

Cathedral Designs of Medieval England

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characteristic brown patina covering the work like a thin transparent skin. Both the reliefs at Florence, as well as that in the Straus Collection, are provided with rings. On the latter, the ring is attached to a palmette, whose style provides a further proof of North Italian origin of this relief.

Up to the present time the study of Antico's works has been too much influenced by the archaeological point of view, and too much emphasis has been laid on the fact that they were modelled on the antique. Many students have found a paltry pleasure in pointing out when and where famous antique works were imitated by our Master. The fact that he took the antique as his model has been regarded as the quintessence of his individuality and his own artistic personality has been entirely neglected. At all times the antique has been the source from which Western Art drew its inspiration, that section being favoured which appealed most to the spirit of the period. It must be understood that the classicistic tendencies of Antico were merely a reaction from the naturalism of the late Quattrocento. Accepting this point of view it will not be difficult to appreciate the true significance of certain of his peculiarities. If we return to the relief in the Straus Collection, we find, for instance, the playful folds of the cloak which differ so radically from the antique. We who regard Antico as in opposition

to the naturalism of the Quattrocento, admit that these folds are an element of the naturalistic or super-naturalistic style of the period. The antique was the medium through which our Master tried to overcome the tendencies of his age.

The fact that the Court of Mantua collected antiquities may be considered as a symptom of the development of culture. This development undoubtedly touched the soul of Antico without, however, being able to alter it. He was "archaïcising" like Mantegna, his great contemporary, and he had perhaps the tendency to go further than the basis and the temporary conditions of work permitted. It is absolutely certain that the relief in the Straus Collection differs from the antique just as much as, for instance, a picture by Mantegna. But many threads connect the works of the great Paduan Master with those of Antico. If we trace the source of Antico's art, we are sure to find that Mantegna was his spiritual father. The association is obvious, as both artists worked at the Court of Mantua during the same period. Mantegna painted for the studio of Isabella while, in the same town and under identical spiritual conditions, Antico created the most beautiful of his statuettes as well as the series of the *Labours of Hercules* which is the subject of this short study and to which we have been able to add a very important work.

CATHEDRAL DESIGNS OF MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

BY HELEN ROSENAU

THE Norman and French influence upon Gothic architecture in England is well known, but the importance of design in the formation of the genuine cathedral style in England has not been given the attention it deserves.

In the Gothic period, the east end of the chancels were mostly straight, with some exceptions, as at Gloucester and Canterbury, and in Westminster Abbey where the French type of ambulatory with surrounding chapels is followed.¹ This fact may be partly explained by the architectural influence represented by the second church at Cîteaux, but it does not account for it entirely.² In other European countries the influence and settlements of the Cistercians were similar, yet the planning of cathedrals generally did not follow their practice.

The idea of orientation in churches which can be traced to the "institutions" of Pope Vigilius, as

¹ Cf. F. BOND: *Gothic Architecture in England*, London [1905], p. 149 ff.

² J. BILSON in: *The Archaeological Journal*, LXVI [1909], p. 185 ff. Indeed the type of Clairvaux III is not so frequent in England as in other countries. Cf. G. DEHIO and G. VON BEZOLD: *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, Stuttgart [1892], ff., I, p. 528 ff.; S. CURMAN: *Cistercienserordens Byggnadskonst*, Stockholm [1912], p. 73 ff., p. 111 f., p. 115 f.; F. BOND: *An Introduction to English Church Architecture*, Oxford [1913], I, p. 158 ff.

Durandus says, is very definite even as early as in the writings of St. Augustine, the father of the Church. It can be traced in the "use of Sarum" (Salisbury), and finds its culmination in the *Summa Theologiæ* of St. Thomas Aquinas, where it is clearly stated that the east is the direction of prayer.³

The oldest Christian monasteries known to us in England follow the rule of Archbishop Augustine. The strict orientation of their churches can be easily understood,⁴ as they are in accordance with Eastern tradition.

If, as in the second cathedral at Canterbury, two chancels existed or, as in the third cathedral, the ambulatory with chapels was of pre-eminent

³ DURANDUS in: *Rationale divinarum officiorum*, Lugduni [1515], f. LXXXIV v. "Sacerdos in altari et in divinis officiis debet ex institutione Vigiliæ Pape versus orientem orare." *The Use of Sarum*, ed. by W. H. FRERE, I, Cambridge [1898], p. 13 ff.; MIGNE: *Patrologia Latina*, XXXIV, col. 1277; *Sancti Thomæ Aquinatis Opera Omnia*, Romæ [1897], IX, *Summa Theologiæ*, 2, 2, Qu. 84, 3, p. 214. "Adoramus versus orientem, primo quidem propter divinæ majestatis indicium . . . , secundo propter Paradisum . . . , tertio propter Christum, qui est lux mundi et oriens nominatur . . ." For a general treatment of the problem, see F. J. DÖLGER: *Antike und Christentum* [1930], II, p. 41 ff.; J. SAUER: *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes*, Freiburg [1924], p. 87 ff.; J. BRAUN: *Der christliche Altar*, München [1924] passim.

⁴ C. R. PEERS and A. W. CLAPHAM: "St. Augustine's Abbey Church, Canterbury," *Archæologia*, LXXVII [1928], p. 201 ff., p. 210.

importance in the East,⁵ these types may have some connexion with continental buildings. The former is derived from a Carolingian source; the latter from the cathedrals of France.

If, for example, in the chancels of Salisbury and York, the orientation towards the east prevails, it can be explained as a renewal of the pre-Carolingian custom of strict orientation enriched by the evolution of Romanesque and Gothic continental art. Thus, in the cathedral of Wells, at the side of the chancel, there are square chapels facing the east and a polygonal Lady Chapel in the centre. The prominent position of the Lady Chapel is derived from French types, such as the cathedral and St. Germain at Auxerre. In the same way, the position of the side chapels at Wells cannot be explained otherwise than by the French cathedrals, the difference being mainly the stress laid on orientation.

The elevation of English cathedrals is also different from that of continental buildings, the open galleries of the Norman tradition being replaced in the decorated style by ornamented clerestories which run in a definite straight line and emphasize the length, not the height of the structure. As the walls were felt to be of artistic value, they were adorned with rows of figures, not only on the façade as in Wells, but also in the inside of the building, as in the chancel of Wells or at the east end of the Lady Chapel in Gloucester Cathedral.

English architects made use of continental models, but transformed them into a different style. For example, the refined and clear vaulting in the choir and sacristy of Bristol Cathedral may be derived from the intermediate arches in the "Chapelle Basse" of the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, with this difference, that the later English tracery is more transparent and complicated. Thus the evolution, begun in France, was continued in England.

Though liturgical orientation influenced the straight ending of chancels, polygonal shapes were also favoured, as is proved by the Chapter Houses, such as those at Westminster Abbey and the cathedrals of Old St. Paul's (London) Salisbury, York and Wells. There is a preliminary example of this type in the sketch-book of Villard de Honnecourt.⁶ It shows a Chapter House square in shape in conformity with the "star" tracery of the vaulting, and supported by a central column [PLATE I, A]. The corners are without ornament, so that the building could be easily altered to an octagonal shape by cutting them off, retaining the same type of tracery as in the earlier examples [PLATE I, B]. This evolution is typically English. The polygonal plan adapts itself perfectly to the needs of a Chapter House, but was not adopted on the Continent.

⁵ R. WILLIS: *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*, London [1845] is not yet out of date.

⁶ R. WILLIS: *Facsimile of the Sketch-Book of Wilars de Honnecourt*, London [1859], pl. 40.

Plans of this refinement could not be executed without exact designs. Traces of such a design are visible in the Chapter House of Wells Cathedral where a portion of the floor is marked with lines: they were meant to indicate to the mason where the tracery and the moulding of the window had to be inserted in the framework.⁷ These lines are not a substitute for architectural drawings. Drawings were necessary to provide the mouldings, elevation and planning and examples of them are preserved in the well-known sketch-book of Villard and in the architectural plans of Strassburg, Cologne and other Cathedrals.⁸ They show how natural the habit of technical design had become in the Gothic period, whereas no such drawings of the Romanesque period are preserved.

The legends of the early Middle Ages, such as that of the foundation of Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome and those derived from it, tell us that plans could be inspired by miracles: at Rome by the falling of snow; at Hildesheim it was believed that hoar-frost had fallen in the shape of a church.⁹

An illumination in a manuscript in the British Museum (Nero, D.1) illustrates a text explaining that King Offa II ordered the building of a monastery at St. Albans.¹⁰ The miniature shows the architect with ruler and compass, standing with the king, apart from his workmen [PLATE I, c, d]. The high social position of the architect is plainly expressed by this close connexion. The date of the miniature is the second half of the thirteenth century. The busts in the triforium of Prague Cathedral of the second half of the fourteenth century express the same attitude towards the architect, the royal family, their counsellors and the two

⁷ The author is indebted to Sir Charles Peers for information with regard to the drawing on the floor of the Chapter House at Wells, which should be treated in a special study, and with regard to a stone slab in Byland Abbey, representing the diameter of a rose. It would be of great value if a photograph of the slab was published, as this would show whether the structure of the rose was based on this design or whether the design followed the rose. W. R. Lethaby's assumption, (*THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE*, 30 [1917], p. 139 f.) that the rose ornament on the floor of the Chapter House, Westminster, has influenced the design of the rose window in the transepts is untenable, because this floor ornamentation is purely conventional and thus indicates only the general importance of architectural patterns as does also the architectural drawing in the Black Book of the Exchequer. For the original condition of the vault in the Chapter House, Westminster cf.: G. G. SCOTT: *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, Oxford and London [1863], p. 39 f.

⁸ H. ROSENAU: *Der Kölner Dom*, Köln [1931], p. 107 ff.; *Design and Medieval Architecture*, London [1934]. In his lecture on "A Medieval Burglary," *The Collected Papers of T. F. Tout*, Manchester, III [1934], p. 93 ff., Tout's statement that the treasury was in the crypt under the Chapter House supports the view expressed by the author (*Architectura*, [1933], p. 96 ff.) that the treasure of Cologne Cathedral was partly stored under the sacristy.

⁹ Cf. The author's review of W. EFFMANN: *Zur Baugeschichte des Hildesheimer Domes*, Hildesheim and Leipzig [1933], *Das Werk*, XX [1933], p. XLI ff.

¹⁰ M. R. JAMES in: *The fourteenth volume of the Walpole Society* [1925-26], p. 1 ff., treats exhaustively only the original drawings of Matthew Paris. For the text see: MATTHAEI PARIS: *Historia Major etc., Duorum Offarum Merciorum Regum . . . Vita*, Londini [1684], p. 986. A. KINGSLEY PORTER (*Lombard Architecture*, New Haven, etc. [1917], pl. 141, 3, 4) shows a similar arrangement about 1200 which, however, is no evidence for earlier times as Kingsley Porter assumed (I, p. 13).

architects being represented in an artistic unity.¹¹

It is characteristic that, although in the text of Nero, D.I., the architect is not mentioned; he is represented by the illuminator, thus indicating the great importance which he attached to this profession. We find the same high opinion of the architectural profession expressed in French records of the thirteenth century, where it is stated that the architects came to the site of the building gloves in hand and did no work: "Magistri cementariorum virgam et cyrothecas in manibus habentes aliis dicunt: 'par ci le me taille' et nihil laborant." The ordinary workman in the Gothic period could not understand that the architect's profession could be exercised apart from his work: the architect designed the plans, and therefore had to keep separate from the workers who carried them out. So the existence of the "free personality" of the Renaissance can be traced back to the Gothic workshop.¹² The theory of architectural drawing of the classical period of Roman art is expressed in the writings of Vitruvius; he emphasizes the difference between ground plan, elevation and perspective.¹³ The well-known plan of St. Gall¹⁴ is the latest "classical" ground plan before the Romanesque period.¹⁵

The plan of Canterbury Cathedral in the Eadwin Psalter at Trinity College, Cambridge, is equally important.¹⁶ [PLATE II, A, B, c]. It shows the cathedral, cloister and surrounding buildings, as well as the water supply. It is worth noting that the buildings are delineated in opposite directions, thus assuming that the spectator is standing in the centre of the place represented. While the perspective of the buildings is primitive, the water supply and the basins are given as ground plans. Contrary to classical tradition and unlike the later achievement of the Renaissance, the different modes of representation are combined not in a systematic but in an artistic unity.

The three separate plans in the Eadwin Psalter have been cut at the sides in order to fit the size of the book. The colouring, the design and the ornamental plants are of the same style and dimensions. The centre is occupied by the cathedral and cloisters, the colouring and design of which is especially emphasized. The cuts are made most evident

¹¹ *Der Kölner Dom*, *op. cit.*, p. 97. There the authorities are given.

¹² V. MORTET: "La maîtrise d'œuvre dans les grandes constructions du XIII^e siècle et la profession d'appareilleur," *Bulletin Monumental*, LXX [1906], p. 263 ff.; D. KNOOP and G. P. JONES (*The Medieval Mason*, Manchester [1933], p. 69) mentions gloves for workmen.

¹³ The Ten Books on Architecture, translated by M. H. Morgan, Cambridge [1914], Book I, Chap. II, p. 13 f.; M. VITRUVII POLLIONIS: *De Architectura*, Argentorati [1807], p. 20: ichnographia, orthographia, scenographia.

¹⁴ J. HECHT: *Der romanische Kirchenbau des Bodenseegebietes*, I, Basel [1928], p. 18, pl. 5.

¹⁵ F. OELMANN: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes*, Röm. Abt. 38-39 [1923-24], p. 195 ff.

¹⁶ M. R. JAMES: *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, II [1901], p. 402 ff. I am indebted to Mr. Hurr, Assistant Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge, for the opportunity of examining the Eadwin Psalter.

by the fact that, on three sides of the central picture, the points of the compass are marked, while, on the fourth, the south has been cut off.

The ink used in the writing and the outlines of the objects are the same, whilst the colouring was perhaps added later. This is indicated by the fact that the colours in the third leaf of the plan are incomplete, and that the flowers by the cathedral wall and in the herbarium are painted without previous outlining.

The plan of Canterbury cannot have been made with a view to indicating the future water supply laid on by Abbot Wibert between 1151-1167, as no technical details are given. On the other hand, the Gothic choir rebuilt after the fire of 1174 is not shown in the plan,¹⁷ so presumably—as archaeological studies in the modern sense were not undertaken in Gothic times—it did not yet exist.

The date of the handwriting on the plan may be about 1175.¹⁸ The second seal of Canterbury, affixed to a charter of 1158, which gives the earliest date at present known, represents the same building as the Canterbury plan.¹⁹ It also agrees with the description of the Monk Gervasius.²⁰

The plan gives a general survey and should not therefore be compared with single views, such as are found on the second seal of Canterbury or, to give a foreign example, on a ground plan in the Record Office at Hanover representing the graves of archbishops of the thirteenth century in Bremen Cathedral.²¹ On the contrary, the Canterbury plan can be easily understood if compared with town plans, such as that of Jerusalem of the twelfth century in a *Passionale* at Stuttgart [PLATE I, E], or with maps, such as that of the Holy Land by Matthew Paris of the first half of the thirteenth century.²²

As a general survey of a monastery the Canterbury plan may be compared with the lost drawing representing *St. Riquier* (Centula) of the eleventh century, copied in the seventeenth.²³ In both plans, the churches are placed in a dominant position. The perspective of the cloisters is equally primitive, as may be seen in Fig. 1 of Effmann's book (p. 9). It is therefore probable that the representation of the cathedral and cloisters was influenced by an older tradition.

The date and purpose of the Canterbury plan may be explained by the fact that it was drawn shortly after the fire of 1174, since we know that

¹⁷ W. D. CAROË: *Canterbury Papers*, "Friends of Canterbury Cathedral" [Jan. 1929], p. 3 ff.; WILLIS: *The Architectural History* etc., p. 32.

¹⁸ I am indebted to Dr. R. E. W. Flower, Dr. E. G. Millar, Deputy Keepers of Manuscripts in the British Museum and to Mr. J. A. Herbert, Late Deputy Keeper, for the dating of the handwriting.

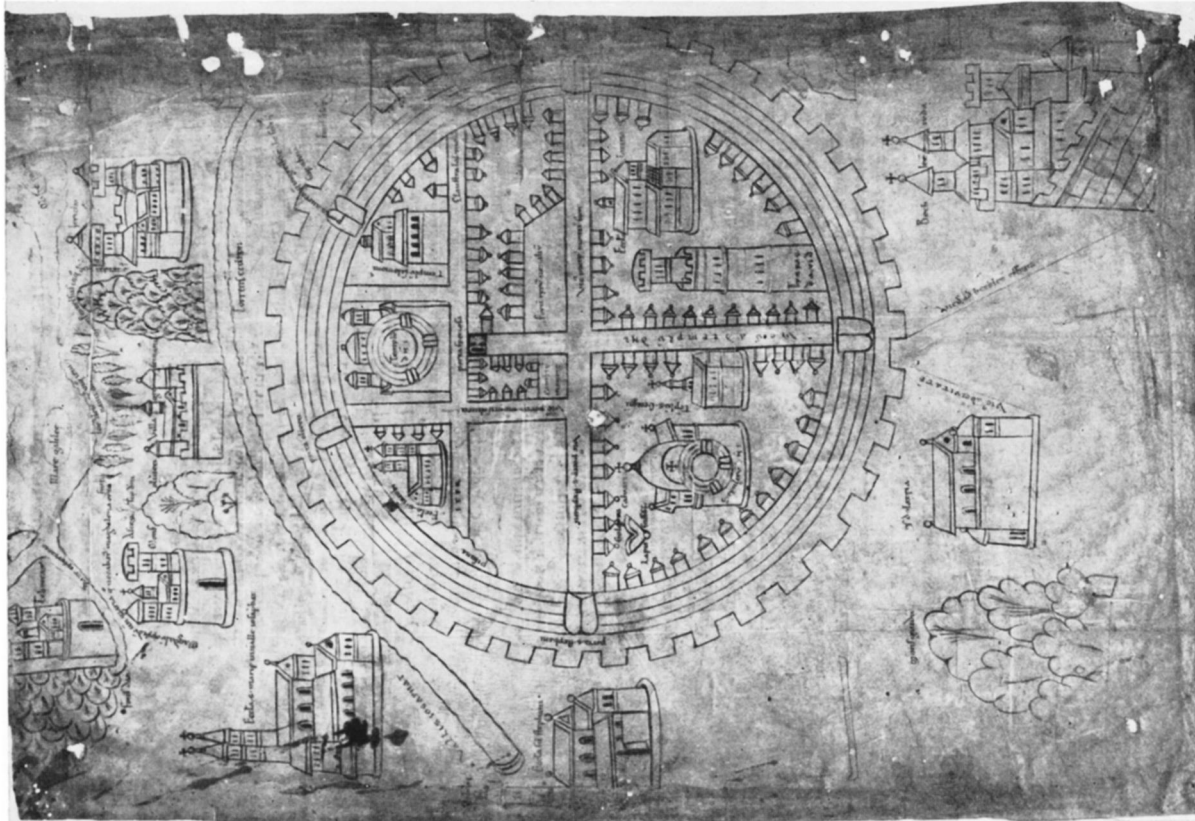
¹⁹ Hand-written insertion in the *Catalogue of Seals* in the Dep. of Manuscripts in the British Museum, by W. DE G. BIRCH, I, Vol. London [1887], pl. IX, p. 190 f., v. Add. Ch. 67123.

²⁰ WILLIS: *The Architectural History*, etc., p. 32 ff.

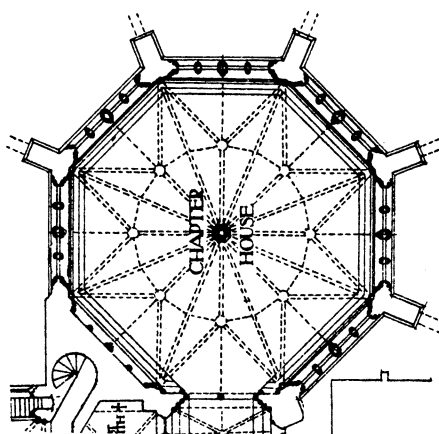
²¹ *Bremisches Jahrbuch*, XXXIII, [1931], fig. 1, p. 2.

²² Cf. *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* [1923], pl. 122, p. 306; 14th volume of the Walpole Society, *op. cit.*, pl. V, p. 7.

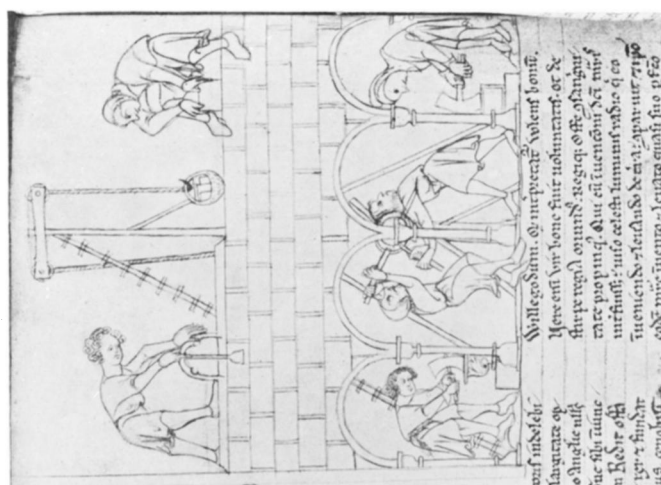
²³ W. EFFMANN: *Centula*, Münster [1912], p. 5 ff.



E—PLAN OF JERUSALEM, FROM A PASSIONALE (LANDESBIBLIOTHEK, STUTTGART)



A, B—

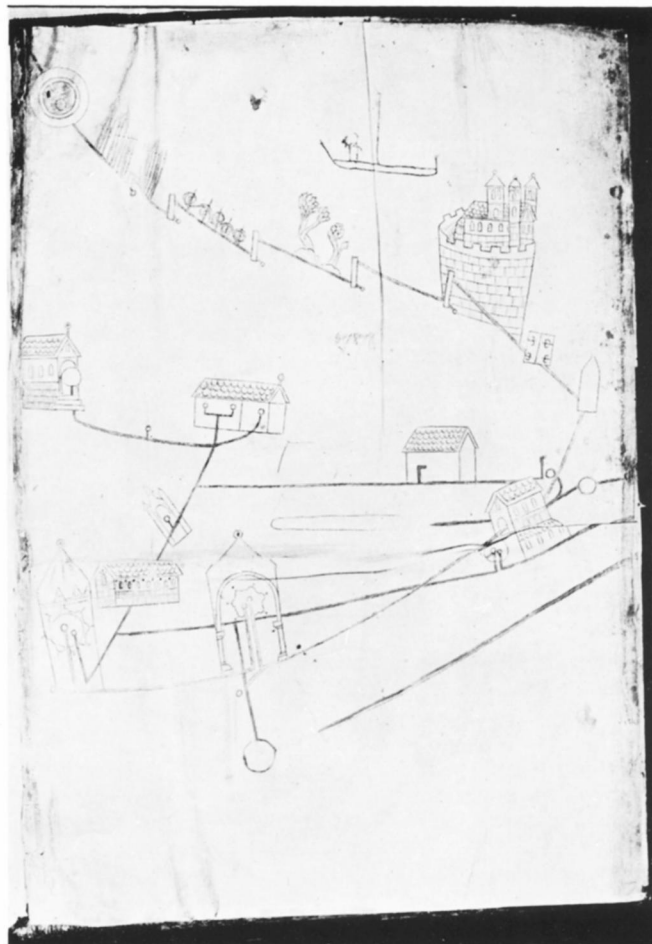
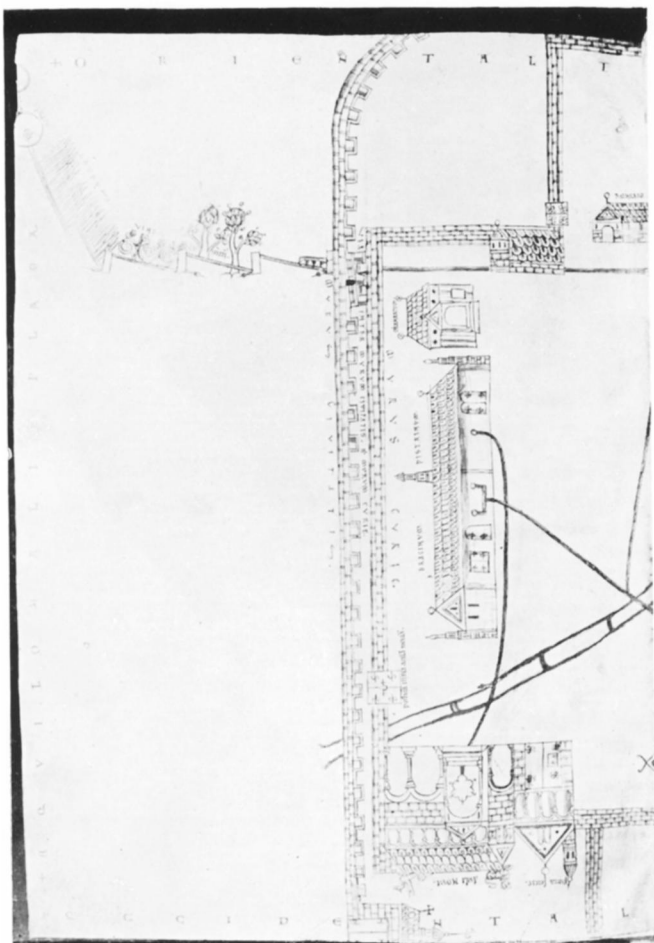
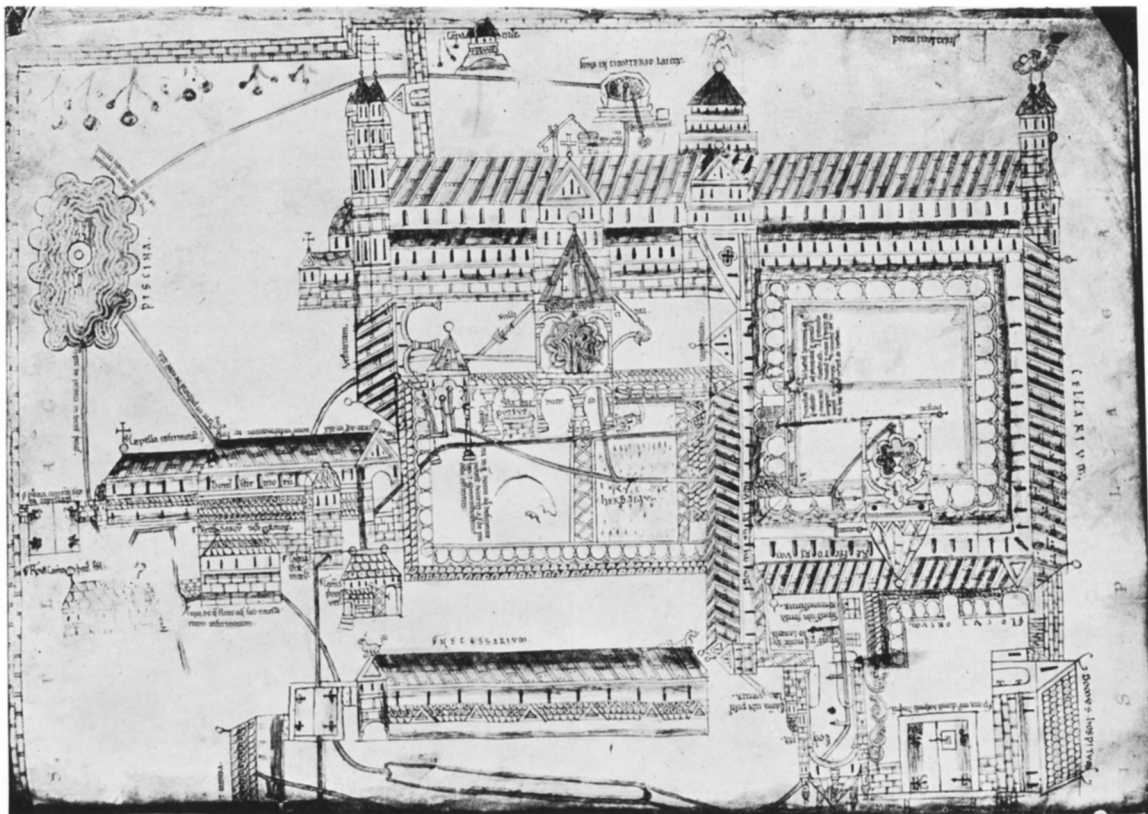


C, D—



A—DESIGN FOR A CHAPTER HOUSE FROM THE SKETCH BOOK OF VILLARD DE HONNecourt. B—PLAN OF THE CHAPTER HOUSE AT WESTMINSTER [FROM: THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON HISTORICAL MONUMENTS]. C, D—KING OFFA II ORDERING THE BUILDING OF A MONASTERY AT ST. ALBANS, MINIATURE FROM NERO D I (BRITISH MUSEUM)

PLATE I. CATHEDRAL DESIGNS OF MEDIEVAL ENGLAND



A, B, C—PLAN OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, FROM THE EADWIN PSALTER (TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE)

PLATE II. CATHEDRAL DESIGNS OF MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

at a conference of architects the question was then debated as to whether the cathedral should be rebuilt or restored. "Architects, both French and English, were therefore assembled; but they disagreed in their opinions; some undertook to repair, while others, on the contrary, affirmed that the whole church must be taken down, if the Monks wished to dwell in safety . . . Patiently, though not willingly, they agreed to take down the ruined Choir."²⁴

So the plan of the Eadwin Psalter was meant to be a general survey of the buildings, in order to show the importance of the Romanesque Cathedral and its surroundings, and thus to recommend the plan of restoring, not of rebuilding, the parts destroyed by fire. This interpretation is supported also by the fact that objects of less importance are plainly marked; thus, there is no inscription on the cathedral itself, whilst the "via que ducit ad domum infirmorum," and other places of minor consequence are clearly explained. The plan must have been intended for use in Canterbury, where it remained till it was transferred to Cambridge.

The feeling for unity of an architectural site which is expressed in the plan may also be seen in the remarkable seal of London, which has on the obverse *St. Paul*, on the reverse *St. Thomas-d-Becket* placed over the City of London, with the spire of *St. Paul* in the centre.²⁵ While the realistic drawing of single buildings is frequent on medieval seals, the realistic representation of a whole city is uncommon.

Gothic architectural drawing differs from Romanesque in that it illustrates a new sense of clarity. While the Gothic architect, Villard, gives ground plans as well as separate sections, and while the Gothic seal of London shows a simple view, in the Canterbury plan ground plans and views are combined, though unity is attempted in perspective from a centre. In this respect it may be said that

²⁴ CH. COTTON: "Of the Burning and Repair of the Church of Canterbury," *Canterbury Papers*, op. cit., 2nd ed. [1932], p. 9.

²⁵ JEWITT AND HOPE: *The Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office*, II [1895], p. 118 ff.

the Canterbury plan represents the transition from the Romanesque to the Gothic style.



SEAL OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

The new precision and clarity of Gothic drawing found its expression in Gothic buildings and reached its zenith about 1300, when all Romanesque influence had ceased and the slenderness and transparency of Gothic architecture was at its height.

The fact that Romanesque architects made use of some kind of design cannot be disputed. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that in the Middle Ages architectural drawing came into general use in Gothic architecture, and thus opened the way to the Renaissance practice. It was equally important in the planning of churches as in the precise and light tracery of clerestories and windows.

The aim of the present article has been to point out the significance of Gothic design in England which found its culmination in the tracery at Gloucester and Wells, and in the vaulting of Bristol Cathedral. The time of full autonomy of Gothic art was short. After having rejected Romanesque influence, Gothic architecture in England stiffened into the perpendicular without any change of general construction and planning. Gothic art reached its height about 1300 and its flourishing period, though brief, was of considerable artistic significance. Wölfflin's theory²⁶ that the classical style of the High Renaissance at Florence and Rome lasted only a quarter of a century can also be applied to this period of Gothic art.

²⁶ H. WÖLFFLIN: *Die Klassische Kunst*, München [1899], p. 3.

SHORTER NOTICES

WATTEAU AND HIS CIRCLE.—Antoine Watteau was born two hundred and fifty years ago at Valenciennes which had then only belonged to France for a short time. Nevertheless, this Master of Flemish origin, who in some respects may be regarded as a successor to Rubens, was one of the most brilliant exponents of the French genius. The exhibition of drawings recently held in the Albertina was a tribute to the lasting value of his art, and was all the more welcome as the Vienna gallery contains none of his original works. Among the pictures kindly loaned from other collections may be mentioned two excellent pencil drawings from the Louvre: the *Bagpipers* (No. 33382) [PLATE], and the charming half-figure of a nude (No. 33361). The organizers of the exhibition tried, above all, to bring out the genius of

the Master by showing his relationship to his forerunners. There were, for example, fanciful drawings and original decorative engravings by the scene-painter, Gillot, somewhat reminiscent of Callot; works inspired by Rubens and the Netherlandish genre-painters, so important for Watteau's development as a colourist; and, besides drawings by the followers of Rubens, such as Delafosse, Lemoyne and Antoine Coypel (beautiful examples from the Feldmann Collection at Brunn), there were drawings by the military genre painters—as opposed to the battle painters of the period of Louis XIV—Van der Meulen and the two Parrocel. By this means what is new in Watteau's art was made manifest by the revelation of its distinctive elements. Naturally such an analysis cannot fully explain the mysterious creative