Warburg gehörte nicht in diese Akademie. Er hat nie auf die Sprache verzichtet. Nach seiner Rückkehr aus Kreuzlingen hielt er u. a. den großen Vortrag über Rembrandt und diktierte Gertrud Bing in Rom seine Deutung von Manets *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* im Zusammenhang mit seinem Vortrag in der Hertziana. Statt dort die Tafeln für sich selbst sprechen zu lassen, erklärte er sie dem Publikum in einer mehrstündigen Rede, wobei es den Zuhörern allerdings nicht leicht sein konnte, die kleinen Bilder, von denen er sprach, in der Distanz auszunehmen. So ist es an der Zeit klar zu sagen, daß die Deutung, die der Vf. von Warburgs Entwicklung bieten möchte, völlig mißverständlich ist, wobei ich mir auch leider bewußt bin, daß sich der Vf. eine Position geschaffen hat, in der der Begriff des Mißverständnisses eben als überholt abgewiesen werden kann. Gerade darum möchte ich hier doch noch einmal auf mein eingangs erwähntes Buch zurückkommen, die Frucht jahrelanger Beschäftigung mit Warburgs Werk unter der Anleitung von Gertrud Bing und auch Saxls. Ich darf hier meiner Sache sicher sein. Ob der Verfasser in seinem Schlußkapitel die Arbeiten der Literaturkritiker Lugowski, Jolles und Walter Benjamin ebenso mißversteht wie er Warburg verkennt, das zu beurteilen entzieht sich meiner Kompetenz. Hier ziehe ich vor, mit Fritz Saxl zu sagen: ,,Das ist mir zu g'scheit.''

E. H. Gombrich

STYLE VERSUS HISTORY IN ENGLISH GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE

PETER FERGUSSON, *Architecture of Solitude. Cistercian Abbeys in Twelfth-Century England.* Princeton: University Press 1984. 88 pp., 140 ill. on plates; HANS JOSEF BÖKER, *Englische Sakralarchitektur des Mittelalters.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1984 (Grundzüge; Bd. 57). X, 373 pp., 96 ill. on plates.

(mit sechs Abbildungen und einer Figur im Text)

In the wave of publications on Cistercian architecture that appeared around the eight-hundredth anniversary of the death of St Bernard in 1953, works on the Cistercian churches of England were remarkable for their absence. Dimier's monumental survey of Cistercian church plans and Aubert's book on French Cistercian architecture launched what seemed to be an internationally concerted campaign of research into the order's building, covering monuments in Switzerland (Bucher), Germany (Eydoux), Italy (Fraccaro de Longhi), Spain (Eydoux), Ireland (Leask, Stalley), and as far afield as Hungary and Poland, a campaign culminating in 1957 with the publication of Hanno Hahn's magisterial survey of early Cistercian architecture in Europe. In what might be seen as yet another manifestation of its insularity, the English art historical establishment remained unmoved by this explosion of interest on the continent. Other disciplines in England, particularly history and archaeology, continued in the post-war years to produce solid work on the material aspects of English Cistercian life, and on its earliest remains; but architectural historians were apparently content, right up to the early 1970s, to rely on the authoritative but dated publications of John Bilson, which had appeared as early as 1907 and 1909. Why no Englishmen bothered to take a fresh look at their Cistercian architecture for sixty years remains a mystery, for the architectural

achievements of the English Cistercians are unrivalled in any country in Europe outside France. In about twenty years, from around 1130 to 1150, the Cistercians in England established or brought under their control fourty-five monasteries, some of them enormous establishments. None of their churches have survived intact, but many were built on a cathedral scale, with superb craftsmanship, in settings of spectacular natural beauty. Surviving in the form of grandiose ruins, these buildings constitute one of the most impressive episodes in the history of medieval architecture, and now, at last, Professor Fergusson has given them the sensitive and scholarly attention they deserve.

Architecture of Solitude is one of those rare things in the recent architectural history of the Middle Ages: a work of genuine synthesis and interpretation, broad in scope but scrupulous in detail, at once a summation of a dispersed body of scholarship and a new vision of English 12th century architecture. Its aims are ambitious: to collate all the information from fourty-six of the fifty twelfth-century foundations (a job which often entails archaeological reconstruction and attempts to clarify dating problems); to trace the overall pattern of the historical development of the Cistercians in England; to elucidate the relations between the English houses, and between them and their continental connections; to analyse the Cistercian responses to Gothic; and to assess the impact of the order's architecture on twelfth-century English (and Scottish) building. Fergusson is the first to acknowledge that some of this wide ground had already been picked over when he began his researches. He has obviously profited from the excavations, conducted in the 1970s by a younger generation of British archaeologists, at such sites as Kirkstall, Fountains, Newminster, Bordesley and Boxley, as well as in Ireland and Wales. For the historical and liturgical aspects of Cistercian life he has also drawn on a steady stream of fine publications, especially by Donkin and the great David Knowles. And the mass of new post-war scholarship on the continental houses has made it easier for him to plot the nuances of stylistic contact between the English houses and their Burgundian and northern French counterparts. But Fergusson collects this disparate material with skill and precision, marshalling it to reinforce his own insights. For he is a scholar who sees architecture not in purely archaeological or stylistic categories, but as an inseparable part of wider historical and economic events, as an expression, more particularly, of ideals or "ideologies". If any group of medieval buildings embody what Richard Krautheimer, some time ago, called an "iconography of architecture" it is the churches of the Cistercians. Much of Fergusson's outlook is coloured by Krautheimer's notion that architecture embodies ideas, reflects identity, and gives physical form and expressive meaning to values and beliefs. But Fergusson is also aware that Cistercian architecture does all this with particular eloquence, because of the order's special interest in building, its passionate attention to planning and design, and its stream of legislation on art and architecture, expressing a constant concern for the creation of the perfect Cistercian church. Chapter one, therefore, is a judicious summing up of the changing liturgical practices and aesthetic ideals of the Cistercians in the twelfth century. St Bernard's famous *Apologia* is rightly interpreted, not as a binding and authoritative statement for "Bernardine" architecture, but as a particular rebuke, addressed to the supporters of Peter the Venerable ten or fifteen years before the order embarked on large scale architecture. Esser's concept of a "Bernardine" architecture

also receives a much-needed qualification, for the term implies a smooth conformity that ignores the dilemmas and conflicts in the order even under St Bernard. And there is much of value here on the darker side of Cistercian idealism, its recurrent failure to find the right sites, its ruthless depopulation of villages. Behind the uniformity and distinctiveness of Cistercian architecture lies a paradox which Fergusson faces from the start: St Bernard created the concept of a ''monastic style'', an architecture recognizably separate from collegiate or cathedral architecture, and yet there are very few statutes from the General Chapter of the order that refer to the style of Cistercian building, or indeed mention architecture at all. Of course, such a silence may imply the existence of strong unwritten laws about architecture that were so obvious that no written prescription was required, and that only later did these oral customs become codified. But it is just as likely that considerable freedom of architectural design was allowed even in Bernard's day provided certain general principles were maintained: the Cistercians show a constant dislike of *curiositas* and *superfluitas,* and according the twelfth-century Dialogue between a Cluniac and a Cistercian, buildings were to be ''non superflua sed utilia''. In other words, despite their distinctiveness, Cistercian churches were, as Fergusson points out, to be distinguished by their simple and undistracting neutrality, by their lack of assertiveness. They were not *Ecclesiae* or *Basilicae,* with overtones of size and beauty, but, in St Bernard's words, *Oratoria,* literally ''settings for prayer'', settings which provided just the right neutral background for that inward journey of the spirit which the Cistercians prized so highly. Such general architectural prescriptions explain, of course, the freedom of the order to adapt its style to local tradtions or to absorb influences from the new Gothic style appearing in north eastern France in the 1150s and 1160s. They also allow each church to take on its own nuances of meaning. Fergusson's close analysis of the historical conditions surrounding each English foundation illuminates features that might otherwise seem arbitrary or out of place. The north transept door at Furness, for example, with its clear references to Bishop Pudsey's work at Durham, served as physical testimony to a critical episode in the history of Furness, when Abbot John successfully invoked the intervention of St Cuthbert to help resolve a long-standing legal dispute with Henry II. The remarkable size of the first stone church at Rievaulx is explained convincingly as a symbol of its confident position as the headquarters of the new monastic reform in the north of England. Even the ingenious, but more speculative suggestion that the sudden wave of English influence at Kirkstall, Fountains, and the Rievaulx chapter house in the 1150s was due, not to a ''gradualist accomodation to local tradition'', but to a conscious change of policy related to a new national optimism at the end of Stephen's reign and the accession of Henry II — even that bolder assertion is at least supported by the remarkable architectural metaphor of St Ailred himself, who referred to Henry II's unification of past and present as combining the ''two walls of the English and the Normans''.

Fergusson's scrupulous attention to specific historical detail illuminates not only the ''ideology'' of English Cistercian architecture, but also clarifies related problems of liturgical practice, function, the transmission of architectural ideas, the influence of abbots on the design process, the effectiveness (or not) of Visitation as a brake on stylistic deviation, and the relative contributions of monastic and non-monastic

professional labour in the design and construction of churches. Where he can, as at Fountains, Fergusson lays out clearly the liturgical dispositions of the Cistercian church; and he convincingly explains the dramatic changes in choir design in England from Byland onwards not as the sole result of stylistic influences, but as a response to new liturgical demands in the second half of the twelfth century, particularly the larger proportion of monk-priests and the growing need for altars. By concentrating on the careers of the first, heroic, generation of Cistercian abbots in the north in the 1130s and 1140s Fergusson provides new insights into the way architectural orthodoxy was transmitted from St Bernard in Clairvaux to the English houses (most of the important ones being filiations of Clairvaux). We have long known that Bernard sent architectural ''envoys'' to Himmerod (Achardus), Mellifont (Robert) and Fountains (Geoffroi of Ainai), but Fergusson is the first to point out that three future abbots were at Fountains when Geoffroi came there in 1133 — Robert of Newminster, Adam of Meaux and Alexander of Kirkstall —, and all three are documented as laying out their monasteries ''after our manner'', a phrase suggesting that they shared a common set of architectural ideals probably acquired at Fountains under Geoffroi's tutelage. New evidence such as this, together with the exceptionally full account of the foundation of Meaux in Thomas Burton's fourteenth century chronicle, raises the knotty problem of the part played by abbots in the design of their churches, a question constantly reviewed by Fergusson both in the main text and in a useful appendix. Abbot Adam of Meaux and Abbot Richard III of Fountains obviously had a direct influence on the shape of their churches; while the exceptional leadership and wiley diplomacy of Abbot Roger of Byland is cleverly invoked to explain the revolutionary and lavish design of his church and its remarkable escape from official censure. Lower down the social scale monks and lay brothers certainly worked on the construction of their churches (Fergusson disposes of the widerspread notion that only lay professionals were employed), but secular masons acquired growing importance as the twelfth century wore on, hence the increasing influence of local, English, ideas in Cistercian building after about 1180. And all these constantly changing pressures and practices are set against the stylistic progress of Cistercian architecture, the influences of local patronage, and the institutional (and perhaps architectural) compromises with the older Savigniac houses which the order appropriated after 1147.

The ease and lucidity with which Fergusson manages this intellectual juggling act is impressive. The book is clear and readable, the arguments are carefully controlled; and without sentimentality or false poeticizing Fergusson delicately conveys his own strong feeling for the beauty of these buildings and their settings. Such sensitivity is not gratuitous. Cistercian ruins are not just skeletons on which to conduct classes in architectural anatomy. To ignore the aesthetic beauty of this architecture (which many architectural historians are inclined to do in the interests of scientific objectivity) also ignores a fundamental tenet of Cistercian life: to establish a peacefulness, remoteness and gentleness of spirit that is reflected in the harmony between the monastery and its physical surroundings. Fergusson's erudition is formidable (see, for example, his note 78 on p. 51 on the first appearance of the keel moulding in France and England). I can find only one factual error: Heisterbach does not have a Morimond-type plan (nor does

Krönig imply it does), but has a chevet east end based on Clairvaux III. Only occasionally does the clear structure of the book break down under the weight of so much material. It is useful to separate the narrative of the text from more factual information provided in the catalogue of sites and abbeys at the back; but some detailed information, particularly when Fergusson is advancing new arguments, needs to find its way into the text itself. But to include it would be to break the impetus of the narrative, and so, in (for example) the crucially important discussion of the chronology of Furness, the conclusion that the construction of the nave preceded that of the choir is presented without detailed evidence, even though this chronology is controversial. Fergusson's argument that it was the Cistercians, and not the "secular" choir of York minster that introduced Gothic into the north of England is also crucial. It rests largely on evidence of "Gothic" moulding profiles, derived from north eastern France and especially the Laonnois, in the chapter house and guest house at Fountains and in the Rievaulx infirmary, all dated to the 1150s, that is, a decade before the beginning of the York choir. But none of these profiles are illustrated. The complicated changes around the crossing at Kirkstall between the first design begun 1154/5 and the new crossing tower planned in c. 1155 need clearer exposition and illustration. Here, as at Furness, the demands of a stylistic overview conflict with the needs of a detailed archaeological analysis.

Such minor problems of balance and presentation are almost inevitable in works as wide-ranging as this. The lasting merit of Fergusson's approach is to arrive at a clear and largely convincing explanation for why Cistercian architecture in England took the form that it did in the twelfth century. Fergusson is at pains to emphasize that one of the overriding principles of Cistercian building, governing all phases of its development, was the desire for a distinct stylistic identity. Cistercian architecture in England is an architecture set apart from local Anglo-Norman traditions, an architecture which consciously asserted its international and monastic character. When changes to the Cistercian format took place they did so largely within the self-contained world of Cistercian affiliations, and with only minimal reference to what was happening in the rest of England. This view runs counter to the long-held opinions of most of the older authorities on English Cistercians — Clapham, Bilson, Webb and Hahn — who maintained that Cistercian architecture arrived in England "pure", but was rapidly absorbed into local Anglo-Norman traditions. To Fergusson there was rarely an English Cistercian architecture: only a Cistercian architecture in England.

The second fundamental conclusion of Fergusson's research is that this international and monastic architecture was not a static phenomenon, nor did it develop in a single undeviating direction. It represents a constantly changing process, passing through a number of clearly defined phases, each revealing variable interests and influences, and each largely determined by new ideas from north eastern France. These phases — Fergusson isolates four — correspond roughly to the four main chapters of the book. The first, comprising the early architecture of the order up to and including the first stone church at Rievaulx, includes a number of churches with long aisleless naves, square-ended choirs and transepts and unsegregated crossings (Fountains I and II, Waverley I, Tintern I, Sawley I). Here Fergusson uses the results of recent excavations,

especially those of Coppack at Fountains, to reveal a whole new series of connections with the earliest stone churches of the order in France (i. e. Cîteaux I and Ourscamp I). Coppack's excavations have also conclusively shown that the earliest part of the present structure above ground at Fountains was preceded by an earlier stone church (Fountains I) dated 1135—46, and that this earlier stone church was the one destroyed and damaged by the fire of 1147. The first stone church at Rievaulx, on the other hand (begun in c. 1134 and completed c. 1145), here given its first proper treatment, represents the earliest English attempt to come to terms with the new standardized architecture introduced by St Bernard at Clairvaux and disseminated in the other four "mother houses" between c. 1130 to 1150. The apparently English deviations here, and at Fountains II (1147—52), (wooden roof and two-storey elevation with a clerestorey) are not, however, compromises with local Anglo-Norman forms, but reflect a slightly earlier version of the so-called Bernardine church, without the barrel vaults of its classic formulation at Fontenay and Clairvaux, — a simpler wooden-roofed version pioneered probably at Cîteaux II in c. 1130, and surviving in the Cistercian church at Clermont in Normandy. If Fergusson is right in this supposition then Esser's concept of the Bernardine church as a single undeviating model created by St Bernard and his circle has to be qualified: the Bernardine church underwent changes and variations, and evolved from different prototypes, one of which was Rievaulx *(Abb. 5a/b)* itself.

The second phase, in the early 1150s, is marked by a new wave of English influences which appear in the remodelling of the crossing and nave at Fountains (what Coppack called the second phase of Fountains II, c. 1152—60), the first work at Kirkstall (up to the eastern bays of the nave), and the Rievaulx chapter house. Here the most interesting discussion centres on the appearance at Fountains, c. 1152, and perhaps for the first time in Cistercian architecture, of the crossing tower, and its implications for the spatial and liturgical organization of the church. Fergusson convincingly explains the reasons for Cistercian uneasiness at the appearance of large towers, and the legislation to suppress them.

The third phase, lasting from c. 1160—80, sees a setting aside of these English influences and a renewal of French contacts, particularly with the filiations of Clairvaux in the valleys of the Oise, the Aisne, and a little further north towards Picardy and French Flanders. Prompted perhaps by the dramatic acceptance of the new Ile-de-France Gothic in the choir of Clairvaux III begun in 1153, these churches quickly absorbed Gothic ideas and transmitted them to England. Furness, which for the first time receives proper attention in the development of English Cistercian building, is seen as the earliest large-scale reflection of these new contacts, its sources of inspiration deriving from the Aisne valley, the Somme, and the region around Laon. Roche, going up probably in the 1170s, derives its remarkably Gothic forms from the same Laonnois and Soissonnais area, while Abbey Dore transepts seem to reflect ideas coming from further north, in the area of the Seine Maritime. Kirkstall's western bays also imply a knowledge of the Pas de Calais, French Flanders and Picardy.

The fourth phase, after about 1180, and comprising the choir and nave of Abbey Dore, the east end of Jervaulx, and the chevets of Waverley and Fountains, represents a return

to a strong dose of English influence, and ushers in the almost complete absorption of Cistercian architecture into English High Gothic around the turn of the century.

Of these four phases the third is the most complex and the most interesting. It reflects a profound shift of attitude in Cistercian architecture from the comparatively standardized Burgundian "half-Gothic" favoured during St Bernard's lifetime to an acceptance of up-to-date Ile-de-France Gothic forms: from a deliberately primitive simplicity to complexity and modernity. The reception of these new Gothic influences into northern England is further complicated by the loss of important Cistercian houses in Lincolnshire, and of the two most influential great churches of the area, the cathedral of Lincoln, remodelled with Gothic portals and rib vaults by Bishop Alexander in the mid twelfth century, and the choir of York minster, begun in the 1160s by Archbishop Roger of Pont L'Evêque, and undoubtedly containing modern French Gothic forms. Fergusson is too sensitive a scholar not to be aware of these losses, and he constantly qualifies his claims in the light of their potential impact in the north east. But consistent with his view that Cistercian architecture is a style "set apart", he concludes that local non-Cistercian buildings played a minor role in this invasion of Gothic forms into Cistercian houses, and that therefore the Cistercians were the main pioneers in the introduction of Gothic into north eastern England. He convincingly maintains this argument for such buildings as Furness, the western bays of Kirkstall, and perhaps even Roche, but when he reaches the abbey church of Byland the questions become more complex and problematic. Begun around the year 1170, and its eastern parts (including the eastern bays of the nave) completed by 1177, Byland represents a revolution in English Cistercian architecture: a cathedral in scale, with a new type of east end with flat-ended ambulatory and chapels (derived, I think, from a long English tradition of such east ends and not from Morimond, nor simply "evolved" spontaneously from the Bernardine plan), and an elevation more articulated and Gothic than in any English Cistercian church before it. Its details, especially the capitals, clearly show that it drew on Cistercian and Premonstratensian precedents in the north east France/Flanders area and in the Laonnois. But does that mean, as Fergusson argues, that Byland was the prime agent for the transmission of advanced French ideas to the north of England? The question is important, for Fergusson suggests that Byland's example *(Abb. 7; Fig. 1)* influenced the whole course of north eastern Gothic in the last quarter of the twelfth century, at Ripon *(Abb. 6)* (transepts), St Andrew's, and Dundrennan (north transept). Yet it seems, as Christopher Wilson has pointed out, that equally likely purveyors of this new wave of French influence are the choirs of York minster (1160s) and Ripon minster (perhaps c. 1165—70), both foundations of the ambitious Archbishop of York, Roger of Pont L'Evêque. Nothing survives of the York choir except its crypt, but the forms here show a close familiarity with Cistercian early Gothic details in Burgundy; and its elevation was probably the model for the choir at Ripon. The Ripon choir, as Fergusson admits, is bristling with up-to-date French borrowings, including quite advanced Cistercian references, as well as details from such prestigious sites as Laon and Noyon cathedrals. If the York choir also had such features then they pre-date by about ten years the Byland "revolution"; and even if it did not, and Ripon was the first to use them, the relations between Ripon and Byland are far from clear. Fergusson

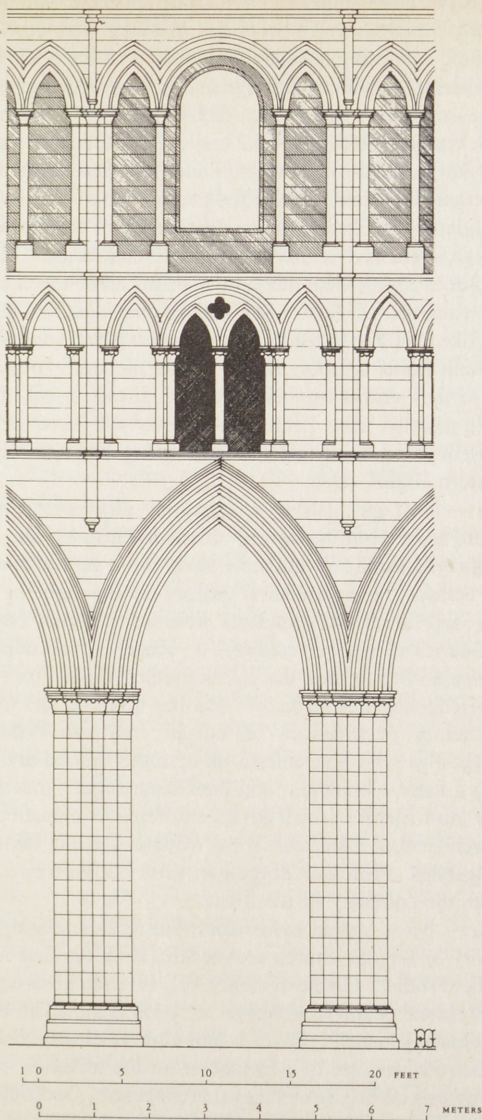

Fig. 1 Byland Abbey, reconstruction of south transept (after Fergusson 1984, p. 80, fig. 16)

considers that the Ripon choir shows few similarities in detail with the Byland elevation, ''indicating that the masons's yards were not in touch with each other''. But if the masons were not, the designers certainly were, for both have identical and distinctive arrangements of interior clerestorey passage and gallery openings. Which building had the priority? Fergusson argues that Byland did. Certainly Byland preceded the western parts of the north transept at Ripon, and may have influenced the decision there to abandon a stone vault in favour of a wooden one. But these parts of the transepts may be a decade later than the choir. Does Ripon really have ''the eclectic quality of the borrower'', and Byland ''the freshness and consistency of the innovator''? Does Ripon really seem like ''an anglicized version of the Cistercian house''? Or (and this appears to me more likely) does Ripon seem the more authentically French of the two buildings, with its Laon-like vault shafts, Noyon-like gallery openings, and planned rib vaults on a fourpart scheme like the Laon transepts? The wooden barrel vault of Byland, its thicker piers and single vault shafts stopping in the arcade spandrels look by comparison like English dilutions of the French-inspired prototype. If this visual impression is enough to suggest Ripon's priority, then Fergusson's views will have to be modified on the importance of Byland over York and Ripon in instigating the revolutionary changes towards north eastern High Gothic.

This suggestion — itself speculative — is the only serious reservation I can bring to this book. For quite apart from the novelty of its conclusions, and its usefulness as an amalgam of disparate research, Fergusson's study has a rare intellectual distinction: it handles a broad episode in architectural history in the light of a wide variety of contingent events and ideas; it stimulates because it looks outwards beyond the conventional boundaries of region, country, or academic specialization. In a famous essay on Tolstoy Isaiah Berlin took the Greek epithet of the Fox (''who knows many things'') and the Hedgehog (''who knows one big thing''), and used it to divide the intellectual and literary personalities of Europe into two distinct categories: the ''centripetal'' hedgehogs who concentrate on a single limited area of endeavour and master thoroughly a narrow compass; and the ''centrifugal'' foxes whose tendency is to move outwards into wider fields and advance different explanations for a broad range of events. Most architectural historians of the Middle Ages, at least in this generation, belong to the hedgehogs. Professor Fergusson, in a book of rare quality and vision, triumphantly enters the company of the foxes.

Hans Josef Böker's net is spread even wider. He tackles nothing less than the nine-hundred year history of English church architecture from the first Anglo-Saxon church in Canterbury to the ''Tudor'' Gothic of Henry VII. He even gives a postscript on Gothic survival into the twentieth century. Although the book is aimed at what might be called the intelligent ''middle ground'', Böker's ambition is clearly not just to provide a convenient text book for students or a handbook for the traveller, but to supersede the last respectable synthesis on English medieval architecture, Geoffrey Webb's volume in the Pelican History of Art, published in 1956. It is a daunting task. Synoptic works at this level require a knowledge of most of the recent published literature; a sense of balance between detail and outline; a solid command of the facts, and — as exemplified by Fergusson's work — an ability to see the material from different viewpoints: stylistic,

technical, historical, archaeological, and even biographical. Given this formidable check-list it would be churlish simply to tick off Böker's failings or omissions, especially since he is an "outsider" with the courage and enthusiasm to tackle English architecture on the broadest scale. There is nothing more tedious than "little Englanders" sniping pedantically at their continental colleagues.

Indeed, Böker achieves a remarkably balanced presentation of his material. The exposition is clear and the coverage wide (including even Scottish Anglo-Norman architecture under David I), so wide that the illustrations cannot match the text. The black and white plates are excellent, but there simply is not enough illustration. Complex technical descriptions of the fan vaults at Sherborne, or the nave at St Alban's, or the choir aisles at Bristol cathedral (to take only three examples) have to be imagined, not seen. This is a serious draw-back when so much of Böker's analysis consists of detailed description. As usual, Perpendicular is underexposed, despite John Harvey's recent monograph. The whole of the 15th and early 16th centuries, a period which more than any other determined the architectural landscape of England, is crowded into the same number of pages as building in the second half of the 12th century. The idea of the great crossing tower and spire might also have been singled out for more detailed treatment. But on the whole Böker discusses most of the main trends, and many individual buildings, in considerable detail.

His command of the facts slips only occasionally. The Hugh the Despenser who put up the Tewkesbury nave vault c. 1330 cannot be (as Böker suggests) the same Hugh that married Eleanor de Clare. The latter (Hugh Despenser the Elder) was murdered in 1326. The source for the design of Holy Trinity Hull was not the parish church at Boston, but the lost Greyfriar's church in London. Although Böker cites the British Archaeological Association Transactions volume on Canterbury cathedral he does not seem to be aware that the prototype for the great series of gallery churches in the second half of the 11th century at Winchester and Ely etc. was Lanfranc's nave at Canterbury, although Richard Gem's reconstructions, published in that volume, proved that point conclusively. Further afield, Ciemnoloński has recently thrown doubt on Clasen's 13th century dating of the choir at Pelplin, and therefore on the supposedly direct influence of the Lincoln tierceron vaults on north eastern Germany. There are also a number of spelling errors, though remarkably few considering the length of the book: "Worksop" (not "Worcsop", p. 130 — not pp. 131 or 132 as the index lists it); "Holborn" (not "Holbourne", p. 171 and p. 368 in the index); "St Chad" (not "St Chadd", p. 248); "St Cuthbert's" (not "St Chuthbert's", p. 309); "Virginia Jansen" (not "Virginia Jackson", p. 360). Eton is not in Buckinghamshire but in Berkshire (p. 315).

Böker's main strength (and also his principal weakness) lies in detailed formal analysis. The book consists mainly of long descriptions which aim to isolate the unique visual characteristics of a building, usually its interior elevation and wall surfaces. There are constant references to "Restflächen", "Zwickelflächen", "verdünnten Fläche", "Raumgrenze", "motivische Verbindung", "Gitternetz". This method of analysis, perfected by Werner Gross in the 1940s and 1950s, and applied effectively by Henning Bock to English architecture in his book on the Decoreted Style, is handled with considerable subtlety by Böker, both for set-piece comparisons such as the 14th century naves

of Winchester and Canterbury, and for descriptions of the choir elevation at Ely or the interior spaces of Bristol cathedral *(Abb 8a)*. But for an up-to-date reappraisal of English building this technique now looks decidedly old-fashioned. Worse still, it positively distorts the reality of architectural development. Most periods or phases of medieval architecture are distinguished by buildings that are diverse, multiple, and contradictory. But if you elevate ''style'', as Böker does, to an abstract principle governing all the architectural manifestations of a period then you run the risk of forcing this diversity into the abstractions of ''uniform phases'' governed by underlying stylistic principles. Such principles rarely stand up to analysis. Böker notes, for example, a clear articulation of forms in Early English architecture in the decades between c. 1190 and c. 1220, a clarity replaced in the second quarter of the century by a preference for thick, unified and ambiguous forms, such as the massive pillars of the Beverley choir. But these fasciculated piers had been universal in northern England since the 1170s! Moreover, Böker's style criticism is not used primarily to identify sources of inspiration or patterns of influence. Detailed though his long descriptions are, they rarely — as in Jean Bony's work — reveal the dynamics of change or the stimulus of precedents, because their aim is not to isolate specific sources but to reveal subtle, but abstract, formal characteristics. Hence all Böker can see in the transepts of Gloucester are certain ''West country tendencies'', namely a preference for ''giant orders'' (tall shafts or pillars like those in the Bristol choir or the Wells nave) framing ''insertions'' in the form of transparent screens (like the aisle bridges at Bristol or the niches of the Wells choir triforium). But if we look beyond this general West country *Zeitstil* to the *specific* forms of Gloucester, it becomes clear that the sources come directly from the exterior treatment of St Stephen's chapel in Westminster, and possibly late 13th century French Rayonnant architecture. One cannot understand Gloucester, or early Perpendicular, without such particular stimuli. But Böker is not fundamentally interested in specific buildings affecting the designs of specific masons. The characteristics of the Early English ''West country school'' are described in detail, but their connections with early French Gothic are ignored, despite Christopher Wilson's article on the English and continental sources of the west bays of the Worcester nave, published in the British Archaeological Association Transactions for Worcester, a work cited in Böker's bibliography. Nor is Valenciennes cathedral mentioned as a source for the vitally important use of Purbeck marble in Canterbury choir, or Suger's St Denis as *the* model for the Trinity chapel. Such references are not part of an art historical game: they help to track the ebb and flow of ideas between patrons and workshops.

Böker's rarified and subjective *Stilkritik* leads him to overestimate the influence of Lincoln on Ripon choir (it is non-existent) and underestimate the importance of Lincoln for Worcester and Southwell and the Early English work at Chester. It also allows him to set up false distinctions and meaningless comparisons. What significance, for example, do certain vague similarities between the side aisle bridges of Bristol and the elevation of Hotham's choir at Ely have for English Decorated except, perhaps, to reveal the mysterious workings of a *Zeitstil*? What, apart from a subjective impression (and perhaps a desire to demote Gloucester choir as a fountainhead of Perpendicular), makes Böker distinguish between the interior space of the Gloucester choir ''consisting merely

of a distance between two opposite wall surfaces'' (!), and the interior space of New College chapel Oxford, which is a ''wholly new spatial conception'', where ''space itself becomes the medium of experience''? Both buildings are boxes, the former a spatially far more impressive spectacle than the latter.

The main problem with this refined *Stilkritik* is that it takes up too much room. Most of the book's 353 pages are devoted to it, at the expense of other, vitally important issues. Technical problems are hardly mentioned. The buttresses and rib vaults of Durham, the strainer arches at Wells, the ingenious carpentry of the York chapter house roof and the Ely octagon give English medieval architecture a European importance, but they receive no attention as structural achievements. The tracing floors of Wells and York throw fascinating light on the procedures of medieval masons, but they are ignored. And English architects themselves seem to play no active role in Böker's relentless unfolding of stylistic patterns. It is not enough for the author to dodge the issue of individual masons by complaining that we are not sure if some medieval masons were real architects or (as probably in the case of Henry Yevele) building contractors (p. IX). Some, as John Harvey has spent a lifetime demonstrating, were clearly architects, and exercised a profound influence on the formation of styles, though that fact could hardly be deduced from Böker's text. Such considerations anchor the abstractions of style in the realities of history, and Böker is vaguely aware of the importance of ''history'' in at least two senses. First, he inserts small historical introductions in front of sections or chapters. But these are merely ''background'' to the period and are not integrated into the architectural analysis. Secondly churches are seen to express contemporary ideologies or reflect historical events. However, these ideological connections turn out to be as unspecific as the formal analyses. For example, the formal unity of all the parts of Salisbury cathedral is interpreted as an expression of the ''collegiate character'' of England after Magna Carta, and of the good relations between bishop and chapter. The West facades of Wells, Peterborough and Lincoln are expressions of the bishop's ''claim to authority'' over the surrounding town; so too are the strainer arches that dominate the lay community in the nave at Wells. The long, enclosed character of the choir of St Augustine's at Bristol symbolizes the desire of the collegiate body to impress its own character on the centre of a town whose environs were rapidly changing. No evidence is brought in support of these interpretations. In fact, they seem little more than deductions drawn from the form of the building and then related to a vague historical background. As such, they smack of the old *Geistesgeschichte* of Dvořák and Sedlmayr. The ''iconography'' of a building, on the contrary, derives from its particular liturgical function or its specific historical context. The unity of Salisbury owes more, I suspect, to the liturgical reforms of Bishop Poore than to Magna Carta; and Bristol (although Böker does not mention this) derives its strange shape from its purpose as a dynastic mausoleum of the Berkeley family, and it therefore deliberately introduces forms from contemporary secular architecture, especially wooden halls *(Abb. 8a)*. Böker aims, he says, to ''relate the specific architectural shape to the concrete historical situation'', but he rarely lives up to this precept.

All these difficulties are vividly highlighted in the central part of the book, dealing with the Decorated Style, for this period has attracted a great deal of valuable research

in the last twenty years, in the form of articles, largely published in the British Archaeological Association conference transactions, and in Jean Bony's book, *The English Decorated Style.* Yet Böker seems hardly aware of either the general issues or the particular insights revealed by this new research. Bony, and most other scholars, see Westminster Abbey as a watershed in English architecture, but Böker treats it and its followers as "post-classical" continuations of early 13th century High Gothic. He does not defend this rather old-fashioned periodization (it recalls the 19th century "Early Pointed" and "Middle High Pointed") by spelling out the continuity between Westminster and earlier English buildings: only Salisbury is mentioned as a source, alongside numerous French precedents. Other issues central to the Decorated Style raised by Bony are ignored: the transference of ideas between wooden and stone structures; the influence of secular architecture on ecclesiastical buildings; the import of non-Gothic forms; the relationship between architecture and the "decorative arts"; the effect of colour and ornament on architectural structure. Böker seems impervious to the original, and often very different, appearance of Decorated buildings, and unaware of the unity, brought about largely by colour, between architecture, sculpture, and stained glass in such interiors as the Ely Lady Chapel or the choir of Westminster Abbey or the upper chapel of St Stephen's. Nor can Edward I's Welsh castles, or Robert Burnell's secular buildings at Wells and Acton Burnell be ignored, as they are here, in the early phase of the Decorated Style. No one would criticize Böker for limiting the scope of his study to church architecture, but he seems unaware of the fact that from the middle of the 13th century secular or non-ecclesiastical buildings became vitally important for church design. The mature Decorated of Edward I's "court" first appeared in the West country in a chapter house (Wells), and in East Anglia in a cloister (Norwich cathedral) and a gatehouse (St Ethelbert's gate, Norwich). Ideas for the upper chapel of St Stephen's may have been first worked out in St Augustine's gatehouse at Canterbury. None of this reaches Böker's text. But then he is not really interested in the dynamics of stylistic change. For that reason, perhaps, he fails to face the central and still valid hypothesis of Jean Bony's book: that the mature Decorated Style (its curvilinear phase) was created in the 1290s by the architects of Edward I's court (the Canterbury family) in three enterprises: the Eleanor crosses, the tombs in Westminster Abbey, and St Stephen's chapel in Westminster palace *(Abb. 8b).* These three undertakings, Bony argues, profoundly influenced the progress of Decorated in the provinces over the next thirty years. Böker ignores this fundamental hypothesis. The Eleanor crosses are discussed separately from the other enterprises, and from any other work of the period; the tombs (presumably because they are not architecture) are ignored, and St Stephen's is treated as a shadowy presence in the background of Decorated, appearing now and again to provide a source for certain details of provincial Decorated. Without a firm appreciation of the "court style" under Edward I it is little wonder that Böker never discusses the complicated exchanges between London and the provinces in the first half of the 14th century. The Canterbury family of masons are not mentioned. The work of the Ramseys is briefly alluded to as a source for the Ely choir, but not as the point of entry for London ideas in East Anglia and the beginning of East Anglian Decorated. The spread of court ideas in the West country and the interaction

of masons between Wells and Exeter, and Wells and the south west midlands passes Böker by. West country decorative vaults are at least discussed, but flowing tracery, an equally vital component of mature Decorated, and highly influential for Late Gothic in France, is ignored. And yet all this material is available for criticism and use. So also are interpretations of its meaning. The three functions of Westminster Abbey as burial-, coronation- and shrine-church in one explain its disparate quotations from Reims, St Denis and the Ste-Chapelle; but Böker, instead of focussing on these specific purposes, vaguely calls such French borrowings ''means of furthering the claims of legitimacy of the English kings''. Petal tracery, simply (I presume) because it is used at Ely and in the Ely bishop's church at Sutton (Cambridgeshire), is seen as an ''architectural sign of the authority of the Ely bishops''. In fact the motif originates in Norwich, and is more widespread in that diocese and in Norfolk. And if he had cared to use it, Peter Draper's article in the British Archaeological Association Transactions volume on Wells would have furnished Böker with a liturgical explanation for the extraordinary shape of the retrochoir and Lady chapel at Wells. And how can the south transept and choir of Gloucester be by a west country architect when the remodelling of the Norman east end was promoted by an English king to house the body of his father? The architect was obviously from London, even if the workforce might have been local.

Böker's book is a courageous enterprise, full of solid material and useful assessment. But it needs to come down from the stratosphere of an obsolete *Stilkritik* to the historical realities of making architecture in medieval England.

Paul Crossley

Studium

DIE WERKSTATT DES INTERPRETEN
STUDENTISCHE INITIATIVEN FRAGEN NACH IHREM HANDWERKSZEUG

Der folgende Beitrag gilt einer außergewöhnlichen studentischen Initiative. In diesem Fall hat sich die Redaktion entschlossen, nicht, wie sonst die Regel, einen Unbeteiligten berichten zu lassen, sondern das Wort einer Studentin zu geben, welche der anerkennenswerten Initiative selbst nahe steht.

,,Wem Fragen ebenso wichtig sind wie Antworten, soll sie in *Idea* entwickeln und zur Diskussion stellen können'', schrieben Werner Hofmann und Martin Warnke 1982 im Vorwort des von ihnen neu herausgegebenen Jahrbuches der Hamburger Kunsthalle. Sind es wirklich allenfalls die Fachzeitschriften, die eine Diskussion über die Probleme der Kunstgeschichte als Disziplin anregen? Sind es nur mehr die Beiträge in den Katalogen aufsehenerregender Ausstellungen, die gar neue Fragen und Themen aufzuwerfen versuchen? Kunstgeschichte wird heute längst in den Museen gemacht, entnimmt man den Stoßseufzern mancher mit studentischer Massenabfertigung ausgelasteter Universitätsprofessoren. Welche Rolle spielt dann die Universität noch für die Kunstgeschichte?