

In Search of the Byzantine: George Gilbert Scott's Diary of an Architectural Tour in France in 1862

by GAVIN STAMP

'When you go abroad, begin with France,' George Gilbert Scott told his student audience at the Royal Academy. 'It is the great centre of Mediæval art.'¹ Scott himself was late in appreciating this. Apart from a day trip to Calais at the beginning of his career, the first visit he paid to France was in 1847, soon after securing his first cathedral appointment at Ely when he was 36 years old. 'My eyes were at once opened,' he later recalled:

What I had always conceived to be German architecture I now found to be French. I thoroughly studied the details of Amiens, and those of the Sainte Chapelle, which bore most closely on my previous German studies, and I returned home with a wholly new set of ideas, and with many of my old ones dispelled. It seems curious that I should have been twelve years in practice, before I became acquainted with French architecture, yet I was first among English architects, as I believe, to study it in detail in any practical way, and with a practical intention.²

It was typical of Scott to make that last boast, but certainly there was no stopping his forays across the English Channel after that visit, and his mature work reveals scholarly acquaintance with French Gothic. 'I gradually fell into the use of French detail, not exclusively, but in combination with English,' he said in 1864.³ Some of the buildings that he saw on successive trips are depicted in his surviving sketchbooks, but we have a detailed account only for the study tour Scott made in 1862 — at the summit of his career — to see, in particular, the early Byzantine-Romanesque churches of Périgord and Burgundy. The travel diary he kept on that occasion, written in one of the small notebooks he always carried with him, is a unique and precious survival. It was one of the few such documents to escape the holocaust of his papers and drawings at the Spring Gardens office made by his second son, John Oldrid Scott, following Sir Gilbert's death in 1878.⁴ Along with some correspondence and other notebooks containing drafts by Scott for lectures and articles or the results of site visits in England, it was presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1887 by Scott's loyal, Shetland-born clerk of works, James Thomas Irvine, who made his own copy of the diary. The text which follows is a transcription based on both manuscripts, which are now preserved in Edinburgh at the Royal Commission for the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, by whose permission it is published for the first time.

Scott's 1862 travel diary is of interest today on several counts. It is first of all valuable as direct evidence of Scott's approach to the study of ancient buildings, with his enthusiasm for archaeological investigation and his delight in determining the history of a structure by the evidence of the masonry. With the help of what he referred to as his 'glass', Scott had an unusually acute eye for the clues provided by stonework and carving in a building, and his understanding of architectural development was based on keen observation and sketching rather than on the study of documents. As his former pupil and his successor as Surveyor to Westminster Abbey, J. T. Micklethwaite, wrote in a review of Scott's published Royal Academy lectures, 'Sir Gilbert's great knowledge of the masonry details of the [twelfth and thirteenth] centuries gives his conclusions an authority which will not easily be shaken.'⁵

What is evident is that Scott was not solely concerned with architecture but had a deep and sensitive interest in the quality of carving and in architectural sculpture; indeed, most of his observations in the manuscript are concerned with masonry details rather than with overall design. Scott's response to medieval buildings recorded here might well be regarded as typical of the general contemporary English concentration on the stylistic significance of the tracery patterns, mouldings and carving on ancient churches, which contrasts so strongly with the French concern — evident above all in the publications of Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc — with understanding Gothic as a structural system. It is a difference in focus which explains much about the contrasting national attitudes to the restoration of historic buildings discussed below.

Of particular interest are Scott's comments on what he perceived as the violent character of the celebrated capitals and tympana at the Church of the Madeleine at Vézelay. They reveal much about the High Victorian sensibility, especially as they were written only three years after Benjamin Webb's admiring review of All Saints', Margaret Street, in which he observed 'the same dread of beauty, not to say the same deliberate preference for ugliness' evident in the contemporary paintings of the Pre-Raphaelites.⁶ 'I think there is no escaping the general conclusion that during the middle decades of the nineteenth century there was a singular attraction on the part of some painters, architects and writers towards ugliness,' John Summerson wrote in his essay 'William Butterfield, or the Glory of Ugliness' first published in 1945.⁷ Since then, there has been a reaction against this interpretation which regarded ugliness as being as legitimate as beauty, and a consequent concern by scholars to emphasise the considered aesthetic quality of the High Victorian Gothic Revival. Nevertheless, the fact that Scott, moderate as he was, could use the word 'violence' — usually underlined — to characterize the sculpture at Vézelay says much about the delight of so many of his generation of architects in vigorously assertive and exaggerated forms of expression. No wonder that contemporaries extolled the quality of 'Go!' in architecture. Scott's apparent surprise and delight in the 'defiance of all attempts at beauty or artistic propriety' at Vézelay is surely echoed by Summerson's in the 'utter ruthlessness' of Butterfield.

Above all, however, Scott's 1862 diary is valuable as direct evidence of the widespread concern in Britain about the French approach to the 'restoration' — that is, in practice, the substantial rebuilding — of the ancient ecclesiastical monuments of the country. The enthusiasm for renewing stonework and for altering the design of ancient buildings also attracted criticism in France itself, but as these restorations were funded

as well as initiated by central or local government, protests were largely impotent, as the controversy over the gratuitous rebuilding of the vault and flying buttresses at Evreux Cathedral in 1874 would confirm.⁸ As Scott's eldest son later complained about Viollet-le-Duc in his notebook:

Restoration supposed *in England* to be required because of Protestant arrangements 3
deckers high pews etc, but this does not apply to Catholic countries & yet restoration is
rampant there too ... In England one ... blames the clergy for the restorations. In France
the government (lay people) do it & do far worse.⁹

The French clergy, however, often enthusiastically supported these restoration campaigns as well, especially when a church or cathedral had been desecrated during the Revolution.

The medieval buildings of France had been damaged not only by the zeal of the Reformation or by neglect (as in England) but also by a continual succession of wars, revolutions and counter-revolutions, with the Revolution of 1789 often having encouraged secularization and deliberate destruction.¹⁰ The campaign to repair this damage began earlier in France — essentially in 1830 after the July Revolution and the establishment of the monarchy of Louis-Philippe — and would seem to have been more thoroughgoing. In contrast to the practice of restoration in England, it was a campaign conducted with public funds and directed centrally from Paris. Also in contrast to the situation on the other side of the Channel, where the clergy were the prime movers, it was a campaign conducted by the government with a clear political, as well as a religious, agenda (the fact that Renaissance altars and furnishings often survived in French Gothic cathedrals despite extensive restoration of the fabric whereas in England they were invariably replaced may reflect these differences).¹¹ During the Revolution of 1789, historic churches and monasteries had been destroyed because they were ecclesiastical buildings; now, in reaction, the state was caring for such structures as they were perceived primarily as expressions of national identity. In consequence, at Vézelay and elsewhere, the official policy of rebuilding went far beyond necessary repair.

Historic monuments played a significant part in Louis-Philippe's policy of healing the divisions in society caused by France's recent turbulent and bloody history as well as asserting the legitimacy of his *régime*; reconciliation was to be achieved through a new conception of the French nation. In 1830, soon after the July Revolution, Ludovic Vitet had been appointed the first Inspecteur Général des Monuments Historiques by the historian turned politician, François Guizot, who believed that not only were the Middle Ages one of the high points of French civilization but could that they also be a focus of national unity and an exemplar of French culture.¹² The protection of the built expression of this *patrimoine* would be directed centrally by the state, from Paris. The Commission des Monuments Historiques was established in 1837 with Prosper Mérimée (who had succeeded Vitet as Inspecteur Général in 1834) as a member. The commission did not look after cathedrals in use which, under the Concordat of 1801, were publicly funded and looked after by the Administration des Cultes; this office was reformed in 1848 under the Second Republic with the creation of a Corps d'Architectes Diocésains and, in 1853, under the Second Empire, with the establishment of the Services des Édifices Diocésains and the appointment of three Inspecteurs Généraux. One of these was Mérimée's protégé, Viollet-le-Duc, who managed to have a foot in

both camps as he was often asked to act as architect for the Commission des Monuments Historiques.¹³

In using the designated historic monuments of France to promote national unity, the officers in Paris wielded immense power and would not tolerate opposition. Local anomalies were smoothed out; local learned antiquarian societies — such as the Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, founded by Arcisse de Caumont in 1824 — were increasingly marginalized. By the time Scott visited France in 1862, the emphasis of official policy had changed. A system of classification had been set up, through which the state could determine the physical form of monuments. Historic buildings had to be classified as exemplars of recognized phases of French architectural history, so that cathedrals were at first listed according to three types: Romano-Byzantine, Gothic and Classical. Later, they became subject to the analytical, scientific approach adopted by Viollet-le-Duc in the volumes of his hugely influential *Dictionnaire Raisoné de l'Architecture Française du XI^e au XVI^e Siècle*, which began to appear in 1854. This approach was influenced by the theories of the anatomist Georges Cuvier, who claimed that it would be possible to reconstruct an animal skeleton — even of an extinct species — from a single fossil fragment, as every bone was adapted to the function it had to perform. In claiming that 'Style is the manifestation of an ideal based on a principle' and that every detail in a Gothic structure was principally designed to perform a particular function within an overall constructional system, Viollet-le-Duc was developing a theory based on a biological, or anatomical, analogy.¹⁴

If the buildings being restored either by the Monuments Historiques or the Services des Édifices Diocésains did not conform precisely to the classification or to the conjectural reconstruction of its original design advanced in the *Dictionnaire Raisoné*, then accretions or anomalies could be removed or missing features added.¹⁵ This process was heralded by the treatment of the church of the Madeleine at Vézelay, where, after 1840, Viollet-le-Duc conducted the restoration as an exemplar, designed to remake the building an ideal national monument illustrating the development of French Medieval architecture — a process taken further with the restoration of Notre-Dame in Paris.¹⁶ The pilgrimage church in Burgundy which Scott saw and admired in 1862 was, in consequence, almost as much new in both fabric and design as it was old and authentic; this was even more palpably the case at St Front, at Périgueux, after Paul Abadie had begun his work there. Real buildings had to be improved to represent an ideal.

The British were soon aware of what was going on across the Channel. Despite the often ruthless treatment of old parish churches in England encouraged by the Cambridge Camden Society's concern with ecclesiological correctness and propriety, British architects were able to feel outraged by what they saw going on abroad. By the late 1840s, John Ruskin was thrown into despair by the replacement of original stonework on the French cathedrals he loved. In 1857, an article by G. E. Street on 'Destructive Restoration on the Continent' in *The Ecclesiologist* criticized the restoration of the west fronts of Rheims and Laon cathedrals as 'examples of wholesale destruction, effected under pretence of restoration ... these remain not the glorious old work, grim with ages, weather-beaten, here or there damaged or broken, but a clean smart copy of the old work'.¹⁷ In April 1861, G. F. Bodley described what had been done at Chartres,

Laon, Paris, Rheims and Rouen cathedrals and also at Vézelay, where sculpture had been much renewed, concluding that 'these restorations, as they are now being so extensively carried out in France, are in many cases nothing less than the utter and complete destruction of those monuments which they pretend to restore'.¹⁸ The French attitude, in contrast, is suggested by Viollet-le-Duc's assertion that, 'In restorations there is an essential condition which must always be kept in mind. It is, that every portion removed should be replaced with better materials, and in a stronger and more perfect way'.¹⁹

So when Scott recorded concern about the restorations in progress at Angoulême, Périgueux, Vézelay, Sens, St Denis and Paris on his tour in 1862, the subject was topical. He had already discussed restoration practice in France in the lecture he delivered earlier that year to the Royal Institute of British Architects, 'On the Conservation of Ancient Architectural Monuments and Remains'. This was an important moment in the English debate on restoration practice and it inspired the setting up of the Institute's Committee on the Conservation of Ancient Monuments. As Scott was later made the scapegoat for his profession's over-indulgence in church restoration, and was vilified by William Morris and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings after 1877, it may seem ironic that he should have felt able to criticize contemporary practice in France. Scott himself was certainly guilty of doing too much — as he was the first to admit, after the event — but while he often removed later features in favour of a supposedly hypothetical restoration of an original design based on his own investigations (or intuition), not one of his cathedral restorations approached many of those in France in terms of the wholesale renewal of original stonework to achieve an improved, ideal design.

What Scott, like Bodley, particularly objected to was the replacement of original sculpture and weathered carved detail by bright new replicas. As Ruskin had written, 'Another spirit may be given by another time, and it is then a new building; but the spirit of the dead workman cannot be summoned up, and commanded to direct other hands and other thoughts'.²⁰ Some of the French would come to agree, but only when the damage was done (although as early as 1834 Mérimée could write privately that 'Les réparateurs sont peut-être aussi dangereux que les destructeurs').²¹ Scott was a judicious and cautious critic, usually anxious not to cause offence, so his public attack on what was happening in France is worth quoting at some length. It highlights the difference between attitudes both to restoration and to the value of authenticity, of the tangible evidence of age, on opposite sides of the Channel. What Scott, as an Englishman, failed to grasp, however, was that material authenticity was never the aim of state policy towards historic monuments in France.

'From what I have said it may be fairly inferred that we are not so much without sin ourselves in these matters to warrant our casting the first stone at our neighbours,' Scott declared towards the end of his lecture:

At a recent meeting of the Ecclesiological Society I joined, on this ground, those who discouraged an attack on the over-restoration of the French cathedrals. After animadverting, however, on our own misdeeds, I think I may be excused in speaking somewhat plainly as to the fearful loss of authentic work of the most precious character, of the most inestimable value, which is going throughout the length and breadth of that

country which boasts itself to have been the birth-place of Pointed architecture, and where, if that high claim can be established, it follows as a necessary consequence that every original fragment, and every authentic detail, or, more correctly speaking, the originality and the authenticity of every fragment and of every detail, should be guarded with a jealousy proportioned to their value as the most trustworthy and the most genuine illustrations of the rise and development of that wonderful style of art.

It is inexplicable to me how the very same persons can at one time bring cogent arguments to prove that their country was the nursing mother of Mediæval art, and at the next should deliberately, and without necessity, take down from her noblest architectural monuments original details of the most exquisite description and which have suffered comparatively little from time, and replace them by modern copies. Yet this is the course of proceeding going on from one end of France to the other; and that not by any one architect in particular, but in a greater or a less degree by all the architects who are engaged in the restoration of the ancient monuments of France.

In that country we have to applaud the generosity of the government in undertaking on so munificent a scale the restoration of its ancient architectural remains; we have not, as sometimes with ourselves, to lament the employment of dubious capability, for the works are generally in the hands of men of the greatest eminence and of undoubted skill and knowledge; nor have we to complain of any want of artistic power in the carrying out of the works, for in this we must acknowledge ourselves to be in many cases surpassed; what we have to lament, to deprecate and to protest against is that inexplicable absence of appreciation of the value of the authenticity, and of the actual *bonâ fide* genuineness of old work, which leads them to reject without scruple or remorse the most charming original work for some mere trifling defect, and then to feel perfectly satisfied with a copy which, however skillful, must be lifeless from the very fact of it *being* a copy, and which, even if as good as the original, must be utterly devoid of the interest and historical value which attaches to it. The extent to which this feeling and the course which results from it extends itself is as lamentable as it is inexplicable, and absolutely threatens to replace half of the ancient monuments of the country by mere copies of them. True it is that these copies are admirable in execution, and careful and studious in their correctness, but who cares for a copy if he can get the original, or who will ever look at the details of the French cathedrals as exponents of Mediæval art, when they know them to have been executed in the 19th century? And it is not just examples of Pointed architecture alone which are being thus tampered with, but even the curious Byzantine remains in Southern France, and the classic monuments at Nismes [sic] ...

A visit to the Hotel Cluny [sic] affords a practical commentary upon this system of restoration by renewal. We see there capitals from the Sainte Chapelle of an exquisite subtlety of conception, and sculpture such as to bid defiance to any one who would think of transferring their spirit to a copy, and almost as perfect as if new; one sees there the real angels whose counterfeits blow the trumpets of the resurrection over the great portal of Notre Dame; one sees the central pillar of one of the same portals looking nearly as well conditioned as its modern supplanter; one sees also balusters from the parapets of the Sainte Chapelle as good as new, and many other exquisite details rejected from the restored edifices, one knows not why. The stoneyards near many cathedrals tell the same story; indeed, wherever a great restoration is going on you may see the genuine old details, often scarcely corroded by time, lying in rejected and neglected heaps hard by ... But, it may be asked, what business is this of ours? Why do we not correct our own errors, and leave architects of other countries to do as they like? I reply, that the French architects and art-historians, by shewing (whether we fully admit it or no) that theirs is the mother-country of Gothic architecture, have made its productions the property of Europe and of

the world, and that, on their own shewing, all lovers of Gothic architecture have an almost equal claim upon them for their authenticity and conservation.²²

In his private notebook, Scott was strangely coy about naming the architects responsible for the excesses he deplored, but he must have been well aware that most were carried out under the control of or under the influence of two of his contemporaries: Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814–79) and Paul Abadie (1812–84). While the former's remorselessly theoretical approach was based on deep study and an understanding of Gothic as a rational structural system, Abadie had less excuse in his enthusiasm for rebuilding the early churches at Angoulême and Périgueux to his own ideal Romanesque designs, although he certainly concurred with Viollet-le-Duc's notorious definition of '*Restauration*':

The term ... and the thing itself are both modern. To restore a building is not to preserve it, to repair, or rebuild it; it is to reinstate it in a condition of completeness which could never have existed at any given time.²³

Scott seems not to have known Abadie personally, but he had encountered Viollet-le-Duc sketching in Westminster Abbey on his one and only visit to England back in 1850. Scott had then encouraged the Frenchman to go north — to Cambridge, Ely, Peterborough, Lincoln and Boston — and provided him with letters of introduction.²⁴

As an incessant worker and a frequent traveller, as well as having a profound knowledge of medieval architecture, Scott had much in common with Viollet-le-Duc and he certainly availed himself of his publications, describing the *Dictionnaire Raisonné* as 'a work which should be in the hands of every architectural student'.²⁵ Even so, he seems not to have kept up with his French counterpart. Presumably if he had, and had requested letters of introduction in advance, the Surveyor to Westminster Abbey would not have been rebuffed at the gate and then obliged to slink past lunching workmen in order to sketch the north portal sculptures at the Abbey of St Denis. On the other hand, perhaps Scott was aware that Viollet-le-Duc well knew that he would not be impressed by what was going on. Scott certainly did not forget this occasion, for in discussing the north portal at St Denis in one of his lectures at the Royal Academy, he impressed on his audience that 'you must get permission to sketch (so long as the works of restoration are going on) from M. Viollet le Duc, and, having obtained, pray use it to the utmost'. He retained this passage, written in 1866, when preparing the texts for publication over a decade later.²⁶

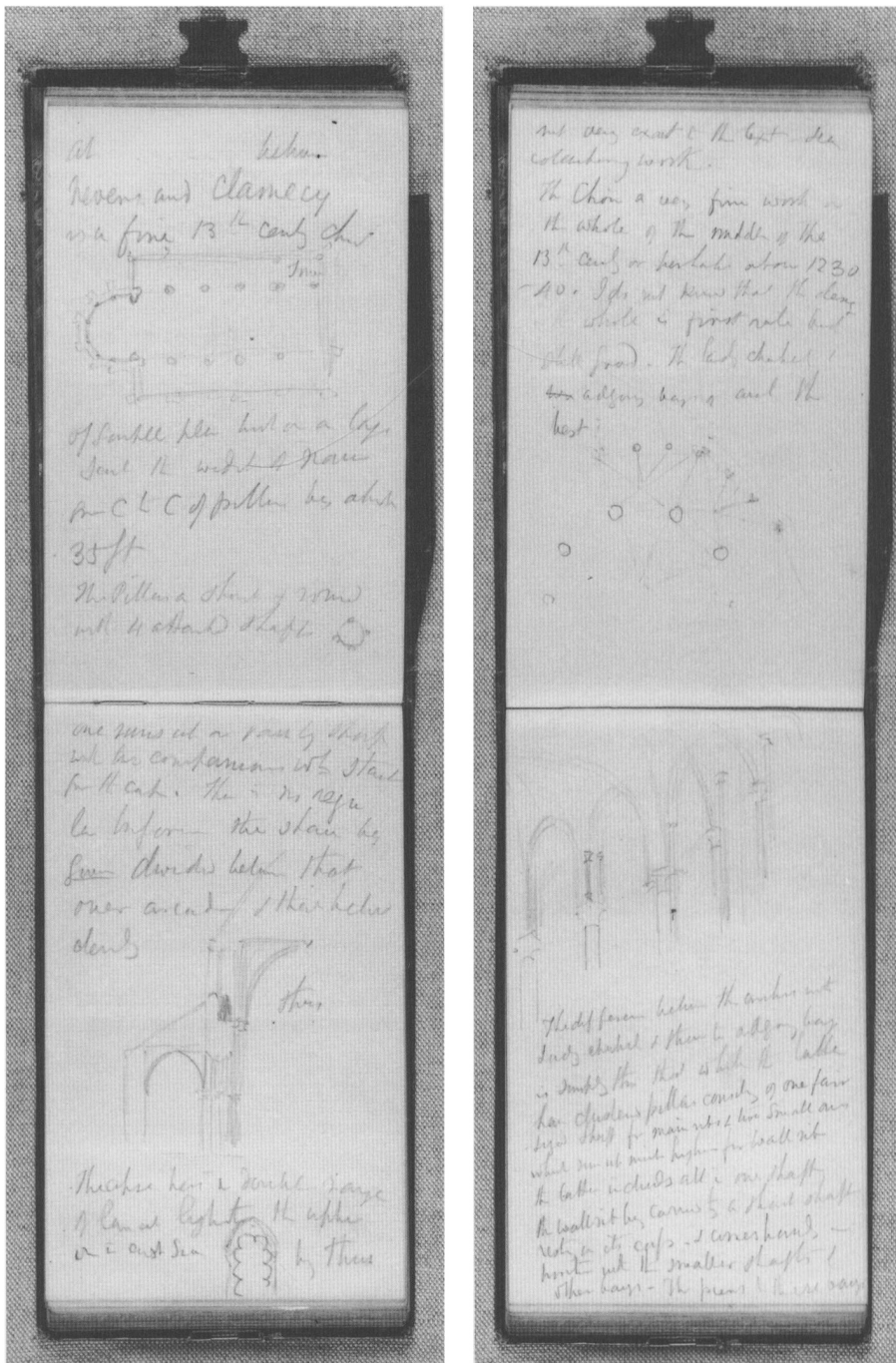
The lectures Scott delivered intermittently at the Royal Academy from 1857 to 1873 were published posthumously in 1879 as *Lectures on the Rise and Development of Mediæval Architecture*.²⁷ At the end of 1855 Scott had been elected an Associate of the RA and he was then asked to give some of the lectures at the institution in the absence of C. R. Cockerell, the Professor of Architecture. He later recalled how 'On one occasion I actually went into France on a special sketching tour in December, to get materials for my lecture. A nobler set of illustrations was probably never seen to any lectures'.²⁸ This was possibly in 1856, and he was certainly at Sens studying the cathedral in the winter of 1858. Over the following two decades Scott made several more tours across the English Channel; it is possible that he made sketches and wrote down the results of his detailed study of particular monuments in France and elsewhere for use in these

lectures, but if Scott kept diaries on his many other foreign trips (as is likely), they are now lost.²⁹

In the case of the notebook recording the 1862 tour, J. T. Irvine later made a more easily legible transcript.³⁰ It is evident from this (also preserved at the RCAHMS) that, despite his familiarity with it, Irvine had as much difficulty with Scott's handwriting as does the modern reader (Figs 1 and 2). The travel diary would seem to have been scribbled in the notebook while Scott was en route, usually by train but sometimes across country by diligence. 'Pretty well all that I write is the product of my travelling hours,' Scott later explained, 'I carry a blank book in my pocket, and write in pencil as I go.'³¹ Scott covered some 1,300 miles in just over three weeks in the autumn of 1862 and the diary confirms the legend of the architect's incessant activity. When he was not on the road, every daylight hour seems to have been spent in a detailed examination of the historic churches he wanted to see. After leaving his elder sons at Chartres, Scott travelled alone and — on the evidence of the diary — nothing seems to have interested him apart from architecture. No recorded pleasure was taken in food or drink and the only time an hotel in which he stayed is mentioned was when it was a converted medieval building. It must, however, be remembered that he seems to have kept this diary for professional purposes only.

Presumably Scott travelled light. As he often managed to have a quick look at yet another Romanesque church between trains, he would have had to. Conveying luggage on the French railways was an elaborate and time-consuming business so that, as Murray's *Hand-book for Travellers in France* — which Scott seems to have taken with him — advised, 'The best way to obviate this nuisance is to take as little as possible, and to place it in one or more carpet-bags which will lie under *the seat* in the carriage'.³² Parts of central France which Scott crossed had not yet been penetrated by the railway, so that he would have taken a diligence, or stage coach. By 1870, however, 'The old-fashioned French diligence, which in weight and size bore some resemblance to a broad-wheeled waggon, is now nearly superseded'.³³ Under the government of Napoleon III, the French railway network had expanded rapidly and most of the lines Scott travelled on had been open for only a decade or less.

The French system had advantages: 'Provision is made for the personal comforts of railway travellers at the stations; and refreshment-rooms, very superior to our English ones, called *buffets*, are provided on all the lines at certain intervals.'³⁴ A further merit, according to the Revd J. L. Petit, was that 'the French railway, generally speaking, shows you more of the country than the English one' as there were fewer deep cuttings and tunnels.³⁵ Petit made this observation in his *Architectural Studies in France*, an important book which had been published in 1854. Scott probably did not take a copy with him as it is a large and heavy volume, but he certainly knew it well, sometimes referring to it in his travel diary.³⁶ Interested in encouraging the use of a round-arched style as the basis for modern development, Petit had been more concerned with Romanesque churches than Gothic ones and Scott visited many of the examples discussed and illustrated in the book, including St Ours at Loches, Angoulême Cathedral and St Front at Périgueux. Petit's work undoubtedly informed Scott's itinerary. (The letters written to the Society of Antiquaries by his friend John Henry Parker during his tour of 'the English Provinces of France' — Anjou, Poitou and



Figs 1-2. Two double-pages in Scott's 1862 notebook with his travel diary in France, the first pair dealing with the church at Varzy, the second Auxerre Cathedral

Aquitaine — and published in 1852–56 may also have assisted Scott in planning his tour.³⁷)

Scott's evenings abroad were presumably spent hard at work in his hotel room, for he managed to return home with his first proposal for the Royal Albert Hall in a 'round-arch byzantine' style. 'I designed it during a tour in Perigord,' he later noted in his *Recollections*, 'among the half byzantine churches of south-western France, making it a completion of the idea of St. Sophia: a central pendentive dome, surrounded by four semi-domes.' Scott's 1862 tour would therefore seem to have been principally inspired by the need to study these buildings at first hand for his competition entry, for 'I was warm on that style at the moment, and wished, too much perhaps, to propitiate the non-gothic party'.³⁸ Indeed, Scott used a Norman-Byzantine style for his contemporary alterations to the chapels of King's College in London and Partis College in Bath. In the event, however, his project for Kensington Gore proved abortive and, most unfortunately, the early drawings for it do not survive. Nevertheless, the material Scott collected about these French churches would prove useful when he came to give his Royal Academy lectures on domes in 1873.

Interest in these early Romanesque (or 'Romano-Byzantine') churches had been growing. Scott had attended a lecture by T. L. Donaldson delivered at the Royal Institute of British Architects in January 1853 'On a certain class of Gallo-Byzantine churches in or near Périgueux in France'.³⁹ This — together with the selection of churches in Petit's *Architectural Studies* which appeared the following year — would seem to have been a response to the debate on the subject in France.⁴⁰ It was a discussion which was already a generation old and was connected with the wider concern for national identity expressed in architecture. In the 1830s, Albert Lenoir and Ludovic Vitet had contributed to the undermining of the authority of academic Classicism by arguing for the importance of Byzantine art in the development of architecture in Western Europe.⁴¹ In 1851, controversy had been reignited by the publication of *L'Architecture Byzantine en France. Saint Front de Périgueux, et les Eglises à coupoles de l'Aquitaine*, an important book frequently referred to by Petit. Its author, Félix de Verneilh, argued that the domed churches of Périgord were directly descended from Byzantine architecture via St Mark's in Venice, a thesis now generally accepted but then opposed by several archaeologists as well as by Vitet.

For de Verneilh, the church of St Front was a building of great importance as it had introduced the dome to French architecture, and he called for the exposure of the five stone domes which were at the time covered by a tiled roof. Paul Abadie proposed to do precisely this as part of his restoration plans for St Front presented to the Service des Edifices Diocésains in 1853, and he subsequently did so, but — as Scott would discover nine years later — in the process making unfortunate improvements of his own to the original design.⁴² Scott's writings do not indicate that he subscribed to a particular theory or had reached a conclusion on this vexed question; the comments in his travel diary on the Greek-Byzantine influence on column capitals at Chartres suggest that he was largely ignorant of the French literature on the subject.⁴³ Gilbert Scott was ever the assiduous, professional architect as well as the enthusiastic antiquary; typically, he was interested in these early French buildings mainly for the practical lessons to be learned from them.⁴⁴

This transcript of Scott's 1862 travel diary is printed here with his original spelling and punctuation.

DIARY

[on cover of notebook:]

Diary of
Architectural Tour on the Continent
Mr Scott

—

Sketch of Pitminster Church
only $\frac{1}{2}$ filled

[contemporary transcription headed:

Diary of Architectural Tour on the Continent Mr G.G. Scott]

[on first page:]

(O) This note book of my old Master
Sir G.G. Scott R.A. was given to me by his son
John O. Scott, Esq^r Oct 19 1886 Jas. T. Irvine

[then sketch of Romanesque portals]

Left London on Thursday Sep 25 and went direct to Paris —⁴⁵

Sep^r 26 Went by early train to Chartres and joined Gilbert & John and Coad⁴⁶

Gave the day chiefly to the earlier work which I had on our previous visits neglected or nearly so. Was astonished at the marvellous delicacy of the work especially the shafts of western portals. It is so delicate and rich that it seems impossible with limited time to draw the ornaments sufficiently accurately to give an idea of their real beauty — & studious elegance The union of such almost microscopic minuteness of ornament with features of such enormous massiveness & with vast surfaces of plain wall is very striking. The figure sculpture grows upon one on examination. The attenuation of the main figures is evidently intentional. They are attached to & form parts of the shafts of the doorways & it was natural to give them a form harmonizing with that of pillars. It is true that in the later doorways the figures are similarly attached without such attenuation but, in the first place, the western figures are an early instance of such attachment & the artist would fear too great a departure from the pillar-like form — and secondly the later ones though in one block with the shafts are not to the eye so much a portion of them being more decidedly corbelled out from them. The subjects which fill the capitals and the arches are remarkably well executed. The [principle ?] of the sculpture both here & in the other doorways wants carefully detailing. It is a singular union of sacred with every day subjects & of good and bad Scriptural characters.

The foliage is the usual mixture of the traditional Romanesque greatly refined with distinctly Byzantine foliage The pure crisp Greek accanthus prevailing. It is almost as

truly Greek as the caps of the Monument of Lysicrates. How did this distinctly Greek art get into France? This demands a much greater amount of investigation than it has received — Indeed I do not know that it has been so much as mentioned by any one but myself.⁴⁷ I suspect that Greek artists must have been largely introduced or it may have been Greek art in some portable forms but sufficiently large to form copies for the carvers I want to know whether the carving at Arles St Gilles Autun & other places where classic monuments were taken as suggestive models is distinctly Roman and not Greek

There has been between the Western Towers a vaulted porch with a gallery above supported on [single ?] pillars & opening on either side into the beautiful chambers (or chapels) below the towers One cannot but regret the loss of this feature, though the view of the interior is no doubt improved by it.

I also took some trouble in tracing out the colours of the vaulting ribs which was limited to a short length from the bosses

I was as much delighted as ever with the North Portal. The south I had not time to examine

Sept. 27. Left G & J — & C & went to Le Mans.⁴⁸ I had only about 4 hours there which I devoted to the transitional work.⁴⁹ Its details are precisely like those at Chartres (but I found these details to prevail through a considerable district —) Nothing could be much better than the interior of the nave. Square Angevin vaulting raised high in the centre of each bay — but these bays divided into two in the arcading. The capitals [illeg.] fine Byzantine foliage The whole simple bold & effective Thoroughly sensible & reasonable architecture (The outer walls of the nave belong to an older building very pure Romanesque) The south door is excessively fine very much like the west portals at Chartres but less rich. The foliage in [capitals ?] very fine Byzantine.

The arched entrance to the Tower is also fine in the same style but simpler The capitals curious & very rich —

Spent Sunday Sep 28th at Tours. The two towers of St. Martin's Abbey have the same details very much with the transitional parts of Chartres and Le Mans.

Monday Sep 29th — went to Loches

Stopped on the way at Cormery The remaining parts of the Abbey Church are the central tower and the nave. The former Romanesque the latter late 13th cy. or later & being converted into a farmhouse & c it is not clearly intelligible The Tower is very good and has a spire of the same date with 8 spire lights (see Petit)⁵⁰ There are remains of the cloister with coupled shafts not very early. The caps are moulded. The building w^h occupied the N. side of cloister is earlier and has excellent work but its openings are walled up The capitals seem very good middle 13th cy. There is also a chapel of the 14th cy. which seems good On the south side of tower is a large bas relief of very slight depth sunk in the ashlar. It seems to have been very good & is very suggestive

The parish church is excellent late Romanesque with central Tower and & three apses and transepts (see Petit). At the W. end is a sort of shed or porch of timber rather good Loches is so thoroughly described by Petit that I need add nothing⁵¹ I was rather disappointed in the church possibly because I found it restored after the French fashion.⁵² Age seems necessary to so strange a design — & when made to look new as it does internally it looks only eccentric without the [interest ?] which is necessary to

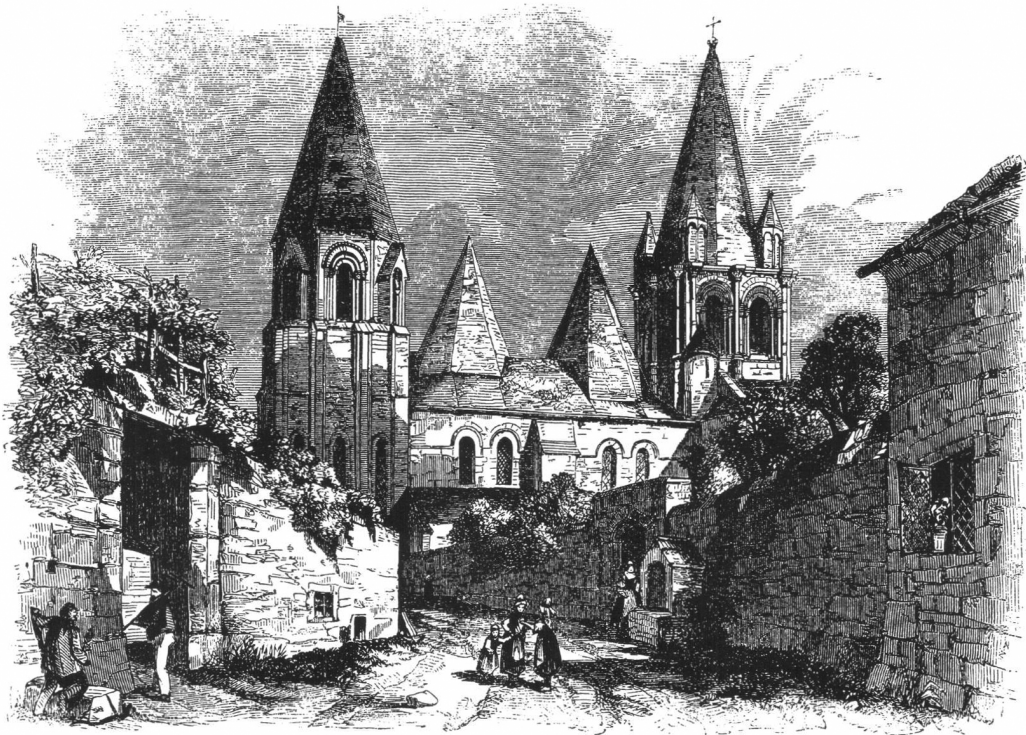


Fig. 3. *The Church of St Ours at Loches drawn by P. H. De la Motte, from Petit, Architectural Studies in France (1854)*

make its eccentricity palatable. Its details are excellent late Romanesque of the same type which pervades the district. The two spires are excellent specimens of early forms and are both very good [Fig. 3]. The western porch is internally very striking. The Doorway is not restored and shews a large amount of colouring. I ought to mention that several internal fragments with colouring upon them are left un-restored as is in fact a large proportion of the carved work.⁵³

Near the church on one side is a very good chateau of the 15th century very picturesque and good. On the other side the more ancient castle of the 11th & 14th centuries very noble in its masses, & internally well worth seeing. Its dungeons are very interesting from the inscriptions and devices carved on their walls by state prisoners.

The town is full of highly picturesque buildings chiefly of the 15th and 16th centuries & there are several fine old gates of the 15th cy. The group altogether is picturesque in a very high degree.

Near Loches is the village of Beaulieu containing the remains of the abbey of the Holy Sepulchre and another church.⁵⁴

The steeple of the abbey is remarkably fine late Romanesque in every way a first class specimen. The nave has only one wall standing but this makes one long for the rest — The aisle has had wagon vaulting with ribs carried by very large shafts. The window

heads come behind the springing of vault — but over the vault is a second range w^h I suppose lighted a sort of gallery or perhaps only the roof excepting that they are so very large one would not suppose them to be only for so unimportant a use I fancy it must have been covered something as Vezeley. The choir is still in use but is altered into late Gothic.

The adjoining parish church is good & has a very pretty little tower of late Romanesque Sep 30th Went across country to St Maure station⁵⁵ & thence to Poitiers. Two decent churches on road to St Maure one has a timber lean to shed along its north and west sides of good construction.

St Maure has a very good church but I only saw it for a minute and nearly lost my train by doing so It is in the usual late Romanesque style It has had 2 wide Angevin bays then a transept with small central Tower & then a choir with continuous aisle

Qu see sketch of [them ?]

Arrived in evening at Poitiers in time to have an hour's daylight to walk round the town — saw hastily St Hilaire as I intended to go again I did not note down the arrangement I can not carry it in my memory. It is however very curious. The small portion w^h remains of the nave has a very wide waggon-head vault Yet it had aisles for the bases of pillars remain where the nave stood

The details not unlike our earliest Norman e.g. the chapel in the Tower of London and the older parts of the W. end at Lincoln, &c. Saw in walking through the town a ruined and desecrated apse in same style. Walked through cathedral when nearly dark and saw outside of St Radegonde very nice Romanesque tower. Passed St Jean but too dark to examine it Its style indicates a very early age.⁵⁶

Oct 1

Went before breakfast to Notre Dame — at first sight very disappointing Sides plain & poor but W. end excessively rich and well designed the ornament especially on the face of arched orders is excellent⁵⁷ The interior has waggon vault to centre & groined Do. to aisles high [& ?] narrow hence excellent effect.

[sketch of plan and part cross-section]

I [intended ?] to have sketched details of W. front but was so wholly absorbed in the cathedral that I could not leave it till dark when [ever ?] I got to see the interior.

The cathedral is not striking externally The western towers though not bad are still [deleted] tame & the west front generally not first rate. The remainder looks clumsy & unprepossessing, but when you enter the church the case is different indeed! I seldom saw a more striking interior.⁵⁸ The plan is most simple it is with one trifling exception a mere oblong space divided from end to end into three aisles not differing [greatly ?] in width or height.

The choir is vaulted from the same height with the aisles but the nave from a little higher level though without clerestory The great effect arises from the scale and from the bays being about square and consequently double the customary width It is admirably designed The pillars responds &c being of most excellent proportions & exceedingly bold (main vaulting ribs 1–10 diam)

The wall arcading runs high and toward the springing of vaulting as is usual both in the Angevine and domical churches there is a gallery passage above it the windows

which are couplets (round arched to choir & pointed to nave) occupying little more than the height of arch The arcading is round-arched (many of these windows have been altered in the 13th century to tracery windows.)

The sides are relieved by the Eastern bay of the nave being broken out on either side into a Transeptal bay. The East end is square but each of its bays as well as the Eastern bay of central transept have a slight apsidal projections or rather recesses formed in the thickness of the wall for the altar.

The capitals are of a character intermediate between the Byzantine and the Notre Dame type & are very fine A few towards west end are of later date (fine 13th century)

—
There is also a desecrated ch with an excellent Romanesque Tower (I think I [—] another)⁵⁹

The palace of the counts of Poitiers is a very picturesque building of the 15th cy with a great Hall of the 13th (not first rate) It has a double chimney at one end shewn by Viollet le Duc⁶⁰ [Fig. 4].

Oct 2 — Angouleme. Much pleased with this the first domical ch I saw. The effect of nave however is low The great central dome with a clerestory is excellent. The Church very fine — West bay renewed I fear the rest will be.⁶¹ The side bays (recesses) appear to have been blocked up & recently opened out They are very ruinous but interesting, in one is a recess with fine early sculpture The choir [has ?] been fine but is much altered. The Tower is rebuilt from the ground or looks so. The south Tower was probably never finished The carving is very good of the Byzantine type but early & less finished than such as that at Chartres &c.

The west front is most beautiful a mere facade [not ?] connected with the design of the Church but in itself exceedingly beautiful & rich⁶² The ornamental work is most elegant I especially admire the lower arches ranging with west doorway The caps are continued across springing by means of bands of foliage & animals and in one instance a regular frieze of sculpture representing knights fighting bearing a rude resemblance to Greek bas reliefs The tympana have regular sculpture & the arch orders are decorated with foliage & animals beautifully intermixed. The whole is something in the style of Notre Dame at Poitiers but with just this difference that while one suggested the barbaric style from which it is emerging the other points forward to the refined style at which it is arriving & towards which it is hastening. It is also much more lofty & altogether firm and more elegant in all its parts

There is a new Hotel de Ville building & nearly finished at Angouleme the best new building of any kind I have seen in France 13th century treated freely and with taste and ability & good feeling. There is a new ch also which looks fairly at a distance (late Romanesque)⁶³

Oct 3 Perigueux —

Poor St Front! Partly in some parts spic & span new & as white as chalk!

The French idea of restoration is beyond question an odd one 'Donec templa refeceris' is their motto in its most practical and literal sense! The greater the interest attached to a piece of antiquity the more imperative do they deem the necessity for its renewal. I only wonder that they do not renew the ancient seals coins & M.S.S. in their collections. Of the five Domes of St Front two are absolutely new — and one is taken down with a

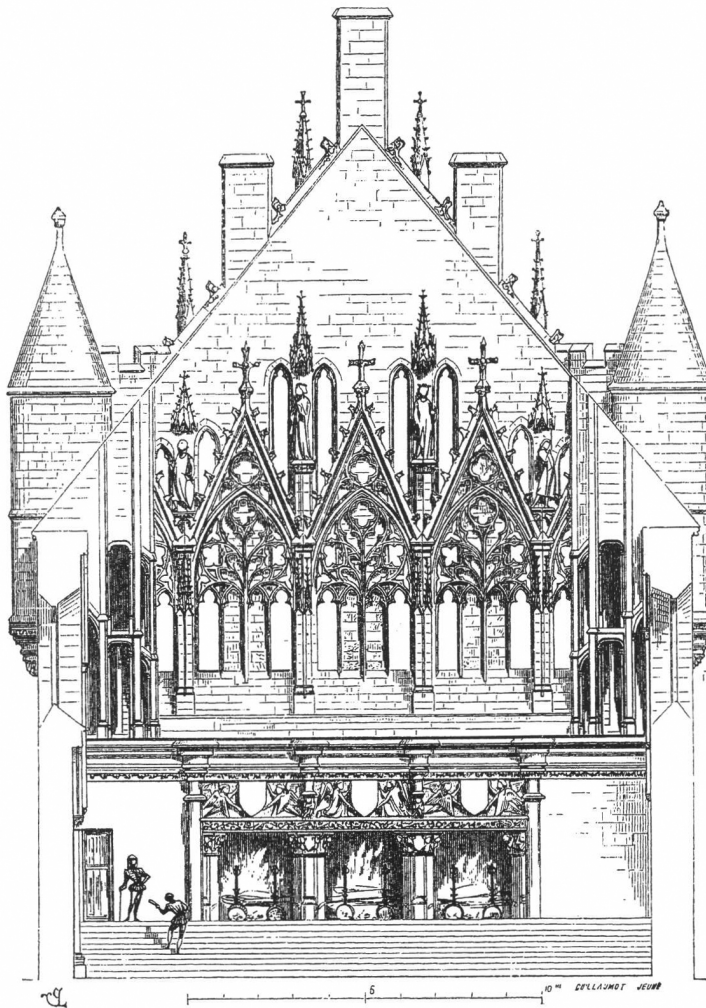


Fig. 4. Cross section of the Palais des Comtes at Poitiers, from Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture Française du XI^e au XVI^e Siècle*, III (1858)

view to renewal — two (the east & the west ones) remain at present. The external parts of the southern compartment are restored with some remains of the old work Those of north compartment are new from the ground including the portico — not one old stone visible in or out! I confess however that this is the only part of the church which gives any idea of its original external design. The roof and the modern walls which concealed the old forms are of course gone and the Drum of the Dome which one sees in books as if in the roof is now shown externally as intended⁶⁴ [Fig. 5]

This is covered by a dome finished externally with the curious round topped protuberances which cover the spires here & at Poitiers & Angouleme, & out of this dome grows a little circular temple itself similarly domed.

Each [spire pier ?] has a pyramidal covering finished with a similar little temple & over each [great ?] arch of the Dome is a low pediment

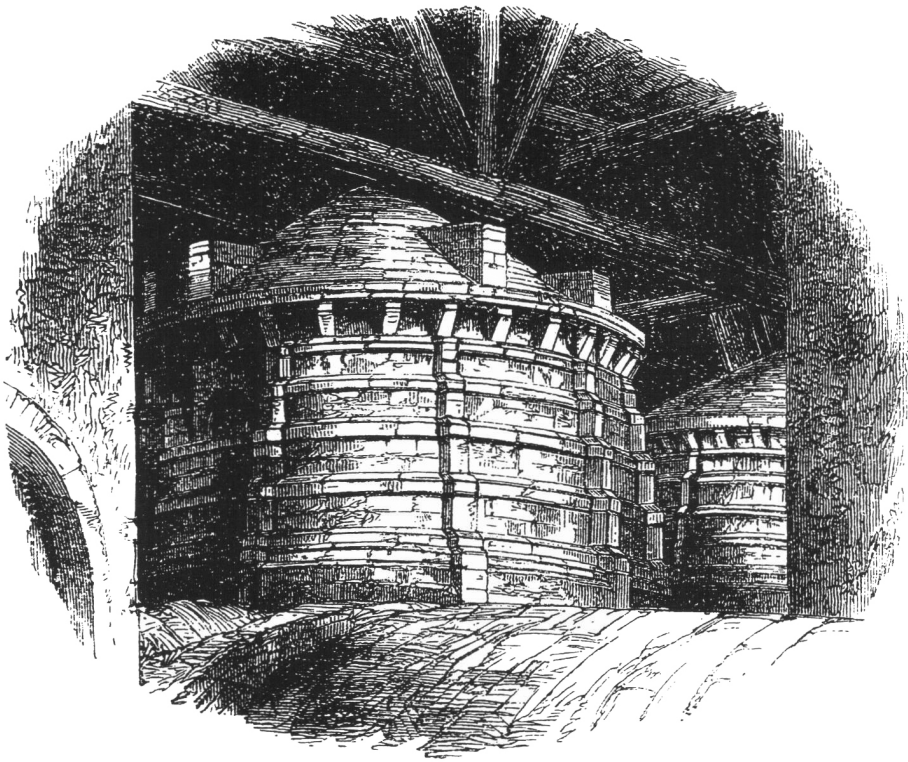


Fig. 5. *The domes of St Front at Périgueux when enclosed by the roof, from Petit, Architectural Studies in France (1854)*

The whole forms a curious group not unpleasing though one only wishes it were old or unquestionably authentic⁶⁵ [Fig. 6]

I took some pains to ascertain the extent of its authenticity. As far up as the pediments there are remains establishing it pretty fully excepting the large gargoiles of w^h I believe only the corbels were found. and perhaps excepting also the position of the blocks in the raking cornice which are at right angles with the slope. the remains did not lead me to think this correct but I am uncertain. The pyramidal covering of [square ?] piers existed about half the way up the rest is conjectural I believe. The drum of dome of course existed. I am sorry to say I failed in getting to see the remaining domes from the roof having twice missed the man who shews them so I cannot say what authority there is for an external dome but I learned from the resident architect that the covering with round protuberances is conjectural.⁶⁶ I think I understood from him there were remains of the little temple-like structure which is most probable as they still exist in the same position in the neighbouring church at la Cité the protuberant finish [deleted] covering however I learned to be conjectural

On the whole the evidences are favourable to the general authenticity of the restoration minus some of its details. Internally I have no doubt the restoration is authentic but

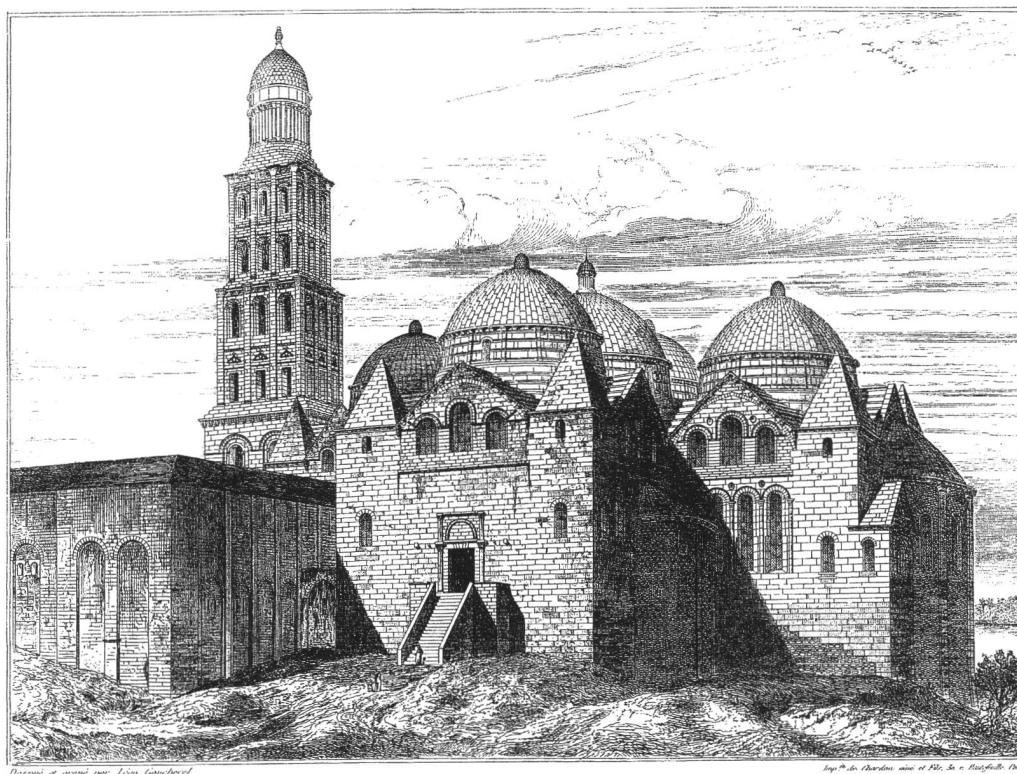


Fig. 6. Perspective view of St Front at Périgueux hypothetically restored drawn by Léon Gaucherel, from de Verneilh, *L'Architecture Byzantine en France, Saint Front de Périgueux, et les Eglises à coupoles de l'Aquitaine* (1851)

why so absolute a renewal?! The old domes were once of [rubble ?] groyns filled in on a boarded centering — the marks of the boards are still visible as in our Norman staircases

[sketch of groining]

The new ones are of masonry the old stone was very [roughly ?] axed. The new smoothly Then why renew so large a proportion of the carving. In the S. compartment a good deal of old is brought in on one side but all the rest is new as far as the work has gone. The old still remains in the unrestored compartment and is in fair condition surely it may be spared! I saw the old carving which has been removed from the restored parts.⁶⁷ Some of it is in excellent condition but some much shattered how much by its removal I do not know. This is at present roughly piled in the architects shed It ought to be arranged somewhere in the church It is fine Byzantine work but far less perfect than that of later buildings as Chartres, St Denis &c. so that it fails to give a complete answer to my question (see above)

The effect of the [interior succession ?] in single compartments is very fine & if more ornamentally carried out would be most magnificent

The church at La Cité is a curious [union ?] of one domical bay (the only one remaining) of a church of the age of St Front with one of a century later⁶⁸ The old one low, & plain in the extreme The later one very lofty & carried out more architecturally both are on a larger scale as to diameter than St Front. The effect of the later one is most noble. I carefully examined the domes as seen within the roofs. They have drums but I think not[?] external domes at present they have conical roofs. The drum of this older Dome was raised a little when the later one was built. Each has the little domed temple on its top I could find no finish to the spire pier excepting traces of [broaching ?] to the older one Externally there is little form or beauty about the building. The older one has plain arches (not the great arches of dome) & the later one tall arcading for the whole height. In the older part is a beautiful arch w^h appears to be the tomb of a Bishop who died in 1169. It is just in the style of the W front of Angouleme. It has the name of the architect upon it Constantin de Jarniece⁶⁹

The resident architect at St Front assures me that the steeple is not earlier than the church excepting its substructure, and I had rather inclined to come to the same view Near the western entrance from the market place on a building not connected with the church is seen very curious early decoration

On way to Clermont passed Tulle where is a nice late Romanesque church of granite with very plain but good details⁷⁰

[sketch of capital]

Sunday Oct 5 Clermont

More pleased with the volcanic mountains I fear than with the architecture⁷¹

Monday Oct 6 Sketched a little at the Ch. of N.D. du Port but could not get up any great enthusiasm for its style The construction is curious and interesting. The nave waggonhead vaulted having for abutments semi waggon head vaults over the aisles

[sketch: cross section]

on the gallery stage & including vaults below all under one stone roof. The transept has two bays in length the outer one waggonheaded the inner one semi waggonhead at a far greater height

[sketches]

forming an abutment to the domical vault of the central tower which above that level becomes octagonal The choir has waggon vaulting & semi domical apse but has no abutting gallery but an ordinary clerestory. The surrounding aisle has groining & alternating apsidal chapels & windows the eastern bay having a window [Fig. 7]

The arrangement of these chapels both within & without is the most pleasing feature in the church. *Without* it is made very pretty by the upper parts of walls (occasioned by waggon vault) being decorated with inlaying. & the same ornamentation being used whenever there is an opportunity I think the apses are covered with stone (perhaps all the roofs), and are backed by curious little gables which scarcely seem to have any use but for ornament⁷² The cornice is a very pretty feature throughout — carried by very pretty blocks (such as I observed were used in the restoration at Perigueux)

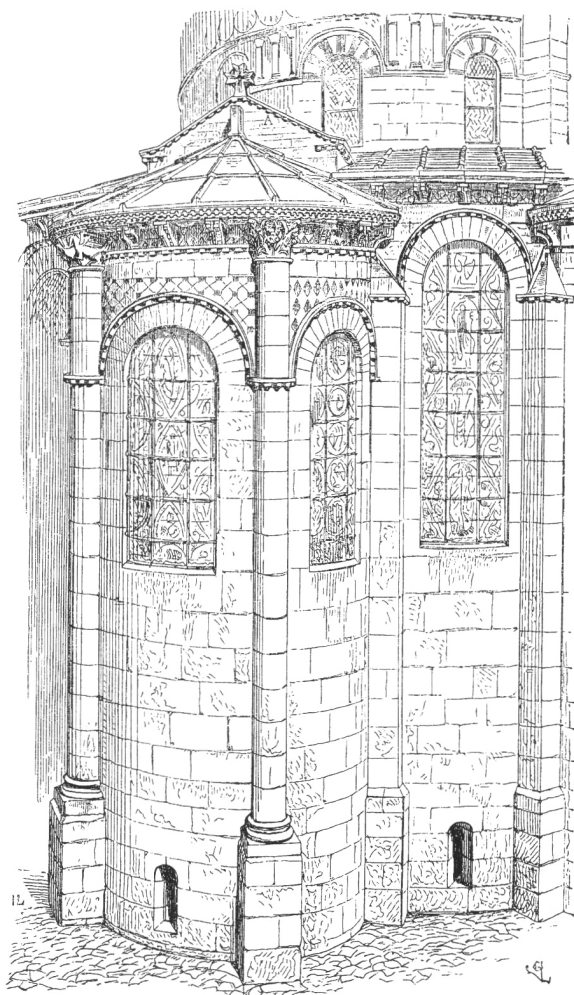


Fig. 7. *Apsidal chapel at Notre Dame du Port, Clermont-Ferrand, from Viollet-le-Duc, Dictionnaire Raisoné, II (1854)*

[sketch]

between them is mosaic & under the cornice a deep panel

[sketch]

in each interval — The capitals have a Byzantine tendency but somewhat rude. The whole is a beautiful Romanesque model. I had intended to see Issoire & perhaps S. Nectaire but gathering that they are little more than repetitions of the same design & my time being limited I determined to move northwards.⁷³

The cathedral was of course originally Romanesque & shows some traces of it at the west end but has been rebuilt in the last years of the 13th or early in the 14th century, & is so [purely ?] typical a specimen of the cath^l. of that period that I did not think it worth while to stop

The interior is however very elegant and extremely light in its structure (the details but moderate)⁷⁴ The glass is very fine in its colouring & looks earlier than the architecture though evidently made for its place. It consists (in the lower windows) wholly of small medallions w^h so entirely blend with the ornamental parts as to be scarcely distinguishable in a general view. There is a very large quantity of it. The clerestory has large figures now detached in the centre of the [light ?] the grissaille or other filling is very mostly gone There is a good deal of wall decoration (subjects) apparently used monumentally as the inscription in one part relates to the death of some person. — The nave has 5 aisles besides side chapels. I was surprised to see an old acquaintance here — The brass altar and reredos exhibited by Viollet le Duc in 1855.⁷⁵ The interior is of the dark lava of the country which greatly adds to its effect. N.D. Du Port has a great advantage from this viz — that restoration has not given it a new effect

Great sins may be committed with impunity in a dark coarse stone! I think however from what I could gather that the restorer has been moderate & careful.⁷⁶

I was told that the Church at Mosac near Riom was an exact counterpart of Orcival & went to see it.⁷⁷ I was however disappointed — I dare say it once was so but it has been very much reconstructed in the 15th century & if it ever had a central tower has lost it. The nave arcades remained & are better than those at N.D. du Port. There are some curious detached capitals about I fancy from the old choir w^h has disappeared. one is surrounded with subjects relating to the resurrection. It appears to have been a monastic church & to have had extensive buildings attached.

At Riom is a church which I suppose was of the same style but to have had a 13th century choir with apsidal chapels added.⁷⁸ The central tower & transepts have however just been rebuilt, & one cannot tell whether they are reproductions or not. They look very well excepting that they have foolishly used tiles for the inlaying instead of the typical volcanic stone which originally suggested it. The arrangement of tower & transepts is precisely as at N.D. du Port but the tower higher. I must say it looks very well. externally the nave seems 15th c. I did not get in

The 13th century choir is very good. They have reused in it the blocks of the old cornices, feeling I suppose their merits.

There is a Sainte Chapelle at Riom but I had not (or fancied I had not) time to see it.⁷⁹

Oct 7 Nevers.⁸⁰

The Cathedral has Romanesque western apse 13th century nave 14th century choir & 15th century side chapels & tower The nave & choir are both very good internally The one bold good middle 13th cy. work the other rather rich early 14th Columns much clustered mouldings rich &c. The capitals in nave very good — [—] of [conv¹ ?] & nat^l foliage with the [crocket ?], all very well done. The choir has some of the same kind but more elaborate and many without the crocket & with very rich & beautiful natural foliage though not effective

The window tracery in the choir rich & varied very much like English work (as indeed is the choir generally) fragments of good glass. There is no transept excepting one (wh seems a little earlier than the nave) at the west end⁸¹

[sketch plan]

The western apse is low & obscure and looks very early It has a crypt below it. The

exterior of the church is ineffective & poor.⁸²

St Etienne is a very early Romanesque church very plain indeed, having scarcely a trace of carving but plain caps very queer

[sketch]

Those to west doorway are [marvellously dr ?] — looks like Saxon & [two ?] of the shafts banded like baluster shafts. The type of the church is like N.D du Port excepting that though it looks earlier it is in advance of it in having a clerestory to the nave in addition to the semi vaulted gallery Thus what gives it great height both in effect & in reality

[sketch: cross-section]

There is a great clumsy [imperfect ?] western facade which I could not make much out of.⁸³ The apsidal chapels differ in from those at N.D. du Port one being to the east.

The two desecrated churches mentioned by Murray are very small affairs, each has a western door projecting

[sketch]

which I fancy is a local feature one very plain the other has been rich with pointed arch & enriched mouldings but is much decayed — Neither have aisles or I fancy ever have had one certainly not.⁸⁴

At [blank] between Nevers and Clamecy is a fine 13th century church

[sketch plan]

of simple plan but on a large scale⁸⁵ The width of nave from C to C of pillars being about 35ft

The pillars are short & round with 4 attached shafts

[sketches]

One runs up as vaulting shaft with two companions w^h start from the cap. There is no regular triforium The [space ?] being given divided between that over arcades & that below clerestory

[sketch]

The apse had a double range of lancet lights The upper one in east side

[sketch]

by thus The corbel table is curious

[sketch]

something like this —

[sketches]

Oct 9

Left Nevers by diligence for Clamecy

Oct 10th Clamecy -

There is a fine church here and in some respects a peculiar one.⁸⁶ It is in its appearance as you approach a flamboyant church having a very fine tower & a very [good ?] west facade in that style. On nearer approach however one finds it to be in the main a 13th century ch. Its great peculiarity however is that instead of an apse the aisle returns square round the E. end — opening into the choir by 3 arches & without any chapels beyond the aisle indeed I do not think there ever were altars there as the wall arcading extends throughout. The internal details are very good. It has triforium & clerestory The nave or parts of it differ a little from the choir. The foliage in these parts is very good natural foliage. The exterior is very plain. Block cornices like those noticed at — No transept. Roof of E. End hipped.

The hotel stopped at the 'Boule d'or' consists in part of an [ancient ?] chapel said to have belonged to the Society of Bethlehem.⁸⁷ It has [one internally ?] very good It is now divided into two [heights ?] below stables &c. above salle a manger &c the latter vaulted

[sketch]

exterior very plain block cornice of the type already noticed.

Vezelay.

At first a little disappointed in the Cathedral. The nave merely Romanesque without the refinement mentioned by Fergusson, w^h in fact consists of a certain degree of imitation of Classic detail probably taken from Autun. I cannot see much refinement in it. At the same time it is unquestionably very bold.⁸⁸

The narthex differs from the nave in having pointed arches — an advance — and a gallery in [lieu ?] of a clerestory — a retrogression —

The capitals are far better than those in the nave and the decorations of portals bold in the extreme.

The great feature however is the sculpture. It is perfectly marvellous not however for beauty but for the Violence of the archaicism. I never saw any thing more extraordinary not for rudeness for we have infinitely ruder sculpture in England & this is very powerful in its way but for its defiance of all attempts at beauty or artistic propriety as we should consider it. Violence is the only word which I can think of to express it.

All the figures look as if in violent convulsions — all putting themselves into the most violent & convulsive attitudes. This part of the church is kept closely locked up & I did not see it till the last and did not sketch. It is to my mind a most unearthly place and has produced perhaps a more vivid impression than if I had stopped to familiarize myself to it. It differs from anything I have elsewhere seen The pointed arch makes it infinitely more beautiful & pleasing than the nave

The capitals [are ?] the same in kind [but ?] far better while the three portals give it a sentiment differing very much indeed from the nave. Even their architectural decorations are violent & happily it has suffered but little from restoration

The western portals externally belong to the work. The central one is very grand in scale The sculpture however has been all destroyed & renewed by Viollet le Duc. No doubt he has followed the traces under the timpanum's remains near the ch but the new sculpture is only like Romanesque sculpture in general not like that in the

narthex in the least.⁸⁹ The west front even in [—] the door has been much altered in the 13. cy.

The Choir is pretty good 13th century. its details capitals &c [two ?] typical I must however except the pillars w^h surround the choir from this They are worked in another stone approaching a marble and were perhaps worked by other parties. They are works of the highest order though very simple. I have seldom seen details so strikingly carried out.

The apsidal chapels and their piers are very good.

The most remarkable work in the whole place however is the chapter house with its openings into the cloisters —

It is still of the 12 century but beautifully refined & most truly excellent. Unfortunately I had thought it locked up & put it off to the last, not knowing its merits & so had to scamper over it shamefully. It is a work deserving one's most careful & deliberate study The foliage is not all equal but the best parts are of the highest order far superior to late work — Corinthianesque but in a very softened and delicate form indeed nothing could exceed the exquisite delicacy of the cap^{ls} in the opening from the cloister. The two pillars which Murray calls clumsy normal pillars are beautiful ones. 1–4 in diam & of same marble polished each shaft in one block.⁹⁰ Their foliage is not equal to the smaller caps but they are truly beautiful pillars — The corbels are magnificent & curious In each [groining bay ?] near round the boss is a patera with figures & this produces a good effect

The corbels come in in a very irregular & odd way with the arches into the church w^h are not set out with any reference to them.

The cloisters only exist on the east side — & these have been entirely rebuilt no doubt faithfully but nevertheless entirely new not a fragment of old work built in.⁹¹ They are [however ?] very good & the internal construction very curious. square fluted pillars stand in advance of the piers & carrying the ribs of a semi vault abutting against the chapter house.

The exterior of the cathedral is very plain and simple The corbelled cornice of the old parts is very curious The towers rather good though perhaps a little late The central compartment of the west front is 13 century and looks odd for terminating in an arch. In the town are many fragments of early domestic work Unfortunately the w^{ws} are nearly all walled up if opened out many beautiful examples would be laid open to view. At St Pere a village near Vezelay is a beautiful church.⁹² The [skeleton ?] late 13th very beautiful something in the form of those at Laon The church has a narthex of the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century, though patched up in the 15th It is very [ruinous ?] but contains beautiful details The foliage excellent

There is a tomb in it w^h seems attached to the church bearing date 1258 but though the name & date of the death of the person commemorated I cannot think it nearly that of the building. There is also a monument to [this ?] family in the narthex consisting of two exquisite flat niches with figures of the person & his wife very excellent, but about in the style of Crouchback's tomb and points to 1290 as about the date. The windows seem to have had very delicate tracery but are all walled up It reminded me much of the Eastern aisle or chapels at St [Albans ?] but I prefer the latter

Stopped a little more than two days at Vezelay i.e. from Thursday at 1 to Saturday at 3

but though I worked hard I had not near time enough & had to scamp my work sadly — I had a bad cold or should have been earlier in the mornings & daylight failed at half past 5 in the evenings. Situation of Vezelay magnificent.

In speaking of the western portals as seen in the narthex — I have spoken as if they belonged to it Yet however there is a difference of age of which I have no doubt there is a little They of course belong to the nave & not to the narthex while the outer portals belong to the latter. The violence of style I have mentioned must not therefore be attributed to the narthex but to the nave. The narthex is simply an advanced & more refined stage of the style of the nave.

The same is the case at St Pere. The western portal within the narthex does not belong to it but to the nave. the very bold natural foliage therefore of its caps is earlier than the narthex. The side portal however belongs to the narthex being an insertion. On second thoughts Qu are not the jambs of central doorway so immediately connected to the pillars of narthex as to establish an identity of date — see sketch

on referring to sketch I see that they are so. Yet there is a window from narthex into tower w^h looks as if the former was added — (I did not think of these questions when on the spot)

Sunday Oct 12th Auxerre

Monday 13

Tuesday 15

& Wednesday morning 16th

} Auxerre

The cathedral choir 13th century crypt under 11th

Western bay of nave up to a small height seems to belong parts to the latter end of 13th & parts to early 14th century. The rest of church middle of 14th or later

Taking the parts chronologically — The crypt is interesting for its early date [sketches of capital] very rude in style. viz wide joints said to be 1039

It seems to agree in dimensions with present ch bay even the Lady Chapel w^h has

[sketch]

semidomed apse containing painting of our Lord amidst the Golden Candlesticks & the rest of the vault our Lord in centre and four angels around him on horses or large seat probably apocalyptic though not very exact to the text — seems contemporary work.

The choir a very fine work — the whole of the middle of the 13th centy or perhaps about 1230–40. I do not know that the design on the whole is first rate but still good. The Lady Chapel & adjoining bays of aisle are the best

[sketch of plan of vaulting]

[sketch of clerestory and vaulting]

The difference between the arches into the Lady Chapel & those to adjoining bay is simply this that while the latter [?] has clustered pillars consisting of one fair sized shaft for main ribs & two small ones which run up much higher for wall rib the latter includes in one shaft the wall rib being carried to a short shaft resting on its caps — & corresponding in position with the smaller shafts of other bays. The piers to these bays are detached leaving a space to walk round between them & the windows

The effect of this entire arrangement is as excellent as the contrivance is ingenious. The carving of the caps of pillars & the corbels of the wall arcades is excellent — natural and conventional foliage indiscriminately used & admirably executed. The caps of great pillars of choir are bad & shapeless but all smaller ones good. The corbel heads over the arcade caps are detestable. Details of mouldings are very good. The apse is cut off from the rest of choir by a large pier

[sketch]

so as to have a transverse arch much larger than the usual transverse rib

[sketch]

this seems to me to look well.

The design of triforium is weak and that of clerestory too gaping. The glass throughout choir &c very first rate — rich below excepting in some instances where to obtain more light excellent grissaille is introduced. The clerestory is a union of figures & other rich work with grissaille & very good. The colouring magnificent, drawing in some instances very fair.

The ribs and bosses are coloured as at Chartres & are in very perfect preservation & very excellent. A little colour is carried down ribs. External design indifferent

Next in order comes the western portals though they seem to me to differ in date among themselves I should suppose them to range from 1280 or 90 to 1300 or 1310 — or a little later — parts perhaps.⁹³

Viewed as a whole they are among the finest works of the period Their fault is being over wrought indeed the art is like that of an ivory tryptich. Nevertheless it is among the finest art I have seen in any mediaeval work. The southern portal seems the earliest & in its architecture is the finest Its sculpture is not of the same [minute ?] character with that of the central doorway excepting in some very [low reliefs ?] on its southern side. The art here is very fine indeed. It seems on its south side to continue the history of David from his watching the sheep to the affair of Bathshebah. The north side I could not make out. over the [panels ?] below the canopies are figures of the liberal arts very fine indeed — as music sculpture medicine &c. The figures from the second range are all gone but the canopies are magnificent containing groups of castles & other buildings varying in each and exquisitely grouped and designed The foliage is of the greatest conceivable richness some of it almost microscopic. The large caps supporting the tympanum are most gorgeous. foliage natural. by the south side in canopies of two heights the lower one very magnificent but has lost its sculpture the upper one contains the judgement of Solomon on a good scale. Below on the pedestal level is rich diaper [patterning ?] [—] excellent low reliefs. The arches are full of canopies & figures & the tympanum of subjects but I did not go carefully into them -

The central doorway has two ranges of sculpture the upper are sitting figures in pairs of good size and excessively fine. The lower ones of low relief in surface compartments These are of the finest description. The N. jamb contains the whole history of Joseph admirably told. The south jamb is unfortunately seriously decayed but has been fully equal in merit. It is said to illustrate the parable of the prodigal son I had imagined it to be a mere illustration of the ill effects of Luxury but I think it must be the parable There

are several feasting and dancing scenes of as exquisite art as could be conceived. In the midst of two such groups is a small compartment and in this [is ?] a figure rushing away as if in despair most graphic in its expression rushing madly as if over a monster half naked & with a staff in his hand In the other a female figure of wonderful power and two devils or monsters sucking at her breasts — probably idealising the *punishments of immorality* Then there is the slaying of the fatted calf & a subject which may mean the meeting of the Prodigal and his father The whole so far as they can be understood for the decay are of the very highest merit but most minute in scale and inconceivably delicate in execution. The architecture of the door particularly above looks later in style. There are good figures in door jambs.

The northern doorway seems the only work of a different hand the figures being of great simplicity and quite Grotesque. The smaller sculpture represents the creation and the earlier scenes of the world's history very finely treated — & not so minute as those previously described. They are too in considerable relief. The architecture is different in its details from the other — the pinnacles are exactly like those of the Eastern chapels of N.D. at Paris but carved with surprising starkness

On the whole these doorways a most remarkable assemblage of art, & deserve long & careful study. If the sculpture had been antique we should have casts of it in all our museums, but being mediaeval it is allowed to perish as it may. but oh — protect it from restoration!!⁹⁴

The rest of the church is comparatively uninteresting except for the magnificent proportions of its section & internal elevations. The nave is sadly short but its side bays though dull & puerile in detail have a noble effect from their carefully studied proportions. The width from c to c at the piers of crossing is 44 f The nave seems rather less the eastern bay spreads a little.

St Germain is a 14th c church fine but uninteresting for its merely typical & unoriginal design its remaining western tower [house ?] / now [detached ?] is a very fine thing indeed late Romanesque with octagonal upper story & spire with entasis the latter is much exaggerated in most prints of it. The details are bold & simple & very good.

St Pierre is a 16 or 17th cy church somewhat after the St Eustache kind, but of a very inferior stamp. Tower 16th century Gothic & fine in general form.

St Eusebe is a late 12th century church. with simple and very good interior & with a beautiful little late Romanesque tower, with excellent details. It has a short flamboyant spire, & is now so surrounded by the flying buttresses & c of a 16 or 17th century choir after the St Pierre style that no good view can be got of it. it is on one side of the junction of the choir and nave.

The Old Bishop's Palace has good domestic parts of 12 & 13th century work largely renewed.⁹⁵

Oct 15 — went (after spending a few hours at the cathedral at Auxerre) to Sens to renew my old acquaintance.⁹⁶

The old work is certainly wonderfully grand & noble The interior in fact though low — in its proportions — has a wonderful dignity of aspect, & the details though simple are excellently designed The alternation of massive clustered piers with coupled columns is admirable in its effect though wanting perhaps more length for its proper development. I looked with some care though with very little time at my disposal into

the question of what alterations the building has undergone during its earlier days that is to say from its first creation about 1167 to the close of the 13th century. The earliest is apparently the addition (for strength probably) of two shafts to the coupled columns of the choir thus

[sketch]

I had observed & noted this when at Sens some years back but in first looking at it again I was disposed to doubt my former impression the addition being so like to the original work. on close examination however there is no doubt of the fact. The courses do not range & it is clear that the abaci & the bases of the smaller shafts are cut into the original ones. The mere fact that they agree with them in section would be insufficient to prove the early date of the alteration but the carving of the capitals is in the same Byzantinesque style which is I think conclusive proof of its being an alteration of the same period with the original work.

There is great complexity as to the dates of the western bays of the nave. I think Parker told me of a fire which had occurred during the early years of the cathedral.⁹⁷ Possibly this ruined the western bays without utterly destroying them — or it may be they were commenced but not carried out. Certain it is that they consist of a strange intermixture of work of the 12th and 13th centuries & the later by no means early in this century. If I remember rightly the lower part of the northern tower is almost wholly early that of the southern wholly late. The central western portal is early only up to the springing of the arch. The northern one all early the Southern one all late. The internal bays (I think two) are late with a trifling intermixture of earlier work.

Then comes the clerestory with its vaulting. There is no doubt that the original 12th century vaulting had low & round formerets or wall ribs springing from the same shafts which now carry the high — stilted and pointed ones

[sketch]

Externally — below the corbel table (w^h is original) are in centre bay 4 walled up arches [close ?] above the present 13th century windows. These represent no doubt an ornamental arcading filling in the blank space between the old & low windows & the cornice thus

[sketch]

The only question is whether in making the alterations they entirely took down the vaulting. In my Royal Academy lectures I expressed (I think) an opinion that they had not done so but had only taken out the ashling of the vault between the diagonal ribs & the wall. Parker and Viollet le Duc think they took the whole down — certainly a very needless operation.⁹⁸

I find by careful examination that the bosses of the first bay or two eastwards of the 13th century bays are of later date. It is therefore clear that as concerns these the vaulting was either taken down or had never in the first instance been completed. In however all the other bays of nave & choir the bosses are original 12th century work I conclude therefore that in all these the ribs remained undisturbed the side cells alone being reconstructed. I gave most of my time to the central western portal. This up to its springing line where

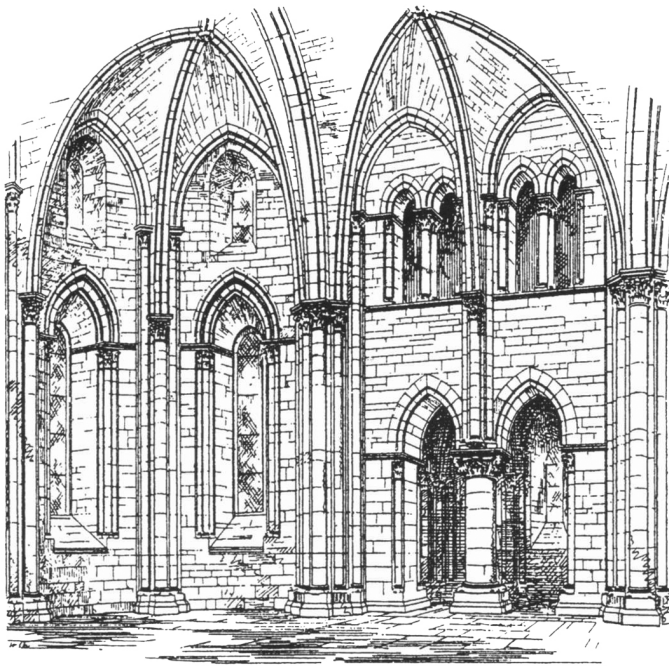


Fig. 8. Interior of the choir of the church of St Julien le Pauvre, Paris, redrawn by W. S. Weatherley, from Scott, *Lectures on the Rise and Development of Mediæval Architecture* delivered at the Royal Academy, 1 (1879)

its date changes, is a truly noble work though in a mutilated & partly decayed condition. It is a great misfortune that it is not perfect as it might have excelled even those of the W. front at Chartres. The pedestal or basement range far exceeds those at Chartres in beauty and seems I fancy to have been the types from which that at Notre Dame at Paris was designed and to have been superior to the imitations which I studied the next day & did not find quite equal in refinement of detail as I fancied (though probably 25 years later) The canopies however at N.D. are better. The figures with the columns to w^h they are attached are gone that to the centre pillar alone remaining & that a very noble one The sculpture in the small panels is excellent. The wise & foolish virgins (as at Paris occupy the faces of the inner jambs. The upper range of pedestal occupied at Paris by Virtues are here filled with figures which I presume to represent arts & sciences They return round the square faces of the bases while those at Paris occupy the [decagonal ?] surface. The lower range which at Paris has the vices opposed to the virtues above here contains representations of animals & monsters & behind them are mere ornamental patterns though very good.

The capitals are excellent spreading boldly formed to support the canopies as at Paris. The mouldings of the pedestals are exquisitely enriched. I know of no doorway which equals it in this respect.

The northern portal is good but simpler I had not time to study it carefully —

I gave a little time to the Episcopal Hall. I am glad to find that its external restoration was not to the extent I feared assumed the form of renewal.⁹⁹ True there is a large proportion of new work but on going carefully through it bit by bit I was glad to find a

considerable amount of untouched work representing every division of the detail, & proving the authenticity of very nearly every part.

Internally this is not the case the whole seems new — but it is but just to say that I can lay no blame upon the architect for this nor do I know how he could have avoided it. I was there some 4 or 5 years back when this part of the work was scarcely at all begun I then saw what he had to work to. The Hall had been converted into an ordinary modern building divided into stories rooms & passages & the old work obliterated or concealed. The architect had gutted the building opening out to view the relics of the ancient work There were traces left sufficient for the recovery of the design but they were reduced the merest wreck such as was impossible to leave exposed to view unless the building was to be left in a semi ruinous state merely as an antiquarian study & to the well practised architectural antiquary alone would it have been intelligible.¹⁰⁰

The roof by the by is covered by coarsely coloured & glazed tiles and has a very offensive effect.

In the cathedral they seem on the N. side of nave to be doing away with the late side chapels & restoring (not without some modifications to meet modern uses the 12th century windows & wall arcades —

I think this is very uncalled for & a great mistake¹⁰¹

Oct 16th Paris.

Went to St Denis my object was to study the north portal of the Transept. I found however a determined opposition to my admission not one step towards facilitating w^h would the officials take not even to the extent of telling me where the clerk of the w^k could be found¹⁰²

I made a sketch of it from the street by the help of my glass & then sketched a few excellent early details from the west front some of the wreck of Sugers work left by an early restorer who had spoiled nearly the whole of it.¹⁰³

I then returned to my post opposite the transept & fortunately observed that the men in leaving for dinner did not lock the gates so when the coast was clear I slipped in and in haste & fear picked up a scanty crop of details. The doorway though truly excellent is simple — the pedestals only moulded

The capitals are admirable some of the very best Byzantinesque carving I have ever seen — one capital is absolutely identical to several in the entrance to the chapter house at Vezelay — & this is not a merely typical cap but one of a very peculiar and exquisite design¹⁰⁴ The figures in jambs have no canopies & are the better for it in my opinion. The abaci are charmingly carved. The sculpture seems rather trimmed down by restorers & modern inscriptions cut upon the labels.¹⁰⁵

On my return to the Station at Paris I took a run to Montmartre & saw the old church¹⁰⁶ — It is very interesting 12th century work Carving simple & boldly treated some of the forms of the Corinthianesque caps original. The church is [ruined ?] and I failed to see its interior. Exterior simple and good (a mere chancel & apse with remains of two side apses) windows pointed and single shafted buttresses of wonderful projection slope up almost from the ground in some 25 or more watertablings

[sketch]

Went to St Julien le Pauvre but failed (for the time) in getting permission to sketch

Director not to be found. Several funerals also going to take place. Choir beautiful simple 12th century work¹⁰⁷ [Fig. 8] eked out my remaining daylight at N. Dame especially — western portals old sculpture panels in pedestals &c also looked round at the Porte Rouge. I am in hopes they are modifying the violence of the restoration¹⁰⁸
This closes my architectural tour.
GGS

*

[other end of sketchbook begins:]

Arsy Grotte
St Pierre
2 killometres de Vezelay

—

Pitminster Church Somerset

Sep^r 9 — 1862.

Sir Gilbert Scott's own notes. J.T.I.

[followed by sketch ground plan
several pages of notes and sketches of the church]

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My knowledge of French architecture and architectural sources was hugely enhanced by the advice of Charlotte Ellis in Paris, without whose generous and painstaking assistance Scott's text would be inadequately annotated here; I also benefited from the help and sharp eyes of Rosemary Hill, Emily Lane and Andrew Saint. The travel diary is published here by kind permission of the Royal Commission for the Ancient & Historical Monuments of Scotland.

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Pages from Scott's original notebook are reproduced by permission of the Royal Commission for the Ancient & Historical Monuments of Scotland.

NOTES

1 Sir Gilbert Scott, *Lectures on the Rise and Development of Mediæval Architecture delivered at the Royal Academy*, 2 vols (London, 1879), p. 33 (Lecture I: 1857).

2 *Personal and Professional Recollections by the late Sir George Gilbert Scott, R.A.*, ed. G. Gilbert Scott (London, 1879; new edition ed. Gavin Stamp, Stamford, 1995), pp. 146–47.

3 Scott, *Recollections*, p. 212.

4 A letter from John Oldrid Scott to Irvine, 17 October 1886, records the gift of these notebooks to his father's devoted assistant. Correspondence among Irvine's papers now at the RCAHMS [MS28/398] records that J. O. Scott had destroyed most of his father's drawings, sketches and personal letters. A letter to Irvine, 3 March 1880 from Scott's former assistant, Charles R. Baker King, who was retained in the Spring Gardens office, states that 'I am now going through all the old papers — with a view to the destruction of what are useless;' a letter from J. O. Scott to Irvine, 22 April 1880, claiming that 'The detail drawings ... had vanished before your

appeal came. The quantity was so enormous that it was quite necessary to thin them down', is annotated, 'Pulping of Sir G.G. Scott's general drawings!!' A note by Irvine dated 13 June 1882 states: 'Mr John Oldrid Scott who told me on the Road that he had lately destroyed his father's letters to his mother before they were married & hers to him. He also said that the destruction of the old drawings up at the office they had destroyed great quantities of Sir Gilb' Scott's sketches the ideas for the smaller churches.' For the fate of Scott's practice, also see Gavin Stamp, *An Architect of Promise: George Gilbert Scott junior, 1839–1897, and the Late Gothic Revival* (Donington, 2002).

5 *The Academy* (29 March 1879), p. 288.

6 J. Mordaunt Crook, 'Benjamin Webb (1819–85) and Victorian Ecclesiology', in *Studies in Church History*, 33 (1997), p. 438, quoting *The Ecclesiologist*, 20 (1859).

7 John Summerson, *Heavenly Mansions* (London, 1949), p. 172; the article was first published in the 'Gothic Number' of *The Architectural Review* in December 1945, pp. 166–74.

8 See Wim Denslagen, *Architectural restoration in Western Europe: controversy and continuity* (Amsterdam, 1994), p. 84ff.; Jean-Michel Leniaud, *Les cathédrales au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1993), pp. 328–36; and Jean-Michel Leniaud, *Viollet-le-Duc ou les délires du système* (Paris, 1994), pp. 96–100. In August 1874, the Architectural Association tour of France visited Evreux, finding that, as *The Builder*, 32 (5 September 1874), p. 741, recorded, 'the nave is, with the exception of three bays, divided off from the rest of the church, and is being actively dealt with under the guidance of one of the Government architects. Two of the flying buttresses on the north have been pitched in pieces on the ground, and as some cracks have shown themselves in the filling in of the vault it is proposed to renew the whole. These works are not regarded with favour apparently by the townspeople and local antiquaries at Evreux, who appear to lean to the preservation, if at all possible, of the old work unaltered. One of the local anti-destruction party took occasion to mention that M. Delamotte, chef de division des travaux au Ministère des Cultes, deserved a place in the pillory of history for destroying (as he put it) St. Front at Perigueux, the cathedral at Angoulême, &c., and for finishing up a long career by menacing the well-reverenced cathedral of Evreux.'

9 Notebook no. 6, of c. 1878 at the RIBA (ScGG)[7]6.

10 For a catalogue of this destruction, see Louis Réau, *Histoire du Vandalisme. Les Monuments détruits de l'art Français*, 2 vols (Paris, 1959).

11 Martin Meade points out to me that after the Concordat of 1801 such altars as survived were retained as symbols of continuity as well as being regarded as part of the national heritage, and that, under the Second Empire, the Empress's fixation with Queen Marie-Antoinette encouraged their retention while the Administration des Cultes discouraged the clergy from altering furnishings without permission.

12 See Leniaud, *Viollet-le-Duc*, pp. 30–34; Jean-Michel Leniaud, *Les archipels du passé: Le patrimoine et son histoire* (Paris, 2002), pp. 142–51.

13 Merimée and Viollet-le-Duc drafted the code of practice issued to the Architectes Diocésains by Ministère des Cultes in 1849, entitled *Édifices diocésains: Instruction pour la conversion, l'entretien et la restauration de ces édifices et particulièrement les cathédrales*: see Leniaud, *Cathédrales*, pp. 810–26.

14 Barry Bergdoll, *Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, The Foundations of Architecture. Selections from the Dictionnaire raisonné* (New York, 1990), pp. 17–22. I am particularly grateful to Charlotte Ellis for taking me through the complexities of French restoration policies and organisations.

15 Leniaud, *Les archipels*, pp. 143 and 149.

16 Kevin D. Murphy, *Memory and Modernity. Viollet-le-Duc at Vézelay* (State College, Pennsylvania, 2000); Leniaud, *Cathédrales*.

17 *The Ecclesiologist*, 18 (December 1857), pp. 342–45, quoted by Chris Miele, 'Re-Presenting the Church Militant: the Camden Society, Church Restoration, and the Gothic Sign', in *The Church as it should be: The Cambridge Camden Society and its Influence*, ed. Christopher Webster & John Elliott (Stamford, 2000).

18 *The Ecclesiologist*, 22 (April 1861), p. 70, quoted in R. D. Middleton, 'Viollet-le-Duc's influence in Nineteenth-Century England', *Art History*, 4, no. 2 (June 1981), p. 207.

19 E.-E. Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture Française du XI^e au XVI^e Siècle*, 10 vols, VIII (Paris, 1866), p. 26; English translation from Charles Wethered, *On Restoration by E. Viollet-le-Duc* (London, 1875), p. 46.

20 John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (London, 1849), p. 179.

21 Letter to Arcisse de Caumont, 2 July 1834, quoted in Réau, *Vandalisme*, II, p. 106; four days later he wrote to Adolphe Thiers that 'Le mauvais gout qui a présidé à la plupart des réparations faites à nos monuments du Moyen Age a laissé des traces peut-être plus funestes que les devastations, suites de nos guerres civiles et

de la Révolution. Les protestants et les terroristes se sont contentés de mutiler des statues tandis que trop souvent les réparations ont complètement changé l'aspect des édifices que nos architectes ont voulu restaurer'. Marcel Proust would snobbishly observe in his *Remembrance of Things Past: Cities of the Plain*, part 2, 1922 (translated by C. K. Scott Moncrieff & Terence Kilmartin, 2 (Harmondsworth, 1983), p. 911) that it was the socially inauthentic who 'have perhaps had their imaginations more beguiled by feudal dreams than the men who really have lived among princes, just as, for the small shopkeeper who sometimes goes on a Sunday to look at buildings of the "olden days," it is often those of which every stone is of our own, the vaults of which have been painted blue and sprinkled with golden stars by pupils of Viollet-le-Duc, that provide the most potent sensation of the Middle Ages'. I am grateful to Dr Anthony Geraghty for this reference.

22 *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 1st series, 22 (1862), pp. 79–81; the text was later published as a pamphlet by J. H. Parker (Oxford & London, 1864).

23 Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire Raisonné*, VIII (Paris, 1866), p. 14: 'Le mot et la chose sont modernes. Restaurer un édifice, ce n'est pas l'entretenir, le réparer ou le refaire, c'est le rétablir dans un état complet qui peut n'avoir jamais existé à un moment donné.' English translation from Charles Wethered, *On Restoration*, p. 9.

24 Middleton, 'Viollet-le-Duc', p. 206.

25 RA Lecture III (1858); Scott, *Lectures*, I, p. 98. Scott presumably did not appreciate that the *Dictionnaire* he so admired was, in part, responsible for the restorations he deplored.

26 RA Lecture VIII (1866); Scott, *Lectures*, I, p. 319.

27 In two volumes: see note 1 above.

28 Scott, *Recollections*, p. 175; the first RA Lecture was delivered on 16 March 1857.

29 Scott, *Lectures*, I, p. 95, and see note 96 below. In *Recollections*, p. 330, Scott recorded that in 1873 he made a six-month long tour of Germany, Switzerland, Italy and France, partly with two of his sons and partly with J. H. Parker, and the following year visited Normandy and Germany with two of his sons. For Scott's knowledge of Normandy and of Norrey church in particular, see Gavin Stamp, 'Le Revival Gothique Haut Victorien et l'Architecture Normande', in *L'Architecture Normande en Europe: Identités et Échanges du XI^e siècle à nos jours*, ed. M. K. Meade, W. Szambien & S. Talenti (Marseille, 2002), pp. 123–40, an expanded version of which is published in the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 62, no. 2 (June 2003), pp. 194–211.

30 Irvine to Dr Joseph Anderson, July 1887, among the correspondence at the RCAHMS (MS28/398): 'I have sent off 15 notebooks which belonged to the late Sir G.G. Scott for presentation to the Library of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. If they will do me the favour to receive them for that purpose. In their library they will be free from the chances of Destruction that surround objects of interest when left in private keeping. Another will follow so soon as I can manage to transcribe from it notes of some Continental churches he visited during a holyday visit to France.'

31 Scott, *Recollections*, p. 177.

32 [Murray's] *Hand-book for Travellers in France* (London, 1861) — the 8th edition which was the one Scott presumably used on his tour — p. xviii; Scott referred to Murray's *Hand-book* twice in his diary, when at Nevers and at Vézelay.

33 [Murray's] *Hand-book for Travellers in France*, 11th edition (London, 1870), p. xx.

34 Murray, *France* (1861), p. xviii.

35 The Revd J. L. Petit, *Architectural Studies in France* (London, 1854), p. 101.

36 For example, about Cormery and Loches churches.

37 J. H. Parker, *An Architectural Tour in the English Provinces of France*, published in parts: *Notes of a Tour in the West of France* (London, 1852), *Observations on the Ancient Churches of the West of France* (London, 1853), *Further Observations on the Ancient Churches of the West of France* (London, 1854) and *Mediæval Architecture in Aquitaine* (London, 1855 & 1856), and also in *Archæologia*, xxxiv (1852), xxxv (1853) & xxxvi (1854). Middleton, 'Viollet-le-Duc', p. 206, records that Viollet-le-Duc gave Parker advice about this tour.

38 Scott, *Recollections*, p. 279; *Survey of London*, 38, *The Museums Area of South Kensington and Westminster*, ed. F. Shepherd (London, 1975), p. 179.

39 Scott, *Recollections*, p. 279. Donaldson's lecture was reported in *The Builder*, 11 (29 January 1853), p. 66, and Scott had commented afterwards on the resemblance of Norman churches with 'Greek character', like that at Kilpeck, to the French examples.

40 Petit frequently referred to the book by de Verneilh mentioned later in this paragraph as well as to many other French publications such as that by Mallay: see note 72 below; Parker, in his *Observations on the Ancient Churches of the West of France* (see note 37 above), also referred approvingly to de Verneilh's book.

41 Judi Loach points out to me that this nineteenth-century interest in the Byzantine can be seen in the context of the earlier seventeenth- and eighteenth-century debate about the virtues of primitivism in architecture and the associated interest in Early Christian basilicas; see Judi Loach, 'Anglicanism in London, Gallicism in Paris, Primitivism in both', in *Plus ça change: Architectural Interchange between France & Britain*, ed. Neil Jackson (Nottingham, 2000), pp. 9–32.

42 For this controversy, the interest in Byzantine architecture and much else, see Barry Bergdoll, *Léon Vaudoyer. Historicism in the Age of Industry* (New York, Cambridge & London, 1994), especially pp. 200–06 and 237–39. Vaudoyer, who as one of the three Inspecteurs Généraux des Edifices Diocésains appointed in 1853 (along with Viollet-le-Duc and Léonce Reynaud) supported Abadie's proposal, designed the new cathedral at Marseilles in 1852–57 in an eclectic Romano-Byzantine manner.

43 See note 47 below.

44 Scott never built an entirely new church in the Romanesque-Byzantine manner, although his second son John Oldrid Scott designed the round-arched and domed Greek Orthodox church in Bayswater, London (1874–82). Interestingly, creative use of the plan and vaulting arrangement at St Front was made by his grandson, Sir Giles Gilbert Scott, in his remarkable St Paul's Stoneycroft, Liverpool, of 1913–16.

45 Murray, *France* (1861), recorded that, if Scott travelled by rail to Folkestone, crossed by steam ferry to Boulogne and took an express train to Paris via Abbeville and Amiens, the journey could have taken about 10½ hours. Scott's sketchbook dated 1862 at the RIBA (ScGGS[5]27) includes Les Halles and the Hôpital de Lariboisière in Paris, but these sketches could have been drawn on another occasion or copied from elsewhere: see G. Fisher, G. Stamp, &c., *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects. The Scott Family*, ed. J. Heseltine (Amersham, 1981), p. 81.

46 Scott's architect sons George Gilbert Scott Junior (1839–97) and John Oldrid Scott (1841–1913), and his then chief assistant Richard Coad (1825–1900). A surviving letter from Scott Junior to J. T. Irvine now at the RCAHMS reveals that on 10 September 1862 he had been at Rouen, a city he frequented, especially after his mental breakdown in 1883; see Stamp, *An Architect of Promise*.

47 Scott had explored this theme in his RA Lecture III (1858); Scott, *Lectures*, I, p. 80ff.

48 Scott presumably travelled alone from here having parted from his two sons and Richard Coad. The Brittany line of the Chemin de Fer de l'Ouest from the Paris terminus at Montparnasse through Chartres to Le Mans had been open since 1854.

49 Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Lassus (1807–57) had been in charge of the restoration work at both Chartres and Le Mans cathedrals since 1848; following his death in 1857, he was succeeded by Emile Boeswillwald. Murray, *France* (1861), noted (p. 117) that at the cathedral of St Julien 'The chapels around the choir have been lately restored (1858) and the Lady Chapel scraped clear of whitewash, and clear remains of polychromatic decoration discovered'.

50 Petit, *Architectural Studies*, pp. 81–84.

51 Petit, *Architectural Studies*, pp. 26–38.

52 The church at Loches (Indre et Loire) had been restored by Aymar Verdier (1819–80), a pupil of Labrousse, who worked for the Monuments Historiques 1848–76 and was also diocesan architect for Amiens and Beauvais: see *Les concours des monuments historiques de 1839 à 1979*, exhibition catalogue, Caisse nationale des Monuments historiques et des Sites (Paris, 1981); I am most grateful to Charlotte Ellis for discovering this. Murray, *France* (1861), noted (p. 197), 'Ch. Of St. Ours, a very interesting monument of ecclesiastical architecture, meriting in a high degree the attention of every student of Gothic architecture'. Viollet-le-Duc agreed, illustrating the bell-tower (III (1858), p. 320) and dome (IV (1859), p. 366) in his *Dictionnaire Raisoné*, and observing (p. 364): 'S'il est un édifice qui mérite toute la sollicitude de l'administration, c'est l'église de Loches; c'est un monument unique au monde, complet et d'une sauvage beauté. Il est à souhaiter que les travaux de restauration entrepris dans cet édifice lui rendent bientôt son aspect primitif.' Also (p. 367): 'Si ce curieux édifice se trouvait en Italie, en Angleterre ou en Allemagne, il serait connu, étudié, vanté et considéré comme présentant une des conceptions les plus extraordinaires de l'art roman. Malheureusement pour lui, il est en France, à quelques kilomètres des bords de la Loire; peu d'architectes l'ont visité, bien que la construction de ce monument est exécuté avec soin, que la sculpture et les profils sont du plus beau style.'

53 The west portal was recorded by Gustave Le Gray in 1851 as part of the photographic survey instigated by the Commission des Monuments historiques; the results are reproduced in Anne de Mondenard, *La Mission héliographique. Cinq photographes parcourent la France en 1851* (Paris, 2002), p. 249.

54 Murray *France* (1861), noted (p. 197): 'In the suburb Beaulieu, 1 m. E. of Loches, is a ruined Church, with a fine Romanesque tower ... The *Ch. of St. Laurent* will interest the architect.' The 1870 edition (p. 209) further noted that the church was 'formerly attached to a Benedictine convent destroyed by the English, 1412'.

55 Properly Ste Maure (Indre et Loire) on the main line of the Chemin de Fer d'Orleans to Bordeaux: the section from Tours to Poitiers had opened in 1851 and on to Angoulême two years later. Scott had to travel from Tours to Loches by road.

56 Murray, *France* (1861), noted (p. 218): 'The building called the *Temple de St. Jean*, originally a baptistry, then a church, lately a *Musée*, restored 1860, is, next to the Roman Circus, the oldest edifice in Poitiers, and one of the oldest *Christian* monuments in France.' It was threatened with demolition by the municipality for a road improvement but, thanks to the protests of Prosper Mérimée and archaeologists, it was bought by the state in 1834 and became the first acquisition of the Monuments historiques: see Réau, *Vandalisme*, II (1959), pp. 95 and 129, who noted that, despite strong protests, the Roman amphitheatre was destroyed in 1857 to make way for a covered market. These early churches in Poitiers were discussed in Petit, *Architectural Studies*, pp. 102–05.

57 The west front was photographed by Gustave Le Gray in 1851 when external works were in progress: see de Mondenard, *La Mission héliographique*, p. 252. Parker had visited Poitiers and written that 'Notre Dame le Grand is celebrated for its west front, which is one of the richest pieces of Norman work in existence, being entirely covered with sculpture' (Parker, *Tour* (1852), p. 14). It is perhaps surprising that Scott did not comment on the remarkable interior scheme of painted decoration in the nave by Charles Joly-Leterme (restored in the 1980s). Réau, *Vandalisme*, II, p. 95, noted that 'les murs et les piliers des nefs furent sauvagement peinturlurés en 1851'. Leniaud, *Cathédrales*, quotes F. L. Reynaud, one of the general inspectors, on the architect Joly-Leterme in 1853: 'J'ai vu à Poitiers des restaurations exécutées par lui dont les résultats sont loin d'être heureux et qui donneraient une bien médiocre opinion du mérite des décorateurs du XII^e siècle.' According to Réau, *Vandalisme*, II, p. 86, the thirteenth-century cloister at Notre-Dame-la-Grande had been demolished in 1860 to make way for another covered market.

58 The cathedral of St Pierre is to be distinguished from the church of Notre-Dame-la-Grande. Murray, *France* (1861), noted (p. 217), 'The cathedral is of a more severe style, but sadly defaced by modern painting', which was presumably a reference to the monochrome interior overpainting of the surviving Medieval decoration after 1783: see Yves Blomme, *Poitiers: La cathédrale Saint-Pierre* (Paris, 2001). Incompetent work to the fabric carried out by departmental architects ceased following a visit by J.-B. Lassus (see below) in 1842; the restoration of the west front was begun in 1852 by J. C. J. de Mérindol (1815–88), who had been diocesan architect for Poitiers since 1848.

59 This was possibly the tower of Saint-Porchaire, which Mérimée had saved from demolition for a new road alignment in 1843 (see Réau, *Vandalisme*, II, pp. 95 and 129) and which was photographed in 1851: see de Mondenard, *La Mission héliographique*, p. 253.

60 The huge chimneypiece in the Palais des comtes de Poitiers was illustrated in plan and elevation in Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire Raisonné*, III (Paris, 1858), pp. 205–06. The *chevet* of the palace was photographed by Le Gray in 1851: see de Mondenard, *La Mission héliographique*, p. 252.

61 The church was being restored by Paul Abadie (1812–84), who — with the support of the bishop, A.-E. Cousseau — completely rebuilt the bell tower, altered and heightened the west front and eliminated anything Gothic or Renaissance in style from the nave: see Claude Laroche, 'Le rêve et son interprétation: Saint-Pierre d'Angoulême', in Paul Abadie, *architecte, 1812–1884*, exhibition catalogue (Paris, 1988), pp. 93–103; and Leniaud, *Cathédrales*, pp. 317–18. Murray, *France* (1861), noted (p. 222): 'The *Cathedral* is rather a curious than a beautiful edifice, in the Romanesque style, rebuilt from its foundations in 1120. It suffered at the Revolution; and till very lately bore over its frontispiece the ill-effaced inscription, "Temple de la Raison". It has been restored.' Also see Petit, *Architectural Studies*, pp. 74–76; Julius Baum, *Romanesque Architecture in France* (London, 1928), p. X &c. Scott cited Angoulême in his RA Lecture XVII (1873) on domes; Scott, *Lectures*, II, p. 274. Parker (*Tour* (1853), p. 12) had visited the cathedral and published a plate of the interior.

62 The unrestored west front was photographed in 1851 by Le Gray: see de Mondenard, *La Mission héliographique*, p. 66; photographs and drawings of the cathedral before and after the restoration are illustrated in Laroche, *Abadie*. Scott would seem to have admired the west front shortly before Abadie set about altering it, adding towers and a gable and getting Michel Pascal to replace some of the sculpture in 1864. The Architectural Association visited the cathedral on its second tour of France in 1875 and was very critical of current French restoration practice; as the report in *The Builder*, 33 (4 September 1875), p. 790, noted: 'The time

is very opportune, because many of the buildings to be visited are as yet untouched by the levelling hand of the French restorer. He is on the road, however, and has begun in bad earnest at Angoulême cathedral, of which a large part has been pulled down, not from structural necessity, but to show how cleverly it can be built up again.'

63 The church was very probably St Martiel (1849–56) but possibly St Ausonne (1856–68), both of which were designed by Paul Abadie, as was the Hôtel de Ville (1858–68, incorporating towers from the old castle): for all three buildings see Laroche *et al.* in *Abadie*, pp. 171–73 and 286–03. Abadie was the son of the eponymous architect to the city of Angoulême (1783–1868). Abadie *fils* became diocesan architect for Angoulême, Périgueux and Cahors in 1849, and he would conduct the ruthless restorations of St Pierre at Angoulême (1850–82) and of St Front at Périgueux (1852–84: see below). He put the knowledge he acquired of the Romanesque to conspicuous effect in his design for his best known new work, the expiatory church of the Sacré-Cœur at Montmartre, Paris (1874–1919). C. du Bus, the author of the article on Abadie in the *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, 1 (Paris, 1933) observed that 'On peut l'accuser d'avoir trop bien suivi les leçons de Viollet-le-Duc.'

64 The church was being restored by Paul Abadie, who had replaced the departmental architect Catoire following criticism and who had begun work on the southern cupola in 1852; eventually he completely reconstructed all five domes and much more: see Claude Laroche, 'Saint-Front de Périgueux, ou la coupole réinventé', in *Paul Abadie, architecte, 1812–1884* (Paris, 1988), pp. 111–29; and Leniaud, *Cathédrales*, p. 327. A photograph of 1851 of St Front showing the old roof and the unrestored stonework is reproduced in de Mondenard, *La Mission héliographique*, p. 255; a similar distant view from the south-east, taken soon after restoration work had commenced on the exterior, is reproduced in Baum, *Romanesque*, p. 16. The discussion of St Front in his RA Lecture XVII (1873); Scott, *Lectures*, II, p. 278, confirms that Scott accepted Abadie's working hypothesis that the domes were originally visible externally and crowned by lanterns. Parker (*Tour*, 1853, p. 2) agreed, as did Petit in *Architectural Studies*, who illustrated one of the domes inside the roof (p. 68), and referred to Félix de Verneilh, *L'Architecture Byzantine en France, Saint Front de Périgueux, et les Eglises à coupoles de l'Aquitaine* (Paris, 1851), writing that, 'The church does not at present exhibit the external outline intended by the architect. There appears to be quite sufficient data for ascertaining what this was, and for effecting a very accurate restoration. M. de Verneilh's frontispiece gives probably the least conjectural restoration that has ever yet been proposed for any building. Most of what he represents actually exists, and whose renewal would be necessary, the building seems rather to give definitely, than to suggest vaguely, the forms required' (p. 67). Plates of St Front drawn by Viollet-le-Duc illustrating the domes exposed and restored were also published in vol. II of Jules Gailhabaud, *Monuments Anciens et Modernes* (Paris, 1850). It should be noted that de Verneilh was horrified by the restoration of St Front that he helped inspire and, along with his brother Jules, became highly critical of Abadie: see Marcel Durliat, 'Abadie et la restauration monumentale au XIX^e siècle', in *Abadie*, pp. 14–19.

65 Murray, *France* (1870), p. 263, noted that the church 'has been undergoing ... such extensive repairs as amount to rebuilding; in fact, the entire edifice has been taken down and re-erected from the foundation, the walls having begun to crack under the weight of the domes. The result is a handsome and substantial modern copy, at the cost of the annihilation of nearly all that made the building curious and valuable, as the earliest mediæval structure in France on a large scale. May we in England be preserved from such destructive restorations'. Leniaud, *Cathédrales*, comments, p. 328, 'L'insuffisance technique n'explique cependant, pas le parti de "restauration". Ce que reconstruit Abadie, c'est le vrai Saint-Front, celui que n'ont pas été capables de réaliser les architectes romans: il présente un plan logique et clair; il est rationnellement édifié'. Denslagen, *Architectural restoration*, p. 104, quotes Abadie writing in 1865 that 'If I were in charge, I would demolish the Gothic choir, because it is like a pustule on the brow of a classical statue, and I would rebuild the apse, the foundations of which remain'; he did so in 1873.

66 The 'resident architect' was probably C. Vauthier, who had been *Inspecteur des Travaux Diocésains* de Périgueux since 1852 and who died in 1866: Larosse, *Abadie*, pp. 112 and 357; Leniaud, *Cathédrales*, p. 801.

67 In his lecture 'On the Conservation of Ancient Architectural Monuments and Remains' delivered at the RIBA earlier in 1862 (see note 22), Scott recalled (p. 80) that 'When I was preparing, some time since, a lecture for the Royal Academy on the rise of pointed architecture, I had a great desire to see a drawing of any capitals which might exist at Périgueux, and on making enquiry of a friend who had just been there, he said, "Oh, I could have got you one if I had known, for the old ones were lying about among the old materials".'

68 The church of St Etienne or the Église de la Cité, the cathedral until 1669, had been made a Monument Historique in 1840; Murray, *France* (1870), noted that it 'is also a domical ch., of which 2 bays only remain; the W. bay rude, and simple, is nearly of the same age as St. Front; the E. bay, destroyed with the rest of the ch. by the Huguenots, 1577, was very carefully rebuilt 1615'. A view of the exterior of the *chevet* taken by Mestral in 1851 is reproduced in de Mondenard, *La Mission héliographique*, p. 255; for further photographs see Baum, *Romanesque*, p. IX &c., and also see Petit, *Architectural Studies*, p. 63. Scott illustrated the interior in his RA Lecture XVII (1873); Scott, *Lectures*, II, p. 273.

69 The tomb of Bishop Jean d'Asside by Constantine de Jarnac stands against the north wall of the nave.

70 Scott referred to an unfoliated capital at Tulle (Corrèze) in a later footnote to his RA Lecture III; Scott, *Lectures*, II, p. 123. Murray, *France* (1861), noted (p. 245): 'The Cathedral had a slice cut from it, in Revolutionary times, to make way for a public walk. The nave only remains, of granite, in a severe and early style of Gothic.' Scott made the journey from Périgueux to Clermont through Tulle by road, presumably in a diligence; he could have travelled from Angoulême to Périgueux by railway but on a roundabout route via the junction at Courtras.

71 The town Scott visited was Clermont-Ferrand (Puy-de-Dôme). Murray, *France* (1861), described it (p. 396) as 'a cheerful town, which, in consequence of improvements, has lost the gloomy character which once distinguished it, its houses, built of dull grey lava, being now whitewashed. Its principal interest is derived from its situation on a hill, composed chiefly of volcanic tuff, in the fertile Limagne, in the midst of mountainous country, at the foot of that extraordinary range of extinct volcanoes which rear their conic or crater-shaped forms around'.

72 See Baum, *Romanesque*, p. 83 &c. The Romanesque church of Notre Dame du Port was noticed by Petit, p. 129; Scott illustrated the interior in his RA Lecture XVII on domes (1873): Scott, *Lectures*, II, p. 276. Plates drawn by Viollet-le-Duc showing the church restored were published in vol. II of Gailhabaud, *Monuments Anciens et Modernes* (Paris, 1850). The minutes reproduced in Françoise Bercé, *Les premiers travaux de la Commission des Monuments Historiques, 1837-1848* (Paris, 1979), p. 173, record that in 1842 the Commission discussed restoration proposals for 'cet édifice excessivement intéressant' by Aymon Gilbert Mallay (1805-83), Architecte Diocésain for Clermont, Saint-Fleur and Puy since 1849: see Leniaud, *Les cathédrales*. Mallay had published an *Essai sur les Eglises Romanes et Romano-Byzantines du Département du Puy-de-Dôme* in 1838 and 1841 and then ruthlessly restored the cathedral at Le Puy after 1848; Réau, *Vandalisme*, II, p. 331, put him in his 'pilori des vandales' (along with Abadie, Viollet-le-Duc and Debret) for destroying murals and a Gothic chapel there. The documents quoted by Bercé suggest that having employed Mallay on several restorations, the Commission des Monuments Historiques did not hold him in high esteem and soon shunted him off to the Service des Édifices Diocésains.

73 St Paul at Issoire was discussed by Petit in *Architectural Studies*, pp. 127-29; the churches at both Issoire and S. Nectaire were photographed by Baldus in 1854 and are illustrated in Malcolm Daniel, *The Photographs of Édouard Baldus* (New York & Montreal, 1994), p. 39 & pl. 16.

74 Murray, *France* (1861), considered (p. 397) that the interior of the cathedral was 'all of a piece, presenting one harmonious whole, remarkable for its lightness and loftiness, the vaulted roof (of tufa) being more than 100 ft. above the pavement ... The painted glass is very beautiful'.

75 The high altar (without its enamels) was exhibited at the 1855 Paris Exposition Universelle, where this 'splendid altar by Bachelet from design by Viollet le Duc' was drawn by Scott in his sketchbook of 1855 at the RIBA (ScGGS[5]19): see Middleton, 'Viollet-le-Duc', p. 212. It superseded a project for the altar by Mallay and was installed in 1856; Leniaud, *Cathédrales*, pp. 419-30, considers that it was the first neo-Gothic piece to be placed in a French cathedral. An elevation drawing of the high altar is reproduced in Jean-Paul Midant, *Viollet-le-Duc. The French Gothic Revival* (Paris, 2002), p. 134.

76 The maintenance and repair of the cathedral was the responsibility of A. G. Mallay but presumably in a subordinate capacity under Viollet-le-Duc who was in overall charge after 1855 (see note 72 above). The cathedral at Clermont — which Murray, *France* (1861), thought (p. 397) 'externally an irregular pile of dark lugubrious hue, from the black lava of Volvic, of which it is built' — was incomplete when Scott saw it as only four bays of the nave had been built in the thirteenth century. It had suffered badly and was almost demolished during the Revolution. The west end was taken down after 1855 when Viollet-le-Duc was commissioned to lengthen the nave and build a new west front with twin towers and spires; work began in 1862 and was completed by his favourite pupil Anatole de Baudot (1834-1915): see Bruno Foucart et al., *Viollet-le-Duc* (Paris, 1980), pp. 186-87.

77 Now known as Mozac (Puy-de-Dôme); Murray, *France* (1870), noted (p. 434) that 'About a mile from Riom, on the W., is the village of Mosac, whose church has been attributed to Pepin', but Petit did not mention it. A. G. Mallay (see note 72 above) was asked to survey the church; Françoise Bercé, *Les premiers travaux*, p. 319, records minutes for 1844: 'L'édifice est intéressant, mais le projet de M. Mallay comprend une restauration complète, avec des additions que rien ne justifie, le projet doit être écarté.' In 1848 Mallay proposed restoration work to the crypt.

78 The Romanesque church of St Amable at Riom (Puy-de-Dôme) was restored by A. G. Mallay. The Ville de Riom kindly informs me that the Archives Départementales de Clermont-Ferrand hold drawings by Mallay dated 1851 showing the existing state of the church and the proposals for restoration which involved replacing the Classical west front as well as rebuilding the crossing tower and transepts. According to Petit, *Architectural Studies*, p. 129, St Amable, 'though much altered and modernized, retains some of its Auvergnese features'.

79 Murray, *France* (1870), noted (p. 434) 'The Sainte Chapelle, attached to a modern Palais de Justice, is, like that of Paris, a light and lofty lantern of stone, built 1382 ... St. Amable is a curious church, which will interest the architect and antiquary'.

80 The Grand Central Railway of the Chemin de Fer d'Orléans from Moulins to Clermont past Nevers had been open since 1855.

81 Pierre Paillard had replaced Jean Boivin as architect to Nevers Cathedral (Nièvre) in 1853 but his conduct of the work was criticised in 1856: see Leniaud, *Cathédrales*, p. 762. Murray, *France* (1861), noted (p. 375) in the cathedral of St Cyr 'in the S. transept a rich flamboyant doorway, leading to a fanciful spiral staircase, is a remarkable example of what Mr. Willis calls "interpenetration", or the running of several series of mouldings into one another; these complicated interlacings pervade not only the canopy of the arch, but even the pinnacles'; this was presumably too late in date for Scott to notice or admire.

82 Both Nevers Cathedral and St Etienne were discussed by Petit, *Architectural Studies*, pp. 125–26.

83 See Baum, *Romanesque*, p. 107 &c. Scott described the vaults in St Etienne in his RA Lecture XI (1868); Scott, *Lectures*, II, p. 89. The church had been restored by Pierre Paillard after 1853.

84 Murray, *France* (1861), p. 375: 'St. Sauveur, near the Loire, another Romanesque church, is turned into a brewhouse; St. Genest, an example of the transition into the Pointed style, is also desecrated into a brewery.'

85 Probably St Pierre at Varzy (Yonne). Scott had left Nevers in a diligence and travelled to Vézelay and on to Auxerre by road.

86 The church of St Martin, Clamecy (Nièvre).

87 The chapel was that of the former Bethlehem hospital founded in 1147; the 1861 edition of Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in France* did not mention Clamecy but the 1892, 18th edition, Part II, p. 395, noted: 'Inn: Boule d'Or, good. The 12th cent. Church of Bethlehem serves as a dining-room' — as it does today.

88 James Fergusson, *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture*, 2 vols (London, 1855), II, p. 65: 'the nave of Vézelay, which possesses all the originality of the Norman combined with the elegance of the Southern styles.' Scott was mistaken in describing the church as a 'cathedral.' In his RA Lectures he made surprisingly few references to Vézelay and did not mention the sculpture; he quoted Viollet-le-Duc on the Romanesque vaulting at Autun and Vézelay and may not have realised at the latter that the French architect had replaced three bays of Gothic vaults over the nave by new vaults in the earlier manner to achieve stylistic purity: see Murphy, *Vézelay*, p. 114 &c.

89 Scott presumably did not wish to imply that the external portal sculpture had been destroyed by Viollet-le-Duc, whose careful drawing of the existing west elevation in 1840 confirms that it had already disappeared. The restoration of the church of the Madeleine at Vézelay was his first important such commission and the rebuilding and replacement work was carried out between 1840 and 1859. The new external tympanum was by the sculptor Michel Pascal, who also made replicas of a number of damaged capitals: see *Viollet-le-Duc* (Paris, 1980), pp. 150–53; Murphy, *Vézelay*. Murray, *France* (1861), considered that (p. 366) 'This church has been well restored (1855) by the French government', but in the 1870, 18th edition, this had been amended to (p. 401): 'This ch., the finest of its class in France, was restored (1855) at the expense of the French Government, and has suffered greatly in the process of chiselling over the whole surface.' As with the account of St Front in this edition (see note 65 above), it would be interesting to know who was responsible for Murray's later more critical attitude to French restorations.

90 Murray, *France* (1861), p. 366: 'Chapter-house, a low vaulted chamber, its roof resting on 2 clumsy central piers in the Romanesque style' — in the 1870 edition the word 'clumsy' had been deleted. In his RA Lecture

VIII (1866), Scott, *Lectures*, II, p. 327, Scott begged his audience, 'if you go to Vézelay, to give plenty of time to the chapter-house, a truly exquisite work of the transitional period'.

91 Viollet-le-Duc rebuilt the cloister after 1850 and restored the chapter house in 1855: see Francis Salet, 'Viollet le Duc à Vézelay', in *Les Monuments Historiques de la France* (Janvier-Juin 1965), nos 1–2, pp. 33–42; and Murphy, *Vézelay*, pp. 123–26.

92 Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay (Yonne), where the church had been partly restored by Viollet-le-Duc between 1842 and 1849; his drawing of the west front in 1840 is reproduced in Midant, *Viollet-le-Duc*, p. 40. In 1846 Emile Amé replaced Comynet as Viollet's inspector for the restorations at Vézelay, Montréal and here. Murray, *France* (1861), quoted Petit on the church which had been photographed by Édouard Baldus in 1851: see de Mondenard, *La Mission héliographique*, p. 292. A photograph of the west front before restoration is in C. Brossard, *Géographie Pittoresque et Monumentale de la France: La France de l'Est* (Paris, 1902), p. 397. Petit, in his *Remarks on Church Architecture*, 2 vols (London, 1841), I, illustrated the exterior of this church as his frontispiece and the interior on p. 165.

93 A general view of Auxerre Cathedral from the west was taken by Baldus in 1851: see de Mondenard, *La Mission héliographique*, p. 289.

94 The cathedral of St-Etienne at Auxerre (Yonne) had been demoted to parish church status and seems to have escaped a major nineteenth-century restoration; C.-N. Ledoux's refurbishing of the choir and high altar of 1764–68 survives today. In 1844 the Commission des Monuments Historiques decided that nothing needed doing at the cathedral apart from a restoration of the crypt to protect the wall-paintings: see Françoise Bercé, *Les premiers travaux*, p. 286. In discussing the vandalism of the Huguenots at Auxerre in 1567, Ian Dunlop, in his guide to *Burgundy* (London, 1990), p. 113, quotes Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire*, VIII (1866), p. 175, on how the sculpture had been mutilated by children 'who, to this day, are allowed to do as they will although there are laws for the punishment of those who mutilate public buildings ... The fact that this vandalism is tolerated by the town's police does not prevent the same towns from having learned archaeological societies which preach readily against restorations which are not conducted to their liking. Would it not be more useful if they were to obtain from their magistrates a more attentive policing on the sites of these ceaseless mutilations of monuments which are unique and of the greatest value?', a gratuitous aside which suggests that by this date Viollet-le-Duc, along with Merimée, increasingly resented local opposition to official restoration policy.

95 The Romanesque work at the episcopal palace was photographed by Baldus in 1851: see de Mondenard, *La Mission héliographique*, p. 292.

96 In his RA Lecture III (1858), Scott, *Lectures*, I, p. 95, Scott confessed that 'I am ashamed to say I had not seen this noble church till a short tour I have made during the present winter 1858 ... I had unconsciously entertained a certain feeling of jealousy towards it, arising from the exaggerated opinions constantly expressed as to the entire dependence upon it of our Pointed style' He had rejoined the railway system at Auxerre, where a branch connected with the main line of the Chemin de Fer de Paris à Lyon et la Méditerranée through Fontainebleau and Sens which had opened as far as Tonnerre in 1849.

97 Scott's friend the Revd John Henry Parker (1806–84), antiquary and publisher, author of *An Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture* (Oxford & London, 1849 &c.): see footnote 37 above. The fire at Sens had been in 1184.

98 R.A. Lecture III (1858), Scott, *Lectures*, I, p. 96: 'the clerestory windows have, unfortunately, been renewed at a later age. It is generally stated that the whole of the vaulting was renewed with them: this, however, is incorrect; the only parts renewed were the side cells, which, as is proved by evidence I need not here go into, were round-arched, and came low in the clerestory wall, thus diminishing the height of the windows — a defect which led to their reconstruction'. Viollet-le-Duc referred to the vaulting at Sens in his *Dictionnaire*, IV (1859), p. 49. Robert Branner, in *Burgundian Gothic Architecture* (London, 1960), p. 181, would seem to confirm Scott's conclusion, writing that the lateral webs of the vault were raised in the 1230s when new clerestory windows were created.

99 The thirteenth-century Palais synodal was restored by Viollet-le-Duc between 1855 and 1866. He had surveyed the mutilated building in 1851 and delegated the supervision of the work to the architect Louis Frédéric Lefort, inspector for Sens with the Service des Édifices Diocésains since 1849; see *Viollet-le-Duc* (Paris, 1980), op. cit., pp. 66–71, for drawings and photographs of the building before and after the restoration; also see de Mondenard, *La Mission héliographique*, pp. 52, 53 and 75, for the photograph of the exterior taken by Édouard Baldus in 1851.

100 In volume VIII of his *Dictionnaire Raisonné* (1866), p. 76, Viollet-le-Duc claimed that 'Cette salle est aujourd'hui complètement restaurée, sous la direction de la Commission des monuments historiques ... Cette restauration a coûté 445000 fr. D'ailleurs, rien d'incertain ou d'hypothétique dans ce travail; car, pour les piliers, les voûtes hautes, il existe une grande quantité de fragments qui ont été conservées comme preuves, à l'appui de cette restauration.'

101 The restoration of Sens Cathedral was being conducted by Adolphe-Étienne Lance (1813–74), a pupil of Visconti and of Blouet, who had been appointed diocesan architect responsible for Sens in 1854 and whose demolition of the fourteenth-century side chapels at the end of 1862 was criticised in 1864 by Léon Lagrange and by the Société Archéologique de Sens; Lance responded that he enjoyed the 'complete support and approval of a master whose archaeological knowledge, discerning taste and careful craftsmanship can scarcely be denied, namely Viollet-le-Duc', who, in his *Dictionnaire raisonné*, II (1854), p. 348, had published a hypothetical original plan of the cathedral without side chapels: see Denslagen, *Architectural restoration*, p. 118; Leniaud, *Viollet-le-Duc*, p. 82.

102 St Denis Abbey church had been under restoration by Viollet-le-Duc since 1851 with A.-E. Lance as clerk of works 1850–54 (see note 101 above); the external work was begun in 1860. *Galignani's New Paris Guide for 1861* (Paris, 1861), pp. 538–40, noted for St Denis that 'at present the floor is being lowered, a vault constructed for the Imperial dynasty, and a monument erected to Napoleon I ... In consequence of the repairs now in progress, many parts of the church ... are not now open to the public'.

103 In his published RA Lecture III (1858), Scott, *Lectures*, I, p. 77, Scott noted that Suger 'had rebuilt the nave of his church, and also the west front, as it existed previously to the wretched restorations which have rendered nearly worthless the most valuable landmark in the history of the transition'. The abbey church of St Denis had been in the disastrous care of the classical architect François Debret (1777–1850), a pupil of Percier, from 1813 until his dismissal in 1846: see note 105 below.

104 Scott discussed the capitals and sculpture on the north transept doorway in his RA Lecture III (1858); Scott, *Lectures*, I, pp. 80 and 319.

105 Under Debret's restoration, in 1839, over an inch of stone was cut from the west front. In 1845 the north-west tower, rebuilt by Debret in 1838 after the spire was struck by lightning and taken down, began to collapse as the new structure was too heavy and it had to be demolished (Viollet-le-Duc's project to rebuild it was cancelled by the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 and, surprisingly, it has not been reconstructed since); Debret was dismissed (but made a member of the Conseil Général des Bâtiments Civils) and succeeded by Viollet-le-Duc: see Réau, *Vandalisme*, II, pp. 107–09; Jean-Michel Leniaud, 'Une simple querelle de clocher? Viollet-le-Duc à Saint-Denis (1846)', *Revue de l'art*, no. 101 (1993), pp. 17–28; Jean-Michel Leniaud, *Saint-Denis de 1760 à nos jours* (Paris, 1996), pp. 168–69; Middleton & Watkin, *Neoclassical and 19th Century Architecture*, p. 358.

106 St Pierre de Montmartre, which was illustrated in vol. I of the elder Pugin's *Paris and its Environs* (London, 1831), would soon be restored. Scott mentioned the 'Byzantine foliage' here in his RA Lecture VIII (1866); Scott, *Lectures*, I, p. 320.

107 Scott illustrated the interior of the choir in his RA Lecture VIII (1866); Scott, *Lectures*, I, on pp. 321, 322 and 323: 'The church is little known, but is well worthy of attention. It shows how mistaken is the idea that the Early French style is not suited to small buildings.' On p. 97 he noted how 'It is curious to observe precisely the same art as in the eastern part of Notre Dame exhibited in the tiny, but exquisite choir, close by, of St Julien le Pauvre' — just across the Pont au Double from the Ile de la Cité. *Galignani's New Paris Guide* (1861) noted in the entry for the Hôtel Dieu that 'In the adjoining court is a venerable and interesting chapel, built in the thirteenth-century, and once known as the church of St Julien le Pauvre ... The public are admitted on Thursdays and Sundays, from 1 to 3; strangers with passports daily, on application at the bureau'.

108 The restoration of Notre-Dame, begun in 1845, had been conducted by Viollet-le-Duc alone since the death of his collaborator J.-B.-A. Lassus in 1857; the portal statuary was all replaced by 1864. In his RA Lecture VIII (1866), Scott, *Lectures*, I, p. 322, Scott referred to 'The transepts, now sadly over restored'.