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THE IDEOLOGICAL ANTECEDENTS OF THE ROLLS-ROYCE RADIATOR

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(*Evening Lecture, November 8, 1962*)

I.

WITHOUT going so far as Thomas Gray, who said of the English people that "the only proof of their original talent in matters of pleasure is their skill in gardening and laying out of grounds," we must admit that one of the greatest British contributions to European art is that "Garden Revolution" which, from the second decade of the eighteenth century, replaced the formal Italo-French garden of the preceding era with what is called an "English Garden" in all languages: "Englischer Garten" in German, "Jardin Anglais" in French and "Giardino Inglese" in Italian.[1]

The "formal" style of gardening, reaching its climax in Le Nôtre's Versailles, had proudly imposed upon the infinity and irregularity of nature the finiteness and order of a little universe conceived by man—a universe cut out of (and off from) the great outdoors and rationally organized into a geometrical pattern of avenues suitable for the stately progress of carriages and the caperings of horsemen rather than for solitary walks, parterres designed after the fashion of oriental carpets, trees and hedges carefully clipped into stereometrical shapes, "mazes" which pose neat problems in topology, and bodies of water disciplined to the regular contours of basins and canals (fig. 1).

Shaftesbury, in *The Moralist* (1709), seems to have been the first to stress the basic contrast between such "tailored" gardens and untouched nature "where neither Art nor the Conceit or Caprice of Man has spoiled" the "genuine order" of God's creation. "Even the rude Rocks," he feels, "the mossy Cavern, the irregular unwrought Grottoes, and broken Falls of Waters, with all the horrid Graces of the Wilderness itself, as representing Nature more, will be more engaging, and appeal with a Magnificance beyond the formal Mockery of princely Gardens." It took only one further step to postulate that the gardens themselves conform to the "genuine order of nature" instead of contradicting it. Where Le Nôtre had said that good gardens must not look like woods, Joseph Addison in the *Spectator* of 1712 painted the image of an ideal garden which conforms to the laws of "nature unadorned" (as Pope was to express it seven years later). He prefers wild flowers to plants artificially bred and finds it delightful "not to know whether the next tree will be an apple, an oak, an elm, or a pear." He "would rather look upon a tree in all its abundance and diffusion of boughs and branches, than when it is cut and trimmed into a mathematical figure"; and he "cannot but fancy that an orchard in flower looks infinitely more delightful than all the little labyrinths of the most finished parterre."

To conceive of a garden as a piece of "nature unadorned" is of course a contradiction in terms; for, as Sir Joshua Reynolds was judiciously to remark in his *Discourses on Art,* "if the true taste consists, as many hold, in banishing every appearance of Art or any traces of the footsteps of man, it would then be no longer a garden."[2] He therefore prefers the definition of a garden as "Nature to advantage dress'd"; and it was this concept (well expressed by Pope when he admonishes the gardener "to treat the Goddess [Nature] like a modest Fair,/Nor overdress nor leave her wholly bare")[3] which was to govern the practice of the great English gardeners of the eighteenth century from Bridgeman, the original designer of Stowe (credited with the significant invention of the so-called "Ha-ha," the sunken wall or fence which encloses and protects the garden without visibly separating it from the surrounding countryside) through William Kent, "the true father of modern gardening" (who finished Stowe and designed Kew and Kensington Gardens, and of whom Horace Walpole in his *Essay on Modern Gardens* was to say that, "while Mahomet imagined one Elysium, Kent created many") to Lance-

[1] See M. L. Gothein, *Geschichte der Gartenkunst* (Jena, 1926) **2**: p. 367 ff., (English translation: *A History of Garden Art* (London and Toronto, n.d.) **2**: p. 279 ff.). *Cf.* F. Kimball, "Romantic Classicism in Architecture," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 6th ser., **25**(1944): 95 ff.

[2] *Discourses on Art* (New York, Paperback Edition, 1961) **13**: p. 210 f.

[3] *Moral Essays* **4**, "On Taste."

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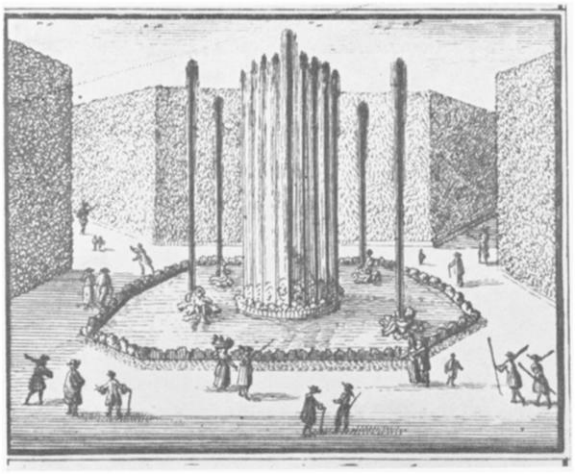

FIG. 1. Versailles, gardens, Bassin de Bacchus.

lot ("Capability") Brown, who dominated the scene up to his death in 1783 (figs. 2, 3).

Yet, even when "to advantage dress'd," nature remains nature. The new, English garden with its rolling lawns, its seemingly casual though artfully arranged clumps of trees, its ponds and brooks, and its serpentine footpaths (Kent made it axiomatic that "nature abhors a straight line") retains and accentuates precisely those "natural" values which the formal garden intended to suppress: the qualities of picturesque variety, surprise, and apparent infinitude ("He gains all points," says Pope, "who pleasingly confounds,/ Surprises, varies and conceals the bounds");[4] and, consequently, the power of appealing to the emotions instead of gratifying the sense of objective and rational order. In his *Elements of Criticism* (1762) Henry Home (Lord Kames) maintains

FIG. 2. Stowe (Stafford), gardens seen from the house.

[4] *Moral Essays* **4**, "On Taste."

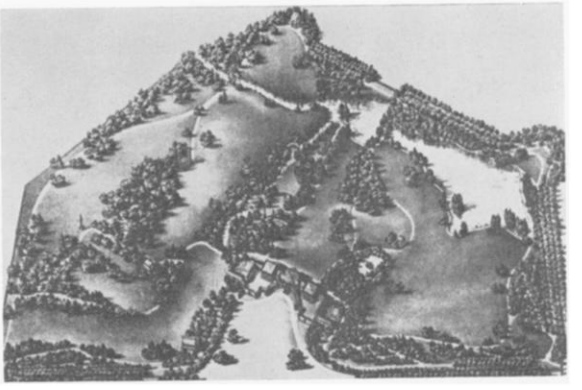

FIG. 3. Stowe (Stafford), gardens in bird's eye view.

the superiority of gardening over architecture because the gardener, presenting us with a succession of different prospects, is able to evoke an infinite variety of emotions where the architect is limited to inspiring the feelings of beauty and grandeur;[5] and how conducive these emotional potentialities of the new English garden were to downright sentimentality was demonstrated—exactly forty years before the appearance of Lord Kames' book—in Alexander Pope's answer to John Gay's congratulations on the completion of Pope's famous garden at Twickenham:

Ah, friend! 'tis true—this truth you lovers know—
In vain my structures rise, my gardens grow . . .
What are the gay Parterre, the chequer'd Shade,
The morning Bower, the ev'ning Colonnade
But soft recesses of uneasy minds
To sigh unheard into the passing winds?
So the struck deer in some sequester'd part
Lies down to die, the arrow in his heart.

In words like these there shines, indeed, to quote Pope's own words, "a light which in yourself you must perceive;/ Jones and Le Nôtre have it not to give."[6]

II.

Small wonder that the "modern" garden, symbolic of the "all-bearing earth" in its entirety, tended from the outset to be strewn with incidental architectural features (*tempietti*, "follies," towers, bridges, even artificial ruins) the style of which reflects all kinds of "taste"—from the classical or would-be classical to the "Egyptian," the "Chinese" (fig. 4), the "Gothick" or the "rustic"; whereby we may remember that the Gothic style

[5] See E. Gradmann, "Das englische Aquarell," *Festschrift Hans R. Hahnloser* (Basel and Stuttgart, 1961), p. 413 ff., particularly p. 416.

[6] *Moral Essays* **4**, "On Taste."

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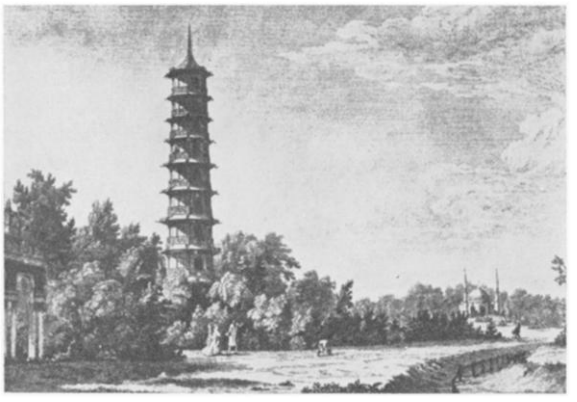

FIG. 4. Kew, royal gardens, pagoda.

was looked upon as something derived from "untouched nature," its pointed arches, noncolumnar supports and crisp or curly tracery being believed to derive from unsquared trees. And yet the serious secular architecture of the period, both in town and country, was dominated by a movement diametrically opposed to the subjective and emotional: Palladian classicism. This "Palladianism,"[7] temporarily sidetracked by the more Baroque inclinations of Christopher Wren (1632–1723) and John Vanbrugh (1664–1726), had been initiated by the same Inigo Jones (1573–1652) whom Pope aligns with Le Nôtre, and it was not only revived but dogmatized at the same time and in the same illustrious circles which produced the "Garden Revolution."

The most important of these circles was that of Henry Boyle, Third Earl of Burlington (1694–1753). Designer and/or *spiritus rector* of numerous severely classicizing structures (his town house was built by himself in cooperation with his mentor, Colin Campbell, the author of the *Vitruvius Britannicus*), he was sufficiently appreciative of Inigo Jones to acquire and to re-erect the battered gateway of the latter's Beaufort House in Chelsea.[8] Literally in love with Palladio, he undertook a special trip to Vicenza and its environs to familiarize himself with the old master's works; he designed the house of a friend, General Wade, after a Palladio drawing in his own possession; and about the same time (1723–1725) he patterned his own country house, Chiswick (fig. 5), after the model of Palladio's Villa Rotonda,[9] built about 175 years before (fig. 6) and in turn harking back to the Pantheon.

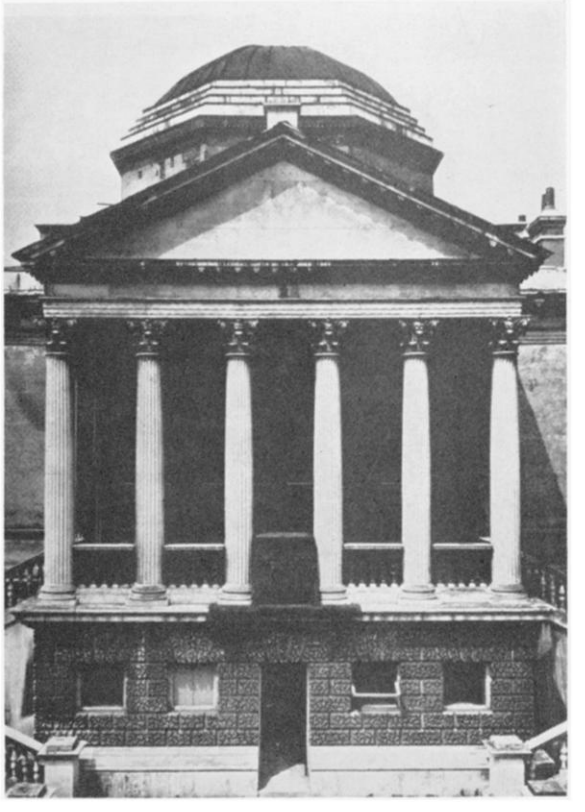

FIG. 5. Chiswick (Middlesex), Chiswick House, portico (after R. Wittkower, *The Earl of Burlington and William Kent*).

[7] According to the *Encyclopedia Britannica* the term "Palladianism" is "specifically applied to the architecture of the period 1715–1760 in England, when British taste relied heavily on the designs of Inigo Jones who had introduced High Renaissance architecture into England." For the all-important role of Lord Burlington, which had tended to be severely underestimated, see F. Kimball, "Burlington Architectus," *Jour. Royal Inst. British Architects* **34**(1927): 675 ff., and **35**(1928): 14 ff.; and most particularly, R. Wittkower, *The Earl of Burlington and William Kent* (York Georgian Society, Original Papers, Number Five, 1948), followed by an article in *Bolletino del Centro Internazionale di Storia d'Architettura Andrea Palladio,* no. 2 (Vicenza, 1960).

[8] See Pope's amusing poem entitled "The Beaufort House Gateway at Chiswick":

"I was brought from Chelsea last year
Batter'd with wind and weather;
Inigo Jones put me together;
Sir Hans Sloane
Let me alone;
Burlington brought me hither."

[9] Sir John Clerk, the author of *The Country Seat* (1727), called Chiswick "properly a villa and by much the best in England"; see J. Fleming, *Robert Adam and his Circle in Edinburgh and Rome* (London, 1962; also Cambridge, Mass., 1962), p. 32.

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FIG. 6. Vicenza, villa rotonda.

Yet this austere Palladian most intimately collaborated with William Kent. While as an architect Kent inclined to share, occasionally even to surpass, the classicistic leanings of his high-born friend,[10] he indulged in distinctly "Baroque" inventions as an interior decorator; and he was, we recall, the most advanced among the contemporary garden designers. Thus Burlington's Chiswick, like most important country seats of the time, combines an uncompromisingly "classical" style of architecture with an essentially modern treatment of the surrounding grounds. In fact, the garden at Chiswick was laid out, in 1717, in strictly "formal" manner and "anglicized," as far as possible, only while the Palladian villa was being built from *ca.* 1725.

III.

With some modifications but essentially unabated, this antinomy persisted in the following phase of English architecture which was largely dominated by Robert Adam (1728–1792) and his brothers. This "Adam style"—which, at the hands of a Jacques-Ange Gabriel, was to develop into the "style Louis XVI" on the Continent[11]—is a successful attempt to reconcile the orthodox Palladianism of the Burlingtons and Campbells with the style of Vanbrugh, and the result has happily been termed "picturesque classicism": Palladianism was adapted to the requirements of a still stately but more intimate habitability; and its austerity was enlivened by the opulent grace of Roman decoration recently popularized by the discovery of Herculaneum.

At the same time, however, at which Robert Adam erected the very "classical" North Pavilion of Hopetoun House (fig. 7, 1752)[12] or the Great Hall at Castle Ashby (1759, when his style had reached its characteristic maturity),[13] he designed "Gothick" bridges, towers, "follies" and churches (fig. 8).[14] He was fond of inventing artificial ruins,[15] and the impression of the Rhenish churches, representing that mixture of Romanesque and Gothic elements which has come to be known, not very accurately, as "Rheinischer Uebergangsstil," inspired him, in December 1757, with a fantasy as picturesque and florid as anything devised in the nineteenth century (fig. 9)[16]

The same decade (1760–1770) which saw the first systematic exploration of Greek and "Etruscan" vase painting also saw the publication of Ossian and *The Castle of Otranto*. The term "sublime"—with its implications of transcendency in relation to the accepted standards of formal

FIG. 7. John and Robert Adam, Hopetoun House, north pavilion (after J. Fleming, *Robert Adam and His Circle in Edinburgh and Rome*).

[10] See, for example, the Temple of Concord and Victory at Stowe, illustrated in Kimball, "Romantic Classicism in Architecture," fig. 8.

[11] See F. Kimball, "Les Influences anglaises dans la formation du style Louis XVI," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser. **5**(1931): 29 ff., 231 ff. For English influence on Continental painting, *cf.* J. Loquin, *La Peinture d'histoire en France de 1747 à 1785* . . . (Paris, 1912); E. K. Waterhouse, "The British Contribution to the Neo-Classical Style in Painting," *Proc. British Academy* **40** (1955): 57 ff.

[12] Fleming, *op. cit.*, pl. 37.

[13] Fleming, *ibid.*, pl. 86.

[14] Fleming, *ibid.*, pls. 23, 24, 25 (all between 1749 and 1753); pl. 87 (1759). It should be noted that at this time the Gothic style was not as yet accepted for serious domestic architecture; a Gothic manor such as Inveraray Castle (Fleming, pl. 20), designed about 1745 by Robert Adam's father, William (who otherwise worked "in the true Palladian taste"), is rather exceptional at that time.

[15] Fleming, *ibid.*, pl. 80, and p. 259, fig. 14.

[16] Fleming, *ibid.*, p. 243, fig. 12.

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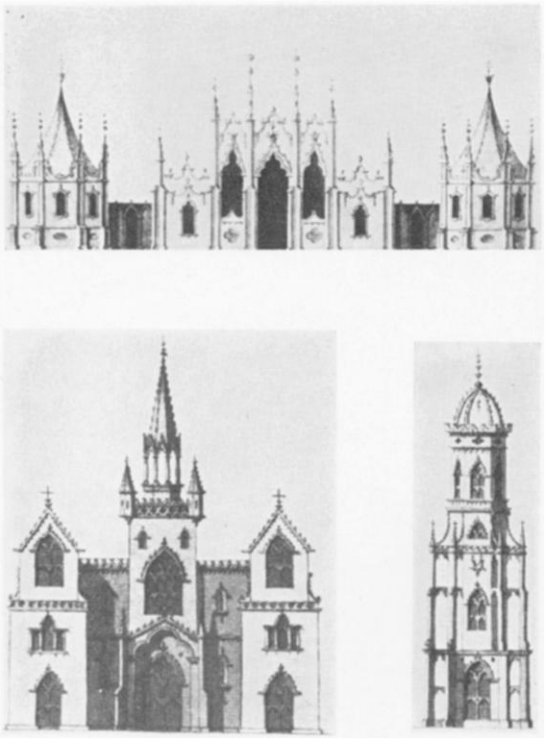

FIG. 8. Robert Adam, designs for a Gothic "Folly," a Gothic church and a Gothic tower, Captain C. K. Adam Coll. (after J. Fleming, *op. cit.*).

beauty and rational comprehensibility—began to be transferred from literature and natural scenery to art—with the result that the cool classicism of a Gavin Hamilton was opposed by a host of painters specializing in highly inflammatory, often intentionally horrid subjects;[17] and the epithet "sublime" came to be applied to Michelangelo whom England can claim to have rescued from the disapprobation of the Continental academies.[18]

In short, the English eighteenth century stands, at one and the same time, both far to the right and far to the left of contemporary developments on the Continent: a severely formal rationalism, tending to look for support to classical antiquity, contrasts but co-exists with a highly subjective emotionalism, drawing inspiration from fancy, nature and the mediaeval past, which, for want of a better expression, may be described as "Romantic." And this antinomy of opposite principles —analogous to the fact that social and institutional life in England is more strictly controlled by tradition and convention, yet gives more scope to individual "eccentricity" than anywhere else—can be observed throughout the history of English art and letters.

IV.

Among the most impressive and engaging English inventions, for example, are the drolleries disporting themselves on the margins of illuminated

FIG. 9. Robert Adam, mediaeval fantasy, London, Sir John Soane's Museum (after J. Fleming, *op. cit.*).

[17] See S. H. Monk, *The Sublime; A Study of Critical Theories in XVIII-Century England* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, Paperback Edition, 1960), pp. 191–202.

[18] Monk, *ibid.*, 173: "Michelangelo comes steadily into greater favor after 1750." The climax of his glorification was reached in Fuseli and Reynolds; see, e.g., Reynolds' *Fifth Discourse* (December 19, 1772), *ed. cit.*, p. 76 f.: "Michael Angelo has more of the Poetical Inspiration; his ideas are vast and sublime. . . . To the question therefore, which ought to hold the first rank, Raffaelle or Michael Angelo, it must be answered that if it is to be given to him who possessed a greater combination of the higher qualities of the art than any other man, there is no doubt but Raffaelle is the first. But if, as Longinus thinks, the sublime, being the highest excellence that human composition can attain to, abundantly compensates the absence of every other beauty, and atones for all other deficiencies, then Michael Angelo demands the preference." The *Fifteenth Discourse* of December 10, 1790, is almost entirely devoted to the praise of Michelangelo and constant reference is made to his "sublimity," his "most sublime and poetical imagination," etc. (*ed. cit.*, pp. 238, 240). An interesting and relatively early application of the term "sublime" to architecture is found in James Adam's unfinished essay on architecture composed in November 1763 (Fleming, *op. cit.*, p. 317): "[domes] are of themselves one of the most beautiful and most sublime inventions of this or any other art."

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manuscripts from *ca.* 1250 (fig. 10).[19] Based on the fables or the *exempla* used by preachers but as often derived from actual experience or sheer imagination, these drolleries foreshadow Hogarth and Rawlinson as well as Jerome Bosch; they run the whole gamut from sharply observed reality to the grotesque, the scurrilous, and the phantasmagoric. And when they crossed the Channel they were most eagerly accepted and developed in the regions adjacent to it, viz., in north-eastern France and in the Netherlands. But while the Continental artists—particularly those who, like the great Jean Pucelle, adapted the new vogue to the refined taste of the Royal Domain—attempted, as far as the mode of presentation was concerned, to reconcile the style of the marginal drolleries with that of the principal pictures, a sharp dichotomy can be observed in England. In the same schools in which we find the drolleries at their liveliest, at times even in the same manuscript, the principal pictures are dominated by a solemn formality approaching the hieratic. The earliest datable manuscript exhibiting full-fledged drolleries, the Rutland Psalter at Belvoir Castle executed for Edmund de Laci or de Lacey, Earl of Lincoln (d. 1257 or 1258), contains a *Christ in Majesty* more strictly formalized and unapproachable than anything produced on the Continent at the same time (fig. 11).[20]

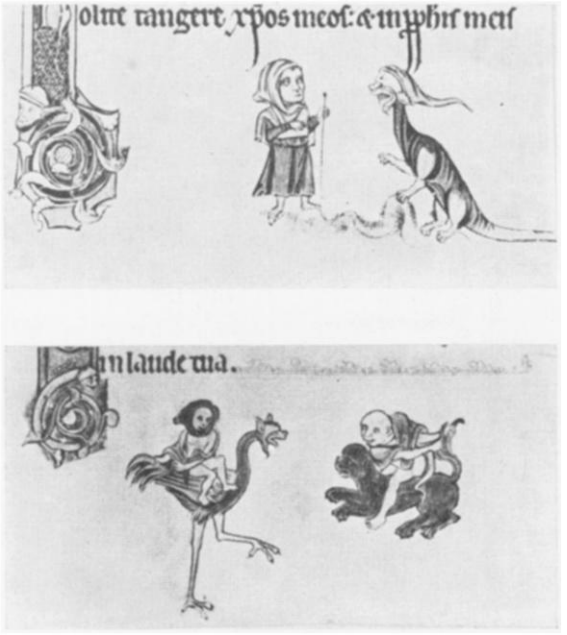

Fig. 10. Belvoir Castle, The Rutland Psalter, Drolleries.

Fig. 11. Belvoir Castle, The Rutland Psalter, Christ in Majesty.

The following century—the century that witnessed the victories of Crécy and Poitiers and the re-emergence of English as the language of the nobles, the educated and the law courts—[21] produced three important and nearly-contemporary innovations in the domain of Gothic architecture which may be said to epitomize the two contrastive principles here under discussion, the first representing a triumph of the irrational; the second a triumph of the rational; the third a triumph of both.

Throughout the thirteenth century English architecture, like that on the Continent, was essentially dominated by straight lines and "simple" curves, that is to say, circular arcs. It was in England that these "simple" curves began to be

[19] See L. M. C. Randall, *"Exempla* as a source of Gothic marginal illumination," *Art Bulletin* **39**(1957): 97 ff., with excellent bibliography.

[20] E. Millar, *The Rutland Psalter* (Oxford, 1937), fol. 112 v. The drolleries here shown are on fols. 104 and 107 v.

[21] See G. M. Trevelyan, *History of England* (New York, Paperback Edition, 1953) **1**: p. 309 ff.

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replaced by "compound" curves, each of them resulting from the merger of at least one convex with at least one concave element. The result was the "decorated," "flowing" or—to call it by its most usual though not very accurate name—"curvilinear" style which flourished in England from *ca.* 1320 to the end of the century and played an important part in the formation of the "Flamboyant" phase of the Gothic style on the Continent.[22] The examples of this "curvilinear" style, such as the "Bishop's Eye" of Lincoln Cathedral (executed shortly after 1319),[23] the east window of Hawton (second quarter of the fourteenth century) or the somewhat later east window of Carlisle, the curves of which are said to require the plotting of no less than 263 circles,[24] give the impression of an ordered chaos comparable to those "close-knit and involved intricacies" of early insular ornamentation [25] a dim recollection of which may indeed have played a part in the emergence of this type of tracery (fig. 12).

But only a few years after the formation of the "curvilinear" style there arose a counter-movement so resolutely rational and sober-minded that it was never accepted on the other side of the Channel: the "perpendicular style." Announcing itself in St. Stephen's Chapel in Westminster Palace, it appears fully developed in the choir, south transept and cloisters of Gloucester Cathedral, all started in the fourth decade of the fourteenth century.[26] In an attempt to obtain a maximum of window space with a minimum of effort and expense (so that "so much more window could be had for the same money"), but also, I believe, in deference to the second, "rightist" trend occasionally suppressed but never absent on English soil, the tracery was simplified into a uniform grill composed, in principle, of rectangular fields—the only remaining curves being the trefoil arches which convert each of the rectangles into a little "niche" suitable for the reception of a single figure (fig. 13). What had been an intricate pattern of tracery, its irregular interstices precariously filled with glass, became an expanse of glass neatly divided by a system of coordinates. But the two systems co-existed for many decades until the perpendicular style won out to hold sway up to the belated advent of the Italian Renaissance.

Simultaneously with the perpendicular style

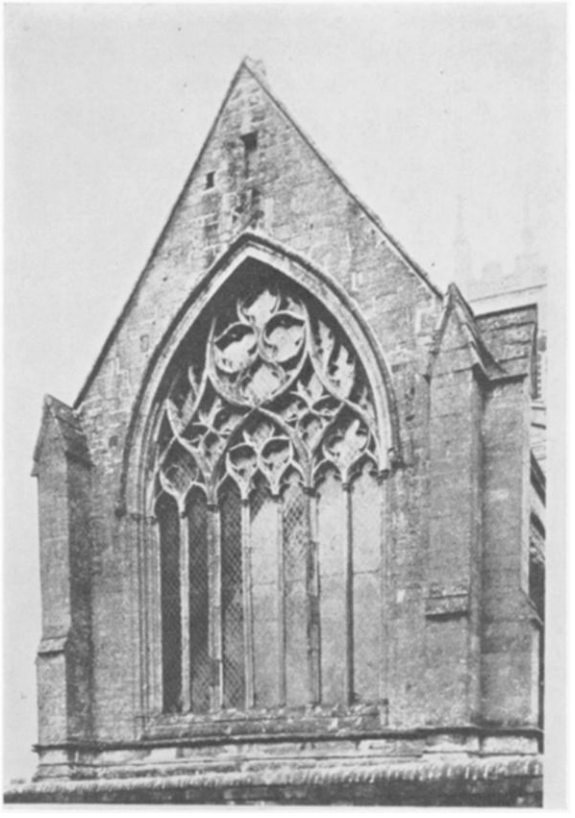

FIG. 12. Hawton, church, east window.

[22] M. M. Tamir, "The English Origin of the Flamboyant Style," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 6th ser., **29**(1946): 257 ff.; J. Bony, *French Cathedrals* (London, 1951), p. 15. Bony correctly emphasizes that the sources of the Flamboyant Style are not *exclusively* English, that "symptoms" of it appear in French court art even before 1300, and that it may have drawn upon the vocabulary of "miniatures, ivories and tombs" rather than architecture. But he no less correctly adds that such Continental experiments were "short-lived, neither flourishing nor developing to any extent"; and it seems probable that the very "miniatures and ivories" he has in mind (such, for example, as the Belleville Breviary by Jean Pucelle and his collaborators) are not quite independent of insular influence.

[23] For the custom of calling the circular windows of the south and north transepts of Lincoln Cathedral, respectively, the "Bishop's Eye" and the "Dean's Eye" (a custom documented from as early as 1220–1235), see the versified *Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln;* reprinted in O. Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Lateinische Schriftquellen zur Kunst in England, Wales und Schottland vom Jahre 901 bis zum Jahre 1307* (Munich, 1955–1960) **2**: p. 27 ff., no. 2372.

[24] F. Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England* (London, 1906), p. 494.

[25] These expressions are borrowed from Giraldus Cambrensis' remarkable description of an Irish manuscript, for which see below, p. 285.

[26] Bond, *op. cit.,* p. 494 ff.; G. G. Coulton, *Art and the Reformation* (New York, 1928), p. 19 ff. *Cf.* J. H. Harvey, "St. Stephen's Chapel and the origin of the Perpendicular Style," *Burlington Magazine* **88**(1946): 192 ff.

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FIG. 13. Gloucester Cathedral, choir.

there came into being the third of the innovations alluded to above (it, too, rejected on the Continent): the fan vault which, to the non-English eye, gives the impression of a *monde renversé* (fig. 14).[27] It differs from the normal Gothic rib vault in that it does not consist of spherical triangles of different sizes (the transverse arches being longer than the longitudinal ones, and the diagonal arches being longer than both) but of congruent, inverted conoids which can be constructed by rotating one curve (viz., half of a "four-centered arch") around a vertical axis and may be decorated with equidistant radial ribs of equal length. Where the normal Gothic rib vault culminates in a keystone, the apex of a fan vault forms a plateau-like surface delimited by the bases of the conoids; and, to make this inversion of the normal situation doubly conspicuous, the English builders liked to drop from these "plateaus" huge pendents which tend to produce an effect not unlike that of stalactites (fig. 15).

[27] For its development from the "lierne" vault, see particularly F. Bond, *An Introduction to English Church Architecture* (London, 1913) **1**: p. 339 ff.

Yet, when stripped to its structural essentials, this apparently fantastic, even topsy-turvy vaulting system reveals itself to be no less practical and economical than is the perpendicular organization of the walls and windows with which we find it normally combined and whose rigid schematism creates a strong visual contrast to its fanciful exuberance. Since all the radii of all the conoids have the same length and the same curvature, the size and shape of the *voussoirs* could be standardized. The surfaces between the conoids could be constructed from large, thin panels. And the comparative flatness and lightness of the whole system, combined with the more important fact that conoids, in contrast to rib vaults, exert a downward rather than lateral thrust, greatly reduced the deformative forces operating in a normal Gothic vault. As a result (even in such extreme cases as the Chapel of Henry VII), the use of fan vaults permits a maximum of fenestration and requires a minimum of buttressing.

This uncanny sense of practicality (even where it conceals itself behind an almost paradoxical

FIG. 14. Gloucester Cathedral, cloisters, South Gallery.

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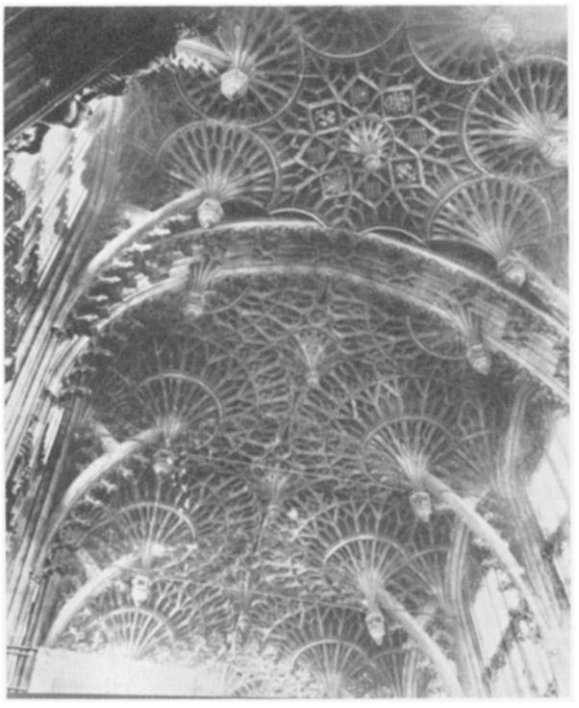

FIG. 15. London, Westminster Abbey, Chapel of Henry VII.

appearance) is a third and very important aspect of the English character—the character of a nation both "romantic" and conservative yet rightly renowned for its positivistic outlook and blessed with a special aptitude for craftsmanship and technical invention. We may remember that, while the Burlingtons and Campbells developed their orthodox Palladianism, while the Adams evolved their "picturesque" version of classicism, and while the Bridgemans, Kents, and Browns laid out their modern, sentimental gardens, the Newcomens, Cowleys, and Watts devised and perfected the steam engine and the Lewis Pauls, Hargreaves, Cromptons, and Arkwrights developed the spinning machine.

V.

Where the times were propitious, the rationalistic or conservative tendency in English art sought, we recall, support and nourishment in classical antiquity. This applies not only to the Palladian revival—or, rather, revivals—but also to the very beginnings of insular art where Mediterranean influences can be observed in the Northumbrian crosses and such manuscripts as the Codex Amiatinus, the Lindisfarne Gospels, or the Gospels of Maaseyck—the earliest Northern attempts at reviving a humanistic concept of man in art. But even at this early stage a tension can be felt between the diluted classicality of the Early Christian forms ultimately derived from Hellenistic prototypes and a barbaric, antihumanistic tendency, particularly potent in the ornamental features, which seems to be rooted in an aboriginal Celtic, particularly Irish tradition.[28]

The name of Ireland raises the question as to how we can explain this curious and persistent antinomy which, as I phrased it, places English art both far to the right and far to the left of Continental developments. This is one of those questions which the historian cannot hope to answer—and is perhaps not even entitled to pose—but cannot help musing about. First of all, England, an island unusually vulnerable to occupation up to the Norman Conquest but practically impervious to attack ever after, was always conscious of its "distance" from the rest of Europe. Secondly (and consequently), the ethnic structure of the English population was determined by the successive predominance of pre-Celtic "Iberians," Celts, Anglo-Saxons, Norsemen, and Normans; from this resulted (apart from the fact that the English language became, as it did, a unique compound of the Germanic and the Romance) a constant interaction of what has been called "wild Celtic fancy" and the "deep feeling and good sense of the Nordic races."[29] Thirdly, in contrast to the major portions of Germany, England had been conquered by the Romans; but in contrast to Spain and France, this conquest had not resulted in a real Romanization. "The greatest fact in the early history of the island," says Trevelyan, "is a negative fact—that the Romans did not succeed in permanently Latinizing Britain as they Latinized France."[30] Fourthly, England was Christianized not, as might be expected, from France but from two different quarters at once: the northern part of the country from Ireland (converted by St. Patrick as early as the second third of the fifth century), whence St. Columba, establishing himself on the Island of Iona in 563, carried Christianity to Western Scotland and Northumbria; the southern part directly from Rome whence

[28] For a brief and lucid discussion of the genetic problems posed by early insular art see C. Nordenfalk's contribution to A. Grabar and S. Nordenfalk, *Early Medieval Painting from the Fourth to the Eleventh Century* (Skira Book, 1957), pp. 109–125, particularly p. 118 ff.

[29] Trevelyan, *op. cit.* 1: p. 68.

[30] Trevelyan, *ibid.*, p. 30.

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St. Augustine and Theodore of Tarsus (the former Archbishop of Canterbury from 597, the latter from 669) arrived in Kent, once the landing place of the Roman armies. Both St. Augustine and Theodore of Tarsus brought with them not only the Christian faith, theological knowledge, and church music, but also a treasury of purely classical learning (in Theodore's case even Greek learning); and the School of Canterbury—matched in the North by such centers as Jarrow-Wearmouth and York—not only flourished but proliferated at a time when the pre-Carolingian Continent was barbarized to such an extent that Charlemagne had to call on Alcuin, a product of York, to help him with his *renovatio* of Roman art and letters.

In England, then, we have, on the one hand, a strong admixture of the Celtic element—tending towards hyperbole, involved and "non-objective" movement and unbridled imagination—in the very centers of ecclesiastical and secular culture; and, on the other, the unparalleled continuity of a classical tradition which, upon an island far removed from the Mediterranean and never Latinized in its entirety, tended to assume the character of an "invisible lodge."

All this does not explain but may make us understand, to a degree, the characteristic antinomies of English art and civilization, especially the peculiar British attitude towards classical antiquity. In England the classical tradition was—and in a measure still is—looked upon as a part of the national heritage no less important than the Bible—yet as a realm accessible only to a privileged élite and far removed from palpable reality in space and time. Remnants of Roman buildings, recklessly mistreated by the invading Anglo-Saxons, existed but never became an integral part of the living scenery as was the case in Italy, in France and even in southwest Germany; and we can easily conceive that the English reaction to classical antiquity was either antiquarian or "Romantic" or both.

It is no accident that, after the initial impact of Mediterranean art in the first millennium, the direct influence of classical models did not amount to much before the rise of scholarly archaeology;[31] while, on the other hand, in one of the earliest monuments of Anglo-Saxon literature—that amazing poem, *The Ruin*—Roman remains (presumably those of Bath) are interpreted as a symbol of the destructive forces of destiny, reducing to rubble the proudest efforts of man while yet appealing to the aesthetic perception.[32] In the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, finally, we find, as far as classical art is concerned, an effort not at direct assimilation, as in the French and Italian "proto-Renaissance,"[33] but a most interesting mixture of connoisseurlike appreciation, collector's enthusiasm and antiquarian pedantry—all very anachronistic from a Continental point of view.

Osbert de Clare, visiting Rome as an envoy of King Stephen (d. 1154), raves about the marble images on the Arch of Titus because they are "aging throughout the centuries without any trace of oldness" ("nulla temporis vetustate per saecula senescentes")[34] and wishes that a similar monument might be erected to St. Edmund. Bishop Henry of Blois, sojourning in Rome in 1151, bought up (*coemit*) a great number of classical statues "contrived by the heathens in subtle and laborious rather than devout error" and had them transferred to his Episcopal Palace at Winchester; an anachronistic forebear of Lord Carleton and Lord Elgin, he was considered by the Romans themselves to be a typically English eccentric.[35] And a Magister Gregorius from Oxford (*ca.* 1250), while going around Rome admiring and measuring classical buildings, fell in love with a Venus statue to the extent that its "magic persuasion" forced him to visit it time and again in spite of its considerable distance from his lodgings.[36]

[31] See note 33.

[32] This is in contrast to Continental descriptions of ruins, both earlier and later (Venantius Fortunatus on the one hand, Hildebert of Lavardin, on the other), where the emphasis is first, on the original beauty of the monuments now destroyed ("Roma quanta fuit, ipsa ruina docet"); second, on the hope for a better future. Only the English could, in the eighteenth century, conceive the idea of building *artificial ruins*.

[33] I do not believe that direct classical influence can be recognized in a statue at Winchester which H. Roosen-Runge ("Ein Werk englischer Grossplastik und die Antike," *Festschrift Hans R. Hahnloser* (Basel and Stuttgart, 1961), p. 103 ff.) believes to derive from a classical model. In my opinion the work is an offshoot of the north transept sculpture at Chartres.

[34] Osbert's statement is quoted in Abbot Samson's *Miracula S. Eadmundi;* see Lehmann-Brockhaus, *op. cit.* **3**: p. 422, no. 6696.

[35] John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis;* see Lehmann-Brockhaus, *op. cit.* **2**: p. 667, no. 4760 (also quoted by Roosen-Runge, *op. cit.*, and elsewhere); *cf.* E. Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences* (Stockholm, 1960), p. 72 f.

[36] *Cf.* the literature referred to by Panofsky, *ibid.*, p. 73, note 1.

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VI.

In the domain of early Latin writing England also produced two strikingly contrastive phenomena neither of which, so far as I know, has a true parallel on the Continent. One of these phenomena consists of texts distinguished by violent passion and a deliberate obscurity which might invite comparison with the "chimerical darkness" of Lycophron's *Alexandra,* were it not for the fact that they represent an entirely different principle of obfuscation. The dark sayings of Lycophron's Cassandra are in reality entirely rational, condensed into correct iambic trimeters, couched in somewhat mannered but perfectly normal language, and made obscure and oracular only by the excessive use of erudite circumlocution —as if a modern author were to inform us of the fact that Mozart was born at Salzburg in 1756, when Frederick the Great started the Seven Years' War, by telling us that the Lord of Peace took up the sword when Orpheus reappeared in a castle of salt. The opposite is true of such seventh-century effusions as the *Hisperica Famina* or the *Description of Ireland* inserted at the beginning of Jonas of Bobbio's *Life of St. Colombanus.*[37]

Here the subject matter consists of intensely real, subjective experiences. The *Hisperica Famina* describes a ferocious disputation of great scholars, a bloody fight in which the author himself plays a heroic role, a day in school beginning with an impressive depiction of the awakening of life in the early morning, a shipwreck, etc.; the *Description of Ireland* is devoted solely to the dangers and the beauty of the Irish sea with its breathtaking sunrises and sunsets. And the obscurity of these texts results entirely from the violence of emotion; the eccentricity of speech and sound; the boldness of the imagery; the untamed power of the rhythm—a kind of rhapsodic prose in the *Famina,* free meters vaguely reminiscent of the hexameter in the *Description of Ireland;* the disjointed grammar; and, above all, the fiery bombast of a language which intermixes Latin with Greek, "Hisperic" and freely invented words. Even in a translation, which must render all these outlandish words by normal English ones, the effect is extraordinary; in the original Latin, it is simply stupendous: "This island," it says in the poem inserted into the Life of St. Columbanus,

> awaits the setting of the Titan [viz., the sun god] while the world turns and light descends into the western shadows—the sea, with its measureless masses of waves, abysses horrible in color, a profusion of hair curling everywhere. White, glistening robe (*peplo kana*), broad backs of blue, smiting man's hiding places on the foaming shore, the farthest bay on earth. Never suffer the shores we know so well to be entrusted with a gentle ship that craves the quivering brine. Over such lands does tawny Titan descend at the dense light of Arcturus and moves, revolving, to other parts of the world. Following the north wind, he strives for his rising in the east, that born to new life he may restore the kindly light to the world and scatter his fire far and wide over the trembling sky. And so, reaching all the goal posts of day and night in his course, he illumines the earth with his brightness and makes the world lovely, dripping with heat.

It is almost impossible to read this early poem without thinking of Ossian and William Turner and without remembering the famous definition of the "sublime" penned by John Dennis in 1693: "The sense of all this (viz., a dangerous and beautiful journey through the Alps) produc'd different motions in me, viz., a delightful Horrour, a terrible Joy, and at the same time that I was infinitely pleas'd, I trembled."[38] We are confronted with an anticipation of genuine English "Romanticism" by a thousand years.

[37] See E. K. Rand, "The Irish Flavor of *Hisperica Famina,*" *Studien zur lateinischen Dichtung des Mittelalters; Ehrengabe für Karl Strecker zum 4. September 1931* (Dresden, 1931), p. 134 ff. The standard edition of the *Hisperica Famina* is by F. J. H. Jenkinson, *The Hisperica Famina . . .* (Cambridge, 1908), proving (p. x) that "even if the text is not by an Irishman the scene is laid in a country where the language of the inhabitants is Irish" and adding such related texts as the *Lorica,* the *Rubisca* and the hymn *Adelphus Adelpha.* The *Description of Ireland,* as printed in Bruno Krusch's edition of the *Life of St. Columbanus,* is reprinted and translated in Rand (whose translation is here adopted with only minor modifications); the pertinent passage reads as follows:

> "Expectatque Titanis occasum, dum vertitur orbis,
> Lux et occiduas pontum descendit in umbras:
> Undarum inmanes moles quo truces latebras
> Colore et nimio passim crine crispanti,
> Peplo kana, raptim quem dant cerula terga,
> Aequoris spumea cedunt et litora, sinus
> Ultimus terrarum, nec mitem sinunt carinam
> Tremulo petentem salo dare nota litora nobis.
> Flavus super haec Titan descendit opago
> Lumine Arcturi petitque partes girando:
> Aquilonem sequens, orientis petit ad ortum,
> Ut mundo redivivus lumen reddat amoenum,
> Sese mundo late tremulo ostendat et igne.
> Sicque metas omnes diei noctisque peractu
> Cursu et inpletas, suo lustrat candore terras,
> Amoenum reddens orbem calore madentem."

[38] John Dennis, *Miscellanies in Verse and Prose* (London, 1963), p. 133 f. (quoted in Monk, *op. cit.,* 207).

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And yet, the very period which produced this glorious piece of imagistic poetry yielded to an impulse as unromantic as possible: an almost obsessive interest in classical prosody. "The Anglo-Saxons," writes Raby, "seem to have had a preoccupation with meter in its mechanical aspects"; even within the framework of their own poems they "liked to describe the meter they were using."[39] Precisely such authors as St. Columba or Aldhelm of Malmesbury, who often indulged in an exuberant obscurity reminiscent of the *Hisperica Famina* and the *Description of Ireland,* do not forget to inform their readers of the meter employed—whether *versus bipedales*[40] or carefully constructed hexameters.[41] And while a Continental writer of the seventh century such as Virgil of Toulouse (fl. *ca.* 630?) betrays a truly abysmal ignorance of classical versification,[42] Bede's only slightly later *De arte metrica* is an expert and utterly reasonable introduction to classical prosody, correctly defining the various classical meters yet accepting rhythm (*modulatio sine ratione*) as even more important than meter pure and simple (*modulatio cum ratione*), which enjoyed a well-deserved reputation for centuries.[43]

VII.

This English duality is especially evident in those mediaeval texts which record, or purport to record, impressions of works of art in purely descriptive fashion. It has been said that English sources of this kind, particularly of the twelfth century, are "characterized by a far more vivid description" than are their Continental parallels.[44]

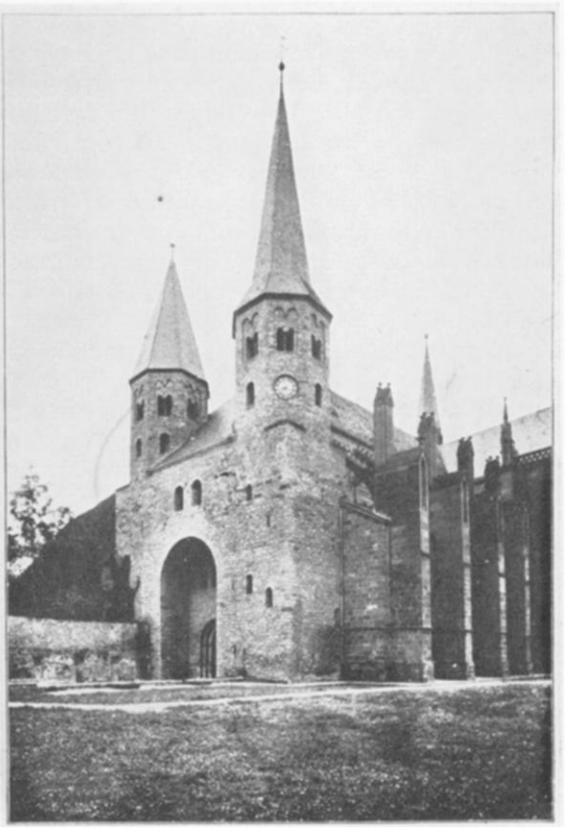

FIG. 16. Wimpfen im Tal, St. Peter's Church.

This statement is very true but may be susceptible of specification.

In the first place, texts of this kind, whether in prose or verse, evince a surprising ability—promoted, perhaps, by the very insularity of a civilization looking to both Celtic Ireland and the Roman or Romanized Continent—to make stylistic distinctions and analyses at times anticipating the efforts of the modern art historian.

A Continental chronicler of the thirteenth century could characterize the difference between the Early-Romanesque west part and the Gothic nave of a German church (St. Peter's at Wimpfen im Tal, fig. 16) only by stating that the latter was built "in the French manner" (*opere Francigeno*), that its windows and piers "followed the English fashion" (*ad instar Anglici operis*) and that it was constructed of "ashlars" (*sectis lapidibus*) rather than rough stones.[45] Gervase of Canterbury,

[39] F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1934) **1**: p. 175 f.

[40] St. Columba, quoted in Raby, *ibid.*, p. 164. A similar passage from Alcuin is quoted in Raby, p. 183. St. Columba even knows that the *versus bipedalis* (Adonid) was invented by Sappho.

[41] Aldhelm, *De Virginitate,* 45 ff., quoted in Raby, p. 175, note.

[42] Raby, **1**: p. 155: "It is hard to believe that he had any serious knowledge of quantitative verse." Virgil's discussion of prosody is found in his *Epitome* **4** (E. Huemer, *Virgilii Grammatici Maronis opera* (Leipzig, 1886), p. 12 ff.); his level of erudition is characterized by the fact that he defines geometry as "ars disciplinata, quae omnium herbarum graminumque experimentum enunciat."

[43] A modern edition of Bede's work is found in E. Keil, *Grammatici latini* (Leipzig, 1880) **7**: p. 217 ff. It should be noted that Bede takes most of his examples from Christian authors—except for such very famous poets as Virgil, Lucan, and, oddly enough, Lucretius.

[44] O. Lehmann-Brockhaus, as quoted in N. Pevsner, *The Englishness of English Art* (London, 1956), p. 27.

[45] Burchardus de Hallis, *Chronicon ecclesiae collegiatae S. Petri Winpiensis.* The passage, probably written about 1280 (the author died in 1300), has often been reprinted and discussed, most recently by P. Frankl, *The*

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writing nearly a hundred years earlier and describing the choir of Canterbury Cathedral rebuilt by William of Sens after the famous conflagration of 1174, goes out of his way to provide a thorough analysis of "the difference between the old structure and the new" (*quae sit operis utriusque differentia*) which amounts to a definition of the Gothic style as opposed to the Romanesque. He comes up with such distinctions as that between groin vaults and vaults provided with ribs and keystones (*fornices planae, fornices arcuatae et clavatae*), or that between stone carvings "looking as if they had been done with an axe rather than a chisel" (*utpote sculpta secure et non scisello*) and "subtle and competent sculpture" (*sculptura subtilis* and *sculptura idonea*). And at one point he even surprisingly anticipates Paul Frankl's distinction between the Romanesque and Gothic styles as "additive" and "divisive" in stating that in the old structure the transepts were separated from the choir by high walls, whereas in the new "the transepts, not separated from the choir by any intervening feature (*interstitio*), appeared to convene in one keystone in the middle of the big vault which surmounts the four principal piers (fig. 17)." [46]

FIG. 17. Canterbury Cathedral, choir, looking east.

If Osbert de Clare, Henry of Blois, and Magister Gregorius could fall in love with classical statuary, Giraldus Cambrensis, writing at the beginning of the thirteenth century, could do justice to the style of an ancient Irish manuscript believed to have been produced for St. Bridget in miraculous fashion; his words sound like a modern art historian's description of, say, the *Book of Kells* (fig. 18):

This book contains the Four Gospels according to the Concordance of St. Jerome; and there are about as many different illustrations, distinguished by various colors, as there are pages. Here you may see the face of the All-Highest divinely expressed; there the mystical figures of the Evangelists, now having six wings, now four, now two; here the eagle, there the calf; here the face of a man, there that of a lion; and other figures almost infinite in number. When you consider these pictures in a superficial and ordinary manner they will appear as blots rather than coherent shapes (*litura potius quam ligatura*), and you will fail to perceive any subtlety where there is nothing but subtlety. But when you concentrate the visual power of your eyes upon a more thorough examination, and with a sustained effort penetrate the secrets of art, you will be able to perceive intricacies so delicate and subtle, so close-knit and involved, so knotted and interlaced, and so much illumined by colors which have preserved their freshness up to our day, that you will attribute the composition of all this to the industry of angels rather than humans (*tam delicatas et subtiles, tam arctas et artitas, tam nodosas et vinculatim colligatas, tamque recentibus adhuc coloribus illustratas notare poteris intricaturas, ut vero haec omnia potius angelica quam humana diligentia iam asseveraris esse composita*).[47]

In the second place, the texts in question are indeed distinguished by a stupendous richness in technical detail and a certain preoccupation with measurements comparable to the early Anglo-Saxon interest in prosody: the height of the church tower at Wilton, said to surpass the buildings of Babylon and Rome, is later on determined as amounting to exactly 120 cubits,[48] and when a

Gothic; Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries (Princeton, 1960), p. 55 f. The phrase *fenestrae et columnae ad instar operis anglici* probably refers to the fact that each of the circular piers has eight disengaged and differentiated colonnettes; the tracery of the windows is unfortunately modern.

[46] *Chronica Gervasii Monachi Cantuariensis* (*ad annum 1174*); frequently reprinted and translated; the passage here cited is found in Lehmann-Brockhaus, *op. cit.* **1**: p. 230, no. 822.

[47] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographia Hiberniae,* dist. 2, cap. 38 f. (Kildare); reprinted in Lehmann-Brockhaus, *op. cit.* **3**: p. 217, no. 5940.

[48] Goscelinus, *Legend of St. Edith in Verse;* reprinted in Lehmann-Brockhaus, *op. cit.* **2**: p. 625 ff., no. 4616.

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thirteenth-century converse brother of Melrose Abbey describes the curious behavior of the moon —which he had observed to split in half, to transform itself into a crenelated castle and subsequently into an "elegant ship," then to change back to a castle, and finally to return to normal—he does not fail to mention that the distance between the two halves amounted to about one "stadium" and that the castle displayed a royal banner whose little streamers (*lingulae sive caudulae*) were fluttering in the breeze.[49] There is, however, on the other hand a marked tendency to subjectivize the phenomena on a purely psychological plane, more often than not by way of what is known as "empathy." After its many transformations, the moon strikes the good Frater of Melrose as having "suffered an injury so as to remain disturbed, dejected and distressed, pale and discolored" (*quasi iniuria passa, turbata, contristata et conturbata, pallida mansit et decolorata*). In the versified *Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln* the carefully joined

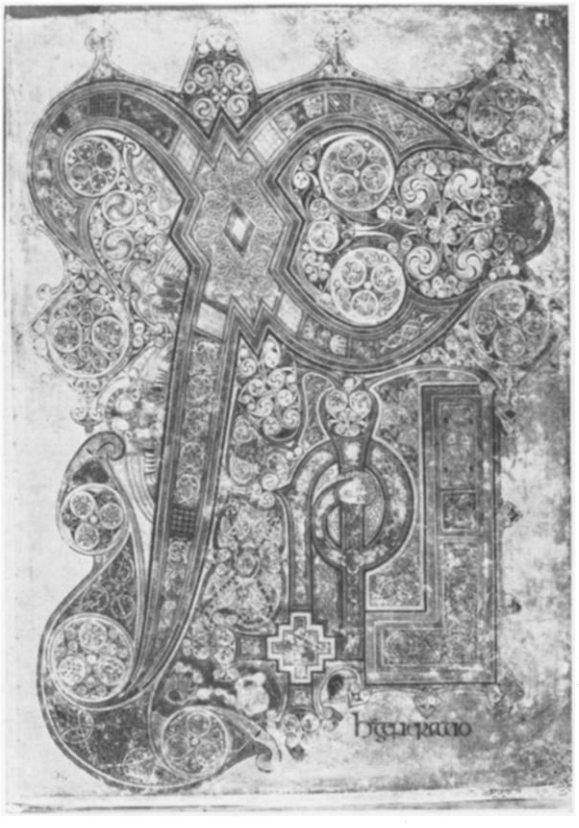

FIG. 18. Dublin, Trinity College Library, The Book of Kells, fol. 34.

[49] *Chronica de Mailros* (*ad annum 1216*); reprinted in Lehmann-Brockhaus, *op. cit.* **3**: 127, no. 5573.

and smoothed walls of the choir and transept of Lincoln Cathedral (rebuilt by St. Hugh between 1192 and 1220) "despise" the idea of being composed of individual stones and "feign to consist of a continuous matter, to be a work of nature rather than art, to be a unity rather than a union"; and the disengaged colonnettes surrounding the octagonal piers "seem to perform a solemn dance." [50]

Light is, therefore, hardly ever interpreted—as, for example, by Suger of St.-Denis—as a metaphysical principle; it tends to be accepted as a purely natural phenomenon (we may remember that three of the four great mediaeval representatives of optics, Roger Bacon, John Peckham, and Robert Grosseteste, were Englishmen) conducive, however, to a distinctly subjective, aesthetic experience. In the description of the church at Wilton, the rays of the sun penetrate the church "through sheer glass and pure sapphire" (a precious dark blue glass which, at the time had to be imported from the East), and "golden light strikes the faces of the people when they enter so that all things seem to rejoice in the rays of the reflected sun." [51] The walls of the choir of Lincoln Cathedral, just mentioned, seem to consist of a nonporous matter glistening like the star-studded firmament (*Non tot laxa poris sed crebro sidere fulgens*) while the surfaces of its "dancing" colonnettes, "more highly polished than a newly grown finger nail, oppose the bright stars to the reflected rays of vision" (*Exterior facies, nascente politior ungue,/ Clara repercussis opponit visibus astra*).[52]

This brings us to the third and most important point: the visual experiences described in this and other texts tend to anticipate, to an astonishing degree—and in a manner unknown on the Conti-

[50] *Versified life of St. Hugh of Lincoln* (composed between 1220 and 1235); reprinted in Lehmann-Brockhaus **2**: p. 27 ff., no. 2372:

"Viscosusque liquor lapides conglutinat albos,
Quos manus artificis omnes excidit ad unguem.
Et paries ex congerie constructus eorum,
Hoc quasi dedignans, mentitur continuare
Contiguas partes; non esse videtur ab arte,
Quin a natura; non res unita, sed una. . . .
Inde columnellae, quae sic cinxere columnas,
Ut videantur ibi quamdam celebrare choream."

[51] Source referred to in note 48. The lines in question read as follows:

"Vultus intrantum ferit aurea lux populorum
Clarifice
Atque repercusso congaudent omnia Phebo
A radiis."

[52] Source referred to in note 50.

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nent—the specifically "Romantic" preoccupation with infinity and night.

That the polished surface of the Lincoln colonnettes "oppose the bright stars to the reflected rays of vision" seems to suggest a nocturnal visit. And what is here only implied, is explicitly stated in Wulfstan's remarkable description of Winchester Cathedral rebuilt by Bishop Elphegus (reigned 984–1005). Like Gervase of Canterbury, Wulfstan (whose poem is addressed to Bishop Elphegus himself) is very accurate and circumstantial, down to a minute description of the gigantic organ which had to be played by two organists while seventy strong men, "dripping with sweat," worked its twenty-six bellows. But he praises the east tower—paying a special tribute to the gilded weather cock which "nobly governs the transient empire and, turning ceaselessly, faces the rain-carrying winds from all directions and bravely suffers the impact of the horrid-sounding whirlwind, storms and snow"—not only because of its height but also because the windows that pierce its five storeys open up a panoramic view "over the four quarters of the earth" (*Quinque tenet patulis segmenta oculata fenestris/ Per quadrasque plagas pandit ubique vias*). And the most amazing feature of his poem is an evocation of the impression produced by the church at night when the moon rises and the stars are out:

> On top [of the roof] there is a crest arrangement with gilded globes, and a golden radiance embellishes the whole work. Whenever the moon shines at its glorious rise, another radiance soars from the sacred structure to the celestial bodies; when a wanderer, passing by, observes [the church] by night, he believes that the earth, too, has its stars.[53]

Even Gervase of Canterbury, though expressing himself in prose rather than in well-constructed elegiac couplets, is not impervious to "romantic" sensations. Having described the origin and hidden progress of the fire of 1174—and so minute is his description that we obtain a clear picture of the old choir's roof construction—as well as the desperate efforts of monks and laymen to get it under control, he goes on to say that the wooden

[53] *Wolstani Vita S. Aethelwoldi Episcopi Wintoniensis;* reprinted in Lehmann-Brockhaus, *op. cit.* **2**: p. 650 f., no. 4691. The passage in question reads as follows:

> "Stat super auratis virgae fabricatio bullis;
> Aureus et totum splendor adornat opus.
> Luna coronato quoties radiaverit ortu,
> Alterum ab aede sacra surgit ad astra iubar:
> Si nocte inspiciat hunc praetereundo viator,
> Et terram stellas credit habere suas."

Fig. 19. Rolls-Royce car, front view.

Fig. 20. Charles Sykes, R.A., the "Silver Lady" on the Rolls-Royce radiator cap.

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choir stalls were ignited by burning fragments of the rafters and that in the end the whole "glorious structure" went up in flames which, "multiplied by so big a mass of wood," reached up to fifteen cubits. But while he depicts the witnesses to this spectacle as tearing their hair and hitting the wall with their heads, he calls the spectacle itself *mirabile, immo miserabile*—"wonderful though pitiful." [54] Here again, we have, more than five centuries before John Dennis, a clear anticipation of that basic "romantic" experience: "A delightful Horrour, a terrible Joy."

* * *

These, then, are what I have facetiously called the ideological antecedents of the Rolls-Royce radiator (fig. 19). The composition of this radiator sums up, as it were, twelve centuries of Anglo-Saxon preoccupations and aptitudes: it conceals an admirable piece of engineering behind a majestic Palladian temple front; but this Palladian temple front is surmounted by the wind-blown "Silver Lady" in whom *art nouveau* appears infused with the spirit of unmitigated "Romanticism." The radiator and the radiator cap have not been changed since the first Rolls-Royce car was delivered at the beginning of 1905; the "Silver Lady," modeled by Charles Sykes, R. A., was added as early as 1911 (fig. 20).[55] Since then the "face" of the Rolls-Royce has remained unaltered: it has continued to reflect the essence of the British character for more than half a century. May it never be changed!

[54] Lehmann-Brockhaus, *op. cit.* 1: p. 217 f., no. 800.

[55] H. Nockholds, *The Magic of a Name* (revised edition, London, 1950), pp. 42, 251. I owe my acquaintance with this book to Mr. Winthrop Brubaker, Vice-President of Rolls-Royce, Inc., to whom I am also indebted for the photographs reproduced in figs. 19 and 20.

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