford and Cambridge was one part of the Gothic's appeal in a university setting. Yet Yale was also responding to a larger idea of the Gothic as a symbolic language in direct opposition to the Classical, at this point closely associated with the official civic culture of the modern industrial city. By contrast, the Gothic was irregular and vague, associated variously with nature, personal freedom, mystic ritual and

community. In contrast to Classical rationalist order, it enlisted an emotional appeal that relied more on visual delight than a specific sense of time and place. Ultimately, a soaring and mysterious tower was a more thrilling visual spectacle than a stately rotunda (Fig. 13). As such, despite their many similarities in conception, Rogers' tower spoke more successfully to Yale's yearning for a mythology commensurate with its modern achievements. For all its anachronisms, the Memorial Quadrangle's marriage of

institutional narrative, personal memorial, and an intensely picturesque visual language was an irresistible combination.

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- Yale Alumni Weekly* Vol. 30, No. 36 (27 May 1921).
- Yale Alumni Weekly* Vol. 31, No. 28 (31 March 1922).
- Endnotes**
- 1 *Yale Alumni Weekly* Vol. 30 No. 36 (27 May 1921).
- 2 For background on these institutional changes, see Kelley, *Yale: A History*, 273-297, 315-325. For a discussion of Yale's Brick Row and its transformation, see Turner, *Campus*, 38-46, 116-117, 217.
- 3 See Pinnell, *Yale University*, 141-144 and Scully et al, *Yale in New Haven*, 175-180.
- 4 See Peterson, *Birth of City Planning*, 77-97 and 139-172. The project for Washington, known as the McMillan Plan, was issued in 1902, while a year later saw Burnham's Group Plan for Cleveland's civic centre. These ambitious projects were joined by hundreds of new libraries, museums, and government structures in the Beaux Arts style.
- 5 Scully et al, *Yale in New Haven*, 176.
- 6 The project was not completed as originally envisioned; the third wing needed to complete the court was abandoned, while plans for a monumental central colonnade were put on hold, and only finished in 1927. As finished, the colonnade extended the memorial theme of the interior by commemorating Yale's dead from the First World War (Scully et al, *Yale in New Haven*, 180, 182-184).
- 7 The details of these developments are meticulously chronicled in Scully et al, *Yale in New Haven*, 101-231. Successive buildings were inspired by Ruskin's Venetian Gothic, Richardsonian Romanesque, and finally, Charles Coolidge Haight's Collegiate Gothic, a style pioneered by Cope and Stewardson at Princeton, Bryn Mawr and the University of Pennsylvania in the 1890s (see Turner, *Campus*, 223-230).
- 8 Kelley, *Yale: A History*, 372-374. The Harkness fortune was derived from their position as primary partners of John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company.
- 9 "A General Description of the Memorial Quadrangle," *Yale Alumni Weekly* Vol. 30 No. 16 (7 January 1921), 381.
- 10 Betsky, *James Gamble Rogers*, 104-106.
- 11 Hadley, speech printed in *Yale Alumni Weekly* Vol. 27 No. 4 (12 October 1917), 84-85.
- 12 *Ibid*.
- 13 "A General Description of the Memorial Quadrangle," *Yale Alumni Weekly* Vol. 30 No. 16 (7 January 1921), 381.
- 14 Mills, "The Wrexham Tower," in *ibid*, 378.
- 15 James Gamble Rogers, "The Architectural Plan", in *Yale Alumni Weekly* Vol. 27 No. 4 (12 October 1917), 90.
- 16 Scully et al, *Yale in New Haven*, 264.
- 17 Goodyear, "The Memorial Quadrangle and the Harkness Memorial Tower at Yale," *The Architectural Review* Vol. 120 No. 2379 (36 October 1921), 308.
- 18 Wilcox, "The Harkness Memorial Quadrangle at Yale," *Architectural Record* Vol. 50, No. 3 (September 1921), 167.
- 19 Collens, "The Harkness Memorial Tower," *Yale Alumni Weekly* Vol. 31, No. 28 (31 March 1922), 733.
- 20 Goodyear, "The Harkness Memorial Quadrangle," 313.

REVIEWS

FRANCES SANDS

Robert Adam's London

(Oxford: Archaeopress Publishing Ltd., 2016)

ISBN 978 1 78491 462 2, ISBN 978 1 78491 463 9 (e-Pdf), 164 pp., 104 colour figs., pbk., £18.00, available from either the Soane Museum shop, <http://www.soane.org/shop/product/robert-adams-london-dr-frances-sands> or from www.archaeopress.com

Review by **Professor James Stevens Curl**



Fig 1

This attractive, beautifully illustrated, and handsomely illustrated book was produced to accompany a major exhibition of the same title at Sir John Soane's Museum, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, 30 November 2016 to 11 March 2017. Written by the Curator of Drawings and Books at the Museum (which holds some 8,000 original Adam office drawings, acquired by the

great Sir John Soane in 1833, in addition to around 1,000 works by the Adam Brothers produced during their Grand Tours, a collection comprising some 80% of all surviving Adam graphic productions), it assembles the histories of numerous commissions and speculative projects in the capital. Indeed, Robert Adam (1728-92) might well have deserved J.M.

Barrie's (1860-1937) quip that 'there are few more impressive sights in the world than a Scotsman on the make',¹ as he began to realise his ambition to become the leading architect of his day in both Scotland and England, evolving a new and supremely elegant repertoire of architectural ornament that drew upon a huge variety of Classical precedents from

Antiquity to the *Cinquecento*, made even more attractive by an assured use of colour (his exquisite designs for ceilings were especially felicitous).

One of Adam's first London jobs was the screen-wall in Whitehall in front of The Admiralty (1723-6), a building designed by Thomas Ripley (1682-1758), at the mention of whose name Sir John Vanbrugh (1664-1726) laughed so much he 'had like to Beshit' himself. Thereafter, designs for funerary monuments, interiors, public buildings, architectural details and furniture, private houses, street façades, 'illuminations', screens, chimneypieces, mirror-surrounds, and much else flowed out of the Adam office. Plans showed varied room-shapes, ingeniously juxtaposed, with breathtakingly beautiful staircases, but the most lovely designs, drawn and coloured with meticulous care, were those for ceilings, some of the finest illustrated in this volume (proposals for Coventry House [1765], Bolton House [1770], 10 Hertford Street [1769], and 15 Berkeley Square [1769, 1776], are particularly eye-catching in their intricate detail and beautifully judged compositions). These wonderful drawings put contemporary computer-drawn graphics firmly in the shade.

Yet how shamefully has the grander work by the Adam office been treated by a philistine nation that looks, if it looks at all, with its ears! The Adelphi Buildings, Strand, with John, Robert, William, and

James Streets (1768-72—a vast venture which almost ruined the firm, and was only retrieved when the properties were disposed of by means of a lottery in 1774), was demolished in 1936, apart from 1-3 Robert Street, 6-10 Adam Street, and 2-4 John Street: Portland Place (1776-90), a wide street of 68 large houses, has been largely wrecked and its fronts made incoherent, all by supposed architects who should have known better. The South and East sides of Fitzroy

opened on a darkish afternoon, and was entranced by the quality of the drawings, especially those that were coloured. Close inspection could hardly fault the draughtsmanship, but throughout the refinement of the architectural and decorative language sang out crisp and clear: one could almost hear the rasp of pen on hand-made paper (a pleasure denied modern generations of students, obsessed with the dead-ends of Deconstructivism, Parametricism, and whatever

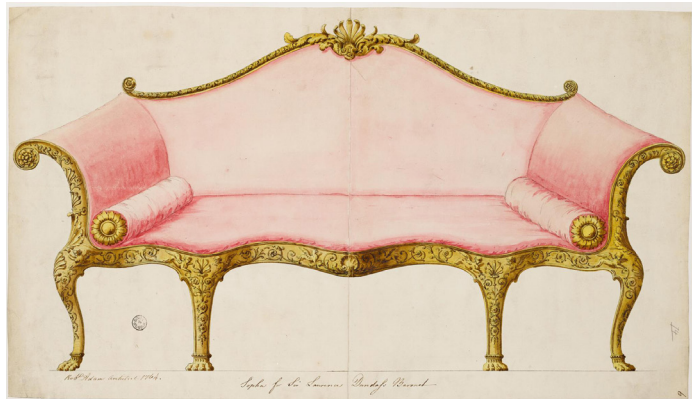


Fig 2

Square, London (1790-4), and Charlotte Square, Edinburgh (1791-1820), give a good idea of the kind of unified design for terrace-housing the Adams could achieve, but it has to be said that generally, their urban schemes have not fared well, and the work of John Nash (1752-1835), a master of scenography, has suffered even more brutal destruction.

I saw this exhibition the day it

will become the latest fashion in fatuous, pointless, obscenely expensive bling). Creativity, steeped in observation, learning, and taste, is a far more noble activity than the dreary processes that pass for architectural design in these benighted times, and it proclaims itself with clarity in the exhibition and book, the erudite text of which does its author great credit (apart from



Fig 3

her use [a hanging offence in my book] of that ghastly word 'iconic' to describe Adam or any work of architecture).

Each of Adam's architectural projects mentioned in Sands's tome is plotted on reproductions of various parts of the 32-plate *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and parts adjoining shewing every house* (1792-99), by Richard Horwood (1757/8-1803), later published and updated (1807, 1813, 1819) by William Faden (1749-1836), who is commemorated in a tablet on the north wall of the Church of St Nicholas, Shepperton. This conveniently enables the reader to locate

Adam's work, and even, perhaps, to imagine a London in which more Adam designs had survived or been realised.

The book would have gained greatly had it been furnished with a decent index. Books without an index have limited use, and it should always be remembered that the reader is all-important in any publishing venture. It is sad that such an omission was made here, for admirable though reproductions of images may be, a well-constructed index would have hugely improved matters. The quality of printing, design, font, notes, and illustrations, however, is very good indeed, and the Oxford publishers

and printers (Oxuniprint) are to be congratulated on a fine achievement.

Professor James Stevens Curl is the author of *Georgian Architecture in the British Isles 1714-1830* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2011), and joint-author, with Susan Wilson, of *The Oxford Dictionary of Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015, 2016).

Endnotes

1 *What Every Woman Knows* (published 1918) Act 2

ANN ADAMS AND JESSICA BARKER

Revisiting the Monument: Fifty Years since Panofsky's Tomb Sculpture

(Courtauld Books Online, 2016)

Robert Hawkins reviews a recent publication from the Courtauld Institute of Art

In 1964, Erwin Panofsky published *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*. The first line of the book states that it was a text 'not intended for publication': it was prepared as a 'little series of public lectures', given at The Institute of Fine Arts of New York University. Panofsky warned his friends: 'Please don't read the rather superficial text... Just look at the pictures which are, for the most part, quite nice'. The book, he claimed, had an index 'produced by an idiot' and, what is more., was 'very superficial ... in part misleading, and horrible to look at'.

Nonetheless, it has become a canonical work, largely because of the un-matched scope of the study and the extensive illustrations. Despite Panofsky's own dismissive remarks, the text has obvious merits: it deftly organises three millennia of disparate sculpture to produce comprehensible narratives, offering terms that begin to get a handle on the different ways that funerary sculpture might function. He sets up characteristic polarities between, for instance, 'retrospective' monuments (which recall past life) and

'prospective' monuments (which anticipate after-life) or between flat, schematic relief and plastic, naturalising sculpture. The dichotomies are occasionally crude, but they give a rough road map by which the sprawling landscape might begin to be navigated.

This new collection of essays, edited by Jessica Barker and Ann Adams and published by Courtauld Books Online, contains both 'retrospective' and 'prospective' approaches. Some essays look back to specific issues raised by Panofsky's original text; some look forward to new avenues opening up in the study of tomb sculpture. Of course, these two approaches are co-dependent, for it is often through the remembering of things past that windows are opened onto future possibilities. The editors have narrowed the scope by presenting a series of 'short stories', focusing on medieval and Renaissance topics, in response to Panofsky's original epic narrative.

The essays are presented in three sections. Section 1 deals most explicitly with Panofsky's text, contextualizing it (Susie Nash's account of the original's compilation and publication

is full of archival insight) and complicating its arguments (Shirin Fozi, Robert Marcoux, and Geoffrey Nuttall). Section 2 considers the relationships between monuments and their viewers: Jessica Barker deals with juxtapositions of visible/invisible and corrupted/incorruptible bodies; Luca Palozzi forges literary links with Petrarch; James Cameron describes the relationship between funerary monuments and liturgical seating. Section 3 addresses material issues, proceeding from Kim Woods' observation that materials are almost entirely absent from Panofsky's discussion to corrective essays by Sanne Frequin, Matthew Reeves, and Martha Dunkelman. Ann Adams addresses the fact that monumental brasses are missing from Panofsky's text (only one example features, from St James' Church, Draycot Cerne, Wiltshire). Adams' essay is good example of the book in its additive mode - brasses at Cleves, Nijmegen, Geldern, and in England, are brought into the discussion, in an attempt to counter the idea that all tomb brasses were subordinate to their marble equivalents.



REVISITING THE MONUMENT FIFTY YEARS SINCE PANOFSKY'S TOMB SCULPTURE

EDITED BY

ANN ADAMS
JESSICA BARKER

Many passages evidence a growing awareness among contemporary scholars of the problems raised by studying monuments from photographs alone. This is stressed, for example, by Shirin Fozi in her

essay 'From the Pictorial to the Statuesque: Two Romanesque Effigies and the Problem of Plastic Form', and by Geoffrey Nuttall, who sees Panofsky's reliance on photographs taken from above as the 'primary

cause' of his misinterpretation of the Trenta tomb. Nuttall, building on the ideas of John Shearman, considers the 'activation' of Crivelli and Pecci tomb slabs when positioned in real space and seen from

the differing perspectives of a moving spectator. Panofsky's original publication did indeed rely mainly on stock images for the illustrations and therefore on well-established, canonical viewpoints (although, as Susie Nash points out, Panofsky was not insensitive to the problems this created and on one occasion requested a new photograph be made in order to illustrate a particular angle of view). Particularly in the third section, 'Monuments and Materials', the authors make use of first-hand access and technical innovations that were simply unavailable to Panofsky, who worked primarily from photographs. A recurring theme of these new essays, then, facilitated and perhaps engendered by these practical developments, is the desire to consider the experience of an embodied, mobile spectator.

There is a certain consensus of opinion among the contributing authors and it recurs as a refrain at the start of each essay: all agree Panofsky's original book ought to be admired (particularly for its magisterial breadth, which has not since been rivaled), but that its enormous scope means that its analysis lacked depth and that there is consequently work to be done by modern scholars, expanding, deepening, complicating, revising. The authors stress the importance of placing tombs within specific contexts (artistic, spatial, liturgical), 'expanding and destabilising the neat teleological narrative proposed

by Panofsky'. But it remains an argument with, rather than against, Panofsky. In this sense this book is part of a current trend of renewed interest in Panofsky's *oeuvre*. Christopher Lakey, for example, is revisiting the arguments of Panofsky's *Perspective as Symbolic Form*, maintaining their general shape but probing and interrogating the difficult details.

In *Revisiting the Monument* we find many examples of the same strategy of destabilising Panofsky's arguments in order to uphold them. Robert Marcoux, for example, responds in his essay to a 1965 review of Panofsky's book, which judged the categories of 'Prospection' and 'Retrospection' to be rather arbitrary. Marcoux, anxious not to make the same mistake, instead proposes 'more of a dialectical way of understanding the rich diversity of medieval tombs by presenting the notions of retrospection and prospection as two poles between which the commemoration of the dead oscillates in the later Middle Ages'. So this is a fantasia on a theme by Panofsky - a richer, more polyphonic re-scoring, perhaps - but the melody remains recognizable.

There are occasional frustrating lapses into obfuscation: 'the material specificity of the tomb slab', writes one contributor, 'is that it is intrinsically linked to the grave by serving as its cover.' And there is some caricaturing of Panofsky's original position: Sanne Frequin claims that

Panofsky discussed only iconography and not 'material' - but surely the two meet in his discussion of sculptural plasticity, which is dealt with eloquently elsewhere in this volume by Shirin Fozi. Largely, though, the essays are clear and well-argued, and together they make for a thorough review of the topic.

The book's title sets up an illuminating metaphor (which runs throughout, most explicitly in Susie Nash's essay): it suggests that *Tomb Sculpture* is itself now a commemorative monument, to be contextualized, critiqued and analysed. Indeed, Panofsky was aware of its likely funerary function: so delayed was the publication of the original book that it nearly became a tombstone for its aging author. 'I begin to be afraid that the *Tombs* will really appear as a post-humous memorial', he wrote, '... but I should not mind'. These new essays, then, serve to extend, repair and elaborate upon the original monument. They work, just as a piece of tomb sculpture works, to (as Shirin Fozi has it) 'retool a problematic legacy as a larger spiritual success.' And although teleologies are questioned and lacunae interrogated, much of the fabric of the original book continues to be venerated. So often, it seems, Panofsky's almost-instinct has proven almost true. And what will survive of his monumental text, therefore, is love.

Ambrose Bierce and the Exile of the Dead from San Francisco

Elizabeth Blood presents extracts from the *Devil's Dictionary* with an introduction to its nineteenth-century author

Of his fiction, Wilson wrote that Death was "Bierce's favourite character" and possibly his "only real character". Readers with a taste for the macabre and ghostly will revel in his work.¹ Ambrose Bierce is a name that conjures up the American Civil War, cynical and controversial newspaper journalism, ground-breaking ghost story writing, and a life shrouded in legend. Words such as "fearlessness", "irreverence", "satire", "maverick", "cynic", "wit" populate scholarly accounts of his life and work, but he remains a somehow elusive figure. He is thought by many to have been a writer and wit on a par with Mark Twain, akin to Edgar Allen Poe.

Bierce was born in Meigs County, Ohio in June 1842, the youngest of nine children of a farmer. He was unhappy at home and was sent to military school, seemingly habitually rebelling against authority. Although he excelled as a soldier in the Union Army when the American Civil War broke out, he was formed neither for domesticity or discipline at any stage of his life. Bierce worked as a journalist in San Francisco, where he contributed to and edited newspapers from 1866-72 and in London from 1872-76, moving back to San Francisco in 1876 and later moving to Washington. He was



Portrait by J H E Partington of 1893, exhibited at the Chicago World's Fair that year, and Bierce's signature. Bierce was born in 1842 and disappeared after leaving for Mexico in 1913

Ambrose Bierce

admired and feared for the use of his vitriolic wit against those whose principals he attacked. His friend, Vincent Starrett, wrote that he was capable of "the keenest satire since Swift, glittering, bitter, venomous, but thoroughly honest."

In the Midst of Life (1892) is a quintessential example of

Bierce's writing. It is divided into two halves: tales of Soldiers' deaths inspired by the American Civil War and those of Civilians. Both explore death's inevitability and its unpredictability, its glory and its horror. Readers are steeped in the soil of graveyards. From reading 'A Watcher by the

Dead', one might surmise that Bierce believed surgeons and soldiers were people who had "sufficient familiarity with death" so as to be "unmoved" by it.² In 'The Affair at Coulter's Notch' he describes the "crushed and broken bodies" of soldiers as examples of the "wreckage" and "ruins" of battle.

Perhaps it was the contrast between battlefield death and the competitive monument-building of settled urbanites that inspired the satirical observations extracted below. He lived during a time when Victorian funerary taste was at its most effusive and there could not have been a greater contrast between the hasty burials of his comrades and the competitive burials of these citizens. Bierce, perhaps as a result of war experience, saw commemoration as inconsequential; he, his wife and his two sons lie in unmarked graves.

It struck me that for *Mausolus* readers, it would be apt to extract from *The Devil's Dictionary* (1906) and other of his stories the terms that are the language of our mutual interest: cemeteries, monuments, tombs. His satirical definitions appeared in his columns from 1881 onwards, but were not collected and published as the *Dictionary* until 1906. They reveal something of the reality of war death, the materialism of nineteenth-century urban death and his distaste for the clear contrast between the two.

Bierce witnessed an extraordinary wave of cemetery

relocations from inner-city San Francisco during second half of the 19th century. The city had dozens of burial grounds, but by the 1860s there were calls for their removal to outer city locations so that the inner-city land could be developed. As public parks began to be established in the late nineteenth-century, cemeteries were used less as recreation spaces and developers argued that city-centre burial sites were a barrier to urban progress and a danger to the public. They pointed to graveyards that had fallen into disrepair (and disrepute). These once garden landscapes were called eyesores: there were public health concerns about disease; drunken late-night goings-on were reported to be a regular occurrence in burial grounds; bronze doors were stolen from mausolea; bones or even complete skeletons were stolen; skulls used as footballs.³ Although some residents protested at the disinterments, and tried to have cemeteries protected as historical landmarks, their opponents' campaign had gathered too much momentum to be stopped.

In 1868, the first bodies began to be disinterred from the Yerba Buena cemetery, to make way for a new Civic Centre including City Hall. It would appear that Bierce had visited the works first-hand, for, in 'The Discomfited Demon' (a short story in *The Fiend's Delight* of 1873 originally called 'The Devil at Yerba Buena'),

Bierce opens with "I never clearly knew why I visited the old cemetery that night. Perhaps it was to see how the work of removing the bodies was getting on, for they were all being taken up and carted away to a more comfortable place where land was less valuable. It was well enough; nobody had buried himself there for years, and the skeletons that were now exposed were old mouldy affairs for which it was difficult to feel any respect. However, I put a few bones in my pocket as souvenirs."

Cemetery removal in San Francisco (and elsewhere) continued into the twentieth century. Today only two are left of the dozens that once existed. In 1914, the year most presume Bierce died whilst travelling with Pancho Villa's rebels during the Mexican Revolutionary War, four of the main San Franciscan cemeteries were declared a public nuisance and their owners given fourteen months to remove the dead. What "Bitter Bierce's" "burning pen" would have written as that process continued can only be speculated upon. In light of his background, Bierce's writings on death and burial, and the following definitions from *The Devil's Dictionary*, take on even greater sardonic meaning.

The Devil's Dictionary, 1906

Bierce's satirical definitions of funerary categories are among the most devastating ever written. Here are the choicest examples, each of which bursts the bubble of sepulchral pomp.

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Disinterment work in Odd Fellows Cemetery, San Francisco. Many bodies were missed during these cemetery removals and remains are still found during excavations for new buildings on former cemetery sites. Monuments were broken up, dumped in the Bay, or used in public realm works.

Photo published with kind permission from San Francisco Public Library

'Cemetery, *n.* An isolated suburban spot where mourners match lies, poets write at a target and stone-cutters spell for a wager. The inscriptions following will serve to illustrate the success attained in these Olympian games:

His virtues were so conspicuous that his enemies, unable to overlook them, denied them, and his friends, to whose loose lives they were a rebuke, represented them as vices. They are here commemorated by his family, who shared them.

In the earth we here prepare a
Place to lay our little Clara.
Thomas M. and Mary Frazer

P.S. – Gabriel will raise her.

Cremation, *n.* The process by which the cold meats of humanity are warmed over.

Epitaph, *n.* A monumental inscription designed to remind the deceased of what he might have been if he had had the will and opportunity.

Epitaph, *n.* An inscription on a tomb, showing that virtues acquired by death have a retroactive effect.

[Apt reading on this theme is 'Resurgam' (in *The Fiend's Delight* of 1873), a poem about

the effect a striking grave monument has upon Jove, who decides to respect the profuse epitaph and final inscription pleading "R.I.P." and leaves the dead man accordingly un-resurrected.]

Grave, *n.* A place in which the dead are laid to await the coming of the medical student.

Mausoleum, *n.* The final and funniest folly of the rich.

Monument, *n.* A structure intended to commemorate something which either needs no commemoration or cannot be commemorated.

The bones of Agamemnon are a show,
And ruined is his royal monument,

but Agamemnon's fame suffers no diminution in consequence. The monument custom has its *reductiones ad absurdum* in monuments 'to the unknown dead' – that is to say, monuments to perpetuate the memory of those who have left no memory.

[For wry comment featuring the word "monument", see 'The Late Dowling, Senior' (in *The Fiend's Delight* of 1873) in which the eponymous ghost says: "'Jake, I done everything for you, and you ain't done nothin' for me since I died. I want a monument bigger'n Dave Broderick's, with an epytaph in gilt letters, by Joaquin Miller. I can't git into any kind o' society till I have 'em. You've no idee how exclusive they are where I am.']

R. I. P. A careless abbreviation of *requiescat in pace*, attesting an indolent goodwill to the dead. According to the learned Dr Drigge, however, the letters originally meant nothing more than *reductus in pulvis*.

Sarcophagus, *n.* Among the Greeks a coffin which being made of a certain kind of carnivorous stone, had the peculiar property of devouring the body placed in it. The sarcophagus known to modern obsequiographers is commonly a product of the carpenter's art.

Tomb, *n.* The House of

Indifference. Tombs are now by common consent invested with a certain sanctity, but when they have been long tenanted it is considered no sin to break them open and rifle them, the famous Egyptologist, Dr Huggyns, explaining that a tomb may be innocently 'glened' as soon as its occupant is done 'smellynge,' the soul being then all exhaled. This reasonable view is now generally accepted by archaeologists, whereby the noble science of Curiosity has been greatly dignified.'

Knowledge of the circumstances of Ambrose Bierce's own death followed him into the otherworld, aptly leaving his life story without a conclusion. Nevertheless, I think we can tell from these extracts what he felt about the contemporary forms of commemoration that he succeeded in avoiding.

Endnotes

1 Wilson, Edmund. *Patriotic Gore*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1962 (1966 reissue), p622.

2 Bierce, Ambrose. *In the Midst of Life*. London: Chatto and Windus Ltd, 1892 (1964 reissue).

3 Brooks, Jon. 'Why Are There So Many Dead People in Colma? And So Few in San Francisco?' Online article: KQED, 16 December 2015

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The Mausolus Essay Prize

Theatre of Empire: Topography, Ritual and Architecture

Fozia Parveen presents the politics of death in 16th century Istanbul

"In cities only change endures... all cities are caught in a balancing act between destruction and preservation..."

(Spiro Kostof, The City Assembled: The Elements of Urban Form Through History, p.280)

The Imperial mosque-tomb complexes of sixteenth-century Istanbul are important because they projected a hegemonic royal identity. Acting additionally as Friday mosques, they stood out as a building type, closely tied to the Ottoman Sultans' legitimacy. From them, the Sultan's claims to sovereignty were broadcast each Friday, the Muslim holy day. Much more than multi-functional structures, they were sites of potent remembrance for the esteemed Sultanic patron whose tomb they housed.¹ Furthermore, a major element of prestige-seeking, identity, and commemoration, was through *hazire* (cemeteries). Strategically installed after 1453, they functioned to legitimise a city without an Islamic past, thus providing a new urban identity in fifteenth-century Istanbul.² In this essay, I will examine the tombs of three Ottoman Sultans of the sixteenth-century. I hope to explore how a dynastic



Fig.1: Tomb of Selim I, built ~ 1520, Istanbul.

permanency was articulated topographically, ritually, and architecturally through these three memorials, which I have studied together to reflect their ceremonial engagement with the 'audience' in relation to the Divanyolu thoroughfare. The three tombs I will be studying are of Selim I (d. 1520) (Fig. 1), Suleiman I (d. 1566) (Fig. 2) and Selim II (d. 1574) (Fig. 3): father, son and grandson.

The respective mosque-tomb complexes, crowning the different hills of Istanbul, demonstrate how, as charitable patriarchs, the Sultans saw themselves as international custodians of the institutions

of Islam at the Christian border with Europe.³ Gathered in one sacred centre, the construction of a mosque-tomb was an exclusive privilege of the Sultan himself. Macroscopically, Islam's military triumph over Christianity was marked in popular Ottoman culture of the sixteenth-century through these victory monuments funded by the spoils of war against Christian armies. Microscopically, at the community level, these tombs are significant because they symbolise how the Ottoman Sultans of the sixteenth-century, the Golden Age of the Ottoman Empire, saw



Fig. 2: Tomb of Suleiman I, built ~ 1566, Istanbul.

themselves, and how they sought to be commemorated. Travelling along the Golden Horn, and looking up at the skyline, this visual symbiosis along geographical markers is evident. There appears to be a dual vision advocated by the Sultans, of urban splendour orientated by the sea and Istanbul's inner urban space.

Myth-Making and Topography

It is important that we understand the origins of the topography of sixteenth-century Istanbul. The popular myth-story told how Ak Shemsuddin (d. 1459), the spiritual teacher to Mehmet II (d. 1481), rediscovered the tomb of the warrior-saint Ayyub al-Ansari (d. 654, known from hereon as Eyüp) outside the city walls. Eyüp was a Medinian companion of the Prophet Muhammed (d. 632) who

perished during the First Arab Expedition to Constantinople in 654. Carefully overseen by Mehmet II, this site, already consecrated by the Byzantine monasteries of saints Cosmas

and Damian close by, was transformed into a sanctified pilgrimage site for Muslims of the newly conquered territories in Anatolia.⁴ Over a century later, Eyüp's shrine, a Muslim relic from the past, would hold a central role in the public dialogue between the tombs of Selim I, Suleiman I and Selim II by way of a unique topographic narrative through the city fabric of Istanbul (Fig. 4).

This discovery of Eyüp's sarcophagus linked a dynamic and mythical past to an early-modern Muslim polity. The patron-saint's tomb formed the nucleus of this new Ottoman capital through symbolism and ceremony; it was where many grandees were subsequently buried and where royal coronations were held, further perpetuating a sense of a prophetically-bestowed blessing upon the Ottomans.⁵ Furthermore, it was from the site of Eyüp's shrine that stately



Fig. 3: Tomb of Selim II, built ~ 1574, Istanbul.

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processions and ceremonial parades commenced before calling at important locations, such as the imperial turbeler (shrines), the janissary barracks (Sultan's household troops and bodyguards), and bazaars (marketplaces).

The Sultanic mosque-tomb complexes are lined along a processional route, called the Divanyolu, which runs along Eyüp's mausoleum at the highest point along the thoroughfare and flows down to the Golden Horn.⁶ Eyüp's memory was commemorated and honoured at the beginning of each processional visit along the Divanyolu path, and tribute paid to their patron-

saint. A collective barakah (blessing) was in this way amassed, beginning with this Muslim shrine before the imperial tombs were visited. Thus an uninterrupted imperial inheritance and dialogue was visualised between the tombs of Selim I, Suleiman I and Selim II, and legitimised through this urban thoroughfare of Ottoman state and power. The Divanyolu held a pivotal role in the symbols and ceremonials of Ottoman society as a chosen burial ground for the elite.

By burying relatives, and by being themselves buried, in prime land along the Divanyolu route, proximate to dead saints and therefore proximate to the

Prophet Muhammed himself, the Ottoman archaeological observation found in the burial practices of many communities and periods, endorsed by Leor Halevi, where followers seek to be buried close to a founding Father or Mother or their disciples.⁷ This is significant to the Ottoman conception of urban form. Unlike the cities of Renaissance Europe, with their flow of space, homogeneity of facade, typological consistency, or uniformity of placement and direction, sixteenth-century Istanbul did not have a regular street structure. This urban restructuring came much later in the nineteenth-century under the Tanzimat Reforms.⁸

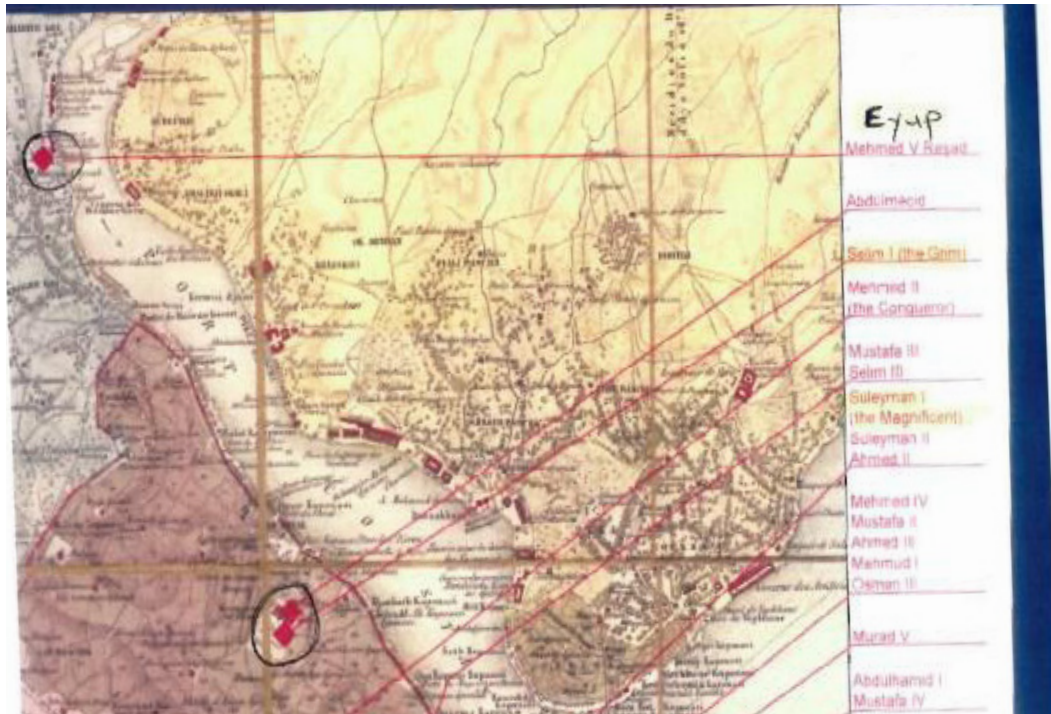


Fig. 4: Sultanic mausolea of Istanbul plotted on Hellert's 1836 map.

Spiro Kostof observes that the alignment and orientation of commemorative monuments along the Divanyolu axis and other important thoroughfares did not follow an organic form. Instead he argues that they were designed, actively shaped, and conceived with this reciprocal dialogue between the foundation structure and the street in mind.⁹ There is a debate as to what extent town planning was formulated, with Thomas Cerasi claiming that it was in fact 'chaotic and disorderly' in sixteenth-century Istanbul, comparable with the daily chaos of the streets.¹⁰ Nonetheless, the foundations of the Ottoman Classical period (1520-1650) were dispersed over the whole length of the Divanyolu.¹¹

Ritual processions along the Divanyolu echoed to some extent the processions during the reign of the founder of the historic Constantinople, Constantine I, in the fourth century. Mehmet II saw himself as Constantine's natural heir, and inheritor of his geographical markers, commissioning his own mosque-tomb complex on the same hill as the fourth-century Church of the Apostles, where Constantine is buried.¹² The 'Road to the Imperial Council' or Byzantine Mese, linking Constantinople to Rome, was later appropriated by the Ottomans to the 'Divanyolu'. Mehmet II and his pashas (Turkish officers) of the 1453 conquest of Constantinople structured the Divanyolu by centering mosques and



Fig. 5: Friday procession of Sultan Suleiman I through the Hippodrome, from a series of woodcuts by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, published in 1553, c. 1553.

mahalles (districts) along its axis, thus creating the topographical fulcrum of the city fabric along this thoroughfare (Fig. 4). This facilitated an assertive dialogue between connective elements, giving form and character to Ottoman urban space through destruction and preservation. The route came into contact with numerous monumental buildings, and mausoleums in particular were focal points of remembrance and commemoration along this road. The Ottoman Empire regarded itself as the heir of Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Turkic, and Islamic imperial ambitions, and thus appropriated symbolic geographical markers to maintain this vision, as demonstrated here.¹³

There was a common policy of imperial exposure to public view which extended to the imperial tombs dotted along the Divanyolu path. It would appear that, through the patronage and

site selection of mosque-tomb complexes along this route by the Ottoman sultans, a public dialogue was topographically implied, designed to convey a statement of prestige, unity, and identity with Classical antiquity. Additionally the positioning of the tombs of Selim I, Suleiman I, and Selim II, constructed atop different hills in Istanbul, with the Divanyolu running along the crest lines of these prominent hills, further suggests a public dialogue between these tombs along this key route through a unique landscape. During parades the Sultan would symbolically stop and dismount from his horse to pay homage to an ancestor at their sepulchre.¹⁴ Through this changing balance of power, the Divanyolu had a lasting association with the philosophy and ambitions of the Ottoman dynasty, as already cited by Kostof. As part of the town core, the Divanyolu was a catalyst for urbanisation itself,

given that market areas, parks, and public fountains were connected to it, and through it were connected to each other. This architectural stage had both convergent and divergent levels of uses, symbols and values, through commerce, tranquil beauty, and charity.

Istanbul is known as 'the city built on seven hills'. These hills appear to represent a hierarchy of power among the different mosque-tomb complexes which sit atop them and lie between the shrine of Istanbul's Muslim patron-saint, Eyüp, and the Golden Horn. The three tombs being examined in this essay, that of Selim I, Suleiman I and Selim II, lie on the fifth, third, and first hill of Istanbul respectively, in order of distance away from the shrine of Eyüp, and proximity to the Golden Horn. These tomb sites were not selected arbitrarily, but were well considered, almost negotiated with other tomb sites, and planned well in advance of the Sultan's death. The seven hills were markers of distance, space and identity, but also interestingly of piety, charity, and military achievement during the Ottoman era, in their commemoration of the Sultanic patron. Selim I's mosque-tomb complex was built closest to Eyüp's shrine. The Suleimaniya mosque-tomb complex, on the third hill, was erected in a position of maximum visibility, and Selim II, unprecedentedly, was laid to rest in the historical palace of the Byzantine emperors, the Hagia Sophia, on the first hill of Istanbul, furthest

from the shrine of Eyüp, but closest to the Golden Horn (Fig. 4). This juxtaposition of placement and summit over time provided a distinction to Istanbul topographically and exalted its fame and prestige.

Ritual and Commemoration

Sultanic ritual visitations of ancestral tombs and the sanctified tomb of the city's patron-saint, Eyüp, turned the whole empire into the inherited legacy of one family through processional and individual rituals. Royal rites of passage, religious celebrations, and military campaigns brought the population together, congregated in the city core.¹⁵ These representations of memory, as part of a larger victory monument, were linked together as a group through these stately processions. The parades themselves had much more to do with the 'theatre of empire' than with Islam, with the consumption of alcohol occasionally being permitted during such events, often involving disagreements between Sultans, grand muftis (chief legal jurists) and grand viziers (prime ministers) behind the closed doors of Topkapi Palace.¹⁶ The living were honoured alongside the deceased to project this sense of prestige, theatre, and imperial dialogue, along the Divanyolu town core.

The repetition of these rituals after royal accessions, before departures for military campaigns, and during festivities, further

emphasised the importance of commemoration and intercession for the deceased Sultan at his tomb (Fig. 5). The incorporation of tombs of past ancestors into popular culture defined the relationship of power to the 'audience' through facts and events more transient than the monuments themselves – in other words, through a ritual dialogue.

Framing the Gaze

Through the image of the Sultan, architecture also conducts an explicit dialogue between the tombs of father, son and grandson. For example Selim I's marble tomb follows an octagonal plan (Fig. 1). The marble, unlike that of the tomb of Suleiman I, appears uniform and consistent, suggesting a single source and workforce rather than multiple historic sites or quarries. By contrast, Suleiman I's search for columns for his mosque-tomb complex from far flung historic places such as Jerusalem and Alexandria, has symbolic significance.¹⁷

Similarly, the tomb of Selim II is a complex structure comprising a square outer shell and an octagonal inner shell. The dome itself sits upon a drum, resting on eight pillars, supported by semi-domes which buttress the weight of the larger central dome. Through the use of different treatments and styles of masonry, from ashlar to stone lattice work, and the complex ablaq voissours and entryway lunettes present in all three tombs (Figs. 1, 2

and 3), the physical capacity of this architecture evokes order, beauty, authority: embodying the image of the Sultan.

Exploring the use of space, with the exception of the portal facade, the remaining seven facades of Selim I's tomb hold grilled windows on both the upper and lower levels of the tomb. The architectonic decorative program appears to be linear without rosettes, lunettes or ornamented surfaces on the seven facades. The portal facade contains a dome-shaped decoration in red brick on the upper level, and the main ceramic decorative and calligraphic arts appear near the entrance, as they do on the tomb portals of Suleiman I and Selim II. The windows to the tomb of Suleiman I are also grilled and appear on all of its six facades. Having grilled windows on the lower level almost emphasises the barrier between subject and the Sultan, a hijab (veil) articulated architecturally between the caliph and his citizens, stressing that he was only accessible to a select few, in both life and death. Furthermore, the interior of Selim II's tomb is well-lit with two tiers of windows on the octagonal shell, in addition to a third row of windows along the drum of the dome, and eight windows on the roof of the lead-covered dome, provoking a polyfocal engagement between viewer and edifice.¹⁸ I believe that this tomb architecture acts as an intermediary between the 'audience' and space, the space of the 'afterlife', or *a/*

ghaib (the unknown) in Muslim belief, implicitly articulated through the 'veil' of these window compositions. Through this multifaceted layer of windows, fenestrated banisters, and marble steps, tectonically the building appears stronger and more unified. It is in harmony with itself through its eclecticism, exemplifying the meshing of beauty and strength, both from a distance and up close.

The tomb portico of Selim I only extends from the portal facade, whereas the tomb portico of Suleiman I extends all the way around the hexagonal core. A piece of the black stone, a Muslim relic from the Kabaa, is placed over the entranceways to both the tombs of Selim I and Suleiman I. The ambulatory of Suleiman I, and the space around the tomb of Selim I, allows visitors to walk around the whole monument, as a Muslim observer would during the ritual *tawwaf* (circumambulation) around the Kaaba, Islam's most sacred mosque in Mecca, almost as if this commemorative ritual has been transformed into a building in the heart of Istanbul.

Despite their differences of typology, tomb site, and the use of space, there appears to be a clear public dialogue between these three tombs. The stonework, tilework, and calligraphic arts all point to a fusion of artistic talents within the public sphere to project a dynastic image of legitimacy, individuality, and grandeur, through father, son, and

grandson, along the ceremonial stage of the Divanyolu. The message of unity through diversity is persistent; not a ruptured dialogue but an unbroken dialogue.

Architecture as an intermediary provided a vehicle for the interaction between sacrosanct urban space, the gaze of the Sultan, and the ritual commemoration of the 'audience'. Tarkan Okçuoğlu describes how the grilled windows on both the upper and lower zones of the tomb facades emphasised the explicit barrier between aristocracy and 'plebeians'.¹⁹ Gulru Necipoglu points out that the Ottoman Sultans did not present themselves directly to their subjects outside public parades. Even within the Topkapi Palace, their primary residence, the Sultans spoke through grilled windows to their own grand viziers (prime ministers).²⁰ By extension, the fact that there are grilled windows on the lower levels, when a light source already exists on the upper levels of these tombs, the spaces for the public to circumambulate the sarcophagi (but not enter the tombs in the sixteenth-century), and the variety of materials used, from tortoise-shell to ivory, suggest an architectural discourse which maintains a distinction, within the social fabric of Istanbul in the sixteenth-century, between the public and the private space of the Sultan, preserved and commemorated for these three successive caliphs of Islam (religious leaders of the global

Muslim community).

Differences in architectural craftsmanship and a versatile architectural surface allowed each Sultans personality and character, whether of austerity, opulence, or piety, to shine through. The dynamic multi-layered symbiosis manifested in these decorative skins allowed for architectural portraits to be realised, carefully crafted by the chief architect Alauddin (d. 1539) and the Ottoman baroque master, Mimar Sinan (d. 1588), adorning the act of veneration.

In conclusion a public dialogue between these three Sultanic tombs and their 'audience' was communicated and aided through a 'sacred' topography, associated rituals and architectural programs. Furthermore, these mosque-tomb complexes contributed to the urbanisation of Istanbul. The Ottoman Sultans appropriated existing geographical markers, actively shaping town planning along the Divanyolu in the interests of their own legitimacy, visibility, and mythmaking, to control behaviour in both life and death. Here, natural topography, ritual, and edifice, were all integral in articulating Sultanic portraits. Pertinently, less than one hundred years since the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire, rather than dismissing tombs of a bygone era as part of a repressive past, President Erdoğan holds them up collectively to inform a progressive future for a 'New Turkey'.²¹ These imperial tombs are currently undergoing extensive restoration works and

are being opened to the public for the first time in decades. The Ottoman Empire's suppression and re-appropriation provides clues to today's identity politics of that region. Today these historic tombs are identified as embodying a legacy which the Turkish government wants to reclaim and protect. It will be interesting to see what new social and cultural roles these imperial mausoleums occupy in years to come, as part of the wider narrative of Neo-Ottomanism, and significantly as beautiful works of art.

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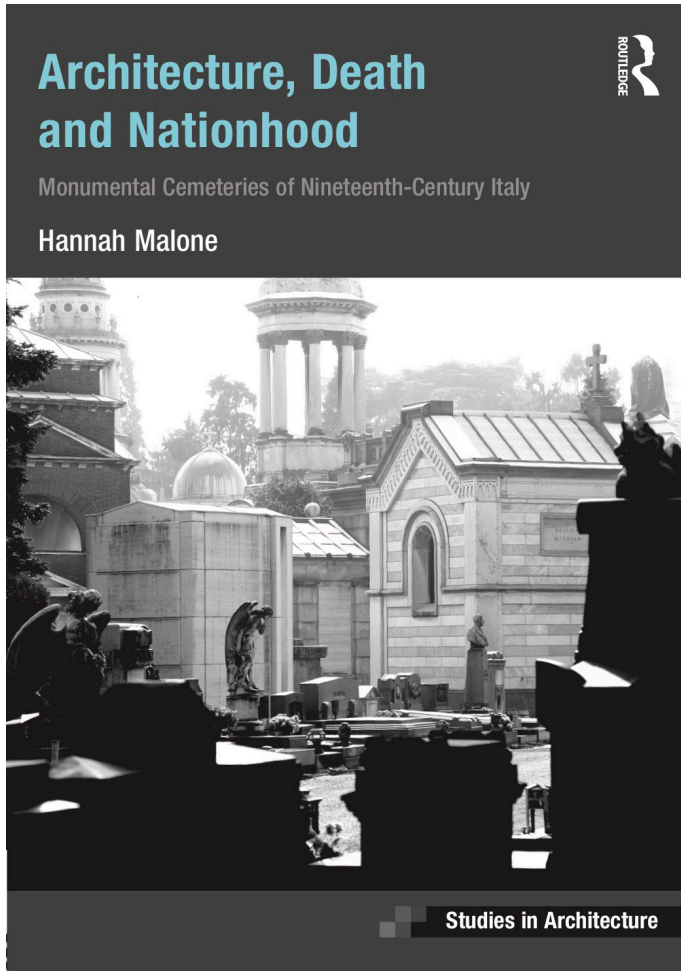
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Architecture, Death and Nationhood: Monumental Cemeteries of Nineteenth-Century Italy (Routledge, 2017)

Hannah Malone introduces her new volume and the values it shares with the MMT



patron of the Monuments and Mausolea Trust. As part of the research, I undertook a year-long 'Grand Tour', during which I visited about fifty cemeteries across Italy and gathered over 9,000 photographs of tombs and sculpture. During fieldwork, I also met with politicians, academics, and experts in conservation who expressed an emergent interest in Italian cemeteries as national monuments. Some of the cemeteries are falling to disrepair, but many have recently undergone restoration work. Italy's monumental cemeteries deserve to be better known as historical sites and cultural destinations. In what follows, I will offer a brief introduction to the book that resulted from my research and hope that it demonstrates the great value of the architectural sources that it explores.

Italy has some of the grandest cemeteries in Europe, if not in the world. Over the course of the nineteenth century, burial grounds were built in many Italian cities that were unique in their scale, grandeur, and monumentality (Figure 1). The new cemeteries became destinations for visitors on the Grand Tour and rivalled the great Victorian graveyards, such as the Magnificent Seven in London. They represented

This book was inspired by the experiences of my childhood in northern Italy, including visits to the monumental cemetery of Genoa. It draws on the PhD

thesis that I completed at St John's College, Cambridge, under the supervision of Frank Salmon, and the guidance of James Stevens Curl, a

a new type of building that emerged in direct response to the evolution of Italian society and politics. During the 1800s, Italy underwent a period of momentous change that was marked by the rise of the middle classes, rapid industrialization, the struggle for political independence, and the creation of the nation-state. Italy's monumental cemeteries reflected the tensions and conflicts that shaped the emergent nation.

As the first survey of Italy's monumental cemeteries, the book explores the emergence of modern funerary customs. It explains why Italians created vast and grandiose cemeteries, and embraced a new way of burying and commemorating the dead. It shows how, against the backdrop of national unification, the new cemeteries symbolized the power of the new nation, efforts to construct an Italian identity, and conflicts between Church and state. It also illustrates how the cities of the dead mirrored the cities of the living.

In Italy, as in the rest of Europe, from the Middle Ages until the mid-eighteenth century, the dead were generally buried in churches and overcrowded urban graveyards. However, from the 1740s, a radical reform in funerary customs prohibited burial inside cities and put an end to Christian traditions of church interment. The new suburban cemeteries of the 1800s differed from earlier graveyards in that they were public, secular, multi-denominational,



Figure 1 Brescia: Monumental cemetery, begun 1815 (source: Hannah Malone)

and socially inclusive. They reflected hygienic concerns, pressures generated by urban expansion, and innovations in science and city planning. They also expressed cultural and political forces associated with the Enlightenment, such as egalitarianism, anticlericalism, and an emphasis on human dignity. Later, they reflected the celebration of the dead in an era of Romanticism and individualism.

The book explores the origins of Italy's monumental cemeteries in the context of a radical change in funerary practices across eighteenth-century Europe, and influences associated with the Enlightenment and Romanticism. Although those cultural conditions were relatively common throughout Europe, nineteenth-century Italian cemeteries are markedly different from their European counterparts, as they developed as monumental or architectural structures, rather than as

landscaped gardens. This set them apart from the garden cemeteries of Père Lachaise in Paris or Highgate in London. The book addresses the question of why the Protestant countries of northern Europe opted for the model of the garden cemetery, whereas the Catholic nations of the Mediterranean built monumental graveyards. In Italy, for example, the Staglieno cemetery in Genoa is a vast complex that stretches over 33 hectares and incorporates a neoclassical replica of the Roman Pantheon, a number of suburban 'villas', and a large collection of funerary sculpture (Figure 2). Equally, the Monumentale cemetery in Milan embodies a large portico in an eclectic, Byzantine–Romanesque style, within which the *haute bourgeoisie* erected massive mausolea. Although there are exceptions, such as a picturesque extension descending a slope in the Poggioreale cemetery in Naples, Italian cemeteries are

distinctly monumental. That said, they are also remarkably varied, as can be seen by comparing San Miniato, which was established within a Renaissance monastery on a hill overlooking Florence, with the cemetery island of San Michele in Venice.

Italy's monumental cemeteries were created at a time of remarkable political turmoil. Within the context of the Risorgimento - the Italian struggle for independence - they were associated with nationalism and a rising civic consciousness. Following unification in 1861, they were used to convey the power of the burgeoning nation and to commemorate national heroes. The book examines the role of cemeteries in the politics of unification. It covers the conflicts between local and national interests, and the efforts to construct Italian history, and to build a national identity, through the commemoration of the dead. Tensions between Church and state were played out within burial grounds that were publically owned, but administered by the clergy; for example, through the Vatican's resistance to cremation as a secular alternative to burial. Paradoxically, although the Catholic Church forbade cremation until the 1960s, Catholic Italy pioneered its adoption, partly because of the influence of Freemasons.

The new cemeteries also reflected social change and the rise of the bourgeoisie. Their art and monumentality served to project the newfound status of the Italian middle classes. A new, 'bourgeois realist' style emerged in funerary sculpture, which allowed the middle

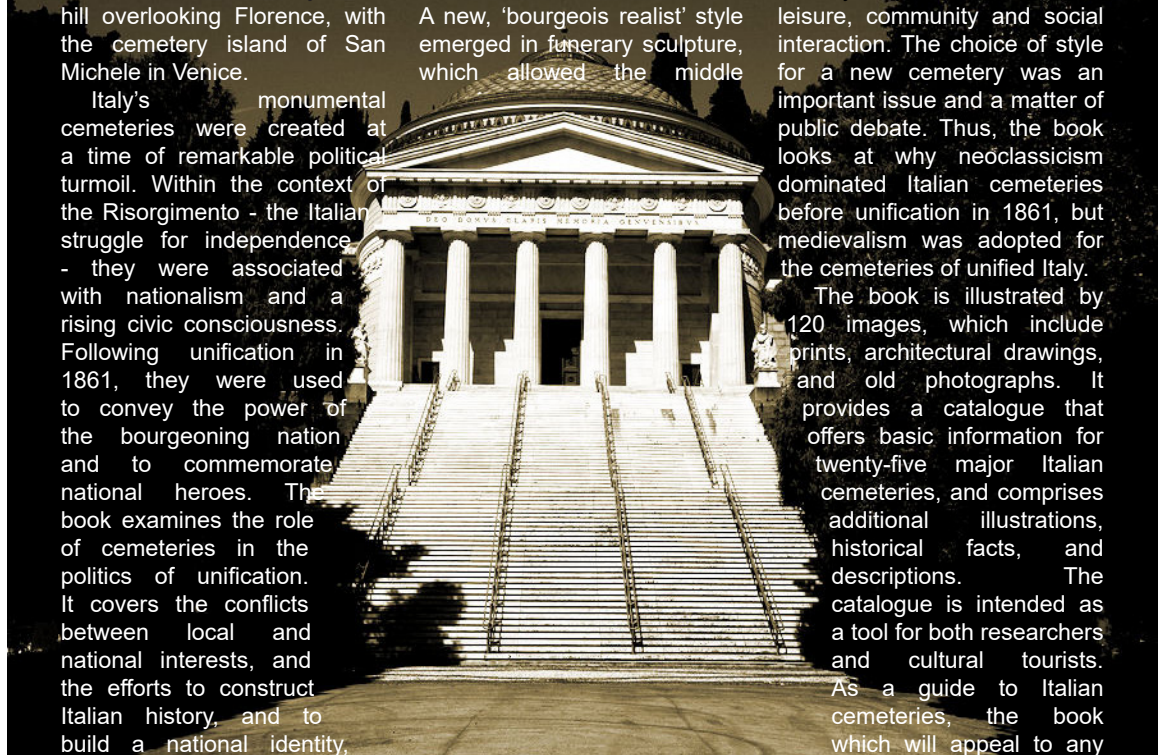
burial ground as a microcosm of urban society. Like the *piazza*, park, and opera house, the new cemeteries were important institutions in the nineteenth-century city, and spaces for leisure, community and social interaction. The choice of style for a new cemetery was an important issue and a matter of public debate. Thus, the book looks at why neoclassicism dominated Italian cemeteries before unification in 1861, but medievalism was adopted for the cemeteries of unified Italy.

The book is illustrated by 120 images, which include prints, architectural drawings, and old photographs. It provides a catalogue that offers basic information for twenty-five major Italian cemeteries, and comprises additional illustrations, historical facts, and descriptions. The catalogue is intended as a tool for both researchers and cultural tourists. As a guide to Italian cemeteries, the book which will appeal to any

reader with an interest in the history of burial grounds. As the first monograph on Italy's monumental cemeteries, it captures an image of the fledgling Italy as mirrored in the architecture of its monumental cemeteries.

H. Malone, *Architecture, Death and Nationhood: Monumental Cemeteries of Nineteenth-Century Italy* (Routledge, 2017)

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Available for £25.60 as an e-book



classes to flaunt their wealth through realistic depictions of clothing and furniture. This meant that, instead of representing allegorical figures in classical garb, Italian sculptors depicted the relatives of the dead in modern dress. At the same time, women and children took a more prominent role in tomb statuary. The book also explores the relationships between Italian cemeteries and their cities, and looks at the

2017 EVENTS

SATURDAY 8 JULY *Annual General Meeting* At West Norwood Cemetery

The Annual General Meeting will take place on Saturday 8 July 2017 in The Crematorium Chapel, West Norwood Cemetery, Norwood High Street, London SE27 9JU. It will commence at 12.00 noon and be followed by lunch and a tour of the cemetery led by Dr Robert Flanagan.

West Norwood Cemetery, founded in 1836, was laid out by Sir William Tite, who was himself interred there in 1873. It was one of London's first garden cemeteries and contains a number of notable mausoleums and listed monuments and includes a splendid section for the Greek Orthodox Community. Among its famous residents are: Sir Hiram Maxim (inventor of the automatic machine gun), Sir Henry Bessemer (inventor of the famous steel process), William Burges (architect), David Roberts (artist), Dr William Marsden (founder of the Royal Free and Royal Marsden hospitals), C W Alcock (founder of Test Cricket and the FA Cup), Sir Henry Tate (sugar magnate and founder of the Tate Gallery), Sir Henry Doulton of pottery fame, and Mrs Isabella Beeton who, of course, needs no introduction.

The meeting is free but we would appreciate a donation of £10 towards the cost of lunch. Please book your place via the website or send a cheque to **The Secretary at 70 Cowcross Street, London EC1M 6EJ**.

Please do your best to be there on this important occasion in the Trust's year.

The Norfolk weekend has been cancelled. Information about the other two events are as listed on the website

SATURDAY 12 AUGUST *A day in Worcestershire* featuring a visit to Great Witley, England's finest Rococo church

NOVEMBER *Wednesday 15 November* at The Gallery, 70 Cowcross Street, London EC1M 6EJ

A talk about the Sculptor, Ivan Mestrovic, by Roger Bowdler and Gavin Stamp

