

the mid- to late 1480s) and other palace plans, on the assumption that he had started drawing the temple in the 1480s but for which there is no evidence.

Despite its flaws — both conceptual and factual — of which just a few are highlighted here, the volume is innovative in approach, asking new questions of the material which will undoubtedly stimulate discussion, especially about the large number of copies and variants of Sangallo's drawings made by other architects and his influence on later generations. It is well written, very well produced and copiously illustrated, and will make much of Sangallo's material conveniently available to a wider public.

*Richard Schofield is a former professor at the Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia*

Simon Thurley, *Palaces of Revolution: Life, Death and Art at the Stuart Court* (London: William Collins, 2021), 543 pp. incl. 25 colour and 138 b&w ills, ISBN 9780008389963, £25  
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*Reviewed by* MAURICE HOWARD

In seventeenth-century Europe, England had a reputation for a distinctive political instability. The established Anglican church was constantly undermined by forces seeking either to upturn or to radicalise it, Catholic loyalists on the one hand and Puritan diehards on the other. England was seen as at odds with itself, a malaise recently interrogated in Clare Jackson's *Devil-Land: England Under Siege, 1588–1688* (2022), the descriptor taken from a Dutch pamphlet of 1652. A broader understanding of the context of England's woes later emerged. At Schloss Wörlitz in Germany, built for the Anglophile Prince Franz of Anhalt-Dessau in the late eighteenth century, a room devoted to portraits of the protagonists of the Thirty Years War of 1618–48 includes — surprisingly, for some British visitors — images of Charles I and Oliver Cromwell, as if thereby to underline England's place in the wider European religious divides of the century.

Religious conflict is of deep significance in Simon Thurley's book, though this is as much to do with the personal religious beliefs of individual sovereigns and their consorts as any fundamental debate in wider society. The book draws on the wealth of its author's work on royal palaces, especially his previous monographs on Whitehall (1999), Hampton Court (2003), Somerset House (2009) and, as editor, St James's (2022). In all these, the interweaving of architectural and archaeological with social history is skilfully handled, as it was in his earlier *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: A Social and Architectural History* (1993). Thurley's factual evidence has grown, through both his own research and, as he acknowledges, that of others, and he is never shy of shifting his interpretation. An interesting change of emphasis has been towards a greater attention to religious observance within the palaces and the reaction this incited at times of political upheaval. *Palaces of Revolution* follows Thurley's *Houses of Power: The Places That Shaped the Tudor World* (2017) and similarly uses command of detail towards a narrative that is highly readable and persuasive.

Two orthodox interpretations of the period, one architectural, the other political and ceremonial, are further explored here. One is that, between the vast amount of early Tudor royal building and the aggrandisement of Buckingham House into a palace for George III and George IV, there was no totally new royal palace built by English (later, British) sovereigns. The second is that the reign of Queen Anne (1702–14) is the natural place to bring the seventeenth century to a close because it was at this time that the theatre (in terms of space and the performative activity) of political manoeuvring in the nation's governance passed from the royal court to the greater country houses. Thurley nails his colours to the latter notion, but for the former shows just how an English Versailles might have materialised. It remained a royal ambition as late as Christopher Wren's great scheme for Hampton Court and John Webb's designs for Whitehall, a plan still in royal favour almost up to the destruction of the old palace by fire in 1698.

Great emphasis is laid on direct royal experience of European architecture. This included James VI/I's visit to Denmark for his marriage in 1589; Charles I's dashing visit to Madrid as Prince of Wales in 1623; Charles II's and James II/VII's knowledge of France and the Low Countries during their years of exile; and William III and Mary II's years as rulers of the United Provinces before 1688, when they initiated entirely new palaces. Yet some of the most significant features of continental palaces never seemed appropriate for the British crown, neither the idea of a palace facing a grand royal square (as Charles I witnessed in Spain, at Valladolid as well as the beginnings of the Plaza Mayor in Madrid), nor the gathering together under one roof of all the offices and living accommodation for the court and externally expressing this in a singular architectural style. British royal palaces — however large, however stylistically fashionable — remained inward-facing courtyard structures, only occasionally with a modernised street frontage as at Denmark House (formerly Somerset House) on the Strand in London. The overall refashioning of Denmark House was undertaken under two foreign queens consort, Anne of Denmark and Henrietta Maria, in the 1610s and 1630s respectively, and at £45,000 was the most expensive building programme of the early Stuart monarchs.

For royal visits, buildings not originally palaces were adapted from modest raw material to provide the necessary sequence of rooms for reception, dining, sleeping and privacy. Thurley emphasises the very different needs and desires of James VI/I from his predecessors, discarding Tudor residences in Kent and developing places north of London for hunting and retreat. At Royston and Newmarket, older buildings within towns were expanded for visits attended by only a few servants and favourites. Infrequently used royal buildings or neglected castles were refurbished at times of crisis. James's move to Hampton Court to escape plague in 1603 was an established practice. However, Tudor sovereigns never had to retreat from political threat under the pressure that Charles I faced in 1642. At his base in Oxford, colleges were adapted for the king and court officials. All court formalities were preserved, but there was a makeshift character to these arrangements, though this improvisation proved luxurious and spacious compared with the king's later residence at Carisbrooke Castle on the Isle of Wight, or his son Charles's brief time at Elizabeth Castle in St Helier, Jersey.

Thurley's accounts of five dramatic moments of political change — namely the accession of James I in 1603; the outbreak of civil war in 1642; the fall of the monarchy in 1648–49; the return of Charles II in 1660; and the flight of James II/VII in 1688 — are

presented with a light touch in terms of political significance but as crucial moments of the reuse of space and sometimes physical destruction. The Catholic chapels at Denmark House and St James's were sacked during the civil war, and the Capuchin friars violently removed from the former. Royal patronage of buildings had come to be seen as foreign and absolutist, not just through the formalities at court and its lavish entertainments, but in architectural style. Yet there was continuity during the republican interlude since, as protector from 1653 to 1658, Cromwell had to receive ambassadors and live with his 'first family' in a dignified manner. After the Restoration, monarchy adopted the outward show of continental absolutism with display replacing real political power. The continental practice of placing the royal bed in an alcove, distancing and framing the sovereign in a symbolic way, disguised that he or she actually slept in a private and smaller room nearby. The celebration of sovereigns among the ancient gods in the wall and ceiling paintings of Verrio and Thornhill at Hampton Court and Greenwich gave the later Stuarts a seemingly illustrious, powerful ancestry, but the monarch was in reality in a quasi-mystical yet powerless position, the palaces becoming 'hollow citadels of ceremony'. It is this evolution of the monarchy, played out in changing spaces and styles of building, that is Thurley's main focus.

One charge laid at the door of the great *History of the King's Works* (1963–82) was that, for all its thorough documentary record, it opted out of a 'view', a 'history' of the buildings it chronicled. But this is unfair since it was an official, government-sponsored record of royal expenditure. Thurley gives us both, for having documented royal palaces through monographs, *Houses of Power* and *Palaces of Revolution* provide the broader historical commentary across two centuries that these buildings deserve. There are useful colour illustrations and sufficient black-and-white, though many of the latter are rather pale and indistinct, even allowing for a book of modest physical dimensions. One very welcome feature is the inclusion of plans, both new and modified from the author's detailed plans in earlier books. These plans raise all manner of questions about privacy, security, ceremony and worship for yet further consideration of the royal palaces' variety of form and their continual adaptation.

*Maurice Howard is professor emeritus of history of art at the University of Sussex*

Frank Kelsall and Timothy Walker, *Nicholas Barbon: Developing London, 1667–1698* (London: London Topographical Society, 2022), vii and 230 pp. incl. colour and b&w ills, ISBN 9780902087736, £35  
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*Reviewed by* ELIZABETH McKELLAR

This very welcome publication provides the most in-depth account to date of the pioneering late seventeenth-century property developer Nicholas Barbon (c. 1638–98). The book is the fruits of a lifetime's work by Frank Kelsall and sits securely on a vast