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THE ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE AND WESTMINSTER CATHEDRAL.
THE LATE JOHN F. BENTLEY, ARCHITECT.

(SEE PAGE 20.)

Mediæval Figure-Sculpture in England.

INTRODUCTION.

THE conspicuous examples of mediæval figure-sculpture in England were achieved between the years 1170 and 1550. Their date is that of Gothic architecture; but moreover their inspiration and all the merits and phases of their art belong to the creative outburst of Gothic building.

In the figure-work, as in the building art, a summit of style was reached in the second half of the thirteenth century. Before 1250 sculpture had grown in parallel development with architecture in the passage from Romanesque to full Gothic expression. There had been at first the tardy, tentative emergence from the symbolic representations of Byzantine[1] tradition; then, in the buildings of the twelfth century, the energetic development of a new technique, which, in the early thirteenth century, from rudimentary efforts passed quickly to a thorough mastery of its expressive method; so that, for example, what is a block shaping, vigorous but archaic, in the Boxgrove heads of 1230, has reached finished modelling at Salisbury and Westminster in 1250; an advance *pari passu* with that of the architecture from Boxgrove quire to Salisbury and Westminster chapterhouses.

After 1250, for some fifty years, Gothic building and sculpture were both achieving their most expressive works, such as we see them at Wells, at Lincoln, and Westminster; and coincident was the widest area of great craftsmanship exhibited in every material of art—in the image, the effigy, and the relief, and not less in the outlined engraving of the brass, in the painted figure of wall or window, in the leaf-carving of the capital, and the moulding and details of the whole architectural scheme.

The sculptor's art that follows in the fourteenth century is of no less skilful technique; but it is now of a varying feeling, having less of the essential calm of finest sculpture, and with a concentration on attributes which applies itself to the vivid telling of the story; to portraiture in the effigy; to the delineation of fashionable attitudes and intricate costume in the image; and with these often a contortion and exaggeration of gesture, as well as all the variety of expression and the romantic colour of fourteenth-century building art.

Next, after 1350, in accord with the staider achievements of the Perpendicular style, the two remaining centuries of Gothic art give us a figure-sculpture that has dropped its extravagances and maintains an even level of execution in the hands of an organised hereditary craftsmanship. The guild expression of fifteenth-century building brings with it, as it were, the stock-in-trade of workshop art. And, finally, just as by the dissolution of the monasteries the Gothic craft of church building was brought to a close, so in figure-sculpture the advent of Italians under Henry VIII. made the beginnings of a secular art, no longer, as for some nine hundred years, associated with church worship, but started on the path which was to lead it on to the plane of modern conditions.

But not alone in its stages and characteristic expressions must mediæval sculpture be judged as following the lead of mediæval building: it must be recognised as forming part of that building, and taking a peculiar character from the completeness of the homogeneous development. As Gothic architecture was *stone* building, so was

[1] "Byzantine" is here and throughout used as a general term to indicate the Greek art of the Christian empire as distinguished from the Classical Greek art. There is no intention of suggesting direct importations from Byzantium.

Gothic figure-work essentially *stone* carving, to be distinguished as such from the metal and marble creations of the Classic and Italian arts.

This is a point which needs some elucidation and explanation. No doubt the mediæval *imaginator* had access to and displayed his art in many other materials besides stone. We know that the furnishings of shrines and altars were designed all through the Middle Ages in the precious metals. There is a record of Bishop Stigand's great silver cross at Winchester in 1070, and there too at the Dissolution above the altar was "a table" (*i.e.*, relief) "of images of silver and gold garnished with stones." At Exeter Bishop Stapledon put a silver reredos in 1326, and at Canterbury, when Henry VIII. despoiled Becket's shrine, his commissioners took away its gold and jewels in twenty-six cartloads. That much of this metal was in figure-work is certain;[2] indeed, we have proof on all sides that a skilled craft in the modelling and founding of metal images continued all through the Middle Ages.

What the goldsmith, for example, could do in the craft of figure-modelling is abundantly indicated, not only by the coins of the Edwards, but by the seals of the kings, bishops, and monastic houses that were affixed to legal documents, and of which a very large number from all the mediæval periods have been preserved. The progress of modelling can be traced in these seriatim, and the motives and technique of the successive styles of the art are capable of accurate dating, since successive dignitaries had each his own seal, often modelled in his likeness.

Moreover, of the actual metal work of the founder we possess some perfectly preserved examples. Of the twelfth century and later are many lead fonts showing no mean skill in relief. Of bronze (or *laten*) are the figurettes (or *weepers*) set along the tomb chests of the fourteenth and fifteenth century monuments, at Westminster and Warwick; on the screen enclosure of Henry VII.'s monument in Westminster, the small bronzes of English workmanship are examples of our latest mediæval art.

In all the metals the art of the image-founder was without doubt, constantly in use throughout the Middle Ages, and produced numberless figures, though now scarcely a specimen is left us. Fortunately, however, we still possess as samples of metal statuary, the bronze effigies of the kings and queens at Westminster, and these testify to a modelling and founding of great figure-work, which must have been practised in many directions before it could create such masterpieces as Eleanor's effigy in 1290. That such skill continued is shown by the bronze of the Black Prince at Canterbury of 1330, and that of Richard Beauchamp at Warwick, of the middle of the fifteenth century.

Besides such wholly metal images, there remains at Westminster a part of Henry V.'s effigy, consisting of an oaken torso that once was finished with embossed plates, and a solid silver head. This composite statue was not the only one of its kind. The effigy of William of Valence, of 1296, is to be seen made in similar fashion, with enamelled copper plates rivetted upon a wooden matrix. The method, was no doubt, in constant use, too, for sacred images.

The wooden figures decorated by painting are recorded in Gervase's description of the rood-beam of Lanfranc's Church at Canterbury, and he mentions a similar beam with a *majesty* over the altar of Conrad's choir.[3] Oak was throughout the Middle Ages the most ordinary material for the principal images of the Deity and saints, such as were required for every church, and must have existed by the thousand, though now that at Battlefield in Shropshire is quoted as the solitary survivor.[4] The records tell us how they were often made costly with gold and jewels, and decked with robes and embroidery. The destruction of superstitious ornaments has, of course, made a clean sweep of these. What we still possess, however, in considerable numbers in our churches, are the monumental effiges in oak, which can be dated from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. Also in the architectural carpentry of roofs, stalls, and bench ends there was a constant use of figure-work for finials, misereres, etc., which we hope to illustrate in our pages.

Then, too, besides metal and oak, the mediæval sculptor had the use of certain marbles. The dark fossil stones of Purbeck and Sussex were carved for effigies, and possibly for "tables" and other displays of figure-work in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. And then, but chiefly after 1350, the alabaster of Derbyshire came into extensive use for all purposes of fine carving, being either worked at the locality, or conveyed in blocks to the *alabaster-men*, who at York and Nottingham were special manufacturers of figure reliefs, such as were in demand over a large part of western Europe.

The evidences must be admitted that there was all through the Middle Ages a continuous making of images in metal, oak, and marble, a craft of

[2] A document remains giving a list of goods given as a war contribution by the Abbot of Ramsey in 1143. It mentions some twenty gold and silver images.

[3] Gervase 1, 293-6.

[4] An oak figure of the Deity is to be seen at the South Kensington Museum, and at Romsey has lately been set up a small half-length figure which has possibly been an image.

figure-work which must have been in close connection with, if not actually in the hands of the goldsmiths and ivory carvers. Still it is to be observed that these workshop crafts did not constitute the source of what we hold to be the special genius of Gothic figure-sculpture. Extensive as they were, we note a still larger body of achievement outside of them, with an inspiration and ideal such as the finesse of the goldsmith's bench could not supply.

It may be readily allowed that in the early beginnings, up to the twelfth century, sculpture formed itself upon the examples of Byzantine craftsmanship, the pyxes, the eikons, the shrines and caskets, which were the riches of the monastic treasure house. So they were the traditions of a cloister-bred craft,[5] to which the *imaginator*, the *kerver*, and the *aurifaber* succeeded. And at first too the *sculptor* or stone-carver acknowledged this origin for *his* craft, so that Anglian cross, Saxon rood and Norman tympanum were but stone editions of the small-scale renderings of the workshop artist. Equally, at the end of our story, in the fifteenth century can be distinctly noticed the reactions which the image-modeller forced upon the architectural carver. But between twelfth and fifteenth centuries, in the great era of Gothic expression, the architectural motive had independent force to push the workshop artist from his traditional groove. Stone was the material which inspired the Gothic achievement, and made its own technique and expression out of the practise of the building art.

That Gothic figure-sculpture is stone carving must be noted, too, on another ground. Mediæval building lay in the *freestones*, as they are called, the oolites and sandstones which lend themselves readily to the chisel, but whose surfaces are rough for the purposes of near and delicate effect; from freestone cannot be got the finish of crystalline limestone or bronze. The Gothic sculptor's art could scarcely lie therefore in the expressions which were natural to the close textures of Parian or Carrara marble, or to the polish and ductility of a metal casting. Our views of fine sculpture are very largely based on the Greek and Renaissance achievement in bronze and white marble, but here we have an art that of necessity aimed at other effects.

The so-called Purbeck marble, in which many thirteenth century effigies and figure subjects were carved is a dark-coloured shell conglomerate with a grain suited for round contours, but not for a sharp arris. It had to be painted to fit it for any delicate representation, and Purbeck sculpture must be judged under this condition.

[5] One of the images of Ramsey Abbey already referred to is stated as "de opere Radulphi Sacristæ."

Alabaster is fine enough, but it was an inland production in England, and this meant difficult conveyance in the thirteenth century, so that its general use came too late for the highest qualities of Gothic style. Moreover, it would not stand external weathering, nor was it strong enough for efficient building; and it was as part of a well-masoned and enduring structure that Gothic figure-sculpture showed its meaning. So a granular stone, easily squared and walled, but of a texture which had little in common with marble, made the stock which the mediæval sculptor shaped to the human figure, and in which he had to tell the story of human action. His development came out of the *banker*, from the working shed of the stone-mason. He worked as a *sculptor lapidum*, not as a modeller with his clay, or a goldsmith at his bench.

This is indeed clear enough when we stand before the stone images which remain to us the chief monuments of the Gothic genius. Yet it must not be forgotten that though its works have largely perished, still there was working side by side with the craft of the Gothic architectural sculptor, the parallel skill of the image founder and the wood-carver; and what brought the two branches of sculpture very intimately together was that all materials had a finishing of colour and gilding. Bronze itself was gilt and enamelled, stone and wood were surfaced with gesso and painted. The *pictor* followed on the *sculptor* and completed his work. And whether of stone, wood or metal, such detached images so dressed and adorned must have amounted to tens of thousands, being made in all the towns of England, and supplied as furniture to churches and chapels.

Not, however, in this painted portable art lay the real strength of the Gothic inspiration. We have the architectural carving before us for us to gauge its avowedly stone treatment and to find in this the highest praise of Gothic achievement, just as that of the Greek lay in its detached marble and bronze statuary. Architecture in mediæval hands was a building of stones, and so the mason's chisel was for the Gothic sculptor the master-tool of his art, and of necessity its working was conditioned by the constructional scheme of the church-fabric.

This condition had its merit for our Gothic art. If the delicacy and smoothness of the Greek development of votive statuary in white marble and bronze; if the detached individuality of such objective realisation as the Greek ideal aimed at; if so much which we reckon as the essence of modern sculpture was by the nature of things largely out of the mediæval reach, yet, all through the Gothic period, Gothic figure-work is to be seen with an attachment and appropriateness to

its position, such as in Greek art was the crown of only its best period, and is what the imitative classicisms of Renaissance art never reached. Gothic figure-sculpture lives in the very anatomy of the building it adorns, and if its stone is too rough for the classic elegances, still under the half-tones of northern skies and on the scale of a cathedral front, it may be doubted if the low-toned shading of marble has force enough, or its texture warmth enough for the effects that Gothic sculpture triumphantly achieves.

Both Greek and Gothic façades were made bright with colour, but painting was not carried far enough to suppress the natural surfaces of their materials. And in comparison with fronts like Wells or Rheims the new Greek façade of modern revivalism may well suggest the question whether the finer technique of the Greek sculptor is not wasted on a northern front. It might be further said in view of the vast arrays of the Gothic conception of figure-work, that there would have been felt a weariness in Greek perfection carried out on such a scale. The vigorous stone-sketching of the mason's chisel, not the polished finishing of studio modelling, is needed to display the Gothic motive. In its architectural consistency of effect our mediæval art has nothing to ask from the Greek.

Nearer to the eye, and finished as has been indicated with plaster and paint, the stone technique of the mediæval statue could not reach the quality of the marble. Yet, in weighing the disability of the mediæval artist to compete with the great masters of classic art, the present condition of his works must be allowed for. The actual finish of his modelling has in most cases passed away. The painting has flaked off or has been deliberately scraped away, and the stone surfaces themselves have largely suffered, coming off with the overlay. Mediæval statuary, after only its few hundred years of survival, is generally more perished than the statues which, a thousand years earlier in execution, have been dug up on classical sites. Our oolite carvings taken from the wet soil of English sites are discovered most often with their faces rotted away, even more than if they had been exposed in the open. And inside our churches our mediæval figure-sculpture has had the misfortune of being a special object of defacement—now deliberately hacked at by iconoclasts, now contemptuously cut away by church guardians and church restorers, so that scarcely anything within reach of a pole retains its features. In this matter an almost unique value is given to our Westminster examples, since in some of these—as in the bronze effigies of our kings and queens—we can see the original touch of the mediæval artist and appreciate his art, which elsewhere is represented only by the blocked foundation or the hacked and headless dummy.

So what is best preserved of internal sculpture is usually in the somewhat insignificant and remote positions of the architectural scheme. It is by its external use that we can best gauge the essential quality of the mediæval sculptor. Outside the scope and vigour of his conceptions can still have recognition behind the rough stone surfaces. If the arrises have been dulled by wind and rain, these agents have wrought equally on the setting; so that when not taken from the setting—when not transformed or caricatured by ineffectual restoration—our external statuary has a value to the last fragment of its material cohesion. We see it as a part of a façade which in its whole is sculpture, and not merely set up on a pedestal. The figures come not as enrichments, but, as it were, the eyes of the building's visage, the expression of its vitality.

To sum up, then, the art of the sculptor of the Middle Ages was of a special kind, developed under conditions peculiar to itself, and clearly distinct from those of the Greek evolution. The Greek had come in the production of detached statuary, but the mediæval work was in its essence an attached art, a sculpture developed in the fabric of building. The Greek exhibited his votive figures as individual conceptions, worked for close inspection in the finest materials, creating in his masterpieces an intellectual ideal for each subject which had a prestige for generations. The Gothic sculptor had no such function, but exhibited his creations as part of a masonic conception, and wrought them in the coarse materials of construction. The working ideas as well as the moral characters of the two schools were on different planes. Their respective nobilities can be contrasted without critical comparison. Just as marble and stone, so the intellectual incisiveness of the Greek and the emotional seriousness of the Gothic may be separated; but neither should be discounted in terms of the other. So much, however, has been ably written on the different motives and meanings of the Gothic and Classic arts, that one may be excused from attempting to add anything further in this direction. The following account of mediæval figure-sculpture will be simply an endeavour to bring together its remaining examples in a chain that will exhibit the sequences of the craft-technique and the several phases of the craft-expression. Our suggestion will be only this, that an art of sculpture flourished in this country during the Middle Ages, the quality of which cannot be gainsaid. Its examples, mutilated as they are, have claims to our sympathy as the work of our own people; or at least can ask a recognition such as we bestow readily enough upon foreign works of art.

CHAPTER I.

Pre-Conquest Figure-Sculpture.

The four hundred years of Roman occupation left Britain with no appreciable amount of classic art. At any rate, the whole remains of Roman sculpture that have been dug up on English sites and placed in our museums make but an insignificant collection compared with what many French and Spanish towns have afforded. Found mostly along the line of the Roman wall that stretched from Carlisle to Newcastle have been barbaric representations of the deities worshipped by the motley legionaries who formed the imperial garrison; and if certain memorial tablets with figures (such as those at South Shields) show a greater elegance, still they are but faint provincial echoes of Roman culture. Moreover their style has had no radical influence on any phase of our English art.

Indeed, for the two centuries immediately following the Roman evacuation of Britain in 450, history fails us. Neither certain record, nor any definitely-dated remains, give us the links by which our English arts may be affiliated to those of Imperial Rome. It seems clear, that in the fierceness of the continuing invasions by Saxon and Dane Roman civilization died out of England almost as if it had never been. Coming, however, to 650 A.D. the importance of our English work becomes immediately great in the history of European art. Anglian and Keltic crosses for three centuries make a record in sculpture during the darkest ages of the barbarian decadence such as no other European country can match.

It would seem that the Anglo-Saxon conversions from heathendom were a significant departure for the arts; as if there came a special development of both painting and stone sculpture with that first stone-building of churches, "juxta Romanorum morem," that Bede describes as accompanying the Christian establishments of Northumbria. At any rate, art appears here in that immediate connection with Christian teaching which was to be its standpoint for some nine hundred years.

The conversion of England to Christianity is generally allowed to have come from both the Roman and Keltic Churches. Augustine's mission from Pope Gregory to Canterbury in 600 was supplemented from the antecedent Christianity, which from Gaul, by way of the Irish Church, had passed to Scotland, and thence through Iona to Lindisfarne in 635.[6] When under Theodore in the latter half of the seventh century these sources of Christian faith coalesced, the evidences of both appear in the church buildings of Wilfrid at Ripon and Hexham, and those of Benedict Biscop at Wearmouth and Jarrow.[7] And coincident was the production of illuminated manuscripts like the "Lindisfarne Gospels," and of sculptured crosses, such as those of Bewcastle, Ruthwell, and the Acca cross of Hexham.

The manuscripts discover a talented school of illumination which is allied to the wonderful art of the Irish "Book of Kells," but shows in the miniatures a figure drawing that is different from the barbaric representations of the Irish and Keltic illuminators. Our libraries possess many specimens, but the best dated are the Lindisfarne Gospels, which are now in the British Museum, and were written close upon the year 700, under the direction of Eadfrith, who was Bishop of Lindisfarne[8] from 698 to 721.

The Bewcastle Cross (Figs. 1 and 2) must be acknowledged to be an equally notable piece of sculpture, well dated to the year 670, since its Runic inscription (see Fig. 1) describes it as set up "in the first year of the King of this realm Ecgfrith." This last word is much defaced, but other names mentioned are those of the contemporaries of the Northumbrian king.[9] And, moreover, the runes are considered as linguistically belonging to the latter half of the seventh century.[10] Thus we have it a sufficiently warranted specimen of Anglian art, still standing where it was set up as the monument of the Christian conquest of Cumbria. At Ruthwell (Fig. 3), some five and twenty miles distant, is a cross of such similar make and sculpture, that it must be similarly dated. It was found buried in the churchyard and has been re-erected. Both monuments have shafts of sandstone some twenty feet high, with panel-carvings on all four sides in modelled relief, as can be seen in our figures.

The execution of this sculpture is of the quality found in quite a large number of fragments which have been recovered from the structures or discovered in the neighbourhood of Wilfrid's and

[6] The direct Roman influence was reinforced by Archbishop Theodore in 669, but meanwhile Christianity would seem to have spread into Central and Western England from the British Church of Wales, which was in close connection with the Scottish Church.

[7] It is to be noted that though there was a similar style of manuscript painting at Canterbury (following on that building of churches by Augustine and his immediate successors which has now been identified in the remains of St. Pancras, etc. see *Archæological Journal*, 1901), no sculpture has at present been claimed as contemporary with this first Christian period in South England.

[8] For the date of this manuscript see Sir E. M. Thompson's "English Illustrated Manuscripts," p. 5. The monasteries of North England had a reputation in the matter of learning in the eighth century which was sufficient to make Charlemagne borrow from them for his schools at Aix la Chapelle.

[9] See W. S. Calverley, "Stones of Cumberland," p. 37.

[10] See Prof. Vietor "Die Northumbrischen Runensteine," p. 46.

A. G.

FIG. 1.—BEWCASTLE, CUMBERLAND, 670. SHAFT OF CROSS.

(Showing the "Christ," on West Face.)

Biscop's churches at Hexham and Jarrow. Chief of these is that called the Acca Cross (now set up in the library of Durham Cathedral), which was found at Hexham and shows remarkable vine-carving. We illustrate on page 10 (Fig. 4) another fragment[11] also found there and now in the abbey church. Though much worn the style of the sculpture is distinct. There is classical modelling of the nude in the legs at the top corner, and the vine scrolls are those of Byzantine mosaic.

In our illustrations of the crosses can be seen too just that mixture of motives, which the Lindisfarne manuscripts developed. Side by side with the peculiarly constructed ornaments of Keltic design are the vine and bird interlacements which we find in the eastern art that, under Byzantine auspices, permeated all the Mediterranean basin from the fifth to the twelfth centuries. Just as on the same page of manuscript were drawn the "divergent spirals" of Ireland and the figure-tracing of Byzantine diptychs, so on the Bewcastle stone were carved Irish checkers and knotworks mixed with figure-reliefs, whose Byzantine pose and dignity recall the ivory chair of Maximian at Ravenna. The draperies have the full foldings and massive modelling of late classic design, and generally the technique shows a practised chisel, as well as the assured methods of a finished school in figure and decorative design. We do not reach such technical attainment again in English work until close upon the thirteenth century.

It is to be noted, therefore, that the problem presented by our northern crosses is not that created by the particular date of the seventh century which is warranted for them. Had this to be set say a hundred or two hundred years later, the difficulty of their appearance would have been in no way lessened. Indeed in the seventh century we are able to account in some measure for an importation of Southern technique into sculpture. But our English crosses are so essentially of the Northern inspiration that we must explain two things—firstly, the appearance in them of a craft trained in eastern pattern-work and employed upon Anglian building; and, secondly, what at first sight seems strange at this date, such an Anglian craftsmanship as would be capable of assimilating and grounding itself upon this foreign importation. For the crosses of Bewcastle and Ruthwell, and those that can be associated with them, started a school of cross-sculpture which continued its work for many generations, branching into all parts of England. Especially in Ireland it achieved great crosses for some three hundred years after 700, so that all together our English and Irish crosses make a display of early sculpture such as our Continental neighbours can scarcely exhibit.

As to the possible introduction of sculptors, we have much confirmative evidence in the distinct records of workmen brought to England in the seventh century. Augustine is said by the Italian chroniclers to have taken "artifices" with him to Canterbury, as well as many objects of church-fitting and decoration. Wilfrid is recorded by Eddius to have introduced masons (*cæmentarios*), and Benedict Biscop is said by Bede to have gone to seek *cæmentarios* in Gaul and to have brought them back to build his stone church in the Roman fashion: and since both made constant journeys to Rome, they certainly had the opportunity of seeing *en route* the work of foreign craftsmen and stone-carvers. Both these builders of churches are mentioned also as introducing glass-makers. Finally, Hexham, as built by Wilfrid, is rhetorically described by Prior Richard as decorated

[11] At Easby, near Richmond in Yorkshire, is a beautiful piece.

A. G.

FIG. 2.—BEWCASTLE, CUMBERLAND, 670. SHAFT OF CROSS.
(Showing Vine and Bird Scroll on East Face.)

"hystoriis et ymaginibus et variis cœlaturarum figuris ex lapide prominentibus, et picturarum et colorum grata varietate mirabilique decore," and this, though written in 1141, is so far evidence that there was a reputed existence of figure-sculpture on the site of Wilfrid's church.

We may regard therefore as fairly certain the connection of this craft-revival in North England, and its accomplished scroll-carving and figure-art, with a special introduction of skilled workmen brought from oversea.[12] When, however, this is spoken of as an introduction of Italian art from Rome as the centre of Christian culture and so the Academy of all the arts, it is necessary to be cautious. Is it certain that Rome at the beginning of the seventh century could supply what we find in Northumbria? It is to be seen in our illustrations how at Bewcastle, mingled with the regulation Byzantine vine are the Keltic patterns found in the Irish manuscripts, and most beautifully in the Book of Kells. This latter (though experts differ) is dated about the year 700. On the other hand, in Italy, though the Byzantine or basketwork interlacements occur in carvings of the sixth and seventh centuries, the knotwork which our examples indicate as peculiarly Irish do not appear till after the beginning of the eighth century, that is about the time of the Irish missions to Italy, when we may suppose Irish manuscripts had also found their way thither.[13]

But before going to Ireland for our artists we must observe that, as Irish stone sculpture is deficient in anything even distantly approaching the merit of the Anglian crosses till some few hundred

A. G.

FIG. 3.—RUTHWELL, DUMFRIES. C. 700. SHAFT OF CROSS.
(With Figure Panels.)
(From a cast in Durham Library.)

[12] Archbishop Theodore, in 669, is not recorded as introducing workmen, but seeing that he was a Greek from Tharsis in Syria, he probably had with him objects of Eastern art, and possibly in his train Eastern craftsmen.

[13] Cattaneo reckons the seventh and eighth centuries as being the lowest stage of the Italian decadence, only relieved by an occasional introduction of Greek workmen. The Irish mission to Bobbio, in Italy, was circa 725.

years later—that is, till about the year 900. In fact our remains stand alone, with no sequence of either Irish or native Anglian stone-carvings to lead up to them. But in decorative patterns of wood and metal-work the case is different. The evidences are abundant of a skilled craftsmanship in these materials existent among the northern nations for some centuries before 700. Irish goldwork had been long famous, and the Ormeside cup in York Museum may suggest that it was in the making of such magnificent objects that the skill of the Anglian designer had perfected itself. They were the circumstances of the Christian church-building, which, bringing stone-dressers to England, showed how metal patterns might be rendered in stone. And, since upright stones, rough or rudely incised, had been for long the regular Keltic style of monument, we can understand that, when Wilfrid introduced his sculptors skilled in eastern pattern-work and sacred figures, they or their pupils might be put to the shaping of memorial stones. And so came the crosses as we see them, with Christian devices and figure-scenes carved alongside of Keltic metal patterns and Byzantine vine-scrolls.

A.G.

FIG. 4.—HEXHAM, NORTHUMBERLAND, C 700. FRAGMENT IN ABBEY CHURCH.

(Showing Vine Scrolls and Nude Figure Work of Greek Workmanship.)

As far as our records go, either Gaul or Rome may have immediately supplied the sculptors for this importation, but the character of their works makes a difficulty as to the carvers being native to Provence or Italy. The fashion of scroll-work with birds, animals, and small figures perched in their interlacement is what comes into Byzantine art in the sixth century, evidently from an eastern source—Alexandria being possibly its centre of distribution. But Provençal or Italian remains, those of Rome particularly, show little before the tenth century that is of this peculiar character. Rather we look to the pillars at St. Mark's, Venice, said to be brought from Byzantium direct to the ivory carvings of Maximian's chair at Ravenna, which is probably Alexandrian work, and to the sculptures in Athens and Syria of the sixth century, as giving the nearest counterparts to our Bewcastle and Acca carvings. So it is to be conjectured that not from Gaul or Italy, but from further east came the hands which wrought this delicate work. If later Italian carvings,[14] as in the screens of Torcello (dated by Cattaneo at 1008) show a similar handling, it is because they too are from the hands of Greek workmen in the flush of that Neo-Byzantine revival which appeared after 925. The tradition of Byzantine art was so immovable that in England, Italy, and Syria, the Greek carver still carved the same, whether he was Justinian's workman in the sixth century, or Wilfrid's imported stone-mason in the seventh, or a travelling artist come to Torcello in the tenth.

But the Italian work was close to the Greek centres. On English soil in a solitary station far from the headquarters of Byzantine craftsmanship, and unable to recruit from it, there could not be maintained the long immobility of an ancient established art preserving traditional motives and the eastern legacy of craft-skill from generation to generation. Moreover, English stone is not a material for sculpture like marble. So an immediate blunting of the Greek delicacy is apparent. Many northern sculptures exist which can only be looked upon as copies of the Greek works, of excellent design, but with vine scrolls executed by those who had never themselves seen the grape in growth; with lions that are nondescript versions of the king of beasts; with birds that are ravens rather than doves, and, forgetful of Byzantine lassitude, peck and bite at the fruit in the energy of their northern blood (see the Jedburgh stone, Fig. 5).

And then at a further remove we can place a still larger number of remains, which seem wrought as imitations by those who had no skill

[14] Cattaneo shows at Cividale and Grado vine-scrolls of the eighth century, referring them to Greek workmen. These, however, lack the peculiar distinction of the Anglian cross-work.

FIG. 5.—JEDBURGH, ROXBURGHSHIRE. C. 700. VINE SCROLL.
(Showing Anglian copy of Greek workmanship.)
(From a Photograph by Mr. J. P. Gibson, of Hexham.)

to copy, which, in place of modelling on to the ground of the panel, substitute engraved patterns with chamfered edges. Our illustrations can best exhibit the progress of this gradual decadence of technique in the hands of the Anglian craftsman as he gets further and further removed from the original source of his art.

And just as in the vine-scroll, so also in the figure-work we can trace a course of sculpture starting from the same beginnings and traversing the same phases of decadence. Italian figure-work in marble or stone of the seventh or eighth centuries is hardly to be found which can fairly match our Anglian crosses. The nearest counterparts are given by the ivory carvings of the Byzantine tradition, such as what is called the Murano panel or Maximian's chair at Ravenna, which are dated to the sixth century. Arles, in South France, has many Christian sarcophagi of about the same date, whose motives and technique seem repeated in our northern sculpture.

But immediately in Northumbria the classic modelling and the Byzantine features become degraded. The declension from the Bewcastle (Fig. 1) to the Rothbury *Christ*[15] (Fig. 6) is marked; the long Byzantine features have become broad and expressionless, and the draperies parallel scorings of the surface, though there is still a dignity in the pose. But from the Rothbury to the Auckland crosses the decadence is rapid,

FIG. 6.—ROTHBURY, NORTHUMBERLAND. C. 750. FRAGMENT OF CROSS.
("The Christ.")
(From a Photograph by Mr. J. P. Gibson.)

till, in those at Aycliffe and Ilkley, the figure is brought to a mere zoomorphic decoration, with the hair and nimbus degraded into the strand of a Norse *knot*. The fragment of a cross found at Gainford (Fig. 7) is a good example of the final stage of complete degradation.

Before passing to the meaning of this Norse

A.G.

FIG. 7.—GAINFORD, DURHAM. C. 900 (?) FRAGMENT OF CROSS.
(Showing degradation of Figure Design into a mere Pattern Interlacement.)

[15] Many other fragments exist, some of which are built up into the font, and others are preserved at Newcastle. They are carved with figure subjects, vine scrolls, etc.

development there are two remains, not crosses, which would seem to be in close connection with the derived Greek art of Anglia. First, a stone column at Masham is circled by a series of round-headed panels enclosing figure-work, arcade upon arcade. The surfaces are much decayed, but the pose of the figures can still be seen as that of the Bewcastle crosses. Here again we may recognise the stone version by Anglian stone carvers of the Greek technique in marble or ivory, identical with that which made, for example, the ciborium pillars of the great altar of St. Mark's.

Similarly, the *monk's-stone* at Peterborough (Fig. 8) would seem the stone version of a metal or marble tomb chest. The date of this oblong solid block, coped on top, and with six round-headed panels containing figures on either side, has been much discussed. It has been dated to 820 to 950, and by Bloxam to the twelfth century, but the likeness of its arcades to the Masham stone and the style of its figures put it into possible connection with the early Anglian craftsmanship, or at any rate suggest that it must be a production on the same lines.

For, as has been indicated, in what can clearly be dated to the ninth and tenth centuries in England, there has passed away all trace of the Greek technique of the seventh century. But not so the ambition and achievement of the great carved crosses. The cross at Gosforth, Cumberland, in its elegance of outline and the grace of its decoration must rank high among the tenth century monuments of European art.[16] For the purpose of figure-sculpture, however, its representations are childish. Yet, it is to be seen how, alongside of the complete degradation of the earlier scroll and figure-work, there has now developed in stone carving an exuberant and magnificent elaboration of that Keltic motive, the interlacing *knot*, which had been found in both Bewcastle cross and Lindisfarne manuscript.

On some hundreds of sculptured crosses throughout the British Islands do these knotworks exhibit themselves—especially in Wales and the Isle of Man. Belonging to their *Irish-Viking* art were the most magnificent productions of the tenth century, the high crosses of Clanmacnois, Monasterboice, and Kells in Ireland, some of which are over twenty feet in height and seven in width, the whole broadly covered with figure-sculpture. They show a technique far removed from the classic elegancies of the earlier North England work.[17] Their production continued to the twelfth century in Ireland, and their style exercised an influence in the North of England, where, from the foundations of the chapter house of Durham, have been dug up

A. G.

FIG. 8.—PETERBOROUGH. COPED-STONE KNOWN AS MONK'S STONE OR HEDDA'S MONUMENT.

(Showing stone rendering of Byzantine Marble or Ivory.)

many crosses, sculptured with figure-work, which must date after the year 997, when the Durham site was first occupied. From Fig. 9 may be noted the barbaric style of the figure-work, which, like that of the Irish crosses, is in marked distinction from the Southern Saxon art, that at the same date had Wessex for its province and Winchester as its centre.

In grouping thus widely all the Northern and Western cross work of the ninth and tenth centuries together, and calling this sculpture of the Irish-Viking style, we are no doubt introducing a controversy. Still for our purpose of figure-sculpture any detailed separation into Irish, Danish, or Norse elements, or any effort to trace origins, whether to Ireland or Scandinavia is out of place. Whichever view is adopted as to the dominant influence at work in Norse art, the date of its exuberant development would seem to coincide with that latest phase of the Viking irruptions, which from mere raiding passed into colonization and founded new kingdoms in the English and Mediterranean seas. But though from beginnings obscure and barbarous, the importance of this art in the growth of English style must be recognized. In the mere elementary patterning and zoomorphism of its barbarous ornamentations, lay somehow the seeds of an advancing energy, and it is, we believe, to the Norse invasions of Western Europe that we owe the vigour of Romanesque art, which grew plastic and humane in the hands of the Gothic builders. By the Norseman's spirit and by the Norseman's craftsmanship were fertilised the decaying energies of Byzantine elegance.

[16] Dated by its introduction of scenes from the Eddas which put it subsequent to the year 900.

[17] These are dated by inscriptions to the beginning of the tenth century and afterwards. The Iona crosses and those of the Isle of Man are of this class.

However, the gradual passage from barbarism to refinement, from puerility of technique to the Gothic power of modelling belonged so much to the twelfth century that it must be treated in the next chapter. There are scattered over England, abundantly in the Midland Counties, early figure carvings, mostly in the tympana of church doorways, some of such elementary sculpture, and of rudeness of design so extravagant that they can hardly be matched in the most savage efforts of the Polynesians. Yet they are associated often with well executed and much enriched Norman mouldings which date from the second quarter of the twelfth century.

A. G.

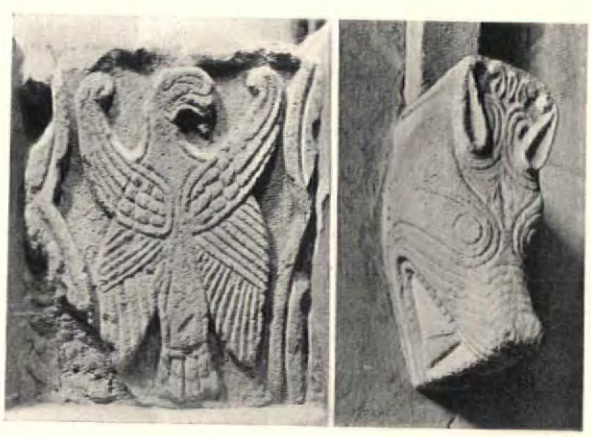
FIG. 9.—DURHAM LIBRARY. C. 1,000. HEAD OF CROSS, FOUND UNDER CATHEDRAL CHAPTER HOUSE.

(Showing "Irish Viking" style and Tenth Century Figure Work of the North.)

It is true that in some few cases the tympanum does not seem of a piece with the surrounding arch-moulding, and may have been a fragment of earlier sculpture set afterwards in a Romanesque doorway. Yet this is by no means the case with many of the rudest, which are carved in the same stones as the diapers, zigzags, and beakheads of twelfth-century building. Our illustrations from Brixworth and Deerhurst (Fig. 10) can show the technique of this style when it passed from the cross to the building. The method may be referred to practice in wood-carving,[18] in which incised lines take the place of modelling. But no reasonable theory of pre-Conquest execution for most of this work is tenable, and though some examples may probably be dated before the Conquest, their development was in Norman hands. However such technique may seem to be at quite the beginning of Sculpture, it is not therefore to be called Saxon, or supposed to represent the first efforts of English carvers. Rather it shows the barbaric Norse elements of art put to a new use in church building and feeling their way with difficulty to the expression of figure-sculpture.

For there is evidence of a Saxon figure-sculpture which can be seen to be another thing altogether, having had its genesis independently of the Scandinavian theories of art, and certainly showing an attainment which we must put in advance of the Norman sculpture of quite a hundred years later. There are in the south of England not a few examples which cannot, unfortunately, be dated by exact evidence, but which have a separate and distinct style. The examples are mostly carvings in high relief, with considerable finish in the modelling on to the ground, and particularly an exhibition of the three-quarter profile, which is characteristic. One type consists of lofty crucifixes or *roods*, as at Romsey (Fig. 11), Little Langford (Fig. 12), and Hedbourne Worthy, near Winchester. This last, though its figure-work is defaced, still displays the original and finely-conceived arrangement of the design set in the gable of the church.[19]

At Romsey and Little Langford these Saxon



A. G.

(*a*) (*b*)

FIG. 10.

(*a*) BRIXWORTH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE. FRAGMENT OF CROSS.

(Showing "Irish Viking style.")

(*b*) DEERHURST, GLOUCESTERSHIRE. LABEL-HEAD.

(Showing Norse Motive applied to Architectural use.)

[18] In this connection should be mentioned the wood coffin of St. Cuthbert in Durham Cathedral Library, as well as the bone ivory chessmen in the British Museum.

[19] The other smaller crucifixion carving here may be compared with that in the gateway at Barking Abbey. They have both Saxon qualities of design, but the inferior execution and details of drapery would seem to date them to the twelfth century.

FIG. 12.—LITTLE LANGFORD, OXFORDSHIRE. SAXON ROOD, NOW IN WALL OF SOUTH PORCH.
(Showing Winchester style.)
(From a Photograph by Messrs. Taunt.)

A. G.

FIG. 13.—BRADFORD-ON-AVON, WILTSHIRE. ANGEL NOW SET OVER CHANCEL-ARCH IN SAXON CHURCH.
(There is another angel of similar style set opposite to it.)

A. G.

FIG. 11.—ROMSEY, HAMPSHIRE. SAXON ROOD IN NUNS' CLOISTER ON WEST WALL OF SOUTH TRANSEPT.
(Showing Winchester style.)
(A Saxon ivory found at Lewes has the Crucifixion with a similar hand above the figure.)

A. G.

FIG. 15.—CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL. C. 1,000. PANEL IN SOUTH AISLE OF QUIRE.

(The Raising of Lazarus.)

A. G.

FIG. 14.—CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL. C. 1,000. PANEL NOW IN SOUTH AISLE OF QUIRE.

(Christ coming to the House of Martha and Mary.)

roods have been built into later erections of the early twelfth century. They are of a different stone [20] to the walling round them, and the Hedbourne example clearly indicates what was their original position. This, and the whole style of their execution, separates them from any succeeding Norman work. The justness of their proportions and the delicacy of their rendering of drapery can be seen to be in considerable contrast, not only with the degraded types of the North, but equally with what we shall show as the work of the twelfth-century figure-sculptor in England.

In view of the same qualities existing in the Angels set on either side of the sanctuary arch in the Saxon church at Bradford (Fig. 13), we may conjecture that these two figures were in connection with a figure of Christ, either a majesty or a crucifixion. The draperies and attitudes are just those of the manuscript representations of the tenth century. Also in the Saxon ivory *Descent from the Cross*, at the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, are angels on each side of the rood with napkins just as in the Bradford example.

Of a different purpose,[21] but of the same school of design, are the two panels at Chichester cathedral (Figs. 14 and 15), which represent the raising of Lazarus. They are carved in relief upon walled blocks of Caen stone, and are said to have been taken from behind the stalls of the choir in some reconstructions antecedent to the fall of the tower in 1869. Tradition accounts for them by saying that they were brought from the Saxon cathedral of Selsey, whose site is now under the sea; but they may just as probably have belonged to the Saxon church of St. Peter at Chichester itself, for we read of such a church preceding the cathedral, and can perhaps see its representation in the first seal of the See.

A. G.

FIG. 16.—CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL. C. 1,000. HEAD OF CHRIST.

(From "The Raising of Lazarus.")

A. G.

FIG. 17.—CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL. C. 1,000. HEADS OF MARTHA, MARY, AND ONE OF THE DISCIPLES.

(From "The Raising of Lazarus.")

The technique of this Southern sculpture shows considerable refinement of a kind peculiar to that Saxon renaissance of the arts which is referred to the times of Dunstan. In place of the full-faced bull's-eye which for some hundred years summarised the eye in Norman sculpture, we have here a considerable attempt at expression. For example, the eyeballs at Chichester are drilled to receive jewelled centres (Figs. 16 and 17). There is, too, a distinct realisation of the side-way appearance and of emotion in the countenances. The hair, again, has various representations of its texture, and is more delicately rendered than by the rough pellets that afterwards did duty for it.

The striking peculiarities which date the work are in the drapery and the pose of the figures. The angular zigzag of the garment hem and the long stooping attitude of the standing figure are noteworthy marks of a school of figure-drawing,

[20] At Romsey the slab is seven feet high, of a white calcareous stone, which seems the same as the long quoins of the Saxon Tower at Bosham. The abbey church is built of that Quarr Abbey stone, from the Isle of Wight, of which the Norman churches at Winchester, Chichester, and Porchester were built.

[21] "The Harrowing of Hell," in the Deanery of Bristol Cathedral, may possibly be another sculpture of this class, but is of coarser type and probably later date.

the source of which can be identified. In the tenth century Winchester, the capital of Wessex, is recognised as having been the centre of an advanced style of manuscript painting, in which outline drawing of great elegance was practised, and the expressions, draperies, and figure-pose of the Winchester work are just what we see at Chichester. Every detail, even to the battlement and arcades of Mary's house, can be matched from Winchester manuscripts certainly dated before 1000.

There are to be seen in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, certain ivories, which are to be assigned to the period, and show the same technique of the figure and the same delicacies of rendering and expression, as well as the same exaggerations and contortion of anatomy and gesture. In our illustration (fig 18) the zigzag folds, the long stooping figures, and the greater size of the important personages can be recognised as matching the Chichester carving. The whole—paintings, carvings, and stone sculpture—give a high idea of the genuine Saxon attainment in the arts.

To sum up, Pre-conquest figure-sculpture shows itself as belonging to three schools, which can be separated in date and roughly also by the districts of their production. The first figure-work which we may call English came from the direct introduction, in the latter part of the seventh century, of Greek or Byzantine sculptors to the North of England, and is exhibited in the crosses and sculptured stones of Northumbria. Its Greek elegance gradually passed away in successive degradations from the lessening skill of the Anglian craftsman. But there came into it a new source of decorative execution from the arts of the Vikings, which had their motives in the usual barbarian patternings of savage peoples, but were largely coloured by the influence of the overland trade from the East. In figure-work this art never got beyond a barbaric representation of natural form, but the influence of its vigorous motives must be counted on after the twelfth century as starting Romanesque or Early Gothic execution. Especially in the mid-counties of England examples of energetic animal representations are found in many twelfth century doorways, where, too, the attitude and style of the architectural figure-sculpture shows at once a departure from Byzantine traditions. We would trace to this source the stark attitudes and imitative realisms which take the place of the well-worn themes of Byzantine design. The third source of Pre-conquest figure-sculpture must be recognised as primarily Byzantine, being largely based upon Carlovingian art and connected with the monastic developments of Western Europe. In church building came copyings in stone from the shrines, the pyxes and coffers of Greek craftsmanship, as being the best examples from which stone carving could draw its inspiration. English South Saxon art was a distinguished branch of the Carlovingian Renaissance. It was the tenth century supremacy of Wessex and the culture of the South English capital, Winchester, which fostered the birth of what, after the break of the Conquest, was to merge with the Norse art in making the national Gothic style of England.

EDWARD S. PRIOR.
ARTHUR GARDNER.

(To be continued.)

FIG. 18.—VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, SOUTH KENSINGTON. RELIEF IN WALRUS IVORY.

(Showing Saxon Technique of Winchester School)

JOHN FRANCIS BENTLEY.—II.

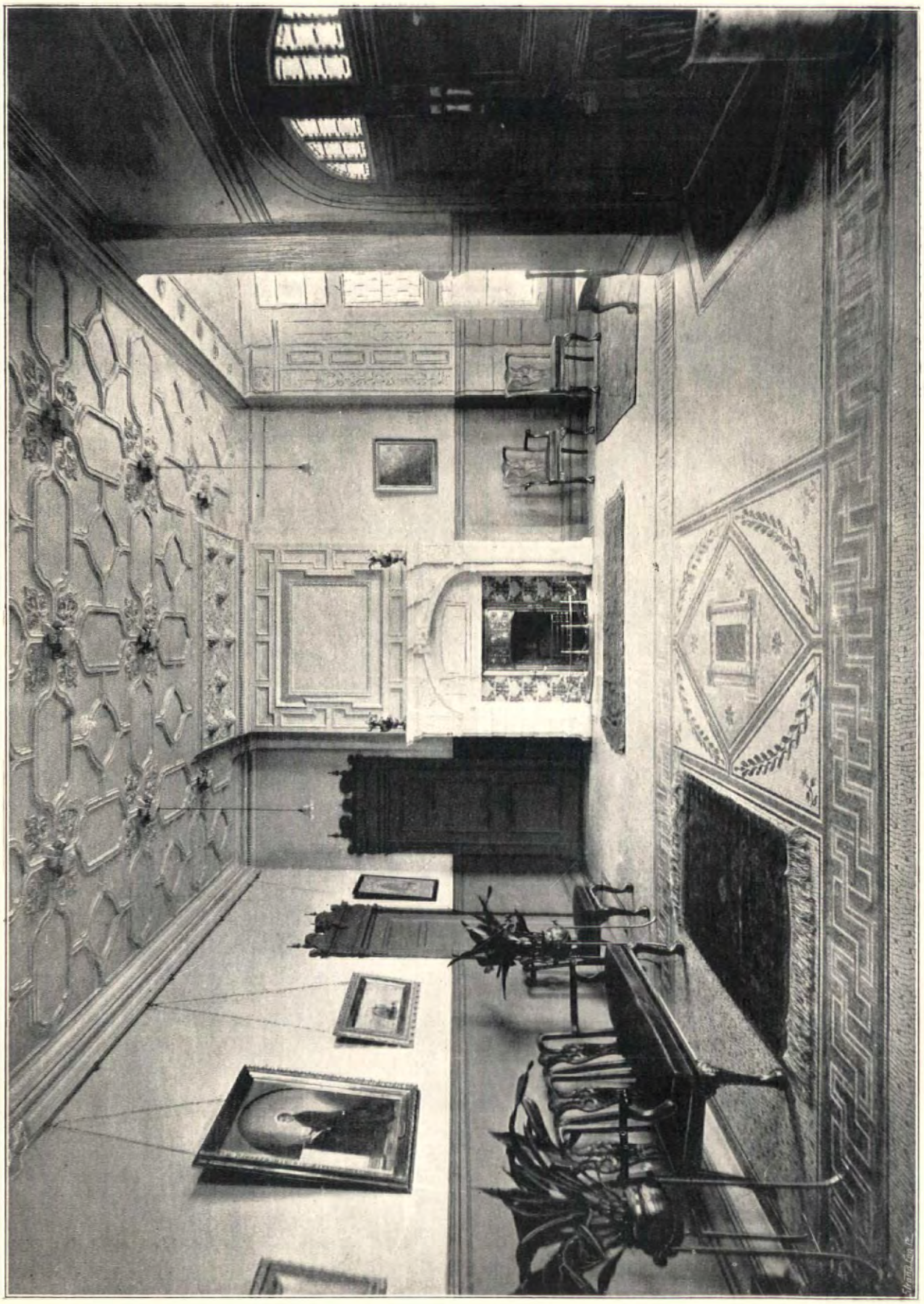
THE church at Watford, illustrated in the May number of the ARCHITECTURAL REVIEW, exhibits Mr. Bentley's powers of design unrestricted as to conditions of plan or expense: the Convent Chapel at Braintree, in the same number, shows them under greater limitations, both as regards the nature of the building, and the sum to be expended. But under this control, what a charming poetic effect has he achieved. At first sight, simplicity is the dominant note and a restrained quiet. On further insight, this skilled harmony is not obtained, one sees, by omission of features, vacant spaces, bald mouldings—the harmony has been obtained by vigilant thought and able concentration. The plain spaces are made contributory to the sober richness of the altar and the sense that the chancel is a shrine most carefully marked.

In the Convent of the Sacred Heart at Hammersmith—built originally for a Priests' Seminary—we have a kind of collegiate building, that occurs again, with differences, in the Junior School at Beaumont College, Old Windsor. The building tells its story simply and directly: the range of chimney stalks —without chimney cans, be it noted—proclaim the nature of the rooms they serve: an air of cloistral severity pervades the place, and amidst a blinding maelstrom of omnibus, electric tramcar, and every other form of horse-vehicle and man-vehicle in incessant whirl, endows it with a quiet nothing alien or superior to the seething mass of humanity at its gates.

It is strong, sturdy work, but, with the exception of the cloisters, it does not seem to have come together easily, especially as regards the garden front. This same consciousness of itself appears in even stronger form in the main front to the Junior School at Beaumont. The sides and back entrance confide their purpose with almost brusque candour, but the front is something of a frontispiece. Inside the building there is a pleasant quality of spaciousness and especially of light. The rooms smile with sunshine. For all young growing stock, sunshine is as important as food; but that is not to say that life in a green-house is wholesome. A room, especially a class-room, should be *riant*, but the laughter is a matter of manipulation and forethought. Ghastly sheets of undivided plate-glass make a room seem desolate, sterile, inhuman—they arrest the playfulness of the sun's beams, and what they give in quantity they make pitiless from want of individuality.

Photo: Elliott & Fry.

BEAUMONT TRAINING COLLEGE, OLD WINDSOR.



ENTRANCE HALL, BEAUMONT TRAINING COLLEGE, OLD WINDSOR.

Quantity seems to be thought the sufficient answer. "You have got twice or more times the area of glass one usually gets, how then can you complain!" But the light comes in from everywhere —to everywhere—there is no escape, no friendly twilight shelter, and our instincts that are within us, and our microbes that are upon us, cry out against this torture. There is a certain humorous eloquence in the treatment of this boys' building. Except in the Entrance Hall and Reception Rooms, where the boys do not go, unless on paralysing occasions, the whole building (the Chapel of course excepted) is severely simple; and, like the theory of lightning conductors, the boys' flashes of mischief are localised and drawn off to those parts of the walls and finishings where they are either innocuous or so glaring that they bring their own effacement promptly upon them.

The Entrance Hall, with its marble-stucco mantelpiece, its specially designed grate and metal-work, carefully chosen tiles and marble mosaic flooring, speaks a kind of escape from the sheer practicalities of most of the school building —an expansion from bald fact into "style," and the quiet, nervous, tense prose is headed with a preface in the manner of Spenser, or—for there is a French flavour in the frontage—shall we say, Clement Marot? Like the critical and learned essays in the *Spectator*, we taste the flavour and charm of the cultured accomplishment, but we feel they belong to the category of the "compositions" of the schoolboy;—the real papers, that live in our memory and come home to our hearts, are those upon Addison's contemporaries— such as the Sir Roger de Coverley group. I wager that the living papers cost him less trouble and anxiety by much than the academic ones.

The Archbishop's House stands eastward of the Cathedral at Westminster, and in its dignified austerity comes rather as a surprise. The absence of scenic display or pomp gives the building at first glance a somewhat gaunt appearance; but this quickly gives way under the interest of its masses, and the able but subtle disposition of them. Conditions of site, of purpose, of accommodation, are here obviously paramount; they justify and embellish the arbitrariness of grouping. Incidents are uncalled for, and consequently they are few in number; but the few tell. The lion-headed brackets that support the balcony gape a terrifying welcome impossible to overlook. Inside, the House—though occupied—is quite unfinished, and every corner of it has as yet to shake hands and be familiarised with its inmates. The acquaintance should be both friendly and *sans gêne*, for the tone is pitched in a reasonable moderation; there is no shrieking, overblown *vox humana* stop apparent anywhere. Nor is there anything archaic or remote in the general management of the building; the materials are of to-day, and they are used to make the features of to-day; the distinction is in the proportion and the grouping. Moreover, it must be noted, the building is large enough, and the purposes of it clear and distinct enough, to exhibit these qualities.

The Venetian Saloon at Carlton Towers (Lord Beaumont's house in Yorkshire) is an example of Mr. Bentley's treatment of decorative detail. The room had already been built before he appeared upon the scene, and his task was to complete it as it stood. Every item, other than structural, is from his hand; the painting, the woodwork, the fire-grate, the chandeliers, the furniture, fixed and movable. Item by item, the details are learned, forcible, and highly characteristic; but, taken as a whole, the effect is disappointing. There is a want of purpose about the decoration, the parts do not contribute to accentuate one another, or to lead to some prepared climax; nor have they, as in Mr. Burges' work, a story to tell, which is their justification. The room is of such a size that it is neither habitable nor inhabited, but is to be used for purposes of display on occasion; the decorative treatment should be intelligible at a glance, no matter how complicated the scheme may really be when seen on further inspection, and the "motive" of the decoration should speak to the spectator in a language of which he at least knows the leading phases and the dominant structure. The sonnet, in this case, is ingeniously and elaborately worded; but it is not poetry, for all the labour spent. In the land of advanced culture, the Muse occasionally forgets to keep her appointment, and appear.

The silver-gilt casket presented to Sir Stuart Knill shows Mr. Bentley's knowledge and handling of metal work. It contains an address signed by the subscribers, and it is adorned with twelve ancient figures of saints, connected more or less with the Guildhall and the City, and consequently appropriate in a testimonial to one on the occasion of his vacating the office of Lord Mayor of London. The design was carried out in the shop of Mr. T. Elsley. It is a very finished piece of learned work, and characteristic of Mr. Bentley's special treatment of metal, but the design is compiled rather than inspired, and disconcertingly reminiscent of church plate. The execution, beautiful as it is, lacks freedom, and there is a sense of anticlimax in making the focus of the monstrance a roll of congratulations with the offerers' names. We come in face again of the persistent disintegrator: the divorce between the designer and his materials. We see, in Mr. Bentley's work, the flower of "one man" architecture; we may say, with almost untroubled

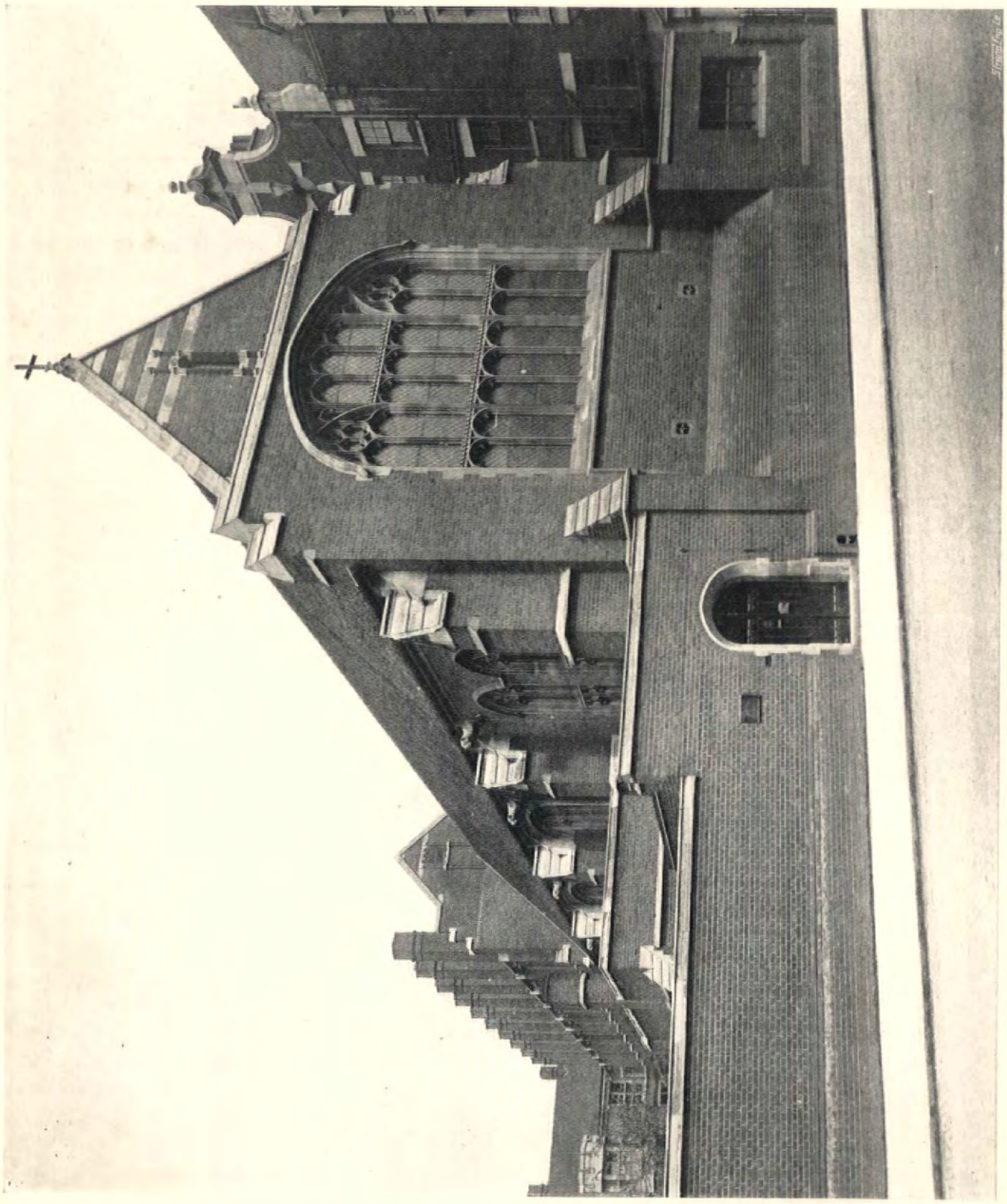


Photo: E. Dockree.

THE CONVENT OF THE SACRED HEART, HAMMERSMITH.

Photo : E. Dockree.

THE CONVENT OF THE SACRED HEART,
HAMMERSMITH.

Photo: E. Dockree.

THE CONVENT OF THE SACRED HEART,
HAMMERSMITH.

confidence, that in Mr. Bentley's case it has been done as well as it can be done. The cathedral at Westminster has been pronounced by the voice of authority "beyond all doubt the finest church that has been built for centuries." What more, then, can we want? I view it as a last triumphant expression of that long line of architects who trace their ancestry back to Inigo Jones in England and the Cinque Centists (to speak broadly as to dates) in Italy. As the years sped on, we see gradually the groups of men that formed the guilds of craftsmen round the master mason deserting him. Each craft has become specialised, has an ideal of its own, and the master mason emerges, as architect, from the retreating groups, becoming more solitary, more individual, and more imperious with each decade.

Distinctions have arrived; the company has been separated into officers and privates; the officers have disbanded themselves, and the architect commands alone with scarce a lieutenant to aid him. The privates are divided off into separate functions and narrowed into mechanical excellence by special drill. The hum of wheels is heard, and soon a wreath of steam drifts across the roadway. Man's finger, that already had been extended into an arrow, a chisel, a gun, begins now to throw out a myriad of tentacles, enmeshing and enlarging upon the captives within their network. The brain is spent in organising and directing this multiform congregation of partially absorbed entities. These are no longer individuals, with independent ideas and imaginations, but extensions of the presiding mechanism and of the brain behind it. They can originate nothing, or rather, for the statement is only partially true, it is when they come to a difficulty or a misfit, and they have to solve the problem somehow on the scaffolding, on the spot, that the chief interest of their work lies. A bit of living contrivance, living design, is generated, stimulating and freshening that part of the building where it originated. Such art is unconscious, is concerned with the actual necessities of the case, and if it happens to be beautiful, it is due to the call on the contriver's mind and temper to do something directly for the purpose according to the best that is in him. Under the conditions of to-day, as under the conditions of the Roman Empire, the workman is, and is desired to be, merely mechanic. The Roman authorities impressed their soldiers, their prisoners, as well as their operatives, in the construction of their great engineering works. To-day steam mortar-mills, steam cranes, the railways, and the varied batteries of machinery replace the thousands of toiling men. One man with his hand on the steam-valve represents the power of a century of men working with all their might, in accord. The splendid carcases that they produced we can reproduce; the possibilities of development that they saw and cultivated in their processes of construction we can discover. For the present we might, like them, let the matter of the veneering, the stucco, and enrichments generally go by, or else attempt a reversion to the Mediæval method, and form a group of artist craftsmen who shall collaborate on the spot, and with their own hands carry out their allotted portions of the building. The Imperial method we see in the great arched constructions of the engineers that carry our railways and stride across our roads and leap across our rivers, and so also in the construction of the Cathedral at Westminster. The exterior is masked, in great extent, by the polychromatic treatment and the profusion of detail; but the interior shows its kinship with the great Halls of Justice and the Baths of Imperial Roman days. Such a conception as this interior is one that can be carried out at the dictation of one man; it is what an army of builder's workmen can do, thoroughly and well. The romance and piety of those great masses of brickwork effloresce from the plain, commonsense, and direct treatment of the problem, and consecrate it apart from the usual commonplace of building, quite independent from the vastness of its scale. How in after years it may come to be encrusted is a matter of great interest, a little this side of vital; for, like the Pantheon or our St. Paul's, the main conception is strong enough to override and subdue whatever may be the after decorative treatment. Inside, the dominance of Bentley is seen at its best; we are in presence of a great idea, conceived in terms that befit the conditions of to-day as regards construction; the co-operation he required was mainly mechanical—good, thoughtful brick-laying—and to this he put his constructive sense, his knowledge of what the requirements of his building would be, and . . . . . the best of his life. The passion and the romance of the design reach us at once; the interpreter is effaced. Outside we get many things translated for us that overlay the message he had to give us; the quotations, though fresh, are almost too copious; we recognise them for quotations even when we cannot always determine their origin; and however able the insertion, however happy the translation, the downright plain prose is the real affair after all—prose so direct that it can be couched in an universal language.

For art, in the case of an architect, is an utterance that must be delivered through other men's hearts and hands. At the present day the architect stands much in the same situation as the composer of a symphony conducting an orchestra,

THE CLOISTERS, CONVENT OF THE SACRED HEART, HAMMERSMITH.

Photo : E. Dockree.

Photo: E. Dockree.

THE VENETIAN SALOON, CARLTON TOWERS, SELBY, LOOKING WEST.

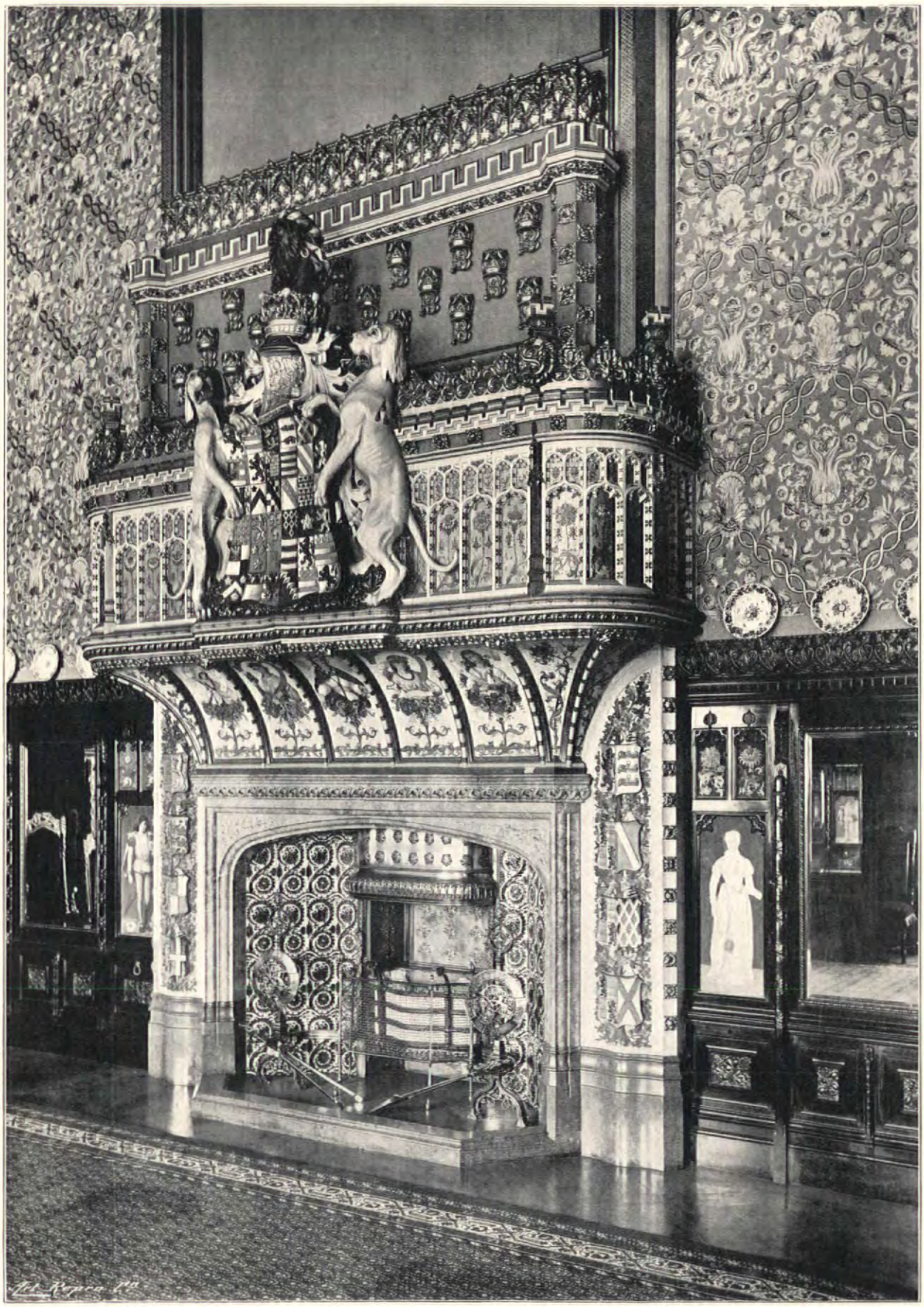
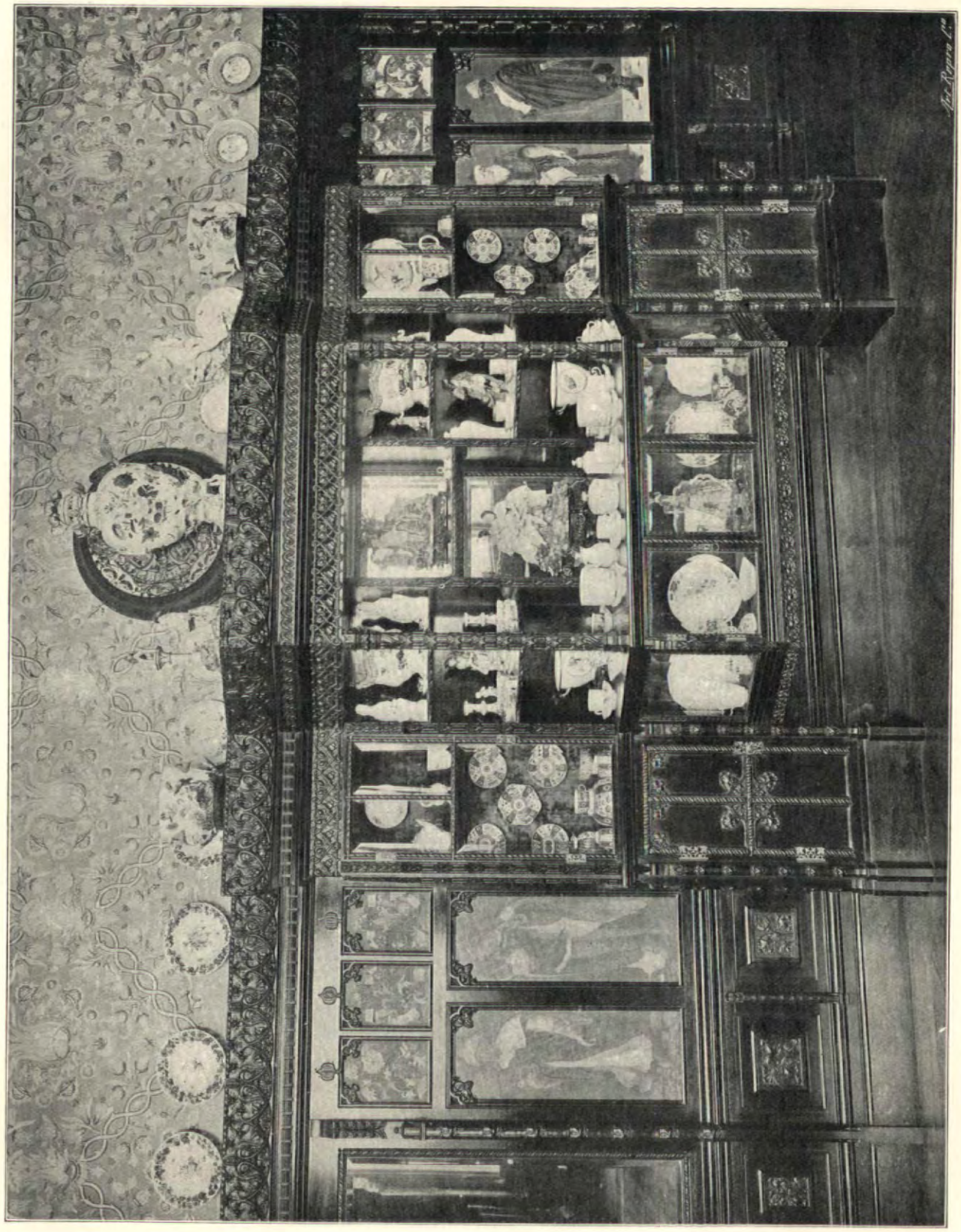


Photo: E. Dockree.

THE FIREPLACE, THE VENETIAN SALOON,
CARLTON TOWERS, SELBY.



DETAIL OF THE VENETIAN SALOON, CARLTON TOWERS, SELBY.

Photo: E. Dockree.

COTTAGES, CARLTON, SELBY, ON THE ESTATE OF BARONESS BEAUMONT.

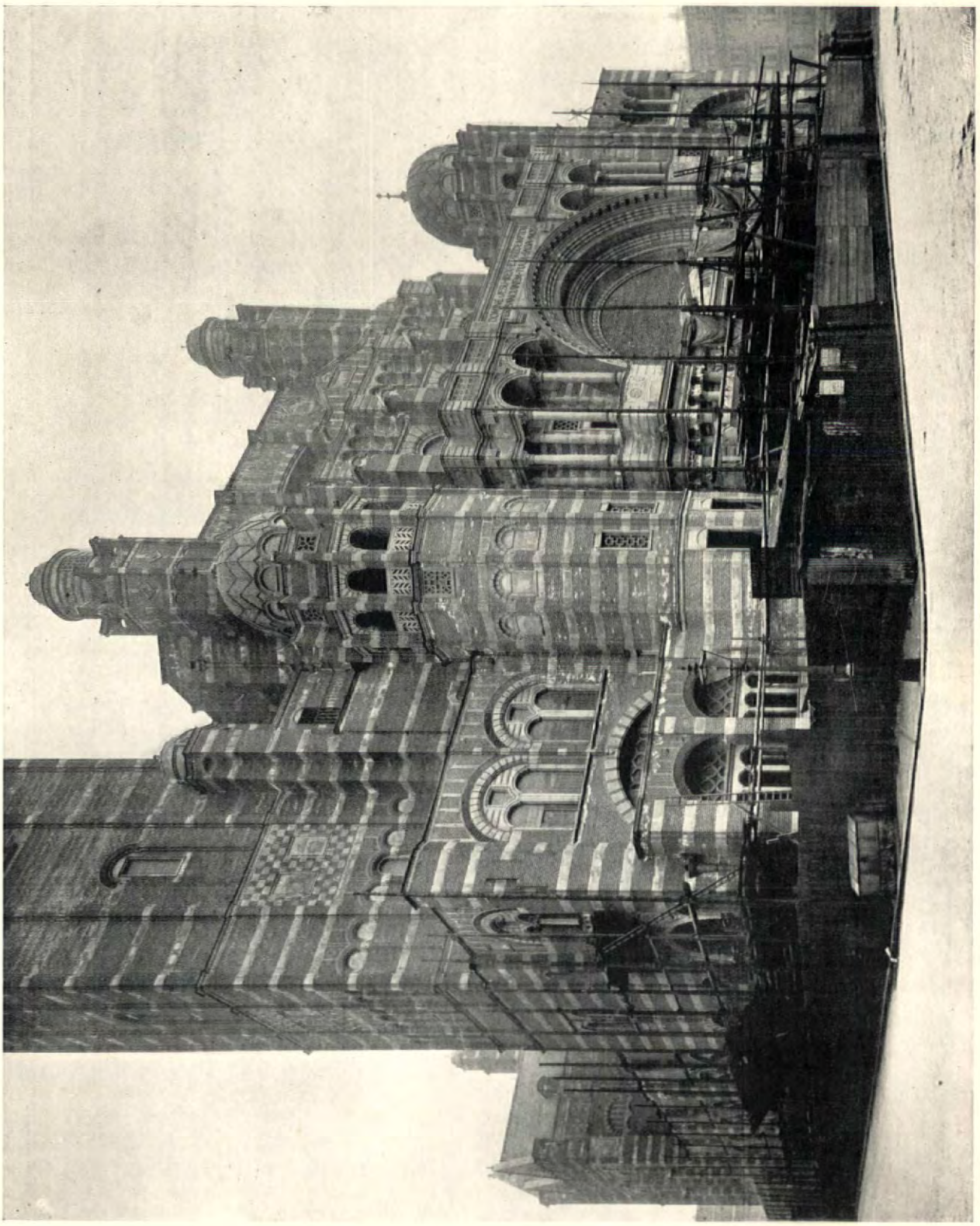
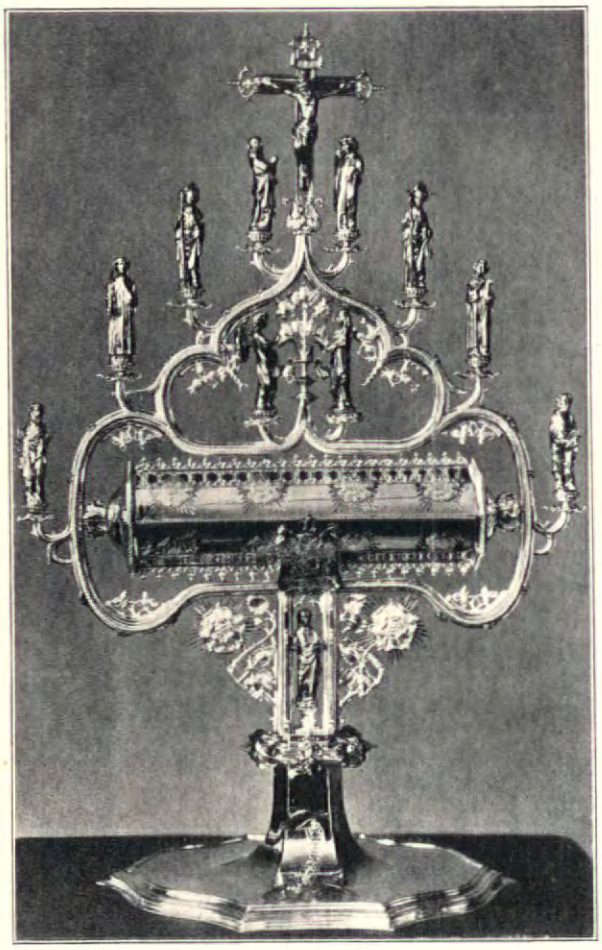


Photo: E. Dockree.

WESTMINSTER CATHEDRAL, FROM THE CORNER OF ASHLEY PLACE.



CASKET CONTAINING ADDRESS PRESENTED TO SIR STUART KNILL.

the composition being written perforce in imitation of the old models. With such a man as Mr. Bentley the score is minutely finished—the tempi are all indicated by metronome marks, the bowing and the fingering of the strings prescribed, the phrasing and nuances described as well as words may do them. But in the composer's as in the poet's case, the music can be denoted in writing on paper, and, moreover, the composer can perform on all, or nearly all, the instruments for which he writes. The art of the symphony is quite a young art; yet has already reached its term, and belongs to yesterday, not to-day. Mr. Bentley, with his gifts of imagination, his stores of knowledge and critical observation, his thoroughness and whole-hearted sincerity, has been a contributor towards the progress of the art of architecture; and we, his successors, recognising that in the main his work is done and that life long enough was granted him to achieve his work, are grateful to him for this achievement and the fresh impulse he has bequeathed us—so that we think proudly, as well as regretfully, that "he has shook hands with Time."

HALSEY RICARDO.

SOME LEONARDESQUE QUESTIONS.

LAST year, I was asked by my friend, Mr. Lawrence Binyon, to write an account of Leonardo da Vinci and his art, for the series of handbooks to the old masters, published by the Unicorn Press. I attempted to accomplish this somewhat difficult task by translating and annotating Vasari's life of Leonardo: and, in the course of some researches for the annotations, I was enabled to elucidate several questions more fully, I believe, than has hitherto been done. A document which relates to the altar-piece begun by Leonardo for the High Altar of the Annunziata, having come to my hands since my little volume on Leonardo was in print, I have taken the opportunity to publish and illustrate it, in the first part of the present article: the latter part dealing with the lost painting of the "Battle of Anghiari," will appear in the book, but in a somewhat modified form.

I.

Within some three months after the fall of Lodovico, Il Moro, and the surrender of Milan to Louis XII. of France, in September, 1499, Leonardo set out for Venice in search of a new patron, accompanied by his assistant, Salai, and Luca Pacioli, the mathematician. On their way thither, they made a brief stay at Mantua, where Leonardo drew the portrait of the famous Isabella d'Este, the wife of Giovan Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua: this is, no doubt, the beautiful drawing now in the Louvre, No. 390. After a brief stay in Venice, Leonardo set out for Florence in company with Salai. He arrived there previously to 24th April, 1500, for on that day he drew from the Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, 50 of the 600 gold florins which he had deposited with the authorities of the hospital by a letter of exchange, on 14th December, 1499, before starting for Venice.* It was under these circumstances that Leonardo, a fugitive from Milan, without patrons or employment, obtained the commission to paint the altarpiece of the High Altar of the Santissima Annunziata, at Florence. "He returned to Florence," says Vasari, "where he found that the Servite Friars had commissioned Filippino to paint the panel for the High Altar of the Annunziata; at which Leonardo said that he would gladly have executed such a work. Whereupon Filippino having heard it, like the

* G. Uzielli, "Ricerche intorno a Leonardo da Vinci," ed. 1872–84, pp. 164–5.

amiable person that he was, withdrew from the undertaking; and the friars, in order that Leonardo might paint it, took him into their house, bearing the charges of himself and his family; and in this way, he put them to trouble and expense a long time, yet never began anything. At length he made a cartoon wherein was a Madonna and a St. Anne with a Christ, which not only caused all the artificers to marvel, but when it was finished, men and women, young and old, continued for two days together to flock as if to a solemn festival, to the room where it was, in order to behold the marvels of Leonardo, which caused all those people to be astonished; for in the countenance of that Madonna was seen whatever of the simple and beautiful can by simplicity and beauty lend grace to an image of the Mother of Christ; for he wished to show that modesty and that humility which should be in a figure of the Virgin, wholly content with joy at seeing the beauty of her son, whom she holds with tenderness in her lap: the while that with most chastened gaze, she was regarding St. John, as a little child, who was playing below with a lamb; not without a smile from St. Anne who, overflowing with gladness, was beholding her earthly progeny become divine; conceptions born, indeed, of the very intellect and brain of Leonardo. This cartoon, as will be related below, was afterwards taken to France." *

I have recently found in the course of my researches in the Archivio di Stato at Florence, a document which fixes, at least approximately, the date at which Leonardo received the commission to execute this altar-piece, and which undoubtedly lends a greater air of probability to Vasari's story. Among the archives of the Annunziata, which came to the Archivo on the suppression of the monastery, is a manuscript volume containing various "Memorials" of the convent. The last item in this volume consists of some unfinished "Memorie," inscribed on the fly-leaf:—"This book is of the convent and friars of the Nunziata of Florence, and in it are written all the memorable matters relating to the said convent [&c.]. This same book was begun on the 1st of June, 1587 [&c.]. Written by the hand of me, M°. Eliseo di Jacopo di Francesco Biffoli, Florentine, and put together with very great labour and length of time [&c.]" An examination of the volume shows that its contents were drawn from original documents then preserved among the archives of the monastery. On fol. 14, recto, of this article occurs the following account of the High Altar of the church:—"On the 15th September, 1500, Fra Zaccheria di Lorenzo, of Florence, friar of the Nunziata, desiring to honour the chapel of the High Altar [*i.e.*, the circular tribune which had been begun by Lodovico Gonzaga, Marchese di Mantova, in 1444, from the designs of Leon Battista Alberti], with the money accruing from his own honourable labours, inasmuch as the High Altar stood in need of ornament conformable to the building which had been erected by the illustrious Signor Marchese, sought means to put the work into execution, seeking out able men both in painting and carving; and since the genius of Bartolommeo d'Agnolo, the wood-worker at Santa Maria in Campo, flourished greatly in those times, he therefore agreed with him that, whereas he had made a design which had given great satisfaction, he should execute the altar for him in wood, both finely and well, as may still be seen: and withal that the work might be the more meritorious, the said Bartolommeo was content for a church so celebrated, and at so honoured a shrine, to recoup only his outlay; and so he agreed with the said father to properly carry out the design and make a work worthy of himself; namely, with pilasters, cornice, frieze, architrave, and whatever pertained to it, all worked in wood, for the price of 250 gold scudi: and this work the said Bartolommeo promised to deliver finished before the end of June, 1502, under a penalty of 50 scudi, failing to perform it. Of all these compacts there appears a writing on paper, engrossed by the hand of Bernardo di Giovanni Mini, at the request of the aforesaid persons, and subscribed by their proper hands, mutually promising their due observance: and on the back of the same writing it is recorded that the said Fra Zaccheria, paid on the 1st October, 1500, 50 scudi on this account, to the said Bartolommeo."*

Although the writer of this "ricordo" does not give the name of master "ualente in dipingnere," whom Fra Zaccheria sought out in September, 1500, to execute the paintings for the altar-piece which Baccio d'Agnolo was commissioned to execute on the 15th of that month, there is every reason to believe Vasari's statement that, in the first instance (and presumably at the same time that the wood-work was given to Baccio d'Agnolo) these paintings were given to Filippino Lippi, and that he afterwards yielded the commission to Leonardo, who had happened to say in his hearing that he would gladly have executed such a work. More than this, we possess independent evidence which bears out Vasari's statement that Leonardo, after living for some time at the expense of the monastery, without beginning any-

* Vasari, ed. 1568, Vol. II., p. 8.

* The text of this document is printed at the end of this article.

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD IN THE LAP OF ST. ANNE.

(From the Painting by Leonardo da Vinci, in the Louvre.)

thing, at length made a cartoon of a Madonna and a St. Anne, with a Christ. A letter written on the 3rd April, 1501, by Fra Pietro da Nuvolaria, Vicar-General of the Carmelites, in answer to the inquiries of Isabella d'Este, contains a minute description of this cartoon. Isabella had written to know whether Leonardo was still in Florence, how he passed his time, and whether he had begun any work there: she was desirous that he should paint a picture for her famous study in the palace at Mantua, for the decorations of which Mantegna, Perugino, and Lorenzo Costa executed the four pictures now in the Louvre. More than that, she wished Fra Pietro to persuade Leonardo to make for her "a little picture of the Madonna, devout and sweet, as is his wont"; together with "another sketch" of her portrait, since her husband had given away the one which Leonardo had left at Mantua. To these injunctions Fra Pietro replies:—"I have had the letter of your Excellency, and I will do with all haste and diligence that which you write to me. But, so far as I can gather, the life of Leonardo is extremely variable and undetermined, so that he seems to live from day to day. Since he has been here in Florence, he has made only a sketch in a cartoon. It represents a Christ, as a little child of about the age of one year, who, reaching forward, almost out of the arms of his mother, takes a lamb, and seems to embrace it. The mother, half rising from the lap of St. Anne, catches at the child, in order to take it away from the lamb, the animal of sacrifice, signifying the Passion. St. Anne, rising a little from where she is sitting, seems desirous to restrain her daughter from separating the child from the lamb: which, perhaps, is intended to figure the Church, that would not wish that the Passion of Christ should be hindered. And these figures are as large as life, but they are contained in a small cartoon, since all of them sit, or are bent; and the one figure [of the Virgin] is somewhat before the other [of St. Anne], turned towards the left hand. And this sketch is not as yet finished. He has not executed any other work, except that his two assistants paint portraits, and he, at times, lends a hand to one or another of them. He gives profound study to geometry, and grows most impatient of painting."*

From this letter, then, it is clear that the composition of this cartoon was identical with that of the painting of the "Virgin and Child, with St. Anne," now in the Louvre, No. 1598; and that Vasari, who in all likelihood never saw either the cartoon or the painting, but wrote his description from hearsay, was in error when he stated that it contained a figure of St. John. It is also clear, from this letter, that the beautiful cartoon of the same subject, preserved in the Diploma Gallery of the Royal Academy in London, cannot be the cartoon to which Fra Pietro alludes. Whether it was a preliminary study for the altar-piece, or, as its size suggests a wholly different design for a smaller and independent picture, is a question which we have no means of determining.* I may add that a sketch for the composition of the picture in the Louvre, is in the Academy, at Venice; a study for the head of the Virgin in the collection of Dr. Mond; and another study for some of the draperies is in the Louvre.

Leonardo, we know, was still in Florence at the beginning of May, 1502. On the 13th June, 1502, Cæsar Borgia set out for Rome to resume his savage campaign in the Romagna; and on the 21st of the same month, he had already made himself master of Urbino. Before the month had elapsed, Leonardo had entered Borgia's service, in the capacity of his Architect and Engineer General. One of the note-books of the master contains several entries which show that he was at Urbino superintending military works, shortly after it had fallen into the hands of Cæsar Borgia. One of these entries, a note on the construction of a dove-cot at Urbino, is dated 30th July, 1502.† After waiting in vain for nearly three years, the monks of the Annunziata resolved to give the picture of the High Altar, as Vasari relates, "once more to Filippino;" and I find in the manuscript "Memorials" of the Annunziata, which I have cited above, the following entry:—"1503. In this year, Fra Zaccheria, aforesaid, gave the picture of the High Altar, with those other figures, to Filippo di Filippo Lippi to paint, for the price of 200 gold scudi, upon the condition that he should finish it by the feast of Pentecost, 1504, under a penalty of 100 scudi."‡ The work, however, was destined to be once more interrupted by the death of Filippino, on the 18th April, 1504; and finally on the 5th August, 1505, Pietro Perugino was commissioned to complete the painting which Filippino had begun.§

One question of considerable interest still remains to be answered: Did Leonardo begin the painting now in the Louvre, No. 1598, in the

* A. Luzio, "I Precettori d'Isabella d'Este," Imola, 1887, p. 32.

* An admirable article, by Mr. Herbert Cook, on this cartoon, will be found in the "Gazette des Beaux-Arts," for 1897. It would appear, from the indications which the writer there adduces, that it was done at Milan, not long before the departure of Leonardo, in 1499.

† Bibliothèque de l'Institut, Paris, MS. L., fol. 7, tergo.

‡ l. c. fol. 14, recto.

§ Vasari, ed. Sansoni, Vol. III., p. 586, note.

interval between April, 1501, the date of Fra Pietro's letter to Isabella d'Este, and June, 1502, at which time Leonardo had already entered the service of Cæsar Borgia?

It is evident, from the document which I have cited, that the woodwork of the altar-piece was actually begun, and a first instalment of 50 scudi paid on account of the work, on 1st October, 1500; nor is there any reason to think that the work was not duly finished in accordance with the agreement by the end of June, 1502. For this altar-piece, Filippino afterwards began the painting, finished by Perugino, of the "Deposition from the Cross," now in the Academy at Florence, No. 98; therefore, if Leonardo actually began the picture now in the Louvre, at this time, for the altar-piece of Baccio d'Agnolo, the dimensions of the panel would correspond to those of the "Deposition" begun by Filippino; for both pictures were intended to fill the same frame. But the picture in the Louvre measures only 1, 70 h. × 1, 29 w.; whereas the "Deposition" measures 3, 33 h. × 2, 18 w. We are, therefore, forced to accept Vasari's statement, that Leonardo only executed a cartoon at this time; which, he adds, "was afterwards taken to France." The picture in the Louvre is no doubt the painting of "The Madonna and the Child, placed in the lap of St. Anne," which Leonardo showed to the Cardinal of Aragon, when the latter visited him at his house at Amboise, on 10th October, 1516. "On account of a certain paralysis having seized him, [Leonardo,] in the right hand," adds the writer of the Cardinal's "Itinerary," "one cannot expect more fine things from him."* The picture, therefore, had doubtlessly been painted some years before: indeed, both from the internal evidence of the painting, and from other indications, it appears to have been executed, with the help of assistants, during Leonardo's second stay in Milan, and probably between 1508 and 1512, at the instance of Louis XII., from the cartoon which had been prepared in 1501, for the altar-piece of the Annunziata, but on a reduced scale. Vasari expressly records that Louis XII. "desired that he [Leonardo] should colour the cartoon of St. Anne."†

There is yet another point to be discussed in this connection. The altar-piece which Baccio d'Agnolo executed for the High Altar of the Annunziata, in 1500–1, stood detached, in the centre of Alberti's circular tribune; so that, as was usual in such cases, there was a painting at the back of the altar-piece, looking towards the choir, as well as the painting above the altar, facing the nave of the church. No doubt Leonardo was commissioned to paint both these pictures, "dinanzi e didietro," as they are described in the "Memorie" above cited; and it may be worth enquiring whether he prepared any sketches for the second picture.

* G. Uzielli, "Ricerche," ed. 1872–84, Vol. II, p. 459–461.
† Vasari, ed. 1568, Vol. II., p. 10.

II.

This brings me to the second question, which I shall endeavour to elucidate. At what date, and under what circumstances, was the portion of the famous "Battle of Anghiari," which Leonardo actually executed on the wall of the Sala Grande at Florence, and which is commonly known as the "Battle of the Standard," destroyed? But first let me attempt to give the history of this famous painting, in brief.

As yet, the precise date at which Leonardo quitted the service of Cæsar Borgia has not been ascertained; but it was certainly not earlier than October, 1502, and not later than March, 1503; for on the 4th March, 1503, Leonardo had returned to Florence, and drew 50 florins from the Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova.* "By reason of the excellence of the works of this most divine artificer," says Vasari, "his fame so increased that all persons who delighted in art—indeed, the entire city of Florence,—desired that he should leave them some memorial; and the means were discussed to commission him to execute some notable and great work, by which the commonwealth might be adorned and honoured by such intellect, grace and judgment, as were shown in the works of Leonardo." Vasari proceeds to relate that "it was ordained by public decree, that some splendid work should be given to Leonardo to paint;" and so the Great Council Chamber was allotted to him, by Piero Soderini, then Gonfalonier of Justice.†

The Great Council Chamber, or Sala dei Cinquecento, as it is now called, was begun in July, 1495, from the designs of Il Cronaca, and hurriedly finished in May, 1496, to serve for the assemblies of the Consiglio Maggiore, instituted by Savonarola.‡ It was erected at the back of the original portion of the Palazzo Vecchio, on the site of the old offices of the Bargello and the Dogana. Leonardo, as I have shown, had returned to Florence by 4th March, 1503; but it was not until the following 24th October that the keys of the Sala del Papa, an apartment in Santa Maria Novella, were ordered to be delivered to him.§ Here, as Vasari relates, Leonardo began a cartoon of "The Story of Niccolò Piccinino, Captain of Duke Filippo of Milan." Again there

* G. Uzielli, "Ricerche," ed. 1872–84, Vol. I., p. 164.
† Vasari, ed. 1568, Vol. II., p. 9.
L. Landucci, "Diario," pp. 112 and 131.
§ Vasari, ed. Sansoni, Vol. IV., p. 43, note.

A COPY OF A PORTION OF THE "BATTLE OF THE STANDARD."
BY LEONARDO DA VINCI.
(From a 16th Century drawing in the British Museum.)

was a delay; and though the stage for the execution of the cartoon had been built by the following February,* it was not till 4th May, 1504, that the contract for the work was definitely settled by a resolution of the Signoria of Florence. By the terms of this contract, it was stipulated that the cartoon was to be finished by February, 1505, and that Leonardo was to receive 15 gold florins the month, reckoning from 20th April, 1504. If the work was not finished by the stipulated time, Leonardo was to pay back the entire sum which he had received. The execution of the painting was to be determined by a further contract.† The cartoon appears to have been duly finished; for, on 28th February, 1505, certain payments were made for the erection of the stage in the Sala dei Cinquecento, to enable Leonardo to begin the painting. From that time, till 30th August, 1505, a series of entries of payments made for gesso, linseed oil, colours, etc., occur in the books of the "Operai," or Wardens of the Works, of the Palazzo della Signoria.* But before these payments had come to an end, Leonardo had already gone back to his mathematical studies. A treatise in his handwriting, preserved in the South Kensington Museum, bears the inscription: "Begun by me, Leonardo da Vinci, on the 12th day of July, 1505, the book entitled, 'Of the transmutation of one body into another, without diminution or accretion of matter.'"† On the 30th May, 1506, Leonardo obtained permission to leave the city, "on condition that he would present himself,

* J. Gaye, "Carteggio inedito," Vol. II., p. 88.
† Vasari, ed. Sansoni, Vol. IV., p. 44, note.

* J. Gaye, "Carteggio inedito," Vol. II., pp. 89-90.
† Forster Collection, MS. No. I., fol. 1, recto and tergo.

within the space of three months, before the Priors of Florence, under a penalty of 150 gold ducats;" and the painting of the "Battle of Anghiari" was destined never to be resumed. Vasari says that Leonardo abandoned the painting, because he found that the colour was flaking from the wall. The Anonimo Gaddiano,* who is more explicit, adds that Leonardo "took the stucco on which he coloured, from Pliny, but that he did not well understand it: and the first time that he tried it in the Sala del Papa, in which place he was working, after he had put it on the wall, he lighted a great fire of charcoal in front of it, by which, on account of the great heat of the said charcoal, he evaporated and dried the said material; and afterwards he wished to put it into execution in the Sala [del Consiglio], where, in the lower part, the fire reached and dried it, but above, on account of the great distance, the heat did not reach it, and it ran."

The group which Vasari describes, and which is known as the "Battle of the Standard," formed only an incident in the foreground of Leonardo's design. It was the one portion of the cartoon that Leonardo executed in colour on the wall. There can be little doubt that both Leonardo's cartoon, and the cartoon of the "Surprise of the Pisan Soldiers," which Michelangiolo prepared for the decoration of the same hall, were finished, and that both early disappeared. Benvenuto Cellini relates in his "Autobiography," that these "two cartoons hung, one in Palazzo de' Medici, and one in the Sala del Papa: and that, while they remained entire, they were the school of the world." Francesco Albertini states in his "Memoriale di molte Statue et Picture sono nella inclyta cipta di Florentia," &c., written in 1510—of which an unique copy is preserved in the Biblioteca Riccardiana at Florence—that the cartoon, or, at least, portions of it, still hung at that time in the Sala del Papa; "nel secundo [claustro di Sancta Maria Nouella], la sala pontificale, doue sono disegni di Leonardo Vinci": and he also alludes to the unfinished painting in the Palazzo Vecchio; "nella sala grande nuoua del consiglio maiore . . . li caualli di Leonar. Vinci." The Anonimo Gaddiano,† moreover, relates that among the drawings and other property which Leonardo left in charge of the authorities of Santa Maria Nuova, at Florence, on going to France in 1516, was "the greater part of the cartoon of the Sala del Consiglio, of which the drawing for the group of horses still to be seen executed there, remained in the Palace." At the present time, not a fragment of the cartoon remains; but several original studies for the composition are extant, which will be found reproduced in facsimile, in Dr. Richter's "Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci," vol. I, pp. 338-9, and pl. lii., to pl. lvi.

The fate of the painting of the "Battle of the Standard," which Leonardo began on one of the walls of the Sala dei Cinquecento, may be surmised with more certainty than that of the cartoon. Luca Landucci records in his "Diario," in an entry of 12th December, 1512, that the costly wall-panelling, and other fine wood-work, were removed from the hall, at that time, some two months after the return of Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici to Florence, in order to construct rooms for their guard. On 30th April, 1513, the "Operai" of the palace paid lire 8. 12. 0., to a carpenter for boards "to enclose the figures painted in the great hall of the Guard, by the hand of Lionardo da Vinci."* The unfinished painting was still to be seen on the wall of the Sala dei Cinquecento at the time when the Anonimo Gaddiano † was writing, between 1542 and 1548. A yet later allusion to the painting occurs in a letter of Anton Francesco Doni, dated 17th August, 1549, giving an account to a friend about to visit Florence, of the "things worthy to be seen in the city." "Having ascended the stairs of the Sala Grande," he writes, "take a diligent view of a group of horses and men (a portion of the battle of Leonardo da Vinci), that will appear a miraculous thing to you."‡ It would seem, therefore, that the painting was still in existence when Vasari, shortly after 1557, began the work of remodelling the Sala Grande, raising the roof from 20 to 32 braccia, and decorating the ceiling and walls with paintings.§ The ceiling was already finished in 1565, but the frescoes on the walls were not uncovered until 4th January, 1571-2.‖ There can be little doubt, then, that Leonardo's painting was destroyed to make way for Vasari's vast frescoes, on the walls of the Sala dei Cinquecento. Vasari himself is ominously silent on the subject. But there is a print on a folio sheet inscribed: "Ex tabella propria Leonardi Vincii manu picta opus sumptum a Laurentio Zacchia Lucensi ab eodemque nunc excussum 1558"; and its publication, no doubt, marks the date at which the destruction of the painting was determined upon. There is, also, in the Depôt of the Gallery of the Uffizi, a copy in colour, on a reduced scale, showing the actual

* Ed. Frey, p. 114.
† Ed. Frey, p. 112.

* J. Gaye, "Carteggio inedito," Vol. II., p. 90.
† Ed. Frey, p. 11.
‡ G. Bottari, "Raccolta di Lettere sulla Pittura, Scultura ed Architettura" Roma, 1754, Vol. III., p. 234.
§ Vasari, ed. Sansoni, Vol. IV., pp. 448-450.
‖ A Lapini, "Diario," Firenze, 1900, pp. 150 and 174.

state in which the painting had been left by Leonardo, unfinished and without a background, and I suspect that this copy was made at the same time under Vasari's direction, as a record of the master-piece which he was ordered to destroy. Besides the copies which are mentioned by the Commentators of Vasari,* there exist a 16th century drawing in the Malcolm Collection, Add. No. 1, in the British Museum which has been reproduced for the first time, as an illustration to the present article, and a large copy on canvas, probably of the size of the original, in the possession of the writer.

APPENDIX.

Firenze: R. Archivio di Stato. Conventi Soppressi, SS. Annunziata, No. 59. "Libro di Memorie," inscribed on the back, "Spogli imperfetti, Memorie e Ricordi attenti alla Chiesa, e Conuento."

The last article in this volume consists of two quires containing twenty-two leaves, with a drawing attached, in a wrapper, inscribed on the flyleaf:—

1587. Al nome della Sma et Indiuidua Trinita [&c.] Questo libro e del conuento e frati della Nuntiata di Firenze, nel quale si scriuerrano tutte le cose memorabilj, spettanti adetto conuento [&c.] Cominciato detto libro adi p° di Giugno 1587 [&c.] Scritto per mano di me M° Eliseo di Jacopo di franc° Biffoli fiorno, messo insieme con grandissima fatica, e lunghezza di tenpo, Tutto agloria di dio [&c.].

Fol. 14 recto. ALTAR MAGGIORE.

1500, Adi. 15. di 7bre fra Zacheria di Lorenzo da Firenze frate della Nuntiata uolendo honorare la Cappella maggiore de denari delle sue honorate fatiche, uedendo che l'Altare maggiore haueua bisogno d'ornamento conforme alla fabrica gia fatta dall' Illmo Sig. Marchese, dette modo di fare detto altare, ricercando ualent' homini si indipingnere, come nell' intaglio del legname, Eperche in que tenpi fioriua assai la uirtu di Bart° d' Agnolo legnaiuolo a Sa Maria incampo, pero conuenne conseco hauendo fatto el disegno che molto piacque, che lui gli facessi detto altare lauorato d'intaglio sottilmente, e bene, come si uede, e con tutto che l'opera assai piu meritassi, el detto Bart° pero inchiesa tanto celebre, e atanta honorata deuotione, si contento di star' in Capitale, Cosi pattui con il detto padre di mantenerli el disegno, e far' cosa degna di lui, cioe pilastri, Cornicione, fregio, architraue e tutto quello si conuiene, tutto lauorato d'intaglio, per pregio di scudi 250 d'oro in oro, Quale lauoro detto Bart° promette darlo finito per tutto Giugno 1502 sotto pena di scudi 50 mancando.

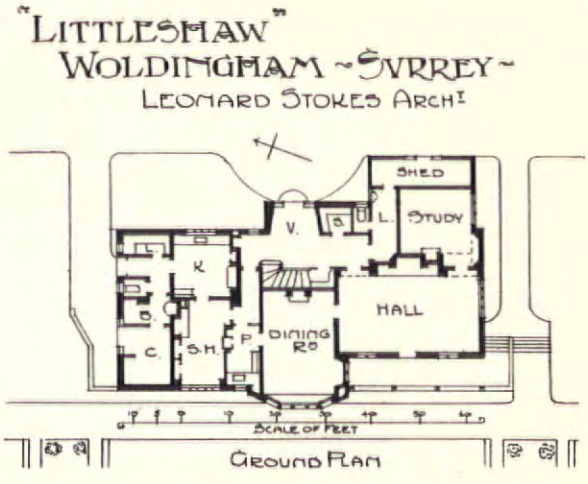
Di tutte queste conuentioni, n' apparisce una scritta in Carta bambagina fatta per mano di Bernardo di Giouanni Mini alle preghiere de detti sotto scritta di loro propria mano, promettendo l'uno all'altro l'osseruanza, E nella medesima scritta di dietro si truoua che fra Zacheria detto adi p° di 8bre 1500 sborsa scudi 50 per quest° conto al detto Bart°.

HERBERT P. HORNE.

* Vasari, ed. Sansoni, Vol. IV., p. 42. note.

CURRENT ARCHITECTURE.

LITTLESHAW, WOLDINGHAM.—This house is being built at the top of one of the steep hills near Woldingham Station, and the exigencies of the site necessitated the arrangement adopted. The house is to be finished with rough cast with cement "dressings," and it is intended to cover the roof with stone slates. The work is being carried out by Messrs. Maides & Harper, of Croydon, under the direction of the Architect, Mr. Leonard Stokes, of 2, Great Smith Street, Westminster.

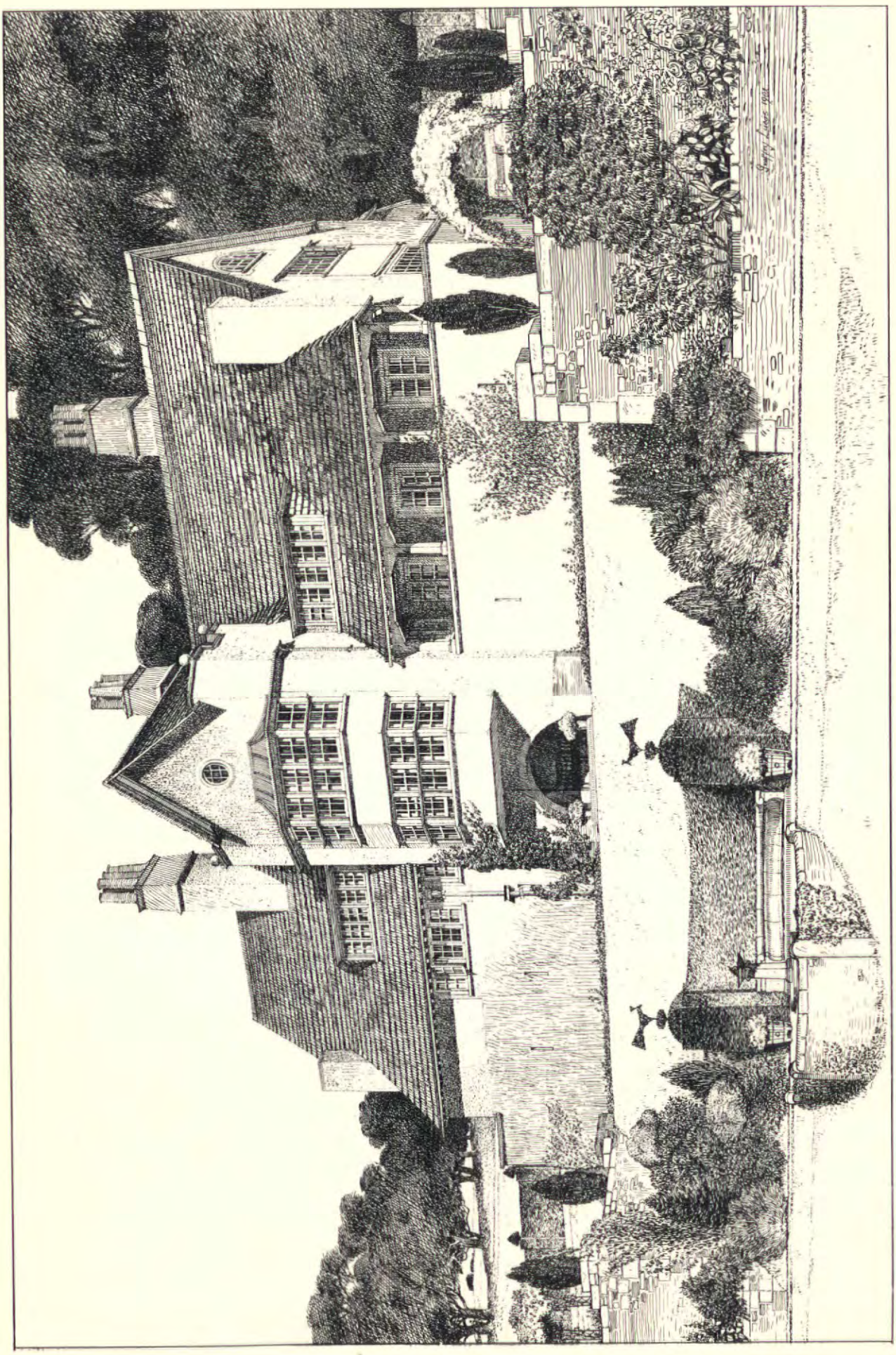


BOOK REVIEW.

FRA LIPPO LIPPI.

Fra Lippo Lippi. By Edward C. Strutt. "Great Masters" series. Price 5s. net. London: George Bell & Sons, York St., Covent Garden.

THIS book, appearing, as it does, so soon after Professor Douglas's "Fra Angelico," shows that in the matter of art criticism we have come within sight of the parting of the ways. The great talent and strong personality of Morelli enabled him to produce an effect out of proportion either to the novelty or to the extent of what he had to bring. But fashion swung round to his extreme, and those who lacked both his training and his gifts were not slow to copy his manner. He made a great show of opposition to



"LITTLESHAW," WOLDINGHAM. LEONARD STOKES, ARCHITECT.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle, who have suffered quite as much from their own bulk and weight as from his personal and pointed attacks; but just as those who had never seen a Jesuit took Martinus Scribblerus for one, so those who had never mastered the five big volumes of the "History of Painting" were easy to convince that the authors' method was out of date, and as easily duped into mistaking the echo of things printed for an original and daring departure.

The conclusion of the whole matter is not that the connoisseur is unnecessary, but that the connoisseur who is nothing else is as limited, and, therefore, outside his limits, as futile a person as the archivist who is nothing else. The conviction is destined to spread, that neither the connoisseur nor the archivist can go far without the other—that those who would do anything must work with both.

Fra Angelico and Fra Filippo, at two opposite poles of character and life, are brought together into one view by the common chance that so strong was their impact upon their fellows, that not only is it heard in history, but it echoes through the border-land of legend. Vasari's romance of Fra Angelico has proved so convincing and so refreshing to the great majority, who would always rather be edified by what ought to be than shown what is, that, in too literal accordance with the maxim *Beati Stulti*, they have allowed the saint in Fra Angelico to eclipse both his intellect and his genius. Meanwhile, the sinner has not been allowed benefit of clergy. Attention has been distracted to one side by the influence of Browning, who, snatching as usual at the obvious dramatic theme as it lay ready to hand, fashioned an image of Fra Filippo on his weak side and his lowest terms.

Even Mr. Strutt's industry has not been able to set at rest on a documentary basis the vexed question of the Friar's birth: but he follows Milanesi in placing it in the year 1406. With regard to the influences that contributed to the making of his style, our author holds not only that he profited by Masaccio's example, for so much has always been clear since the days of Vasari; but that he must have worked under his eye and instruction. Nevertheless, there are traces in his early works of a habit that even the strong contagion of Masaccio was powerless to cure, and Mr. Strutt has convinced himself that the guide of Filippo's first steps was probably Lorenzo Monaco, though he has no document to bring in support of the witness of style.

Fra Filippo's stay in Florence is divided into two periods, of which the first is a period of cautious advance on the line of his original impulse. The author's reversion to the old view of Crowe and Cavalcaselle that the tondo in the National Gallery (No. 1,033) is really by Filippo, and not as Morelli decided an "early" Botticelli, is noteworthy, as well as his suggestion that Pesello may have taken a share in the painting. Strangely enough, the index seems to have been compiled on second thoughts, for the picture is not included in the National Gallery list, but described as belonging to the executors of Sir Francis Cook, whereas it was bought as long ago as 1878 from Mr. Fuller Maitland.

In the second period Filippo's genius expands to the full under the influences that were stirring like the dawn-breeze in Florence. The vision of S. Bernard in the National Gallery must be assigned to this period, if the date of payment (1447) marks more or less accurately when the picture was finished; but, unless we may suppose that payment was delayed for some reason like that which induced the nuns of S. Ambrogio to keep the artist waiting six years for his money, it is obvious that, careless or in a hurry, he was not drawing upon his newly acquired full strength, but upon old resources.

The Friar's adventures at Prato are told, as they deserve, at length and in new detail. There is certainly nothing more remarkable in the annals of art than this story. The abduction by the chaplain of the nun who posed for the figure of the Virgin; her discovery, on trial of the world, that the view of it from behind the convent bars was not so wrong after all; the penitent's edifying return and renewed profession; "the glad monk's" return to his ways; the anonymous accusation; the double disgrace once more, and, finally, its consequences averted through a dispensation to both sides granted at the request of the Medici by a scholarly Pope who was himself the author of an admired set of love-letters—there is more of the real Renaissance in all this than can be tasted in the poetic fiction of Pater.

The career of the master closes at Spoleto, where, as he passes into the shadow, we become conscious of a new depth and refinement over and above the technical power already gained.

This book is, as we have already implied, a praiseworthy attempt to show the friar undiminished and in his true place among the men of the 15th century, "the greatest colourist and the most complete master of the technical difficulties in art of his time"; but the execution is hardly worthy of the endeavour. The case of the tondo has been mentioned, in which it would have been easy to be as accurate as any catalogue. But similar traces of hurry or want of care appear in some of the descriptions—for example, on page 92—while the plate facing page 134 represents Herodias herself, not her daughter.

Lastly, we remain uncertain as to the author's real impression of Filippo. On one page he is shown to us as the great interpreter who stands between Masaccio and Michelangelo, the man, in fact, as Michelangelo—who, of course, lacked the advantage of our lights—saw and admired him. And this estimate we hold to be true. But on the next page we are bidden to believe that after all his true place was "with the genre-painters," among whom, that is with the effect of the previous pages still upon us, we are as surprised to find him as they in Israel were to find Saul among the prophets. It looks as if the author had shrunk from letting his own enthusiasm carry him as far as, unchecked by authority or fashion, it would naturally go.

S. Arthur Strong.

GEORGE COURT, STRAND. DRAWN BY F. L. EMANUEL.

THE ARCHITECTURAL
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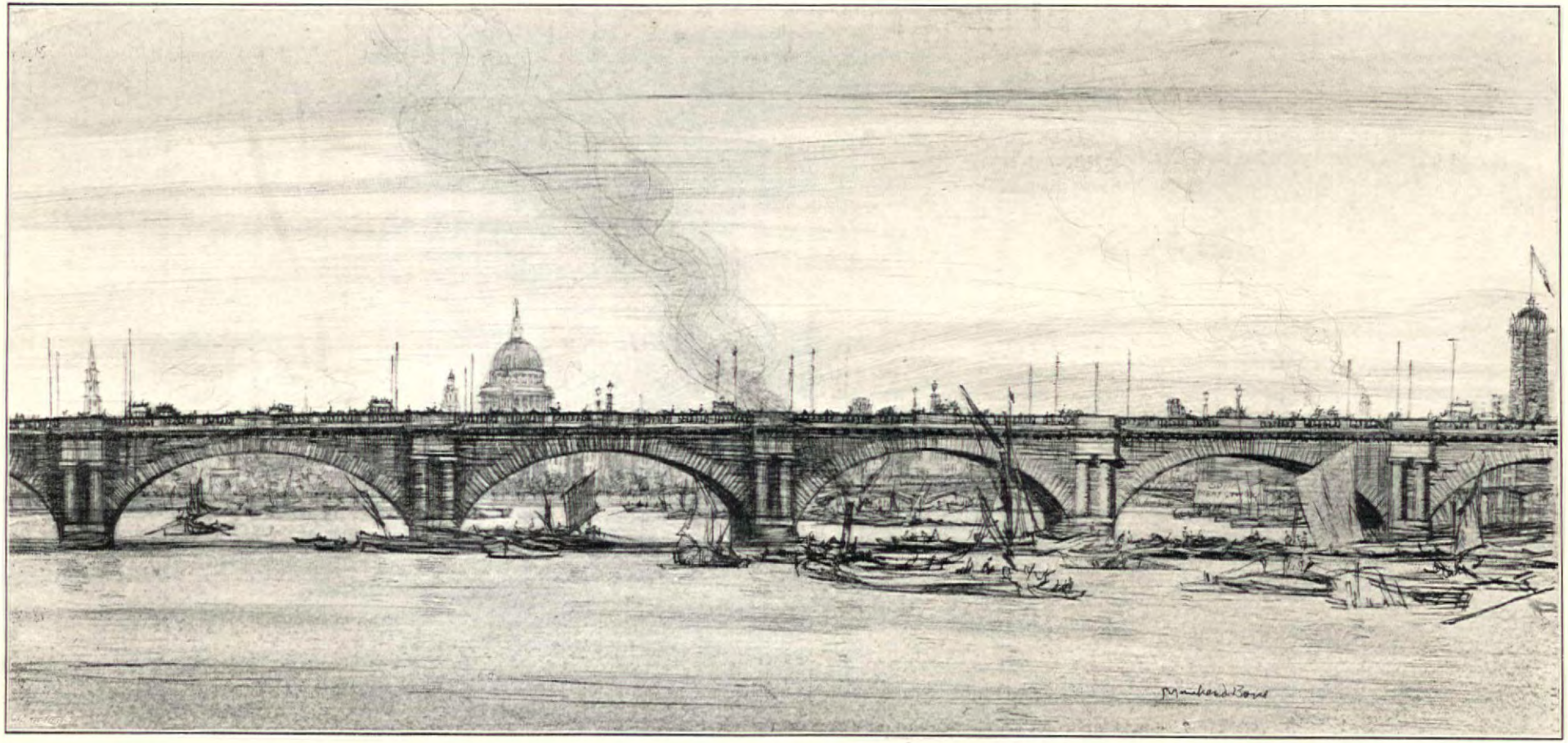
No. 69, AUGUST, 1902.



WATERLOO BRIDGE FROM THE WEST.
BY MUIRHEAD BONE.

The Life and Works of Charles Robert Cockerell, R.A.

I.—EARLY LIFE AND STUDIES.

CHARLES ROBERT COCKERELL, born on the 28th April, 1788, was the second son of Samuel Pepys Cockerell, himself an architect of some distinction, and surveyor to the East India House. His first school was a private one in the City Road; and in 1802 he was sent to Westminster, where he remained till he was sixteen, leaving at that early age to begin his professional training in his father's office. In 1809 he went to Mr. Robert Smirke, whom he helped as confidential assistant in the rebuilding of Covent Garden Theatre; and with whom he remained until the spring of 1810. In the latter year his father who four years previously had sent him on a tour of architectural study in the West of England, decided that he should have the advantage of more extended travel.

In 1810 Napoleon was in the zenith of his power, and by far the greater part of Europe was closed to Englishmen, with the exception of Turkey and her dependencies, not then more than usually disordered and unsafe. But this restriction was in the event most fortunate, for it directed young Cockerell's steps to Greece. I do not doubt that in any case the bent of his mind would have led him to classical models for the chief source of his inspiration; but the tendency was quickened by his travels.

In preparing for the journey the good offices of Mr. William Hamilton, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, were invoked, and Cockerell was entrusted with dispatches for the fleets at Cadiz and Gibraltar and for Mr. Adair, British Ambassador at the Porte. Armed with these, he sailed from Plymouth on 19th April in the *Black Joke*, a very old dispatch boat carrying ten guns and thirty-five men. The voyage was somewhat adventurous and excitement began early, for when they were only three days out a prize was taken. She was an English merchant brig, the *Frances*, which had been captured by a French privateer. Cockerell was of course entitled to a share of the prize money, but whether it was ever paid to him I do not know. The French prize crew were taken aboard the *Black Joke*, and one of them (I quote from Cockerell's diary) "told us he had great hopes of being set free again, for that there were two French privateer frigates off Ferrol, and when we came off that point on Sunday, the 29th, and I heard the boatswain sing out 'Two sail ahead,' we made sure we had met them. All glasses were out in an instant, and, sure enough, there were two privateers. Too proud to alter it, we held quietly on our course and they came quickly up with us. We made the private signals to them, but as the sun was low and just behind them we could not make out the answer or what colours they flew. Thereupon orders were given to clear for action. In a moment all was activity. The sailors stripped to their shirts, the guns were run out. Greville and I loaded the muskets and pistols. Every man had his place. Mine was at the stern in charge of the dispatches, ready tied to a cannon shot, to sink them in case of necessity, and with orders to make the best use I could of the muskets. We were all ready by the time the first of the privateers came within speaking distance of us. There was a dead silence on both sides for a moment, then our commander spoke them, and the answer, to our delight, came in English. They were the *Iris* and *Matchless* privateers from Guernsey on the look-out for the *Isle de France* men going into Bordeaux. A boat came aboard us, and I was not sorry that they should see our deck and that I knew how to take care of dispatches. It is wonderful how the animation of preparations for fighting takes away from the natural fear. If I had had to look on without anything to do, I should have been in a dreadful fright."

I will pass over the rest of the journey, which was very slow, for Constantinople was not reached till the end of May. Arrived there, Cockerell delivered his dispatches, and was soon introduced to whatever European society the place afforded. Among the friends he made were Canning, afterwards Lord Stratford de Redclyffe "the great Elchi," Lord Byron, and Hobhouse. He also struck up a close friendship with a young Liverpool architect named Foster.

He soon found that Constantinople offered no

field for really useful study, so in September he sailed with Foster for Greece in a merchantman. After wandering about among the islands for a time, they reached Athens in the early part of December, 1810. There Cockerell fell in with three very congenial spirits, Herr Linckh, Baron Haller, and Baron Stackelberg, who, with Foster, were destined to be his close companions in many subsequent explorations and discoveries. In April, 1811, all the party, except Stackelberg, set out on what proved a most momentous tour to Aegina, to visit the temple of Jupiter Panhellenius.

An idea of the lawlessness of the times may be gathered from the fact that Cockerell could descry from the Temple platform the pirate boats lying off Sunium. Already on the way from Constantinople to Athens his ship had been stopped off Scopolo by pirates, who however sheered off on finding the vessel armed. The explorers soon began digging around the ruins, and after a few days had done apparently all that there was to be done in the way of measuring and sketching. "But meanwhile a startling incident had occurred which wrought us all to the highest pitch of excitement. On the second day, one of the excavators, working in the interior portico, struck on a piece of Parian marble, which, as the building itself is of stone, arrested his attention. It turned out to be the head of a helmeted warrior, perfect in every feature. It lay with the face turned upwards, and as the features came out by degrees you can imagine nothing like the state of rapture and excitement to which we were wrought. Here was an altogether new interest, which set us to work with a will. Soon another head was turned up, then a leg and a foot, and finally, to make a long story short, we found under the fallen portions of the tympanum and the cornice of the Eastern and Western pediments no less than sixteen statues and thirteen heads, legs, arms, etc., all in the highest preservation, not three feet below the surface of the ground. It seems incredible, considering the number of travellers who have visited the temple, that they should have remained so long undisturbed. It is evident that they were brought down with the pediment on the top of them by an earthquake and all got broken in the fall, but we have found all the pieces and have now put together, as I say, sixteen entire figures." Objections by the headmen of the place to the removal of the statues were settled for some £40, and the treasures carried off to Athens which was entered quietly by night.

The discoverers rightly thought that so splendid a group should be kept together, and if possible sold to some Government. Each therefore wrote to his own minister, and Cockerell also at one time thought that Lord Sligo would become the buyer; but says he "Our Germans have named such a monstrous figure that it has frightened him. They talk of £6,000 to £8,000." £6,000 a monstrous figure for the Aegina marbles! One wonders what rich American collectors now-a-days would offer. Foster and Cockerell were so eager for England to acquire this great treasure that they wrote to Canning saying that, if she did, they would present their share to the nation; a really splendid offer, and one by which the possessors of unique treasures of art now-a-days might well profit.

By July the marbles were completely overhauled and pieced together. It was then decided to sell them by auction; so they were quietly packed off to a spot on the Gulf of Corinth, whence they were shipped to Zante, and entrusted to M. Gropius the Austrian Consul there, as agent to sell them by auction on the 12th November, 1812. The sale was well advertised in the various "Gazettes" and all seemed in good train; so Cockerell and his friends left Zante for Olympia and Bassae. But I will anticipate events and give at once the subsequent history of these sculptures.

In the autumn Cockerell reached Athens. While he was there an English man-of-war under Captain Percival arrived with £6,000, and orders from the Prince Regent to buy the statues and take them to England. It was a great disappointment to Cockerell that the auction arrangements prevented his accepting this offer. Soon after, in consequence of the scare of a French attack on Zante, the marbles were removed to Malta. Thither in November, 1812, went Mr. Taylor Coombe, of the British Museum, to bid on behalf of the British Government; but while he was waiting there the sale took place at Zante, and without opposition the statues were knocked down to the agent of the King of Bavaria. It is not possible now, even if it were profitable, to ascertain the reason of this fiasco; but it was a most cruel disappointment to Foster and Cockerell. The marbles now rest in the Glyptothek at Munich, and the British Museum has to content itself with casts.

Meanwhile in August, 1811, Cockerell with Gropius, Foster, Linckh, and Haller, had started on a fresh tour in the Morea. One of their first stopping places was Olympia, where they found that the digging necessary to recover anything from the silt of the Alphaeus was beyond their resources. Accordingly they moved on to Bassae or Phigaleia to explore the Temple of Apollo. There they spent some ten days measuring and sketching; but the men they employed to dig were very troublesome, and at last went away. Nevertheless the party went on with its work,

and one day Cockerell climbed into a hole where a fox had its lair. After scraping away a quantity of rubbish he found to his intense delight a very beautiful bas-relief, which he sketched and then carefully covered up again. Notwithstanding the explorer's conviction that the whole frieze was hidden under the ruins the want of men prevented their proceeding; moreover very soon afterwards the owner of the land appeared and forbade further digging. The whole party therefore left Bassae and went on a longish tour in the Morea, reaching Athens in October.

Travelling in those days in Greece was far from comfortable. Cockerell's diary is full of accounts of ruinous shelters, filthy, verminous quarters, and dangerous roads infested by yet more dangerous brigands; so by the end of this tour he writes: "We were glad to get to Athens; it was like home to us. For three weeks I had slept with my clothes on, without a bed and with only one blanket in which to wrap myself." It must have been a real love that induced these men to brave so much for their art's sake.

Later on in the same year, 1811, Cockerell and Foster sailed to Candia. They spent a month in the island, but the Turks would let them do no drawing. Thence they sailed to Smyrna, and were very nearly shipwrecked on the way, the anchor only holding when the ship was within three yards of the rocks. They reached Smyrna in the end of January, and there met Captain R. Beaufort, R.N., of the frigate *Frederikstein*, who was surveying the coast, and was a keen antiquarian and kindred spirit. Cockerell wanted to go on a tour through the Seven Churches, but Foster's susceptibility to other than architectural beauty interfered. He had fallen in love, and could not tear himself away from his charmer. Already in Athens in the beginning of their first year, Cockerell records that "Foster has received a love letter. A para with a hole in it, a morsel of charcoal, and a piece of the silk such as the women tie their hair with. This last signifies that the sender is reduced to the last extremities of love, and the idea that a sympathetic passion will arise in the receiver and make him discover the sender within nine days." And again at Siphanto in Candia, "Foster found nothing there of interest except numbers of pretty girls, some of whom were so pressing that he found it difficult to get away alone. The fact is, the men of the island being mostly sailors, are away at sea, and the ladies being left in a majority, make the love which in other countries is made to them." The result of this Smyrna romance was that Cockerell started alone on a trip through Sardis, Philadelphia and so on, and filled several sketch books with most interesting material, which, however, could not be adequately dealt with in a short paper such as the present.

In the end of April, 1812, he again fell in with Captain Beaufort, who induced him to go for a cruise in his frigate. It was a very pleasant one, but came to an untoward close; for on 20th June a party that had landed was attacked by villagers. Captain Beaufort was badly wounded, and a midshipman, Mr. Olpherts, killed.

The *Frederikstein* immediately proceeded to Malta, whence Cockerell sailed on H. M. S. *Haughty* to Palermo, arriving there in August. His first trip was to Segeste and thence to Girgenti, where he remained for two months. During his stay he attempted to reconstruct the great Temple of Jupiter Olympius. His theory was that the colossal figures, of which many fragments remained, were Atlantes supporting the clerestory of the cella. The results of his researches were afterwards published as an appendix to Stuart and Revett's "Athens." The three winter months he spent in Syracuse examining and sketching the walls, working up the drawings for his intended work on Aegina and Phigaleia, and learning to cut cameos and to play the guitar. I may here mention that it was not until 1861 that he finished, and the Dilettanti Society published his splendid folio volume on these two temples. In March he heard of the fiasco of the Aegina marbles.

Meanwhile, in the summer of 1812, Haller, Foster, Linckh, Stackelberg, Gropius, and Bronsted had obtained a firman from Constantinople empowering them to dig at Bassae, and had excavated and removed the whole splendid series of Phigaleian marbles. Though Cockerell had not taken part in this second expedition, he was considered entitled, as first discoverer, to a share in the proceeds. This time he determined that there should be no *contretemps*, so he attended the sale himself at Zante in May, 1814, when the marbles were bought by the British Government for $60,000. It is pleasant to dwell on the enlightened liberality of this act, and of the attempted purchase of the Aegina Sculptures. England had been at war continuously since 1793, and for many years had not only maintained very large armies of her own in the field, but had practically kept alive European resistance to Napoleon by lavish subsidies. The national debt was actually far greater than it is now, though money was scarcer, the population but half its present figure, and trade far smaller and less secure. Yet in this state of things large sums were forthcoming to further the ends of art. Is this not a very trenchant criticism of the attitude of the nation towards art in these days of vaunted enlightenment and taste?

In completing the story of the Phigaleian

marbles, I have somewhat anticipated events, and must return for a moment to the previous year, 1813. After the sale of the Aegina Sculptures, and Cockerell's attempts to get the sale set aside, he and Haller returned to Athens; the summer was very hot and trying, and in August he was attacked by what must have been typhoid fever. His doctor, fearing plague, left him, and but for the devotion of Haller he must have died. He was bled and dosed with calomel till he was nearly dead, and then to stimulate his heart, which had almost stopped, live pigeons were cut in half and laid on his breast. It was a life and death struggle; but by the end of September he was convalescent, and two months later he set out on a tour to Albania, visiting Delphi and other places of interest on the way. The journey was one of much discomfort and hardship, but nothing worthy of mention occurred save a visit to Yanina and to the celebrated Ali Pasha there.

The party reached Athens again in February 1814, and soon after Cockerell went off, as I have said, to look after the sale of the Phigaleian marbles, of which he made many elaborate drawings.

The summer was spent in Athens; but all through the autumn he was troubled with bad fever, and his work suffered in consequence. It was now the end of 1814. Napoleon was in exile, and Italy was open once more to Englishmen; so Cockerell decided to leave Greece, and go there. Hearing of his intention, the old Turkish commandant of the castle on the Acropolis, who had taken a great fancy to him, and knew his love of sculpture, bade him bring a cart at night to the base of the Acropolis to receive a present, about which he maintained a mysterious reticence. Cockerell obeyed, and as he reached the rendezvous heard a great body crashing down the hill, and rushed to the spot where it came to rest. It was the right-hand slab of the south frieze of the Parthenon. I need not say that such treatment did not improve the sculpture, which still bears the marks of its adventure on its face. Cockerell, however, immediately put it in his cart, and shipped it off from the Piræus. He afterwards presented it to the British Museum, where it is to be found in its due place.

At last, very early in 1815, he and Linckh left for Rome. They spent six months on the road, reaching their destination in July; and now Cockerell began in one way to reap the fruits of his labours. Rome was full of foreign artists, among whom I need only name Ingres, Thorwaldsen, and Canova. All these, with whatever was most learned and most famous in Rome, flocked round the young explorer. In his own words he says:—"If I were a little more vain, I should be out of my wits at the attention paid me here. I have a daily levée of savants, artists, and amateurs come to see my drawings; envoys and ambassadors beg to know when it will be convenient for me to show them some sketches; Prince Poniatowski and the Prince of Saxe-Gotha beg to be permitted to see them. In truth, publishers and readers are so reduced to re-publish and re-read the Roman antiquities which have been given a thousand times, that the avidity for novelty is beyond measure, and Greece is the fashion here as everywhere else."

At last so much was he lionised that he fled for quiet to Florence. There he rose early and worked late at his drawings, evading as far as possible all publicity. But his fame pursued him, and was brought to its culmination by his work on the great Niobe group in the Uffizi. Acting on a hint dropped by Bartholdy, the Prussian Consul-General, he conceived and worked out the idea of arranging these statues in pediment form. To illustrate his conception, he etched a plate dedicated to Bartholdy, which now hangs in the Uffizi. This was a climax, and he himself writes about it:—"I had shown my drawing to several people amongst the ambassadors and distinguished persons here, all of whom, *de rigueur*, more or less pretend to understand art, and it gained universal approbation. I was flattered, invited, and made much of. Our ambassador boasts that the solution has been proved by an Englishman; others bow, and beg to be allowed to send copies of my etching to their Governments, to Metternich, etc. It was formally presented to the Grand Duke, and I have received from the Academy here a handsome letter and a diploma of Academician of Florence. It is to be published in the official work on the Gallery." I have it on the high authority of Professor Murray that this pedimental arrangement is now universally accepted.

The fame that now surrounded him brought him the first great professional opportunity of his life. He was asked to submit competition designs for a palace for the Duke of Wellington, but I need not say that his work of the last six years, intensely valuable as it was, could not by itself qualify him for practical architecture. This is his account of his experiences:—"Although my occupation on the Wellington Palace is a very honourable one, and the study and exercise of invention in the course of it may be profitable, yet I cannot help wishing I had never been invited to give an idea for it, for I have spent a deal of time over it, and it will add nothing to my reputation, even if it does not detract from it. If such a design was difficult to everyone, you may imagine what it was to me who had never

attempted anything original before. I composed general ideas, and finally fixed on one; but when I went into detail I found the difficulties increase immeasurably, and the notions which were plausible while they were vague could not be put into execution. Plan would not agree with elevation. Doors and windows would not come into their right places. I invented roundabout ways for simple ends. In fact I worked furiously, and first realised the practical difficulties of the profession . . Finding that to do the thing well I should need more time than I could give, I determined to make some small sketches, which, prettily finished, might attract attention, and show that I was in some sort capable. Finally I made some sketches, and sent them with an explanation to Lady Burghersh (the English Ambassador's wife) to forward them to the proper quarter."

Disgusted at his failure, and in a moment of disappointment, he wrote and asked his father to let him give up architecture, and become an "artist," but the request was refused; so he renewed his studies, and travelled all over North Italy, filling his sketch-book. Eventually he returned to Rome, and there completed his well-known drawing of the Forum. At last his long sojourn abroad was ended. In the spring of 1817 he started on his journey home, and after a short visit to Paris arrived in London on the 17th June after seven years' absence.

I have dwelt at length on these years of travel for two reasons. In the first place because Cockerell's claim to greatness rests not merely on his purely architectural work, but partly, if not equally, on his archæological and artistic researches. In the second place because I wish to show that his immense knowledge of classic and especially Greek art was no mere book acquaintance. He drew his inspiration from the fountain-head, and so steeped himself in the very essence of classic beauty that he may be said to have become in spirit a Greek of the great period. Hence it was that, when he applied his knowledge practically, there resulted not mere clever copying, but original work conceived in the classic spirit. His knowledge was a weapon with which he attacked his problems boldly, not a crutch to support a halting imitation; it stimulated instead of cramping his invention.

ROBERT PEPYS COCKERELL.

(To be continued.)

Veneranda Volumina.

You might think it the very climax of bathos that an author whose works during four hundred years have been issued and reissued in some forty-four editions and in six languages should in our own age and country be nearly unknown even among persons of education, and only read by perhaps a score of exceptional beings, who are mostly members of a particular craft.

The case is a true case; and this is by no means the whole depth of the bathos.

His name—but his name can wait; for, strange as it may seem, that is one of the things in dispute. He wrote, not splendidly, perhaps, but of a splendid art, and being found and cherished in the blazing century of Italian Resurrection, flourished in one brave volume after another, drawing continually to himself the idolatry of perfect credence and the flattery of imitation, without so much as a break in the reverent esteem of great men, till in the present century there came upon him, not merely the indifference of Englishmen, but a worse thing from Germany and Denmark. We expect scepticism from Germany, but in expecting it we do not localise the expectation upon the castled hamlets of the Lahn valley. Nevertheless, it was at Wetzlar, where the river girds the high-based castle of the Dukes of Nassau, that Councillor Schultz* first blew the blast that shadowed the name and loosened the renown of this dear ancient. In more recent days there came from Denmark another and a fiercer onslaught. The common Briton, who loves not this favourite of the ages, neither knows nor cares what outlandish threatenings taint his honour, but the few who keep a copy of him on their shelf, and the fewer who keep several, must have winced (however proudly they disbelieved) at the hard words that assailed their master.

After all, the breath of Danes and the spite of Germans are perhaps not such instruments of disrenown as the English apathy, which, to do it justice, is the ignorance of superiority rather than

* In a letter addressed to Goethe in 1829.

¶ Ma Coloſſi ſono ædificii: uel ſtatue maxime como gia furno in Rhodi & in Roma como Merforio & altri gia eſſendo facte in figure de li Dei p horrore niuno li uolea adorare. Neronene fece fare una longa cento dece pedi. ¶ ακρολιθον: in uno texto antiquo: ακρολιθορα: Significa cima ſeu ſumita di ſaxo: Quatro ſculptori operorno in epſo mauſoleo: cioe Scopas: Briax: Timotheo: & Telocare: Ma in lo ſúmo corno dextro il fano di Venere & di Mercurio: Vede quini como ſe loro lege pat ſeno dui templi ꝓpinqui luno al laltro: & lo Mauſoleo per il tertio. ¶ Salmacida fu gia Ciuita di Caria da una Nympha coſi cognominata eſſendo ueduta abraciata con Ermophrodito ſeu Mercurio ambi dui ſexi peruenerno in uno corpo: & fabuloſan te ſi dice per uolunta de li Dei remaſe tale ꝓprieta a quel fonte: che iui beue uel entro ſi bagna deuentaſſeno Androgini: pergenera coito a concipere creature che hano & uſano luno & laltro ſexo: confuſione & monſtruoſita mirabile: che quali e credendo tal mirando Arcano ſi como quelle prægnante mangiando lherba nominata Rimiſe. fano naſcere li figli con lo ſuperiore labro abſciſo queſta e certiſſima de quiſti Hermophroditi ne parla Ariſtotele uolere per lege non uſano ſe non uno membro gen tale o fiano agenti uel patienti & non como le lepore: Vede etiam Plynio & altri hiſtorici & medici. ¶ Ciuita di Argi queſta fu dicta dal Re Argo del quale ſe dira in lo libro quarto: Ma uede Diodoro Siculo libro ſexto. Queſta Cita e in Theſalia ſeu Morea: Alias fu chiamata Forena. ¶ Et in Aſia: Troczene Ciuita dil Peloponeſo: queſta fu ædificata da Pelope &c. Scrueſe in le græce hiſtorie che quiſti Barbari dil paeſe di Caria & di Lelega uicini de Rhodi furno conducti a Maſſalia Ciuita de Italia & iui fu conducto grandiſſimo numero di gente ad habitare: anchora doue era la prædicta fonte quale non e da biaſimare: ma li auidi crapulanti che per la gula & omaſo deuentano efœminati & molli. Et perho per la ſuperabundantia che conturba li ſpiriti interiori del corpo & anima: cõuen comouano epſo corpo a operare & digerire: aliter per la crapulenta occupatione confuſa che e in epſi ſpiriti uitali: excedendo di la racionalita cometeno qualche coſa externa & enormala: p quali errori ſon ſta ſtatute le lege che regulano noſtra uita humana: Ma il cibo ſopra ogni coſa: fa operare & erudire ogni animale: De qſti populi Caras Virgilio nel libro octauo del æneida. Et Plynio nel libro ſeptimo: & Diodoro Siculo & Strabone & Ptolomeo & molti altri digni hano ſcripto: Coſi de quiſti altri populi quali laſamo per nõ táto extenderſi: Ma che fuſſeno cõmutati dal duro & fero ceſtume Barbarico p la ſupradicta fõte uel taberna e da pareſcoſa credẽda (ſi p qualchi giorni poteſſe eſſer qſto) ma aſai pare difficillimo a permutare lanima & la naturale habitudine: quale poſſa perficere & reuocare la conſuetudine del naturale libero arbitrio

VITRUVIUS. COMO EDITION. 1521.

LEFT-HAND PAGE, OPENING XLII.

the superiority of ignorance. Of Vitruvius—you will have guessed his identity—the sensible Briton may say with a show of justice, "His style is bad, his 'facts' are superseded, and were they not, they are no concern of mine." Indeed, no one but a Vitruvian knows the pleasures of Vitruvius; and Vitruvians are scarce. His style, which "varies between immoderate diffuseness and obscure brevity" (I quote our modern arbiter of such things), contains violations of those rules that little boys observe at Eton and Harrow; he is, therefore, banished from the class-room and eyed askance at the Universities. This proscription does but add to the joys of the simple Vitruvian. There is a pleasure proper to the friendship of outlaws. Vitruvius is an outlaw, a literary bandit. The Dane and the German laugh at the admission, and add "pirate" to bandit. They say he stole, and accuse him of not only lifting facts from Varro and whole sentences from Athenæus, but even of the darker crime of pilfering a date and a name. A living Vitruvian, when he heard the culminating charges, sank for a day under the depression of his hero's exposure, but after a night of despondency rose to a new courage, in the sense that those two rows of stately tomes on his shelves were still unmoved even in market value, and that there still remained unbought—and for aught he knew unbuyable—the two editions that were still lacking to make his private harvest complete. Vitruvius as a man may be blasted out of all reputation; you may shear him of his date and his name; pitchfork him, if you will, from the Augustan age to the fourth century; turn him into a Pope, as some do, or a common clerk, as others demand; brand him a nameless, dateless, styleless liar; but he still remains the pet of Alberti and Fra Giocondo, the nucleus round which has been built up a whole library of comely volumes such as hardly another writer can show as his own. A pure bibliophile, anxious to centre himself upon complete possession of an author, whose works should outvie others in number, size, beauty, and period, could scarcely find in all European literature a single name around which so much superb book-craft has centred. This is not all his glory. I have mentioned two honourable men who hung their own reputations on his neck; they are but two of many. Become a Vitruvian, and you are brother thereby to a score of great ones. Do but buy a copy of the undated volume which Sulpicius exposed to Venetian daylight in 1486, and the very leaves you own may have been fingered, may have been kissed, not only by the Florentine Humanist and Brother Giocondo of Verona, but by Daniel Barbaro, Patriarch of Aquileia, Andrea Palladio, Cesare Ciserano, Philibert de Lorme, or any other of that host of artists and writers who had a hand in producing later editions or in modelling their own works upon that of this master.*

Vitruvianism, I admit, is a pursuit to be entered upon with caution. The expense, indeed, is not appalling, but the absorption of mind and house-room may become a trial to other members of the enthusiast's family. The chase is not readily dropped when once begun, and therefore the man or woman who values time and space may like to give the career a little cautious consideration before recklessly embarking. There is a disposition on the part of most writers to speak of money matters in general terms as if pounds and pence were purely abstract. In this matter I will be generous with facts. Vitruvius has been on the rise, but he is not unattainable. Indeed, his prices have hardly gone hand in hand with his rarity, and the collector who has gaps on his shelves will find them caused not so much by extravagance of cost as by mere inability to lay hands on a good copy of some lacking edition. The original "Veneranda Volumina" (to use the words of Sulpicius) † have been bought within the last ten years for £15, and this edition of Sulpicius is the *editio princeps*. The Elzevir, which has a great reputation and is a very dull-looking volume, can be got when it is on sale for twenty-five shillings. The Strasburg edition of 1543 ranges from a guinea upwards. Ciserano's, a marvellous volume, illustrious alike for its woodcuts and the hybrid language of its notes and translation, has been offered in Leipzig for seven pounds and in Bond Street for twelve guineas. It certainly is a most lovable tome. The fact that a Vitruvian paragraph is illustrated in it by a plan of Milan Cathedral, and that it contains among its cuts a supposed foreshadowing of the paddle steamer,‡ gives it its main value in some eyes. Others will see that it has virtues above these singularities. As a mere specimen of wood illustration it is worthy of all possible praise. Its date is 1521, and its author, who Latinises himself into Cæsar Cæsarianus, was, in 1491, one of the architects of the Milanese cathedral.

Two Florentine editions followed the Roman

* I discovered, after purchasing my own copy of Barbaro's translation (1556), that it bore the signature of Alphonsus Fraxinetus, a virtue which had escaped the cataloguer. Fraxinetus is Charles Alphonse du Fresnoy, the French painter (born in 1611) in whom the literary instinct so overcame the pictorial that, though he had among his contemporaries the reputation of having come nearer Titian than any previous French master, his fame now rests in a half-forgotten Latin poem which Dryden translated. Also I like to fancy that the G. V. in another of my copies may be the initials of Vasari.

† *Lector habes tandem Veneranda Volumina magni Vitruvii, etc.*

‡ Those who think it a paddle steamer betray the fact that they study the pictures without the text; the paddles are passive, not active, and the apparatus is a kind of marine cyclometer.

issue of Sulpicius, but the first illustrated version was that of Fra Giocondo in 1511. The two Junta editions of 1513 and 1522 made a derivative, though not direct, use of the same cuts, and the pseudo-Junta of 1523 added to their number a set of reductions from the Ciserano volume, a peculiarity which was also admitted in the Strasburg edition of 1543. Reduction of course meant redrawing, and it may be taken that such a laborious process of reproduction was a high compliment to the producers of the Como issue.

The Elzevir edition of 1649, to which I have already alluded, contains as its "most valuable novelty" the commentary of Meibomius on the chapters relating to musical notation. The French translations issued by Perrault (1673 and 1684) are very fine volumes, well printed and well illustrated. They are fairly common (the issue must have been a large one), and can generally be got for something under a sovereign.


DE ACRHITEC. LIB. II. 33

AVREA AETAS QVAE PRISCORVM HOMI-
*num uita humanitatisq; initium, & propter ignem sermo-
num procreatio ac architecturæ principium fuisse
dicuntur.*

E Homi-

"THE GOLDEN AGE." A PAGE FROM THE STRASBURG EDITION (KNOBLOCH), 1543.

The three-volume edition by Schneider, published in 1807, was at the time looked upon as the best and most complete version of the author; it had no plates, but contains notices of previous editions. It was followed by the edition of Marini and by that which came into being at far-away Udine. Both of these were copiously illustrated, and both contain full summaries of the work of previous commentators. I know a copy of the Udine edition, which, consisting of four stout quarto volumes, cost, I think, nine shillings.

A fuller account of the bibliography of Vitruvius would interest only those who already know all about the subject. Even a list of those who have paid him the compliment of modelling their writings upon the structure of his book might be unwelcome or tedious; but I cannot withhold the mention of one man of this class, "a polite, though not profound scholar, a jovial, hospitable gentleman;" an Englishman, too, and a Dean, who at the end of the seventeenth century paid Vitruvius the homage of imitation. The Dictionary of National Biography, whose motto is "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," has done the many-sided Doctor Henry Aldrich the unusual injustice of an omission in his biography. His anthems, his Latin epigram on the *causae quinque bibendi*, his compendium of logic (dear to the undergraduates in Clough's poem), his Catch on Tobacco, and his architectural designs —all these are recorded, but there is no mention of "The Elements of Civil Architecture according to Vitruvius and other ancients," a Latin work in which, to quote the words of its translator, "the author, ever ready to direct, assist, and encourage the endeavours of his pupils in pursuit of useful knowledge, compiled the rudiments of architecture now offered to the public in favour of the few whose happier fortunes permit them to join elegant with solid information."

Aldrich was not the last Englishman to handle Vitruvius. Newton translated him at the end of the eighteenth century, Wilkins in the middle of the nineteenth, and more recently the same task was done, and better done, by the scholarly Joseph Gwilt. To-day it is perhaps a fact that the very few who cherish his battered fame are Latinists enough to be satisfied with the text without clamouring for a newer English rendering.

Vitruvius—I mean the Vitruvius that the world recognized from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century (not the dismembered nameless scribe who is the residuary product of modern controversy)—was an architect of the Augustan age. That he was more of a writer than a builder was admitted even by his hypothetical self, but he seems to have been at all events to some degree a man of

practice as well as theory, and he claims to have served as a military engineer under Julius Cæsar. It was in his old age that he compiled the books which have more than fulfilled the wish that he might be held in regard by posterity. It is, as I have observed before, largely on account of his style that critics have looked askance upon him, and even among those who, in spite of all his faults, still claim him as a classic Roman, there are authorities who shift him out of the Augustan epoch, some forward and some back.

Unhappily one is bound to admit that the issue of the controversy (the question whether Vitruvius wrote Vitruvius, and if so, when) cannot be looked upon as wholly irrelevant. This is not a Shakespeare-Bacon affair. The literary and philosophic values of "Hamlet" and the "Novum Organum" would not be diminished by an ounce if either or both were proved to have been written by the same or by the other man; but with Vitruvius it is different. If he can be shifted altogether out of the age of Classical Architecture, his authority shrinks with the shifting.

The writer who most mercilessly drove his quill into the Vitruvian reputation—the Dane whom I have already mentioned—was Professor Ussing of Copenhagen. His attack,* a really clever piece of work, was translated at the expense of the Royal Institute of British Architects, at whose office (9, Conduit Street) it is, I believe, to be purchased. At all events it can be seen in the library of the Institute, where is also to be found a fair collection of the Vitruvian editions, and should any enquirer (hitherto unacquainted with the subject) be bold enough to follow this cue to the point of reading the exposure, and tender-hearted enough to feel saddened thereby, he will further find such comfort as I can offer in the first article of the *Builder* for 18th February, 1899, Vol. LXXVI.

But we are getting too near controversial technicalities. I will only add here on this head that the enemies of Vitruvius disagree in their lines of attack, and that one enthusiastic slanderer outproved his proof by conclusively placing the date of his victim's birth later than that of the first known codex!†

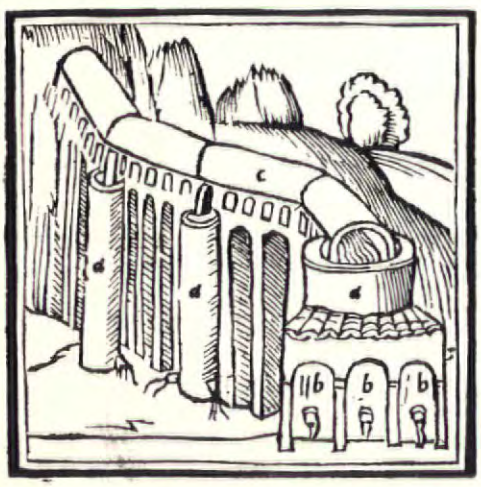
Let us abandon the conflicting facts of modern truth-finders, and resign ourselves happily to the realities of tradition. After all, to have lived four hundred posthumous years in honoured memory is a greater life than the brief threescore and ten under dispute. Vitruvius, I should think, has a soul by now, if he never had a body.

We have the volume anyway, and it is time to think of its inside. The third and fourth of the ten books are, perhaps, the most important to the writer's reputation. It is these which relate to the five orders, and to the various descriptions of classic temples. The second book contains some vastly interesting matter on materials and construction, the fifth and sixth deal with public and private buildings, and though the ninth and tenth books digress into sundials and catapults, they are none the less valuable to those whose minds are not bounded by the strict limits of building craft.

Indeed, the young architect, seeking at the outset of his career to know the proper limits of his mental equipment, will find his views liberally enlarged by the reading of Vitruvius' first book. The youths who nowadays chafe at the inclusion of physics and geometry in the Institute curriculum, and complain of the pedantry of learning dates, would be sadly borne down and oppressed by the list of learning with which Vitruvius opens fire. Draughtsmanship, calligraphy, and skill in geometry and optics are the mere groundwork of his

OCTAVVS. 141

mipede, eaq; ſtructuræ conformentur, ut minime ſol aquam tangat.



a. caſtellũ
b. triplex imiſſariũ
c. fornix

Cunq; uenerit ad mœnia, efficiatur caſtellum, & caſtello coniunctum ad recipiendum aquam triplex imiſſarium, collocenturq; in caſtello tres fiſtulæ æqualiter diuiſæ intra receptacula coniuncta, uti cum abundauerit ab extremis in medium receptaculum redundet. Ita in medio ponentur fiſtulæ diuiſæ in omnes lacus & ſaluentes. Ex altero in balneas ut uectigal quotannis populo præſtent, ex quibus tertio in domos priuatas, ita ne deſit in publico. Non enim poterunt auertere cum habue-

A PAGE FROM THE JUNTA EDITION OF 1522.

(The block copied and reduced from the edition of 1511.)

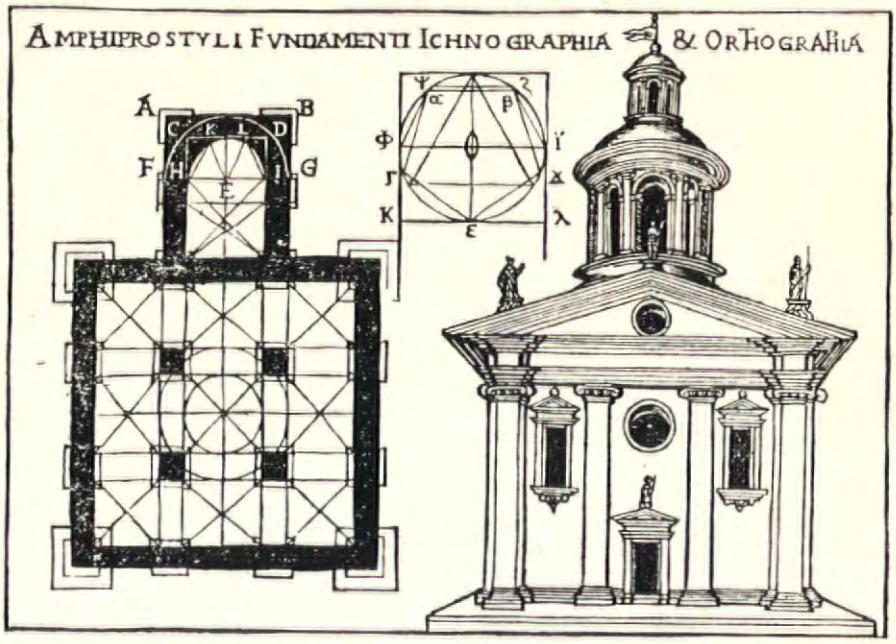
* "Observations on Vitruvii de Architectura libri." Translated from the Danish by Prof. J. L. Ussing, Ph.D., LL.D., 1898.

† *Viz.* Schultz, who was for identifying Vitruvius with that Archbishop Gerbert, who in 999 (a cool century later than the Harleian MS.) became Pope Sylvester II.

LIBER TERTIVS

¶Lo Amphiproſtylos: deriua da α μφι φ eſt circum & σ τιλοσ: ideſt columna quaſi habens non modo totum corpus ſed præcipue angulos antaros & circum columnatos: Queſta æde dice Vitruuio habere tuto quello che ha lo proſtilos excepto quelle columne che ha in lo pōſtico: cioe como la mediana parte poſteriore ſignata. E. L. M. N. G. quale e como tribuna poſtica: Ma Vitruuio uole Tantūmodo per breuita ſia como quiui ti pono la figura ſignata. A. B. E. F. G. Antata & ſi como e. C. D. H. I. uel como e la figura ſymmetriata del paruquadrato. ψ. ξ. φ. ι. γ. α. κ. ε. λ. Il cui diametro e. θ. Ma uolendo excipere il pentagono: poi hauere il lato Tēperato piu o mancho: como uedi da α. & β. aut como el Trigono γ. α. Et q̄ſta habiamo poſito piu per dimonſtratione cha per neceſſaria ſatisfatione: per che a li docti ſaria ſatisfacto la figura Proſtyla.

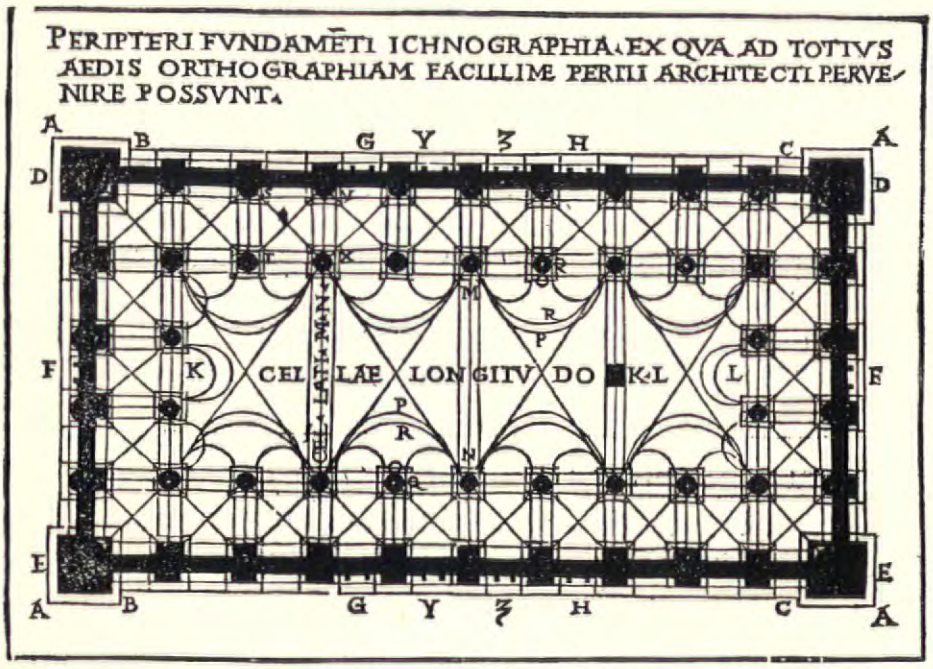
Lo Amphiproſtylos ha tute quellecoſe quale ha lo Proſtilos: excepto quelle che ha in lo poſtico a quel medemo modo le colūne & il faſtigio.



¶Ma il Peripteros: cioe lo circum: alato. da π ερι φ eſt circū: ſeu: de: &. π τερον græce φ dicitur ala latinæ ideo dicitur circum: ſeu de alatum: ſeu extenſe alatum: queſta æde alata ſi chiamara tanto in la fronte quanto nel poſtico eſſere hexaſtylla. le quale diſtributione commodulate le hauaremo in lo ſequente capo. Chi fuſſe Metello uedere lo poi da molti Hiſtorici che de .li præclari Romani hano ſcripto: nō ſolum da Plutarcho: Ma etiā da Liuio per qual modo fuſſe di cto Iouе ſtatorio per che el fece con una certa uiſione ſtare tirmo & cōſtante lo Romano exercito contra lo tradimento che ſceno li Sabini ut de muliere decepta diximus. Vnde Liuius i primo libro ad urbe condita ſic ait Romulus & ipſe turba fugientium actus arma ad cœlum tollens Iupiter tuis inquit auibus iuſſis hic in Palatio prima urbi fundamenta ieci: Arcem iam ſcelere empta Sabini habent. Inde huc armati ſuperata ualle media tendunt: At tu Pater deum hominumq; hinc ſaltem arce hoſtes: dеme terrorem Romanis: fugamq; fœdam ſiſte hic ego tibi templum Statori Ioui: φ monumentum ſit Poſteris tua præſenti ope ſeruatam urbem eſſe: uoueo hæc precatus: ueluti ſi ſenſiſſet auditas preces hinc inquit Romāi Iupiter Opt. Max. reſiſtere atq; iterate pugnam iubet Reſiſtere Romani tanquā cœleſti uoce iuſſi: ipſe ad primiores Romulus uolat. ¶Hermodio. fu nominato Mercurio p che e dicto interpte de li Dei. φ græ. hermes dicit. ¶Et a li Mariani ben che in uno margine de uno texto e ſta ſcripto Martiana ma molti dicēo Mariana: ideſt loci che ſono coſi da Mario denominati de li honori dil quale Mario legerai de la uita di epſo in Plutarcho & uederai li grādi honori & le aureæ ſtatue che gli fece apſentare Caio Cæſare nel Capitolio: ma Vitruuio dice che queſta Aede era ſi como quella de la Dea del Honore in lo quale templo nō era licito ad alcuni intrare ſe prima nō paſſaua per lo templo de la Dea Virtute: ad euidente cognitiōe quiſti dui templi furno facti: per indicare a le perſone: nō eſſere licito potere conſequire honore ſenza Virtute. queſta coſa ſi ha da molti digni auctori: coſi nō ſolum in Roma erano cōſtituiti li templi a queſte ſorte de Deæ: ma a molte altre: como templum Pacis & ſic de multis aliis conſimilibus ſecundum diui nos effectus: Et perho Vitruuio dice queſta æde fu facta da Mutio: cioe quello excellente & cōſtantiſſimo Mutio dil quale narra Liuio libro ſecundo ab urbe condita dil quale diro qualche coſa breuemēte: Quello nō hauendo potuto occidere il Re Porſena & in cambio di quello hauendo occiſo uno ſuo Canzellero: in præſentia di Porſena ſi bruſo la mano: minazādo aſaia epſo Re: dicendo che etiam. 300. Gioueni Romani ſono di cōcordia iurati occidere epſo Porſena: Et non hauendo potuto lui occiderlo che certo nō ſcampara da qualcuno de epſi ſoi compagni. Per la qual coſa hauendo ueduto Porſena tanta cōſtantia durata per il foco dubitandoſi per altri nō eſſere occiſo ſubito per queſto libero lo aſſedio de la Ciuita di Roma: Queſto tēplo aduncha era como uedi in la figura: ma circumalato: cioe in Circo facto in uolte ſeu formice coſi de piu grande forma facte entro che concludeno la cella: ſi como uedi per la ſignatiōe de le littere: & doue ſono le littere. F. ſono le porte de la fronte & poſtico: altre ſono de le ante exteriore: & doue. G. H. pono eſſere etiam le porte. uel doue. Y. & . Z. ma doue interiore e. Q. R. P ſono la eleuatione de li Archi contenuti in una: como da. M. ad. X. li altri ſono minori ſi como e. T. & coſi tuti li altri ſono eleuatione de le lunete ſi como. K. L. A. B. C. ſono procurrentia de li Anguli.

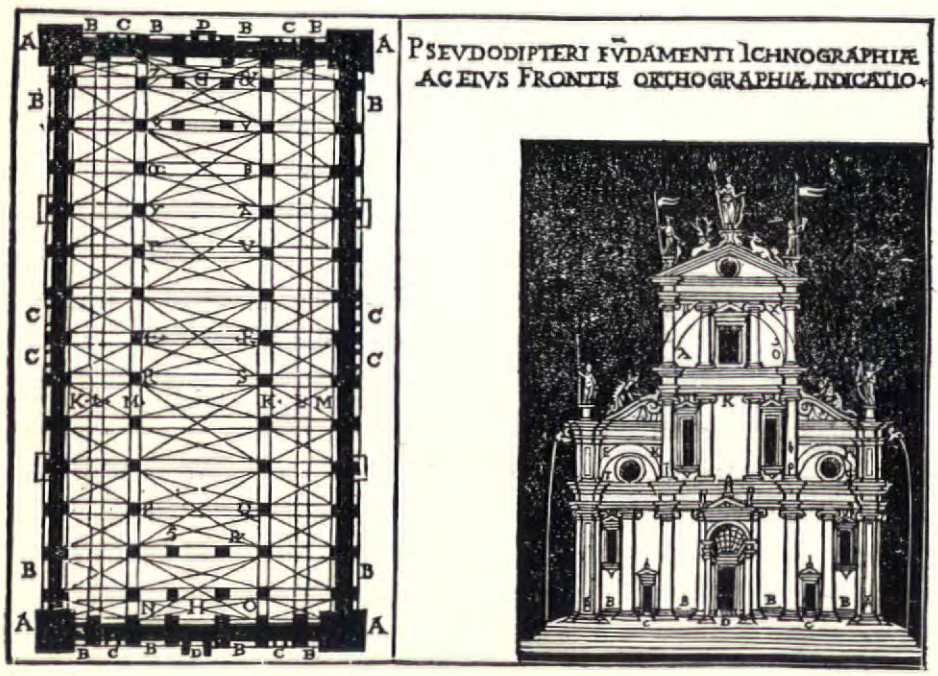
Ma il Peripteros ſara quale hauera in la fronte & nel poſtico ſei colume ne: Et in li lati con le angularie undeci talmente che epſe columne collocate che lo interuallo de la latitudine del intercolumnio: ſia da le pariete circa a li extremi ordini de le columne. Et habia la ambulatione circa la cella de la æde per quel modo che e in lo portico de Metello. de Ioue ſtatorio: o di Hermodio & a li Mariani il templo del honore & de la uirtute. facto da Mutio ſenza poſtico.

PERIPTERI FVNDAMĒTI ICHNOGRAPHIA. EX QVA AD TOTIVS AEDIS ORTHOGRAPHIAM FACILLIME PERITI ARCHITECTI PERVENIRE POSSVNT.



Ma il Pseudodipteros cosi se colloca: che in la fronte & nel postico sia no colũne octo: in li lati con le angularie quindece. Ma sono le pariete de la cella contra quatro colũne mediane in la fronte & postico. Talmente che de lí duí intercolũnií & cõmẽsurate da la ínfima cressitudíne de le colũne sera íl spatío dale pariete círca a lí extremí ordíní de le colũne. Lo Exẽplarío dí questo nõ e in la Cíta de Roma: Ma e de la Magna sía Díana, dí Hermogene Alabãdo: & dí Appolíne da Manestc facta.

PSEVDODIPTERI FVDAMENTI ICHNOGRAPHIAE AC EIVS FRONTIS ORTHOGRAPHIAE INDICATIO.



¶ Ma il Pseudipteros: cioe il falso dealato dicitur a pseudo qđ falsum significat: & pteros alatũ. In la fronte & postico di questa æde siano collocate octo colũne computando le colũne de le angularie ante. Questa fronte & postico si chiamara octastyla le antate colũne sono doue le lẽe. A. ma doue e. B. C. sono li parietali inter colũnii: Et doue e. D. iui sono le porte: & doue sono. C. C. intra le due littere. B. B. serano le alte porte: Et doue sono le littere. E. F. La latitudine de la cella. K: L. M. la latitudine de le Pseude & fortissime ale seu fornicate uolute qua le circuncludemo epsa cella: Et ben chel si po fare la longitudine di epsa cella da. Z. & da. N. O. & ponere etiam due columne directe al ordine che pono habere lo intercolumnio como e G. H. aut ponerle piu interiore si como sono. X. Y. uel. Z. p questo nõ si de uenustaria gia il corpo de la cella: Ma cum sia che questo ordine & distributione Pseudodiptera si potria in le fornicatione de la cella farle quadrangulare si como da. X. Y. γ. a. & non si como da. α. β. γ. a. uel. T. V. per questo non si deuenustaria ancho ra epsa cella: ma non saria di tanta fortitudine de la propria symmetriata compartitiõe. Aduncha mi pare meglio collocarla secundo la data symmetria cha pegio fare che dispseudare epse fornice: le cui grosseze ordinarie de le arcuatiõe distincte sopra le colume sono como e. R. S. P. Q. Et per piu intelligentia non solo ti ho posito la Ichnographia del fundamento ma la Orthogonale fronte. si como la poi considerate nõ solo indicata con le littere græce & latine che ostendeno le columnare assendentie ma etiam le uolute & fornice di epsa con li acroterii & imagine sculpte de epsa Diana & altri soi: ornati: Et a benche queste Orthographide fronte non siano secundo le uetustissime Romane uel di græcia & como Vitruuio le describe: tamen per che le eleuatione de la cella signata. π. χ. po essere eleuata piu che non saria dal Tympano mediano acroteriale unde si constitueria la littera. K. Et perho cum sia alcuni uetusti & anche qualchi periti moderni hano comprehenso potere constituire piu excelsamente la fornicale radicatione: unde sono le littere signate. λ. o. Per tanto sono cosi constituite: & con le feneste luminose. si in epsa cella: & si in le dealatione como sono circa le adherentie parietale signate proxime a le Ante le littere. B. & di sopra le fornice le littere. ε. κ. τ. i. seu θ. p. μ. φ. Ma tuta epsa fronte anteriore & posticale habia a quello medemo modo li ordini de le columne si como la figura ti dimonstra: Et cosi li altri ordini columnarii & intercolumnarii procurrenti circa li lati siano como iudica la debita imitatione de le ante insino al altitudine. E. M. con le coronidis &c. ¶ Magnesia est Regio Asiæ ubi etiam inueniuntur magnetis lapides albæ uti. Ply. libro. 36. Capo 19.

demands; the architect must know history in a general, not a merely architectural way, for "history," says Vitruvius, "accounts for the use of many ornaments;" he must know natural philosophy, which is another name for "materials," and moral philosophy, which is a guarantee in his eyes for honourable practice. His reasons for the inclusion of music in the young architect's equipment are, as it happens, obsolete. The modern designer is no longer called upon to tune the gut ropes of balistæ, nor does he fix sound-pots beneath the stalls of a theatre; but we have still to deal with the facts of acoustics, and it would not be hard to find two modern reasons for the musical education of architects at least as good as these two of Vitruvius. The rudiments of hygiene are now, as in the Roman State, necessary to our craft; and who shall quarrel with the fearfully prophetic suggestion that "law should be an object of the architect's study, especially those parts of it which relate to party walls, to the free course and discharge of rainwater, the regulations of cesspools and sewage, and those relating to window lights. . . . Contracts, also, for the execution of the works should be drawn with care and precision." Truly the Vitruvian panoply is a heavy one; the best and the bravest of us may feel, as he reads, the shame of some joint in his own harness, and take comfort from the assurance that Vitruvius must be winking (quite decorously) to his fellow craftsmen of all time as he puts pen to parchment over his final admission: "To the uninformed it may appear unaccountable that a man should be able to retain in his memory such a variety of learning."

I have said enough, perhaps, to indicate that the message of Vitruvius to the ages is not a dull text of purely archæological interest; indeed, if this be the idea of any of his intelligent neglectors, I could easily lay before them proof both of his sagacity and humour. Surely there is no tale in the ancient history of any profession to beat the astonishing, not to say instructive story of Dinocrates. You do not know Dinocrates? Not under that name, my friend, but he is rampant in what they call professional circles. Listen to his record, and then look for him within the metropolitan cab radius. This Dinocrates was a Macedonian architect of the time of Alexander the Great. "Alexander," said he, "shall be my client by one means or another." The first attempt was made by letters of introduction obtained in the usual way and addressed to the usual quarter, the personal entourage of the monarch. The personal entourage, as in other cases, didn't rise rapidly to its duty, and Dinocrates thought out a swifter method. He was, you should know, a man of size and beauty, and he resolved that his natural endowments should play their part in his professional advancement. "He put off his ordinary clothing, anointed his body with oil, crowned his brows with poplar, and putting a lion's hide over his left shoulder and a huge club in his right hand, strode into the royal presence." The effect was as successful as any architect could wish. It is true that a scheme for chiselling Mount Athos into the effigy of a giant (a proposal as theatric as his own "make-up") was rejected, but, as Dinocrates no doubt anticipated, it was followed by less fantastic though not less lucrative commissions. The anointed one was kept by royal desire about the person of the King, and in due time earned fame, fortune, and oblivion as the architect of Alexandria.

The power of patronage is again pathetically recognised by Vitruvius in his preface to the third book. Speaking of the Socratic suggestion that "a window in the breast" would be of use to mankind for the inspection of one another's thoughts and abilities, he says, with a sigh, that "as nature has not formed us after this fashion the talents of many men lie concealed within them. . . . However an artist may promise to exert his talents, if he have not money or connexion, or gifts of address and eloquence, his study and application will go but a little way." Again, "Some architects canvass and solicit work, but my preceptors instilled into me a sense of the propriety of being requested and not requesting." And surely this about the amateur architect is wonderfully true and keen. "No one thinks of practising at home any art (as that of the shoemaker, or the fuller, or others yet easier) except that of the architect; and the reason is that many who profess our art are not skilled in it, but are falsely called architects."

These reflections by Vitruvius on the perils and duties of his art are fitly crowned by the account which he gives of the law in Ephesus on the subject of "approximate estimates," a law which, though designed primarily in the interests of the public, meets, and rightly meets, with the approval of the author, as furthering the cause of architectural honesty. The Ephesian architect, before a public building was begun, lodged with a magistrate an estimate of the building's cost and the title deeds of his own property. If, on completion, the estimate was not exceeded, the architect received compliments and parliamentary honours. If the extras came to 25 per cent. on the estimate, the cost was borne by the Treasury and the compliments and honours were withheld; but if, on the other hand, the final cost exceeded the original estimate by more than a quarter, the excess was exacted from the architect's own property.

Vitruvius has been attacked for his style and

quando lo Coro, eſſi toſſeno. quando lo ſeptentrione, ſe reſtituiſſeno in ſalubritate. Ma in li Angiporti & platee non pono cõſiſtere per la uehementia del fredo. Ma il uento e una fluente unda del aere, cõ incerta redundantia del moto. El naſce quãdo il feruore offende lo humore, & lo impeto del feruore exprime la forza dil flante ſpi tito. Ma che queſto ſia il uero da le Eolipile eree e licito ad aſpicere, & da le latente ratione del cielo, & da le artificioſe inuentione de le coſe, de la diuinitate exprimere la ueritate. Per che le Eolipile di eramo ſon facte caue, quelle hãno uno puncto an guſtiſſimo, in le quale laqua ſe infunde, & ſi ſono collocate al foco, auante che incõ menzano a ſcaldarſe, non hanno alcuno ſpirito, ma dopoi che hanno cõmenzato di feruere, efficeno a lo foco uno uehemente flato.

Coſi e licito ſapere & iudicare da uno paruo & breuiſſimo ſpectaculo, de le magne & imane ratione de la natura del cielo, & de li uenti Q uali uẽti ſi ſarano excluſi, nõ ſolo efficerano in li corpi ualenti il loco ſalubre, ma anchora ſi alcuni morbi de alti uitij forſe naſceſſeno, quali in tutti li altri loci ſalubri hãno le curatione de le medici ne cõtrarie, in queſti per la tẽperatura de le excluſione de li uenti, piu expeditamẽte ſe curarano. Ma li uitij ſono quali difficilmẽte ſi curano in le regione, quale ſonõ ſo pra ſcripte. Si come queſte, grauitudine, arthrete, tuſce, pleuritis, phthiſis, la eiectione dil ſangue, & le altre, quale nõ cõ le detractione, ma cõ le adiectione ſe cu rano. Q ueſte adũcha difficilmẽte ſe medicano, primamẽte pche da li fredi de ti uẽti ſono cõcepute. Dopoi pche in le loro forze defaticate dal morbo, il loro aere agitato da le agitatione de li uẽti ſi extenuara, & inſiema da li uitioſi corpi detrahe il ſucco,

B

PAGE 9 FROM THE ITALIAN EDITION OF 1524 (REPRINTED FROM PREVIOUS EDITION OF 1511).

(The wood-cut presumably representing an Aeolipyla, or brazen sphere in which water is boiled.)

COLOPHON OF THE BARBARO EDITION (1556) WITH AUTOGRAPH SIGNATURE OF C. A. DUFRESNOY.

literary method, but, in truth, he has really disarmed such criticism by his own acknowledgment of the difficulties which beset the writer on architecture. Good prose and architecture can, as we know, go hand in hand—at least, we have known this since Ruskin; but the Ruskin method would have done no service to the purpose of Vitruvius. It was the mission of this Roman to set forth with precision a store of technicalities, and, as most of us who have tried specification writing are aware, the task of housing the facts of construction in classical language is well-nigh impossible. The attractions both of form and matter which bring success to the historian and the poet are, says Vitruvius, "unattainable in architectural works, for one thing because anything like popularity in such writings is barred by the obscurity inherent in the recurrence of technical terms. These terms are not of themselves intelligible to the general reader; hence, if the precepts which are delivered by authors extend to any length, and are otherwise explained than in a few perspicuous expressions, the mind of the reader is bewildered by their multitude and frequency."

Of the eight blocks which have been prepared to accompany this article, no less than four are photographic reproductions from the Como edition of Cesare Ciserano (1521). The importance of this edition, or rather translation, from an artistic point of view is very great, though it is not the first of the illustrated issues. The earliest illustrated Vitruvius, as I have already noted, was that issued under Fra Giocondo in 1511. I offer no reproduction from this, not having a copy accessible for photography; but the strange block representing a man and a dragon inscribed in a circle comes from the Venetian edition of 1544, which consists (without acknowledgment) of the text of Ciserano's translation, combined with the woodcuts of Giocondo's text, printed apparently from the same blocks, and retaining as far as possible the identical pagination of Giocondo's volume!

The two illustrations which I offer as specimens of the beauty of the combined woodcut and text in the Como edition are taken, it will be observed, from the chapter in book III., which differentiates the forms of temples. As specimens of art in draughtsmanship, wood-cutting, printing, and page forming, I take leave to think they have no rivals in the world of books. The two little elevations representing the amphiprostyle and the pseudodipteral façades are, one is rejoiced to admit, perfect. Oddly enough, the supremacy of the craftsman outruns the intelligence of the interpreter. Readers who have studied these things will realise that the temples do not in the least answer their descriptions, and that the plans in particular on Ciserano's page liii. represent a complete inversion of the author's meaning. This defect, though it diminishes the value of the book as a stage in progressive Vitruviology, does not affect its value as a work of art, and for the credit of Italy it should be noted that the errors of these plans are absent from the earlier illustrations of 1511.

The view of Halicarnassus at the head of the article is perhaps no more fantastic than is seemly, and the picture of a machine from the Tenth book is noticeable as bearing a date and artist's signature. The Junta illustration (date 1522) is a reversed and reduced version of the corresponding block in the Venetian edition of 1511.

Most of the illustrated versions of early date have pictures of the Golden Age in which, as Vitruvius suggests, the friction of wind-tossed tree boughs begat fire, and fire begat concourse, and concourse speech, and speech civilisation, including architecture. The specimen I give is that in the Knobloch edition, 1543 (published at Argentoratum, which is Strasburg).

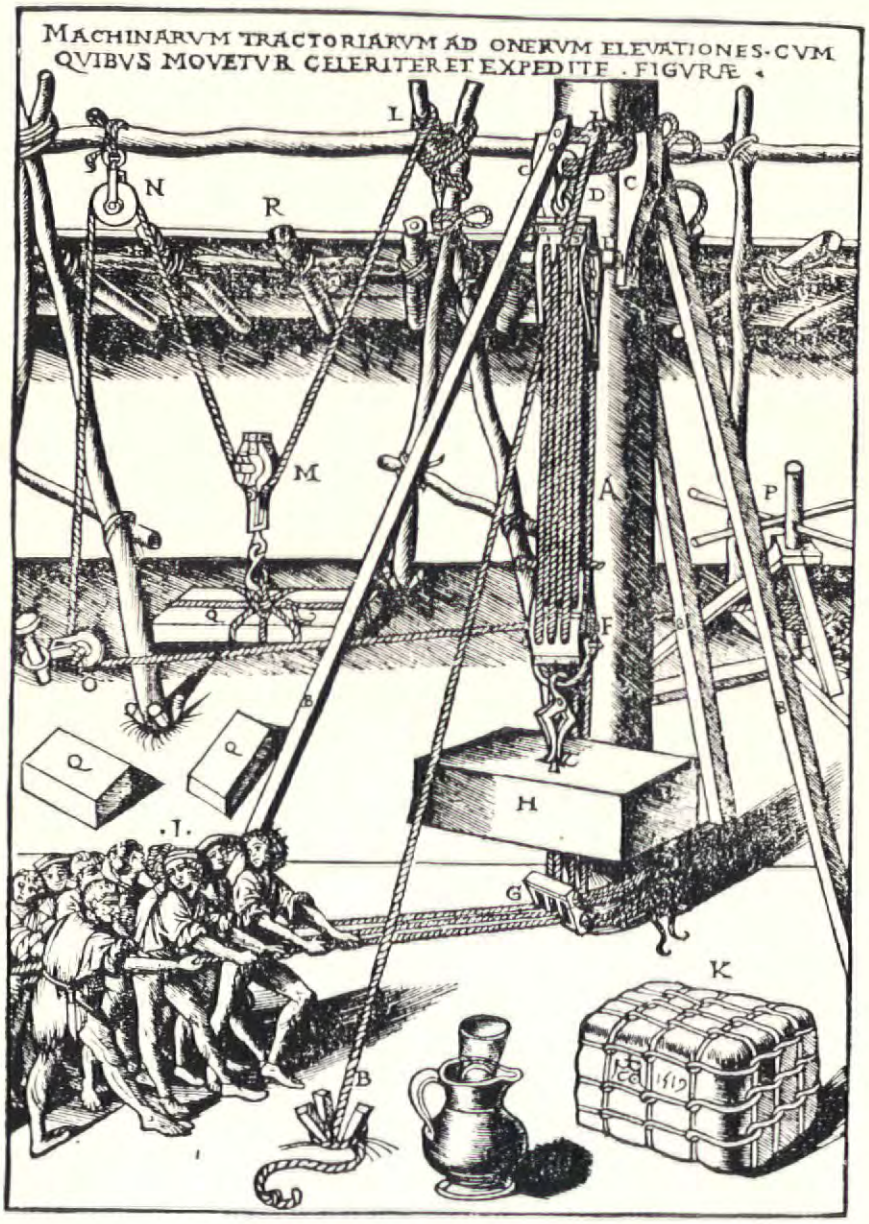
From the Barbaro edition (1556), which is another Venetian product, I can only offer the colophon. Not a bad piece of work, perhaps, but how strangely is it removed in spirit from the work of thirty and forty years before.

Naturally the more modern editions, those of the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, abound in illustrations; but what the later ages have gained in accuracy they have rather lost in art, and there seemed to me to be no special reason for offering specimens of them here. Among the best are the plates attached to Penault's splendid volumes.

The German versions of the 16th and 17th centuries have excellent blocks, both original and derived.

I have no wish to plead for a revived public interest in Vitruvius; it would, indeed, be ridiculous to do so. Nor would I even be his advocate among the general body of architects, for architects, like other men, do not read books because they are commended in articles. Those who are Vitruvians, moderate or immoderate, realise that there is at least one pleasure in the company of this author which is no mere pedantry—the sense of an interest shared with our brother architects of the past, above all with the giants of Italy. This is one excuse for my writing; another, if it is needed, is the mere handing on of the torch, the putting on record in print of the fact that the Twentieth Century and England still know the name and something of the work of Marcus Vitruvius Pollio.

PAUL WATERHOUSE.



¶ Non e cosa aliena : In questo Capo Vitruuio narra una Inuentione facta per Ctesiphonte Architecto del Templo de Diana Ephesia per conducere le ponderose colonne de epso Templo . De questo templo e del Architecto prenominato scriue Plynio li . 36 . C . 14 . Perche fu una cosa stupendissima & perho cõnumerata intra li septe miraculi del mundo dice che resta anchora una uera admiratione de la munificentia de Græci e liberalitate per il præfato templo la cui Fabrica duroe per anni . 220 . & a tale impensa fece contributione tuta Lasia minore . Fu longo . P . 425 . & Lato . P . 220 . haueua . 127 . nobilissime Colonne fabricate per il mezo de altri tanti Re . Erano alte P . 60 . de le quale furono . 36 . artificiosamente Intagliate e tra le altre una fu excellentissimamente laborata da Scopa Syracusano famosissimo sculptore antedicto . Questo templo fu poy combusto da Xerse Re de Persia . Adunche Ctesiphonte douendo perducere queste colonne per il spatio de octo milia & considerando che ponendole sopra Carri le rote seriano deuorate ne la molitie del terreno per il grauissimo peso : piglioe . 4 . Scapi zoe ligni grossi la terza parte de uno pede . Che cosi significa materia trientale ad la longitudine del scapo de le colõne . Scapo significa in ḉsta parte q̃llo che uulgarmẽte se dice il uõcho ne de una arbore : unde q̃lli ligni li ha nominati Scapi e cosi Lhasta de la Colõna e appellata Scapo . Perche li antiqui usaua no q̃sto uocabulo in tale significato : licet che significa anchora la siliqua o sia theca one stano le semente de le herbe : ma e una medema ratione : per la sua derivatione a Scapto uerbo græco il qual Importa excauare : Perche tali tronchi per la uechieza uediamo se perforano : Cosi anchora quelle thece sono excauate . E de questi quatro ligni duy ne pose per transuerso : &

VNA INGENIOSA RATIONE DE CTESIPHONTE A CONDVCERE LI GRAVI ONERI . CAPO . VI .

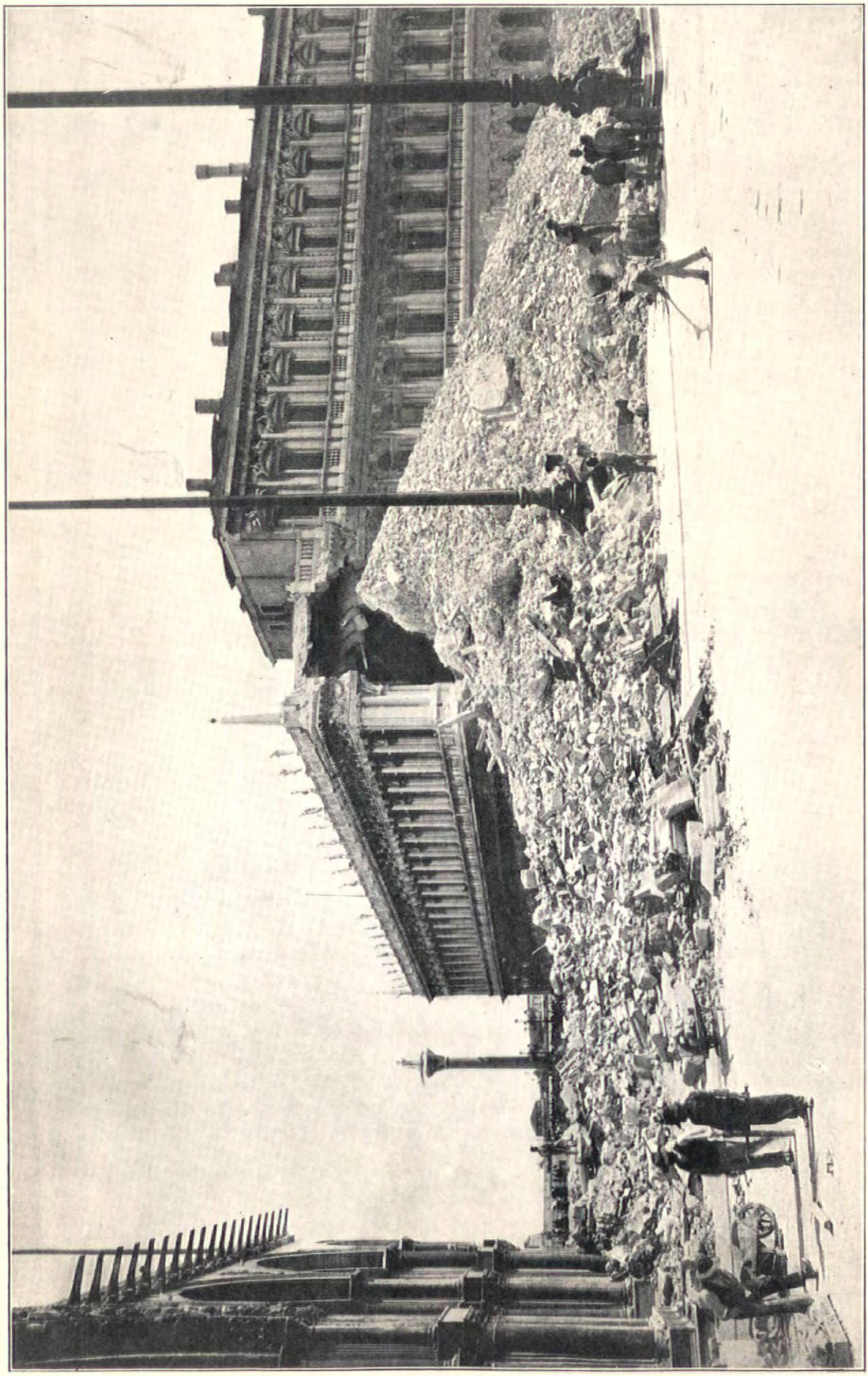
NON E COSA ALIENA AD EXPONERE ANchora la Ingeniosa Inuentione de Ctesifonte . Perche questo uogliando conducere li Schapi de le Colõne da le lapicidine ad epheso al phano de Diana : p la magnitudine de li ponderi & per la mollitudine de le uie campestre non fidato

The Campanile of St. Mark's.

OUR photographs will give some idea of the physical effect of the ruin at Venice. In the mind of those familiar with the place, to whom the whole group of buildings, and this centre of them, had come to rank almost with necessary truths, with dreams come true, with things complete and satisfying beyond experience, it is as if a number had dropped out of the series of numbers, a letter from the alphabet, a tone from the scale, a book from the Bible, a genius from the chain of the immortals.

The exact last cause of the collapse is not, at the moment of writing, certain; but the fault does not seem to have been with the foundations. Wood piles and a "raft" of stout timber are the last words of modern engineering construction in wet soils for "skyscrapers," and in Venice this substructure had lasted a thousand years. It seems more probable that neglected pointing of the bricks and cutting into them for alterations or repairs did the mischief.

The tower will evidently be rebuilt, and indeed must be, spite of all scruples against counterfeiting antiquity. Piety itself calls for a semblance of the ancient symbol. And if the modern Italian can imitate ancient paintings, so that the very elect are at times deceived, he ought to be able to facsimile very nearly the bare simplicity of that brick tower and its superstructure, into whose perfect beauty imagery entered so little. Of Jacopo Sansovino's Loggietta, behind the tower, much of the ornate detail and sculpture has been discovered, little damaged, under the rubbish.



THE RUINS OF THE CAMPANILE, LOOKING ACROSS THE PIAZZA AND FACING THE PIAZZETTA.

(SHOWING THE DAMAGE DONE TO THE LIBRARY OF SANSOVINO.)

Photo: L. Alinari.

Photo: L. Alinari.

VIEW OF THE RUINS OF THE CAMPANILE FROM THE PIAZZETTA.

Photo: L. Alinari.

VIEW OF THE RUINS OF THE CAMPANILE FROM THE PIAZZA.

Piero di Cosimo's "Battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ."

THE Florentine painter, Piero di Cosimo, is represented in the National Gallery by the most famous and fascinating of his works, "The Death of Procris." This picture is one of a number of decorative paintings of mythological subjects which he executed at various periods of his life; works which reveal in a far more characteristic manner than Piero's numerous religious pictures, the peculiar temperament and bizarre imagination of the painter. They are now scattered through the public and private galleries of Europe. At Berlin is the painting of Venus, Mars and Cupid, which was once in the collection of Vasari.* In the Uffizi at Florence, are the stories of Theseus and Andromeda, which were executed at a somewhat later date. In the gallery at Marseilles are two stories of Theseus and Ariadne; and in the Musée Conde at Chantilly is the so-called "Bella Simonetta," which is doubtless the head of Cleopatra, seen by Vasari in the collection of Francesco da San Gallo, before the name of Simonetta had been inscribed on it.† In private hands are the "Hylas and the Nymphs," now in the collection of Mr. Robert Benson, in London, and the "Battle of the Centaurs and the Lapithæ," which forms the subject of the present article. This picture was brought from Florence some ten years ago, and remained in a private collection in London, unexhibited and almost unknown, until it was recently offered for sale in the open market by a firm of London dealers. It was then generally realized that this painting, although possessing little of the peculiar charm of the famous "Death of Procris," showed Piero to have been a more considerable master of composition and draughtsmanship than his other pictures would allow.

Like the head of Cleopatra, at Chantilly, the "Battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ" is one of his earliest independent works, dating from a period in his life of which few notices have come down to us. He was born in 1462, the son of one Lorenzo di Piero d'Antonio, an auger maker; and was called Piero di Cosimo from the painter Cosimo Rosselli, whose disciple he became. Lorenzo, the auger-maker, states in a declaration returned to the Officials of the Taxes, at Florence, in 1480, that "Piero, my son, follows the calling of a painter, but has no salary; he resorts to the workshop of Cosimo [Rosselli] at Santa Maria in Campo," a church still standing in the Via Proconsolo, near the Duomo, at Florence. He adds that Piero was then eighteen years of age.* At the beginning of the following year Cosimo Rosselli was called to Rome, along with Botticelli, Domenico Ghirlandaio and Perugino, to decorate the Sistine Chapel. Vasari records that Piero di Cosimo accompanied his master, and "helped him in his work at Rome, in the Chapel of Sixtus; and he painted there, amongst other things, in the story representing the preaching of Christ, a landscape which is held to be the best thing that is therein."† Although it is difficult to detect Piero's hand in this landscape, recent criticism has pointed out that another fresco in the Sistine Chapel, which Vasari ascribes to Cosimo Rosselli, namely, the "Destruction of Pharaoh and his Host in the Red Sea," was largely, if not entirely, executed by Piero di Cosimo from his master's cartoon. A document is extant in which Cosimo Rosselli, Botticelli, Ghirlandaio, and Perugino bind themselves to finish "ten stories of the Old and New Testaments," in the Sistine Chapel (among which, no doubt, there was the fresco executed by Piero) by the 15th March, 1482.‡ Piero probably returned to Florence with Cosimo, before the autumn of 1482; and shortly afterwards set up as an independent master.

The fresco of the "Destruction of Pharaoh and his Host" is the earliest work by Piero to which a date can be assigned with any certainty; and the evidence which this fresco affords of Piero's manner at this period of his career, shows that the "Battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ" must have been painted not many years after the fresco. The panel, however, reveals a new and very different influence, of which there is no trace in the fresco, the influence of that great draughtsman, Antonio Pollaiuoli; and this new influence enables us to point, at least approximately, to the date of the execution of the picture.

* Vasari, ed. 1558, Vol. II., p. 24.
† Id., Vol. II., p. 26.

* Vasari, ed. Sansoni, Vol. IV., p. 131, note.
† Vasari, ed. 1568, Vol. I., p. 439.
‡ Archivio Storico dell' Arte, 1893, Vol. VI., p. 128.

Antonio Pollaiuoli left Florence with his brother Piero, not long after the death of Sixtus IV., which took place on 13th August, 1484, in order to execute the bronze tomb of the Pope, in St. Peter's at Rome. As Antonio did not again return to work in Florence, it is unlikely that Piero came under his influence after his departure for Rome; in other words, the "Battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ" was probably painted not later than 1485.

This painting is executed on a panel measuring 2 ft. 3½ in. in height, by 8 ft. 5½ in. in length. The unusual dimensions of this panel show that it could not have been intended for the panel of a "cassone," or marriage chest; nor could it well have formed the panel at the head of a bed. Vasari records that Piero di Cosimo "executed for Giovanni Vespucci, who lived opposite to San Michele in the Via de' Servi, some stories of Bacchanals which are around a room."* And in the same house, Vasari elsewhere adds, Botticelli "painted round a room a number of pictures, enclosed in ornaments of walnut wood, by way of frames and wainscot;" "per ricignimento & spalliera."* The painting of "The Centaurs and Lapithæ" probably formed such a panel in the wainscot of a room: its great length suggests, that it may have been placed above a "spalliera," or panelled back of a bench fixed against the wall. It cannot, however, have been one of the paintings which Piero executed for Giovanni Vespucci; for it appears from a document which I have found in the Florentine archives, that Giovanni did not acquire the house in the Via de' Servi, until the 5th March, 1498–9. If the "Battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ" is to be identified with any of the works of the painter recorded by Vasari, we must turn to another passage in the life of Piero: "He also executed in the houses of Francesco del Pugliese, around a room, divers stories of little figures,—

* Vasari, ed. 1568, Vol. II., p. 25.

* Id., Vol. I., p. 471.

"HYLAS AND THE NYMPHS." BY PIERO DI COSIMO.
(In the possession of Mr. Robert Benson.)

storie di fauole." * Perhaps Vasari here repeats the mistake which he had made in the life of Filippino; in which case, Piero executed these paintings for Piero di Francesco del Pugliese, for whom Filippino executed the famous altar piece of the "Virgin Appearing to St. Bernard," now in the Badia at Florence, shortly after 1480, and not in 1487 as Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle erroneously assert. Vasari's mistake appears to have been occasioned by the fact that the possessions of the Del Pugliese had descended in his own time, to Francesco di Filippo, the nephew of Piero del Pugliese. From such conjectures, however, let us turn to the subject of the painting.

Allusions to the battle of the centaurs and Lapithæ which, according to the fable, was occasioned by the centaur, Eurytus, attempting to carry off Hippodame, the bride of Pirithous, king of the Lapithæ, at their marriage-feast, occur both in Hesiod and Homer; but it is to the long description of the contest given by Ovid, in the twelfth book of the Metamorphoses, that Piero di Cosimo has turned for the version of the fable which he illustrates in his painting. Indeed, so closely and elaborately does he follow Ovid's account of the fight, that there is scarcely an episode in the picture that is not explained by the poem. Let us, then, take those passages which have suggested to Piero, the principal motives of his painting; and let us observe how he has turned Ovid's poetical images into his own pictorial images. I will quote the passages in the seventeenth-century translation of George Sandys,† a version which possesses so much admirable colour of true poetry, that we may well leave an occasional slip in it for pedants to blush at. It is thus that Ovid makes Nestor prelude his description of the Battle, which occurs as an episode in the story of the Metamorphosis of Caenis:—

[Metam. xii., 210–218.

"The sonne ‡ of bold Ixion now had wed
Hippodame: the saluage Centaures, bred
Of clasped Clouds, his inuitation grac't;
In plashed bowres at sundrie tables plac't.
There were th' *Æmonian* Princes; there was I:
The pallace rung with our confused ioy.
They *Hymen* sing; the altars fume with flames:
Forth came th' admired Bride with troopes of dames.
Wee call *Pirithous* happie in his choice
But scarce maintaine the Omen of that voice."

At this point Piero begins to illustrate Ovid's narrative.

"For *Eurytus*, more headie than the rest, [*id.*, 219–270.
Foule rapine harbors in his saluage breast;
Incenst by beautie, and the heat of wine:
Lust and Ebrietie in out-rage ioyne.
Straight, turn'd-vp boords the feast prophane: the faire
And tender spouse now haled by the haire.
Fierce *Eurytus Hippodame;* all tooke
Their choice, or whom they could: sackt cities looke
With such a face. The women shreeke: we rise.
When *Theseus* first; ô *Eurytus*, unwise!
Dar'st thou offend *Pirithous* as long
As Theseus liues? in one two suffer wrong.
The great-sould Heros,* not to boast in vaine,
Breakes through the throng, and from his fierce disdaine
The Rape repris'd. He no reply affords;
Such facts could not be iustifi'd by words:
But with his fists the brave redeemer prest;
Assailes his face, and strikes his generous brest.
Hard by there stood an antique goblet, wrought
With extant figures: this *Ægides* caught;
Hurl'd at the face of *Eurytus:* a flood
Of reeking wine, of braines, and clotted blood
At once he vomits from his mouth and wound;
And falling backward, kicks the dabled ground.
The Centaures, frantick for their brother's death,
Arme, arme, resound, with one exalted breath.
Wine courage gives. At first an vncouth flight
Of flagons, pots, and boules, began the fight:
Late fit for banquets, now for blood and broyles.
First *Amycus, Ophion's* issue, spoyles
The sacred places of their gifts; downe ramps
A brazen cresset stuck with burning lamps:
This swings aloft, as when a white-hair'd Bull
The Sacrificer strikes; which crusht the skull
Of *Celadon*, the *Lapithite*, and left
His face vnknowne: confusion forme bereft.
Out start his eyes; his batter'd nose betwixt
His shiver'd bones flat to his pallat fixt.
Pellæan Pelades a tressell tore
That propt the boord, and feld him to the floore:
He knocks his chin against his brest, and spude
Blood mixt with teeth. A second blow persude
The first; and sent his vexed soule to hell.
Next, *Gryneus* stood; his lookes with vengeance swell:
Serues this, said he, for nothing? therewith rais'd
Aloft a mightie altar: as it blaz'd,
Among the *Lapithites* his burden threw;
Which *Broteas*, and the bold *Orion* slew.
Orion's mother, *Mycale*, eft-soone
Would with her charmes deduce the strugling moone.
Exadius cry'd, Nor shalt thou so depart
Had I a weapon. Of a voted Hart
The antlers from a pine he puls; they fixe
The forkes in Gryneus' dark'ned eyes: this sticks
Vpon the horne; that, in concreted gore,
Hung on his beard."

The various episodes which in the foregoing passage take place in succession, occur simultaneously in the principal group on the right of Piero di Cosimo's painting. In the foreground, the centaur, Eurytus, who has seized the bride, Hippodame, by the hair of the head, turns to deal a blow at Theseus, the son of Ægeus, who is about to hurl at his head the vase, "signis exstantibus asper antiquus crater," which shall dash out his brains. On the left of these figures, the centaur, Amycus, has seized a brass standard

* Id., Vol. II., p. 24.

† Ovid's Metamorphosis, Englished by G[eorge] S[andys], ed. London, 1626, p. 242, etc.

‡ Pirithous, King of the Lapithæ.

* Magnanimus heros. Ovid.

hung with oil-lamps—the "lampadibus densum funale coruscis" of Ovid—with which to attack the Lapithite, Celadon; and on the other side Gryneus has raised aloft the altar by which Broteas and Orion came by their death. Midway between Amycus and Gryneus, is a figure armed with the skull and horns of a ram, and intended, perhaps, for Exadius who, in Ovid, plucks from a tree the antlers of a votive stag, with which he gores out the eyes of Gryneus.

The incident which Ovid next relates of Rhoetus, who snatched a burning log from the altar to serve as a weapon, may be hinted at in the group of knotted, struggling figures in the centre of the picture, where a centaur and a Lapithite attack one another with burning brands. The next motive in Ovid which Piero has taken for illustration, is that of Pirithous about to transfix Petræus with a javelin, as he was attempting to uproot an oak. This incident is represented in the middle distance, on the extreme right of the picture:—

[*id.*, 327–331.

"I saw *Petræus* striue t'vproote an oke:
And while his brawnie armes the tree prouoke
To quit his seasure, this and that way hal'd;
Pirithous to the bole his bosome nail'd."

Of the other deeds of Pirithous which Ovid celebrates in this passage, one alone is represented in the painting:—

[*id.*, 337–344.

"But *Dictys* from a broken mountaine slides,
As he *Ixion's* furious sonne auoids,
And head-long fell: his weight asunder brake
A mightie Ash; the stumps his entrailes stake.
In rusht reuengefull *Phereus* with a stone
Torne from a rock: his monstrous elbow-bone
(About to hurle) in shiuers *Theseus* crackt."

On the cliff to the left of the rocky knoll in the centre of the picture, stands Phereus about to cast a stone at the centaur, Dictys, impaled on a tree in his fall. But Piero here seems to have misread his author, for Phereus, or rather Aphareus, was a centaur who, while attempting to avenge the death of Dictys by casting a stone at Pirithous, was himself killed by Theseus.

Then Theseus, the passage concludes—

[*id.*, 345–349

"nimbly vaults vpon
Byanor's back, before bestrid by none,
His knees claps to his sides; his shaggie haire
His left hand hales: his eyes, that grimly stare
And threaten, crushes with his knottie oke."

Piero represents this episode by one of the most vigorous and Pollaiuolesque groups in the picture, on the extreme right of the composition, in the foreground; where Theseus, astride the back of Bianor, beats in the face of the centaur with a cudgel. From this motive of savage ferocity, the painter turns to one of a very different temper, and, like Ovid, uses it as a foil to all this fury of lust and blood. This is the incident of Hylonome, who killed herself for love of Cyllarus, after he had expired in her arms, slain by a javelin:—

[Metam. xii., 393–428

"Nor thee thy beautie, *Cyllarus*, could saue:
If such a two-form'd figure beautie haue.
His chin now 'gan to bud with downe of gold;
And golden curls his iuory back infold;
His lookes a pleasing vigor grace; his brest,
Hands, shoulders, neck, and all that man exprest,
Surpassing art's admired images.
Nor were his bestiall parts a shame to these:
Adde but a horse's head and crest, he were
For *Castor's* vse; his back so strong to beare,
So largely chested; blacker than the crow:
His taile and fet-lockes, white as falling snow.
A number of that nation sought his loue;
Whom none but faire *Hylonome* could moue:
None for attracting fauour so excell,
Of all the halfe-mares that on *Othrys* dwell.
She, by sweet words, by louing, by confest
Affection, onely *Cyllarus* possest.
With combs shee smoothes her haire; her person trimmes
With all that could be gracefull to such limmes.
Of roses, rosemarie, and violets,
And oft of lillyes curious dressings pleats.
Twice daily washt her face in springs that fall
From *Pagasæan* hills; twice daily all
Her bodie bathes in cleansing streames; and ware
The skins of beasts, such as were choice and rare,
Which flowing from her shoulder 'crosse her brest,
Vaile her left side. Both equall loue possest;
Together on the shadie mountaines stray,
In woods and hollow caues together lay:
Then to the pallace of the *Lapithite*
Together came; and now together fight.
A iauelin from the left hand flung, thy breast,
O *Cyllarus*, beneath thy neck imprest.
His heart though slightly hurt (the dart exhal'd)
Grew forth-with cold; and all his bodie pal'd.
Hylonome his dying limmes receiues;
Foments his wound: close to his lips she cleaues,
To stay his flying soule. But when she found
Life's fire extinct; with words in clamour drown'd,
Even on that steele, which through his bosom past,
She threw her owne: and him in death imbrac't."

The figures of the centaur, Cyllarus, dying in the arms of Hylonome, who staunches his wound as she weeps over him, form a beautiful knot of shapes in the very centre of the struggling groups of centaurs and Lapithæ. In these figures Piero has followed with scrupulous care the description of Ovid, the hair of Hylonome smoothed with combs and curiously dressed with flowers, the skin that hung at her side; the yellow hair of Cyllarus, his flank blacker than the crow. Hylonome bends over him with that wistful, half human, half animal pity with which Piero makes the Satyr touch the body of Procris, to see if life be quite gone out of her. As a piece of pictorial invention, this group of Hylonome and Cyllarus is, I think, even more admirable than the design of those figures in the famous picture in the gallery.

Photo: E. Dockree

"THE BATTLE OF THE CENTAURS AND THE LAPITHÆ."
BY PIERO DI COSIMO.

But one other allusion to Ovid need here detain us. The figure in the lion's skin on the extreme left of the composition, who has seized a centaur by the scruff of the neck, is doubtlessly meant for Hercules, to whose taming of the centaurs there is a passing allusion here in the verses 540–1. And so let us pass from the subject-matter of the picture, to discuss the spirit in which Piero has conceived and presented the fable.

During the fourteenth century, while the factions of the Guelfs and Ghibellines which had driven Dante from Florence, and inspired the "Divine Comedy," were slowly exhausting themselves, the Giottesque painters of Florence had remained preoccupied with those religious themes and motives which had come down to them, as a part and parcel of the Byzantine tradition of art. It was not until a time of comparative freedom from intestine broils was vouchsafed to Florence, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, that any attempt was made to give expression in painting to this spirit of feud and discord. The first master who definitely essayed its expression, at least in painting, was Andrea de Castagno, known in his own day as Andrea degli Impiccati, from those figures of Rinaldo degli Albizzi and his fellow-conspirators, "hanging by the feet in strange attitudes," which he painted in 1434, upon the face of the Palazzo del Podestà, at Florence. But the delineation of the nude as a mode of picture was necessary for the complete expression of this Dantesque spirit; and it remained for Antonio Pollaiuoli to achieve this new thing in painting. Antonio, says Vasari, "dissected many bodies to study their anatomy, and was the first to demonstrate the method of finding out the muscles that have form and order in the human figure." "He understood the nude more modernly," adds Vasari, "than the masters who preceded him had done"; meaning that he was the first to draw the naked figure in accordance with that idea of its anatomy, to which Michel Angelo afterwards gave supreme expression. And so Antonio becomes the founder of the great Florentine school of the nude. Luca Signorelli is among his disciples, and Leonardo da Vinci and Piero di Cosimo (as the painting we are discussing remains to prove) of the number of those who fell under his influence. Unlike Michel Angelo, Antonio Pollaiuoli sees the naked human form with a directness and spontaneity of vision which is almost antique in its freshness. He draws the nude as he found it in the sinewy and, in a sense, uncomely Tuscan type around him; but he always represents it transfigured, in some moment of its greatest energy, or under the stimulus of some high passion, such as had not yet wholly died out of Florence. And thus his nudes are not those of Greek athletes, but of mediæval bravoes, inspired by that lust of feud and revenge, which had ruled all in Florence during the age of the Guelfs and Ghibellines. I will instance two of his works which are especially characteristic of this phase of Antonio's art: the famous print of the ten naked men, called the "Battle of the Chain," and the less well-known relief of "Discord." The original bronze of the latter is now lost, but one of the many casts from it, which were common in Vasari's time,* is happily preserved in the South Kensington Museum, No. 251—1876, where it passes as a work by Leonardo da Vinci. This relief is in the highest degree characteristic of those Dantesque themes to which the nude is alone able to give adequate expression in painting or sculpture. Indeed, the subject of it, no less than its treatment, strikes the dominant note of the early school of the nude in Florence.

Such were the influences which inspired Piero di Cosimo in painting his "Battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ." More completely perhaps than Antonio Pollaiuoli, he remains untrammelled by any visual images of the scene, such as a knowledge of Roman art must have called up. He frankly imagines it as a possible episode of the world around him; for was the coming of the centaurs to the marriage feast of Pirithous, so very different, at least in its results, from the advent of the Buondelmonti in Florence?

> "Sempre la confusion delle persone
> Principio fu del mal della cittade."
>
> [Paradiso, xvi., 67–8.

And was not the god who stirred up the spirit of discord between the centaurs and the Lapithæ, the same as he who "ever with his heart shall make sorrowful" the city "that changed its first patron for the Baptist"? †

Approached from this point of view, much of the mere subject-matter of the picture which might otherwise repell, or appear merely savage, becomes not only intelligible, but fascinating, in the same way that in Dante, certain figures "of blood and rage" are fascinating. At moments, no doubt, Piero has taken his story too much in earnest; and like all over-serious people, is apt to become grotesque without knowing it. But where in the whole range of painting, can one find such delight in the purely physical energies and passions of the creature, as in this painting, and in certain designs of Antonio Pollaiuoli and his followers?

But I stay too long in coming to discuss the technical qualities of the picture. The writers of the National Gallery Catalogue complain, with a

* Vasari, ed. 1568, Vol. I., p. 469.

† Inferno, xiii., 143–5.

Photo: E. Dochrae.

DETAIL OF "THE BATTLE OF THE CENTAURS AND THE LAPITHÆ."
BY PIERO DI COSIMO.

certain degree of truth, that Piero's works are generally "rather helpless in composition," and that his stories of Perseus in the Uffizi, "are to the last degree loose in arrangement." The composition of the "Battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ," on the contrary, is designed throughout with great care, and with a remarkable power of invention. The involved groups of figures, disposed with no little simplicity of effect over the space of the panel, are admirably united by the long lines and masses of the landscape. Again, as a draughtsman, Piero is seen at his greatest in this picture. The foreshortening of the white centaur who lies dead on the ground beside the figure of Eurytus, for instance, or the head and shoulders of the centaur in the grasp of Hercules, show a beauty and mastery of drawing comparable to the design of Pollaiuoli. The painter's sense of contour is especially remarkable; and in the use of the silhouette, Piero here brings a new element into modern art. Filippino Lippi must have been thinking of such an innovation in painting as the silhouette of Gryneus lifting up the dark altar against the blue distance, when painting in the Strozzi Chapel at Florence. The same sense of contour has also largely determined the colouring of Piero's picture: the whole silhouette of the foreground and middle distance is seen as in the dusky gold of sun-down, against the blue sky and distance. For the rest, I must refer the reader to the illustrations which accompany this article. The flight of Centaurs in the distance on the left, and the clump of bosky trees on the right, such as afterwards took the imagination of Watteau, are but the chief of the many beauties which abound in this extraordinary picture.

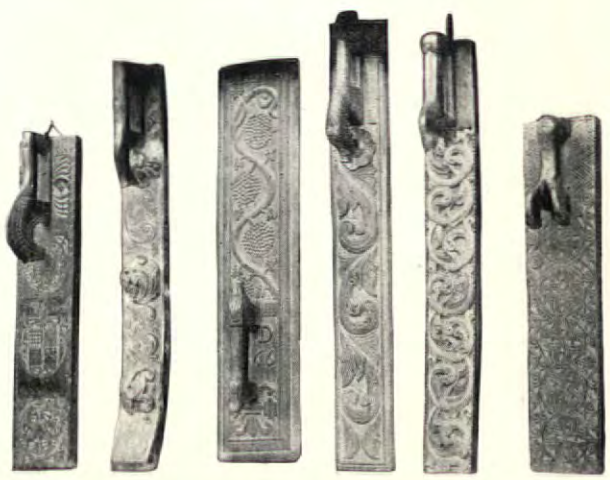
Since I was first asked by the Editors of this Review to write for them a notice of this painting, a proposal has been put forward in the papers that the picture should be acquired for the National Gallery. It is much to be hoped that this proposal may be realised. I think that I may say, without over-rating the importance of the picture, that the "Battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ" is one of the greater creations of the Florentine School during the latter half of the 15th century; and that it would do honour to the Gallery which already possesses the "Apollo and Daphne" of Pollaiuoli, and the "Mars and Venus" of Botticelli.

HERBERT P. HORNE.

An Exhibition of Peasant Art.

A VERY remarkable exhibition was lately held in the Museum at Charterhouse of objects made by peasants for their own use and pleasure in various European countries from about 1400 to 1902. From about 600 objects exhibited, some reproductions accompany this article. Few people, it may be surmised, have any idea of the widespread prevalence of this untutored, uncramped, but entirely wholesome and often admirable art instinct amongst the peasantries of Europe. Out of the whole number of designs exhibited in wood, in silver, in iron, in needlework, upon the simplest objects of domestic use, it would be perhaps impossible to point to one which was absolutely bad,

NORWEGIAN WOODEN BOWL, PAINTED GREEN. 10 IN. DIAMETER.



NORWEGIAN MANGLE-BOARDS.

SWEDISH "SELKROK"-PAINTED SADDLE.

or to many which were even poor, while almost all were good, and some supremely good. There is one special trait which runs throughout them, and which seems to show how true is the instinct for applied art which is found in men living a natural and healthy life, until it is made self-conscious by school-teaching, or has the heart taken out of it by commercial pressure. What simple-minded, wholesomely living men or women make for themselves to keep and not to sell, unconscious of all art pedantries, is rarely otherwise than pleasant to the eye, and goes instinctively to the root of true Art. The owner and collector of most of these carved mangle-boards, cheese-boxes, beer-bowls, and various implements, was bold enough to challenge, by a notice, any visitor to discover an instance in which the proper use of the object was interfered with by the ornament, or in which the ornament was hidden or liable to be injured while the object was being put to its proper use. Here you find instinctively but unconsciously recognised by the peasant artists of half-a-dozen different nationalities the essential principle which gets forgotten by half the art schools and half the educated craftsmen who supply the demands of the richer and so-called artistic classes of society.

In power of design perhaps the peasants of Norway and Iceland came first, especially if wood be selected as the test. Many of the wooden bread-boxes and mangle-boards from these two

SWEDISH BEER-POTS OF BIRCH-WOOD, WITH BONE STUDS. 7 IN. AND 8 IN. HIGH.

CARVED HORSE COLLAR (SWEDISH). PAINTED BLACK, THE OWNER HAVING GONE INTO MOURNING.

countries are masterpieces of applied design by mute inglorious artists of these Northern dales, who would have been astounded to hear themselves described as artists, or to have been told that there was anything of value in what they were doing. Here again it is to be observed that the feeling and spirit of the thing is always far in advance, and rightly so, of the technical achievement. These were generally objects for a day, to be used in the house, worn out, and replaced by others when fresh ones were needed. They were in no sense show articles to exhibit skill upon. Of mere mechanical skill, therefore, the kind of perfected but often spiritless and unlovable skill such as too often is expended by the modern workman on his objects for sale, there is very little. The peasant made his things to keep, and loved his task while he wrought it. He stood in no fear of criticism, since his only critics were those of

NORWEGIAN BEER-BOWL. PAINTED BLACK OUTSIDE, COLOURED INSIDE. DATE 1735, CARVED OUTSIDE; 1784 PAINTED INSIDE.

his own home, and likely to be loving ones. Here and there, indeed, on some very important piece which was evidently meant to be kept and to survive, such as a family wassail-bowl, or a needle-holder for one's lover, one sees the skill which they could put forth when they wished. It is noticeable, by the way, that the objects which are most largely represented are the mangle-boards, or, as we should rather call them, ironing-boards. For it was a custom which ran from Norway to Holland for a lover to carve his *fiancée* a mangle-board for her use in their future home, and one can well understand that such an object should get itself preserved for memory's sake, while the more prosaic utilities of the home were allowed to perish. Some of the Dutch mangle-boards—which, by the way, have no handles, and are almost always decorated in chip-carving with geometric patterns—have charming mottoes and verses upon them in praise of the domestic virtues, and sometimes the owner's name. The oldest of these in the collection dates from 1598, and the latest from a few years back.

Another thing to be noticed is the use of colour. The natural man, whether he be South Sea savage or Dutch peasant, being perfectly unconscious

CARVED AND PAINTED PIPE-BOWL. 17TH CENTURY. (EAST FRIESLAND).

NORWEGIAN DOUBLE-HANDLED DRINKING BOWL. DATE 1739. 7 IN. DIAMETER.

that there are any laws to be broken, and therefore any fears to be entertained, goes frankly and fearlessly at it, and puts in any colour that pleases his eye, and makes his canoe-prow, his sledge, his waggon, or his cheese-box gay and bright. And the result is commonly charming. So too the women with their needlework, amongst which it may be said that the Russian peasant work shows this colour instinct in the highest degree. Here and there in some recent instances where linen dyed with aniline dye has taken the place of or has been used with linen stained with the old vegetable dyes, the unequal fading has thrown the piece out of harmony.

But there is one piece of quite modern Russian work, in Charterhouse Museum, where colour and design are alike admirable. On a piece of coarse canvas dyed blue with a vegetable dye which gives an effect of careless richness through the rudeness of the toning, is worked a design of sheep before a sacred tree—reminding one of the early Christian mosaics of Ravenna and Salonica, and doubtless the end of some such tradition. The peasant designer has here produced or preserved an art which our temple decorators of to-day might envy. And here again we are brought face to face with a trait arising from the traditional character of the art. These peasant designs (the Russian needlework perhaps, may claim the virtue in the highest degree, but it runs throughout) display an understanding or habit of convention—a convention almost wholly determined by the necessities of the material which is being used, and therefore, of course, varying with the materials. There is no attempt to imitate the exact texture, outline, modelling, of horse or man or flower. For example, the Russian peasant is content fearlessly to arrange her men, her sacred trees, her double-

Photo: E. Dockree.

PAINTED CLOTH HANGING (SWEDISH).
BIBLICAL SUBJECTS.

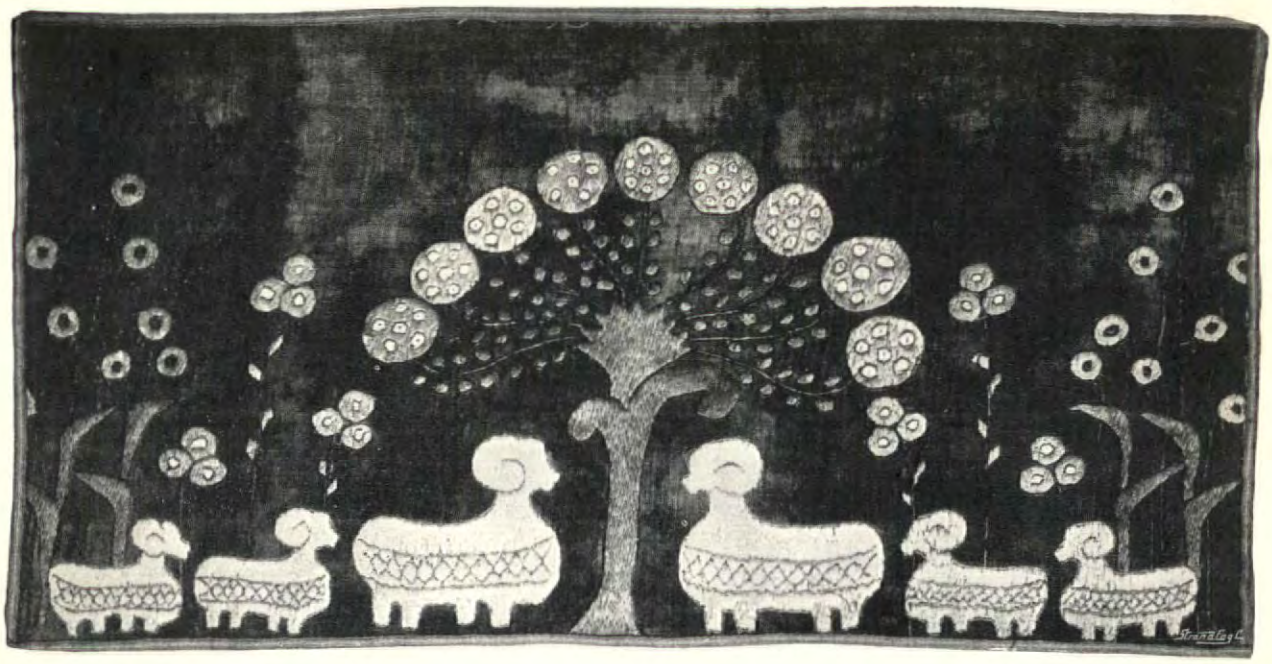
Photo: E. Dockree.

PAINTED CLOTH HANGING (SWEDISH). BIBLICAL SUBJECTS.

headed eagles, her animals, in square or angular outline on her apron, her inherited sense of rightness saving her from sacrificing her design to a craving for impossible realism. The same unconscious self-control will be found in more or less degree throughout the genuine work of peasants for their own use.

The wall-hangings from Swedish cottages present the same delightfully uncramped colour sense, generally displaying itself in a very bright key of reds and yellows and whites, and allied to drawing of the most childish kind, and to a treatment of sacred subjects, even more childish and naïve. There is no irreverence in the mind of a Swedish peasant, otherwise one might look with doubt at the appearance of the Magi in bag wig and top boots, and of Elisha in a green shalloon coat. The obvious simplicity of purpose is guarantee for the reverence of the artist, and the walls of a Dalecarlian peasant are at once the brightener of his home and the "Painted Book" to his children.

Indeed, in all this output of simple, healthy art, there is something at once delightful and pathetic. Delightful, because it tells its sympathetic tale of gladdened firesides and brightened homes; hopeful also in that it assures one of the innate sense and love of beauty that belongs to the great majority of natural men; but pathetic, inasmuch as one knows that it is fast being killed out by the remorseless advance of commerce; and with something of despondency in it also, since when it is once lost it is beyond all experience that it should ever be recovered. It is like the innocence of childhood, which gives place to something different from, perhaps stronger than, itself, but can from the nature of things never come back to its real self. The peasant of to-day finds the cheap, the commonplace, brought to his very door. He sadly soon learns to make use of it, and to leave alone his own happy laboriousness with which he used to beguile his winter nights. And in one generation the art is lost: or if it survive it has been seized on by the dealer and perverted, as in Switzerland and parts of Norway, to the production of wholly spiritless, though often skilful, knick-knackeries to sell to tourists. And I boldly assert from personal experience that the people are not richer for the change, while they are infinitely poorer by the loss of that which helped to make the home bright and the life happy, and gave to the worker a perpetual lightener of his toil.



SILK EMBROIDERY, PAINTED BACKGROUND (RUSSIAN). 11 IN. BY 22 IN.

Photo: E. Dockree.

GERALD S. DAVIES.

Current Architecture and Sculpture.

EARLSHALL, FIFE, N.B., FOR R. W. R. MACKENZIE, ESQ.—GATEHOUSE.—The walls are built of whinstone in much the same manner as the castle, the

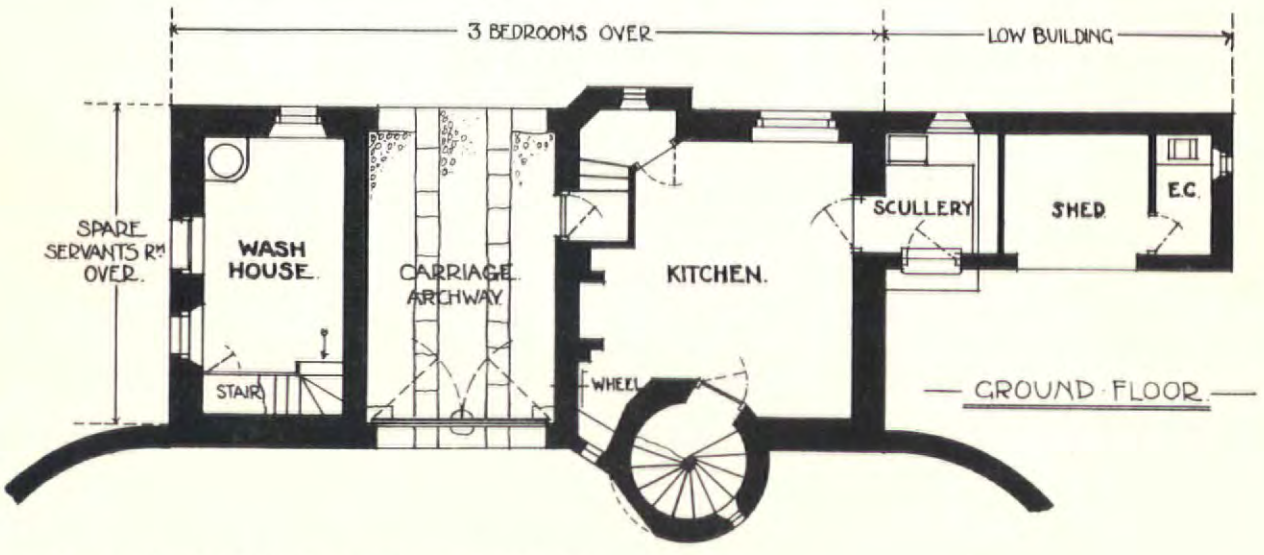
Photo: R. Milliken.

THE GARDEN PAVILION, "EARLSHALL," FIFE, N.B.
R. S. LORIMER, ARCHITECT.

headers being pieces of rough freestone pavement put in to form a slight pattern. The roofs are covered with Forfarshire grey stone slates, bedded and pointed with a mixture of lime and cement. The gate, which is of Scotch oak, is 15 ft. high by 10 ft. 6 ins. wide. It is opened and shut by turning a small wheel in the kitchen. The approach leading from the gatehouse to the castle is 10 ft. 6 ins. wide, and is laid the full width with a hard, rough pavement obtained in the neighbourhood, put in random fashion, grouted in cement, and laid flush with the grass margins. A wall connects the east end of gatehouse with the enclosing walls of garden. GARDEN PAVILION.—The lower story is divided into two, one half being used as an apple house, the other as a larder. The walls and ceiling of the upper room are lined with oak. When Mr. Mackenzie purchased the estate, the house was in a ruinous condition, and the garden was a potato field, nothing remaining but the enclosing walls, and there was no record of the original plan. The restoration of the house, and laying-out of the garden, was carried out between 1890 and 1894, and the rest of the work has been going on at intervals since. The gatehouse, garden pavilion, etc., were completed about eighteen months ago. Mr. Ness, of St. Andrews was the builder, and Mr. R. S. Lorimer, of Edinburgh, the architect, both for the buildings and the gardens.

NO. 46, GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET, W.—This building replaces a structure which unfortunately was wrecked by the failure of the party wall during the re-building of the adjoining premises. The front is in red brick with Portland stone dressings, the ground floor being faced with Aberdeen grey granite, unpolished.

Messrs. Mark Patrick & Sons were the builders, and Messrs. W. Dunn and R. Watson were the architects.



PLAN OF THE GATEHOUSE, "EARLSHALL," FIFE, N.B.
R. S. LORIMER, ARCHITECT.

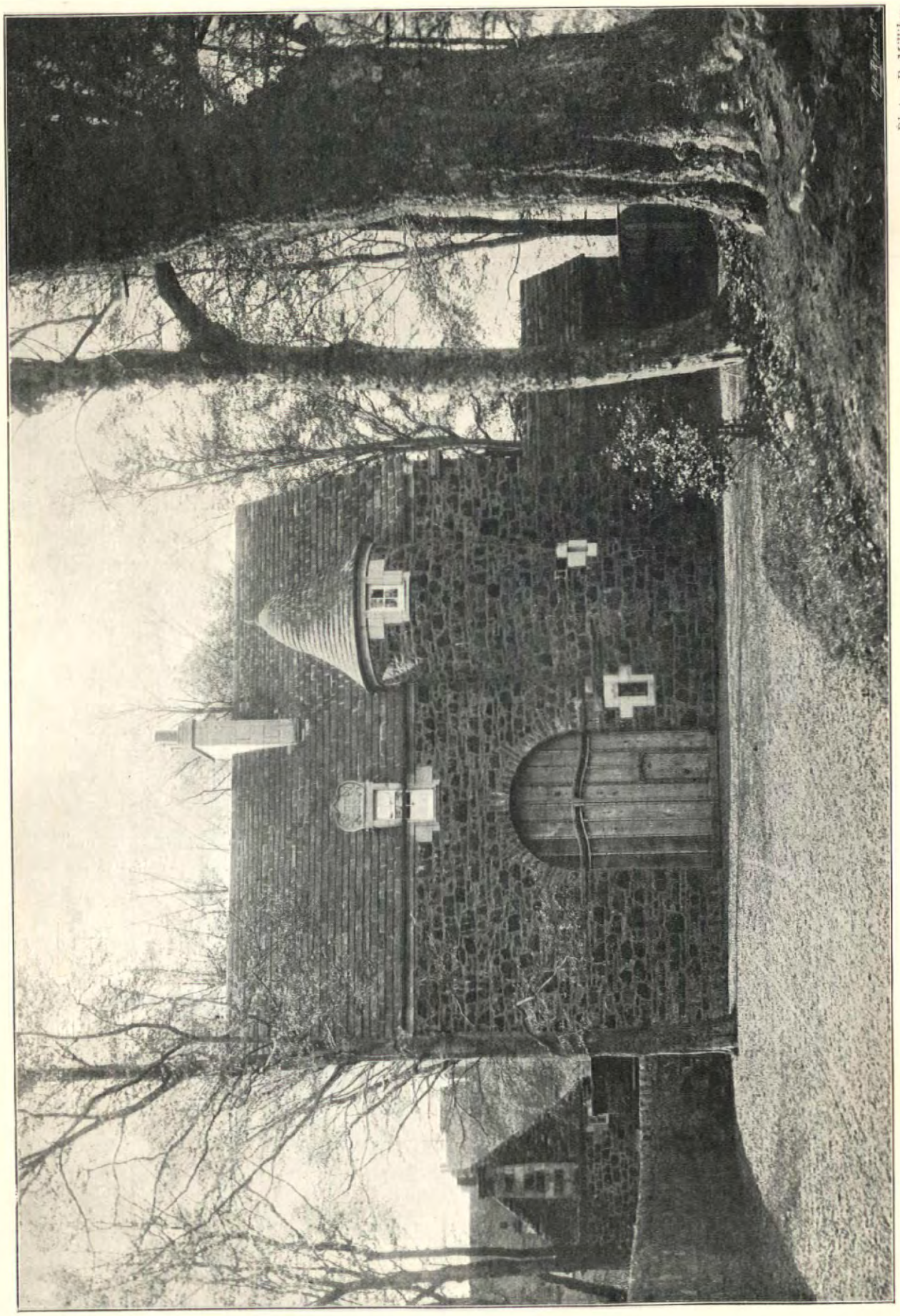


Photo : R. Milliken.

"EARLSHALL," FIFE, N.B. THE GATEHOUSE.
R. S. LORIMER, ARCHITECT.

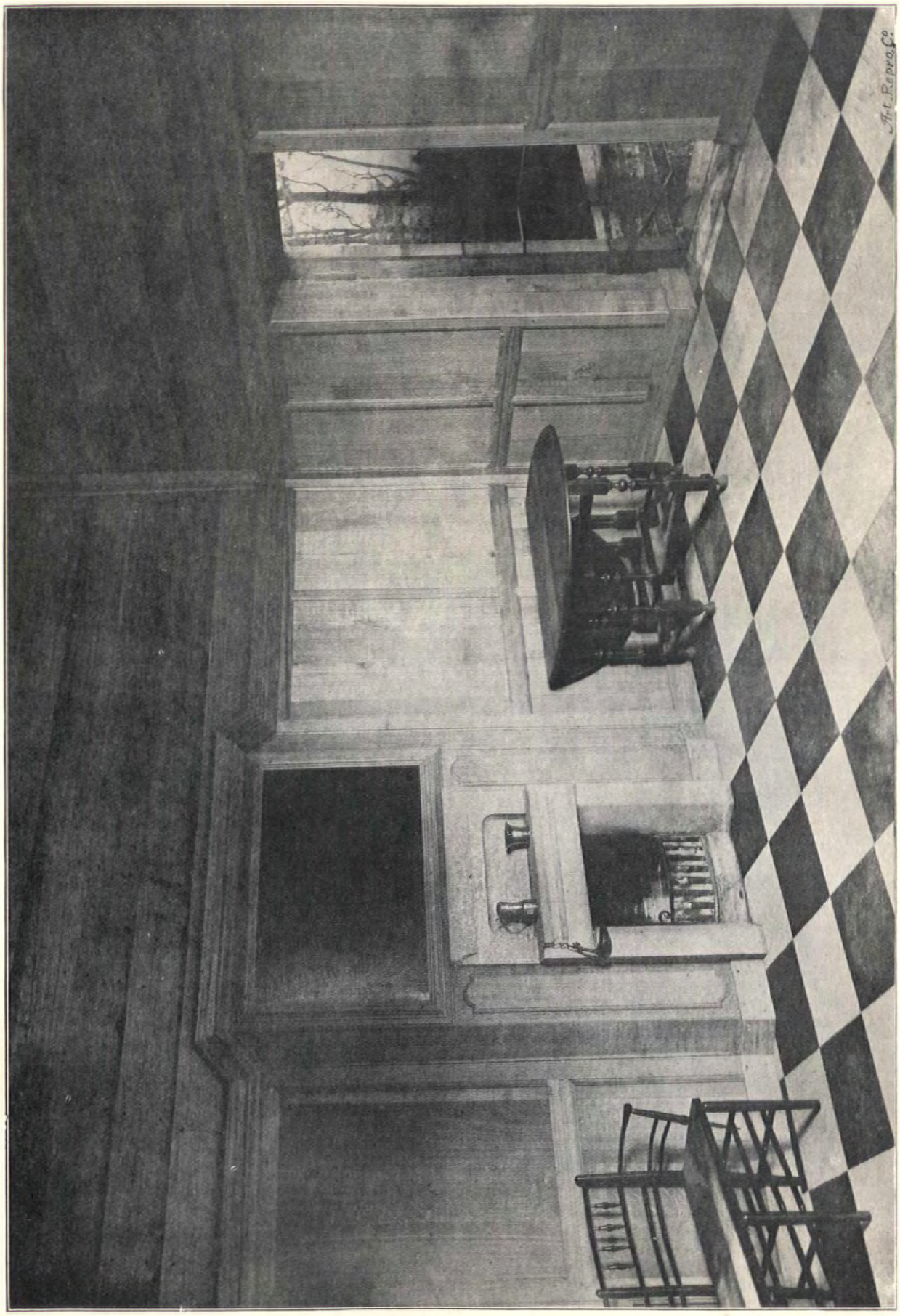


Photo: R. Milliken.

"EARLSHALL," FIFE, N.B. INTERIOR OF THE GARDEN PAVILION.
R. S. LORIMER, ARCHITECT.

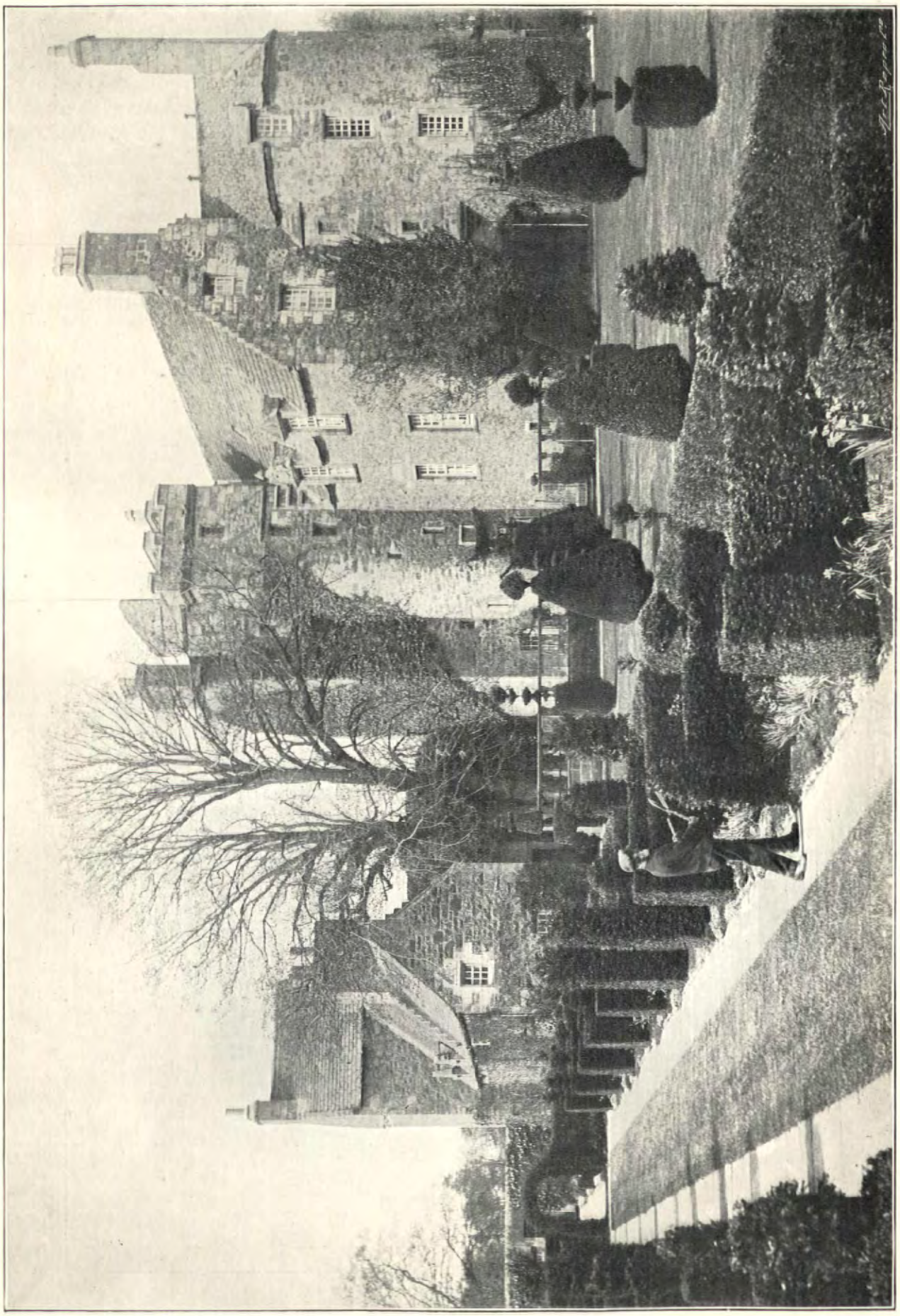


Photo: R. Milliken.

"EARLSHALL," FIFE, N.B. GENERAL VIEW OF HOUSE AND GROUNDS.

Photo : E. Dockree.

"HORSES." BY J. H. M. FURSE.

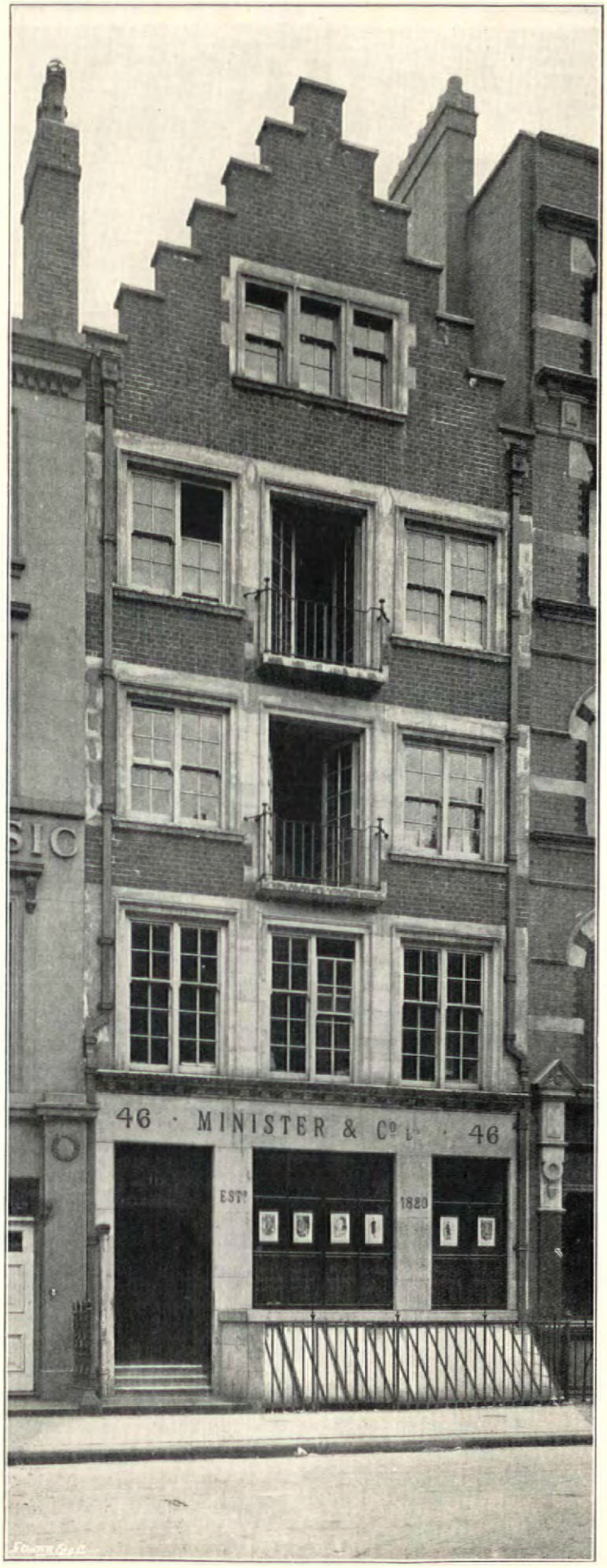
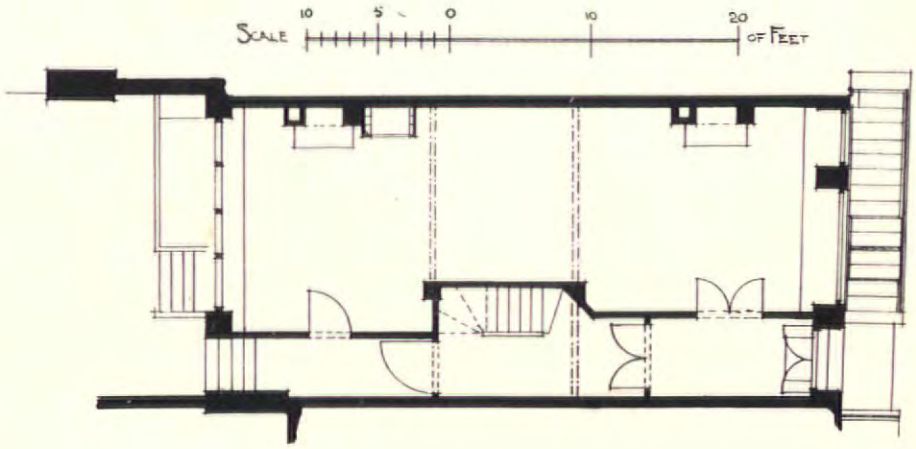


Photo: E. Dockree.

NO. 46, GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET, LONDON, W. MESSRS. W. DUNN AND R. WATSON, ARCHITECTS.



NO. 46, GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET, LONDON, W. GROUND FLOOR PLAN. W. DUNN AND R. WATSON, ARCHITECTS.

Books.

FRENCH DECORATION AND FURNITURE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

French Decoration and Furniture in the Eighteenth Century. By Lady Dilke. Price 25*s*. London: George Bell and Sons, Tavistock Street, Covent Garden.

IN this handsome volume Lady Dilke continues her studies of French art of the 18th century. The fine selection and supreme accomplishment of the artists of that great period were not less completely shown in furniture and decoration than in architecture and sculpture; and in the earlier half of the century, at any rate, there existed an admirable harmony between the various arts. The work of some of these masters might make our modern decorators pause in their pride, if the latter could be induced to consider what has been done in the past, before they took upon themselves to revolutionise the arts of design with the swirl and the blot. Imagine the feelings of André Charles Boulle, Riesener, or Gouthière, if they found themselves in the presence of such work as was recently shown in a loan exhibition at South Kensington, or such amazing combinations of colour and line as at present express the efforts of the Glasgow School. Opinions may differ as to the artistic value of methods of design which have, perhaps, always appealed to the connoisseur more than to the artist, but there can be no two opinions about their mastery of technique, and the absolute value of their workmanship, and it is this which differentiates all the work of the eighteenth century from the slip-shod, slovenly stuff which represents the ideas of our latest reformers in decorative design.

Lady Dilke plunges at once into her subject. She discusses in minute detail the work of De Cotte, the architect of the Golden Gallery of the Hôtel de Toulouse; of Boffrand, the architect of the Hôtel de Soubise; of Nicolas Pineau, pupil of Mansart and his school; of Verbeckt and Rousseau de la Rottière, and brings the intricate story down to the time of Jean Demosthène Dugourc towards the end of the eighteenth century, when the graceful fancy of its earlier years had disappeared, and designers took refuge in an uninspired classicalism, only redeemed from fatuity by its extraordinary technique. Jean Demosthène, by the way, was a remarkable person. Born in 1749, at the age of fifteen he came under the influence of Winckelmann, at Rome, and on his return to Paris, after various false starts, settled down as a designer of miscellaneous ornament and decoration. By the time he was thirty he had gained a reputation which brought him offers of work from almost every part of Europe, and established him as a sort of dictator of the arts in France during the years that preceded the French Revolution. During the French Revolution, Dugourc kept his head on his shoulders, and started a factory for the manufacture of Republican playing cards, and another for the imitation of English glass; he appears again later on at Madrid, designing for the Spanish court, and finally ended up as "Dessinateur des Menus Plaisirs du Roi" when Louis XVIII. ascended the throne. Altogether, he was a most capable man of affairs, if a somewhat indifferent artist. Lady Dilke has a short but interesting chapter on pastoral scenes, and what are known as "Chinoiseries" and "Singeries." It is evident that the French long anticipated the similar but usually inferior work which was carried on in this manner in England. Our "Chinoiseries," such as they are, have been sometimes attributed to the influence of Sir William Chambers; but the French had begun to think of this sort of work years before, when the memorable forty-nine volumes of Chinese designs were presented to Louis XIV. by a Jesuit on behalf of the Emperor of China.

In the eighteenth century French painters seem to have found some of their most lucrative employment in merely decorative painting. Watteau and Fragonard were not above painting door-panels; Christophe Huet devoted himself to Singeries; Van Spaendonck covered walls and panelling with admirable paintings of flowers, and in his work Lady Dilke finds "one of the

last original expressions of the taste and temper of eighteenth century art," "in the roses blooming upon the walls of the Duthé boudoir, a sorrowful perfume as of flowers thrown upon the grave." There was, indeed, another side to the question not hinted at by Lady Dilke. This same Mademoiselle Duthé was "Institutrice des Plaisirs" to Marie Antoinette, and in the bitter winter of 1778 appeared in a coach with panels painted by a pupil of Boucher, the body resting in a golden shell lined with mother-of-pearl, the naves of the wheels of solid silver, the cushions of satin "vert celadon" filled with scented herbs. The Queen was allowed to pass, but the people could not stand the luxury of the "Institutrice," and she and her mother-of-pearl coach had to take refuge in the pound.

We in England had nothing to show at the time at this high level of sumptuous decoration. I recollect a certain room at Stowe entirely decorated with old red lacquer. But the efforts of Adam and Angelica Kauffmann were a poor affair after Fragonard and Boucher. Moreover, they were by no means original or characteristically English, and it is certain that French art was a very important factor in the development of English art of the eighteenth century. The subject has not yet received the study that it deserves. Wren, of course, drew his inspiration from France rather than from Italy, and though the coterie of architects that gathered round Lord Burlington ignored Wren and insisted on Palladianism pure and simple, the French influence crept in again about the middle of the eighteenth century, and, in fact, penetrated to every corner of English art; but it was swept away by the Romanticists and the Gothic movement. Much of the work that we are in the habit of treating as purely English was in fact directly borrowed from France, if not actually executed by Frenchmen, and a study of the illustrations in Lady Dilke's book will prove the fact in a way not entirely flattering to our national pride. Lady Dilke traces the history of the latter days of the Gobelins tapestry works, and shows how the painter destroyed this splendid art. Oudry, otherwise an exceedingly competent designer, hit upon the lamentable theory that the business of tapestry was to reproduce his painting in exact copy. In vain the workmen pointed out that "bien peindre et bien faire exécuter des tapisseries sont choses absolument différentes." They finally struck at the impossible business, but Oudry had his way, and Boucher, who succeeded Oudry in 1758, was worse. If Oudry chastised his workmen with whips, Boucher chastised them with scorpions; the staff were ruined, the workmen imprisoned, and so this magnificent tradition was killed. The concluding chapters of Lady Dilke's history deal with the metal work of Jean Lamour and Les Caffieri, and the furniture of Boulle, Charles Cressent, Riesener, Oeben, and Gouthière; and here again the break-up of tradition is rapidly evident in the work of their successors; materials are misused, ornament put in the wrong place, proportions neglected, till we reach the hopeless ingenuity of the sideboard in mahogany and ormolu with Sèrves panels by Martin Carlin, now in the Royal collection at Windsor.

It is a little difficult to get one's self into the right frame of mind to appraise this work critically. Of its workmanship there can be no question, and much of its attractiveness is due to associations, to the vision that it conjures up of the graceful and admirably accomplished life of the old aristocracy of France; visions that are darkened by the shadow of the impending storm. Yet, if it were possible to divide one's mind into compartments for purposes of criticism, the purist might suggest that its motives are trivial, that its intricate curves and exuberant ornament are a far cry downwards from the splendid simplicity of the great Italians; but this, too, is to attack an intention that never existed. On the whole it is best to take it as one finds it, and we find in it the charm of a gallant, careless age that has passed for ever out of existence. Frenchmen, indeed, not less than Englishmen, must contemplate with dismay the havoc that the nineteenth century has wrought in the arts of design. The future historian of those arts will probably regard that century not as a page of history, rather as a waste leaf of blotting-paper covered with the negatives of various crude experiments in writing.

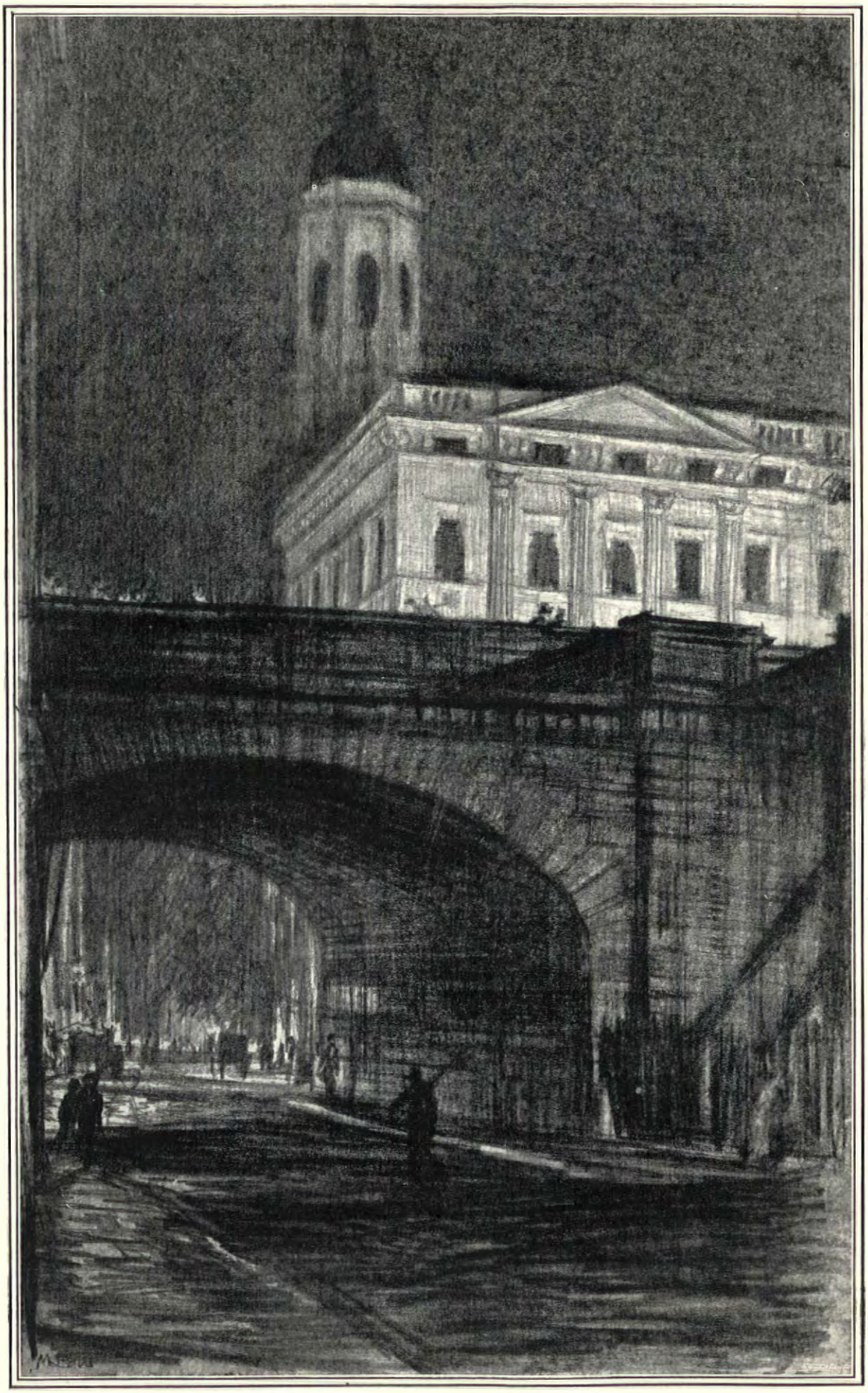
For the study of the last of the old tradition, Lady Dilke's history is invaluable. She has studied her subject, she knows good work from bad, and she has carried out original research of very considerable value. There is, indeed, so much excellent material in her book that it seems ungrateful to quarrel with its form. Yet, in fact, the book is difficult to read, and still more difficult to follow. It is harassing to be danced backwards and forwards between the Trianon, Versailles, and Hertford House, and the dates, names, and references positively jostle each other for room on these learned pages. There is no doubt that Lady Dilke knows all about the facts herself, but she has presented them in a shape that is simply bewildering to the uninitiated. She has made the subject her own, and if she could be induced to put the facts into the crucible again and re-write a clear and consecutive history of French art in the eighteenth century she would render a valuable service to the students of a great period, as yet very imperfectly appreciated by English artists.

REGINALD BLOMFIELD.

CORRECTION.

MR. H. INIGO TRIGGS has called our attention to an error in that part of our review of his book "Formal Gardens in England and Scotland," which relates to Plates Nos. 33 and 34. Our Reviewer stated that:—"An instance of the imperative need for drawings and plans in addition to the photographic plates is to be found in plate No. 34. No. 33 gives a plan of the garden there shown, but so disguised as to be almost unrecognisable." Mr. Triggs points out that plate "No. 32 is a plan of these gardens as they exist at present, whilst No. 33 is a plan taken from an original survey," and in this way the difference is easily accounted for.

THE ARCHITECTURAL REVIEW, VOLUME XII., NO. 70, SEPTEMBER, 1902.



ST. MAGNUS THE MARTYR, LONDON BRIDGE.
DRAWN BY J. MUIRHEAD BONE.

The Liverpool Cathedral Competition.

THE drawings, designs, and the photographs of executed work submitted in the preliminary competition for the new Cathedral at Liverpool, recently exhibited, can hardly be regarded as satisfactory evidence of what English architects are capable of producing. Such a result was only to be expected from the conditions of the competition.

Few architects of repute can spare the time to design "cathédrales en Espagne," and, consequently, most of the best-known men are merely represented by drawings or photographs of executed work. Neither can the exhibition be said to have resulted in the production of a design altogether suitable for the peculiar nature of the site on which the new cathedral is to stand. This again is hardly the fault of the competitors. It is true that the St. James's Mount site was known to be the one generally favoured by the Committee, but no definite announcement was made to that effect, and it is no wonder therefore that those who have taken the trouble to produce fresh designs can hardly be said to have given sufficient attention to the special peculiarities of this site. In most instances the designs submitted would do just as well for any other position.

That much better results could have been obtained under different conditions is undoubted, and yet the competition has not been entirely barren, for many of the designs submitted are of considerable merit. The first impression one receives on going through the rooms is that competitors generally have not let themselves go; they have allowed themselves to be hampered by the Committee's publicly expressed predilection for "Gothic," and have tried a compromise. This is regrettable, as the best work can hardly be produced under such conditions, but not unexpected. Many men have thought to give "originality" to their compositions, by tacking on a dome at the intersection, with the result that in most cases it merely appears an incongruous excrescence. One competitor, who has adopted the triple-porch front of Peterboro' for his West End, has salved his conscience in this manner. Whether out of compliment to one of the assessors—and to Ely—or whether out of desire for a dome, very many of the plans show an octagon terminating the nave, and this is often the only departure made from the usually accepted English mediæval plan. One design shows a hexagon as at Siena. There is something semi-ludicrous, semi-pathetic in the general adoption of this device in such a half-hearted manner. A large unencumbered floor area in front of the pulpit is no doubt an excellent thing, but surely it should be the main congregational feature, if adopted at all, and not be merely an adjunct to a long nave.

A few of the designs, chiefly from America and the Continent, where the Committee's first limitation was possibly unknown, are of purely classic type; and a more limited number still are based on Byzantine models. Of the latter, one is more the new Byzantine as we see it at Westminster, and another is a frank untranslated edition of what correctly belongs to the shores of the Bosphorus or to the Mohammedan cities of Asia Minor. The second is shown in an interesting manner by photographs of a model—the interior being shown as well as the exterior—and by sketches of the proposed church worked on large photographs of the actual site. The design is no more than a suggestion, but enough to convey to the assessors what was in the author's mind. Whether anything is to be gained by adopting so essentially an Eastern plan for a Western cathedral is a question upon which there is likely to be considerable difference of opinion. The Byzantine style is so eminently capable of translation into Western language—this was done in England, France, and Germany, during the 11th and 12th centuries—that it seems a pity to present it in the crude form of this design.

Three interesting and exceedingly well-drawn designs are designated as for the Cathedrals of St. Paul, St. Luke, and St. Peter. All are evidently by the same author, who is unmistakably a man who understands Gothic, and is strongly in sympathy with it. In one design the nave has double aisles, and the nave arcade reaches to the apex of the roof, the arcades which divide the outer from the inner aisle having triforia and clerestory alcoves, an arrangement somewhat reminiscent of Bourges Cathedral.

Another design, full of mediæval spirit, comes from Glasgow, in which a well-proportioned plan, free from all striving after incongruous originalities, is combined with an individualistic treatment of detail, the result being a design of considerable

freshness. Two of the competitors, who have evidently realized that from the only point where the new Cathedral could really be properly seen, its side would be almost in elevation, have arranged their designs so as to prevent a long straight ridge for the main roof. In one design the church is divided in its length into four large square bays, and over each alternate one is placed a tower, so that the side of the church appears more like a very wide end. In the other, instead of towers, the walls are carried up and gabled, the roofs of these bays rising well above the nave roof. The effect externally would probably be good considering the site, but it is doubtful if the interior would be equally satisfactory, as the vault would be much broken in its length.

The effect of the competition as a whole, owing to the varied character of the exhibits, is a jumble; and the result of it is to leave matters pretty much as they were before. A few of the younger men have shown their paces in the preliminary canter; the older ones have, in most cases, kept dark in the paddock. One or two of the former may slip in to the selected six or seven who are to compete in the final; but, without venturing to prophesy, it seems probable that the assessors will, to a very large extent, be compelled to make their selection from those men whose work is known. If all had been put on an equal footing, if this preliminary competition had really been a competition, the site being specified, and designs for it requested, the result might have been different. The real competition has yet to begin; it is to be hoped that it will be worthy of the opportunity.

NOTE.—The competitors' names are covered over by order of the Committee, and cannot therefore be notified, but the following is the official list of the names of architects who have sent in portfolios of drawings:—

R. A. Briggs.
René Buyck.
Fred H. Dudley.
E. Goldie.
J. Dale.
Albert C. Capronnier.
A. W. Crook.
George Simmonds.
George Taylor.
F. R. Kempson.
F. Billerey.
A. Colpoys Wood.
Sir Thomas Drew.
J. Brook, Son and Godsell.
Robert W. Gibson.
J. Robertson.
Walter le Riele.
E. Dobbeleers.
C. H. Mileham.
F. M. Simpson.
Alph. Gosset.
E. Grayson.
C. Demaeght.
G. P. D. Saul.
J. Oldrid Scott.
C. A. Nicholson.
H. A. Prothero.
W. H. Jewitt.
J. Coates Carter.
E. A. Heffer.
A. H. Skipworth.
F. H and J Sparrow.
J. A. Wilson.
Charles L. Bell.
Cram, Goodhue and Ferguson.
Edouard Ramaekers.
B. Ingelow.
Colson, Farrer and Nisbett.
G. G. Scott.
C. V. Johnson.
G. H. Fellowes Prynne.
Gerald C. Horsley.
F. Walley.
"Burgos."
E. P. Warren.
W. Woodward.
Leonard Stokes.
J. F. Doyle.
G. and I. Steane.
S. O. Herbert.
Hippolyte J. Blanc.
De Mathelin.
Basil Champneys.
W. J. Medcalf.
John Bloore, Junr.
R. W. Co lier.
Austin and Paley.
W. D. Caröe.
W. J. H. Leverton.
A. Greothaert.
G. Walesby Davis.
H. C. Corlette.
J. J. Creswell.
J. Jeffrey.
Beresford Pite.
J. Burnet and Son.
— M'Kenzie.
C. Spooner.
Murray and Murray.
H. Beecroft Downs.
J. Honeyman.
Eastwood and Greenslade.
Reed, Smart and Tappin.
P. A. Robson.
M. Metdepinninghen.
W. H. Bidlake.
W. Mackay.
C. J. Anderson.
Hy. J. Price.
J. P. H. Cuypers.
A. E. Street.
F. E. Butler.
F. Todd.
James H. Cook.
C. E. Powell.
W. C. Bishop.
M. Stark.
H. B. Carré.
B. M. Ward.
W. R. Gleave.
H. K. Bromhead.
W. Boswell.
G. H. Shackle.
Max Sainsaulieu.
Temple Moore.
A. D. Sharp.
H. Wilson.
Reilly and Peach.
W. F. Tapper.
Goodwin S. Packer.
J. Atwood Slater.

Mediæval Figure-Sculpture in England.

CHAPTER II.—NORMAN SCULPTURE.

SECTION (A): THE BEGINNINGS OF ITS STYLE.

THE Norman conquest makes a landmark in English art, which is not that of mere conventional use. In the artistic as in the political situation it was a revolution which brought to an end the old order and established a new. But this effect was not altogether such as is generally conceived. It must be remembered that the Norman was in race akin to the Saxon rather than to the Frank, and in civil and domestic culture was, if anything, less advanced than the Saxon whom he subdued.

We are not, therefore, justified in describing the change as the introduction of art to the artless Saxon, or as the teaching of Continental culture to the barbarian races of England. In our last chapter we described a style of Saxon art that had already shown an attainment scarcely to be matched on the opposite side of the Channel. The immediate result of the Conquest was, like that of the Dorian invasion of Greece, to swamp the refined but somewhat enervated art of the conquered race in a flood of barbarism;—which for

A. G.

FIG. 19.—BRISTOL.
("The Harrowing of Hell.")

the moment was a set back, but finally resulted in the breathing of new life into the old and stagnant crafts, till, as the two races mingled together, the seeds were sown of our English Gothic art.

And on another ground we should not justly view the consequence of the Conquest to English art as lying in the admittance of England to the destiny of French architecture. That English Gothic grew to be the sister of the French did not come from the accident of the success of the Norman invasion. It was the spread of monastic institutions that gave the momentum which started art along the path to Gothic; and already before the Conquest Benedictine developments[22] had gone far enough to bring England within that dominant religious polity which was independent of national boundaries and made one all the entities we now recognise as France, Germany, and England. And the prime importance of the Conquest to our history of sculpture was not in its French starting-point, but that our conquerors were Vikings, and that by the conquest of England the vigour of the Viking building instinct thus found a means of expression which put it for the time at the head of European art.

Most distinctly in the works of the great Norman builders there came that evolution of the building art which separates the art of the later Middle Ages from that of the earlier—the change from the decorative pictorial expressions of the Byzantine decadence to sinewy masonic creations which developed the peculiar genius of Gothic. The Normans produced in England a great style of building, with masses of construction such as only the Roman Empire had attempted, and this vigour of stone construction remained for us, the bequest of the Conquest to our art, and our figure-sculpture now gives evidence of this connection with masonic form.

While hitherto any sure date for our examples of Saxon sculpture has been difficult because the architectural settings for them have usually been wanting, now after the Conquest we reach more certain ground. From the time when Norman building began in England we have a continuous record in architecture, and a figure-carving *in situ*, which can be dated by its position. We can speak with confidence of the Norman style in figure art, when it is shown in walls whose building is recorded, or whose architectural detail is distinct.

Before, however, dealing with what we take as the purely Norman figure-sculpture, there are a number of remains which are difficult to date exactly, and which, though of somewhat coarser execution, incline to the Winchester type described in our last chapter. Many of these pieces are now built into Norman walls, or have been found on Norman sites; but there is often some evidence that they came from earlier buildings which had been destroyed to make room for larger and more imposing edifices. At Chichester, Romsey, and elsewhere the style of such carving has been distinct enough, and sufficiently supported by site, subject, and method, to justify us in dating it as Saxon work, but in other instances the evidence is less complete and the style is not sufficiently distinctive to enable us to speak with certainty of it as Pre-conquest sculpture. We have mentioned the stone at Bristol (Fig. 19), taken from the chapter-house floor, as showing South Saxon feeling in style, but not exactly the Winchester manner; while its subject, "The Harrowing of Hell," is a motive that belongs less to

[22] In 1044 the Benedictine Robert of Jumiéges was Bishop of London, becoming Archbishop of Canterbury in 1051. The introduction of the French ecclesiastic into England was an old story long before the Conquest.

A. G.

FIG. 20.—LINCOLN. FRAGMENT OF A MAJESTY.
(Now in the Cloisters.)

South Saxon than to Irish Viking art. The drapery is bluntly rendered compared with that in the Chichester panels, and the hair is merely a mass of square-cut fillets and pellets. More in touch with the Saxon ivories are two fragments, one of which was dug up in the close of Lincoln and is now in the cloisters (Fig. 20), the other being that now set behind the altar at York (Fig. 21). Anterior to the Conquest [23] these towns were under Danish influences; still the art of these carvings is very far removed from what we have sketched as the Danish execution of the figure. It can be seen to lie close to the Winchester art; but the subjects, the *Virgin and Child* at York and the *Majesty* at Lincoln, are of the eleventh rather than of the tenth century inspiration of the South Saxon. The York fragment especially reminds us of the ivories of the Winchester school (see Fig. 18, Chapter I.), with its delicacy of execution, and clean-cut folds of drapery. The feet of the child are remarkably well rendered, and the curious cushions remind us of Roman art. We may, therefore, recognise in these fragments witnesses to the spread of the Winchester culture, which had accompanied the extension of the Wessex supremacy, and still produced in the chief towns of North England works of merit during Canute's patronage of the church after his pilgrimage to Rome in 1027.[24] So they make a link, to be taken up later, when the catastrophic flood of the Norman invasion had passed.

To understand where the arts of North-west Europe were standing at the middle of the eleventh century, we must observe how they had resolved themselves into two antagonistic schools.

A. G.

FIG. 21.—YORK MINSTER. VIRGIN AND CHILD.
(Now set in East Wall.)

[23] The Bristol buildings (now cathedral) were not founded till 1140. Lincoln was made cathedral only after the Conquest, Bishop Remigius beginning immediately to build c. 1070. At York there would seem to have been a destruction of the Saxon cathedral, the Norman church being begun in 1080.

[24] See in the Stowe MS., ecclesiastica iii. 32, a painting of Canute and Emma making a donation to New Minster, where a majesty shows just the figures of the Lincoln stone.

On the one hand were the *Irish-Viking* or *Norse* arts, as we may now call them, whose area and influence on the cross sculpture of the British Isles we have already sketched. Following the tracks of the Norse invasion there had been carried the barbaric patternings and the energetic, if degraded, figure-motives of Norse carving to all the seaboards of Europe. The main centres of the Continent, on the other hand, were still in the domain of *Carlovingian* art, a latter-day classic renaissance, fostered by Charlemagne's wide empire, which, in touch with both Anglian and Byzantine sources, had from the ninth to the eleventh century been the important event of European art. It had run its course as a pictorial style, founded on the immovable traditions of Eastern arts, but now its volume was ebbing away. Along the Rhine, perhaps, its decadence was passing by successive absorptions from Norse and Neo-Byzantine sources into Romanesque without break of continuity. But in Northern France the fierceness of the Viking invasion of the tenth century would seem to have swamped *Carlovingian* culture and put an end to the elegances of Byzantine arts. Figure-sculpture was for two centuries extinct in the Romanesque buildings of Normandy and Picardy, only again to begin when the Burgundian monastic schools at Vezelay and Chartres had made the start towards Gothic sculpture. But as yet there was no hint of this at the time of the Norman Conquest, and for the fifty years that followed, in England as in Normandy, all the energies of the Norman culture expended themselves on the building side, stone-sculpture being attempted only in the convoluted patterns and shallow figure-works that had ornamented *Irish-Viking* crosses and memorial stones.

Now in England the Saxon school of Winchester had been a distinguished branch of the *Carlovingian* culture, distinct in its technique, yet similarly founded on the groundwork of decorative formalism—its arts those of the painter, of the goldsmith, the shrine-decker and ivory-worker. On the other hand, our Northern art, as we have seen it in Mid-England and Durham, had been *Danish*, cradled in the Dane-law, and after 1000 A.D. in close connection with Scandinavia under Sweyn and Canute. And since the Normans were Vikings, the Norman invasion introduced what was in effect a reinforcement to the Scandinavian inspiration of art, able to unite with Danish expressions of Mid-England, so that there, as we shall show, we have a continuing school of sculpture. But it crushed the South-Saxon representation, just as it had the *Carlovingian* representation of Northern France. So in the South of England, the home of Saxon culture, the Conquest brought only a break in the arts. No examples of figure-sculpture can be adduced to show a craft in continuation of that of the Romsey rood or the Chichester panels. The mighty building of Bishop Walkelin's cathedral at Winchester in the last quarter of the eleventh century was carried on with no figure-carving that we can trace, and relied for its decoration entirely on the painter's art. Only towards 1150 we have there the black-stone font with its legends of St. Nicholas, where bullet-heads and staring eyes have come in place of the proportionate modelling and delicate face expression of the earliest art (compare Fig. 22 with Figs. 14 and 15 in Chapter I.). It is therefore into two schools that we may roughly divide the first Norman figure-sculpture. On the one hand we have, as we have said above, the continuation of the Irish-Viking or Danish school, of which many examples remain, chiefly in the West and Midlands, and which may be dated within some forty years on either side of the Conquest. Secondly, we have a school derived from painting, which begins with rudimentary attempts to represent the shadings of the draughtsman by broadly-cut groovings: this is the more purely

FIG. 22.—WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL. THE FONT.

(From a photograph kindly lent by S. Gardner, Esq.)

Norman school. Finally, towards the end of the period of which we are speaking, a third type may be distinguished, in which the sculpture begins to assume a distinctly architectural rôle, and to form an integral part of the masonic scheme of the building. These three classes naturally overlap one another, and the third especially varies according as it is influenced more by the first or second; but we will deal with each of these in turn, and try to keep them as separate as we can.

(1.) Norse Style.

Though in the great Norman building of cathedrals and abbeys we have rarely any show of carved figure-work, and must believe that its execution made a smaller part of the Norman than of the Saxon church-work, still we have no lack of English examples of pre-Gothic sculpture. We must for these, however, turn to the smaller parish churches rather than to those of abbey and cathedral; or if in monastic building to the later accessory buildings of the conventual house, which came subsequently to the erections of the great church fabric. And, as we have indicated, they are the Midland and Western counties of England which give us the bulk of this parish church sculpture, which by its style and surroundings belongs to the fifty years on either side of the Conquest, while its carving method seems to continue that of the *Irish-Viking* cross sculpture. The inference is that while in the great Benedictine constructions of Eastern and Southern England figure-sculpture was crushed out in the plenitude of the great building style, in Central England and all along the Keltic fringe there lived through the Conquest the craft of the cross sculptor, and this was at the service of the parish churches,[25] when stone-building began. So here we have the links of a succession which is wanting elsewhere in the change from Saxon to Norman stone-craft. Afterwards this expertness in sculpture, at first exercised in the native English building of the West—where it had been less under the monastic dominion of the Norman Conqueror—passed to the later buildings of the Eastern and Southern monasteries, bringing, as it were, an Anglo-Saxon revival of the stone-carving art; so that after 1120 we find Norman building all over England covered with ornaments that recall the detail of eleventh century manuscripts, and show besides not a little figure-sculpture. This revival was, however, a mixed one. By that time other sources of influence—those of the Continental schools of monastic art—had considerably modified English carving, as will be presently noted. We give examples here of the distinct technique of this *Irish-Viking* style as it passed into the building of our earliest English churches.

The cross sculpture of the ninth and tenth centuries (in sympathy with that art of wood-carving which was in familiar practice in Scandinavian ship and hall) had been in two planes, with a cutting down of the figure-outlines from the one to the other with a bevelled edge, and the indication of drapery and other details by incised lines on the surface (see Fig. 9, Chapter I.).[26]

[25] We may note in this how the Saxon local institutions, surviving the feudal institutions of the Norman, as represented in their monastic buildings, finally came to the front.

[26] The tympanum at St. Nicholas, Ipswich, and the apostle slabs there, are also probably pre-Conquest examples.

FIG. 23.—AULT HUCKNALL, DERBYSHIRE.
(1st or Norse Style.)
(From a photograph by Richard Keene, Ltd., Derby.)

A. G.

FIG. 24.—SOUTHWELL. ST. MICHAEL AND THE DRAGON.
(1st or Norse Style.)

This method is associated with the subjects and style of the whole body of Scandinavian art (see casts in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington) with the dragons, the knot-work patterns, and those interlacements of biting beasts, which are the mainstays of Scandinavian symbolism. We can separate this technique as distinct from that of the capital carver, who, regardless of his planes, covered the whole field with inclined grooves in representation of painting. And it is the Norse craft that we find employed in the stone-building of the parish churches that came after the Conquest. The decorative sculptor devoted his attention chiefly to the doorways, and especially to the deep door-lintel or tympanum, which the Norman art of building developed. The habit of carving the door-head with figure-sculpture cannot, of course, be taken as arising in England, or as being peculiarly English.[27] But, at any rate, we can show a series of tympanum-carvings still left in our parish churches (in Mr. Keyser's collection of photographs in the South Kensington Museum they can be seen to number over a hundred), with a continuous advance of sculpture from the barbaric Norse technique to considerable attainment. Many of these must be dated before 1100, such as the example we give from Ault Hucknall, in Derbyshire (Fig. 23), where the surroundings and method indicate pre-Conquest execution, as also do those of the lintel-stone (Fig. 24), which, built

[27] Examples of importance, dated to the eleventh century, are to be seen at Nivelles, near Tournai, and at Maestricht, near Aix-la-Chapelle (see casts at South Kensington); also at Worms on the Rhine, and at Clermont and elsewhere in Central France, leading on to the great development of this sculpture in the first half of the twelfth century, when, simultaneously with our cathedral doorway at Rochester, magnificent compositions of relief and figure-work were being given to the entrance porches of San Clemente, Rome; of St. Trophimes, Arles; of St. Sernin, Toulouse; of the abbey church at Vézelay, in Burgundy; and of St. Jacob's at Ratisbon, in Bavaria. The latest and most complete of these characteristically Romanesque works is that of St. Iago de Compostella in North Spain, which is recorded as the work of the master mason, Matteo, in 1188.

FIG. 25.—DINTON, BUCKS. TYMPANUM OF SOUTH DOOR.
(1st or Norse Style.)
(From a photograph kindly lent by S. Gardner, Esq.)

FIG. 26.—MORETON VALENCE, GLOUCESTERSHIRE. ST. MICHAEL AND THE DRAGON.
(1st or Norse Style)
(From a photograph by Mr. Walton Adams, Reading.)

(c. 1120) into the transept wall at Southwell, may be regarded as a fragment from the Saxon church of the Confessor's time. And showing similar features of design, with interlacements, symbolic beasts and petticoated figures, are a number of other tympanum-carvings,[28] which may be dated before 1100, or but shortly after. The figure-tracings on these stones are often of extreme rudeness (as at Hognaston, Derbyshire; Stoke-sub-Hamdon, Somerset; and Beckford, Gloucestershire), but the interlacements and dragon conceptions show excellent execution (as at Hoveringham, Nottinghamshire; and Knook, Wiltshire, which have the same scheme as the Southwell stone); and in the beast and bird outlines there is frequently an almost Assyrian vigour of design (as see especially the fine flying serpent in the ruined chapel at Netherton, Wilts). Among the numerous examples of this type of work we might select the tympana at Rowlstone, Herefordshire, and Water Stratford and Dinton, Bucks, as worthy of mention: that at Dinton, especially (Fig. 25), is a good specimen, with its heraldically opposed beasts above, and flying dragon below. The St. Michael at Moreton Valence (Fig. 26), the riding knights with dragons at Ruardean and Brinsop, Herefordshire, and the St. George at Fordington, near Dorchester (Dorset) (Fig. 27), belong no doubt to the twelfth century, with an advance of modelling in the craft which still, however, retains its characteristic planes and clean-cut outlines. The subjects of this carving are of similar significance. The period of Scandinavian art was that in which religious feeling expressed itself in an energetic symbolism, which continually represented the conflict between good and evil, especially in many fashions of fighting animals: the Lamb subduing the beasts of the field; Sagittarius shooting at a monster; Samson

FIG. 27.—FORDINGTON, DORSET.
(1st or Norse Style.)
(From a photograph by Mr Walton Adams, Reading.)

[28] Such, too, are various sepulchral and other slabs, as at St. Nicholas, Ipswich, and Conisborough, Yorkshire.

Photo: E. Marriage.

FIG. 28.—BURNHAM DEEPDALE, NORFOLK. THE FONT.
(1st or Norse Style.)

or David wrestling with the lion; St. Michael or St. George overcoming the dragon; Christ treading the asp and the basilisk under foot, or harrowing the serpent of Hell.[29]

Similar execution and the same types of figure and subject occur on the fonts, whose circular faces and flat panels in the twelfth century vied with the doorheads as fields for a pictorial figure-sculpture. And just as in the capitals the figure-motive may be seen dying out at the end of the century, so in the fonts, too, it gave place to the mouldings and leaf-representations of Gothic inspiration. The fonts of Hutton-Cranwich and Kirkburn, in Yorkshire, may be mentioned as specimens of some of the rudest figure-work in our Norman sculpture; those of Melbury Bubb, Dorset, and Chaddesley Corbett, Worcestershire, show the vigour of its animal carving and its delight in animal interlacements; while those of Burnham Deepdale in Norfolk (Fig. 28), and Bridekirk, Cumberland[30] (see cast in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington) have an advancement in modelling and design which is on a par with those finest achievements of Scandi-

A. G.

FIG. 29.—HEREFORD. NORMAN CAPITAL PRESERVED IN THE CATHEDRAL.
(2nd or Painting School.)

A. G.

FIG. 30.—WESTMINSTER. "THE JUDGMENT OF SOLOMON." CAPITAL PRESERVED IN CHAPTER HOUSE VESTIBULE.
(2nd or Painting School.)

[29] Various legends of the saints—such as that of St. Margaret escaping from the belly of the dragon, and the strange myths of mediæval natural history preserved in the Bestiary, Physiologus, etc., came at this time into favour, as introducing the animal subjects and contorted attitudes in which this art delighted.

[30] This font is signed by its maker in a rune which declares his name as Richard. Thereupon on the idea that no age can ever have two men of any genius at a time, this Richard is declared to be that Ricardus Ingeniator, who, the Durham records tell us, equipped B. Puisey's fortresses. On the strength of this guess, Richard is actually imagined as an early Michael Angelo, "engineer, architect, and sculptor," all in one. The dates, however, would make a difficulty as to Puisey's Richard being the signatory of the Bridekirk font. He comes a generation too late.

A. G.

FIG. 31.—CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL. CAPITAL IN CRYPT. C. 1140.
(2nd or Painting School.)

navian art, the wood-carved doors of Valthiofstad, Iceland, or the ivory chair of Tyldalen, Norway.

(2.) PAINTING SCHOOL.

The massive structures of the Norman prelates and abbots speak for themselves. From 1070 to

A. G.

FIG. 32.—CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL. CAPITAL IN CRYPT. C. 1140.
(2nd or Painting School.)

1130 they raised in England cathedrals and abbeys, at London, Winchester, St. Albans, Bury, Ely, and Durham, a bulk of building as large as the Middle Ages anywhere produced in such an area, but its stonework shows less fancy of the chisel, less expression of sculpture, than any stone building of the world. However, these broad

FIG. 34.—DURHAM. SANCTUARY DOOR-HANDLE.
(3rd or Architectural Style.)
(From a photo kindly lent by S. Gardner, Esq.)

surfaces of walling and bulky columns were not left in the mere nakedness of building, They were ornamented lavishly with paintings.[31] The early twelfth century remains of wall painting in England are very considerable, and they indicate, as accompanying the Norman expression of building, an extensive practice in the designing of great colour schemes. This painting necessarily had a development of figure-technique, and its effect on carving is of first importance to our consideration of Norman sculpture, because it expressively

A. G.

FIG. 33.—ROMSEY, HANTS. CORBEL-TABLE.
(3rd or Architectural Style.)

[31] Besides the striking twelfth century paintings at Canterbury and Durham, the parish churches of Hardham, near Arundel, of Kempley in Gloucestershire, and of Copford in Essex, may be cited among many others as showing the extent and ability of Norman wall-painting.

A. G.

FIG. 35.—KILPECK, HEREFORDSHIRE. SHAFT OF SOUTH DOOR.
(3rd or Architectural Style.)

illustrates how complete was the break in the sculptor's art. In that of the painter the Conquest had less effect. We can see in the twelfth century miniatures of Winchester a delicacy of drawing which is in continuation of that of the earlier school, and in addition a breadth of design and a fulness of colouring which seems gained to it from the Norman culture. The wall paintings show, too, expert qualities of draughtsmanship and figure design. It is in turning to the stone works of the great cathedrals and abbeys that we find a craft that is retrograde. The Norman mason has evidently had little practice in anything beyond ashlar. His mouldings and capitals are mere block work, and so when he starts upon the modelling of the figure, his endeavour is only to engrave on stone the outlines of figure painting, and to represent by broad shallow grooves the shading contours. The result is to be seen in the somewhat grotesque figure-scenes of pier capitals such as those in the crossing at Southwell, or as the one we illustrate from Hereford (Fig. 29). The compositions are those of the manuscript painter, but the sculptures have no such elegance. At Westminster have been preserved some capitals of the Abbey of Edward the Confessor (now set in the vestibule of Chapter House), and they may be taken as specimens of what the Norman craft of figure sculpture was in 1060 (Fig. 30), with its rudimentary efforts at modelling, and its sideface Norman profile (with upturned nose and retreating chin), just as we see it in the miniatures of the St. Albans painter, in marked distinction from the three quarter-face expressions which carving and painting at Chichester and Winchester had

A. G.

FIG. 37.—KILPECK. ST. PETER, FROM THE CHANCEL ARCH.
(3rd or Architectural Style.)

A. G.

FIG. 36.—KILPECK. DETAIL OF SOUTH DOOR.
(3rd or Architectural Style.)

FIG. 38.—THE GLOUCESTER CANDLESTICK NOW IN THE SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM.

developed. For nearly a century after the Conquest the carving of capitals with figure subjects appears as a variation of the plainly rounded cushions of the Norman building, and the technique discloses how they have been merely engraved renderings of the paintings which adorned the broad faces of the stone.[32] At Romsey, Hants, in the crypt of St. Peter's, Oxford, at St. Peter's, Northampton, and at Adel, Yorkshire, are well-preserved examples which, if with Norse motives and execution rather than those of South England manuscripts, are still clearly renderings of painted decoration. Altogether, such carvings give an interesting and independent source of stone technique in the figure, and as is to be seen in our examples (Figs. 31 and 32) from Canterbury Crypt, probably carved about 1140, the skill of the sculptor developed in some sixty years to a considerable elegance of representation and power of modelling in low relief. Almost suddenly, however, towards 1170, in the coming of Gothic art, such picture capitals were superseded by the genuine stone craft of the Gothic foliage carver.

(3.) The Architectural Style.

We pass to a third source of Norman style in figure-work, which, if of less importance at the time, yet grew to chief significance. This was the masonic idea of stone carving, which came in the track of Norman building and advanced with rapidity towards a scheme of sculptural decoration new in the history of mediæval art. Hitherto, whether in the grooved transcripts of the painting, or in the wood technique of panel-planes, figure-representation had been that of the draughtsman, not of the sculptor. In the creations of the stone builders, a new function appeared for it. Our last chapter showed a block of stone at Deerhurst (dated c. 1050) carved tentatively in the round, and used for the masonic purpose of a stop or corbel-base for the label. In Norman building, corbel-stones come into great prominence, particularly in the corbel-table, which was the external finish of the wall. And in the blocks which support it we have often the only sculptured pieces, where all else in their stone-work has been plainly dressed. This sculpture early took the form of a head or mask, usually a leering visage (Fig. 33), often dog-eared and gnawing a figure. Numbers of such heads seem to have been carved on every Norman building of the early twelfth century,[33] and the practice passed to the decoration of arches, each voussoir being made a separate head-carving, at first most often a bird-beaked grotesque, but after 1130 becoming shapely and aiming at the expression of elegant carving. Also the label-stop, at first a dragon's or wolf's head, as at Deerhurst (Fig. 103 in last chapter), and still so in Norman building some fifty years later at Malmesbury, by the middle of the twelfth century becomes a finely conceived and modelled carving, and we are in the domain of Gothic inspiration, which made the whole structure of the stone-fabric instinct with the life of sculpture.

In the early years of Norman building, however, the Romanesque chiseller did not display the fine sense with which the Gothic artist shaped his figure-representation to the expression of building. His beak-heads and corbel-tables are bold barbaric decorations, and his use of the figure in the round

[32] At Sompting, Sussex, is a panel with a figure in relief whose tracing is that of a painting.

[33] The fashion was similar in Southern France, see Arles, Toulouse, etc. The type in perfect preservation is shown in the bronze of the *sanctuary* door-handle (Fig. 34) at Durham.

shows just the same grotesqueness and zoomorphic pattern-construction as it had shown in the flat. In the exuberance of his door ornamentation the pillar becomes a twist of writhing scrolls and figure-work, as overwrought as any Hindoo tope-carving and as savage as a Polynesian paddle. Kilpeck (Figs. 35, 36, and 37) and Shobdon show in stone what the Gloucester candlestick (Fig. 38) does in metal, and what the Norse inspiration exhibited in all its districts alike; whether, in its native Norway, in the doorways of Sauland, Hallingdal, and Flaa; in France at Souillac on the Dordogne, and at St. Aube on the Loire; or in Germany at Freising on the Isar. The extravagant contortion of figure-design is well exhibited in the *atlantes* which were set as corbels to carry the vault of the apse in the Durham Chapter-house (c. 1135), now preserved in the Cathedral library.

We may then on technical grounds take the beginnings of Norman sculpture as roughly grouping themselves under three styles:—First, those which contained the technique of flat-relief that had developed to the cross-sculptures of *Irish-Viking* art and which, localised in the Midlands, are seen in the doorways of parish churches, showing with Scandinavian energy strange beasts and dragons and all the medley of Norse symbolism. Secondly, those executed under the direct influence of Norman painting on wall and in manuscript which had succeeded to the Saxon draughtsmanship of the Winchester School of manuscript-drawing, and which was at home in the subjects of the sacred story and monastic legend. And thirdly, the sculpture which illustrates the advance of architectural carving in the round, which, coming into life among the great erections of the Romanesque stone-builders, gradually improved with practice, till by the beginning of the twelfth century we can see it with astonishing vigour and rapidity advancing towards the creation of Gothic style.

In spite of its early roughness great progress was made in architectural carving by the beginning of the twelfth century, and by the second quarter of that century the various schools can be seen mixing and drawing together, ever increasing in power and expression, till constant practice gave skill of execution and faculty of design, and the great Gothic art of England emerged from the Romanesque forms. In all this the history of art throws light on the political history of the time, and we have the steps by which the distinctions between Saxon and Norman died away, when we watch the developments and combinations of the styles of their sculptures as the various influences gradually unite to form a truly national art.

EDWARD S. PRIOR.
ARTHUR GARDNER.

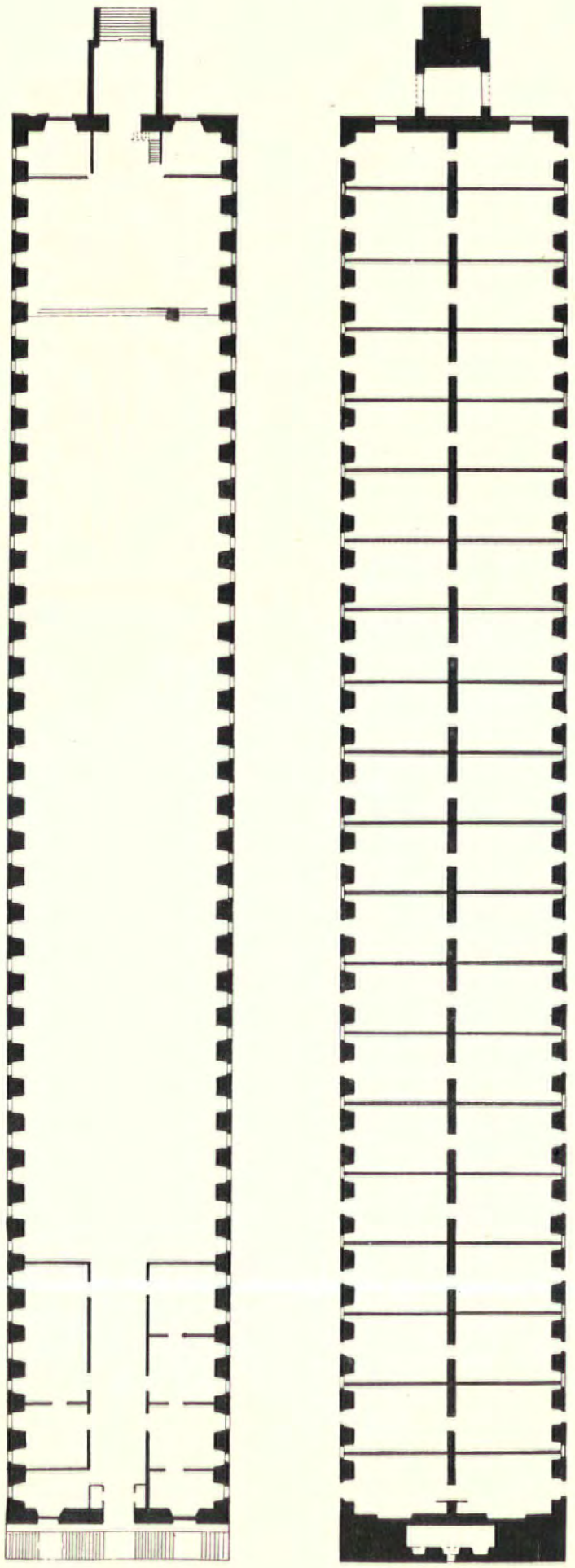
(To be continued.)

Buildings of Christian IV.

THIRD ARTICLE.—CONCLUSION.

IN two previous articles I have dealt with the castles of Fredericksborg and Rosenborg. They justly deserve the place of honour amongst the buildings erected by King Christian IV., but the list is a very long one, so long, in fact, that it would not be possible to give even passing mention of them all. This will be better understood when I say that the number of new towns founded by Christian IV. is considerable. In the year 1617 he founded Christianshavn, in the island of Amak, now a part of Copenhagen; in 1624 Christiania, the capital of Norway, sprang into existence at his bidding; in 1641 Christansand, likewise in Norway; in 1614 Christianstad, in Sweden; in 1632 Christianspriis, on the Kiel Fjord, &c. In Copenhagen he built a large Students' Home, still in use, and opposite it the famous Round Tower, with the adjoining church of the Trinity; he built the old church of the Saviour (rebuilt by Christian V.), the Church of the Navy, a large armoury, the large couplet of streets known as Nyboder, which contained dwellings for the Navy, the Exchange, and several other buildings.

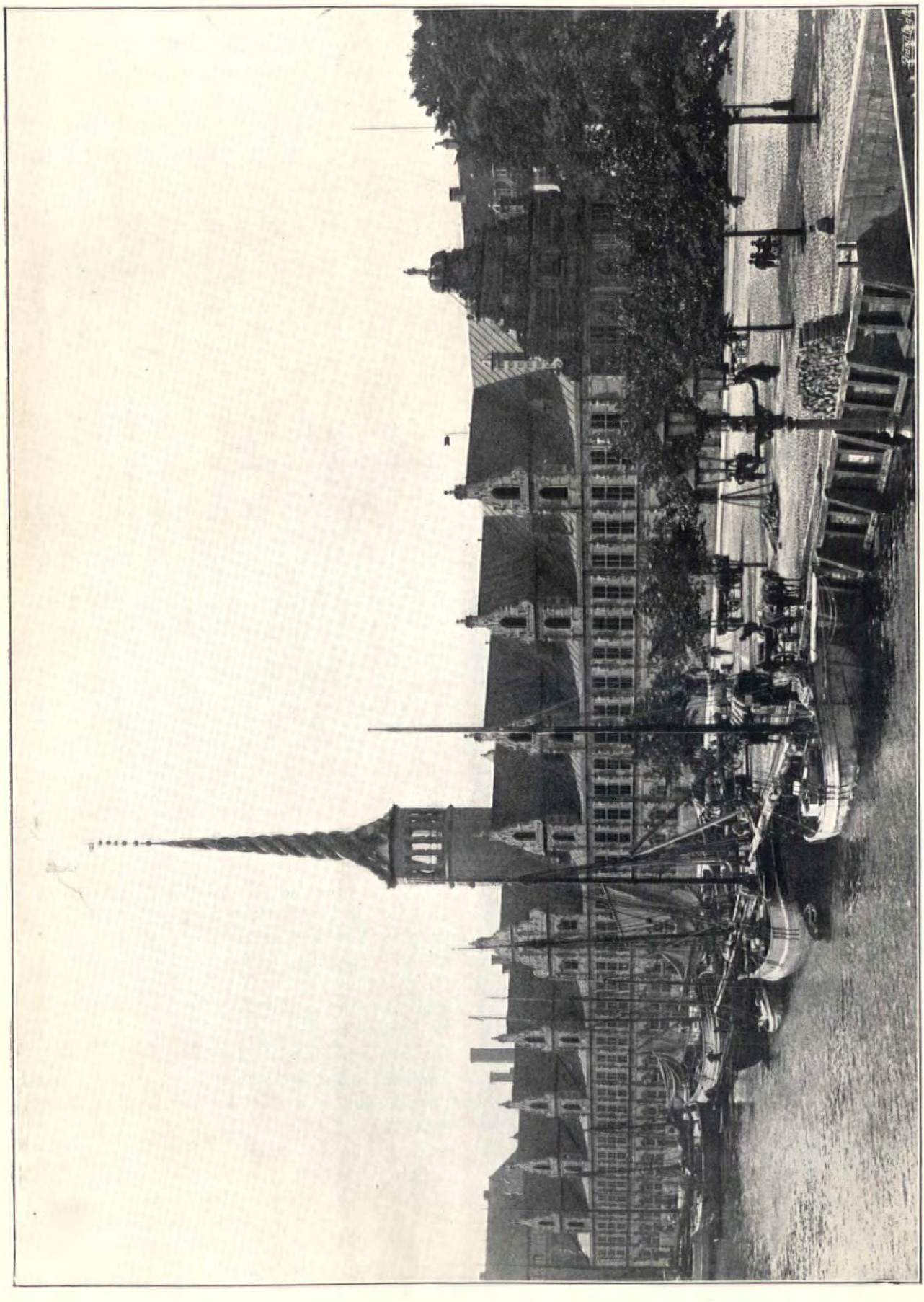
Among the single buildings the Exchange carries off the palm; it is highly original and picturesque, and well adapted for its purpose. It does not possess the imposing elevation of either of the two castles already described, but its lines are effective and the details excellent, altogether a fine specimen of Dutch Renaissance. Sandstone ornament is extensively used with discreet taste; there is no suspicion of overloading or excess. We give an illustration of one of the



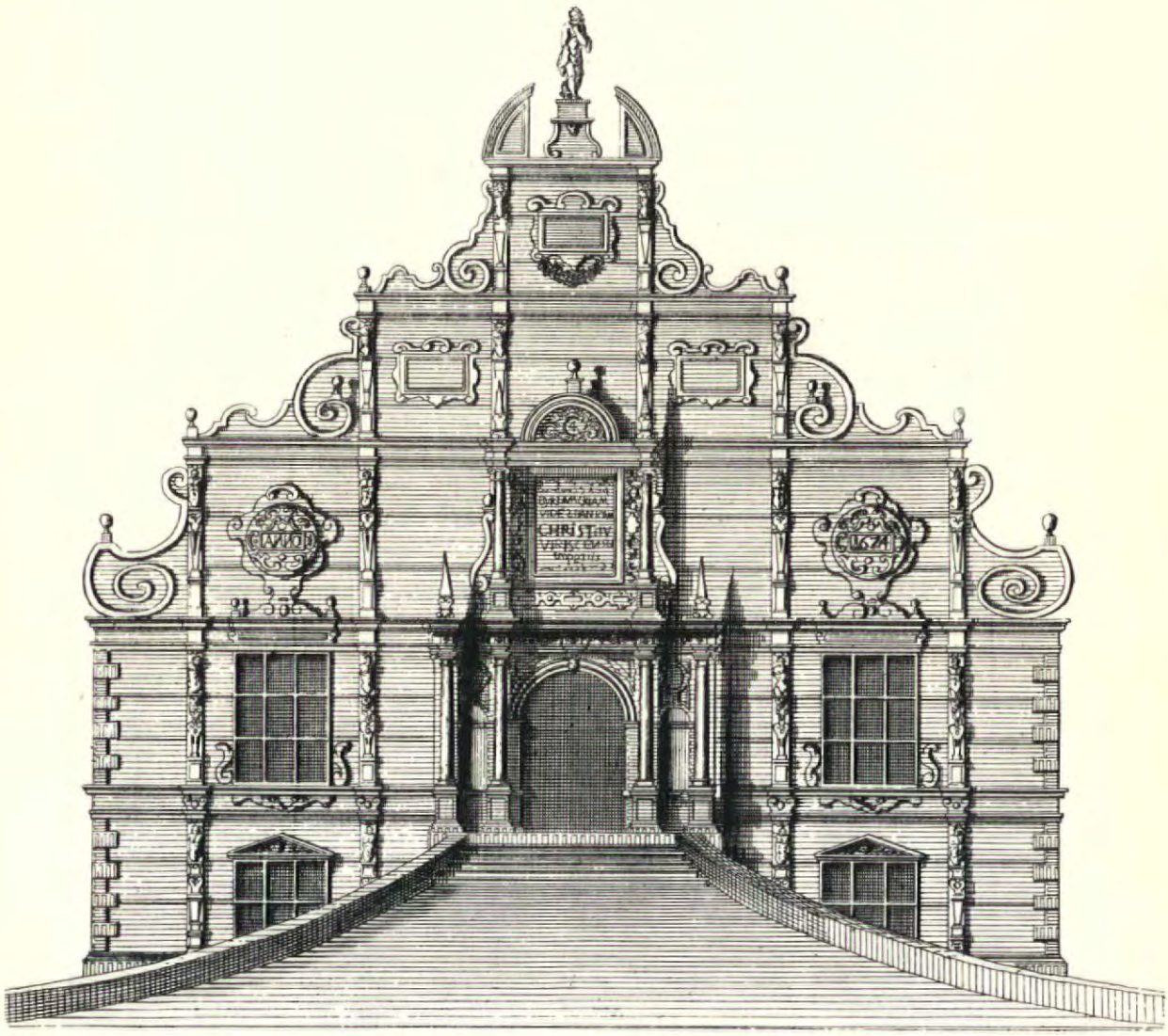
FIRST FLOOR PLAN.

GROUND FLOOR PLAN.

THE ROYAL EXCHANGE, COPENHAGEN.



THE ROYAL EXCHANGE, COPENHAGEN.



MAIN ENTRANCE TO THE ROYAL EXCHANGE, COPENHAGEN.

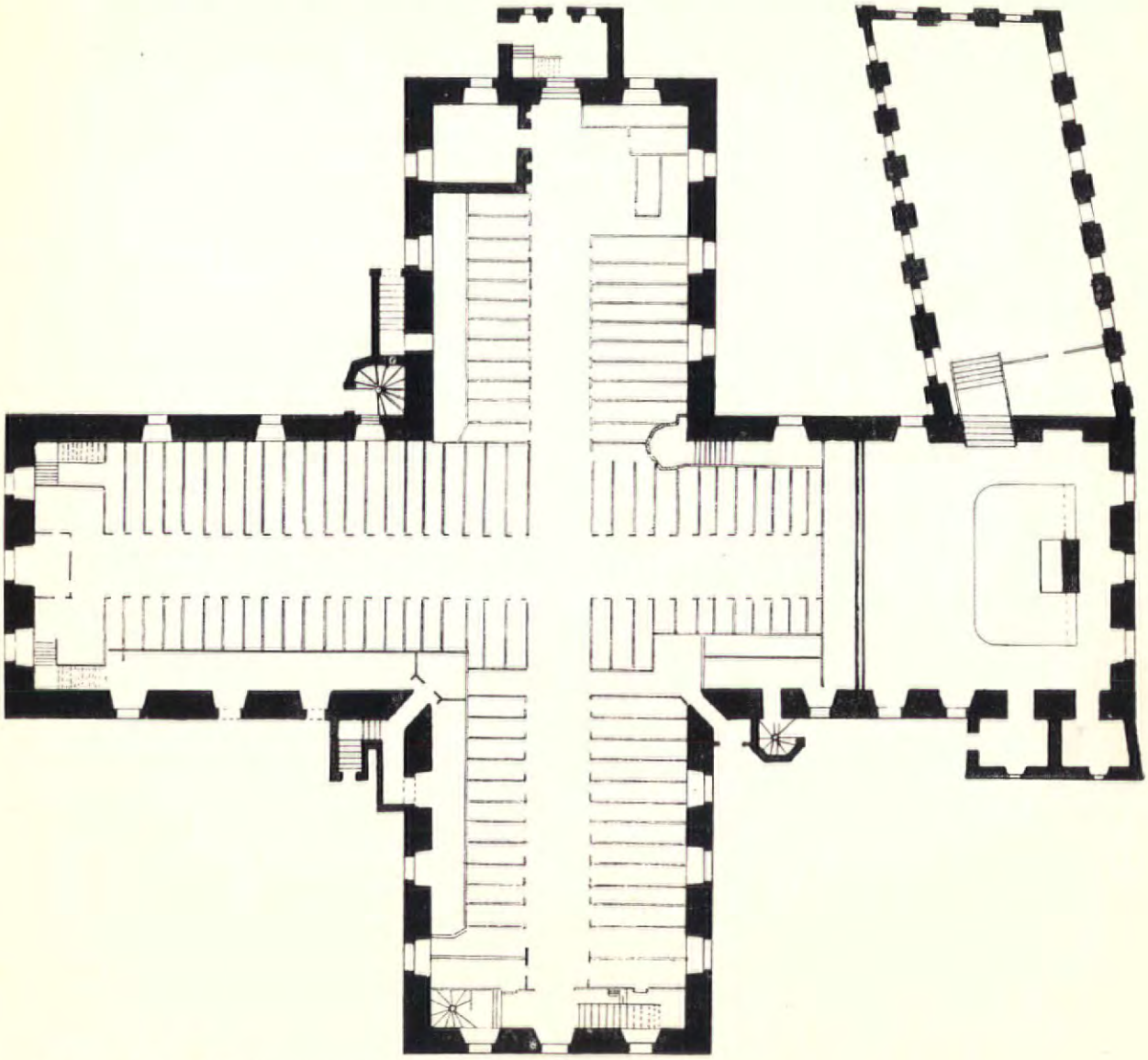
gables or end portals, which, decorated with pillars, is a pleasing example of the style. The most conspicuous feature, however, is the spire, placed in the centre of the building. It is formed of four huge dragons, the heads and claws of which single themselves out at the bottom, whilst their twisted bodies and tails make a quain and graceful spire. The dimensions of the Exchange are considerable, the length being some 412 feet and the breadth about 60 feet. It consists of two storeys, of which the ground floor, formerly containing various shops and stores, is given up to several more or less public offices, whilst on the first floor, the principal storey, the Exchange, with its various auxiliary rooms and offices, occupies the greater portion. The building now belongs to the Copenhagen Chamber of Commerce, or, perhaps, more correctly, Society of Merchants, one of the conditions of the transfer being this, that the exterior should always be maintained in the original style.

The Church of the Navy was not originally built for a church. It was first used for various purposes—mint, anchor smithy, &c., but in the year 1619 King Christian transformed it into a church "for all those who serve in His Majesty's Navy, armoury, brew-house, bake-house, coopers'-house, smithy, and stables," the church lying in the immediate vicinity of the castle. It took the name it still bears from the Navy, and the admirals have their own pew there. The new church soon proved too small, and during the years 1639-41 the King added two wings, proceeding from the middle of the original building, the church thus becoming what is generally called a cross-church, the centre being adorned by a spire, open and octangular, as are most of the spires built by Christian IV., although it cannot in beauty vie with some of its sisters. The church, like the Exchange, is built of red brick, with sandstone ornamentation, the latter, however, on a much more limited scale. The dimensions are

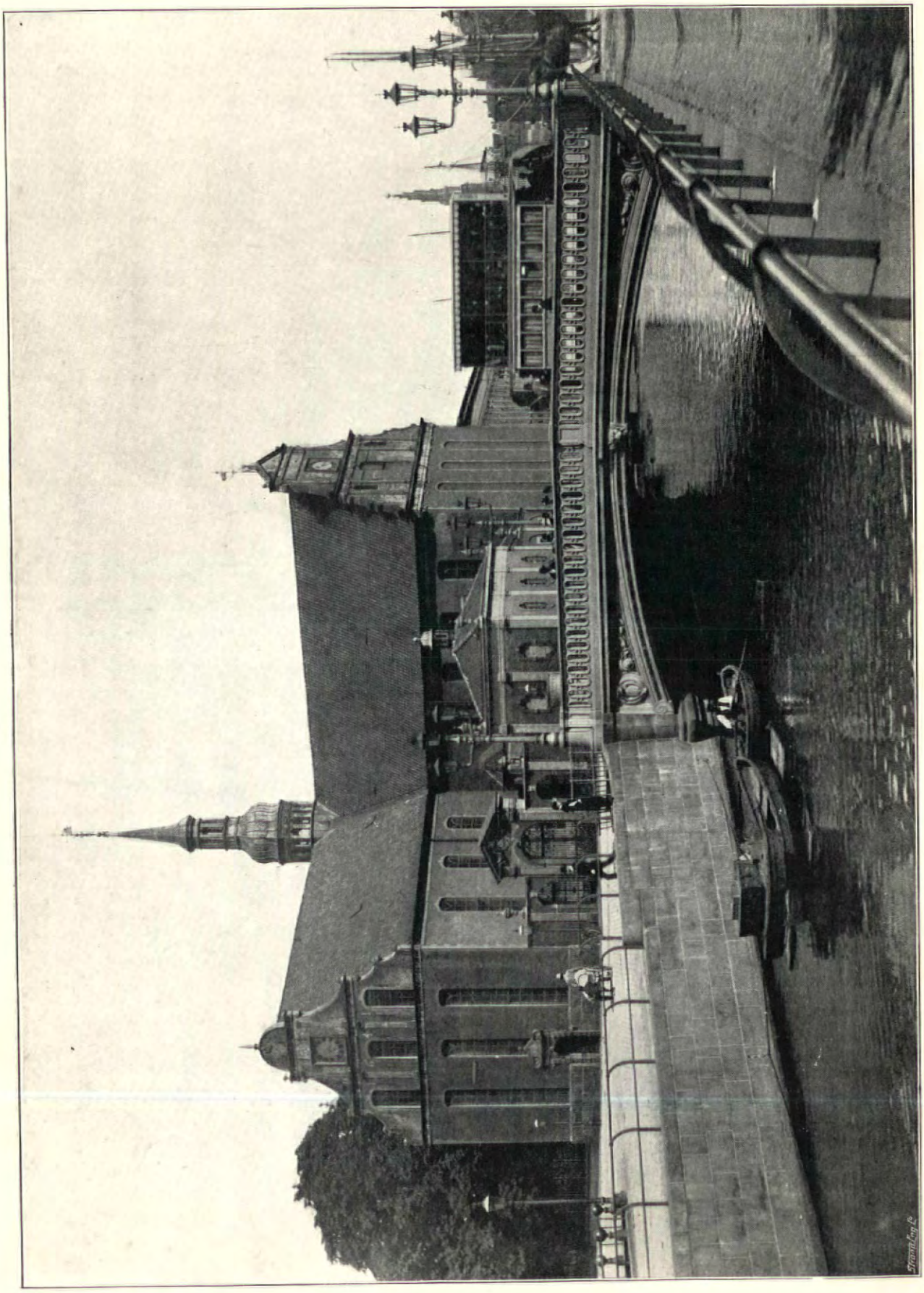
comparatively small; length barely 170 feet, height to the top of the roof 53 feet. The altar and the pulpit are carved oak, and very fine specimens of a craft which flourished during the reign of this King. A number of epitaphs ornament the interior of the church, which has otherwise undergone various changes.

One of the best-known and most peculiar of the buildings of Christian IV. is the Round Tower, on the top of which the Royal observatory formerly was installed. It is a circular straight up-and-down tower, about 50 feet in diameter and 114 feet high. It consists of an inner and outer shell, between which a winding roadway, supported by arches, leads to the top. This singular access has been the scene of many strange feats, conspicuous amongst which are those of Tsar Peter the Great and his Empress, the Tsar riding up and down it and the Empress driving up the tower in a carriage and four. The tower is situated in the very centre of Copenhagen, and from its top is a magnificent view of the Danish capital. It seems a pity that this tower was not allowed to stand isolated; one end of the Church of the Trinity adjoins it.

It is with great reluctance that I leave King Christian IV., the Royal master-builder. I hope that this cursory and altogether inadequate mention of his work may serve to make it better and more widely known, for there is no doubt that as an exponent and modifier of Dutch Renaissance he deserves the highest honours. His greatest rival is, probably, his own father, King Frederick II., inasmuch as it was during his reign that the magnificent Kronborg Castle at Elsinore, an easy drive from Fredericksborg, was erected. A friend of mine, a well-known architect, who has recently returned from a lengthy tour through most European countries, during which he made a special study of Dutch Renaissance, unhesitatingly pronounced these two castles, Kronborg and Fredericksborg, not only as unsurpassed but as



PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF THE NAVY, COPENHAGEN.



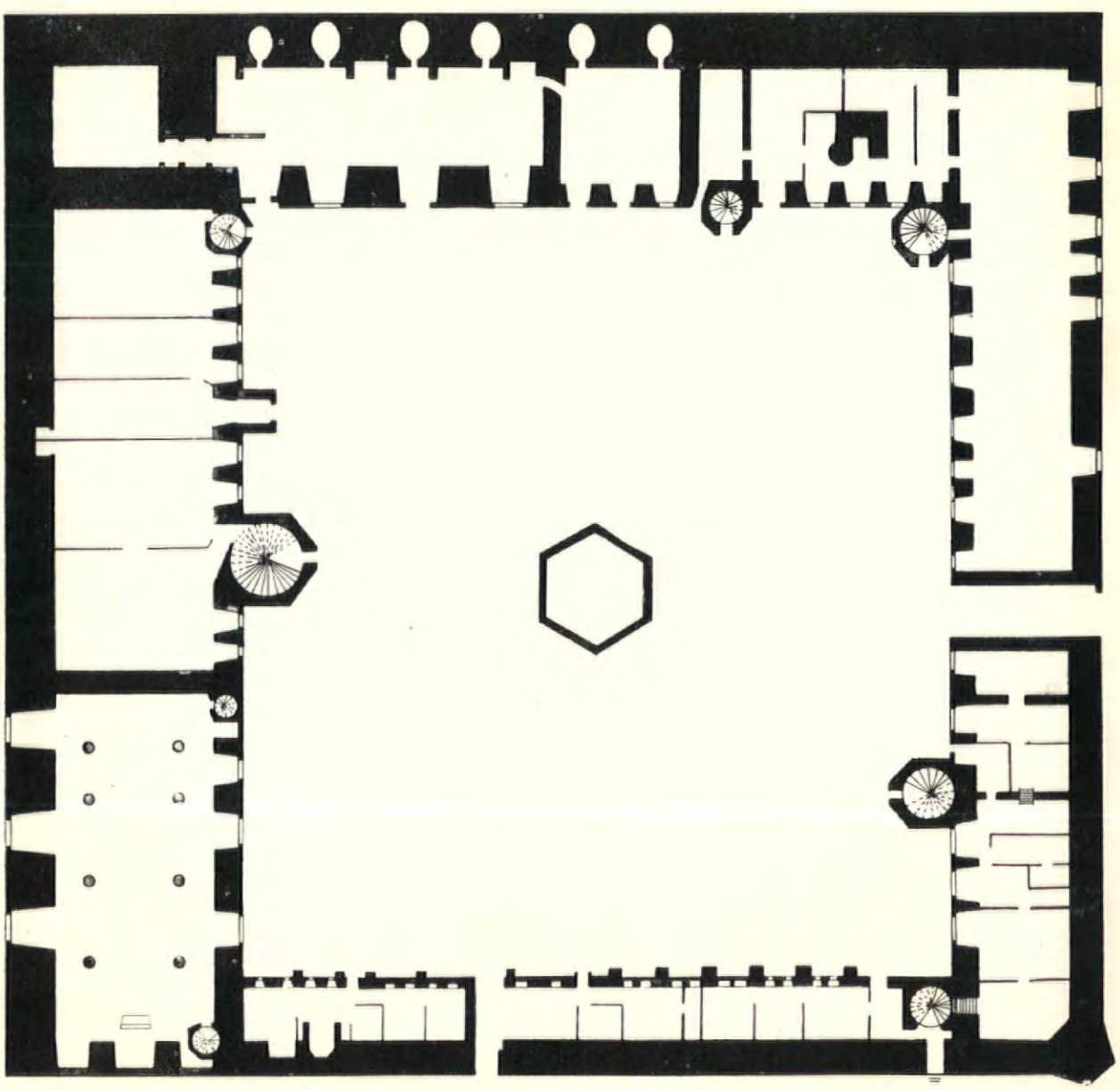
THE CHURCH OF THE NAVY, COPENHAGEN.

INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH OF THE NAVY, COPENHAGEN.

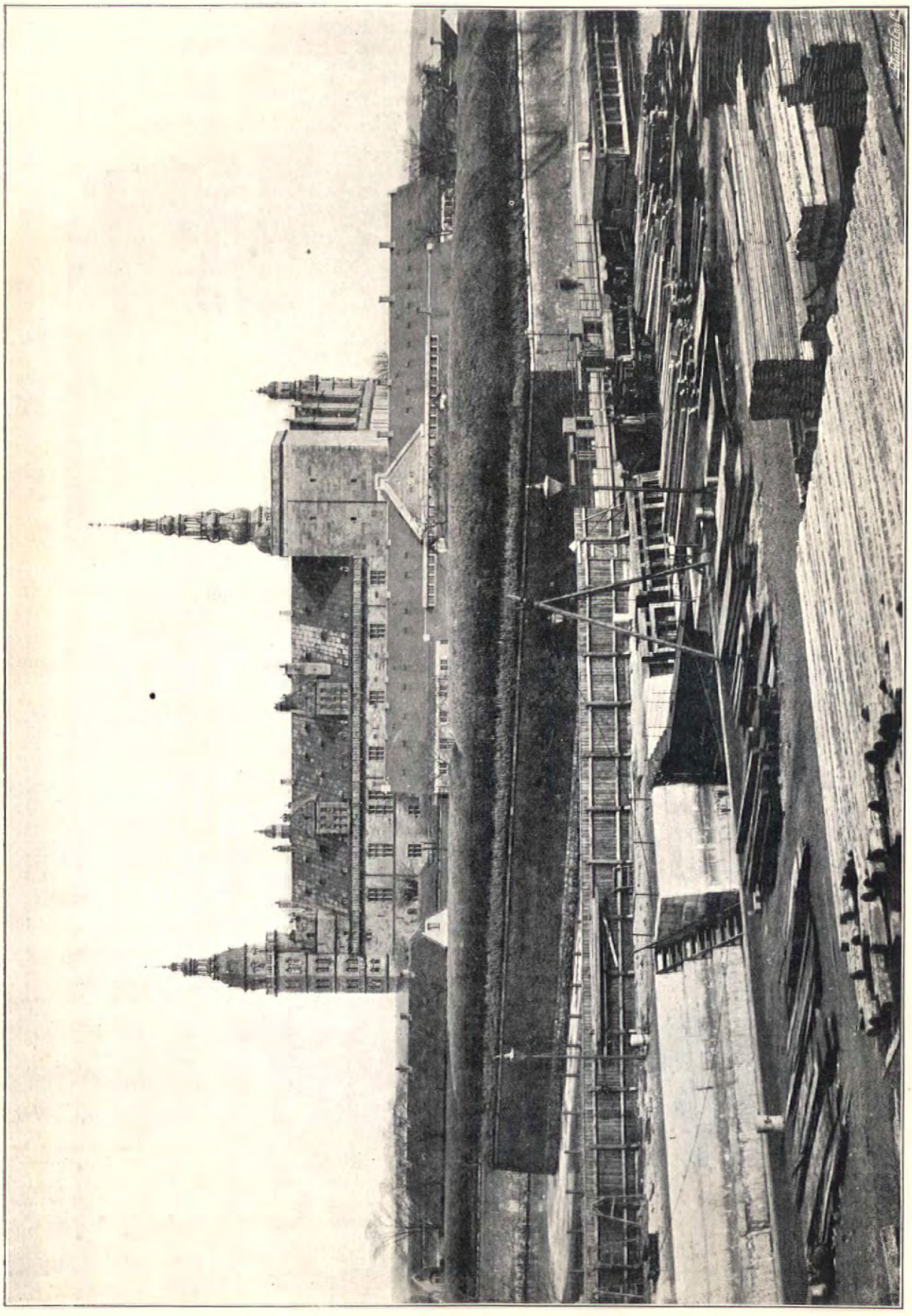
unequalled. And these two buildings have the additional charm of varying very materially from each other, the difference including that of building material, Kronborg being a grey historic pile, though unlike the buildings the phrase suggests to an Englishman.

Kronborg was not intended solely for a royal palace; it was also, and principally, built for a stronghold at the entrance to the Sound, right on whose borders it stands. It will also be observed from the plan that the outer walls on the two sides facing the Sound are much heavier than those on the other sides. It was, besides, fortified with bastions and moats and ramparts. Prior to the present castle there had been two earlier castles at Elsinore ("Flynderborg" and "Krogen"); but King Frederick discarded the latter name and decreed, on January 24th, 1577, that the new castle should henceforward be known as Kroneborg, the "e" having since disappeared from the name.

Kronborg consists of four wings and is embellished with five towers, of which the four carry beautiful spires, whilst the fifth, the south-western tower, terminates in a plateau or platform, from which there is a splendid view of the town itself and its picturesque surroundings. The interior tower, in the centre of the southern wing, is the most important, its spire rising to a height of about 185 feet. The spire of the outside tower, uniting the northern and the western wing, is about 160 feet high. Kronborg is "every inch a nobleman"; its beautiful lines and fine proportion, its mellow grey walls and the ancient patina of its copper roofing, all combining to produce an unmistakable effect of subtle and restful distinction, further enhanced by its charming situation at the very edge of the Sound. The building of



GROUND PLAN OF THE CASTLE OF KRONBORG. BUILT BY FREDERICK II.



THE CASTLE OF KRONBORG. BUILT BY FREDERICK II.

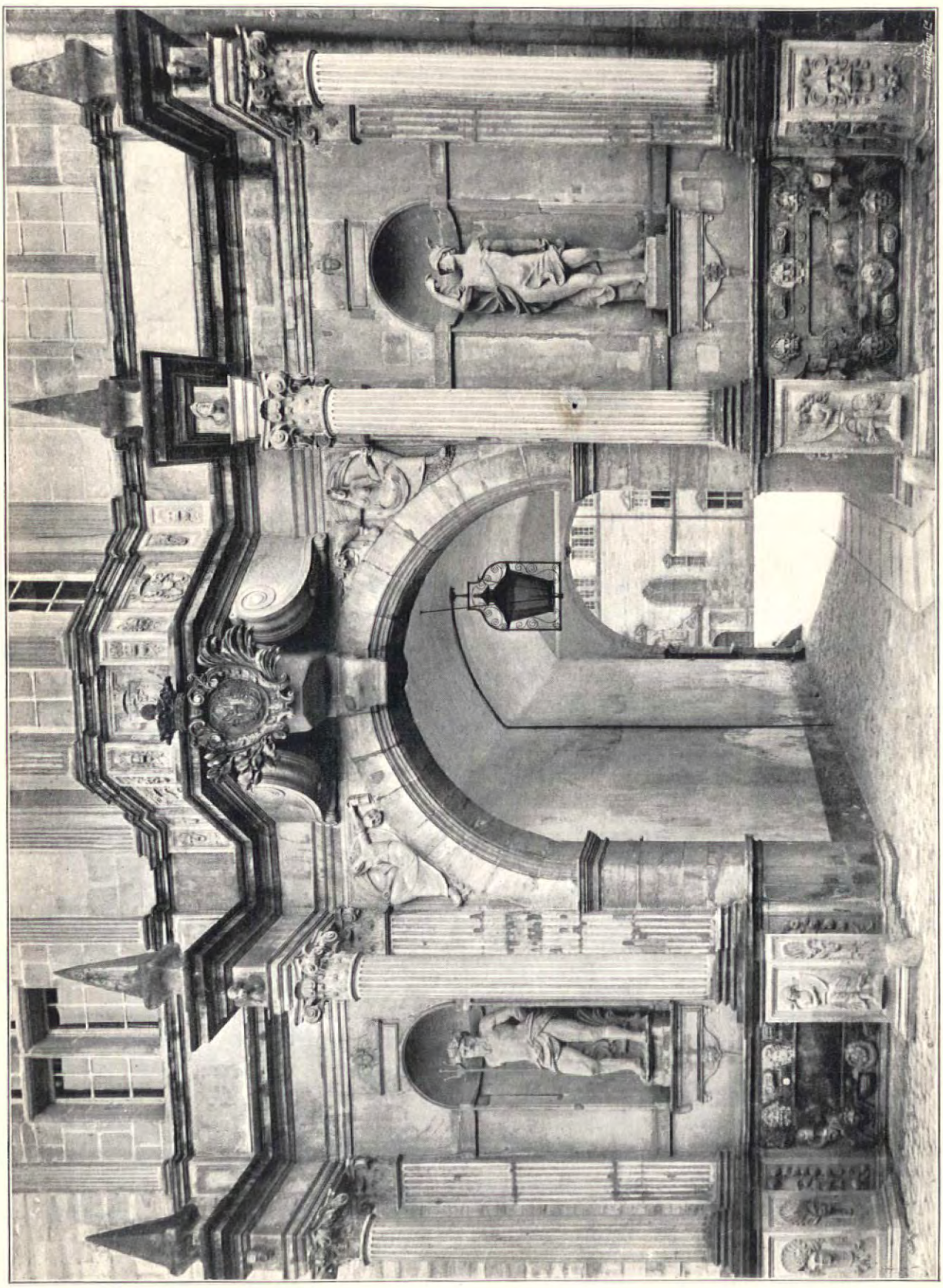
Kronborg extended over a number of years, during which King Frederick paid much attention to its progress, although he cannot be credited with having himself supplied the designs. The honour of these must probably be divided between two men, Hans Paaske, under whose auspices the first portion of the castle was erected, and Anthonius von Oberg, who afterwards superintended the building, the former having been called elsewhere by the king. A considerable number of years elapsed between the commencement and the completion of the castle, during which important changes were made in the plans, so much so, in fact, that they quickly affected the whole appearance of the castle. The original builder had, true to the traditions of the Netherlands Renaissance, chosen red brick for his material, and considerable portions of the castle are even understood to have been almost completed in red

KRONBORG FROM THE SOUND.

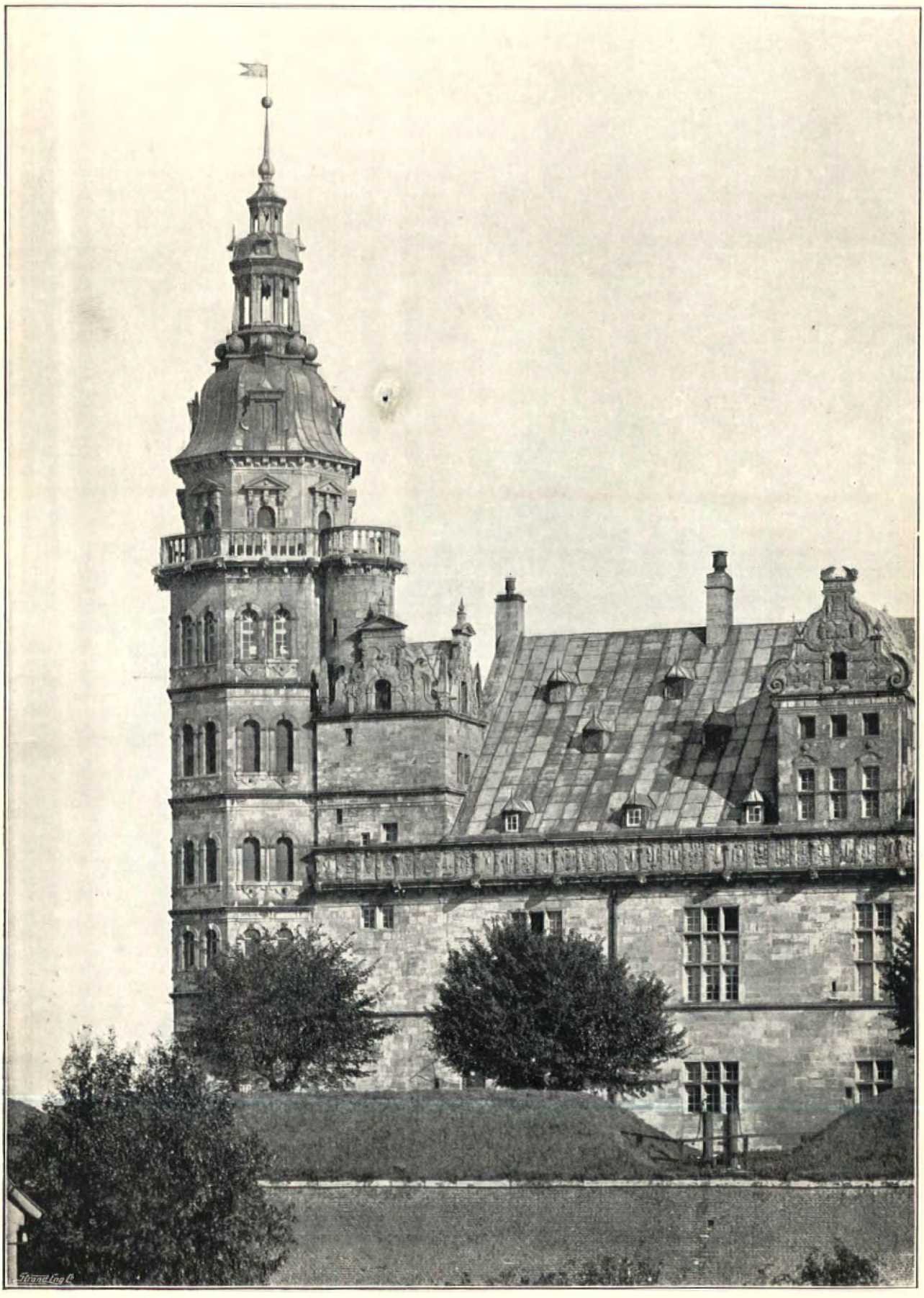
brick; but Oberg was in favour of a white or grey stone, and he succeeded in carrying his way—a decision at which one must rejoice, for surely a whitish-grey, mellowed and softened by time, is an ideal colouring. Kronborg possesses many excellent details in the way of ornamentation, foremost amongst which, probably, must be mentioned the outer portal with its four pillars. Between the middle pillars projects the lower portion of a small but very fine bay-window. The roomy courtyard was originally decorated with a quaint and picturesque fountain, but this was carried off by the Swedish king, Carl Gustaf, in the year 1659. Mr. Brummer, the well-known Danish architect, was, however, lucky enough to come upon some old design—the fountain hailed from Nüremberg; he has re-constructed a model, which is very ingeniously inserted in the photograph, showing the courtyard, which, it is sincerely to be hoped, it will again, ere long, adorn. Whilst otherwise the exterior of the castle has been singularly well preserved, in spite of a serious fire in the year 1629, the interior has undergone many changes, and it is now very far from being what its royal builder had intended. He called in several foreign painters and craftsmen of mark, of whom, one, Hans Knieper, was commissioned to make a number of tapestries for the Knights' Hall, representing the kings—one hundred and eleven in number—who, prior to Frederick II., had reigned in Denmark. The Knights' Hall, however, has been divided into several smaller rooms, and the tapestries, or at least some of them, are now at one of the Copenhagen museums.

In the year 1585 the scaffoldings were removed, and the castle impressed everybody with its beauty. It was pronounced the finest castle, not only in Scandinavia, but in all Europe, perhaps more justly so than most might be inclined to admit. It now contains a picture gallery, but the greater portion is used for military purposes, in spite of which not a little of its former interior beauty remains in the shape of various decorations, inner doors, as elaborate in their design and ornamentation as an old Spanish cabinet, etc. Frederick II. spared neither trouble nor expense in making Kronborg perfect in every respect, and he had the satisfaction of seeing it finished before his death (1588). Christian IV. was also very fond of the castle and often resided there. At Kronborg was solemnized, in the year 1589, the marriage of King James VI. of Scotland with Princess Anna of Denmark, a sister of King Christian IV., and the following year King James and his Queen stayed some time at Kronborg, and were present at the wedding of Princess Elisabeth of Denmark. Christian IV. gave a proof of his love for Kronborg by promptly restoring the castle after the disastrous fire in the month of September 1629, in spite of the somewhat unsatisfactory state of his exchequer. Also the later kings of Denmark often lived in or paid visits to Kronborg, and many fêtes were held there. But also memories of sterner and sadder doings are attached to the beautiful castle on the borders of the Sound; memories of warfare, of sorrow and parting. On January 17th, 1772, Queen Caroline Mathilde of Denmark, Princess of Wales, was conveyed to Kronborg with her infant daughter, Louise Augusta, to be kept there as a prisoner after Struensee's fall, until the young Queen, not yet twenty-one, on May 30th, went on board an English man-of war, never again to see her little daughter or her adopted country.

GEORG BRÖCHNER.



ENTRANCE TO THE CASTLE OF KRONBORG. BUILT BY FREDERICK II.



THE TOWER, KRONBORG. BUILT BY FREDERICK II.

THE COURTYARD, KRONBORG. BUILT BY FREDERICK II.

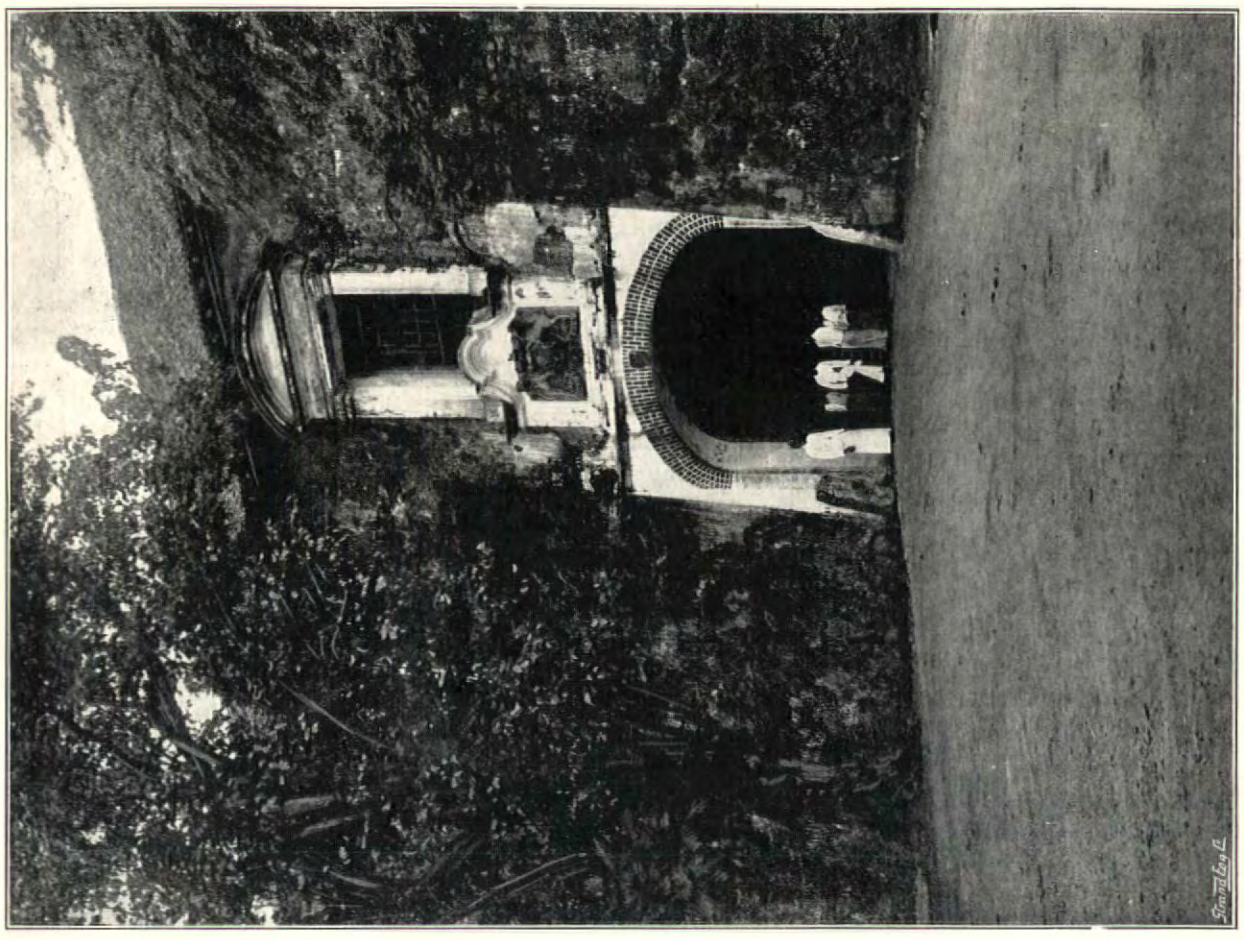


FIG. 2.—GATEWAY, GALLE FORT, EXTERIOR.

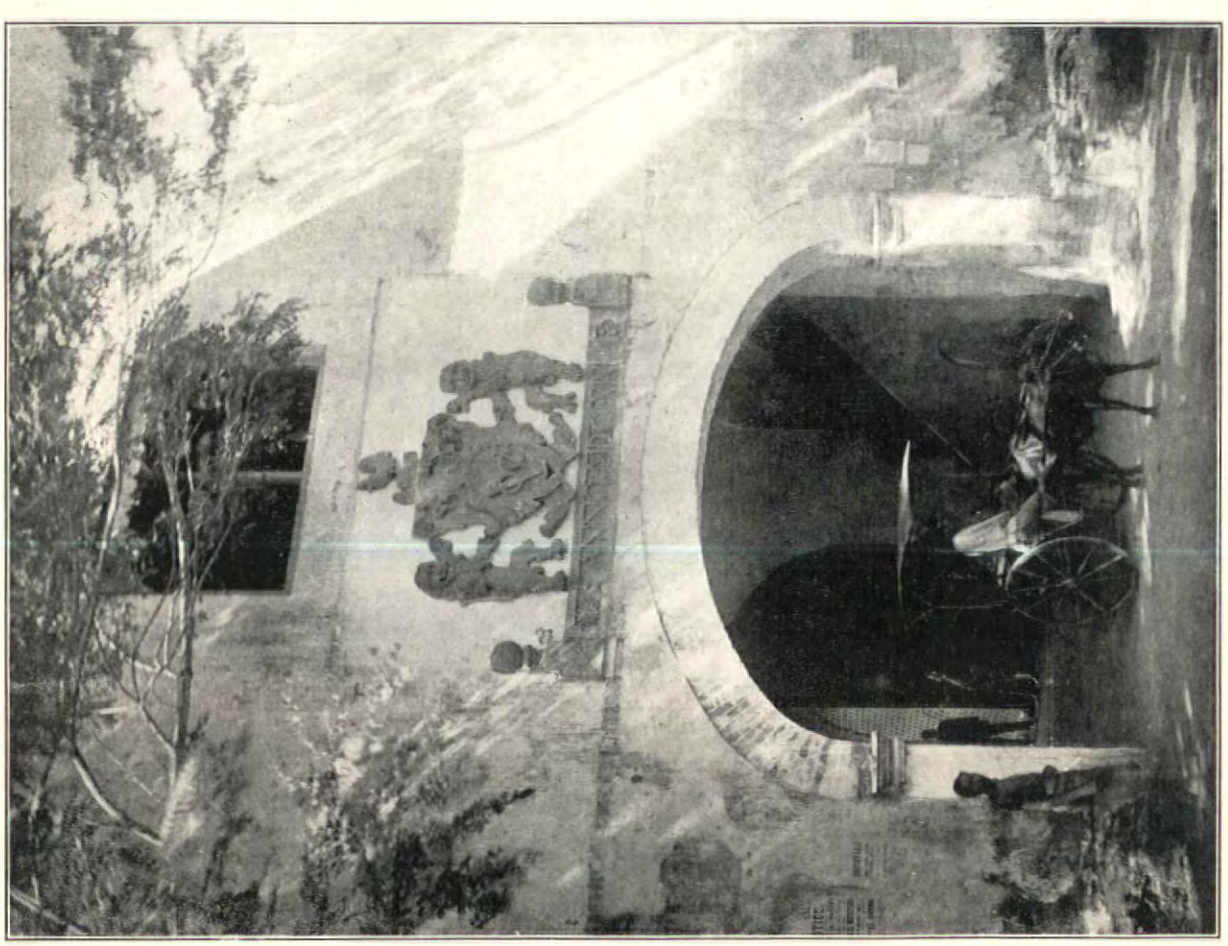


FIG. 1.—GATEWAY, GALLE FORT, INTERIOR.

Dutch Architecture in Ceylon.

PART I.

In a work published in 1900,* Mrs. Trotter gives a number of sketches and engravings from photographs of the "Old Colonial Houses of the Cape of Good Hope," with brief descriptions of them, and the subject has been treated from a more technical point of view in an article published in THE ARCHITECTURAL REVIEW, by Mr. Arthur H. Reid (Vol. viii., pp. 147–152 and 220–225), which is also illustrated. The article is a fitting supplement to the book, and the illustrations in both serve to show what interesting and picturesque old buildings still remain in the Cape Colony as relics of the Dutch occupation, which ended in the first decade of last century.

The present writer has been much struck with the similarity in the appearance and details of these buildings to what he has been accustomed to see in the maritime towns of Ceylon. The same gables, doorways, windows, stoeps, garden walls, outside staircases, the same fort gateways, churches, belfries, are to be found in Ceylon as those that we find depicted in these illustrations. The explanation is that the Dutch East India Company that ruled at the Cape for a century and a half, also occupied the maritime ports of Ceylon for almost exactly the same period, leaving the island only a few years before its rule ceased at the Cape. So it comes about that even the cover of Mrs. Trotter's book is suggestive of Ceylon, for on it we find the same monogram that confronts us from the gateways of the old Ceylon forts, and on the copper coins that are still to be met with in the bazaars—not now, however, fulfilling their original function, but for sale as old metal. It is the monogram of the company, and in this same shape cut in stone or wood, cast in metal, on cannon, swords and bayonets and coins, graved on glass or painted on Delft, it went wherever the company went.*

* London. B. T. Batsford, publisher, 94, High Holborn.

* By resolution of 28th February, 1603, it was decided that the monogram should be of the shape depicted in Illustration 1, p. 108, and that the letters should be blue on a silver field.

FIG. 3.—GATEWAY, STAR FORT, MATARA.

FIG. 4.—ENTRANCE TO FORT FREDERICK, TRINCOMALEE.
THE GATEWAY FROM INSIDE THE FORT.

The Dutch buildings extant in Ceylon are of course not so elaborate nor in such good preservation as those in the Cape Colony, and the inferiority on the part of Ceylon is sufficiently explained by its tropical climate, with the twofold result of a much smaller colonisation by the Dutch and a more rapid decay of the buildings, perhaps also by the use of inferior materials of construction.

There remain, however, several interesting old Dutch buildings, especially the churches, in regard to which Ceylon would appear, if anything, to have the advantage over the more important colony; and it seems a pity that some attempt should not be made to do for Ceylon what the writers referred to above have done for the Cape, before modern changes sweep away these relics of Dutch rule. The present writer has, during a residence of more than twenty years in the island, taken pains to leave no considerable Dutch building unvisited, as well as to provide himself with sketches or photographs of most of them, and though not an architect, has, in the present paper, essayed a task which might otherwise be unattempted.

The last century saw the removal or modernization of many old Dutch buildings, both by Europeans and natives, especially in the Colombo Fort and Pettah. In the former, the necessities of European trade have removed not merely the fort itself, but also nearly every building within it that had a distinctly Dutch appearance, and to find one now in its streets requires some search. The streets of the Dutch quarter of a Ceylon town* usually had on each side of them a long row of one-storied houses with low-pitched roofs and deep verandahs or stoeps, the latter supported by tall and slender wooden pillars, while along the outer edge of the verandah of each house was a wooden railing separating it from the street, which was a few feet below it; so that the perspective showed two long rows of these pillars diminishing in the distance. What variety there was, arose from the different shapes of the end-gables of each house, the different colours of the woodwork—the Dutch have always been

* This was either within the walls of the fort, as at Colombo, Galle, and Matara, or just outside it—"The Pettah"—as at Jaffna, Negombo, Kalutara, etc.

fond of bright colours—and, on closer inspection, from the variety of ornamental fanlights and doorway lintels. Nowadays these wooden pillars have in many cases given way to pillars built of brick and plaster, not perhaps to the advantage of the picturesque, and the line of the street is often broken by the substitution for the overhanging eaves of an old house of a new two-storey house with a pretentious plaster façade, embodying the native conception of European architecture —whitewashed and spick-and-span to start with, but in a year or two weather-stained into shabbiness.

I have referred to the forts that were built by the Dutch at every station of importance held by them on the coast or inland as far as their territories extended. A detailed description of these is not necessary, as there is nothing distinctively Dutch about them except in their gateways.* The gateways are usually surmounted by the coat-of-arms of the state or the monogram of the company and the date of the erection of the fort. There was generally a belfry on one of the walls. The Colombo Fort was demolished thirty or forty years ago, when two or three fine gateways were destroyed. That at Jaffna, in the north of the island, owing to the drier climate and the materials of which the fort is built, viz., coral, is in excellent preservation, though it has suffered in the past from vandalism.

At Galle the preservation of the fort, which, like the Colombo Fort, included within it a great part of the Dutch settlement, gives the place the appearance of a walled town. Its demolition was threatened some years ago, but for the present it is safe. There are smaller forts at Batticaloa, Matara, and Tangalle, and a few remains at Negombo, Kalutara, and at some places a few miles inland from the coastline.

Next we come to the churches. One at Colombo and one at Galle had been demolished before the British occupation. There are, however, churches in good preservation at Colombo, Jaffna, Galle, and Matara, which belong or belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church. There are others in the Jaffna Peninsula, some in ruins, some rebuilt out of all likeness to their original design. Some have disappeared altogether, as at Negombo and Batticaloa, as well as the two referred to as having been demolished at Colombo and Galle. While on this subject, I must take leave to dissent, at any rate as regards Ceylon, from an opinion expressed by no less an authority than Mr. James Fergusson in his "History of the Modern Styles of Architecture" (p. 468), that "the Dutch have done very little in their settlements. Their churches, which are few and far between, are of the worst class of meeting-house architecture." On the contrary, wherever they had a station of any importance, the Dutch in Ceylon erected a church,* and the church was the best building in the station. It was always substantially built; and one is rather surprised to find that the Dutch, though Calvinists, have departed so far as they have done from the meeting-house type in their ecclesiastical buildings. The churches at Colombo (Wolvendahl) and at Jaffna are large cruciform buildings (Figs. 6 and 7) with a central tower or lantern; large doorways and windows with arched lintels; pulpit, not in the centre of the wall as in the meeting-house, but at the intersection of the transept and what we should call the chancel or choir, with carved sounding-boards over them, and large pews or stalls for the civil and military officials and for the elders and deacons. At Jaffna the "Commandeur's" pew occupies the angle of the chancel and transepts opposite the pulpit, and stalls on each side of the chancel remind one of the mediæval arrangements (Figs. 9, 10). At Wolvendahl the pulpit occupies one corner of the intersection, and a large pew or stall each of the other three corners. On the walls are memorial tablets of stone or wood, with armorial bearings blazoned in colours, supplemented by insignia such as batons, swords, and spurs. Though these buildings are of course designed in the quasi-classical or Renaissance style of the period, they are instinct with the mediæval spirit, and their interiors, with their massive walls and deeply recessed and heavily mullioned and many-paned windows, are solemn and church-like, with little of the meeting-house about them.

Both the masonry and the woodwork are solid and substantial, and altogether these two buildings and the church at Galle contrast favourably

* The gateway of one of the two forts at Matara, in the Southern Province—"The Star Fort," as it is now called from its shape, though its official name was the "Redoute Van Eck"—has over it the arms and initials of Governor Van Eck, carved in wood with a wooden tympanum, on which is carved the monogram of the company, surrounded by a floriated design (see Fig. 3). This woodwork is still in excellent preservation, though it was done in 1763.

* In the populous Jaffna Peninsula alone they had a church in each of the thirty-two parishes into which the district had been divided, and "the substantial walls of many of them were standing" when the American missionaries entered into possession of them twenty years after the Dutch had left the Island. The Batticotta church, even though one-third of it at the "east end" has been partitioned off as a dwelling-house, can accommodate 2,000 people (Report of the American Ceylon Mission, 1896). I think myself, however, that the division of the Peninsula into parishes, as well as many of the church buildings, including Batticotta, were a legacy from the Portuguese, though the Dutch kept up the former and preserved or rebuilt the latter.

FIG. 5.—CHURCH AT GALLE.

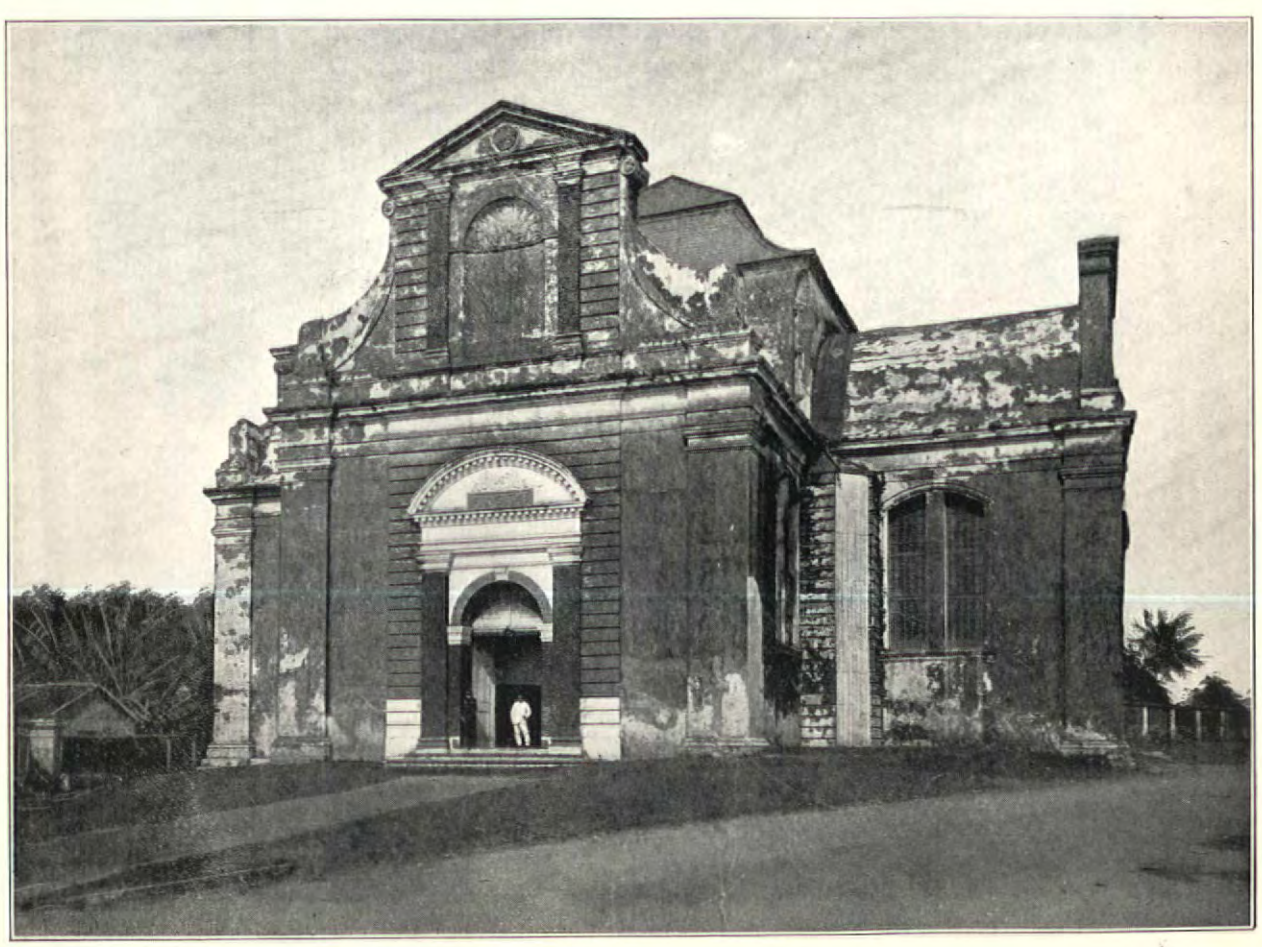


FIG. 6.—WOLVENDAHL CHURCH, COLOMBO.

FIG. 7.—DUTCH CHURCH, JAFFNA.

with churches erected in the island at a later period for the use of the Anglican Church.*

The writer has not visited Batavia, but Heydt,† who visited India, Ceylon, and Batavia about 1736, and made sketches of the principal Dutch forts and other buildings in those countries, gives a drawing and plan of the Dutch church at Batavia, which show a large classical building of a design which I should consider creditable for the place at and period in which the church was erected, with a central dome of good proportions. Possibly this church is not now in existence, but in any case I should say the opinion quoted has been formed on insufficient data.

The Jaffna church is situated within the walls of the fort. Its quaint gables, belfry, central tower, large two-light windows, with a circular opening above the lights under a general arch, giving it a touch of Romanesque, make it very picturesque, especially when seen over the fort wall and moat. The central tower of the Wolvendahl church seems at one time to have partially collapsed, and is now like that of the Jaffna church, rather squat. It is topped with a slated roof of modern construction. Judging from Heydt's picture, the tiled roof of the Jaffna church was in his time more spire-like than it is at present, and the apex was surmounted by the conventional cock, which remained, in fact, until well on in the last century.

The Colombo and Galle churches are still in regular use by congregations of the Dutch Reformed Church, though the Dutch language has been forgotten. The Jaffna church belongs to the Government, which preserves it for its antiquarian interest. The church at Batticotta is of a different type altogether from these churches. It consists of a long nave with side aisles all under one roof, the aisles divided internally from the nave by massive pillars of masonry, eight or ten on each side and over a yard in diameter. A Dutch inscription over the doorway gives the date as 1678; but this is probably the date of the repair or rebuilding by the Dutch of the church. I am inclined to think, from the plan, that this is one of the old Portuguese churches of the Jaffna Peninsula. The inscription runs: ("Doen maken door den Heer Commandeur Laurens Pyl, Anno 1678.") This may refer to the rebuilding only. The façade is apparently Dutch.

This departure of the Dutch from the meeting-

* The pulpits are of the usual hexagonal or octagonal shape, those at Wolvendahl and Galle being attached to one of the walls, and that at Jaffna springing out of a central column. (The photograph, Fig. 12, does not show this, as the column is hidden by the precentor's or clerk's desk in front of it; but this two-decker arrangement may be an addition made in Anglican times, as are the altar rails. Wolvendahl has a quaint crown-shaped sounding-board. The organ galleries at Galle and Jaffna have a very Dutch look about them. That at Galle is at the "west" end and is a regular gallery (Fig. 11). That at Jaffna (Fig. 10) is a platform supported by heavy turned legs, and having a panelled front with a carved wooden valance. The centre panel is a representation of King David harping; this is painted in different colours.

† "Allerneuster Geographisch und Topographischer Schau-Platz von Africa und Ost-Indien." Von Johann Wolffgang Heydt. Willhermsdorff, 1744.

house model in their churches* is no doubt due to the fact that in their beloved Netherlands they were accustomed to worship in large mediæval churches, shorn, it is true, of most of their ornamental details, such as tracery, carved work, and painting, and adapted to the Reformed worship, but still in the main preserving their most characteristic features—nave, choir, transepts, and tower, elaborate pulpit and sounding-boards, stalls, organ, and organ gallery. When their merchants and officials in the East had to provide themselves with churches, they made them as like as possible in form to the churches of their native land, preserving at least the main features and plan, if not the details, of mediæval architecture. In an age which was incapable anywhere in Europe of building in true Gothic, it could hardly be expected that the Dutch in the East could have done more than they did. The churches at Colombo, Jaffna, and Batavia compare favourably with many churches of the same size erected in England at the same period,* and they had, if anything, less of the meeting-house type about them.

The most characteristically Dutch church in Ceylon, perhaps, is the church at Galle. It is of quasi-cruciform shape, with very shallow transepts, but it is the gables that give it its distinctively Dutch appearance. They are the best examples of the Dutch gable to be found in Ceylon. The gables of the Jaffna church are not of so markedly a Dutch shape, while those of the Wolvendahl church are more of the ordinary Renaissance or Italian character.

This introduces me to the subject of the Dutch

* Whether the Batticotta church is Portuguese or Dutch in plan, it, as well as the other three churches mentioned, is certainly a departure from this model, which regards a church merely as a preaching room. The American Mission report complains of the Batticotta church that, "The massive pillars which make so brave a show hide the speaker from a considerable part of the room (*sic*), and are about as much a hindrance as a help." Accordingly, it has been made as much like a meeting-house as possible.

* The church at Jaffna bears the date 1706, that at Wolvendahl, 1749. The Galle church was probably built about 1755.

FIG. 8.—INTERIOR OF THE DUTCH CHURCH, GALLE.

FIG. 9.—COMMANDEUR'S PEW, DUTCH CHURCH, JAFFNA.

gable, by which I mean the gable with a wavy outline which one has come to associate with Dutch domestic architecture. The work to which I have referred at the beginning of this article contains a chapter by Mr. Herbert Baker, A.R.I.B.A., the architect of Groote Schuur, the late Cecil Rhodes' house in the Cape Colony, on "The Origin of the Old Cape Architecture," in which he traces the development of the Dutch gable, and illustrates this, its most distinctive feature, from the Cape examples, and shows their similarity to examples in Holland and Belgium, in which he thinks this form of gable had its origin.

Though, however, I call this the Dutch gable, I do not think there was anything peculiarly Dutch about it in its origin. The same gable is to be found in use in most European countries soon after the birth of the architecture of the Renaissance. In England it is a feature of what we call the Elizabethan style, and there is a good example of it, for instance, at Mettingham, near Bungay, in Suffolk. The drawing of "A Kentish Homestead," by G. C. Haité, in THE ARCHITECTURAL REVIEW, Vol. III., p. 32, exhibits another.* The church at Gsteig, near Interlaken, has a saddle-back tower with gables in the same style, the date being 1650; and

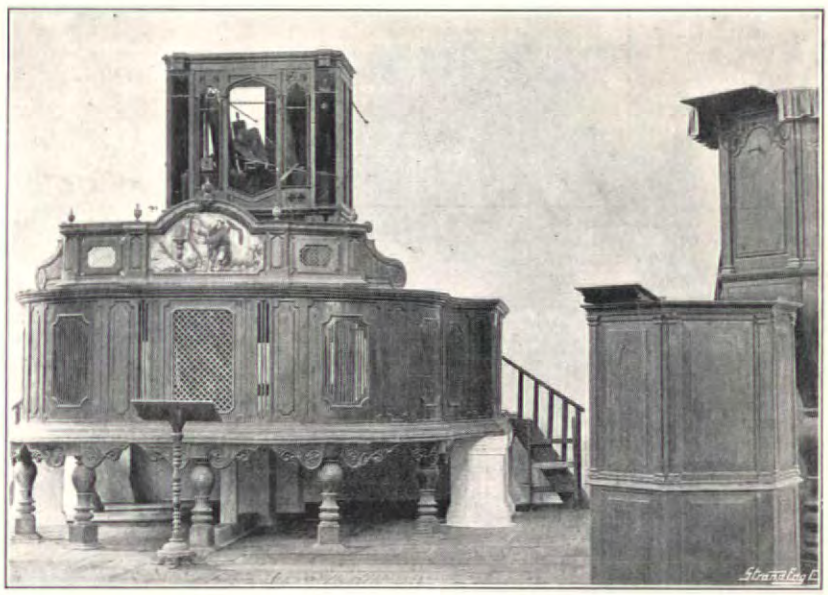


FIG. 10.—ORGAN GALLERY, DUTCH CHURCH, JAFFNA.

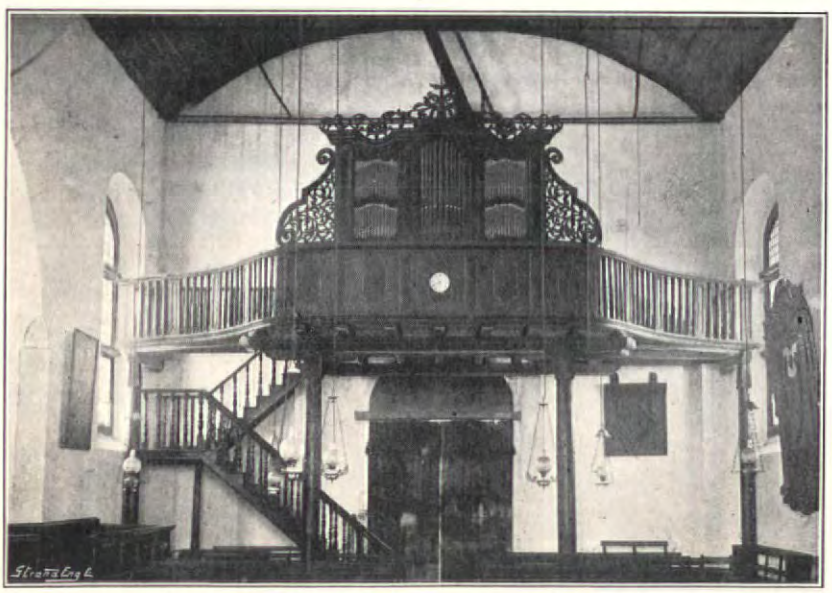


FIG. 11.—ORGAN GALLERY, DUTCH CHURCH, GALLE.

no doubt many other examples might be mentioned both in England and on the Continent. But the Dutch, once having made the discovery of this form of gable, seem to have taken a special fancy to it, and to have reproduced it, both at home and abroad, over and over again, with every possible variation in detail, and to have stuck to it when other countries had abandoned it for more classical forms, or for no form at all, as in our street architecture of

* See also some "Kentish Gables" at Ramsgate and Broadstairs of 1615-1678, in *The Architect*, Vol. XXVI. (1881), p. 107.

FIG 12.—PULPIT AND DESK, DUTCH CHURCH, JAFFNA.

the latter part of the eighteenth and first halt of the nineteenth century. Streets and houses in Holland built at the same time would have been diversified by gables of every possible combination of curve and scroll-work and moulding. This gable has accordingly come to be regarded as distinctively Dutch. As Mr. Reid puts it, it is "dear to the heart of all true Dutchmen, and in the treatment of it they excelled," and they carried it with them to their colonies. Mr. Baker finds three main types of it at the Cape, and we have probably as many in Ceylon.

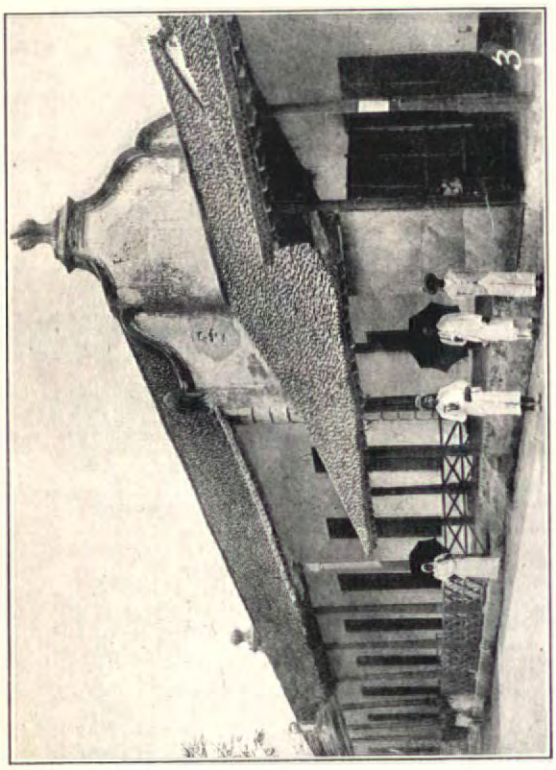
He describes what he thinks is an Amsterdam type, "two vertical bordering lines, with spreading scrolls at the sides." We have an example of this in the gables of the Wolvendahl church, though the influence of the classicism then prevalent (1749) is seen in the substitution of a pediment for the wavy outline of an earlier period, the flat pilasters supporting it, and the breaking up of the surface of the wall by horizontal lines so as to suggest that it is constructed of blocks of stone. A variety of this gable is to be seen in a house in the Fort of Colombo. The date is probably 1684.

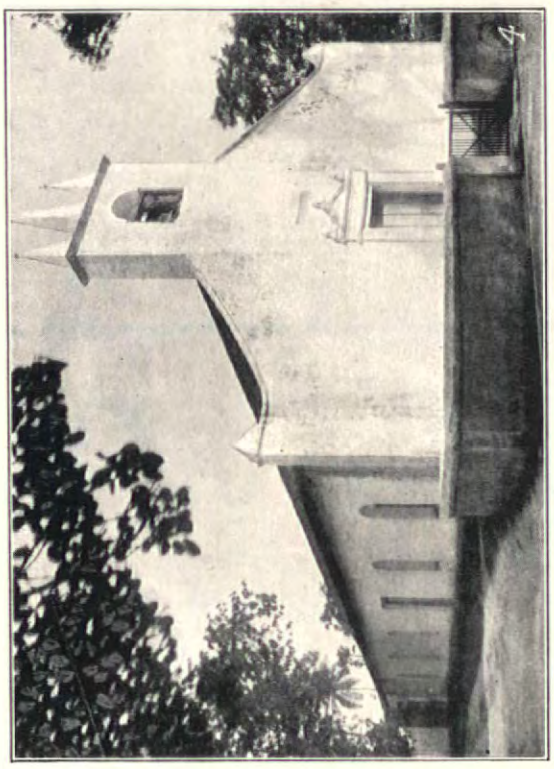
Mr. Baker distinguishes another type of Cape gable by "its peculiar characteristic, the scroll running in graceful lines over the surface of the wall," and considers it admirably suited to plaster. He thinks this type "an undoubtedly original form," and states that nothing exactly like it is to be found in Holland or Belgium, that "a similar type of gable existed formerly in Amsterdam, but none exist at the present day." It is, however, not peculiar to the Cape, for it is to be found in Ceylon, where, as at the Cape, all these gables are plastered over. A good example of it is to be seen in the gable of the Galle church. Its origin, says Mr. Baker, is to be found in Belgium also, "the same peculiar feature of the scrolls running over the walls can be observed in the monster fronts of the rich guild houses in Antwerp and in the simple plaster gables of the Cape farmhouse—the rude attempt of a colonial craftsman to copy what he remembered of the buildings of his native town." This feature will be noticed also in the Galle example. In Ceylon at the present day we have no Dutch farms or country houses. If there were at any time in Ceylon houses of the Cape style showing one or more gables in the front elevation—and it seems probable that there were, as some of the Dutch officials had country houses standing in extensive grounds—they have disappeared, or have been modernised, and Dutch domestic architecture in Ceylon is the architecture of the street only. For the most part, except in the churches, the craftsman had to confine himself to the end gables of the houses of a street. The front elevation, consisting merely of a roof carried over a verandah supported by wooden pillars, afforded no scope for more elaborate work. The commoner form of gable in Ceylon was, therefore, of a similar type. Each slope is formed of scroll-work, something in the shape of the ordinary "bracket" used in writing, moulded in plaster. There is a vase, or a leaf, or a ball, on a pedestal at each end, and another similarly mounted caps the apex.*

Another feature of the Cape gables which struck Mr. Baker was "an unusual double scroll," as seen also in an Antwerp house. The same feature is found in the gable of the Galle church, and I think from this circumstance that its origin must be looked for not in Belgium but in Holland, the home of the Reformed Church.

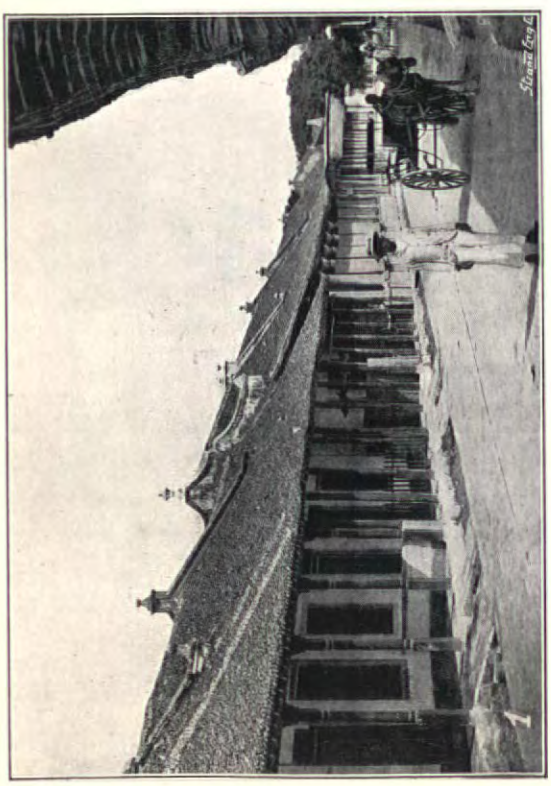
Simpler forms than any of the foregoing are to be seen in the end gable of what is now a large European store in the Colombo Fort, and in the gables of the church at Matara. In the latter, the *tout ensemble* strikes one at once as very Dutch. The date over the doorway is 1767, but this may be the date of its repair, as in the case of Batticotta, for the church certainly existed in Heydt's time. A still simpler form of gable, which, in my opinion, is of very early date,

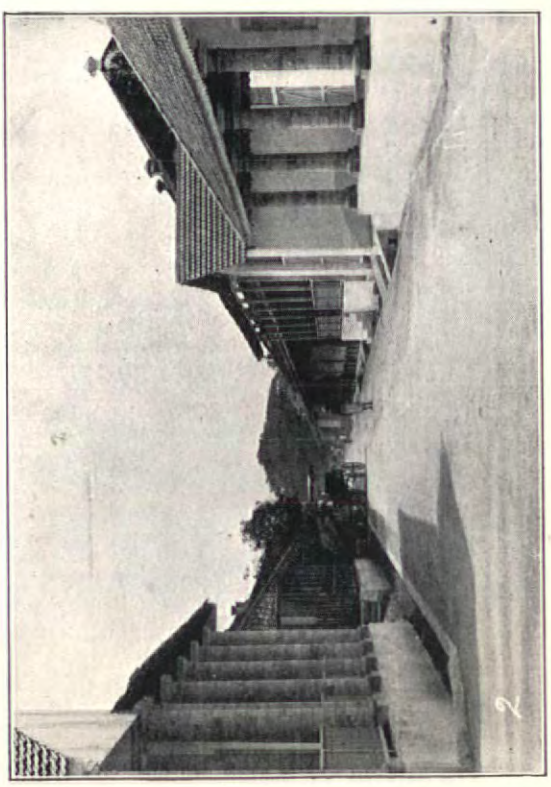
* Mr. Baker notes that in the Cape gables "a vase is sometimes added where the scroll broadens out."





3. HOUSE IN THE JAFFNA PETTAH.
4. BATTICOTTA CHURCH.





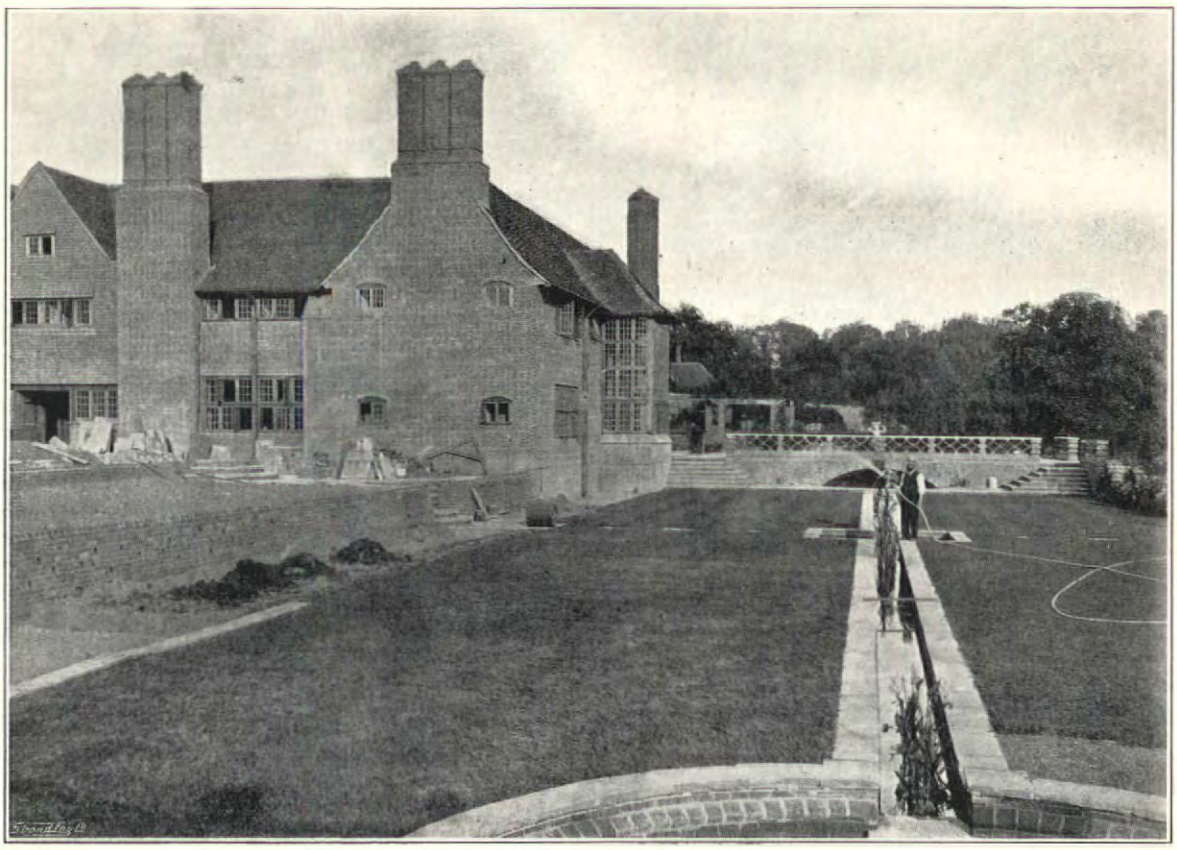
1. STREET IN JAFFNA PETTAH.
2. STREET IN JAFFNA PETTAH, SHOWING DUTCH HOUSE.
(The first house on either side has been rebuilt.)

is to be seen in the façades of the Batticotta and Kalpitiya churches,* and in the gateway of the fort at the latter place. The small pyramidal-shaped pinnacles may be compared with those on the tower of the church at Gsteig. They appear also, but more squat in shape, on the gateway of the Mannar Fort.

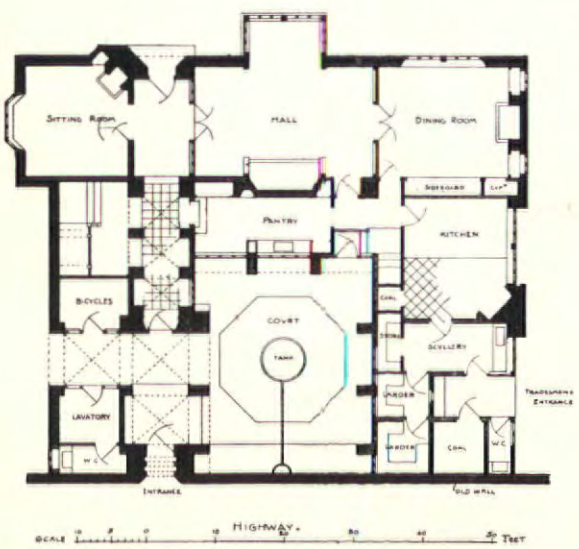
It may be laid down as an axiom that whenever the Dutch built a gable, however simple, they endeavoured to ornament it in some way with plaster mouldings and finials. Reduced to its most primitive form, the gable sometimes consisted of a triangle on the top of a rectangular wall. But there was a moulding of some kind along the sides, and the three angles were surmounted by pedestals with their ornaments. One can always, in Ceylon, detect a Dutch gable by this peculiarity, as well as by the substantial character of the work.

* The front porch or verandah of the Kalpitiya church, which has a flat roof and is supported by Corinthian pillars, seems to be an addition made early last century.

(To be continued.)

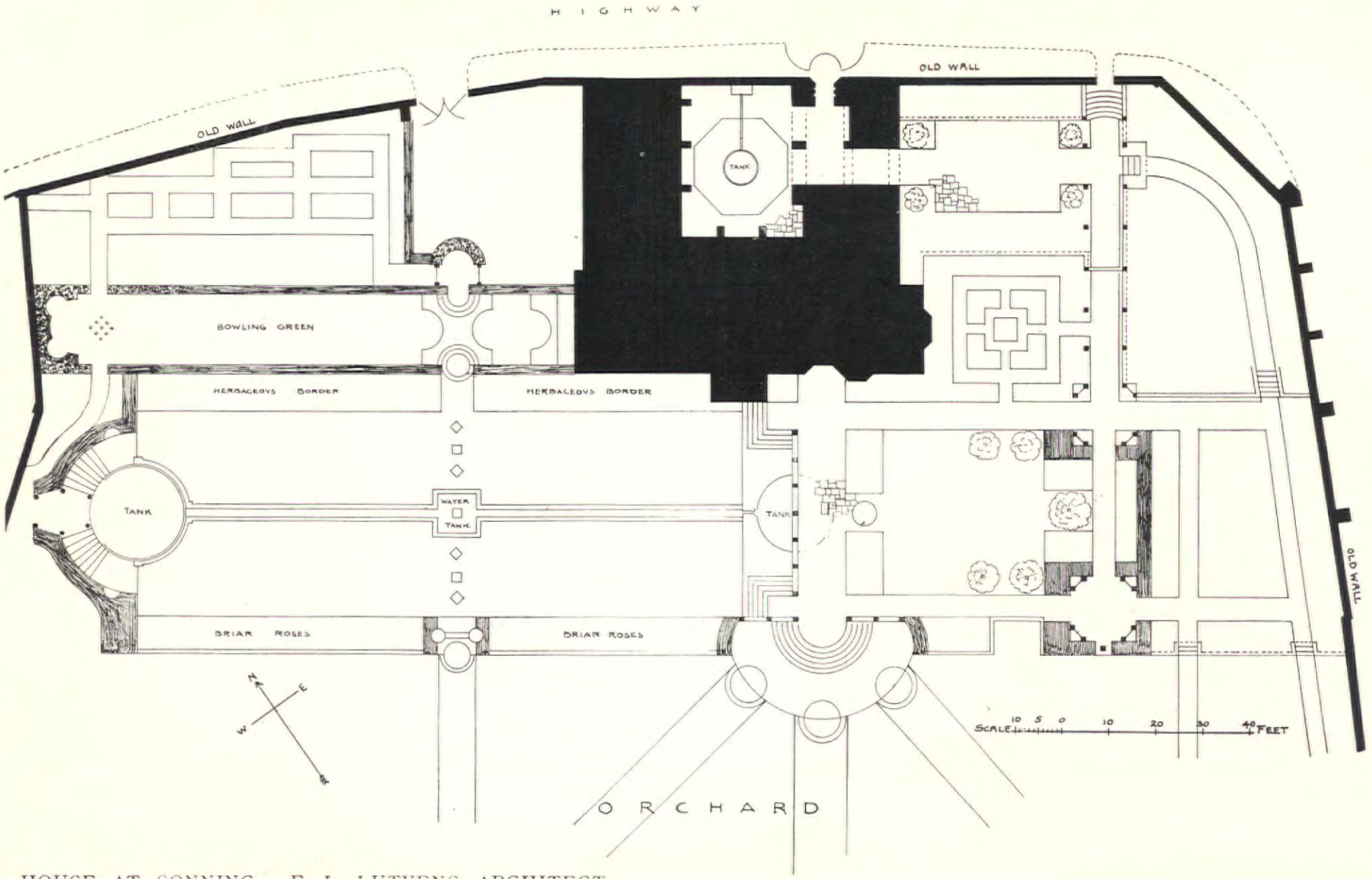


HOUSE AT SONNING. LOOKING SOUTH-WEST. E. L. LUTYENS, ARCHITECT.

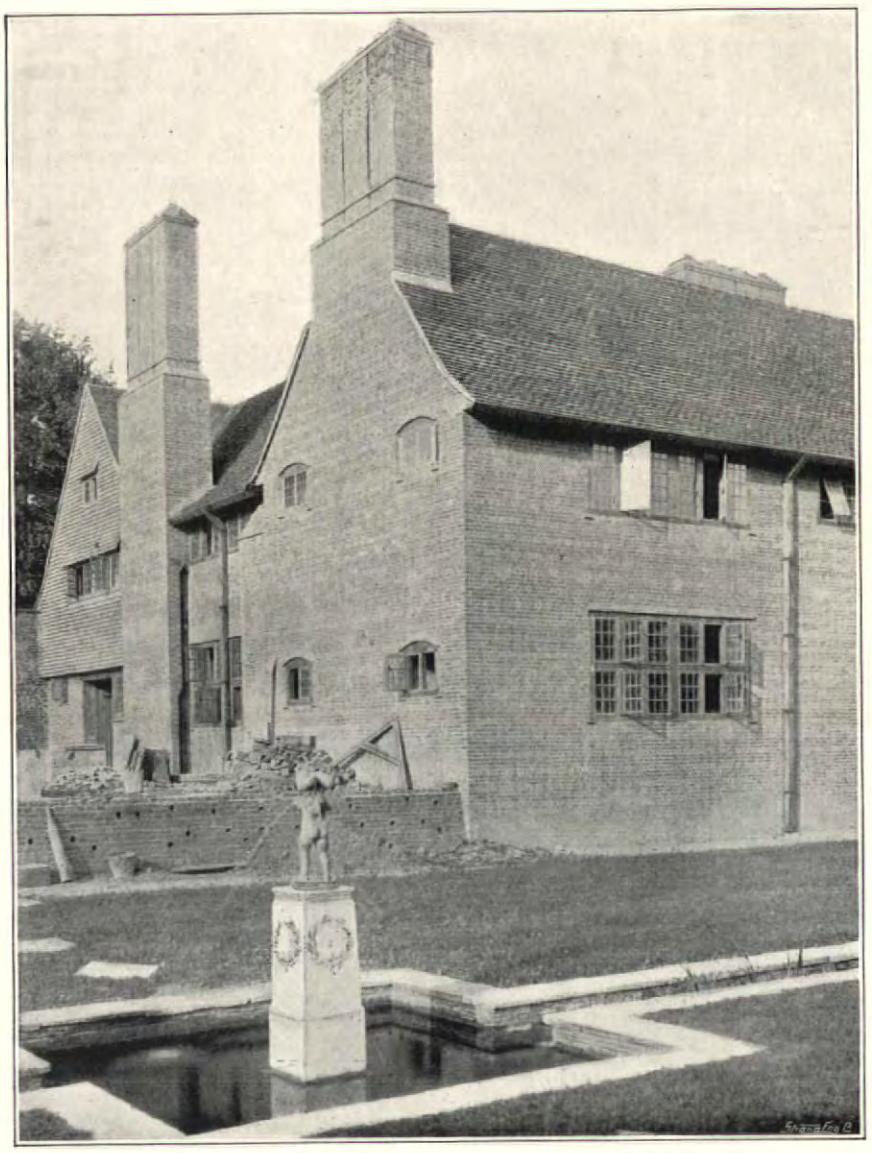


CURRENT ARCHITECTURE.

HOUSE AT SONNING.—This house has been erected from the designs of Mr. E. L. Lutyens. The walls are faced with small Dutch bricks and the roof is covered with red tiles. A feature of the design has been the arrangement and laying out of the grounds, the disposition of which is shown on the site plan on the opposite page. We also give a ground plan of the house, which is shown blocked in on the site plan.



HOUSE AT SONNING. E. L. LUTYENS, ARCHITECT.
SITE PLAN OF HOUSE AND GROUNDS.



HOUSE AT SONNING. FROM THE WEST.
E. L. LUTYENS, ARCHITECT.

Books.

BOOKBINDING AND THE CARE OF BOOKS.

A Text Book for Bookbinders and Librarians. By Douglas Cockerell. London: John Hogg. 1901.

THIS is the first of a series, "The Artistic Crafts Series of Technical Handbooks," edited by Professor Lethaby, and springing, doubtless, from the experience of teachers at the Central School of Arts and Crafts. Of these Mr. Cockerell is one, and his little book is a thoroughly business-like handbook to its subject. The exposition is clear, aided by well-devised woodcuts, and the pupil is taken through all the processes in succession from the arrival of the book to be bound in the shop till its delivery into the customer's hands. Useful chapters are added on leather, paper, and so forth; and citations are given from the Report of the Committee of the Society of Arts on leather for bookbinding. It is one of the plagues of the modern binder that the old trustworthy sources of leather are giving out, and that the showy skins on the market are frequently doctored in manufacture and dyeing in such a way that they decay within a twelvemonth. Mr. Cockerell suggests that some public body should undertake the testing and stamping of leather for this purpose. It is part of the plan of this series to give advice on design as well as workmanship—a more debateable ground than the other; but Mr. Cockerell's hints to the beginner under this head are sound enough. A further section deals with the dangers to which bound books are liable, and their preservation. Finally, detailed forms of specification are furnished. A few photographic reproductions of bindings are added at the end. By the use of woodcuts in the text, glazed paper in the main body of the book has been avoided, and the binding is a model of a simple cloth and paper case.

THE ARCHITECTURAL REVIEW, VOLUME XII., NO. 71, OCTOBER, 1902.

Photo: E. Dockree.

ST. GEORGE'S HALL, LIVERPOOL. INTERIOR.

ILLUSTRATING "THE LIFE AND WORK OF CHARLES ROBERT COCKERELL, R.A." *See page* 129.

Architecture and The Royal Academy. A Discussion.

I.—BY HALSEY RICARDO.

It is impossible to resist the conviction that the best work at present being done is not shown on the walls of the Architectural Room at Burlington House. And its absence is not due directly to any fault of the hangers for the time being, but to the attitude of the Royal Academy as regards the Art of Architecture. The Academy was founded for the encouragement of the Arts of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, and the space allotted to the representation of the latter art, and the restrictions as to the representation, show what is the prevailing feeling in the Council. Why, under such "encouragement," should architects go to the trouble and expense of preparing, or getting prepared, drawings to be hung in a room where the conditions are such that they cannot be adequately represented? In practice, the hangers demand the pictorial representation of architecture, and the art of making perspectives has reached to such a height, owing to this standard of judging, and owing in a great measure to the lead set by the architectural academicians themselves, that an architect, unless very specially endowed both with abilities and leisure, feels himself unable to make such a drawing of his work as, in the adjacent exalted company, shall do it justice; consequently, the representation of it is put into other more practised hands, with the result that the spectator is so much the further away from the architect's aims and intentions, due to the screen constructed by the draughtsman's cleverness; and the public naturally feel the unreality of the representation. Thanks to this unreality, and to the further fact that architectural perspectives are not pictures, the ordinary public, come to see pictures, declines to use this room for any other purpose than repose and assignations. To the majority of the visitors to Burlington House the room is uninteresting, and perhaps under any conditions would prove so, though one cannot pronounce definitely about this without having made a trial. But the *number* of people who visit the room is not the only measure by which to determine its usefulness, nor clearly has it been thought so, else more pains would have been taken to increase its attractiveness. The people who enter the Architectural Room may be parted off into three groups—(1) those who drift in out of curiosity, with a dim consciousness that they ought to be interested in the drawings, and a yet dimmer hope that they may; (2) those who, not being themselves architects, have a real love and care for architecture—who are themselves building, or whose friends or relations are building, and those who have an antiquarian's pleasure and knowledge in the art of architecture, and (3) the architectural profession.

It is on behalf of these two last sections that the following proposals are urged. They constitute a considerable public, one very much in earnest, and one consequently especially entitled to the consideration for which the Academy was founded to afford. They do not desire to treat the architectural drawings as a supplement to the fifteen hundred other pictures on the walls, and they are annually exasperated and disappointed by the meagre and insufficient information they get from the drawings on exhibition.

One may concede at once that the exhibition of the building itself is the best representation of the design, but there are cases where this method of representation would be attended with difficulty as well as expense.

But, putting aside this mode as beyond the sphere of practicality, an improvement on the present method might be made by having, in addition to the usual summer exhibition, another one in the winter time, addressed in the main to those seriously interested in the art of architecture, and held contemporary with the usual winter exhibition. Some of the rooms, now usually closed, might be thrown open, and architects invited as a body to contribute a show of current architecture, on the clear understanding that the present restrictions, actual and implicit, are removed, and that each architect should be at liberty to illustrate his work in the most adequate way, within reason, that he could devise. Models and photographs to be admissible, working drawings, such as plans, sections, details to $\frac{1}{2}$-inch scale, &c., to be welcomed; and perspectives, other than autograph sketches—elucidatory dia-

grams, in fact—to be discouraged. Their place is in the summer exhibition. A collection like this would be of great interest to many outside the profession; it would, with its wealth of exhaustive constructional information, explain to them how an architect works, and show some of the many threads that he has to keep in hand whilst devising the pattern they shall make, and give them an insight into the way the bones of their dwellings are first fashioned and then clothed. Such drawings would have the stamp of authenticity upon them, and would help to show that buildings do not grow from pictures on paper into actuality, but that the thing seen and designed in three dimensions has to be carried out by means of explanations on paper, in two dimensions, supplemented as the work rises by explanations in words, and modified by improvements made in the solid. The personality of the architect, whilst it makes his method and drawings individual, does much more than pervade them only—it extends to the building itself in a way that no amount of plans can reach; the plans are his tools, and it is most deeply interesting to see how each man fashions and tempers his tools.

Assuming that there will be the usual winter exhibitions as hitherto, the opening of three or four additional rooms will not add greatly to the expense already involved, and which would be more than covered by the visits of those who would go to see "the Architectural Rooms" *and* "the Old Masters" for one shilling, who would have grudged it for the Old Masters alone, in addition to those amateurs of architecture, the architects who would naturally desire to see a real exhibition of current work. Nor would a winter show lessen the receipts taken in the summer, for there are none who go, or would go, to see the Architectural Rooms there alone. But the Academy does not exist for the collection of gate-money only, though cash is a necessary as well as a desirable thing. Its first function is to strengthen and improve the arts it has taken under its own patronage; and there must be something amiss in its administration if it be true that it cannot obtain within its walls examples of the best work in those arts now being done. A second duty which the Academy should perform is to define and appreciate the position that the art of architecture holds amongst the arts. But by its present contemptuously inadequate exhibition, by its preference for pictorial effects rather than accurate description, by its inefficient school teaching, it not only neglects its duty, but encourages the world outside its walls to take the same contemptuous view of architecture, so that the daily papers—the world's mouthpieces—either ignore what is being done in the matter of building, or else vent preposterous criticisms in the full bravery of ignorance, when silence seems to them capable of being misconstrued as inattention. The public is justified in treating with indifference that art which the Academy relegates to a small back room as a paltry side show.

II.—BY R. NORMAN SHAW, R.A.

THERE exists beyond all doubt a very general consensus of opinion that the architectural room at the Royal Academy is an exceptionally dull and uninteresting place. That this opinion should prevail amongst the ordinary visitors is not at all wonderful, and indeed I do not see how it could very well be otherwise, for it is ridiculous to suppose that an immense proportion of people take any real interest in architecture, and they certainly must take very much less interest in architectural drawing.

The ordinary visitor is gently and politely tolerant. He says he does not pretend to understand the subject—and of course he does not. Painters and sculptors are as a rule also polite. They ask you to take them round the room, and to show them some interesting things, and when you have tried to do this, you find they show little enthusiasm and display a tendency to admire almost anything but architecture, as there presented to them. A drawing of a bit of silversmith's work will generally please them, and frequently a piece of old work which may happen to be attractively drawn. As a general rule, people are tolerant even if bored; it is only when you come to architects, to ourselves, that angry passions burst forth. The architect declares that the place is abominable and a disgrace to the Royal Academy. He exclaims, "To think that a glorious art like architecture, the 'Mother of the Arts,' should be stuffed away in a small out-of-the-way gallery which few people can find, and which fewer still enter, is monstrous." He cannot find words strong enough with which to express his indignation! There is a fine feeling of unconscious irony in all this. We architects rarely consider that we, and we alone, are responsible for this sad state of things—that, as far as that department in the Academy is concerned, the architect is master of the situation, and it is at his door that the responsibility lies for all the poor and unsightly stuff that disfigures the walls of that room. There can be little doubt that were there any glory to be had from our drawings we should be the first to claim our share. And now, when there is little but discredit, it is hardly fair to attempt to place the responsibility of failure on the shoulders of others.

The Academy can only place on its walls the drawings that are sent to it. Of these, about 250 or 300 come annually, and, as is well known, the Council examine each drawing separately, and certainly leniently, the result being that almost always more drawings are provisionally accepted than can be hung. And with this mass of material the poor hanger for the year takes up his quarters in the architectural room and works till the walls are entirely covered. And no one knows, who has not been through it, the dire straits to which this unhappy official is commonly reduced.

We constantly hear that if we were more worthily housed, if we were in a larger and more prominent gallery, our exhibition would be more interesting; but the answer to that is exceedingly simple and self evident—viz., if we cannot fill a small gallery with works that interest, is it in the least degree likely that we should be able to fill a large one?

No one suggests that, through incompetence or carelessness, good designs are rejected, and bad ones placed on the walls. Were this to occur we should be certain to hear of it, and my experience goes to prove that this rarely, if ever, happens. Of course, it is difficult to explain to a man whose work has been rejected that it was because it was indifferent.

I remember on one occasion, when hanging, that I received a most dismal letter from a friend to say that he had received the notification that his work had been declined. He told me that it was an excellent drawing; that he had received from his clients something very like *carte blanche* as to expense, and had been authorised to use stone, marble, granite, encaustic tiles, plate-glass, and "art metal work," and he had used them all in the building of which he had sent a drawing. He also said that if work such as that was to be rejected, he would very much like to know what was to be accepted. I promptly had the drawing up from the stores, and I went out and saw the building; but I was obliged to confess (to myself) that it was poor stuff, and that the verdict of the Council was a just one. Had I had the courage of my convictions, I should, of course, have told him my candid opinion; but I am afraid I only advised him to send it in the next year, and try his luck with another Council.

We all know perfectly well the process by which the larger number of the drawings find their way to the Academy. An architect says in his office, "Royal Academy exhibition time is coming on: what can we send?" "Oh," says his clerk, "there are three or four perspectives sent back from such and such competitions; when framed they would do well enough. And if you think well, we could easily knock up a perspective of this block of flats: quite apart from the Academy, it might come in useful."

These are sent, and perhaps accepted and hung; but does not any reasonable man suppose that this is the way to do interesting architecture, or to make a collection of drawings worth looking at? Is it not advertising-commercialism of the most ordinary and vulgar nature, and does not the low estimate so generally held of an exhibition of architectural drawings largely arise from this? In fact the thing is too transparent; everyone can see through it, and most people, including the exhibitors themselves, despise it.

Then there arises this very important question. Does the exhibition, such as it is, represent the condition of architecture in England? In the other galleries we see painting and sculpture as they are at present practised, and it is most important that the exhibition, as a whole, should represent the existing condition of art. I think our small gallery really does. The drawings we see there very fairly represent the buildings we see out of doors. There are the churches and chapels we know so well, the "handsome" banks and insurance offices with which we are all so familiar, and abundance of domestic architecture, large and small. It is true that some architects, and these amongst our very best, have never exhibited; they have strong views, and are antagonistic to what they call "all that sort of thing," but they are an exceedingly small minority. And we have a large residue holding no such views who could, if they chose, produce admirable work—work that it would be a delight to see and by which we might all profit enormously.

The departure from old tradition in architectural drawing which insidiously crept in some years ago, and which in England has now become almost universal, has, no doubt, something to do with our decadence. Our present style of drawing has, I fear, grown up largely from a desire to make architecture more pictorial, and by this means to enlist the sympathies and admiration of those who would not even look at a section, and who would not understand it if they did. But I doubt if, in the first place, this has been in the least successful, and, secondly, if these people's sympathies are worth caring for.

They manifestly do not care for the exhibition as it is, and say so. And, unhappily, this desire to pander to their taste, or want of taste, has had the effect of eliminating all sound and legitimate architectural drawing. Long ago the drawing of architecture was regarded as a purely technical art. There were many ways of doing it, and mostly interesting. The books published from early in the eighteenth century all show archi-

tectural designs simply drawn, as architecture should be. The *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Gibbs' and Kent's books (poor as they are), Sir William Chambers', the books of the Brothers Adams, and many others, are all in the same manner. Of course, they do not appeal to the ordinary outsider, and necessarily have a small audience, largely composed of architects. At a later period, when the "Gothic revival" was dawning, and when the elder Pugin appeared, he pursued very much the same manner in such well-known and excellent works as the "Examples" and the "Specimens." Pictorial drawing was reduced to the minimum, and carefully-measured drawings were produced, devoid of interest to the outsider, but deeply interesting to the student. These works retain their value to this day; original copies are rarely to be had, and always at a full price. Why should we go on making worthless drawings that the outsider does not care one straw about, and which the trained architect despises? Would it not be wiser to revert to a sounder and more wholesome state of things?

Suppose that some twenty or thirty architects were to agree to send what I should call architectural drawings, viz., plans, sections, and elevations (especially sections) drawn to a good scale, with some detail drawn to a larger scale. These might be simply tinted if desired, or finished in any way that the sender might prefer, any ornament to be carefully designed and drawn—not sketched—with, of course, the well-dressed ladies and gentlemen and the hansom cabs, which so generally find a place in our foregrounds, carefully omitted. If we could achieve something of this kind, we should have the nucleus of a good exhibition, pure and simple. Were we only to secure some sixty or seventy drawings, it would be a respectable beginning, and doubtless the numbers would increase in time. If we could manage to get together an exhibition with which we architects had reason to be satisfied, the gain would be enormous. When the outsider said to us, "Your gallery does not interest us," if we could reply, "Possibly not—it may be too technical for you; but it contains very good work, of much of which we are justly proud," the intelligent visitor might say to himself, "I must try and learn, and possibly when I understand it better, I too may come to see more in it, and enjoy it." But when in reply to his first remark we are constrained to say, "No, it is a poor show," he goes away contented, and says, "I was sure it was of no interest, and I find now my view is confirmed by architects."

A few years ago we had the pleasure of seeing a set of drawings of the Pantheon in Rome, made by Monsieur Chadanne. We were told he had devoted a very large portion of his three years' residence to their production. There were upwards of twenty of them; they were large and were simply magnificent; architectural drawings pure and simple, and mostly geometrical. They must each have taken about two months on an average. Have we no one in England who would care to expend two months on a fine drawing? We should all gain both pleasure and profit from having such work to study, but the real gainer would be the man who had expended the necessary time, thought, and trouble on it Of course, it is not everyone who could achieve such work, but there must be some who could.

When all has been said, the very important fact remains, and cannot be overlooked, namely, that our drawings are not our work, but only representations and suggestions of our work.

In nearly all other branches of art the real work itself is sent for exhibition, be it painting, sculpture, goldsmith's work, etc., and these are all in themselves valuable. But an architectural drawing, unhappily, has no intrinsic value; I suppose one has rarely, if ever, been bought, though it is difficult to see why a fine design, well drawn and delicately finished, ought not to have great interest, and indeed a money value, for cultivated people (apart from architects). I cannot imagine anyone who could sincerely admire Monsieur Chadanne's drawings and not desire to possess them.

III.—BY JOHN BELCHER, A.R.A.

At the Royal Academy Exhibition the arts of Painting and Sculpture are presented to public view, whereas the art of Architecture is, and can only be indirectly represented by drawings or models. It is, therefore, impossible to place Architecture on the same footing as the new arts in an exhibition.

The subject, composition and colour of a picture, the beauty of a group of sculpture are, besides, more readily apprehended by the public; but of Architecture as a "Fine Art," how much can an ordinary layman understand from the pictorial "perspectives" which he instinctively feels are misleading or fictitious in character.

I believe the members of the Royal Academy are alive to these difficulties, and to the futility of the present inadequate methods of its representation, and are not so indifferent as Mr. Ricardo represents them to be.

Architects no doubt are under the impression that painters take no interest whatever in architecture, but that little room devoted to its repre-

sentation at the Academy gives them much trouble and receives a large amount of their puzzled attention; not always flattering, perhaps, because architects will foolishly attempt to compete with painters in picture-making.

Mr. Ricardo no doubt rightly complains that "it is a contemptuous, inadequate exhibition;" but then he attributes the cause to "something amiss in the administration." Is it not more likely to be the fault of architects themselves? To illustrate their work the "perspective view" may serve a useful purpose, but its legitimate use is often corrupted by the temptation to showy advertisement. By startling colour, exaggerated scale, or other eccentricities, they may succeed in attracting public attention, but it is at the cost of truth to their art. The public may be deceived by what they see, or be vaguely conscious that they are being taken in; but those who are looking for architecture will not be deceived, and will rate these would-be pictures at their true value.

Mr. Ricardo's complaint of "the meagre and insufficient information to be obtained from drawings in the exhibition" must be frankly acknowledged. But what is the remedy? Let architects return to their proper tools, the despised T square and set square. Let them disregard the jeers of those who insist that they cannot be artists until these are discarded. The pretty sketch or suggestive drawing dashed off in an hour or so cannot properly represent architecture. It is by the geometrical plans, elevations, and sections, and half-inch details that it can best be understood. It is these which show the real thought bestowed upon the work and the knowledge possessed by the author. He may supplement them if he pleases with "perspectives" to illustrate or elucidate the effects intended, or to make more evident the general grouping of the buildings, and the massing of the several parts of the composition. Such perspectives, however, should be broadly treated, minuteness of detail being left to the geometrical elevations.

No doubt the wonderful advance of draughtsmanship is responsible for the present methods employed for architectural illustration so that "the tail appears to wag the dog"; the illustration of architecture is subordinated to the cleverness of the semi-pictorial draughtsman. If by chance the actual building so illustrated is seen, even the expert will not recognise it. Where are the glorious shadows from a tropical sun, where the azure sky? where are those distant mountains and verdant grounds? In the picture how that stately building rears itself above its surroundings. Its mighty tower seems lost in the clouds. Its stately columns, at whose capitals a student is gazing through a field glass, that wide thoroughfare along which a regiment of red-coated soldiers is marching, where are they? Is this wretched miniature structure the realisation of that wonderful dream! Why, its columns have capitals we can almost touch! Its "tower" is but a miserable pimple on the parapet! And the road is little more than a narrow lane.

Mr. Ricardo is right, these drawings are false, and only meagre and insufficient information is to be obtained from the majority of the drawings in the Academy Exhibition. He points out that three classes visit the architectural room, and two of them possess some knowledge of architecture. One class consists of students and lovers of the art, and the other of architects themselves. By these two, technical drawings are understood and appreciated. Here they have something tangible, something which can be relied upon and judged on its merits.

For this technical work the painter's respect is profound—even if he does not quite understand it—for instead of smiling at the pictorial efforts, of which he is a judge, he can learn the meaning and purpose of many architectual details which at present he hesitates to introduce into his pictures lest he should display his ignorance. In time the public would also come to appreciate how much is due to right proportions, and to proper relation and scale of each part to the whole building. They would also learn that the work which looks well on paper is not always the most successful in execution, and they would realise that experience is necessary to determine the desired effects.

Surely the architect must first reform before he can ask for extended recognition at the Royal Academy. He must pull the "beam out of his own eye" that he may see clearly to "pull the mote out of his brother's eye!"

Yet there is much with which one is in sympathy in Mr. Ricardo's remarks. The possibility of a more extended architectural exhibition during the winter exhibition is alluring. But is it likely that good work would be forthcoming once a year? When there is good current architecture the more completely it is illustrated the better. Geometrical drawings, with details of every part side by side with perspective illustrations, would afford excellent material for study.

In the case of public buildings, national interest would be awakened, honest criticism given, and suggestions made. Faults could be corrected or improvements made before it was too late. For such special purposes the Royal Academy might be asked to lend its walls. And it might be fairly urged, if the works of old masters are exhibited, why not the drawings of ancient buildings of approved beauty? The technical representation of well-known buildings side by side with pictorial

representations or photographs would prove of great educational value to all who are interested in architecture as a "Fine Art," and would further the public appreciation of its importance.

IV.—BY REGINALD BLOMFIELD.

MR. RICARDO's suggestion implies that it is desirable that architecture should be represented by drawings and models in exhibitions. In my opinion this is wrong in principle. Architecture is only adequately represented in buildings themselves; and, as both Mr. Ricardo and Mr. Belcher point out, the majority of the drawings which appear every year at Burlington House are ridiculously misleading. They are not always made by the architect himself. To meet the necessity of advertisement which we all feel, a highly skilled profession of perspective makers has grown up, who produce brilliant drawings of buildings which, if in existence at all, the draughtsman has probably never seen. The result is that the public is doubly misled, for it does not even get the architect's own idea of what his building is or should be. The whole thing is a sham, and a sham which has had a disastrous re-action on architects themselves. From constantly considering how a building will look in one of the aforesaid brilliant perspectives, architects have come to design in the draughtsman's manner, with the result of the prison casements six feet above the floor, doors too low for a man to go in by, and the clipped peacocks and flower beds, which we are accustomed to look for in what may be called studio architecture.

The model, especially when prepared in full mechanical detail by a professional model-maker, seems to me to be nearly as bad, for it necessarily ignores the question of scale. As soon as we are face to face with objects in three dimensions, these objects set up a scale of their own; and in this way a model that may look very respectable as it is, might become quite intolerable when magnified twenty-four or forty-eight times. In any case, detail that may look very well in a small scale model may, and sometimes does, look very ill in the actual building. One cannot drive it too hard into the head of the public that architecture stands or falls, not by drawings, perspectives, or models, but by the actual building itself; so much so, that two architects of different temperaments and degrees of accomplishment may produce quite different results in the interpretation of the same set of working drawings. So far, therefore, from increasing the facilities of architectural exhibition, in my opinion they ought to be curtailed, if not entirely abolished, because the more elaborate the exhibition the greater the encouragement given to the prevailing misconception of architecture as an affair of pretty draughtsmanship.

If there is to be an exhibition at all, in my opinion it should be strictly limited to geometrical drawings, as indicated by Mr. Shaw. These are far from being conclusive and adequate representations of the building, because in a building so much depends on the lightness and finesse of touch, not only of the architect but of the builder and his men. Yet they are in fact the tools by which the architect works, and if kept within reasonable limits of technique are less objectionable as evidence of architecture than any other method of presentation. Yet even here we may be only escaping Scylla to fall into Charybdis, for in selecting drawings for an exhibition of geometrical drawings, the judges can hardly help being influenced by mere technique, they would almost inevitably tend to select drawings on account of their delicacy of line and smoothness of wash, rather than for the idea, which after all is all they are there to convey. We shall probably be out of the frying-pan into the fire, and instead of the miraculous light and shade, trees, skies, and gardens which our perspective makers have created for us, we shall all be struggling for the mechanical perfection and precise skiography of the trained French draughtsman.

Mr. Shaw has referred to M. Chadanne's drawings of the Pantheon. They were indeed most marvellous and beautiful drawings, and no one would suggest for an instant that they were not worth the trouble of making, or did not possess a very great intrinsic value of their own. Yet those three years spent on making the drawings are a large order for an architect; well enough for a draughtsman or an archæological student, but how about an architect? Where is he to find the time for his other necessary studies, especially if he is to include in them that handicraftsmanship which a certain school would have us believe to be the cure of all our architectural ills? The thing nowadays is simply not to be done. We make too much of draughtsmanship: it is, after all, with an architect only a means to an end, a link between his mind and the hand that has to execute his ideas; and it seems to me that the direct and simple methods of draughtsmanship employed by the architects of the Italian Renaissance—such, for instance, as may be found in the illustrations of Barbaro's Vitruvius or Palladio—are, as far as they go, adequate to their purpose, more suggestive, and, if I may put it so, more workmanlike from an architect's point of view than the amazing finish of the best Prix de Rome drawing ever made. The Count, I think it was, in Wilhelm Meister, made it his principle to get through life with the least possible quantity of

moral and intellectual baggage. Mr. Shaw's plea for fine scholarship in architectural drawing is very attractive, and would help towards a stand being made against the stuff that does duty for it at present. My point is that under modern conditions of architecture, conditions which we cannot escape, such attainment is more or less impossible for an architect. There are other things that we must do, and other knowledge which we are bound to master first. We do not want to make the burden of the architectural student too heavy to be borne.

I do not myself believe that the interests of architecture are served by exhibitions, but if we are to have them it would be a most useful step in the right direction to limit them to geometrical drawings. Mr. Belcher puts it clearly that it is futile for architects to challenge comparison with painters on their own ground. The practice of modern architecture is difficult enough as it is without dabbling in the other arts. It is not for architects to drag red herrings across the scent by posing as painters, and it is no use expecting the public to understand and appreciate architecture if architects deliberately mislead the public as to the province and intention of that art. Where the shoe pinches seems to me to be not in the absence of facilities for exhibiting an art which by its essential conditions cannot be exhibited, but in the absence of a thoroughly-considered and well-organised system of education in the art of architecture.

The Life and Works of Charles Robert Cockerell, R.A.

II.—PRINCIPAL BUILDINGS.

Conclusion.

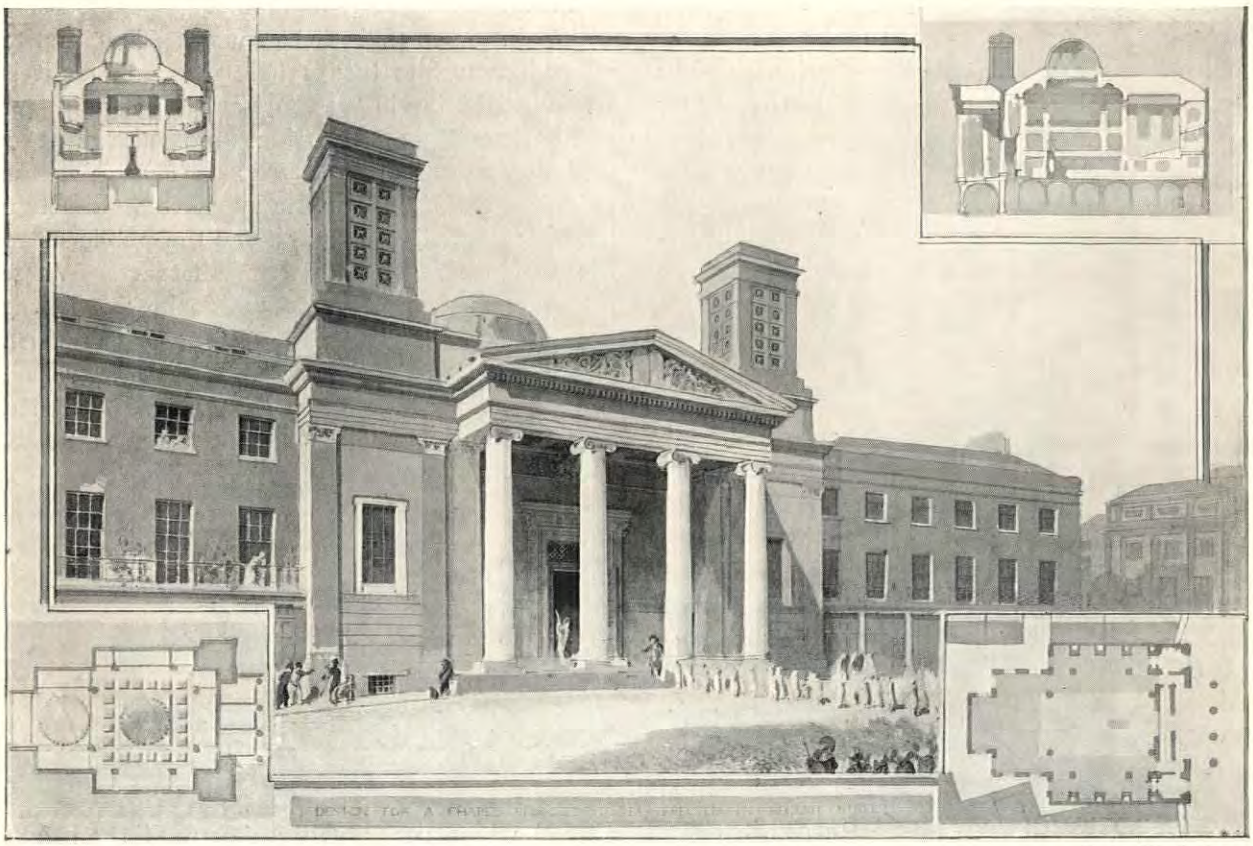
By the time he returned to England Cockerell was twenty-nine years old, so he began his purely architectural career somewhat late in life. But he brought with him a great reputation from abroad which undoubtedly shortened the inevitable period of waiting. He had spent, as I have said, some six years in his father's and Mr. Smirke's offices, where he had seen a good deal of practical work; and this experience, with his natural aptitude and industry, quickly gave him the necessary skill in technical matters. The result was that when he set up for himself he soon began to find employment.

CHARLES ROBERT COCKERELL, R.A.

Among his earliest works were the Bristol Literary and Philosophical Institute, and the Hanover Chapel in Regent Street. In the latter he was confronted with the difficulty that the entrance had to be at the east end, and therefore behind the altar. Moreover, the floor space was so small that two tiers of galleries were necessary. Both these problems were very successfully grappled with and solved. We give a reproduction of his finished drawing for the façade. It has shared the fate of several of his works, for it was pulled down only a short time ago to make way for a huge shop. It was a work both beautiful and original, with much refinement of detail, and London is the poorer by its loss.

Another important early work is St. David's College, Lampeter, interesting chiefly as being one of the only Gothic buildings that Cockerell designed.

I shall now pass over a considerable period with the simple mention of one work, the great Scottish National Monument on Calton Hill, Edinburgh, in which he collaborated with



THE HANOVER CHAPEL, REGENT STREET, LONDON.
RECENTLY PULLED DOWN.

Photo: W. E. Gray.

Playfair. This was work after his own heart. It was to be a reproduction of the Parthenon; but, owing I believe to want of funds, only a very small part was ever erected. In 1832 he was commissioned to build the Westminster Insurance Office in the Strand, and in the same year he was appointed architect to the Bank of England, for which he designed a new Dividend Office in Threadneedle Street; this, however, was taken down in 1848 to make way for the present Drawing Office, which is also from his hand.

About this time he was much occupied with the Cambridge University Library. For six years a controversy raged about the designs, though as far as I know Cockerell followed his invariable practice and allowed the raging to be done by his rivals, himself remaining silent. The original competitors in 1830 had been Messrs. Rickman and Hutchinson, Wilkins, Decimus Burton, and Cockerell. It would be tedious to relate the wordy war that followed; suffice it to say that in 1834 new designs were called for, and Cockerell's was chosen. Only the northern side of the quadrangle of the second design has been put up; and as this was the least important and ambitious part of the whole, it would be quite unfair to judge from it what the effect of the finished work would have been; but the drawing, from which the proposed main façade is shown, shows that it would have been a noble and splendid building, worthy of the University.

Cockerell's next important work was the London and Westminster Bank in Lothbury. Both he and Tite had friends on the Board of Directors, and to avoid competition they agreed to work together. In the event the exterior was Cockerell's, and the interior chiefly Tite's. The main front has since been greatly extended with somewhat unhappy results. It was very simple, and with few parts, but of good proportions, and notable for the manner in which the rusticated piers, running through two stories from a plain stylobate, gave almost the effect of an order, while avoiding much detail and consequent expense. Two figures designed by Cockerell and executed by Nicholl, placed one at each end of the main cornice, bore an important part in the composition. The stones of the piers had their horizontal joints only rusticated in contrast to the arrangement of the rustication in the attic, which had vertical as well as horizontal joints. Cockerell always studied very carefully the masonry of his façades. His work generally showed a preference for large stones, and he made their arrangement play a subtle part in his

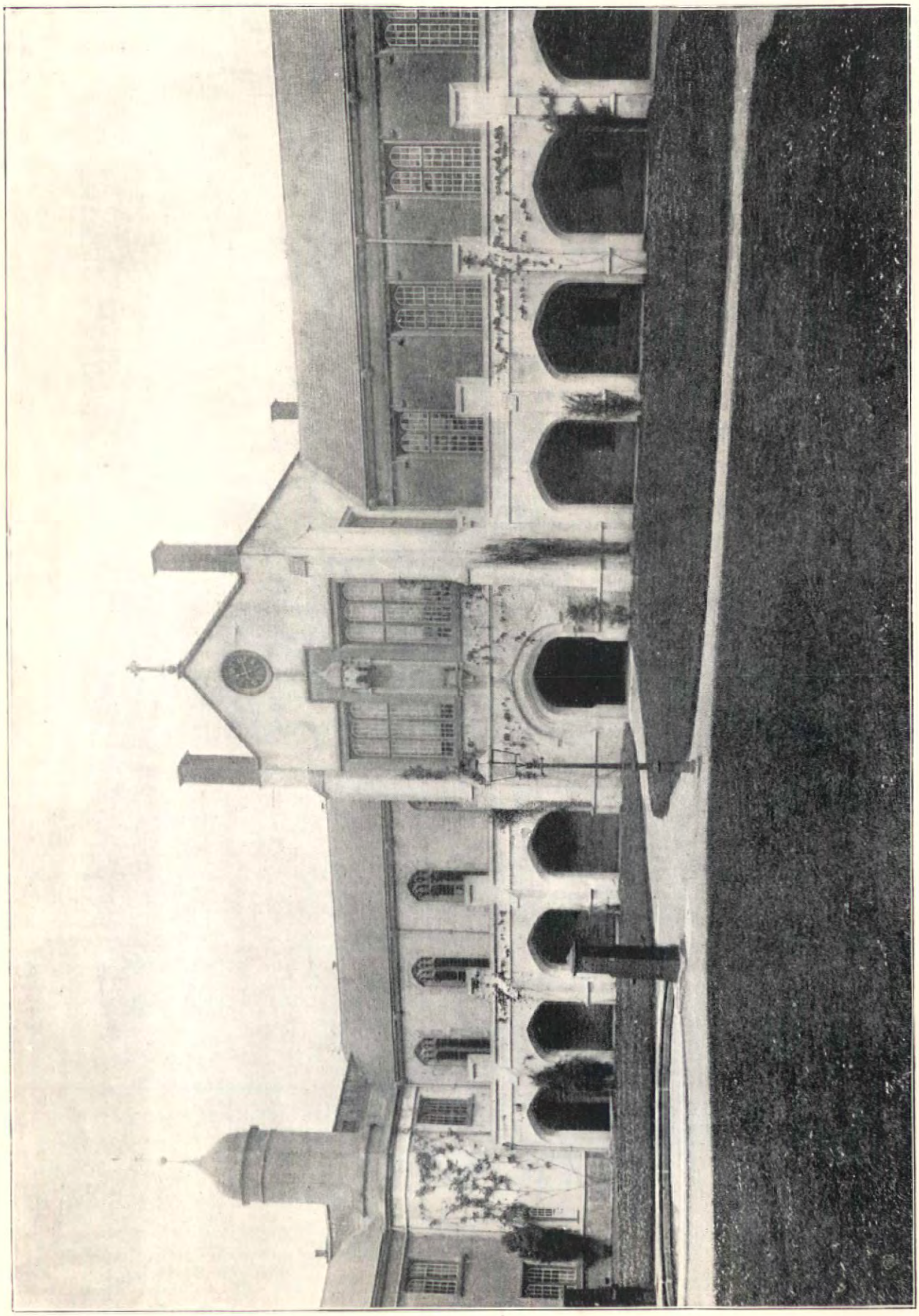


Photo: Caxton Press, Lampeter.

COURTYARD, ST. DAVID'S COLLEGE, LAMPETER.

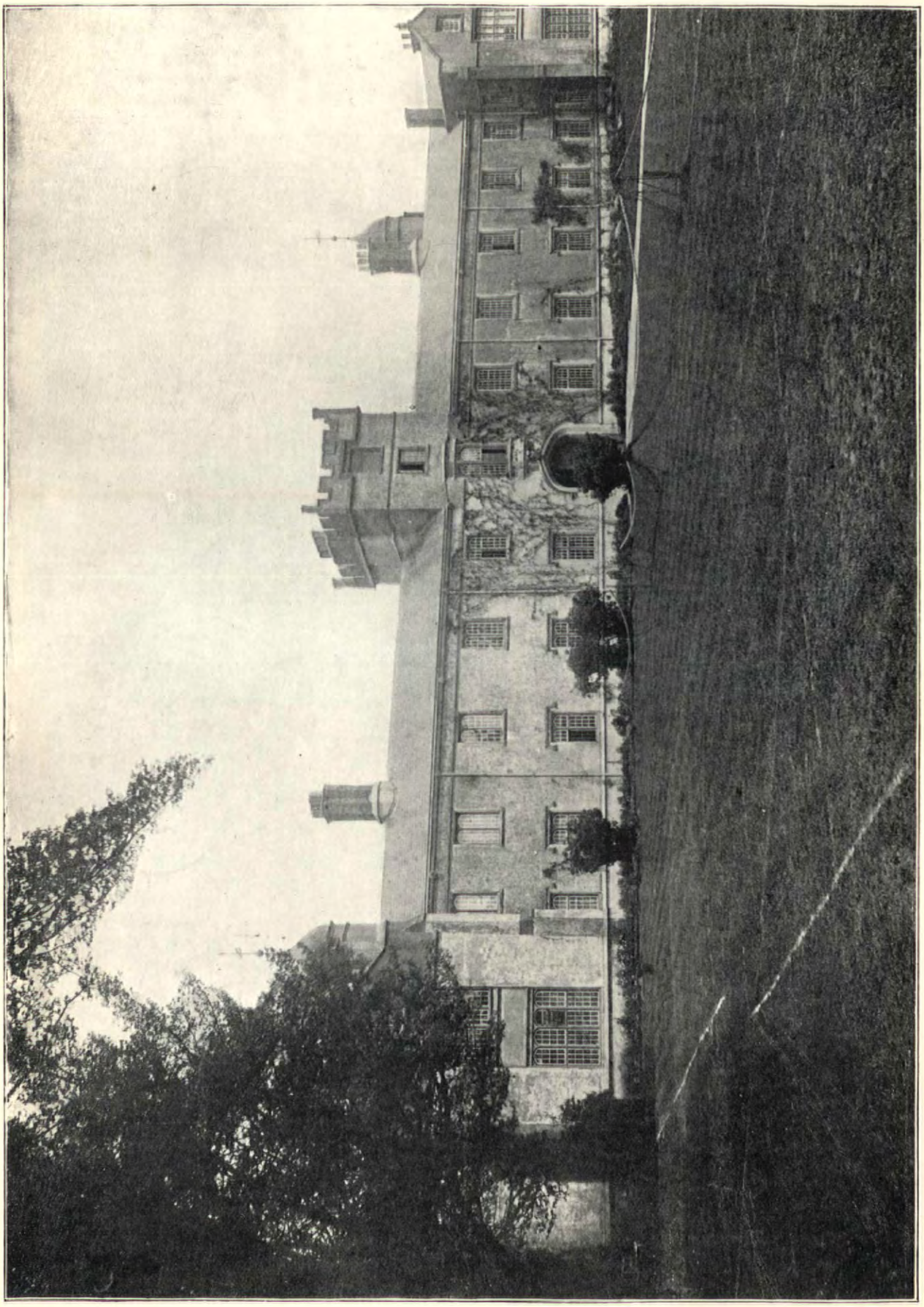
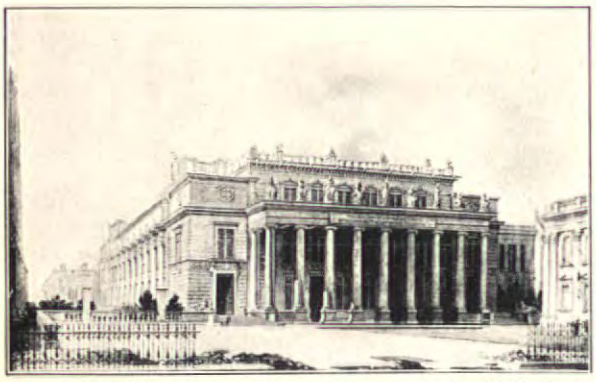


Photo: Caxton Press, Lampeter.

ST. DAVID'S COLLEGE, LAMPETER. FROM THE GARDEN.



FINAL DESIGN FOR THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. *Photo: W. H. Hayles.*

designs, of which the Bank of England façade in Castle Street is a good example.

While busy with his practice Cockerell never ceased to work at the academic side of his art, and about this time he undertook and completed a composition called a "Tribute to the Memory of Sir Christopher Wren," showing sixty-three of his principal churches and other works. It was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1863, and is perhaps the most beautiful of all his drawings.

It was in this year that the Royal Exchange was destroyed by fire, and an open competition was held for designs to replace it. The usual disputes arose, from which Cockerell rigidly held aloof, and his design was chosen. But his trouble had only begun. Several other architects were asked to engage with him in a fresh competition; but, seeing that the award had really been made, none of them considered himself at liberty to compete except Mr. Tite. Cockerell put his design into the form of a very large finished model, to which the selection committee and Mr. Tite, who were told of it, made no demur. However, when the designs were sent in Mr. Tite objected to the model, the committee would not even look at it, and Mr. Tite's design was chosen. It was a very bitter disappointment to Cockerell. A most beautiful wash drawing of the proposed façade hangs in the Royal Institute, and is here re-produced. All who are familiar with the building as it now stands will probably agree that Cockerell's design will bear comparison with it.

Having just spoken of the tribute to Wren and the drawing of the Royal Exchange, I should like to digress for a moment and speak of Cockerell's power as a draughtsman. Even as a boy he had considerable skill; but afterwards his power became very great. There is a quality about his pencilling which is very distinctive, and it has the rare merit of suggesting colour and tone. His work was deliberately kept within certain bounds, but I venture to say that in its own sphere, though it may have been equalled, it has never been surpassed; indeed, I doubt whether it is possible to surpass it; and I cite the tribute to Wren and the Royal Exchange in support of the view. Drawing was to him as natural a mode of expression as speech. His brain was for ever conceiving new ideas to which his hand at once gave form: and to this I attribute the delicacy and originality of his decoration. I know quite well that drawing is not the be-all and end-all of an architect's work; indeed, I recognise that facile and picturesque drawing is too often a temptation to carelessness and a cloak for architectural poverty; while some of the greatest architects have been no draughtsmen. But surely many beautiful thoughts fall stillborn simply because there is no hand to bring them duly to the birth; and there must be more hope (to put it no higher) of grace and beauty in detail designed by a master of freehand than by one who is lost without his T-square and his compass.

In 1839 Cockerell won the competition for the Gallery at Oxford known as the Taylor and Randolph Buildings. This is perhaps the finest of his works. It is an E-shaped block, of two great wings united by a long gallery, in the middle of which is a very beautiful Ionic portico. An Ionic Order, of which each member is crowned with a statue, also adorns the wings, which consist of a basement and two stories surmounted by a main cornice, above which is an attic and subsidiary cornice. The late Mr. Brydon, who spoke with much authority, calls it an "almost perfect composition, a veritable architectural gem, in every way worthy of the great university town, and to my thinking artistically superior to anything that has been done there since. It bespeaks the artist and the scholar in every line, and proclaims him a consummate master of his craft. Though not a large building, as public buildings go, it has a quiet dignity which is beyond praise, enabling it to hold its own in a city renowned for its architectural monuments. We see in it the work of its architect at its very best. We feel all the grace of its Greek refinement, both in proportion and in detail, the appropriateness of its sculpture and carving, the judicious contrast of plain surface and richness of effect, with all the wealth of knowledge and skill, and yet that reticence of design which goes to make an architectural work of the highest merit. Again, as in his commercial offices, this Taylor Building is no mere copy of Greek features doing duty for lack of originality, but, on the contrary, it demonstrates once more the adaptability of the style to modern requirements."

At this period Cockerell was at the summit of

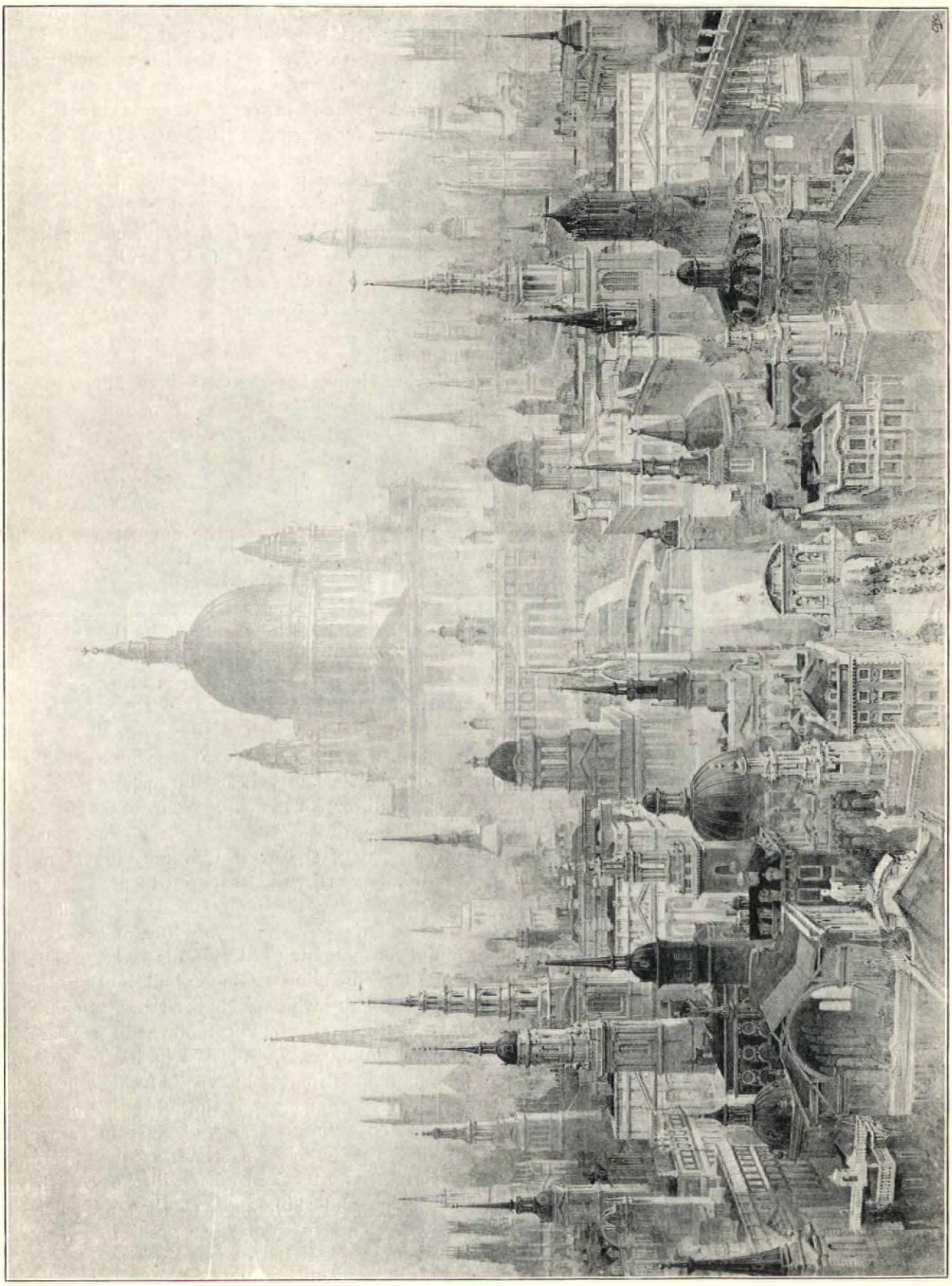


Photo: W. E. Gray.

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN.

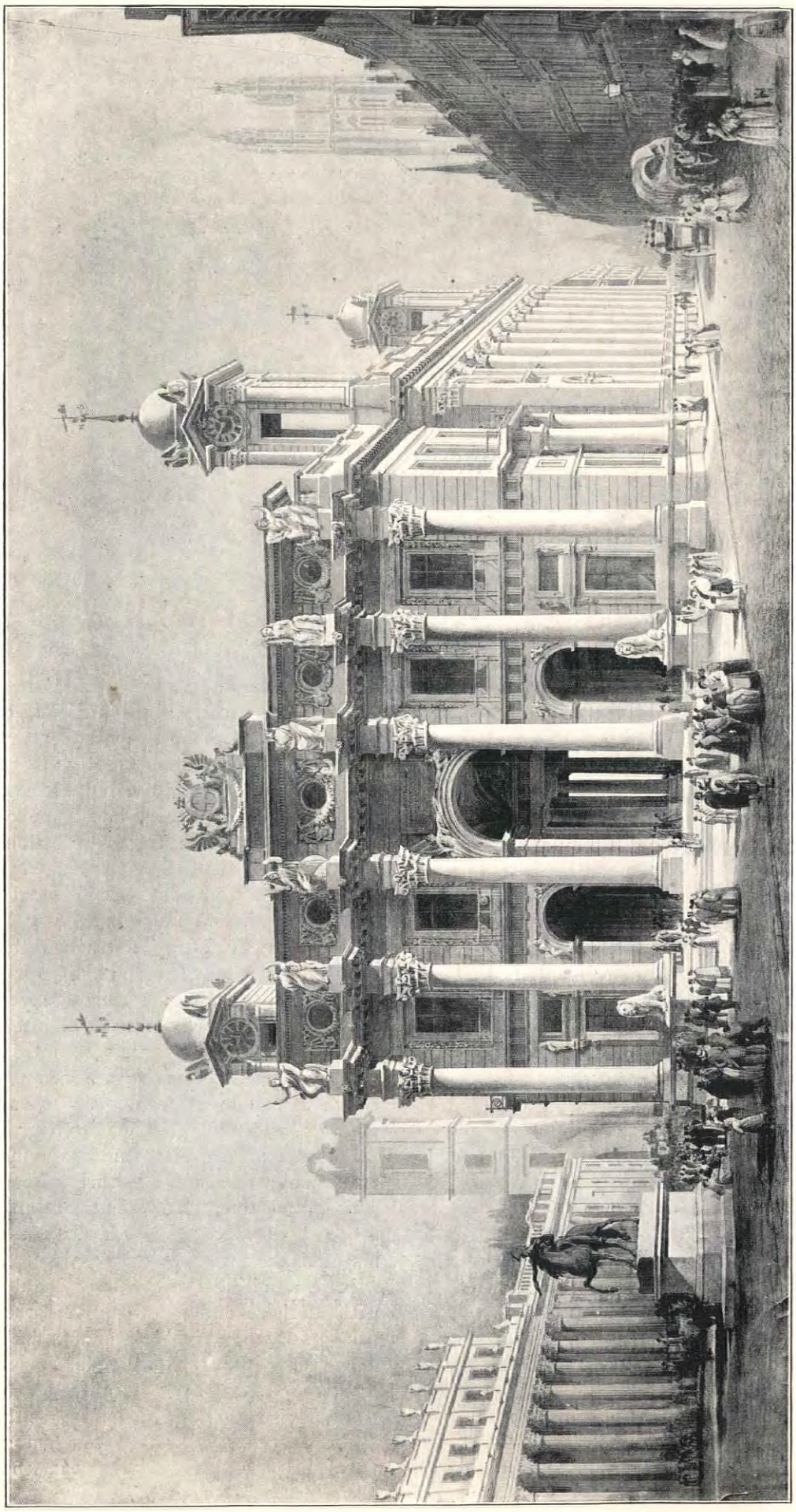


Photo: W. E. Gray.

DESIGN FOR THE ROYAL EXCHANGE.

TAYLOR AND RANDOLPH BUILDINGS, OXFORD. *From a Photo.*

his artistic career, and commissions flowed in on him. His next important work was the Sun Fire Office in Threadneedle Street. His first design had to be altered owing to certain requirements of the City Council; the building as finally carried out was a noble work. But, alas! it has been sadly mutilated. Growing business made an extra story necessary, and the Directors insisted on sandwiching it in below the order, instead of adding it as an attic; though that was the course which their architect advised, and which should have been taken. The result is that the cornice is now quite out of proportion and inadequate; moreover, one front has been lengthened considerably, and altogether a beautiful design has been spoiled; a good instance of the evil effects of lay interference.

While on the subject of the Sun Fire Office I may as well speak of another of his commercial buildings, which was executed many years after, but which has some likeness to its elder brother. I mean the Liverpool and London and Globe building in Dale Street, Liverpool. With all its complete fitness for the use of business, it is truly a thing of beauty. There is not a bad line in it, and it is full of originality, especially in the exterior treatment of the staircases on the west front, though one could wish the top parapet over them had been strengthened. And all this was attained for a moderate outlay, considering the size of the building. The final cost was about £45,000. I am sorry to say that the cornice has recently been seriously mutilated, one of the members being completely cut away, and the capitals of the columns greatly disfigured. It is sad that so delicately balanced a composition should be thus altered, and I hope that some authoritative protest from professional quarters will be made.

In 1829 Cockerell had been elected A.R.A., full R.A. in 1836, and four years later Professor of Architecture. His work in the latter position was truly after his own heart, and for 17 years he delivered a course of lectures, never twice the same, and always teeming with interest and research. Mr. George Aitchison, one of his pupils, says of them, "The lecture room was always crowded with members of the Royal Academy, students, and others, anxious to hear him and see his illustrations. The students hung upon his utterances; and while lecturing he would often pause, and then say, "and so on." He had dropped the thread of his discourse, forgotten his audience and the lecture-room, and was in Athens, admiring the Parthenon and communing with Pericles and Phidias. At other times he would pour out vivid pictures of the glories of Athens, Syracuse, or Rome. He spared no labour or expense in preparation, on which, while his fee was 60 guineas, he often spent more than £200.

Among other things, he made a great chart, 14 ft. by 10 ft., showing to scale the most im-

From a Photo lent by the Sun Insurance Office.

THE SUN INSURANCE OFFICE, THREADNEEDLE STREET, LONDON. BEFORE ALTERATION.

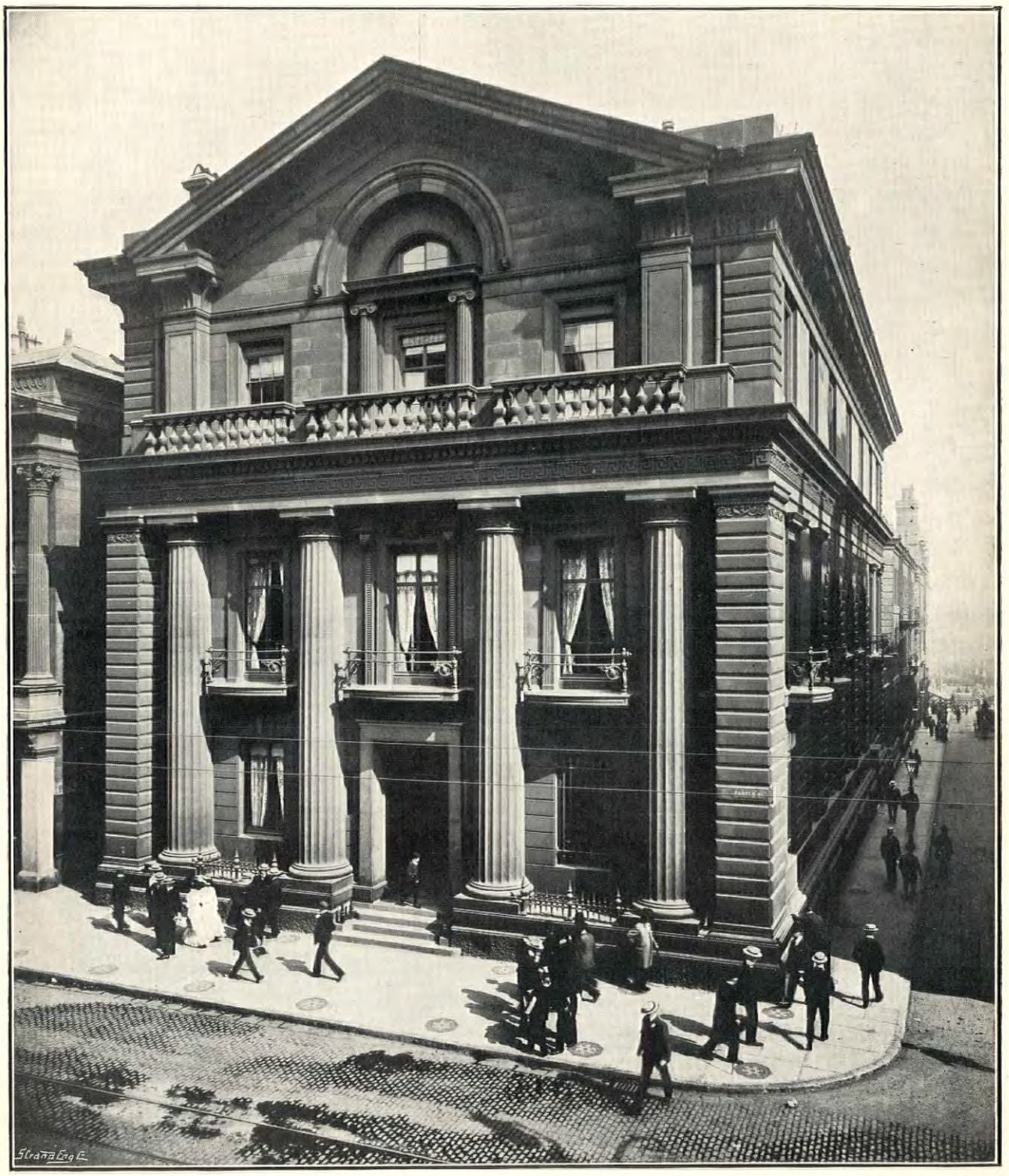


Photo : E. Dockree.

THE BANK OF ENGLAND BRANCH,
LIVERPOOL.

portant buildings of the world. This he always hung up at his lectures, and called his "drop-scene." It is now at South Kensington. Later on he made a more detailed drawing of the same subject, 6 ft. by 5 ft., which he called "The Professor's Dream," and exhibited, in 1849, at the Royal Academy. Immense research and labour were necessary to complete it. I may mention that separate drawings were made of each building, and then cut out so as to make the final composition more easy.

In 1844 Cockerell competed for the Carlton Club, in Pall Mall, but he withdrew from the competition for some reason that I do not know, and Sydney Smirke was successful.

At this time he was much engaged with work for the Bank of England, and designed the branch buildings at Bristol, Manchester, and Liverpool. I wish more especially to speak of the latter. Mr. Heathcote Statham considers this the most beautiful of Cockerell's works. That is, of course, a question of personal preference, but I can easily understand him. It has always seemed to me that the building exactly tells its own story. It is the embodiment of the Great National Bank: dignified, reticent, and strong, depending for beauty on the perfection of its proportion rather than on adventitious ornament. Here at least the use of a massive order is justified, and its treatment is as original as it is refined. It recalls his earlier work, the Westminster Insurance Office, where somewhat the same idea is worked out.

During 1846–7 Cockerell was much occupied with the finishing of the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, which Basevi had left incomplete at his death; but as Mr. E. M. Barry's subsequent alterations have largely destroyed whatever work he did there, I shall not linger over it. When Elmes died, in 1849, leaving St. George's Hall, Liverpool, unfinished, Cockerell was asked to continue the work, and he accepted the great honour all the more gladly that he had long known and loved Elmes. Two such men could not but be close friends: and while working out his splendid ideas the younger man was in constant touch with the elder, who gave him all the help he could from his ripe experience. Since Cockerell's death there has been some controversy as to the exact share attributable to him. I believe that, shortly, the following is the correct statement of the case. Elmes left the exterior nearly completed, and planned the general arrangement of the building and the main internal structure of the great hall; while he completed the beautiful northern entrance portico. The rest is Cockerell's. A good deal was said some time ago about the share of Alfred Stevens in the sculpture of the south pediment. I have been at some pains to find out the truth of this matter, and I believe that Mr. Brydon correctly summed it up when he said: "The work, as you know,

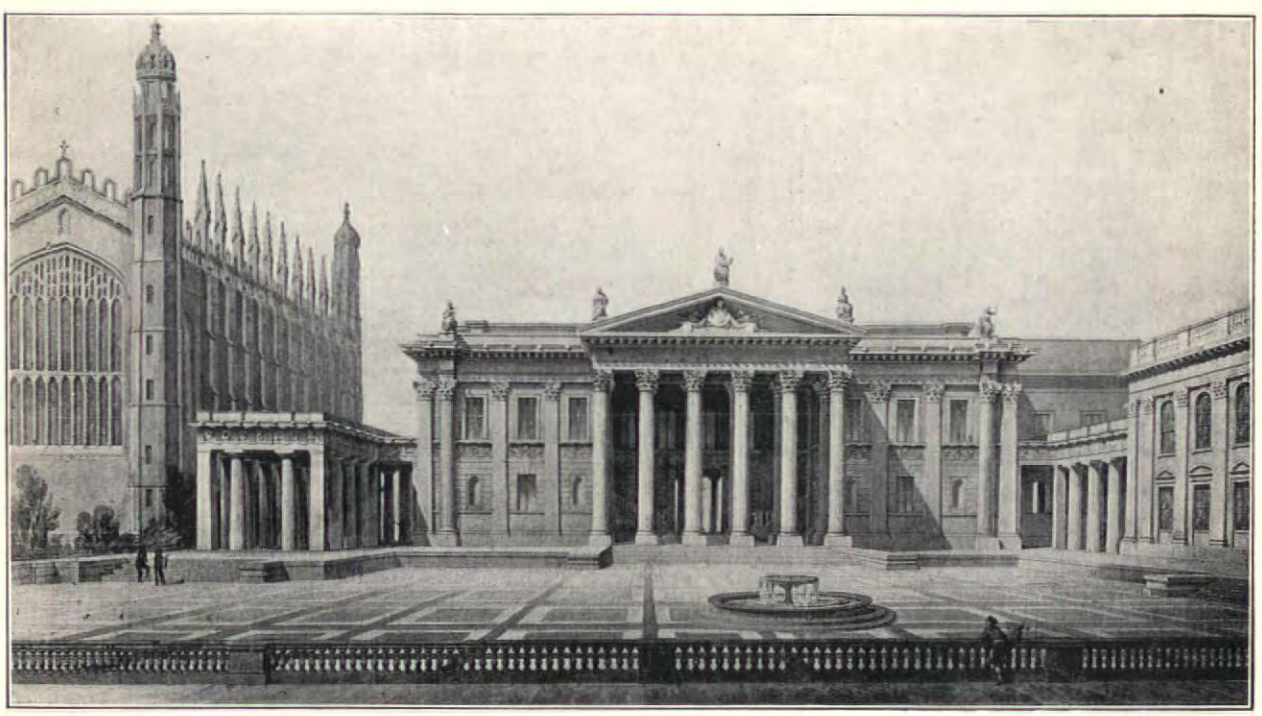


Photo: W. E. Gray.

FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, CAMBRIDGE.
FROM A DRAWING.

ORIGINAL SKETCH BY C. R. COCKERELL, "AN IDEA FOR THE FRONTPIECE OF A PUBLIC BUILDING IN ENGLAND."

Photos: W. E. Gray.

FINISHED DRAWING BY ALFRED STEVENS FROM THE ABOVE.

SCULPTURE OF THE SOUTH PEDIMENT, ST. GEORGE'S HALL, LIVERPOOL.

was executed by Nicholl, the sculptor, and about two years after Elmes's death, in 1849, Cockerell asked Stevens to make a drawing of the pediment for publication. He did so from the unfinished work in Nicholl's studio, and while so occupied made some suggestions for the improvement of the grouping of the figures, which, with the true sympathy of an artist for the opinion of such a man as Stevens, Cockerell adopted and had carried out by Nicholl."

Already in 1843 Cockerell had made a sketch of an "Idea for the Frontpiece of a Public Building in England" which Elmes saw and asked Cockerell to execute for his own great work, and we give the original sketch and Stevens's drawing placed together for comparison. I have dwelt on the sculpture at some length because I desire, while allowing due credit to Stevens for those modifications, to claim for Cockerell what I am bold enough to call the greatest post-classical composition of architectural sculpture that we know. Indeed, in speaking of St. George's Hall I find it hard not to use many superlatives. It cannot often happen that a great genius such as Elmes should find so entirely worthy a successor as Cockerell; and the united power of these two men has produced what is now, I believe, universally admitted to be one of the noblest buildings in the world. Yes, there were giants in those days. But I must confine myself to Cockerell's own work, and I think I shall be endorsed by all who know it in saying that it is of a kind that grows on one with study. Every detail is beautiful and original, the great hall speaks for itself, and I need only mention besides the small concert hall and the great organ with its gallery. Of special beauty are the bronze doors and great candelabra in the main hall. In connection with the latter I can give a good illustration of the laborious care Cockerell bestowed on his work. The candelabra partly consist of the beaks of Greek ships; and I have found in one of his portfolios a sheet of exquisite drawings of various forms of trireme copied from Greek coins. From March 1851 to September 1854 Cockerell gave of his very best, and in so doing fashioned a fitting crown to his career. It was in every sense a labour of love. His left hand never knew what his right hand did, but I know that Elmes's widow and son did not lose through his association with the work. With one exception, of which I have already written, this was his last important work, and in 1859 he retired from practice.

Throughout his life honours had been showered upon him. He was made Surveyor to St. Paul's in 1819, and to the East India House in the same year, and Architect to the Bank of England in 1833. I have already spoken of his election to the Royal Academy. He was a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, Foreign Associate of the Académie des Beaux Arts of France, Member of the Roman Academy of St. Luke, of the Royal Academies of Bavaria, Belgium, and Denmark, of the Academies of Geneva and Genoa, and of the American Institute of Architects, and was the first Royal Gold Medallist of the Royal Institute. One more great honour awaited him. In 1861 he was elected the first professional President of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and the choice was eloquent of the universal love and respect that he inspired. At that time the great Battle of the Styles, which now seems so far away, was at its height. The Gothic wave was rising to its full strength, and the struggle raged bitterly. But no one ever thought of associating Cockerell with a party. He had kept aloof from controversy of every sort; so that when the time came to elect a President, and neither party would yield to the other, or suffer an opponent to be chosen, all men turned to him. In 1863 he died, and was buried in St. Paul's beside Sir Christopher Wren.

In a paper such as the present I must perforce leave unsaid much that I should like to say. But I must make an attempt shortly to sum up Cockerell's position. Fergusson, with his usual comprehensiveness, says: "In youth he travelled much and resided long in Greece, so that it is little to be wondered at that a student of his bent of mind became so deeply enamoured with the arts of that classic land that he never afterwards abandoned them. Gothic made him shudder, and even Italian was not sufficiently refined for his taste." Now this is an absolute mistake. His work on William of Wykeham, and his very learned and elaborate treatise on the iconography of Wells and other cathedrals show that Cockerell deeply appreciated and loved Gothic work. True it is that his training and his nature led him to follow the Greek model almost entirely; but that did not prevent his admiring another school.

So far from being prejudiced in his taste, Cockerell, living in an age of violent professional division, was singularly catholic. To him his profession was not merely a living, but his very life. He was intensely proud of it. He knew that Architecture is the mother of all the arts, the one indispensable art. He kept before him the thought that the architect's work alone is ever present to the eyes of his fellow men; and he felt deeply the duty of giving his very best, helping to make life more beautiful and so better. To his great power of production he added a far rarer gift, the power of selection, without which can be no true art. The volume of his completed work

Photo : E. Dochree.

ST. GEORGE'S HALL, LIVERPOOL,
ORCHESTRA AND GRAND ORGAN.

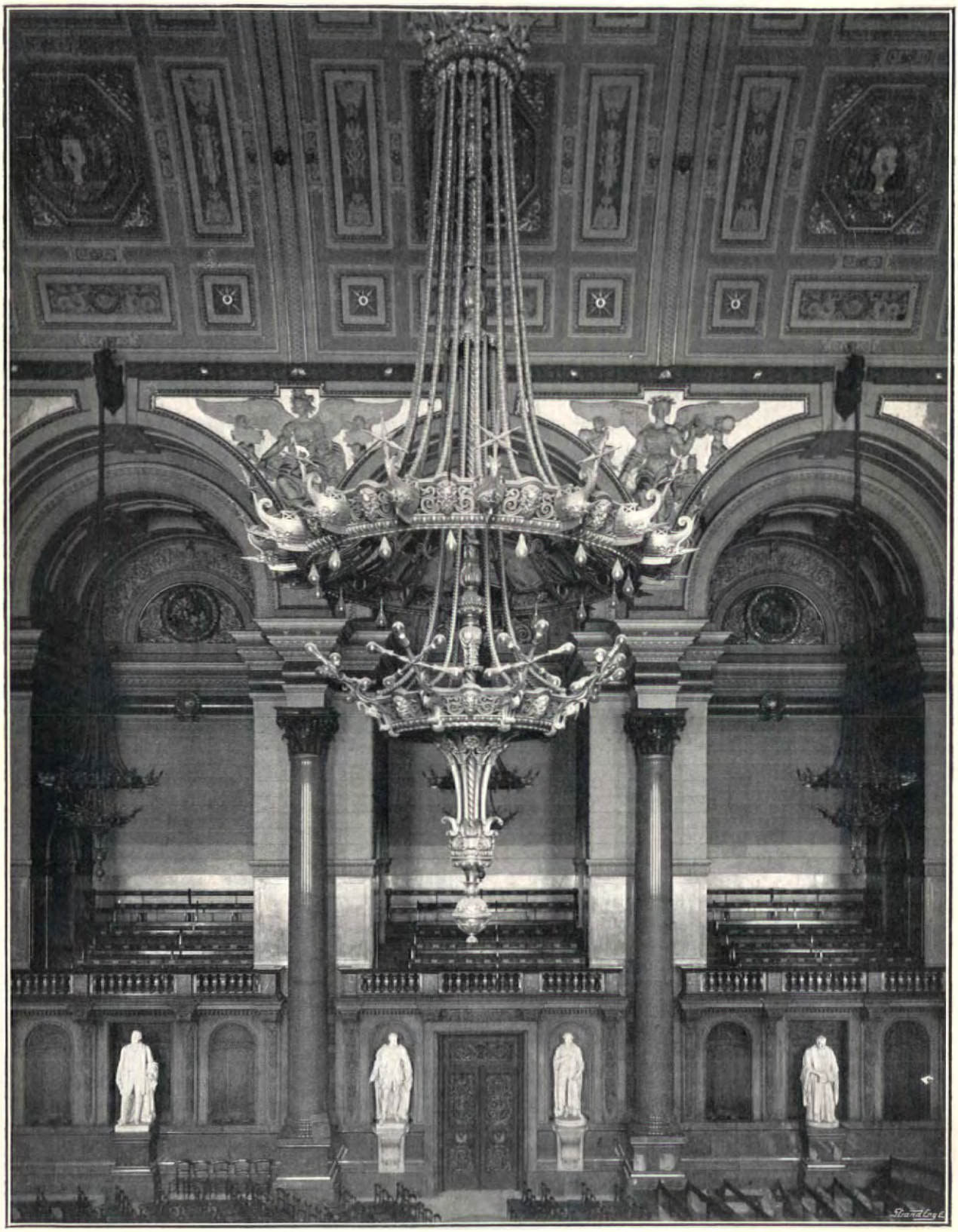


Photo : E. Dockree

ST. GEORGE'S HALL, LIVERPOOL.
DETAIL OF GREAT HALL AND A CHANDELIER.

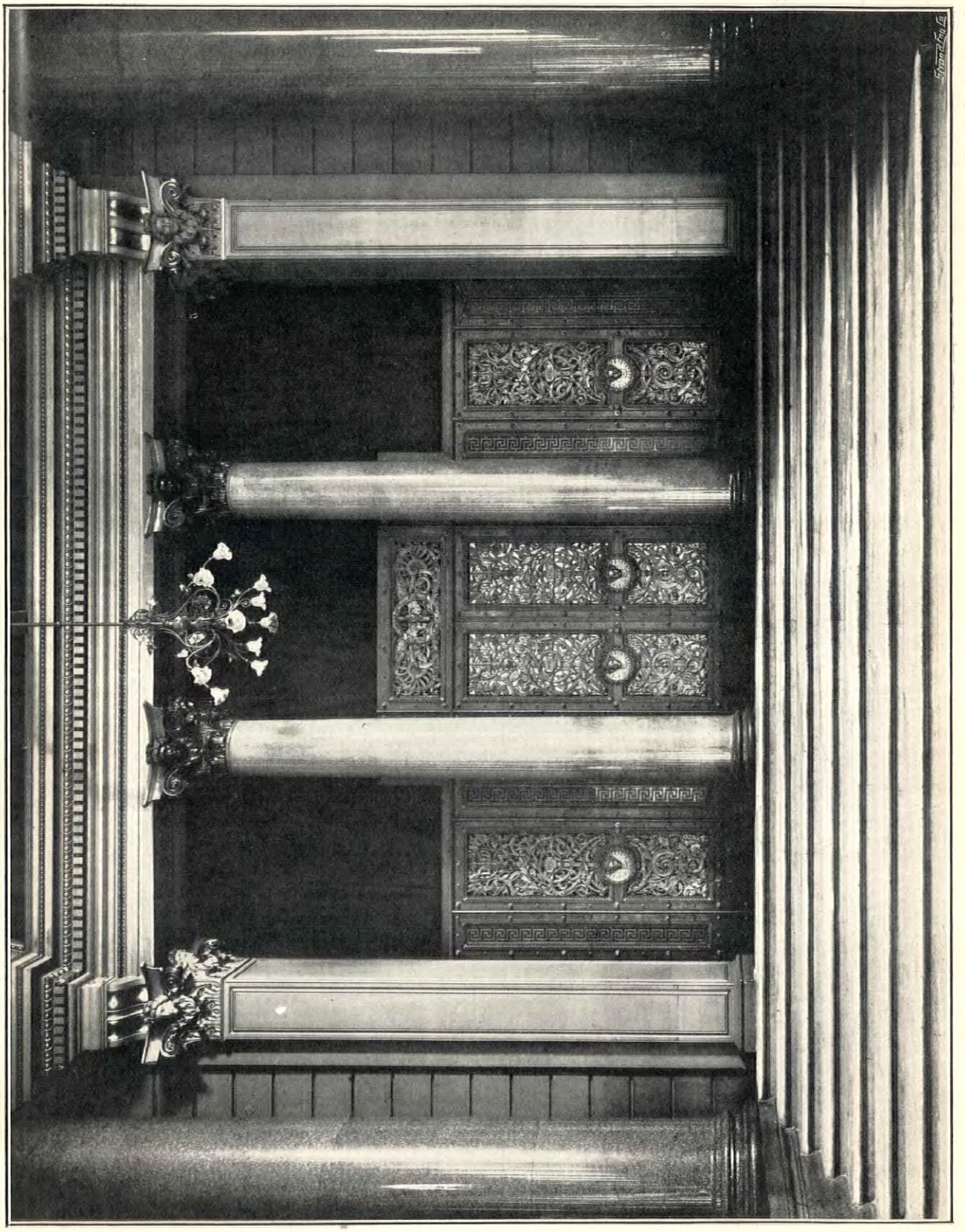


Photo : E. Dockree.

ST. GEORGE'S HALL, LIVERPOOL. THE BRONZE GATES, FROM THE GREAT HALL.

Photo : E. Dockree.

ST. GEORGE'S HALL, LIVERPOOL. NORTH-WEST ANGLE OF THE GREAT HALL.

is small as men reckon nowadays, yet he was always busy, studying and re-studying his work, pouring out on each design enough beauty and thought to furnish forth many works of lesser men. His other greatest gift was originality. Brydon says of him: "In Cockerell we have a master who, at once a great artist and a scholar, drew his inspiration from both sources, combining the adaptability of the Italian with the refinement and grace of the Greek, while through it all runs the impress of the individuality of the man himself, without which no great art was ever generated." It is by virtue of this that he, with Barry, stands out above his fellow devotees of the Greek revival. He grasped the fact that the conditions of life now differ radically from those of the great days of Greece, and that any attempt to wrest purely Grecian forms to modern uses is foredoomed to failure. Seeing this clearly, he turned his great knowledge and power to truer ends, avoided mere copying, and, while keeping his Grecian ideal ever before him, planned his buildings as a Greek would have planned them under modern conditions. In the result he produced work perfectly adapted to our life to-day, but instinct with the true purity and the strong, simple grace of Greek art. Mr. Phené Spiers tells us that he once was in the city on a Sunday when it was quite empty, and that standing before the Sun Fire Office he found Lord Leighton, who told him that whenever he wanted to revivify himself with the sense of the beauty of Greek work he used to come down and look at Cockerell's buildings. That is a splendid tribute of admiration. For many years after Cockerell's death in 1863, the Gothic flood covered the land, and his work was forgotten or despised. But now the waters have receded, and as less one-sided views spread among us I believe and hope that there will return a true appreciation of his genius.

Of his private life and character this is not the place to speak; I will only say that he was loved as few are loved, both by his own folk and his friends. Meanness, coarseness, or wrong-doing were abhorrent to him, but he never indulged in railing. If he disliked any man he said nothing, but simply ignored his existence. In conclusion, I can find no better words in which to describe him than Professor George Aitchison's: "In the roll of British architects few have brought so many titles to admiration—ripe scholarship, exquisite delineation, masterly composition, uprightness, integrity, genius, and enthusiasm; and withal the dignified and refined manners of the high-bred English gentleman."

ROBERT PEPYS COCKERELL.

The Late Robert Pepys Cockerell.

THE sad news that Robert Pepys Cockerell died at Liverpool on Wednesday, August 6th, of typhoid fever, comes as a great blow to many who knew him personally, and will also be received with sincere regret by all architects to whom the name of Cockerell is a household word. The son of Frederick Pepys Cockerell, that brilliant draughtsman who died when his name was just beginning to be widely known, and grandson of Charles Robert Cockerell, the most distinguished classicist of the last century, poor Cockerell inherited a love for architecture seldom found except in those who practise it as a profession. His knowledge of it was considerable; and his taste, as was only to be expected, refined and discriminating. For his grandfather's memory and work he entertained a veneration and admiration which were touching in their intensity. He had formed a large collection of his grandfather's notebooks, sketches, and designs, and was never so happy as when looking through them, or showing them to others. No scrap, however small, that had not for him some interest. His constant request was, "Tell me of someone who would care to see them." A barrister by profession, he practised in India for some time, and only returned to England two or three years ago. Last year he read an excellent paper before the Liverpool Architectural Society, on "The Life and Works of C. R. Cockerell," which paper, slightly amended, is now being published in this Journal. It is fitting that this should have been almost the last work on which he was engaged.

F. M. SIMPSON.

Mediæval Figure-Sculpture in England.

CHAPTER III.—NORMAN SCULPTURE.

SECTION (B): THE ROMANESQUE ADVANCE TO FREE SCULPTURE.

THE progress of Norman figure-sculpture had not been entirely at the mercy of that inexpert technique of the Norman mason, which our previous chapter has illustrated. There remained one thread of Saxon art which we did not completely follow up, that which in the eleventh-century prosperity of large towns like York and Lincoln would seem to have produced fine works of slab-sculpture (see Figs. 20 and 21 in last chapter) close upon the times of the Conquest. It may be taken that in such towns there were established crafts of goldsmith and imager (identical trades in the middle ages), and when the actual violences of warfare were over these crafts would be at work again, and their production of imagery could not fail to be an influence on the figure-work of the stone-sculptor; and, carried on immediately under the patronage of the Church, this image-work would reflect the continental monastic culture of art, and its influence would act in the direction of a rejection of Norse barbarisms, and the attainment of a grace in the figure unknown to the Norse arts.

This development will form the subject of the present chapter. Our introduction has already insisted on the close connection of the early stone-carving with the crafts of the goldsmith; and there is no lack of evidence that working in gold and silver was common in monastic churches at the time of the Conquest. Coventry Abbey, for example, was (c. 1050) specially adorned, Lady Godiva bringing many goldsmiths, who, with gold and silver, wrought "sacros textus, et cruces, ac imagines sanctorum."[34] At Abingdon, at the same date, the Abbot of the monastery was noted as himself being a craftsman in metal, "in auri et argenti fabrificio operator mirificus."[35] At Canterbury, Lanfranc's Cathedral, of 1070, is recorded as having images on the beams for both altar and rood, which would seem (see *Introduction*) to have been by goldsmiths.

But we have no examples of the actual works of these artists; the destruction of images has been complete, and we have only subsidiary means of tracing, to some extent, the style of their figure-work. The seals affixed to many mediæval documents have come down to us, and these show figure-work in sufficient quantity to give a record, on a small scale, of the current fashions of figure-modelling—an assistance invaluable to us in determining its progress in the hands of the goldsmith. Some three inches in diameter, circular or oval, mediæval seals were of wax, pressed from metal *matrices*, which were carefully finished and delicately engraved. We have such seals, dating from c. 1050: and, after the Conquest, as our numerous examples testify, the skill of the seal engraver was in continual request. Immediately on the accession of any authority (such as King, Bishop, or Abbot), or upon the creation of any corporation (as in the foundation of a Cathedral or Conventual Chapter), the making of a seal was necessary for the signature of leases and contracts. So the styles of these impressions can generally be assigned with confidence to about the dates of the various appointments or foundations in each particular case. Thus, Lincoln Cathedral, till a year or two back,

A. G.

FIG. 39.—SEAL OF KING EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

still sealed with a mould wrought[36] at the end of the eleventh century (Fig. 40), when Lincoln was made the centre of the see in place of Dorchester. There are seals of the great monasteries of Bury St. Edmunds and St. Albans, which may also be taken as of this early date, marking their refoundation under Norman abbots in 1070 and 1077, and those of Winchester and Wallingford are very

[34] See Ordericus Vitalis, also William of Malmesbury.

[35] Anglia Sacra.

[36] The matrix is, however, considered as a twelfth-century reproduction of the earlier design.

A. G.
FIG. 40.—SEAL OF THE LINCOLN CHAPTER.

similar, all showing the same type of figure-modelling that we see in the seal of King Edward the Confessor (Fig. 39).

While in much of this seal-work we can recognise links with Saxon art—*e.g.*, in the draperies (see Figs. 18, 20, and 40), yet the figure-type itself is distinct from that we have illustrated from Chichester and Romsey, from Bristol and Lincoln. Instead of the long sideway representations the figure is full-faced, usually seated with the right hand raised and the left holding a book or other object, there being no difference of action whether the meaning is *The Christ* or *Our Lady*, an apostle or a king. We can trace this motive as founded on that of the Byzantine consular diptych, and as introduced into England with the monastic distribution of Carlovingian art. The full-faced *majesty* of Christ appears in Saxon illuminations of the eleventh century, and in stone the Lincoln apostle we have illustrated (Fig. 20) was apparently on one side of such a *majesty*. We must date, however, to after 1100[37] its general use in architectural carving. In the twelfth century the seated full-face figure of Christ becomes the usual subject of the door-head or tympanum, which the Normans made the principal field of architectural sculpture. This figure is most often set in a *vesica*, or pointed panel, supported by angels, with the symbols of evangelists or figures on either side, this panel being just that of many of the seals (see Fig. 40), and all the details having considerable likeness to those of the seal-modelling.

A similar close connection between the stone-cutting and modelling crafts is observable in the early lead fonts, which are usually set with arcades and ornaments copied from architectural work, while the figures are those of the seals. And then we have such stone fonts as those of Hereford Cathedral and Coleshill, Warwickshire, with the same motives worked by the mason. In these the chiseller has necessarily been brought into line with the modeller, and so his earlier rudimentary technique is modified. The three distinctions of early Norman style which we have classified in the previous chapter pass away. The incised plane-work of the Norse cross-sculptor, the shallow groovings of the mason set to copy painted decoration, the block carvings of the architectural waller, all alike yield to the ambitions of the figure modeller. And so we reach sculpture which carries on the traditions of Saxon slab-carving, but with fresh motives and a distinct style, directly upon the way to the free sculpture of the figure.

Perhaps the earliest series of sculptures to show this development are to be found on the west front of Lincoln Cathedral. If we could date these by the walls in which they are set, walls forming part of the church of Bishop Remigius, which was building about the year 1075, they would stand quite alone among the monuments of that period. There is, however, strong evidence that they are not in their original position; the subjects represented do not form a continuous and connected series, but are mixed up anyhow, and we find Daniel in the lions' den set between two slabs representing Noah building the Ark and Noah in the Ark (Fig. 41). In style, too, the various slabs differ from one another, and if they do not vary in date it is difficult to account for the

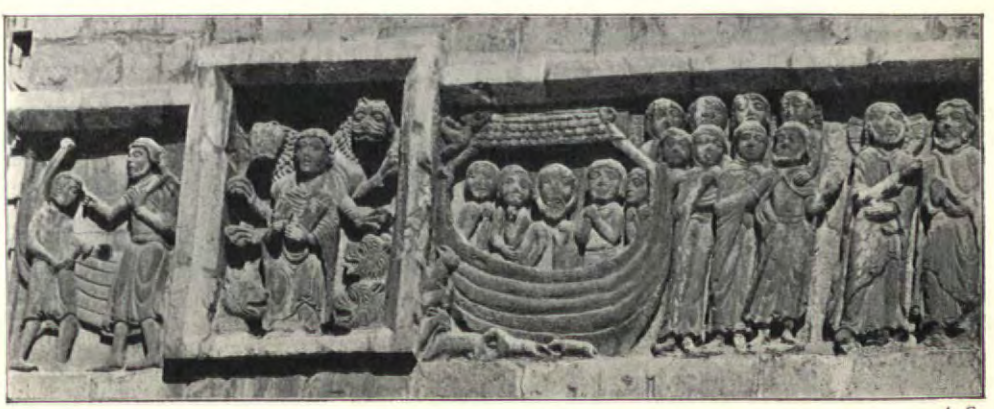


FIG. 41.—LINCOLN CATHEDRAL. PANEL ON WEST FRONT. NOAH AND DANIEL. *A. G.*

[37] See note 27 in chapter II.

striking individualities of technique in what was executed all of a piece even at various hands. Thus the row of saints (Fig. 42) with their strained draperies, flatly cut with almost parallel

A. G.

FIG. 42.—LINCOLN CATHEDRAL. PANEL ON WEST FRONT. SAINTS OR APOSTLES.

folds, recall the Apostles in the porch of Malmesbury Abbey, a work which we shall discuss a little later (see Fig. 51) and are different in style from such well-adjusted and proportioned figures as we have in the scene of *Our Lord with a Disciple* (Fig. 43). Midway between these comes a slab representing the angel expelling Adam and Eve from Paradise (Fig. 44), though the stiffness

A. G.

FIG. 43.—LINCOLN CATHEDRAL. PANEL ON WEST FRONT OUR LORD WITH DISCIPLE.

here may, perhaps, be put down to want of experience in dealing with the nude. The smooth thin draperies again in the *Tillers of the Soil* (Fig. 45) are quite unlike any of the renderings of drapery in the other scenes mentioned above, but are more like that of Noah in the *Building of the Ark* (see Fig. 41). Another slab showing the *Descent of Christ into Hell* has a long series of writhing figures of devils and those in torment which are again distinct, exhibiting the Scan-

A. G.

FIG. 44.—LINCOLN CATHEDRAL. PANEL ON WEST FRONT. EXPULSION OF ADAM AND EVE.

dinavian technique which we illustrated in Chapter II. (see also Fig. 46): while that representing the *Feast at Emmaus* (Fig. 46) is of a quality resembling the twelfth-century work at Vezelay, in Burgundy, as to which we shall speak presently. The treatment of canopies also can be seen to be that of the Much Wenlock Lavatory and the Southrop Font (see Figs. 52 and 53), which we connect with Burgundy. And finally, in more than one instance the design is completed in a shallow style and with coarse and inferior workmanship on the actual stones of the wall in which they are set, as, for example, in the *Mouth of Hell* (Fig. 46).

In view of all this it is open to suggest, that these sculptures were not actually executed as part of the building of the Lincoln front of Remigius in 1075. They may so be taken

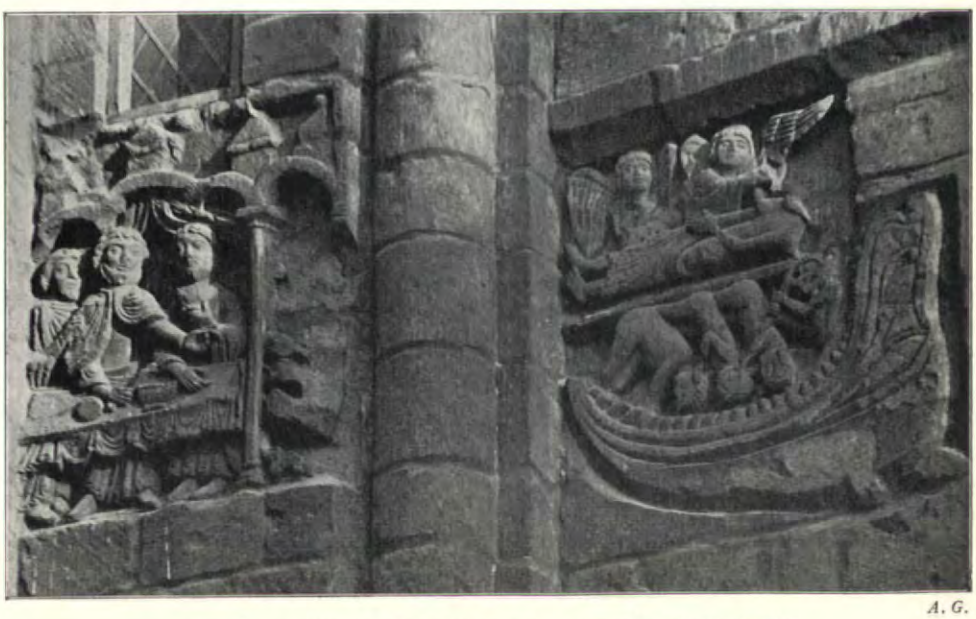
A. G.

FIG. 45.—LINCOLN CATHEDRAL. PANEL ON WEST FRONT. TILLERS OF THE SOIL.

as either earlier or later. One commonly accepted theory is that they are of antecedent Saxon workmanship, and were so much admired by the Norman builder that they were inserted by him in his new church. If so, they remain the solitary survivors of a school of great promise and skill, of which we have no hint elsewhere: for these Lincoln figures are not the long stooping saints of the Winchester art, nor can we show any good likeness to them in any of the other series of works which we have illustrated as examples of Pre-Conquest art. We are, therefore, after due consideration, induced to think that they belong to dates in the first part of the twelfth century, when they would not stand in quite such splendid isolation. The fine proportions inclined rather to the short than the tall, the canopy in the *Feast at Emmaus* and the border above the *Tillers of the Soil* would all be more naturally placed in the twelfth century than in Pre-Conquest times. And, indeed, it is not absolutely necessary for the sculptures to have been in existence before the wall in which they are set. We know that the West Front of Lincoln has undergone various re-constructions and improvements at various dates. About 1145 Bishop Alexander inserted three doorways, and these in the thirteenth century, and again afterwards, were over-built with later work. It is quite possible that our sculptures should be of more than one period, and have reached their present position after more than one removal.

But whatever conclusion we come to as to the date of the Lincoln figures, it is interesting to find here a school of sculpture which had attained a considerable degree of excellence, and which seems to show some connection with works of the twelfth century in other districts. We can realise how, in a city like Lincoln, such a school originated in a fusion of the goldsmith's art with the stone-cutter's—so that, while it preserved many of the best qualities of Saxon art, it immediately, in the birth of architectural skill, attained a vigour and boldness that made more promise than the languid, if elegant, productions of the earlier Winchester artist.

Taking account of this work of Lincoln, as by its position constituting a central school of sculptors' art, we are able to set round it four districts for the most important of that twelfth-century figure-carving, which we class as dependent upon the art of the modeller and goldsmith. First is the Western district, mainly that of the dioceses of Hereford and Worcester, but also stretching across the centre of England and southwards into Somerset. Then an Eastern district is represented at Ely: a Northern is apparently associated with



A. G.

FIG. 46.—LINCOLN CATHEDRAL. PANELS ON WEST FRONT.
A. FEAST OF EMMAUS. B. MOUTH OF HELL.

FIG. 47.—FOWNHOPE CHURCH, HEREFORDSHIRE. TYMPANUM NOW BUILT INTO WALL.

Durham: while the fourth district may be recognised very distinctly as attached to Rochester and Canterbury.

As to the first of these areas, we have particularised it as affording a series of works belonging to the Norse school of early Norman carvers. Some of these works were undoubtedly early, but we cannot set before 1125 the tympanum carvings, which at Hereford (St. Leonard's Hospital), Rowlstone and Shobdon seem all on one model, as if copied from one goldsmith's design, but varied by the handling of different masons. In the case of Shobdon the building of the church is recorded in 1145, and its sculpture has most distinctly the Norse treatment in the modelling on plane surfaces, and also in the stark attitude of the figure.[38] It is attached to shafts with barbaric figure-carvings, much as we have shown them (Fig. 35 in Chapter II.) at Kilpeck, and with also elaborate and beautiful scroll-works, like those on the Durham doorways and on the capitals of St. Peter's, Northampton, works of similar date. Very much the same may be seen on the ambo of Sant' Ambrogio, Milan, and this style may be counted as the vernacular of the stone-carving craft in the second quarter of the twelfth century throughout Western Europe. The special technique of this art lies in the flat ribbing of its scroll-stems and their twisted elegance. The example we illustrate from Fownhope Church, near Hereford (Fig. 47) shows both figure-work and scroll-carving characteristically, and also the close connection with such seals as those of Lincoln. Looking at Fig. 40 we can see how the folds at the bottom of the garment are just those of the Fownhope figure. In Gloucestershire and southwards a less distinguished style of figure with blunter modelling and usually not enclosed within the vesica is prevalent, used along with the enriched arch moulds and beak-heads of the later Norman art. We give an example from Elkstone (Fig. 48), where the technique is clearly that of the modeller.

There is too close similarity between the figure-work of seals and that on the lead fonts. Of these fonts there remain to us some half-dozen in Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire with architectural ornaments that date them to the first half of the twelfth century. We illustrate that of Dorchester, Oxfordshire (Fig. 49), with which may be compared the contemporary seal-work of the neighbouring abbey of Abingdon (Fig. 50). In the font of Hereford Cathedral we have a direct reproduction of such modelling by the stonemason, who has, however, round the base moulded his lions' heads in the round.

In direct association with this Western figure-

Photo: H. Taunt and Co.

FIG. 48.—ELKSTONE CHURCH, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

[38] There is also another tympanum that remains in the ruins of this church, which, though much defaced, still shows a remarkable figure subject.

FIG. 49.—DORCHESTER CHURCH, OXFORDSHIRE. LEAD FONT.
From a photograph kindly lent by J. Renton Dunlop, Esq.

carving of doorheads, and the modelling of lead fonts, we would place certain sculptures found in the Midland districts of England, which, if not completely free sculpture, have by their full relief, and the roundness of their modellings, advanced a considerable distance from the pictorial expression of early Norman sculpture. First of these are the remarkable groups of Apostles set in the

A. G.

FIG. 50.—SEAL OF ABINGDON ABBEY.

porch of Malmesbury Abbey (Fig. 51). Then there are two panel-subjects at Much Wenlock (Fig. 52), on the outside of what would seem to have been a well-head, or water cistern, in the cloister; and with this may be associated the Crucifixion on the font at Coleshill close by in Warwickshire; and thirdly, there has been preserved a block of carving in the transept of Oxford Cathedral with figures in high relief (representing *Adam and Eve, The Sacrifice of Isaac*, and another scene). And of similar style to this last are eight figures under trefoil arches set round the font of Southrop (Fig. 53), with postures and draperies that have the same character, but with better proportions and superior workmanship, and probably of later date.

Affiliation with the Hereford School, and with such modellings as that of the Dorchester font and the Abingdon seal must, we think, be allowed to this group of figures, though the reliefs and modellings are more pronounced. At Malmesbury, despite the peculiarity of the flying angel, which has such a Saxon look, we can see no good reason for separating the Apostles on either side of the porch from the tympanum of the church doorway itself, and this belongs to the Hereford craftsmanship. Moreover, the workmanship of the drapery folds, with heavy beaded edgings, is that of the Southrop font and the Much Wenlock panels. The whole, too, must go with the enriched encircling arches, where the strap-works belong unmistakably to the twelfth-century Norman art of the district (see Fig. 36, Chapter II). The

FIG. 52.—MUCH WENLOCK PRIORY. LAVATORY IN CLOISTER.
From a photograph kindly lent by S. Gardner, Esq.

FIG. 51.—MALMESBURY ABBEY CHURCH. APOSTLES IN SOUTH PORCH.

From a photograph kindly lent by S. Gardner, Esq.

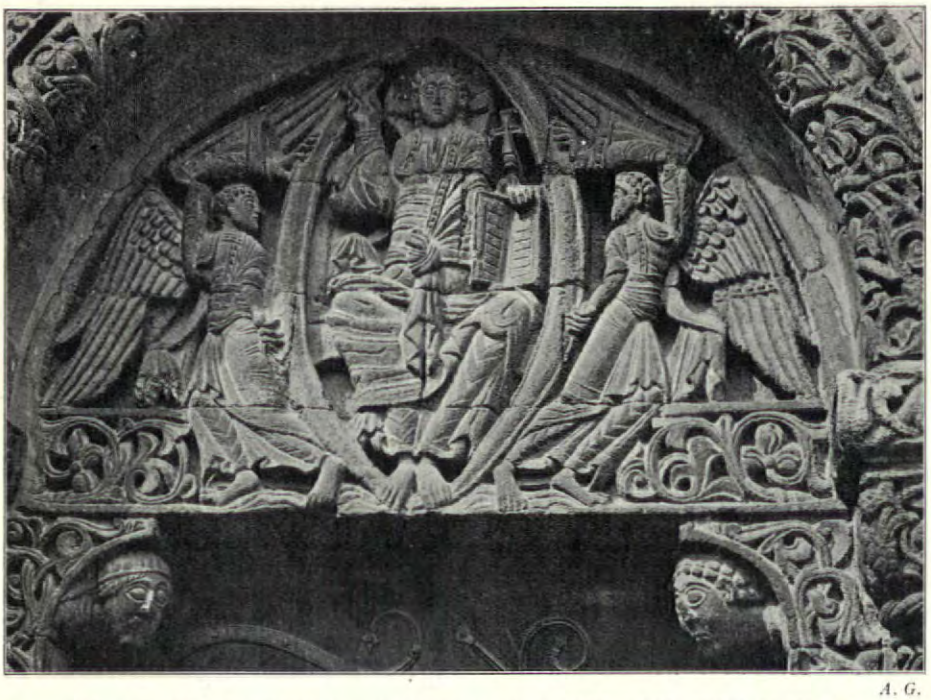
immediate likeness of these Apostles and figures to those at Lincoln (Fig. 42, also see Fig. 20, Chapter II.) has already been noted, and in both places we seem to cross the threshold between the Saxon and the Norman style without a break, as if the stone-cutter of the second quarter of the twelfth century took up the style of a hundred years earlier, receiving it, as it were, from the hands of the goldsmith modellers and seal-cutters, whose crafts had been in continuous exercise. But at Malmesbury, in the manner of the medallions with which the outer arches of the porch are set (each of which contains a little figure-subject from Bible history), and in the finish and hair-modelling of the Much Wenlock heads, as well as in the disposition and full treatment of the Oxford and Southrop carvings, we are in the presence of an advance of style which went beyond anything of Saxon craft. As at Lincoln, we seem here in the swing of that simultaneous development of the monastic arts of Europe, which was no local phenomenon, but what at Milan, at Vezelay, and at Rochester alike, was the onward sweep towards the production of a free sculpture, the desertion of the traditional models of the Byzantine goldsmith, and the striking out by the stonemason of a path of his own.

Photo: H. Taunt and Co.

FIG. 53.—SOUTHROP CHURCH, GLOUCESTERSHIRE. FONT.

Turning to our second district, in the East Anglian art, of Ely, we see much less proof of this progress. The prior's doorway from the cloister (Fig. 54) must have been built along with the aisle wall, c. 1140. Its arch-enrichments, and the elaborate pillars, have the scroll-works of fine finish and expert craftsmanship which we have called the vernacular of the twelfth-century stonemason. But it is to be seen that the figure-motive of the tympanum has developed no such accomplished figure-craft as at Lincoln (Fig. 41) or in the West. True, the modelling and detail are those of a painting or seal, such as that of the neighbouring monastery of Binham, Norfolk (Fig. 55). But the mason's carving at Ely is traced on a flat plane, cut down deeply on the outline, and with details simply incised upon the surface. The figures in the spandrils of the other door from the Ely cloister are similar. And a still more remarkable exhibition of this primitive manner of plane-engraving is that in the sepulchral slab brought from the neighbouring church of St. Mary's, now in the quire of the cathedral. It represents St. Michael carrying a soul to heaven, and has with its fine draughtmanship a singularly wooden style of stone treatment.

The extraordinary inexpertness shown by this Ely carving in its figure-sculpture (see, for ex-



A. G.

FIG. 54.—ELY CATHEDRAL. TYMPANUM OF PRIOR'S DOOR FROM CLOISTER.

ample, the monstrous arms of the angels), and its distinct pictorial effects, illustrate how here in the eastern Benedictine abbeys, Norman building had relied but little on the dexterity of the chisel, but had built masses of masonry whose finishing was with painted sumptuousness. And just as the building style of Ely lingered in Romanesque, so its figure-sculpture was retrograde. The West of England in architecture, and its carving, was more in the run of advance towards Gothic.

The peculiar disposition of the draperies crosswise upon the limbs at Ely (see also the Dorchester font and the Malmesbury angel) is a mark of the early twelfth-century style in drapery, which appears in the manuscript-painting in succession to the Saxon treatment with finely radiating lines and fluttering edges. At Ely this representation seems a belated rendering of a painting, an endeavour to represent the draughtsman's lines by a meagre grooving. But in the Northern art of Durham was quite another school of work, that with the same style of draperies has a grace of pose, and a delicacy of execution, which shows it perhaps the most accomplished of all our English twelfth-century sculpture. The panels which we illustrate (Figs. 56 and 57) were found built into the walls of the canons' houses, and were possibly part of a twelfth-century reredos. The stone is the sandstone of the neighbourhood, and we can only conjecture that where work of this finish was possible, there must have been a considerable practice of sculpture. The step of art was certainly no insignificant one, that in a period of little over a hundred years after the degraded cross-work of c. 1000 (see Figs. 7 and 9 in Chapter I.) made such attainment possible.

A. G

FIG. 55.—SEAL OF BINHAM ABBEY.

A. G

FIG. 56.—DURHAM CATHEDRAL. SLAB IN LIBRARY.

A few miles south-east of Durham, in Kelloe churchyard, is a standing cross (Fig. 58) which, while preserving the traditional form and panelled

A. G.

FIG. 57.—DURHAM CATHEDRAL. SLAB IN LIBRARY.

faces of the Anglian cross-work (see illustrations in Chapter I.), shows in its figure-work the delicate grace of the Durham panels, but now with a treatment of drapery in parallel folds which must be later in style. All its details can, however, be exactly matched in the monastic seal which was obtained at Gateshead in the neighbourhood, and is at Burlington House, in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries. Still these works are frankly pictorial enforcements of painted detail; they have not the movement of the architectural art of sculpture as we have seen it at Lincoln, Southrop, and as we shall see it at Rochester. Nor can we derive from them any permanent school of free sculpture in the North. Indeed, at the time of these Durham carvings, outside the conservative Romanesque of the great Benedictine monastery of St. Cuthbert, the newer religious orders, Augustinians and Cistercians, were already at work upon the great fabric of Gothic construction, which in its early austerity scrupulously discarded any sculpturesque fancy of the chisel, and for a time gave no place to the figure-sculptor.

In the south-east, however, under the monastic *régime* of quite another school, we can trace a continuous advance from the primitive expressions of the mason to the development of the free figure in the second half of the twelfth century. The early twelfth-century rebuildings of Canterbury and Rochester were by no means in the plain unornamented walling-styles of the first Norman art to which the eastern abbeys adhered. The enlargement of Canterbury quire under Priors Ernulf and Conrad, had a special magnificence of architectural style. The remains, too, of the Rochester buildings show the twelfth-century stone-works of Ernulf and John of Canterbury, enriched everywhere with elaborate carvings. The chief adornment of Rochester was the west doorway, built before 1150, where the *Majesty* in the tympanum (Fig. 59), though damaged, still remains our most important sculpture of the twelfth century; and on either side we have here (what we have of this date nowhere else in England) flanking statues niched into the columns of the archway (Fig. 60). The methods and arrangement of this work are those of the contemporary works at Vezelay in Burgundy, at

FIG. 58.—CROSS IN KELLOE CHURCHYARD, DURHAM.

St. Trophimes, Arles, and elsewhere, the later most magnificent development of the motive being that at Santiago de Compostella in Spain.

A. G.

FIG. 59.—ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL. TYMPANUM OF WEST DOORWAY.

As compared with any other English work of the twelfth century that remains to us, that at Rochester has a robustness and artistic completeness which we must assign to continental craftsmanship.

At Barfreston,[39] however, a short distance from Canterbury, is a composition of great merit, but distinctly English (Fig. 61), since we can note it as founded on the paintings of English churches and manuscripts. The freedom and looseness of the scroll work[40] on either side of the figure is what can be seen in the monkish paintings of Winchester and St. Albans, and the arch-moulds set with medallions of little animals and birds, the grotesque and zodiac signs (Fig. 62), are what our architectural carvers did at Malmesbury, Kilpeck, and Iffley. The subjects themselves, no doubt, were those of common use in the whole body of Western art, whether here or abroad; but this particular development in medallions occurs only in England, being founded on the native painting of manuscripts, and possibly in touch with the craft of the English goldsmiths. Since this painting and goldsmiths' work were monkish crafts considerably developed in Benedictine cloisters, it was likely that in South England, where the supremacy of Benedictine architecture was established, the stone-craft would be put to imitate such ornaments.

But the occasion for this south-eastern work must be counted as coming largely from continental connections. The Burgundian monasteries, and especially that of Cluny, are credited with a magnificence of appointment and decoration that meant in the twelfth century considerable resident schools of craft. And close to Rochester and Canterbury (the diocese of the latter being nearly at its doors) was the Cluniac Priory of Lewes, as important as any English monastic house, necessarily, as a priory, in close connection with Cluny, its Burgundian mother. It had built itself one of the finest of our twelfth-century churches which has now quite perished, but where it is likely

A. G.

FIG. 60.—ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL. FIGURE IN WEST DOORWAY.

[39] There is another fine but less preserved example at Patrixbourne. The font at Darenth, and the sculptures of Canterbury crypt already illustrated (Chap. II.) are of this class.

[40] At Toulouse can be seen similar scrollwork, with little animals and men—but it is tighter, more classical, work.

A. G.

FIG. 61.—BARFRESTON CHURCH. TYMPANUM.

A. G.

FIG. 62.—BARFRESTON CHURCH, KENT.

ARCH MOULD OF DOORWAY.

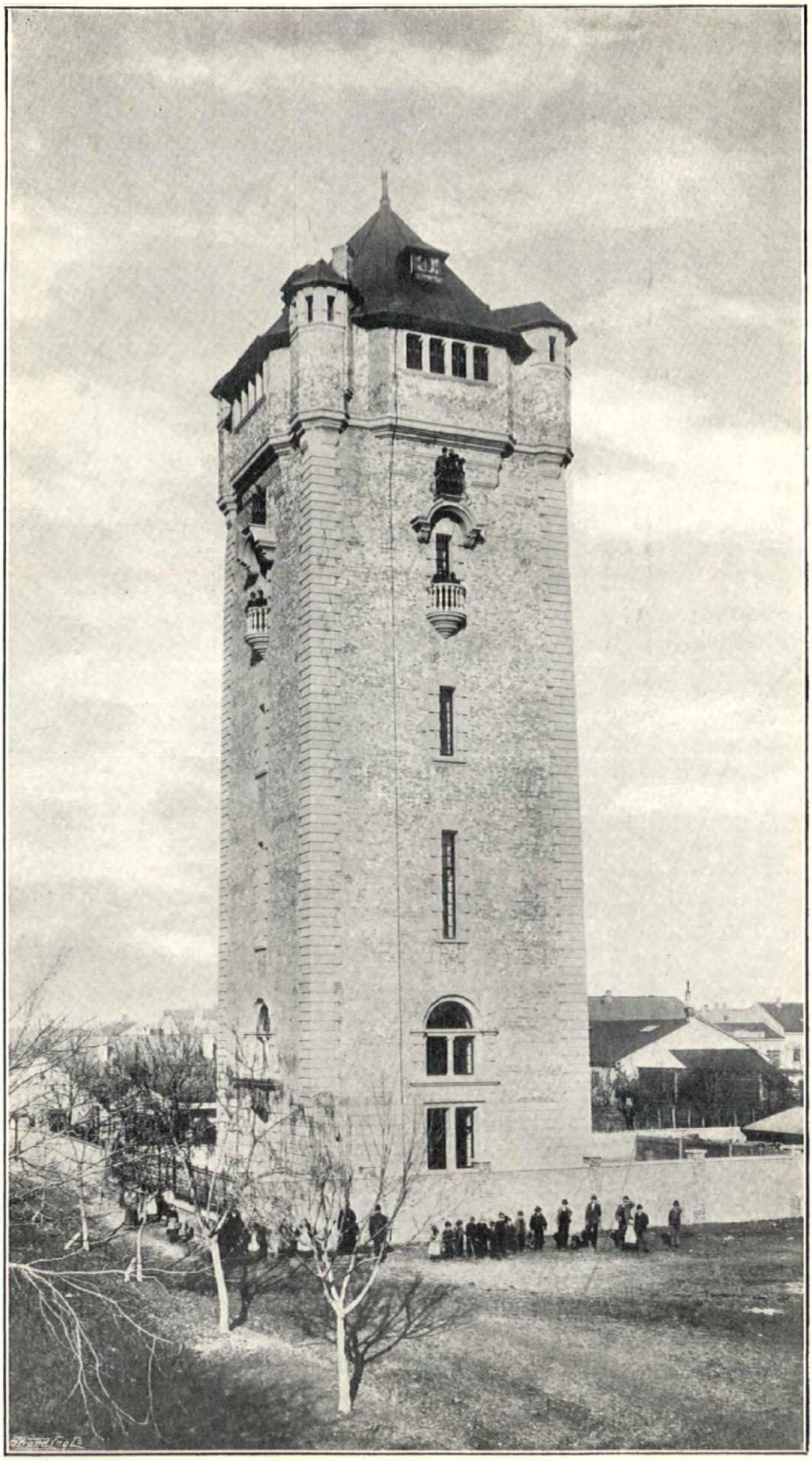
Cluniac art had full expression. Again at Much Wenlock, in Shropshire, the Cluniac Priory, a daughter of La Charité on the Loire, would seem to have been a centre of sculptors' craft. In the neighbourhoods of both these Cluniac houses the primitive inefficiency of Norman sculpture was rapidly succeeded by the ambitions of a new craft, advancing to the creation of free sculpture. And this seems more than a coincidence. If the English inheritance of Saxon craftsmanship made the soil from which this art was to spring, the culture of continental monasteries sowed the seed.

EDWARD S. PRIOR.
ARTHUR GARDNER.

(To be continued.)

Current Architecture.

WATER TOWER, ARAD, HUNGARY.—This tower forms part of the waterworks of the town of Arad, in Hungary, of which works Messrs. Shone & Ault were the engineers. The site having been chosen in the town, it was desirable, on æsthetic grounds, to make a more permanent and sightly structure than the steel frame-work frequently used for the support of a high tank, and the design of this part of the work was entrusted by the engineers to Messrs. W. Dunn & R. Watson. The chief object of the tower being to provide storage for 380 cubic metres of water at a height of about 30 m., the first question to settle was the size and shape of the tank. A square tank on a square tower was unsuitable, in so far that it entailed a very heavy system of girders to support the weight of 350 tons of water on a flat bottom. By adopting a circular tank with a segmental bottom and a ring girder at the base of the vertical part, the whole material of the tank is in tension save the ring girder; the segmental bottom is self-supporting; no internal stays are required, as the shape of the tank is a stable one (*i.e.*, there is no tendency to change shape whatever the water level); the weight of the tank itself is reduced to a minimum, and the load is always perfectly symmetrically distributed about the vertical centre line. A circular tower which a circular tank naturally suggests was ruled out on account of the expense of circular work, and, there being no difficulty in forming strong pendentives at the angle of a square tower to form a base for the ring girder, a square tower was adopted for the support of it. At the level of the tank a different problem occurs. Here a circular form had to be enclosed by a wall for protection

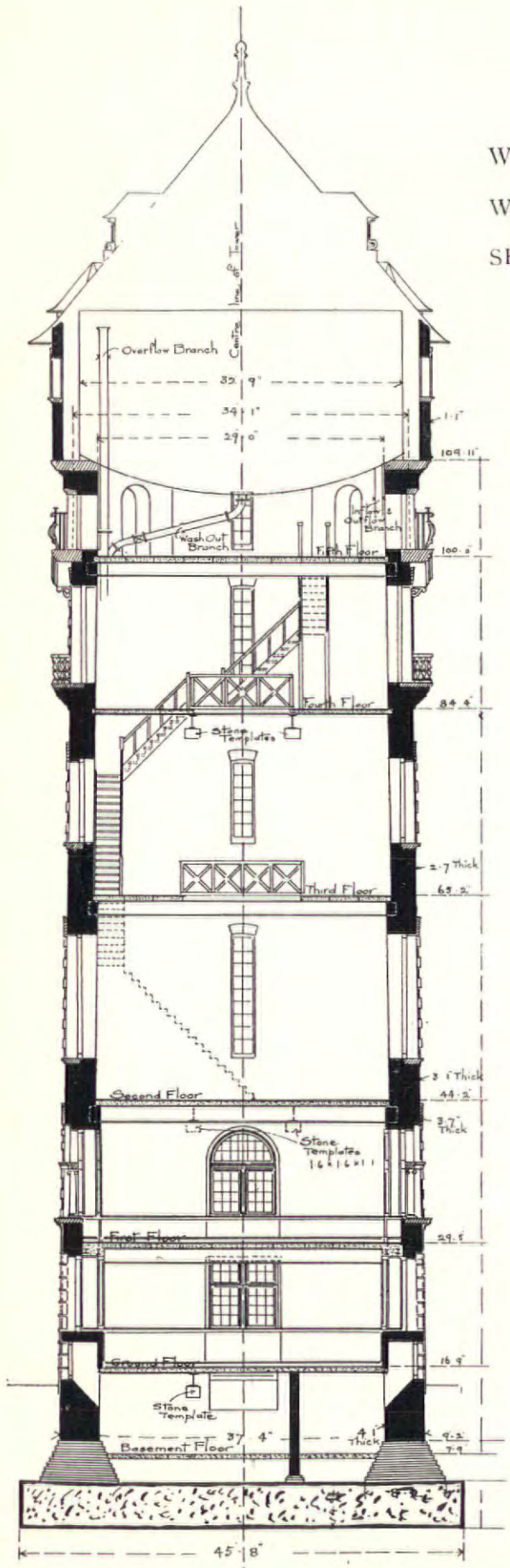


WATER TOWER, ARAD, HUNGARY.
W. DUNN AND R. WATSON, ARCHITECTS.
SHONE AND AULT, ENGINEERS.

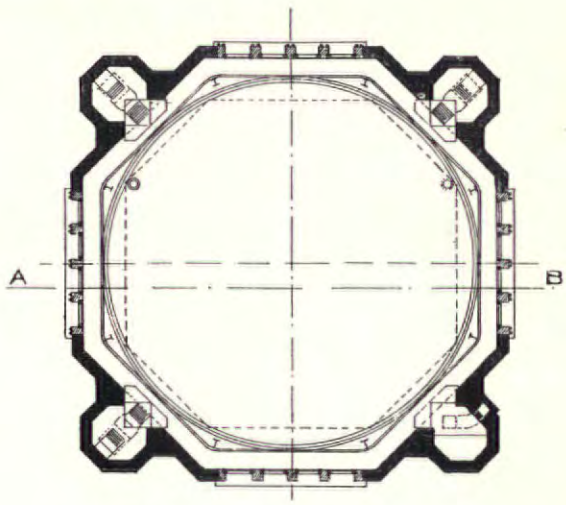
WATER TOWER, ARAD, HUNGARY.

W. DUNN AND R. WATSON, ARCHITECTS.

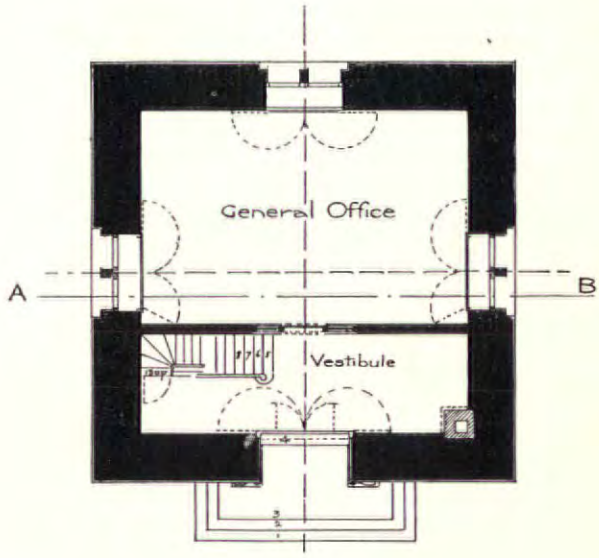
SHONE AND AULT, ENGINEERS.



Section on line A.B.



Plan thro Tank & Gallery



Ground Floor

against heat and cold; a sufficient space had to be left between the tank and the wall to admit of inspection and repairs; it had to be covered by a roof, and access had to be given to the roof space. An octagonal form was given to the enclosing wall and to the roof as best satisfying these requirements in a simple and architectonic way. Small turrets at the angles provide space for stairs from the base of the tank to the roof over and to the interior of it. This enclosing wall being thin and in parts projecting over the square tower below, and it being undesirable for many reasons to use the vertical part of the tank for support, it was determined to carry the roof (which has eight steel rafters rising from the eight corners to the apex) on steel legs taken down to the solid or square part of the tower at the base of the tank, the extra space gained at the angles of the octagon between the shell of the tank and the enclosing wall giving the means of doing this without reducing the minimum space between the two. These steel legs and rafters are braced in the plane of each of the eight faces. This brief description of the various steps in the design may serve to show how the natural process of fulfilling the material requirements of the case has resulted in a form of tower differing in large measure from those towers whose chief office is to be a landmark and outward and visible sign of the dignity of the building to which it is attached. The ground and first floors are occupied by the offices of the Waterworks Company. The stage immediately below the tank is adapted for the use of firemen, who use this as a watch tower, overlooking the city from the balconies (which in the photograph are crowded with figures). The walls of the tower are built of brick with cement dressings, and the roof is covered with copper.

Books.

THE GEORGIAN PERIOD.

"The Georgian Period." Portfolio X. The "American Architect and Building News" Co., New York. English Agent: B. T. Batsford, 94, High Holborn, London, W.C. Price, 25*s.* net.

THE subject started by the *American Architect* a couple of years ago, seems almost inexhaustible. There is no appearance of flagging in the Tenth Number now before us, and two more are promised. When we think of what a similar piece of work on Georgian architecture in England would mean, the mind can scarcely grasp the idea! *Vitruvius Britannicus* in modern dress, with details and mouldings, supplemented by occasional drawings and picturesque photographs, with sensible and moderate historical notes, not too enthusiastic nor too critical—such a work ought to be possible. Perhaps some of us may live to see it begun. Meanwhile our neighbours and cousins across the Atlantic are to be warmly congratulated on setting us so good an example. There is probably in America less destruction of those things which here we think eyesores for a generation or two and then, when we have swept them away, find out to have been objects of interest. These unconsidered trifles, if only they are as much as a century old, are venerated in America. We do not see in this book many examples of a style which used here to be called Strawberry Hill Gothic. If it dates as far back as the middle of the eighteenth century, it has acquired a certain quaintness which should disarm the destroyer, but every year specimens are being ruined, though we may still wonder at the church tower which Blackstone, of the *Commentaries*, designed at Wallingford, or some doorways with ogee arches in Staple Inn, or the gate of the churchyard at Newbury. No doubt they are constantly in danger of being "improved" or "restored" into what is thought to be correct Gothic, and curious historical links are rapidly disappearing. The Americans look with suspicion on these processes, and, though their oldest buildings are not very old, they appear anxious to preserve them until, in due time, they acquire the tone which we are so anxious to destroy. The present instalment of the *Georgian Period* relates wholly to South Carolina and chiefly to Charleston. The notes are by Mr. C. R. S. Horton, Mr. Eldon Deane, and Miss Olive F. Gunby. The last named writes a pleasant chapter on "Romance and the South Carolina Homestead." She tells of country seats "secluded in those parishes, close to the sea, where the first colonists got foothold." Mulberry Castle, on the Cooper River, owes its origin, like Buckingham Palace, to a plantation of mulberry trees made by some enterprising governor who wanted to introduce the silk worm. "The loopholes provided in the heavy window shutters evidence a martial history." This house, of which there are four small views and an elevation, was built in 1714, and a few miles from it is another fine old house, Drayton Hall, dated in 1712. Of this there is a large plate (39) which shows a fine portico in two stories, with a pediment and brick wings. Still older is Archdale, which was built in 1706 by "the architect who built St. Philip's Church in Charleston." St. Philip's is not illustrated in this part, but "Prince George's Church" in George Town, and a Presbyterian church in Charleston, show that ecclesiastical taste in architecture harmonised with the domestic. There are three plates of "the Picture Paper Room" at Friendfield, near George Town, and the number of detail prints, sections, and plans, is the same as in former parts.

W. J. LOFTIE.

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STATUE OF KING CHARLES I., CHARING CROSS.
DRAWN BY MUIRHEAD BONE.

SEE NOTE ON PAGE 181.

The Campanile of San Marco and The Loggetta of Sansovino.

THE bell-towers of Venice, of which St. Mark's was, if not the earliest, certainly the finest specimen, are not only a characteristic feature in that city of characteristic architecture, but they display peculiarities of form which distinguish them both from the round Campanili of Ravenna and from the Lombard type of Campanile prevalent throughout North Italy. The Lombard Campanile—whether we take St. Satiro in Milan, dating from the ninth century, or that noblest specimen, the tower of Pomposa, near Comacchio, built in 1063—invariably has its shaft divided horizontally into sections or zones. Each zone is usually pierced by one, two, three, or four apertures, and is adorned at the top by a series of hanging arches (*archetti pensili*), sometimes hanging free for the whole width of the tower, sometimes carried on slightly-projecting pilasters. The bell-chamber is essentially a part of the shaft, and is, in fact, the last zone into which the shaft is divided.

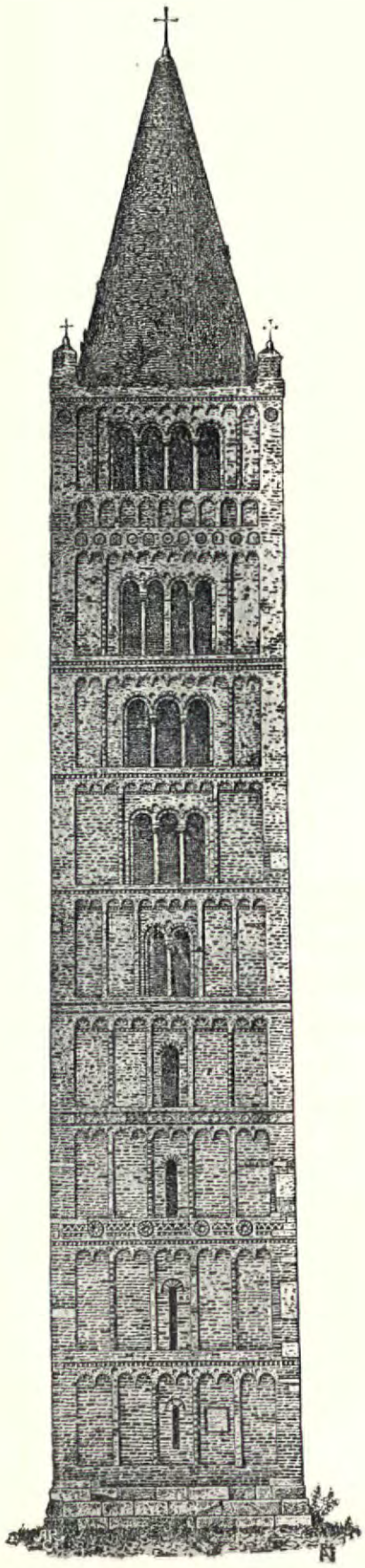
The Venetian bell-tower, on the other hand, is not divided into zones. It is a square shaft of brick, unpierced except for small windows near the angles, which serve to light the internal stair. It has for ornament pilasters running up the whole height of the shaft and connected with one another by arches. Where you find the hanging arch on a Venetian Campanile, as at Torcello, there has been a deviation from the pure Venetian type and an admixture of the Lombard style. The bell-chamber, again, is not an essential part of the Venetian shaft. It has been placed as a separate structure on the top of the shaft.

Like so much else in Venetian architecture, the form of the Venetian Campanile may be traced to the Levant, for the Venetian bell-tower is nothing but the protection-tower of a monastery such as those on Mount Athos, with a bell-chamber added. In Curzon's "Monasteries of the Levant" (1881, p. 8), there is a drawing of the Monastery of St. Paul, which shows us two towers exactly like Venetian Campaniles without the bell-chamber. These towers were "built for the defence of the monastery, not as belfries;" and perhaps a reminiscence of their ancient purpose may be seen in the fact that the Venetian Campanile usually stands away from the church—is not attached to it—was, in short, still considered as a place where the clergy with the holy vessels could take refuge from plunder or from fire.

Nothing certain is known as to the exact date when the Campanile of St. Mark was founded. Sansovino, without citing authority, but really following the *Cronaca Scivos*, declares that the foundations were laid in the year 888. Gallicciolli gives the year 911, relying on the chronicler Feroldo, who states that the Republic, which had grown in wealth, began to coin silver money, and determined to lay the foundations of the great Campanile; this date is supported by Zuliani, who, writing as late as 1692, says that in the year 911 "the foundations of the Campanile were laid with spurs (*speroni*), which, running out round them like a star and extending in all directions, held the central foundation firm." Romanin is inclined to accept the date 911, but adds that the building of the actual tower did not begin till 940. Vasari, in his life of Arnolfo di Lapo, ascribes the foundation of the Campanile to the master builder Buono of Bergamo, and assigns the event to the year 1152; but clearly he is confounding the beginning of the tower with its completion, which seems to have taken place in 1148.

The wide discrepancy of the dates, 888 to 1148, may perhaps be accounted for by the conjecture that the work of building proceeded slowly, either with a view to allowing the foundations to consolidate, or owing to lack of funds, and that the chroniclers recorded each resumption of work as the beginning of the work. One point may, perhaps, be fixed. The Campanile must have been some way above ground by the year 977, if the hospital founded by the sainted Doge, Pietro Orseolo, which is said to have been attached to the base of the tower, was consecrated in that year. The Campanile was finished, as far as the bell-chamber at least, in 1148, under the Doge Domenico Moresini, whose sarcophagus and bust surmount the portal of San Nicolò del Lido.

The chroniclers are at variance among themselves as to the date of the foundation, nor has an examination of the foundations themselves led to any discovery which enables us to determine that date; but one or two considerations would induce us to discard the earlier epochs. The foundations must have been designed to carry a



THE CAMPANILE OF POMPOSA.

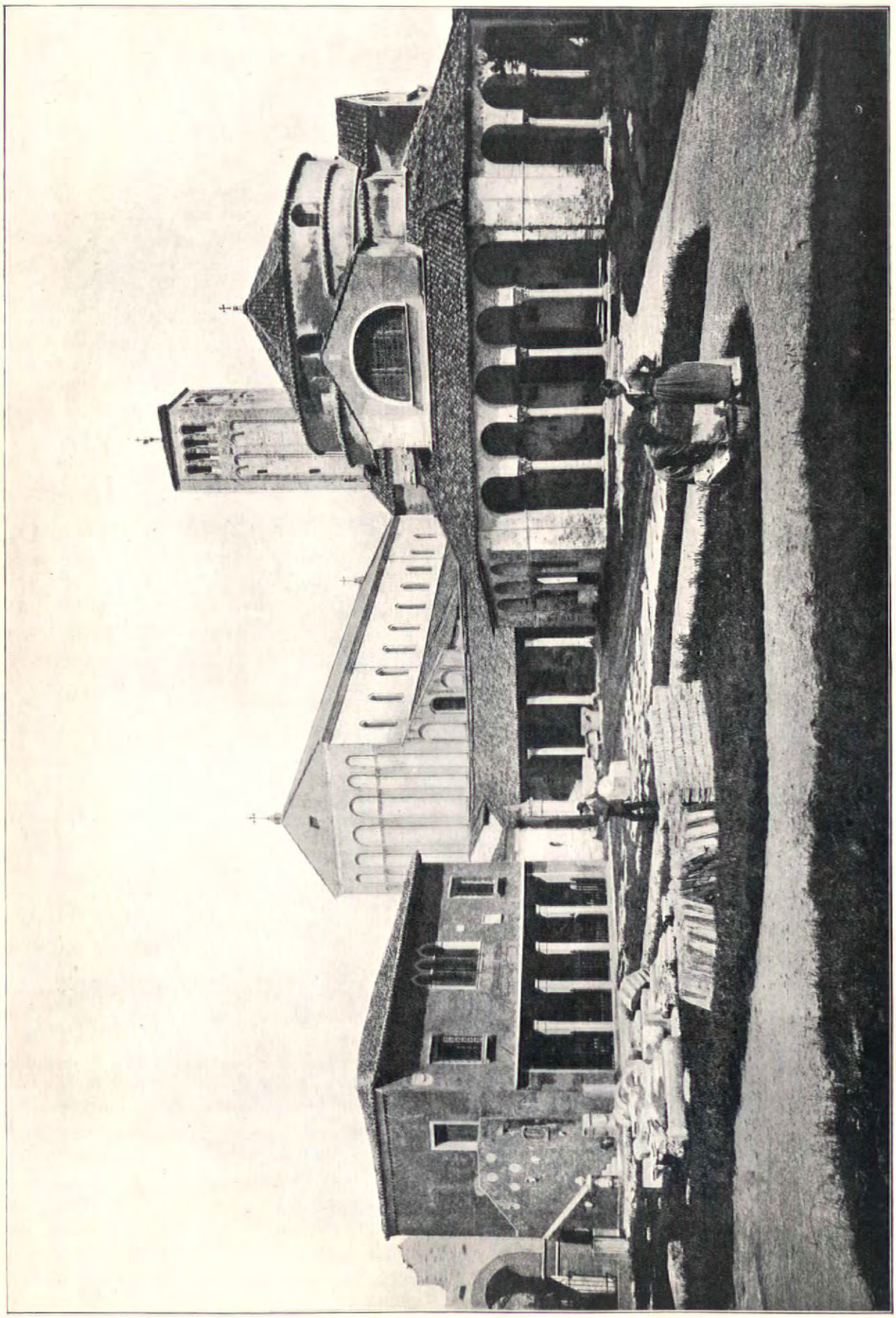
(After Cattaneo, in Ongania's *Basilica di San Marco.*)

tower of the same breadth, though possibly not of the same height, as that which has recently fallen. But in the year 888 had the Venetians such a conception of their greatness as to project a tower far more massive than any which had been hitherto constructed in Italy? Did they possess the wealth to justify them in such an enterprise? Would they have designed such a tower to match St. Mark's, which was at that time a small church with walls of wood? It is more probable that the construction of the Campanile belongs to the period of the second church of St. Mark, which was begun after the fire of 976 and consecrated in 1094.

The height of the Campanile at the time of its fall was 98·60 metres (322 ft.), from the base to the head of the angel, though a considerable portion of this height was not added till 1510; its width at the base of the shaft 12·80 metres (35 ft. 2 in.), and one metre (3 ft. 3 in.) less at the top of the shaft. The weight has been calculated at about 18,000 tons.

Thanks to excavations at the base of the tower made by Com. Giacomo Boni, at the request of Mr. C. H. Blackall, of Boston, U.S., in the year 1885, a report of which was printed in the "Archivio Veneto," Tom. xxix., p. 355, we now possess some accurate knowledge about a portion of the foundation upon which this enormous mass rested. The subsoil of Venice is composed of layers of clay, sometimes traversed by layers of peat, overlying profound strata of alluvial sand. This clay is, in places, of a remarkably firm consistency; for example, in the quarter of the town known as *Dorsoduro* or "hard-back," and at the spot where the Campanile stood. Signor Boni reports that a bore made at that point brought up a greenish, compact clay mixed with fine shells. This clay, when dried, offered the resisting power of half-baked brick. It is the remarkable firmness of this clay bottom which enabled the Venetians to raise so lofty and so ponderous a structure upon so narrow a foundation.

The builders of the Campanile proceeded as follows:—Into this bed of compact clay they first drove piles of about 9½ in. in diameter with a view to still further consolidating, by pressure, the area selected. That area only extends 1·25 metre, or about 4 ft. beyond the spring of the brickwork shaft of the tower. How deep these piles reached Signor Boni's report does not state. The piles, at the point where he laid the foundations bare, were found to be of white poplar, in remarkably sound condition, retaining their colour, and presenting a closely twisted fibre. The clay in which they were embedded has preserved them almost intact. The piles extend for one row only beyond



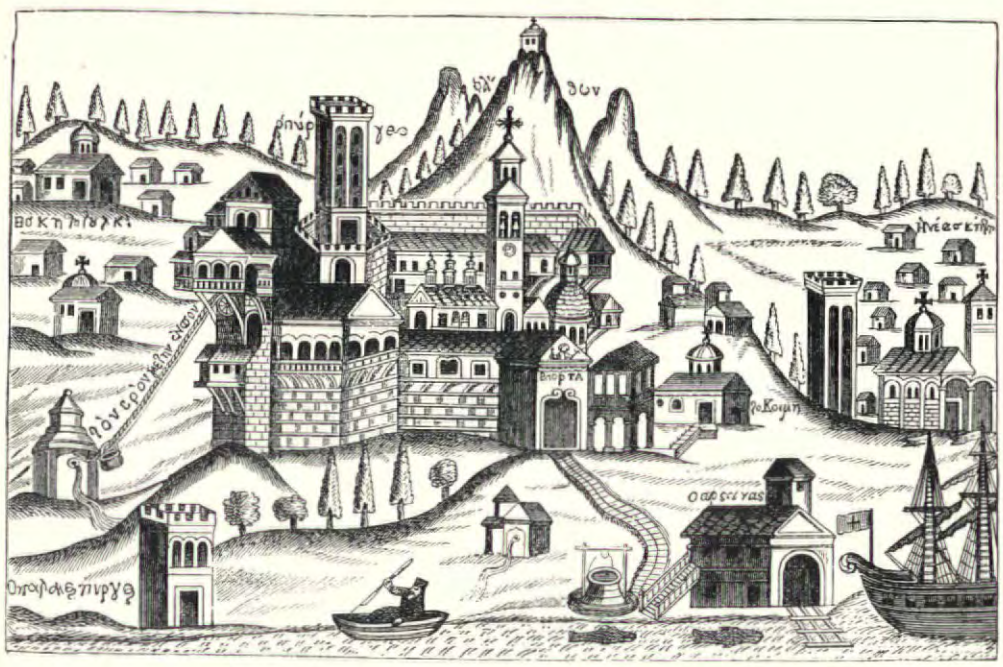
TORCELLO.

the superimposed structure. On the top of these piles the builders laid a platform consisting of two layers of oak beams, crosswise. The lower layer runs in the line of the Piazza, east to west, the upper in the line of the Piazzetta, north to south. Each beam is square and a little over 4 in. thick. This oak platform appears to be in bad condition; the timbers are blackened and friable. While the excavation was in progress sea-water burst through the interstices, which had to be plugged.

Upon this platform was laid the foundation proper. This consists of seven courses of stone of various sizes and of various kinds—sandstone of two qualities, limestone from Istria and Verona, probably taken from older buildings on the mainland, certainly not fresh-hewn from the quarry. The seventh or lowest course is the deepest, and is the only one which is escarped, and that but slightly; the remaining six courses were intended to be perpendicular. These courses vary widely from each other in thickness—from 0·31 to 0·90 centimetres. They are composed of different and ill-assorted stone, and are held together in places by shallow-biting clamps of iron, and by a mortar of white Istrian lime, which, not being hydraulic, and having little affinity for sand, has become disintegrated. Signor Boni calls attention to the careless structure of this foundation proper, and maintains that it was designed to carry a tower of about two-thirds of the actual height imposed upon it, but not more.

Above the foundations proper came the base. This consisted of five courses of stone set in stepwise. These courses of the base are all of the same kind of stone, in fairly regular blocks, and of fairly uniform thickness. They were all intended to be seen, and originally rose from the old brick pavement of the Piazza; but the gradual subsidence of the soil—which is calculated as proceeding at the rate of nearly a metre per 1,000 years—has caused two and a half of these steeped courses to disappear, and only two and a half now emerge from the present pavement.

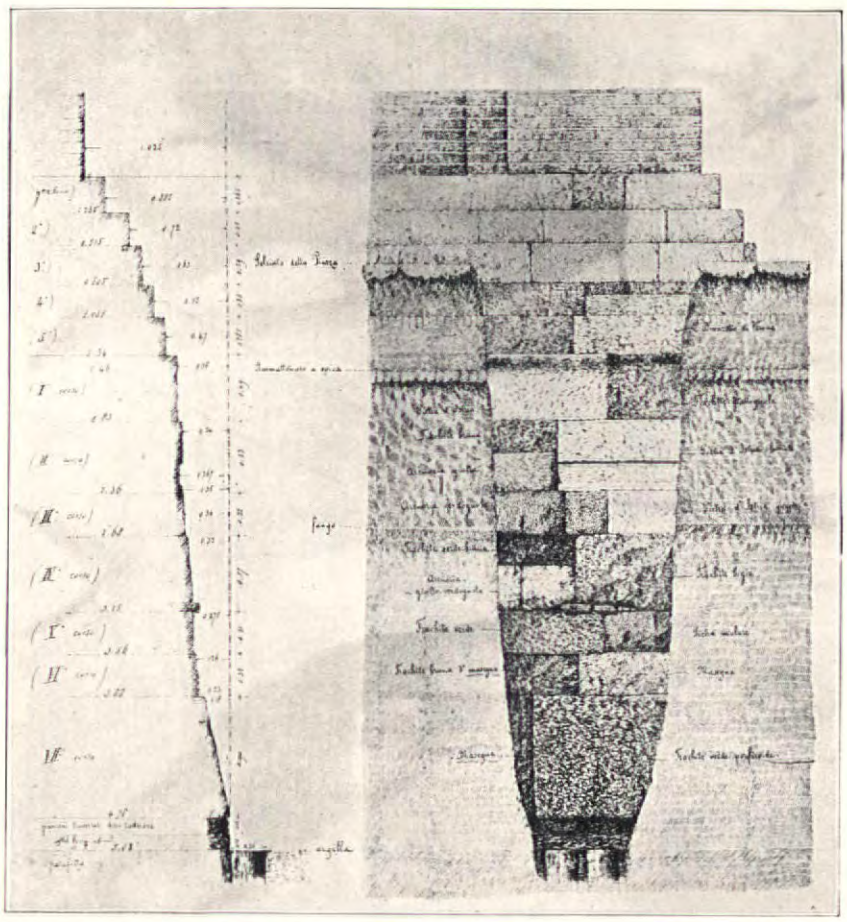
Thus the structure upon which the brick shaft of the Campanile rested is composed of (1) the base of five-stepped courses, (2) the foundations of seven courses almost perpendicular, (3) the platform of oak beams, and (4) the piles. The height of the foundation, including the base, is 5·02 metres, about 16 ft., or one-twentieth of the height they carried. Not only is this a very small proportion, but it will be further observed that Signor Boni's excavation seems to destroy the tradition of star-shaped supports (*speroni*) to the foundations, and shows them to cover a very restricted area. In fact, the foundations of the Campanile belong to the primitive or narrow kind. The foundations of the Ducal Palace, on the other hand, belong to the more recent or extended kind. Those foundations do not rest on piles, but on a very broad platform of larch beams—much thicker than the oak beams of the Campanile platform—reposing directly on the clay. Upon this platform foundations with a distended escarpment were built to carry the walls, the weight of which was thus distributed equally over a wide area.



THE MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL, ON MOUNT ATHOS.
(Reproduced from Curzon's "Monasteries of the Levant," by permission of Mr. John Murray.)

Signor Boni thought from his examination of the clay in 1885 that the foundations of the Campanile were good, but it is conceivable that some movement may have taken place since that date, either in the clay stratum itself or in the sand upon which it lies. In any case nothing certain as to the present condition of the foundations can be known until the heap of ruin is cleared away.

Coming now to the shaft of the tower: This was a massive quadrangular, rectangular, equilateral structure of brick. The brickwork at each angle was thickened so as to form a pilaster-buttress, and on each face were three ribs or pilasters connected at the summit with each other and with the angle pilasters by ornamented arches, immediately over which came the cornice of the shaft upon which the flooring of the bell-chamber eventually rested. These lateral pilasters or ribs are common to the Campanili of Venice, but I remember no instance of more than one pilaster on each face. Inside this outer or main tower was built another tower, and the space between the two was used to carry up, not by steps, but by an inclined plane, a passage from the ground to the bell-chamber. Sansovino, speaking of the shaft, and following the *Cronaca Scivos* says that it was "stabile e soda." Whether he meant by that phrase to affirm that the walls were solid and not built "a sacco," that is rubble walls, as was the case with Chichester tower and with many early buildings in Venice, it is not easy to say; but the fall of the tower has revealed beyond doubt the fact that the walls of the outer tower were built solid. No argument in favour of the rubble-wall theory can be drawn from the vast cloud of dust which, immediately after the fall, covered the piazza to the depth of about 4 in., for mortar of the firmest

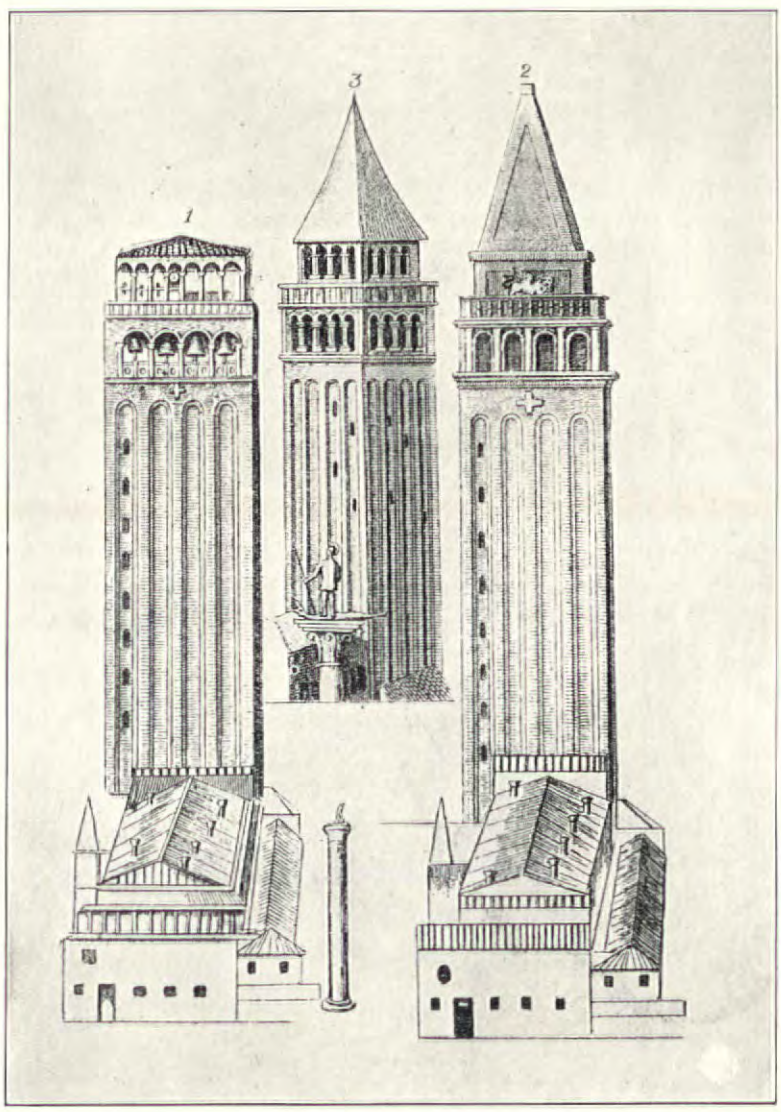


BASE AND FOUNDATION OF CAMPANILE.
(As sketched by Comr. Boni in 1885.)

hold would pulverize in the process of the collapse, and it is certain that the stump of the shaft, which has now been laid bare, requires strong pick strokes to disintegrate it.

So far as has been observed as yet, the condition of the shaft was not entirely unsatisfactory. The mortar employed came from Padua, and was in far better condition than the mortar of the foundations. The bricks, to a considerable extent, were magnificent Roman brick of an admirable texture and grain, requiring a saw to divide them, and resembling marble in their compactness. These Roman bricks are of various

tones of red and yellow; many of them bear inscriptions which have been carefully catalogued. Some show the imprint of the paws of animals who trod upon them when they lay still fresh and unbaked by the brick-kilns of Aquileia or Tarvisium, others have the hand-grip dug into them before they were fired. Some are semi-circular, others wedge-shaped, made for the building of arches, others, again, round for the structure of columns. All are large and of excellent quality. They came from the abandoned remains of ancient Roman cities on the mainland—Altinum, Concordia, Opitergium, Aquileia. When the lower portion of the broken shaft—the portion which is still standing—comes to be demolished, it is probable that Roman remains will be more frequently laid bare. It has not, so far, been determined, whence came the contemporary brick employed to build the shaft. Much of it looks like Trevisaned, and though inferior to the Roman brick in size and in consistency, it presents, where it has come down in unbroken blocks, a fine quality and colour. The collapse of the Campanile has enabled us so far to learn this much about the structure and material of its shaft, but more may confidently be expected when the ruins have been thoroughly examined by that competent authority Com. Giacomo Boni.



THE CAMPANILE.
(1. As given by Jacopo de Barbari, 1500. 2. As finished by Mastro Buono, 1513. 3. As given in Breydenbach's "Peregrinatio," 1486.)

The shaft was completed in the reign of Domenico Moresini; the bell-chamber seems to have been added about 1170; it is described as being stumpy and low. It very likely had a squat pyramid on the top, which probably was gilded. This may have been the bell-chamber and pyramid represented in Breydenbach's "Peregrinatio" of 1486—if, indeed, any reliance is to be placed on these early wood-cut illustrations. In the famous design of Venice, dated 1500, and now attributed to Jacopo de' Barbari, the bell-chamber appears without a pyramid. This may be accounted for

by the fact that in 1489 the tower was struck by lightning, and the summit burned "e una saetta uno ictu bruciò la cima del Campaniel de San Marco, che era dorata." The government then confided the restorations to the master-builder Bartolomeo Buono of Bergamo, who began the work about 1510 and constructed the bell-chamber, attic, pyramid, and angel, as they practically remained till the fall of the tower. The work seems to have been completed by 1513, for Sanudo, in his Diary, makes the following entry: "1513, 6th July. To-day in the Piazza of St. Mark the gilded copper angel was hoisted up to the sound of trumpets and pipes. Wine and milk were poured upon it in token of rejoicing. Pray God it has been raised in a happy hour and to the increase of this Republic." Buono's bell-chamber was an elegant structure of Istrian stone with angle pilasters and columns of *Verd-antique* and other precious marbles on each side, corresponding to the three pilaster ribs of the shaft, and connected, like them, by arches which bore the cornice, upon which rested the heavy attic whence sprang the final pyramid. In the spandrils between the arches were massive lions' heads, boldly and impressively hewn in Istrian stone.

The bell-chamber contained four large bells thus described by the Procurators of St. Mark, the official custodians of the Campanile: "In the said Campanile are four bells, all of an excellent sound; the smallest is called the *Trottiera*, the next is known as the *Mezza Terza*, the third as the *Nona*, and the fourth and largest is called the *Marangona*." Sansovino adds a fifth, a small bell, by name the *Ringhiera*. The *Marangona* was the great bell of the city, marking the main moments of the day; it rang at sunrise, at *Ave Maria* for the cessation of work, and at midnight. The *Trottiera* summoned the senate to its sittings; the *Ringhiera* tolled for those about to die by the hand of Justice. The *Mezza Terza* and the *Nona* announced other important hours; the *Nona*, for example, rang midday. All these bells were rung either by hammer in the bell-chamber or by rope from the base of Campanile. The holes through which the bell-ropes passed were coated with thick bottle-glass to diminish the wear and tear. In the fall of the tower the *Marangona* was but little injured; the rest were broken.

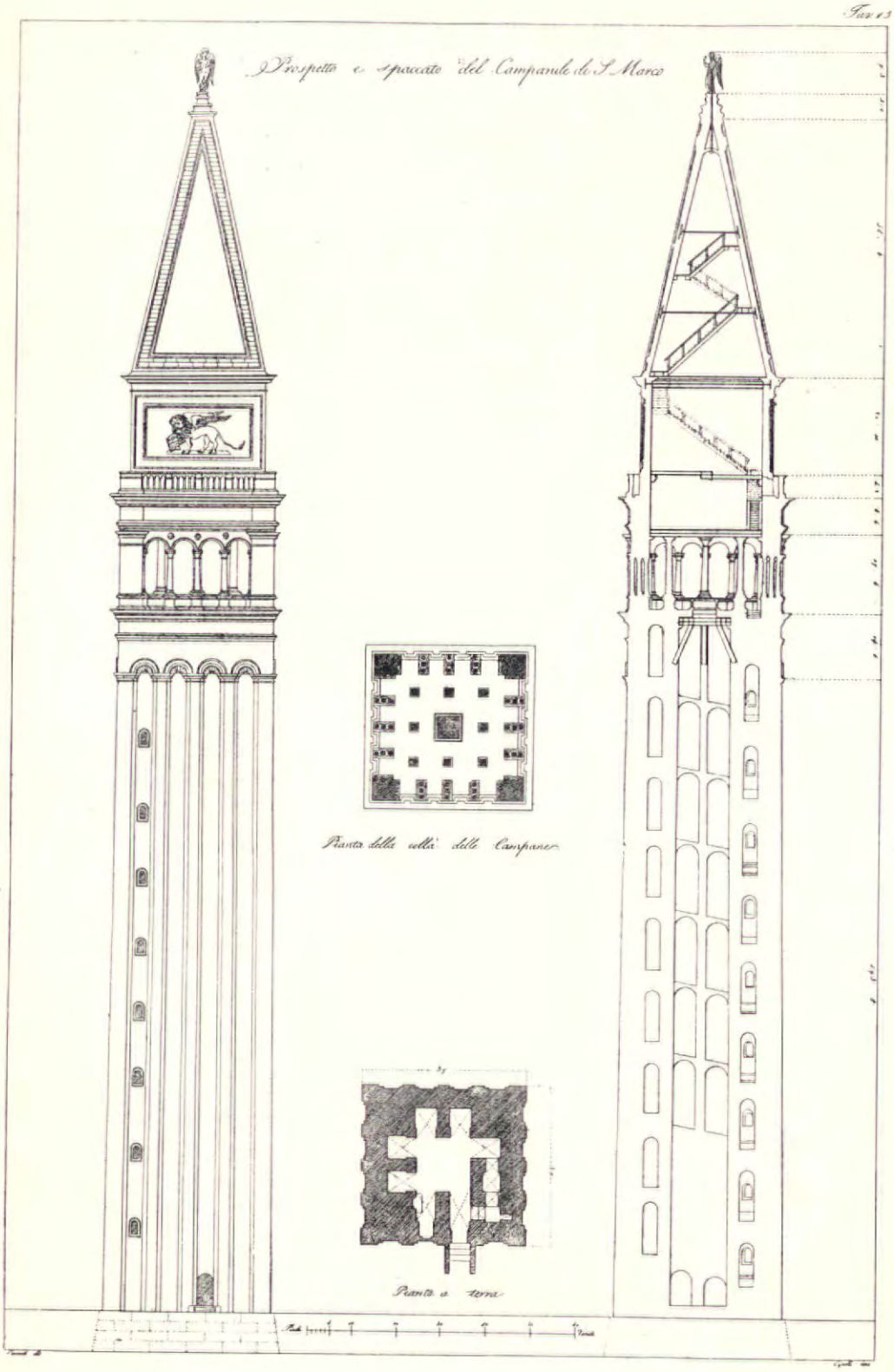
Above the bell-chamber came a balustrade, and inside that the attic. It was built of brick, and bore upon its Western and Eastern faces a massive decorative figure in Istrian stone. Both represent Justice—the figure to the West reposed its feet on a Cherub's head, flanked by two other human heads; the figure to the East rested on a Dragon. Both were designed, like the lions of the spandrils, by Mastro Buono.

The pyramid was also of brickwork externally lined with plates of bronze which had acquired an exquisite green *patina*. Inside the pyramid was a shallow cupola, through the crown of which passed the pivot on which the angel at the apex of the pyramid revolved. To crown all came the great angel of gilded lead—it had been renewed several times, and in various metals—with wings expanded to catch the impact of every wind that blew.

Such was the tower which the Venetians built for themselves. It consisted of eight parts: (1) the piles, (2) the platform, (3) the foundations, (4) the base, (5) the shaft, (6) the bell-chamber, (7) the attic, (8) the pyramid; divisions which are to be found in almost all the Venetian Campanili, whether the attic be round as in San Giorgio Maggiore, or octagonal as in San Stefano, or square as in San Francesco della Vigna, and whether the attic be surmounted by cone, pyramid, or cupola. The attic and cone, pyramid or cupola, however, are sometimes wanting altogether, sometimes are merely rudimentary.

In a peculiar fashion the Campanile of San Marco summed up the whole life of the city—civil, religious, commercial, and military—and became the central point of Venetian sentiment. For the tower served the double needs of the ecclesiastical and the civic sides of the Republic. "His diebus," says Andrea Dandolo, "excelsa turris condita est usibus ecclesiæ et Reipublicæ deputata." Its bells marked the canonical hours; rang the workman to his work, the merchant to his desk, the statesman to the Senate; they pealed for victory or tolled for the demise of a Doge. The tower, moreover, during the long course of its construction, roughly speaking, from the middle of the tenth to the opening of the sixteenth centuries, was contemporary with all that was greatest in Venetian history; for the close of the tenth century saw the conquest of Dalmatia, and the foundations of Venetian supremacy in the Adriatic—that water-avenue to the Levant and the Orient—while by the opening of the sixteenth the Cape route had been discovered, the League of Cambray was in sight, and the end at hand. The tower, too, was a landmark to those at sea, and when the mariner had the Campanile of San Nicolò on the Lido covering the Campanile of St. Mark, he knew he had the route home and could make the Lido port. The tower was the centre of popular festivals, such as that of the *Svolo* on *Giovedigrasso*, when an acrobat descended by a rope from the summit of the Campanile to the feet of the Doge, who was a spectator from a window in the Ducal

THE CAMPANILE OF SAN MARCO AS IT APPEARED FROM THE PIAZZA.


Tav. 13
Prospetto e spaccato del Campanile di S. Marco
Pianta della cella delle Campane
Pianta a terra

Palace. Vasari might say that "this tower, in truth, has nothing excellent about it in itself, neither in form nor adornment, nor in anything else that is laudable"; but visitors from the north, like Fynes Moryson and Coryat, wax eloquent over the Campanile and the view from it—the "fairest and the goodliest prospect that is (I think) in all the worlde, for therehence may you see the whole modell and forme of the citie *sub uno intuitu*, a sight that doth in my opinion farre surpasse all shewes under the cope of heaven"; while for the Venetians the tower was officially, "famosum et nominatum per totum orbem," as the Great Council declared in 1405, and for the people a personification of enduring strength, "Gnanca se cascasse el Campaniel," "Not though the Campanile should come down," was their strongest form of negation.

The Campanile was under the care of the *Procuratori di San Marco*, and they insisted on preserving the prestige of their charge by preventing the erection of any tower in the city which should surpass it in height. Whether they were as careful of its structure is doubtful, and the tower had many enemies during the course of its life. From the first there seem to have been houses attached to its base. We have seen that the hospital founded by the sainted Orseolo Doge was possibly connected with the shaft. We know that Giorgio Valla, the scholar, kept a school at its foot, that the *panataria* or bakery stood on its south side, and that the disfiguring shops and offices were only cleared away in October 1878. Neither the erection nor the removal of these buildings, with all the tapping at the tower thereby implied, can have been of advantage to the structure, and, indeed, it was the meddling with the remaining building on the fourth side, the Loggetta, which precipitated the disaster of July 14th. But the Campanile suffered most from fire, lightning, and earthquake. The long series of accidents is recorded in Gallicciolli's "Memorie Venete" and elsewhere. Here it will suffice to mention the most important. In 1383 lightning set fire to the wooden pyramid on the tower, which was promptly grappled with chains and ropes and hauled, still flaming, down into the Piazza. In 1405 the illuminations for the capture of Padua again fired and burned the summit. In 1426 all the shops round the base of the tower were burned, and in 1489 the top was once more destroyed by fire, and, as we have seen, restored in its final form by Mastro Buono. In 1574 another fire raged at the foot of the Campanile. Finally, in 1745, a terrible flash of lightning struck the tower at a spot above the Loggetta, precisely where the final and fatal crack of July 14th began to show itself. That spot had been struck before, in 1735, and was struck again in 1761. The *Procuratori* then charged the engineer Toaldo to apply a lightning-conductor, and that was done in 1776.

The most serious of the many earthquakes which shook the tower was that of 1511. The top of the Campanile, especially at a point where it had already been struck by lightning, showed serious cracks. The great bells rang of themselves, and the use of them was suspended until they had been fortified by beams. After this shock the foundations were examined and found to be in excellent order, and declared capable of bearing a much greater weight. It will be remembered that this earthquake took place just at the time when Mastro Buono was contemplating the new bell-chamber, attic, and pyramid. In order to carry out this work, a portion of the tower at the north-east angle, looking towards the *Merceria*, was taken down and rebuilt. It was precisely at this angle that the final mischief declared itself, though much lower down, and it is not unlikely that the fatal weakness of the tower may date from the earthquake of 1511 and the restorations entailed thereby.

Other earthquakes followed, but none so damaging to the Campanile. Yet, in spite of lightning, fire, earthquake, and the lapse of time, the great tower of Saint Mark showed only the faintest deviation from the perpendicular, and, at the time of its fall, it seemed to almost every expert, and certainly to all the profane, the soundest building in Venice. One man, however, Signor Luigi Vendrasco, not an engineer, but a master builder, with a wide experience of the whole group of buildings round the Piazza, raised a warning voice about seven years ago, insisting that the Campanile was in a dangerous condition, and predicting its collapse. The warning was neglected. And now we come to the dolorous moment of the fall.

It would require expert knowledge to determine the cause or causes which brought about the subsidence of this great tower, though bad mortar slowly disintegrated probably played a leading part. A report by competent authorities will, no doubt, be presented when the rubbish has been cleared away, the remaining walls examined, and the foundations laid bare. All that can be done here is to record the events which immediately preceded the catastrophe.

Infiltration of water had been observed in the roof of Sansovino's Loggetta where that roof joined the shaft of the Campanile. At this point a thin ledge of stone, let into the wall of the Campanile, projected over the junction between the leaden roof of the Loggetta and the shaft of the tower. In order to remedy the mischief of infiltration it was resolved to remove and

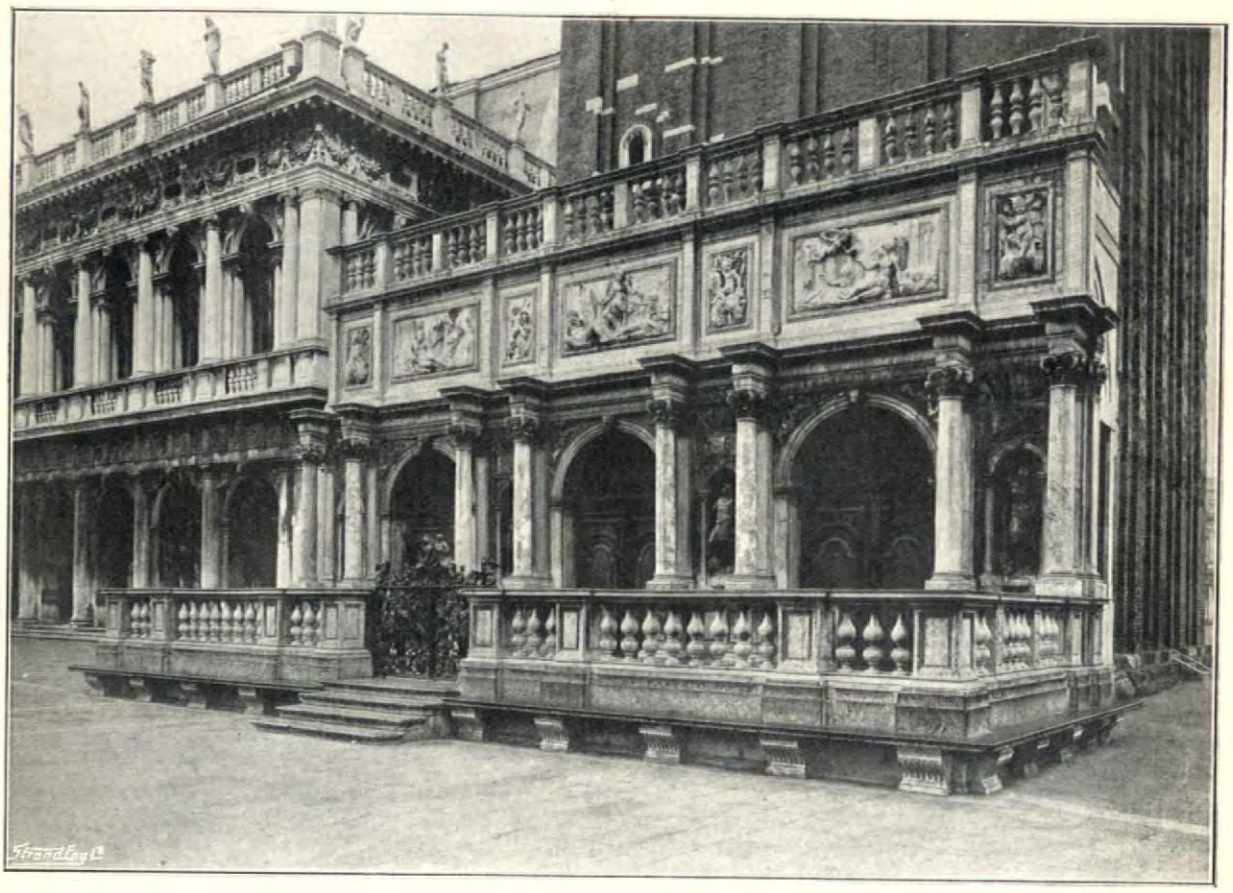
replace this projecting ledge. To do this a cut was made into the wall of the Campanile, which, at this point, consisted of a comparatively modern surface of masonry, placed there to repair the damage caused by the lightning strokes above recorded. This cut was made, not piecemeal, but continuously. The work was carried out on Monday, July 7th. In the process of cutting through the brick, the architect in charge became alarmed at the condition of the inner part of the wall laid bare by the cut. He expressed his fears to his superiors, but apparently no examination of the tower was made till the Thursday following. Even then the imminence of the danger does not seem to have been grasped. On Saturday, the 12th, a crack was observed spreading upwards in a sloping direction from the cut above the roof of the Loggetta, towards the north-east angle of the shaft, then crossing the angle and running up almost perpendicularly in the line of the little windows that gave light to the internal passage from the base to the bell-chamber. This crack assumed such a threatening aspect, and was making such visible progress, that the authorities in charge of the tower felt bound to inform the Prefect, though the danger was represented as not imminent, and the worst they expected was the fall of the angle where the crack had appeared. A complete collapse of the whole tower was absolutely excluded. As a precautionary measure the music in the Piazza was suspended on Saturday evening. On Sunday orders were issued to endeavour to bind the threatened angle. But by Monday morning early it was evident that the catastrophe could not be averted. Dust began to pour out of the widening crack, and bricks to fall. A block of Istrian stone crashed down from the bell-chamber, then a column from the same site. At 9.47 the ominous fissure opened, the face of the Campanile towards the church and the Ducal Palace bulged out, the angel on the top and the pyramid below it swayed once or twice, and threatened to crush either the Sansovino's Library or the Basilica of San Marco in their fall, then the whole colossus subsided gently, almost noiselessly, upon itself, as it were in a curtsey, the ruined brick and mortar spread out in a pyramidal heap, a dense column of white powder rose from the Piazza, and the Campanile of San Marco was no more.

It is certainly remarkable, and by the *popolo* of Venice it is reckoned as a miracle, that the tower in its fall did so little harm. Not a single life was lost, though the crowd in the Piazza was unaware of its danger till about ten minutes before the catastrophe. The great Angel shot down and stopped just before the main portal of St. Mark's; the thick porphyry column of the *Pietra del bando* saved, as by a miracle, the exquisite south-west, or Sta. Sofia, angle of the Church; the copper plates from the pyramid formed themselves into a miraculous fence for the first of the great bronze standard sockets. Only a deep cut into Sansovino's splendidly-built library, and a few chips on the outer steps of St. Mark's façade hint at the ruin which might have been wrought, and the *popolo* commenting on these facts, and personifying the tower they loved so well, say, "Lu xè sempre stà galantomo, lu ga parlà; lu ga avisà, 'fè largo che casco'"—"He's always been a gentleman; he spoke, he warned us: 'Away with you, for I'm coming down!'"

The Campanile of St. Mark's is not the first, nor, I fear, will it be the last of the Venetian towers to fall. In 1347 the Campanile of Chioggia collapsed as an inscription over the door leading into the tower records. In 1410 a violent gust of wind "un refolo grandissimo," brought down the towers of Santa Fosca and the Corpus Domini. In 1455 the Campanile of S. Angelo which was off plumb, was straightened by a Bolognese engineer, but fell the next day, carrying with it a part of the Church and the Convent of San Stefano. In 1596 the Campanile of San Leonardo fell; Tassini's "Curiosità Veneziane" records the fall of the great tower of San Giorgio Maggiore; the latest was the Campanile of Sta Ternità, which came down as recently as the 13th December, 1880.

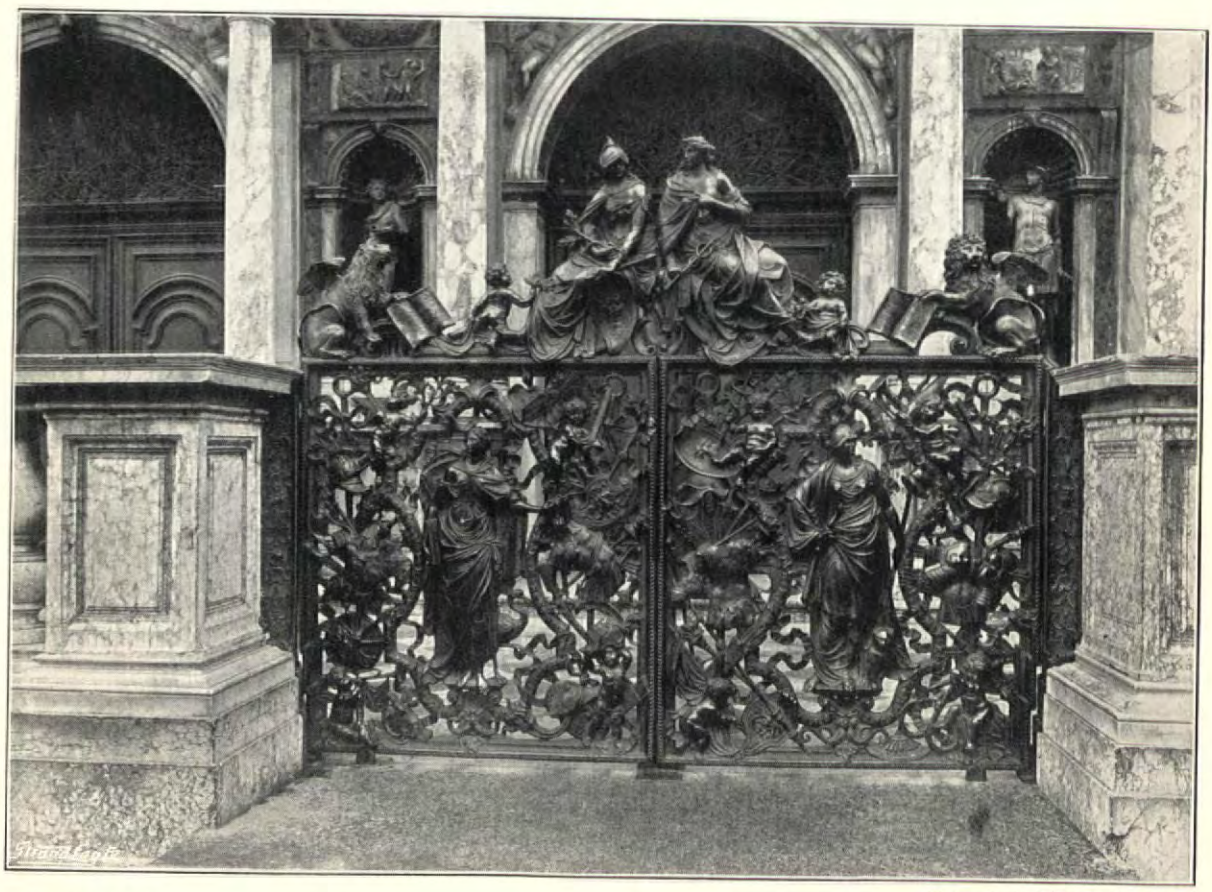
Public opinion seems to be preponderantly in favour of rebuilding the Campanile where it stood and as it stood. A minority urge that the tower in itself was not a beautiful object; that, apart from its historical associations, it was uninteresting; that the Piazza and Piazzetta acquire amplitude, the façade and cupolas of the church dignity, by its absence; that the beautiful Porta della Carta can now be seen from the western end of the Piazza; but the majority is convinced that neither the Piazza, nor Venice, nor the Lagoon can do without that severe and dominating pile. The massive simplicity of the Campanile was both foil and counterpoise to the bizarre brilliancy of St. Mark's and the Ducal Palace; while, as seen from the lagoon, the long row of horizontal lines, the tops of the *Procuratie* and the Ducal Palace, call for the bell tower to break their monotony. In any case, whichever view be taken, the reconstruction is, I believe, assured.

It is, perhaps, too early to arrive at a just estimate of the cost. Much will depend on the condition of the foundations, and the extent to which it will be necessary to renew or to fortify



THE LOGGETTA.

Photo: J. C. Ashton & E. Dockree.



THE LOGGETTA.

THE BRONZE GATES BY ANTONIO GAI.

Photo: J. C. Ashton & E. Dockree.

Photo : J. C. Ashton & E. Dockree.

THE LOGGETTA.
STATUE OF PALLAS.

them by extending their area. The best opinion would, at present, be opposed to carrying up the new tower upon the old narrow foundations, which were probably not intended for a structure of such a weight. Guesses at the probable cost have been hazarded, varying from 1,000,000 to 6,000,000 lire; possibly somewhere about 2,500,000 will be found to suffice. Subscriptions have been opened and fairly well filled. In any case we may be pretty sure that the funds will be forthcoming, for the sentiment of Venice, the sympathy of Italy, the æsthetic sense of the whole world, demand the restoration of the Campanile of San Marco.

That restoration will not present difficulties of other than a financial and structural nature, for the great tower was a simple monument, impressive by its bulk and venerable from its associations; but in its fall it swept away another building of a very different character—the Loggetta of Sansovino. This small but exquisite structure depended for its effect neither upon its size nor upon its associations, but upon the delicacy and richness of its workmanship and ornamentation. Like the little gothic church of S. Maria della Spina at Pisa, it seemed a carefully-wrought jewel in a setting of larger and more imposing buildings.

The Loggetta was designed and executed about the year 1540, by Jacopo Sansovino, who had recently finished his masterpiece, the *Libreria Vecchia*. It was intended to take the place of an older building which had been destroyed in 1489 by the famous flash of lightning that struck and brought down a large part of the bell-chamber on the Campanile. The more ancient Loggetta served as a kind of club or *rendezvous* for the Patricians of Venice, but on the completion of the new edifice it was set apart for the *Procuratore di San Marco* on duty and his guard, who kept watch during the sittings of the *Maggior Consiglio*. After the fall of the Republic, and down to the present day, the Loggetta was used for the drawing of the governmental lottery every Saturday at three o'clock.

The Loggetta, as designed by Sansovino, consisted of a terrace or open vestibule, reached by four steps from the level of the Piazza, and enclosed by a balustrade. The fine bronze gates, with their rich and florid modelling, were added much later, in 1750, by the artist Antonio Gai. From the terrace sprang the façade of the building. Eight columns of oriental breccia, in groups of two, flanked and divided the three arches of the front, and carried a somewhat heavy attic. In the four intercolumnar spaces were four niches with four bronze statues, the work of Sansovino, representing Pallas, Apollo, Mercury, and Peace, to which the sculptor's son, Francesco Sansovino, gives a fanciful interpretation laudatory of the Republic. These figures, though damaged, are not destroyed, and may take their place again if the Loggetta is

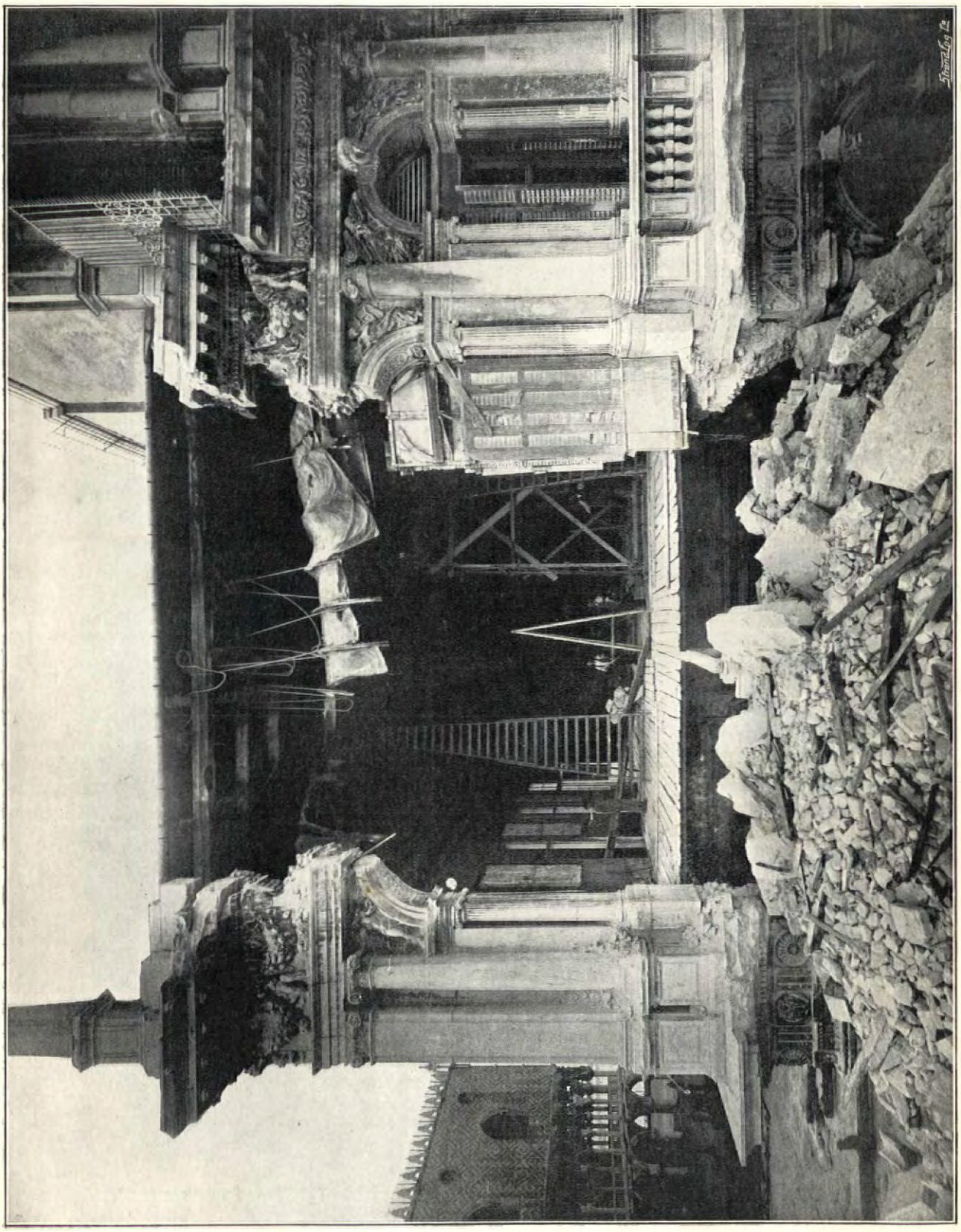


Photo: Contavini and Giacomelli.

LIBRERIA VECCHIA. SHOWING THE DAMAGE DONE BY THE FALL OF THE CAMPANILE.

reconstructed. The three main divisions of the attic, corresponding to the three arches below, contained bas-reliefs. In the centre Venice, figured as Justice, sat throned upon her lions, while the rivers of the mainland poured riches at her feet. On the right was Venus, the symbol of Cyprus; on the left was Jove representing his birthplace Crete, the two great maritime possessions of the Republic. The rest of the façade was richly adorned with bas-reliefs and columns and balustrades, and the whole structure, with its breccia pillars, its deep green bronze and Verona marbles of red and white, formed a glowing and sumptuous base to the austere shaft of the Campanile that towered above it.

Inside the Loggetta was the guard-chamber, with vaulted and coffered ceiling, and a beautiful group, in terra cotta, of the Madonna and Child with St. John, by Sansovino, now completely destroyed. It is much to be regretted that, when the danger to the Campanile was first observed, no steps were taken to place in security at least this terra cotta group, the bronze statues, and the gates.

Other work of Sansovino besides the Loggetta has suffered by the collapse of the Campanile. The lateral bays of his noble Library have been cut clean through; yet the angle pilasters with the superimposed obelisk stand there, almost isolated but not fallen, a splendid testimony to the sound workmanship of the great renaissance architect.

The Campanile will be restored, and future generations will, perhaps, hardly distinguish between the old and the new; but in the case of the Loggetta, though much of the original work has escaped entire destruction, it is doubtful whether a restoration can ever recapture the touch of the master hand.

HORATIO F. BROWN.

Architecture at the Royal Academy.

A DISCUSSION.—II.

THERE seems to be a general consensus of opinion that the Architectural Room at the Royal Academy is unsatisfactory and needs reformation.

By way of a beginning we are counselled to eschew the gay perspective and seek salvation in the severe geometrical drawing.

Mr. Blomfield would abolish the exhibition altogether; while Mr. Ricardo would not only keep it, but proposes a winter exhibition as well. To this last idea Mr. Shaw makes the very valid objection that there is barely enough suitable material to go round even now; a second exhibition would seem therefore to be impossible.

Mr. Ricardo alone suggests complete freedom for the architect to exhibit his building in any way that seems best to himself; he would remove all restrictions, and allow models, drawings of all kinds (with a bias in favour of diagrams), and *photographs*. It is a little startling to think of photographs at the Academy; but revolutionary as it seems, I believe that photographs with explanatory plans and sections would be the best and truest way in which to represent the vast majority of buildings.

Photography has many advantages over any other method. A building can only be represented by a photograph *after it has been built*, and this is important, as a guarantee that the architect's work is a real piece of building, and not what Mr. Blomfield calls "Studio Architecture." It would emphasize the fact that architecture is not a draughtsman's art, and it would also save the time which is generally most unprofitably and grudgingly spent in making "Exhibition" drawings. It is used almost exclusively to illustrate articles and lectures on architecture and kindred subjects. The ARCHITECTURAL REVIEW fills its pages with reproductions from photographs of old and current architecture. (The water tower illustrated in the October number is an excellent example of the sort of thing I am advocating; a photograph to show the finished building, sections and plans to explain how it was put together.)

Geometrical drawings can be as much "cooked" and falsified as perspective sketches. Deftly drawn and coloured, they may be made as misleading. The French drawings Mr. Shaw quotes were certainly most beautiful; but is it not rating human nature too high to expect that an architect who has been engaged for many months in watching and shaping a building will cheerfully devote two more to making elaborate geometrical drawings of it to send to an exhibition?

A modified benediction may be given to the "perspective" in spite of all that has been said against it. There have been "picture drawings" at the Academy which, if they did not absolutely

represent the building, were inspiring and suggestive—even Mr. Belcher's "Cloud piercing tower," and exalted capitals play their part. If the design is really fine, it stimulates the imagination. The fault lies in giving it a local habitation, instead of letting it stand on its merits as an exercise in design.

To abolish the exhibition is running away from the difficulty. An exhibition gives opportunities of comparison and possibly of rearranging our own standards. I doubt if we take enough count of modern building. Our admiration for old work should not blind us to the fact that old buildings represent old problems and conditions solved and finished; new buildings the struggle with new conditions and new problems; the proper solution of which it is our business to achieve.

I would therefore strongly advocate a relaxation of the present conditions, and allow an architect to represent his work in any reasonable way, and I believe the exhibition would gain greatly in interest; the flaming advertisements would be crowded out, and "hanging" would be a greater honour than it is now popularly supposed to be.

ERNEST NEWTON.

The London County Hall Scheme.

SEVERAL projects for a County Hall have been before the Council of late years, and have been abandoned. The present scheme seems more likely to be carried through than any of its predecessors. In selecting a site three main considerations have to be taken into account.

1st. Position from official standpoint.

2nd. Price.

3rd. Artistic and historical value.

The first is really one that the members of the London County Council are the best judges of.

It must be in a central position easy of access, yet quiet, and close to governing bodies like the Asylums Board, School Board, and the Houses of Parliament. Now that municipalities are acquiring waterworks, tramways, gas, etc., it is of great importance to be in close proximity to Westminster, when bills have to be prepared and pushed through. But too much stress is surely laid on this point if you compare the position of other corporations and London in this respect. The question of price is one for the ratepayers to decide; but it often happens that the cheapest site on paper proves to be the worst bargain in the long run. The unfortunate predominance of the opinion of the valuer in all architectural matters is fatal to achieving any grand result. The third point is the one that concerns us at the present moment. Is this proposed site a good one, viewed from the artistic and historical side? The Adelphi Terrace, as seen from Waterloo Bridge or Charing Cross Bridge or the Embankment or River, is a fine building, and certainly stands out conspicuously by the side of its recent neighbours. Can any dispassionate person say that the destruction of this terrace, in favour of any one of the buildings mentioned by the Committee, would be a gain? Would another Hôtel Cecil or Savoy be an improvement? If the London County Council had the power to spend money on their home at all on the scale that foreign municipalities have, it is conceivable that a really fine and monumental edifice might be erected; but, as stated above, the valuer will waltz in and cut the available sum to be expended down to a paltry figure. There is no chance of a Hôtel de Ville like that of Brussels or Paris. The London County Council has not secured the love of the Londoner to such an extent that the members dare launch out on any vast plan of magnificence for their County Hall. Such being the case, the wisest course for them to pursue would be to give up all idea of making a show, and build a plain house entirely free from ornamentations outside, but conveniently planned, with fine committee-rooms and a spacious Hall for their meetings, leaving it for future generations to add the embellishments. Such an edifice would not beautify the Embankment façade, but would not offend the artistic sense one quarter as much as the futile attempts at architecture on the same frontage. In addition to the artistic loss, if this terrace were pulled down, there is its historic value. Is London so rich in buildings of interest that it can afford to go on in its present ruthless fashion? How many buildings are annually offered up to the Moloch of "Improvement!" Will not after ages curse us for our greed in sweeping away the creations of great architects, often for no other reason than that their sites are demanded by the fiend of speculation? We may not all of us admire the work of the brothers Adam, but is it at all likely that the New London County Hall will be considered in a hundred years a good exchange for their work? London has a charm of

Photo: E. Dockree.

JOHN STREET, ADELPHI, FROM
DUKE STREET.

Photo : E. Dockree.

ADELPHI TERRACE.

its own, due not to its having grand avenues and boulevards, but to the fact that it has been the home of most of Britain's greatest men. They have lived in or written about places like the Adelphi. The north bank of the Thames, between Charing Cross and the Tower, is richer in historical associations than any other portion of British soil. Are we justified in razing the buildings that are still left to us, and thus severing the visible links with the past? If there were no other sites to be had, one would answer this last question in the affirmative; but the London County Council Committee have not proved this to be so. It is devoutly to be hoped that the scheme of the Committee to build only on the centre block and leave the surrounding houses to be absorbed as the need for them arises, will not be carried out. It is certain to lead to bridges connecting the departments. On the whole the scheme, though not absolutely bad, is not a satisfactory one. The approach is poor, and the building will be closed in on three sides. It will be invisible from the Strand and, according to the present plan, will have only one side visible towards the Embankment.

MERVYN MACARTNEY.

NOTE.—Since this article was written the London County Council has indefinitely postponed the scheme, the voting resulting in a tie. This, however, is probably only a temporary respite, and the scheme may be again revived.

The Statue of King Charles I.

(*See frontispiece.*)

THE venerable statue at the junction of Whitehall and Trafalgar Square has had a remarkable history. It is the work of Hubert Le Sueur, a French sculptor who migrated to England about 1628. It was probably made to the order of Sir Richard Weston (at that time Lord Treasurer, and afterwards Earl of Portland), and was cast in 1633, which date, together with the sculptor's name, is inscribed on the work itself. Originally intended, perhaps, to grace the Lord Treasurer's gardens at Roehampton, and afterwards destined, it is said, to adorn Covent Garden Market, it was for some unknown reason laid aside as soon as it was cast, and so remained until its original was brought to the scaffold. It was then sold by the Long Parliament as old metal, and was bought by a London brazier named Rivett, who, instead of breaking it up, concealed it carefully till the Restoration. As soon as it came to light, the then Earl of Portland, as son of Lord Treasurer Weston, at once laid claim to it, but the claim was apparently evaded, for the statue soon afterwards passed into the possession of the Crown; and under Court auspices it was set up for the first time in 1674, either on or near the present site (for it has possibly been erected more than once). An indication of the vicissitudes it has undergone is afforded by the way in which the King leans to the right. He also once possessed a sword, but the weapon, after falling down in 1810 and being put up again, was finally stolen in 1844, when Queen Victoria went to open the Royal Exchange.

The statue has great merit, both of technique and of design. From the nature of its surface it would seem to have been cast by the *cire perdue* process, and then chased. In spite of some defects of anatomy the prancing horse, which some assign to the Spanish, and others (with more reason) to the Flemish breed, is nobly conceived, and the armed figure of the king, whose smallness in proportion to his mount was doubtless true to the life, is posed with dignity. One critic sees in the work traces of Italian influence, which is in accordance with a somewhat doubtful theory that Le Sueur was trained at Florence. At least it may be said that the group is among the nearest approximations England can show to the great equestrian statues of the Renaissance in Italy.

The very beautiful pedestal was carved (as documentary evidence proves) by Joshua Marshall, Master Mason to the Crown; but the design is variously attributed to Grinling Gibbons and Wren, who, as Surveyor-General of the Royal Works, superintended the erection of the statue. Some plugged dowel-holes at the sides show that the pedestal has been robbed of inscriptions or other accessories. The sculptured ornament at the two ends affords a conspicuous example of the use a great artist can make of heraldic decoration.

CECIL HALLETT.

The Cathedral of Siena.

FROM very early days some edifice devoted to the purpose of religious worship had occupied the site upon which now stands the cathedral of Siena. There is an early tradition that before the introduction of Christianity, a temple dedicated to Minerva had stood here. According to Pecci, it was in the eighth or ninth century that the first central place of worship of the Christian community was erected in this position, to take the place of an earlier cathedral which stood in Castelvecchio. It is said, too, that in the twelfth century a Sienese pope, Alexander III., dedicated the second Christian cathedral built on this little plateau. The existing church dates from the second quarter of the thirteenth century. At that time, owing to the development of a foreign trade, the citizens were growing in wealth, and were beginning to be stimulated by the new ideas and aspirations that inevitably take hold upon the minds and imaginations of a people engaging in extensive, adventurous, commercial enterprise. The ambitious young Commune wished to have a national temple that would be a symbol of the wealth and power of the State as well as a concrete expression of a people's gratitude to its Divine Protectress. The Sienese were anxious that their Duomo should equal in magnificence the cathedrals of rival cities. The new church was to be dedicated to the Virgin, and was especially to commemorate her Assumption. The Feast of the Assumption has ever been the greatest of Sienese festivals.

It is not known when the building of the new Cathedral was begun. Malavolti says that it was in the year 1245. Such documentary evidence as we possess gives some scanty support to the historian's statement; for the first existing account that we have of money spent upon the new Duomo is of the year 1246.*

And as we have no certain knowledge of the date when the new edifice was begun, so we do not know who was its first architect. We have no record of the name of any *operaio* who held office before the year 1257; by which time the original Cathedral was well advanced towards completion. The first Master of the Works whose name has come down to us was a certain Fra Vernaccio,† a monk from the then recently founded Cistercian abbey of San Galgano in the valley of the Merse. But there are no grounds for the supposition that his predecessors belonged to that religious house. In fact all the evidence that we have points the other way. After holding the position for only two years, Fra Vernaccio was succeeded by Fra Melano, another Cistercian from the same convent, who occupied the post of *operaio* for well-nigh two decades. Of the Cathedral in its original form, the nave and aisles, the purely structural part of the dome, and a portion of each of the transepts, were completed before Fra Melano took office. He was commissioned to add a bay to each of the transepts and to make other less important alterations in the church. He was also called upon to remedy the defects of his predecessors, who, in making the dome of the Cathedral, had shown a thoroughly Italian lack of constructive skill, for in the unsymmetrical, ill-placed lantern large fissures had already begun to appear.* Uncurbed by the Doric restraint required of Cistercian architects in the erection of the churches of their own Order, at first Fra Vernaccio, and afterwards his successor, began to arrange for the proper furnishing of the new Duomo. The one provided it with choir stalls; the other, in 1266, summoned Niccola Pisano to Siena to make for it a glorious pulpit. In the following year the Cathedral was completed, except as regards its façade. The nave of this church was shorter by two bays than the existing Duomo. The present choir, also, with the baptistery of San Giovanni which supports it, was not yet built.

There is no documentary evidence as to who was the architect of the Cathedral or as to his *provenance*. Mrs. Richter tells us† that it is the oldest Gothic building in Italy; and, like Mr. Hastings, accepting without question the conclusions of patriotic French writers, she exaggerates very much the influence of the Cistercians upon its first designer.‡ Not only is the Cathedral of Siena by no means the first Gothic building in Italy: it is only in a very limited sense a Gothic building at all. There were three great schools of architecture in central Italy at the beginning of the thirteenth century; and in the Duomo of Siena there are to be found, as we shall see, evidences of the influence of all of them.

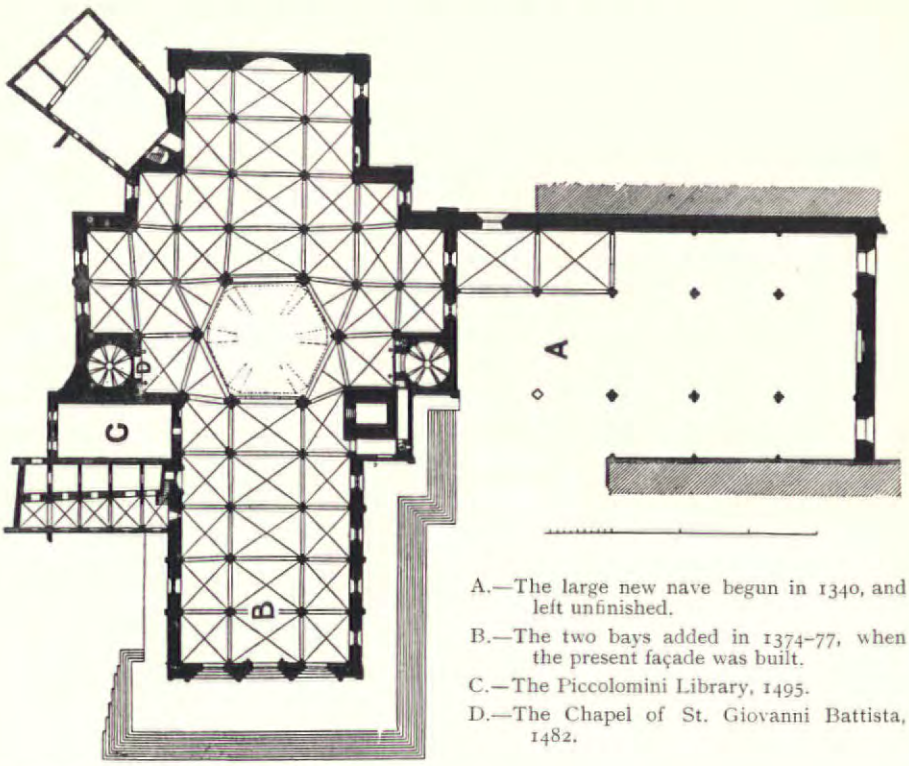
* Borghesi and Banchi, *Nuovi Documenti per la Storia dell' Arte Sienese*, Siena, Torrini, 1898, p. 5.

† Canestrelli, *L'Abbazia di S. Galgano*, Florence, Alinari, 1896, pp. 20 and 128.

* Milanesi, *Documenti*, etc., vol i., pp. 144 and 145.

† See THE ARCHITECTURAL REVIEW, September, 1901, p. 100.

‡ Richter, *Siena*, Leipzig, Seeman, 1901, p. 34.



A.—The large new nave begun in 1340, and left unfinished.

B.—The two bays added in 1374–77, when the present façade was built.

C.—The Piccolomini Library, 1495.

D.—The Chapel of St. Giovanni Battista, 1482.

THE CATHEDRAL OF SIENA. PLAN.

There was, first of all, the Lombard Romanesque. This style contained, as Reynaud, Canestrelli * and Nardini Despotti † have demonstrated, the elements of Gothic. In Lombard churches like that of Aurona we find the square piers carrying engaged shafts on their faces, which prepared the way for the Gothic method of vaulting. We find rib-vaulting at S. Ambrogio at Milan. In such churches as S. Antonio at Piacenza we meet with oblong bays covered with pointed arches.

But though the Lombard architects pointed out the road which the French afterwards took, they were unable to pursue it themselves. The preparatory stages in the evolution of Gothic architecture led to nothing on Italian soil. Inferior to the Pisans as well as to the southern architects as decorators, the Lombards shared with other mediæval Italians their lack of skill as constructive designers. "The history of Lombard . . . building in Italy," says Cummings, "is a history of crumbling walls and falling vaults, and hundreds of the more important structures of that period are deformed by awkward buttresses of later date, and hundreds more are kept from falling into instant ruin only by the iron rods which tie them together in all directions."‡ It was in France that the Gothic style received its full and logical development; and the true Gothic came into Italy as a foreign importation. Moreover, the Italians never properly apprehended the lessons taught them by their Gallic teachers. They showed themselves incapable of grasping the more advanced principles of Gothic construction.

A greater, but by no means as widely influential a school of architecture, was the Tuscan Romanesque, or Pisan school. The Pisan architects were superior to their Lombard contemporaries both as constructors and as decorators. Theirs was the greatest school of architecture that Italy has produced in modern times. Owing something to Byzantine influences and something to Lombard, many of its most characteristic features both of structure and ornament were due to direct classical inspiration, derived from the study of the early Christian basilicas. It had, however, some qualities of grace and charm that were all its own.

In the most typical churches of this school we see abundance of beautiful material judiciously employed. Made all glorious within by mosaic and fresco and marble inlay, their builders did not seek to produce an effect by surface ornament alone. In no other Italian churches do we find so much structural decoration. Both in the interior and the exterior they made a lavish use of beautiful arcades, of a multiplicity of graceful columns large and small. It was the Pisan architects, too, and not, as has been recently

* Canestrelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 85–87.

† Nardini-Despotti, *Del Duomo di Milano e della sua Facciata*, Milan, Saldini, 1889, p. 103.

‡ Cummings, *Architecture in Italy: A History of Italian Architecture from Constantine to the Renaissance*, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., New York, 1901, vol. i., p. 110.

asserted,* the Cistercians of San Galgano, who had first sought to create a decorative effect by placing blocks or slabs of marble of different colours in alternate layers. In the Cathedral of Pisa, begun in 1063, we see bands of black and white marble in the arcades of the clerestory. In the south façade of the Church of S. Giovanni Fuorcivitas at Pistoia, erected a century later, this mode of decoration is used with less restraint. In this, as in some other churches, built by masters of the Pisan school, the excesses of the architects of Siena Cathedral are foreshadowed.

The third and latest of the great schools of architecture existing in Tuscany in the early years of the thirteenth century was the Burgundian-Gothic. This style was introduced into Italy by the Cistercians, in the closing years of the twelfth century. The most important of the early examples of this style now remaining are the abbey churches of Chiaravalle di Castagnola, Fossanova, and Casamari. In adopting the grouped piers instead of the single shaft used by the architects of the Île de France, the Cistercian builders followed, it is true, Lombard precedent. But, nevertheless, in construction as in design they were thoroughly French in spirit. They showed a complete grasp of the fundamental principles of Gothic architecture. We see in their artistic achievement a more thorough application of "the principle of concentrated strains and balanced thrusts," than is to be found in the great majority of Italian buildings. Their works are inspired by French architectural daring, and by a feeling for beauty of architectural form which is also essentially Gallic.

At Casamari we find a skeleton framework of ribs and piers and buttresses in which Gothic methods of construction are fully illustrated. As in France, the insterstices of the skeleton framework of the building are filled up with light masonry and with large traceried windows. Both at Fossanova and Casamari the west front is no mere screen wall as it is in almost all mediæval Italian churches. It is in intimate relation with the plan of the whole church, and follows the outline of the nave and aisles.

The Gothic style was never thoroughly understood by the Italian architects, and was never fully developed in the peninsula. It was unsuited to the southern climate because of its large window spaces. Because of the great demands that it made upon the constructive skill of architects, it was not in harmony with the genius of Italian art. The mediæval Italians were decorators rather than constructors. Early in the fifteenth century they eagerly returned to those classical forms which were more suited to their climate and temperament than were the Gothic.

It was in or about the year 1224 that the Burgundian-Gothic style was first brought to the neighbourhood of Siena. Forty years before, monks from Casamari had founded a house on the slopes of Monte Siepi in the valley of the Merse, thirteen miles from the city. Under episcopal, aristocratic and civic patronage, the Cistercian settlement grew rapidly in wealth and influence. Early in the thirteenth century the new community had been augmented by the adhesion to it of several members of the most ancient families of Tuscany, Guidi and Visconti, Ardengeschi and Aldobrandeschi, as well as by the arrival of a body of monks from the mother convent of Clairvaux.

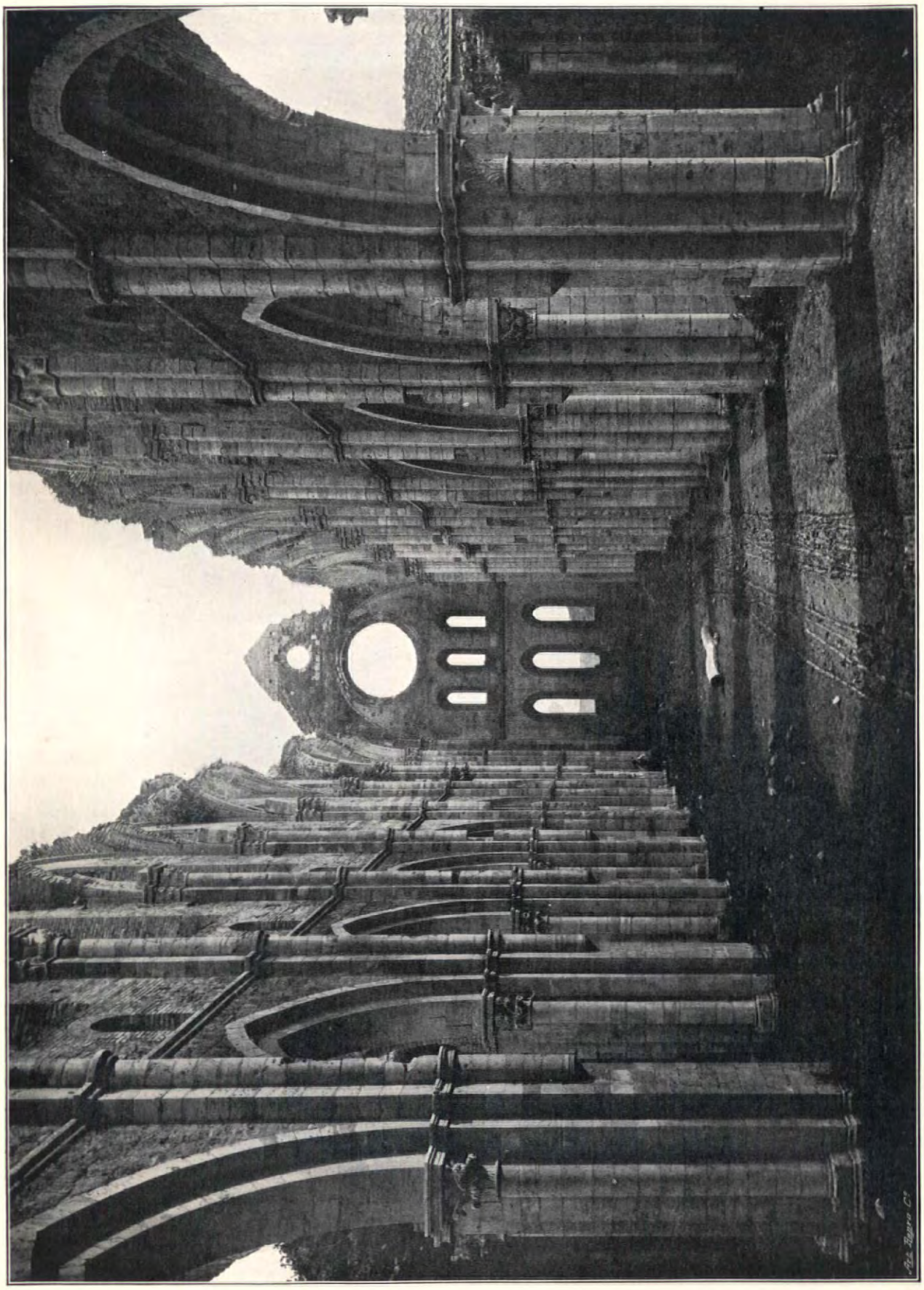
As the first quarter of a century was drawing to its close, the Cistercians began to build a great abbey somewhat on the plan of the mother house of Casamari. This new monastery they dedicated to the local saint, San Galgano.

The church of San Galgano, of which a great part of the original structure still remains, is closely allied to the contemporary Cistercian churches of Burgundy. The influence of the French Gothic of the Île de France, too, is seen everywhere. It is as though a piece of old France had been transplanted to Italian soil.* The first impression upon the traveller who finds this Burgundian abbey in a Tuscan valley is one of incongruity, of unexpectedness. Even he who journeys to San Galgano with some knowledge of the building he is going to see, cannot entirely get rid of this feeling. The monastery affects the mind in the same manner as do the windows of Fairford and of Shiplake. For in construction as in design it is very far removed from the other Gothic churches of Tuscany.

Such, then, were the three great schools of architecture at work in central Italy at the time when the Sienese began their new cathedral. We

* Cummings, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 150.

* I find myself at variance here with the views ingeniously propounded by Signor Canestrelli in the second chapter of the second part of his admirable *L'Abbazia di San Galgano*. He exaggerates, I think, the direct influence of Lombard architecture upon the builders of the Cistercian abbeys in Italy, displaying, in my opinion, considerable patriotic bias. It is to be regretted that Italian art historians and art critics so often allow the sentiment of patriotism, civic or national, to warp their artistic judgment. This is the more to be deplored in the case of Signor Canestrelli, whose qualifications as a historian of architecture are of a very high order, and to whom all students of Italian architecture are deeply indebted. I cannot here discuss in detail the style of the Cistercian churches in Italy and the origin of that style. To do so would require a large volume. I can only recommend unbiassed students to study carefully Signor Canestrelli's own illustrations to his interesting book, as well as Mr. Cummings' chapter (*op. cit.*, vol. ii., chapter vii., pp. 123–153) on the Benedictine and Cistercian monasteries of Italy.



THE CHURCH OF SAN GALGANO. THE NAVE.

THE CHURCH OF SAN GALGANO. NORTH AISLE.

will now see how far that building reveals the influence of each of them. And first let us examine its constructive features. We find in the nave heavy square piers bearing an engaged column on each face. The column on the nave face of every pier is carried up through the capital. But instead of supporting the vaulting of the roof, as does a column similarly placed on the piers of the Cistercian churches, it merely helps to carry a wide cornice which divides the clerestory from the nave. Immediately beneath this cornice, and between the corbels which support it, are heads in high relief representing the Popes. In the spandrels, too, of the nave arcade are *tondi*, in each of which is a sculptured head. The four-part vaults of the roof are square in the aisles: in the nave they are oblong and pointed. In the clerestory are small pointed windows with traceried heads. The transept and the dome show great defects of construction. The lantern is built not on four piers but on six. The distances between the pillars are not equal. The form of the dome is that of an irregular hexagon. Above it becomes a dodecagon by means of squinches. It is not placed on the axis of the transept, nor does it cover the whole of the width of the nave and aisles. The northernmost of the supporting piers is not in a line with the north wall of the church, nor is the southernmost pier in a line with the south wall.

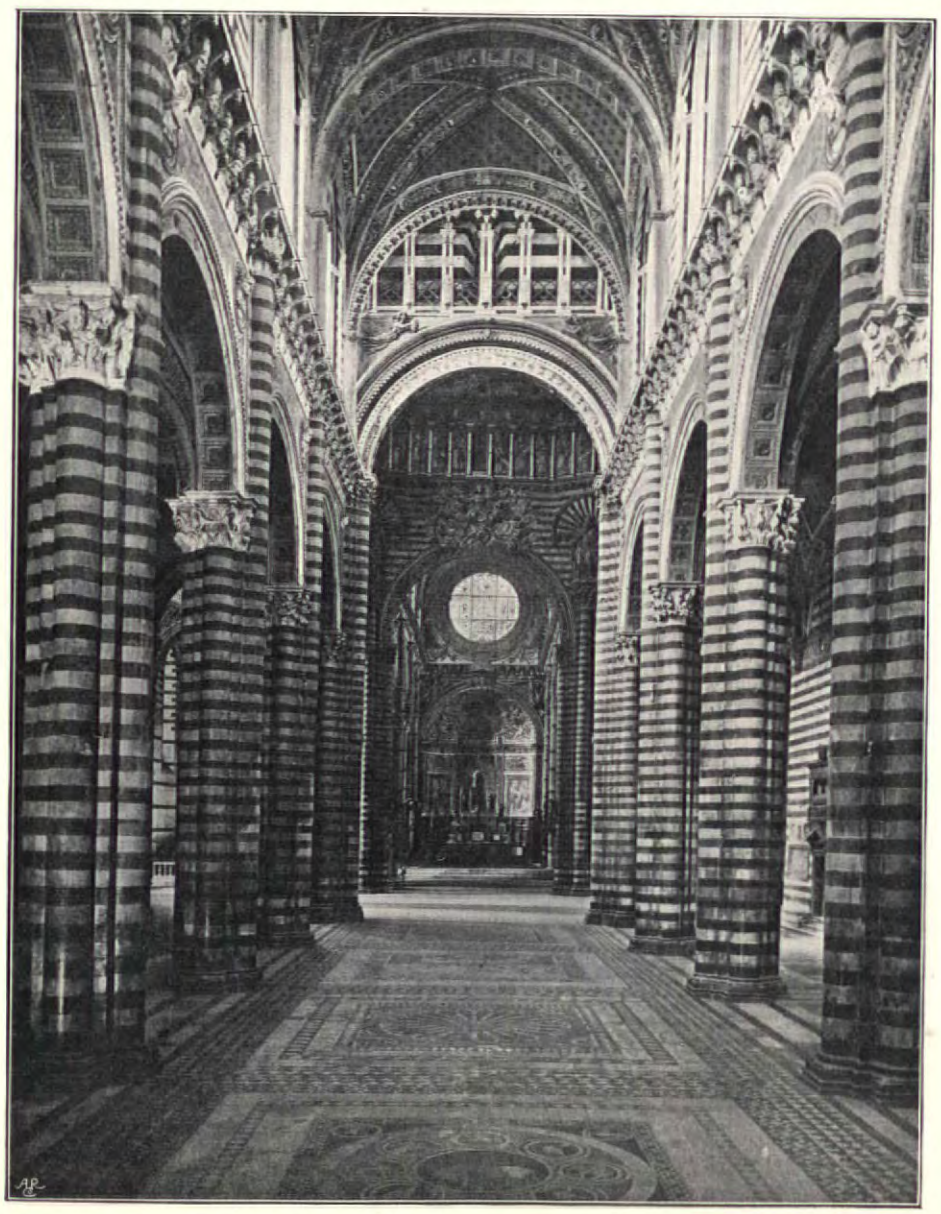
In all this, if we except the pointed, traceried windows of the clerestory, there is nothing—as Mr. Cummings justly observes—of a purely Gothic character, there is nothing that is not

to be found in other purely Italian churches of an earlier date. Square piers carrying engaged shafts on their faces and supporting four-part, ribbed vaults, in the aisles are to be found, as we have seen, at S. Ambrogio and in other early Lombard churches. In the Cathedral of Parma, built towards the close of the twelfth century, there are oblong bays in the nave spanned by four-part, ribbed vaults. We find pointed arches in the nave of a yet earlier church, S. Antonino, at Piacenza. In the Lombard Cathedal of Piacenza the lantern is not on the axis of the transepts, nor does it cover the whole width of the nave and aisles.*

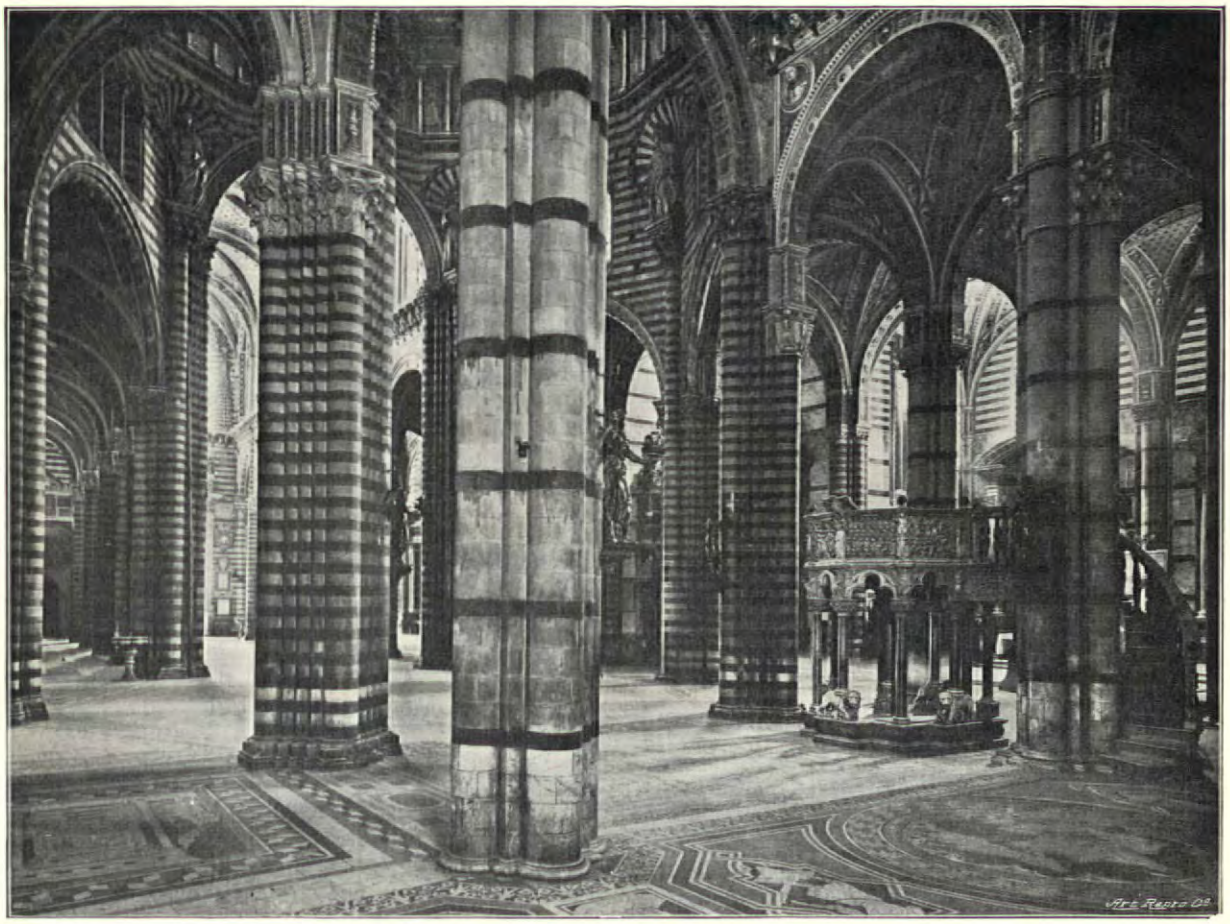
In the decoration of the church we find strong evidences of Pisan influence. Like the central Romanesque churches, the Cathedral of Siena is enriched with mosaic, fresco, and marble inlay. The interior of the lantern, too, is adorned with arcading. The alternate bands of black and white marble which are so conspicuous a feature of the interior were first employed in Tuscany, as we have seen, by artists of the Pisan school. The more restrained and educated taste of the Cistercian *operai* led subsequently to a modification of this system of decoration in the piers of the choir and transept, where the stripes of black and white marble were placed at wider intervals, occupying only one-fifth of the surface of the pier. Curiously enough, but little trace of the direct influence of Byzantine art is to be found in this cathedral of the city of Duccio.

The exterior of the present Duomo is more Gothic in appearance than the interior, but this

* Cummings (*op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 118) says that the dome of the Cathedral of Piacenza is perhaps the only dome that occupies only a part of the depth of the transept and is not centred on the axis of the transept. This, of course, is a mistake.



THE CATHEDRAL OF SIENA. THE NAVE.



THE CATHEDRAL OF SIENA. VIEW OF THE PRESBYTERY.

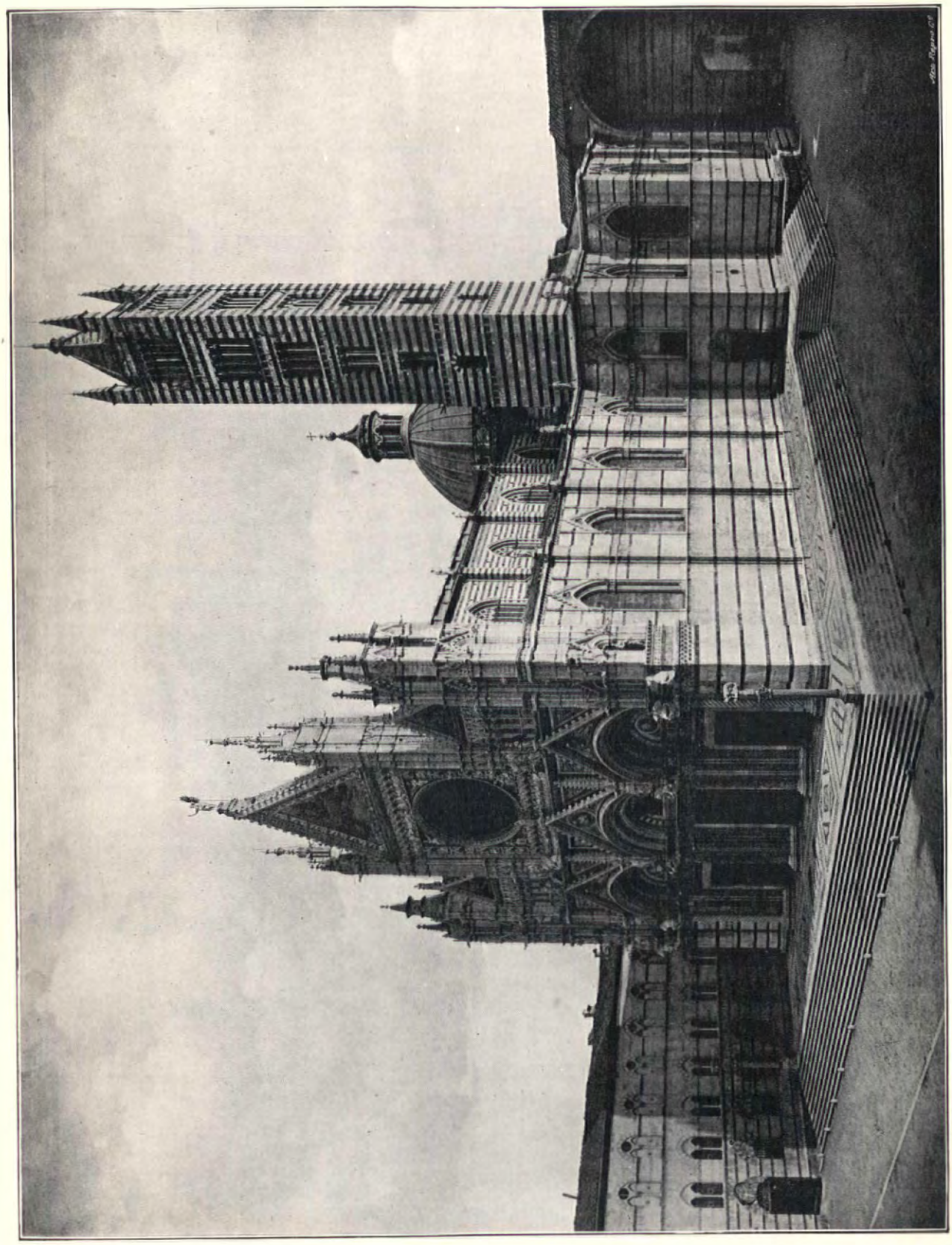
is mainly due to the effect produced by later additions to the church, and especially by the choir and the façade, both of which are of a much later date than the original church.

This too brief examination of the structure and ornament of the old Cathedral suffices to show that those recent writers have erred who, following Enlart, have asserted or implied that the church of San Galgano was the model of the Duomo of Siena, and that the first architect of the Duomo was a monk of the Cistercian abbey. Its architect had none of the peculiar gifts of the French builders. He displayed that lack of constructive ability which is so marked a characteristic of the Italian architects of the Middle Ages. At the same time he showed an Italian's love for rich interior decoration. Judging from considerations of style, it seems to me to be probable that the original architect of the Cathedral of Siena was some North Italian artist who had been brought under Pisan influences, and who borrowed some Gothic forms from the neighbouring monastery of San Galgano, without thoroughly apprehending the principles of Gothic construction.

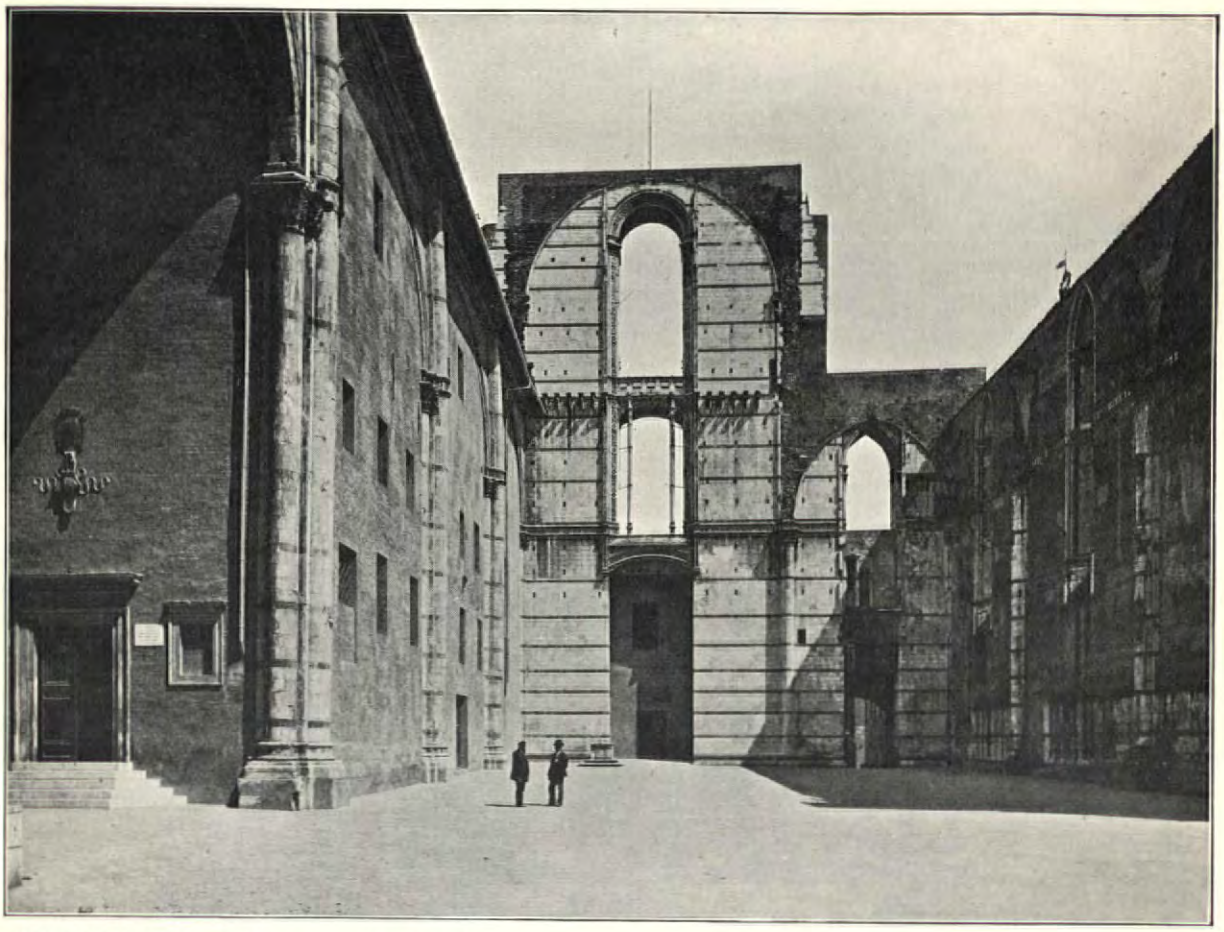
For half a century after 1267 no important architectural work now existing was undertaken in connection with the Duomo. Giovanni Pisano held the office of *Capomaestro* from 1284 to 1298, but no trace of his labour remains. But in the second decade of the fourteenth century a new epoch of architectural activity began. The Sienese had come to think that their cathedral was unworthy of so proud and wealthy a city as Siena. The rulers of the neighbouring towns of Florence and Orvieto had already set to work to build churches of larger dimensions than the Sienese Duomo. The inhabitants of the Virgin's City did not wish to be outshone by their rivals.

At first they merely proposed to make additions to the existing building. They determined to build a new baptistery and to enlarge the Cathedral by adding to it a large choir. The old baptistery of Siena had stood to the right of the façade of the Duomo. In or about the year 1315, the present church of S. Giovanni was begun to the east of the Cathedral and at a lower level. About the same time a choir was commenced above the new church, the roof of the latter serving as floor to the former.

In the year 1316, at a time when Camaino



THE CATHEDRAL OF SIENA.



THE CATHEDRAL OF SIENA. THE PIAZZA.

da Crescentino was chief architect of the Duomo,* the foundations of the façade of this building were already laid. Like the old baptistery, the new San Giovanni was considered to be an integral part of the Cathedral.†

The new work had not advanced very far ‡ towards completion before it was pronounced to be unsafe by a committee of experts, at the head of which was Lorenzo del Maitano, chief architect of the Duomo of Orvieto, and one of the greatest artists that Siena ever produced.§ The architects consulted advised the citizens to erect a new church "beautiful, large and magnificent, well proportioned in length, and height, and breadth, and in all its parts." This project was not at first adopted. The party in the government who favoured the alternative plan of adding to the original church, maintained their majority for a period of seventeen years, and, in spite of the defects of construction pointed out by Maitano and his associates, they succeeded in carrying on the work that they had begun.* At last, on August 23, 1339, the citizens finally decided to erect a vast new Cathedral, of which the nave and choir of the old Duomo were to form the transepts. Lando di Pietro, a distinguished Sienese architect, originally a goldsmith by trade, who had made the imperial crown for Dante's hero, Henry VII., was summoned from Naples, where he was in the service of Robert of Anjou, to act as chief architect of the new Cathedral of his native city. The first stone of the immense new nave which was to be erected to the south of the old Duomo was solemnly laid in the month of February, 1340.

As time went on, the plan of the Cathedral underwent considerable modifications. When the work was begun it was thought that the greater part of the old church might be incorporated in the new, and that it would only be necessary to alter or to rebuild the lantern, and to pull down the campanile of the earlier Duomo. Ulti-

* Dr. Lusini errs in saying that Tino di Camaino, the great sculptor, was chief architect at this time. That post was held by his father until 1319, when Tino took the office for a few months. See Lusini's *Il San Giovanni di Siena e i Suoi Restauri*, Florence, Alinari, 1901, p. 22, n. 2.

† *Frammento di una cronachetta senese* (Bibl. Com., Cod. C. VI., 12), edited by Lusini and Mengozzi (Siena, Sordomuti, 1893), p. 23.

‡ Mrs. Richter is mistaken in thinking that the Choir was finished under Camaino. See Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

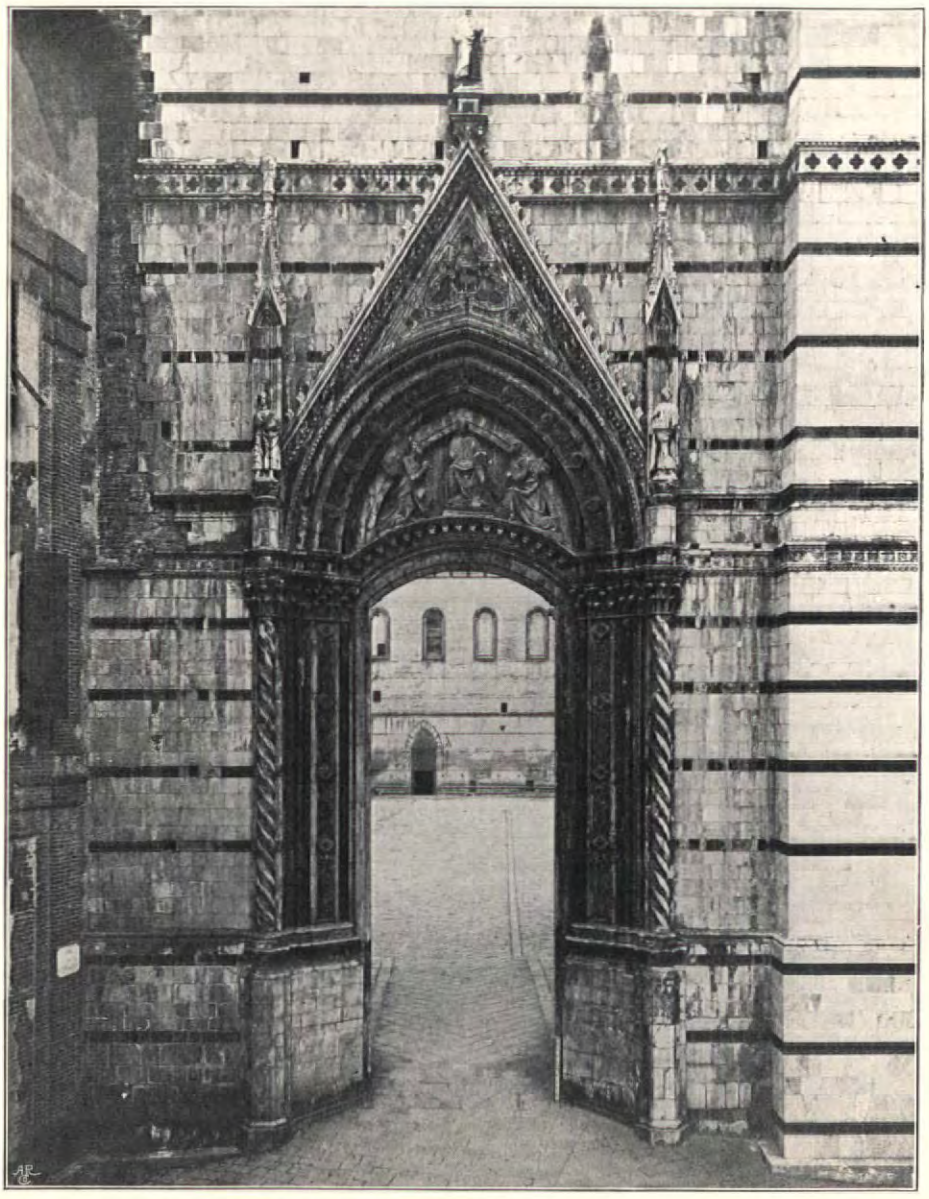
§ This was in 1322. See Milanesi, *Documenti*, etc., vol. i., No. 34, pp. 186, 187.

* Milanesi, *Documenti*, etc., vol. iii., p. 275.

mately, however, the *operai* found that their plan was impracticable. They determined to destroy all of the thirteenth-century church and to build an entirely new edifice. But in the meantime the old Cathedral was left standing, and all the efforts of the Board of Works were concentrated upon the erection of the new nave. At first the work of building proceeded rapidly. Even the great plague of 1348, which swept away by far the greater part of the citizens, did not put an end to it. But the ravages of the merchant companies, and the increasing frequency of faction-fights, impoverished the Sienese, and absorbed the energies which ought to have been devoted to projects of public utility. The work of the new Cathedral languished, in part because there was less wealth in the city than there had been twenty years before, in part because public spirit was becoming enfeebled in Siena. The *operai* were further discouraged when they found that half of the new building was giving way.

The piers were too light to support the weight of the vaults; and the Florentine architects whom the Sienese authorities consulted in their difficulty, counselled them to take down the unsafe portion of the work and to reconstruct it. The architect-in-chief of the Duomo, Domenico d'Agostino, and his assistant, Niccolò di Cecco, further advised that the old Cathedral should be allowed to stand, and that the new choir above San Giovanni should be finished.* The new Duomo, they asserted, would take one hundred years to complete. This work, they said, could

* Milanesi, *Documenti*, vol. i., No. 57, p. 252.



SIENA CATHEDRAL. DOORWAY INTO THE GREAT NAVE NOT PROCEEDED WITH.

be accomplished in five.* At the same time they did not encourage the abandonment of the hope that the new Cathedral might be completed. They urged the citizens to continue it "to the honour of God, and of His Blessed Mother the Virgin Mary, and of the Blessed St. John the Baptist."

But the magnificent project of the Sienese was doomed. The days of Siena's greatest wealth and glory were over. In June 1357, the Twelve decided that the unsafe portions of the new building should be pulled down. After that, there was no more talk of completing the immense Cathedral of Lando di Pietro. The Sienese contented themselves with enlarging and beautifying the old Duomo.

In accordance with the proposal of Domenico d'Agostino and Niccolò di Cecco they completed the choir above San Giovanni. In the year 1370, this portion of the work was finished.† In the same year they set about clearing the ground in front of the old façade by removing the loggia of the Bishop's palace which had been built in close proximity to it. At first they do not seem to have had any other object than to increase the size of the piazza before the west front, so that they might have a larger space for displaying the relics of the Cathedral.‡ But in the course of the next three years they adopted a much more ambitious project. They decided to enlarge§ the nave of the Duomo by the addition of two bays, and to build a new façade "on the spot opposite the Hospital where once was the loggia of the Bishop."‖ That the Duomo was enlarged in the years 1374-1377 is not open to doubt. Neri di Donato distinctly states it: the two westernmost bays of the Duomo differ in several important particulars from the rest of the nave: moreover, there is to be seen in the archives of Siena, upon one of the covers of the books relating to the management of the Hospital a rude representation of the original Duomo in which the church is depicted not only with a different façade to that at present existing, but also with a much shorter nave.

In the year 1377 the two new bays of the nave were completed, and Bartolommeo di Tommè, Giacomo di Buonfredi, and other sculptors were at work upon the statues and the sculptured ornament of the façade. Three years later the work must have been well-nigh completed, for we find that in 1380 St. Catherine's friend, Andrea Vanni, the artist, was paid a small sum for "colouring the face and hands of Our Lady, and of her Son," and of the other figures that were on the façade of the Duomo opposite the Hospital, on the occasion of the Feast of the Assumption.

The architects of the west front of the Duomo of Siena took as their model the masterpiece of one of the greatest of Sienese artists, Lorenzo del Maitano's beautiful façade at Orvieto. Their work was very inferior to their original, both in construction and decoration.*

The chief, but by no means the only cause of the inferiority of the façade of Siena is that it is not so intimately related to the structure of which it forms a part as is the façade of the Cathedral of Orvieto. At Siena, for instance, the ornamental framework of the three doorways is of equal breadth and height; whilst at Orvieto the central door is larger and nobler than the two others, emphasising the importance of the nave over the aisles. At Siena, too, there is little harmony between the upper and lower stages of the front. At Orvieto the whole design is in better proportion and better spaced.

There is a great difference, too, in the decoration of the two façades. At Siena there is an excess of sculptured ornament; and this excess makes appear the more incongruous the bareness of the central rose-window, which, unlike that of Orvieto, is without tracery. At Orvieto sculpture was much more sparingly used. There is a difference, too, in the character of the sculpture. When Lorenzo del Maitano designed the façade of Orvieto the influence of the Pisan school was still

* Neri di Donato, *Cronica*, in Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.*, tom. xv, c. 218. He states that the Choir was finished in August 1370.

† Neri di Donato, *Cronica, ed. cit.*, c. 220. See also Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Libro dei Regolatori*, 1367-1377, fol. 200[t] and seq.—The Cav. A. Lisini discovered this entry. It was subsequently quoted, but not quite accurately, in Mrs. Richter's *Siena* and in her article published in this Review in September, 1901. It is strange that those who have written about the façade of the Cathedral of Siena treat this entry in this *Libro dei Regolatori* as an entirely new discovery, and are not aware that all the important information contained in this and other documents is to be found in a chronicle already printed, in the chronicle of Neri di Donato. In an appendix to my forthcoming *History of Siena* (Murray) are to be found all the extracts from Neri di Donato which throw light on the history of the façade, a correct copy of the entry in the *Libro dei Regolatori* of 1367-1377, and copies of three other documents relating to the façade.

‡ Neri di Donato, *Cronica, ed. cit.*, c. 220.

§ Neri di Donato, *Cronica, ed., cit.*, c. 241.

‖ Nardini-Despotti in his *Il Sistema Tricuspidale e la Facciata del Duomo di Firenze* (Leghorn, 1871, pp. 134-138) was the first to disprove the theory that Giovanni Pisano was the architect of the façade of the Duomo of Siena, as the Cav. A Lisini was the first to demonstrate conclusively that the present façade was built after the year 1370. Cummings (*op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 180) merely repeats the traditional view that the façade "was the work of Giovanni Pisano."

* Mr. Cummings, being unaware that the façade of the Orvieto Cathedral is sixty years older than that of the Sienese Duomo, regards the former as an improved copy of the latter. Nevertheless, in making the usual comparison between the two façades, he shows keen powers of observation and considerable critical judgment.

FAÇADE OF THE CATHEDRAL, SIENA.

strong in Siena as elsewhere. Maitano himself belonged to the school of Giovanni Pisano. At Orvieto, therefore, we find that the sculptured ornament, as in the Pisan churches, mainly consists of reliefs. At Siena, half a century later, direct French influences were strong, and we find the Sienese façade decorated not with reliefs but with a profusion of figures in which we can trace the influence of the northern sculptors. At the same time the façade of Orvieto Cathedral * was early beautified by abundance of mosaic, which

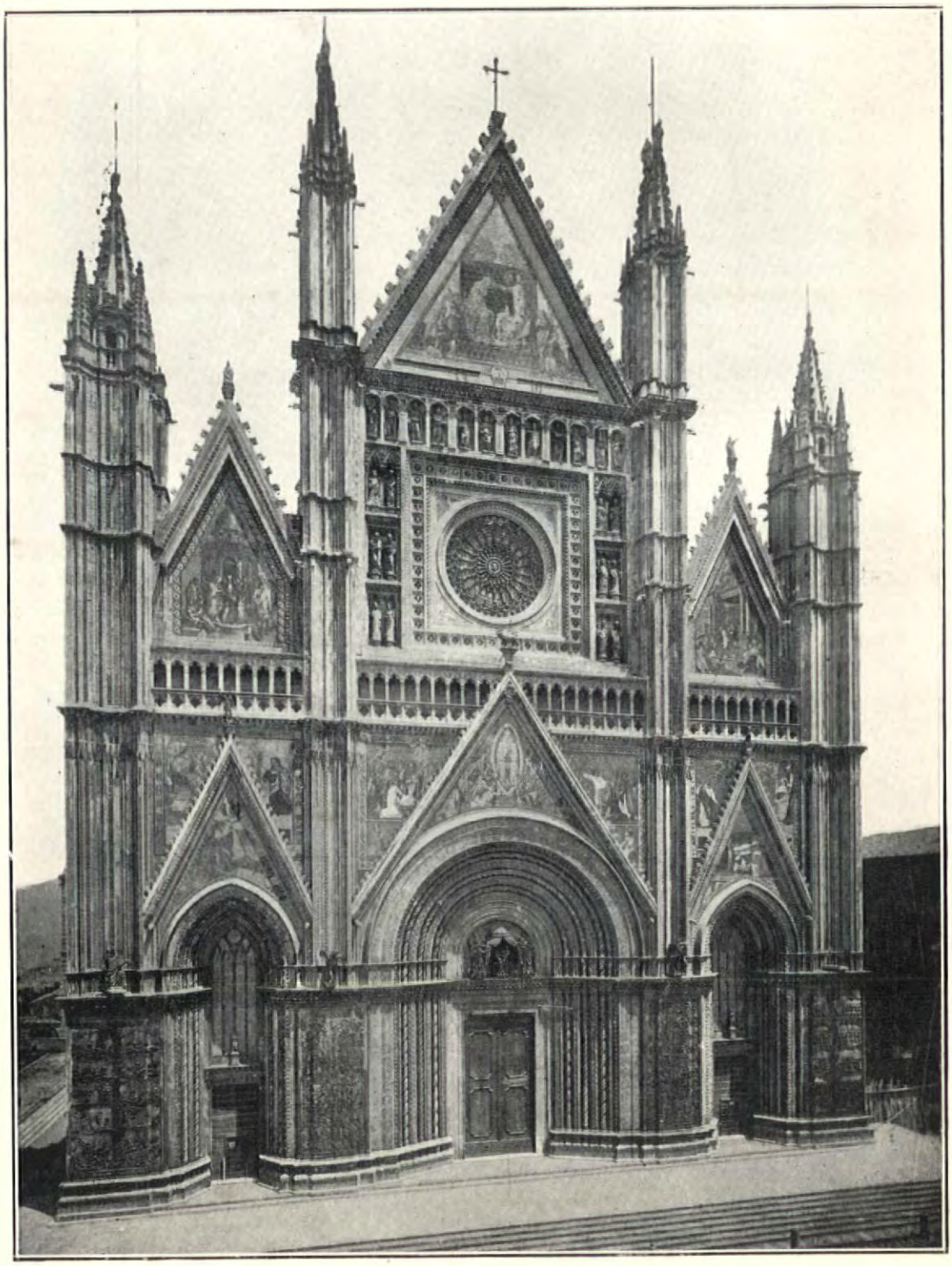
* Recent comparisons of the façades of the Cathedrals of Siena and Orvieto are based upon the assumption that structurally the latter façade has undergone no important modifications since the fourteenth century. This, however, is not the case. The façade underwent structural alteration in 1371 and in 1450-51. See Nardini-Despotti's *Lorenzo del Maitano e la Facciata del Duomo d'Orvieto, estratto dall' Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, anno iv, fasc. v., Roma, 1891.

covered it above like a beautiful garment. At Siena only the gables of the west front were adorned with colour.*

The façade of the Sienese Duomo has a certain effectiveness, but it is structurally faulty, and decoratively it is lacking in repose and dignity. And yet there is enough of pure beauty in it to make it a source of pleasure to the most exacting traveller; but it is a beauty that soon cloys and wearies. The whole composition is an artistic *tour de force*, brilliant but unsatisfying to the deeper æsthetic feelings.

The interior of the Duomo is more attractive than the exterior. On a bright noon in August, in which month the pictured pavement is uncovered, the appearance of the interior, although splendid, is somewhat bizarre. It is best seen at the hour

* The original decorative framework of the circular window—the fragments of which are now in the Opera del Duomo—was adorned with red mosaic; but as the panels of mosaic were small and of one dull red colour, they can never have had any prominence.



FAÇADE OF THE CATHEDRAL, ORVIETO.

of sunset. Then the sharp, perpetual antithesis of black and white becomes less glaring, less insistent. Niccola Pisano's pulpit, Vecchietta's tabernacle, Pintoricchio's fresco, Marrina's splendid doorway, and other objects of beauty fall into their proper place in the general decorative scheme. The clamour of monotonous contrast is subdued; and something approaching harmony, in which a warm brown is the dominant note, takes its place.

Of the later history of the Duomo little need be said here. The beautiful eastern façade, the façade of the Baptistery, was erected a few years later than the western, after a design by the painter Giacomo di Mino di Neri del Pelliciaio, a design which is still to be seen in the Opera del Duomo.* The smaller Baptistery in the north-west angle of the north transept was built by Giovanni di Stefano in 1482. The Piccolomini Library was added in 1495. The only subsequent addition to the Duomo that is of any importance is the Cappella del Voto, built for the old *Madonna* of Siena, the *Madonna* before whom the Sienese prayed on the eve of Montaperti.* This chapel, which is in the south-west angle of the south transept, was ordained by Alexander VII. in 1661.

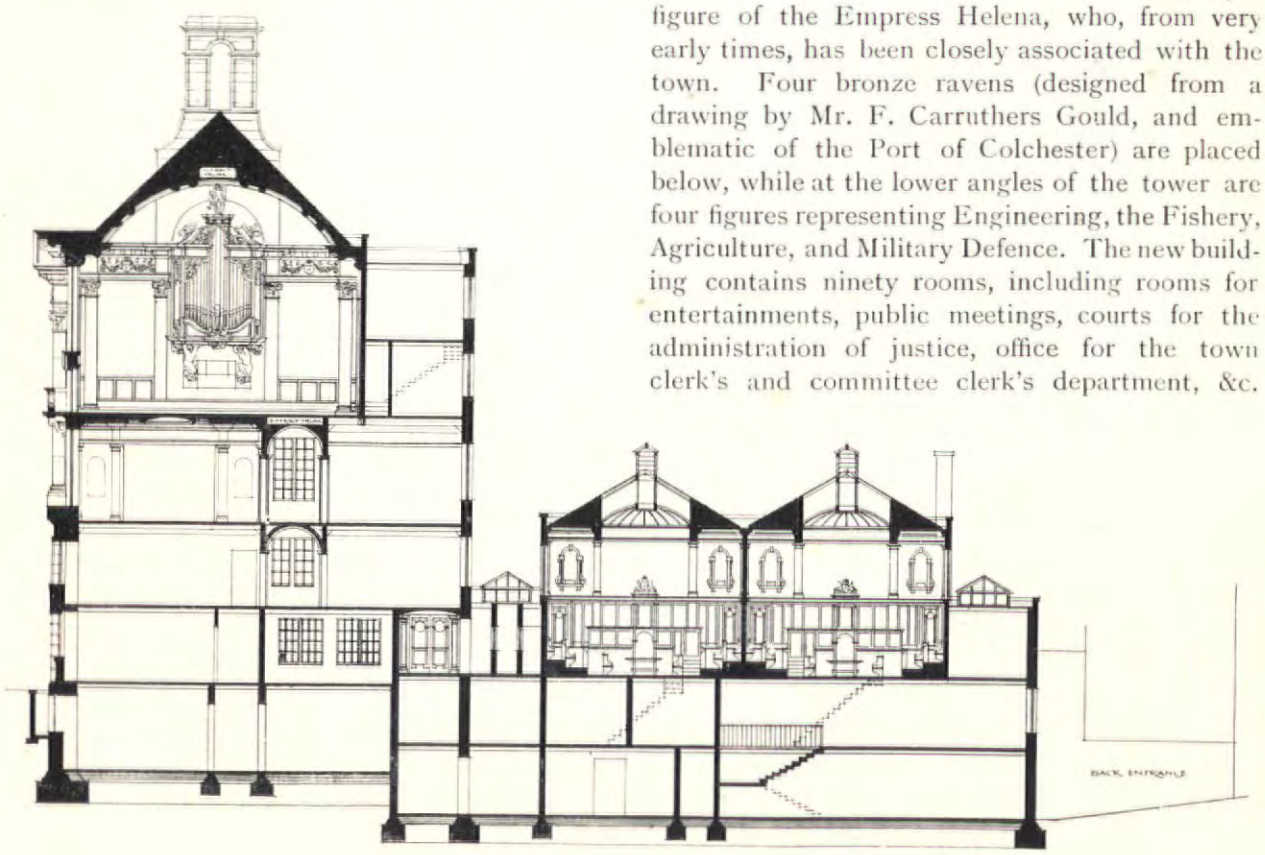
LANGTON DOUGLAS.

* Arch. dell' Opera del Duomo, *Lib. del Camarlingo*, ad ann. c. 39[t].

* Some modern writers, relying upon the authority of the *Guida artistica di Siena*, deny that the *Madonna del Voto* is the old *Madonna* of the Sienese. But there can be no doubt that this is the case; and the writer of the passage referred to in the *Guida artistica* himself subsequently admitted it. See the *Miscellanea Storica Senese*, anno 1893, vol. i. pp. 10, 11.

Current Architecture.

COLCHESTER TOWN HALL.—The new town hall at Colchester was designed by Mr. John Belcher, A.R.A., whose plans were selected in public competition, of which Mr. Norman Shaw, R.A., was the assessor. For the external work Hedingham red bricks and Portland stone have been used. The tower is surmounted by a figure of the Empress Helena, who, from very early times, has been closely associated with the town. Four bronze ravens (designed from a drawing by Mr. F. Carruthers Gould, and emblematic of the Port of Colchester) are placed below, while at the lower angles of the tower are four figures representing Engineering, the Fishery, Agriculture, and Military Defence. The new building contains ninety rooms, including rooms for entertainments, public meetings, courts for the administration of justice, office for the town clerk's and committee clerk's department, &c.



SECTION C D

SCALE OF FEET

Photo: S. B. Bolas and Co.

COLCHESTER TOWN HALL. GENERAL VIEW.
JOHN BELCHER, A.R.A., ARCHITECT.

Photo: S. B. Bolas and Co.

COLCHESTER TOWN HALL. THE CORRIDOR AND STAIRCASE, PRINCIPAL FLOOR. JOHN BELCHER, A.R.A., ARCHITECT.

The law courts are panelled and fitted in oak. The main staircase is of marble, the treads of smooth white, the balusters of polished white, richly veined with black, the coping of the balusters of black polished marble, and the larger columns of a red Italian marble—altogether producing a very handsome effect. The council-chamber is elaborately carved and embellished with stained-glass windows, the decoration of the ceiling having been skilfully carried out by Mr. Charles Baskett and Mr. Charles Baskett, junr., from suggestions supplied by the architect. Messrs. Kerridge and Shaw of Cambridge were the contractors.

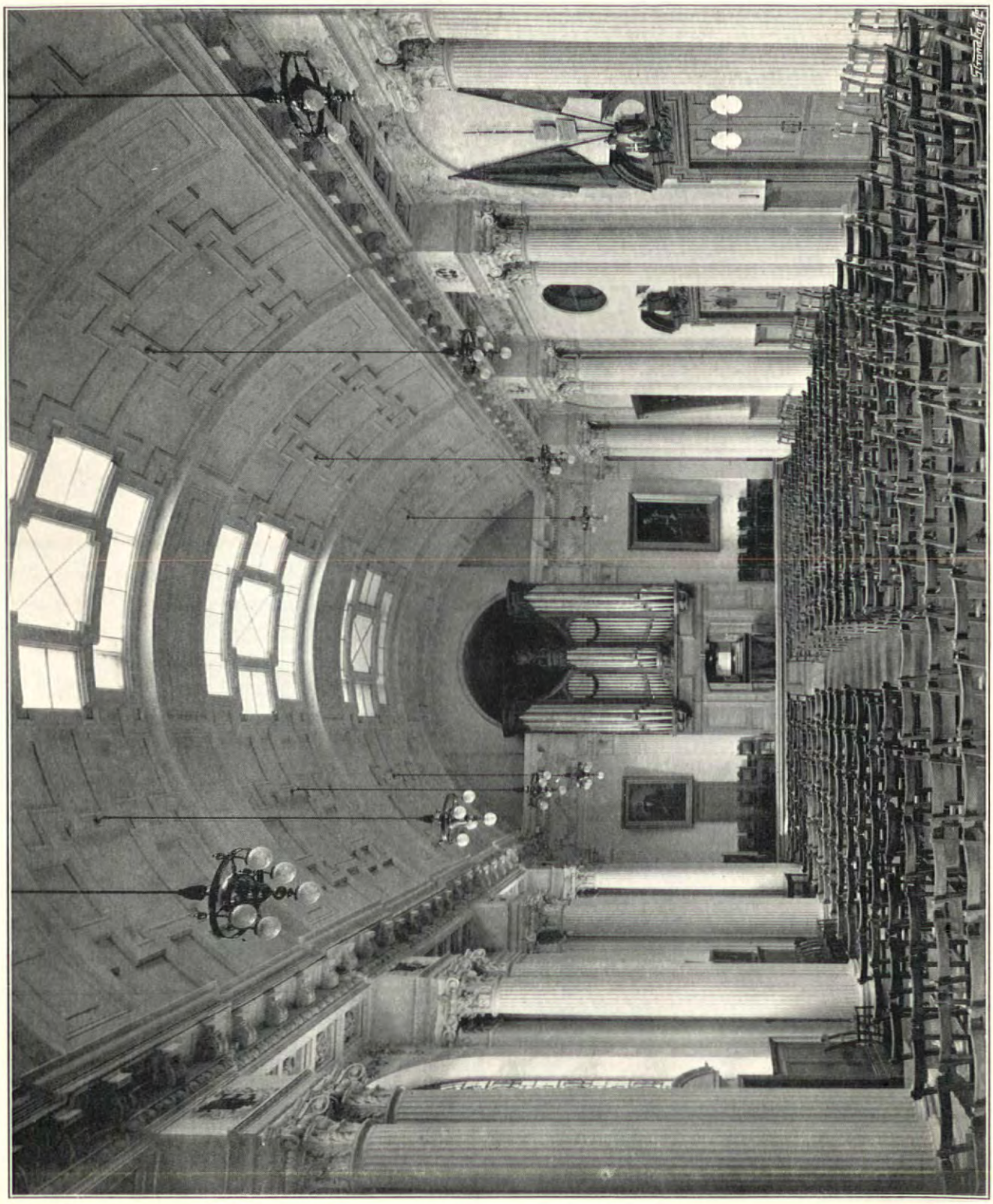


Photo: S. B. Bolas and Co.

COLCHESTER TOWN HALL. INTERIOR OF THE MOOT HALL.
JOHN BELCHER, A.R.A., ARCHITECT.

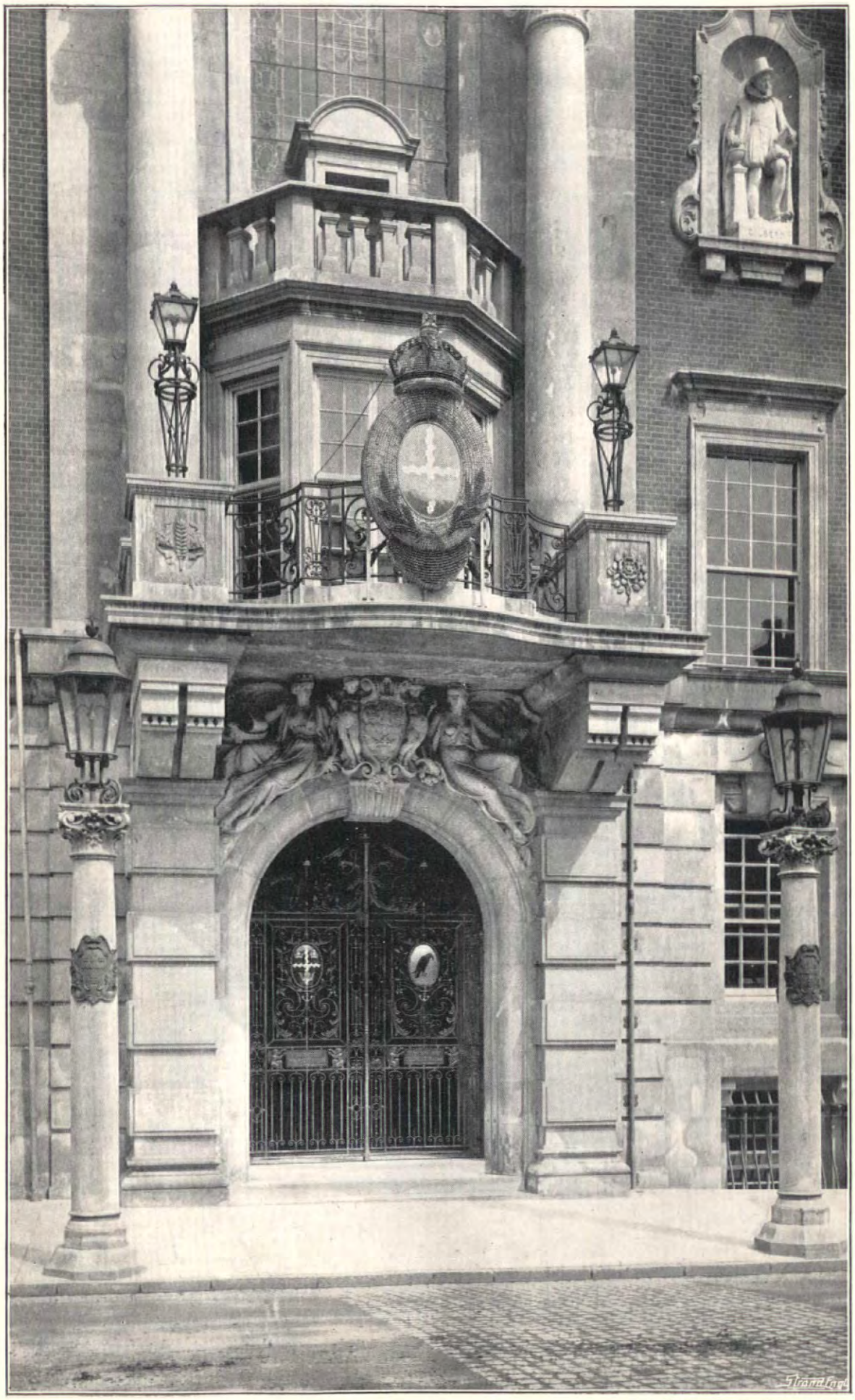
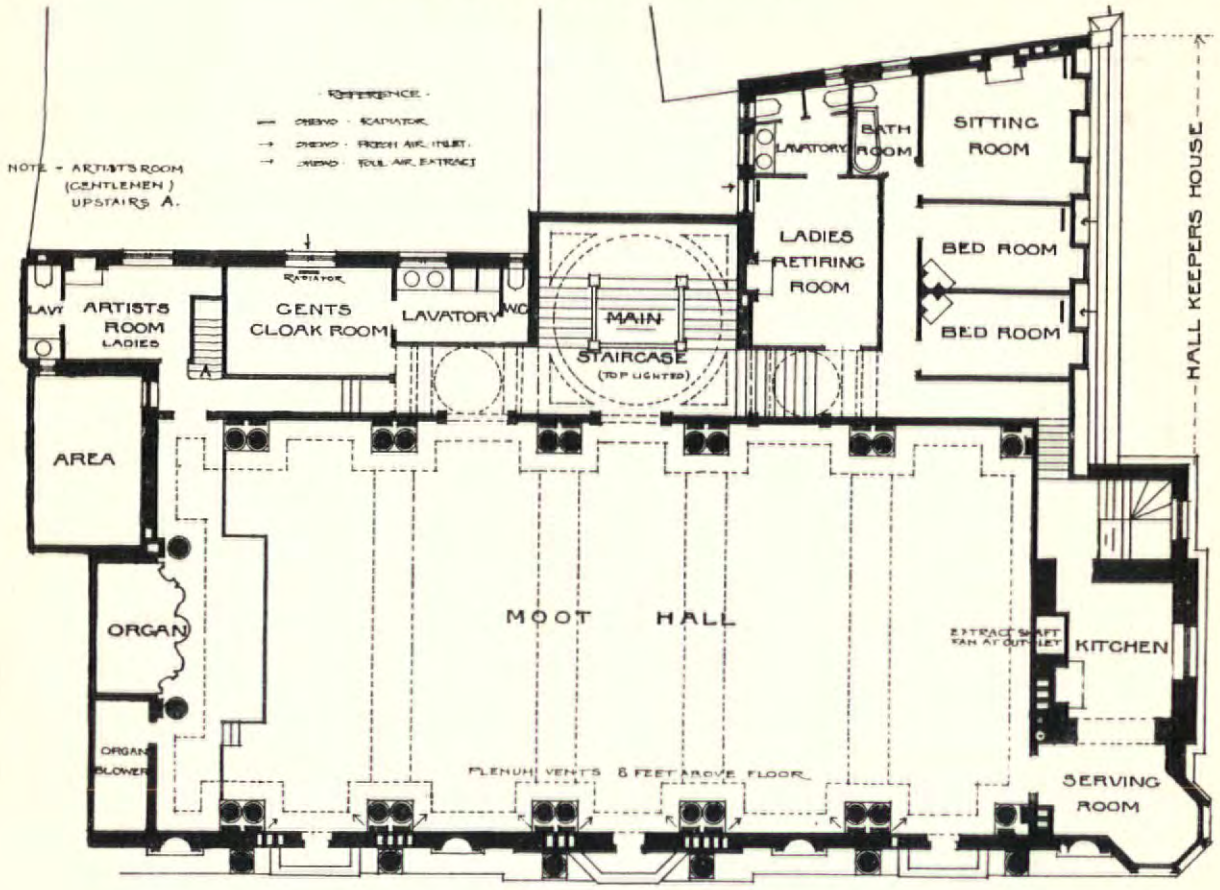
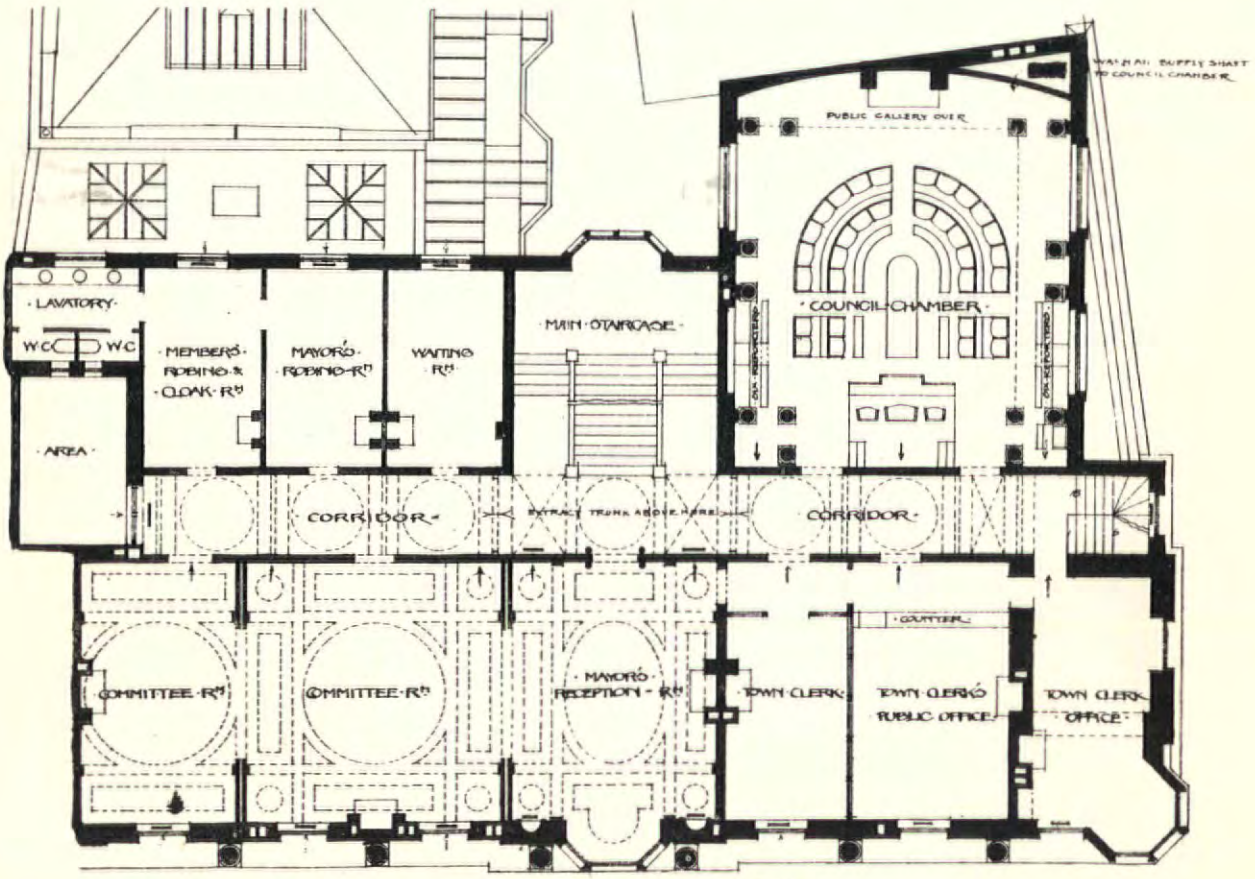


Photo: S. B. Bolas and Co.

COLCHESTER TOWN HALL. DETAIL OF ENTRANCE.
JOHN BELCHER, A.R.A., ARCHITECT.



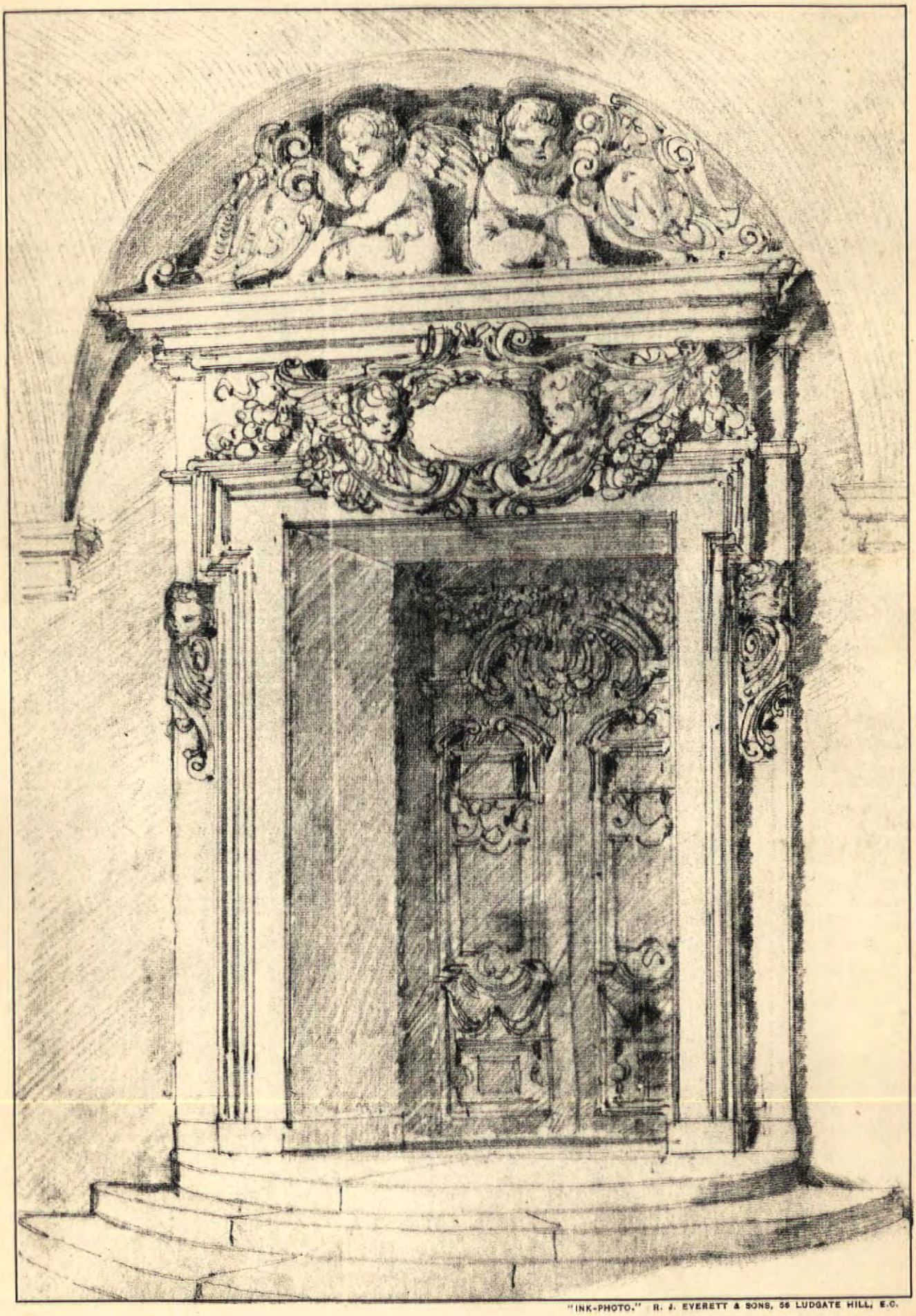
PLAN OF HALL FLOOR



PLAN OF PRINCIPAL FLOOR.

SCALE OF FEET

COLCHESTER TOWN HALL, JOHN BELCHER, A.R.A., ARCHITECT.



"INK-PHOTO." R. J. EVERETT & SONS, 56 LUDGATE HILL, E.C.

ENTRANCE TO THE CHAPEL OF LA TRINITÉ, FONTAINEBLEAU: (DATE ABOUT 1645).
DRAWN BY REGINALD BLOMFIELD.

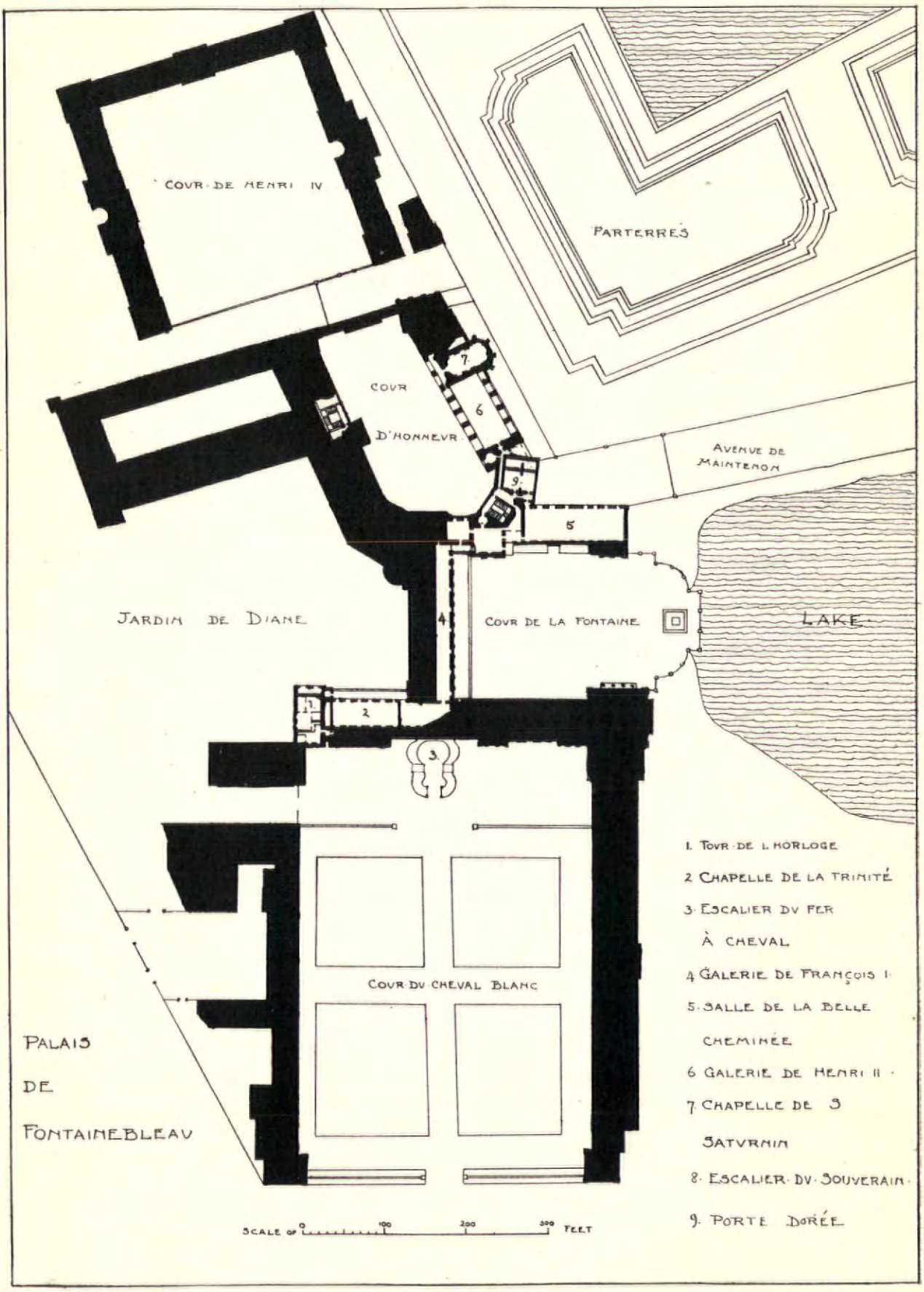
The Italians at Fontainebleau.

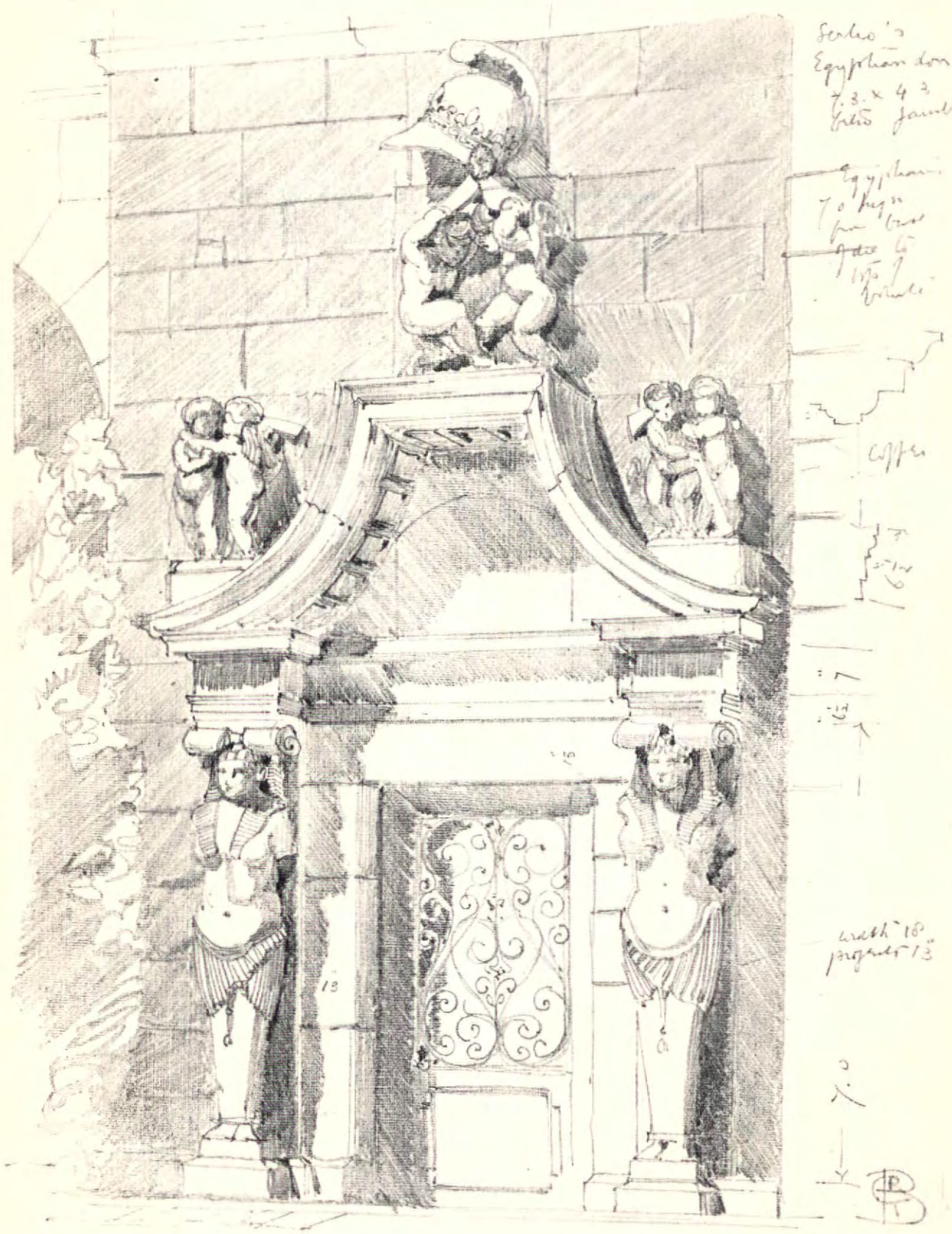
FONTAINEBLEAU may be said to be the cradle of modern French art. It was the scene of the last struggle between the master mason of mediæval building and the modern architect. It was here that the magnificence of the Renaissance first established itself in France, and that French artists learnt their lesson so effectually as to supersede their masters before the 16th century was over. The building itself, moreover, bears on its face marks of the vicissitudes of a strong and enduring art, an art which steadily advanced until in its turn it sank into decay, and was swept away in the cataclysm of the French Revolution. Few buildings in France, with all its wealth of architecture, are more profoundly interesting, more convincingly human, than the palace of Fontainebleau. In spite of the damage done by the vanity of Louis XIV. and the folly of Louis XV., it has maintained its life. It survived the tragic stupidity of the art of Napoleon I. Even the restorations of Louis Philippe and Napoleon III., though they have obscured its individuality, have not destroyed it, and the building remains to this day a great historical monument, convincing evidence, in spite of all that it has suffered, of the splendid vitality of French genius.

In 1528, François I. had a comprehensive plan prepared of a scheme for rebuilding Fontainebleau, and this plan, known as the "devis de 1528," still exists. The first idea was to construct a new palace at some little distance from the existing castle. This was carried out (it has since been partly destroyed and rebuilt), and it then occurred to the King that it was desirable to connect his new buildings with the old. Certain difficulties as to land were overcome, and the King is said to have sent to Italy for his architect. In 1532, Sebastian Serlio, of Bologna, published the first of his books on architecture, and completed the series in 1540. The book was at once accepted as a standard work (in fact, the first French edition of it appeared at Paris only five years later), and the story is that François sent him a present of 300 livres in gold, and an invitation to Fontainebleau to superintend his buildings. Serlio is said to have accepted the invitation, settled at Fontainebleau, and built the gallery of François I. Such is the legend, and it is repeated by M. Rodolphe Pfnohr, the author of an excellent, if somewhat inaccurate, guide-book to the palace. Serlio did indisputably come to Fontainebleau, and was appointed architect to the King in 1542, but his actual share in the building operations of the palace is very obscure. Indeed, M. Dimier,* the latest authority on Primaticcio, considers that Serlio had no actual share in them at all. The documentary evidence seems to be uncertain, and a comparative and critical study of the building itself affords almost the only clue available. I must add, by the way, that few buildings are more difficult to decipher than Fontainebleau; the place is so attractive that succeeding monarchs have cut it and carved it to meet their various standards of taste, and when the architects of the last century were at a loss for a motive, they seem to have put up the Salamander of François I., or the crescent of Diane de Poitiers, or the arrow and S of Gabrielle d'Estrées. Napoleon I. at least had his own thunderbolt, which he peppered about the building; and there is no mistaking the crowded wiry ornament of his architecture; but when we come to Louis Philippe and Napoleon III., a sort of paralysis settles on one's critical faculties, and the page is illegible. French archæological restorations are even worse than those of our Gothic revivalists. The French mind is so intolerantly logical that it is satisfied with nothing short of a clean sweep and a hopelessly complete re-edification.

I have mentioned that, according to M. Pfnohr, François I. invited Serlio to Fontainebleau after the publication of his book, and, if the dates given are correct, Serlio can have had nothing to do with the "Devis" of 1528, that is with François' buildings begun in 1528, and continued in the succeeding years, or with the gallery of François I., as il Rosso and his men were at work on the decoration of this from 1533 onwards. If in fact it was in consequence of his book that Serlio was summoned to Fontainebleau, the earliest work that he can have undertaken there is the Salle de Bal, or Salle des Fêtes, generally known as the Galerie de Henri II. The famous Egyptian doorway in the earlier part of François' building, next to the Tour de l'Horloge, could not have been by Serlio unless it was a later insertion, or, rather, unless the Egyptian caryatides were built

* I must express my obligations to M. Dimier's admirable book, a work of great learning and ability, and authoritative on the painting and sculpture of this period. M. Dimier is less convincing in regard to architecture, and some of his conclusions are not borne out by the building. His views on the relations of architecture to the decorative arts are probably peculiar to himself.


COVR DE HENRI IV
PARTERRES
COVR D'HONNEVR
AVENVE DE MAINTENON
JARDIN DE DIANE
COVR DE LA FONTAINE
LAKE
COVR DV CHEVAL BLANC
PALAIS DE FONTAINEBLEAV
SCALE OF 0 100 200 300 FEET
1. TOVR DE L HORLOGE
2. CHAPELLE DE LA TRINITÉ
3. ESCALIER DV FER À CHEVAL
4. GALERIE DE FRANÇOIS I.
5. SALLE DE LA BELLE CHEMINÉE
6. GALERIE DE HENRI II.
7. CHAPELLE DE S SATVRNIN
8. ESCALIER DV SOVVERAIN
9. PORTE DORÉE



THE EGYPTIAN DOORWAY. TOUR DE L'HORLOGE.

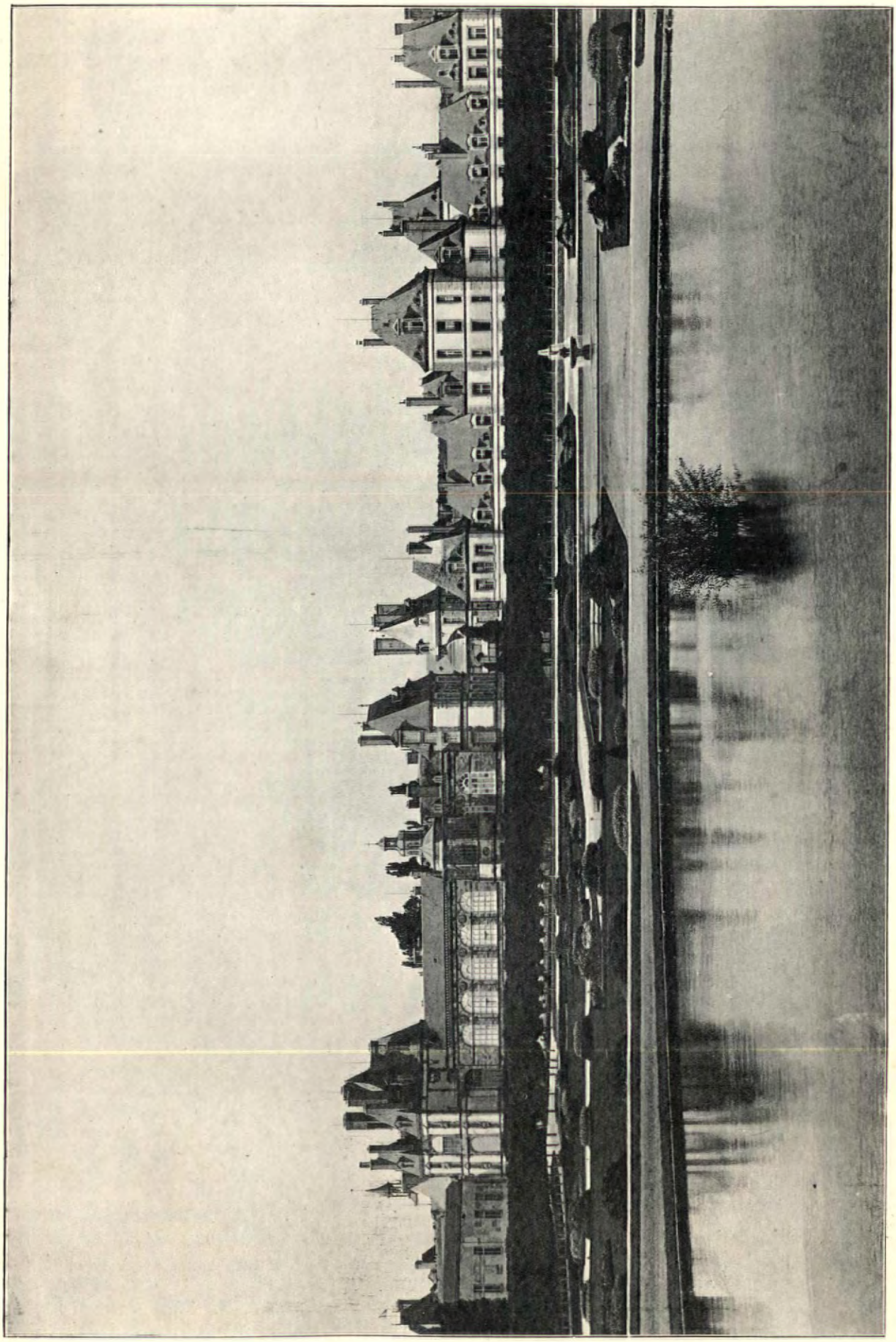
FROM A DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.

RENAISSANCE DOORWAY IN THE COUR OVALE.

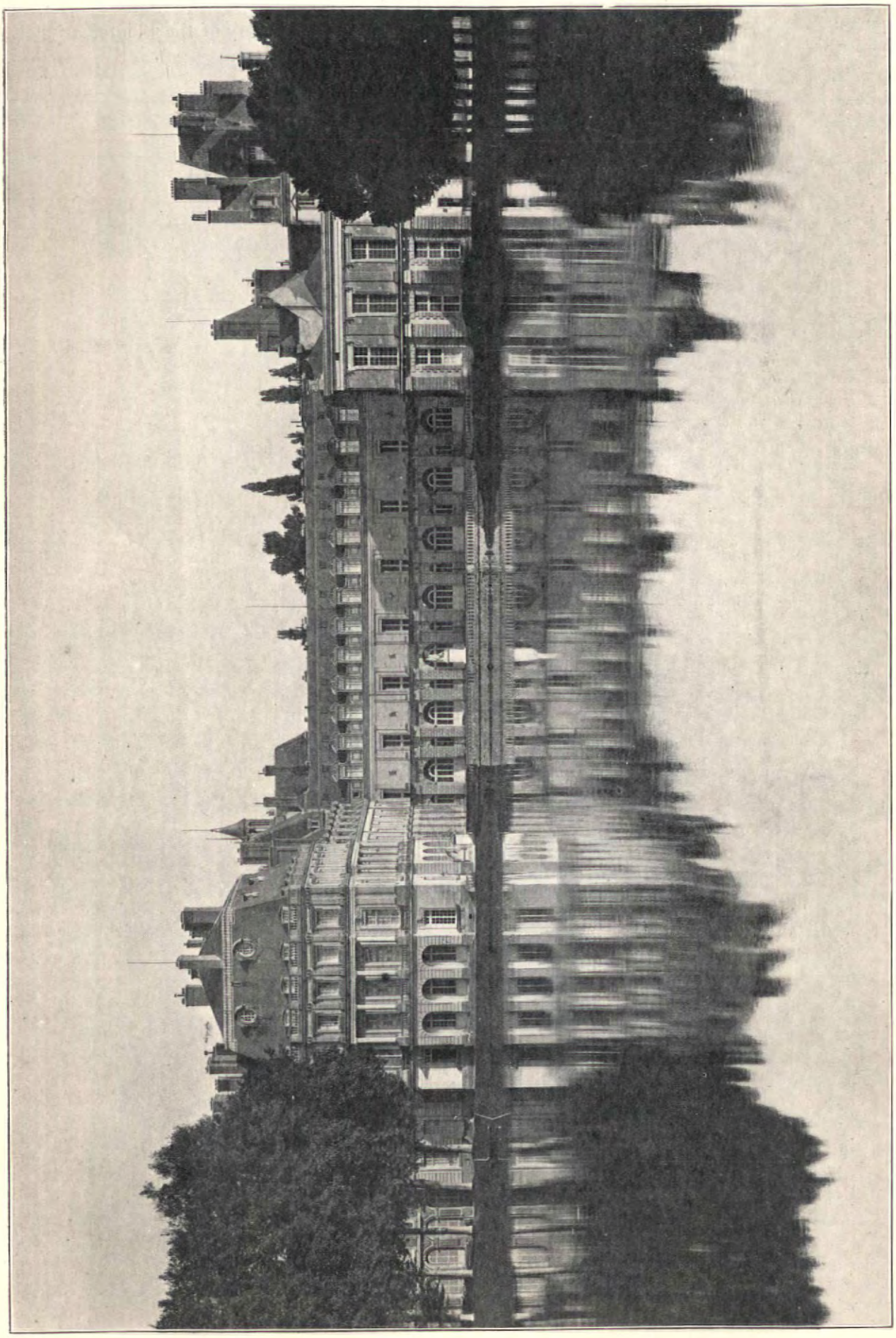
into an older door, as seems not improbable. The figures are queer, archaic-looking creatures, learned in their way, and unusual at so early a date. Serlio is said to have travelled in the East, and to have produced these curious imaginations as the result. Whether this is so or not, the figures are quite different in treatment to the amorini above, tumbling about under an enormous helmet. The doorway in the Cour Ovale, with a bust of François I. in the pediment, is certainly Italian of a sort, but this, too, seems to me earlier than the date of Serlio's work. Serlio was a pupil of Baldassare Peruzzi, the most masterly of all the architects of the Renaissance, and it is not probable that he would have been responsible for such immature detail as this Both this and the figures over the Egyptian doorway were probably by Italians introduced by François in the earlier years of his reign, or possibly survivors of that much earlier importation due to Charles VIII., after his Italian expedition of 1495; for the new fashion of François I. in the latter years of his reign was by no means the first attempt to introduce the Italian Renaissance into France. Probably the earliest example is the tomb of Charles of Anjou at Mans, executed by Laurana for King René in 1472. In 1498, Charles VIII. brought back with him from Italy four "ouvriers du bâtiment," three sculptors, two jewellers, and a gardener. Gaillon was begun about 1501, and the earlier and very interesting school of Tours sprang up, under purely Italian influence. To this school is to be attributed most of the earlier Italian Renaissance work in France, and more particularly the details of most of the châteaux of the Loire valley. But meanwhile the Renaissance in Italy had been advancing swiftly; new schools had arisen, new ideas had developed. In architecture more particularly the architect had emerged in that full equipment of skill in design and scholarship which is a stumbling-block and a rock of offence to certain of his successors of to-day. The earlier Italian effort had become old-fashioned, even in France, and when François I. seriously set to work to decorate his palaces, new men had to be brought in from Italy,* and thus began what is somewhat inaccurately called the school of Fontainebleau, the true source from which modern French art has sprung.

These men, however, with the exception of il Boccador, the architect of the old Hôtel de Ville de Paris, were all decorators, and it is certain that all François' earlier work at Fontainebleau was carried out by French masons, such little carving as there is being left to Italian workmen. It is evident that the first introduction of the Renaissance into France followed much the same lines as it did in England. Carvers and ornamentalists straggled over first, and it was not till the taste became set that the bigger men thought it worth their while to leave Italy. It is only in the flat pilasters and their capitals, as for instance in those that adorn the Tour de l'Horloge, that the hand of the Italian workman is evident, and a blundering attempt at Roman mouldings was made in the rudimentary entablatures subsequently copied in other parts of the building; that is to say, the masons and the builders were Frenchmen, but the carved ornament, such as it was, was by Italians. The result, *mutatis mutandis*, was the same as in England; that is to say, the French builders followed their own tradition, they piled up picturesque masses of buildings with steep roofs, broken outlines, and towering chimneys; their manner of design was a sort of regularized Gothic—far away, it is true, from the stern severity of the mediæval castle, but scarcely closer than the latter to the architecture of Giuliano or Antonio da Sangallo or Baldassare Peruzzi. A Renaissance capital and pilaster here and there did not alter the type, any more than the medallions of the Roman Emperors in Hampton Court or the Château de Madrid made these into Classical buildings; and it was not till the new man of the Renaissance appeared upon the scene, the architect proper, who had studied his art as an art, and who worked by thought and knowledge rather than by inherited instinct, that a real and organic change occurred in the architecture of France. It does not appear that François I. had any such architect in his service till towards the end of his reign. As is usual with the amateur, he approached architecture through painting and sculpture, probably conceived of it only as a necessary background and occasion for those arts, and after he had bought his experience in his favourite arts it occurred to him that an experiment in architecture would be interesting, and that he could not do better than intrust it to Serlio, the latest authority on the subject. In point of fact it was not till after the Peace of Cambrai (the Paix des Dames) that François had much leisure to attend to the arts. That peace was the end of a long series of disastrous undertakings, and even the vanity of François was not proof against their lesson, that he had better stay at home and mind his own affairs. François undoubtedly possessed a fine personal courage and a genuine passion for the arts; but he was in every sense of the word an amateur, a man with no grasp of facts; and his only achievements of permanent value were his foundation of the

* Jerome della Robbia, who made the plaques for the old Château de Madrid, came in 1527; Rustici and Naldini, bronze-workers, in 1528; Pellegrino about the same time; and il Rosso in 1531.



FONTAINEBLEAU FROM THE PARK.



FONTAINEBLEAU FROM THE PARK.

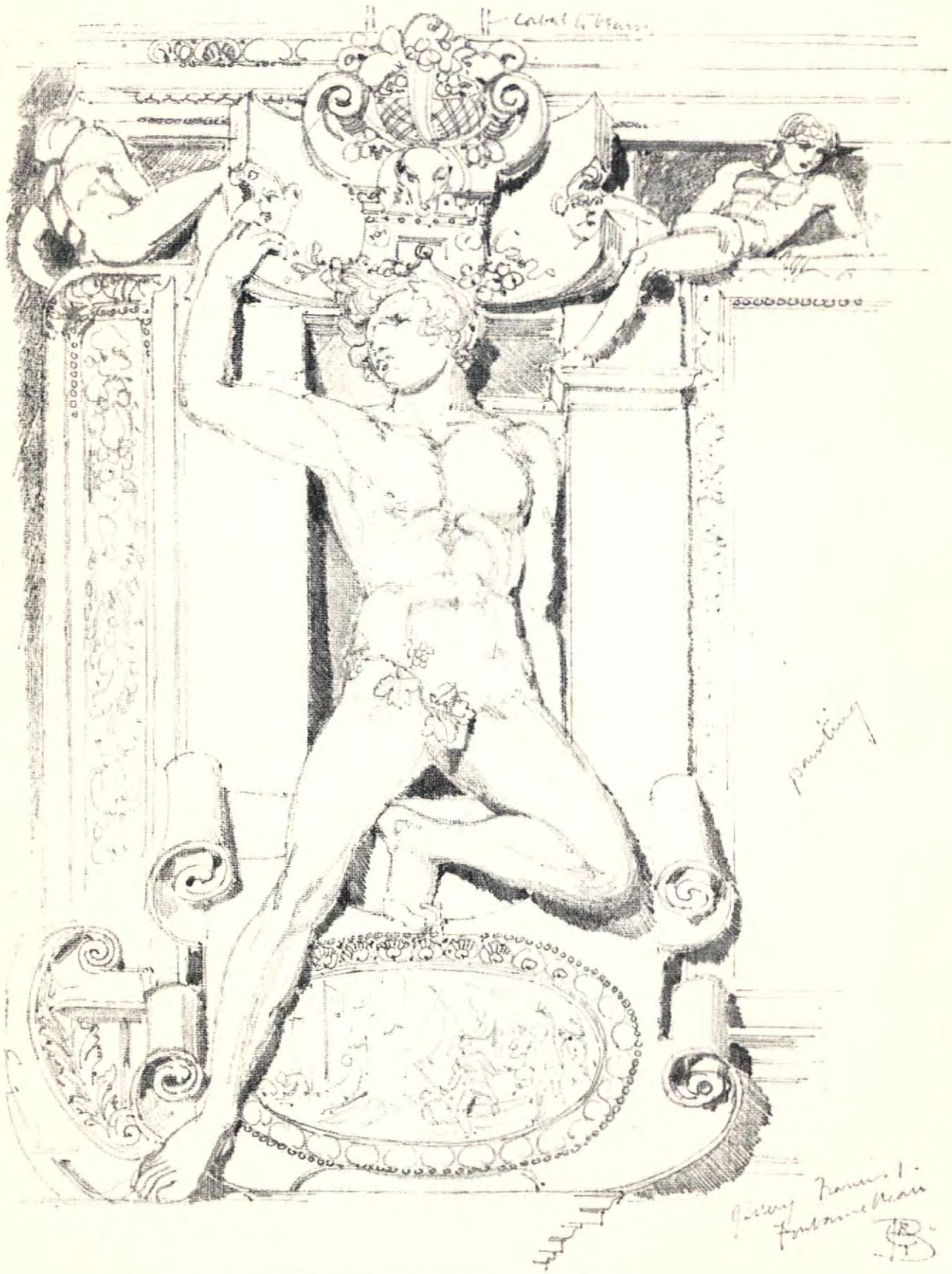
Collège de France, his library, and his very intelligent patronage of Italian artists.

His first venture in this direction, after the successful campaign of 1515–16, was a failure. His chief idea seems to have been to get hold of painters and pictures. He tried to bring back Leonardo's "Last Supper" from Milan, but failing in this brought back Leonardo and three Italian painters. But Leonardo was old and feeble, and in fact died within two years of his arrival. Andrea del Sarto succeeded him, but Andrea hated France. He had a wife in Italy, and having obtained large sums of money from François for the purchase of statues and pictures, he returned to Italy, where he spent the King's money on his wife,* and died of the plague in 1530. François' next attempt was more successful. This time he induced il Rosso of Florence (Maître le Roux, the red-haired painter) to come to Fontainebleau (according to Vasari, il Rosso came of his own accord), and he arrived there in 1531, with a company of painters and sculptors, mostly Florentines. To these he added certain Italians already at work in France. The names of these artists and their payments are given in the book of charges of the Sieur Babou de la Bourdaisière, superintendent of the buildings of Fontainebleau, 1535–44, viz.:—

1533–44, Barthélemy da Miniato, peintre Florentin, stucs, à 20 livres par mois.
1534–35, Laurent Regnauldin (or Naldini), stucs à 20 livres par mois.
1534–36, Claude du Val, stucs, 10 livres par mois.
1534–35, Francisque Pellegrino, stucs, 20 livres par mois.
1535–36, Badouin, peintre Florentin, stucs, 20 livres par mois.
1535–36, André Séron, 20 livres par mois.
1535–36, Symon le Roy, imager, stucs, 20 livres par mois.
1535–36, Jean Anthoine (or Jean de Majoricy), peintre, stucs, 20 livres par mois.
Charles Dorigny.
Juste de Just.
Josse Fouquet,
1538, Léonard Thiry.

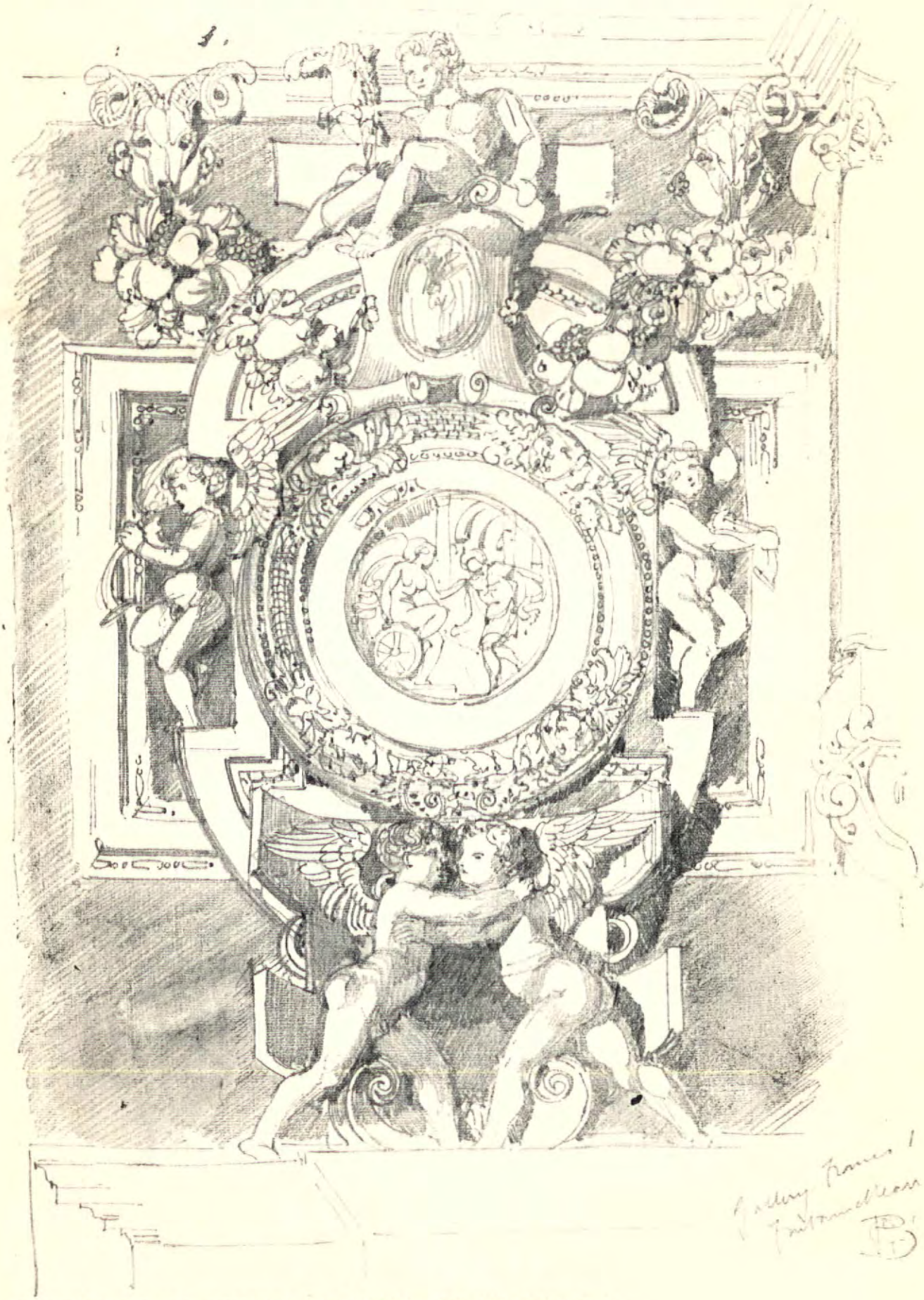
The two latter are described in the accounts as Flemings. M. Dimier says Leroy, Dorigny, and Badouin were Frenchmen; but in the case of Badouin either he or M. Pfnohr must have transcribed wrongly from the accounts. The rest were Italians. At the end of the list appears the name of "Maître Roux de Roux, conducteur desdits ouvrages de stucs et peintures dudit lieu," with a salary of fifty livres a month, in addition to which il Rosso had a house at Paris, quarters at Fontainebleau, a canonry of the Sainte Chapelle, and various benefices thrown in. "Altogether," says, Vasari, "he lived like a nobleman." François I. had annexed the patronage of the Church, and used it freely to reward his favourite artists, a point in his favour as compared with our own Henry VIII., who also had his band of foreign artists, but paid them, with the exception of Holbein, on an illiberal scale, and treated them with contumelious indifference. Il Rosso worked at Fontainebleau till his death in 1541, when he poisoned himself in an agony of remorse for having falsely accused one of his assistants. During this period il Rosso was designer in chief in all the arts to the court; he painted eight large pictures for the Porte Dorée leading to the causeway between the lake and the lower garden, and decorated the Gallery of François I. with paintings and stucco ornaments. This gallery, which runs from the Cour du Cheval Blanc to the Pavillon de St. Louis, is 64 mètres in length by 5·85 in width, and about the same in height. It is panelled in walnut, richly carved, for a height of 2·25. The present panelling is a copy of the old, which was carved by an Italian, Scibec, of Carpi. Above this panelling the walls are covered with paintings of allegorical and classical subjects, framed in cartouches freely decorated with swags, amorini, and figures. It is difficult to form any opinion as to the value of il Rosso's painting, as hardly any of his original work is left. Van Loo repainted the whole of the south side for Louis XV. in a deplorable manner, and the remainder were restored by M. Alaux in 1862. M. Alaux was also responsible for the atrocious painting of the Nymph of Fontainebleau (the fourth on the right opposite the windows). In so far as one can judge from the work that remains, il Rosso was a very competent if somewhat hard and mannered draughtsman, but his colour was uninteresting, in fact hardly exists. I have a general impression of dirty pinkish brown relieved by grey, and there is nothing in this work at Fontainebleau to recall the charm of his flesh painting, which Vasari particularly commends. The stucco ornamentation, however, shows an extraordinary accomplishment. These Florentines seem to have reeled off amorini and fruit and flowers as easily as a modern architectural carver would turn out his yards of egg and tongue. There is no hesitation about the work, no shirking of the difficulties of the figure, no ignorant failure to express the idea imagined; the figures are free and ingenious, well designed and modelled, with all that happy vitality of expression that one finds in mature Florentine sculpture. The actual work-

* This is Vasari's story, accepted by M. Dimier. The story, however, is not borne out by the evidence of the King's accounts.



STUCCO FIGURE IN GALERIE DE FRANÇOIS I.

FROM A DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.



CARTOUCHE IN STUCCO. GALERIE DE FRANÇOIS I.

FROM A DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.

GALERIE DE FRANÇOIS I.

CAPITAL. PORTE DORÉE.

FROM A DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.

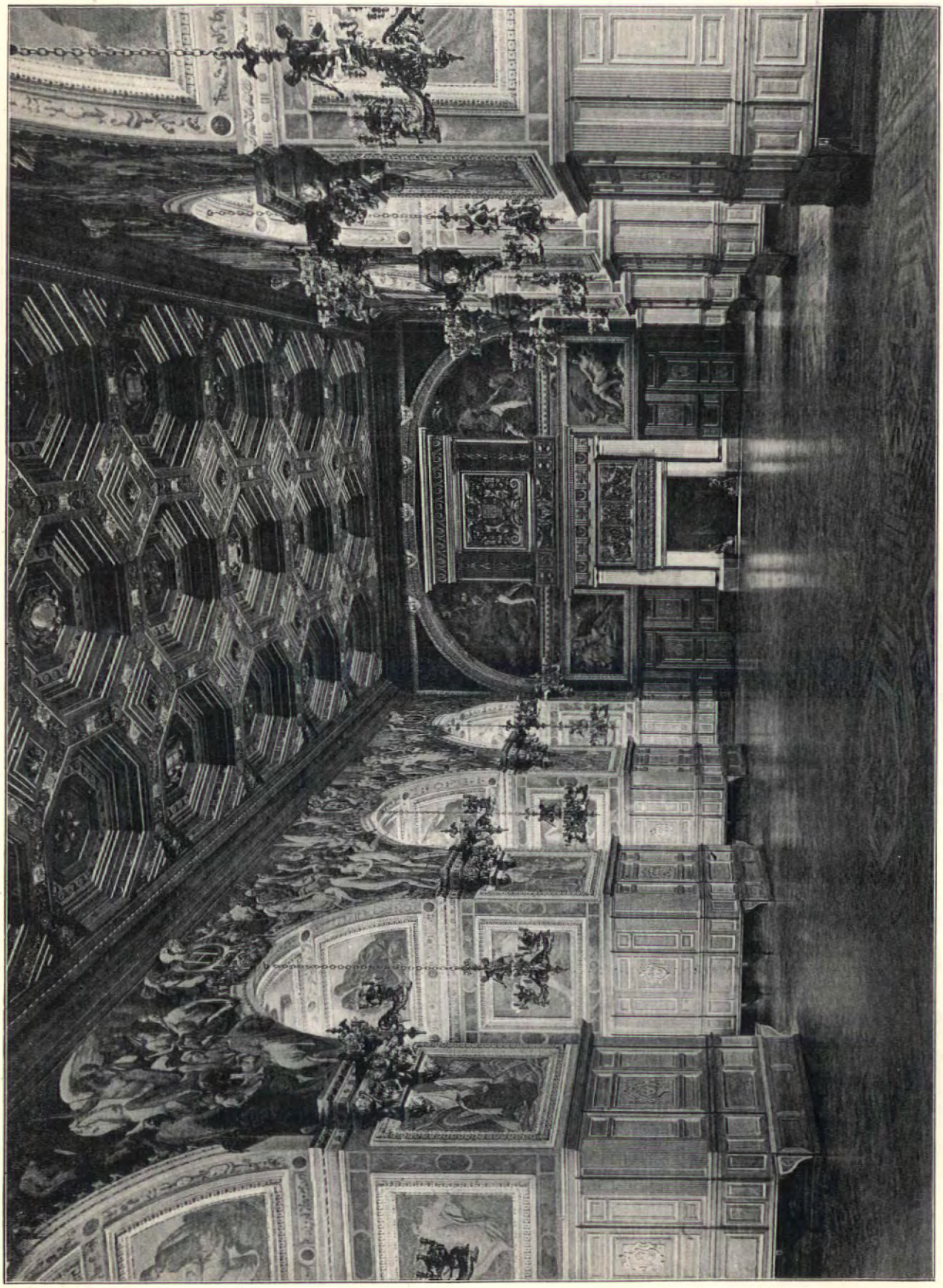
manship seems to me, for its purpose, unsurpassable. No finer example could be found of the limits and possibilities of stucco modelling, and of its use on a monumental scale; and when one compares an authentic example of Italian stucco, such as this, with the plaster work that one finds in England of the same date, the conclusion is pretty certain that the stories of travelling companies of Italian plasterers at work in England are nothing but fables. With the exception of the work at Nonesuch, of which we know only by repute, practically no sixteenth century stucco work was ever executed in England by a first-rate Italian stuccatore, and we have suffered in consequence. The Florentines started a tradition of plaster work in France that has lasted to this day, and such as we have never had in England. Vasari says that Luca Penni came to England, probably on the death of François I., when there was a general break-up of the Italian immigration of 1530-40; but I doubt if any trace of Penni's influence is to be found in England. According to Mr. Cust, I do not know on what authority, the Penni who came to England was not Luca, but Bartolommeo; but nothing is known of what he did in England. It is said that a certain "Luca Romano" came to England, and was at work in this country on stucco as late as 1586. I fancy that this "Luca Romano" was in fact Luca Penni, who was a Roman and engraved after Primaticcio, but is not known to have worked in stucco, and a comparison of the great frieze in Hardwicke Hall with the Italian work at Fontainebleau leaves little doubt that, whatever influence the Italians of Henry VIII. may have had at the time, it had disappeared by the middle of the sixteenth century. As a general scheme of decoration, the value of il Rosso's combination of stucco and painting is another question. To English taste, trained on simpler methods, it narrowly escapes vulgarity, and there is something almost nauseating in this astounding and uncontrolled exuberance of ornament. Yet the whole gallery has been so much scraped and cleaned and gilt and over-painted that a certain garishness of effect may be only the result of restorations, and had the work of il Rosso and his men been left to mellow with time, the impression of the whole might have justified itself.

M. Pfnohr gives a story that when Primaticcio succeeded il Rosso at Fontainebleau in 1541, he destroyed a great deal of the latter's work, and not daring to remove his painting in the gallery of François I., covered as much of it as he could with stucco ornament. That il Rosso and Primaticcio were rivals and at daggers drawn is probable; and Primaticcio, a highly successful adventurer, would not have been deterred by any scruples from wiping out his rival's work, especially as it was in a manner with which he was out of sympathy. Il Rosso was a Florentine, a great draughtsman rather than a colourist, and an artist who, like his master Michael Angelo, found his pleasure in the intellectual rather than in the sensuous side of art. Primaticcio was a pupil of Giulio Romano, himself a pupil of Raphael. Some of his charm he undoubtedly learnt from Correggio, and of all artists, in spite of Sir Joshua Reynolds' dictum, he seems to me to have been least under the influence of Michael Angelo. Judging by his own work it is probable that Primaticcio actually disliked il Rosso's manner, and it is certain that he was not the man to stand on ceremony in these matters. He succeeded in completely outwitting Cellini, and his treatment of the design of the Salles des Fêtes shows his disregard for other arts than his own. At the same time it is improbable that François would have allowed interference with the work of il Rosso, an artist for whom he had the highest regard; and in the second place, though differences of handiwork can be detected in the stucco work of the gallery, the modelling is everywhere superior to any stucco work by Primaticcio, and I could find no trace anywhere of Primaticcio's peculiar mannerisms—the long slender limbs and disproportionate height, and lastly the curious but very fascinating expression that one finds in Primaticcio's figures, as, for instance, on the Grand Escalier du Souverain at Fontainebleau, and in certain of his drawings at the Louvre. Unless there is documentary evidence to prove it, and it seems there is none, M. Pfnohr's story is not borne out by the facts. The story, however, represents a general position that one need not hesitate to accept. Primaticcio may not have scraped away il Rosso's pictures, but he completely superseded his influence in France. Il Rosso and his men were Florentines, Primaticcio was a Bolognese, and the artists with whom he surrounded himself, Fantuzzi, Cacciannemici, Bagnacavallo, Serlio even, were all of Bologna. But this was not all. In Primaticcio's work one finds something more than the change from the school of Florence to that of Bologna. A new motive appears, of which various explanations are given. In the first place Primaticcio was trained in a very different school from that of il Rosso. He learned his art from Giulio Romano, himself the most distinguished pupil of Raphael, and worked with Romano in the Palazzo del Té at Mantua; and it is evident, though how is not exactly known, that he came a good deal under the influence of Correggio and Parmegiano. Indeed, M. Dimier maintains that to these sources only should be attributed the peculiar cast and colouring of Primaticcio's artistic temperament.

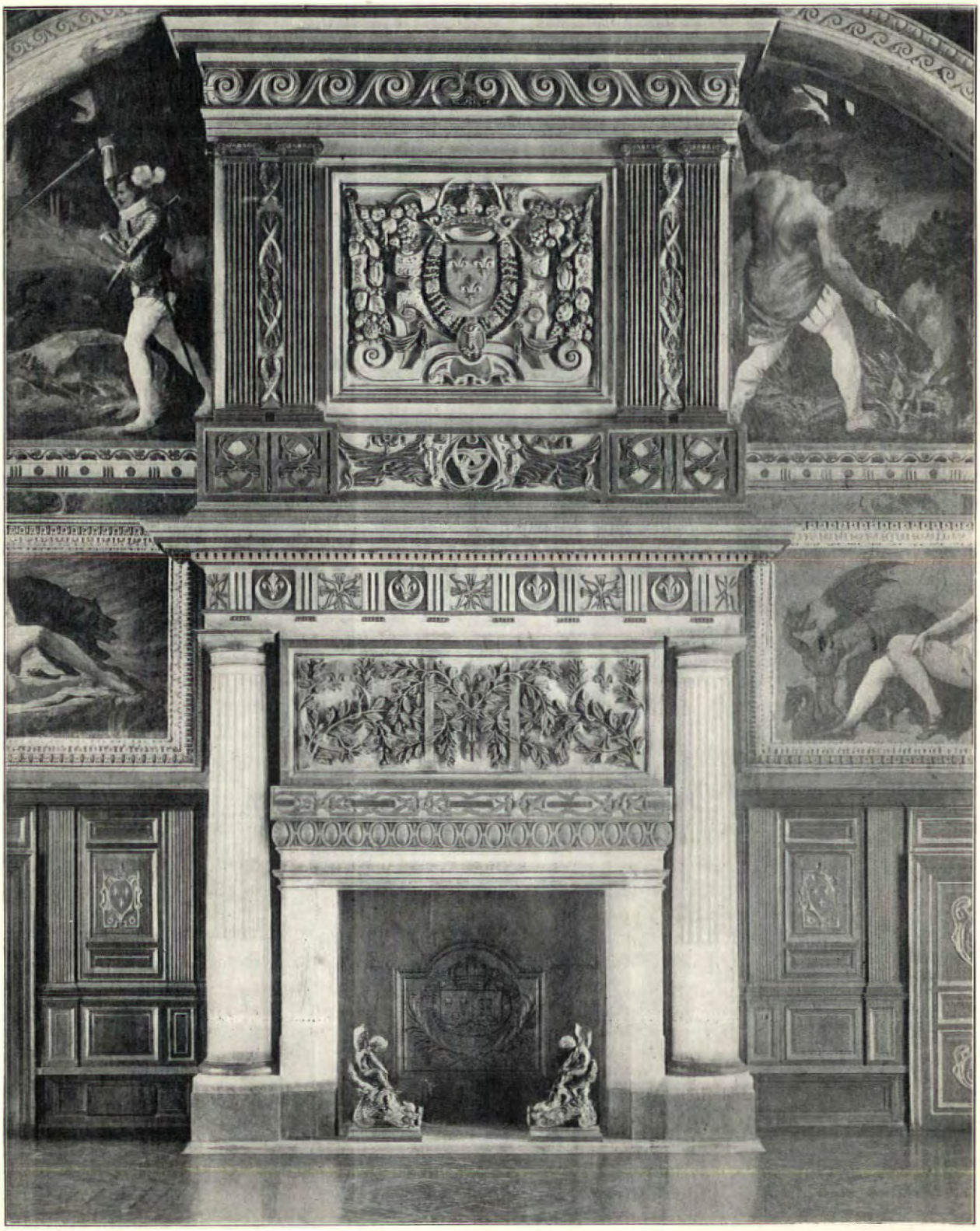
The derivation of genius is always an uncertain affair, and must depend quite as much on personal judgment and the study of handiwork as on the recorded facts of history. In the case of a designer of the finesse and subtlety of Primaticcio, it is peculiarly difficult. To my mind there seems to be an element in his work not to be accounted for by the influence of his early masters, a pyschological element difficult to define except by negatives. This element was something new, something not to be found in Italian work, the result I believe of the reaction of his French surroundings on Primaticcio himself, the influence of the French genius, asserting itself in a domain of art that it was at length beginning to master as its own.

When Primaticcio succeeded to the control of the King's work, twenty-five years had elapsed since the battle of Marignano, time enough for French artists to learn the newer Italian manner and to walk by themselves. Jean Goujon and Germain Pilon press close on the heels of Primaticcio, and Philibert Delorme was able to take up a position as architect such as had never been allowed to Serlio. Moreover, there was a personal element in Primaticcio himself that helped this emancipation. In his early days he showed great activity in his multifarious works, but he may be said to have "arrived" pretty early in life. He was only twenty-seven when he succeeded il Rosso at the Court of France, and his reputation was made before that date, for while il Rosso was engaged in the Galerie of François I., Primaticcio was employed to paint 58 frescoes, with stucco ornaments and borders, for the walls of the Gallery of Ulysses, with 80 medallions for the panels of its ceiling. The whole of this work was destroyed by Louis XV., and we have to take its merits on faith from Vasari, the Père Dan Algarotti, and other writers. M. Dimier, indeed, as the result of a great deal of research, claims a vast quantity of work for Primaticcio in all the arts, and gives very good reasons for many of his conclusions. But the actually proved number of works by this artist is not considerable. There remain a great many drawings scattered about which are attributed to him, the paintings of the Salle de Bal, the stucco of the Escalier du Souverain, and some rare pictures. Altogether there is not very much to show for a man who for thirty years and under four successive kings controlled the artistic work of one of the most sumptuous courts in Europe. The probability is that Primaticcio found it easier to direct and superintend others than to do the work himself. He was largely dependent on the work of his staff. By the middle of the sixteenth century he had become a very great personage at the French Court, and it would not consist with the dignity of an artist who was *valet de chambre* to the king, and Abbot of St. Martin of Troyes, to dangle his legs on a scaffolding, or potter about in a plasterer's blouse. It is probable that a very great deal was left to his men; and, as a matter of fact, the great decorative paintings of the Galerie de Henri II. were not executed by Primaticcio, but by Nicolo dell' Abbate, from his designs. The result of this delegation would be, and indeed was, that his staff had to be supplemented by French artists, as the Italians disappeared, and these men soon became capable of acting on their own initiative. As in England, the Italian influence gradually waned, and native artists were established in the full mastery of their art before Primaticcio died in 1570; in other words, the French, as usual in the arts, anticipated the English by at least fifty years.

That Primaticcio was an artist of fine quality is proved by the examples I have mentioned, and not least of all by certain beautiful drawings of his in the Louvre and elsewhere; but he gives the impression of having degenerated into an astute and not too scrupulous *entrepreneur*. He had the knack of finding out the right men for his purpose. He came across da Vignola at Rome, and employed him to help with his casts from the antique both in Rome and at Fontainebleau. But Vignola was too unaccommodating and too fond of his country to stay in France, and was succeeded by Serlio. The curious thing is that, though Serlio was appointed architect of the king's buildings at Fontainebleau, all the evidence tends to show that he did little at the palace. M. Dimier gives reasons for believing that he did not design the Salle des Fêtes, and it is known that he had no voice in the decision to substitute a flat ceiling for the vaulting designed for that room. Serlio says that a "man of superior authority" ordered the building to be altered, and that he himself was never consulted in the matter. The question is, who was the "man in authority." M. Dimier says it was Philibert Delorme, but it seems to me that it was much more probably Primaticcio himself, and his treatment of the architecture of the Salle de Bal appears to me a signal instance of that disregard of architecture habitual in the ordinary painter. Sculptors who deal in the round realise that an architect must have his planes, his light and shade, and the relief of actual forms, if he is to get his effect; but the painter, who works on the flat, seems often to think this unnecessary, and that he himself can do all that is wanted with his paints, and his brushes, and his chiaroscuro; if architecture gets in the way it must get out of it, being merely a vehicle for painting. This, at least, was Primaticcio's view, and he acted upon it with unhesitating resolution.



GALERIE DE HENRI II., ALSO KNOWN AS SALLE DE BAL AND SALLE DES FETES.



CHIMNEY-PIECE IN THE GALERIE DE HENRI II.

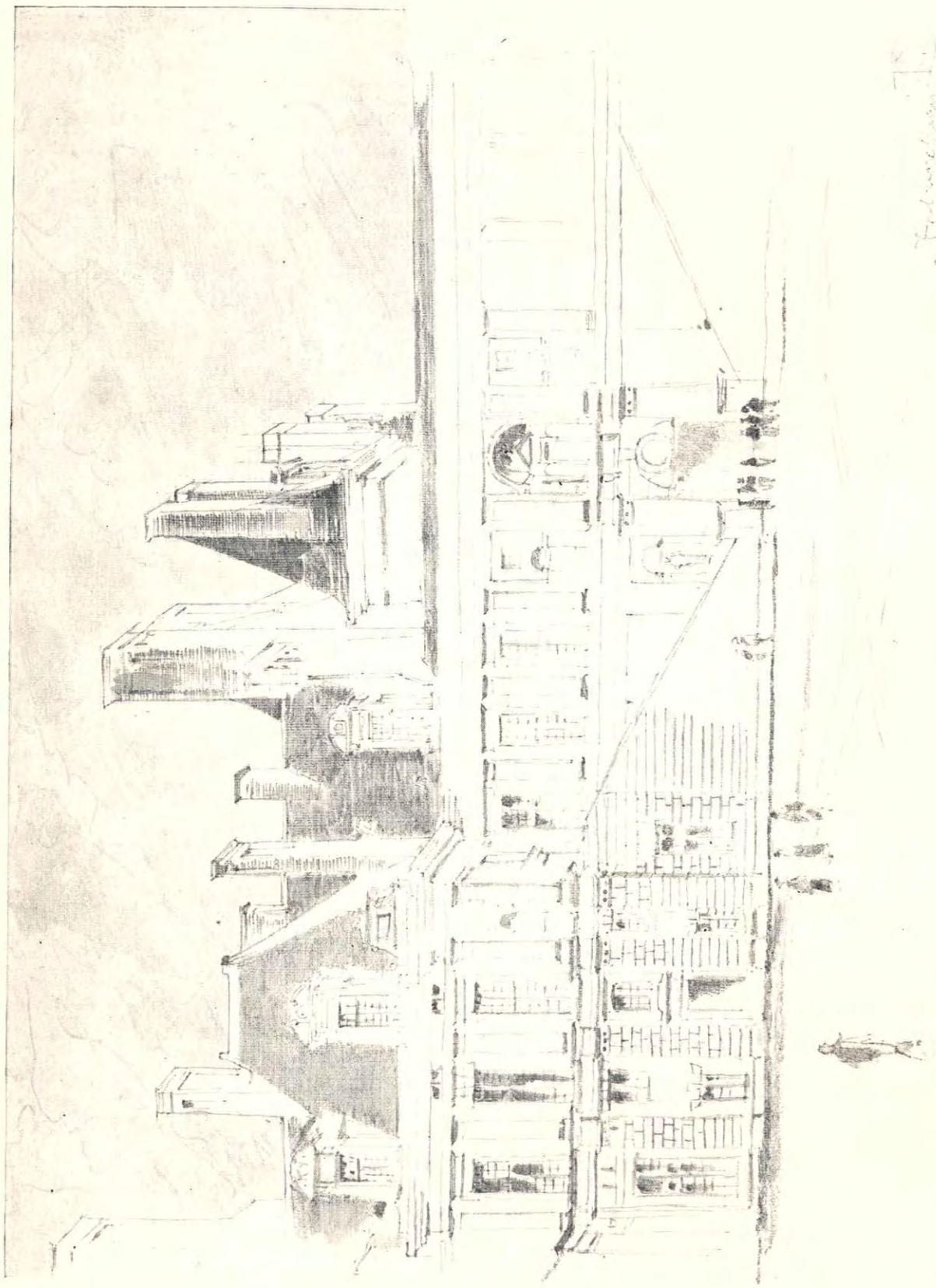
It is probable that he was already well established at Fontainebleau when the Salle de Bal was begun, somewhere between 1530 and 1540. The exact date appears to be very uncertain, and it is supposed that the hall occupies the site of a gallery included in Francois' scheme of 1528. It certainly does not belong to the earlier Italian work at Fontainebleau, and its design was a con-

ception beyond the range of Le Breton, the master-mason of the palace. On the other hand, mediæval gargoyles spring from the cornice outside, and we must suppose that the building grew in the usual promiscuous way, designed perhaps by an architect proper, built by French masons, and carved by Italians. The traditional story is that Serlio was the architect of the building, and that Primaticcio made him give up his vaulting for a flat ceiling. M. Dimier says that not Serlio but the master-mason Le Breton was the architect, and that the "man in authority" who ordered the alteration without consulting Serlio was in fact Philibert Delorme. But Philibert Delorme had the profoundest contempt for painter-architects; he was an architect or nothing, and the last man in the world to sacrifice architecture to painting. Moreover M. Dimier's dates are loose. The building was up to the springing of the vaulting when the incident occurred, and it occurred before the death of François I. Serlio says that it happened when he still held office as architect to François, and as Delorme did not succeed him till 1548, and could have had no authority to interfere till formally appointed, it seems to me that M. Dimier's hypothesis and valiant attempt to whitewash his hero must fall to the ground, and that it was in fact Primaticcio who forced the architect of the Salle de Bal to stultify his design, for the vaulted bays at the sides have no meaning without the central vault. In 1541, as we have seen, Primaticcio succeeded to the supreme control at Fontainebleau, and had to prepare the scheme of decoration for the Salle. He found, on examining the plans, that the architect proposed to build the Salle as a large vaulted central nave, with five embrasures or bays on either side, separated by very massive piers to receive the thrust of the vaulting. The central nave measures 29m.40 in length, and 9·62 in width, exclusive of the bays which measure 2m.65 in depth, by 3·80 in width. The ground storey was already built on this plan, and the first floor (the floor of the Salle des Fêtes), with the arches to the side bays, and the corbels to receive the groining of the central nave, were already up when Primaticcio entered on the scene. He at once saw that, if the architect's plan was carried out, there might be a very fine hall, but there would be no room for his paintings, except the two end walls and the side bays. This did not suit the master decorator at all. It was a simple matter to sacrifice the mere architect, and he was compelled to abandon the vaulting to the central nave, and to carry his walls straight up to a flat coffered ceiling instead. Either through carelessness on the part of Primaticcio, or as a last struggle made by the humiliated architect, the corbels were allowed to remain. What the architect thought of all this, we do not know. Serlio, if he it was, merely states that a man of superior authority and better judgment than the mason ordered the alteration, and that not the slightest reference was made to him in the matter, though he was on the spot and in the king's service. Primaticcio was all-powerful, and probably Serlio dared not allow himself to say more. In 1548, he was superseded by Philibert Delorme, and he left Fontainebleau for Lyons in 1550.

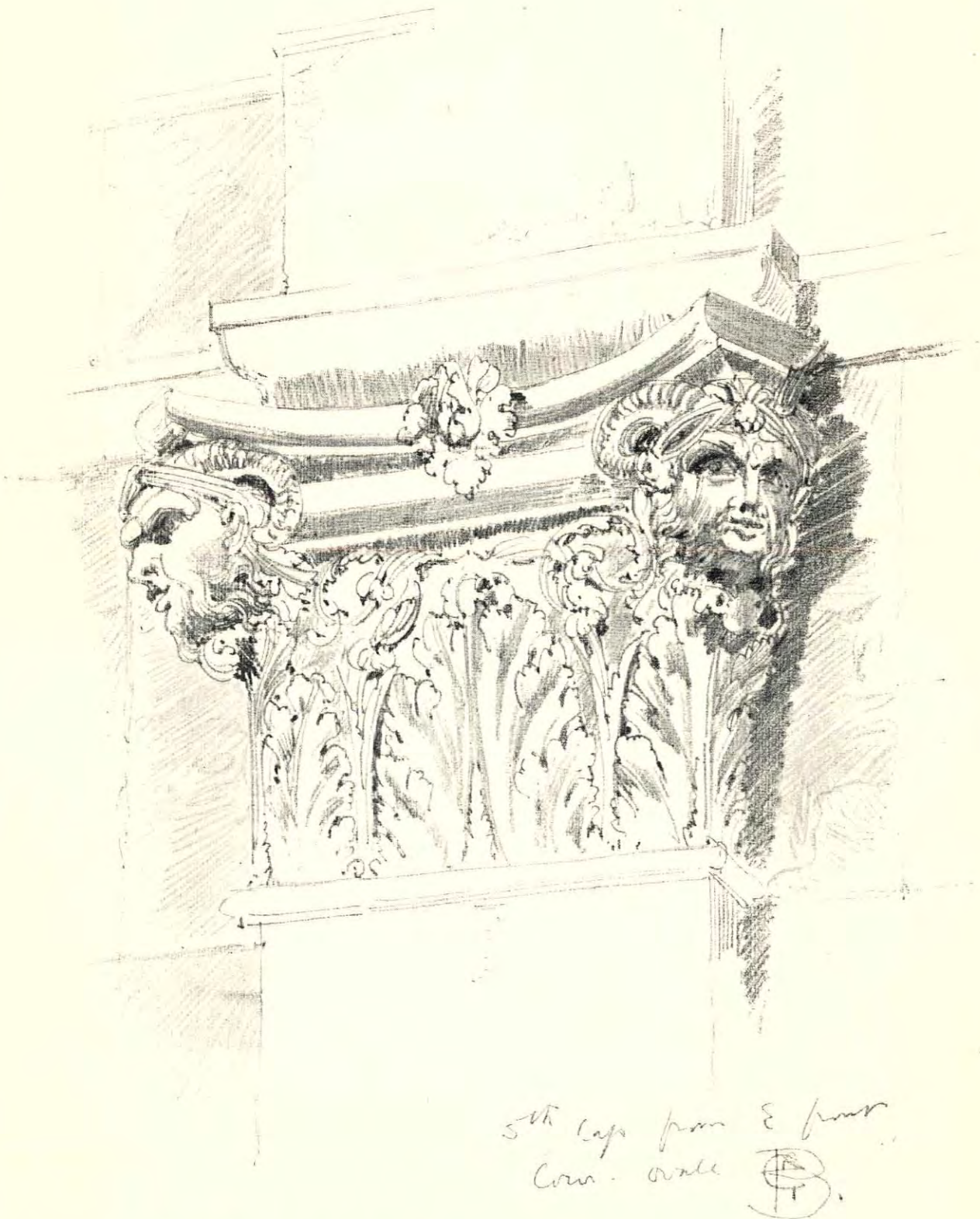
Primaticcio had now got his wall space, and his designs were carried out by Niccolo dell' Abate, who covered every available space above the panelling with allegorical and classical subjects, such as Ceres and the Harvest, the Forge of Vulcan, the Palace of the Sun, the Marriage of Thetis and Peleus, the Judgment of Paris, Jupiter and Mercury entertained by Philemon and Baucis, and the like; and it must be admitted that, if Primaticcio ruined a great architectural design, he designed a very fine piece of decoration. There is some uncertainty and hesitation in the scale. The artist seems never to have made up his mind whether his figures were to be heroic, or life size; moreover, having cut away all architectural details, he seems to have thought it necessary to paint some of them in again, so he painted architraves to the arches on the flat wall-surface, and then painted over them the shadows of the wheatsheaves, or of any stray legs and arms of gods and goddesses that happened to be near. Apart from this there is a certain frivolous charm about the figures which is very attractive, and a glow of colour, in spite of M. Alaux's restorations, which is entirely wanting in il Rosso's work. One does not wonder at the ascendancy which Primaticcio gained over the French Court of the sixteenth century with its passion for amusement and intrigue.

Primaticcio's stucco work on the Escalier du Souverain is in some ways the most interesting thing at Fontainebleau. This staircase was originally the bedroom of the Duchesse d'Étampes, a warm supporter of Primaticcio; and it was from this room that she escaped when Henri II. succeeded to the throne and Diane de Poitiers to the royal favour. It is probable that Primaticcio designed and executed this work himself; all that is left of it are the female figures supporting framed panels and cartouches with oval centre-pieces covered with amorini over the doorways. The figures were originally nude, but Maria Leczinska, wife of Louis XV., of all people in the world, thought it necessary to cover them partially with drapery. Notwithstanding this, they are beautiful figures, characteristic of Primaticcio's work, but significant in their high relief,

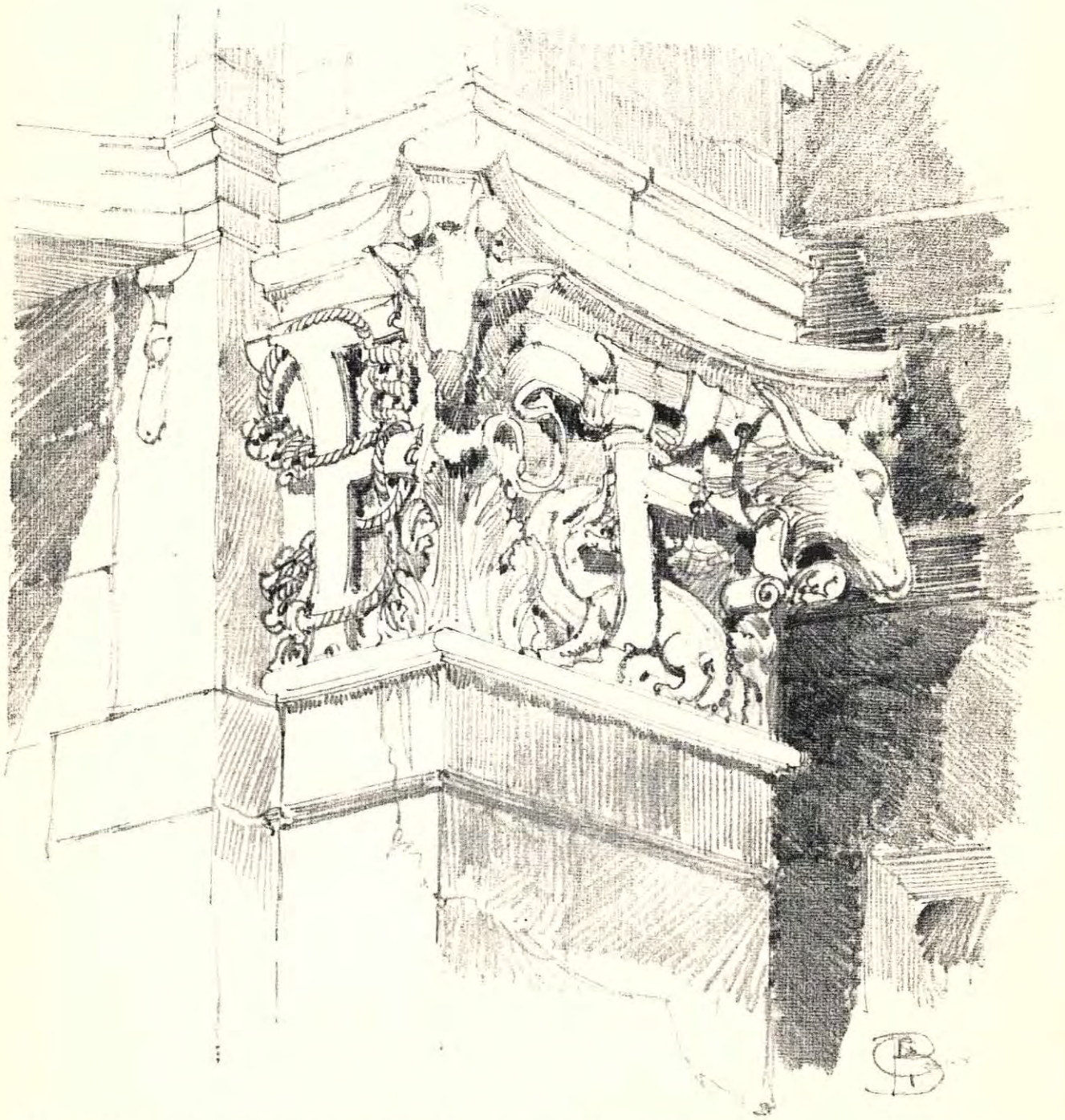
FIGURES ON THE WALLS OF THE ESCALIER DU SOUVERAIN
(FORMERLY THE BEDROOM OF THE DUCHESSE D'ÉTAMPES).



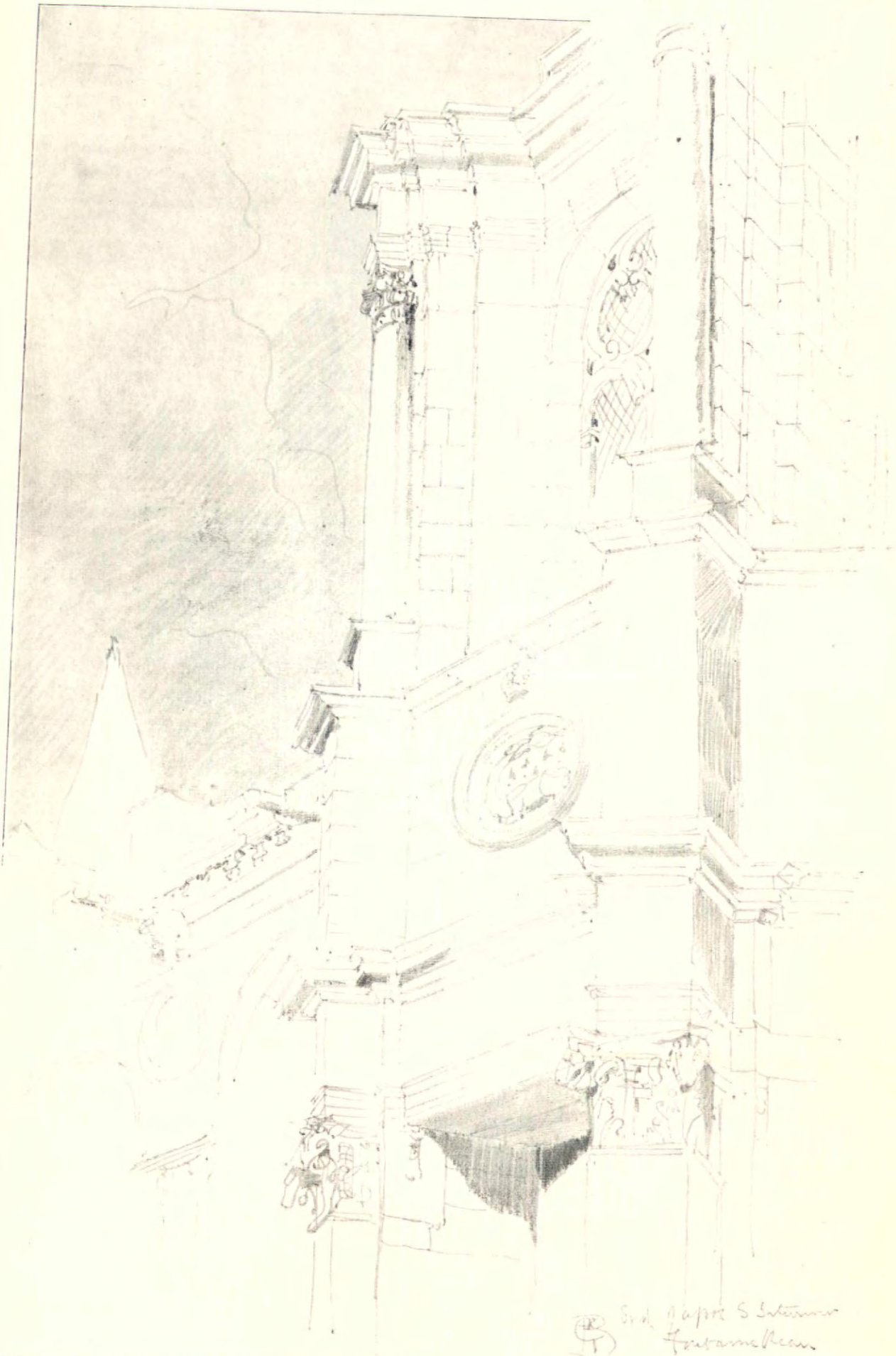
COUR DES FONTAINES.



CAPITAL IN THE COUR OVALE.



CAPITAL FROM APSE OF CHAPEL OF S. SATURNIN.



APSE OF THE CHAPEL OF S. SATURNIN.

almost standing free from the wall, of the decadence of architectural sculpture. Primaticcio was indeed an indefatigable man. He had easily outmanœuvred his countrymen in preserving his position at Court. It is true that in Philibert Delorme he met a strong, unyielding man, an architect who believed in architecture, and who for some ten or eleven years must have been a thorn in the side of the painter, with his exact and uncomfortable knowledge of facts. But Primaticcio's methods were successful as before, and two days after the death of Henri Delorme was dismissed, and Primaticcio was appointed "Surintendant des Bâtiments." M. Dimier attributes to Primaticcio, among other works at Fontainebleau, the east side of the Cour de la Fontaine, with the double external staircase known as the "Aile de la Belle Cheminée. This is the best piece of architecture in the whole building, and if indeed it was designed by Primaticcio, it would prove that he shared some of the genius of Peruzzi for severe and masterly architecture; but Primaticcio's authorship rests on the scanty evidence of the word "neuf," which M. Dimier interprets to mean two years before 1570, but which might also apply to buildings erected before 1550, which would bring in Philibert Delorme and even Serlio. Delorme's work at Fontainebleau is more or less known. He built the famous "Fer à cheval" staircase * on the side to the "Cour du Cheval Blanc," a masterpiece of constructive ingenuity, of which the architect was very proud himself; but it is a bad design, and the detail is crowded and fussy. It is improbable that the architect of this staircase should at the same time have designed the broad, majestic façade of the double staircase. The master-mason is out of court, and it seems to me that none but a trained Italian architect would have been capable of such a design, and that it is very probable that this façade was Serlio's contribution to the Palace of Fontainebleau. Félibien, ("Entretiens," 2, 57), states that this was, in fact, designed by Serlio. It is a fine piece of spacious design, and one finds here, for the first time, the wide, flat Doric pilaster, which remains to this day the most characteristic feature of modern French Classic. Where I think Primaticcio's hand can be traced is in the very unusual and imaginative sculpture of the capitals in the Cour Ovale. These vary very much in quality, those added in the time of Henry IV. being little above the level of our own Jacobean, but on the capitals of the pilasters of the Salle de Bal a master was at work, inspired by some very able designer. Here are satyrs and wild men of the woods, devils, amorini, goats, stags, and other strange devices for volutes; and even bolder are the capitals to the buttresses of the Chapel of St. Saturnin, where stags' heads form the volutes, entangled with devices of the F. and the salamander of François I., and, by some curious play of fancy, the head of the stag which forms the volute on the engaged side just reappears through the surface of the stone. Few details in this great palace suggest more intimately the strange, romantic, utterly unreal, and yet intensely fascinating atmosphere of the court of François I.

Here I must close these casual notes on Fontainebleau, with an apology to the reader for their inconsequence. But rambles through the palace are like hours in a well-filled library, and, indeed, the building is a very mine of wealth to the student of modern French art. I have put down some of the traces of Italian influence, but the story can be followed steadily onward in all its varying phases down to the present day; and though the palace has suffered from the painter, gilder, and carver, it has somehow escaped the ravages of modern Gothic, and gives the impression of having maintained its continuity of existence in spite of all. Every corner of it has some historical association of absorbing interest, for it was the favourite residence of the French kings. In the ante-chamber of the Cabinet du Roi Marshal Biron was arrested for treason against the throne of Henri IV. In the Galerie des Cerfs, Monaldeschi was butchered by command of Christina of Sweden. In the Cabinet de Travail du Roi, Napoleon signed his abdication; in the Cour du Cheval Blanc he parted from his generals. To the north of the palace is the Jardin de Diane, to recall the memories of Diane de Poitiers and her successors; to the south are the great gardens laid out by Lenôtre for Louis XIV., the Causeway with its avenue of whispering limes, and the lake with its legend of immemorial carp; and over all rests an ancient peace. The French Revolution seems to have passed by Fontainebleau, leaving it, by some happy chance, a monument of the Old Régime. The vices and failures of that forgotten period are buried by time; only its finer qualities are here suggested, in the noble spaciousness of the grounds and the tranquil dignity that still lingers round the palace. It is a standing lesson of what the Arts have lost in the rush of modern life. What function is reserved in the future for art it is difficult to say; what is certain is that the modern temperament renders it almost impossible to attain to the qualities of breadth and simple inevitable power, which were as much a matter of course with these masters of the past as their perfect manner was with the older aristocracy of France.

REGINALD BLOMFIELD.

* This staircase was rebuilt in its present form under Louis XIII.

The Garden City.

WRITERS in the daily press, in occasional bursts of Chauvinism, call attention to the fact that England's capital, already many times bigger than any continental city, is growing daily larger, and invite us to see in this expansion proof that we are the darling children of Providence! To anyone whose senses are not blunted by custom, this growth, so far from being a matter of congratulation, is a haunting nightmare. What is this expansion which we are invited to admire but a frowsy fringe of mean houses swallowing up orchards and gardens, and making a waste more dreary than a desert?

Sixty years ago Cobbett called London a "wen"—Lord Rosebery, in 1891, describes it in more emphatic language as "a tumour—an elephantiasis sucking into its gorged system half the life, and the blood and the bone of the rural districts."

Vast re-housing schemes are set on foot to relieve the congestion by shifting the population from the centre, but still the evil grows; ring upon ring is added to the already overgrown mass, the town gets bigger and bigger, and the country is pushed farther and farther away. Time has proved that merely shifting people to the circumference only intensifies the difficulty so long as they are employed at the centre.

Schemes, too, for wooing the people back to the country have not been lacking, but they have mostly been of the "village club" order. The most serious contribution towards the solution of the problem has been the granting of allotments, but neither the mild allurements of the club nor the more solid advantage of the allotment ground have proved sufficient; the depletion of the country still goes on, and the farmer is left almost singlehanded to wage his eternal warfare with nature. As a small set-off to this constant influx into the town, employers of labour are slowly beginning to realise the advantage of moving their works out of London; but the movement has been sporadic, and may be said to have had little or no effeet in checking its abnormal growth.

To Mr. Ebenezer Howard we are indebted for the conception of a scheme combining the attractions of town and country, and in "Garden Cities of To-morrow"* he shows how the tendency of country people to flock into towns, and of manufacturers to move into the country, may be directed into mutually beneficial channels. His aim is to realise Ruskin's ideal city, whose houses are built "strongly, beautifully, and in groups of limited extent, walled round, so that there may be no festering and wretched suburbs anywhere, but clean and busy streets within and the open country without, with a belt of beautiful garden and orchard round the walls, so that from any part of the city perfectly fresh air and grass and sight of far horizon might be reachable in a few minutes walk."

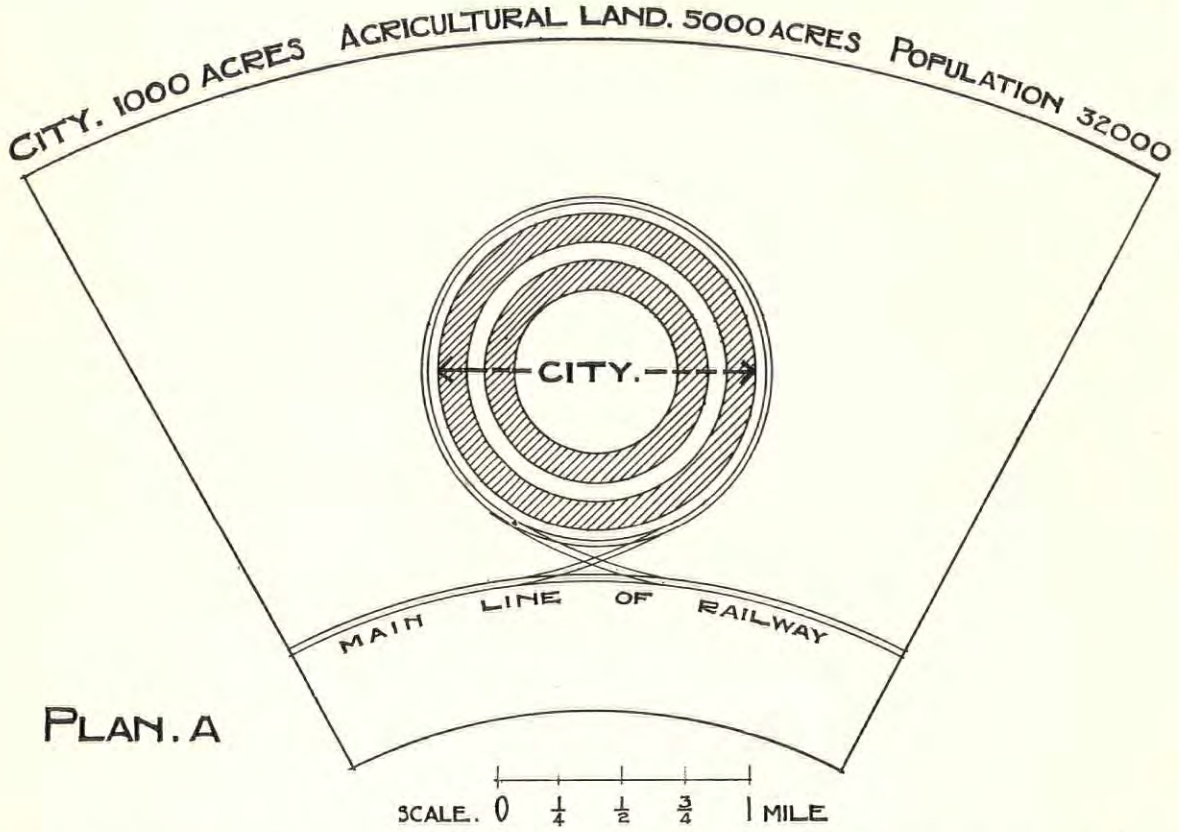
The direct reform of large cities is abandoned as being impracticable, but, indirectly, a great change is foreshadowed, and even their automatic conversion into "Garden Cities." The realisation of this aim involves no heroic measures of confiscation, no great scheme of national socialism, but is brought about in an ordinary way, and by means with which we are all familiar. The only new force imported is the free exercise of natural common sense, a quality which has almost atrophied from long disuse. Every element is ready to the hand of the reformer, but all is chaotic and unorganised.

This is not the place to do more than touch lightly on the financial side of the proposal, but the scheme cannot be made clear if it is entirely passed over.

Capital is raised to buy agricultural land. This land is vested at first in trustees. Subject to certain restrictions, building sites are let in the ordinary way, and the ground rent provides the interest and a sinking fund to repay the capital within a stated time. So far this is the usual way in which all building estates are "developed," but the Garden City scheme differs in this respect, that by the time the town takes shape and becomes populated the capital has been paid off, the inhabitants have elected their council or municipality, the trustees disappear and the municipality has automatically become the owner of the whole estate. The city is its own ground landlord, and the ground rents are paid to the municipality and applied in the same way as rates would be for municipal purposes. It will thus be clearly seen that a substantial income can be raised for the sole benefit of the town, the lessee possibly paying but little more for rent and rates combined than he now pays for rent only. There are, of course, many minor details of finance, but the main point is that the town is self-supporting, and that in a sense everyone is a freeholder.

A glance at Plan A shows that in the centre of the estate a definite area, which may not be enlarged, is allotted to the city; farms and gardens surround it.

* Swan, Sonnenschein and Co. 1s. nett.

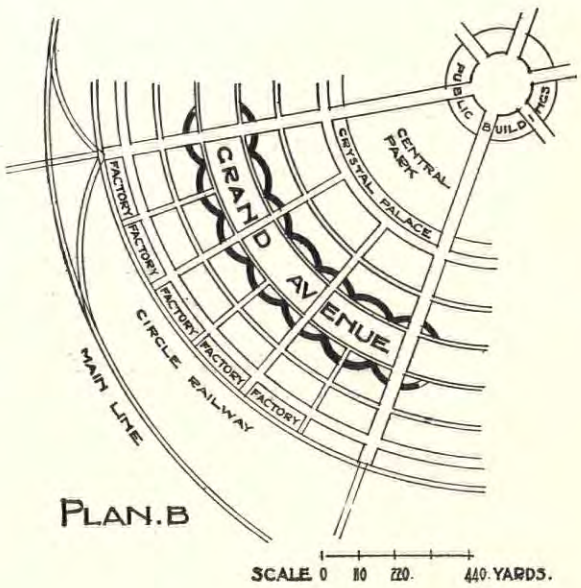


PLAN. A

Plan B shows more or less in detail one "ward" of the city, which is thus described by the author:—*

"Six magnificent boulevards, each 120 feet wide, traverse the city from centre to circumference, dividing it into six equal parts or wards. In the centre is a circular space laid out as a garden, and surrounding this garden, each standing in its own ample grounds, are the larger public buildings. The rest of the large space encircled by the 'Crystal Palace' is a public park, containing 145 acres, which includes ample recreation grounds within very easy access of all the people. Walking still towards the outskirts of the town, we come upon 'Grand Avenue.' This avenue is fully entitled to the name it bears, for it is 420 feet wide, and forming a belt of green upwards of three miles long, divides that part of the town which lies outside Central Park into two belts. It really constitutes an additional park of 115 acres; a park which is within 240 yards of the furthest removed inhabitant. In this splendid avenue six sites, each of four acres, are occupied by public schools and their surrounding playgrounds and gardens. On the outer ring of the town are factories, warehouses, etc., all fronting on the circle railway, which encompasses the whole town, and which has sidings connecting it with a main line of railway which passes through the estate.

"While the town proper, with its population engaged in various trades, callings, and professions offers the most natural market to the people engaged on the agricultural estate; yet the farmers and others are not by any means limited to the town as their only market, but have the fullest right to dispose of their produce to whomsoever they please. This principle of freedom holds good with regard to manufacturers and others who have established themselves in the town. These manage their affairs in their own way, subject, of course, to the general law of the land, and subject to the provision of sufficient space for workmen

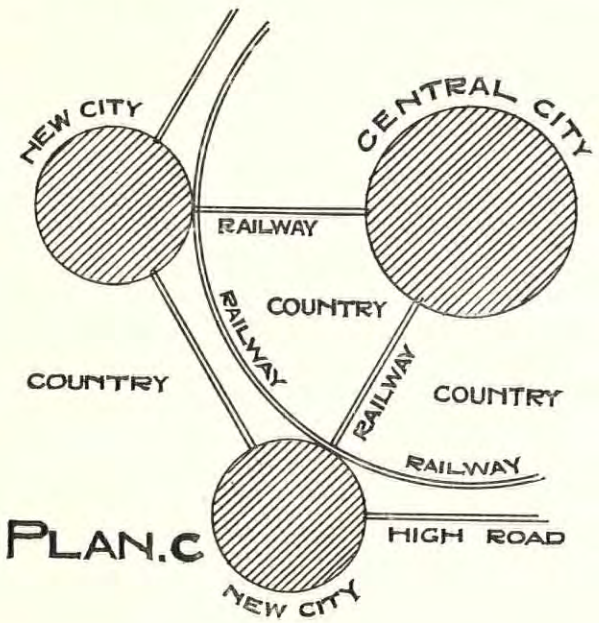


PLAN. B

* The author's descriptions are compressed although given in his own words.

and reasonable sanitary conditions. Even in regard to such matters as water, lighting, and telephonic communication—which a municipality, if efficient and honest, is certainly the best and most natural body to supply—no rigid or absolute monopoly is sought; and if any private corporation or any body of individuals proved itself capable of supplying on more advantageous terms, either the whole town or a section of it, this would be allowed. The area of municipal and corporate action is probably destined to become greatly enlarged; but, if it is to be so, it will be because the people possess faith in such action, and that faith can best be shown by a wide extension of the area of freedom."

Plan C shows the method of expansion when the original city no longer suffices. "How shall it grow? Shall it build on the zone of agricultural land which is around it, and thus for ever destroy



PLAN.C

its right to be called a 'Garden City'? Surely not. Consider for a moment the case of a city in Australia. The city of Adelaide is surrounded by its 'Park Lands.' It grows by leaping over the 'Park Lands' and establishing North Adelaide. And this is the principle which it is intended to follow, but improve upon, in the Garden City. And this principle of growth—this principle of always preserving a belt of country round our cities—would be ever kept in mind till, in the course of time, we should have a cluster of cities, not, of course, arranged in the precise geometrical form of my diagram, but so grouped around a central city that each inhabitant of the whole group, though in one sense living in a town of small size, would enjoy all the advantages of a city, and yet all the fresh delights of the country; field, hedgerow, and woodland—not prim parks and gardens merely—would be within a very few minutes walk."

For the benefit of those who see in the scheme the germs of an insidious Socialism or Communism, Mr. Howard writes: "Communism is a most excellent principle, for we all believe in communistic roads, communistic parks, and communistic libraries. But though Communism is an excellent principle, Individualism is no less excellent. Isolated and individual thought and action are essential if the best results of combination are to be secured, as combination and co-operation are essential, if the best results of isolated effort are to be gained; and that society will prove the most healthy and vigorous where the freest and fullest opportunities are afforded alike for individual and for combined effort. Nor is the scheme to be regarded as a socialistic experiment. Socialists advocate common property in land and in all the instruments of production, distribution, and exchange. In Garden City no such monopoly is claimed; by far the larger part of the work done will be by individuals or combinations of individuals quite other than municipal servants. My proposal appeals not only to individuals but to co-operators, manufacturers, and others with organisations under their control, to come and place themselves under conditions involving no new restraints, but rather securing wider freedom."

To plan and build a new city which is to be free from the defects of existing ones is no light task; and that the first Garden City will entirely realise the dreams of its author is not perhaps to be expected. Mr. Howard's scheme is, however, pre-eminent amongst the many that have been projected, in that he alone seems to have grasped the conditions of the problem, and understood how to turn natural forces into reasonable channels. The experiment being an entirely new one, untrammelled, and at the same time unguided by tradition or precedent, some criticisms of the project from the architect's point of view may not be out of place.

The circular form proposed for the city is an innovation on the hitherto accepted methods. It is true that most cities have grown up more or less by haphazard, but there is an underlying reason for the square alignment which is practically universal. The natural form of a building is rectangular, and the buildings have shaped the streets on which they abut. Miles of curved streets would probably be monotonous, and would certainly be difficult to treat architecturally. Walking on the inner side of a curve produces the feeling that buildings, as they gradually emerge within the range of vision, are being pushed out one by one to meet the eye, while the outer side

stretches an encircling arm perpetually cutting off all view, and giving the sense of being buried in houses which are always in motion; the sites, especially near the centre, become fan shaped and would not be easy to build on.

The cities of the Old World are approximately rectangular, polygonal, or shapeless in outline, but are almost invariably forced more or less into rectangular forms within. Those of the New World are uncompromisingly rectangular.

Paris, Vienna, Moscow, Amsterdam, are polygonal; Brussels pentagonal; but with the exception of Amsterdam very little trace of the outline appears in the internal arrangement. Amsterdam on one side continues the form of the outline almost to the centre, and has radiating streets.

A polygonal form is free from most of the difficulties of a circular plan. The radiating streets might run at right angles to the faces of the figure. The general intention of the "Garden City" arrangement would thus be preserved, but the buildings could be rectangular and amenable to the most varied treatment.

The radius of the "Quadrant" end of Regent Street, from which we can judge the circular effect, is about 600 to 700 feet, while that of the "Grand Avenue" in the "Garden City" is about 3,000. This modifies, but does not remove the difficulties. A half suspicion, too, crosses the mind that "Garden City" (presumably about the size of Cambridge) is laid out on rather too sumptuous lines, and with some lack of scale and relative proportions. Applying the area roughly to London with Charing Cross as the centre, the north boundary comes somewhere near the British Museum; Buckingham Palace forms the west boundary; the Houses of Parliament, the south; the Law Courts and Waterloo Station, the east and south-east. This conveys some idea of the area, and would give ground for the fear that "Grand Avenue" may be somewhat too wide for its setting, and with the parks and gardens would be difficult to keep in a really efficient condition. It is conceivable that the City may be a little overweighted by its magnificence, and that while adhering generally to the system of laying out that is proposed, a rather more homely scheme would have a better chance of immediate success.

The "Crystal Palace" would probably be the first thing ruled out. The experience of Regent Street was not encouraging. The cost of repairing and cleaning an arcade of such stupendous proportions would go a long way towards swallowing up the whole of the municipal revenue. The idea of the covered way is quite sound, but arcades more on the lines of the Chester "Rows," or of the arcaded streets of some of the Italian towns, or even a modest edition of the Rue de Rivoli in Paris, with small glazed arcades at intervals if thought desirable, would answer the purpose, and would call for no municipal outlay in repairs.

It is clear that to ensure a successful result, all the buildings must be under a firm but not too rigid or rule-bound control. There is no reason at all why factories, for instance, should be the dreary erections that they now are; that they should rise to a high level of architectural beauty is not to be expected, nor indeed would it be natural or consistent if they did, but they can at least have the beauty of complete fitness for their purpose, the raw point of contact between the factory buildings and the country beyond can be softened by trees, and they may be set in tidy surroundings; their owners, too, without doing great violence to individual liberty, may be required to remove the unsightly débris, the rusting boilers, broken packing-cases, and the many unnecessary pieces of wreckage that are now the usual accompaniments of the factory hinterland. This idea of fitness and tidiness should also be the keynote of the streets and houses. It is to be a modern city, built under modern conditions, and its possibilities and limitations should be frankly accepted. Let there be no supposed imitation of the picturesqueness of the mediæval town, nor on the other hand any attempt to make of it a "model village." Build the houses exactly to answer their purpose, simply, amply, and well, with no unmeaning or redundant "ornament," and they will have the beauty proper to their place and time. Above all things the rows of "shabby-smart" little over-windowed houses with which the outskirts of London have made us familiar should never find a place. A walk through some of our nearer suburbs will convince anyone with eyes that there is nothing necessarily disagreeable in rows and streets of houses, so long as the houses themselves are pleasant and reasonable. In these suburbs the old and the new can be seen in violent contrast, and the smarting eyes turn with relief from the glare of the new streets, to the restful calm of the old. Quiet and ordinary as they are, they have, for that very reason, a fitness and even dignity of their own which puts to shame the impertinent and garish vulgarity of their unwelcome neighbours.

Every possible contrivance to discourage the use of smoke-giving fuel will no doubt be considered, and until such time as science shall wrest from Nature another of her closely-guarded secrets, gas and electricity must do much that is now done by coal. Gasworks and generating stations will therefore be necessary. These would presumably be placed in a position on the estate as remote as access to the railway would allow,

as under no circumstances should a high factory chimney be suffered within the city.

The question of farms for the disposal of sewage is just touched on in Mr. Howard's book, but it is doubtful if the sewage farm can be looked upon as anything but waste area, more or less offensive to the senses, and capable of growing little but rank grass and lanky cabbages. It would seem an excellent opportunity of applying a carefully-devised sanitary system on the lines advocated by Dr. Poore in "Rural Hygiene."

It would probably be difficult to modify the proposed method of land tenure to any great extent, but the fact should not be lost sight of that the ordinary 99 years' lease is a too short and uncertain term to tempt people to build sound, solid, and permanent houses, such houses, in fact, as should be characteristic of "Garden City." Some method of quasi freeholds or very long leaseholds may perhaps be devised which would remove this difficulty without robbing the municipality of a proper proportion of "rate-rent."

The idea is now passing out of the paper stage, and its promoters are showing their faith in its soundness by getting together the capital to make, at any rate, a beginning. It is a scheme of the greatest interest and probably of far-reaching importance, and one which, as Mr. Howard says at the conclusion of his book, "may well unite a vast army of workers to utilise that power, the present waste of which is the source of half our poverty, disease, and suffering."

ERNEST NEWTON.

Vauxhall Bridge.

IT seems to be almost a hopeless task to convince the average modern man in the street—at least the English street—that a great bridge is a monument of high architectural import. To such an extent has the architectural instinct of the nation degenerated in these matters since the days of Rennie, that when nearly half a million, a considerably larger outlay than that upon the late Queen's Memorial, is to be expended upon such a structure in full view of the Houses of Parliament, the æsthetics of the question are considered to be satisfied if an engineer, or, more probably, his clerk, devoid of any training whatever in the art of architecture, is turned on to draw some pseudo-Gothic panels (such as the jerry builder might do on a suburban villa) and dispense them over his granite piers and the cast iron "ornamental facings" of his arches.

The Bridges Committee of the London County Council consist of eighteen gentlemen—we may assume—of known probity and good sense in the ordinary affairs of life. Upon no other supposition than that of absolute blindness to the artistic demands of a great city can we fathom their recommendation of such a design for Vauxhall Bridge as "the most satisfactory." In antithesis we may quote the deliberate and more reliable statement of the President and Council of the Royal Institute of British Architects from their pungent petition:—"If a scheme of the pseudo-Gothic type illustrated should become a reality it would remain a discredit to the art of the century, to the London County Council, and to all connected with its inception." It is really difficult to refer to this kind of thing in temperate language.

The genesis of the new Vauxhall Bridge may be briefly described:—

Some five years ago a design with some granite "fonts" for piers and "ornamental" castings for arches was prepared under the direction of Mr. (now Sir A.) Binnie, the then engineer to the London County Council. This was inadvertently, but fortunately, illustrated by an enterprising London "daily," and in consequence a deputation from the Royal Institute of British Architects waited upon the Bridges Committee to press the artistic necessities of the case, which in brief consisted—and still consist—of a simple and dignified stone bridge of good architectural quality. If, however, steel arches were insisted upon the following points were urged:—

1. The lines of the steel construction should be frankly shown—not masked by "ornamental facings."
2. Cast metal mouldings should not carry along stone ones.

In other words, the piers being of stone, horizontally bedded, should be designed so that their lines are not architecturally continuous with the raking lines of the metal parapet.

3. The piers should be wide enough in elevation to satisfy the eye.

The importance of this last point is now apparent when doubt is thrown upon the adequacy of the new foundations provided.

These principles were illustrated by a design, offered gratis, which the London County Council might have done well to adopt. This design was fettered by some of the conditions laid down by the engineer, which were, nevertheless departed

from in no other particular than a widening of the piers as above called for.

In this design the chief architectural features were obtained by erecting weather shelters, found so useful on old Vauxhall Bridge, over each pier, by the avoidance of projecting members injurious to craft, and the omission of all cornices and mouldings on the piers, which would connect with the metal work. A happy and interesting feature consisted in the re-instatement, in somewhat improved form, of the effective iron parapet from the old bridge. The footway was also cleverly bracketted out to give greater prominence to the piers.

However, the engineer would have none of the architects' suggestions, and apparently travelled on the Continent to study continental methods for himself—always excepting the all-important one which spells continental success—the association in countries other than our own of an architect of parts with the engineer in these important works of architecture.

In the result, a bridge of concrete arches faced with granite, carried by granite piers, was produced to the general surprise. It appears that the construction was copied from a bridge at Geneva, while one of the most intrusive ornamental features, granite columns rising from each pier to carry lamp brackets (rather suggestive of the same engineer's "ornamental" drain-pipe ventilators on Chelsea Embankment and elsewhere), was derived from a German example where such ornaments have a wholly different function and significance.

Had the piers been wide enough the lines of this bridge would have been undoubtedly graceful and pleasing.

The detail was fussy in quantity, and in quality showed a complete absence of architectural mastery or merit.* The gravest defect was in the arch voussoirs, which were obviously too slight for the work they were supposed to be doing. This radical defect, coupled with the slightness of the piers, deprived the whole design of that quiet dignity demanded by such a structure.

The Royal Institute of British Architects again stepped forward to urge amendments, but the engineer was too pleased with his fledgling with weak legs and wings to accept suggestions, and carried his Bridges Committee with him by the aid of an elaborate model and a highly coloured perspective. The single amelioration towards greater dignity secured by the architects was the omission of parti-coloured granites.

Thus the work was ordered, and the contract for the removal of the old bridge and the foundations of the new one was let. But further surprises were in store.

The stability of the concrete structure had, since its inception, aroused comment and doubt. The architects had not questioned or had an opportunity of examining the engineer's calculations. They had only called attention to the lack of apparent stability.

The old order changeth. To Sir A. Binnie succeeds Mr. Fitzmaurice, and before long it is whispered that the doubts are justified, that the foundations provided are insufficient, and that the engineer's calculations have not erred on the side of security; in fact, that the margin of safety allowed for, however sufficient for the lighter continental requirements, is inadequate for London needs. The Department must get rid of the novelty at all costs—but apparently on other grounds, for courage seems lacking to face the facts. An ill-navigated tug-boat is made the scapegoat. The Vauxhall Bridge Act requires a clear waterway, during construction, of seventy feet over three arches, with a clear headway of fifteen feet over two of them, and eighteen feet over the other. It is ambiguous whether the headway is to be clear at one point or over the whole waterway of each arch. This ambiguity was in the first instance so far taken into consideration that it was proposed to acquire further Parliamentary powers to put matters on a firm basis, but a clever plan of Sir A. Binnie's for the centreing, set doubt at rest, and secured the sanction of the Thames Conservancy to a headroom of fifteen feet and eighteen feet in the respective centres only of each opening.

The colliding tug-boat as defendant subsequently won an action brought by the bridge contractor, not on the ground that the clear headway had been interfered with, but on the clear issue that the seventy feet clear waterway had not been preserved, and Sir A. Binnie's bridge is now stated to be abandoned lest the execution of his plan for the centreing, as formerly sanctioned by the Conservancy, should render the London County Council possibly liable to "legal negligence" on the indefinite question of possible headway, should it ever possibly be raised.

It is a fine example of British bungling, which reflects no little discredit upon the part of the engineering department, even if it is used as a cloak to shield other reasons for abandonment. The plain man asks why not now secure the Parliamentary powers originally contemplated? Dr. Longstaff elicited, however, by questions in open council, that the foundations were not what they ought to be, and that Mr. Fitzmaurice was not so favourable to concrete construction as his predecessor, in the face of which curiosity seems

* For illustration see the "Builder" of Jan. 7, 1899.

not misplaced as to what would have happened if Sir A. Binnie had remained at the helm.

Incidentally, in the Bridges Committee's Report, doubt is only thrown upon the foundations as one reason for not erecting a *steel bridge faced with granite!* The engineers, it seems, are not even in the swaddling clothes of architectural propriety and fitness. There is no shred of courage shown to use steel as steel honestly, the only way it can be used effectively, but the Report finally brings us up dead with the "ornamentally-faced" ineptitude which lately hung in the London County Council's council chamber, and, as though other grounds were insufficient, the London County Council is urged by this precious document of the Bridges Committee to accept it, because, by doing so, the tramway systems will be linked up across the river so much the sooner! How much more urgent and important than a dignified respect to Father Thames!

For those who have not seen it, a brief description of the threatened artistic calamity must be given.

The granite piers seem too slight to do their apparent work. The cutwater, ending just above high-water level, leaves a flat face of the pier above. This is frittered away with stop-chamfered edges, and a vast panel cusped at the four corners. Then follows a cornice of classical character continuing the raking steel cornice over the arches, and the pier parapet has three small panels in it bearing no relation to the large panel below. The "ornamentally steel-faced" arch has a spandril surrounded by a huge bead containing cusped foils of an order too well known to us in advertisers' catalogues of their cast-iron vulgarities.

The parapet, also in cast-iron, must be drawn to be appreciated. It rivals in "gothic" the "moorish" of Battersea Bridge.

Our lot at present on the Thames is an unhappy one. We have hardly recovered from the architectural shock the Tower Bridge gave us, or from our horrors on beholding Hammersmith. Rennie's noble work at London Bridge is in process of being fussed and mauled to place electric light standards in the roadway. Kew Bridge has given way to steel; Sonning Bridges are condemned; Richmond Bridge is threatened. A few years ago we were seriously informed that Waterloo Bridge must soon be doomed. Our hopes for the preservation of the last remnants of what a better past had bequeathed to us grow visibly smaller, while the Bridges Committee of the London County Council, the dispensing authority in these matters in our midst, has shocked us effectually in all its ill-starred efforts.

When any department can be found to originate, and any collection of men to sanction the erection of such a nightmare as Hammersmith Bridge, can we hope with any confidence to rise above "ornamental facings" for Vauxhall or Lambeth? Yet surely if sufficient impetus can be given to a comprehensive expression of educated opinion, put forth by those influential bodies to which our arts and amenities should not be as naught, the Royal Academy and the Royal Institute of British Architects, for instance, enlightenment may perhaps come at last even to the Bridges Committee of the London County Council. It seems that urgent steps are needed lest it come too late.

W. D. Caröe.

Architecture and the Royal Academy.

A DISCUSSION.—III.

BY BASIL CHAMPNEYS.

It is Cicero, I think, who describes the Roman Augurs as winking to each other when they meet. I can easily imagine two architects, exhibitors of perspectives at the Royal Academy, similarly reciprocating a consciousness of the fraud which they would be perpetrating on the public, if the said public, contrary to its wont, put itself in the way of deception by entering the architectural room. From the chance of being thus deluded visitors preserve themselves, not so much by an instinctive caution, as by caring nothing for architecture, whether properly or improperly portrayed.

But though the public thus escapes this particular snare it is still, by the very fact that architectural exhibitions under the auspices of the Royal Academy is practically limited and ornamental drawing, fortified in the delusion that architecture means draughtsmanship.

Architecture really means nothing of the kind. It is simply and solely the art of producing convenient, stable, and beautiful buildings by whatever means. Drawing is a means to this end which is found generally convenient. Draughtsmanship is the art of making an image of a

building attractive, whether in conformity with actual design or not.

I said that drawing is a means usually found convenient. It is not essentially necessary. It is quite possible to imagine a method by which a building might be carried through without the use of pencil or paper. If any one chose to peg out his ground-plan on the actual site; to set out the further particulars needed on boards; to cut his own templates, and to model in clay his detail and sculpture—if he did all this to a satisfactory result, he would be not less, rather, I think, more entitled to call himself an architect than one who used to the fullest extent the paraphernalia of drawing, though there would obviously be nothing to speak for the work except the result.

In the ordinary practice of architecture, though drawing is lavishly used, there is nothing to show for a building on paper that can be understood or appreciated by the public. Working drawings are serviceable in the precise degree in which they are unornamental. They are the better for being disfigured by figured dimensions and notes, and adventitious adornment of every kind is dangerous, as likely to mislead the designer from the only considerations which are essential. In an office that is not over-staffed the bulk of them are rarely developed beyond the pencil stage, and it constantly happens that out of a multiplicity of drawings no one is for practical purposes brought to an exhibitable stage.

It often happens that a client asks for some drawing which he can understand, and in this case a diagram or perspective may be needed to enable him to realise the grouping and other conditions which he may not be able to gather from the practical drawings; and the architect may possibly himself be glad of the opportunity to study his design in a new form of presentment; though the less illusive this is made the better it is for both client and architect;—for the architect, lest he become unduly enamoured of his design, and for his client, lest he find the result fall short of the expectation fostered by seductive draughtsmanship. Burges once remarked about a fellow architect that it was "a pity he could not build his cross-hatching," and a client may be disappointed in the result, anticipation having been pitched too high by the artifices of drawing. So that it is wiser that even for this purpose perspectives should not be too pretentious, and should fall short of the exhibition standard.

It follows from what I have said that perspective exhibition drawings are and should be altogether outside an architect's practice. They are made specially for a purpose extraneous to the art; and, being curbed by no practical restraint, allow draughtsmanship to romp in, with its illusive tricks of sky, wagons and horses, and groups of figures. It is notorious that they form no fair criterion of the merits of the actual work, and may be equally calculated to make a poor design unjustly attractive and to reduce a good one to mediocrity.

The alternative of exhibiting geometrical drawings is better than this, no doubt. Even they, however, have to be specially manufactured, and are still open, though in a less degree, to the abuse of adventitious amenities. Moreover, they are essentially "*caviare* to the general," and would entirely fail to interest the lay visitor, if, contrary to experience, any such were to be found.

On the whole, I think that it would be best for the art of architecture if architectural exhibitions were abolished. Reputations would then be based exclusively on executed work, the only real criterion of power. If, however, exhibitions must be retained, it appears to me that photographs of executed work are the only legitimate form of representation. They cannot well imply merits which are non-existent. The chances are that they will do less than justice to their subjects. At any rate they will establish an even standard of judgment, and there will be no chance of an architect's reputation being gained by the seductive draughtsmanship of an assistant.

BY BERESFORD PITE.

I CONFESS to looking forward through the winter months with a growing eagerness, difficult alike to justify or repress, to the opening day of the only exhibition room of current architectural design and draughtsmanship in London. In common with brother exhibitors I may indulge in general and particular criticisms and dissatisfaction, and in company with the world at large feel the depressions of reaction after the violent excitements of the galleries where impressionist brush work and all the resources of the palette reign; but, in spite of all this, the fact that this room is the representative exhibition of our architecture in draughtsmanship exercises a sympathetic influence, akin at once to affection and pity upon my mind.

I have long thought that architects should periodically exhibit working drawings, details of executed buildings, and illustrative drawings such as those prepared for competitions. There can be little doubt that if every year the premiated and some other selected designs from every architectural competition were exhibited in complete sets and series, a fine representation of current progress in design and draughtsmanship would be obtained. All the material will exist ready to hand, no special drawings would have to be made, the interest and value of the exhibition to archi-

tects, promoters of competitions, and their constituents would be indisputable, and the indirect influence on the competition question, in bringing all results and awards up to an annual exhibition for a period of comparison and criticism, would both stimulate the competitors and give added responsibility to assessors and promoters.

In addition to this very considerable mass of exhibits, the illustration of other building works by geometrical drawings in complete sets, with photographs, is eminently desirable, and should be not merely encouraged but required; and there would still remain the miscellaneous subjects illustrated by perspectives and other drawings which compose the bulk of the usual exhibition at the Royal Academy.

It is very probable that such an exhibition of the year's architecture, though reduced through selection by the Council, would demand the wall space of two or three galleries instead of the one now found more than sufficient. The exhibition having ceased to be solely of pictures and become one of architectural drawings, though no less one of "works of art," the demand for gilt and glass might be dispensed with, and it may indeed be suspected that this requisition accounts for the singular position of the present architectural exhibition.

The need of increased space and the infallible doctrine of frames probably alone now actually prevent the development of the architectural room into a more truly representative and interesting exhibition; but this is a problem which the Royal Academy can alone deal with by winter exhibition or by any other means which may be acceptable or practicable to its Council or General Body. We may represent, however, to them, in the interests of architects as a body, that, admitting alike the partial interest of the usual exhibition and the difficulties that the subject of the exhibition of architecture with works of painting and sculpture presents, there is a real necessity for great improvement in the character and quality of the work exhibited, which appears to be due to the universal application of the restrictions as to glazing and framing. Architectural plans properly mounted on narrow-margined strainers should be admitted, and sufficient space assured for complete sets of drawings, both of competition designs and of executed buildings.

A few points, more or less disconnected, in conclusion:—

In the present distress I think the value of the recognition in a public exhibition of the fact that architecture has claims upon the attention of the intelligent, and that private works of architecture, as well as public, have a general interest as forming part of the expression of our national life, and are illustrated and exhibited as such, is of considerable importance.

In the present temper of Government and of public bodies it would be unwise for architecture to withdraw herself from the most important of the few platforms upon which she claims—though vicariously and incompletely—to be essential to national art.

This little Architectural Room, cool and unattractive amid the warmth and glories of the picture galleries at the Royal Academy, represents to the ordinary Briton an important principle, as otherwise he cannot explain its perpetuation in spite of unpopularity.

Mr. Norman Shaw's long and interesting article is, we all hope, significant of the existence of much of which some were in great doubt. The action of the Council in selecting and of the "poor hanger" in executing the hanging of the works can only be criticised as to their rejections and returned works by separate instances; all the accepted only are in evidence. Mr. Norman Shaw has never lacked courage in artistic expression, but, in spite of the valorous way in which he cuts the knot of complaints, I have been painfully under the impression that most people concerned suggested that good designs were rejected and bad ones placed on the wall, though I have often found myself unable to concur with complainers upon any group of examples. Varnishing day in the Architectural Room is principally amusing from the variety and tenour of the candid criticisms of the exhibitors themselves upon their neighbours' exhibits, and upon the "poor hanger."

The Council with considerable frequency accept a drawing on the second or third time of asking—I suppose, moved by pity to love. I possess a small architectural drawing by a friend sent four or five times and hung at last, and know of another sent incessantly and rejected until a figure poking the fire—it was an interior—was scratched out.

Mr. Norman Shaw asks if no one in England now cares to expend two months on a fine drawing. At the request of a friend I once spent all three months on making a drawing for the Royal Academy exhibition only, in a method not suited for mere reproduction. This painful work made two annual pilgrimages to the Royal Academy and was promptly returned each time. I am conscious that if this drawing was sent now, Mr. Shaw's plea for laboriousness alone would ensure it attention in examination, and the qualities of its design, that was not mine, would ensure its exhibition.

We have all too, it seems, been under a mis-

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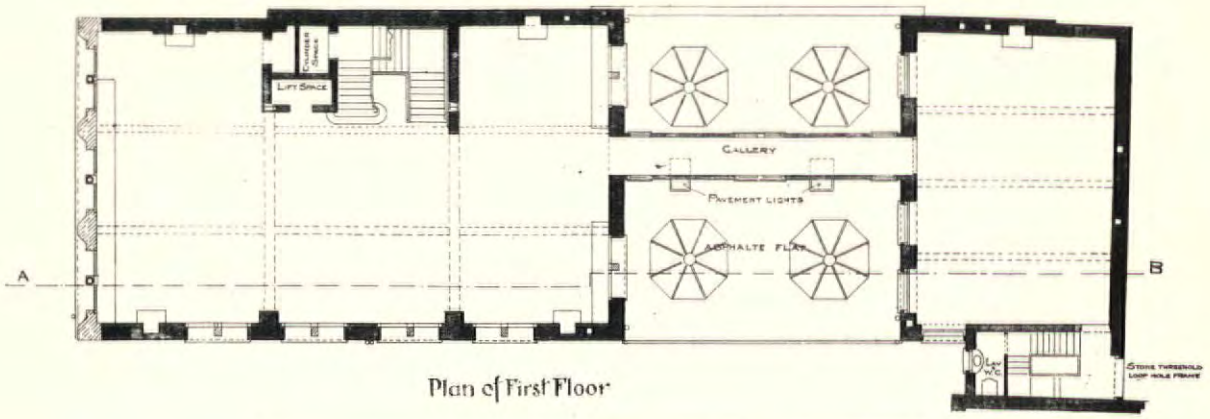
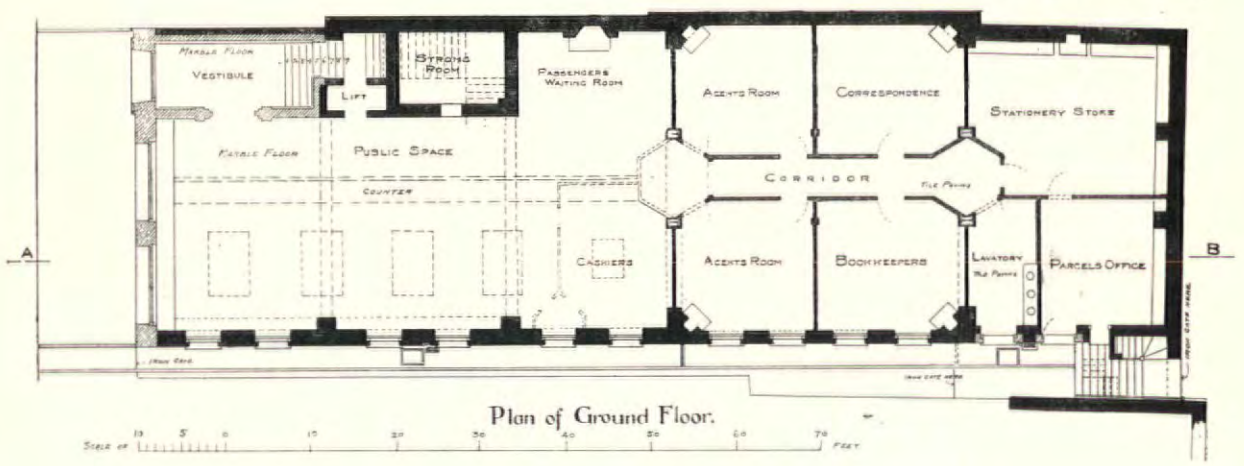
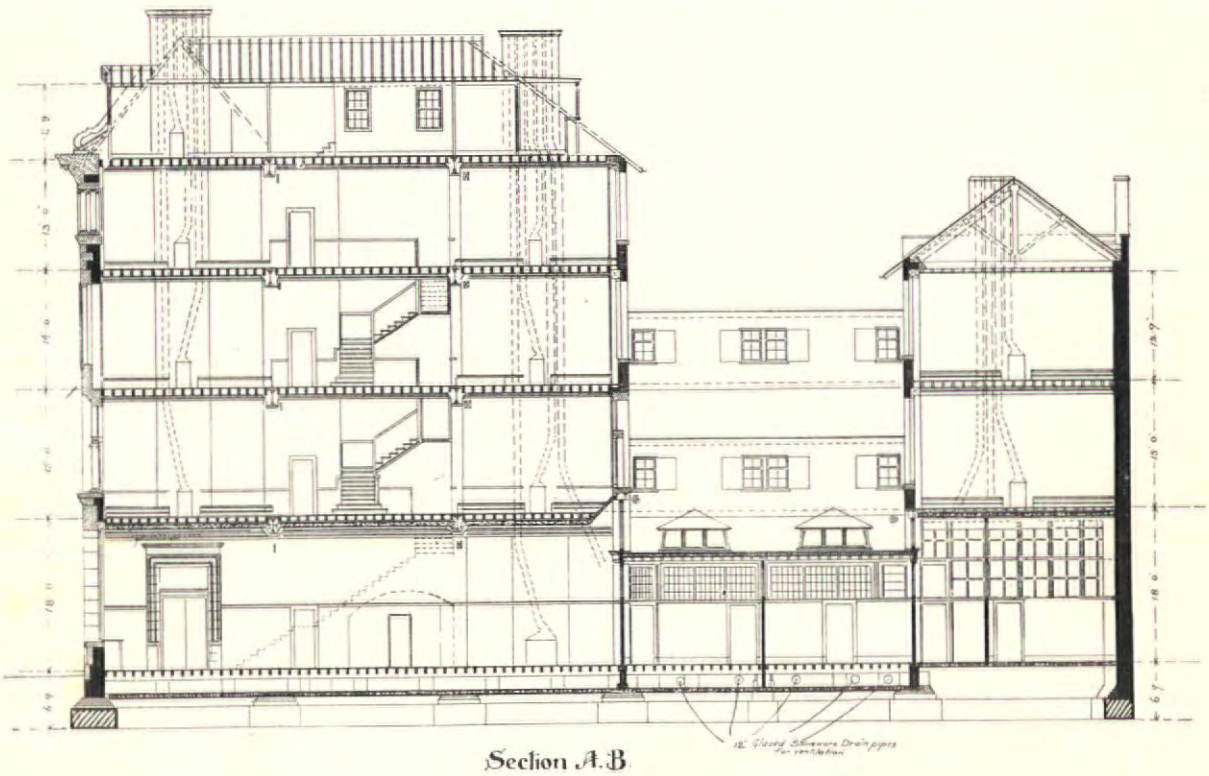


Plan of First Floor



Plan of Ground Floor.



Section A.B.

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taken tradition as to the size of drawings and the amount of space available. When the architect Academician responsible for the hanging about three years ago told me that my only exhibit had run the direst risk of exclusion on account of its great size—it was a moderate frame with three narrow upright perspectives in it—I believed the tradition to be general and authoritative; but it proves, of course, to have been only exceptional and not of general application.

I fear that I have dropped into the grumbling which is unreasonable because natural; but, in spite of the waywardness of Fanny, there is already moving me that lambent eagerness of spirit for next spring which the poet mistakes for a symptom of the time of love.

Current Architecture.

Offices of the Union Castle Company, Adderley Street, Cape Town.—This building has been erected for Messrs. Donald Currie & Co. The whole of the ground floor and most of the upper floors are to-day occupied by the Union Castle Company as offices. The building is of brick, faced with Palmeit River stone, in Adderley Street, and with cement rough cast elsewhere, Cape Town bricks being of very inferior quality. The building which stood formerly on this site had a portico or verandah the full width of the pavement and frontage, supported by fluted Doric columns of stone, with a regular entablature and balustrade. As originally designed, this building had a similar portico in front, to give shade to the ground floor and to foot passengers. The city authorities, with truly British perversity, declined to permit of any new columns of a greater diameter than eight inches, which would only give the type of verandah seen in the photograph on either side of the Castle Company's premises. The Company decided that it would be better to have no verandah than a cast-iron one. The internal arrangements of buildings of this class are so frequently changed with the growth of business, that it is necessary to form large open spaces with as few internal supporting walls and as many windows as practicable, to permit of future alterations being made without interference with the structure. Accordingly, we have a large open ground floor so formed that all the interior partitions could be removed, without the insertion of a single shore to the superstructure. To this end steel is largely used. All the steel used in the colony is imported. The roofs are slated with an American slate, the lathing is of expanded metal throughout, and the lift is worked by hydraulic pressure. Messrs. W. Dunn and R. Watson were responsible for the design of the building, and Mr. Herbert Baker, of Cape Town, for the general supervision.

Books.

The Architecture of Bath.

"The Eighteenth Century Architecture of Bath." By Mowbray A. Green, A.R.I.B.A. Part I. Bath, George Gregory, 1902. Price per part, 10s. To subscribers, 7s. 6d. Advance subscription, 30s. for four parts, including binding.

In April, 1901, a paper was read at the fortnightly meeting of the Architectural Association which aroused considerable interest among those best acquainted with the beauties of Bath. It was by Mr. Mowbray Green, and gave at once such a different account of the subject from that usually current, and such an impression of accurate and first-hand knowledge, that Mr. Green's recent announcement of a complete treatise, to be issued in four parts, has been very warmly received. There are many reasons why a trustworthy account of the buildings of this beautiful city should be welcome. For a long time it seemed as if good architecture had become extinct in the headquarters of the trade in oolite. Bath stone was used everywhere except in Bath to produce fine buildings. As lately as in the last ten years of the nineteenth century it was credibly reported that architectural taste was dead in the place which Inigo Jones, Burlington, the two Woods, and Baldwin had embellished. Since then, as has been fully recorded in these pages, Bath, by an effort which caused much local controversy and many searchings of heart, awoke from its long indifference to the claims of art. Not only did it afford space and opportunity for the genius of Brydon, but the citizens began to ask about its associations. The volumes published of late years upon the memorable inhabitants and their dwellings have been numerous, and, in addition, an admirable map has been prepared and issued to guide the visitor to historic residences. If it has been reserved for Mr. Green to place the researches thus indicated upon a scientific base, and if the remaining numbers of his work are as complete as the first, we may expect not only a great increase in our knowledge, but, for those, and they are many, who need a guide to the

objects worthy of admiration, a great increase also in the attractions which Bath holds out to the visitor.

Geologists have noted that the formation which in the Middle Ages distinguished Normandy, and was known to the thirteenth-century builders as Caen stone, was represented in our island by a similar stratum. Entering at or near Portland it crossed the kingdom diagonally and made its exit near Lincoln. Along this line most of the great buildings of that period are to be found. The ancient church of St. Lawrence at Bradford in Wilts is upon it, and the fine towers of Raunds and Barnack and Stamford. Salisbury, Lincoln, and other famous cathedrals are either upon it or where easy water carriage made the oolite available. Both Oxford and Cambridge were thus favoured, and the great abbeys of Yorkshire partook of its benefits. During all these ages the chief modern quarries were untapped. Bath was little better than a village, and e n in the time of Queen Elizabeth, though the local stone was largely used in all the districts mentioned above, and Longleat, Cranborne, Montacute, Chalfield, and other fine houses were being built in the surrounding districts, it had attained no special celebrity except for its perennial hot springs. The Tudor Queen enlarged the old boundaries of the city, taking in places which bear such descriptive names as the Wall Cote, the King's Mead, the Vine Yard, besides the field in which the wells were situated and the Ham, the Anglo-Saxon settlement or home, once called, more by chance than any intention, Akeman's Chester. Bath had not greatly increased or improved when it obtained the patronage of another Queen, Anne, who with Prince George, visited it more than once at the beginning of the century of whose architectural triumphs Mr. Green treats. The Bath waters became famous and so continue. The Bath stone won its way more slowly, but since Brunel in his Box tunnel at Corsham demonstrated the accessibility and inexhaustibility of the supply, it has been in rapidly-growing demand, not only here, but abroad, and even at the Antipodes.

Meanwhile, Bath was lucky in securing as citizens such men as Postmaster Allen, celebrated by Pope; Wood, the best architect of his date; and Nash, a fop who, in spite of his follies, was able to attract the fashion of the day—none of them natives of the place. Mr. Green describes first the small beginnings on which Allen improved. The present instalment gives us views of houses long forgotten, though still in many cases existing, and enables us to recognise certain characteristic features, string courses, mouldings, window frames, which in further researches will furnish us with useful notes as to date.

Among these, many visitors will be interested to find the charming little front of a house in Trim Street, which seems to have been erected for General Wolfe, who was much in Bath before his victory and death at Quebec. Another house, usually attributed to Lord Burlington (*pace* Mr. Blomfield), is carefully figured and described. It was pulled down during the period of architectural indifference mentioned already, to make a better approach to one of the modern eye-sores for which that period is responsible. A third and most interesting building is still standing, but is not very easy to find. This is the town residence of Ralph Allen. To see it we descend from the main street near the Athenæum into Lilliput Alley, between two houses, and there, at the bottom of a sharp slope, which shows how greatly the modern level has been raised, is the "basement storey sustaining a double storey under the crowning," which Wood, in his *Description*, calls "a sixth-rate house"; for he divided his designs into classes, "first-rate" being the lowest, "and so on to the largest and most ornate, which was called sixth-rate." This front is so placed that Allen could see from his windows the lofty down at the other side of the valley and the Sham Castle which he had placed on its summit. The present part of Mr. Mowbray Green's work concludes with careful elevations, plans, sections, details, and photographs of Widcombe House. This lovely villa was built for Philip Bennet, M.P., in 1727, and is often, for its beauty, attributed to Inigo Jones, or his successor Webb. As Mr. Green observes, it may have been built by Greenway, about whom he has unearthed some curious particulars, and have been designed by Wood. It would be only too easy to follow Mr. Green into the many enquiries he institutes as to early Bath architecture; but for these particulars it will be best to refer the reader to the book itself, as some acquaintance with the topography of the city will be needful: but one interesting circumstance should be mentioned. In beginning, as Mr. Green does, with the early architecture of Bath, he omits more than a passing reference to the so-called Gothic style, and confines his remarks to examples of Palladian. In thus treating his subject, however, he neglects no ancient features of importance, for no mediæval architecture, except the Abbey Church, remains in the city. The church is in the very latest possible pointed style, and has both of late years and in the last century been so thoroughly "restored" as to have few, if any, genuine Gothic remains left; while it is noteworthy that there is hardly any village in the neighbourhood—Corsham, Bradford, Charlcombe, Norton, South Wraxall, for instance—which does not boast a greater wealth of examples of mediæval art. The architecture of Bath is that of the elder Wood and his successors, and in bringing his first number to a conclusion by restoring the credit of Widcombe Manor House to that great man, Mr. Green enlists our sympathies on behalf of the artist who, it is evident, will be the hero of his book.

W. J. Loftie.

CORRECTION.

In the second article on the life and work of Charles Robert Cockerell, R.A., published in our October issue, by a slip of the author, which we overlooked, the illustration on page 139 appears as a design for the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. It is, of course, the first design for the University Library, the final design being given on page 133 of the same issue.