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FIRLE PLACE: SYRIA IN SUSSEX

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It might seem to be a minimum requirement of architecture categorised as ‘Palladian’ to display the ornamental features publicised by Palladio. But this is not always so. Much of the ornament in British architecture of the second quarter of the eighteenth century, although generally identified as ‘Palladian’, was inspired by antiquity, without Palladio’s mediation.

A case in point is Firle Place, near Lewes, hitherto unrecognised as a realisation of ancient architectural forms (Fig. 1). Firle is a sixteenth-century courtyard house, superficially Palladianised in an undocumented campaign whose *terminus ante quem* is provided by a view of 1784.¹ Its appearance

suggests that this work might have been executed for Sir William Gage, 7th baronet (1695–1744), who owned Firle from 1713 to 1744,² but no documentation from this period has been found. It includes an east-facing entrance range (Fig. 2), which has a central carriage arch leading into the courtyard (Fig. 3), and a long gallery lit by a serliana on the first floor (Fig. 4). On the west side of the courtyard a great stair (Fig. 5) was formed in the south part of the sixteenth-century hall, which was given a new ceiling and chimneypiece (Fig. 6); and a drawing room was formed in the south range (Fig. 7). The most thoughtful analysis of the house, by Arthur Oswald, subdivided this work. He attributed the internal



Fig. 1. Firle Place from the north-east.

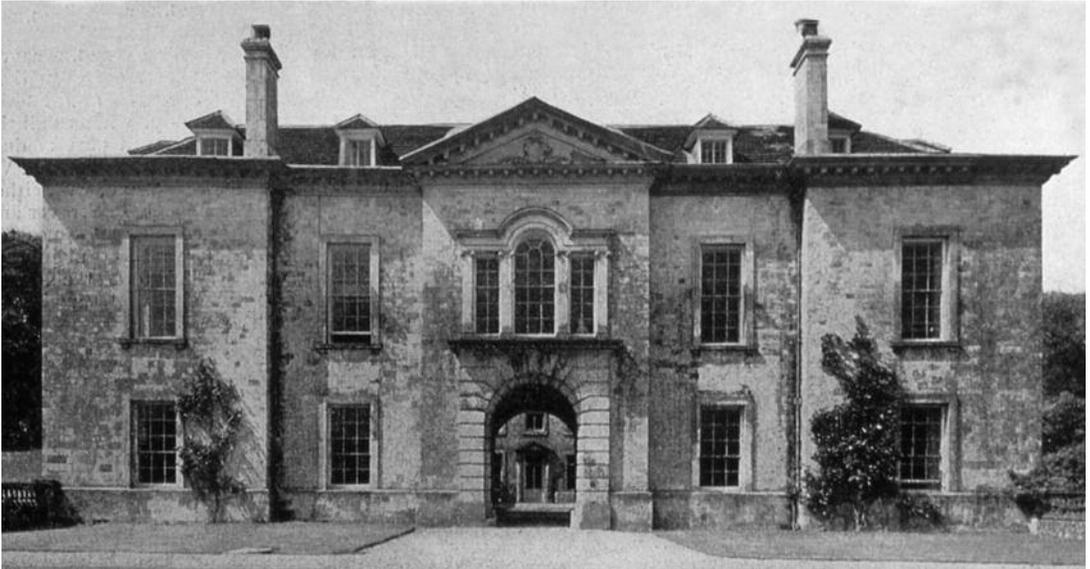


Fig. 2. Firle Place: east range.

ornament, particularly the stair and the drawing room, to ‘a London man, . . . one of the Burlington group’.³ He thought that the exterior of the east front indicated that ‘it was not the work of an experienced architect, but rather of a local builder’, and proposed Arthur or John Morris of Lewes.⁴ This last conclusion was engendered by the serliana (Fig. 2), of which he wrote

The Venetian window shows a rather clumsy attempt to interpret ‘the *motif Palladio*’, the cornice being treated as a dripmould and allowed to run round over the arch.⁵

But although he was right to notice that the Firle serliana is unusual (for serlianas do not usually have a cornice continued over the arch), he was wrong to consider it uneducated. The more usual serliana, both in its eponymous and in its ancient form, has an entablature which is broken by the arched middle bay, whose architrave is brought to rest upon its upper surface (Fig. 8). But there is another form, styled the Syrian arch by Luigi Crema and the

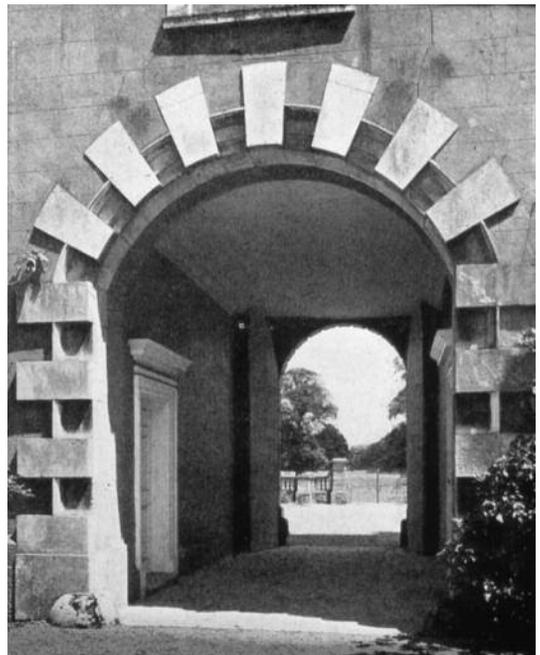


Fig. 3. Firle Place: west side of the east range.



Fig. 4. Firle Place: gallery on the first floor of the east range.

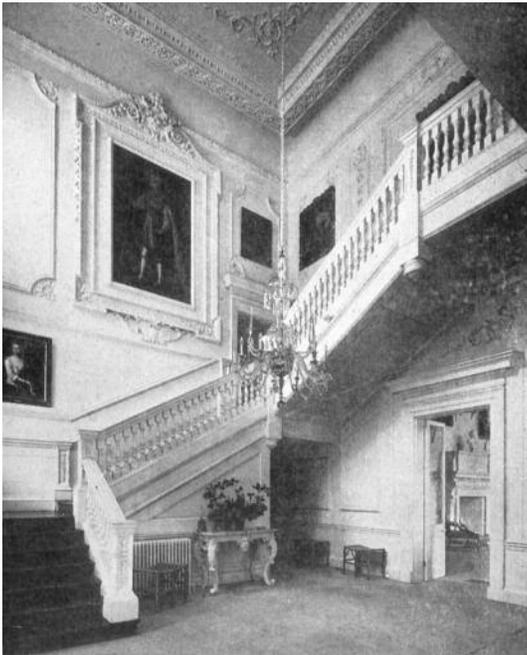


Fig. 5. Firle Place: stair in the west range.



Fig. 6. Firle Place: hall in the west range.



Fig. 7. Firle Place: drawing room in the south range.



Fig. 8. Chiswick House: serliana.



Fig. 9. Split (Spalatum), Croatia (Illyricum): peristyle of Diocletian's palace.

arcuated lintel by DF Brown, in which the entablature is not broken, but continued over the middle bay as a semi-circular arch.⁶ The Appendix to this article lists the ancient examples, in the three variant arrangements in which they are found. The first, and earliest, of these is the classic serliana form. The second is found in colonnades of greater length, where it occurs at least over the central intercolumniation, but often over several, and sometimes over every other intercolumniation. In the third arrangement it occurs above a single arch or niche, the horizontal part of the entablature (no more than a moulded band on an otherwise unarticulated wall) being continued only a short distance either side of the arch.

Brown argued that its earliest realisations were Assyrian, occurring between the ninth and sixth centuries BC.⁷ It entered the Roman architectural vocabulary, over 500 years later, in an area formerly under Assyrian rule, in the Temple of Dushara at Si', in the Roman province of Syria, dated between 39 and 33 BC.⁸ There is a second early example, on the south gate of the *agora* at Ephesus, in the province of Asia,

dated 4 BC,⁹ but these two are chronologically isolated by one and a half centuries from more than sixty other examples, which are dated between 131 and c.459 AD, with few significant intervals. The latest can be found at the *martyrium* of St Simeon Stylites, at the place in northern Syria since called Qalat Sim'ân, built shortly after his death in 459.¹⁰ Two insecurely dated examples may perhaps be later, on a tomb at Il-Mghârah, Syria (Fig. 29), which may be fifth-century,¹¹ and on a church at Kalb Lauzeh, Syria, apparently sixth-century.¹²

A large number occur in the area of the Nabataean empire, the area which had been ruled by the Assyrians half a millennium before; the majority occur in the Roman province of Syria; and all but three (out of nearly seventy known examples) occur in the eastern half of the Roman empire. It hardly matters whether these were known to western architects of the Renaissance. Three conspicuous and easily accessible examples in the west were all that was needed. The classic serliana form could be seen on the peristyle of Diocletian's palace at Split (Fig. 9),¹³

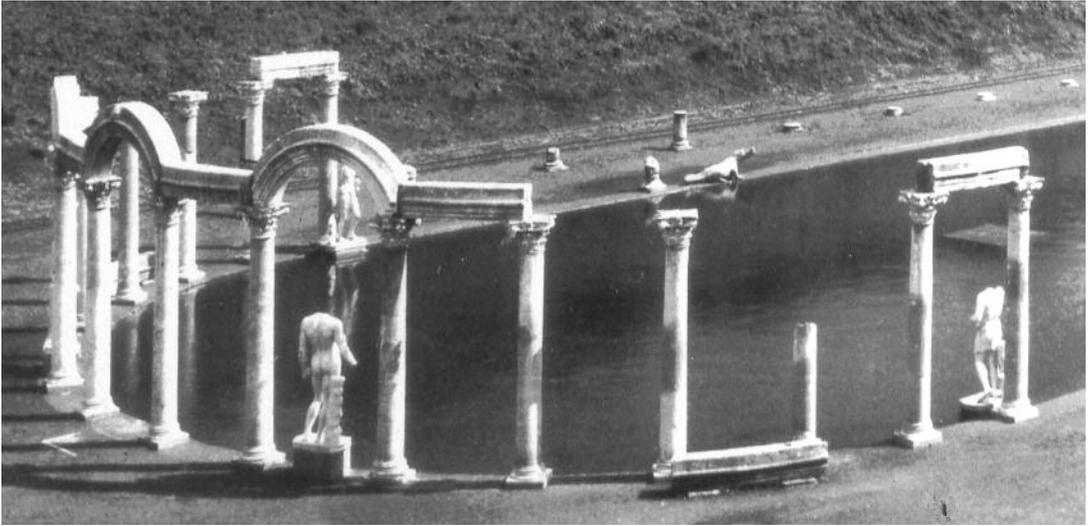


Fig. 10. Tivoli (Tibur), Italy: canopus of Hadrian's villa.

a Venetian possession between 1420 and 1797, easily accessible from Rome *via* Ancona.¹⁴ In colonnades of greater length it could be seen around the Canopus at Hadrian's Villa, near Tivoli, where the arches are placed over every other intercolumniation (Fig. 10);¹⁵ and on the sea wall of Diocletian's Palace at Split, where there are arches at the ends of a blind colonnade. It probably could also be seen on the *propylaeum* of the basilica of S. Lorenzo in Milan, which has only a central arch.¹⁶ There are others on coins, funerary monuments (in Gaul and Germany) and mosaic fountains (only in Pompeii and Herculaneum).¹⁷ This might suggest that the motif was once universal throughout the Empire, but it is not quite so. There are large gaps. It has not been observed in Spain or Britain; nor in Africa, Egypt or Greece; there is only the one example in the Balkans, and only one (and that a funerary monument) in Germany.¹⁸ It is therefore more likely that its rare and splendid manifestations in Italy and Dalmatia were calculated orientalisms on the part of Diocletian, Hadrian, and perhaps Auxentius (Bishop of Milan at the time when S. Lorenzo was built), imitated

only in circumscribed areas of the west, doubtless for quite particular reasons.¹⁹

Whatever his source, the Syrian arch in its serliana form was known to Giulio Romano by 1523–4, when he included it in the painted decoration of the Sala di Costantino in the Vatican.²⁰ This represents its ceiling what appears to be a benediction loggia on the first floor over a *nymphaeum* (possibly a baptistery). Its earliest built realisation is as a window over the south *portada* of the Palace of Charles V at Granada in 1533, designed by the italicised Spaniard Pedro Machuca, who perhaps acquired knowledge of it from Giulio.²¹ Around 1623 the anonymous architect of the Hôtel de Chalons-Luxembourg, in Paris, used it as a portal, with pilasters, the side interpilasters blind and very narrow.²² Borromini also used the serliana form on the internal end walls of the gallery of the Palazzo Pamphili in the Piazza Navona, Rome, built in 1646–7.²³ A few years later, in 1658–63, Pietro da Cortona built one on the first floor *loggia* on the street front of Sta Maria in Via Lata, a benediction *loggia* like Giulio Romano's painted example, but, in

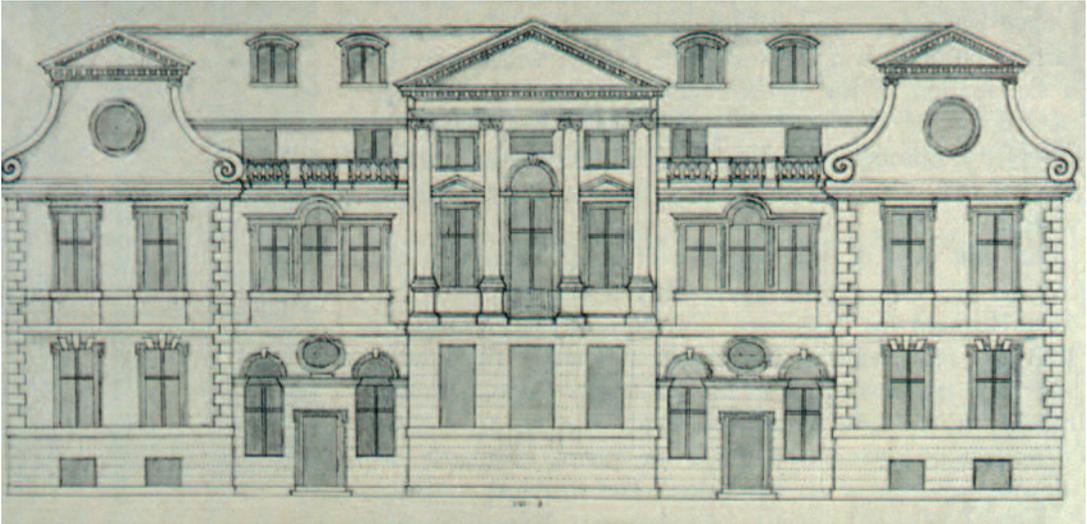


Fig. 11. Raynham Hall, Norfolk: west elevation before 1699.

its prominent site on the Corso, a conspicuous example.²⁴ Fischer von Erlach used it on Count Gallas's Palace in Prague, which he published in 1725, together with another example on a 'maison de plaisance que j'ai inventée'.²⁵

By then the other arrangements of the Syrian arch had also been used. Borromini adopted the second (repetitive) arrangement, which he must have known from Hadrian's Villa, to form an internal arcade/colonnade within the church of Sta Maria dei Sette Dolori, Rome, begun in 1642–3.²⁶ Borromini was presumably the source for Rastrelli's use of it in St Petersburg, at Peterhof in 1746–52, the Stroganov Palace in 1752–54 and the Winter Palace in 1754–64.²⁷

The third (niche or arch) arrangement had been used by Francois Mansart as the frontispiece of the church of the Visitation, in Paris, built in 1632–3.²⁸ Thereafter this arrangement was used all over northern Europe, sometimes in positions which are relative details.²⁹ For instance, Le Vau used it on a dormer over the entrance of the chateau of Vaux-le-Vicomte, built in 1657–61,³⁰ and framing the central niche of the Escalier des Ambassadeurs in the Chateau

of Versailles, built in 1671.³¹ In the Netherlands it can be seen over the door of the Town Hall of Schiedam, Holland.³²

The third (arch/niche) arrangement was visible in London apparently earlier than anywhere else, in 1619, when John Smythson recorded it framing a second floor window of Lady Cooke's house in Holborn.³³ It was used as an internal door frame at Lees Court, Kent, c.1655,³⁴ on the second floor at both ends of the south front of Forde Abbey, Dorset, probably by the Office-of-Works-educated architect Edward Carter, c.1658,³⁵ and on Temple Bar in 1670–72.³⁶

Even the serliana arrangement had reached England before its use by Borromini. It appeared on the east front of Raynham Hall, Norfolk, built between 1622 and 1636 (Fig. 11);³⁷ this design was probably a collaborative effort of the mason, William Edge, and the patron, Sir Roger Townshend.³⁸ It may have been the only secular example in seventeenth-century England, but others occur on churches. The earliest of these were designed by Nicholas Stone and lit the Digges chapel at Chilham



Fig. 12.
Chilham, Kent:
Digges chapel.

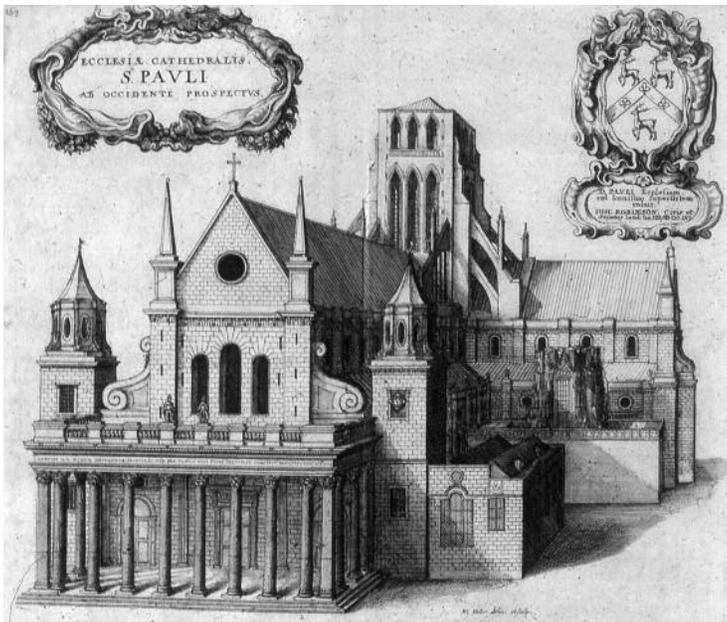


Fig. 13.
Wenceslaus
Hollar, St Paul's
Cathedral and
St Gregory's
church, 1658.

church, Kent, built in 1631–2 (Fig. 12).³⁹ At the same time the church of St Gregory, abutting the south side of St Paul's Cathedral, was rebuilt, its west end lit by a simplified version of the Syrian serliana (Fig. 13);⁴⁰ the architect is unknown, but it is unlikely to be Inigo Jones, whose cathedral portico it abutted, and who started pulling it down in 1639.⁴¹ One more can be seen at the west end of Berwick-on-Tweed church,

designed in 1650 by the Londoner John Young.⁴² Another can be seen at the east end of St Mary at Hill, in the City of London, designed by Wren, and built between 1670 and 1676 (Fig. 14).⁴³ Transformed into a door, the serliana arrangement was used by John James at the west end of St Mary, Abbots Ann, Hampshire, in 1715–16.⁴⁴ It was also used by William Halfpenny as the west window of his proposal for

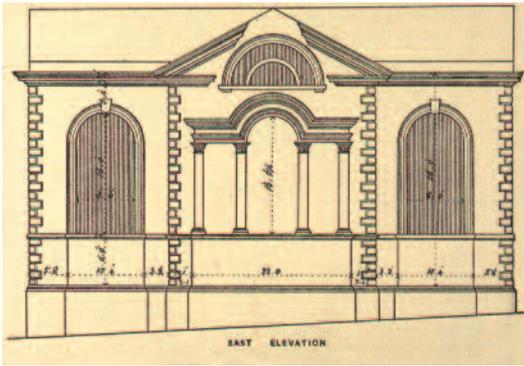


Fig. 14. St Mary-at-Hill, London: east elevation.

Holy Trinity, Leeds, in 1722,⁴⁵ not built, but published by Halfpenny three years later (Fig. 15).⁴⁶

In the eighteenth century it broke from its ecclesiastical context. It was noted by John Adam at Hawnes, Bedfordshire,⁴⁷ the seat of Lord Cartaret; the date of Cartaret's improvements is not known, but Adam drew the serliana in 1748 (Fig. 16).⁴⁸ It could be seen by fashionable London *en masse* on the Turkish Tent at Vauxhall Gardens, constructed after c.1737 and before 1744 (Fig. 17).⁴⁹ It could be seen by travellers passing the White Friars Hotel at Boreham Street, Herstmonceux, Sussex.⁵⁰ And it can still be seen in the even more modest circumstances of the first floor of No. 12 High Street, Calne, Wiltshire. As the serliana at Firle is undated, it is impossible to determine whether any of these examples influenced it; it is more likely to have been the inspiration for the inn at Herstmonceux. And it is unlikely to have been built later than Nicholas Revett's alterations to Standlynch (now Trafalgar House), Wiltshire, done shortly after 1766, which included a version of the Syrian-arched serliana in the end elevations of the wings.⁵¹ It is still less likely to have been built after 1774, by which time, or a little earlier, Athenian Stuart had designed a similar Syrian-arched serliana for the first floor of the 'modern Italian loggia' at Wimpole Hall, Cambridgeshire, of which an engraving was available from 1778.⁵²

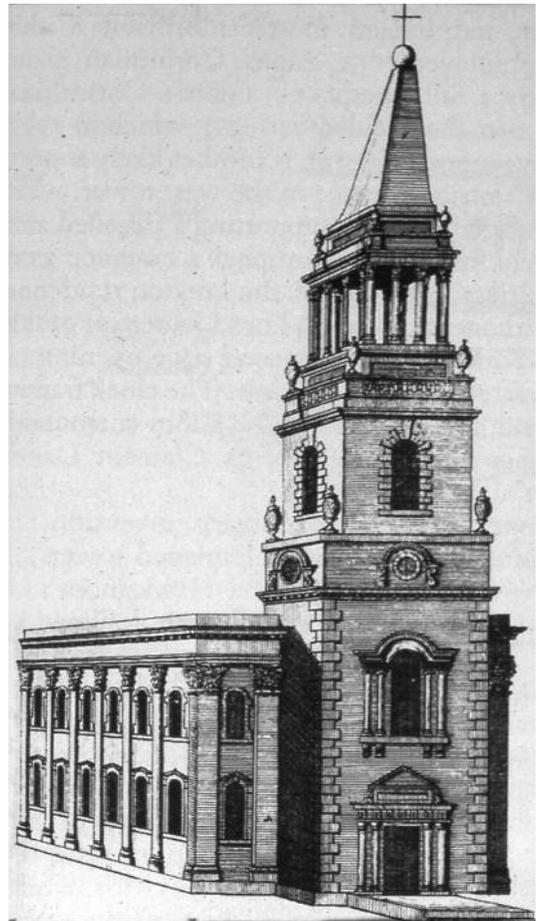


Fig. 15. William Halfpenny, proposal for Holy Trinity, Leeds, 1722.

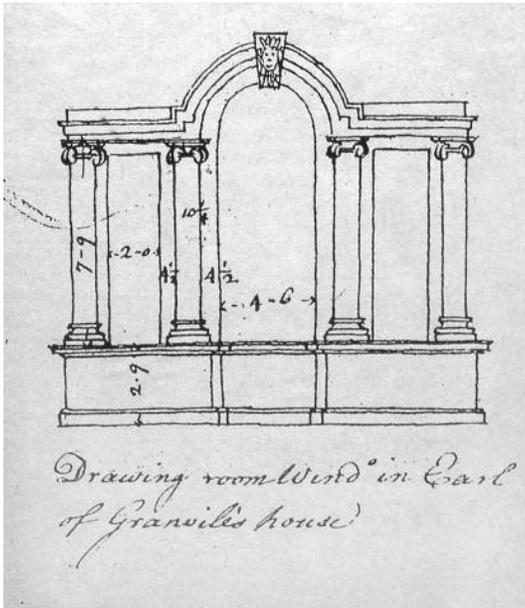


Fig. 16. John Adam, drawing of a window at Hawnes, Bedfordshire, in 1748.

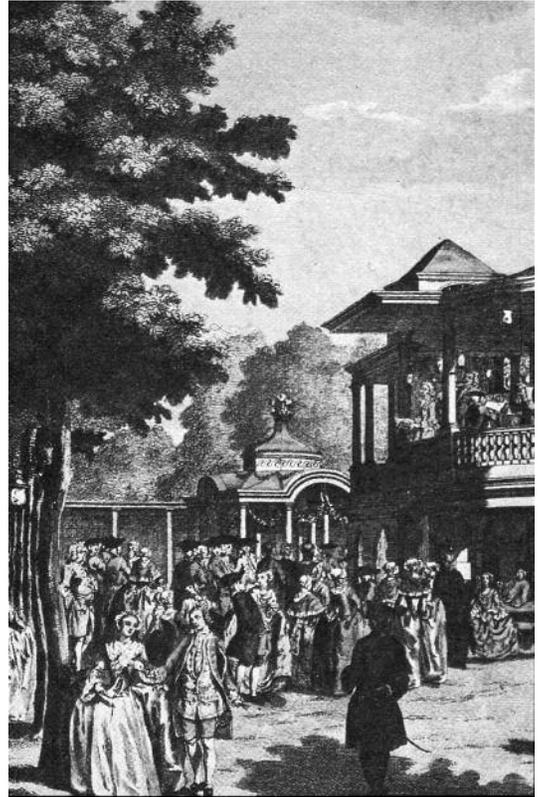


Fig. 17. JS Muller, after Samuel Wale, engraved view of Vauxhall Gardens, Lambeth, after 1751: the Turkish tent is in the background.

true also of the other English architects. Raynham was advanced and accomplished enough to have been taken for the work of Inigo Jones until relatively recently, and its design was arrived at only after protracted study of the most fashionable examples at home and abroad.⁵³ The Digges chapel at Chilham was designed by Nicholas Stone, an associate and follower of Inigo Jones;⁵⁴ it 'was, in all probability, the first classical tomb-chapel to be built in England'.⁵⁵ The church at Berwick is the least satisfactorily resolved of these seventeenth-century predecessors, but it has some excuse; it was the product of a period of liturgical conflict and experiment, and it incorporates features which are individually esoteric,

although apparently discordant or compromised in combination.⁵⁶ However, its architect was neither ignorant nor provincial, but a Londoner and occasional partner of the Office-of-Works architect Edward Kinsman.⁵⁷ It would be a mistake too to dismiss John James as 'provincial' or 'baroque'; he was a careful student of Inigo Jones and some of his designs are as studiously antique as many by his 'Palladian' contemporaries.⁵⁸ Nor should Halfpenny's comical name and his subsequent second-rank career distort assessment of his Holy Trinity design; its pseudoperipteral Doric pilastrade refers to the same archaic sacred imagery (the Maison Carrée at Nîmes and the Temple of Concord in Rome)⁵⁹ as

Colen Campbell's 'Church in the Vitruvian Stile' of 1717,⁶⁰ and Gibbs's St Martin in the Fields of 1722.⁶¹ It therefore seems unlikely that any of these architects arrived at the Syrian arch by mistake—by incorrectly detailing the commoner type of serliana.

But if that is so, their introduction to it is not clear. Edge and Townshend could have seen examples of it abroad, but it is not known where they went. Both of them, and John Young, are likely to have met Inigo Jones, and Jones could have had illustrations of it. Lord Burlington probably owned Fischer von Erlach's book;⁶² he could have been alerted to it by the owner of one of the Syrian serlianas which it illustrates, Count Gallas, who had been the Imperial ambassador in London, and an acquaintance of Burlington's in Rome in 1714.⁶³ But Burlington also owned two drawings of Syrian arches; their provenance is unknown, but, as he bought a collection of Jones's drawings in 1720–21, they may have been part of it.⁶⁴ One of them is a drawing, attributed to Machuca, of the west front of the Palace of Charles V at Granada;⁶⁵ the other is a sheet of drawings of antique details attributed to G-A Dosio (1533–1609),⁶⁶ among which is the *loggia/nymphaeum* building depicted by Giulio in the Sala di Costantino (Fig. 18).

By the time that Burlington acquired these two drawings, opportunities to observe the motif had increased with the motif itself, although the Raynham example had already been subtracted from the list by a remodelling of that house between 1699 and 1706 (when Burlington was twelve).⁶⁷ More British architects had visited Rome, and, although Protestants might have had some difficulty in gaining access to the Sala di Costantino, this would have been easier for James Gibbs, a Catholic from Aberdeen, who spent six years in Rome, initially as a postulant at the Scots College.⁶⁸ Even so, sight of a painted detail within the window reveal of a great reception room would have required not just privileged access but either comprehensive or fortuitous observation. No English architect is known to have visited Spain until 1760,⁶⁹ but Lord



Fig. 18. G-A Dosio (attrib.), drawing of antique ornament: the *loggia/nymphaeum* is on the left of the sheet.

Burlington's possession of the Machuca drawing would have rendered that unnecessary. British architects may have visited the Palazzo Pamphili, but, if so, they are not known. Architects from the south of England might have visited Berwick.⁷⁰ But, as the least elegant of these examples, the serliana at Berwick was doubtless the least influential. St Mary at Hill, in the City of London, was more accessible and more elegant, but not entirely so. The pilasters of its serliana are narrow in proportion to the entablature, its arch collides with the blind Diocletian window above it, and the latter can only be fitted into the pediment by making the pediment both open (on its lower side) and broken (on its upper side).



Fig. 19. G-B Falda, engraved view of Via Lata, from *Nuovo Teatro delle Fabbriche... di Roma*, 1665.

Eighteenth-century architects might have regarded both it and the Berwick example with scorn.

Cortona's church, on the other hand, is both a powerful composition, and appears to be effortlessly accomplished. Situated in a prominent position on the Corso, it must surely have been an inspiration to those few English architects who had visited Rome—James Gibbs, John Talman, William Kent, Lord Burlington, possibly Colen Campbell, and possibly Roger Morris (although in his case not until 1731–32).⁷¹ It was also illustrated in volume I of Falda's *Nuovo Teatro...*, published in 1665,⁷² in Rossi's *Insignium Romae Templorum...*, published in 1684,⁷³ and in the third volume of Vasi's *Delle Magnificenze di Roma...*, published in 1753.⁷⁴ Lord Burlington had both Rossi's and Vasi's books in his library at Chiswick,⁷⁵ where they may have been available to any of these architects, and to others. Falda's view is at a raking angle, and it might be possible to overlook the fact that the serliana has a Syrian arch (Fig. 19). But Rossi's book includes a full-page scaled elevation (Fig. 20). It is also unambiguously illustrated in Vasi's frontal view, but by the time that publication reached England all

these architects were dead, and so was Sir William Gage. And by the time of Vasi's illustration William Halfpenny's *The Art of Sound Building*, which illustrates the Syrian serliana on his design for Holy Trinity, Leeds, had been in print for nearly thirty years. The Turkish Tent at Vauxhall had been visible for probably ten years. The Syrian serliana at Hawnes had been in place for at least five years. And in 1743–5 Richard Pocock had brought out his *Description of the East*, which illustrated at least the niche (if not the serliana) form of the motif, on the north gate (the Istanbul kapi) of Nicaea in Bithynia.⁷⁶ Pocock's book at least offered architects the first published evidence that the Syrian arch was an ancient, not a renaissance feature.

But the serliana at Firle could be as many as twenty-five years older than that. In the 1720s and 1730s the most seductive representations of the Syrian serliana were Cortona's church and the more accomplished representations on paper—Rossi's view of Cortona's church and Lord Burlington's two drawings (the one by Machuca and the other perhaps by Dosio). Whether or not they had previously belonged to Jones, they certainly belonged to

Burlington. The date of his acquisition of them is not known, but he had begun to collect drawings by 1719, when he bought a collection of Palladio's drawings in the Veneto.⁷⁷ Talman (whose collection he bought in 1720),⁷⁸ Gibbs and Campbell (whom he employed),⁷⁹ Kent and Morris (with whom he collaborated),⁸⁰ Leoni and Ware (who benefited from his patronage),⁸¹ Flitcroft and Wright (who were his servants),⁸² could therefore have seen them, as could others, including even tradesmen, such as the joiner John Lane, who worked for Burlington at Burlington House,⁸³ for Campbell at the Rolls House, Chancery Lane,⁸⁴ and at Compton Place, Eastbourne,⁸⁵ for Morris at No. 34 Old Burlington Street,⁸⁶ and who was architect of No. 36 Whitehall for the Paymaster-General, Henry Pelham, in 1732–3.⁸⁷ All of these may have had the opportunity to learn about the Syrian serliana, but obviously no one had a better opportunity than Burlington himself.

However, there are other features at Firlé whose use is confined to a small circle of architects. The first of these is the stair (Fig. 21). Unlike the majority of eighteenth-century stairs, which have open strings, delicate balusters and narrow handrails, the stair at Firlé belongs to a small group with closed strings, richly carved, plump, vase-shaped balusters, massive newels with deep plinths, and handrails that are both broad and deep, modelled on a cornice (Fig. 22). They seem to have been inspired by the stair type whose earliest-known example is at Coleshill, and which seems not to have been used after c.1680.

The type was, however, revived by Colen Campbell for the stair at Burlington House, built between 1717 and 1719, and another 27 stairs of this type were built between then and 1770, the date of the stair at The Vyne. Campbell designed four of these stairs; Morris designed three, possibly four; Flitcroft designed three; Leoni designed two, possibly three; John Lane designed one, and, as a joiner, made two to Campbell's designs. Morris, Leoni and Lane were, in different senses, followers of Campbell, and it is probable that Flitcroft and another five of the

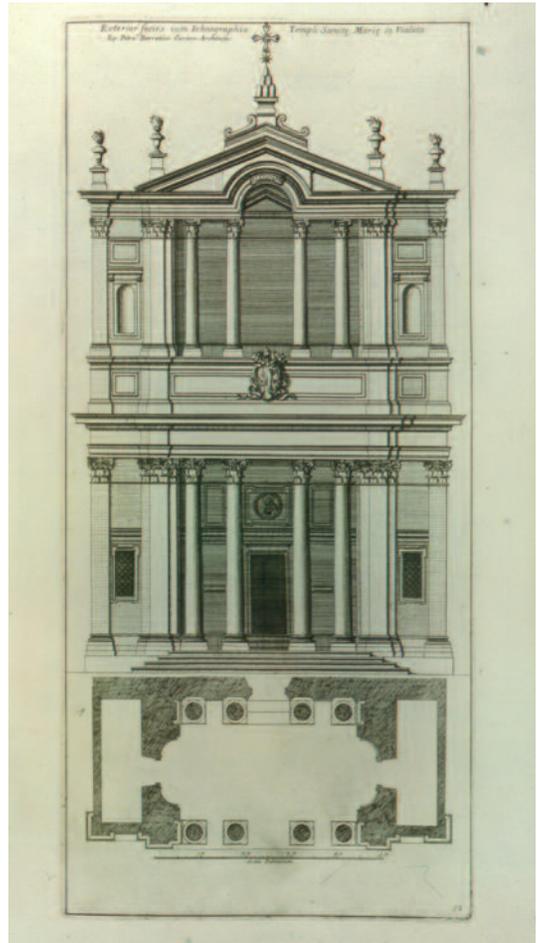


Fig. 20. Giovanni Giacomo Rossi, engraved elevation of Sta Maria in Via Lata, from *Insignium Romae Templorum*, 1684.

architects who designed these stairs (John Sanderson, Theodore Jacobsen, William Jones, Abraham Swan and John Chute) were influenced by him. Whether William Smith, who designed at least two, possibly four, George Dance, who designed two (but both in the same building), and Gibbs, who designed one, were also influenced by Campbell in this particular is not known, but it is not impossible. The evidence seems to suggest that stairs of the type found at Firlé are a sign at least of Campbell's influence.⁸⁸



Fig. 21. Firle Place: staircase.



Fig. 22. No. 9 Clifford Street, London: staircase.

Seven architects may, on the one hand, have known about the Syrian arch, either by seeing the ancient example at Tivoli, its seventeenth-century derivatives in Rome, or Dosio's and Machuca's drawings of it at Chiswick, and were, on the other, inclined to design a stair of the type found at Firle. Campbell, Morris, Leoni, Burlington, Flitcroft, Lane and Gibbs are the only architects common to both groups, although the others could have been made aware of both features by the normal process of architectural intercourse. Such a process, however, does not leave much record, and on the facts as they are known these seven emerge as possible architects of the transformation of Firle.

Two other diagnostic features may reduce their number. The first of these is the hall chimneypiece (Fig. 6). It projects more than is common among contemporary chimneypieces, almost as much as if it were a chimneybreast. Yet it is not a chimneybreast;

it breaks back to the wall plane immediately above the overmantel. Campbell, Morris and Leoni designed chimneypieces like this. Campbell's can be found at Mereworth and Compton Place. Morris's can be found at Marble Hill House, Combe Bank, Adderbury and Lydiard Tregoze. Leoni's can be found at Lathom and Clandon.⁸⁹

The chimneypiece at Firle is a sub-type of this group. It supports an overmantel which is not as high as the chimneypiece itself (the customary proportion), but no higher than a plinth or die. Its depth of modelling and lowness give it the proportions of a sarcophagus; yet it is not styled as such. It has buttresses at each end and scrolled consoles on the returns. Both Leoni and Morris designed overmantels as low and deep as this, Leoni at No 21 Arlington Street,⁹⁰ and Morris at Marble Hill House.⁹¹ One of the latter, in the Breakfast Parlour (Fig. 23), is the closest to the hall chimneypiece at

Firle (Fig. 6). It has the same proportions, the same plinth, the same cornice, the same buttresses, and only lacks the scrolled consoles at each end.⁹²

The second is the long gallery which runs the length of the east front, above the carriage arch: it is lit midway by the serliana. Its existence might be explained as a sixteenth-century survival. But it would not have been necessary to keep such a survival: most Georgian architects would have divided it into an apartment. However, long galleries were a distinctive feature of the work of Campbell, Leoni and Morris.⁹³ Leoni is only known to have designed one – at Queensberry House, Burlington Gardens.⁹⁴ Campbell designed four – at Newby Park,⁹⁵ Mereworth,⁹⁶ Pembroke House, Whitehall,⁹⁷ and Compton Place.⁹⁸ Morris designed at least three, probably five – certainly at Marble Hill House,⁹⁹ Combe Bank¹⁰⁰ and Adderbury,¹⁰¹ and probably also at Argyll House, Argyll Place, London,¹⁰² and Brandenburg House, Hammersmith.¹⁰³

Thus the odds on Leoni as the architect of the ‘Palladian’ transformation of Firle shorten somewhat, and those on Campbell and Morris shorten even more. The remaining ornamental features at Firle, if not diagnostic by virtue of being exclusive to Campbell’s or Morris’s work, are comparable to their work elsewhere. The screens of fluted Ionic columns in the Drawing Room (Fig. 7) are like those in the dining room and gallery at Compton Place,¹⁰⁴ in Sir Robert Walpole’s Bedchamber at Houghton,¹⁰⁵ in the hall and in the bedchamber at Marble Hill, in the hall of No. 9 Clifford Street (Fig. 22), and in the dining room and bedchamber at Lydiard Park, the two latter both attributed to Morris.¹⁰⁶ The coved ceiling of the hall is like those in Morris’s saloon at New Park Lodge, Richmond, his halls at Althorp and Lydiard Park, and those in his drawings for the gallery at Adderbury, the saloon at Beechwood Park and the hall of the Bank of England.¹⁰⁷ The sunk panels on the top floor of the west range of the courtyard are like those on Morris’s Temple at Monkey Island, in the attic storey of the front elevation of his

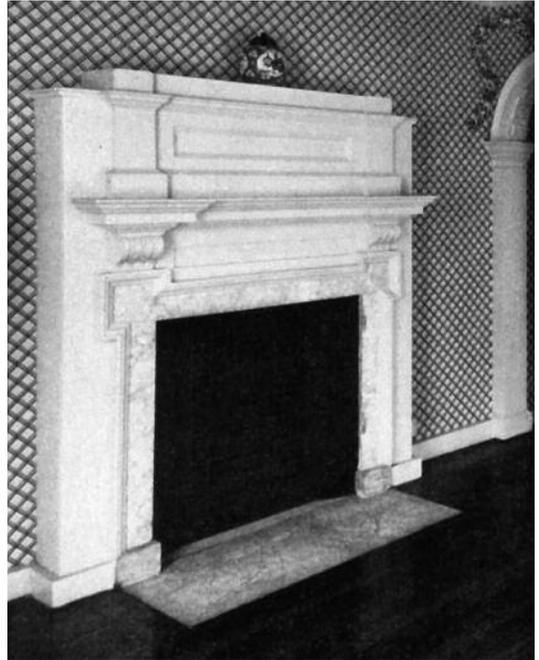


Fig. 23. Marble Hill House, Middlesex: chimneypiece in the Breakfast Parlour.

proposal for the Bank of England, on his design for a triumphal arch at Eastbury, and on a drawing by him for an unidentified pavilion.¹⁰⁸ The blocks on the architrave of the carriage arch at Firle (Fig. 3) are like those round the garden door of Marble Hill.¹⁰⁹

On visual evidence alone, therefore, Campbell or, more likely, Morris appears to have been the architect at Firle. If this is wrong, and it turns out to be another, it must surely be an educated metropolitan architect, not Arthur Morris of Lewes. Furthermore, he was evidently an architect interested in the reproduction of ancient forms, in particular serlianas of a type little known beyond the borders of the Roman provinces of Arabia Petraea, Judaea, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Asia, Bithynia, Thracia, and uncommon outside the province of Syria. By a process which must be largely hypothesised he brought the ornament of ancient Syria to Georgian Sussex. Whatever hypothesis emerges, however, it does not seem that Palladio has a place in it.

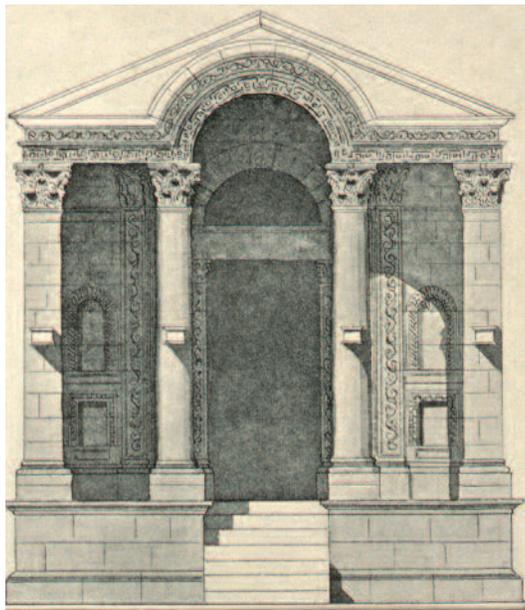


Fig. 24. Atil (Athela), Syria: temple.



Fig. 26. Is' Sanamen (Aere), Syria: *Thycaion*.



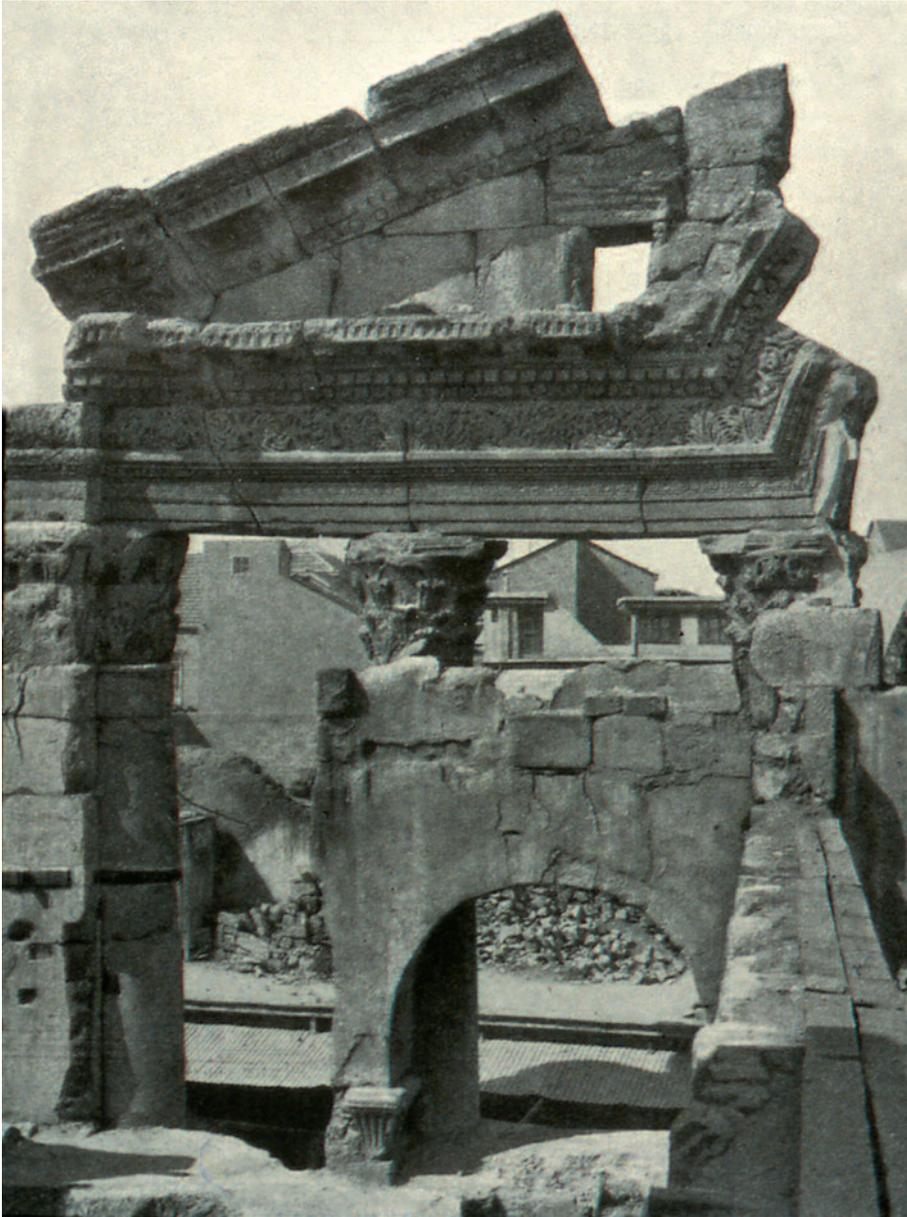


Fig. 27. Dimashq (Damascus), Syria: Temple of Jupiter.

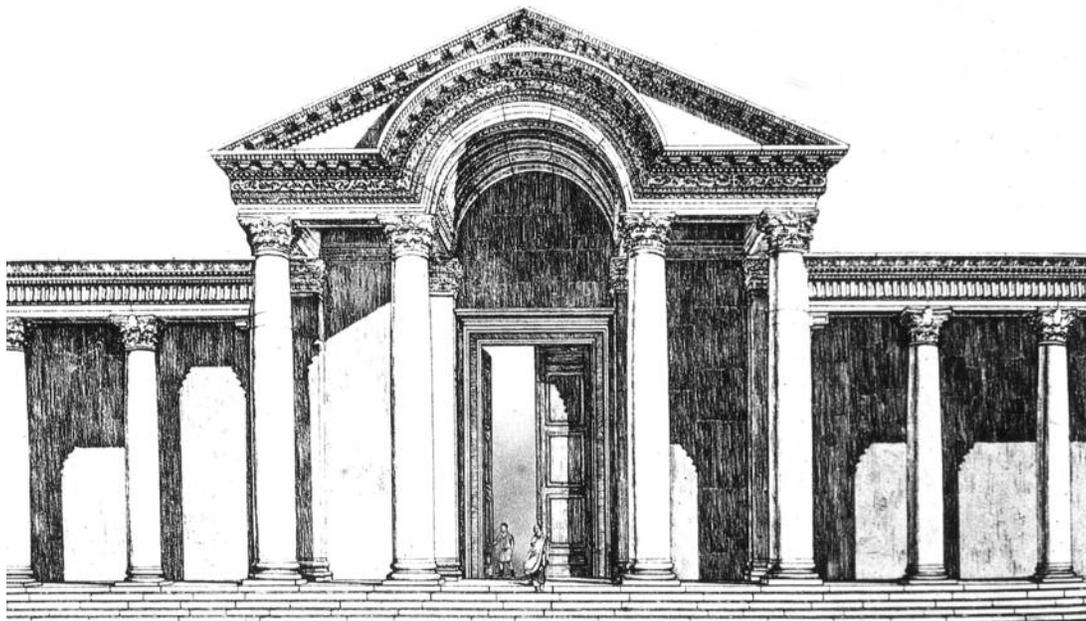


Fig. 28. Istanbul (Constantinopolis), Turkey (Thracia): first church of Hagia Sophia.



Fig. 29. Il-Mgârah, Syria: tomb.

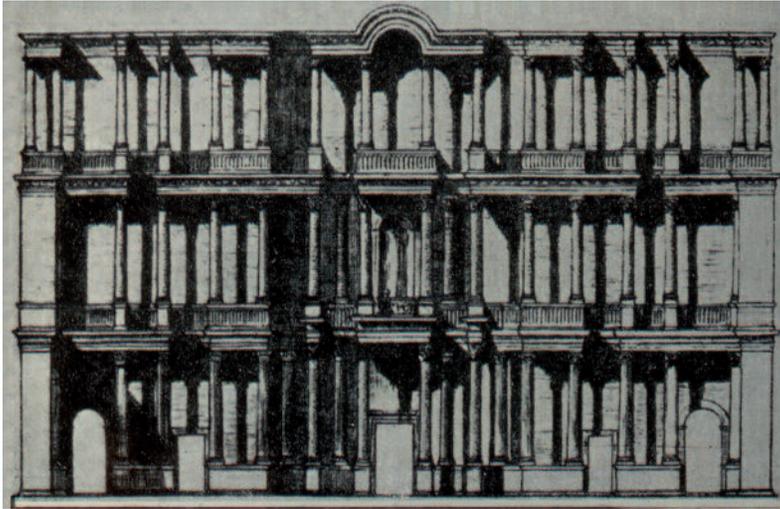


Fig. 30 Milet (Miletus), Turkey (Asia): theatre.

APPENDIX

SYRIAN ARCHES IN THE ROMAN WORLD

The Firle serliana type occurs in three variant arrangements in the ancient Roman world. Both the earliest and most numerous examples are found in the classic serliana form. But it also occurs in colonnades of greater length, at least over the central intercolumniation, but often over several, and sometimes over every other intercolumniation. In a third arrangement it occurs above a single arch or niche, with the horizontal part of the entablature (no more than a moulded band on an otherwise unarticulated wall) continued only a short distance either side of the arch.

Examples of the three different arrangements are listed here, in date order, as known. Their modern place name is given, with the Roman name in brackets; the modern state follows, with the Roman province (at the time of construction) in brackets.

In the serliana arrangement

The Temple of Dushara at Si' (Secia), Syria, dated between 39 and 33 BC.¹¹⁰

The Temple of Hadrian at Efes (Ephesus), Turkey (Asia), built shortly after Hadrian's death in 138 AD.¹¹¹

Two temples at Atil (Athela), Syria, of 151 AD.¹¹² (Fig. 24)

Temple of 171 AD at Mushennef (Nela), Syria.¹¹³

Basilica dateable to the last quarter of the second century at Shakka (Saccaea), Syria.¹¹⁴ (Fig. 25)

Internal wall of the *Thycaion* at Is' Sanamen (Aere), Syria, of 191 AD.¹¹⁵ (Fig. 26)

Two external aedicules of the *Thycaion* at Is' Sanamen (Aere), Syria, of 191 AD.¹¹⁶

Portico of the temple at Brêkeh, Syria (Arabia Petraea), probably later than 170 AD.¹¹⁷

Two aedicules within the portico of the temple at Brêkeh, Syria (Arabia Petraea), probably later than 170 AD.¹¹⁸

The Temple of Jupiter at Dimashq (Damascus), Syria, apparently built in the time of Septimius Severus (193–211 AD).¹¹⁹ (Fig. 27)

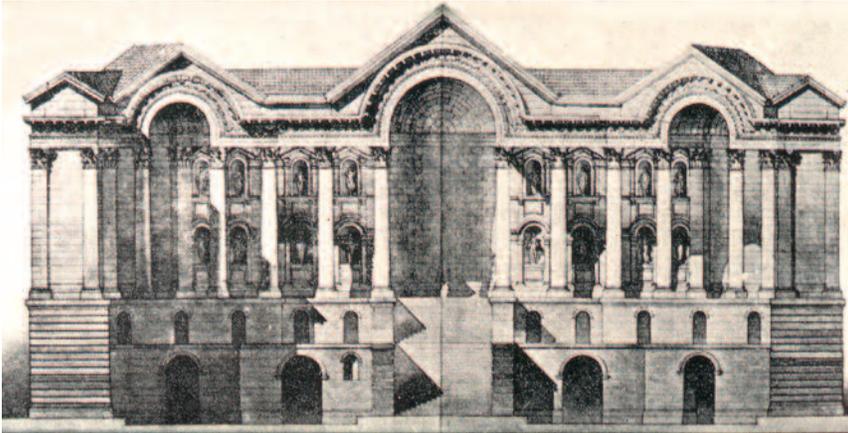


Fig. 31. Amman (Philadelphia), Jordan
(Arabia Petraea): nymphaeum.

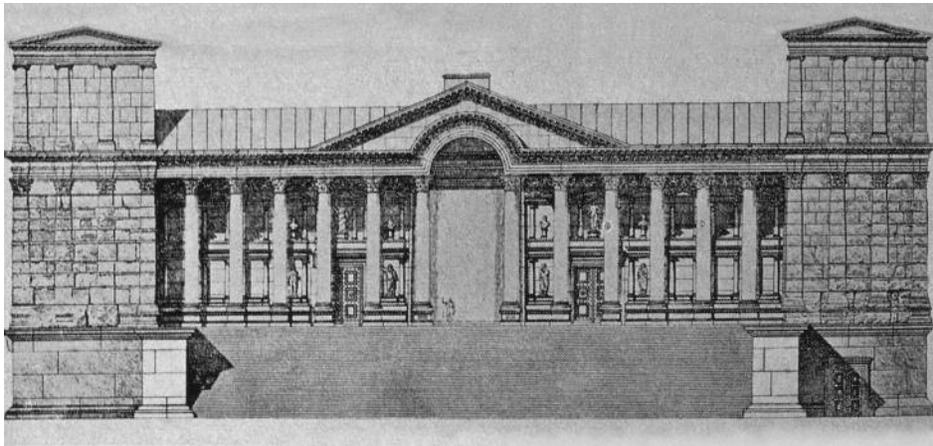


Fig. 32. Baalbek (Heliopolis), Lebanon (Syria):
propylaeum of Sanctuary of Jupiter.

The Marble Court of 211–12 at Sardes (Sardis), Turkey (Lydia).¹²⁰ It could be argued that its appearance here is on a long colonnade; it forms part of a serliana, but the serliana is itself applied to a longer colonnade, breaking forward from it, however.

Nymphaeum at Bosra (Bostra), Syria (Arabia Petraea), post-Severan.¹²¹

Central arch of Bosra (Bostra), Syria (Arabia Petraea), third-century.¹²²

Portico of the apsidal temple at Selimiye (Side), Turkey (Pamphylia), third-century.¹²³

West gate at Bosra (Bostra), Syria (Arabia Petraea), undated.¹²⁴

Entrance to the *agora* at Milet (Miletus), Turkey (Asia), 160 AD.¹²⁵

Peristyle of Diocletian's palace at Split (Spalatum), Croatia (Illyricum), 305 AD.¹²⁶

Propylaeum of the first Hagia Sophia at Istanbul (Constantinopolis), Turkey (Thracia), probably part of the rebuilding by Theodosius between 404 and 415 AD.¹²⁷ (Fig. 28)

Tomb at Il-Mghârah, Syria, fifth-century.¹²⁸ (Fig. 29)

Mausoleum at Atamân, Syria, undated.¹²⁹

Numismatic evidence reveals its appearance on at least one Gallic temple.¹³⁰ It is represented, rather indistinctly, on a funerary stele in Germany.¹³¹ As mosaic decoration it is found on fountains in Pompeii and Herculaneum.¹³² As a screen framing representations of divine kings it is found on the disc of Theodosius in Madrid, and on four plates illustrating the life of David at Nicosia.¹³³

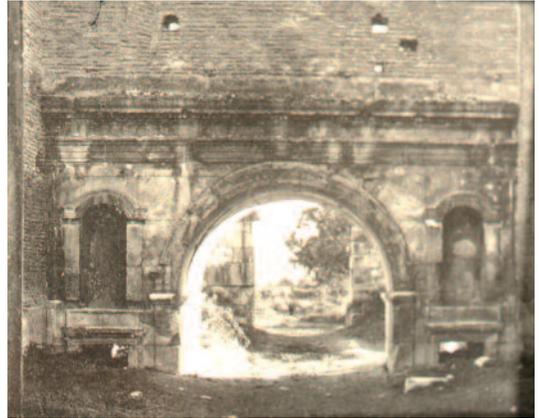


Fig. 33. Iznik (Nicaea), Turkey (Bithynia): Istanbul kapi.

On longer colonnades

Theatre at Milet, c.100 AD (with only a central arch).¹³⁴ (Fig. 30)

The *Canopus* at Hadrian's Villa, Tivoli (Tibur), Italy, shortly after 130 AD (where the arches are placed over every other intercolumniation).¹³⁵

The Gate of Honour at Anazarbus (Anazarbos), Turkey (Cilicia), built in the reign of Antoninus Pius (138–61 AD) or of Marcus Aurelius (161–80 AD) (where there is only one arch, in the centre).¹³⁶

Nymphaeum at Amman (Philadelphia), Jordan (Arabia Petraea), second or early third century (where there is a central arch and one more at each end).¹³⁷ (Fig. 31)

Propylaeum of the Sanctuary of Jupiter at Baalbek (Heliopolis), Lebanon (Syria), built between 244 and 249 AD (where there is only a central arch).¹³⁸ (Fig. 32)

Sea wall of Diocletian's Palace at Split, built in 305 AD (where there are arches at the ends of a blind colonnade).¹³⁹

Propylaeum of the basilica of S. Lorenzo in Milan (Mediolanum), Italy, built c.370 AD (which has only a central arch).¹⁴⁰

Variant form on the nave arcade of a church at Kalb Lauzeh, Syria, sixth-century.¹⁴¹

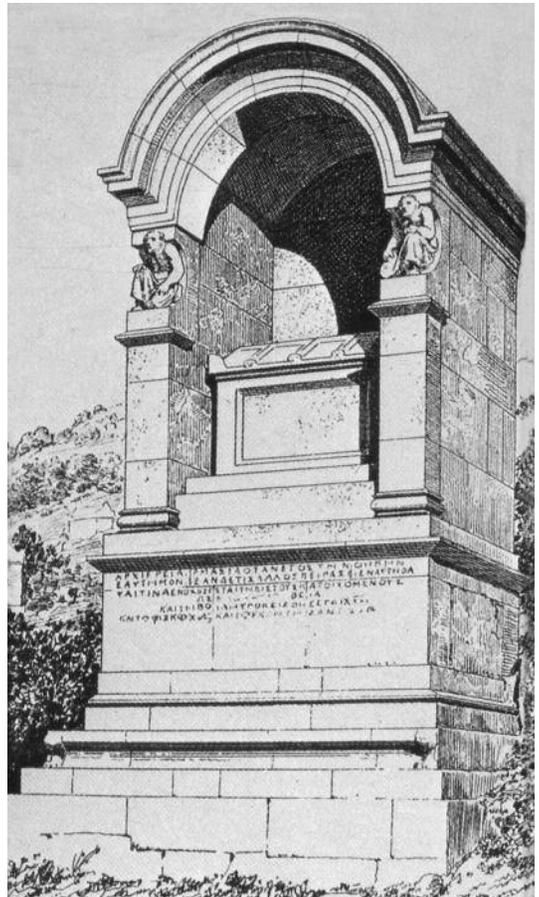


Fig. 34. Termessos, Turkey (Pamphylia): Grave of Armasta.



Fig. 35. Hossn Suleiman (Boetocceca), Syria: Temple of Zeus.

On niches or arches alone

Interior of the south gate of the *agora* at Efes, built in 4 BC.¹⁴²

Side niches of the Library of Celsus at Efes, built c.135 AD.¹⁴³

Niches and main arch of the Istanbul kapi at Iznik (Nicaea), Turkey (Bithynia), apparently Hadrianic.¹⁴⁴ (Fig. 33)

Side niches in the forecourt of the Temple of Jupiter at Baalbek, second-century.¹⁴⁵

Niches in the portico of the second-century Corinthian temple at Termessos, Turkey (Pamphylia).¹⁴⁶

Grave of Armasta at Termessos, second-century.¹⁴⁷ (Fig. 34)

Temple at Dmer (Admedera), Syria, 245 BC.¹⁴⁸

Aedicules around the *cella* of the Temple of Venus at Baalbek, third century.¹⁴⁹

Temple of Zeus at Hossn Suleiman (Boetocceca),

Syria, third century.¹⁵⁰ (Fig. 35)

Temple at Medjdel Andjar, Lebanon (Syria), third century.¹⁵¹

Qalat Sim'ân, Syria, martyrrium of St Simeon Stylites, built shortly after his death in 459 BC, has all three versions. The octagon built around St Simeon's pillar is formed of serlianas, but their architraves are linked so as to form a continuous arcade, although not an arcade on a linear plan. Qalat Sim'ân. On smaller-scaled continuous arcades, the motif occurs around the exterior of the apses in the re-entrant angles.¹⁵² Qalat Sim'ân. On the interior face of the north portal it can be found in the isolated arch or niche form.¹⁵³

The arch or niche form can also be found, at a smaller scale, on a group of Gallic funerary monuments, one found in Bordeaux, the rest in the Bourges area, suggesting the previous existence of a larger model in Aquitania.¹⁵⁴

NOTES

- 1 Arthur Oswald, 'Firle Place, Sussex—II', *Country Life*, CXVII, February 24, 1955, 565; London, British Library, Add. MS 5,671, fol. 90.
- 2 Burke's *Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage*, London, 1970, 1059.
- 3 Oswald, *op. cit.*, 567.
- 4 *Ibid.*, 566.
- 5 *Idem.*
- 6 D F Brown, 'The Arcuated lintel and its Symbolic Interpretation in Late Antique Art', *American Journal of Archaeology*, XLVI, 1942, 389–99; Luigi Crema, *L'Architettura Romana (Enciclopedia Classica*, III, vol. XII), Turin, 1959, *passim* ('tipo siriano').
- 7 Brown, *op. cit.*, 389–91.
- 8 J B Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, Harmondsworth, 1981, 339–41 and fig. 220; Brown, *op. cit.*, 391 and fig. 5.
- 9 Brown, *op. cit.*, 391.
- 10 Howard Crosby Butler, *Architecture and other arts (Part II of the Publications of an American archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899–1900)*, New York and London, 1904, 186.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 158.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 222.
- 13 Ward-Perkins, *op. cit.*, 458, and plates 309–10.
- 14 H.C. Darby *et al.*, *A Short History of Yugoslavia*, Cambridge, 1966, 46–7.
- 15 Ward-Perkins, *op. cit.*, plate 50.
- 16 A. Calderini, G. Chierici and C. Cecchelli, *La basilica di S Lorenzo Maggiore in Milano*, Milan, 1951, figs. 36 and 38, plates L and LXXXII. There is some ambiguity about this arch because of its state of preservation, but Gino Chierici concluded, on examination, that it resembled Roman architecture in Syria and Asia Minor and Diocletian's Palace at Split [*Ibid.*, 125].
- 17 Romisch-Germanisch Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, *Germania Romana*², IV, Bamberg, 1928, tafel xvii/3; Brown, *op. cit.*, 393.
- 18 Brown, *op. cit.*, 393.
- 19 Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, Harmondsworth, 1965, 56, suggests that Auxentius, an Arian from Cappadocia, might have employed an eastern architect.
- 20 Frederick Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, New Haven, 1958, I, 45; *ibid.*, II, plate 75.
- 21 Earl E Rosenthal, *The Palace of Charles V in Granada*, Princeton, 1985, 83 and 89.
- 22 Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France 1500 to 1700*, Harmondsworth, 1973, fig. 128; Allan Braham and Peter Smith, *Francois Mansart*, London, 1973, plate 32. The side interpilustrations are so narrow that the horizontal lengths of the entablature scarcely extend any distance either side of the arch; so that this portal, although strictly speaking a serliana, more closely resembles those niches and arches shown in the Appendix as the third arrangement of the Syrian arch.
- 23 Rudolf Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy 1600–1750*, Harmondsworth, 1973, 530, n. 31; Anthony Blunt, *Borromini*, London, 1979, 173–4 and plate 128; A Amadei 'Il Palazzo Pamphili in Piazza Navona', *Capitolium*, XXXVI, 1961, 18.
- 24 Wittkower, *op. cit.*, fig. 148; Anthony Blunt, *Guide to Baroque Rome*, St Albans, 1982, 121.
- 25 Fischer von Erlach, *Entwurf einer Historischen Architectur*, Leipzig, 1725, III, pls. 8 and 18.
- 26 Wittkower, *op. cit.*, fig. 131; Blunt, *Borromini, cit.*, 128–30, and plate 91.
- 27 William Craft Brumfield, *Gold in Azure: One Thousand Years of Russian Architecture*, Boston, 1983, 257, 259 and 265.
- 28 Braham and Smith, *op. cit.*, plates 116–117.
- 29 In France it entered the vernacular, and can be found used by joiners (for example on a confessional in the cathedral of St Etienne at Toulouse) [Hauteceur, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 634], its currency assured by its similarity to (and possibly its development from) the motif of a cornice alone (without the frieze or architrave) breaking up over an arch, which might have been introduced by the elder Jacques Androuet du Cerceau before 1576. Examples of the latter include: Jacques Androuet du Cerceau I, design for the gate of a chateau [Rosalys Coope, *Saloman de Brosse*, London, 1972, plate 13]; Saloman de Brosse, door of the Pavillon Conti of the Château de Montceaux [*Ibid.*, plate 60], entrance to the Château de Montceaux [*Ibid.*, plate 65]; dormers of the Château de Blérancourt [*Ibid.*, plates 108–10]; Charles du Ry, dormers of the Château de Coulommiers [*Ibid.*, plates 123–24]; Francois Mansart, frontispiece of the Orléans wing of the Château de Blois [Braham and Smith, *op. cit.*, plate 166]; pediment of the inner gate of the Château de Maisons [*Ibid.*, plate 192], dormers on the garden front of the Château de Maisons [*Ibid.*, plates 207 and 213], dormers on the Hôtel d'Aumont, Paris [*Ibid.*, plate 137], dormers on the garden side of the

- Hôtel de la Vrillière, Paris [*Ibid.*, plate 143]; Cottard, portal of the Hôtel Amelot de Bizeuil [Hautecoeur, *op. cit.*, I, fig. 185]; *anon.*, overmantel in Hôtel de Ville, Troyes [*Ibid.*, fig. 285]; Le Vau, *chambre de parade* at Hôtel Lauzun [*Ibid.*, fig. 75], Salon de Diane, Château de Versailles [*Ibid.*, fig. 252]; Bullet, Ste Marguerite altar, St Germain l'Auxerrois [Hautecoeur, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 643]; J H Mansart, Salon de l'Abondance, Château de Versailles [*Ibid.*, fig. 516]. The only British architect who appears to have continued cornices over arches was James Gibbs, principally for internal ornament, such as clocks, church screens or monuments [Terry Friedman, *James Gibbs*, New Haven and London, 1984, plate 154 (clocks), 260 (church screens), 76, 96 and 296 (monuments)]. But he used the device over the attic dormers in his proposal for Houghton [John Harris, *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects: Colen Campbell*, Farnborough, 1973, no. 7 (12–13); John Harris, 'James Gibbs, Eminence Grise at Houghton,' in Charles Hind (ed.), *New Light on English Palladianism*, London, 1990, 7] and over the apse windows of St Mary le Strand, built between 1714 and 1717 [Friedman, *op. cit.*, plate I].
- 30 Louis Hautecoeur, *Histoire de L'Architecture Classique en France*, II, Paris, 1948, fig. 96.
 - 31 Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France*, *cit.*, fig. 279; Hautecoeur, *op. cit.*, I, fig. 253.
 - 32 W Kuyper, *Dutch Classicist Architecture*, Delft, 1980, fig. 14.
 - 33 Mark Girouard, *Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House*, New Haven and London, 1983, plate XV.
 - 34 Oliver Hill and John Cornforth, *English Country Houses: Caroline*, London, 1966, plate 22.
 - 35 Hill and Cornforth, *op. cit.*, plates 169 and 170; Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*, New Haven and London, 1995, 227.
 - 36 *Wren Society*, XIX, 1942, title page and pl. 1.
 - 37 Hill and Cornforth, *op. cit.*, plate 66; John Harris, 'Raynham Hall, Norfolk', *The Archaeological Journal*, CXVIII, 1961, plate XVA.
 - 38 Linda Campbell, 'Documentary evidence for the building of Raynham Hall', *Architectural History*, XXXII, 1989, 58.
 - 39 Howard Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life*, New Haven and London, 1991, 263 and fig. 231.
 - 40 Gordon Higgott, 'The Fabric to 1670', in Derek Keene, Arthur Burns and Andrew Saint, *St Paul's The Cathedral Church of London*, New Haven and London, 2004, 180, fig. 100.
 - 41 John Summerson, 'The Works from 1547 to 1660', in HM Colvin (ed.), *The History of the King's Works*, III, London, 1975, 154–5.
 - 42 Bruce Allsop and Ursula Clark, *Historic Architecture of Northumberland and Newcastle upon Tyne*, Stocksfield, 1977, 74; Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 1136, for dating evidence.
 - 43 *Wren Society*, IX, plate xxxi; Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 1096. I am indebted to Sir Howard Colvin for drawing my attention to this.
 - 44 Sally Jeffery, 'John James', unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1986, 259–60; Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 538.
 - 45 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 447 and 355.
 - 46 William Halfpenny, *The Art of Sound Building*, London, 1725, un-numbered plate. I am indebted to Sir Howard Colvin for drawing my attention to this. The design history is explained in Derek Linstrum, *West Yorkshire, Architects and Architecture*, London, 1978, 186.
 - 47 Christopher Hussey, 'Hawnes, Bedfordshire', *Country Life*, LXXVI, December 29th, 1934, 692–97. Cartaret succeeded his mother as Earl Granville in 1744 [GEC, *The Complete Peerage*, VI, London, 1926, 89]; the serliana is identified as 'Earl of Granville's' in Adam's sketchbook [see note 48, *infra*].
 - 48 London, Royal Institute of British Architects, Drawings Collection, John Adam's sketchbook, fol.7. I am indebted to Sir Howard Colvin for drawing my attention to this.
 - 49 Brian Allen, 'The Landscape', in T J Edelstein with Brian Allen, *Vauxhall Gardens*, New Haven, 1983, 19 and plates 15 and 18. The Turkish Tent does not appear in the view of the gardens shown on the so-called Vauxhall Fan of c.1737, but is illustrated in the engraving by J Maurer dated 1744.
 - 50 Ian Nairn and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Sussex*, Harmondsworth, 1965, 537.
 - 51 Giles Worsley, 'Trafalgar House, Wiltshire—II', *Country Life*, CXCI, April 10, 1997, 47; Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 807.
 - 52 David Adshead, 'A Modern Italian loggia at Wimpole Hall', *Georgian Group Journal*, X, 2000, 150–55; Gervase Jackson-Stops, *An English Arcadia*, London, 1992, 88.

- 53 Linda Campbell, *op. cit.*, 57–8.
- 54 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 930.
- 55 Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life*, *cit.*, 263.
- 56 Timothy Mowl and Brian Earnshaw, *Architecture without Kings*, Manchester and New York, 1995, 14–16.
- 57 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 1136 and 587–88.
- 58 Sally Jeffery, 'John James: An Early Disciple of Inigo Jones', in Dana Arnold (ed.), *The Georgian Villa*, London, 1996, 32–40; John Brushe, 'Wricklemarsh and the Collections of Sir Gregory Page', *Apollo*, CXXII, November 1985, 366–67.
- 59 Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books of Architecture* [Adolf Placzek (ed.)], 1965, Fourth Book, plates LXXXI and XCII.
- 60 Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, London, 1717, plate 27.
- 61 Friedman, *op. cit.*, plates 32, 33, 37, 38 and 39.
- 62 Fischer von Erlach's *Entwurf* is among Lord Burlington's books in the library at Chatsworth, although it is not listed in Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection, MS *Catalogue of The Earl of Burlington's Library, At His Lordships Seat at Cheswick; January 1741/2*.
- 63 Jane Clark, 'Lord Burlington is Here', in Toby Barnard and Jane Clark (eds.), *Lord Burlington: Architecture, Art and Life*, London and Rio Grande, 1995, 256.
- 64 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 148–49.
- 65 Earl E Rosenthal, 'A 16th century drawing of the west facade of the Palace of Charles V in Granada', *Miscelanea de estudios dedicados a Profesor Emilio Orozco Diaz*, Granada, 1979, 137–47.
- 66 London, Royal Institute of British Architects, Drawings Collection, Burlington-Devonshire Collection, VIII/22. In view of the similarity between this drawing and the decoration in the Sala di Costantino, it is possible that the drawing is by Giulio, not Dosio.
- 67 James M Rosenheim, *The Townshends of Raynham*, Middletown (Conn.), 1989, 173–76.
- 68 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 399.
- 69 This was Thomas Pitt, 1st Lord Camelford [Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 758].
- 70 Hawksmoor designed the Barracks there in 1717, but there is no record of a site visit; his design is only a sketch [Richard Hewlings, 'Hawksmoor's Brave Designs for the Police', in John Bold and Edward Chaney (eds.), *English Architecture, Public and Private*, London, 1993, fig. 87]. Andrews Jelfe and Dugal Campbell visited on behalf of the Board of Ordnance in 1719 and 1745 respectively [*Ibid.*, 225, discusses Jelfe's work at Berwick; London, Public Record Office, WO 47/87, pp. 287–88, is the evidence for Dugal Campbell's].
- 71 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 946 (Talman), 580 (Kent), 147 (Burlington), 209 (Campbell), 666 (Morris).
- 72 G B Falda, *Il Nuovo Teatro delle Fabbriche ... di Roma*, Rome, 1665, I, [plate 7].
- 73 Io. Iacobo de Rubeis [Giovanni Giacomo Rossi], *Insignium Romae Templorum*, Rome, 1684, fol. 51.
- 74 G Vasi, *Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna*, III, Rome, 1753, plate 44.
- 75 Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection, MS *Catalogue of The Earl of Burlington's Library, At His Lordships Seat at Cheswick; January 1741/2*, [unpaginated page 5 and] p. 1.
- 76 Richard Pocock, *A Description of the East and some other Countries*, 1743–5, plate XL, opposite p. 122.
- 77 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 149.
- 78 *Ibid.*, 148–49.
- 79 *Ibid.*, 211 and 405.
- 80 *Ibid.*, 580–85 and 667–68.
- 81 *Ibid.*, 1021. For Burlington's patronage of Leoni, see Richard Hewlings, 'James Leoni' in Roderick Brown (ed.), *The Architectural Outsiders*, London, 1985, 26–7.
- 82 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 366, and 1099. For Wright's position in Burlington's household, see James Lees-Milne, *The Earls of Creation*, London 1962, 147, and Richard Hewlings, 'Who was Lord Burlington's black servant?', *Country Life*, CXCVIII, January 8, 2004, 65.
- 83 F H W Sheppard (ed.), *Survey of London*, XXXII, London, 1963, 400.
- 84 H M Colvin (ed.), *The History of the King's Works*, V, London, 1976, 358.
- 85 Christopher Hussey, *English Country Houses: Early Georgian*, London, 1955, 88–92.
- 86 Sheppard, *op. cit.*, XXXII, 511.
- 87 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 595; London County Council, *Survey of London*, XVI, London, 1935, 18.
- 88 Richard Hewlings, 'Pedestal stairs', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, LI, 2007, 33–48.
- 89 Richard Hewlings, 'Roger Morris and Lydiard Tregoze', *Georgian Group Journal*, XIV, 2004,

- 42–3. For Combe Bank see also Mary Cosh, ‘Two Dukes and their Houses’, *Country Life*, CLII, July 13, 1972, 80. For Adderbury see also Richard Hewlings, ‘Adderbury House’, in Malcolm Airs (ed.), *Baroque and Palladian: The Early Eighteenth Century Great House*, Oxford, 1996, fig. 12; Cosh, *op. cit.*, 80–81; Edinburgh, Scottish Record Office, West Register House, RHP 13739 and 13777. No illustrations of the interior of Lathom House have been published, but it is discussed briefly in Hewlings, ‘James Leoni’, *cit.*, 34, and 210–11, and there is a photograph of a chimneypiece there in Swindon, English Heritage, National Monuments Record, BB74/1518.
- 90 No illustrations of the interior of this house have been published, but Leoni’s drawings for it are published in Richard Hewlings, ‘Leoni’s Drawings for 21 Arlington Street,’ *The Georgian Group Journal*, 1992, 19–32.
- 91 Draper and Eden, *op. cit.*, plate 24.
- 92 There is a similar chimneypiece in the Senior Common Room of Trinity College, Dublin [Edward McParland, ‘Trinity College, Dublin’, *Country Life*, CLIX, May 13, 1976, 1245, fig. 10], perhaps the contribution of John Sanderson, who, as suggested above, may have been, like Morris and Leoni, under the influence of Colen Campbell [Hewlings, ‘Pedestal stairs’, *cit.*, 41–2]
- 93 John Wood designed a long gallery in Prior Park [Christopher Woodward, ‘Ralph Allen and Prior Park, Bath’, *Apollo*, CXLVII, April 1998, 6], but he was not one of the architects who may have been familiar with the Syrian serliana.
- 94 Sheppard, *op. cit.*, XXXII, 460 and plate 76.
- 95 Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, III, London, 1725, plate 46; Lindsay Boynton, ‘Newby Park, The First Neo Palladian Villa in England’, in Colvin and Harris (eds.), *The Country Seat*, *cit.*, 97–105.
- 96 Hussey, *Early Georgian*, *cit.*, plates 69 and 73.
- 97 Steven Brindle, ‘Pembroke House, Whitehall’, *Georgian Group Journal*, VIII, 1998, 93 and fig. 1.
- 98 Hussey, *Early Georgian*, *cit.*, plate 130.
- 99 Draper and Eden, *op. cit.*, plate 13.
- 100 John Woolfe and James Gandon, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, IV, London, 1767, plate 75; Cosh, *op. cit.*, 80.
- 101 Hewlings, ‘Adderbury House’, *cit.*, figs. 4, 11, 19, 20 and 38; The Victoria History of the Counties of England, *Oxfordshire*, IX, London, 1969, 8–9.
- 102 Sheppard, *op. cit.*, XXXI, London, 1963, 296–97; *ibid.*, XXXII, plate 132a.
- 103 Woolfe and Gandon, *op. cit.*, plates 26 and 28–29. Woolfe and Gandon state that Servandoni was the architect of this gallery. But, although Servandoni may have designed its interior, the room is within the carcass of the house designed by Morris.
- 104 Hussey, *Early Georgian*, *cit.*, plate 130.
- 105 *Ibid.*, plate 111.
- 106 Hewlings ‘...Morris and Lydiard Tregoze’, *cit.*, 43–4.
- 107 *Ibid.*, 43.
- 108 Hewlings, ‘...Morris and the Bank of England’, *cit.*, 21 (fig. 3) and 24.
- 109 Draper and Eden, *op. cit.*, plates 7, 14, 18 and 19.

NOTES TO THE APPENDIX

- 110 J B Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, Harmondsworth, 1981, 339–41 and fig. 220; D F Brown, ‘The Arcuated lintel and its Symbolic Interpretation in Late Antique Art’, *American Journal of Archaeology*, XLVI, 1942, 391 and fig. 5.
- 111 Ward-Perkins, *op. cit.*, 282–83; C C Vermeule, *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1968, 255, 333, 362 and fig. 141.
- 112 Howard Crosby Butler, *Syria (Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904–5 and 1909), Division II (Architecture), Section A (Southern Syria)*, Leyden, 1919, 355; Luigi Crema, *L’Architettura Romana (Enciclopedia Classica*, III, vol. XII), Turin, 1959, 530 and fig. 691.
- 113 Howard Crosby Butler, *Architecture and other arts (Part II of the Publications of an American archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899–1900)*, New York and London, 1904, 349.
- 114 *Ibid.*, 365–67.
- 115 Crema, *op. cit.*, 531 and figs. 695–6.
- 116 *Idem.*
- 117 *Ibid.*, 531 and fig. 697.
- 118 *Idem.*
- 119 Brown, *op. cit.*, 393; Ahmed Djemel Pascha, *Alle Denkmaler aus Syrien*, Berlin, 1918, plate 49; Carl Watzinger und Karl Wulzinger, *Damaskus: Die Antike Stadt*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1921, 20–3. The date is that given in Dorothee Sack, *Damaskus*, Mainz am Rhein, 1989, 15.

- 120 George MA Hanfmann, *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times*, Cambridge (Mass.) and London, 1983, figs. 222–24.
- 121 Crema, *op. cit.*, 548 and fig. 716.
- 122 *Ibid.*, 445–6 and fig. 566.
- 123 Ward-Perkins, *op. cit.*, 301, fig. 195c.
- 124 Crema, *op. cit.*, fig. 575.
- 125 *Ibid.*, 429 and fig. 533.
- 126 Ward-Perkins, *op. cit.*, 458 and plate 309.
- 127 Rowland J Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia*, London, 1988, 136, fig. 159; R Krautheimer, *De Artibus Opuscula XL, Essays in Honour of Erwin Panofsky*, New York, 1961, chapter 2, n. 27; A M Schneider, *Die Grabung in Westhof d. Sophienkirche ... (Istanbuler Forschungen, XII)*, Berlin, 1941.
- 128 Butler, *Architecture and other arts. . . , cit.*, 158.
- 129 Butler, *Syria. . . , cit.*, 309; G Schumacher, ‘Das südliche Basan,’ *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, XX, 1897, 139. Neither of these authors ventured a date for this mausoleum.
- 130 Brown, *op. cit.*, 393.
- 131 Romisch-Germanisch Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, *Germania Romana*², IV, Bamberg, 1928, tafel xvii/3.
- 132 Brown, *op. cit.*, 393.
- 133 *Ibid.*, 394–98 and figs. 10, 11A and 11B.
- 134 Crema, *op. cit.*, 424 and fig. 520. The date is taken from George E Bean, *Aegean Turkey*, London, 1966, 226.
- 135 Ward-Perkins, *op. cit.*, plate 50.
- 136 Crema, *op. cit.*, 446 and fig. 569.
- 137 *Ibid.*, 548 and fig. 714. The date is taken from G Lankester Harding, *The Antiquities of Jordan*, London, 1967, 68.
- 138 Ward-Perkins, *op. cit.*, 317 and fig. 202; Crema, *op. cit.*, fig. 690.
- 139 Ward-Perkins, *op. cit.*, plate 310.
- 140 A Calderini, G Chierici and C Cecchelli, *La basilica di S Lorenzo Maggiore in Milano*, Milan, 1951, figs. 36 and 38, plates L and LXXXII. There is some ambiguity about this arch because of its state of preservation, but Gino Chierici concluded, on examination, that it resembled Roman architecture in Syria and Asia Minor and Diocletian’s Palace at Split [*Ibid.*, 125].
- 141 Butler, *Architecture and other arts. . . , cit.*, 222.
- 142 Brown, *op. cit.*, 391.
- 143 Ward-Perkins, *op. cit.*, plate 187.
- 144 Alfons Maria Schneider and Walter Karnapp, *Die Stadtmauer von Iznik (Nicaea), (Istanbuler Forschungen, IX)*, Berlin, 1938, plates 14, 15, 17 and 18.
- 145 Ward Perkins, *op. cit.*, plate 205.
- 146 Margaret Lyttelton, *Baroque Architecture in Classical Antiquity*, London, 1974, plate 174.
- 147 Lyttelton, *op. cit.*, plate 175; K Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, II, Vienna, 1890, 84 and fig. 37, 115–16 and fig. 86.
- 148 Butler, *Architecture and other arts. . . , cit.*, 401.
- 149 Ward-Perkins, *op. cit.*, fig. 206.
- 150 Brown, *op. cit.*, 393; Daniel Krencker and Willy Zschietzschmann, *Roemische Tempel in Syrien*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1938, plates 33 and 45.
- 151 Brown, *op. cit.*, 393; Krencker and Zschietzschmann, *op. cit.*, plate 76.
- 152 Daniel Krencker, ‘Was Das Oktagon der Wallfahrtskirche des Simon Stylites in Kal’at Sim’an Überdeckt?’, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, XLIX, 1934, 83.
- 153 Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, Harmondsworth, 1965, plate 41.
- 154 Emile Esperandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs (statues et bustes) de la Gaule romaine*, II, Paris, 1908, 173 (no. 1147), 318 (no. 1428), 326 (no. 1443), 330 (no. 1453), 332 (nos. 1457 and 1458), 333 (no. 1460), 335 (no. 1465), 336 (no. 1466), 347 (nos. 1492 and 1493), and 366 (no. 1543). Most of these reliefs were discovered in the nineteenth century, and can therefore have had no influence in eighteenth-century England.