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Photo: Bedford Lemere and Co.

THE RYLANDS MEMORIAL LIBRARY, MANCHESTER.
GENERAL VIEW FROM THE GALLERY. BASIL CHAMPNEYS, ARCHITECT.
(See page 117.)

The Florentine Lily.

By the kindness of its owner we publish this month a drawing of considerable interest to students of Florentine art. We are indebted to him for the following particulars:—

This quattrocento sheet, handed down from collector to collector for more than four centuries, and unfortunately showing signs of not over-scrupulous guardianship at some stage of its history, preserves for us the studies made by a Pre-Raphaelite artist for a famous heraldic convention. When we come to consider the botanical origin of the Florentine Lily design we meet with a certain dualism which is disconcerting, for the source of its inspiration is not, as we should have expected, the *Lilium*, whose white flower was in mediæval times the symbol of Christ's mother's virginity, but a member of a different botanical family, the *Iris*—according to some authorities the variety styled *foetidissima*—and we are led to the conclusion that this latter, having commended itself to the heraldic draughtsman by its greater plastic attractiveness, was accepted by the popular imagination as an alternative conception of the idea, and credited, notwithstanding its play of colour, with some of its rival's theological significance. By whatever stages this result may have been arrived at, we find the two conceptions, the realistic white *Lilium* and the conventionalised *Iris*, obtaining concurrent employment on Florentine territory throughout the later Mediæval and Renaissance periods, and the latter, with which we are now concerned, appearing not only upon the state ensigns, but, as Dante (*Paradiso* xvi., 151) reminds us, in red and white respectively upon those of the Guelph and Ghibelline factions, rivals for pre-eminence in her councils. When in A.D. 1298 Florence joined in that competition of cathedral building which for poor plague-stricken Siena ended in ruinous incompleteness, *Sta. Maria del Fiore* was the name, in exchange for *Sta. Reparata*, deliberately given by the citizens to the new building. Her coinage early received the impress of the same emblem, and, thanks to her banking and wool-trading relations with France, England, and Flanders, implanted the Fiorino's nomenclature in Western Europe; so that if Florence, as the chief seed-plot of the Italian Renaissance, merits the title that has been given her of "the Jerusalem of modern culture," her lily may take its place in succession to the cross as symbol of her efforts to revive classical learning, to extend the bounds of knowledge, and generally to satisfy that "child-like curiosity" which, in the words of Bishop Creighton, "was the charm and power of the Renaissance."

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Cosimo Roselli, to whose hand Messrs. Richter and Berenson attribute the original of the reproduction given, comes down to us from the fifteenth century with the millstone of one of Vasari's dubiously truthful stories hanging round his neck—how, employed by Pope Sixtus to take part with Botticelli, Ghirlandaio, Signorelli, and Perugino in the decoration of the Sistine Chapel, he presumed on his patron's ignorance in art matters, and putting gold lavishly on the lights of his frescoes, so captivated the Pontiff as to carry off the honours of the contest from his more competent brethren. Damned by this story, and, it must be confessed, by much of laboured futility in his painting, Cosimo's claim to later consideration has been chiefly based on his share in the training of his eccentric and delightfully fanciful pupil Pier di Cosimo; but time brings occasional reversals of judgment for painters as for statesmen, and late in the day has provided Roselli with a defender. Mr. Berenson, basing his claim to a more lenient verdict upon the *St. Ambrogio* fresco and certain minor productions, among them the fascinating "Combat of Love and Chastity," in the National Gallery, considers him one who "at his best did not fall short" of his more popular fellow-countryman, Ghirlandaio. Though Vasari will not allow Roselli in his paintings to have risen above mediocrity, he admits that in his drawings he showed considerable talent—a characteristic this in which he was by no means singular, for the Florentine school generally, based as it was upon sculptural and metal-work traditions, displayed an ability with the pen and crayon which it lost to some extent when it reached fresco and panel. In the special subject to which he is here devoting himself, Cosimo challenges comparison with Donatello, with Luca della Robbia, whose *Stemma* of the Merchants' Guild is one of the treasures of Or San Michele, as well as with a crowd of minor craftsmen; and, if not a victor in the contest, he at least deserves honourable mention. In the jottings to the left of the Lily studies we have records delicately incisive of two projected altarpieces; the upper one apparently an Adoration of the Magi, the lower a Madonna throned on clouds between a Father of the Church and a monk adoring. Of the figure studies on the reverse of this drawing, representing *St. John the Baptist* and other saints, a reproduction appears in Mr. Berenson's monumental work on Florentine drawings, that critic observing that "antedating any of Roselli's existing paintings, they give promise of an excellence he seldom attained." The sheet, which on both sides has received a vermillion



THE FLORENTINE LILY. A DRAWING BY COSIMO ROSELLI.

ground, bears the stamp of the Marquis de Lagoy, a collector who, living in the first half of the nineteenth century, seems to have been in advance of his time in appreciation of drawings of the early Italian school.

Late in his career—he was born in 1439—Cosimo figures in the list of artists chosen to advise the consuls of the Wool Guild and the Operai del Duomo upon the position to be occupied by Michelangelo's statue of David. The purpose with which the committee was called together was hardly more remarkable than the names of the men composing it, for it included Andrea della Robbia, Granacci, Cosimo Roselli, Pier di Cosimo, Filippino Lippi, Sandro Botticelli, Antonio da San Gallo, Andrea Sansovino, Perugino, Lorenzo di Credi, and Leonardo da Vinci. The decision of the question was finally left to the sculptor; but how enviable the city which, confronted with a masterpiece, the production of one of her citizens, had such a wealth of talent to appeal to on the question of its final bestowal.

In view of the similarity of *motif* in the heraldic devices of the mediæval French monarchy and the Florentine commune, of the legendary ascription to Charlemagne of responsibility for this similarity, and in view of the tendency that exists in some quarters to-day to give to French Gothic the credit of exercising a preponderant influence upon early Tuscan sculpture, an extract from a letter of the late M. Muntz giving his opinion upon the mutual relations of the two national emblems may not be without interest:—"En ce qui concerne

le lys florentin (épanoui) il est tout-à-fait distinct du lys de France (fermé). Il remonte aux premiers siècles du moyen âge. Vous le trouvez entre autres sur les monnaies florentines du xiii^e siècle. Il est bien vrai que le lys de France a été concédé aux Medicis, mais il l'a été au xv^e siècle seulement par Louis XI.; il figure uniquement sur l'une des 'palle' de l'ère Médicéenne. Le lys de votre dessin est le lys florentin bien caractérisé." Here the word "uniquement" used by M. Muntz should, we imagine, be understood only to exclude governmental and municipal employment of the French lily, the *lys fermé* holding a central place in the fine Della Robbia scutcheon, now at South Kensington, which Andrea de' Pazzi placed outside his villa to commemorate a visit of René d'Anjou. C.

NOTE.—Of the method employed by Florence's rival, Siena, on one occasion for the execution of the national emblems we obtain detailed information from a document in the state Archivio given by Borghesi and Banchi in a recent publication. Here we find the painter Francesco Alfei offering to paint the State Arms over the gates of certain vassal townships in the Maremma on condition of his receiving for the term of his employment a grant of the emoluments of the Lieutenancy of Monte Orgiali. As the applicant's family circumstances were not very flourishing—the *poveretto*, as he styles himself, had eight children under age and *disutile*, the oldest of them, a girl, being marriageable but dowerless—it is pleasant to find that his petition was successful, and that the towns in question were ordered by the Signoria to supply their "well-beloved citizen" with the scaffolding, lime, and sand which he had stipulated should be provided, while he gave the *magisterio* and colours. And it is to be hoped that the impression produced by these emblems upon the minds of foreigners who saw them—a consideration which Francesco gravely urges as a reason for his employment, and which is a characteristic note of the Siennese temperament—was sufficiently imposing to justify the Signoria in their expenditure.

Michelangelo's Medicean Tombs:

A Study in Artistic Psychology.

ONE of the most typical among the many problems which have engaged the attention of art critics and historians is that of the Medici Tombs in the new sacristy of San Lorenzo.

It can be summed up in a single sentence: Does the arrangement of the architecture and the condition of the statues represent the deliberate intention of Michelangelo, or is each of these items the result of a series of mere accidents?

Considered from the side of historical evidence, the question, which has been threshed out by all the chief writers on Michelangelo, notably Hermann Grimm, Symonds, Wölfflin, and Justi, offers no kind of certainty, while any hypothesis offered on biographical grounds might be subverted by the discovery of an unsuspected drawing or document.

But, besides the evidence afforded by historical facts, there exists the evidence supplied by the monuments themselves; and it is this which the following pages are intended to lay before the reader. We are bound, however, to confess that our motive for doing so is less the hope of settling an historical controversy than the belief that the consideration of such evidence of authorship will bring our reader, as it has brought ourselves, into closer appreciation of the æsthetic and poetical qualities of the work. And we desire to make clear that the following analysis is merely an attempt to surrender ourselves to the intrinsic suggestions of the monument, and to judge of those suggestions by the rules of psychological probability; in other words, to describe the coincidences and contradictions contained in the

work, and attempt to reconcile them by what is known of the workings of the artistic mind.

Before proceeding on such an examination, it is desirable to lay before the reader a brief account of the historical facts and of the hypotheses to which they have given rise.

Michelangelo's activity in connection with the Medicean monuments falls under two periods of years.

In 1520 he was asked for plans by Cardinal de' Medici, son of Julian and nephew of Lorenzo the Elder and afterwards Pope under the name of Clement VII., who had resolved to build a new sacristy containing monuments to certain members of his family, as a companion piece to the older sacristy built by Brunelleschi and containing the tombs of the earlier Medici.

In 1521 Michelangelo fetched the necessary marble from the Carrara mountains, made a small model of the statue of the Madonna, and submitted his schemes to the Cardinal, who was not satisfied with them. Michelangelo then offered to execute wooden models of the monuments; but it is not known whether he actually did so or not. The work was actively commenced on Cardinal de' Medici being elected to the papal throne, Michelangelo beginning in 1524 the two figures of sitting warriors, the "Captains," who, though presumably in no way portraits, have received the names of Julian Duke of Nemours and Lorenzo Duke of Urbino, respectively cousin and second cousin of Clement VII., and son and grandson of Lorenzo the Magnificent.

In the twenties of the sixteenth century the new sacristy work was interrupted by the complications concerning the monument of Julius II., which Michelangelo had long previously begun in Rome, and by the political events, including the siege of Florence, in which Michelangelo took part against the allies of the house of Medici. After the final establishment of the Medicean domination, Michelangelo was called back to the work by Clement VII., and busied himself therewith despite interruptions occasioned by the unfinished monument of Julius II. On the death of Clement VII. in 1534, Michelangelo left Florence for good, his intention of never returning being clearly expressed in certain of his letters.

What was the condition of the sacristy on his departure, and what its subsequent vicissitudes? It is plain from a letter written by Vasari to Michelangelo in 1562 that the sacristy was regularly used for religious services, which points to the architectural part at least having been in order. The same letter mentions the desire of the reigning Grand Duke that the paintings should be finished, and that, since Michelangelo could not leave Rome, the rest of the statues

should be supplied (or finished?) by sculptors selected from the Florentine academy.

Vasari goes on to ask for instructions concerning the statues to go on each side of the dukes, the statues above the doors, the corner tabernacles, and finally concerning the painting of the walls to match the cupola (since whitewashed over), which had been painted by Giovanni da Udine at the time that Michelangelo was still in Florence. It is probably to this letter that Grimm and Justi refer when they assert that towards the end of his life Michelangelo busied himself enthusiastically with the sacristy.

This scanty information leaves it doubtful whether, first, Michelangelo employed the three years between the siege and his departure from Florence in putting the sacristy into the condition in which we now see it; second, whether he gave the necessary directions when already in Rome, either before or after the letter from Vasari referring to such parts of the chapel as have never been executed; or finally, third, whether Michelangelo left the whole in disorder, so that the present architectural detail and the arrangement of the statues must be considered as not representing the intentions of the master.

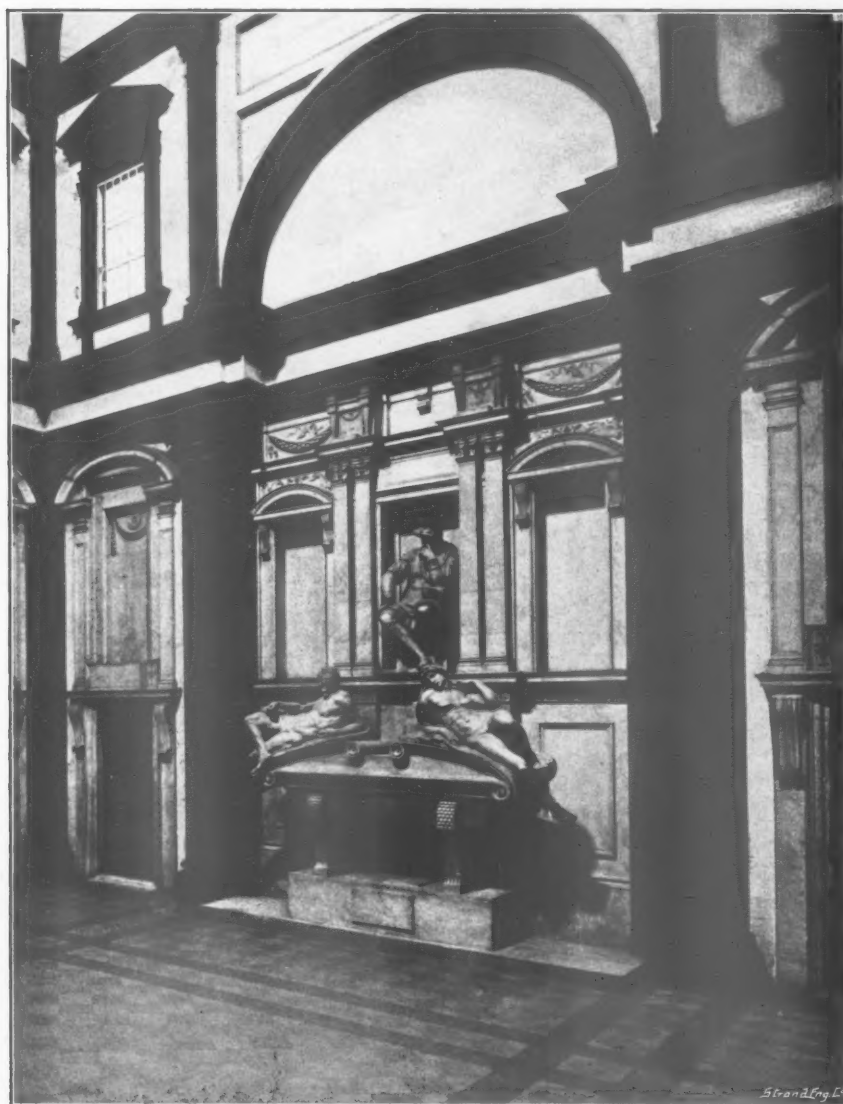
The paucity of documentary evidence has left the field open for these various opinions. Hermann Grimm, in one of his essays, went so far as to design a new sarcophagus, supposed by him to answer Michelangelo's real intentions, while Wölfflin has accepted the existing sarcophagi as authentic.

To this question of the architectural framework, the sarcophagi, and the arrangement of the various figures, must be added another one, answered affirmatively by the principal writers on art history, but negatively by several practical artists: Was Michelangelo prevented by mere accident from finishing and polishing the figures of the Day and Twilight?

The following is the answer to all these questions which the writers of these pages believe to be presented by the monuments themselves.

Let us begin by admitting that the sarcophagi would certainly have gained by being mounted on stronger supports, and each whole monument by being placed on a longer marble base. Moreover, let us reject some of the smaller architectural details as unworthy of the rest. This concession being made either to Michelangelo's hurried arrangements or to the unintelligent execution of his orders, we can proceed to deciphering the intention displayed in the architectural, plastic, and poetical co-ordination of the various parts and details.

The first thing which strikes us is that each of the sarcophagi supports a statue highly finished



MONUMENT OF LORENZO, SACRISTY OF SAN LORENZO, FLORENCE.

and even polished in all but a few details, and a statue not merely rough-hewn, but still partially shrouded in the forms of the block. The finished statues are the two female ones called Dawn and Night; the rough-hewn the two demigods called Day and Twilight. Now, this difference in the degree of finish constitutes a difference in the authentic quality of the work as definite and essential as that between the smooth painting of, say, Perugino, and the execution, in visible juxtaposed brushmarks, of Velasquez and his modern followers; it is a technical element of form, and only second, as a differentiating factor, to the arrangement of the outlines and masses of the statues.

The employment of these two methods of

surface treatment, with all their intermediate stages, constitutes a system of what, adopting a convenient though incorrect terminology, we will call by analogy *pace-values*, meaning thereby that the eye of the beholder is obliged, in the act of seeing, to travel more or less quickly or slowly, to glide or linger according as it meets a smooth or a rough surface. If the state of finish and unfinish were purely accidental, and in no way answered to the wishes of the artist, we might naturally expect that these *pace-values*, unintentionally introduced, would work at random, and, making allowance for every degree of lucky coincidence, in such a manner as to make the groups and architecture not more, but less, of a co-ordinated whole. They would be of the nature of printers'



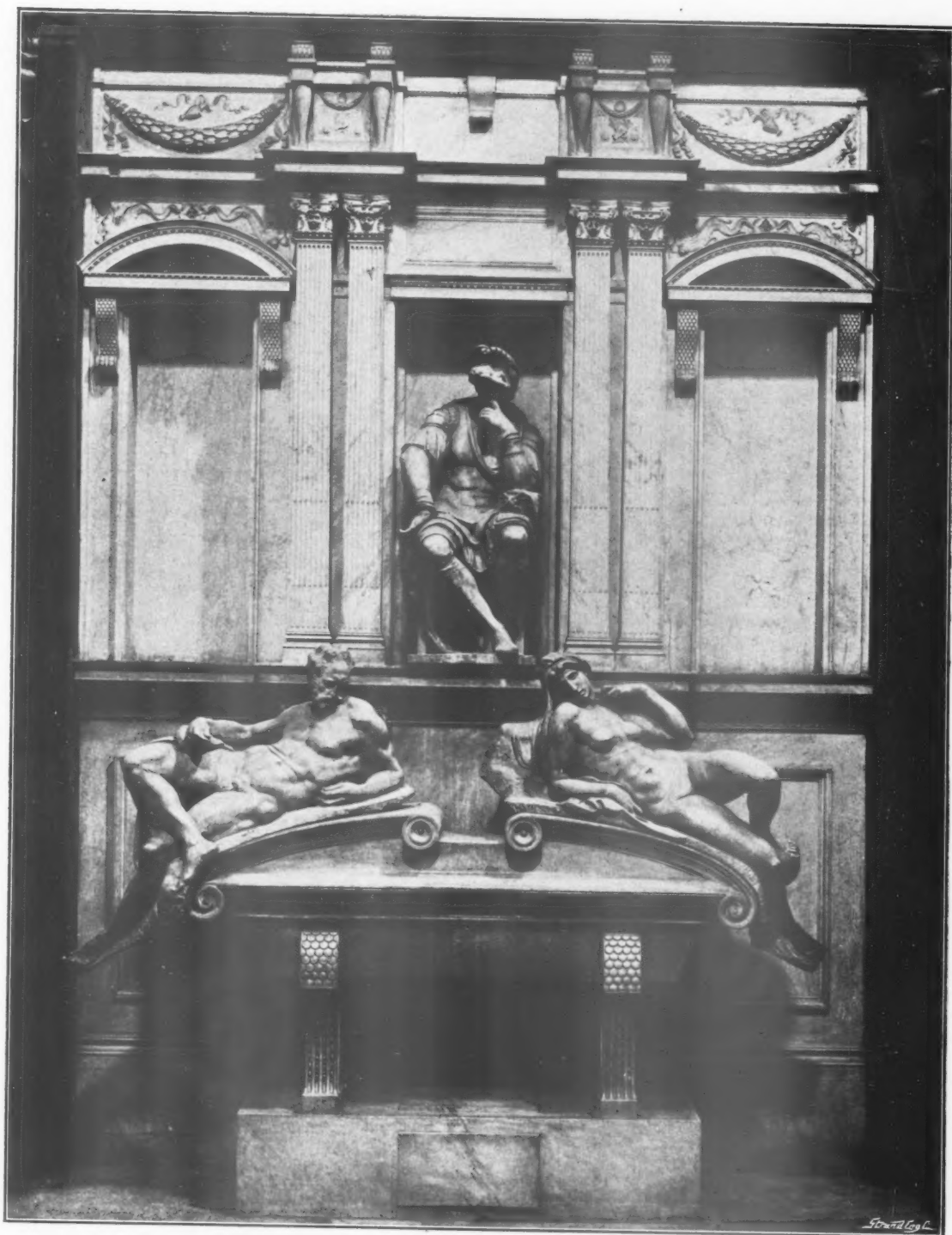
MONUMENT OF GIULIANO, SACRISTY OF SAN LORENZO, FLORENCE.

errors, which, even if giving a percentage of happy flukes, must, taken all together, play havoc with the meaning, the rhythm, and the rhymes of a poem.

What is, so to speak, the emotional meaning, the architectural syntax, the plastic rhythm of this great double poem of Michelangelo's? Let us begin with the tomb of the Duke of Urbino. Above the Dawn and the Twilight Lorenzo sits like a winged figure, poised, and held steady, on

outstretched pinions. He seems to hold up the recumbent figures of the Dawn and the Twilight which lie below him; holds them up, and keeps them steady; they cannot slip away while he is there. Cover him up and they seem ready to float gradually downward, to disappear below the horizon.

This appearance of being winged, belonging to Lorenzo, is produced by the arches over the niches on either side of him, which the eye



MONUMENT OF LORENZO.

is obliged to connect with this figure. That this connection is not accidental is shown by the curves of the arches, which, if continued, would spring from his shoulders; shown also by the sharply-cut ornamental work inside the arches, which holds the eye and gives the curves importance. The arches are meant to play the part they do. He sits intrenched, holding the two recumbent figures in their places as though invisible lines converged from them to his hand, and his whole balance goes to keeping their unstable equilibrium steady.

They, in their turn, supply the visible base for the building in which he sits. Of this the marble pilasters are not inanimate-looking objects, but seem rather to grow out of the figures as, conversely, living caryatides might have grown out of stone; their capitals lift upwards against the cornice, the carving on them helping thereunto. This lift upwards of the capitals and the lift upwards of the wing-like arches between them counteract the gravity of the figures; there is harmonious interaction, and the whole is kept taut. The box on which Lorenzo rests his arm is draped and covered up from curious eyes, only the front of it shows, with the head of a rat carved upon it; the rat which Michelangelo spoke of as the emblem of Time, the Devourer of all things.

After looking long at the figure of Lorenzo one is left wondering. One cannot call him human, for he is not, yet he is not in the least of the same race as the cosmic figures on the tomb. He is more of the nature of some dark recording angel. He has evidently alighted in the niche, as some flying creature would, and he might fly away again on mighty wings; but, instead, he will sit through the ages, musing and watching while Destiny drees its weird. Afterwards, in the fullness of time—who knows?—he may look up and soar away.

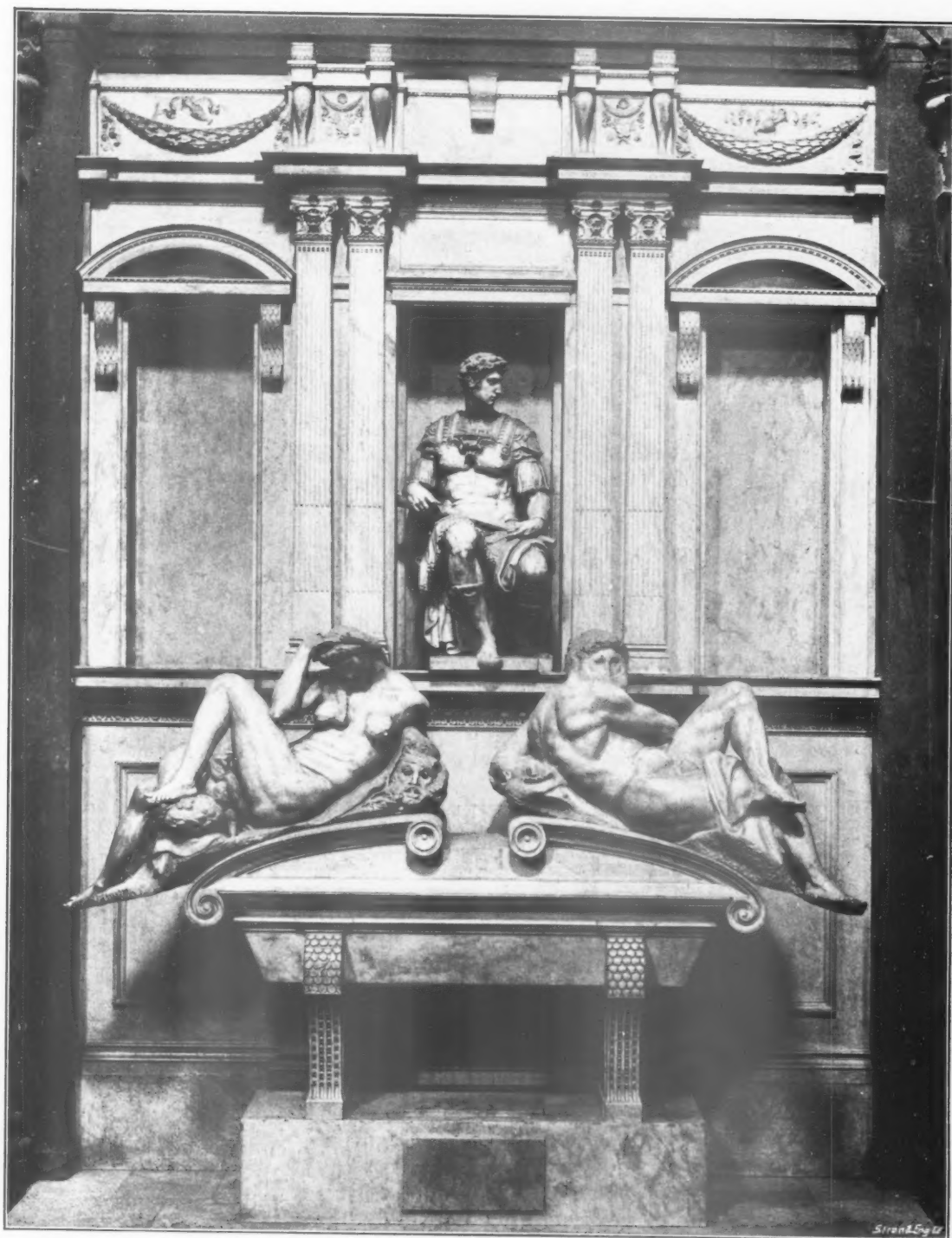
The architecture round the tombs of Lorenzo and of Giuliano, though practically identical in design, is very different in expression; the parts that tell in the one case are, so to speak, dumb in the other; quite different things come into prominence: the very things which made Lorenzo's group important are of no importance in the group of Giuliano, and *vice versâ*. Giuliano, it will be noticed at once, does not look like a winged figure; the arches over the niches on each side of him exist, it is true, but they do not connect with his body, and the eye gives them little importance; it is not meant to give them importance, for the ornamental work inside them, unlike that on Lorenzo's monument, does not hold the eye. The curves of the arches do not spring towards him; he appears to slip helplessly

between the wings; he sits as Icarus might sit, having failed to fly.

It will be remembered that Lorenzo holds the Dawn and the Twilight in position on the sarcophagus. With the other tomb it is the reverse; the splendid figures of the Day and the Night keep Giuliano in his place: he does not keep them in theirs. The reins seem to be slipping from his hands. What principally strikes one about him is that he has no definite balance; one's impression of him is of something almost shifting, like sand.

The pilasters on either side of him, which start from the Day and the Night as their base, do not lift up like those on the Lorenzo monument. Here they only hold the building steady. The carving on the capitals is different from that on the other tomb; here it does not spring upward. The function of this architecture is, above everything, to keep steady, to support, and, so to speak, to stiffen the figure of the shaken man in the niche. He averts his glance; he cannot face the path of the Day nor the way of the Night; he even turns from the energy of the sculptured head on his own breastplate. He can make no more efforts; he is sick at heart; and when he does move it will be like some steep river bank undermined by the current, engulfed, vanishing. Meanwhile the outer arches beyond the monuments, which have but little effect upon the group of Lorenzo, in that of Giuliano take a real importance. For the soaring figures of the Day and the Night seem to swing these arches outwards, and they are launched off to either side with a curve like the arch of the sky, one end of the arch connecting with the Day or the Night and the other end connecting with—well, the infinite.

Let us now compare together the two allegorical figures on each of the tombs. The Day and the Night are securely poised on their sarcophagus; they look as if they could stay as they are. In the group opposite, on the other hand, the Dawn and the Twilight take an appearance of transience from their insecure position on the sarcophagus; they are balancing rather than lying, and their position must shift in a few seconds. Moreover, the Dawn and the Twilight are placed lower down, so that their heads only are above (and barely) the horizontal line of the wall behind them; whereas the Day and Night ride proudly breast high above their skyline. What the four figures have in common is that they do not go through their action as human beings would; their movements are not those of getting up and lying down, but rather something akin to the movements of clouds: they could come soaring forwards, waft themselves along overhead, close together with an enveloping gesture, or unfurl; nay, they could



MONUMENT OF GIULIANO.

turn over, one instinctively feels, and disappear sideways into the distance as clouds disappear. All these movements strike us as a matter of course; they do not put us out of our reckoning, simply because in proportion as they would be unexpected in human beings, they are natural to such cosmic creatures as Michelangelo has made visible to our eyes and acceptable to our desires. And why do we thus accept them as cosmic, as Day and Night, Dawn and Twilight?

The Day affects us as day does, because all his planes are broad and flat, so that the diffused light lies evenly everywhere, scarcely dappled with shadow. Owing to the rather rough surface giving the eye, so to speak, a grip, one can look at the figure very deliberately; there is, as in the day, plenty of time. His head is rougher than his body, so that one looks at it even slower. The lower part of the face is hidden behind the shoulder (like the rim of sun behind a mountain range); one sees only the brow and eyes, and notices that he sees very far, far beyond; and the glance is level into the skies, overlooking the earth below. And, as we continue to look at the demigod, we get the curious impression that we are all under his foot. That Michelangelo shared this feeling seems shown by the careful and delicate workmanship of the sole of the foot, on which our eye is obliged to rest. Day is looking over his great upraised shoulder as the sun looks over a mountain range; his movement is entirely of unfurling and going forth: he will sail outwards over us to the furthest horizon, he is the strong man rejoicing to run his race. He has a splendid quality of being normal at once and noble; there is nothing recondite about him. He lives with might; one sees that he is eternal, more eternal by far than the world really is.

On the same sarcophagus rests Night, gradually folding up as some flower closes its petals at dusk; that is the first impression which she makes. One tries to take in her shining body as a whole, but the slippery surface baffles the eye, and she can be seen only in successive glances, for the marble is worked to the highest pitch of brilliancy, and she is almost as elusive as the moonlight itself; the high lights are literally luminous, and the shadows are very dark.

The goddess gives one the impression of riding high above us, but also of sweeping downwards gently. She has shaken off the garish mask of day and seems to be leaving it behind as she comes sinking down through the dusk. She might go sweeping downwards for ever if the movement were not stopped by her upraised foot which steadies and checks it. Her foot, all shining and luminous, rests on the fruits of the earth (one makes them out without difficulty, for they are

rough-hewn and therefore arrest the eye); apples and corn asleep under the gleam of the moon. Night, too, is asleep, her head drooping; only the star in her hair and the young moon looking upwards; everything else suggesting the hush of the world and the sinking down of the darkness into its sleep. Only the owl is awake, the bird of night, who stands by her vigilant like a warrior in his armour.

We were meant to notice his presence, for he is very carefully worked; his surface is left rough (the moonlight does not touch him); his plumage is most carefully rendered. His eyes seem to pierce rather than merely to see. Perhaps he is looking back, while the evil world sleeps through the centuries, at the happier things which were shown him by his first mistress, Athena; erect and vigilant, he keeps guard.

There is no star on the head of Dawn, and no young moon, like those worn by the Night. There is about her nothing of ornament or poetry. Indeed, the only attributes she has are the bonds round her breast tying her down, and the heavy head-dress whose folds she is clearing aside with an effort. Of the four figures only the Dawn is bound; the others can move as they choose, but she must first break loose from the bonds which tie her to her place. She is not actually gleaming like the Night, but only polished enough to be elusive and unclutchable to one's eye. Her, also, one sees only by glances. One is held by her beautiful disconsolate face; for of the four figures hers is the only one whose head is worked in complete detail, so that eye and attention are absorbed thereby.

Looking at her body one notices the way she is hanging balanced on the tomb. It is a transitory moment, it cannot last. Her balance is too doubtful; she may rock forward into life or she may rock backward into oblivion; she will probably let herself lie still and the heavy draperies sink over her tired head and fold her in eternal sleep, sinking, sinking. . . One understands that the beginning of the new day is almost a deed of heroism: one doubts whether the Dawn can face it. This knowledge comes from feeling that the head and shoulders have a bias away from us, and that the upper part of the body all wants to sink back, while the knees press forward as if to make a step. It is touch and go; the next moment will decide. We watch; and then her balance just rocks forward sufficiently to give the necessary impetus, to make the onward step; therefore the sun will rise over the world in the morning.

The Dawn does not look down on the world as the Night does; but straight on the skyline like the Day; like his, her work is with the coming hours.

Taken as a whole, her movement, like that of the Day, is not a human one of arising, but one of sailing forwards and onwards, far over our heads as the clouds do.

The figure of Twilight is rough-hewn like that of Day. But he is not securely poised like him. He hangs balanced on the sarcophagus; the action is transient, or what we see is the pause before the action, and we are waiting for it. What we see before us is Twilight looking down upon the world, seeming to wait for the moment when he may draw his drapery about him, shrouding the whole, and then sink back himself into some region of rest beyond the setting sun. His hand holding the drapery is already upraised. The whole posture contributes to this feeling of arrested movement, of this pause. He would slide off his place altogether were he not steadied by the weight of his head and chest; and it is only the grip of his crossed legs and of his hand upon the ground which prevents his sinking out of sight too soon.

It is interesting to note that the part of him which has nothing to do with his appearance of balancing, namely, his outstretched leg, is polished so that the eye takes no notice of it; whereas the other leg which is crossed over and which ties him into his place is left very rough. Similarly with the hand; although both leg and hand are very much to the fore, this very reason enables one to see them at once, and the rough surface enables one to look at them slowly and with sense of lingering and importance. The face of this demigod is so rough-hewn that one sees it almost as if one's sight were blurred by the setting sun; but one's eye holds the face for a long while, and leaves it with a little clinging feeling of regret.

Indeed, regret would seem the dominant emotion about the whole figure. For, unlike Dawn, which takes no heed of the earth but looks straight at the sky, Twilight looks down on the hushed world beneath him with a beautiful pity. One feels expressed in this stone the strange intimate tie existing at sunset between the earth and the sky, when the weaving of invisible lines up and down between them becomes revealed almost to the mortal sense.

These things are, be it well observed, expressed by purely plastic means, without any loan from literature; and there is barely an attribute among the whole four figures. The symbolism is given by the movements of folding up and opening out, the lifts and pressures, and by those *pace-values*—due to the precise amount of roughness or polish of the various parts; and what emotion we feel and recognise in the statues is expressed solely by these means. Such complicated and detailed interaction of whole and parts, of what is

seen and what is suggested, can scarcely result from accident or be referred to happy coincidences. It implies the working of an individual mind: and what is further yet removed from chance, workings of the kind which, in default of a better term, must be described as unconscious, taking place in the most deeply and mysteriously organised layers of the artist's being. For we must not imagine the great artist laboriously thinking out, or ingeniously constructing, an æsthetic and poetical scheme of the work to do. Modern psychology, with its theory of the emotional synthesis which dominates thought in proportion almost to its creativeness, has shed much light on the otherwise inconceivable problem how one single human mind could hold so complex, so minutely-graduated and co-ordinated a scheme as we decipher in a master work like these Medici Tombs. The psychological process may, in the present case, be reduced to the following diagram:

The mood habitual to Michelangelo, alternated and fused of heroic energy and broken-hearted gloom, dominates all his ways of interpreting the outer world and all his own conceptions. It forces into expression of its individual character the architectural arrangements and the plastic forms which Michelangelo has acquired from his contemporaries and predecessors, accentuating every shape and every symbol, every line and plane conformable to itself, and effacing or rejecting every other of an opposite character; it welds into the half-human shapes of painted or sculptured demigods not merely the aspirations and sorrows which Michelangelo's verse was unable to word, but the sights which any other artist would have rendered directly in landscape such as Michelangelo found no use for; and his figures embody not only human emotions, but reminiscences of couchant mountain ranges, of soaring cumulus clouds and wreathing vapours, of peaks carved sharply by the noontide shadows, of hillsides blurred by the dark lustre of moonlight. All that the great passionate dreamer has ever seen, or known, or felt, offers itself to express his dominant mood, and, by the almost automatic selection of genius, is accepted or rejected for this visible expressing of what and how he cares most for in his deepest soul. The process is one of thought, but of thought steadier, more certain, swifter than that which moves along logical tracks or passes into the thin sharp light of words. In this marvellous give and take, accomplishment draws forth suggestion, the already made awakens the image of what lacks; and instead of preceding the work, the programme unfolds and is completed with it. The programme? The very word is misleading, and represents rather the lines along which our appre-

ciation moves within the work of art than those followed by that work's master. And the very greatness and perfection thereof implies a concentration of activity unable to formulate its own intention save in the act of fulfilling it.

We have enlarged upon the psychological meaning of this problem because the grasping of it enables us to guess the riddle of the unfinished statues. This riddle—and therein its hardness—implies also a contradiction. For while the nature and the distribution of the unfinished portions in these groups, the æsthetic interchange of function between rough and polished surfaces, indicated and elaborated forms, makes it evident to the practical artist as to the mere enjoying spectator that Michelangelo would never have brought himself to alter any of it, the historical student is correct in supposing that the traditions and habits of Renaissance art would never have allowed Michelangelo the deliberate intention of leaving the statues as they are. Here again we are in presence of what, for want of better words, we must call the unconscious workings of the artist's genius as opposed to such intentions as the habits of his day allowed him to formulate in words. The sculptors of the Renaissance, among their many marvellous innovations, had stopped short of such employment of a double technique, such a combination of opposed methods of treatment. And the earlier sculpture of Michelangelo himself, although executed in the stress of his competition with Leonardo and his painting of the Sixtine, is nearly always consistently finished in the ordinary sense. Is it not reasonable to suppose that, while his full development as a painter accustomed him to effects quite unattain-

able by the plastic methods of antiquity or the school of Donatello, the solitary months in the marble mountains gave him, through familiarity with the freshly-quarried stone, not merely a new passion for cutting marble, but an insight into the wonderful forms and surfaces, the infinite suggestiveness of the rough-hewn block? Must not his extraordinary incapacity (subsequent to that period) of bringing his statues to completion, his rejection of all assistance, nay, in one case, his giving away two figures rather than let them be completed, be explained, not by any fickleness or by any material difficulties, but rather by the unavowed, unexpressed, battle between his formulated intentions to fulfil the requirements of artistic tradition, and his vague but imperious æsthetic instinct, bidding him stay his hand and not add a stroke which, instead of completing, in reality would have diminished the perfection of his work?

Such is the solution of the question of the new sacristy of San Lorenzo, and, generally speaking, of Michelangelo's so-called unfinished sculpture, as, in the conflict of insufficient historical evidence, it has appeared to us to come from a mere appreciative examination of the masterpieces themselves.

Whatever this solution's intrinsic value, we believe that the methods on which it is founded, the methods of interrogating the work of art itself, are at least conducive to the final mission thereof, which is, after all, to be appreciated, seen, felt, enjoyed by the willing and unbiassed beholder.

VERNON LEE.

C. ANSTRUTHER-THOMSON.

A French Student's Project.

IT may be interesting to English architectural students to see an example of the ambitious designs based upon elaborate conditions that are drawn out by French students as part of their professional training. The illustrations, necessarily very much reduced, are from a series by M. R. Rousselot exhibited in the present Salon, and rewarded with the high honour of a second-class medal. The programme required a design for a silk-manufacturing town in a French colony, under the existing geographical and climatic conditions of Tourane in Annam, Indo-China, the present settlement to be developed into a large town given up to (1) the culture of the silkworm; (2) the cleansing, carding, and spinning of the silk; and (3) the packing and exportation of the finished product—all according to the best modern methods.

In the large plan and perspective here reproduced we can follow his scheme. The new modern town is laid out to the east near the river; to the west lies the native quarter; in the centre are the buildings connected with the silk industry, such as the machinery building, the workshops, the business offices, a museum, etc. To the south we see the fields laid out in separate squares to prevent infections spreading in the worm colony, with roads leading to the centre railway line running south to north for the greater facility of collecting the cocoons; we also see the buildings in which the study of the silkworm, its production and its food, would be carried on.

The State railway runs due east and west, and is parallel to a long boulevard joining the native and the European towns. On this esplanade, in connection with the ideal modern city, are public

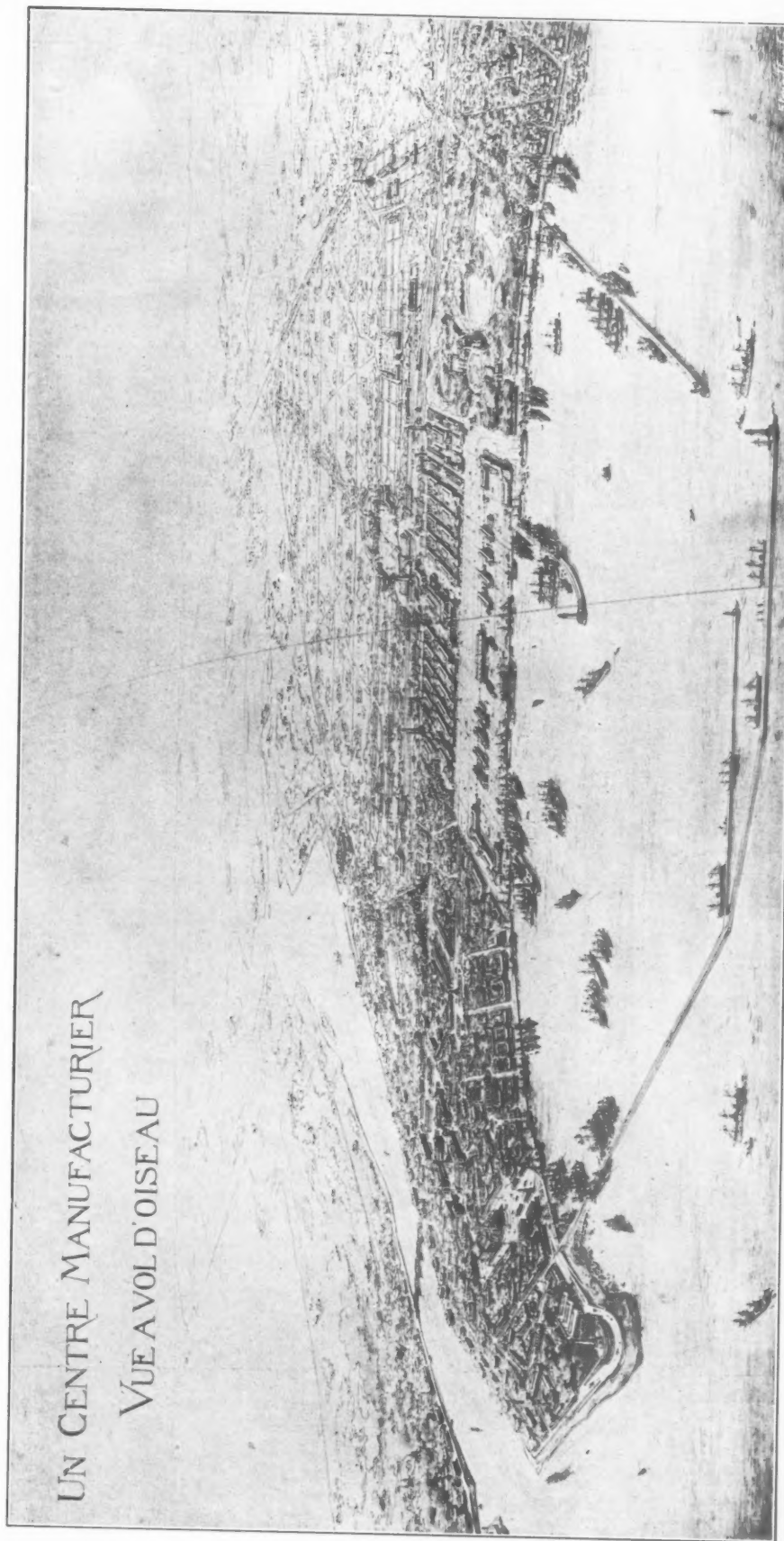
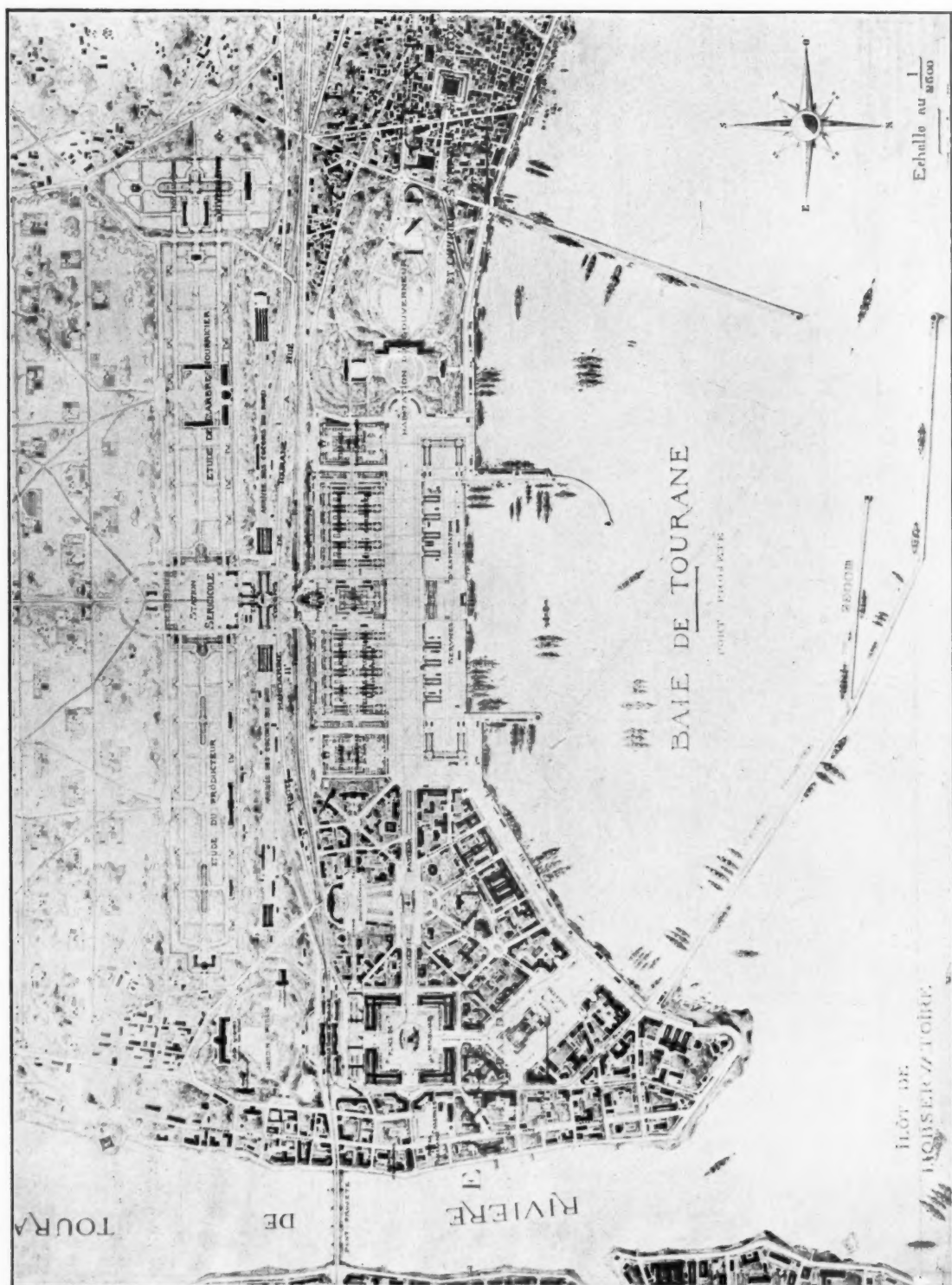


Photo: L. Poulain.

DESIGN FOR A SILK MANUFACTURING TOWN IN A FRENCH COLONY.
R. ROUSSELOT, ARCHITECT. BIRD'S-EYE VIEW.



DESIGN FOR A SILK MANUFACTURING TOWN IN A FRENCH COLONY. R. ROUSSELOT, ARCHITECT. GENERAL PLAN.

Photo: L. Poulain.

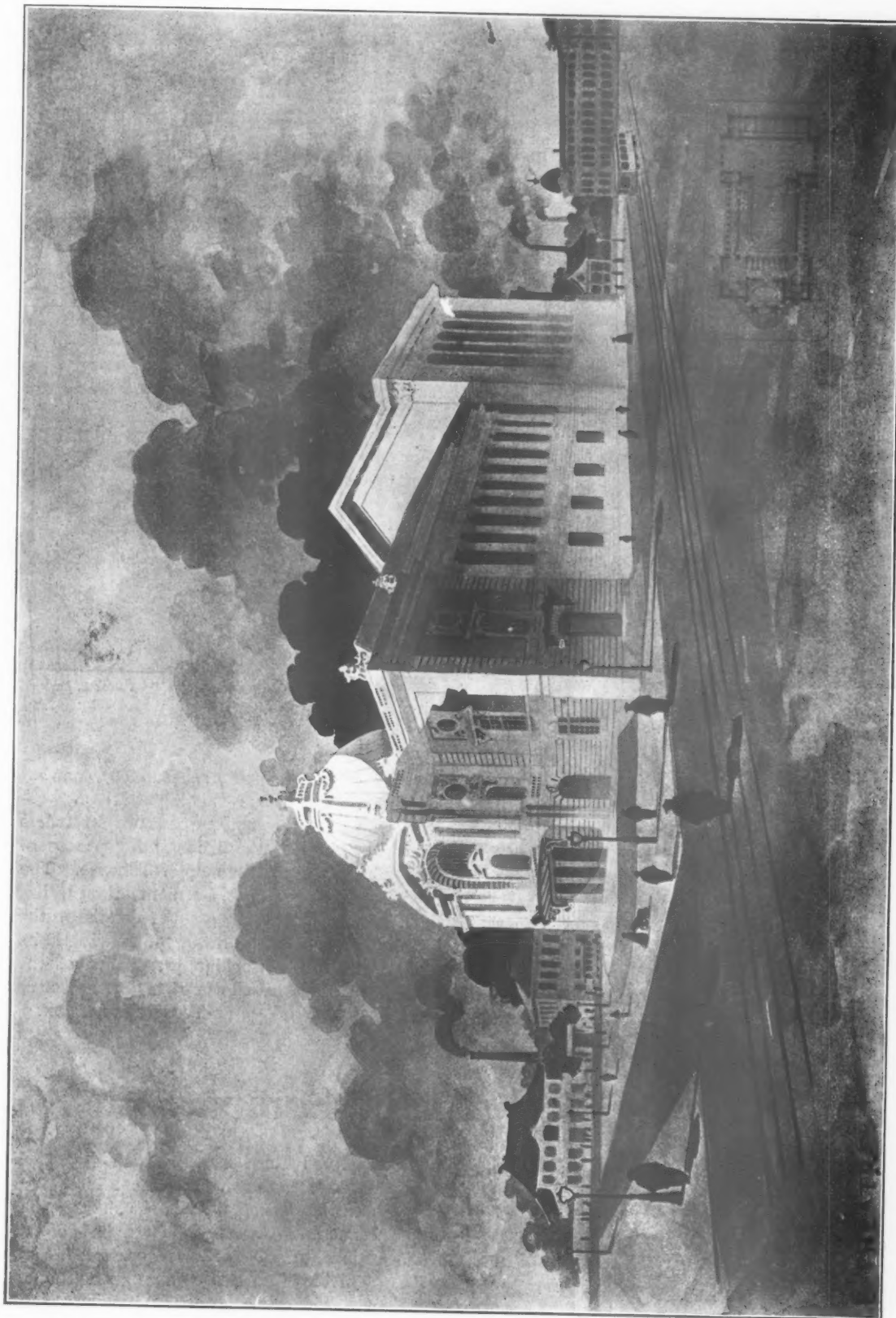


Photo : L. Poulain.

DESIGN FOR A SILK MANUFACTURING TOWN IN A FRENCH COLONY. THE MUNICIPAL THEATRE. R. ROUSSELOT, ARCHITECT.

*Photo: L. Foulain.*

DESIGN FOR A SILK MANUFACTURING TOWN IN A FRENCH COLONY.
THE PROTECTORATE MONUMENT. R. ROUSSELOT, ARCHITECT.

squares with monuments, illustrated by two perspective water-colour drawings: one, a monument to Pasteur, who did so much for the silk industry, having as background a "Château d'eau"; the other, a monument to the Protectorate at the so-called "Place de la République," which lies at the east end of the boulevard, the governor's palace being placed at the west end near the native town.

Surrounding this "Place de la République" are covered-in galleries, housing huge departmental

stores for co-operative societies, planned somewhat after the well-known ones existing at Milan.

The whole exhibit consists of seven stretchers of drawings, besides those containing photos of existing buildings and the map of Tourane. The drawings that have not been mentioned, but which are on exhibition, are the details of the workshops, a sepia map-drawing of Tourane in its actual state, a water-colour perspective of the public theatre, and pencil drawings of the place as it is.

T. SPICER-SIMSON.

A Norfolk Rood-Screen.

THE Church of East Ruston, Norfolk (formerly Riston East, or East Ryston), is dedicated to St. Mary. It is an old foundation, dating as a rectory at least as far back as William the Conqueror; but the present building is of the ordinary Norfolk type, with a good tower, and well placed on a hill just inland from the sea. Its chief point of interest lies in the remains of

the old painted Rood-screen, which still keep their place beneath the chancel arch. The upper part has entirely gone, only the six shafts which supported the loft remaining. The panels of the lower portion are still fairly well preserved, each bay being divided into two compartments framed with somewhat commonplace mouldings and tracery, and painted. Those on the north side



Photo: W. D. Cooke.

ROOD-SCREEN, EAST RUSTON CHURCH, NORFOLK. GENERAL VIEW.

have the figures of the Evangelists, St. Matthew being represented by his emblem—an angel (a somewhat rare instance)—and the others in the usual way; while the southern panels are devoted to the four doctors of the church—Saints Gregory, Augustine, Ambrose, and Jerome. The painting of the figures is good, but not exceptional. The ornament of flowers on the mouldings is also of respectable quality.

The carving of the screen is only important because certain of its details, along with the painted ornament just mentioned, exactly resemble the neighbouring screen of Ranworth.¹ But in the posts on either side of the chancel entrance we have a new and most interesting feature. Each of these is surmounted by the

figure of a seated lion, very simple, and of much dignity, and in an excellent state of preservation. These lions are severely conventional in form, and are indeed obviously made after patterns well known in the Netherlands, and almost entirely to be associated with the town of Dinant before its sack by Philip the Good in 1466. On this occasion certain metal-workers who escaped came to England; but there does not seem any necessity to suppose that the lions of East Ruston were made by one of them. The pattern was well known, and widely distributed, in the form of ornaments to brass lecterns and *aquamanile*; and, for quite two centuries, it had varied little. Nothing is more probable than that such a piece of metal furniture should have been visible here, or at one

¹ See the author's "The Rood-Screen of Ranworth Church" (Norwich: Jarrold and Sons, 1902), and the argument there for the English authorship of these painted screens.

of the rich churches in the neighbourhood, and so have furnished the wood-carver with a model.

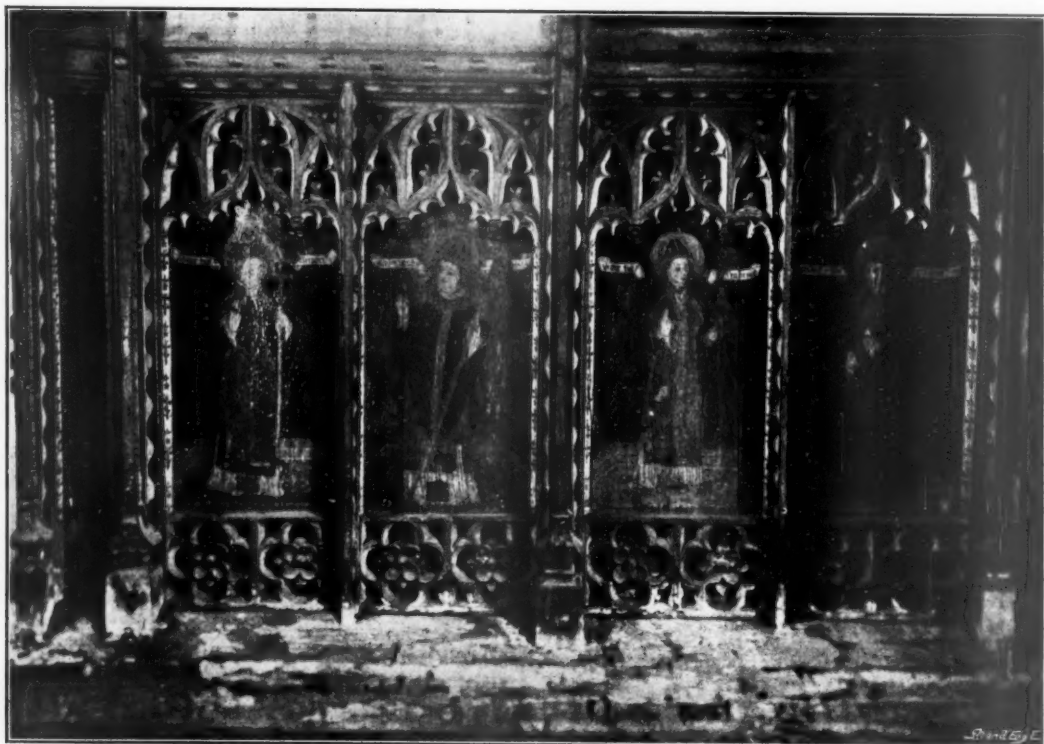
The lions of East Ruston give a clue to the question as to what stood on the vacant pedestals of the parclose screens at Ranworth. It has been conjectured variously that these were occupied with candlesticks or images of saints; but the resemblance of the tracery, and other details of the churches, makes it likely that in this respect also their ornamentation came near together. However skilful the artisans of the period, they had little power of invention. Other points of interest in the church are few. The remains of painting may still be traced in the porch, and on the north pier of the chancel arch, where the decoration consists of flowers, and the sacred monograms, I.H.S., and M., crowned. In the nave is a charming chest, with a curved lid, inscribed: "February y^e 23 in y^e year of Our Lord 1727 John Shackle Church Warden." The modern text, now occupying the place of the rood-loft, is a disfigurement; and if something is necessary to hold the ruins of the screen together, a plank of plain oak would best serve the purpose.

The date of the screen is almost certainly in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The vicar from 1500 to 1516 was a certain John Hunton, whose will shows him to have been keenly interested in the place: and it may be more than a



DETAIL VIEW OF LION FIGURE.

conjecture to ascribe the erection of this work to his influence. EDWARD. F. STRANGE.



Photos: W. D. Cooke.

ROOD-SCREEN, EAST RUSTON CHURCH, NORFOLK. DETAIL VIEW OF PANELS ON SOUTH SIDE.
PAINTINGS REPRESENT (FROM LEFT TO RIGHT) ST. GREGORY, ST. AMBROSIO, ST. AUGUSTINE, AND ST. JEROME.

Current Architecture.

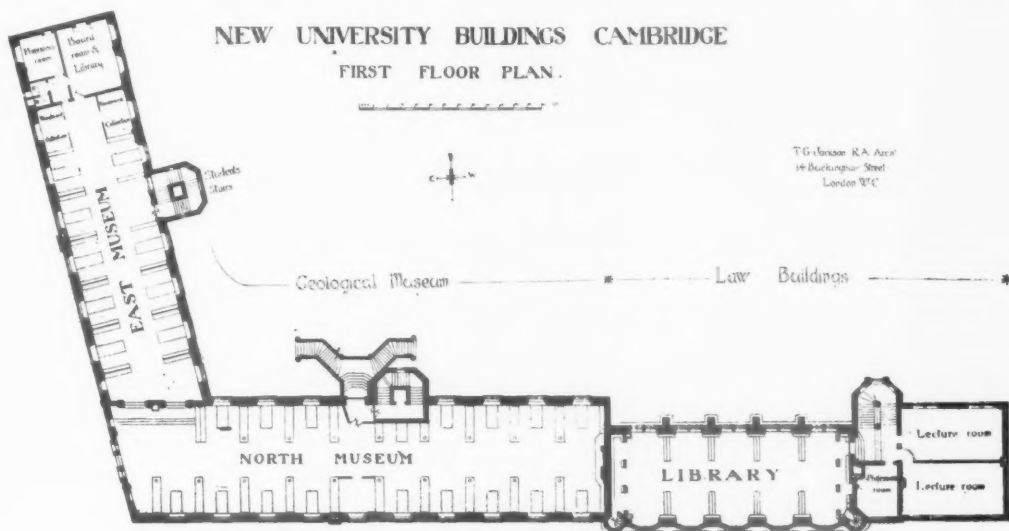
LAW LIBRARY AND LAW SCHOOL, CAMBRIDGE.—The Law Library and Law School, now nearly finished, are built from the designs of Mr. T. G. Jackson, R.A. The library is erected from the benefaction of the late Miss Rebecca Flower Squire, who left £40,000 to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge in equal moieties. The ground floor consists of a spacious vaulted entrance to the court beyond, occupying three bays of the five composing the library proper. The three arches are filled with gates and screens of fine ironwork. Over the central arch facing the street is a cartouche with the figure of "Alma Mater Cantabrigia" familiar to lovers of the old Cambridge Press; and an inscription on the frieze records Miss Squire's benefaction and the purpose of the building. To the left of the entrance is a porter's residence, and to the right a committee room and a receiving and unpacking room for books. On the first floor is the law library, lit by five large mullioned windows on each side and surmounted by a lantern turret to contain a clock and bell. The library measures 85 feet by 34 feet, and is fitted with handsomely-carved bookcases, and a gallery with pilasters and arches at each end, all of which are of wainscot oak; and the ceiling is decorated with moulded plaster enrichments. Above in the roof is a spacious store-room for books. The law school adjoining contains four class-rooms on the ground floor, two lecture-rooms on the first floor, and one large lecture-room on the second floor. There are also two rooms for professors. The staircase is contained in a tower facing the court, on the upper part of which is a figure of Justice in relief by Mr. Henry Pegram, A.R.A. The

several contractors and clerk of works are the same as those for the Sedgwick Memorial Museum, except that the heating and ventilation is by Messrs. Mackenzie and Moncur. The screens and gates and other ornamental metal work in the whole range of buildings are by Messrs. Hart, Son, Peard, & Co., of London and Birmingham, from the architect's designs.

Illustrations of the Sedgwick Memorial Geological Museum, also shown on the plan below, will be given next month.

TYLNEY HALL, HAMPSHIRE.—The ground plan and some general particulars were given with the five illustrations last month. The four illustrations in the present issue show—(1) The staircase, which is built of oak, and the pavement, which is made of black and white marble. The wood-carving of this staircase (and throughout the house) was done by Mr. Rogers, of Messrs. Trollope & Sons; (2) A general view of the library; (3) The dining-room—the pilasters with the gilded carving and the mantel-piece are old work; (4) The loggia, facing south-west and communicating with the lawn and the large hall.

THE JOHN RYLANDS MEMORIAL LIBRARY, MANCHESTER.—This building was erected some years ago by Mrs. Rylands as a memorial to her late husband. The style and plan were in conformity with the wishes of the benefactress, and were largely modelled on the lines of the library at Mansfield College, Oxford, a previous work of the architect, Mr. Basil Champneys. The principal and only conspicuous front of the site faces





THE LAW LIBRARY, CAMBRIDGE. ELEVATION TO THE STREET.
T. G. JACKSON, R.A., ARCHITECT.

Photo: H. Irving.



THE LAW LIBRARY, CAMBRIDGE. FROM THE QUADRANGLE.
T. G. JACKSON, R.A., ARCHITECT.

Photo: H. Irving



THE LAW SCHOOL, CAMBRIDGE. FROM THE QUADRANGLE.
T. G. JACKSON, R.A., ARCHITECT. FIGURE OF JUSTICE BY HENRY PEGRAM, A.R.A.

Photo: H. Irving.



THE LAW SCHOOL, CAMBRIDGE. THE STAIRCASE.
T. G. JACKSON, R.A., ARCHITECT.

Photo: H. Irving.



TYLNEY HALL, HAMPSHIRE. THE STAIRCASE.
R. SELDEN WORNUM, ARCHITECT.

Photo: E. Dockree.



Photo: E. Doctree.

TYLNEY HALL, HAMPSHIRE. THE LIBRARY. R. SELDEN WORNUM, ARCHITECT.



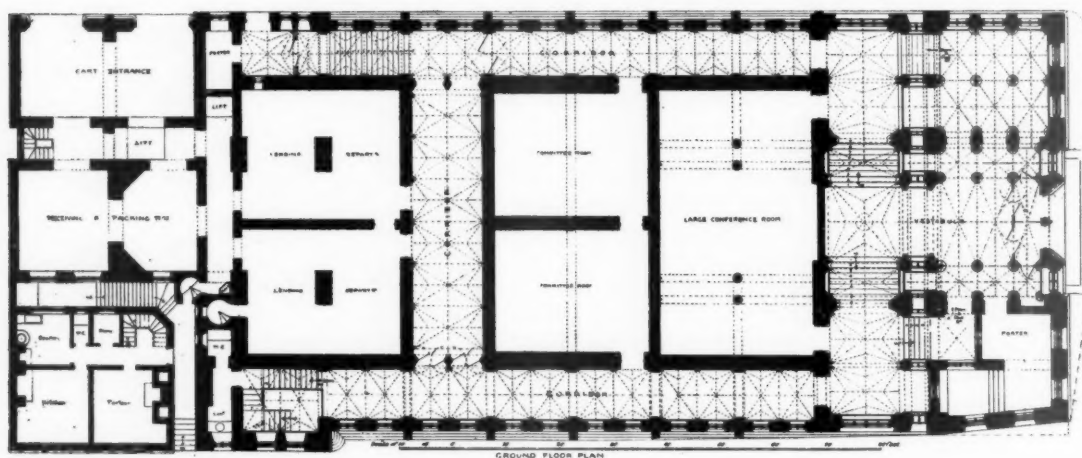
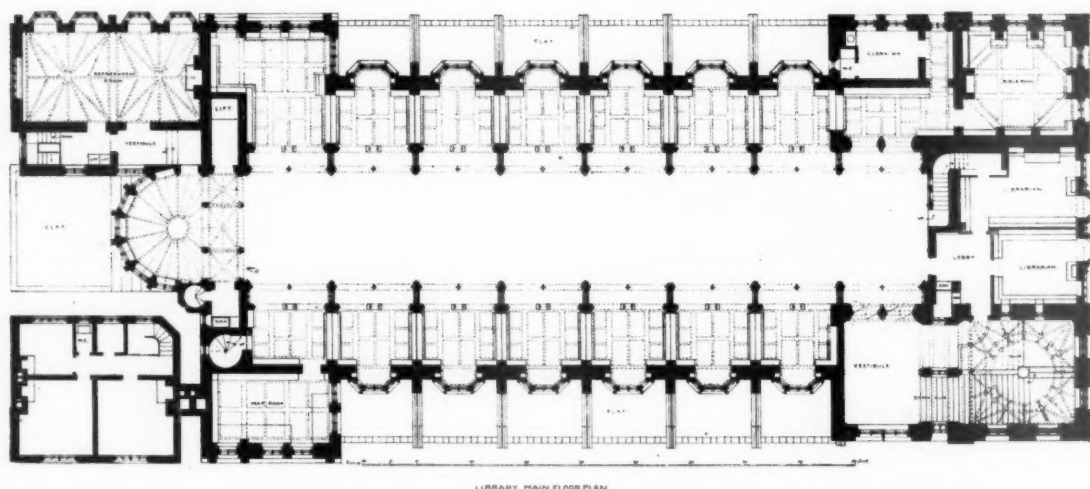
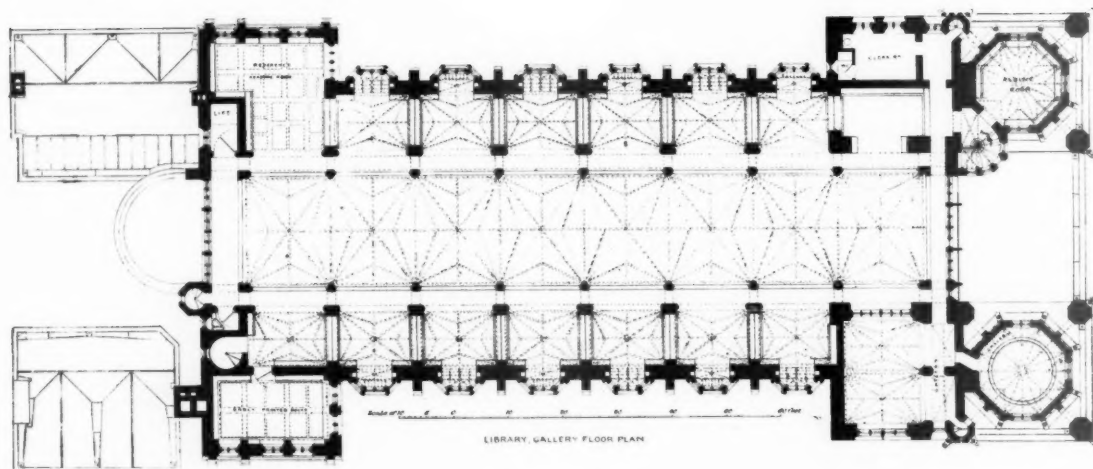
Photo: E. Dockree.

TYLNEY HALL, HAMPSHIRE. THE DINING-ROOM. R. SELDEN WORNUM, ARCHITECT.



TYLNEY HALL, HAMPSHIRE. LOGGIA.
R. SELDEN WORNUM, ARCHITECT.

Photo: E. Dochres



THE RYLANDS MEMORIAL LIBRARY, MANCHESTER. PLANS.
 BASIL CHAMPNEYS, ARCHITECT.



THE RYLANDS MEMORIAL LIBRARY, MANCHESTER.
ELEVATION TO SPINNINGFIELD. BASIL CHAMPNEYS, ARCHITECT.

Photo: Bedford Lemere and Co.



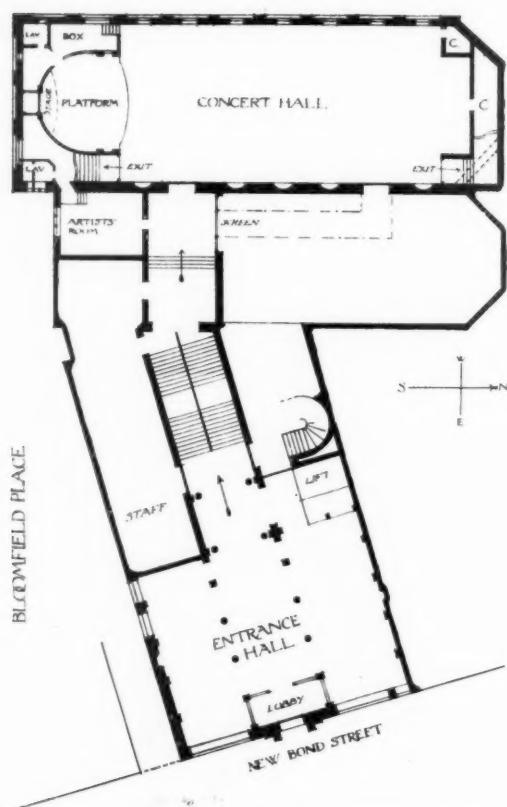
THE RYLANDS MEMORIAL LIBRARY, MANCHESTER.
VIEW IN THE VESTIBULE. BASIL CHAMPNEYS, ARCHITECT.

Photo: Bedford Lemere and Co.



THE RYLANDS MEMORIAL LIBRARY, MANCHESTER.
THE STAIRCASE. BASIL CHAMPNEYS, ARCHITECT.

Photo: Bedford Lemere and Co.



135, 136, 137, NEW BOND STREET, LONDON. PLAN.
WALTER CAVE, ARCHITECT.

Deansgate, and the sides are bounded by two narrow streets, Wood Street and Spinningfield, both containing buildings of considerable height. To obtain adequate lighting the library is placed on the upper floor, about 30 ft. from the pavement level, and is set back 12 ft. from either boundary at the sides. On the lower floor on either side a cloister or corridor gives access to the ground-floor rooms, and is kept low, about 9 ft. internal height, to allow of ample windows above it for lighting the central rooms, which are about 21 ft. high. The main entrance is from Deansgate, and the whole of the front is occupied by a spacious vaulted vestibule, the ceiling of which is carried on shafts. The librarian's rooms are placed over part of the vestibule. The rooms and their disposition are shown clearly in the plans. The lending department, at the back of the site, has a separate entrance to Wood Street. The library consists of a central corridor 20 ft. wide and 125 ft. long, terminating in an apse at the back of the site, the extreme length being 148 ft. The central hall is 44 ft. high from the floor to the vaulted ceiling, and is throughout groined in stone. The material used is mainly stone from quarries in the neighbourhood of Penrith. That used for the interior throughout is Shawk, a stone

that varies in colour from grey to a delicate tone of red. Much care has been used in the distribution of the tints, which are for the most part in irregular combination. Many of the stones show both colours in a mottled form, and serve to bring the tints together. As, however, towards the completion of the building it proved impossible to obtain a sufficient quantity of mottled stone, the main vaulting of the library had to be built in a way that gives a more banded effect than originally contemplated. The system of the bookcases may be briefly described as follows: Very large sheets of plate-glass some 9 ft. 9 in. by 2 ft. are contained in gun-metal frames about 1 in. square. The exclusion of dust, so prevalent in Manchester, is provided for by rolls of velvet made elastic by the insertion of wool, which, when the doors are closed, are pressed between the door and a fillet. The arrangements for locking are somewhat elaborate. A key releases a trigger, which cannot be grasped until it is released. The trigger works Espagnolette bolts, which shoot upwards and downwards at the top and bottom of the frame with intermediate clasps at the side, and the locks are so constructed that the key cannot be taken out until the doors are completely closed. Thus it is impossible that a frame can be unlocked through carelessness. The heating and ventilating were done by Messrs. R. Crittall & Co. The builders were Messrs. Morrison, of Wavertree, Liverpool. Mr. Stephen Kemp was clerk of the works.

135, 136, 137, NEW BOND STREET.—These premises, which originally comprised the Grosvenor Club (the old Grosvenor Gallery) and a library, have undergone extensive alterations for the Orchestrelle Co. of New York. The whole of the ground-floor entrance has been made into one large hall, panelled in oak, with verde antique marble columns and pilasters. Four of the columns are monoliths, which help to carry the weight of the upper part of the building. The original staircase remains, but has been panelled and divided according to the requirements of the L.C.C., and an open arcade formed on the right-hand side. This staircase gives access to the concert hall at the back, which seats rather more than 400. The original skylight has been masked by an inner panelled ceiling, and windows have been opened on the west side with corresponding niches on the east wall. The panelling is of mahogany, stained dark brown, with inlaid pilasters. The stage and organ case are of oak, stained dark. The doors are covered with leather. A new exit staircase has been formed at each end of the hall, and the whole has been carried out to suit



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Photo: E. Dockree.

135, 136, 137, NEW BOND STREET, LONDON. ENTRANCE HALL.
WALTER CAVE, ARCHITECT.



Photo: E. Dozier.

135, 136, 137, NEW BOND STREET, LONDON.
LOBBY OUTSIDE CONCERT HALL. WALTER CAVE, ARCHITECT.

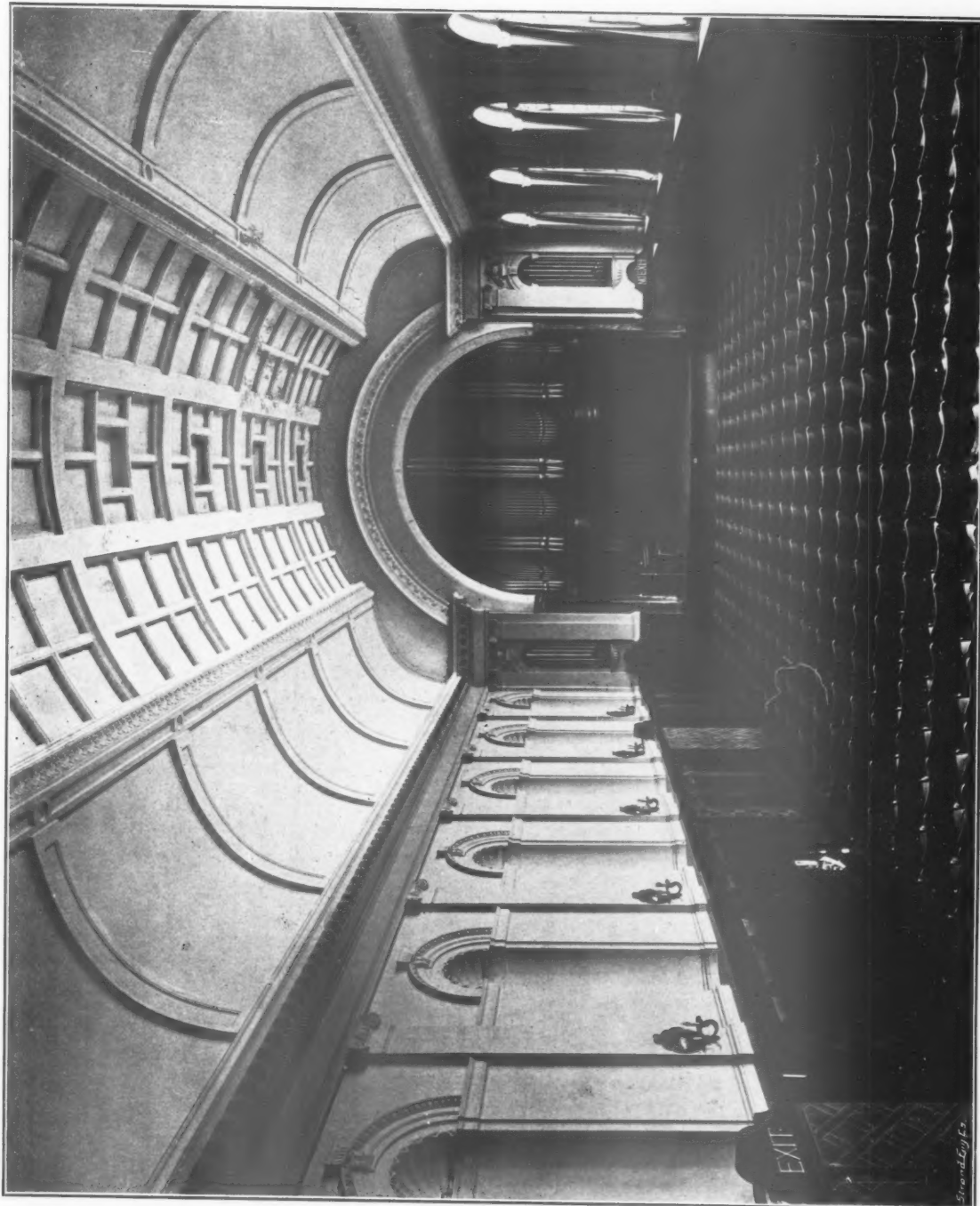


Photo: E. Dockree.

135, 136, 137, NEW POND STREET, LONDON.
INTERIOR OF CONCERT HALL. WALTER CAVE, ARCHITECT.

Spencer & Co.



135, 136, 137, NEW BOND STREET, LONDON. THE STAIRCASE.
WALTER CAVE, ARCHITECT.

Photo: E. Dockree.

the requirements of the L.C.C. Licensing Committee. The rest of the premises contain various large showrooms and accommodation for the staff, and in the basement are extensive workshops and store-rooms for instruments. The builders were Messrs. J. Simpson & Sons, of Paddington Street. The heating and ventilating were done by Messrs.

R. Crittall & Co., under Mr. G. Wingfield Bowles. Mr. Frith did the plaster modelling, and Mr. Knox the wood-carving. The electric lighting was done by Messrs. Stode & Co. All the brass-work has been executed by Mr. W. Bainbridge-Reynolds, and the whole carried out under the direction of the architect, Mr. Walter Cave.

English Mediæval Figure-Sculpture.

CHAPTER VIII.—THE RECUMBENT EFFIGIES OF THE THIRTEENTH AND EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

1180-1350.

SECTION V.—THE BRASSES AND BRONZE EFFIGIES.

WOOD figures made only one among many forms of memorial effigy that came into use at the end of the thirteenth century. Here the figure-tracings upon brass should be mentioned, because of the great likeness to be found between the modelled lines of the wood-carvers and the traced lines of the "brass" engravers. We may compare, for example, the well-known engraving of Dame Joan of Cobham, Kent (c. 1310), and the Hildersham "lady" (Fig. 200). It can be seen that the incised lines of the first are a true rendering of the carved draperies of the other. The same likeness shows itself between the well-known Trumpington "brass" and the effigy at Abergavenny (Fig. 198). And, again, between the later of the Stoke d'Abernon engraved figures (c. 1307) and the wood effigy of a knight at Paulerspury in Northamptonshire.¹⁰⁵

We have, therefore, correspondences in the style of the figure that betoken a common origin in three materials of effigy-making: in the free-stones of Westminster and Winchelsea, in certain wooden figures, and in certain incised brasses that may have been distributed from London; and these forms of memorial coming into use about the end of the thirteenth century. All this body of craft seems to grow directly out of the goldsmith's trade of imagery, and makes with it that school of figure-art which we have labelled as "Westminster" style.

By the side of it, as our stone figures show, was another manner which had, too, wooden counterparts (Fig. 203) in connection with the London workshops. It must be regarded as distinctively the stonemason's style—that of the architectural mason who did a recumbent figure in his day's work as he would a statue or a pinnacle. He made effigies in competition with the Purbeck marbler, copying the latter's motives, but carrying them on in the freer working of stone, which allowed livelier attitudes and more elaborate under-cuttings. We can note in him the spirit which animates all the stone-craft of the first half of the fourteenth century, and can trace his romantic elaborate method in one style of effigies up to 1350, but no further.

Thereafter the more restrained imager's manner, spreading from Westminster, was to supersede

that of the stone-mason, for the reason, perhaps, that the imager's was the grand style in touch with the accomplishment of the continental ateliers, and so was passed on triumphantly to the fifteenth-century effigy-makers. In the fourteenth century it showed its vogue not only by the bronze figures of the kings and queens, but by stone effigies like that of Aymer de Valance, and then by effigies of alabaster. Moreover, as we shall see, its art was displayed in church images of marble and stone, though these have mostly perished. The mason so comes on the scene as an *imager*, in craft a stone-cutter, in trade a purveyor of images. But this was a step in the decline of his art; for image-work was a detachment from that architectural basis which gave the mason his artistic pre-eminence. He became a lesser artist in setting up a shop.¹⁰⁶

It is to be noted, finally, that we can refer the above shift of sculpture-method to this date by distinct records. The accounts of Queen Eleanor's trustees are significant. William of Ireland is shown in them to have carved the stone statues at Northampton, and is described as a *cementarius*, a mason. On the other hand, Alexander of Abingdon, who worked the stone figures of Waltham Cross, was clearly no mason—his work was image-making, for he cast figures in bronze. And then the accounts show us William Torel, *aurifaber*, "goldsmith," an imager whose bronze effigies in copy of stone will next be put before the reader.

There has been sufficient insistence in these pages that the figure-work of the stone-sculptor did not stand alone; that there were beside it the crafts of the goldsmiths—making shrines and images, ivories and bronzes. In London the Guild of such imagers was a flourishing one. The accounts of Henry III.'s reign make constant mention of goldsmiths, who were probably as prolific of fine works in London as we know they were at Paris by the many masterpieces left to us. But we have in England next to nothing to show of the images of this craft. It happens, however, that Westminster Abbey retains its royal effigies, which preserve to us extraordinary proofs of the skill and art of the London goldsmith in bronze casting—a series of recumbent figures of the kings and queens of England, starting with the memorials of Henry III. and of Eleanor the Queen of Edward I.

As to the stone effigies of the thirteenth century, we had no record to tell us either date or sculptor; but for these two Westminster figures we have exact information from the accounts of Queen

¹⁰⁵ See Hartshorne's "Effigies of Northamptonshire."

¹⁰⁶ See "History of Gothic Art in England," pp. 324 et seq.



FIG. 203. GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL. WOOD EFFIGY* (C. 1300) CALLED "ROBERT DUKE OF NORMANDY." A. G.

(This illustration was crowded out of the last number. An oaken effigy in Essex is very near it in style.)

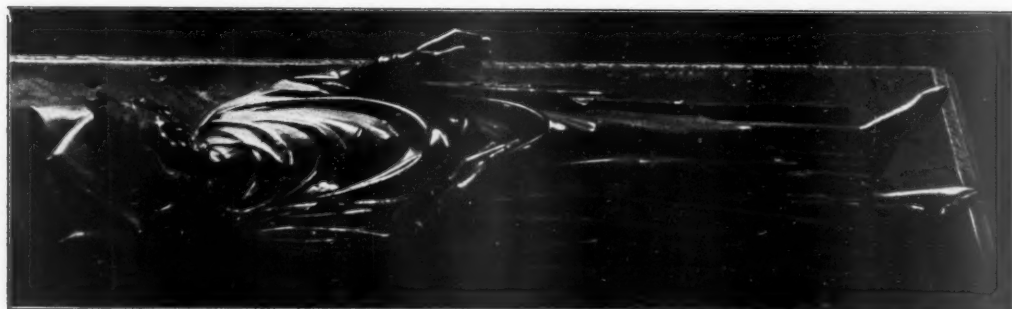


FIG. 204. WESTMINSTER ABBEY. BRONZE EFFIGY OF HENRY III.

A. G.



FIG. 206. WESTMINSTER ABBEY. ALABASTER FIGURE OF JOHN OF ELTHAM.

A. G.

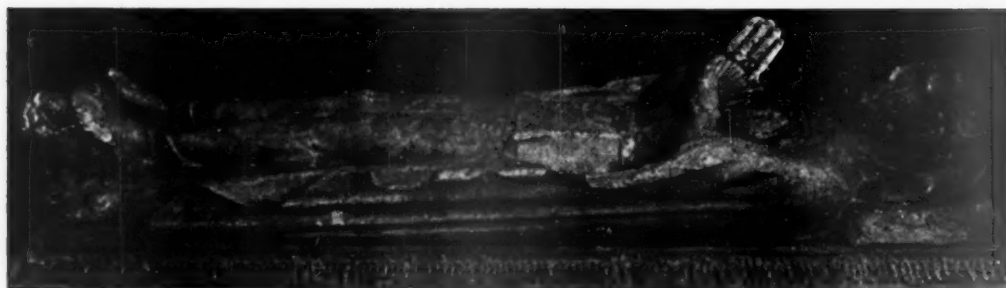


FIG. 208. BRISTOL, THE LORD MAJOR'S CHAPEL. STONE EFFIGY IN AISLE.

A. G.

Eleanor's trustees, to be read in the rolls at the Record Office in London. We learn that during the year 1291 the sum of £113 6s. 8d. was paid to William Torel, *aurifaber*, in respect of the figures of the king and queen at Westminster, and for another figure at Lincoln. This last is known to have been a bronze of Queen Eleanor, which was destroyed at Lincoln by the Parliamentarians. The other two (Figs. 204, 205) remain at Westminster.¹⁰⁷

The Torels appear to have been a family of goldsmiths settled in London for three generations, engaged in image-making, and supplying shrines and reliquaries to churches. Nevertheless, these Westminster bronzes, while showing the accomplished modelling of a figure-sculptor, do not exactly exhibit the craftsmanship which the long-established technique of metal-casters engaged upon life-size figures would produce. Though cast on the *cire perdue* system (in which a layer of wax is modelled and replaced by metal) they are unduly solid, with an extravagant thickness of bronze such as experience in the founding of big figures would have modified. This suggests that these effigies were larger works than the founder had been accustomed to treat, and that he carried them out on the methods that he used for the small metal imagery of his trade. Abroad large bronze castings were successfully produced

at a much earlier date; and we may suppose that Master Torel in the king's service was set to produce the like of certain French bronze effigies, though he had not attempted recumbent figures before.¹⁰⁸ While his technique therefore would be that of his trade in images, in the treatment of his king and queen he would take his model from stone effigy-work. And this is what the style of his work tells us—like the wood-carver of Archbishop Peckham's effigy, he has closely followed some mason's sculpture, such as that of Bishop Bronescombe of Exeter. The draperies (Fig. 204) have the modelling of certain stone figures at Salisbury and Lichfield, which we will give later. The head of Queen Eleanor (Fig. 205) can be seen to show a treatment in some of its details curiously on the model of that stone head at Exeter which we gave in Section II., Fig. 170. See the oval outlines, the projecting modelling of the eyes, their narrow upper lids, and the deep dimples at the mouth. King Henry's head may in the same way be compared with that of Chancellor Swinfield (Fig. 174). At any rate Torel's heads are distinct from the type of the Yorkshire school (Fig. 182), and from the flat blunt rendering of the Midland sandstone (Fig. 175). We are inclined, indeed, to associate Torel's art with the south-western types of stone effigy, whose origin is connected with the statue-making of the Salis-

bury Front, a point we shall discuss in the next chapter.

The cushions and other accessories of Torel's castings have finely engraved on the metal the patterns that are found painted on the stone effigies. All the features of the Westminster bronzes have, however, been so fully and well described by W. Burges in Scott's "Gleanings from Westminster Abbey," that it is unnecessary to go over similar ground. We return to the later royal bronzes in our account of the third period of Gothic figure-sculpture.



FIG. 205. WESTMINSTER ABBEY. BRONZE FIGURE OF QUEEN ELEANOR.

A. G.

¹⁰⁷ W. Burges, in Scott's "Gleanings from Westminster Abbey," speaks of a third figure of Queen Eleanor put over her heart at Blackfriars. The accounts, however, do not suggest this.

¹⁰⁸ See the fine bronze effigy at St. Denis of the time of St. Louis.



FIG. 207. GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.
ALABASTER FIGURE OF EDWARD II.

A. G.

SECTION VI.—THE SOFT-STONE AND ALABASTER EFFIGIES.

1325-1350.

THERE were other materials besides wood and bronze which, in the competition of the effigy workshops, came into use towards 1330 for recumbent figures, and before the end of the century very largely displaced, for the purpose of memorials, the coarse building freestones, oolites, sandstones and limestones, whose displacement of the earlier Purbeck marble our former sections have chronicled.

The taste for sumptuous carved stone screens brought into the market the softer sandstones and oolites, of which the hard chalk of the cretaceous strata, called "clunch" in Cambridge-shire, may be taken as the best example. Many of these softer freestones, though weathering badly for external use, could be got in blocks of great size, with a texture that allowed carving of the utmost delicacy. Equally close-grained and suitable for delicate work was the hard gypsum of the Triassic formation, which is called English Alabaster. The vogue of such stones lay in the trend of effigy-sculpture towards the representation of sumptuous drapery and rich embroideries. The most delicate details could be carved in the soft material, and their embossment rendered more distinct and telling than was possible in the gesso renderings with which coarser stone had to be surfaced. But alabaster, clunch, and the softer sandstones were of distinctly local occurrence. The belt of marly sandstones and hard chalks, suitable for delicate stone-carving, stretches across England in a narrow line from Devon to the Wash. They were quarried for mediæval

building at Beer on the Devon sea-coast, at Stanford in Berkshire, at Totternhoe near Dunstable, and in certain places in Cambridge-shire and West Norfolk, as also at Reigate.

Similarly the beds of alabaster were local to a narrow district stretching from near Nottingham across Derbyshire nearly to Stafford. It was not until the middle of the fourteenth century that they passed into general use. London, however, was in a position to import both materials on occasion without difficulty, thanks to the paved way of Watling Street, which would allow carriage of "alabaster" from Nottingham and of "clunch" from Dunstable. Accordingly we are not surprised to find that the earliest examples (outside the immediate neighbourhood of their quarries)¹⁰⁹ of both the soft-stone and the alabaster effigies have a London complexion, as if their execution had begun in the capital.

It is the royal relatives of Edward III. that we find first commemorated in alabaster figures—Edward II. at Gloucester (d. 1327), Prince John of Eltham at Westminster (d. 1334), and Prince William of Hatfield at York (d. 1344); also of about this date, Prince William of Windsor and Princess Blanche de la Tour in little figures in Westminster Abbey. The Westminster style, in immediate descent from the stone figure of Aymer de Valance (d. 1326), can be recognised in the cross-legged effigy (Fig. 206) of John of Eltham. There are in the two the same postures and accessories, the double cushions, the attendant angels sitting at the head, the same type and treatment of the lions at the feet, similar facial expressions and attitudes with the folded hands and restrained draperies that we have called the grand manner of the Westminster goldsmith-imager. So, too, the alabaster Edward II. (Fig. 207) follows the bronze Henry III., and we recognise in the princes the type of stone figure which we find (Fig. 208) at Bristol in the Mayor's Chapel imported from London.¹¹⁰ The alabaster effigies had, however, a greater elaboration of carved detail than the stone, especially in the dresses of the young children of Edward III., who, though dying quite babies, were represented as youthful figures, with finely-chased embroideries and tasselled fringes. Stothard, in his "Effigies," has given drawings of all these figures.

It was not till the change of style, which, after the Black Death, came with so distinct a break in the continuity of English Gothic, that the regular series of alabaster effigies may be said to begin with the figure of Archbishop Stratford

¹⁰⁹ Ivinghoe Church at the foot of Dunstable Hill has a "clunch knight"; Hanford Church in Staffordshire, close to the alabaster beds, has a cross-legged alabaster effigy (c. 1310).

¹¹⁰ See similar figures in Essex; e.g. at Hatfield Peveril.



FIG. 209. LECKHAMPTON CHURCH. STONE EFFIGIES IN AISLE.

A. G.



FIG. 210. ABERGAVENNY CHURCH. KNIGHT IN SOUTH AISLE OF QUIRE.

(From photograph kindly lent by Samuel Gardner, Esq.)

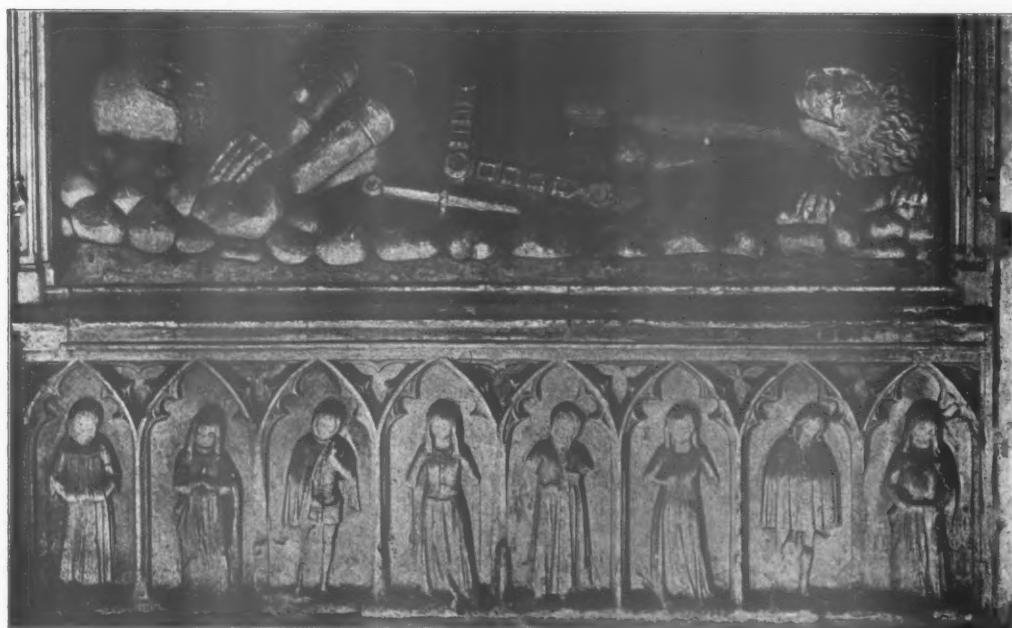


FIG. 211. REEPHAM CHURCH, NORFOLK.

KERDESTON EFFIGY ON NORTH SIDE OF CHANCEL.

A. G.



FIG. 212. ABERGAVENNY, MONMOUTH.

A. G.

LADY IN NORTH AISLE OF CHANCEL.

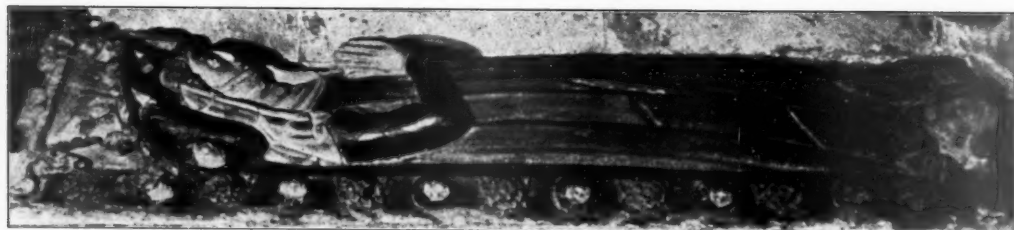
(From a photograph kindly lent by Samuel Gardner, Esq.)

FIG. 213. HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.

A. G.

LADY DE BOHUN ON NORTH SIDE OF LADY-CHAPEL.

(1333-1348) at Canterbury. From 1350 onwards a succession of bishop figures can be studied, showing the style of the alabaster ecclesiastic for every year or so, as will be illustrated in our account of the latest effigies.¹¹¹

Passing here to the softer freestone effigies (1325-1350) which range themselves beside the earliest of the alabaster, we come upon the style of that other model of knightly figure, which we have assigned to the stone-cutter, as distinct from the imager's model. It is true that not a few of this style—like the knights of Cubberley and Leckhampton (Fig. 209) near Cheltenham; of Warkworth,¹¹² Northamptonshire (the later of the two Sir Johns, c. 1346); of Ash,¹¹³ Kent; of Ifield,¹¹³ Surrey—fold their hands in the prayerful Westminster manner; but all have a martial rather than a religious bearing. Very generally they show varied attitudes; some lying sideways as at Abergavenny (Fig. 210); or leaning on the shield at Aldworth in Berkshire; others playing with dagger or sword as at Clehongre,¹¹⁴ Herefordshire, and Alve-

church,¹¹³ Worcestershire; with drawn sword laid on the shoulder at Ottery St. Mary, Devon; or as if preparing to spring from a flinty bed at Ingham¹¹³ and Reepham (Fig. 211), Norfolk. In all of these the details of armour and accoutrements are rendered with extreme delicacy. Many of the knights wear the cyclas, that peculiar variety of surcoat, which, hanging behind as a tail, is cut short in front and shows beneath it the frilled edges of various under-garments; others at Aldworth and Alvechurch have voluminous quilted petticoats; while the latest in date, at Abergavenny, Warkworth, and Ash, discarding all flowing skirts, have the tight-fitting jupon of the latter part of the fourteenth century quite developed. The striking peculiarity of the style is the delicacy with which the fabrics and splendid ornaments of the armour are executed in the stone. Particularly remarkable are the embossed enrichments and jewelled studs of the knee-pieces, belts, and sword-hilts.

The lady-figures of this style can be seen like

¹¹¹ The destruction of old St. Paul's and the London churches has left our record of London ecclesiastic figures very scanty.

¹¹² Figured in the "Victoria History of Northamptonshire."

¹¹³ Figured in Stothard.

¹¹⁴ Figured in Hollis.

the knights to have developed from the later types of the *midland* schools, which we have mentioned at Abergavenny (Fig. 212) and at Hereford (Fig. 213). In the west they are found generally superseding the earlier Bristol ladies, and after 1350 merging with them into a stock figure of cheap accomplishment. Their earlier style is, however, to be found lying beside the knights at Aldworth, Sparsholt, Leckhampton (Fig. 209), and Ottery St. Mary. These ladies have their headdresses usually square in outline with details intricately rendered; their hands are sometimes in prayer, but often are playing with the cord of the cloak or holding its skirts, which fall in voluminous folds over the feet. There are beautiful effigies of this type figured in the Hollis collection, one from Wantage in Berkshire, and another, the Lady Montacute (d. 1350), in the cathedral of Oxford.

The district of this style, stretching from Norfolk and Kent to Gloucester and Hereford, declares it a growth from the *midland* type of effigy. If its spirit came from London, it showed vigorous local developments dependent on easy access to the quarries of soft freestone that are found on the lower beds of the cretaceous formation. The Reigate or "firestone" was one

variety of this stone that was imported for the London workshops, and was used possibly for the Ifield and Ash knights. The "clunch" of some Norfolk quarry probably gave the stone to the Norwich sculptors, who carved the romantic figures of Ingham and Reephham. The hard chalk of the Beer quarries was used in the Exeter building, and the style of the Ottery St. Mary knight and lady probably came from that city. The most prolific centre, however, for the figures of this art lay in Berkshire and Oxfordshire, where soft white stones can be got from Totternhoe and Stanford in the Vale, Abingdon or Oxford itself being the workshop. Further west Gloucester may have been the centre of a competing trade working in the softer oolites of the Cheltenham quarries, which supplied the material for the elaborate stone screen-works of the Tewkesbury monuments. In all these districts, and making use of these several stones, we find after 1350 a production of a very uniform type of both "lady" and "knight" with much of the earlier elaboration of detail, but having quite lost the animation and picturesque gesture of the mid-fourteenth-century figure.

EDWARD S. PRIOR.
ARTHUR GARDNER.

The Greek Acanthus.

THE authenticity of the History of Architecture, Book IV., claiming to have been written by Vitruvius, and giving the origin of the Corinthian capital, has lately been called in question by Professor J. L. Ussing,¹ who, upon the evidence of its grammar, style, and subject-matter, believes it to have been written in the third century of our era by an unknown author who borrowed the name.

The familiar story, or rather legend, is that Callimachus, the sculptor, saw at Corinth on a grave a basket surrounded by acanthus leaves; the chance arrangement struck him, and he perpetuated it in the leaf-surrounded bell of the Corinthian capital. This account has been generally and somewhat uncritically accepted, and the belief is equally prevalent that the plant he saw and imitated was the *Acanthus spinosus* of Linnaeus. So general was this belief that travellers of a classical bent have fruitlessly sought the plant near Corinth.

The term "Corinthian," as applied to an architectural style, has no contemporary Greek

authority: but, accepting the name as generally understood, the Corinthian is not the earliest in which acanthus foliage is used; a misconception on this point is due to belief in the story. In the endeavour to find what was the origin in nature of the ornament, and to trace its evolution in art, the main appeal must be to actual remains of early Greek sculpture.

Mr. A. H. Smith, in his "Catalogue of Greek Sculpture" in the British Museum, gives it as his opinion that the use of the acanthus leaf, as an ornament, was introduced at some time in the fifth century B.C., perhaps from Ionia, and it early became a very favourite ornament for stelae in Athens.

I.—The British Museum possesses many examples of these stelae, that numbered 608 (see Fig. 1) is typical, and a general description of it may suffice for reference; the surface is flat, and the triangular apex filled with an anthemion (perhaps it is even still advisable to add its pseudonym "honeysuckle ornament"); this springs from the centre of five acanthus leaves, which may be said

¹ Observations on the Ten Books of Vitruvius' Architecture. Translated from Danish for the Institute of British Architects

to grow from the basal line cutting off the acroterion of the stele; it is a representation on a flat surface and in low relief of a rosette of leaves seen from one side, spreading on the ground, the outer leaves touching it with their reflexed tips; the centre leaf of the group, owing to this turning-back, presents to the observer part of the upper surface of the leaf, while the side leaves are seen in profile, the base and tip, as it were, firmly pressing the earth. (See also Fig. 2, 599 in catalogue.) The three lowest leaves thus grouped appear unchanged through a large number of examples.

It may be conjectured that the ornament was used on stelae before it decorated buildings; the Erechtheum supplies an early date for this stage in its development, the temple being Ionic, and the date of its completion known to be about B.C. 409. The anthemion and acanthus ornament of the frieze are very familiar. (Fig. 3, 409 in British Museum catalogue.) It was the most beautiful combination of the conventional flower and natural leaves reached.

In this form it also decorates the necking of a column (420); the leaves are so small in proportion to the anthemion, that they are adapted to the round surface without any alteration. Development is not carried on in this direction, for the anthemion falls away and its place is filled by various tentative methods until the acanthus fills the whole space. Examples are the lance-shaped leaves of the capital in the Tower of the Winds, and the scrolls in the pilaster capitals from the Temple of Athene Polias at Priene—to be mentioned later. Before dismissing the Erechtheum examples, it is not without interest to note that Callimachus' name is connected with its decoration. We are told by Pausanias (IX., 2. 7) that a wonderful candelabrum was made for Athene



FIG. 1. STELE IN BRITISH MUSEUM, NO. 608.



FIG. 2. ACROTERION OF STELE OF SMYLIION.

there by that sculptor. The frequency of acanthus on funereal stelae has a bearing on the story.

II.—Another step on the way to the use of acanthus on bell capitals is that on the flat square sides of pilaster capitals; there are many examples of this in the Mausoleum room. The typical stele arrangement, as exemplified in 608 (Fig. 1) and described in some detail in the earlier part of this paper, is transferred direct to the square face of the capital; the familiar group of three acanthus leaves lies along the base; the anthemion may also be said to sprawl over the upper space, which is obviously larger than in the stele acroterion. 1134 presents a similar example from the Ionic temple of Athene Polias at Priene, probably almost completed B.C. 334. These will suffice to illustrate its use on flat-sided capitals.

III.—In early examples of acanthus on bell capitals, such as 447 from the Tower of the Winds, and 775, a fragment of a relief showing the columns of a Corinthian temple in the background (Fig. 5), there is a reminiscence of the three-leaf arrangement, also the leaves cling about the necking; the upper two-thirds of the capital from the Tower of the Winds is filled with a circle of erect lance-shaped leaves, very like those on an Egyptian bell capital in the British Museum assigned to the date 1330 B.C. (Fig. 6.)

These experiments, for as such we must regard them, in filling the space above the single tier, culminate in the adoption of an upper circle of the same leaves; the pictorial treatment suitable to a flat slab has to be abandoned, and the perfected form of the Corinthian capital is attained.

The steps between this and the reliefs on the Attic stelae might no doubt have been exemplified

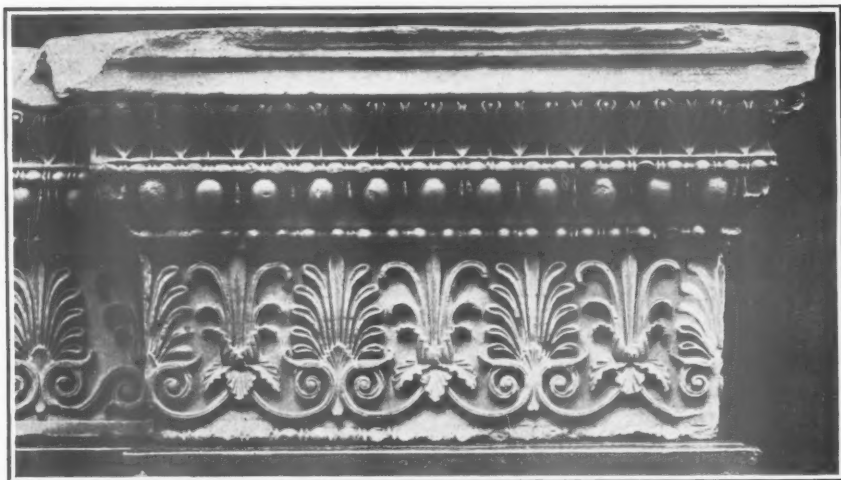


FIG. 3. ANTHEMION AND ACANTHUS FROM FRIEZE OF FRECHTHEUM.

in finer detail, but the examples given will suffice to demonstrate that the use of acanthus foliage as an ornament was frequent in the Ionic style, and that its translation from flat to curved surfaces brought about the change from its early naturalistic treatment to the conventional acanthus of the Græco-Roman and Roman styles called "Corinthian."

Granted that the acanthus of the Attic stelæ is naturalistic, the way is clear for the consideration of the question, What plant was the model? To turn Aristotle's phrase, it is "such a plant as might have grown." It may be described in botanical fashion somewhat as follows:—The leaves are close to the ground in a rosette, spread-

ing horizontally; each leaf is broad to the base, oblong in general outline, margin sinuate-toothed, the divisions reaching about one-third of the way to the midrib. Now, the same description would bring forward the salient points of a first year plant of one of the great biennial cotton thistles, as may be seen from a photograph of *Onopordon acanthium* (Fig. 7), and a comparison with the drawing of stele 608, given before. (Fig. 1.)

This plant and the nearly allied *Onopordons Illyricum*, *Græcum*, and *Arabicum* are characteristic of the Levant flora.

Not any of these, however, but the *Acanthus spinosus* of Linnæus is accepted generally as the original in nature of the acanthus of art, perhaps because the form considered has been only the late development where naturalism has yielded to the requirements of the position.

If likeness in line and grouping has any bearing on the question, *Acanthus spinosus* could not have been the origin of the acanthus of the stelæ;



FIG. 4.



FIG. 5. SOME COLUMNS OF A CORINTHIAN TEMPLE, POSSIBLY THAT OF AFOLIO AT DELPHI, SCULPTURED IN LOW RELIEF ON A SLAB.



FIG. 6. CAPITAL OF COLUMN FROM THE TOWER OF THE WINDS.

it forms a prickly thicket of leaves; there is nothing to answer to the rosette-units of the cotton thistles. Not only is the rosette arrangement entirely wanting, but the individual leaves are of a different shape to the sculptured leaves on the stelae; the stalk is long, bare, or very narrowly winged, and erect from the base; the narrow divisions of the blade fit between those of neighbouring leaves at all angles and levels with no other apparent rule than that of intercepting all the light without overshadowing each other. A basket placed on leaves of *Acanthus spinosus* might as well, for artistic purposes, be balanced on a quick hedge; even a legend must be consistent enough for probability.

It has been overlooked that the greater number of plants forming Dioscorides' acanthus group are plainly by his description cotton thistles, his

Arabian acantha, white acantha, and acanthion (ἄκανθα ἀραβική, ἄ. λευκή, ἀκανθίον) have, he says, webbed, woolly leaves, and a spiny flower-head like a sea-urchin. Greek references to the artistic acanthus by name are rare, and the few instances there are refer to small objects, such as the goblet carved from ivy wood mentioned by Theocritus (Idyll I., 55). Ovid possibly derives from a Greek source his description of a mixing bowl, "Summus inaurato crater erat asper acantho." (Metam. XIII., 701). Therefore, in default of literary evidence, the main weight of the argument for identification must rest on actual likeness.

Its extreme beauty as leaf after leaf fills up the circle; the graceful curves, finely crisped borders,



FIG. 7. ONOPORDON ACANTHIUM.

and plaited lobes, recall some cunning touch of the Greek sculptor, who dared to be as near nature as he wanted.

CONSTANCE GARLICK.

Old Stone Chimney-piece.



(From a photograph by Mr. F. P. Pritchard.)

AT "THE RISING SUN," BRISTOL. DATED 1606.