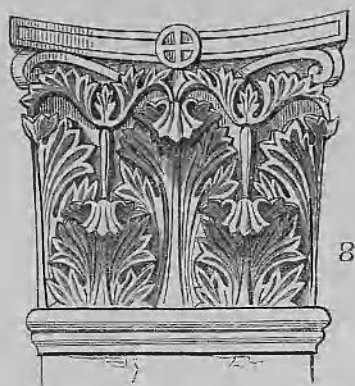


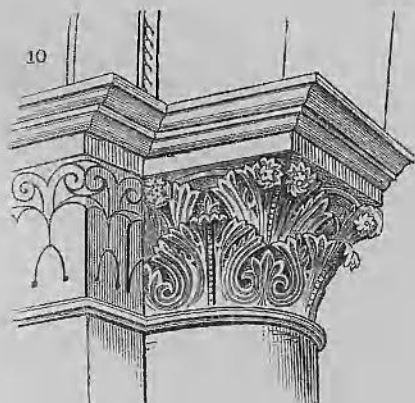
No 1. Romsey. 2. St. Cross. 3 and 4. Dorchester. 5. Choragic Monument to Lysicrates, Athens.
6. Double Gate, Temple of Jerusalem. 7. Golden Gate, Temple of Jerusalem.



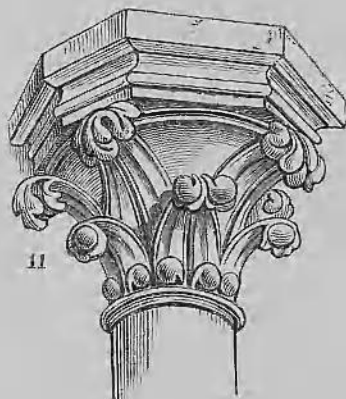
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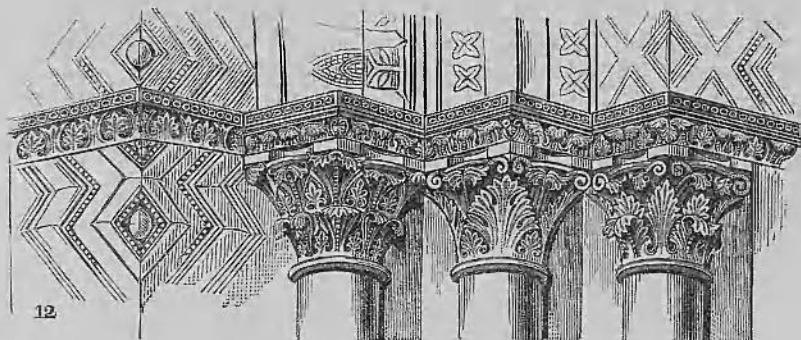
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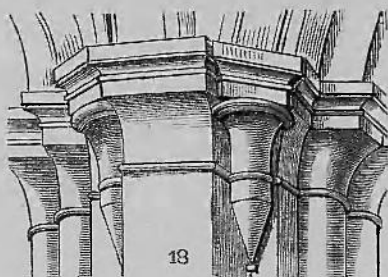
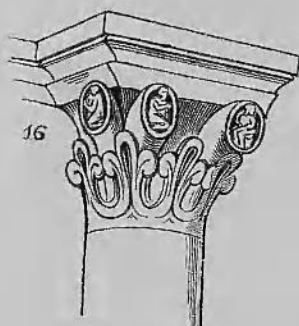
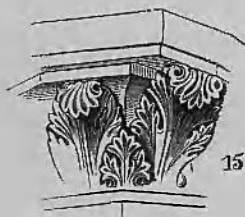
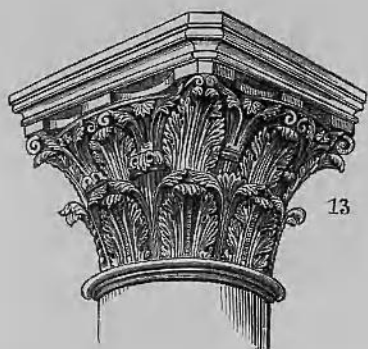


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8. El Barah, Central Syria. 9. St. Evremont, Creil. 10. St. Eusebe, Auxerre. 11. St. Martin aux Champs, Paris. 12. North West Doorway, Lincoln.



13. Sens. 14 and 15. Canterbury Choir (William of Sens). 16 and 17. St. David's. 18. Roche Abbey.

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THE TRANSITION FROM THE ROMANESQUE TO THE POINTED STYLE IN ENGLAND.¹

By SIR G. GILBERT SCOTT, F.S.A.

I HAVE undertaken—I fear rashly—to read a paper before this great archæological gathering on a subject which the mighty temple, almost under whose shadow we are assembled, most obviously suggests: The great architectural transition of the second half of the twelfth century.

When about to sketch out the history of a *transition*, it is most natural to premise by stating (whether briefly or more in detail) *from* what and *to* what this transition was the passage; and in doing this one may take a wider or a narrower compass.

In the present instance, to take perhaps the widest view of the question, it might be designated as the passage which on the one hand led *from* that rude yet deeply religious architecture, based in some degree upon the pagan relics of classic antiquity though yet more directly upon the remains of the same architecture after it had been dedicated to the service of Christ, which our rude Gothic forefathers strove so earnestly and in so many countries at once to mould into a Christian style, and on the other hand led *to* that overstraining of mediæval art of which the poet says:—

“The pillars, with clustered shafts so trim,
With base and with capital flourished around,
Seemed bundles of lances which garlands had bound.”

We must, however, become more definite, and by compressing our range we must define the transition as that which led in this country from the nobly impressive yet stern and ponderous architecture of the naves of Ely and Peterborough, and of the awfully solemn interior of Durham, to the finished

¹ Read at the Canterbury Meeting of the Institute, July 21st, 1875.

and aspiring forms of Westminster. This range, however, is yet too wide to be definite; and I must, while reserving liberty to revert to it, confine my definition of the actual transition to the passing from the perfected Norman, replete with all its characteristic enrichments, such as once existed here in the glorious choir of Conrad, to the fully developed Early Pointed style, of which we may name as its earlier achievement the choir of St. Hugh at Lincoln, and among its more perfect productions (speaking still of interiors) the choir of Rievaulx Abbey and Northwold's far-famed eastern arm at Ely.

It would be useless, as it would be hopeless, in a paper such as this to attempt to treat of Romanesque in its varied forms, such as it exhibited in different districts of Italy and of France, in Germany, and in England, and to tell how each developed itself into the particular form from which in its own country the great transition became imminent. Such a subject would be in a high degree interesting, but it would occupy a lengthened treatise rather than a passing lecture. Suffice it to say that in each country of western Europe the Romanesque style *did* so develop itself, and that it *did* in the early half of the twelfth century ripen for a great change which everywhere loomed before it as an inevitable result. My portion of the subject must be very much limited to what occurred in our own country, and only touch upon the contemporary changes in foreign lands so far as they influenced, or offer an interesting parallel or contrast to, those in England, which, indeed, we shall find to be in some degree the very essence of the history before us.

In truth, our country differed from most others in this: that her native variety of Romanesque—sluggishly, it must be confessed, creeping on during four or five centuries—had been swept away almost at one swoop by the Normans, and their own far superior Romanesque forcibly planted in its room. So that the English developments upon which *our* transition had to be founded were themselves based upon a style which had only for about a single century existed on our soil.

Of the architecture thus summarily eradicated, the less said perhaps the better. It had lasted as long as from the days of Chaucer to the present moment, yet had failed to generate any style of a really artistic character; and, though it was thus suddenly supplanted by one at first sight little less rude

than itself, it was by one which contained within itself such vigorous germs as to produce in less than a century and a half by its mere natural growth, a style perhaps more glorious than the world had ever yet witnessed. We will, therefore, let the old English or Saxon style (so far as any artistic value attaches to it) rest in peace, and follow the fortunes of its successor. That the architecture which had a hundred and fifty years earlier been destroyed out of mere barbarism by the forefathers of these same Normans had been but a few shades different from our own Saxon, seems probable from some few traces of it still to be found in Normandy, as, for example, though the work of early Normans, the relics of the early Chapter-house at Jumieges.² Nor do we know *how* the more healthy manner of building had been introduced among the newly christianised northmen; though it is probable that it came to them from more southern provinces of France. However this may be, we know that their adopted style was one founded logically on reason and on true principles of construction; for not only was this the case with the buildings erected in England by its Norman conquerors, but it was equally so with those of the same and earlier date in Normandy, and with the earliest of them which I have myself seen, the abbey church of Bernay, erected by the Duchess Judith, the grandmother alike of the Conqueror and of his Queen.

So evident, indeed, did this fact become in our own country, even before the Conquest, that King Edward the Confessor, in rebuilding the Abbey of Westminster, rejected the old style of his country in favour of the newer architecture of Normandy, so that his building was spoken of by a subsequent Norman chronicler as "*that church which he, the first in England, had erected in that mode of composition which now nearly all emulate.*" The style is distinctly spoken of as a "*Novum genus compositionis.*" After that one Norman church erected *before* the Conquest in this new method of composition, the next and the first erected *after* the Conquest was in all probability that built by Lanfranc in rebuilding the Cathedral of Canterbury.

Professor Willis has traced out in a most interesting man-

² This is called, and certainly *became*, the Church of St. Peter. I am, however, convinced that its western portion is a

part of the ancient chapter-house of the tenth century.

ner the accordance in style, plan, and even in dimensions between this church, begun only four years after the Conquest, with the abbey church of St. Stephen, at Caen, built under the same prelate, and at the expense of the Conqueror, and so completely contemporaneously with it that, though St. Stephen's was the first *begun*, Canterbury was the first *finished*; and though Lanfranc's work here has mostly disappeared, so much of his church at Caen remains as to show us quite clearly what his architecture was, and that it was pretty closely identical with the traces we have of the Confessor's work at Westminster, and that of William in the Chapel of the Tower of London.

So sound, so logical, and so reasonable is this architecture, that I see no essential difference between it and the ornate Norman of half a century later, nor the highly refined form of the same style which immediately preceded the transition; but, on the contrary, rude and clumsy as it may appear in this, its archaic stage, it seems to me that it carried within its rough envelope the germs not only of its own growth, but of the very transition itself which so soon converted it into the heaven-aspiring Gothic architecture of Salisbury and Westminster. I am here only speaking of its more mechanical features; but the same may be asserted of its nobler qualities and its religious sentiment. The later style may be likened to the religion of the *new* covenant growing naturally out of that of the *old*; and, if the older style possessed a sternness and dignity almost unearthly, a majestic severity which seems as if intended to rebuke the un pitying barbarity of its age, and awe its rude and lawless spirits into obedience to the Divine law, this sentiment was no more antagonistic to the loftier religious aspirations of the style which was destined to follow than was the noble asceticism of St. John the Baptist, the unflinching rebuker of sin and preacher of repentance, to the heavenly spirituality of St. John the Evangelist, the preacher of Christian love, devotion, and praise. If the one seemed to preach the day of vengeance and the other the acceptable year of the Lord; if the one appeared to lift up his voice like a trumpet, and show the people their transgressions, and the other rather to exhort them to "lift up their hearts" and to "worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness," this no more involved an abrupt or unnatural change in the architecture than the sentiments suggested

indicate a change in the religion. Both mechanically, then, and in sentiment, I view it to be a mistake to imagine Pointed architecture to be severed by a great gulf from the Romanesque : it is its legitimate offspring, or rather itself in a more advanced stage. They are not, I hold, two styles, but one ; the earlier and the later phases of the same architecture ; the latter being only the carrying on to perfection of the progression which had during every moment of its dominion been uniformly going on in the former.

But I must return from the sentiment to the mechanism and detail of progressing styles.

It will be impossible in such a lecture as this to go half through the proofs of the *rationale* of the Romanesque architecture, so I must select a few leading instances, and trust to your faith for the rest.

First, be it borne in mind that it was to its very heart's core an *arcuated* style ; that is to say, it bridged over by an arch every opening in a wall which the old Egyptians or Greeks would have covered over by a single stone ; and, secondly, it covered over by a vault, so far as pecuniary means and its own mechanical progression permitted, those spaces which even in the Christian basilicas of Rome were usually roofed over only in wood. From these two principles a great part of the essentials of this and the succeeding styles originated.

Let us begin with *arcuation*. Its simplest form is an arched opening through a wall. This *alone* possesses no architectural character. The first amelioration of it is the interposition of an *impost* moulding between the jamb and the arch. Here at once we get into architecture.

If the arch required two margins of arch stones, these might be on the same wall-face, in which case they would add little to the architectural character. But they need not be so dealt with ; the lower margin may be set back from the wall-face so as to produce a double recess both in arch and jamb. Here we obtain a very important architectural feature, and one from which the greatest architectural developments arose. This recessing is known by the name of "sub-ordination," each margin of an arch or jamb being known as an "order."

Having defined this simple but all-important element, let us try to define another resulting from it.

If two of the simplest arched openings of a single order are placed so near together that the pier between them is only as wide as the wall is thick, we have this result : that is to say, two arches standing upon a square pier. But if we feel that a pillar would be more pleasing than a pier, we may hew away the pier into a round pillar, leaving its impost for an abacus and shaping off the upper part of the round pillar up to that abacus as our fancy may direct us, so as to give it a capital. We have then a strongly marked architectural feature : two arches carried by an intervening column. I will call this principle of replacing a square pier by a column "substitution."

We will next suppose our two adjoining arches and the piers between and on either side to be each of two recesses or orders.

If we apply the principle of substitution to each division or order of the central pier of this, we convert it from a pier whose plan, from its double recessing, is cross-formed to a veritable clustered column, such as would do alike for a Norman or for a Gothic building ; or if we apply it only to the outer order of the jamb, we have the ordinary jamb-shaft, used alike in both styles, and it requires but little thought to see that by carrying the two principles of sub-ordination and substitution into a greater number of parts, we may obtain arches of any number of members, and clustered columns of any number of shafts ; while by carrying the same principles into doorways and windows we obtain all the customary varieties which these features assume.

To return to columns :—we shall find, both by experiment and by observation, 1st, That we are not compelled to use the clustered column, but if we prefer it, may adopt the round or octagonal form, either breaking the capitals for each order of each arch or not, but substituting a single round or octagonal pillar for the entire pier ; and secondly, That we are by no means bound to the form of clustered pillar which the most typical theory generates, but are at full liberty to vary it in innumerable ways, all agreeing with the same principle.

Now, it is obvious that, however plain and unornamented may have been the earliest forms in which these two principles may have exhibited themselves, they are each susceptible of any amount of ornamentation. The square orders of the arches may be cut into mouldings, simple or

elaborate, at pleasure ; or they may be carved into ornaments exhibiting any degree of richness or fancy, or moulding and carving may be combined, as is the case in the south gatehouse of the precincts at Canterbury. The columns or colonnettes may have capitals simple or ornate, and their very shafts may, as many which we see at Canterbury, be fluted, twisted into spirals, or carved to any degree of richness ; so that these two principles of the subordination of arches and the substitution of columns or colonnettes for piers, or the orders of piers, contain within themselves half the elements of either Romanesque or Gothic architecture.

That this definition of the introduction of columns and colonnettes beneath arches is correct, is proved by the fact that in the Romanesque and transitional styles, the capitals and bases are comprised strictly within the surfaces of the ideal pier for which the column is substituted.

But let us look for a short time to the other great feature of arcuated architecture. What we have considered as yet is the mere bridging over openings in a wall. What we have yet to consider is the covering over of the spaces enclosed by the walls or by arches. The most pristine method of vaulting over a space is by a mere plain and continuing vault, called a barrel vault, from being like "a barrel" sawn in two lengthwise, or a "waggon" vault, from its likeness to the tilt of a waggon. This was used extensively by the ancient Romans, and a good deal by the early Romanesque architects in France and other countries. In England it is rare, but may be seen in the chapel of the Tower of London.

If two such vaults cross one another, they produce by their intersection what is called a "groined" vault, the angles of intersection crossing one another diagonally. This simple figure was the key-note of all Mediæval vaulting, whether Romanesque or Gothic.

If a *number* of barrel vaults, running parallel and near to each other, cross a number of others running similarly the other way, they form a groined covering to an indefinitely large space, such as we see in the crypt of the cathedral of Canterbury. The necessary supports are frequent, being at the corners of every groined space, and their most natural form is that of a square pier, for which a column may be substituted, just as in the case of two adjoining arches as considered above.

It was, however, more usual to strengthen the lines enclosing these vaulted spaces by a rib, or a strip of arch which may be brought down by a little management upon the same single pillar, as in the crypt here, or upon a clustered pillar of four shafts grouped into one. Where the vaulting is bounded by a wall, a portion only of these piers will carry the vaulting which abuts against the wall.

One of the simplest cases of this I know, exists in the earliest Norman work in England, the substructure of Edward the Confessor's dormitory at Westminster; the whole is divided into square groined compartments in two parallel ranges. For each of the central range of piers, which would naturally be a complex pier of several receding angles, is substituted one vast round pillar, while, against the walls, the pier of two orders given by the rib and the two groined angles runs down as their support. At a later period—but still Romanesque—the vaulting system was rendered more complete by the addition of an arched rib, more or less moulded, under each intersecting angle of the groin.

As, however, I am only treating of vaulting so far as it is necessary to my subject, I will for the present content myself by saying—(1), that what I have described gives the clue to all the simpler systems of vaulting, whether continuous all ways, as in a crypt; continuous only one way, as over a nave; or combined with pier-arches, as in an aisle; (2), that it has the advantage of concentrating weight and pressure upon points easily fortified to receive them, leaving the fullest liberty for windows, archways, &c., between; (3), that it is equally open to the principles of substitution of columns and colonnettes, with the arches previously described; and, lastly, that the entire system is open to any amount of simplicity, or any degree and variety of artistic ornamentation which may be desired.

This system of *reasonable* arcuated construction was, no doubt, exhibited in the grim old fabric of Lanfranc as much as in the glorious choir erected a few years later by Ernulph and Conrad. The only difference was that the earlier structure stopped short almost at first principles, while its successor clothed them with appropriate ornamentation. Both were incomplete in two particulars: 1. That their architects feared to apply vaulting to the wide central span. 2. That in the vaulting they used they alike omitted the intersecting ribs.

Romanesque architecture in most (or all) of the countries where it prevailed had, by the end of the eleventh century, adopted all the leading principles I have explained, and for a time progression showed itself rather in perfecting the workmanship, refining the details, and in generating suitable systems of ornamentation, than in developing any new principles. The efforts of the Romanesque builders, from the beginning of the twelfth century, to refine and perfect their art, can only be appreciated by those who apply to the works of that period the closest and most careful examination.

In respect of workmanship, we find in the course of only about half a century that the mere stone facing was changed from the coarse hewing, with mortar joints of about an inch in thickness, to the most exquisitely finished surface-texture, such as all our efforts cannot bring our masons of the present day to emulate.

In respect of profiles of mouldings, we find during the same interval the great round rolls of the early Norman arches and the dull mouldings of the bases of their pillars, give place to arch-mouldings of the most charming and varied profile, and to base-moulds of Attic type, and more than Attic beauty of section—such as I never can examine without fresh wonder how such exquisite refinement could have been arrived at at such a period; while in respect of ornamentation, the delicacy was so surprising as to have outrun its mission, and to have brought its course to a premature close by its very excess of intricacy.

This breathless race after refinement evinced itself alike in each country where the Romanesque style prevailed; but it is natural that the forms of ornamentation followed should in a greater or less degree assume in each its own provincial character, and as this ceaseless reaching forward after perfection was the ripening for, and the prelude to, the great transition so soon to follow, it was equally natural that this change, though on a broad view of the case *one*, should on a narrower view appear to be *multiform*; that of each country being influenced by the varieties of its own particular form of Romanesque.

The whole movement was, I think, profoundly affected and stimulated by the bringing the nations of the Western Church together, and opening out to them the arts of that

of the East, as well as those of their infidel enemies, by means of the Crusades ; yet while this tended to keep the art-progress of the Western nations from wandering too widely apart, it did not prevent the existence of local and national varieties.

In treating, then, of the English Transition, we have a complicated task, had we the means or the time to consider it in all its bearings ; for it was partly founded on English developments, pure and simple ; partly on the same as influenced by our continued connection with Normandy, and perhaps by the extended French territories with which our country was brought into contact by the accession and marriage of Henry II. ; and lastly, and, as I am convinced, more potently still, by the circumstance of a great architect from the central and royal domain of France having been called in to reconstruct Conrad's glorious choir in the Metropolitan Cathedral of England.

I must here digress to tell of the one greatest element of all in the transition in whatever country it was being worked out. I mean, of course, the Pointed arch. This was called for by more causes than one.

1. The tendency of the later Romanesque was to increased height ; but, while the columns could be elongated, the round arch was incapable of extension. An arch, therefore, was craved of elastic proportions.

2. In vaulting any space but an absolute square with groining, the semi-circular vault could hardly be used both ways, or either one would be higher than the other, or anyhow their intersecting line would not be in a true plane ; for that purpose, then, an arch of variable proportion was needed.

3. In arching over great spans, such as the naves of churches, or in using arches for the support of great weight, as those under central towers, the round arch was found to be weak and to produce undue outward pressure ; and from this cause an arch of increased height was demanded. The architects knew the form of the pointed arch. They had met with it in the first proposition of Euclid ; they had seen or heard of it in the East ; their brethren had used it in Sicily, and themselves in their intersecting arcading. They saw that it met the three-fold cravings of their art—and they adopted it—first where most demanded, and eventually

from finding it just what was wanted for the perfecting of their architecture.

The result was magical. It became in the hands of men labouring to render their architecture expressive of the ennobling sentiments of religion, a means of perfecting that solemnity which the Romanesque buildings possess in so wonderful a degree, and of adding the most exalted sublimity to its hitherto stern and rigid grandeur. At first, however, it was limited to the vaulting of large spans and to arches of large width or carrying great weight, the round arch remaining long in use for smaller or less important openings.

The kind of ornamentation which characterised the English Romanesque, and by its increase ripened it for transition, consisted, no doubt, mainly of the mechanical classes of enrichment, such as the chevron, fret, the innumerable kinds of zigzag, nailhead and birds' beak, and many varieties of surface ornament.

I do not know that the ornamentation differed much from that of cotemporary buildings in Normandy, though the doorways here are often more profuse in their enrichments ; indeed one can scarcely distinguish the architecture of the exquisite clerestory, added early in the twelfth century to Matilda's church at Caen, from that of Ernulph and Conrad's choir here, or that of the beautiful remains of Ernulph's Chapter-house and cloister at Rochester. We find the same kind of ornamentation to prevail throughout England, and in no less degree than elsewhere in Kent ; as, for example, the churches of St. Margaret on the cliff, of Barfreston, of Patrixbourne, the small remains of St. Augustine's Abbey here at Canterbury.³ That these became more and more refined as the transition approached we see in the solitary relic of Horton Priory, in Brabourne Church, and in New Romney Church, as well as in countless buildings spread over the length and breadth of the country, such as the churches of Steyning, Hemel Hempstead, St. Peter's at Northampton, and the nave of Rochester Cathedral. The capitals, where foliated, were more usually of entwined foliage and other varieties, not at all, as a rule, assuming a Corinthianesque form ; but were still more frequently formed of varieties of the cushion

³ I may add the beautiful remains at Newington Church, to which my atten-

tion has been called by my friend Mr Irvine.

capital greatly subdivided, and often departing very widely indeed from the original type ; and, had we been cut off from communication with France, there can be no doubt that the details of our English Transitional style would have been mainly characterised by the elaborate refinement of those of English Romanesque.

Our highly-valued member, Mr. Sharpe, in his as yet uncompleted work on "The Ornamentation of the Transitional Period of British Architecture," gives innumerable instances of progression from Romanesque towards the Pointed style, in which little or no trace of foreign influence is to be observed, but in which nearly the whole is a simple and logical sequence of the English Norman. This may be said of perhaps the earliest of our purely transitional churches—St. Cross at Winchester ; of the two western bays of Worcester Cathedral ; of the entrance to the Chapter-house of St. Mary's Abbey, at York ; of the naves of Selby and Old Malton ; and (were it not that a few French capitals had crept into it unawares) of the two side portals of the façade at Lincoln. It may be said, also, of the noble transitional bay at Romsey, and of most of the work at Abbey Dore. Some of these have round arches, and would be simply set down by the casual observer as Norman. Other examples, as the arcades of Fountains and Kirkstall, are little other than Norman with Pointed arches ; and there would be little difficulty, by careful selection and the exclusion of all specimens having a foreign tinge, to draw out such a *catena* of purely English examples, as to convince the patriotic antiquary that our own native Romanesque had passed naturally into our Early English without any aid from abroad, were it not equally easy for the unpatriotic gain-sayer to construct a counter *catena* which would, if studied alone, bring about a totally contrary conviction.

Let us look for a few minutes to the Transitional Architecture of France.

There we find it varying greatly in different districts. I fear my knowledge of the local varieties of the Romanesque in France is insufficient to enable me to trace back each branch of Transition to its own preceding Romanesque. I suppose if our own Transition were assumed to be a foreign importation apart from the legitimate Norman influence, it ought to have come ready-made from Anjou, the land of

our King, who ruled during nearly the entire Transitional period. It did not do so, however, or we should have received some at least of the strange features of the Angevine style, if not even the domes of Fontevraux, under which lay the effigies of our Angevine Kings.

It seems to be rather from the architecture of the central district of the French Monarchy that we received that foreign element, be it great or small, which influenced our Transition. Such architecture as Abbot Suger had so early introduced at St. Denis, and his friend, Bishop Beaudoin, in the choir at Noyon ; such as before 1150 was used in the west front of Chartres ; as in 1163 in the Abbey Church of St. Germain des Prés ; and in 1169-96 was made use of in the choir of Notre Dame at Paris. Such as we see in the little churches of St. Evremont at Creil, and St. Julien le Pauvre at Paris ; such, to wander a little beyond the pale, as we see in the exquisite Chapter-house at Veselay ; and such, not to multiply examples, as we find to have been used in 1167 in rebuilding the Cathedral of Sens, the elder brother of our own glorious choir at Canterbury. These are examples of the type of architecture which leavened with a French element our own already half-developed Transition.

I may mention in passing that, though the French Transition was in some respects more sparing in ornament than ours, this does not apply to the doorways, which were often of extreme magnificence. As for instance, the charming north-east portal at St. Denis, the western portals at Chartres, the south doorway at Le Mans, and in the far south those of Arles and St. Gilles. These are the French equivalents to such doorways as those at Malmesbury, at the Temple, at Selby, Old Malton, and at Jedburgh, though their ornamented character is mainly obtained by different means, the French being generally more sculptural, and the English generally, though not always, more mechanical ; at Canterbury we have no great portal of this age to help the comparison.

About this time a great architectural wonder had occurred in that land. Those who have carefully studied the history of the Corinthian capital have become aware that (whatever its origin) it is represented among antique remains by two distinct types—the Greek type and the Roman type. These can be readily distinguished the one from the other by the

architectural expert, but most readily by those who had their schooling (as was my own case) during the halcyon days of Classical supremacy. In those days it would have been deemed as impossible to confuse the Greek acanthus with the Roman as to mistake Homer for Virgil. Now, nothing could have been more natural in France, where so many relics of ancient Roman architecture remained, than that the mediæval architects should ever and anon imitate their decorative features, and so, in truth, they did; for wherever we find those antique remains we find them also to have had their influence on the mediæval buildings.

This influence, and especially the use of Corinthianesque capitals, would have been no wonder at all had the Roman type of that capital, and generally of the acanthus leaf, been followed. The marvel to which I would call attention was that, about the time I am speaking of, the old Greek acanthus made its appearance and became a general favourite in the French buildings, and more especially, it would seem, in those in and about the royal domain. I have never succeeded in accounting for this, but the fact is indisputable; so much so, that in the palmy days of the French Transition we find in profuse abundance—I will not say capitals precisely like those in use among the Greeks at the time of Alexander—but we find the acanthus, both in capitals, cornices, string courses, and elsewhere, quite of the type then in use; and as that type had been purely conventional, it is impossible that it could have been again spontaneously generated, but it is clear that it must have been a distinct importation from the East, if not the revival of a very antique detail.

I can only account for it thus. The Romans had done much to obliterate in Greek lands the distinctions between pure Greek taste and their own version of it; but they had not quite succeeded; and we find the Greek acanthus at Athens even in buildings by Hadrian. When the seat of Roman empire was transferred to Byzantium, the older taste had a better chance, and accordingly we find in Byzantine buildings a full return in this particular item—the mode of representing the acanthus leaf—to the truer Greek system. Thus in the ruined buildings in Central Syria; in two of the gates of the Temple area at Jerusalem, probably erected by Justinian; in the church which that emperor built

within the same area; in Constantinople itself; and in nearly every early Byzantine building where the Corinthian capital is used—we find the same variety of the acanthus leaf which exists in purely Greek structures of some eight centuries earlier date. This now re-established type, we know, was brought by the Greek artificers of the eleventh century to Venice, and thence into France, perhaps, with the domical form of church which we find in Perigord. Or we may imagine this form of capital and foliage to have become a favourite with the many myriads of Frenchmen who visited the East at the time of the Crusades, and brought back by them into their own country, just as they had themselves made use of it in their additions to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. Anyhow, there it is, not as a rare exotic, but as the most customary form of foliage at the time of which we are treating; so much so, that when in several cases I have wanted to use Corinthian capitals of the Greek type, I have found my guides equally in works of the time of Alexander the Great, of Justinian, and of King Louis VII. of France.

From this Byzantine capital was generated one which, as at the church of Montmartre and many others, omits the raffles or smaller details of the acanthus leaf; and again, from this, a peculiar leaf, called, from its hooked form, the “crochet,” and the capital called the *capital à crochet*, which became the most fashionable of its period and the most extensively exported. By another process of derivation was generated a third class of Corinthianesque capital, such as we see in the nave of Notre Dame and the apse of St. Leu d’Esserais; and these three were the origin of nearly all the types of foliated capital which prevailed in the thirteenth, including the latter part of the previous, century.

I must now make another digression to record a fact nearer home. “In the year of grace, one thousand one hundred and seventy-four . . . the church of Christ at Canterbury was consumed by fire . . . that glorious choir, to wit, which had been so magnificently completed by the care and industry of Prior Conrad.” For the rebuilding of it “French and English artificers were therefore summoned; among other men there had come a certain William of Sens”—no doubt the architect, or one of them, who had just completed the cathedral in that city—“and to

him, and to the providence of God, was the execution of the work committed."

Thus we find this great work placed in the hands, not of an English architect, who would have carried it on according to English traditions, such as we have noted at St. Cross; nor yet in the hands of an architect from Normandy, whose course might have been nearly the same; nor yet of an architect from Anjou, or Maine, or Touraine, or Poictou, in which case we might have had an Angevine church, such as the cathedral at Angers, or the church of Notre Dame de la Couture at Le Mans, or such as Henry II. was building at Poitiers, or as he was afterwards buried in at Fontevraux; but it was committed to the hands of an architect from the central or royal domain of France, where the most typical form of the Transition was in its most active progression; and thus, we have thrown suddenly into our English crucible, some of the most refined metal from our neighbour's fining pot—an element not destined to arrest our own energetic process of refinement, nor to render it other than our own; yet, like the admixture by metallurgists of varieties of the ores of the same metal, destined to render the results more perfect, more malleable, and more apt for general use than it might perhaps otherwise have become.

We find that William of Sens, and his assistant and successor, William, commonly called the Englishman, introduced into their work all the three great types of French capital which I have above alluded to, all of them different from the purely English types till then in use, and even retaining the curious rudiment of the Corinthian abacus. We have (especially in the choir proper) the Byzantine variety extensively used. We have interspersed throughout the *capital à crochet*, and we have the intermediate variety just as we find in the nave of Notre Dame (but here an earlier introduction of it) in the parts built by the English William.

No doubt the fact of a native architect being employed as a colleague, or assistant, added to the circumstance of parts of Conrad's work being retained, tended to temper the result with a touch of English feeling; and this we see throughout, in the free use of the zig-zag—which I think does not appear at Sens—and also in the use in the crypt of the round moulded capital, which may be viewed as

almost an English development. I will not risk the fore-stalling of what Precentor Venables will have to say about the work at Canterbury ; this, indeed, is the less needful as you have the work itself before you. What I wish to say is, that you have here thrown down, as it were, like a mountain into the sea of the English Transition, an almost purely French example of the very highest class, and in a place more calculated than any other to produce a profound impression on the architectural progress of our country.

That it did produce such impression is evident, and to study the warfare or the fraternisation which went on during the rest of the century between the English and French elements would be most interesting. Strange to say, the ultimate result was wholly different from what one would expect, or from what at first seemed probable. For, while one would have expected a quiet settling down into a union of the French details—"sparing," as Viollet-le-Duc says, "in ornament but liberal in mouldings"—with the English semi-Norman, so profuse in fantastic ornaments, we find at first a rebellion shown against this by the increased profusion of all sorts of intricate mechanical ornamentation ; but after a few years this spirit came to a sudden end ; and, not only was this class of enrichment absolutely relinquished, but our works came to surpass the French by far in the studious richness of their mouldings, while by the end of the century we had stepped into a style as much our own as that in vogue before the advent of William of Sens, but differing from the French quite in a contrary direction.

Before I attempt to enumerate some of the more eminent productions of the English Transition I will mention one of special interest to this Meeting, and which you will in a few days have an opportunity of visiting.

The work here of the two Williams occupied the ten years from 1175 to 1185, and we find from 1183 to 1186 (or longer) the Keep of Dover Castle was being rebuilt. It has a double chapel, or rather two chapels one above the other, adjoining the porch ; and these chapels, from the extensive use of the round arch, look earlier than they really are, but on closer examination are found so closely to resemble in their details the work of the English William that I set them down for a work of his, and I am not sure

that this was not practically the case, though Mr. Albert Hartshorne shows from documentary evidence that the engineer who built the Keep was named Mauricius. He adds, however, "who had probably studied at Canterbury Cathedral." The same architect (were he Mauricius or William) made alterations in the Saxon church hard by—introducing sedilia, and vaulting the chancel and crossing, in doing which we find that he worked up old Saxon baluster shafts into voussoirs to his vaulting ribs. All the capitals in the castle chapels are *à crochet*, and we see that the arch mouldings of the arcading of these chapels and those of the sedilia in the adjoining church are almost identical with some in the eastern transept here at Canterbury.

In enumerating leading examples of the English Transitional style I would classify them as follows:—

I. Those buildings which are strictly Norman, excepting only that pointed arches are used where structural exigencies led them to be most needful.

II. Such as add to this, extreme refinement of detail, though of a kind rather belonging to the Romanesque than to the pointed style; the round and pointed arches being still used at pleasure.

III. Those which have much less of the Romanesque ornamentation, and betray more of the French influence than is usual in the last-named class. This class gradually merges into a purely pointed arched style, from which both the round arch and the Norman manner of ornament are gradually eliminated.

All these classes retain the general use of the square or octagonal abacus to the capitals, the round form being only exceptionally used; but the style gradually subsides into what is known as the Early English, by the final and general substitution of the round abacus for the square, though the octagonal form was often retained.

Of the first class, I will mention the nave of Fountains Abbey, and the greater part of that at Kirkstall, as well as the Abbey at Buildwas,⁴ all probably built or designed between 1150 and 1160; all look like Norman buildings, but

⁴ On a recent visit to Buildwas, I observed that, though the nave is generally as Norman-looking as the choir, it has, both in the clerestory and the west

windows, the capital *à crochet*, arising, as I suppose, from a delay in its completion.

their more important arches are Pointed, that form being most conducive to security. There is one beautiful bay of this class in Romsey Abbey, though they generally approach in refinement to those of the second class.⁵

At the head of this second class I will place the older parts of the Church of St. Cross, near Winchester. It is Norman, of a grand and severe, though at the same time of a highly refined character, and with pointed arches to all principal parts. Its foliage is untinged with French taste, but is of a most refined and elegant character. The details are severely plain, but in every case founded unitedly on reason, propriety, and beauty. I view this as the most perfect type of the early form of the English Transition. It was probably built about 1160.

A little later in date is the upper part of the western transept at Ely, built by Bishop Ridel between 1174 and 1189. It retains a profusion of Norman ornament, but occasionally shows a knowledge of the French forms of capital. Also Abbey Dore, in Herefordshire. I will include in this class a large number of northern examples whose date is but imperfectly known; such as the vestibule of the Chapter-house of St. Mary's, York—whose columns were of extreme beauty, and whose pointed doorway is profuse in Norman-like ornament,⁶ yet every detail of which evinces the highest refinement. The sections of the mouldings of its bases are alone a perfect study: indeed, this particular feature shows, throughout the style, a purity of form which I can only compare with Greek details of the very best period.

Archbishop Roger of York, the fellow-student of Becket, and Bishop Pudsey of Durham, the nephew of King Stephen, seem in the north to have left no stone unturned to promote the glorious Transition in which they were among the most active labourers. The former rebuilt his palace and the choir of his cathedral, of the former of which we have a charming fragment—now in ruin, and of the latter we possess the remains of the crypt—a work in aspect Norman, yet in refinement like pure gold. He also built the Minster at Ripon. The latter—Pudsey—built the beautiful galilee of his Cathedral.

⁵ I have re-examined this bay, and am convinced that it belongs to the second class, and was probably designed by the same hand as St. Cross. I may here

mention as of the same class, the beautiful capitals of the cloister doorway and of the choir arch at Dorchester.

⁶ Its arch is in the museum hard by.

But time would fail me to tell the riches of the North ; as at Byland, at Jedburgh, at Tynemouth—the purest, perhaps, of all transitional works—and a hundred other buildings, some belonging to the second and others to the third of my classes. Some of them were visited by the Institute last year, and I commend all to the study of every follower of our British architecture.

I hardly know whether to place under the second or third class the two glorious examples in the West :—St. David's Cathedral, began about 1180 when Canterbury was half finished, and showing more than almost any building I know the strange intermixture of English and French features. The former in an almost exaggerated manner, and with round arches where pointed would have been best, and while every exaggeration of derivatives from the Norman cushion pervades most of the capitals, others are exquisitely studied followings of the French.

The other great western example is to be found in the beauteous but melancholy ruins of Glastonbury. The Abbey was burned while in the custody of King Henry II. in 1184. The rebuilding was at once commenced, mainly at his cost. The Lady Chapel at the west end was first finished. This has round arches to its doors and windows, and pointed to its vaulting. In design it is more exquisite than I can trust myself to describe. Norman ornamentation is united with the French type of capital, and mouldings, &c., neither Norman nor French, but purely English—I may say purely Somerset, or, perhaps, Glastonian—and, above all, purely beautiful. The church took far longer to build, and its progress was early impeded by the death of the King in 1189. Its arches, unlike those of the Lady Chapel, are nearly all Pointed. The bays of some of its great arcades were somewhat analogous to those of Oxford Cathedral, though the latter has round arches. Its details are equally exquisite with those of the Lady Chapel, and its foliated capitals are a charming but quite original development of the French type.

The same general feeling as to detail and taste—unexcelled for beauty in any buildings of the age—was followed at a somewhat later date in the neighbouring cathedral of Wells,⁷

⁷ I am aware that a different theory has been suggested on the subject of the Wells work, but I, after careful ex-

amination, adhere to that of Professor Willis, that it is of an after-date following the Glastonbury work by Bishop

purged of Norman reminiscences, excepting the square abacus and a few chevrons in the doorway, but developing yet further the exquisite Glastonian interpretation of the French foliated capital.

In the south I may mention the neighbouring churches of Chichester and Shoreham as among the later productions of the English Transition, the former dating from after the fire of 1186 (though there had been a more English work of Transition in the Lady Chapel before that event) both of great beauty, free from Romanesque feeling (excepting the square abacus and a few round arches) and carrying out to the full the capital *à crochet*.

I had almost forgotten to mention our very remarkable London cotemporary of Canterbury—the round part of the Temple Church, consecrated in 1185, the year of the completion of English William's work, a truly noble work with elegant marble pillars, capitals both of the French and English types, and the pointed arch used only where needed—its doorway profuse with Norman ornaments.

I have failed for want of time to trace out with precision the influence of French work upon the English Transition, but it is to be seen and felt in nearly all works subsequent to the arrival of William of Sens. It is non-existent at St. Cross, and in works of ten or fifteen years later, perhaps, including the very typical work at Oxford Cathedral, but it shows itself in the Temple Church going on at the same moment with Canterbury. It had reached what has been called "*Ille terrarum præter omnes angulus*"—St. David's—before Canterbury was finished, as it had, if history says right (which I venture to doubt), reached Lincoln in the purely Byzantine capitals of one of the doorways attributed to Bishop Alexander before the Canterbury work was begun. It shows itself but dubiously in northern work, though we find just a touch of Byzantine carving at Ripon; but it predominates at Chichester and Shoreham. The English always holds its own in a greater or less degree, and at times shows desperate fight. The French insinuates itself quietly but surely; yet never overrides the claims of the native style; while the English style at length, seeing her Romanesque traditions failing her, steps out boldly on her own

Joceline (1206-42), who also built the west front, but employed on it an archi-

tect from a distance uninfluenced by Glastonian traditions.

account and beats the French almost out of the field with her own weapons ; surpassing her in mouldings and developing afresh upon her foliated capitals.

All this friendly fight begins at Canterbury ; and, though the result of the investigation falsifies the supposition that we learned the Pointed style from the French, it establishes the fact that it was here—as in Germany and other countries—potently helped and influenced by French developments ; and that in England this aid and influence came—as it was in duty bound to do—through the medium of the patriarchal Cathedral of Canterbury. And I dare say the learned Precentor of Lincoln will tell us how it was finally perfected in the famous work of St. Hugh in his Cathedral, where all the fightings and fraternisings of the French and English Transition were terminated in the year 1200 by the first perfect development of what we not unfairly call the “Early English Style.”

I HAVE mentioned the capitals in the English William's Crypt as probably the earliest moulded circular capitals in England. I may add that, though I have mainly dwelt on *carved* capitals as being most distinctive in point of their relative date, there are several forms of *uncarved* capitals equally the property of the transitional style.

I will first name those so common in the north of England and in Scotland, which are little different from carved capitals if deprived of their foliage and the bell laid bare. I at one time thought these were an English development, but I found precisely similar capitals in the granite church at Tulle, in Limousin. They may be seen in London in the crypt of the Church of St. John of Jerusalem. There is another variety, in which the upper part of the bell is relieved by a moulding, the lower part remaining plain and the abacus square. This may be seen in the cloister court at Fountains, at Ripon, Roche Abbey, and elsewhere. In some cases capitals of similar section to these two are round (or heart-shaped if the shaft be so) throughout.

In travelling through the best districts in France, one might fancy that at this period foliated capitals were considered essential ; yet at no period was such really the case, but, like the Corinthian and the Doric orders, foliage or plain moulding were open to choice.

In England, at a slightly later period, this became so much the case that when the variety last mentioned had developed itself into the round moulded capital, so characteristic of English architecture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, plain capitals became far more usual than carved ones, and by the richness and variety of their sections became at one period very remarkable for their beauty. Mr. Ruskin is extremely severe upon this capital, but I think very unjustly so.