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GOTHIC

Matthew M. Reeve

As we progress through the first decades of the twenty-first century, the term "Gothic" is still very much with us. It is, in the words of one recent commentator, "public property."[1] Although we seldom acknowledge it within medievalist art history, "Gothic" has a remarkable range of potential significations from ethnicity, fashion, art, music, and literature to a style of architecture employed in Europe from the twelfth century and in North America, Australia, and elsewhere from the nineteenth century. The *Oxford English Dictionary* provides a broad, and refreshingly non–art historical, definition. First, Gothic is concerned with "the Goths or their language" (*OED*, s.v. "Gothic," A.1.a), thus referencing the myth of the Goths as the northern destroyers of Rome's classical architecture, which is expanded in a further definition: "expressed by 'Teutonic' or 'Germanic'," much of which is frequently used with reprobation to signify "the dark ages" (A.2, 3a). Most useful in the context of art and architecture, the Gothic is an allusion to or characteristic of the Middle Ages, or, more obliquely, the "mediæval" or "romantic," both of which are positioned as opposites to the classical (A.3a). Finally, Gothic signifies "[a] term for the style of architecture prevalent in Western Europe from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, of which the chief characteristic is the pointed arch" (A.3b).

Given the diverse meanings of the term, that "Gothic" is still used as a term to describe the art of the medieval world in art historical discourse is worthy of special comment. It is a cliché of all survey texts and undergraduate classes to recognize that the word "Gothic" had no currency whatever in the period for which we most often employ it, namely the High and Later Middle Ages. Rather, in the words of Madeline Caviness, "Gothic is quintessentially [a] . . . modern construct": it is a label imposed on the Middle Ages from the Renaissance to the present, originally as a pejorative.[2] As such, Gothic is, then as now, a "medievalizing" term employed not only to describe a style of architecture (or occasionally a society, as John Harvey and others would have it[3]) but also to articulate a perceived aesthetic, intellectual, and artistic chasm between the period in which the word is employed and the medieval past. In this sense Gothic is less suggestive of the nature of the Middle Ages itself than it is of the culture's perceived temporal and ideological distance from it.

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As "public property" or, less colloquially, as a dominant mythology of modern culture, "Gothic" has been reimagined by each generation. Referencing both temporal and formal referents, the term has proven to be remarkably elastic and capable of assuming a range of meanings specific to the political, aesthetic, and intellectual contexts of a particular period. Our current approach to the Gothic within medievalist art history is premised as much on discourses within the academy as upon broader discourses outside of it.[4] Willibald Sauerländer, for example, usefully outlined historiographical shifts in constructions of the Gothic that were in accord with fundamental changes in spirituality in the Western world during the course of the twentieth century[5]; to illustrate this point, we might contrast Paul Frankl's mystical vision of the Gothic as a plastic manifestation of the personality of Jesus Christ (1962) with more recent appraisals of the Gothic as an architectural mode consonant with specific modes of allegorical exegesis.[6] Current appraisals of the Gothic—and particularly the Gothic cathedral as a holistic enterprise—are also couched in contemporary historicisms. Our appreciation of the fragmentary physical evidence offered by the buildings themselves, coupled with our own postmodern historical subjectivity, no longer permits utopian visions of the Gothic characteristic of an earlier generation of scholars. To quote Sauerländer (1995): "There is no way back to the *real* Gothic cathedral, to the *real* twelfth-century audience, to any kind of medieval wholeness, if ever such a thing existed."[7] Our "way back" to the Gothic is now, at least in part, a digital journey: not only are thousands of digital images of Gothic buildings readily available but recent experiments with digital recording and imaging have allowed us to create three-dimensional models of Gothic buildings, enabling viewers to "walk through" digital simulations from their own computers.[8] These simulacra now represent the Gothic to students, much as the molding profiles and cross sections of A. W. N. Pugin or Eugène Viollet-le-Duc did for students in the nineteenth century.[9] These technologies create a form of virtual tourism, allowing the Gothic to enter fully into the postmodern perceptual arena of simulacra and simulation.[10]

Indebted to developments of twentieth-century historiography in general, one recent strand of our thinking about the Gothic has been to question its very validity in architectural discourse and to replace it with a less weighty and prejudicial label. In an important series of papers Marvin Trachtenberg has suggested "medieval modernism" as an apt replacement for "Gothic." Modernism could be understood to reflect the shift from the historicist architecture of the Romanesque—based on the architectural languages of antiquity—to the overtly progressive or modernist architecture we call Gothic.[11] This perspective is exceptionally valuable in challenging such totalizing and diachronic systems of stylistic classification with a different forensic that analyzes architectural form for its temporal referentiality—that is, whether its form acknowledges past precedent or

whether it is self-consciously novel or modern. Significantly, this system allows for consideration of retrospective and progressive forms across a style or within a single structure. Although based in earlier discourses—particularly the writings of Jean Bony—Trachtenberg's thesis has justifiably inspired much commentary.[12] Necessarily working within parameters of formal analysis, his argument is apt for interdisciplinary contextualization and qualification. Cultural historians have long noted that the shift from a retrospective to a "modern" or progressive approach to spirituality and reform was a central narrative of religious thought during the middle years of the twelfth century, the same years that gave birth to the Gothic.[13] Reformers no longer premised their spiritual agendas on an atavistic return to the purity of the early church (a central idea informing the Romanesque) but legislated for change in the present, calling themselves the *moderni*. It is not a coincidence that *moderni* was a label self-consciously adopted by many of the erudite churchmen of the period—such as Alexander Neckham, Robert Grosseteste, and Thomas Aquinas—and that *opus modernum* was used to describe the religious architecture they inhabited. I have argued elsewhere that modernity was central to the construction of what has been considered the flagship of thirteenth-century religious reform: Salisbury Cathedral (1220–58). Salisbury's overtly modernist spiritual agenda was announced in a range of cultural productions, including its liturgy, imagery, and architecture, which is famously devoid of any antique allusions, something surely indicated in a contemporary poem that describes the building as "a wonder of novelty!" (O rerum novitas!).[14] Much work remains to be done to assess the significance of "medieval modernism" as a label for the Gothic in general, but Trachtenberg's terminology does open the door to an appraisal of later medieval architecture and architectural culture outside of the overtly prejudicial and potentially misleading rubrics of "Gothic."

A further strand of our appraisals of the Gothic, and other style labels such as Romanesque, has been to explore their myriad meanings through study of their historiography.[15] As Michael Camille has recently reminded us, the nineteenth century was a crucial period in the formation of contemporary conceptions of "medieval" and particularly "Gothic."[16] In the writings of its loquacious nineteenth-century mythmakers A. W. N. Pugin, John Ruskin, Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, and others, "Gothic" came to signify a style of religious architecture from a reimagined "middle age" which stood as an ideological, spiritual, and temporal other to a debased modern present. This is nowhere more obvious than in A. W. N. Pugin's *Contrasts*, in which he satirically juxtaposes modern, industrial society—a Gotham-esque dystopia of industry and class-based oppression—with the political, social, and artistic freedom of the High Middle Ages[17] (Fig. 1). For these men, the Gothic was marshaled as a form of political activism in the religious revivals of the nineteenth century, as, for example, in the publication and translation of William Durandus's thirteenth-century

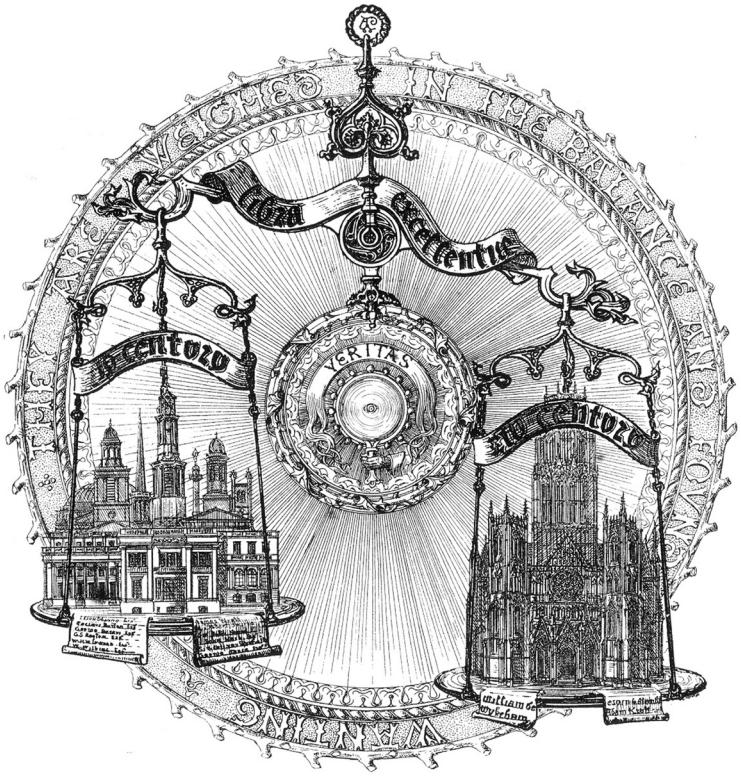

Fig. 1. "They weighed in the balance and found wanting." (Photo: Taken from A. W. N. Pugin, *Contrasts; or a Parallel between the Architecture of the 15th & 19th Centuries*, London 1841.)

liturgical commentary, the *Rationale Divinorum*, by the Cambridge Ecclesiological Society for the use of contemporary architects and churchmen.[18]

This, of course, is well known, but what has not been satisfactorily understood is that this moment of "Gothic's" formation into an overtly religious and architectural term was also a moment of self-conscious reframing and revision, if not an overt censorship of preexisting discourses. From ca. 1600 to 1800 "Gothic" enjoyed a popular currency in European culture, when it was employed rhetorically as an other to hegemonic authority, whether political, sexual, or architectural. In what follows, I will focus on discourses on the Gothic in England between ca. 1600 and 1800, and I will briefly comment on the recurring themes of politics, nature, and sexuality. This paper is not offered in the hope of resurrecting new meanings out of the Gothic of the Middle Ages (although some readers might find examples of this); rather, it is offered as a historiographical enterprise in its own right, which necessarily sheds light upon the reformation of the Gothic during the nineteenth century, an interpretation which we have inherited.

Like the history of art itself, the Gothic was born in the humanist circles of Renaissance Italy where it was imagined as a necessary temporal, aesthetic, and ethnic construct to connect the art and learning of antiquity with that of its revival in the Renaissance through a newly imagined "middle" age. Giorgio Vasari provided what remains both the most influential but also most misunderstood account of the Gothic in his *Lives of the Artists* (1550, 1568), referring to it as the *maniera tedesca*. Following Vasari's lead, the Gothic was understood as the product of the Goths—the northern barbarians that had apparently been responsible for the destruction of much classical architecture and its replacement with a sub- or anticlassical mode of building. As Anne-Marie Sankovitch has shown, however, Vasari's Gothic is less a *style* (defined as series of formal characteristics fixed to a temporal period) than a *mode* of design that was formally divergent from the doctrinaire, ascetic classicism of antique architects and later practitioners, such as Brunelleschi.[19] For these reasons, the *maniera tedesca* frequently appears in Vasari's *Lives* and not always in connection to what we now consider "Gothic" buildings. Vasari's construction of the Gothic was to a large extent rhetorical, and thus may not, in this sense at least, deserve the formative position it has enjoyed in the historiography of the Gothic.[20] As Ernst Gombrich pointed out, Vasari's description was itself dependent upon earlier texts—namely, Vitruvius's famous description of Roman wall painting—which provides Vasari the idea that irrational forms (such as vegetation and reeds) are unable to support *real* architecture, a fiction or conceit that runs counter to Vitruvian aesthetics.[21] More straightforward, if perhaps less influential, was one of Vasari's sources—Raphael's ca. 1519 letter to Pope Leo X, which described the antiquities of Rome.[22] Raphael, following Vitruvius, famously considered Gothic (or "German") architecture to be a skeuomorphic architecture based originally in the forms of the forest, with branches bent and tied together to create vaults. For Raphael, the Gothic and antique modes were "diametrically opposed extremes": the classical being erected on the foundations of theory and geometry, and the Gothic based upon the wild, untamed architecture of the forest that was employed for primitive dwellings by barbarian builders, naturally without theoretical premise.

These discourses, however discordant they may be with our own perceptions of the Gothic, framed conceptions of the Gothic in England for two hundred years. While "Gothic" likely existed previously in verbal exchanges, the earliest textual reference to the Gothic in England appears to be Henry Wotton's *The Elements of Architecture* (1624). Written after having recently returned from Italy, Wotton's characterization of "sharpe angle" Gothic arches as "barbarous" suggests his familiarity with Vasari's and perhaps Raphael's texts.[23] A complete study of the uses of "Gothic" in seventeenth-century architectural discourse has yet to be conducted, but we may point to John Aubrey's ca. 1670 commentary on Roman

architecture, which had degenerated "into what we call Gothick with the inundation of the Goths . . . this barbarous fashion continued till Henry 7th of England."[24] Some twenty years later Roger North summarized the Gothic thus: "In the whole the Gothick manner looks great at first, and the more you are acquainted with it the more you despise it . . . [it is] a mode introduced by a barbarous sort of people that first distrest then dissolved the Roman Empire."[25]

"Gothic" was employed equally in the political and architectural discourse of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England. In his influential book on the subject, Samuel Kliger shows that the "revival" of Gothic in the seventeenth century was manifest particularly in discussions of England's constitution: seeking to counter monarchical absolutism, politicians and antiquarians ransacked "ancient records" such as Tacitus, Augustine, Salvian, Jordanes, etc., to excavate an "ancient Gothic constitution" of the English.[26] This text, apparently composed by the supposed Germanic sackers of Rome who went on to populate England (the "Goths"), bore an imprint of the Gothic character: the northern lands gave the Goths vigor, hardiness, and liberty, which stood in contrast to the lazy, supine nature of the southerners (Romans) who, because of their warmer climate, were inherently susceptible to overlordship by despots. The debate about the Gothic as an ancient and indigenous mode versus a foreign, antique mode had significant connotations for architecture.

The elision of the Gothic with an ancient and revered constitution was in fact manifest in much architectural criticism in the eighteenth century. In a letter in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1739, for example, an author, in the midst of a rant on the "impure mixture" of opposite extremes in design (Gothic and Classical), opines:

> "Methinks there was something respectable in those old hospitable *Gothick* halls, hung round with the Helmets, Breast-Plates, and Swords of our Ancestors; I entered them with a Constitutional Sort of Reverence, and look'd upon those Arms with Gratitude, as the Terror of former Ministers, and the Check of Kings. . . . Our Old Gothick Constitution had a noble Strength and simplicity in it, which was well enough represented by those bold Arches, and the solid Pillars of the Edifices of those Old days."[27]

The extent to which the "Gothick constitution" influenced the practice of designing and building architecture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has recently been doubted, and emphasis has instead been placed upon the construction of ancestry and dynasty through the use of an anachronistic style.[28] Yet there is good evidence that for some patrons of the Gothic a political message was intended; the locus classicus for this connection is Lord Cobham's Gothic Temple of Liberty at Stowe (Fig. 2). It was built in the midst of a fierce political debate between the Whigs and the Tories in the mid 1730s, in which Cobham and the Whigs opposed

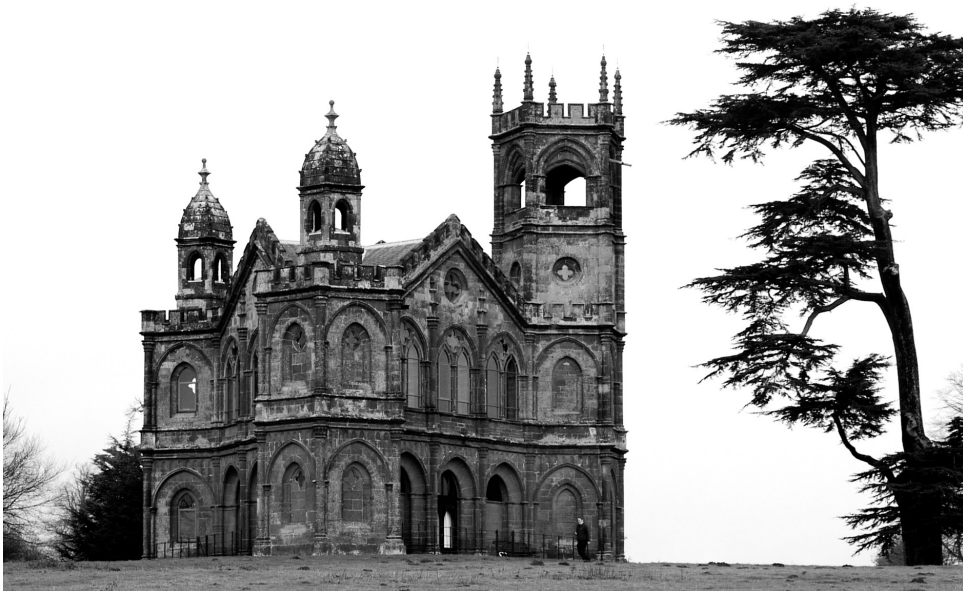

Fig. 2. The Temple of Liberty at Stowe. (Photo: Jonathan Foyle.)

Robert Walpole's position as "prime" minister and his sacrificing of England's interests to Hanover. Conceived as an architectural response to this crisis, the Temple of Liberty employed the Gothic because of its current political connotations, which for Cobham embodied freedom and the maintenance of the ancient "Gothick" constitution. Dedicated "To the Liberty of our Ancestors," the temple's ceiling bore the painted blazons of Cobham's Saxon ancestors, around which were placed the Saxon deities. Upon entering the Temple, one read the fitting phrase, "Je rends grace aux Dieux de nester pas Romain" (I thank the Gods I am not a Roman).[29]

Given the enthusiasm for all things antique characteristic of Early Modern and Enlightenment England, proponents of Gothic architecture faced a basic but fundamental problem: the Gothic lacked a rigorous theoretical basis in discourses on architecture, and for this reason it was considered inherently inferior to the Classical, which drew on a rich theoretical heritage leading back to Vitruvius. The lack of a theoretical grounding did, however, lend the Gothic tremendous mobility, such that its meanings as a style could morph to accommodate a wide range of ideas. Classicism was ultimately validated as a style of nature, which adhered to fixed, geometric, utopian principles of design. For the moralist Lord Shaftesbury, for instance, symmetry and harmony were not only the guiding forces of good art in the antique mode but, by extension, the very foundations of human nature and morality, all of which stood in contrast to the barbarousness and disorder of the Gothic.[30] Within this construct, the Gothic erred by being profoundly "unnatural" (or anticlassical) in its complex ornamental language, characterized by

Christopher Wren as "crinckle-crankle" and having "expressive carving, and lamentable imagery," which decisively reversed the formal values of classicism.[31]

Proponents of the Gothic necessarily confronted the construction of Gothic as an "unnatural" style. Eighteenth-century theoretical writings saw the gradual reversal of the polarities classical equals nature and gothic equals the unnatural, a narrative that is now subsumed within broader discussions of romanticism and the picturesque.[32] Some early interventions were historiographical: in his *Itinerarium Curiosum* (1724), for example, William Stukeley praised the fan-vaulted cloister of Gloucester Cathedral as an architecture based upon the canopies of the forest.[33] The construction of Gothic-as-nature appears to have resonated with Stukeley. He built a temple of Flora at his garden in Stamford as a kind of greenhouse. "The work is gothic that suits the place best," he wrote to his friend Samuel Gale; he admits, "[t]he building is theatrical," thus describing the assemblage of Gothic ornament, medieval stained glass, and "bustos" that were taken from local churches.[34]

The construction of Gothic as a style of nature quickly entered architectural theory. James Hall's *Essay on the Origin and Principles of Gothic Architecture* (1797) attempted to establish a sound theoretical premise for the Gothic by locating its forms—arches, columns, vaults, and cusps—in the forms of trees. Hall aimed to show how all aspects of the Gothic as a stone-built architecture were in fact skeuomorphs of a rustic architecture based on the use of trees, branches, and wicker. For Hall, what is now called curvilinear decorated tracery is simply a stone version of bound sticks that have frayed into cusps within the space of the window (Fig 3). Although he does not appear to have known Raphael's text on the subject (it was not published until 1733), much less the lengthy medieval discourse on organic metaphors in medieval architecture,[35] Hall nevertheless considers the vault to be a natural result of intersecting branches bound together to form a canopy. In order to prove this thesis on the origins of Gothic in nature, in 1792 Hall erected a monumental "willow cathedral" in his own garden (Fig. 4). This experiment must rank among the most eccentric episodes in the history of architecture: by 1796 the willow cathedral had taken root, such that the entire structure became a living architectural folly in Hall's garden, the final "proof" of Gothic's natural origins.

The reintroduction of the Gothic as a mode of design was attacked by conservative critics, who elided the Gothic as a "new" architectural style with other fundamental changes in eighteenth-century society, changes which, within their critical lens, registered as degenerations of social order.[36] The new style of the Rococo, which frequently synthesized the Gothic with chinoiserie, was shaped by new codifications of class, political persuasion, gender, and sexuality.[37] As Randolph Trumbach has shown, the years around 1700 saw the origins of a new sexual mode for men that is similar to what is now termed "homosexuality."[38] Characterized by its intersexual status—existing as a third sex between male and female—

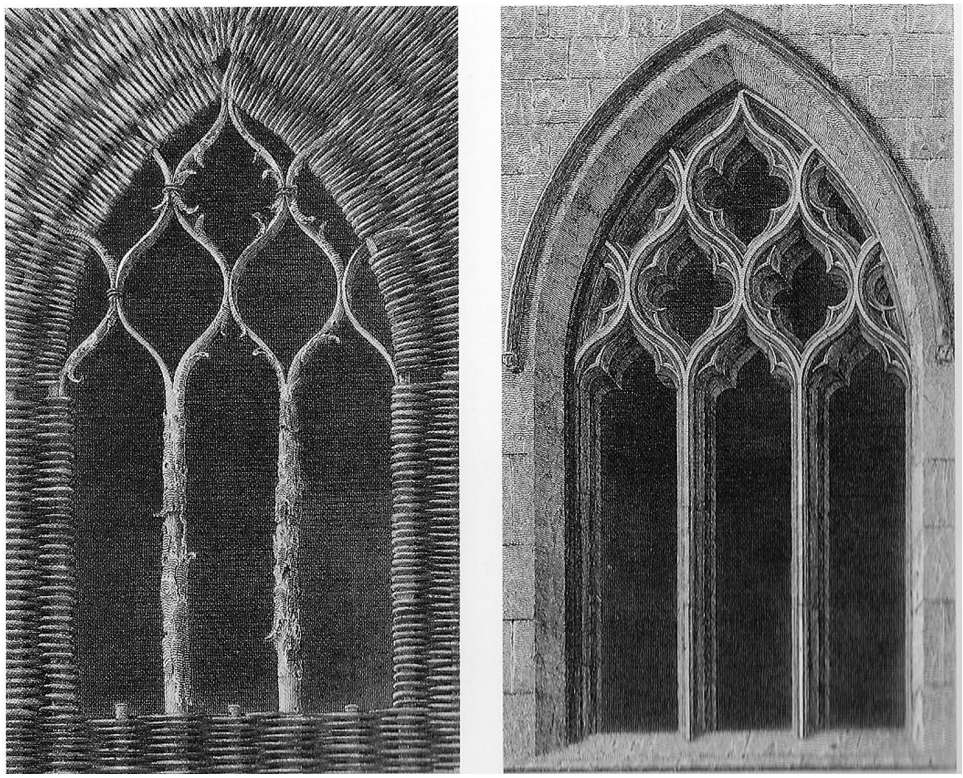

Fig. 3. Demonstration of the origins of Gothic tracery. (Photo: Taken from James Hall, *Essay on the Origins and Principles of Gothic Architecture*, Edinburgh 1797.)

homosexuality was the subject of new discourses of alterity and vilification, which were intimately connected to the Gothic. Based ultimately on Vitruvius, the relationship of architecture to the human body (and thus human sexuality) was well established in writings on architecture in the early modern period, in which buildings were understood as analogues of the human body and were therefore interpreted within common conceptions of decorum.[39] The new enthusiasm for the Gothic demanded that it become assimilated into these discourses, in which it was frequently used a polar opposite to the classical: as the classical was considered by Inigo Jones and others to be "masculine and unaffected," the Gothic was frequently considered a female or an effeminized architecture.[40]

In 1753, writing a trenchant attack on the Gothic in *The World*, an author complains of the "disgrace" of the new Gothic villas around London: "in front of the same plan [of the "barbarous" Gothic villa] we find a Grecian plan adulterated and defiled by the unnatural and impure mixture of Gothic whimsies." He continues, citing Horace's well-known description of a siren from the *Ars Poetica*: "Definit in piscem mulier Formosa Superne," which he renders, "A woman, beautiful above,

Fig. 4. "The Willow Cathedral." (Taken from James Hall, *Essay on the Origins and Principles of Gothic Architecture*, Edinburgh 1797.)

has a fish's tail."[41] Our author here describes a neoclassical groundplan or building type that had been "Gothicized," presumably with crenellations, ogee-headed windows, pinnacles, and other forms current in Gothic design. The addition of "new" Gothic ornament debased the natural purity of the frame of the Classical building through a mixture of styles. Following his Horatian allusion, the building becomes a corruption of natural form because it has been defiled by the unnatural coexistence of two opposite modes or tendencies, resulting in hybridity.

This description is of interest because its content is directly comparable to contemporary descriptions of the body, and, particularly, the relatively new category of the queer or third sex body in the eighteenth century (see also Karl Whittington's essay in this volume). Valuable evidence comes from William Guthrie's 1764 *Reply to the Counter Address*, in which he famously outed Horace Walpole and accused him of having an affair with his cousin, Lord Conway.[42] That Walpole was the subject of this critique is significant: he was a theorist and patron of the Gothic at Strawberry Hill, and he was also responsible for invigorating a tradition of Gothic fiction with his 1764 *The Castle of Otranto*, both of which were conceived within Walpole's own queer perspective on the medieval past.[43] In an attack on Walpole's body, manners, and writing style, Guthrie emphasizes Walpole's possession of both female and male attributes, although he was neither gender. He

was "by nature maleish, by disposition female, so halting between the two that it would very much puzzle a common observer to assign to him his true sex." Guthrie compares Walpole with another unnatural mixture: a hermaphrodite horse that was recently displayed in London, which, because of its possession of male and female characteristics, was, like Walpole, "the greatest curiosity ever seen."[44] The language of Guthrie's critique was not unique. Joseph Addison also uses the term "hermaphrodite" to describe female "cross-dressing" in *The Spectator* (1711–12). Addison likewise drew on a classical allusion in characterizing his subjects as "hermaphrodites"—in this case the canonical text of sexual transformation, the Myth of Hermaphroditus and Salmacis in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (IV.378)—which Addison renders, "Both bodies in a single body mix, / A single body with a double sex."[45]

A common language was used in the period to describe Gothic buildings and the queer body: an effeminate Gothic dress on a classical frame adulterates and defiles it; and the feminine disposition of a man likewise nullifies the body's "natural" male form. The corruptions introduced by the Gothic or by effeminacy were compared metaphorically with hybrid or hermaphrodite monsters. In comparing Horace Walpole's body to a hermaphrodite horse, Guthrie was referencing a much-employed formula for the categorization of queer bodies in a separate, intersexual, third class of "hermaphrodites" distinct from "male" or "female."[46] In the contexts of these critiques of the Gothic and of homosexuality, the hermaphrodite queer body and the hermaphrodite Gothic building both become pictured as hybrids: literally a third type, which, in architectural terms, was neither ancient nor medieval but Gothic(k). Gothic architecture thus becomes employed as a cipher for describing the human body, and it is interpreted as part of a broader debate about sexuality and propriety during the eighteenth century.

What does this brief exegesis on the historiography of the Gothic bring to bear on our understanding of the Gothic in general? To pursue an archaeological approach, by excavating the chronological layers of text to get down to the "real" meaning of the Gothic in the Middle Ages, would be to structure a teleology consistent with the developmental, biomorphic patterns of art history, and thereby to misunderstand the nonlinear, morphological nature of "Gothic." It bears restating that "Gothic" is not a term grounded in the Middle Ages at all but is a modern construct based in subjective and culturally/temporally specific medievalisms. Although we often enough read opinions insisting on some original idea of the Gothic in the Middle Ages, this is in itself best understood as a form of medievalism fostered within the academy (see also William Diebold's paper in this volume). In this sense "Gothic" belongs as much to the history of art as to the history of ideas, and the word's history is better understood in the terms of nonevolutionary models explored by Aby Warburg and Didi-Huberman, among others.[47] It is fitting to conclude with the words of literary theorist John Fletcher, who usefully

encapsulates the historiographical poetics of the Gothic thus: "the Gothic becomes the discourse of modernity about its own pre-history, about the archaic that has been surpassed for modernity to be put in place. It is in that very movement . . . that the Gothic has potentially become the repository of whatever is felt to have been lost in the advance of civilization and Enlightenment."[48]

NOTES

1. Eric Fernie, "Medieval Modernism and the Origins of Gothic," in *Reading Gothic Architecture*, ed. Matthew M. Reeve (Turnhout and New York: Brepols, 2008), 11–23, at 11.

2. Madeline Caviness, "Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings: A Post-Modern Construct?" in *Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings*, ed. Virginia C. Raguin, Kathryn Brush, and Peter Draper, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 249–61, at 255.

3. John H. Harvey, *The Gothic World 1100–1600* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1950).

4. Stephen Murray, "The Study of Gothic Architecture," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 382–402.

5. Willibald Sauerländer, "Integration: A Closed or Open Proposal?" in Raguin, Brush, and Draper, *Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings*, 3–18.

6. Paul Frankl, *Gothic Architecture*, rev. ed., ed. Paul Crossley (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001); Paul Binski, *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England, 1170–1300* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004); Margot Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

7. Sauerländer, "Integration," 9. See, subsequently, Paul Crossley, "The Integrated Cathedral: Thoughts on Holism and Gothic Architecture," in *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honor of Madeline Caviness*, ed. Evelyn Staudinger Lane, Elizabeth Carson Pastan, and Ellen M. Shortell (Farnham, UK; and Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2009), 157–73.

8. Harnessing many of the current technologies available for reproducing Gothic architecture is the Mapping Gothic France project, http://www.mappinggothicfrance.org/.

9. Michael T. Davis, "'Ci poes vos veir': Technologies of Representation from Drawing to Digital," in *New Approaches to Medieval Architecture*, ed. Rob Bork, William W. Clark, and Abby McGehee (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011), 219–34.

10. Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, trans. S. F. Glaser (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994).

11. Marvin Trachtenberg: "Gothic/Italian 'Gothic': Toward a Redefinition," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 50 (1991): 22–37; "Suger's Miracles, Branner's Bourges: Reflections on Gothic Architecture as Medieval Modernism," *Gesta* 39, no. 2 (2000): 183–205; and "Desedimenting Time: Gothic Column/Paradigm Shifter," *RES* 40 (2001): 5–27.

12. For reactions to Trachtenberg's thesis, see Fernie, "Medieval Modernism," and Caroline Bruzelius, "A Rose by Any Other Name: The 'Not Gothic Enough' Architecture of Italy (Again)," in Reeve, *Reading Gothic Architecture*, 93–110. See also Jean Bony, *French Gothic Architecture of the 12th and 13th Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983); and Willibald Sauerländer, "Mod Gothic," review of *French Gothic Architecture of the 12th and 13th Centuries*, by Jean Bony, *The New York Review of Books*, November 8, 1984.

13. For example, Beryl Smalley, "Ecclesiastical Attitudes to Novelty c. 1100–1250," *Studies in Church History* 12 (1975): 113–31; Gerhard Ladner, *The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959); Giles Constable, "Renewal and Reform in Religious Life: Concepts and Realities," in *Renaissance*

and Renewal in the Twelfth Century, ed. Robert L. Benson et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 37–67.

14. Matthew M. Reeve, *Thirteenth-Century Wall Painting of Salisbury Cathedral: Art, Liturgy and Reform* (Woodbridge, UK; and Rochester, NY: Boydell and Brewer, 2008).

15. See, inter alia, Paul Crossley, introduction to Paul Frankl, *Gothic Architecture*, 7–31; Linda Seidel, "Rethinking 'Romanesque', Re-engaging Roman[z]," *Gesta* 45, no. 2 (2006): 109–24; Willibald Sauerländer, "Romanesque Art 2000: A Worn Out Notion?" in *Romanesque: Art and Thought in the Twelfth Century; Essays in Honor of Walter Cahn*, ed. Colum Hourihane (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 40–56; Alyce Jordan and Janet Marquardt, eds., *Medieval Art and Architecture after the Middle Ages* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2009); Colum Hourihane, ed., *Gothic Art and Thought in the Later Medieval Period: Essays in Honor of Willibald Sauerländer* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011). Of course this work stands on tall shoulders, such as Paul Frankl, *The Gothic: Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1960).

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24. Howard Colvin, "Aubrey's *Chronologia Architectonica*," in *Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing Presented to Nikolaus Pevsner* (London: Allen Lane, 1968), 4. Also significant in these years is Sir Christopher Wren's 1668 account of Salisbury Cathedral, reprinted in Lydia M. Soo, *Wren's "Tracts" on Architecture and Other Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 61–78.

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27. Anon., letter to the editor *Gentleman's Magazine* LX, 1739, pp. 641.

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31. For Wren's critique, see Richard Jenkyns, *Westminster Abbey* (London: Profile Books, 2004): 67–68.

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