

THE DEVELOPMENT
OF THE

Italian Schools of Painting

BY

RAIMOND VAN MARLE

Doctor of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Paris

 Springer

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THE LORD

From Cavallini's Last Judgment in Sta. Cecilia, Rome.

Photo Alinari.

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PREFACE.

The more I study the history of Italian painting, the more I admire the work of CROWE and CAVALCASELLE, who, in their scientific treatise of the whole art, succeeded in making an enormous advance on works like those of LANZI and ROSINI, and did so without any of the innumerable facilities which are now at our disposal, such as special studies of the different schools, critical editions of authors like Ghiberti and Vasari, and an abundance of documents published since their time, and, best of all, the photographs which now exist of practically every painting worth taking into consideration: for it is well known that CAVALCASELLE had to make sketches of the works of art which he wished to study or compare.

Although their history of Italian painting is wonderful for the period in which it was written, the claim that nowadays we can improve on it need not be considered presumptuous. It is true, that an attempt has been made to bring CROWE and CAVALCASELLE up to date by the addition of annotations by modern critics, but such a scheme has many drawbacks, for the fact that the general aspect of the whole problem has changed seems to me of more importance than the absence of these recently added details. No doubt can exist that at the present moment we have a clearer insight into many things, numerous gaps have been filled in, and the evolution of painting from the early Christian period until our own day, although many problems must still be left unsolved, may be conceived as an uninterrupted movement. It is this that I regard as the great achievement of modern research, which has led me to choose, as the title of my work, "The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting."

I shall therefore endeavour to demonstrate the building-up of what we are used to call Renaissance painting, out of the earliest manifestations of Christian art, passing through those schools which have been termed *primitive* — but which on account of the somewhat depreciative meaning of the word I should prefer to

call *archaic* — and which, as a whole, have been rather neglected by most of my predecessors.

Until recently all painting previous to the 15th century was looked upon as interesting merely from an historical, and not in any way from an aesthetic standpoint, and the qualities of Trecento painting — except the achievements of its most important figures — have only lately been understood, and even yet have not been sufficiently studied as one progressive development.

The least known of all is the Italian painting of the Middle Ages: that is, from the decadence of the antique tradition until the end of the 13th century. One of the few books on this period, dealing, however, only with an important section of it, viz., painting in Rome, I myself published a short time ago. I found the courage which I required for this enterprise in the fact that I had studied Byzantine art more extensively than most of those who have written on the history of Italian painting, the comprehension of which is the stepping-stone to our knowledge of early Italian art, and this for two reasons.

Firstly, because the Italian art of the Middle Ages borrowed a great deal from the Byzantine style, and secondly, because practically all early Italian painting executed before the end of the 13th century has been classed as Byzantine, although this is an erroneous generalisation. Simultaneously with the more or less purely Eastern manner there flourished other styles; and in order to realize the independence of certain forms of Byzantine art one needs to be better acquainted with this latter than are many of those who have written on the subject. An attempt to separate Byzantine art from Romanesque is one of the principal objects of my first volume.

The history of Byzantine art is a very special one, but with a little goodwill and exaggeration, its boundaries may be considerably extended, and the Byzantine archaeologists have gleaned a bigger field than I think they were justified in doing. Obviously, in claiming, as is now frequently done, that the earliest manifestations of Christian art appeared in the East, all the forms which its development and transformation produced, should belong to Oriental Christian art. Not satisfied with classifying all Italian painting previous to the 14th century as Oriental in origin — nowadays it is called Egypto-Syrian — some modern writers tell us that with Giotto and the introduction of the Gothic style starts the domination of the Asiatic influence. Here, how-

ever, we enter into the realm of fancy, which may offer amusing subjects for speculation in casual resemblances of style, devoid of any logical connection, but which will divert us from scientific investigation.

The peculiarity of the Byzantine style is that it adapted itself infinitely less than Gothic, Baroque and other internationally spreading forms of art, to the particular character of the countries into which it penetrated. Notwithstanding its diffusion throughout the greater part of Europe, its real life, growth and decadence were limited to the place of its birth, and its manifestations in distant regions merely reflected these movements.

The close connection between the parental art and its foreign offspring has been the cause of various misconceptions as regards Italian products in the Byzantine style, which might have been avoided by a deeper understanding of genuine Oriental art, since it would be exaggerating to pretend that works made in Italy cannot be distinguished from genuine Greek art. As we shall see, it is even quite possible to distinguish contemporary Venetian from Sicilian mosaic.

It is perhaps a general historical predisposition on my part which leads me to investigate the source of things. It caused me to begin my studies of Italian painting with its origin; that is to say, with the products of those dark ages which at that time interested hardly anyone, and during my first *randonnées* through Italy I spent more time over not always very attractive pre-Giottesque remains than over the works of the recognized great masters, which I reached by slow degrees.

On the whole I think it is easier to become familiar with a succession of things and their surrounding circumstances by following these up in their right order, than by working back from the effect to its cause, from the result to its origin, and I attribute the difficulty which I believe many art critics experience in grasping the spirit of the 13th century to their retrogressive investigations, taking as their starting-point Raphael, Michelangelo or the Florentine school of the Quattrocento.

It is not only a difference in manner but also an enormous diversity of artistic psychology which separates the one from the other.

The painters of the Duecento — not to go further back — did not try to change existing forms of art, and I am not sure that this is not a characteristic which, with the art itself, came from the Orient.

I have read that in ancient India adherents of a school of philo-

sophy took the name of its principal teacher, even publishing writings under that name, so that there exist, for example, innumerable CHANKARACHARYAS, whose works cannot be distinguished, although they are the products of a great many different authors, who, for centuries, continued the teachings of the great CHANKARACHARYA, hiding their own individual opinions and intellectual powers, convinced that these never would equal those of the master.

Something very similar happened in Italian painting in the 13th century. Figures like Guido da Siena and the Master of St. Francis dominated their surroundings to such an extent that the sole aspiration of not only their direct pupils but also of the other painters of that part of Italy seem to have been to produce works which might pass for those of their master, trying to forget their own artistic personality in an attempt to be worthy, like the followers of the Hindu philosopher, of perpetuating, often for several generations, the name of their teacher.

For critics familiar with the schools of the 15th century, in which two subsequent generations produced artists as different as LORENZO MONACO was from VERROCCHIO, and in which NERI DI BICCI and the POLLAIUOLOS were contemporaries, the spirit of imitation of two hundred years earlier, which can be illustrated only by a few examples, but which, one may be sure, must have been general, may be difficult to understand. The same degree of variation which, in the art of a later period, is accounted for by the change that a few years wrought in the career of one artist, may, in the earlier period, point to entirely different hands separated by the greater part of a century.

I do not attempt, by the above remarks, to demonstrate that those who hold other views on many points concerning the 13th century must necessarily be in the wrong — and here I have in mind particularly the question of the date of Guido da Siena — but merely seek to explain the arguments which have led me to my convictions on the subject. The difference between the various periods in art is not limited merely to one of manner and technique, but we also have to consider the individual psychology of the artist, not only in connection with his work but also in connection with his master, his school and the tradition to which he owes allegiance.

Of late critics and historians have avoided as far as possible dealing with the psychological aspect of art, and in so doing I think they have diminished the means of investigation which lie at our disposal. On the other hand, there have been so many insignificant and

merely belletristic works published on artistic matters (most of what has been written of Fra Angelico being mere sentimentality) that a reaction is only natural. It cannot, however, be denied that a different spirit emanates from the different schools and that the leading artists, at least, betray different aesthetic aspirations, while we are able to state that the art of the early painters of Siena is mystical and spiritual, and that of the first Florentines realistic and dramatic, without being guilty of a literary fantasy. In determining where traces of the influence of these two schools may be found, we may also take into account their different psychological tendencies, keeping at the same time within the boundaries of scientific inquiry. The manifestation of such tendencies need not lead us to praise the personality of the artist. Let us not forget that Duccio, the creator of the most mystical Madonnas, is known, from documentary evidence, to have been a regular "bambocheur".

The great merit of MORELLI, the first modern connoisseur, lies perhaps more in his sound and severe application of criticism, which enabled him to nullify many traditional and frequently erroneous attributions, than in his invention of a system or method, for after all the comparison of details, in order to ascertain the authorship of a work of art, is such a natural and logical proceeding that the honour of inventing it can hardly be awarded to one individual; and many dangers will be encountered if such a system be relied on too exclusively.

The exaggeration of the so called Morellian method has of late frequently caused the degeneration of what should be art criticism into an anatomical study. The different elements which together form one work of art are disintegrated and considered separately, judged by themselves and no longer as parts of an *ensemble*.

Although sometimes the results are excellent, the principle is not without its drawbacks. The real personality of the artist is not manifested in technical details so much as in the general spirit of the work and the standard of its quality. These last two factors help us to distinguish the productions of the master from those of his followers more surely than the execution of details. Besides, MORELLI himself remarks that also for him it remained difficult to distinguish the work of the master from that of an able disciple. I think that in such cases a just appreciation of the intrinsic value of the object in question is more likely to bring us nearer the truth.

In some amusing pages MORELLI points out the disadvantages of a historian of art who is lacking in aesthetic feeling.

There still exist workers in the archives who accumulate data relating to painters and sculptors with whose works they are hardly, or even not at all, acquainted, and one may ask why they persist in searching exclusively for records of artistic importance instead of those concerning other branches of industry, commerce or agriculture, with which subjects they are just as likely to be familiar as with art.

In the meantime the historian cannot but be grateful to investigators of this type and also for the results of connoisseurship. Taken together the two fields of activity complete and control one another. While documentary evidence has sometimes confirmed or contradicted attributions in a manner which leaves no room for doubt, connoisseurs have frequently demonstrated the wrong application of documents to works of art with which they had no connection.

The modern art historian, then, has to take into account both types of worker, and if he himself be not an archivist, he has at least to practise connoisseurship, the results of which frequently remain open to controversy. There are few attributions with which everyone agrees, and I, in my turn, disagree on many points with several of my colleagues, who, I hope, will give my arguments the same consideration as I shall give theirs.

I do not think we should divide attributions into wrong and right ones, but into intelligent and unintelligent ones, especially as we can but rarely form a positive decision as to the former, but can very easily judge the latter. I even venture to think that clever but erroneous attributions may help to throw more light on the relations between artists and schools than if these attributions had been really correct. For a better understanding of the correlation of different currents, which for the historian is frequently more interesting than the fact that another work has been added to the list the productions of a certain artist, it is highly important that a clear-sighted critic should detect and demonstrate similarities in art, even if in doing so he exaggerates the significance of these correspondences to the extent of erroneously assuming that their authors form but one personality; or if, on the contrary, the same critic, emphasizing too strongly the points of difference, in place of two different artists announces the discovery of two different manners of one painter. Let us welcome such mistakes — if we can ever ascertain that a mistake has been made — because, although it may

seem paradoxical, they often teach us more than the truth. It must, of course, be thoroughly understood that I refer only to intelligent errors, that is to say, to mistakes based on sound arguments.

The connoisseur who denies the importance of history is generally a person with very incomplete conceptions of art itself. He may have trained his eye to distinguish with great facility the works of one or more schools, but his knowledge and appreciation are generally limited by the same frontiers as his capacity of recognition. In many instances he fails to realize the true value of the artist with whom he is most familiar, how he compares with his contemporaries of other schools and how much the development of art owes to him. These connoisseurs invariably have some pet artist of little importance whom they cherish above all others. To-day, fortunately, they belong almost entirely to the past; they were often the outcome of local patriotism, frequently met with in Italy, which has its sympathetic side, but also an excessively inconvenient one.

It is customary to name in the preface of a work those writers from whom the author has in any way received help or assistance, but if I were to do so I should have to enumerate a great many historians of Italian art, and foremost amongst them the Italians themselves.

It is especially to the numerous Italian historians of art that I wish to express my appreciation of the spontaneous courtesy and cordiality with which I, like other foreigners, have been received amongst them. It is true that here also the exception may be discovered which proves the rule, but we who, not belonging to this nation, come to study the most sacred and glorious heritage which the Italians of to-day have received from past generations, bear a deep debt of gratitude to all those who, far from seeking to discourage the intruder, welcome him with kindness, facilitate his enterprise and willingly make room for him in the already crowded ranks of the students of Italian art.

R. v. M.

Paris 1915 — San Marco di Perugia 1922.

INTRODUCTION.

WESTERN AND EASTERN EARLY CHRISTIAN ART.

Notwithstanding the fact that the subject which I propose to deal with is the history of Italian painting from the beginning of the 6th century onwards, I am forced, in tracing the origin of the forms of art existing at that period, to make a few remarks on those that preceded it.

I will not push my investigations so far as to enter into a controversy as to the origin of Christian painting. It is well known that a school of archaeology now exists which claims the Near East as the cradle of that art which produced the frescoes with which the early Christians adorned the sepulchres of their dead, and the sculpture with which they decorated their sarcophagi. The hypothesis of an Oriental influence was of genuine interest so long as it concerned certain external aspects of early Christian art, but when we read that the frescoes of the catacombs, so similar to pagan paintings in the Pompeian style, and the reliefs of the Christian sarcophagi, so like the sculpture of the pre-Christian Roman era, are no longer supposed to be the offspring of their local heathen predecessors, but that Christian art, during its early development, found its origin in Alexandria, ⁽¹⁾ we then strongly obtain a distinct impression that a taste for the unusual, frequently mingled with an anti-clerical tendency to deny Rome its proper place in the formation of Christian art, has been acquired by many modern archaeologists and historians of art.

Even if we admit that the Hellenic or Pompeian style was known in the Near East, this does not make it any the more pro-

⁽¹⁾ „Es wird kaum langer daran zu zweifeln sein das der Ausgangspunkt der Christlichen Kunst in den ersten Jahrhunderten Alexandria war.“ *Strzygowski, Oriens Christianus, 1902 p. 421.*

2 WESTERN AND EASTERN EARLY CHRISTIAN ART.

bable that when the early Christians more or less faithfully adopted the classic style, it was outside Rome that they became acquainted with it. On the contrary, the Oriental products of early Christian art are, in comparison with those of Rome, so rare and so inferior in quality that it seems very likely that we have here only provincial examples of an art whose principal centre was elsewhere. Although I do not believe that the early Christians took their models from any one but their local predecessors, I do not deny, on the other hand, that many elements of the early mediaeval art of Europe were imported from the East. Thus in accepting the one and rejecting the other of these hypotheses we arrive at a theory which has a greater resemblance to that which L. Courajod taught half a century ago in his *Leçons du Louvre* than to that which J. Strzygowski has recently expounded and gradually developed in his numerous well-known publications, and it is my conviction that notwithstanding Strzygowski's ingenious theories the facts will allow us to follow only Courajod's teaching.

We shall begin the consideration of our subject at a moment when the older Christian art — the one which belongs to the Hellenic tradition — was in its decline, and was gradually making way for the art of Byzantium. The two currents, the decadent antique and the progressive Byzantine, form as it were a tapestry on which is woven the history of Italian painting during the early Middle Ages; one might even say of all pictorial activity in Italy before Giotto. It is therefore very necessary that the reader should acquire a certain amount of knowledge of these tendencies.

In the decoration of the catacombs the early Christians of Rome and Naples⁽¹⁾ adopted not only the Pompeian manner of execution, but also the Pompeian style of decoration. In the vaults a regular scheme was worked out with panels and garlands, in which the figures frequently occupied only a small space, the choice of ornaments, such as cupids, vases of flowers, birds and other animals, were adopted without variation from ancient Roman art, while purely pagan personifications, like Amor and Psyche, for example,

⁽¹⁾ A part of one of the most interesting examples of this style of decoration adorns the entrance hall of the second floor of the catacombs of S. Gennaro dei Poveri at Naples.

and even of rivers or natural powers, are not rare in the early Christian paintings. The figures themselves differ as little from those represented in pagan frescoes as the change of subject would permit; the striking resemblance between the pagan Orpheus playing music to the animals and the Good Shepherd of the catacombs is a well-known example of the close relationship between the pagan and the Christian personifications.

But amongst the paintings of the catacombs we hardly ever find representations of actual events. The spirit of these pictures is always symbolical, and the subjects chosen are naturally those which demonstrate most clearly the difference between the christian and the pagan beliefs.

Many of these subterranean images betray a faith in life hereafter, death being only a temporary state over which one should neither mourn nor despair, since after death comes resurrection: an idea very frequently symbolised in the pictures of Jonah and the whale. A general conception of this idea is repeatedly expressed in the scene of the Resurrection of Lazarus; Baptism is symbolised by Moses striking the Rock; one of the incidents most frequently depicted; although the representations of the Good Shepherd, or of Daniel in the lions' den, or of Noah and the Ark are numerous. According to Monseigneur Wilpert⁽¹⁾ these were the only subjects which the very earliest of the Christian artists grafted on to the Pompeian style when beautifying the catacombs. Later the miracle of the loaves and fishes became a favourite motive. There is no doubt that the choice of the subjects represented in the catacombs was also greatly influenced by the funeral prayers.

However, the study of the art of the early Christians is such a special subject, and the amount of literature already devoted to it so great, that I shall not attempt to go into details, but I should like to add some remarks to this brief review on the historical importance of the subterranean paintings of the early Christians.

On the whole we may say that the paintings of the catacombs, although belonging to the Pompeian school, constitute its weakest period. The impressionistic virtuosity of the pagan artists is

⁽¹⁾ Although I do not quote the literature on the subject I cannot pass without mention Monseigneur *J. Wilpert's* standard work on the paintings of the catacombs: *Die Malereien in den Katakomben Roms*, Freiburg, 1903.

but rarely displayed by the works of their Christian followers and imitators; attempts at similar effects often resulting in coarseness of execution. But this shortcoming is in part compensated for by another characteristic, one which is closely connected with the Christian faith itself, for, in comparing them with the actual non-Christian Pompeian frescoes, we at once notice the importance given to the expression of feeling, an element completely absent in the pagan work of antiquity. This new factor in art is particularly obvious in the image of the Orant, with raised hands in adoration, a figure derived from the Roman Pietas, and the most frequently repeated of all the representations in the catacombs. The Christian artists were well aware of the fact that a spiritual expression could be obtained by increasing the size of the eyes, which were always very large and frequently of exaggerated dimensions. They did not, however, observe the rules of regular beauty which constantly inspired the pagan painters, the result being that in the catacombs we find figures which possess less beauty but more vitality: in short more human art.

The few representations of dramatic action which are met with in the catacombs show likewise a different spirit when compared with similar pagan compositions. Father Leclercq, in his *Manuel d'Archéologie chrétienne*, calls our attention to the difference which exists between a catacomb fresco of Abraham's Sacrifice, from which emanates a feeling of faith and submission, and Timanthe's painting of the sacrifice of Iphigenia before Agamemnon expressing only the despair caused by the victim's death.

The foregoing remarks sufficiently explain why the frescoes of the early Christian centuries, although largely derived from the pagan school of painting, cannot be considered merely as the last manifestation of this art⁽¹⁾: for there are elements in the painting of the catacombs of which the Romans were ignorant. But, on the other hand, if a new state of consciousness necessitates a new artistic expression, Christianity should surely have produced an art less dependent on its predecessor than that which we are considering. The paintings of the catacombs were after all only a loan from a school of art which was the manifestation of a psychology very different from that which was then coming into

(1) As *L. von Sybel* claims in his *Christliche Antiken*, I, Marburg, 1906.

existence. The new ideas and the old forms were naturally incongruous, and the result of such a connection was decadence. Hence the phenomenon of which we have evidence, of existing forms of art failing to receive a new influx of life from the embodiment of new ideas, for if ideas do not originate from the same source as their outward manifestation no additional animation can be expected; the result is rather a tendency toward disintegration, and nothing could be more erroneous than to imagine that the style and technique of the catacomb frescoes of the Pompeian tradition are the outcome of Christian psychology.

The date of many of the paintings of the catacombs remains a doubtful question. While the Roman Catholic school of archaeology attributes several works to the 3rd and even to the 2nd century, others doubt whether any Christian paintings are anterior to the 4th.

Those who believe that the Christian community was very active in Rome previous to the Church Peace of 313, have little reason to doubt that some of the frescoes are of earlier date. In the chronology proposed by Monseigneur Wilpert we find that this has been worked out in accordance with a certain theory which assumes an increase in the decadence of the art of painting shortly after the Church Peace. There is not, however, a very striking difference between the earlier works and the later, which are contemporary with the first datable mosaics, of which three executed during the 4th century still exist: namely, the ornamentation of the vault of Sta. Costanza (306–337), the twenty-eight Old Testament scenes in the nave of Sta. Maria Maggiore (352–66) and the partly restored mosaic of the apse of Sta. Pudenziana (385–98).

The first of these, which decorates the mausoleum erected for the daughters of Constantine, is purely Pompeian in style, and one has to search for the elements which prove it to be a work

(¹) *E. Müntz*, *Ste Constance de Rome*, *Revue Archéol.*, II Série, XXX, 1875 p. 224 and 227, XXXV, 1878 p. 353. *G. B. De Rossi*, *Della decorazione interna del Mausoleo Costantiniano della via Nomentana appellato Sta. C.*, *Bullett. dell'Istit. di Corresp. Archeol.*, 1889 p. 79. *C. B. Kunstle*, *Das Mausoleum von Sta. C. und seine Mosaiken nach De Rossi*, *Rom. Quartalschr.*, 1890 p. 12. *A. Schmarzow*, *Der Kuppelraum von Sta. C. in Rom etc.*, Leipzig, 1904. *R. Michel*, *Die Mosaiken von Sta. C. in Rom*, Leipzig 1912.



Fig 1. Mosaic of 306–337. Sta. Costanza, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

of Christian inspiration⁽¹⁾. Vases and birds framed in garlands and wreaths of flowers and foliage form the background; in the corners of one of the divisions different phases of the vintage are represented; carts full of grapes are brought to young men who, bare-footed, trample the fruit (fig. 1). Part of the original

decoration, however, has disappeared, but a design of the 16th century preserved in Madrid⁽¹⁾. shows us how the artist combined the Pompeian style with the Christian emblems, for the lost parts of this mosaic were composed of Old Testament scenes, such as we find in the catacombs: Moses striking the rock, Abraham's Sacrifice etc.; but although the subject has changed the style is still the Pompeian. Two other scenes in mosaic, which are preserved in niches of this round mausoleum, and which are also to be met with in the catacombs, are Moses receiving the Old Law from the hands of God the Father and the Saviour handing over the New Law to St. Peter in the presence of St. Paul. In the latter of these two pictures we see for the first time the twelve mystical lambs emerging from the two celestial cities, Bethlehem and Jerusalem, a theme which we shall meet with over and over again in various Roman mosaics. and which obviously belongs to the plan of mosaic decoration but not to that of catacomb painting. Apart from this fact it seems to me very probable that these two much-restored mosaics are of a somewhat later period than the decoration of the vault.

Of quite a different type, but in aspect not less antique, are the twenty-eight scenes from the Old Testament high, up in the nave of Sta. Maria Maggiore, no doubt once forming part of the original ornamentation of the basilica which Pope Liberius (352—66) had constructed on this site⁽²⁾ (fig. 2).

The decoration of Sta. Maria Maggiore differs from that of Sta. Costanza in its crudeness of technique, thus betraying its adhesion to the decadence of mosaic art which occurred at this time, or somewhat earlier, in the productions of pagan Rome, while Christian works of the same period show great care and refinement of execution. The artist of this group of mosaics was obviously inspired by representations of antique origin; his work furnishes

⁽¹⁾ *R. Garucci*, Storia dell'Arte Cristiana, 6 vols. IV, Prato, 1881 pl. 204.

⁽²⁾ *F. Blanchino*, De Sacris imaginibus musivi operis a S. Syxto Papa III in Basilica Liberiana constructis etc. Dissertationes duae, Romae, 1727. *A. Valentini*, La patriarcale basilica Liberiana oggi di S. Maria Maggiore, Roma, 1837. *H. Grisar*, Il tempio nel mosaico di S. M. M., Civiltà Cattolica, XII, 1897 p. 479. *G. P. Richter* and *A. Cameron Taylor*, The golden age of classic Christian Art, London, 1904. *O. Tozzetti*, Storia della basilica di S. M. M., Roma, 1904. *S. Scaglia*, I mosaici antiche della basilica di S. M. M., Roma, 1910.

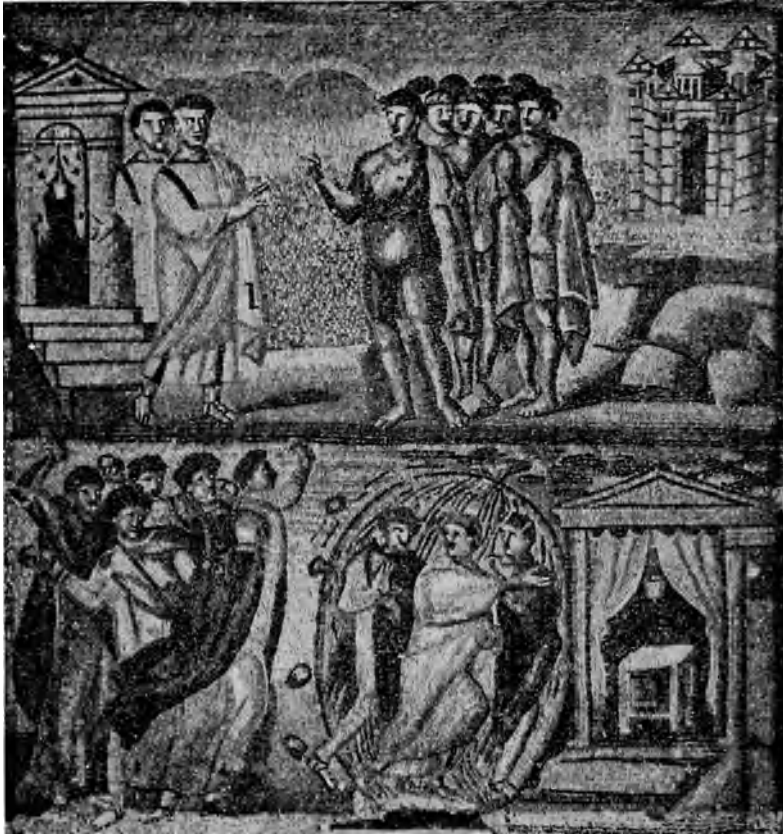


Fig. 2. The Return of the Explorers of Canaan and the Stoning of Moses, Caleb and Nun, mosaic of 352–60. Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome.

Photo Alinari.

us with one of the rare examples of an attempt to preserve the Pompeian impressionism in a mosaic; the landscape backgrounds are purely antique, and so too is the anatomy of many of the figures, whose structure reminds us most of all of the gladiators in the mosaic pavement of the Baths of Caracalla, which dates, however, from the later 4th century, and is now in the Lateran Museum.

For what follows it is important to state that in none of these works can any trace of an Oriental influence be detected; several Roman works even of the 5th century show no more sign of it than the products of the 4th.

At the church of Sta. Sabina two figures personifying Christians converted from paganism and Judaism (fig. 3) are depicted as Roman matrons draped in their ample robes.

Of the mosaic with which Galla Placidia had the triumphal arch of S. Paolo - fuori - le Mura decorated (440—50), only a replica, dating since the fire of 1823, has survived. It is interesting on account of the composition, for we find here for the first time the twenty-four old men of the Apocalypse so frequently repeated in later works. If a fragment of the figure of an old bearded man, preserved in the Grotte Vaticane, originally formed part of this mosaic, it evidently had a purely antique aspect.

The mosaic which Pope Hilarius (461—68) had executed in one of the vaults of the baptistry of the Lateran, is similar in design to those found in some of the catacombs and in Sta. Costanza, the mystical Lamb being surrounded by vases and birds with intermingling garlands. The ornamental mosaic preserved in the entrance — part of a long series which contained many scenes from the Old and New Testaments — is of a similar style.

Of the mosaics of Sta. Agata of the Goths (455—61) ⁽¹⁾ and



Fig. 3. Personification of the converted Jews mosaic of 422—32. Sta. Sabina, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

⁽¹⁾ A drawing of this mosaic exists in the Vatican Library, Codex 5407, reproductions of which are to be found in *Campini, Vetera monumenta*, 3 vols. Roma, 1690 pl. 77. *Garucci, Storia dell' Arte Christiana*, IV pl. 240. *H. Grisar, Roma alla fine del mondo antico* (translated from German), Roma, 1908 p. 89. See also *E. Muntz, The lost mosaics of Rome*, The Amer-

St. Andrea Catabarbara (471-83) ⁽¹⁾ only late reproductions have survived, but it seems again probable that both works belonged to the antique school.



Fig. 4. Orant, V century. SS. Giovanni e Paolo. Rome
Photo MONCIONI.

Of the works of the 5th century preserved to us the paintings are fewer in number than the mosaics. Passing in silence over the faint traces of what once must have been a lovely figure in the atrium of the lower church of S. Clemente, we come to the paintings which decorate the subterranean church of S.S. John and Paul, representing the martyrdom of these saints, Pannachus and his wife, and the figure of an Orant, (fig 4) with decorative design of the pagan style; the figures also,

although not of fine execution, betray the technique of the impressionistic art of Pompeii. ⁽²⁾

From a recent study of J. Garber's ⁽³⁾ it appears highly proba-

ican Journal of Archaeology, 1886 p. 295. *O. Marucchi*, Sta. Agata dei Goti, Giornale Arcadico, 1891

⁽¹⁾ *G. B. De Rossi*, La basilica profana de Gumbio Basso sull' Esquilino dedicato poi a S. Andrea ed appellata cata Barbara patricia, Bullett. di archeol. crist., ser. II, II, 1871 p. 5 and 41. For reproductions see *Ciampani*, pl. 76-7; *B. Seroux d'Agincourt*, Storia dell' Arte dimostrata coi monumenti (translated from French). Prato, 1828, Pittura, pl. 13³, 84¹, *Garucci*, pl. 240.

⁽²⁾ *P. Allard*, Etudes d'histoire et d'archéologie, Paris, 1899 p. 159. *Gatti*, Bull. della com. archeol. comun. di Roma, 1887 p. 151, 321. *Germano*, Das Haus der hh. Martyrer Johannes und Paulus, Rom. Quartalschr., 1888 p. 137 and 322 and in The American Journal of Archaeology, 1890 p. 261, 1891 p. 25. *The same*, Malerei des III Jahrh. in dem Hause der hh. J. und P. auf dem Coelius, Rom. Quartalschr., 1890 p. 377. *J. P. Kirsch*, Neue Funde in Ss. G. e P. in Rom, idem 1889 p. 70. *The same*, Die Ausgrabungen in Ss. G. e P., idem 1889 p. 390. *Le Blant*, Eglise de Sts J. et P., Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Insc. et Bel. Let., 1887 p. 9. *De Waal*, in Rom. Quartalschr., 1890 p. 13. *H. Le Clercq*, in Dictionnaire d'Arch. Chrét. et de Liturgie published by Dom Cabrol, II coll. 2832.

⁽³⁾ *J. Garber*, Wirkungen der frühchristlichen Gemäldezyklen der alten

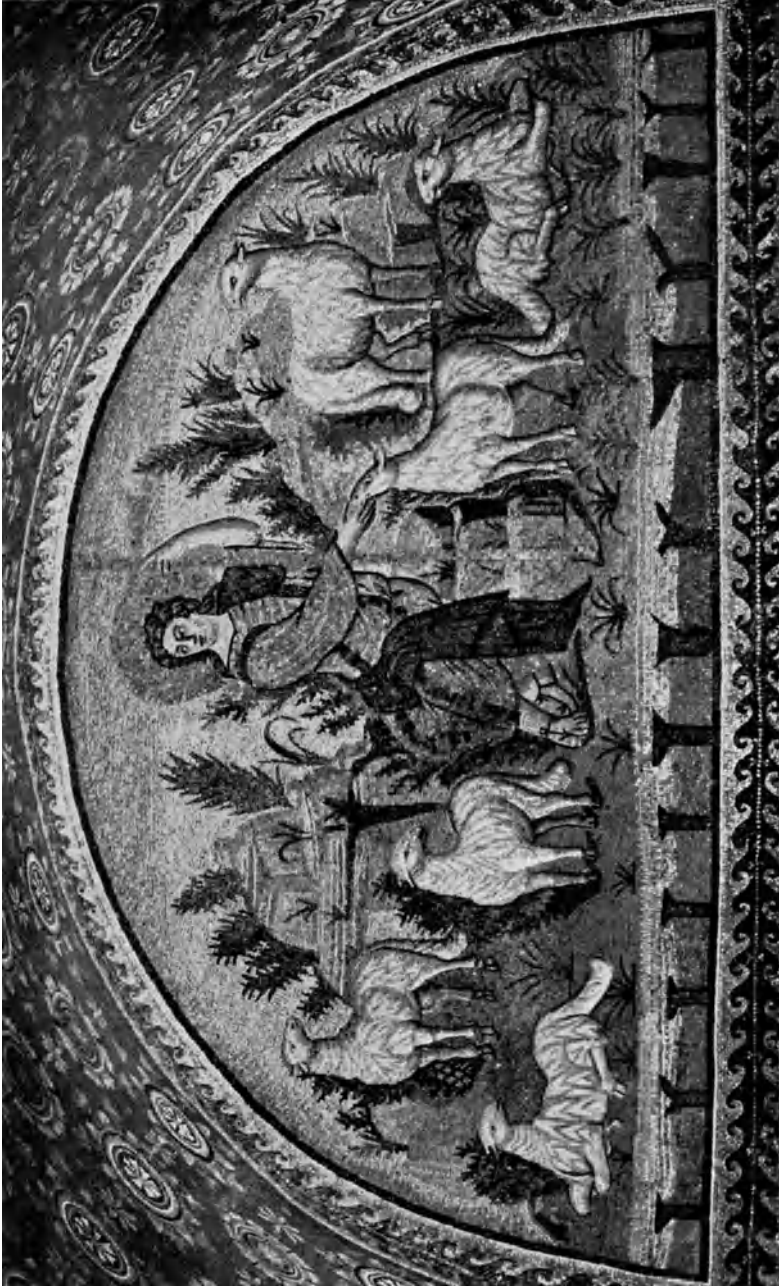


Fig. 5 The Good Shepherd, mosaic of 440. Galla Placidia, Ravenna.

Photo Alinari.

ble that the important series of frescoes which decorated the two principal basilicas of Rome — St. Peter and St. Paul — also dated from the 5th century (440—61), and the 17th century designs of Grimaldi preserved in the Vatican Library clearly show us that they were conceived in the antique style. Any doubt regarding the date or manner of these paintings will be removed when we study the fragments saved from the fire which destroyed St. Paul's church in 1823. In the monastery adjacent to the basilica we find preserved some portraits of Popes which formed part of the earliest decoration of the church and to which others were added later. From the aspect of these works, which are executed in a rather unrefined, Pompeian, and impressionistic manner, it is obvious that the date proposed by Garber is perfectly consistent.

Outside Rome we find mosaics, although not of a very superior quality, purely classical in inspiration, adorning the mausoleum of Galla Placidia, which dates from 440, in Ravenna⁽¹⁾: a town which in later years was to become the most important centre of Byzantine art in Italy. Galla Placidia, although born in Constantinople, was a Western princess, and we shall look in vain for Eastern elements in the figure of the Good Shepherd (fig. 5) and in the seven other representations in her sepulchre. The

Peters und Pauls Basiliken in Rom, Berlin—Wien, no date (1920). *P. Di Angelis*, Basilicae Veteris Vaticanae descriptio etc. Romae, 1646. *J.P. Kirsch*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der alten Peterskirche in Rom, Rom. Quartalschr., 1888 p. 113. *H. Grisar*, Die alte Peterskirche zu Rom, idem, 1895 p. 237. *The same*, Il prospetto dell'antica basilica vaticana, Analecta Romana, Roma, 1899. *E. Muntz*, Ricerche intorno ai lavori archeologici di G. Grimaldi archivista della Basilica Vaticana, Firenze, 1881. *D' Achardi*, Gli affreschi di S. Pietro a Grado presso Pisa e quelli già esistente nel portico della Basilica Vaticana, Atti del congresso intern. di Scien. Stor. Roma, 1903, Storia dell'arte p. 193. *A. Venturi*, Storia dell'arte Italiana, V, Milano, 1907 p. 196.

(¹) *F. von Quast*, Die Altchristl. Bauwerke von Ravenna, Berlin, 1842. *J. P. Richter*, Die Mosaiken von Ravenna, Vienna, 1878. *X Barbier de Montault*, Les mosaïques des Eglises de Ravenne, Revue de l'art chrétien, VII, 1896 p. 70. *C. Ricci*, Ravenna e i lavori fatti della Sovrintendenza dei monumenti nel 1898, Bergamo, 1899. *The same*, Ravenna, Bergamo, 1902. *The same*, Monumenti Ravennati, Bologna, 1890. *The same*, Guida da Ravenna 2^a ed. Bologna, 1897. *W. Goetz*, Ravenna, Leipzig—Berlin, 1901. *J. Kurth*, Die Wandmosaiken v. Ravenna, Leipzig, 1902. *Quitt*, Der Mosaikencyclus von S. Vitale, Byzant. Denkmaler, III, Vienna, 1903. *Ch. Diehl*, Ravenna, Paris, 1903.

antique tradition survived in Ravenna not only until the fall of the Western empire (476), but during the reign of the Ostrogoth King Theodoric (475—526), who showed his admiration for ancient Rome in adopting its institutions as well as in attempting to preserve its artistic traditions.

The mosaic ornamentation of the baptistery of the Orthodox or S. Giovanni in Fonte, which we owe to Bishop Neon (449 or 458—477) was very probably executed during the period of

twenty-six years which elapsed between the death of Galla Placidia and the fall of the Western empire. We find in the vault the Baptism of our Lord (fig. 6) surrounded by the twelve Apostles, in which the personification of the Jordan is a pagan element, and although the execution of all these figures clearly announces the decadence of the antique style they are still free from any Byzantine influence. This fact ought to be well emphasized, as no work on Byzantine art fails to reproduce these mosaics as forming part of the realm of Byzantine archae-

ology. During the time that Neon was bishop the Ecclesia Petriana, begun by his predecessor Peter, was likewise completed. A 9th century record informs us that it was larger and richer in mosaics than any other church in Ravenna.

Byzantine elements, however, found their way into the works evoked by Theodoric. To him also we owe a mosaic decoration of a baptistery (fig. 7) — that of the Arians — which in construction resembles that of the Orthodox; notwithstanding the antique aspect of the beardless Christ in the centre we notice in the draping of the Apostles' togas the first elements of Eastern mannerism. The building of S. Apollinare Nuovo was commenced in 519, and consequently at the death of the great king, was pro-



Fig. 6. The Baptism of Our Lord, mosaic of ab. 450—75.

S. Giovanni in Fonte, Ravenna.

Photo Alinari.

bably far from finished, but it was completed during the reign of his daughter, Amalashwintha, who was as fervent an admirer of classical Rome as was her father; though during her dominion the Byzantine style in Ravenna entirely over-ruled the antique.

In the North, however, mosaics of late antique inspiration



Fig. 7. The Baptism of Our Lord and Apostles, mosaic previous to 526.
Baptistry of the Arians, Ravenna.

Photo Alinari.

decorate the S. Aquilino chapel of the church of S. Lorenzo in Milan⁽¹⁾ where we find representations of the Lord amidst the Apostles (fig. 8) and the Message to the Shepherds, probably dating from about 500.

⁽¹⁾ *Analof*, Mosaics of the IV and V century (Russian), Petrograd, 1895 p.156 *P. Toesca*, La Pittura e la Miniatura nella Lombardia, Milan, 1912 p.8.

On the Ligurian coast, in the baptistry of Albenga⁽¹⁾, a handsome decoration with pigeons on a star-dotted background, and mystical lambs at either side of the cross, framed in garlands, seems to me of a somewhat earlier date.

Yet again part of the pavement preserved at Aquileia is composed of biblical scenes⁽²⁾: The Good Shepherd, the portraits of the donors, and representations of animals are all inferior imitations of the Pompeian style. They may be dated as early 4th century. Some other fragments of similar decorations but, generally of later date are to be found in other parts of Italy⁽³⁾.

Very few of the early mosaics of Southern Italy still exist, but some are known to us by descriptions and reproductions of the 16th and 17th centuries. Paulin de Nola (353—431) had made in the church of his town scenes from the Old and New Testaments, but we are in ignorance as to whether these were



Fig. 8 The Lord and Apostles, mosaic of ab. 500. S. Lorenzo, Milan.

Photo Anderson.

⁽¹⁾ *E. Mella*, Battistero di Agrate conturbia e di Albenga, *Atti della Soc. di Arch. e Bell. Art. di Torino*, 1883 p. 57. *P. Toesca*, op. cit., p. 21.

⁽²⁾ *Niemann, Svoboda and Lackowski*, *Der Dom von Aquileia*, Vienna, 1906. *O. Fasiolo*, *I mosaici di A.*, Roma, 1905.

⁽³⁾ At Casanarello, prov. Lecce (*Haseloff*, *I mosaici di C.*, *Bollet d'Arte* 1907 fasc. 12 attributes it to the 5th century and assumes an Oriental influence); at Como *F. Frigerio* and *B. Nogara*, *Riv. Arch. della prov. di Como*, 1912; at Brescia (*P. Toesca*, op. cit., p. 21); at Verona (*C. Cipolla*, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1884 p. 401); at Parenzo (*O. Marucchi*, *Nuov. Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1896 p. 14); at Pesaro (*G. B. Carducci*, *Sul gran mosaico scoperto in P.*, Pesaro, 1866) etc. etc. For others see *P. Toesca*, *Storia dell'arte Italiana*, I, Milan, 1915 p. 306. Many examples are also to be found in the christian Orient.

fresco or mosaic. He caused the apse of the basilica to be adorned with a representation of the Trinity, and this was certainly a mosaic, in which a hand symbolised God, a dove the Holy Ghost and a cross or a lamb the Son: the background being a paradisaical landscape ⁽¹⁾. M. Bertaux ⁽²⁾ conjectures that the Apostles had probably also been depicted as twelve lambs. The same symbolical elements were again seen in a small basilica, in a mosaic of the Last Judgment, in which the lambs were the chosen and the goats the condemned. Of the beginning of the 5th century is the mosaic which Bishop Severus had made in Naples, of which we read that it was divided into two zones, the upper showing the Lord amidst Apostles, and the lower, four prophets.

In the dome of the S. Giovanni baptistery, however, the mosaics have for the greater part been preserved ⁽³⁾. The centre-piece is occupied by the monogram of the Lord between the letters Alpha and Omega, with a hand on a starry background above. Around the monogram there is a border of flowers, vases, and birds. Eight compartments are formed by ribbons of the same design radiating from the margin of the monogram to the edge of the dome; the upper parts of these divisions are filled up with similar decorations, while underneath eight scenes were once represented, of which many figures are still clearly visible. Amongst them may be recognised the Lord giving the law to SS. Peter and Paul, the miraculous catch of fish, the Samaritan woman at the well, the Wedding at Cana, and a fragment which might well be the angel guarding the empty sepulchre of the Lord. The symbols of the Gospel-writers are beneath the dome; two deer or two lambs, with a shepherd seated or standing, are represented above each symbol, and at either side of the windows is a saint in a brown toga holding a crown in his hand.

It seems very probable that these mosaics were executed during

⁽¹⁾ *Wickhoff*, Der Apsismosaik in der Basilica des H. Felix zu Nola, Rom. Quartalschr., III, 1889 p. 158.

⁽²⁾ *E. Bertaux*. L'art dans l'Italie méridionale, Paris, 1904 p. 43

⁽³⁾ *Garucci*, op. cit., IV pl. 79. *Muntz*, Revue Archéol., 1883, I p. 21. *Amalof*, op. cit., p. 139. *Galante*, I mosaici del Battistero di Napoli, Nuov. Boll. di arch. crist., 1900. *C. Stornajolo*, in Atti del II congresso internaz. di archeol. crist., Roma, 1902 p. 269. *E. Bertaux*, op. cit., p. 47. *A. Muñoz*, I mosaici del Battistero di S. Giovanni a Napoli, L'Arte, 1908 p. 433.

the rule of Bishop Soterus (465—92), who is mentioned as having founded a baptistery. A second baptistery was constructed in the time of Bishop Vincent (554—78), whose dates do not coincide with the style of this work, which may be considered late antique with perhaps some slight traces of Oriental influence, but not Byzantine, as Señor Muñoz points out to us.

In the church of S. Prisco near Capua there existed paintings and mosaics, the latter of which were preserved in entirety until 1759; while the mosaics of the dome and apse, which may be dated about the year 500, are known to us only by engravings of the 17th century. From these one learns that the dome was divided into segments by lines radiating from the centre; these were subdivided by four circular lines, thus producing four rows of compartments of which only the alternate ones were decorated, the uppermost with floral designs, the second with vases and pairs of doves, the two lower with saints — many local — and martyrs arranged in couples; the whole was enclosed by a broad circle of garlands amongst which cupids played. The mosaic of the apse represented two groups of saints approaching, from either side, the infant figures of SS. Quartus and Quintus, above whom a dove was depicted flying within a decorated circle. The sectoral division of the dome resembled the one in S. Giovanni in-Fonte, and the antique togas of the saints and martyrs are similar to those of the martyrs there. The mosaics not lost to us are probably of a slightly later date. They are to be found in the Matrona chapel of this church (¹). Here the vault is divided into four parts by vine branches arranged in vases, on each of which a pair of doves is shewn. One quarter is occupied by a medallion of a bust of Christ, represented with a black beard. In the two adjacent compartments the symbols of the Gospel-writers are depicted in pairs; in one, however, the lion of St. Mark has disappeared; in the other, on a golden jewelled throne, between the ox and the eagle, we find represented the Gospel Book with a dove perched on it. The fourth mosaic no longer exists, but a 17th century reproduction shows that it was composed of a

(¹) *D. Salazaro*, Studi sui monumenti dell' Italia Meridionale dal IV al XIII secolo, Napoli 1871—75, II pl. XIV *Garucci*, op. cit., IV pl. 256—7 (incorrect) *Bertaux*, op. cit., p. 50 etc.

jewelled cross on an eminence between twelve doves in rows of three. This ornamentation, although some elements resemble those of the great basilica of S. Paulin and still more those of S. Vitale, Ravenna, demonstrates the existence of a school of mosaicists not less important than those of Rome and Ravenna.

Still more conservative than the art of mosaic was that of miniature painting, which even during the 5th century produced several works of an almost entirely antique aspect. As such may be cited the remains of the Cotton Bible, the Quedlingburg Bible fragment in the Berlin Library (¹) the Iliad of the Ambrosian Library and the Virgil of the Vatican (²); always classed together on account of their identity of style, which, though in most instances purely Pompeian, in others is not without elements of decadence.

* *
* *

We cannot very well continue this dissertation without devoting a few words to Eastern Christian art, which from now onwards plays an important part in the development of painting in Italy.

For our subject it is not necessary to investigate the intermingling of foreign elements which constituted the art of Byzantium. The classic traditions of Rome and Greece on the one hand, and the Eastern currents originating in Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and Persia on the other, seem to have formed this school, which was to prove of unlimited importance in the history of Christian art, and which may be described as orientalised antique art, or Eastern art under classical influence.

We need not enter into the problem, so much discussed nowadays, of how much Hellenic influence had already penetrated into these more Eastern regions before this strange combination produced the art of Byzantium; an Oriental Christian art, however, seems to have existed before the great school which originated at Constantinople had acquired a definite style of symbolical art.

(¹) *Schultz*, Die Quedlingburger Itala miniaturen, Munich 1898.

(²) *P. de Nolhac*, Le Virgile du Vatican, Acad. des Inscr. et B. Lett. Paris 1897.



Fig 9 The Lord and the Apostles, mosaic of 385—98. Sta.Pudenziana, Rome.
Photo Anderson

Again, it may be asked: When did the Byzantine style come into existence? It is well known that when Constantine (274—337) created the somewhat artificial centre, which was going to preserve and combine the Eastern and Western civilizations he gathered within the walls of his town artists of both these tradi-

tions. But was the immediate outcome this Byzantine art, the first representative products of which seem to be found at Ravenna?

The element which in Byzantine art constitutes not only a difference from but a real opposition to the Pompeian manner is the schematic outline, which in a later stage degenerates into rigidity and lifelessness, but which in the beginning established a majestic though mannered style, regardless of monotony.

These factors, which were certainly imported from Eastern regions, form, as it were, the antithesis to Hellenic painting, but when first introduced the change of aspect was very limited.

The first dated work in which these alien peculiarities are to be observed is the above-mentioned apsidal mosaic of Sta. Pudenziana in Rome ⁽¹⁾, but here the Oriental elements do not seem to have come through Byzantium, but directly from the Christian Orient. This image (figs. 9 and 10), now somewhat reduced because the row of mystical lambs is missing from below and one apostle on either side has been removed ⁽²⁾, shows us the Lord teaching between ten apostles behind whom two female figures personify the converted. The type of Christ, which has been called Syrian ⁽³⁾, the attitude of his hand, the design of the throne, and the jewelled cross above him all indicate that the artist was acquainted with Eastern Christian art; moreover, the town in the background is not an imaginary one, but a real representation of Jerusalem. We owe this mosaic to three priests called Ilicius, Maximus and Leopardus, and it was executed during the pontificate of Siricius (384—98) ⁽⁴⁾. Although only a few mosaics of this early period have survived,

⁽¹⁾ *L. Lefort*, La mosaïque de Ste Pudencienne à Rome, *Revue Archéol.*, II Série XXVII 1874 p. 96. *The Same*, Nouvelles observations sur la mosaïque de S. P., *Nuovo Bullett. d'archéol. crist.*, 1896 p. 174. *P. Crostarosa*, Osservazione sul mosaico di S. P., *id.* 1895 p. 58. *H. Grisar*, Il mosaico di S. P. a Roma coll'edifici dei luoghi santi; *Civiltà Cattolica*, vol. III 1895 p. 722, vol. XII 1897 p. 473.

⁽²⁾ Other mosaics once visible in this church have entirely disappeared.

⁽³⁾ We find the same type of Saviour in a mosaic of more than a century later, in the Matrona chapel in the church of S. Prisco, near Capua.

⁽⁴⁾ *J. Wilpert*, (Die römischen Mosaiken u. Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom VI bis XIII Jahrhundert, 2^e aufl. 4 vols Freiburg 1917), believes this mosaic dates from 402—17.



Fig. 10. Detail of fig. 9.

Photo Anderson.

there is no doubt that very many were made, for a letter which Pope Hadrian I wrote to Charles the Great in 794, denouncing the destruction of images by the iconoclasts, mentions the various foundations of nine of his predecessors from the 4th. until the 6th. century, which in his time still preserved their fresco and mosaic decorations.

During the 5th century the Byzantine influence increased and

clear traces of it from now onwards are to be found in the mosaics of Italy.

The most important mosaic of this period in Rome, the one on the triumphal arch of Sta. Maria Maggiore (fig. 11), differs, in the presence of Byzantine elements, so considerably from those in the nave that the opinion that these two mosaics are of the same period — the time of the foundation of the basilica — is quite inadmissible. The name of Pope Sixtus, which we find in these representations, provides us with the date 432—40, and the subjects themselves render it especially probable that this mosaic was made after the Council of Ephesus (431), at which the Virgin was recognized as the Mother of God. Several of the scenes represented here are inspired by the story of the childhood of the Saviour and contain apocryphal episodes. (1)

Comparing the scenes on the triumphal arch with those of almost a century earlier in the nave, we are struck not only by an absence of impressionism and a neatness of design in the former, but also by the elongated proportions of the figures, the stateliness of attitude and movement and the gorgeousness of dress and ornament, all of which are indications of Oriental influence. The diversity of style and the quaint iconography make it possible that the artist to whom we owe this work was not a Roman, nor even an Italian, but of Oriental origin; this may or may not be the case, but it is obvious that the presence of these mosaics in Rome points to an infiltration from the East into the very heart of Italy.

In some miniatures, also probably dating from the 5th century, a similar infiltration may be observed, but it is not always absolutely certain that they were executed in Italy. The editors of the *Genesis of Vienna* (2) are of opinion that two different hands were employed in the execution of its miniatures, one of which followed the Pompeian impressionistic style, giving greater importance to landscape, while the excessive realism in the gestures and attitudes and more pronounced linear effect in the illustrations of the other seem to betray an Eastern influence.

(1) *A. De Waal*, Die apocryphen Evangelien in der altchristlichen Kunst, Rom, Quartalschr., 1887 I p. 189.

(2) *W. von Hartel u. E. Wickhoff*, Der Wiener Genesis, Vienna 1895.



Fig. 11. Mosaic of the apsidal arch of Sta Maria Maggiore, Rome 432—40.
Photo Alinari.

In the Josue scroll of the Vatican Library ⁽¹⁾ (fig. 12) we find the linear element developed into a mildly conventional form which, together with palæographical observations has induced critics to consider this important monument as a 7th or 8th century

⁽¹⁾ *H. Graeven*, *Il rotulo di Geosue*, *L'Arte* 1898 p. 221. *Il rotulo di Geosue*, Milan 1907

copy of a 5th century original. In that case it is curious that the copyist has retained the impressionistic virtuosity of the original which here attains a degree of perfection hardly ever met with in products of this period: it seems, therefore, more likely to me that it may date from a somewhat earlier period.

Badly assimilated Oriental elements seem to be the cause of the decline manifest in certain miniatures, probably dating from the 5th or early 6th century, in the abbey of St. Paul-in-Lavanttal ⁽¹⁾.

The fact that the elements foreign to the decadence of the antique tradition which we observe in the above quoted works, are of Oriental origin does not imply that they originated in Byzantium. On the contrary, I am inclined to believe that they are the fruit of more Eastern forms of Christian art, which later became a constituent part of the art of Constantine's centre of civilization.

The earliest traces of real Byzantine art may be observed in the first half of the 6th century simultaneously in Rome, Ravenna Parenzo and Milan. But while in the Christian East the Byzantine or alien styles seem to have entirely replaced the antique tradition, in Italy we find for many hundred years clear traces of Pompeian impressionism, and this fact again helps to consolidate my belief that the Christians of Rome were better acquainted with the antique style than their brethren in the East, owing probably to the fact that the former lived in the birthplace of this art while the others only acquired it accidentally.

⁽¹⁾ Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Illuminierten Handschriften in Osterreich, herausgeg. von *F. Wickhoff*, III Leipz, 1907 p. 98 pl. VIII.



Fig. 12. Illustration of the Josue Scroll, Vatican Library, VI century (?).

Photo Sanasini.

CHAPTER I.

THE BYZANTINE AND THE ANTIQUE TRADITIONS DURING THE VI, VII AND VIII CENTURIES.

If, by the exaggerated importance given to the Christian art of the East one's spirit of contradiction were sufficiently aroused to wish to demonstrate that the Byzantine style really originated in Italy, one might point out that the earliest datable monuments of Byzantine representative art are to be found in Ravenna and Rome.

We may be sure that the not always scientifically scrupulous adherents of the pro-Orient school of archaeology would use a similar argument in favour of their pet theories to its uttermost limit. However, if we do not wish to support an opinion only, but to search after the truth, we must admit that the Byzantine style was born where it had its greatest development and that the traces of this tradition we find in Italy were imported. It cannot however be said that the Eastern countries were chronologically ahead of the Italian centres. On the contrary, we do not find there any mosaics which, as regards date, can compete with the already more or less Orientally inspired 4th century mosaic of Sta. Pudenziana or those of a somewhat later period in Sta. Maria Maggiore. Considering, for example, the dates to which the different mosaics of Salonica are attributed, we might come to the conclusion that those previous to the 6th century always betrayed an antique inspiration⁽¹⁾ while what we conceive as Byzantine art makes its appearance only after the year 500.

Almost immediately after the separation of the Eastern and Western empires (395) the decline of the latter began. While life became gradually more refined at Constantinople, the antique civilization was slowly dying out in Rome, where sufficient force

(¹) Dates: St. George, beginning of 5th century; Eski Djoumi, middle of 5th; St. Sophia 5th—6th. *Ch. Diehl, M. Le Tourneau, H. Saladin Les monuments chrétiens de Salonique*, Paris 1918 p. 29, 58, 105, 139.

no longer existed to create a new civilization which would have been Occidental and Christian; and if Byzantium had not to a certain extent come to the rescue by introducing its refinement together with its governmental representatives, Italy would have become an absolute wilderness.

Ravenna, after the Ostrogoth period, became the seat of the Byzantine Exarchate, and the unfortunate city of Rome seems to have been the chief booty for which Goths, Lombards and Greeks fought during a considerable part of the 6th century. It sometimes, therefore, received the Greek emperor, and was often the residence of the chief of the Byzantine armies, their commander Narses having built there the church of the Apostles in a wholly Byzantine style. The relation between Byzantium and Italy became more and more that which one might expect to exist between a civilized state and an uncivilized colony. Moreover, the numerous wars fought on Italian soil had reduced the country to an indescribable state of poverty; no wonder, therefore, that the beautiful works which Byzantium produced in all branches of art found an enthusiastic reception in Italy, which for the moment seemed to have exhausted all its resources, spiritual and material. The importation of the Eastern style, however, although it considerably weakened, did not entirely exterminate the classic tradition, the degeneration of which gave rise to other forms.

As a typical example of early Byzantine art, we may take the oldest of the mosaics which decorate the church of St. Demetrius at Salonica, and which at the same time furnish us with an early instance of portraiture; we find the image of St. Demetrius between the founders of the church, medallions of high church dignitaries, and again the titular saint with two children at his feet. Not only these, but the figures forming part of the other purely religious representations, such as the two images of the Virgin between angels, the Madonna, and a saint, or the parents presenting their children to St. Demetrius, are depicted with great individuality. ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ These mosaics have been justly attributed to the 6th century by *Diehl, Le Tourneau, Saladin*, op cit., p. 94 etc., and plates 27–33. In dating them from the 8th century — as Th. Ouspensky has done — one would have to assume that the Byzantine mosaic workers in Greece were greatly inferior to those in Italy.

It is of this art that we find important and contemporary specimens in Italy.

Not only part of the mosaic decoration, but also the capitals, pulpit, balustrade and ornamental reliefs of S. Apollinare Nuovo of Ravenna are purely Byzantine, which renders it probable that Theodoric, an enthusiast for all that was ancient, who founded this church in 519, did not live to see it finished. It may however be supposed that the series of mosaics which form the two upper rows at either side were executed before his death, and it also seems possible that the processions of male and female martyrs which now occupy the greater part of the third row replace symbols of heretical Arian ideas which Theodoric had made but which the Byzantines effaced. This is all the more likely, as these series of saints form the only really Byzantine part of this decoration, the groups toward which they approach belonging, like the mosaics above, rather to the antique tradition; the other extremities of these rows are composed of architectural views, one of Ravenna and its harbour, the other of the palace of Theodoric.

That part of the mosaic decoration which betrays an antique inspiration consists of a series of thirteen scenes from the Life of the Saviour on either side of the basilica, each scene separated from the other by a shell-shaped ornament on which two doves are perched on either side of a cross. The left wall contains scenes from the Life of the Lord before the Passion, which represent, for the greater part, miraculous cures in which Christ is depicted as a beardless young man; whereas on the opposite wall (fig. 13), where we find the Life continued, from the Last Supper until the Calvary, with the Holy Women at the empty sepulchre and two apparitions after the Resurrection, the Lord has been given a short beard. The Crucifixion, as is usually the case at this early period, is lacking. The second row consists on either side, of sixteen prophets, and is intersected by eleven windows. The third comprises, besides the above mentioned processions of martyrs and architectural scenes, the Saviour, seated on a throne with a curiously curved back, between four angels on the right wall (fig. 14) and on the left the Madonna and Child, with a similar escort.

The difference in style between the figures of the martyrs and the other representations is very obvious. The twenty-four male



Fig. 13. Mosaics on the right wall of S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna
519–26 (?) and after 526.

Photo Alinari.

saints on the right wall show some variety as regards features, but the manner in which they carry the crown of martyrdom is identical in almost every case; the twenty-two crowned female figures on the opposite wall form, as far as attitude is concerned, just as monotonous a group (fig. 15). Between the first figure and



Fig. 14. The Lord between Angels, mosaic of 519—26 (?) S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna.

the Madonna among angels the three Magi are represented, one behind the other, offering their gifts; and it is very clear that the group of the Virgin and angels did not originally belong to a composition of the Adoration of the Magi; we may therefore consider this a confirmation of the fact that the different parts of this decoration are not contemporary.

The scenes from the Life of the Lord may be said — like the mosaics of *Sta. Pudenziana* — to betray a slight pre-Byzantine Oriental influence: but on the whole they belong to the late antique tradition. The landscapes in some of the backgrounds, the draping of the robes, and the natural movements of Pompeian art stand out against a certain exaggeration of the linear element and the large, strongly outlined eyes of a possible Eastern origin. The type of Christ on the right wall, especially as he is seen enthroned in the third row, is the one which has been regarded as Syrian, and the design of the ornamental panels may be said to show the same motives as are found in the catacombs. Comparing the figures of the prophets with the martyrs, all dressed identically, of the lowest row, we are struck by the variety, the freedom of attitude and the rich draping of the former as against the monotony, rigidity and marked linear effect of the latter; the attire of the female saints is that of Oriental princesses; the male figures, however, frequently possess features of varied individuality, a trait which we have already noted in the mosaics of *Salonica*, and which is a distinctly Eastern element.

In *S. Apollinare Nuovo*, then, we find combined on the same wall late products of Hellenic art and early manifestations of the Byzantine style. In the other churches of *Ravenna* we shall encounter only the latter.

The church of *S. Vitale*, begun during the last year of the life of *Theodoric* (525), was consecrated only in 547, that is, seven years after *Ravenna* was conquered by the Byzantines. We will not enter into a controversy on the origin of the octagonal plan of this edifice, because, if, on the one hand it be true that the almost contemporaneously built (527) church of *SS. Sergius and Bacchus* in *Constantinople* shows in its interior an identical model, it seems on the other hand certain that in *Rome* there existed constructions of the 4th century corres-

ponding with that of S. Vitale, as regards the interior as well as the exterior (¹).

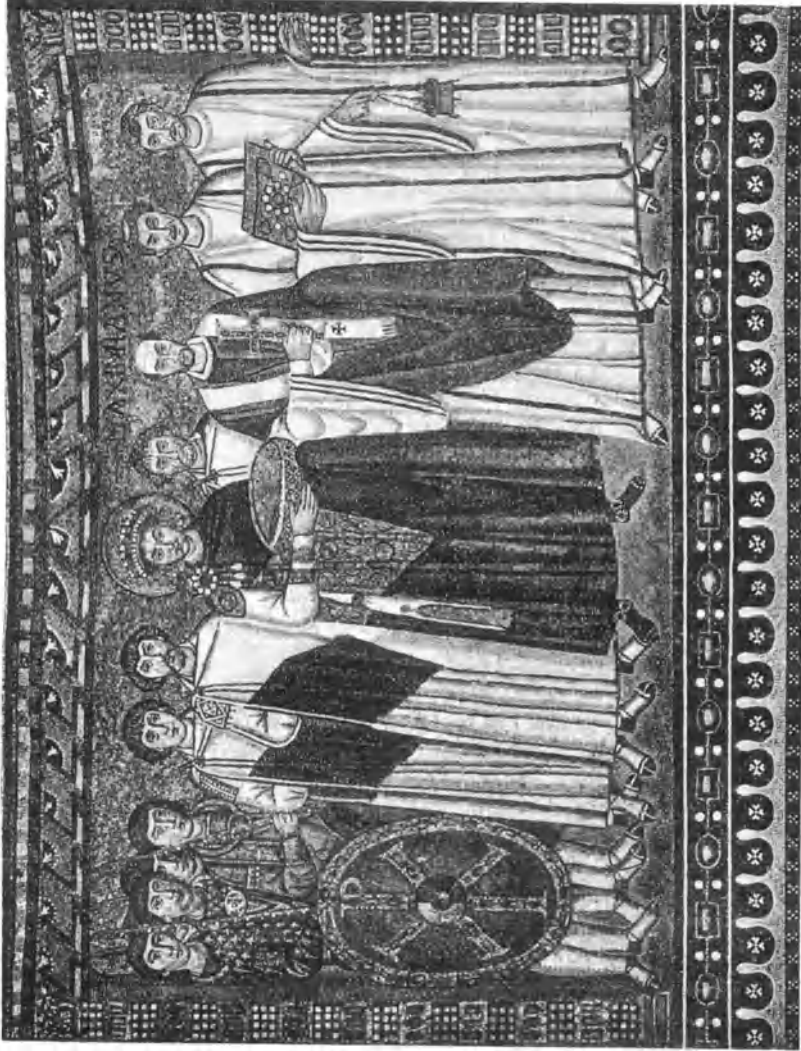
The mosaics, however, of the church of Ravenna are purely Byzantine; so, too, the capitals, identical specimens of which are found in Constantinople, Salonica and Egypt; probably all were exported from Byzantium, which must also have been the source of the open-worked slabs of marble used as balustrades.

Only the choir apse preserves its rich mosaic decoration. Here we see, besides a profusion of ornamental garlands, series of medallions of the Apostles, representations of the Gospel-writers, prophets and angels carrying emblems, some mosaic pictures of great importance.

In the vault, against an extremely rich ornamental background, a medallion, supported by four angels standing on globes, encloses an image of the Divine Lamb. Lower down on either side is a lunette of the sacrifices of Abraham and Melchisedec, while in the apse the Saviour, beardless, is seated on a globe between two angels, St. Vitale and St. Ecclesius (fig. 16), below which are placed, to the left and the right, the celebrated mosaics representing Justinianus (plate I) and Theodora (fig. 17) with their respective suites. Near the emperor stands Bishop Maximianus, whose name is inscribed, but the remarkable individuality of all the faces, which clashes somewhat with the rigid monotonous immobility of the attitudes, seems sufficient to testify that the other figures are also portraits, and probably very good ones. Comparing these two mosaics we are struck by the fact that the female features are much less individualized than those of the men. The Basilissa and her ladies are less real, more idealistically conceived. Theodora's face is encircled in heavy jewellery and the embroidery on the lower border of her cloak represents the Magi offering their gifts. Is it possible that the empress had a particular liking for this subject, and it was she who had it interpolated in the decoration of S. Apollinare Nuovo?

Although technically speaking the mosaics do not perhaps belong to the finest productions of this form of art, they will always be pre-eminent as *tableaux de genre* of peculiar importance. There are few representations which allow us such

(¹) *G. T. Rivoira*, *Le origine della architettura Lombarda*, Milan 1908 p. 74. *The Same*, *Architettura Romana*, Milan, 1921 p. 324.



JUSTINIANUS AND HIS COURT
Mosaic of about 547 in S. Vitale, Ravenna.

Photo Alinari.

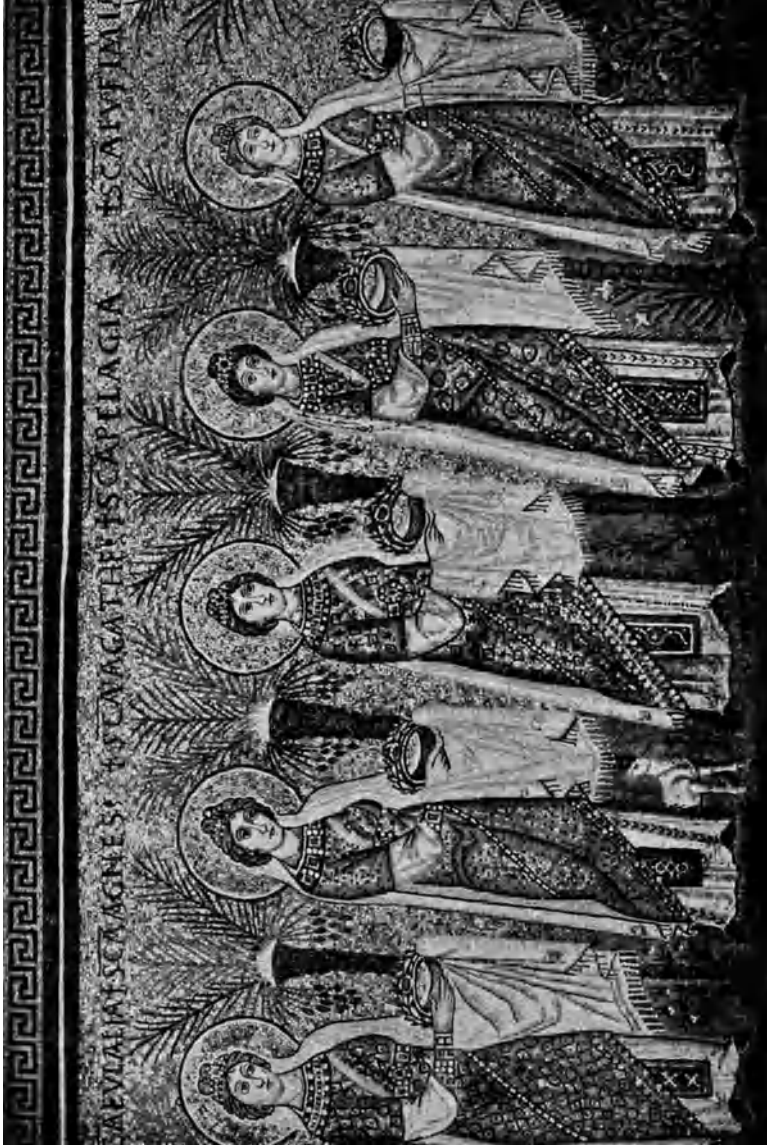


Fig. 15 Procession of Martyrs. Mosaic 526 A. D. or later. S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna. Photo. Alinari.

an insight into the environment which produced them. The mosaics of S. Vitale show us all the religious majesty, stateliness and magnificence of the Byzantine Court, veneration for whose monarchs is expressed in the haloes which surround their heads as though they had been saints.

S. Apollinare in Classe was consecrated in 549, S. Michele in Affrisco in 545; but notwithstanding the earlier date of the second the first may be considered the older, as it was commenced between 534 and 538.



Fig. 16. The Saviour between Angels and Saints. Mosaic, circa 547,
S. Vitale, Ravenna Photo Alinari.

Since the destruction by fire of S. Paolo fuori le Mura, S. Apollinare in Classe ranks as the finest of the early Christian basilicas. The capitals and other sculptured decorations are, however, purely Byzantine, as are the apsidal mosaic which represents Elias and Moses at either side of the Cross, and a symbolical picture of the Transfiguration with S. Apollinaris below, his hands raised in prayer, in a field of flowers and plants in which lambs personify the Apostles. The design of these mosaics is more schematic than that of the previously mentioned

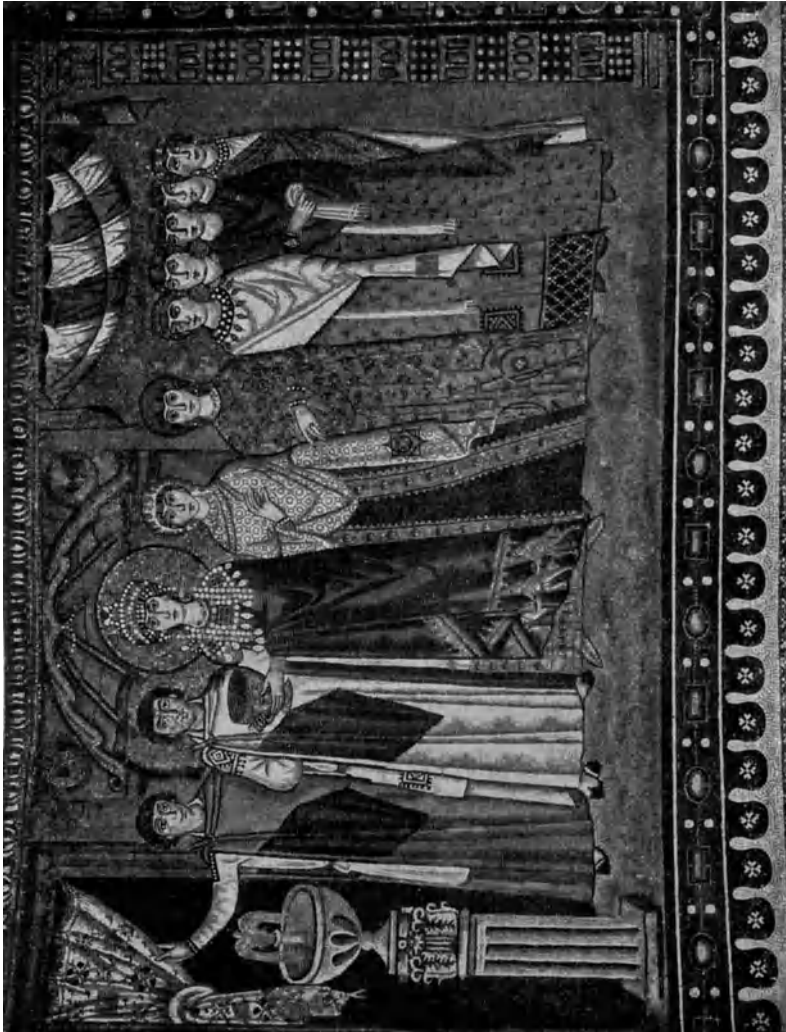


Fig 17. Theodora and her suite. Mosaic circa 547. S. Vitale, Ravenna.
Photo Alinari

works. The other mosaics of this church are of a somewhat later date and will be considered further on.

The mosaic of S. Michele in Affrisco is now preserved in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin ⁽¹⁾. In the vaulted part of the

⁽¹⁾ *Ciamponi*, op. cit., II pl. XVII. *Garucci*, op. cit., IV pl. 267. *O. Wulff*, Das Ravennatische Mosaik von S. Michele in Affrisco, Jahrb. der K. Preuss.

apse Christ, young and beardless, is represented between two archangels; Cosmas and Damian are depicted on either side of the wall beyond, while above we see the Saviour seated on a broad, richly ornate throne, amidst nine angels, seven of whom are blowing trumpets. This much-restored mosaic, like the previous one, shows in certain parts a rigid schematic design.

Of better quality are the mosaics found in the Archbishop's Palace, in the chapel of S. Pier Crisologo, although on account of frequent restoration they have lost so much of their individuality that it has — perhaps rightly — been supposed that this decoration is not entirely of one period. The Cross occupying the centre of the vault is carried by four angels, with the symbols of the Evangelists in the intervening spaces. The arcades are decorated with rows of medallions in which the beardless bust of the Lord and half figures of the Apostles and other saints are depicted. Besides these we find another image of the Saviour, the Madonna and other figures, which are probably of later execution. The busts in the medallions form the finest and most interesting part of this *ensemble*, and although somewhat rough in execution they pass for the best products of Byzantine art in Ravenna. Although hieratic, these figures are without rigidity, manifesting again the extraordinary gift which the Eastern artists of this period displayed for the expression of individuality.

We must pass for a moment into the 7th century in order to observe the decline which terminated the Byzantine influx into Ravenna. This city, which had been the residence of mighty princes, and had become the seat of the representatives of the Byzantine government was now gradually surpassed in importance by Rome, which had been slowly recovering from the critical years through which it had passed. As we shall see later, Byzantine art simultaneously underwent the same decadence at Rome.

The later mosaics in S. Apollinare in Classe show us how very low this art had fallen at the time of Bishop Reparatus (672—77) who undertook a journey to Constantinople in order to receive personally from Constantine IV Pogonatus (668—85)

Kunstsamml., XXV 1904 p. 374. *The same*, K. Museen zu Berlin III; Altchristl. u. Mittelalterl. Byzant. u. Ital. Bildwerke, II Berlin, 1911. Zweiter Nachtrag p. 13.

the privileges which would guarantee his authority against that of Rome. The mosaic represents this ceremony (fig. 18). The emperor, surrounded by princes and court dignitaries, is depicted in the act of handing the scroll to the bishop. In a way this court scene is a repetition of that of Justinian and Theodora, but the comparison makes us fully conscious of the period of decline which separates the two mosaics, the later being weak in design as well as colour.

Life in Ravenna had become that of a provincial town of little importance. Before we leave it let us draw the reader's attention to the fact that from the moment when the Byzantines established themselves at Ravenna all trace of the antique tradition died out; in this respect Ravenna presents a great contrast to Rome. It is also remarkable that the inscriptions of the Ravenna mosaics, even of the most purely Byzantine, are always in Latin.

The same capitals, which seem to have been imported from Constantinople and Salonica into Ravenna, are found also at Pomposa, Venice, Torcello, Grado, Aquileia, and Parenzo. This means that the artistic influence of Byzantine had made itself felt in all these places, and no doubt several, if not all, of their churches were embellished with mosaics executed in the same style. These, however, have been preserved only at Parenzo, where the apse of the cathedral is richly decorated (¹).



Fig 18 Constantine IV granting a privilege to Bishop Reparatus. Mosaic of 672—77. S. Apollinare in Classe. Ravenna.

Photo. Alinari.

(¹) *A. Amorosa*, Le basiliche cristiane di Parenzo, Parenzo, 1895. *P. Deperis*, Il Duomo di P. e i suoi mosaici, Atti e memorie della Soc. Istriana di arch. e stor. patr., X 1894 fasc. 1 and 4. *G. Boni*, Il Duomo di P. e suoi mosaici, Arch. stor. dell'arte, 1894 p. 107. *O. Marucchi*, Le recenti scoperte nel Duomo di P. Nuov. Bull. di Arch. Crist., 1896 p. 14. *Wlha and Viemann*, Der Dom von P. (Vienna).

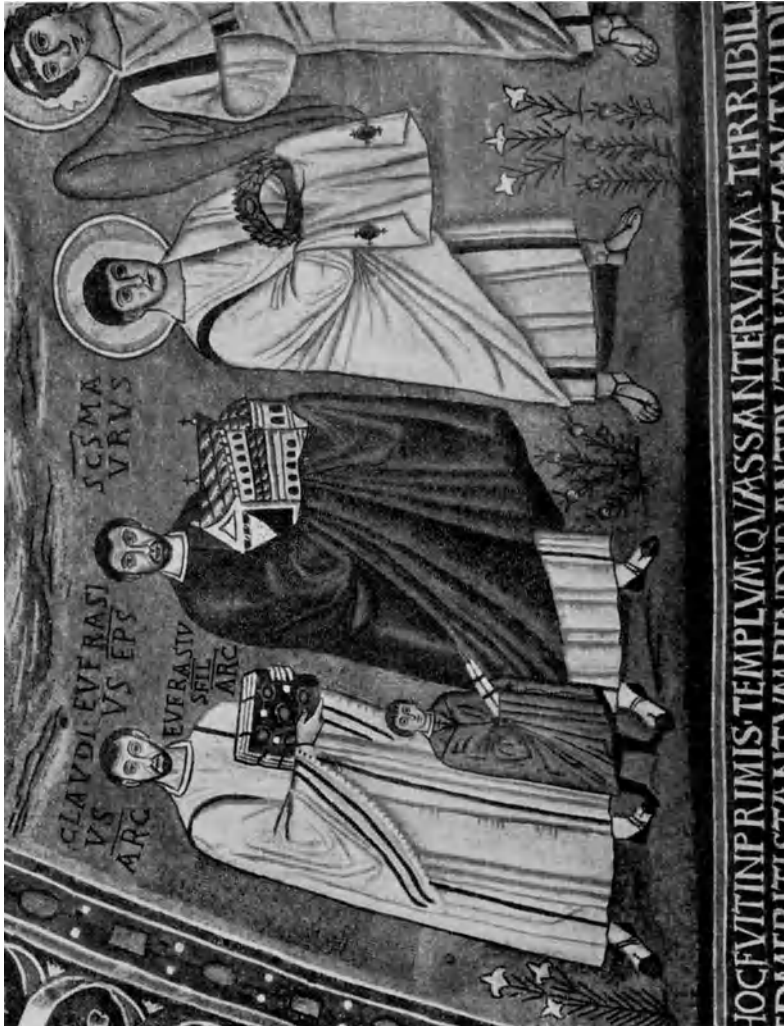


Fig 19. St Maurus and two Donors Mosaic of the first half of the VI century. The Cathedral, Parenzo.

Photo Alinari.

On the arch the Lord, beardless, and holding an open book, is seated on a globe; a figure somewhat resembling that in the apse of S. Vitale of Ravenna; six Apostles approach from either side. The centre of the vault is occupied by the Virgin, who, seated on a magnificently decorated throne, is escorted on either side by an angel; the one on the left is followed by St. Maurus with his

martyr's crown, the Bishop Euphrasius carrying the model of the church, the archdeacon Claudius holding a book, and between the two last the small son of Claudius, who was named after the bishop (fig. 19). As pendant on the opposite side we find three holy martyrs. This part of the decoration is inclosed above by nine medallions, of which the central contains the Divine Lamb and the others busts of female saints. In the lower part of the apse we find represented the Annunciation, in which the angel is advancing towards the Virgin, who is seated on a monumental throne which forms the extremity of a colonnade ⁽¹⁾ (fig. 20), and the Visitation, where we see the holy Mothers conversing together, while the servant, to facilitate eaves-dropping, raises the curtain which covers the entry to the house: a detail which I believe we find here for the first time, but which has obtained a recognised place in the tradition of iconography ⁽²⁾.



Fig. 20. Annunciation. Mosaic of the first half of the VI century. Cathedral, Parenzo.
Photo Almari.

Although the two last representations are of rather peculiar design, the decoration remains an important specimen of Byzantine art, especially the figures of the donors on the left of the Madonna, which are interesting examples of those personal portraits which were a speciality of this school. This work dates from the first half of the 6th century.

In North Italy, in the chapel of S. Vittore in Ciel d'Oro which

⁽¹⁾ Similar attitudes to these, but in the reverse sense, are to be found in the catacombs: see *H. F. J. Liell*, *Die Darstellungen der allerseligste Jungfrau u. Gottergebareerin Maria etc.*, Freiburg 1 B., 1887 pl. 2.

⁽²⁾ *R. van Marle*, *Recherches sur l'Iconographie de Giotto et de Duccio*, Strasbourg, 1920 p. 7.

communicates with the church of S. Ambrogio in Milan, we still find mosaics of this type in which, however, the Byzantine inspiration is less pronounced⁽¹⁾. In the centre of the golden vault, the circular wreath, in which one can distinguish human figures and birds, and from which garlands radiate, contains the bust of a young, short-bearded man who holds a curiously shaped cross in one hand and an open book before him in the other; another ornate cross is placed near him, while above we see a small crown of martyrdom. It seems likely that the image represented here is that of St. Victor himself. On the upper part of the wall the full-length figures of Ambrosius, Gervasius, Protasius, Nabor, Felix, and Maternus are depicted. Yet again we have here before us an example of the Oriental art of portraiture. The faces are varied and full of personality, which strikes us all the more because the rest of these figures is inferior of quality, without any relief, and of an exaggerated linear effect: characteristics of the school to which they belong. I think the earliest period to which we can attribute them is the second quarter of the 6th century.

Before proceeding to Rome, which from now onwards becomes the principal centre of artistic activity, let us cast a glance at the Byzantine mosaics of Southern Italy, few of which, however, have been preserved. It is only from ancient documents that we know that there existed in the old cathedral of Naples a mosaic of about 575 representing the Transfiguration, and identical with that in St. Catherine's church of Mount Sinai ⁽²⁾. Mention is also found of a mosaic decoration of this period belonging to the basilica of S. Lorenzo of the same town and, although I do not as a rule wish to dwell on works of a merely decorative character, I should like to make an exception of a few of the 6th century, such as the still partly preserved pavement of Sta. Maria di Capua Vetere, which consists of rose-shaped ornaments surrounded by interlacing lines and enclosing an eagle holding a fish, apparently a motive of Oriental inspiration⁽³⁾.

Mosaics on a gold background existed at Sipontum but are

⁽¹⁾ *L. Ambiveri*, La basilica di S. Vittore, Raccolta milanese di Storia, Geografia ed Arte, 1887 p. VI. *A. Ratti*, Il più antico ritratto di S. Ambrogio, Milano, 1897. *P. Toesca*, op. cit., p. 15.

⁽²⁾ *Muntz*, op. cit., p. 29. *Bertaux*, op. cit., p. 63.

⁽³⁾ *Salazaro*, op. cit., I pl. 3. *Garucci*, op. cit., IV pl. 277. *Bertaux*, op. cit., p. 64.



Fig 21. The Lord amidst Saints and the Donor. Mosaic of 526-30. SS. Cosme e Damiano, Rome.

Photo Anderson

known to us only from an early text, from which M. Bertaux gathers that they probably represented tabernacles very similar to those in St. George's church at Thessalonica or in the baptistery of the Orthodox at Ravenna⁽¹⁾.

Notwithstanding the wars between the Goths, Byzantines and the Lombards, from which Rome suffered more than any other city in Italy, and other calamities of the period such as famine, plague and inundation, artistic activities of this city may be followed without interruption from the early 6th century onwards. This production we largely owe to the Popes, who caused the construction and ornamentation of many churches.



Fig. 22. Detail of fig. 21.

Photo Anderson.

The first 6th-century Roman mosaic which has come down to us is one of SS. Cosmo e Damiano, executed during the pontificate of Felix IV, (526—30) while the city was still at peace⁽²⁾. It is one of particular importance, as it is the

first example of a composition which we shall very frequently encounter. It differs from the earlier ones in that the Lord is not enthroned, but seems to float in mid-air; on either side St. Paul and St. Peter present St. Cosmo and St. Damian to the Saviour, while at the extreme right hand we see S. Teodoro and on the extreme left the Papal founder, holding the model of the church; which was however entirely re-built in the 17th century (fig. 21 and 22). These six figures are represented standing in a meadow

⁽¹⁾ *Bertaux*, op. cit., p. 66.

⁽²⁾ *R van Marle*, *La peinture romaine au moyen-âge, son développement du 6^{ème} jusqu' à la fin du 13^{ème} siècle*, Strasbourg, 1921. p. 24.



Fig. 23. The Saviour between Saints and the Donor. Mosaic of 578—90 S. Lorenzo-fuori-le-Mura, Rome.

Photo Anderson

adorned with numerous little flowers, but on which is inscribed the name of the Jordan. The arch around the apse was decorated with Apocalyptic scenes, but of the twenty-four aged men only the crowns, which the foremost on either side carry in their covered hands, remain visible; above, however, the mosaics have been preserved, and we see, amidst seven candlesticks, two archangels and the symbols of the Gospellists, as well as a jewelled throne, on which are placed a lamb and a Cross, while a scroll with seven seals lies before it. Below the principal group in the apse, are depicted six Lambs on either side, approaching the central and thirteenth Lamb.

The mosaic of SS. Cosme e Damiano is the first manifestation of Byzantine art in Rome. Notwithstanding that the four figures around the Saviour may seem at first sight to be late products of the antique tradition, here again we meet with too much outspoken individuality not to detect the Byzantine current. The Saviour, with his heavy black beard, and traces of schematism in the draping of the lower part of his robe, is an equally obvious manifestation of Oriental art. The same may be said with even greater force in the case of the image of St. Theodore, an ascetic figure dressed in a robe richly embellished in the Byzantine style. The drawing of all the tunics strikes us as unduly linear, and the cloudy background forms as it were the transition between the landscapes of the ancients and the uniform gold of the Byzantines. The taste for large jewels which may be observed in the Apocalyptic scenes is of the same origin. In this mosaic, however, the Byzantine characteristics have not yet attained their full development; the spirit is still antique and the colouring is reminiscent of Pompeian painting.

The transformation from antique to Byzantine was accomplished in the mosaic of the arch of S. Lorenzo-fuori-le-Mura, which church was founded by Pope Pelagius II (578—80)⁽¹⁾. Comparing this with the previous mosaic, we become aware of the fact that the Byzantine style had taken a thorough hold in Rome between the execution of the one and the other. Here the Lord, seated on a globe and holding a cross, occupies the centre; SS. Paul, Stephen and Hippolytus stand on his right, while to the left are SS. Peter, Lawrence, and the Pope, with the model of his

⁽¹⁾ *R. van Marle*, op. cit., p. 26.

church (fig. 23). The magnificent and elaborate buildings below on either side represent the celestial cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

It may be that the Roman artist of this period did not know how to assimilate the Byzantine elements of which his work is none the less full, or — and this is more probable — the decadence of Roman art had a particularly disastrous influence on productions of this period, for the picture is a far from pleasing one. The schematic folds have already degenerated into hardness, the eyes are large and staring, the attitudes strained, and the figures motionless, all shortcomings which we frequently find in later forms of Byzantine art, but which also characterize those Roman productions of the 6th century which follow the Oriental tradition.

To the last years of the 6th century we may ascribe the mosaic of the round church of S. Teodoro (¹), where the central figure is almost identical with that of the previous work, and again St. Peter and St. Paul stand on either side; next to them is St. Theodore and another saint. The characteristic shortcomings of the mosaic of S. Lorenzo-fuori are here yet more obvious.

This peculiar aspect of a certain group of Roman works is not limited to mosaics only; it is manifest also in contemporary paintings, a certain number of which are to be found in the catacombs (²).

In the crypt of Sta. Merita, discovered in 1903, in the Commodilla catacombs, there is, besides a triangular fresco dating probably from 528, but of no great importance, a painting of the tomb of the widow Turtura (³). She is depicted as a small figure, her hand covered with a "mappa" (a square white cloth), standing at the side of a monumental and richly decorated throne, on which the Virgin is seated, holding the Child Jesus on her lap. Standing on either side are the young St. Adauctus, who lays his hand protectingly on the widow's shoulder, and the old St. Felix, with a short white beard; both figures are dressed in white togas, while the latter is seen to be wearing sandals (fig. 24). The manner in which this painting is executed particularly re-

(¹) *R. van Marle*, op cit., p. 26

(²) For all frescoes in the catacombs see the already quoted work of *J. Wilpert*.

(³) *Marucchi*, Nuovo Bull. di Archeol. Christ., 1904 p. 41; 1905 p. 5. *Wilpert*, idem, 1904 p. 161; 1905 p. 361. *Bonavema*, idem, 1904 p. 171. *Kanzler*, idem, 1905 p. 181. *Wilpert*, Rom. Quartalschr., 1908 p. 102.

minds us of the mosaic of S. Lorenzo-fuori. It is, however, finer than another fresco in the same catacomb representing the Saviour, beardless, seated on a globe, giving the keys to St. Peter. On the other side we see SS. Paul and Felix, and at the end St. Stephen as Orant; the figures which were represented behind St. Peter no longer exist (fig. 25). The execution of this fresco seems hasty and careless; the folds are represented by broad streaks; the style, however,

does not differ from that of the works already mentioned.

There are several other paintings in the catacombs executed in a similar manner.⁽¹⁾ Somewhat superior to the last mentioned is one in the St. Hermes catacombs, representing the Saviour on a high throne, laying his hand on the head of a young male Orant in the presence of two togated saints: probably the holy martyrs Protus and Hyacinth.



Fig. 24 Virgin, Saints and the widow Turtura, VI century. Commodilla Catacombs, Rome.

We should also mention a painting in the cemetery of Sta. Generosa, where the Lord is seated amidst the saints Simplicius, Faustinus, Viatrex and Rufinus, the last named in warrior's attire. Besides the more pronounced Byzantine characteristics of this work, we find the names inscribed vertically. This Eastern peculiarity is also present in a fresco in the catacomb of St. Pontian, in which the Lord is depicted placing haloes on the heads of SS. Abdon and Sennen, who are clothed in skins; SS. Millix and Pigmenius at their sides are dressed in togas. The same saints are found in the chapel of St. Pollion, together with the martyrs Bitus and Marcelinus. The rough execution and the exaggerated schematism give this painting a very unpleasant aspect.

The fresco of St. Felicity and her seven sons in the cemetery

⁽¹⁾ *R. van Marle*, op cit, p. 28.

which is named after her is probably of about the year 600. It is a product comparable with the foregoing but even more inferior. In it we have the first example of the cheeks being indicated by a spot of red paint, an extreme form of the schematic design which from now onwards will be met with very frequently.

St. Felicity is also represented in her oratory inside Rome⁽¹⁾ where we see her and her sons standing in a row terminated by two palm trees and two small figures, probably the exe-

⁽¹⁾ *De Rossi*, *Pittura ritraente Sta. Felicita ed i sette figliuoli in un antico oratorio presso le terme di Tito, Boll. di Archeol. Crist.*, 1884—5 p. 157. Illustrations will be found in *Marucchi*, *Basiliques et églises de Rome*, Rome—Paris, 1902 p. 310, and *Grisar*, *op. cit.*, p. 169. *Venturi*, *op. cit.*, II p. 248.



Fig. 25 The Lord giving the keys to St Peter, VI century. Commodilla Catacombs, Rome.

cutioners. Above we find a half-figure of the Saviour, the twelve mystical Lambs forming a frieze. The dilapidated condition of this fresco does not enable us to form an exact opinion of the manner in which it was executed, but from what remains it seems probable that it had a rather pronounced Byzantine aspect.

In a fresco of the Madonna near the apse of Sta. Maria Antiqua in the Forum⁽¹⁾ we find attempts at regular beauty, an important and distinct change from the paintings of the catacombs. It forms part of that mixture of fragments dating from the 6th to the 8th century on the so called „palimpsest” wall. The Virgin, whose diadem and robe are laden with jewels, carries the „mappa” in one hand and places the other on the shoulder of her Son. The back of the throne has the curious curved shape which we found in S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna. To the right traces of a crowned angel carrying a sceptre remain visible. These fragments are sufficient indication for us to understand the aspect of the original composition, that of the Virgin in majesty between two angels. I agree with M. de Grüneisen that the figure very likely dates from the 6th century, but probably from its very first years⁽²⁾. The strong linear effect and the large gems clearly indicate the Byzantine style of this painting; the crown worn by the Virgin, however, is an element belonging to the Western and not to the Eastern iconography of the Madonna.

This example of the intermingling of the West with the East confirms my belief that during the 6th century art in Rome was only to a certain extent under Byzantine influence. Most of the figures which we found in the mosaics or in the frescoes of the catacombs betray a transformation tending to a decadence of the

(1) *W. de Gruneisen*, Ste Marie Antiqua, Rome, 1911 pls. XLIV, XLVI—VII, LXX. Other important publications on this church are: *O. Marucchi*, La chiesa di S. M. A. nel Foro Romano, Nuov. Boll di Arch. Crist., VI 1900 fasc. 3—4. *H. Grisar*, Scoperto di S. M. A. al Foro, Civiltà Cattolica, 1901 p. 228 and 727. *G. Rushforth*, The Church of S. M. A., Papers of the British School at Rome, 1902 I p. 1. *Wuscher-Bechi*, Die Apsisfresken in S. M. A., Zeitschr. f. christl. Kunst, 1904 p. 289. *J. Wilpert*, Die Malereien in der Kirche S. M. A., Byzant. Zeitschr., 1905 p. 578. *W. de Gruneisen*, Studi iconografici in S. M. A., Archivio dell R. Soc. rom. di St. patr., XXIX 1906 p. 85. *J. Wilpert*, S. M. A., L'Arte, XIII 1910 p. 1 and 81.

(2) *W. de Gruneisen*, S.M.A., fig. 105 and *Wilpert*, op. cit., pls. 134 and 207; the latter is of opinion that this fresco dates from the end of the 5th century.

antique manner, for which the Eastern style may to a certain extent be responsible, but which has nevertheless conserved something of the virtuosity displayed by the Pompeian products. Consequently we cannot say that we find in Roman art that absolute Byzantine domination which is visible at Ravenna and Parenzo. Rome during the 6th century acquired a manner of her own, differing not only from the Eastern but also from that of other Italian cities.

Yet again, the mosaics of Ravenna, Parenzo and Milan do not absolutely resemble the contemporary works of Salonica, but here the difference is a technical one; the mosaics made in Byzantium are finer in execution than the Italian ones, which have the appearance of rather provincial productions, which after all, they really are. This technical difference forms a link between the Roman mosaics and those of the other Italian centres, thus separating them to a certain extent from the genuine Byzantine sphere of activity. When we consider too that the inscriptions are in Latin, it becomes even less likely that we owe these pictures to Greek artists; an opinion which is corroborated by a comparison between the Roman productions of the 6th century and some of those dating a hundred years later, when the "second Hellenization" of Rome had taken place, after which period Greek inscriptions are also less uncommon.

Politically the dependency of Rome on Byzantium was augmented by the fact that the election of a Pope had to be confirmed by the Emperor at Constantinople or — probably after the year 625 — by the Exarch at Ravenna. Constantine II himself came to Rome in 663, and, although not cordial, the relations between Byzantium and Rome were almost unbroken during the 7th century. The Greek colony, whose foundation may be traced to the time when Narses was resident in Rome, increased considerably during this period; and this was largely owing to the nationality of many of the Popes who occupied the Holy See; for during the 7th and 8th centuries we can count thirteen Sicilians, with Syrians and Greeks amongst their number. A great many of their compatriots, as well as Armenians fleeing the Arabs, settled in the Eternal City, and a Greek quarter was founded around the church of Sta. Maria in Cosmedin, where monasteries were established for the benefit of monks from the Orient, while Greek book-

dealers sold their national literature, and there were doubtless many artists amongst the inhabitants (¹). It is obvious that this centre of Byzantine civilization might easily have taken possessions of the spirit of the exhausted city.

Along with the influx of Greek life, we find this same period highly disastrous to the monuments of ancient Rome, which to a certain extent had probably contributed to the familiarity with classical art which the inhabitants had retained; hardly a temple remained standing, and Constantine II, when he visited the city, found only a small part of the Imperial Palace habitable. On the other hand, the Popes of the 7th century contributed greatly to the renovation of the city and ordered the construction of many buildings — no doubt in the Byzantine style — several of whose mosaics have come down to us.

The earliest 7th century mosaic still existing is that which Honorius I (625—38) had made in the apse of the church of Sta. Agnese; the composition is a new one, and is met with here for the first time. Neither the Lord nor the Virgin occupies the centre of the apse, but the saint herself, dressed as a Byzantine princess, adorned with large jewels against a starry background, and between two Popes, one of course being St. Honorius and the other probably Sylvester I, during whose pontificate the church was founded, or Innocent I, who first restored it (fig. 26). Notwithstanding obvious traces of restoration we may be certain that this mosaic never belonged to the best productions of mosaic art. The figures are too elongated, rigid, motionless, hard in outline and without expression. We should however appreciate this mosaic for its rich decorative effect, which was in all probability the only aim of the artist. The colouring is warm and brilliant and has the charm of good Oriental work.

Pope John IV (640—42), who was Dalmatian by birth, began the oratory of S. Venanzio attached to the baptistry of the Lateran, while it was finished by his Greek successor Theodore (642—49), and although it seems impossible that the founder lived to see the mosaic decoration terminated it was very

(¹) *L. Courajod*, Rome byzantine; Leçons professées à l'éc. du Louvre, éd. Lemonnier et Michel p. 347. *Battifol*, Libraires byzantins à Rome, Mélanges de l'éc. de Rome, VIII 1888 p. 297. *Ch. Diehl*, Études sur l'administration byzantine dans l'ésarchat de Ravenne, Paris, 1888

we see half-figures of the Lord in benediction, between two angels (fig. 27); lower, the Virgin as Orant, between eight saints, while on the walls at either side eight other saints are depicted (fig. 28). Only two of these sixteen saints, the first on the left and St. John the Gospellist, are of a clearly Roman type; all the others are portraits of Byzantine dignitaries executed in the same manner as those accompanying the Emperor Justinian in S. Vitale, Ravenna. We notice in this mosaic — the most purely Byzantine which Rome produced — the same attempt at portraiture and the same care in the delineation of the official robes. These Roman mosaics, however, are slightly inferior in execution to those of S. Vitale, but of a much better quality than the works of a somewhat later date in either town. No doubt the artist to whom we owe this work was Greek, but influenced by his Italian surroundings.

Rome itself does not seem to have produced other mosaics at this period of so good a quality, but they are none the less superior to the later works at Ravenna.

A mosaic in S. Stefano Rotondo⁽¹⁾ ordered by the same Pope Theodore (642—49) who saw the previous one finished is cruder in execution.

Besides the ornamental design we find represented here a half figure of the Lord resting on a jewelled cross, between the holy martyrs Primus and Felician. Less artistic care is shown in the execution; the folds are straight and heavy and entirely lacking in relief. The features, however, are as individual as those which we found in the chapel of S. Venanzio.

A certain decline must have taken place between the execution of this last work and the year 680, when the next datable mosaic in Rome was made. It is a figure of St. Sebastian in the church of S. Pietro-in-Vincoli, made during the pontificate of the Sicilian Agatho (668—85) on the occasion of the plague in 680, as this saint is the well-known protector against this disease. St. Sebastian, whose name is written vertically, is depicted old and bearded, holding the martyr's crown in his covered hand (fig. 29). Design and execution both show obvious traces of decadence, although not to the same extent as those observed in the

⁽¹⁾ *G. B. De Rossi*, *La basilica di S. Stefano Rotondo etc.*, Roma, 1886.



Fig. 27. The Lord between angels. Mosaic of 642—49, Lateran Baptistery, Rome.

Photo Moscioni.

almost contemporary (672—77) mosaic of Bishop Reperatus in S. Apollinare-in-Classa at Ravenna; still, it is clear that during this period the art of mosaic-making degenerated considerably in both these centres.

The paintings which were executed in the catacombs during the 7th century differ only slightly from those of earlier date and do not manifest that strong increase of Byzantinism which characterizes the mosaic productions.



Fig. 28 Four Saints. Mosaic of 642—49, Lateran Baptistery, Rome

Photo Anderson.

In the Sta. Merita crypt of the Commodilla catacombs we find a frescoed figure of St. Luke, whose inscription informs us that it was made in the time of Constantine IV Pogonatus (668—85). The artist who painted this figure was inspired more by the image of the younger saint in the fresco of the widow Turtura near by than by the decadent contemporary mosaics of either Ravenna or Rome. The Pompeian tradition is still obvious, but we find on the right side of the robe of the holy Gospellist a certain

schematic formation of the folds, which schematism was soon to become the chief characteristic of Byzantine work.

Of perhaps slightly earlier date — the first half of the 7th century — is a fresco in the S. Pontien catacombs representing St. Pollion, between SS. Peter and Marcellus clothed in white togas. Little care has been observed in the execution, as may also be said of another fresco in this cemetery, of the Baptism of the Lord, which is painted in the same style.

The figure of St. Cecily in the cemetery of S. Callixtus is of a much better quality of painting. She is represented as young and charming, in the attitude of an Orant. Again some elements of Pompeian art have been preserved, but the Byzantine characteristics, such as the heavy outlines and the enormous gems are more important factors in determining the movement to which this work belongs.

Several series of miniatures of Eastern style may be attributed to the 6th or 7th century, and although the Pompeian impressionism or the old standard of proportion is frequently present we cannot be sure that any of them were executed elsewhere than in the Orient.

The Pompeian facility of design dominates the miniatures in the Codex of Rossano, which is supposed to be a product of



Fig. 29. St. Sebastian. Mosaic of 680, S. Pietro in Vincoli, Rome.

Photo Alinari.

Syria⁽¹⁾, the St. Matthew Codex of Sinope in the Paris National Library⁽²⁾, the 6th century Gospel of Etschmiadzin⁽³⁾ and the Mesopotamian Codex of the Gospel of 586 in the Laurenziana Library, Florence⁽⁴⁾. The connection which exists between these miniatures and Hellenic painting, however, is limited to technical skill and a keen appreciation of movement. The Dioscuri of Vienna, prior to 524⁽⁵⁾ displays more fully the ancient principles, but it is generally admitted that these miniatures are copies of older ones. The illustrations of the 7th century Cosmas Codex in the Vatican Library are more clearly Byzantine, but they again are copied from originals of a hundred years earlier.⁽⁶⁾

Considering how deeply the Byzantine civilization penetrated into Italy it seems certain that similar miniatures were painted here, but we cannot definitely point to any such.

For the defence of the hypothesis that the Hellenic style was not imported from the East into Italy, but that there the ancient tradition arose from a local source and had an independent existence, it is highly important to note that during this period Byzantine art was spreading throughout Italy, and paintings were produced which must be attributed solely to the Hellenic movement, so that we may assume that in Italy — especially in Rome — two different schools existed simultaneously. I have already mentioned the fact that, although thoroughly Byzantine

(¹) *Haseloff*, Codex purpureus Rossanensis, Berlin, 1898 *A Munoz*, Il Codice purpureo di Rossano, Rome, 1907.

(²) *H. Omont*, Notice sur un tres ancien M. S. Grec de l'Evangile de St. Matthieu, Acad. des Inscr. et Bel. Let., Paris, 1900. *The same*, Peintures du M. S. Grec de l'Evangile de St. Matthieu, Monum. Piot, VII 1901 *The same*, Fac-similés des miniatures des plus anciens M.S.S. grecs de la Bibl. Nat. Paris, 1902. *A Munoz*, op cit. *The same*, Codex purpureus Sinopensis, Nuov-Bull di Arch. crist., XII.

(³) *J. Strzygowski*, Das Etschmiadzin Evangeliar, Byzant. Denkmaler, I Vienna, 1891.

(⁴) *G. Biagi*, Repr. di Manoscritti miniati della R. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Firenze, 1914 pls. 1—3.

(⁵) *Diez*, Die miniaturen des Wiener Dioskurides, Byzant. Denkmaler, III-Vienna, 1903. *Premmerstein*, *Wesseley* and *Mantuan.*, De codicis Dioscuridei Aniciae Julianae Vindobonensis historia, Leyde, 1906.

(⁶) *Stornajolo*, Le miniature della Topografia cristiana di Cosma Indico, pleste. Milano, 1908.



Fig 30. Miniature of 590—604, Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

in style, the mosaics of Ravenna and some of those in Rome, are not equal in quality to those made in the Eastern empire, to that it is quite plain that Byzantine art must in Italy be regarded as an imported product, while in works of Hellenic movement we notice a far greater familiarity with the tradition, which gradually degenerates, and after the decadence transforms its aspect, though even in this changed form it may be traced to the original source.

It must be confessed however that during the 6th and 7th centuries Byzantine art had practically replaced the Hellenic

manner in Italy; it is true that the paintings of the catacombs still retained something of the Pompeian style, but this would be of little importance if there were not extant works which demonstrate the persistence of Hellenic art in a more definite fashion.

The most important of these are two miniatures, not only because in all probability they are of Roman origin, but also because we can ascribe them to the last years of the 6th century. They illustrate a Gospel manuscript, which very likely is one of those sent by Gregory the Great (590--604) to Augustine of Canterbury, and the Pope no doubt would have had his manuscripts made in Rome (¹). The codex which is now preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, contains but two illustrated pages, one representing the seated figure of St. Luke under an arcade, having on either side three divisions, in each of which two scenes are depicted (fig. 30) while the other page contains twelve representations of events from the life of Christ, in which Oriental and Occidental iconographical elements intermingle. The inscriptions, however, are in Latin, and the style in which the miniatures are executed is decidedly late antique, reminding us of those of the Vatican Virgil, although somewhat more decadent. There is no trace of Pompeian impressionism.

This last tendency is however to be noted in a few scattered frescoes in Rome, of which the most important and best preserved is the one discovered during the excavations made at the Sancta Sanctorum (²). It shows a figure with a short beard, dressed in a white toga, seated on a chair, the curved back of which has the same shape as that already found in the thrones of the Madonna on the palimpsest wall of Sta. Maria Antiqua and of the Lord in S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna. In front of this person is placed a lectern on which lies an open book. A long inscription renders it probable that the figure is that of St. Augustine.

(¹) *J. O. Westwood*, *Paleographia sacra pictoria*, London, 1845 pl. 11 Palaeographical Society reproductions pl. 2. *Garucci*, op. cit., III pl. 141. *Toesca*, *Storia dell'Arte*, p. 303. *L. Traube*, *Abhandl. der K. Bayer. Akad. der Wissensch. Philol. histor. Klasse*, XXI 1898 p. 107. *Munoz*, *Il codice di Rossano*, p. 30. *R. van Marle*, *La peinture romaine etc.*, p. 34.

(²) *Lauer*, *Les fouilles du Sancta Sanctorum*, *Mélanges d'arch et d'hist.*, XX 1900 p. 257. *The same*, *Note sur les fouilles du S.S.*, *Comptes rendus de l'Acc. des Insc. et Bel. Let.*, V série I 1900 Mai-Juin p. 107. *J. Wulpert*, op. cit., pl. 140 believes it dates from the time of Gregory the Great (590--604).



Fig. 31. Fragment of an Annunciation, circa 600. Sta. Maria Antiqua, Rome.

Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

The painting is executed with great skill and facility, the colouring is very bright, and, like the design, free from any Byzantine influence.

Probably of the year 600 or thereabout are some fragments on the palimpsest wall of Sta. Maria Antiqua of what once must have been a magnificent Annunciation, but only the greater part of the

Virgin's face (fig. 31) and a portion of the angel's have been preserved (1). It is easy to understand why this painting has sometimes been ascribed to an earlier date, for Pompeian impressionism is visible here still in a very pure form, but since the layer of cement on which this fresco is executed is superior to — and consequently later than — that on which the Byzantine Madonna with her heavy jewels was painted, it is impossible to attribute it to a much earlier date.

Still preserved on the same wall are some remains of four Fathers of the Church, three of whom are Greek: SS. John Chrysostom, Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus (2) and one an Occidental — St. Leo — but very little except their dalmatics can be distinguished. The epigraph enables us to date this work from the time of Pope Martin I (649—53) (3).

An important fragment of another Annunciation in Sta. Maria Antiqua (4) has been attributed to the same period. Here we see the Madonna, whose head is missing, seated on a high throne, next to which is placed a basket of wools, an element taken from the apocryphal legend which tells us how the Madonna was weaving a curtain for the Temple at the moment when the angel appeared. The representation of this episode belongs to Eastern iconography, the style although of the fresco is Pompeian, thus furnishing us with another interesting example of the manner in which the two movements intermingled in Rome during the 7th century.

Some resemblance exists between these remains and those existing in the oratory of the Forty Martyrs just outside the entrance of Sta. Maria Antiqua. Of the forty holy soldiers who suffered the torture of being kept all one night naked in freezing water, some are still visible. Although their figures do not display very skilful drawing the anatomy is slightly reminiscent of ancient sculpture.

The second series of portraits of Popes which adorns S. Paolo fuori-le-Mura also belongs to the 7th century. Nine of them are to be found on the left wall of the corridor of the monastery where they are now preserved; one medallion is here blank, while one

(1) *W. de Gruneisen*, *Ste. Marie Antique*, p. 277 and pls. 44, 47-49a.

(2) *W. de Gruneisen*, *op. cit.*, p. 140 and pl. 45.

(3) *G. Rushforth*, *The Church of Sta. Maria Antiqua*, I p. 72.

(4) *de Gruneisen*, *op. cit.*, p. 561 and pl. 19a.

portrait, originally forming part of this group, has been placed amongst those of the 9th century. Comparing them with the earliest portraits, which are also exhibited here, we notice a decided decline, of which some of the elements, such as the heavy outline and the exaggerated size of the eyes, may be due to a Byzantine influence, although the paintings clearly belong to the late antique manner.

In the church of Sta. Maria-in-via-Lata the fragments of a Moses with the book of the Law, and a Judgment of Solomon (¹), may be classed together with the above works; they somewhat resemble the paintings of the catacombs.

In the St. Cecily crypt of the cemetery of St. Callixtus three figures in togas, SS. Policamus, Sebastian and Curinus, are almost wholly antique in their inspiration.

This enumeration of late antique works, all within Rome, seems of comparatively little importance when we consider all those, inspired by the Byzantine movement dispersed throughout Italy. It is however, of great importance to prove that the Hellenic current did not entirely dry up, but continued on its course uninterrupted from pre-Christian times until the great masters of the 13th century.

For the history of Italian painting during the 8th century we find the material almost exclusively in Rome, the frescoes of Sta. Maria Antiqua, which can often be dated exactly, helping us most to understand the movement which took place there.

The iconoclastic edict issued in 726 by Emperor Leo III the Isaurien, prohibiting the making of religious images, greatly affected artistic life in Rome. The first result was an enormous emigration of Byzantines to Italy, where iconoclasm was considered a heresy; from the South, where the largest Greek colonies were founded — the number of settlers is supposed to have surpassed 50,000 — a great many came of course to Rome. Secondly, from now on the Italian people, falling in with the decision of the Pope, looked upon the Byzantine emperor as a heretic; and hereby the Pope benefited greatly, for apart from his religious dignity he now became the central figure of a movement of independence. Gregory II (731—41) did not entirely break with the monarch,

(¹) *Wilpert*, op cit, pl. 137.

but still to a certain extent recognised his power, no doubt fearing to be left isolated before the threatening Lombards. This separation from the increasingly unpopular Byzantines originated, however, some time before the iconoclastic struggle, and culminated about the middle of the 8th century, in the re-organisation of the Roman Senate. The events to be taken particularly into consideration for our subject are, consequently, an increasing detachment from Byzantium on the part of Italy, and, a little later, a new invasion of Greeks, amongst whom, on account of the character of the decree, there must have been many artists.



Fig. 32 John VII Mosaic of 705-8, Grotte Vaticane, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

stood near by, is now kept in the "Grotte Vaticane" (fig. 32). Above this figure the Nativity was depicted, with women bathing the Child Jesus; of this mosaic the figure of the Madonna is now preserved

(¹) *E. Muntz*, Notes sur les mosaïques chrétiennes de l'Italie, Paris, 1875. *Garucci*, op cit., VI pls. 271 etc. *A. Bartolo*, Un frammento inedito dei mosaici vaticani di Giovanni VII, Bollett d'arte del Min. di Pub Istr., 1907 p. 22 See especially *de Gruney*, op cit., p. 279. *R van Marle*, Peinture romaine etc., p. 50. A series of 17th century frescoes in the "Sudario" chapel of John VII in the Grotte Vaticane is inspired by these mosaics, but they are rendered in too free a manner for us to regard them as copy.

(²) Both are reproduced in *de Gruney*, op cit., pls 66-67.

in the cathedral of Orte, while the Child in his bath, between two women, forms part of the collection in the Lateran. To the left and right of this central portion are three divisions, of which the majority contain two separate scenes. Going from left to right these represented the Annunciation with the Visitation, the Presentation in the Temple and the Baptism, and the Entry into Jerusalem, of which the half-figure of the Lord is also in the Lateran museum; in a corner of this compartment the Last Supper was depicted, with a small picture of the Resurrection of Lazarus as pendant in the opposite corner. Above, on the right, the Adoration of the Magi occupied the whole space; while the rest of it may be seen in the sacristy of Sta. Maria in Cosmedin. In the middle the Healing of the Blind was depicted alone, while below were the Crucifixion — of which the Madonna and part of another figure are kept in the crypt of St. Peter's — and the Descent into Limbo.



Fig. 33 Head of apostle, 705—8,
Sta Maria Antiqua, Rome

Photo Anderson.

Next to these scenes six incidents from the life of St. Peter were also represented, and a fragment — a half-figure of a bearded old man — in the crypt of St. Peter's should have formed part of this series; but Garucci already has justly observed that the style does not correspond with that of the other scenes.

I should like first of all to state that the iconography of these scenes is Byzantine, but it is only logical that the Oriental manner of representing certain scenes should gradually replace that of the early Christians, whose repertory was very poor, for the painters of the catacombs added little to the subjects of the carved

sarcophagi. Likewise in the Byzantine style are the large gems which adorn the central Virgin, but, as has been previously remarked in a similar case, the East cannot be held responsible for her crown.

The individual character of the Pope's portrait may be attributed to the same source; nevertheless, these mosaics are not products of Byzantine art. The proportions of most of the figures are obviously antique, and there is an evident attempt at Pompeian impressionism in so far as it was possible to render it in mosaic. We find but little Oriental rigidity in the draping, and nothing remains of that immobility which characterized the mosaics of the Byzantine school, even when executed in Italy.



Fig 34 Head of apostle, 705—8.
Sta. Maria Antiqua, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

John VII had many frescoes painted in the church of Sta. Maria Antiqua; fifty inscriptions found there may be attributed to his pontificate,⁽¹⁾ and it is important to note that of these thirty are in Greek and twenty in Latin. This employment of both languages confirms our opinion that two tendencies were working simultaneously during this period. A carved ambon executed by order of the same Pope was found in the nave of this church; and

the "Liber Pontificalis" speaks of the frescoes which he caused to be painted here⁽²⁾.

The choir of Sta. Maria Antiqua was for the greater part decorated by order of John VII, but of the series of twenty-six Gospel scenes which once covered its walls only the Adoration of the Magi and the Carrying of the Cross have preserved something of their original appearance, the other fragments hardly allowing us to

⁽¹⁾ *V. Federici*, *L'épigraphie de l'église S.M.A.* in *de Grunisen*, op cit., p.413 and *V. Federici*, *Album épigraphique* Supplement to the chapter entitled *Epigraphie de l'église S. M. A*, Rome, 1911.

⁽²⁾ Ed. *Duchesne*, I p. 385.



Fig 35. Group of Angels, 705—8, Sta. Maria Antiqua, Rome.

Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

conclude of what scene they originally formed part ⁽¹⁾. A row of medallions lower down contained Apostles' heads (figs.33 and 34), the rest of the walls being covered with ornamental designs imitating drapery.

⁽¹⁾ *De Grunisen*, op. cit., in figs 115—18 has tried to complete some of these scenes

The decoration of the arch around the apse was also ordered by the same pontiff, but here considerable portions are missing altogether. M. de Grüneisen, however, has attempted a reconstruction which seems highly plausible⁽¹⁾. Above, in the centre, the Lord is seen crucified, amidst the Virgin and St. John, four seraphim and large groups of angels (fig. 35); hosts of people in adoration approach from either side, while lower the twelve mystical lambs, emerging from Jerusalem and Bethlehem, proceed towards the central Divine Lamb placed on a rocky eminence. At either side of the apse we find two pairs of figures, one above the other; all those in the upper row are Popes, amongst whom the donor's head is framed in the rectangular nimbus of the living. Beneath are depicted four Fathers of the Church; on the right the Greek saints Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil, and on the left St. Augustin, whose name in Latin characters alone remains visible, and another figure, which has entirely disappeared. Lower down on this side we find another Latin inscription, the others being in Greek. Again we see the two movements side by side revealed not merely by the different languages, but also by the placing of the Greek as pendants to the Latin Fathers. No doubt the centre of the apse contained a Madonna in glory between two angels, of whom a few traces remain, and probably SS. Peter and Paul.

The mosaics of the chapel in St. Peter's and the remains of paintings in the choir of Sta. Maria Antiqua, of which the groups of angels on the arch are the most important, give us a clear idea of the style which prevailed in Rome at the beginning of the 8th century. It is obviously a mixture of Byzantine elements and the antique tradition. From the East came the iconography of the Gospel representations, the somewhat marked delineation of the folds and their slightly schematic design. The dominating element in these works, however, is the impressionistic Pompeian manner in which they are executed. No Byzantine painter ever possessed the mastery, the skill and the rapid brushwork which are especially prominent in these frescoes (fig. 36), nor have the almost purely classical heads of the Apostles anything in common with those to be found either at Salonica or Ravenna. Even admitting that in the early Christian centuries the East

⁽¹⁾ *De Grüneisen* pl. 50.



Fig 36 Head of an angel, 705–8, Sta. Maria Antiqua, Rome.

Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

acquired the Hellenic technique of painting, it is only too obvious that the Oriental influence which was affecting Rome at the beginning of the 8th century was the Byzantine movement whose characteristics were strongly opposed to the liberty of execution displayed in these works. The predominance of the Pompeian style in works of the first years of the 8th century is again a proof that this tradition survived through the 6th and

7th centuries, although actual records of this survival are as we have already seen, few in number.

Somewhat more schematic in design, but still retaining the antique impressionism in their execution, are two other frescoes in this venerable church, which I believe may be attributed to the same period. They represent the Annunciation and Salomone with her sons, the Maccabees, and the martyr Eleazar⁽¹⁾. Of the



Fig. 37. St. Barbara, 708—31,
Sta. Maria Antiqua, Rome.
Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

former of these scenes the angelic messenger carrying the herald's staff remains visible, but only a few traces of the Madonna and one side of her throne -- which was mounted on a pedestal -- with part of a pointed cushion, have been preserved. Salomone and the two figures next to her are beautiful and stately souvenirs of the antique tradition, although slightly modified by the rigid Byzantine influence.

The damaged figures of SS. Barcha and Pantelemeon, and of the monk Dometos in the chapel to the right of the choir⁽²⁾, may perhaps also be attributed to this period, if not to one slightly later.

The more pronounced linear effect does not mask the Hellenic style of execution revealed by these figures.

Elsewhere I have already called attention to the fact that we must not imagine that the Romans did not

realize to what an extent their art had been dominated by Byzantium during the 6th and 7th centuries. It is therefore not impossible, though by no means certain, that the many antique elements which were reappearing just when Rome was

⁽¹⁾ *De Gruneisen*, op. cit., p. 100 and 102, pls. 17 and 19, ascribes them to the 8th century. Mgr. Wilpert believes them to date from the pontificate of John VII.

⁽²⁾ *De Gruneisen*, op. cit., figs. 127, 129 and pl. 56.

striving to obtain her independence from the Eastern empire, were in some degree the artistic repercussion of this political tendency.⁽¹⁾

Some paintings of a slightly later period, probably of the pontificate of Constantine (708—715) or even of the beginning of that of Gregory (715—31) were executed in different parts of Sta. Maria Antiqua, but all by one artist. They represent St. Barbara holding a cross and a peacock — the emblem of immortality (fig. 37)— and St. Anne with the Child Virgin⁽²⁾. The supposition that these frescoes are of later date is confirmed not only by an increase of the Byzantine convention but

⁽¹⁾ *R van Marle* op. cit., p. 55

⁽²⁾ *De Grunewald*, op. cit., pls. 18 and 54.

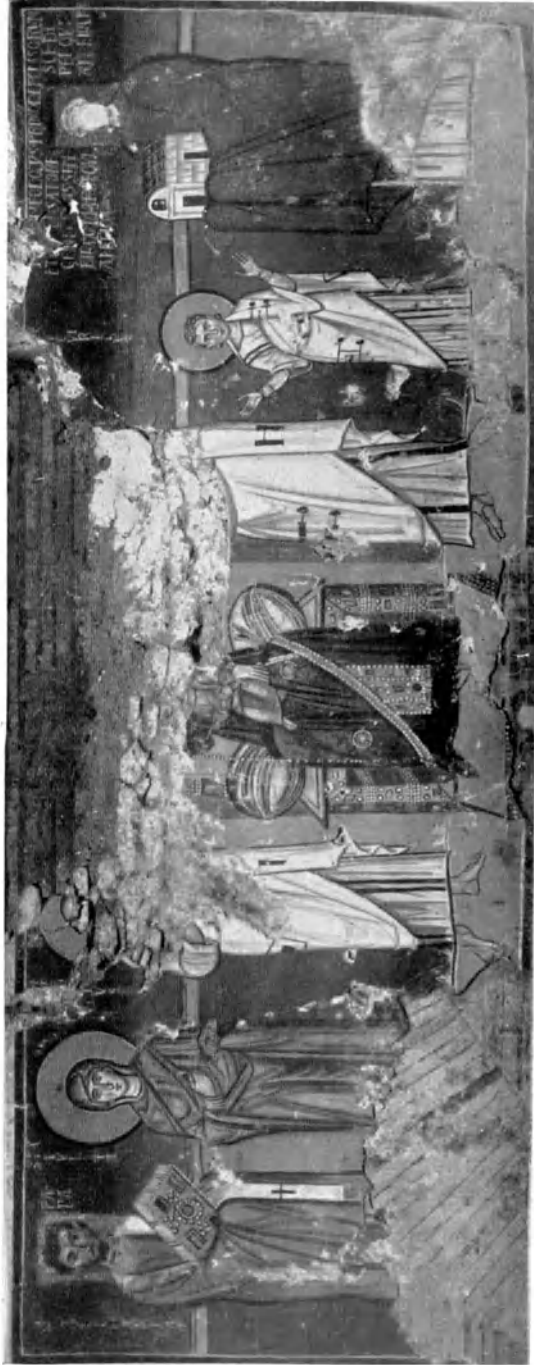


Fig. 38 Virgin among saints, Pope S. Zacharias and Theodotus, circa 741, Sta. Maria Antiqua, Rome
Photo Mannst. Publ. Inst.

also by the layer of plaster on which they are executed.

It was no doubt the influx of the Greeks into Italy, a result of the iconoclastic movement, which was the cause of the almost purely Byzantine style of the frescoes executed during the rule of Pope St. Zacharias (741—52) in the chapel on the left of the choir in Sta. Maria Antiqua. Although the similarity of style does not allow us to assume an interval of any importance, the principal painting here (fig. 38) must be of a somewhat earlier date, because in this fresco, which represents the fragmentary figure of the Virgin



Fig. 39 Detail of fig 38

Photo Minist. Publ Istr.

enthroned between two saints, St. Julitta and St. Quiricius (fig. 39), the heads of the two figures at either end have been concealed under those of Pope Zacharias and his "primicerius" Theodotus, who, by this means obtain at little cost and trouble the donor-ship of the entire fresco (¹). This is all the more curious, as the figure next to which we now find the following inscription "*Theodotus prim[iceri] o defensorum et [disp]ensatore sce di genitricis senperque Birgo Maria qui appellatur antiqua*" and over whose

face Theodotus had his own painted, although it has now fallen off, carries the model of the church in his covered hands and must consequently be the person to whom we really owe this work. The inscriptions here are all in Latin. Another image depicts Theodotus, holding two lighted candles, kneeling at the

⁽¹⁾ *De Grunisen*, op cit., pls. 36—38 and 79. *The same*, Studi iconografici in S. M. A. *J. Wilpert*, Die Portrats des Papstes Zacharias und des Primicerius Theodotos in S. M. A., Rom Quartalschr., 1907 p. 93.

feet of the damaged figures of SS. Julitta and Cyr (¹), while yet a third, although the head is missing, shows him again with two candles in his hands, standing next to a female figure with a child, whom M. de Gruneisen believes to be SS. Julitta and Cyr, but who might just as well be the Virgin and Child (²). A small boy and girl, the children of Theodotus, are placed next the central figure. They are the only ones of this fresco whose heads



Fig. 40. Martyrdom of SS. Cyr and Julitta, first half of the VIII century, Sta. Maria Antiqua, Rome.

Photo Anderson

have been preserved; the figure of a woman, probably his wife, formed the pendant to Theodotus, but, like the central image and that of the primicerius, the upper part has been destroyed.

The walls of this chapel are also adorned with several incidents from the martyrdom of SS. Julitta and Cyr, of which six scenes on the left wall and two on the right are still more or less visible (fig. 40).

Two other frescoes in the same chapel are of a somewhat diffe-

(¹) *De Gruneisen*, op cit, pls 35 and. 76.

(²) *De Gruneisen*. fig 96 and pls. 77—78



Fig. 41. The saints "of whom God alone knows the name", 741–52
Sta. Maria Antiqua, Rome.

Photo Mmst, Publ. I-tr

rent workmanship; one represents four martyrs, each carrying a cross, who, according to the inscription, are of the number of the saints "of whom God alone knows the name" (fig. 41); there were over eleven thousand of these martyrs who suffered during the persecution of Diocletian, and amongst them were SS. Julitta and Cyr.



Fig. 42. The Crucifixion, 741--52, Sta. Maria Antiqua, Rome.

Photo Minist. Publ. Isti

The second, which is from the same hand, is an important fresco of the Crucifixion in the apse ⁽¹⁾ (fig. 42). This representation, which has been rightly considered to have much in common with the miniatures of the Syriac Gospel of the 6th century in the Laurentian Library, Florence, is from an historical standpoint the most important monument which Sta. Maria Antiqua now possesses. It will therefore be discussed in greater detail than

⁽¹⁾ *De Grunewisen*, op. cit., pls. 39, 40. *L. Testi*, *Storia della pittura Veneziana* I p. 23, attributes this fresco to the end of the 11th century.

the other frescoes. On the low Cross, fixed by three buttresses on a slight eminence, we see Christ, considerably larger than the other figures, dressed in a long tunic without sleeves, his head slightly inclined to the right. His noble features show him alive, not suffering, but with a sad and beautiful expression. The arms are very long and rigid, an effect of relief having been produced by shading. The Saviour has a cruciform nimbus; over his head is a Greek inscription, and above the cross-bar the green moon is clearly visible, but the red sun is much damaged. On the left is the Virgin, with covered hands uplifted to the height of her face, and on the right St. John, holding a jewelled book; both have heavily outlined nimbi, and although the faces are well drawn they have no expression whatever. Between the Virgin and the Cross the much smaller figure of Longinus with his spear stands in a firm, skilfully drawn attitude; he wears a large sword in a scabbard, and is not the type of a Roman soldier but rather of a Jew, as is also the less well executed figure on the other side of the Cross, who raises the reed with the sponge towards Christ, and has a small pail at his feet. The draperies of the principal figure and the Madonna are soft and loose and hang naturally; St. John's cloak is not so good; an attempt has been made to bring out the anatomical details of the torturers' legs; the hands and feet of Christ and of the disciple are well drawn. With the exception of the man holding the sponge, the names of the other three figures under the Cross are vertically inscribed. The two mountains in the background show no perspective; and traces of vegetation are visible on the ground.

The various frescoes of the time of Pope Zacharias show two different tendencies, both belonging to Eastern art. Those representing the portraits of Pope Zacharias, Theodotus and his family form part of that tradition of portraiture of which we have already come across many examples. This art in a later stage of its development became of such exaggerated realism that sometimes the effect was almost repulsive, as for instance in the case of the pictures of a man and a woman preserved in the museum at Kieff; ⁽¹⁾ but from these the Roman frescoes differ in a greater freedom of gesture, which make us doubt whether the artist,

⁽¹⁾ *J. Strzygowski*, *Byzant. Denkmaler*, I Vienna, 1891 pl 8 *A Munoz*, *L'art byzantin à l'exposition de Grottoferrata*. Rome, 1906 fig 3

although familiar with Byzantine art, was not himself an Italian. On account of the iconoclastic movement, Byzantine works of this period are so rare that as a standard of comparison for other paintings we have to be satisfied with a Madonna of about 787, in the church of St. Sophia at Salonica, which greatly resembles the fresco of the four martyrs in the chapel of SS. Cyr and Julitta, although more decadent in aspect; from this we may assume that the decline which Byzantine art had already manifested was considerably accentuated during the period which separates these two works. The historian should not fail to remark that we find in this chapel of Sta. Maria Antiqua decorative geometrical designs identical with some of the ornamentation of the church of St. Demetrius at Salonica.

The scenes of martyrdom, on the other hand, express a violence of action which is not met with either in Byzantine or Hellenic art. It may possibly be an outcome of that dramatic realism of which we find some very early examples in the Christian Near East, but which had already penetrated into the Occident and there acquired a more or less national form⁽¹⁾. It is in these scenes that we meet for the first time in Italian art with a modification of this realism, and it does not seem improbable to me that it was directly imported from Christian Egypt.

Hence the artistic movement in Rome during the 8th century was born of the intermingling of two opposed styles, not only were the form and technique of the East and the West incorporated, but we find on the same wall Greek and Latin writing, Byzantine and Roman saints. The 8th century was for the Roman school a time when influences were so intermingled that it is only with difficulty that we succeed in following the two movements which together produced this form of art, but in which the Byzantine was the predominant element.

In Sta. Maria Antiqua we still find some fragments probably of the time of Pope Zacharias⁽²⁾, a fresco of the pontificate of Paul I (756—67) and others of that of Hadrian (772—95). Excepting these last, these paintings are hardly visible and offer no information respecting our subject. Besides equally negligible fragments⁽³⁾,

⁽¹⁾ *R van Marle*, op cit, p 64

⁽²⁾ *De Grunisen*, op cit, fig 70

⁽³⁾ *Idem*, figs 68 and 76

we find dating from the pontificate of Hadrian a fresco representing the Virgin enthroned amidst six figures, by one of which we read the name Sylvester while that on the extreme left represents the Pope himself⁽¹⁾. Notwithstanding the persistent individuality of the features, the hard schematic folds, the big lifeless eyes and the broad outline demonstrate the progress of decadence. Of the same style but still more decadent is a figure of St. Demetrius in a beautiful cloak, probably dating from the same period⁽²⁾.

Very similar to the image of Pope Sylvester in the fresco of Hadrian, and certainly of the same date, is a half-figure found in the oratory of Sta. Silvia amidst the excavations made under the church of S. Saba on the lesser Aventine⁽³⁾. Certain other fragments such as the row of feet, and the six heads of saints and some decorative motives, now removed to the church, formed part of the same *ensemble*.

Two Crucifixions of the 8th century, fragments of which are clearly visible, are still found in Rome, one in the subterranean chapel of S. Valentino in the Via Flaminia and the other in the lower church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. Of the former⁽⁴⁾ only the left hand upper portion of the Christ and the much faded figure of St. John are preserved. It does not seem to have shown much difference from that of Sta. Maria Antiqua; an old aquarelle now in the Vatican Library and an engraving in Bosio's *Roma Subterranea* (1651) give many indications as to the original composition⁽⁵⁾. As in the Crucifixion of Sta. Maria Antiqua, the Christ wears a colobium or sleeveless tunic. His head, behind which is a cruciform nimbus, is slightly inclined to the right. Above his head is

⁽¹⁾ *De Gruneisen*, fig 69

⁽²⁾ *De Gruneisen*, op cit., pl. 20.

⁽³⁾ *H. Grisar*, S. Saba sull' Aventino, Civiltà Cattolica, 1901 vol II p. 589, III p. 719; V p. 194 *M. E. Cammuzzaro*, L'Oratorio primitivo di S. S., Atti del congr intern. di Sc. Stor Roma, 1903 VII p 177; *E. Wuscher-Bechi*, Die griechischen Wandmalereien in S. S., Rom. Quartalschr, 1903 p. 54 *M. E. Cammuzzaro*, L'Oratorio primitivo de S. S., Roma, 1905 *J. Wilpert*, Le pitture dell oratorio di S. Silvia, Mélanges d'archéol et d'hist, 1906 p. 14 *P. Styger*, Geschichte des Klosters S. S. auf dem kleinen Aventin, Rom, Gratz, 1910 *H. Bacchi*, Studio sopra la chiesa aventina di S. S., Roma, 1910

⁽⁴⁾ *De Gruneisen*, op cit., pl. 61.

⁽⁵⁾ *De Gruneisen*, figs. 271 and 272.

an inscription, while in the sky on either side are the sun and the moon. The Cross also stands on an eminence, fixed by a few buttresses. According to Bosio's reproduction the background consisted, as in the similar scene on the 5th century door of Sta. Sabina, in the fortified wall of Jerusalem, of which traces are still visible in the fresco, the Virgin lifting her bare hands toward the Crucified. The aquarelle, however, shows her with covered hands, which would correspond with the fresco in Sta. Maria Antiqua. The only original figure which remains is the St. John holding a jewelled book ⁽¹⁾, and resembling the St. Luke of the Commodilla catacombs, the chief difference in attitude being that here the figure stands more on his right leg, while St. Luke bears his weight on his left.

Another painting, of which only a fragment remains, depicts a row of four saints, of whom the feet, and, vaguely, the bodies may be recognised. Better preserved is the fresco, also in the Crypt of Valentino, of the Madonna holding the Child, with a cruciform halo, immediately in front of her. Besides this there is the Visitation, with representations of stories from the Apocrypha, telling how a woman was paralysed because she doubted the virginity of the Madonna, but was cured when she touched Christ's cradle; and another relating how the midwife Salome first bathed the Child Jesus.

A Crucifixion which has much in common with those of Sta. Maria Antiqua and St. Valentine is one of the principal ornaments of the crypt of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Rome ⁽²⁾. Here the low Cross is erected in the same way and the dress and attitude of Christ are similar to those displayed by the other two. The two soldiers under the Cross, one wounding the Lord, placed precisely as in the fresco of Sta. Maria Antiqua, the second again having a small pail beside him, vary from the others only in attitude. They are not smaller than the Virgin and St. John, who are in their usual places, the former raising her covered hands, and St. John differing only in the position of his right hand from the representation in the St. Valentine crypt. Two

⁽¹⁾ *De Gruneisen*, op. cit., pl. 61.

⁽²⁾ Reproduction after a drawing in *De Gruneisen*, op. cit., fig. 274. *P. Germano*, Die jungsten Entdeckungen im Hause der h. h. Johannes u. Paulus auf dem Coelius, Rom Quartalschr., 1891 p. 290 See also the literature mentioned with reference to the older paintings here.

important details, however, appear in this Crucifixion for the first time: namely, the representation above the cross-bar of four busts, which have not been identified with certainty, but which might be angels, prophets or evangelists, — the first being most likely, as they are found in the same place in another instance — and the appearance of a woman behind the Virgin, a fore-runner of the escort given to the Madonna in later scenes. She holds the Virgin by the right arm, a gesture which will gradually develop into supporting the fainting Madonna. The sun and the moon are absent; a curved line in the background might be a remnant of mountains resembling those in *Sta. Maria Antiqua*, and the traces of vegetation on the ground might in this case be taken from the same source. I cannot agree with some descriptions of this scene, in which it is said that Christ appears as if speaking to his Mother, nor can I even admit that he is looking in her direction; the beautiful and sad but calm face seems rather to express a mood of abstraction. Some damaged paintings represent three soldiers gambling for the garment of Christ, Christ seemingly asleep in his tomb, and a fragment of the Descent into Hell.

It is obvious that these frescoes were executed at a moment when the decadence of Italian painting had become inevitable. In the Crucifixion of *SS. Giovanni e Paolo*, it is true, we find a not unsuccessful attempt to resemble the fresco in *Sta. Maria Antiqua*, an attempt in which much of the beauty of the latter has been preserved, but the increased schematic design is too evident. The decadence is still more obvious in the frescoes of *S. Valentino*. The figure of *St. John* has not retained anything of the gracefulness of Byzantine art; it is a figure clearly precursory to the deformation which dominates an important part of Italian painting during the 9th and 10th centuries. Productions of the same period, or slightly earlier, in the Roman catacombs, also manifest a decline, foretelling the approaching downfall. These are to be found in the Pontianus catacombs. On the wall of the stairway is painted a bust of Christ with a cruciform nimbus holding a jewelled book with a Latin title. Crowe and Cavalcaselle consider this to be a typical example of decadent art; the hair, divided in the middle and without any locks or curls, is arranged tightly round the malformed head; the features are stern, a small beard covers the lower part of the chin, and a

shapeless hand is raised in benediction. Shadow is indicated by dark streaks, and folds are almost completely absent. I do not agree with Crowe and Cavalcaselle in their criticism of the value of this painting, which, notwithstanding its shortcomings, has many merits. The colouring is good, the design not too linear and the work in general reveals signs of individuality. A little farther on another bust of Christ of similar type is found, which seems to be of later date; it is certainly more decadent, and coarser work. The eyes are very large, the eyebrows heavy, the neck enormous; the whole figure, drawn in thick lines, displays the characteristics of hasty work. The cruciform nimbus is studded with jewels, and again the Lord holds a book with a Latin inscription. Generally this painting is very severely judged; the drawing of faces had become traditional, and it is to this tradition that we owe the enormous eyes and the too prominent lines of the face; truth to nature is not observed, and it is clear that we have now entered on a period in which mannerism is the leading element.

These busts belong to a transition period, to which have been ascribed some remains of frescoes in the catacombs of Syracuse.

Other paintings in the catacombs of Naples have also been attributed to the 8th century by M. Lefort⁽¹⁾, although previously they were considered to be of the 7th. In the lower corridors of the catacomb of S. Gennaro we find in the vestibule important remains of a Baptism of Christ. In the sky a globe is still visible from which a now obliterated hand of God came forth. Christ is depicted up to his knees in water; beside him is St. John, while two winged angels stand on the bank looking upwards. Unhappily only a part of the face of Christ remains, and of St. John only the face and hands. The expression is life-like and the drawing free, Byzantine rigidity being absent. There are some paintings in the upper galleries of the same period; after passing through the great vestibule we come upon a fresco of a bishop of which little more than the face remains, and two other figures in sacerdotal dress standing in the Orant attitude. The drawing here, although inferior to that of the Baptism scene, is not defective. To

(1) *Lefort*, op. cit., p. 192. Reprod. *Garucci*, pl. XCIV. *M. Bertaux*'s opinion on the date agrees, op. cit., p. 71.

the right of the large crypt there is a more imperfect fresco representing two saints in priestly attire, a female Orant, and a bishop in full state. These figures are too tall, and without dignity, and their colouring is flat and grey.

The decadence which is evident in practically all the paintings produced during the later 8th century was largely due to the increasing amalgamation of new elements with what had been late forms of Byzantine and ancient art, or a mixture of these. The heritage of these two great and illustrious traditions was too heavy for the feeble state of civilization in Italy at that period, and new forms had to be created, which would appeal to the uncultured state of mind of those for whose benefit they were produced; so that the new forms which came into existence at this period, might be called the first manifestation of real Italian art, and, weak as they were, they had at least the advantage of being national.

CHAPTER II.

TRACES OF LOMBARD AND CAROLINGIAN INFLUENCES AND THE DECADENCE OF THE ANTIQUE TRADITION DURING THE IX AND X CENTURIES.

During the 9th and 10th centuries three different currents may be observed in Italian painting:

I. The Byzantine tradition, but faintly animated by any new influx from the East, becomes of very small importance; in Rome, however, under what I believe to be Lombard influence, it developed into a particular style which dominated the greater part of the artistic production of this city during the first half of the 9th century.

II. The complete decadence of the ancient tradition, especially in Rome, but also in its vicinity, and in Naples, was transformed into what might be called a form of national art, which survived during the 9th and 10th centuries and even into the 11th.

III. The Benedictine school, which had its most important centre at the abbey of Montecassino and which I believe to have been entirely dependent on Carolingian art.

Naturally there are productions which are the outcome of the intermingling of all three styles; these are not uncommon in Rome, where artistic production then was very active.

A few records of the presence of Byzantine artists in Italy during the 9th century are extant: Lazarus, a monk and painter, was sent by the Emperor Michael (842—67) from Constantinople to Rome to bring to Benedict III (855—58) a chalice of gold adorned with jewels and a Gospel-book of which the binding was in the same material and as richly decorated. A Greek artist, Chrysophas, architect and chamberlain to Leo III (795—816), restored S. Apollinare-in-Classe at Ravenna, and when the Doge Giustimano Participazio began the construction of the church of S. Zac-

caria in Venice, architects, workmen, and money were sent by the Byzantine emperor⁽¹⁾.

Except the fresco of 959 in the Grotto of Carpignano (Otranto) which will be described together with other similar productions in the same region⁽²⁾, the only truly Byzantine works produced in Italy during this period which call for mention are certain 10th century paintings in Rome.

The mural decorations of S. Saba, (Rome)⁽³⁾, which for three centuries had been in the hands of Greek monks, and which date from the 6th to the 12th century, Mgr. Wilpert believes should be dated from the time of Pope Pascal I, while M. Gabriel Millet, for paleographical reasons, ascribes them to the 10th century⁽⁴⁾.

The most important of these is the representation of two different moments of the miracle of the healing of the palsy. The sick man is first seen on his couch, which is being let down through an opening in the roof, and is then seen taking up his bed. The Lord is shewn surrounded by many people, who are gesticulating and pointing to him.

Of another painting, which according to the inscription represented St. Peter's attempt to join Christ by walking on the water, only the figure of Christ has been preserved.

Other inscriptions inform us that many more scenes formed part of this series. The quality of these frescoes is not that of the best Byzantine painting, and I think the painter to whom we owe them was more or less influenced by his Roman surroundings. The composition, however, although of Syrian origin, formed at that moment part of the Byzantine iconography. The inscriptions are all in Greek, and the drawing displays the fine outlines

(1) *Frothingham*, Byzantine artists in Italy from the 6th to the 15th century, *American Journal of Archaeology*, IX, 1894. — I do not share this author's theories as to the Byzantine origin of other artists working in Italy, but it would be too much of a digression here to enter into a lengthy discussion of this subject

(2) Chapter IV

(3) See the literature quoted for the older paintings in this church

(4) *G. Millet*, *Recherches sur l'icônographie de l'évangile aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles d'après les monuments de Mistra, de la Macédoine et du Mont Athos*, Paris, 1916, p. 674

which belong to this school: but the freedom of the gestures and some of the individual types would appear to belong to some other tradition.

Less carefully executed are the figures of SS. John and Paul in Sta. Maria-in-Via-Lata, ⁽¹⁾ which may be regarded as inferior products of real Byzantine art; these paintings, of which one is well preserved, display the schematic draping and heavy jewels of this school.

A Virgin, without the Child, painted on panel in Sta. Maria in Ara Coeli is a fine and genuine Byzantine work ⁽²⁾. The features are severe but regular and the large eyes profoundly expressive.

Although these paintings are the only ones which may be classed as real products of the Oriental tradition, we find in Rome a much larger number of works which result from the blending of this form of art with an influence probably Lombard; but before dealing with these we must consider the little which is known of painting in Lombardy at this period.

It is true that the state of Lombardy no longer existed at the beginning of the 9th century, but certain indications lead us to believe that there had been sufficient artistic activity in that province to justify our assumption of the existence of a Lombard school of painting and mosaic ⁽³⁾. If we take into consideration the very numerous products of Lombard sculpture, the elements of which appear to have been derived from northern Europe and Byzantium, and introduced, by the restless Lombards, more especially into Italy ⁽⁴⁾, we may fairly suppose that a somewhat similar movement took place in the field of painting.

It is moreover well established that during the 8th century Lombardy had its painters, and some remains of their work may

⁽¹⁾ *L. Cavazzi*, La diaconia di Sta Maria in via Lata, il monastero di S. Ciriaco. Roma, 1908, p. 57. *A. Muñoz*, Pitture medioevale romane, *L'Arte*, 1905, p. 55.

⁽²⁾ *Wilpert*, op. cit., pl. 226.

⁽³⁾ *A. Kingsley Porter*, Lombard Architecture, New Haven, London, Oxford 3 vols. 1917, I p. 305 and 312.

⁽⁴⁾ *E. A. Stuckelberg*, Longobardische Plastik, 2^{te} Aufl. Munich 1909, passim.

be found in the church of S. Salvatore at Brescia (1). These fragments, which according to all probability date from the second half of the 8th century, reveal traces of framed compositions, of which one figure is more or less invisible; but its state of preservation enables us to note the rigidity of its drawing. The earliest paintings of any importance which give us a clear idea of the Lombard style are those at Civate, in the mountains near Lecco, which decorate the altar of the church of S. Benedetto, and which very probably date from the beginning of the 10th century. Here we find represented the Lord between the Virgin and St. John, St. Benedict and St. Andrew (2).

The characteristics of these frescoes, in addition to their primitive rigidity, are the somewhat elongated figure, the straight vertical folds and the broad strokes of the brush; but most typical of all is the peculiar shadow surrounding the face like a beard, which we shall find in other products of this school.

With these frescoes we may compare the decoration of the Grotto of SS. Celso and Nazaro at Verona, an authentic work of 996 (3), where the Lord is depicted in a mandorla borne by angels. Another representation shows Him enthroned, surrounded by the symbols of the Evangelists. Further on in the same grotto we find the Virgin with an aureole and angels of different hierarchies. Two saints, also with haloes, are the only figures which are clearly visible. They betray a form of art inferior to the frescoes of Civate, in their more pronounced rigidity and schematic design. The linear effect is very marked, the eyes are enormous, and we do not find that executive skill which gives a certain value to the paintings of Civate. The style, however, is the same, and the peculiar characteristics described above are just as prominent.

These two paintings are the only Lombard works of the period which forms the subject of this chapter, and even so they belong to the second half of it (4).

(1) *P. Toesca, La Pitt. e Min. nella Lomb., p. 32* This expert has likewise observed the connection in style which existed at this period between Lombard and Roman painting

(2) *Toesca, op. cit., p. 38 and figs 22—24.*

(3) *C. Cipolla, Una iscrizione del 996 e le piu antiche pitture Veronesi, Arch. Venet., 1889 Toesca, op. cit., p. 36.*

(4) I do not include, with Sig. Toesca, the 10th century frescoes in the con-

The Lombard inspiration appears very clearly in a mosaic executed in Venice about the year 820; a fact all the more curious because at this time in Venice works of art of every description were constantly being imported from Byzantium. The mosaic in question, however, which once formed the pavement of SS. Ilario e Benedetto but is now preserved in the Museo Civico, shows no trace of Oriental influence in technique or design ⁽¹⁾. Of course, the conventional design of birds and other animals which we find in this mosaic is common both to Byzantine and to Lombard, but in the Lombard school of decorative art such motives attained a wilder and more fantastic expression, which may easily be distinguished from the symmetrically shaped and harmoniously beautiful products of Byzantine art. It is not only for this reason that I attribute the mosaic in question to the Lombard school, for here also we find the interlacing motives so characteristic of this school, which were not employed by the Byzantines.

In assuming that this Lombard influence was a factor in the transformation of Roman painting and of mosaic we are relying entirely upon hypothesis; but it seems to me that the Roman art of the 9th century contained a number of productions, which show us signs of a Byzantine influence and display a certain resemblance to Lombard art.

Our knowledge of Lombard pictorial art does not go very far, but besides the above-mentioned works there existed in Northern Italy a school of miniature painting whose chief centres were Verona, Bobbio and Novara ⁽²⁾. Comparing these miniatures with others made in Central Europe ⁽³⁾ — especially in Germany — which were not directly inspired by the great Irish school, we find that they all belong to an international school, the local subdivisions of which are differentiated only by minor character-

vent of St John at Munster in Grisons, (Switzerland), which despite the nearness of Lombardy appear to me to be late products of German-Carolingian art

⁽¹⁾ *L. Testi*, Storia della pittura Veneziana, Bergamo 1909 p 53.

⁽²⁾ *E. H. Zimmermann* Vorkarolingische Miniaturen, Berlin, 1916 p 38 and pls —134.

⁽³⁾ *E. H. Zimmerman*, Passim

istics In this respect it corresponds with the Lombard decorative sculpture, which was also well known outside Italy, and which, like the miniatures, adopted and re-conventionalized in a cruder fashion the already conventional Byzantine models. Again, if we admit the influence of Lombard painting in Rome we merely assume that pictorial art followed the same course as plastic art, for examples of Lombard sculpture are not rare in Rome.

Of Lombard work able to give us a clear idea of the appearance of this emblematical art there are few examples. In addition to the decorated slab of Ferentillo and the metal relief of King Agilulf in the Bargello Museum, Florence (591—615), which are too early for our purpose, we may mention the altar of S. Martino at Cividale (744—49) ⁽¹⁾; in the same town, the ivory "Pax" of Duke Peter of Friule, who ruled about the middle of the 8th century; the ivory of the museum of Bologna, representing the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity and the Shepherds; ⁽²⁾ the miniatures of a Gospel in the Vatican Library; ⁽³⁾ and the frontispiece of a legal codex in the abbey of St. Paul in Lavanthal, probably written in North Italy between 817 and 823 ⁽⁴⁾.

These works are sufficient to convince us of the existence of a distinct Lombard style of figure painting, which, although

⁽¹⁾ I will not mention the stucco reliefs in Sta. Maria in Valle at Cividale, which are too debatable to serve as examples; they are even occasionally said to be of Byzantine workmanship. Personally I believe they are Lombard and date from the foundation of the church (762—76).

⁽²⁾ *H. Graeven*, Frühchristl. u. mittelalt. Elfenbeinwerke in photogr. Nachbildung. Aus Sammlungen in Italien, Rom, 1900 Nr. 6 and 17.

⁽³⁾ An ivory binding in the museum of Brussels seems to belong to the Lombard school; on one side is represented the Lord between two angels and on the other the Annunciation and the Visitation. *Goldschmidt* classes it as belonging to the Ada group of the Carolingian school: *Die Elfenbeinsulpturen aus der Zeit der Karol. u. Sachs Kaiser*, I Berlin, 1914 p. 8 and pls. 1—2.

⁽⁴⁾ Cod. Vat. Lat. 3741 see *S. Beissel*, *Vaticanische Miniaturen*, Freiburg 1 B. 1893 p. 13 and pl. VII. Beissel calls our attention to the similarity of style in these miniatures and those of the Godeschalch Gospel codex (781—83) in the National Library, Paris. So far we are in agreement, for I consider the Lombard elements to be very prominent in the latter; the same may be said for the miniatures of the Gospel in the Munich Library 23631. v. *A. Boinet*, *La miniature Carolingienne* (planches), Paris, 1913, pls. 1—4.

⁽⁵⁾ *Beschreib. Verzeichnis der Illum. Handschr. in Oesterreich*, III p. 100.

including — as did Lombard decorative sculpture — Byzantine elements, possesses its own characteristics. Of these the most striking are the large and often elongated heads with staring expressionless eyes around which the lids are strongly marked, a taste for angularity and parallel lines — as in purely decorative motives — which may be observed in the drapery and the hair, the general lack of proportion and the childish method of shading.

We meet with the same characteristics in the following group, formed chiefly of mosaics but including a few paintings, in which, however, the Byzantine elements are still to the fore. Besides, there are some productions which form, as it were, the connecting link; for in them the Lombard factors are prominent while the Byzantine influence is very slight. These objects are the cruciform silver cover which Pascal I (817—24) had made for a jewelled crosier, and a square box of silver ordered by the same pope to contain an enamel crucifix. At the top of the former, five scenes of the History of the Lord are represented in relief, while there are others at the sides; the



Fig 43. Silver box, 817—24. Vatican Museum, Rome.

Photo Sansaini

front of the latter is decorated in a similar manner with the figure of the Lord between SS. Peter and Paul and two angels above in medallions (fig. 43); other scenes are depicted on the ends of this box. Considering what their origin is, both objects are very probably of Roman workmanship; they formed part of the treasure discovered in the Sancta Sanctorum and are now preserved in the Vatican Museum (¹). This museum contains another work forming part of this group, but of

(¹) *H. Grisar*, *Il sancta Sanctorum ed il suo Tesoro Sacro*, Roma, 1907 p. 104 and 129

a much later date. It is an ivory diptych which Ageltruda, wife of Guido, Duke of Spoleto and later (891) emperor, gave to the monastery of Rambona near Ancona which came under her rule in 898⁽¹⁾.

These objects, better than any other productions, reveal the relation between the Lombard style and the then existing Roman style of pictorial art with which we are now dealing. I must still lay stress upon the fact that when the Byzantine style in Rome underwent this transformation, which we explain by a Lombard influence, no similar change took place in Byzantium itself, as is proved by the few works of this period which have survived, such as a Madonna in mosaic of 867–86 in the apse of the church of Citi in Cyprus, ⁽²⁾ or the miniatures in the Greek Codex 510 of the National Library, Paris ⁽³⁾. To begin with, the decadence to be noted in the mosaics of the vault of Sta. Sophia at Salonica is of much later date than the modification of the Byzantine style of the banks of the Tiber; further, the change then observed in no way resembles the transformation to be perceived in the subsequent expressions of Roman art. This peculiar style, which I propose to call Byzantino-Lombard, reveals its presence at the very beginning of the 9th century in the mosaic of the arch of SS. Nereo e Achillee ordered by Pope Leo III (795–816).

The centre of the composition represents the Transfiguration, in which the Lord, in an aureole, stands between Moses and Elias while the three apostles have thrown themselves on the ground in awe. On one side we see the Virgin holding the Child in her lap, attended by an angel, and on the other the Annunciation, in which the angel stands close to the enthroned Madonna; the ground under their feet is adorned with flowers. The background of the central representation consists of small clouds of conventional design. The mosaic which no doubt once adorned the apse of this church has disappeared.

Of the pontificate of Pascal I (817–24) we have the mosaics of Sta. Maria in Domnica, of Sta. Cecilia, and the rich ornamentation of the apse and chapel of Sta. Prassede.

⁽¹⁾ *Goldschmidt*, op. cit., p. 85 and pl. 181.

⁽²⁾ *L. Brehier*, *L'art chrétien*, Paris, 1918 p. 127.

⁽³⁾ *H. Omont*, *Fac-similés des miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VI^e au XI^e siècle*, Paris, 1902 pls. 15–16¹⁴.

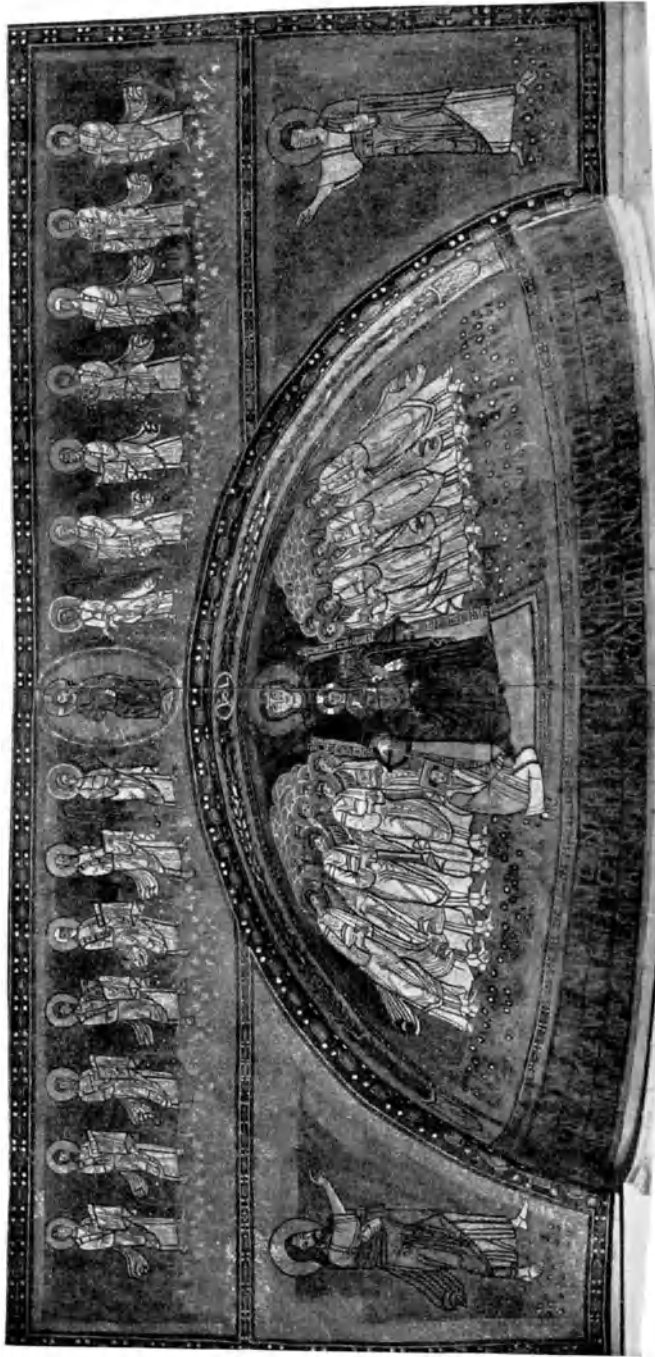


Fig. 44 The Lord and Apostles, the Madonna surrounded by Angels, Mosaic of 817-24. Sta. Maria in Domnica, Rome.
Photo Anderson.

In the apse of *Sta. Maria in Domnica* the Virgin is depicted seated on a monumental throne with the Child standing in benediction in her lap; she holds the mappa in one hand while with the other she indicates the adoring Pope, whose head is enclosed by the square nimbus of the living, and who holds the Madonna's foot (fig. 44). Hosts of angels approach from the sides, but only those of the front ranks are visible, the others being revealed only by the upper portion of their haloes. These figures are placed in a flowery field, while above the scene is enclosed by a wreath of flowers in the centre of which the monogram of the Pope is seen.

On either side of the arch stands one of the two SS. John making a gesture toward the central group. Above, the Lord, in an aureole, is depicted seated on a rainbow, while an angel and six Apostles approach from either side.

In the apse of *Sta. Cecilia in Trastevere* the same Pope, whose monogram is again displayed in a similar fashion, had the 6th century mosaics of SS. Cosme e Damiano freely copied (fig. 45). SS. Peter and Paul, standing next, the Lord, who is represented against a cloudy background and above whom the hand of God the Father appears, seem to be presenting St. Valerianus, who is followed by a female saint, while St. Cecily, standing next to St. Paul, lays her hand on the shoulder of the Pope. Here again the mystical lambs coming from Jerusalem and Bethlehem form a procession below. The 17th century engraving which Ciampini gives of this mosaic shows us, as well the twenty-four old men of the Apocalypse, twelve doves, a Madonna with the Child, enthroned amidst the ten wise Virgins, and yet another representation of the two celestial cities.

Part of the apsidal mosaic of *Sta. Prassede* is similar in composition to that just described. Here St. Paul is presenting St. Praxed, near whom stands the Pope holding a model of the church; on the other side St. Peter is protecting St. Pudenciana, while a holy deacon with a book forms the pendant to the Pope. A solitary tree is placed at each extremity. The pontifical monogram is again inserted, and the mystical lambs are also depicted. Beneath them a long inscription tells us of the translation of many holy relics which took place in 818. The twenty-four old men have been preserved in this mosaic; they form three rows on either side of

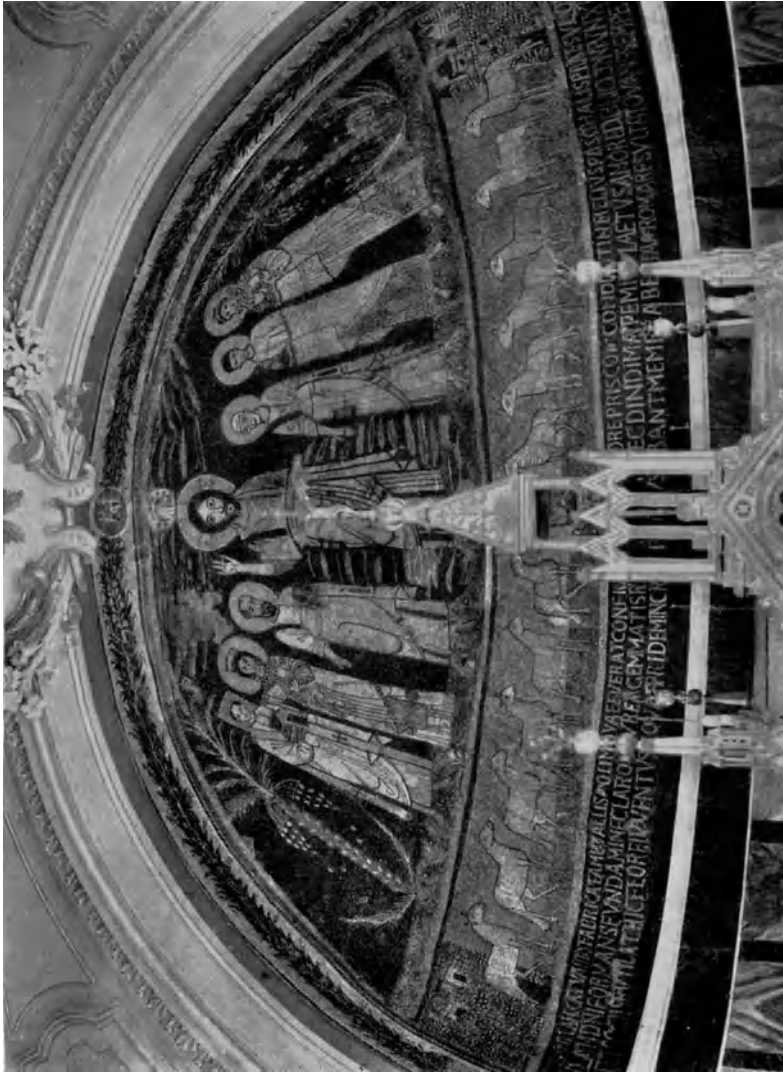


Fig. 45. The Lord and Saints. Mosaic of 817—24. Sta. Cecilia, Rome.
Photo Anderson

the vault, and their uplifted arms increase in length according to the space available. Above, the Easter Lamb is a representation in a medallion amidst seven candlesticks and four angels. The arch between the choir and the nave was also decorated under Pascal I, whose monogram, in the centre of a long wreath,

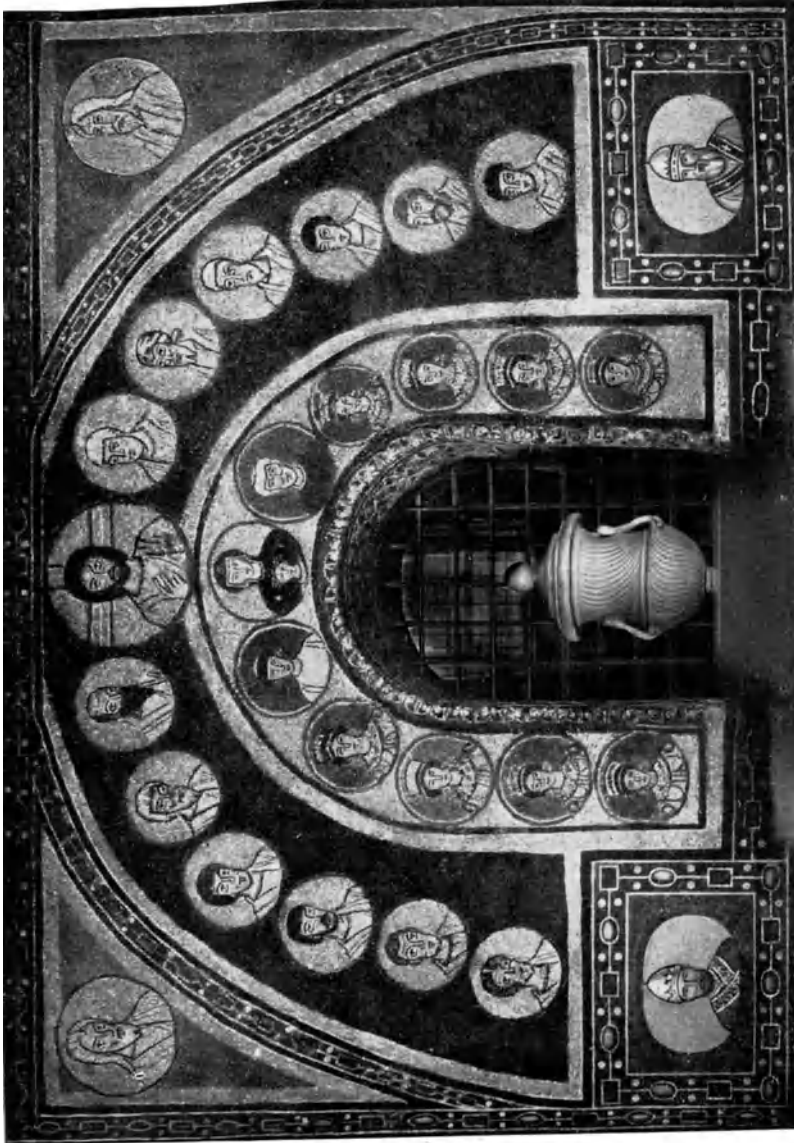


Fig. 46. Entry to the S. Zeno chapel. Mosaic of 817—24. Sta. Prassede, Rome.
Photo Anderson.

adorns the intrados while on the front is a curious representation of Paradise (1).

(1) *E. Muntz*, *L'arc triomphal de Sainte Praxède*, *Revue Archéol.*, 2nd série XXVIII 1874 p. 172.

In a walled-in space we see the Lord and two angels between two female saints — no doubt SS. Praxed and Pudentiana — while beyond are the Twelve Apostles and, still more remote, an isolated figure, probably Elias, on one side, and on the other an angel, and Moses. Towards the entrance gates, which are guarded by two angels, large bodies of people are advancing; on the right an aged man is apparently being admitted. Clouds and flowers of conventional design are again seen here as in all the mosaics ordered by this pontiff

It was he too who ordered the decoration of the S. Zeno chapel of this church ⁽¹⁾, really the funeral chapel of his mother Theodora. It is the only specimen of this art which has survived in its almost complete original form. The Pope's monogram and an inscription may be noted on the carved beam above the entrance, where there is also a series of medallions of the Lord and the Apostles (fig. 46). Two late portraits of Popes have probably replaced the originals. Another series of medallions on the same wall contain the Virgin with the Child amidst SS. Zeno and Valentine and four crowned saints; the two old bearded men in the upper corners are probably SS. Pudens and Pastor.

The centre of the vault is occupied by a half-length figure of the Lord in a medallion supported by four angels (fig. 47). On the upper part of the walls we see, above the entrance, the half-length figure of the Virgin amidst those of SS. Pudentiana and Praxed and St. Theodora "episcopa" with the rectangular nimbus of the living; higher up are represented four deer drinking from four streams which run down the sides of a small eminence on which a lamb is standing, while higher still three female martyrs are shown carrying their crowns. Facing this we see the Descent into Limbo and the figures of the Madonna and St. John. Lower down in a niche is another representation of the Virgin and Child between SS. Pudentiana and Praxed. On the right wall are the figures of three Apostles and two saints, and on the left SS. Peter and Paul indicating a throne on which is placed a small cross (fig. 48). All three figures are framed in wreaths of flowers, while in several of these representations the ground is strewn with flowers.

⁽¹⁾ *Baldoria*, La cappella del Zenone a Sta. Prassede in Roma, Archiv Stor. dell' Arte, IV 1891 p. 256.



Fig. 47. Vault of the S. Zeno chapel, Sta. Prassede, Rome

Photo Anderson.

Although the dome-shaped chapel, the ornamental design of the pavement of the church and the composition showing the Lord upborne by angels all betray familiarity with Byzantine art, there is nothing in the style of these mosaics which differentiates them from other products of this period. It is true that the name of his mother — Theodora — makes a Greek origin likely, but the Pope himself was born in Rome. Once more I should like to

remind the reader of the metallic objects found in the Sancta Sanctorum executed by order of this Pope and in style corresponding perfectly with these mosaics.

Of Pope Gregory VI we have only the mosaics of the church of S. Marco, where we again find the composition of SS. Cosme e Damiano repeated. The Lord, with a pointed black beard, his



Fig. 48. SS Peter and Paul and the Apocalyptic Throne. Mosaic of 817—24. S. Zeno chapel, Sta. Prassede, Rome

Photo Anderson.

right hand raised in benediction, stands in the centre; on the left we find S. Felicissimus, and St. Mark the Evangelist with his arm round the shoulder of the Papal donor, who carries a model of the church in his covered hands. Facing this is the Pope, St. Mark, SS. Agapit and Agnes, while a small plant is set at either extremity. The twelve lambs from the celestial cities are making their way towards the holy terrestrial city. On the spandrels are

depicted the figures of SS. Peter and Paul pointing towards the central group, while on the wall above are five medallions, including a bust of Christ and the four symbols of the Evangelists against a background of scattered clouds. Although the style of these figures is generally speaking the same as that of the previous work we nevertheless observe here a curious and cleverly adapted effect of light and shade which we have not met with previously. At the same time the linear effect is somewhat lessened, so that on the whole a certain improvement may be said to have taken place.

The art of painting formed a much less important part of the Byzantine tradition than the mosaic art, and for this reason, I think, we shall find less Byzantino-Lombard influence in the frescoes, many of which belong to the decadent form of antique art, as will presently be seen. Some mural paintings, however, although still possessing elements of this decadence, may be said to form part of the group under discussion. These are to be found in the left aisle of Sta. Maria Antiqua. The most important of them is a long series of twenty-two saints ⁽¹⁾, whose names are vertically inscribed in Greek, with the Lord enthroned as the central figure (fig. 49). Those on the left are mostly of Western origin, while those on the other side are chiefly Oriental. The Saviour's is the only figure here, which is really more or less Byzantine in appearance, the others, although obviously inspired by the older Greek models, are too rigid and too decadent to be considered as such, while the paintings of the old bearded saints verge on caricature. The period proposed by M. de Gruneisen, during the pontificate of Nicholas I (858—67), strikes me as being very probably correct.

Two rows each of eight scenes from the Old Testament are represented above these figures, but these will be dealt with when we discuss the Carolingian influence in Rome.

Of a quality superior to this row of figures, and more Byzantine in aspect, is a head of Abacyrus in a niche in the right wall of the narthex ⁽²⁾.

In an opening on the left of the nave we find some fragments of a Descent into Limbo and a Virgin and Child. ⁽³⁾

⁽¹⁾ *De Gruneisen*, op. cit., pls 21a, 25—32, 73—75

⁽²⁾ *Mgr. Wilpert*, (Rom. Mosaiken pl. 196) dates this work from the pontificate of Paul I (757—67)

⁽³⁾ *De Gruneisen*, op. cit., p. 94—95.



Fig 49 The Lord between Saints, 858-67 Sta. Maria Antiqua, Rome.
Photo Mimist Publ. Istr.

In the oratory of the Quarante Martiri just outside Sta. Maria Antiqua are two rows, each of twenty saints, not unlike the above-mentioned group of twenty-two on the left wall of the latter church. Here too we find some contemporary fragments of little importance.

As I have already remarked, the frescoes on the whole are less characteristic of the Byzantino-Lombard style than the mosaics ;



Fig. 50. The Descent into Limbo, second half of the IX century.
S. Clemente, Rome.

Photo Alinari.

several of them in many ways resemble the paintings made under the Carolingian influence, which will be dealt with later on. but on the other hand they betray too many of the above-mentioned peculiarities to be excluded from this group.

Besides this transformation of Byzantine art, Rome offers us

many examples of the utter collapse of what remained of the ancient tradition.

The chief interest of an enumeration of the Roman frescoes of this artistically dark period is that it gives us an idea of their abundance, for they have no charm whatsoever, and as I have dealt with them elsewhere in a more detailed manner than they really deserve⁽¹⁾, a brief mention will suffice here. On account of their lack of artistic importance it is particularly difficult to ascribe them to a definite date; it is, however, probable that most of them were executed between the middle of the 9th and the end of the 10th centuries; but the same manner must have persisted well into the 11th, as is proved by a fragment of mural painting in the old cathedral of Assisi whose date should be between 1036 and 1059.

The earliest product of this tradition dates, however, from the beginning of the 9th century. This is the series of frescoes in the tower of Sta. Prassede⁽²⁾, where we find remains of numerous scenes of martyrdom dating from the time of Pope Pascal I (817—24)⁽³⁾. It was he who had the bodies of SS. Chrysantus and Daria transported hither, and the paintings depict moments of their martyrdom and that of several other saints. It is difficult to attach a definite style to these frescoes; the painter seems to have executed them without any artistic principle. They do not however lack expression and the large jewels are reminiscent of Byzantine art.

Frescoes on the right wall of the right aisle of the subterranean church of S. Clemente, notwithstanding their fragmentary condition, give us a clearer idea of the style of the paintings of this period⁽⁴⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *R. van Marle*, op. cit., p. 104.

⁽²⁾ According to the *Liber Pontificalis* Pascal I had a chapel dedicated to St. Agnes, and some authorities believe that the decoration depicts scenes from her martyrdom. v. *M. Armellini*, *Le Chiese di Roma del secoli IV al XIV*, 2nd ed. Roma, 1891 p. 241

⁽³⁾ *J. Wilpert*, op. cit., pl. 202 agrees with this date. *Vide also De Grun-eisen*, op. cit., fig. 261.

⁽⁴⁾ *G. B. De Rossi*, *Le pitture scoperte in S. Clemente*, Bull. di Archeol. Crist., 1864 p. 1 and 39. *J. Mullooly*, A brief notice of the ancient paintings found in the subterranean Basilica of S. C. in Rome, (Roma 1866, trans. into Italian and French). *J. Mullooly*, *St. C. Pope and Martyr and his Basilica in Rome*, 2nd ed. 1873. *Th. Roller*, *St. C. de Rome*, Paris, 1873. *V. Waille*, Note

Some remains which were previously looked upon as forming part of a representation of the Council of 419, held in this church, and the martyrdom of St. Catherine, have now been rightly identified by Mgr. Wilpert as a picture of the Last Judgment; it is the oldest painting of this scene which has come to us, but the figures are only with difficulty discernable. In a niche near by, however, besides some unimportant fragments, there remains a fairly well preserved figure of the Madonna with the Child standing in her lap, while above we see a half-figure of the Lord, beardless and youthful. The Madonna is executed crudely and laden with heavy jewellery, but the face is expressive.

A fragment of a well-drawn figure of which the head is missing, blessing and holding a book, might be from the same hand; the floating end of the cloak assumes a peculiar shape which we shall frequently encounter and which is characteristic of this period.

These frescoes, which Mgr. Wilpert dates from the time of Leo IV (847—55), and which indeed may be ascribed to the middle of the 9th century, are amongst the best examples of this style. The Descent into Limbo which will be found in the same aisle on the right of the apse is very inferior and probably of a somewhat later date (fig. 50).

The beardless Christ, in a decorated aureole, is seen stepping towards Adam, whose arm he grasps as he tramples underfoot the flame-spitting Satan. The right-hand part of this fresco has been destroyed; it no doubt contained an image of Eve; while in the left-hand lower corner the half-figure of the donor is seen; he carries a book adorned with jewels and wears a curiously shaped bonnet. From the painting it is obvious that the artist was familiar with the Byzantine style, but he has rendered it in an inapt and highly inartistic manner.

Besides many small fragments of fresco in the left aisle, which

sur une inscription et des peintures murales de la basilique de St. C. à Rome, Atti del Congr. intern. di scien. stor. a Roma, 1903; Stor. dell'Arte, p. 171. *J. Wilpert*, Le pitture della basilica primitiva di S. C., Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist., 1906 p. 251. *J. Gray Gordon*, The Church of St. C. in the light of Mgr. Wilpert's recent researches, Journal of the British and American Archaeol. Soc. in Rome, IV: 1907 p. 98. *L. Nolan*, The Basilica of St. C. in Rome, 2nd ed. Rome 1914.

seem to have been superior to the Descent into Limbo, we notice two scenes near the apse which appear to be on about the same artistic level as the latter. One represents a figure kneeling before a prince enthroned under a baldaquin, probably St. Cyril -- who, as we shall see later, is buried here with his brother Methodius -- taking leave of Michael III, to whom he was sent in 848 by the Despot of the Danube in order to ask for priests (1). No doubt the scene near by, representing a baptism, illustrates one of the conversions accomplished by this saint or his brother.

Of superior execution are the pictures on the opposite side of the same apse depicting the legends of the Benedictine monks of the abbey of Fondi as related in the dialogues of St. Gregory. The figures are more animated and the movements better expressed, but these frescoes are not equal to the productions of the real Benedictine school, of which the subject reminds us, and with which we shall deal later.

Of much finer quality is the isolated figure of St. Prosper painted close by in an opening of the wall between this aisle and the nave. The features are regular and well drawn, although not without some schematic elements. Mgr. Wilpert attributes this fresco to the pontificate of Leo IV.

In the narthex we find a large painting of but little merit, which comprises all the worst characteristics of the group we are now dealing with. It represents the Lord between SS. Clement and Andrew and two angels, who present to the Saviour two small figures of saints: probably SS. Cyril and Methodius, the converters of the Bulgarians, who brought the body of St. Clement to Rome. An old tradition that the two holy brothers were buried here has been confirmed by the discovery of two bodies just under this painting. As we had occasion to remark previously, the knowledge of Byzantine works is again obvious here, but this was of little avail to the painter, who has here produced a fresco of a very inartistic appearance and of rude workmanship.

The angels of the previous composition are very similar to those surrounding a figure of the Lord in the church of Sta. Maria-in-Cosmedin; the work too is of the same quality, and

(1) *De Rossi* states that near the kneeling figure he deciphered the name of St. Cyril, which has now disappeared. Mgr. Wilpert believes this scene to represent Esther before Ahasuerus asking protection for her people.



Fig. 51. The Lord and two Saints, 844—47 S. Martino-a-Monti, Rome

Photo Alinari.

mosaicis, he succeeds better in the male than in the female figures.

Some products of this school are also to be found in the church of Sta. Maria Antiqua; one of them in a niche in the right aisle represents the Virgin seated between SS Anna and Elizabeth each holding her child. The infant Christ is surrounded by an aureole ⁽¹⁾.

Farther along on the same wall three female busts are represented behind a latticed window ⁽²⁾. The heads of St. Antony — or is it St. Zosimus? — and St. Mary of Egypt ⁽³⁾ are executed in the same style, all being of very mediocre quality. We have yet to mention the fresco of the Lord between SS. Abbacyrus and John, which is situated in a niche and is of rather better quality; while in the corridor, which leads to the Temple of Augustus, we find the images of SS. Blasius, Basil, Lawrence, Christopher and Benedict, which are the weakest of all these frescoes. Other fragments forming part of this group are still to be found in Sta. Maria Antiqua, but they are of so little importance that I shall pass them over ⁽⁴⁾.

Of no better quality is a fresco of St. Peter between SS. Praxedis and Pudentiana, in the excavations made under the church dedicated to the last-named saint ⁽⁵⁾.

We probably owe an important part of the Papal portraits of S. Paolo-fuori-le-Mura to Pope Formosus (891—96) who also ordered some decoration for the basilica of St. Peter. These portraits, now in the monastery of St. Paul, occupy the end of the left and almost all the right wall of the corridor ⁽⁶⁾. These paintings are of great importance, as they betray a certain persistence of the impressionistic manner. It is true that this quality is

⁽¹⁾ *De Gruneisen*, op. cit., fig. 84

⁽²⁾ *De Gruneisen*, fig. 85

⁽³⁾ *De Gruneisen*, p. 378 dates these frescoes for incomprehensible reasons from the 12th or 13th century. *Mrg. Wilpert*, *Die romischen Mosaiken* etc. pl. 227, believes them to be 10th century

⁽⁴⁾ *De Gruneisen* reproduces two of them (pl. 15), dating them again from the 12th or 13th century.

⁽⁵⁾ *Wilpert*, *Die romischen Mosaiken* etc., pl. 218, ascribes this fresco to the 9th century.

⁽⁶⁾ *Wilpert*, op. cit., pls. 219—222. On the right wall the portraits of Mark, Julius and Marcellinus seem to have been placed by mistake amongst those of this period.

dominated by the schematic design; the strokes, however, are broad, and a curious effect has been obtained by the use of white in the faces.

In the chapel of Sta. Barbara in the SS. Quattro Coronati church, a part of a holy bishop — the only remaining fragment of one of the lateral figures of a composition originally representing three personages ⁽¹⁾ — reminds us to a certain extent of the series of Papal portraits; the design, however, is more schematic, for which reason it is probably a work of the 10th century.

An important series of frescoes of this same movement, although at present only partly uncovered, is that which adorns the lower church of S. Crisogono, Rome ⁽²⁾, but as the excavations are far from completed it is difficult precisely to locate the various paintings, which I shall not attempt to do. In this subterranean church, extensive and purely ornamental painting forms part of the mural decoration; it consists chiefly of wreaths and drapery in blue, white, yellow, and red, and also of heraldic designs. Of the other paintings, one fresco represents St. Chrysogonus between St. Anastasia, to whom the former stretches out his hand, and St. Bibiana, standing on the grass between two columns; traces of other adjacent figures are also found. In another part are four peculiarly drawn heads, — SS. Felicissimus, Sixtus, Chrysogonus and Agapit — with drooping mouths, enormous round eyes in strangely shaped pointed orbits, of streaky design and dim colours. In a corner almost opposite are three figures and part of a fourth dressed in ancient tunics, certainly of an earlier period. Adjacent to these an important series of paintings begins, much of which, when I saw it recently, had yet to be revealed ⁽³⁾. Above the row of representations at present visible

⁽¹⁾ *A. Munoz*, *Il restauro della chiesa e del chiostro dei SS. Quattro Coronati*, Roma 1914, fig. 32 and pl. 4.

⁽²⁾ *Mgr. Wilpert*, *op. cit.*, pls. 173—177 and 223. believes some of these frescoes to date from the first half of the 8th century, v. also *P. Dorfler*, *Eine neue Unterkirche in Rom.*, *Rom. Quartalschr.*, 1907 p. 138. *O. Marucchi*, *Scoperti di un muro con avanzi di antiche pitture sotto la chiesa di S. C.* *Nuov Bull. di Archeol. crist.*, 1907 p. 237. *A. Munoz*, *I lavori di scavi della chiesa di S. C. a Roma*, *Suppl. al Bollett. d'Arte del Minist. di Publ. Istr.*, June 1914. *R. van Marle*, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

⁽³⁾ They seem to illustrate the legends of SS. Pantaleon, Benedict, Sylvester and Chrysogonus.

parts of another are seen, while farther excavation may disclose a third. The first scene represents a person with legs crossed seated on a throne; another approaches, dragging by the hair a monk with arms uplifted as though appealing. Then follows a figure without a head; the third represents, on an architectural background, a sainted monk who holds a jewelled book, curing by his benediction a leper covered with spots (fig. 52).



Fig 52 A Saint curing a Leper X century,
S. Crisogono, Rome.

Minist. Publ. 1st.

Separated from this by some decorative motives is the head of a priest; next to this is part of a dragon, and a priest in sacerdotal dress with the pallium. The painting, though very rough, is not without life and individuality; the cheeks are indicated by red patches, and the faces surrounded by that beardlike shadow which we noticed in the frescoes of Civate, the outline and folds consisting of prominent grey lines. At the beginning of the series is placed a column, while the different scenes are separated from each other by a painted border.

In Rome we still find works of minor importance in the subterranean church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, where a niche contains a figure of the Saviour between the archangels Michael and Gabriel, and originally two other figures, of which only one, whose head is missing, remains visible ⁽¹⁾. The Byzantine tradition is noticeable on account of the enormous jewels, and the little ribbons in the hair of the angels is an iconographical element of the same origin. This painting, which probably dates from the 10th century,

⁽¹⁾ *R. van Marle*, op. cit., p. 117 and fig 54.

is, however, amongst the weakest products of this inartistic movement; here also the beard-like shadow is prominent.

A fresco in the church of S. Pellegrino in Naumachia, of the Lord between SS. Peter and Paul and two other saints, reminds us of the previous painting, and might be almost contemporary, although it has been attributed to the latter part of the 8th century (1).

A manifestation of this same art will be found in a small mosaic of the Lord near the tomb of St. Peter in the crypt of his basilica. The Saviour holds a book and raises one hand in benediction. The elongated head helps us to determine the movement which produced this picture.

Similarity of style allows us to attribute some frescoes in the Roman catacombs to the 9th and 10th centuries. In the St. Lucius crypt of the St. Calixtus cemetery we find two pairs of saints whose names are inscribed in a vertical sense; they are SS. Cornelius and Cyprien, Optat and Sixtus. Cyprien and Optat were both African bishops. They form four lifeless figures without any individuality and are all depicted in the same attitude. The painting is of inferior quality to that of the Popes' portraits at S. Paolo, of which, on account of its rough impressionistic technique, it somehow reminds us. As Pope Leo III (795—816) had some decorations carried out in this cemetery it is possible that we owe these figures to him (2), although otherwise we should not have thought that decadence had developed so far at such an early stage.

In the same catacombs a figure of the Saviour and another of Pope Urban were added to the beautiful painting of St. Cecily previously mentioned. The Lord, who is represented almost life size, has a gemmed and cruciform nimbus. The orbits are surrounded by broad shading, making the eyes enormous; the shadow on the face is spotty, the nose straight, long and pointed, and the mouth is bounded at either end by a drooping line. The hair is hardly visible against the dark halo, the face is without much expression, the position of the opened right hand extremely stiff and ungraceful; the left hand holds a jewelled book. The much

(1) *De Waal*, Ein Christusbild aus der Zeit Leo III 758—816, Rom. Quartalschr., 1889 p. 386

(2) *P. Toesca*, Storia dell'Arte Italiana, p. 409

smaller figure of St. Urban occupies another compartment, on which his name is vertically written. The face is turned slightly to the right; he is clothed in sacerdotal vestments and shows a very prominent tonsure; with one hand he blesses while the other holds a book. The attitude is very stiff, which impression is further strengthened by the straight folds, the only attempt to break the rigidity of the figure consisting in the slightly raised position of the right foot (1).

A Madonna and Child (2), in the crypt of S. Urbano alla Caffarella near the via Appia, displays an instance of how the decay of artistic capacities leads to puerile drawing. On the Virgin's dark dress her form is indicated in white; so too, the outline of the face and the shadow on her shoulder. She has an oval nimbus; the eyes, large and expressionless, are elliptical in shape, and the pupils are small black specks. The face is flat, the cheeks indicated by two patches, and the relief of the chin by a dark spot; the eyebrows and nose form one uninterrupted line, and the mouth is composed of one long horizontal stroke and two shorter ones. The Child has been depicted in the same manner; the eyes are round, and their expression midway between anger and fright. He is here seated on the knee of the Virgin, who holds him by his right shoulder; he blesses in the Greek manner and carries a scroll. On the left a short, bearded, lifeless figure of St. Urban, whose name is vertically inscribed, offers a jewelled book to Jesus, while a badly designed figure of St. John stands on the right. This fresco is of such very inferior workmanship that one is inclined to believe that it is not the work of what would be called, in the 9th century, an artist, and consequently cannot be regarded as a document in the history of the development of painting; but when we consider that this work was accepted by those who ordered it, we can form some idea of the great downfall of art at this period.

Another instance of similar decline is seen in the Albano catacombs, in a fresco of the Lord between the Virgin and St. Smarag-

(1) *J. Braun*, *Die Liturgische Gewandung*, Freiburg, 1907 p. 649, and probably after him *S. Scaglia*, *Les Catacombes de S. Calliste*, Rome, 1909 p. 131, believe this figure to be of the 10th or 11th century, because in the 9th the cross of the pallium is not worn on the shoulder as is here the case.

(2) Reprod. in *De Gränsen*, fig. 219.

dus⁽¹⁾. The Lord is larger than the two other figures; his head is encircled by a cruciform nimbus; the hair, parted in the middle, covers a portion of the low forehead, and falls in a curve to the shoulder, the expressionless eyes are enormous and wrongly shaped, being pointed at the outer end, and rounded towards the nose, which is indicated by two straight streaks; the outline of the mouth is thin and depressed in the centre and at the corners, and the whole face is obviously an unsuccessful attempt to express solemnity. Some jewellery is visible in the opening at the neck of the much folded draperies, and also on the book once held by the left hand, which has now disappeared. The image of the Virgin, although far from beautiful, is superior to that of the Lord. Her head is covered by a complicated veil; the face has been hurriedly drawn, with the usual red patches denoting the cheeks, the hands are raised towards Christ. A curious mingling of the Oriental and Occidental currents is found here in the inscription, in which the Greek words "Mother of God" are written in Latin characters. St. Smaragdus, in sacerdotal clothes, is represented on the other side. The characteristics of hasty work, already seen in the features of the Virgin, are also found here; a detail, which will be observed on several occasions, is the slight upward-curving line indicating the projection of the chin. The saint, whose tonsure resembles a small white cap, holds a jewelled book in one hand and stretches the other toward the Lord. All three figures have folds in their draperies, indicated by broad straight lines. The frame is formed by a red border in which traces of white inscription are still visible.

A fresco of the Virgin and Child between two saints in a chapel of the Sacro Speco monastery, at Subiaco⁽²⁾ (fig. 53), although superior in execution, shows in composition a considerable likeness to that in the crypt of S. Urbano alla Caffarella. It is generally agreed that this is a Roman work of the 9th century, and documentary

(1) *T. B. De Rossi*, *Le catacombe di Albano*, Bull. di Archeol. Crist., 1869, p. 65. *O. Marucchi*, *Le catacombe di A.*, Nuov. Bull. di Archeol. Crist., 1902 p. 89. Reprod. in Cabrol's *Dictionnaire d'Archéol. Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, I Paris, 1907 fig. 264

(2) *P. Egidio*, *G. Giovannoni* and *F. Hermann*, *I monasteri di Subiaco*, 2 vols. Rome, 1904 I p. 407, *Hermann*, *Gli affreschi*. Also reproduced in *De Grunisen*, op. cit., fig. 220 *R. van Marle*, op. cit., p. 115 fig. 49

evidence proves that we owe it to Leo IV (847—55). The Virgin, wearing a dark dress and veil, is seen, holding the Child on her knee, by the aureole that encircles his whole body (1) and forms a background to the cruciform halo which surrounds his head. He is of a decidedly Jewish type, with dark hair; his dress is light in colour. On account of a gap in the painted surface it is not clear whether Jesus is standing or sitting, or how his left hand is occupied; it is evident, however, that he is blessing with



Fig. 53. The Virgin between two Saints
847—55. Sacro Speco, Subiaco.
Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

the right. If he were standing, or, as would be more probable, seated on a rainbow, we should have here a picture belonging to a very old Byzantine iconographical tradition. Of the two lateral figures the one on the left appears to be an archangel, bearing traces of jewellery on his dress. The partly erased inscription over the head of the other figure points to its being a representation of either St. Luke or St. Lucy. The drawing, although rough and hasty, is not hard; the halo of the Virgin, resembling those of the lateral figures, is yellow, with a red circumference; the enormous eyes have oval outlines; the pupils are staring, but not altogether without expression; the mouths consist of two lines, but are not completely shapeless; the chin of the Virgin, marked by a downward-curving line, is like that of St. Smaragdus in the Albano catacombs, another faint line sufficing to portray the anatomy of the throat. The drawing, though pronounced, is not unpleasing, and although accuracy has been sacrificed to style, the whole work, notwithstanding the coarse execution, is not ugly; the face of the supposed archangel might even once have been beautiful, and the Virgin, though solemn, is not inhuman.

(1) Another example of this peculiarity was found in Sta. Maria Antiqua.

Similar characteristics will be found in a painting in the church of S. Blasius at Nepi. It represents the Virgin in the centre, between St. Egidius (with the deer), St. Abdon, St. Sennen, a priest, and a Benedictine monk ⁽¹⁾.

The frescoes of the 9th and 10th centuries in the catacombs of Naples show us that a movement similar to that of Rome took place there also. ⁽²⁾ Two figures in the oratory of the S. Gennaro cemetery, one in pontifical attire, the other in a tunic and with bare feet, betray the same decadent forms. In a cubicle on the left some figures of saints holding crowns, crosses, books or scrolls, belonging to this manner, conceal some paintings of a much earlier period. They are drawn in heavy black, and sometimes red outlines. They survive only as three-quarter figures, the part below the knees having been destroyed. These images are motionless and lifeless.

On the right wall of the oratory, the tomb of St. Paul, Bishop of Naples, is adorned with his now almost obliterated portrait between male and female Orants. The tomb of Bishop John V is decorated in the same manner.

While these frescoes probably belong to the 9th century, another, and very likely the last painting executed in these catacombs, dates from a hundred years later. It represents a bust of Christ in benediction; his head is encircled by a cruciform nimbus, and in his hand he holds a book; while five female saints, in parts much damaged, but richly dressed, hold martyr's crowns in their covered hands. The execution reminds us chiefly of the frescoes in the Roman catacombs; the general tone is reddish and the folds are drawn in lighter colours.

As I mentioned before, Assisi possesses a datable fragment which entitles us to believe that the same style was still followed towards the middle of the 11th century, especially as this fragment forms part of the ornamentation of the cathedral (built between 1036—1059) ⁽³⁾ of a not altogether unimportant town. Bishop Hugo was the founder of this cathedral, an apse of which remains under the facade of the present building. Here some traces of a representation of the symbols of the Evangelists are still

⁽¹⁾ *Cavazzi*, op cit, p 317.

⁽²⁾ *Lefort*, op cit

⁽³⁾ *A Cristofani*, Delle Storie di Assisi. libri sei. 3rd ed., Assisi, 1902 p. 37.

visible (fig. 54); but they rank amongst the weakest productions of this school.

It is indeed a very disheartening and uninspired group of works which we are now considering, and there is frequent excuse for the question whether they are really still the remote offspring of the classical tradition. This however I would answer in the affirmative; for many of these paintings do at least preserve the freedom and absence of rigidity which they owe to the illustrious movement of which they form a melancholy offshoot. Again,



Fig. 54. Symbols of the Evangelists
1036-59. subterranean Cathedral, ASSISI

Photo. Minist. Publ. Istr.

the breadth of drawing might result from the complete decadence of the Pompeian technique, while the proportions observed are often reminiscent of ancient Hellenic art. In this respect the frescoes in the subterranean church of S. Crisogono are the most suggestive.

Of course I do not deny that Byzantine art had left its traces, but they were, generally speaking, traces of mere external details, such as the large jewels. On the whole this manner was a mixture of Latin and Byzantine styles — a combination

already observed as existing in the 8th century — but in which, however, the Roman influence was the more powerful. In Rome this same admixture may no doubt be found in other connexions, as in the frescoes of the Calixtus catacombs, where two African and two Latin bishops are united in the same work, or again in the inscriptions of the Albano catacombs, where Greek words are written in Latin characters.

Charlemagne conceived a profound love for Rome, which he often visited, and regarded as the ideal capital of his immense empire. He appointed his son Pepin to be king of Italy, and

after Pepin's death in 810, his (Charles') natural son Bernard.

Two Roman mosaics represented the emperor, but neither has survived in its original form. The first of these was placed by Pope Leo III in the triclinium of the Lateran⁽¹⁾, and survived, although not without frequent restoration, until the time of Clement XII (1730—40) who wanted to have it transported to the outside of the Scala Santa; but during the operation the old mosaic fell to pieces, and that now seen in the position which Clement XII destined for the original is a copy. This copy, however, is of unusual merit; of this we have proof in the shape of early reproductions and drawings of the authentic mosaic. The work as we see it to-day has a certain individuality of style in which not a trace of the 18th century can be detected. The central part may be compared with the mosaic of S. Maria in Dominica although the subject represented here is the Lord standing amidst eleven Apostles. According to an inscription the mosaic depicts the moment when the Saviour sent them forth to preach. The upper part contains some conventionally drawn clouds, and the vault is encircled by a wreath in the middle of which we find the Pope's monogram. While these figures follow rather closely the style of the still existing mosaic of Leo III, the two small groups at the sides are in some respects different. On the left we see the Lord, seated, handing the key to St. Peter, and a banner to Constantine, who are both kneeling before him, while on the right Pope Leo and Charles the Great, each with the square nimbus of the living, receive the pallium and a banner from the hands of St. Peter, at whose feet they are kneeling (fig. 55). In addition to those names already mentioned the inscription reads beneath:

Beate Petre Donas Vita Leon P.P. e Victoria Carulo Regi Donas.

In comparing the kneeling figures of these two groups, especially that of Charles the Great, with the portrait of Pope Leo in the mosaic of S. Maria in Dominica, it is, I think, obvious that we are here dealing with productions of another school; a difference will be observed which cannot be accounted for by the fact that this is an 18th century copy, for while in the central composition

(1) According to *Mgr. Duchesne* this was executed in 799: v *Liber Pontificalis*, II p. 35.

the artist has reproduced a mosaic in which the Byzantine style is predominant this element is entirely absent in the lateral scenes. It is possible that the artist of the Roman mosaic worked from a portrait of the emperor made in his own country; this would moreover explain the fact that this portrait contains more of the foreign element of which I have spoken than the others, which, however, must have been influenced by this example. Two



Fig. 55. Pope Leo III and Charlemagne at the feet of St Peter
Copy of a mosaic *circa* 800
Scala Santa, Rome.

Photo Alinari.

fragments, two Apostles' heads, of the central part have been preserved and are now in the Lateran Museum. They show a better quality of technique than other mosaics of this period; the modelling is vigorous and the features display much individuality.

Another mosaic, made also by order of Pope Leo III, adorned the church of S. Susanna, but of this nothing now exists except some old prints⁽¹⁾. It represented the Lord between the Virgin, St. Peter, St. Susannah and the Pope on the left, and SS Paul, Caus, Gubinus and Charles the Great on the right. The heads of the Pope and the emperor are framed in square nimbi; the emperor wears a bonnet, a long coat, and a sword, and, as in the other mosaic, has whiskers, and also a small beard which doubtless also figured in the original of the other mosaic.

What we know of these two mosaics is perhaps not sufficient to permit of the assumption that Carolingian art was introduced into Italy at such an early date, but, as we shall presently see, its introduction was an accomplished fact soon after this date, because the so-called Benedictine school which had its centre at Montecassino, was nothing but an Italian form of Carolingian

⁽¹⁾ *Duchesne*, ed. *Liber Pontificalis*, II p. 3. Reproduced in *Alemann*, *De parentinis*, p. 10 *Campini*, *Vet Monum*, I p. 138. V. also the article on Charlemagne in *Cabrol's Dictionnaire d'archéologie et de liturgie*

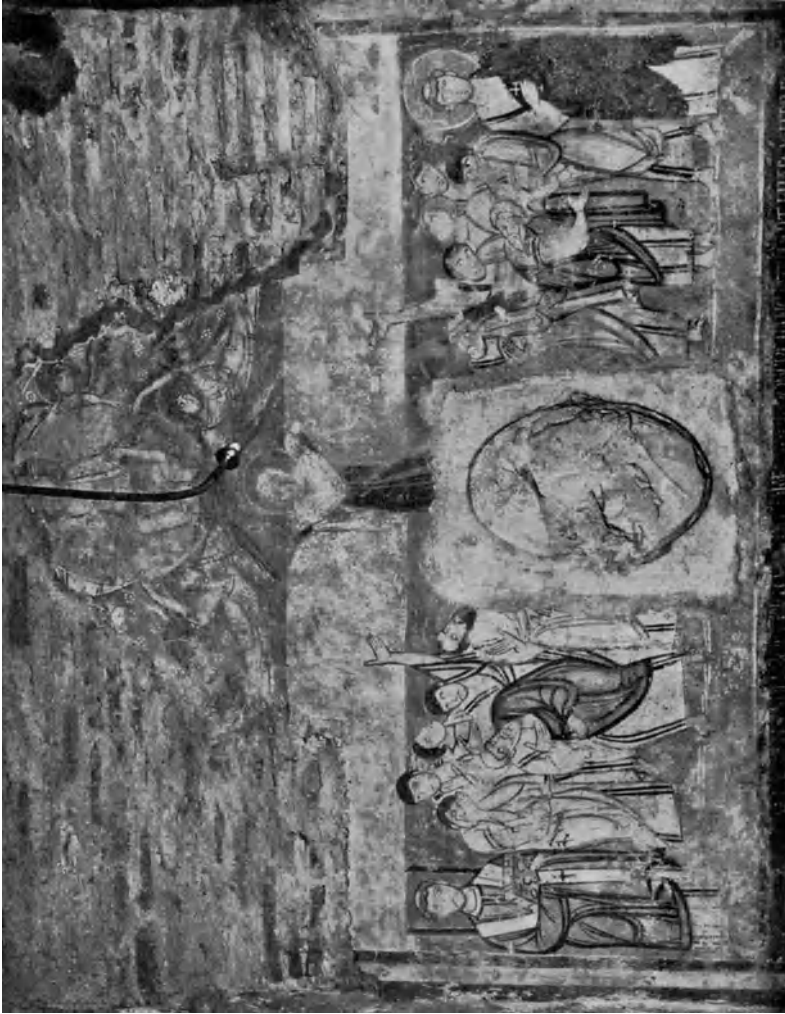


Fig. 56 The Ascension, 847-55 S. Clemente, Rome Photo Alinari

art, ⁽¹⁾ and datable examples of this art may be attributed to about the middle of the 9th century.

Of the first frescoes painted in Rome made under a strong Carolingian influence some are in the subterranean church of S. Clemente on the left wall of the entry ⁽¹⁾; they represent the Ascen-

⁽¹⁾ I explained at some length the arguments which led me to this conviction in my book on Roman painting, p. 89 et. seq.

sion, the Crucifixion, the two holy Women at the empty Sepulchre, the Descent into Limbo and the Wedding at Cana. The date is established by the presence of the portrait of Pope Leo IV (847—55) with the rectangular nimbus of the living; he is seen depicted at one side of the Ascension and forms a pendant to the figure of St. Vitus. Around his head we read "*Sanctissimus Dominus Leo rt P.P. Romanus*" while below the following



Fig. 57. Detail of fig. 56.

Photo Moscioni.

inscription is written: "*Quod haec prae cunctis splendet pictura decore componere hanc stultus praesbyter ecce Leo* (²).

The scene of the Ascension seems to have afforded most scope for the display of the painter's original talent (figs. 56 and 57). At the top of this scene, inclosed in an oval aureole, the Lord in Majesty is seated on a rainbow, stretching out one hand and holding a scroll in the other. The aureole, set against a very starry sky, is carried to Heaven by four angels, two above and two below; of the two upper figures one alone remains. In the centre of this composition the Virgin as Orant stood on an eminence which is no longer visible; and the Twelve Apostles beneath make this fresco the most interesting painting which the S. Clemente basilica contains. Two conflicting elements, an inherited sense of symmetry and an inclination to produce life-like portraits, have been

(¹) V. literature quoted for the earlier paintings in S. Clemente.

(²) The inscription according to which the Pope planned this painting, as well as the fact that the spaces for his portrait and for that of the saint opposite were left unoccupied, seem to me sufficient proof that these portraits belong to the original composition and were not added later as Mgr. Wilpert believes to be the case.

present in the painter's mind, resulting in two almost identical groups of active, living Apostles, separated by the mountain on which the Madonna stands. Each figure in each group finds a corresponding pendant in the other. The six Apostles on either side are arranged in rows of five, in front of which stands the sixth. Starting with the inner end we have the following figures: of the first two, each is slightly bowed, raising his head to look upwards, of the next pair each stretches a hand towards the Virgin, gazing at her in a comical fashion from the corner of his eyes, without turning his head (note more especially the figure on the right); while the central figure of each row of five turns his head toward the Madonna. The fourth are larger than the rest and again gaze sidelong at the Virgin (this again is more visible in the right-hand figure), while the last in each row, overcome with awe, hides his face in his hands, or, to be exact, the figure on the right, uses only one hand, as in the other he carries a scroll. The two Apostles in front of the rows are SS. Peter and Paul, who, together with the first on the right, are depicted as much older than the rest. Both have white pointed beards, and bow their bodies away from the central scene, while at the same time they turn their heads and gaze toward it. These are the only figures to wear dark cloaks over their white garments; with the exception of SS. Peter and Paul and the figures on the immediate right and left of the Virgin; the other Apostles are all of the clean-shaven Roman type, wearing Roman tunics. The groups are well composed, and when seen separately impress one with the variety of means by which a reverent awe has been depicted. The crude drawing lends a special importance to the draperies, which, although hanging in broad coarse folds clearly reveal the shape of the body which seems to form facets on the draperies, especially in the figures of SS. Peter and Paul, whose garments seem to cling to their bodies. In the treatment of the draperies we perceive a certain kinship to contemporary mosaics.

The Crucifixion near by, although not of the same value, is also interesting. Christ wears a small loin-cloth; his arms hang slightly downwards and his head, encircled by a cruciform nimbus, inclines toward the right. Anatomical details still remain clearly visible in the legs, where the calf muscles are strongly developed. On the left the Virgin, half turned toward the Cross, raises

her arms to the Christ; she wears a light-coloured cloak over a dark dress, and light shoes. St. John, who is represented facing rather more to the front, also wears, over a light tunic, a dark mantle which he holds with his left hand. His clothes have much in common with those of SS. Peter and Paul in the Ascension, and he is depicted in exactly the same attitude as two of the other Apostles in this fresco, his hands outstretched toward the Cross.

The scenes of the Maries at the empty Sepulchre and the Descent into Limbo are depicted in their simplest forms. In the first the two holy women stand on one side of the door, while on the other side an angel beckons to them. In the Descent into Limbo we see the Lord, surrounded by an aureole, grasping the arm of Adam who lies on the ground with Eve standing behind raising her arms toward the Redeemer. The Wedding at Cana was of a more elaborate composition, but only the upper part of it has been preserved, in which are depicted the facades of two houses and groups of figures with the Saviour in the centre (fig. 58).

Besides this facility of treatment, these paintings impress us not only by the animation of the figures but also by the great prominence given to the gestures. One might say that gesture is the predominating element in these frescoes; all the figures gesticulate and all do so in a striking fashion.

The paintings in the lower church of S. Clemente are the best productions of this particular style in Rome, but others, if not precisely in the same manner, are at least very close to it. In the subterranean church of Sta. Maria-in-via-Lata there exists a related fragment which might have formed the principal figure in a representation of the miracle of the Loaves and Fishes, as well as certain scenes from the history of St. Erasmus⁽¹⁾. We see him first before Diocletian, but only part of this fresco is now visible. Then Diocletian is depicted superintending the torture of the saint, who is lashed between two poles and is being beaten with great violence by his torturers; this incident is, however, not related in his legend. Then St. Erasmus is represented between two hang-

(1) *L. Cavazzi*, *Sta Maria-in-via-Lata e gli odierni scavi nel suo oratorio*, *Miscel. di Stor. e cultura eccles.*, 1905 p. 193. *The Same*, *S. M.-in-v.-L. e le recenti scoperte nel suo antico oratorio*, *Nuov Bull. di archeol. crist.*, 1905 p. 123. *A. Muñoz*, *Pitture medioevale a Roma*, *L'Arte*, 1905 p. 59. *H. de Waal*, *Das orat. der Kirche S. M.-in-v.-L.*, *Rom. Quartalschr.*, 1907 p. 1. *L. Cavazzi*, *La diaconia di S. M.-in-v.-L. e il monastero di S. Ciriaco*, Roma, 1908



Fig. 58. The Holy Women at the Empty Sepulchre, the Descent into Limbo and the Wedding at Cana 847—55.
S. Clemente, Rome

Photo Angerson.

men (fig. 59) with another haloed figure standing close by, while a fourth scene shows how the saint is saved from immersion in boiling oil by an angel who transports him to the city of Formia. Below three figures of saints are clearly visible, one of them a priest in sacerdotal garments. Above them we read the inscription "S^cs



Fig. 59 History of St Erasmus, first half of the IX century. Sta Maria-in-via-Lata, Rome.

Photo Minist. Publ Istr.

Silvester". The spirit in which these frescoes are executed is substantially the same as that expressed by the above-mentioned paintings of S. Clemente; the technique, however, is somewhat cruder, while the chiaroscuro effects remind us of the mosaic of S. Marco, with which these frescoes might be contemporary (827—44). We do not find in them the curious animation of expression which struck us in the Ascension.

Nor do we find this last characteristic in some frescoes representing scenes from the Old and New Testaments and from the life of the Virgin, parts of which still remain visible in the nave of S. Maria Antiqua. Fragments on the left wall⁽¹⁾ prove that the series started here with illustrations from the Book of Genesis, of the histories of Noah, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph, considerable portions of which can still be recognised: such as Joseph sold by his brothers (fig. 60), Joseph sold to Potiphar, Joseph flying from Potiphar's wife, taken to prison, and re-established in his own rights⁽²⁾. Very little remains visible on the right wall⁽³⁾; one fragment probably formed part of the meeting at the Golden Gate; others were possibly the Nativity of the Virgin, the Birth of Jesus in a grotto, with apocryphal detail as to the doubt which one

⁽¹⁾ *De Gruneisen*, op. cit., pl. 21a figs. 86—90.

⁽²⁾ *De Gruneisen*, pls. 22—24. *R. van Marle*, op. cit., figs. 44—45.

⁽³⁾ *De Gruneisen*, op. cit., pl. 21, fig. 83.

woman had of the virginity of the Madonna; small portions also remain of the Journey of the Magi and their Adoration of the Child Christ. On a low wall in that part of the church which separates the nave from the choir, we find some fragments of a representation of the victory of David over Goliath, and a fairly well-preserved painting of Isaiah at the death-bed of King Ezekias⁽¹⁾, which M. de Grüneisen attributes to the pontificate of Nicholas I, but which I believe to be somewhat earlier; it is of a finer workmanship than the others.

These works betray the fact that their authors were in close contact with artists of the end of the 8th century; as, for example, those who executed the Crucifixions in the churches of S. Valentino and of SS. Giovanni e Paolo; these frescoes do not possess that dramatic element which character-



Fig. 60. Joseph sold by his brothers, first half of the IX century Sta. Maria Antiqua, Rome.

Photo Minst. Publ. I-tr.

ized the two other series of this group. I think therefore that these paintings are of a rather earlier date, probably of the first half, if not the first quarter of the 9th century. On the other hand, they are not devoid of action, and here again the gestures are of great importance, while we sometimes meet with the same facade as that seen in the representation of the miracle at Cana in the church of S. Clemente.

The only one of these three works which closely approaches the productions of the Benedictine movement in South Italy is that in S. Clemente, and even in this a decided difference may be observed, for the Roman paintings show more vigorous gestures and less refinement of execution. Nevertheless, no doubt remains that we have here products of one and the same school, although the connection with the scenes of martyrdom in Sta. Maria-in-via-Lata and the frescoes in Sta. Maria Antiqua, while incontestable, is nevertheless more remote. It might be supposed that these were the earliest works of this school in Rome, for both

(1) *De Grüneisen*, op. cit., pl. 55.

seem to be of earlier date than the S. Clemente frescoes. This is quite possible, since the frescoes painted in the capital city appear, as is only logical, to have undergone development somewhat earlier.

The frescoes in the chapel of the crypt of S. Vincenzo on the Volturno⁽¹⁾ may be dated exactly, as produced between 826 and 843, thanks to the square nimbus worn by the Abbot Epiphanius. All the paintings are not of the best quality, as for example the six stern saints in purely Byzantine attire, with heavily jewelled crowns, large dark nimbi and streaky folds in the draperies, which, however, reveal to some extent the shape of the body. Depicted in the same manner are five angels and archangels, dressed as Byzantine patriarchs in three-quarter length tunics fastened at the shoulder, modelled on the ancient Byzantine prototype. In the other frescoes, where Eastern examples might well have been copied, more individual inspiration is shown. The most animated scenes are the martyrdoms of SS. Lawrence and Stephen; unhappily only a fragment remains of the latter. On the left of the former, the emperor, bending forward to give his instructions, is seated on the traditional jewelled throne, with large round cushions; his mantle seems to be blown by a violent wind; below him the remains of a standing figure are seen. Farther to the right, St. Lawrence, naked, with a gentle, placid expression and showing the clerical tonsure, is held on a gridiron by two men, while an angel flies down towards the martyr. The drawing, though in any case not excellent, is superior to most contemporary work, although the figures are not always correct, while the downward movement of the angel has the appearance of a fall. The form of St. Lawrence is much too rotund and his attitude impossible, but many details display a keen observation, as, for example, the drawing of the first torturer, who, with hands raised high above his head, plies his instrument and causes it to bend by the pressure brought to bear; and again, the evident interest which the emperor takes in the proceeding is clearly manifest. This

⁽¹⁾ *E. Bertaux*, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale*, Paris, 1904 p. 89 v. also *Mgr. Piscicelli-Taeggi*, *Pitture cristiane del nono secolo*, Montecassino, 1885 and 1896. *E. Bertaux*, *Gli affreschi di San Vincenzo al Volturno*, *Rassegna Abruzzese di Storia ed Arte*, 1900. VI p. 105. *P. Toesca*, *Reliquie d'arte della badia di S. Vincenzo al Volturno*, *Boll. dell. Instit. Stor. Ital.*, 1904 No. 28.



Fig. 61. Crucifixion 826—43, S. Vincenzo on the Volturmo.

Photo Minist. Publ. Ist.

scene, especially in the position of the two tortured saints, resembles the martyrdom of St. Erasmus in Sta. Maria-in-Via-Lata, Rome. Of the martyrdom of St. Stephen only two men in the act of throwing stones remain; their clothing, like the emperor's mantle, appears to be fluttered by the wind. Their attitudes are natural but identical, showing that monotony did not strike the artist as undesirable; the same may be noticed in the figures of SS Lawrence and Stephen, where they escort Christ, who, wearing a cruciform nimbus, is standing on a hemispherical support, holding a book with a Latin title, but blessing in the Greek manner. Both saints hold books and are clad in the ancient tunic; their similarity is more easily accepted in a monumental composition of this nature.

In the Crucifixion scene, Christ, attached to a very low Cross, is alive, young and beardless, wearing only a loin-cloth; his head, encircled by a cruciform nimbus, is inclined to the right, his expression calm and sad (fig. 61). The figures of the Virgin and St. John are much smaller, the arms of the former are uplifted, the hands hidden by her brown cloak, while her face and bearing are expressive of mournful resignation; a bright nimbus surrounds the head, while that of St. John is dark. Unlike the Virgin, St. John appears agitated; bending the upper part of his body away from the Cross, he holds one hand to his face, while in the other he carries a book; his cloak falls in numerous linear folds, becoming angular at the base; above the Cross the sun is indicated by a red circle and the moon by a yellow one. The inscriptions naming the Lord the King of the Jews, and the saying in which he calls St. John the son of his Mother, are in Latin. Abbot Epiphanius, with the rectangular nimbus of the living, is inserted at the foot of this scene; he is old, gray-bearded, and dressed in red and white sacerdotal garments. In front of a slight eminence a woman in mourning attitude, and wearing a turret-shaped crown, personifies Jerusalem, the name of which city is given. Another inscription leads us to suppose that near the Crucifixion the scene of the holy Women at the Sepulchre was once depicted. On the wall opposite the apse a window divides from one another the two figures of the Annunciation. The celestial messenger, holding a staff in one hand and blessing with the other, is of the type of Byzantine angels, but does not lack action; on the contrary, he

displays lightness and motion; his feet hardly touch the ground and his large wings wave in the air; his attitude is elegant and graceful; his garments, with their regular folds, ending in series of equal angles, has much in common with the above-mentioned cloak of St. John. The serious face of the angel is rather marred by the spotty effect of the light and shade; his head is encircled by a bright nimbus, that of the Virgin being dark. The latter, crowned like a Byzantine queen, has risen from her jewelled throne on which are placed the frequently seen pointed, cylindrical cushions. Her dark dress, with many straight folds, has white sleeves; she is young and bashful but not beautiful, her face evincing the same mistakes as that of the angel (fig. 62). The right hand of the Virgin is held, palm outwards, against her breast; the fingers are peculiarly curved and the thumb placed at some distance from them in an anatomically incorrect position



Fig. 62 Madonna of the Annunciation,
826—43 S. Vincenzo on the Volturno
Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

as regards the hand. On the lateral walls of this part of the chapel the Nativity and the bathing of the Child Jesus are represented. In the former the Virgin reclines on an ornamented mattress, which appears to be almost vertical; near her, St. Joseph, with crossed knees and chin on hand, seems in deep meditation; with one finger he indicates the Madonna, who evidently forms the subject of his thoughts. In his first bath Jesus, with a cruciform nimbus, is represented standing in a chalice-shaped receptacle, on the edge of which he places one hand while with the other he blesses in the Greek manner. Two women stand beside the bath, one pouring water into it, the other holding the Child carefully back and front; the name of the midwife Salome is mentioned. A Madonna and Child are represented in a twofold

elliptical aureole; the divine Mother, wearing a high tiara and jewelled and draped in the gorgeous Byzantine fashion, is seated on a jewelled throne, with the traditional cushion, holding in front of her another oval aureole, in which the Child, in a cruciform nimbus, is seated, probably on a rainbow. He is in the attitude of benediction and holds a scroll in his hand. The feet of the Madonna are placed on a footstool, near which a monk with a square nimbus, probably the painter, kneels, holding with both hands one of the Virgin's feet. Below this is a poor 10th century painting of three busts, of no interest. Other figures depicted are the Lord, with a brown beard, seated in benediction, and the Virgin, in a circular aureole, on a cushioned throne, wearing a high tiara and resting her left hand on a book with a Latin inscription. In this fresco the costume and the position and shape of the right hand are the same as those of the Virgin in the Annunciation. Here the face is not without expression and is more beautiful than in any of the other paintings. M. Bertaux considers all these frescoes to be the work of one artist, with which opinion I agree; he praises the fine modelling and the soft colours. What I think specially worthy of remark are the attitudes, which, though less lively, are more expressive, while the paintings are much better drawn than those of S. Clemente. In the scenes of martyrdom the drawing is too pronounced as to outline, but the lines are no longer as heavy as before.

I will now briefly repeat what I have said elsewhere ⁽¹⁾ in respect of the reasons which led me to find a Carolingian influence in these frescoes. To begin with, I wish to emphasize the fact that they are not Byzantine, although they have been attributed to that school. Not only are there too many differences in style to permit of the serious consideration of such an assertion, but the iconography of these works, which is not Byzantine, has many points in common with art of the Christian Far East. The Carolingian iconography very often corresponds with that of the Near East, and where the Carolingian artists have given us variations of Eastern compositions, the 9th century painters of Rome and Volturno have followed suit. Again, let us remark that the Ascension, the holy Women at the empty Sepulchre and the Wedding at Cana are amongst the subjects most favoured by

¹⁾ *R van Marle*, op cit, p 89

the Carolingian school, but apart from the productions of the Benedictine movement they rarely occur in Italian painting of that period. Like the artists belonging to the school of Ada, those of the Benedictine school show us the Lord beardless⁽¹⁾, and depict the triangular facade which we find in the Marriage at Cana in S. Clemente and in Sta. Maria Antiqua, and also the personifications of cities which we met with on the Volturno. More important even than the iconographical considerations are those of style. Carolingian art was full of life, not only in the representation of events but also in that of isolated figures, such as the Gospel writers at their desks. There is much action and abundance of gesture in all the figures. We find these characteristics in the illustrations of Carolingian manuscripts, as well as in their ivories, and these are peculiarities of the Benedictine school, especially in the Ascension of S. Clemente, which might pass for a typical Carolingian painting, and in which we also find a curious combination of animation and symmetry. The Ascension was a favourite subject with the Carolingian school, and in these frescoes we find not only similar but identical gestures in the figures of the Apostles. Again, the daring brushwork seen in Rome and on the Volturno seems to be inspired by the excellence of Carolingian drawing as displayed in the Utrecht Psalter and the illustrations of the Terentius codices of the Paris National Library and the Vatican. The peculiar side-long gaze which we observed in S. Clemente had already appeared in miniatures painted in Salzburg between 767 and 784. I do not deny that Carolingian art may owe these peculiarities to some influence emanating from the East — probably from Syria — but I do not believe that Rome acquired them from the same source; I think their introduction into Rome was due to the presence there of Charles the Great and his followers.

It is true that those two highly intelligent students of art history, F. X. Kraus⁽²⁾ and E. Bertaux⁽³⁾, have expounded the contrary theory; according to them it must have been the Benedictines from Italy who contributed to the formation of Carolingian art; but the

⁽¹⁾ So too the engraved metal covering which Pascal I had made for a cross in the Sancta Sanctorum; also another fresco of the Descent into Limbo in S. Clemente, which is executed in the more decadent manner.

⁽²⁾ *F. X. Kraus*, *Geschichte der Christl. Kunst*, II, p. 67.

⁽³⁾ *E. Bertaux*, *op. cit.*, p. 67. *The Same*, Rome, II, Paris, 1905, p. 58.

facts on which this hypothesis is based are limited to our knowledge of a visit of Charlemagne's to the abbey of Montecassino in 787, and a request that monks with a copy of the rules of the Order, and some books, should be sent to the provinces under his rule, and that some frescoes were in 775 painted in one of the churches of Montecassino. These facts do not seem impressive when the opposite theory is expounded.

First of all, does it seem possible that Italian art, in which we find from the 8th century onward a progressive decline, was at that period capable of inspiring a school like the Carolingian, which produced innumerable mosaics, wall-paintings, ivories and miniatures, which, as far as we know, were all of the highest quality (1)? Then again, while we do not until the year 775 hear of any artistic activity at all at Montecassino, we do know that during the first half of the 9th century some Irish monks — amongst whom miniature painting was very far advanced — settled in Bavaria, where soon afterwards we meet with important schools of this art. It hardly seems likely therefore that in 787 the emperor should have looked to Montecassino for instruction for his artists, especially if we consider the magnificent ivory carvings which he had made for the binding of a Psalter for Pope Hadrian I (772—95), parts of which are now in the Louvre. The fact that he brought such presents to the Popes— we hear also of gifts to the church of St. Peter — points rather to importation from Charlemagne's empire into Italy than to the reverse, and when we compare the numerous magnificent Carolingian productions with the few, mostly poor, Italian works of this period, we find in this contrast a confirmation of our theory that it was the latter which received new life from the former, and not the converse.

Carolingian art in Italy did not survive its source of inspiration; its existence ceased almost simultaneously with that of the Byzantino-Lombard style, at the beginning of the second half of the 9th century, thus leaving the field clear for the products of the decadence, which lasted throughout the whole of the 10th century. As, however, we shall see at Montecassino, Carolingian art dragged on an obscure existence in Italy until more favourable times.

(1) We obtain an idea of the abundance of this output in *J. von Schlosser, Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der Karolingischen Kunst*, Vienna, 1902.

CHAPTER III.

THE BENEDICTINE SCHOOL DURING THE XI CENTURY AND THE ORIGIN OF ROMANESQUE PAINTING.

The intermingling of currents which took place during the 11th century forms one of the most interesting phenomena which the history of early Italian painting offers us.

The Carolingian-Benedictine art pursued its course and even underwent an important development of its own. Greek artists were called to Montecassino and there introduced a new Byzantine influence, while through the international Benedictine movement, and, what I believe to be still more important, the presence of the German emperors in Italy, a distinct connection may be observed between certain Italian works and the Ottonian school.

Let us begin with the Benedictine art of Southern Italy, a subject especially studied by M. Bertaux⁽¹⁾. After the 9th century the movement may be divided into two parts, the second starting with the rule of Abbot Desiderius in 1058, when Montecassino entered upon a period of great artistic prosperity. However conscientious the work of this perspicacious savant may be, I think he commits an error in admitting an interval between the Carolingian-Benedictine art of the 9th century and the later 11th century movement under Abbot Desiderius.

M. Bertaux has evidently realised the fact that certain elements passed from one movement into the other, but he regards the later Benedictine activity as the result of such an increase of Byzantinism that he even assumes that some miniatures made at Montecassino were actually the work of Greek artists. I do not deny that the Benedictine school may have felt this Byzantine influence rather more intensely in the 11th century than it did two centuries earlier, but I regard this as the evolution of an existing school rather than the birth of a new one; the style of the frescoes

⁽¹⁾ *E. Bertaux*, op. cit., p. 155—308.

on the Volturno so closely resembles that of the best 11th century Benedictine miniatures that we are forced to believe that the Benedictine school is a continuation of the former movement. M. Bertaux himself furnishes us with some arguments in favour of this view of the question. Obviously those datable South Italian frescoes of the 10th and early 11th centuries which have survived are not of as good quality as those painted earlier or later; but the reason of this may possibly be that all these paintings are to be found in grottoes and were therefore probably executed without much artistic forethought; these places of occasional worship were certainly never decorated with as much care as the churches of the Order. Any local painter of minor importance may have been charged with the execution of these frescoes, which are therefore only faint reflexes of the Benedictine school. We shall feel all the more inclined to admit this when we see that contemporary miniatures do not bear witness to an especially debased condition of pictorial art.

Of the Benedictine grotto paintings the most important are the decorations of the Grotto dei Santi near Calvi (¹), where four distinct series of frescoes are to be found, all crude and inartistic in execution although their composition betrays an acquaintance with the superior Benedictine productions.

The regally attired female saints, as well as the martyrdom of St. Lawrence, show some resemblance to the wall paintings on the Volturno, but the names of the saints point to a Lombard origin. This series comprises about twenty paintings, which represent male and female saints, the martyrdom of St. Lawrence, just mentioned, a Crucifixion, and scenes from the legend of St. Sylvester, in one of which the Pope vanquishes a dragon while SS. Peter and Paul appear in the sky. Even cruder and more unskilled in execution are the six busts of saints in white on a yellow background; four full-length figures, the Virgin and Child between two priests and an Orant forming the second group, which shows some resemblance to the Capuan miniatures. Better in design but very hard in colouring is the third series, in which the yellow faces have orange patches on their cheeks and features outlined in black and red; in this style are depicted SS. John and Sylvester, and several other saints, of whom three

(¹) *Bertaux*, op. cit., p. 244, fig. 95.

wear sacerdotal garments, and one the Byzantine patrician costume. The defects in form and colour of the second series are repeated in the fourth, which will be found in the apse, where Christ is represented between two angels and rows of Apostles and Saints.

In the Grotto della Fornella near by we find a Virgin as a Byzantine empress between two angels, also a bishop and four men with Longobardian beards. The drawing is superior, resembling that of the third group in the Grotto dei Santi.

The Grotto San Biagio near Castellamare contains a Christ, black-bearded, and with a peaceful expression of face, between the archangels Michael ⁽¹⁾ and Gabriel and two aged Apostles. The too regular faces, the linear features and the large wings of the angels, which are found also in the early Benedictine miniatures, give these paintings a very conventional character. Another type of Christ, more refined in execution and more humane in expression, is represented between two male busts and two archangels who resemble those of the Roman mosaics of the 4th century. Other figures include the female saint Finniabus, framed in green and holding a gemmed crown, a crowned Virgin with the Child, who carries a scroll, between St. John, with a Latin inscription and St. Peter with his keys: both Western elements, as is the crown of the Virgin. In the same grotto, but of later date, although not later than the 11th century, are five figures of saints, inharmonious in colour and weak in drawing.

Near Majori and Amalfi on the Gulf of Salerno, the Grotto of Sta. Maria di Oleara was consecrated by Peter the Hermit in 1030. After his death a chapel was erected over it, and both in the hermitage and the superstructure the walls are decorated with paintings. Those in the grotto are perhaps older; they represent a group of saints, resembling in costume the frescoes of S. Fornella, with a lay donor holding the model of the church, Christ between two gorgeous Byzantine angels, and the Virgin escorted by saints with Longobardian beards.

In Sta. Maria di Trochio near Montecassino some mural decorations of Apocalyptic subjects and an Ascension are probably of the 11th century. The latter greatly resembles the 9th century version of the same subject in the Roman church of

(1) *Bertaux*, op cit. fig 96.

S. Clemente, and as in this and other Roman paintings of the same date, the colouring is harsh and the shading produces a spotty effect. The Lord is almost completely encircled by an aureole supported by four angels; the Virgin's head is veiled in the Oriental style.

From this brief enumeration it becomes clear that, whatever the difference of artistic merit between the 9th century Benedictine productions and these frescoes is, there is assuredly some connection between the latter and those executed two hundred years earlier on the Volturno and in the Roman church of S. Clemente, as in these last Byzantine elements may be found, but are wholly extrinsic. Here we shall meet with some Lombard elements which were not present in the Carolingian paintings already mentioned; they probably indicate the more immediate influence of the Lombard states in South Italy, resembling that which we observed in Rome.

I believe these same elements may be detected in certain contemporary miniatures, and also in the Carolingian decorative motives which persist in Benedictine miniatures for centuries to come. The angels, for example, standing on either side of the Saviour in a miniature adorning a codex of the rules of St. Benedict, copied in Capua between 914 and 933, now preserved at Montecassino, ⁽¹⁾ seem to me of a Lombard type, and the same may be said of the general style of execution, although the beardless face the Lord and the interlacing decorative motives remind us more of the Carolingian illuminations.

The connection is much clearer between the frescoes on the Volturno and the miniatures adorning a scroll containing the "Pontificale" of 957—984 in the Casanatense Library in Rome ⁽²⁾; and the illustrations of yet another scroll in the same library, in which the "Benedictions of the Fonts" is committed to writing, belong to the same movement ⁽³⁾. We find the fine drawing and rapid brush-work of the earlier Benedictine frescoes more strongly marked in the Volturno frescoes, while the miniatures give proof of Byzantine influence in the expression and attitudes of some of the figures, so that they may be regarded as forming, as it were a transition from the foregoing to a scroll of Benedictine texts

⁽¹⁾ *Bertaux*, op. cit., fig. 80.

⁽²⁾ *d'Agincourt*, op. cit., Painting, pls. XXXVII — XXXVIII.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, pl. XXXIX.



Fig. 62a Illumination of scroll, Bari; previous to 1028

in the cathedral of Bari ⁽¹⁾, which contains some still more Byzantine-looking miniatures, such as the enthroned Lord, or the Deesis (Christ enthroned between the Virgin and the Baptist); but the style of ornament remains Carolingian, while the figures of the groups in the narrative scenes are purely Benedictine. The same intermixture of styles may be observed in the illuminations of an "Exultet" scroll in the cathedral of Bari ⁽²⁾ (fig. 62^a), which dates from before 1028, while the Byzantine elements are again absent in a similar scroll made at Benevento between 1038 and 1059 ⁽³⁾.

Other scrolls of less importance are described by M. Bertaux.

Although I do not in any way deny the plainly evident effects of Greek influence — easily enough explained in Southern Italy — in many of these works of art, I cannot agree with M. Bertaux in regarding some of these products as the actual work of Greeks. We are fairly well informed as to 11th century Byzantine art; this period was for the East one of great artistic prosperity which subsequently produced the mosaics of St. Luke in Phocidia, of Kief, and later of Daphni, and miniatures such as those of the monologue of Basil II in the Vatican, and the magnificent codices with large portraits of Greek emperors, examples of which are to be found in many libraries. It is true that the "Exultet" of Bari contains medallions with portraits of princes, but these may be copied from Greek originals. More characteristic of this school, however, and usually smaller than such portraits, are the miniatures representing events. The technique of these differs from the Byzantine; the figures are animated, expressive and full of action, while the proportions are curiously elongated and the heads pointed. Nothing remains here of the Byzantine solemnity; the types of the faces are Northern, and even the schematic design is not truly Oriental, although its subtlety may be a reminiscent of Byzantium. If we compare the composition of such miniatures as were made at Benevento or Bari with the illustrations of a Greek Gospel-codex in the Paris National Library (M S. Grec. 74 ⁽⁴⁾), a typical example of Byzantine miniat-

⁽¹⁾ *Bertaux*, op cit., pl. IX.

⁽²⁾ *Idem*, pl. X.

⁽³⁾ *Idem*, pl. XI.

⁽⁴⁾ Published in reproduction: *Evangelies avec peintures du XI^e siècle*, 2 vols. Paris.

ure art of the 11th century, we shall be struck by the profound difference of spirit which animated their respective painters: the Southern Italian and the Greek. It is especially this expressive animation which characterizes the former, and which we find in the 9th century paintings of the same religious order in this region; it is therefore curious that M. Bertaux should wonderingly ask whence the 11th century Benedictine miniatures came by such Carolingian elements as their caligraphical ornaments and allegorical personifications; forgetting the 9th century frescoes on the Voltorno, which he himself describes.

As in Rome, so here also we are confronted with an intermingling of styles; in certain productions, such as the illustrations to the Benedictine texts of Bari, the principal element is in several cases Byzantine, while other miniatures of this codex are so different that we are forced to admit two tendencies if not two hands

This manifestation of Benedictine art I therefore believe to be a later form of that which we find in Rome and in Southern Italy during the Carolingian period; and it is here that we find the continuation of this art, somewhat modified by new influences.

Some works executed at Montecassino during the abbacy of Desiderius differ only in the increase of the typical Benedictine elements as distinguished from those of the earlier period.

With Desiderius, who was abbot of Montecassino from 1058 until 1086, when he became Pope Victor III, the artistic activity of the Benedictine school began. The new monastery was built between 1066 and 1071; a large basilica was erected near by and other churches followed. The chronicler, Leo of Ostia, gives us some information as to the manner in which these buildings were erected, and an anonymous poet sings their praises. From Leo we obtain the oft-repeated statement of how the art-loving abbot invited Byzantine monks to live in the monastery, apparently only in order to undertake the decorative details of the building. They were expert in the arts of working gold, silver, iron, glass, ivory, stone, wood and stucco, and the Benedictines of Montecassino were to be instructed in these crafts by their foreign brothers. This does not, however, mean that their entire artistic activity was dominated by the Byzantines. We do

not find it stated that they were painters or teachers of painting, whether fresco or miniature. We know also that Abbot Desiderius used to buy the old material of classical buildings, and employ it in the erection of his churches, and that the builders were Lombards and Amalfians. Doubtless it was only the decoration that was reserved for the Byzantine artists; and not only does Montecassino still possess parts of the purely Byzantine mosaic floor which adorned the basilica, but we even read of Desiderius sending a monk to Constantinople with material for some goldsmith's work to be executed there. An enamel altar-front with scenes from the life of St. Benedict was also for the greater part made there.

What we know of the mosaics executed by the Benedictines in Capua⁽¹⁾ shows us that the compositions which they reproduced were not Oriental but Roman. The Lord between SS. Peter and Paul in a church built by the Benedictines, and the apsidal mosaic of the cathedral, which we know from Ciampini's 17th century engraving, and which represented the Madonna with SS. Peter, Stephen, Paul and Agatha, and two prophets on the spandrels, with a medallion containing the Lord above, are compositions unknown in the East but common in Rome from a very early period. This does not raise a new problem, but only demonstrates to us once again the connection which, through Carolingian art, existed between Rome and the Benedictines of Southern Italy. Although the compositions are Roman, the style of execution, as proved by some still existing works, is purely Byzantine.

In the cathedral of Salerno (1085 – 1121) the wall above the entrance door is decorated with a figure of St. Matthew (fig. 63); it is a thoroughly Greek image, but the inscription is in Latin, and it is not a Byzantine custom to place the figure of an Evangelist in this part of the building. In the left aisle of the cathedral of Capua we find a Madonna between the two S. Johns, quite as Byzantine in execution as the previous figure. A small mosaic of about 1160 at Aquino, above the portal of Sta. Maria-la-Libera, is of similar technique, but again the iconography — the Madonna is represented between two sarcophagi — is foreign to Byzantium. The Church

(1) *Bertaux*, op. cit., p. 186.

of S. Lucia at Gaeta was adorned by a mosaic of the Virgin and the Child in benediction, long ago lost and now almost forgotten; this was also Byzantine in execution, but the feeling was rather Italian. This only helps to confirm the above-mentioned fact, that a mixture of tendencies may be noted in these productions.

Although the Benedictine mosaics bear witness to a continuance of Oriental influence until the second half of the 12th century, paintings of the same school, showing a clearly Byzantine style, are not very common. Of the miniatures ⁽¹⁾ executed during



Fig 63 St Matthew. Benedictine mosaic of ab 1100. Cathedral, Salerno
Photo Mosconi

the rule of the abbot Desiderius nearly all display the lively expressiveness of the Benedictine school, while the Carolingian style, with which Ottonian characteristics are beginning to mingle, survives in the decorative elements.

A monk called Leo signed two magnificent "Homily" codices now preserved at Montecassino, of which one is dated 1072. The drawing and general aspect of the figures are here fairly Byzantine, but the borders and background, and especially the decorative motives, are Northern in type while the actors in the various scenes gesticulate too much for genuine Greek work. This is also the case with an illustrated history of St. Benedict, which

⁽¹⁾ *Caravita*, 1 codice e le arti a Montecassino, 3 vols Montecassino, 1869
Piscicelli—Taggi and Latil, Les miniatures des manuscrits du Mont Cassin,
2nd ed 1899 *Bertaux*, op. cit., p. 193.

will be found in the Vatican Library (Lat. 1202), and which probably contains the most important and characteristic Benedictine miniatures; the Byzantine elements have become of secondary importance, so that the impulsive liveliness of expression and action and the characteristic drawing peculiar to the Benedictine school are here the artist's style. In some of the scenes, such as that representing St. Mauru healing the foot of a man who has fallen from his horse, the spirit is thoroughly northern, and the whole work, with its delicacy of feeling and detail, ⁽¹⁾ is a product of that narrative art which, as we shall see later, is a typically Italian creation, and absolutely opposed to the reserved manner of the Byzantine artists. M. Bertaux, who attributes these miniatures to the same Brother Leo who executed the two manuscript homilies, greatly exaggerates the Byzantine aspect of the illustrations of the life of St. Benedict.

A breviary illuminated at Montecassino, preserved in the Mazarin Library in Paris, is much more Byzantine in appearance, while an illustrated chronicle of 1100, which from S. Vincenzo on the Volturno has found its way into the Barberini Library, lacks the Benedictine spirit, but is richly decorated in the Carolingian style. Here we find the beginning of that decadence which is continually more and more perceptible in the miniatures of the latter part of the 12th century.

We shall find on the walls of the celebrated church of S. Angelo in Formis ⁽²⁾ a combination of the different styles of painting practised by the South Italian Benedictine school. I think they may be divided into the following principal groups: I, Byzantine; II, Benedictine, with its characteristic animation and proportion; and III, what we shall discover to be Ottonian.

⁽¹⁾ As M. Bertaux notes, St. Benedict is depicted older as the history advances.

⁽²⁾ *Schulz*, *Denkmaeler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unter Italien*, Dresden, 1860 II p. 170 pls 70-71. *D. Salazzaro*, *I affreschi di S. Angelo in Formis*, Napoli, 1868 and 1870 *The same*, *Studi sui monumenti dell'Italia Meridionale dal IV al XIII secolo*, Napoli, 1874. *F. X. Kraus*, *Die Wandgemalde von S. A. in F.*, *Jahrb. der K. Preus Kunstsamml.*, 1893. *Bulletin critique* 1893, p. 398. *Dobbert*, *Zur Byzantinische Frage, die Wandgemalde n S. A. in F.*, *Jahrb. der K. Preus Kunstsamml.*, 1894. *A. Venturi*, *Storia*

On entering the narthex we first observe frescoes of the archangel Michael, the Virgin, the temptation of St. Antony and three other scenes from the life of this saint in connection with the hermit St. Paul. Most important of all the figures is the archangel, who holds a staff in his right hand and a globe in his left; the attitude is excellent and the drawing highly refined. The jewelled and brightly coloured figure, against the background of his wings, is very impressive, nor can the lack of animation be reckoned a defect, since it is here the result of the artistic conventions of the Byzantine school, and produces a wonderful decorative effect.

Above St. Michael, a Virgin Queen as Orant as is represented in a circular frame which is held by two angels, one of whom has been repainted, but the other, who, with slightly turned head, seems about to swerve aside, is as graceful as, though less monumental than, the archangel. The Virgin-Orant, in Byzantine attire, lacks this elegance, and makes a somewhat stiff figure. M. Bertaux believes that the artist who executed these figures is also responsible for the stories of the two hermits. If it be so, this painter had two very different styles; for the fine but linear drawing of SS. Antony and Paul, whose venerable heads and white beards express profound religious feeling, do not resemble the figures just described. It is of course conceivable that the diversity of subject may partly account for this difference, because the angel who carries the souls of the hermits to Heaven has much in common with those around the Virgin. The same authority believes these frescoes to be one of the productions of the Byzantine mosaic-workers whom Abbot Desiderius summoned to Montecassino, and who, he thinks, also worked in the Capella del Crocefisso on the mountain, where four saints are finely represented in the same style, by means of the same "gouache" technique. The inscriptions in the narthex are in Greek, a fact which might have influenced M. Bertaux' opinion.

In the interior of the church the entrance wall is entirely

dell' Arte Italiana, II Milan, 1902 p. 372. *F. X. Kraus*, Die Wandgemälde der St. Sylvesterkapelle zu Goldbach, Munich, 1902 p. 10 *Bertaux*, op. cit., p. 259 *Marignan*, Les fresques de l'église de S. A. i. F., Paris, 1910. *P. Parente*, La Basilica di S. A. i. F. e l'arte del secolo XI. Sta Maria Capua Vetere, 1912 *V. Bindi*, S. A. i. F. presso Capua ed i suoi illustratori, Rassegna d'Arte, 1917 p. 13

covered by a large composition of the Last Judgment. On the highest level, which is intersected by windows, are four angelic trumpeters; lower down a Christ in an oval aureole is seated on a throne; his hands are directed downwards, the right palm outwards as though to receive the chosen, the left in pronation as though bidding the damned to go behind him. On the same level as Christ are two rows of figures: the upper of angels, identical in appearance, clad all in white, and led forward by two archangels; and the lower of Apostles seated on what appear to be prolongations, on either side, of Christ's throne, and are consequently decorated with the same design. The attempt to represent the sitting attitude has not been successful; and although the faces are different, and some have black beards the figures are very monotonous. Below, three angels, drawn with much care and symmetry separate the just from the unjust. The wicked all display their grief by their attitudes and expressions, while the chosen wear a look of calm satisfaction; in both groups persons in all stations of life are represented. The figures of this row are disproportionately tall. On a still lower level we see devils pushing the condemned, now naked, into the fire of hell on one side, and on the other a massed group of the blessed in heaven, some of whom are in the act of picking fruit from trees.

Amongst the scenes from the Old Testament which are depicted on either side of the Last Judgment, the histories of Adam and Eve, of Cain and Abel, and of Noah's ark, and a martyrdom staged in the shape of a trial in a court of law are the most important. In these scenes, which are separated from one another by trees, the figures, as in one of the zones of the Last Judgment, are wanting in proportion. There is also a series of medallions in which the abbots of Montecassino until the time of Desiderius are represented, in a style greatly inferior to that of the other frescoes. Other Old Testament scenes, including the stories of Abraham, Jacob and Noah, are to be found in the north aisle. On the walls of the nave, above the pillars, the following personages from the Old Testament are represented, starting on the left hand and going toward the choir: The first is obliterated; then we have Amos, Daniel, Zephaniah, Hosea, Solomon, David and the Persian Sibyl; on the right is a prophet of unknown identity, with Moses, Zachariah, Malachi, Balaam, Micah, Jeremiah(?), Ezekiel and Isaiah; the arches between

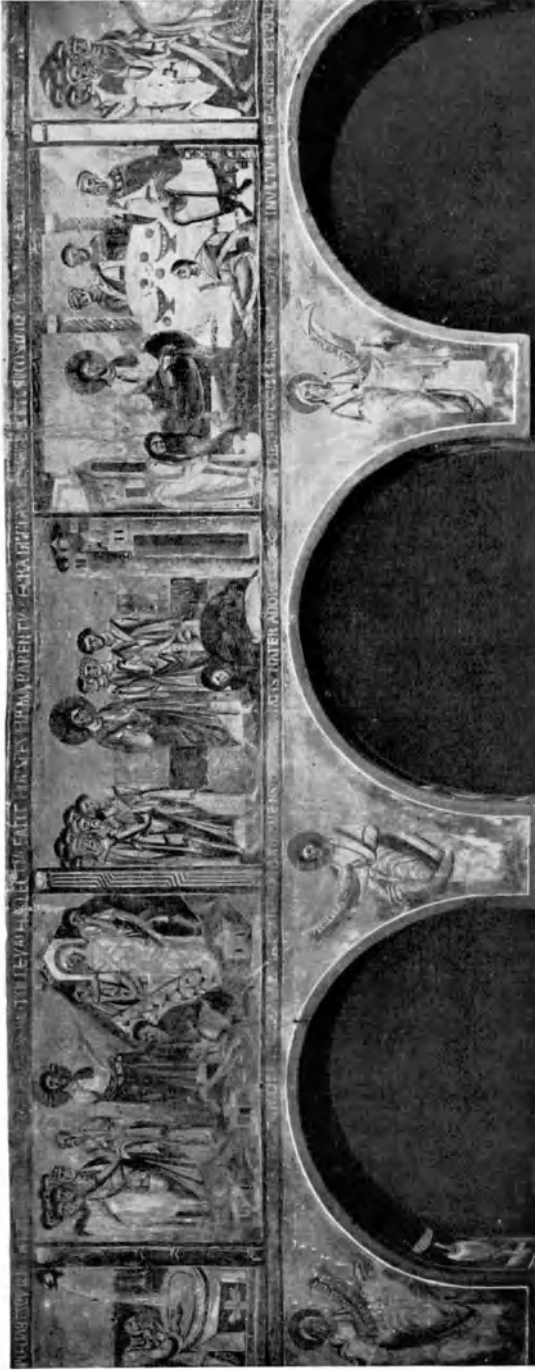


Fig. 64 Resurrection of Lazarus, Christ and the Mother of the Children of Zebedee, and the supper in Bethany, 1058—86. S. Angelo in Formis.

the pillars are decorated with flowers and vases, and in the aisles we see more series of kings and prophets of the Old Testament. Scenes from the Life of Christ decorate the upper part of the walls of the nave. On the north wall the story of the Lord begins on the topmost row, but only eight scenes of it now remain. The first of these Kraus believed to be the Magi before Herod; following this are the Massacre of the Innocents, and Jesus teaching in the Temple. Kraus is undecided whether the next is Christ meeting St. John, or the sermon of St. John. Then follows the Baptism of Christ while the rest, almost indistinguishable, are, according to the above authority, several scenes concerning the temptation. In the second row are represented the Sermon on the Mount, Christ paying Tribute, a largely obliterated scene, believed to be Christ blessing the Children, and then another, completely obliterated; while the rest, greatly damaged, are probably Christ among the Lawyers, Christ curing a diseased person, Christ curing the Lepers, the miracle at the pool of Bethesda, Lazarus at the feast of the rich man, Lazarus in Abraham's bosom, and with the rich man in hell, and Christ healing the dropsy; of the last nothing remains. The sequence of events is better followed if we now transfer our attention to the south wall. to the lowest row, and the only one preserved, on which the following scenes are depicted: Christ visiting Zacchaeus, the Samaritan woman at the well, Christ and the adulterous woman, Christ restoring the blind to sight, the Resurrection of Lazarus, Christ and the Mother of the Children of Zebedee, the meal in Bethany (fig. 64), the Entry into Jerusalem, and the Last Supper, which is larger than any of the other scenes; the table is semi-circular, as is also the case in the representation of the meal at Bethany. Christ sits at one end of the row, but St John is not, as is customary, placed next to him. Combined with this scene and forming a continuation of it is the Washing of the Feet. Christ, in many of these frescoes, is seated on a globe, and resembles the image of God, who is represented in the same attitude in the mosaics of the baptistery of Florence, and in the later frescoes at Ferentillo, Assisi and elsewhere. Returning to the lowest zone on the opposite wall, the story continues and terminates; here we find Christ in the Garden of Olives, the Betrayal of Judas, the mocking of Christ, Pilate washing his hands, the Carrying of the Cross, the Crucifixion, which like the Last



Fig. 65. The Crucifixion, the Entombment, and the Descent into Limbo, 1058—86. S. Angelo in Formis

Photo Minist. Publ. Ist.

Supper, occupies the double space, the Burial of Christ, his Descent into Hell (fig. 65), the Holy Women and the Angel at the Sepulchre, the meeting on the road to Emmaus, Christ appearing to the disciples on Lake Tiberias, St. Thomas touching the wounds of the Lord, and a very faded picture of the Ascension.

Some of these frescoes are worthy of a more detailed description. In the Baptism scene the water rising around Christ is full of fish, and a small personification of the Jordan is represented. The Betrayal of Judas is expressed in a violent scene, all the more striking amidst the generally calm and dignified figures of the other paintings. In the scenes of Christ on the road to Calvary, the Cross, as in the mosaics of Ravenna, is much too small; it is not carried by the Lord, but by a miniature figure in the crowd. The Saviour of the Crucifixion is represented alive, but calm and without suffering; he is slender and very erect, and his feet rest on a small support, to which they are nailed. Above the cross-bar are the sun and the moon and two flying angels. The Virgin, with clasped hands, and St. John, supporting his head, stand below the crucifix. These alone appear to form a complete scene, for the two groups, on the one side the men, with the soldiers in front gambling for the Lord's raiment, and on the other the women, stand some distance away from the Cross. The group effect is obtained in the usual way, by depicting a great number of heads; the weeping women are all represented in very similar attitudes, and the sorrow in their faces by the same trick of drawing them all similar. In the Entombment Christ is depicted swathed in cloth, as Lazarus is so often, and is again here. In the Descent into Hell the usual aureole encircling the Lord is missing.

The lack of technical skill in this highly important series of paintings manifests itself rather in the composition than in the design of the figures, as seen in the Crucifixion groups, and the disciples at the Last Supper. Whenever an assembly has to be represented, although the separate figures may be excellent, the ensemble appears monotonous. The figure of the Lord, which always occupies the centre of the various scenes, is generally larger than the rest, and obviously was not intended to form part of the groups; in all the scenes this figure is lifelike and well drawn; in the Healing of the Blind it is full of dignity; in the Washing of the feet, expressive of careful tenderness, and in the scene of the

Woman taken in Adultery shows a grave kindness. St. Peter is clearly recognisable in several of the paintings; he is an old man with grey curly hair and resembles the type which was established in Ravenna in the 6th century. He is the disciple whose feet are washed; in the scene of the Last Supper he is seated in a corner; he stands behind Christ when entering Jerusalem, and it seems to be the same figure which stands with two others in front of Christ in the scene with the Mother of the Children of Zebedee. Another striking figure and perhaps the best drawn, is that of the Samaritan woman at the well; there is a trace in her attitude of a classic beauty. In this scene a good attempt at perspective may be noted in the shape of the well, which is not round but oval. There is also something classical in the posture of the angel watching over the Tomb. The expressions of the faces are sometimes very good, and the attitudes of the body frequently in harmony. Beauty of feature is given only to Christ, whose expression in the scoffing scene is most touching; it is also extremely pathetic in the scenes of the Crucifixion and the Road to Emmaus. The heads of the two Mariés at the sepulchre are finely drawn, and the Woman taken in Adultery expresses her fear in a very realistic manner. The painter, however, has not always achieved the desired effect, and severity is often badly depicted; the Kiss of Judas is altogether unpleasing, although perhaps interesting on account of the attempt to express violent emotion. No attention whatever is yet paid to proportion; in one fresco the gates of Jerusalem are much smaller than the people who stand near, and the size of the figures often depends on the wall space which the artist had at his disposal.

Before attempting to determine the classification of the paintings of S. Angelo-in-Formis let us note which frescoes still remain to be discussed. The apse is adorned by a painting clearly of Byzantine inspiration, resembling those of the narthex: Christ, seated on a jewelled throne with a pointed cushion, and holding a book with a Latin inscription, forms the central figure. Above his head is a dove, and around him the symbols of the four Evangelists. His face is hard, of angular outline and severe expression. Below are represented three angels, a much repainted figure of St. Benedict with the rules of the Order in his hand, and Abbot Desiderius with a rectangular nimbus, holding a model of the



Fig. 66 Archangels, in the right apse of S. Angelo-in-Formis, 1068—86.

Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

church. A comparison, especially between the angels at the entrance and those shown here, demonstrates the inferiority of the workmanship in the apse, where the angelic figures are adorned with large gems and have huge semi-transparent wings; the features are hard and the colours crude and in violent contrast, while the folds are angular and very pronounced. The eyes are large and heavily outlined, a dark shadow is placed under the chin,

the anatomy of the throat is unduly prominent, and the figures are short and without grace or expression.

Of the lateral apses only that on the right still contains traces of decoration: a bust of the Madonna with the Child between angels (fig. 66), and above, only three out of the six saints once depicted, have survived. While the work of the central apse is that of an unskilful imitator of the painter of the narthex, the paintings in this lateral apse are more in the true Benedictine style.

A considerable amount of controversy has arisen from the question whether these frescoes — and especially those of the nave, and the Last Judgment — belong to the Byzantine or the Western tradition. Dobbert believes the former⁽¹⁾, Kraus the latter; while Bertaux sees a mixture of Byzantine, Latin and even Germanic elements.

I am inclined to agree most with Bertaux' view of the problem. The frescoes of the narthex, and even the inferior ones of the apse, as well as most of the iconography of the smaller scenes in the nave, are Byzantine, executed either by Greeks or — and this is more likely — painted under their immediate inspiration. As I have remarked elsewhere⁽²⁾, the New Testament scenes here are in their iconography more Byzantine than the Benedictine products in Rome. A repetition of the points made by Dobbert in support of this theory would be of little use; I should, however, like to mention a few of the important Byzantine characteristics found in these frescoes, such for example as the position of the Lord, who in the Entry into Jerusalem is seated sideways on the ass; the absence of the foal in this scene; the semi-circular shape of the table in the Last Supper, as well as the recumbent position of the participants, and again the general aspect of the Crucifixion, where only the Christ is depicted and not the thieves who were crucified on either side.

F. X. Kraus, in favour of his theory, advances the argument

⁽¹⁾ *Prof Venturi* judges them Byzantine or following that style but of a later period than the abbotship of Desiderius. *M. Marignan* in the study of these frescoes finds once more an occasion for expounding his peculiar opinion on dates, his *idée fixe* being to prove that all 11th century work was executed in the 12th century, so that one might ask whether any painting at all was done in Europe during the 11th century!

⁽²⁾ *R. van Marle*, op. cit., p. 146 et seq.

that the series of events represented in S. Angelo-in-Formis corresponds to the choice of pericopes selected by the Western and not the Eastern church; the Woman taken in Adultery does not form part of the Byzantine iconography nor does the representation of sibyls. As for the Last Judgment, several characteristics, such as the rows of angels and Apostles, and the angels who, beneath the mandorla of the Saviour, unroll inscriptions, seem of German or more precisely Ottonian origin⁽¹⁾. The Virgin and St. John and the Saviour, all three together forming the Deesis, one of the important configurations of Byzantine art, is absent in the Benedictine frescoes.

We realize to what extent the different elements intermingle only when we discover that the almost pure Ottonian composition of the Last Judgment is executed in the Benedictine manner, or again, that decided traces of the Ottonian school, especially the relief obtained by light and shade, are present in the pictures of the nave in which the Byzantine iconography is followed.

In the Last Judgment we find the elongated Benedictine proportions and the animated expression and gesture, especially among the saved and rejected souls, but the drawing of the angels' heads also betrays the same spirit. That the scenes in the nave have sometimes been classed as Byzantine may be explained by the fact that Ottonian art itself borrowed largely from Byzantium, but to a certain extent transformed its principles. The presence of Ottonian art in South Italy is by no means as incomprehensible as it may appear at first sight, especially if we conceive the Benedictine school as a movement developing in Rome as much as at Montecassino, for we shall presently see in what a logical fashion the Ottonian art penetrated into the Eternal City.

Besides at Montecassino, Benedictine paintings of the 11th cen-

⁽¹⁾ Frescoes of the Last Judgment of the 11th century are to be found in the church of Reichenau (*F. X. Kraus, Die Wandgemaelde der S. Georgskirche zu Oberzell etc. Freiburg in B., 1884*) and of the later 11th century at Burgfelden. Amongst the Ottonian miniatures we find this scene represented in the Evangelistarium of Henry II (1014) in the Munich Library (Cim 57), and in a codex of the Apocalypse and Evangelistarium, also probably from the time of Henry II, in the Library of Bamberg *W. Voge, Eine deutsche Malerschule um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends, Trier, 1891, p. 112, 139 and 237.*

ture are to be found in South Italy in the crypt of the church near Aussonia⁽¹⁾, where the figure of St. Barbara, clothed and bejewelled like an Eastern princess, is of the traditional type, as are the figures of the Twelve Apostles, which exhibit the crude work and hard colours of the inferior frescoes in S. Angelo-in-Formis, while those of the three archangels and the two saints in the apse are very superior, showing lightly drawn and graceful types, refined colouring and young, comely faces. The Virgin Orant of the narthex of S. Angelo is repeated here in the vault, where the figure is represented in a medallion supported by four angels, resembling in composition the mosaic of the ceiling of the S. Zeno chapel in Sta. Prasseda, Rome, and also the mosaic in the bishop's palace at Ravenna, where the sun, with the inscription Apollo, and the moon, occupy the medallion. In this crypt there are also some representations, mostly of unknown local legends, which remind one of the best pen-drawn miniatures of the Montecassino school. Again, as in the Gospel series of S. Angelo, the natural impulse of the artist gives a certain charm to the scenes, making them approach nearer to realism than any products of earlier schools. Here, however, the figures are stiffer and more angular than the best in S. Angelo; the most pleasing are the three archangels who, not without stateliness, are at the same time sweet and serious. The eyes are large but not exaggerated; the mouth is rather small, but the draperies, especially round the arms, fall loose in well-drawn folds.

The decorations in the apse of Sta. Maria della Libera in Foro Claudia near Sessa⁽²⁾, which M. Bertaux dates from the end of the 11th century, are inferior to the above two monuments. Here, below a semi-circular ornament containing a dove, the Virgin-Queen, with right hand uplifted, is enthroned, holding on her knee the Child, who carries a scroll. On either side stands an angel, who, apart from the gracefully outspread wings, is by no means beautiful. The tendency in this fresco is to return to the stiff, angular, and absolutely lifeless compositions in which the drawing is hard and linear, the attitudes ungraceful, the folds deep, the cheeks

⁽¹⁾ Reprod in *Bertaux* op. cit., figs. 103, 104 and 105

⁽²⁾ *Bertaux*. op. cit., pl. 13 *M G Zimmermann*, *GiOTTO u. die Kunst Italiens im Mittelalter*. Leipzig, 1889 p. 59.

indicated by patches, the forehead wrinkles and the shading of the neck exaggerated, the eyes enormous and markedly outlined. I cannot agree with M. Bertaux in saying that this painting resembles the one in the lateral apse of S. Angelo-in-Formis, which is far less crude in execution; but, with him, I see sufficient difference between the decorations of the higher and lower divisions of the apse of Sta. Maria-della-Libera to attribute the latter to another hand. In this lower division the archangel Michael, with profusely gemmed attire and outspread wings, holding a staff and a globe, stands erect and still amidst the Twelve Apostles. They too appear rather lifeless; nevertheless, an attempt has been made to give them different attitudes, although each shows a tendency to hold up one hand; the unrelieved faces also are different, not in expression, which is almost absent, but in age and form, several having beards, some of which are white. All the defects of the upper painting are not exhibited here; the folds are not too rigid, but form facets which indicate the shape of the body.

In the neighbourhood of Montecassino we again find a fresco in this manner in the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore near S. Elia, but its present dilapidated condition makes it almost indistinguishable (1). Besides other frescoes of the late 13th century the church of S. Giovanni-in-Venere near Lanciano in the Abruzzi contains one in the 11th century Benedictine manner (2). In the central apse the Lord, holding a book, is seen in an oval aureole between St. John the Baptist and St. Benedict with the rules of his order. The name of the donor, Brother Provenzanus, is inscribed. This somewhat damaged painting belongs to the later 11th century and must have been a work of considerable merit.

I believe that the Benedictine artistic activity was still greater in and around Rome than at Montecassino itself, but the two were not identical. To begin with, we do not know of any Roman Benedictine miniatures, but the best Roman frescoes correspond, as we shall presently see, with the finest South Italian miniatures; and the variety of manners comprised in the Roman group is just

(1) *Bertaux*, op. cit., p. 271 and note 1

(2) *Bindi*, Monumenti Storici e artistici degli Abruzzi, I, Napoli, 1889, p. 393. *Zecca*, La Basilica di S. Giovanni in Venere nella storia e nell'Arte, Pescara. 1910, pl. XIV

as great as at Montecassino, although there are no very Byzantine-looking productions in Rome. The presence of this strongly Byzantine element at Montecassino is logically explained by the appeal made by Desiderius to Greek artists, but it remained a feature peculiar to Southern Italy, while in Rome, on the other hand, we discover in the Benedictine production important Ottonian factors which are just as easily explained.

Otto I was called to Rome by Pope Agapetus II (946—55), where he remained six years, and was crowned emperor in 962 by Pope John XII. He was succeeded in 972 by his son Otto II, who also made long sojourns in Rome, while his son Otto III resided there almost permanently. He died in 1002, and his cousin, the equally German Bruno, thereupon became Pope Gregory V. Notwithstanding an anti-German movement which took place in the North of Italy and in Rome, the German emperors of the first half of 11th century, Henry II (1002—24), Conrad II (1039) and Henry III (1056) made frequent visits to Rome, but never for a long period, as the Ottos had done; on the other hand, the Popes Clement II (1046—48), Damasus II, Leo IX (1049—54) and Victor II (1054—57) were all Germans. We thus find, between the middle of the 10th and 11th centuries, an influx of German life into Rome, almost as important as the Greek invasion had been in the 7th century. As in the earlier period, so now the foreigners belonged to a nation whose general civilization and artistic standard were superior to that of Rome herself.

No doubt the presence in Rome of these cultured princes, whose love of art created the great Ottonian school of fresco and miniature painting and ivory carving, was the cause of the importation of countless numbers of beautiful works of art of German origin into that city. The influence of these works may readily be observed in the paintings produced in Rome during the 11th century, and although this influence was less effective than that of the Byzantine artists in South Italy, it nevertheless seems probable that the enormous improvement which differentiates the 11th century productions from those of the 10th is due to the presence of these imported examples of Ottonian workmanship.

A genuine Ottonian work of art in Rome is the mosaic which adorns the tomb of Otto II and which consequently was executed

about 983, in the atrium of St. Peter's, but is now in the crypt (fig. 67). It depicts the Lord between SS. Peter and Paul, and as far as the figures are concerned is not of great beauty, but the forms are regular and the execution refined; we already see that multiplicity of subtle lines which was to form a characteristic of the school which, in Rome, developed under Ottonian influence.

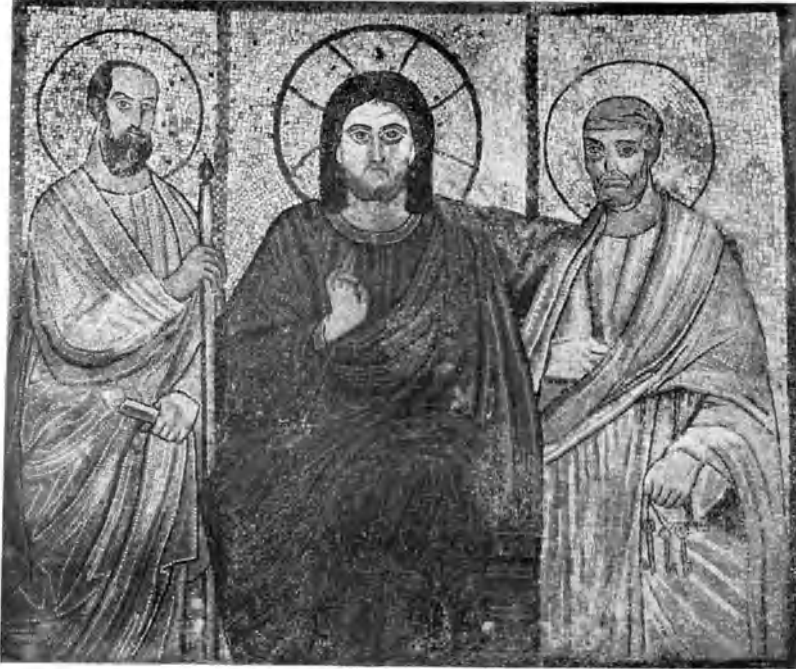


Fig. 67. The Lord between SS. Peter and Paul: mosaic from the tomb of Otto II † 983. Grotte Vaticane, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

The paintings made in Rome and the neighbourhood during the 11th century may, on account of their subjects, be divided into two groups, the one repeating or even imitating the old-fashioned apsidal mosaic decoration, the other illustrating scenes in which were combined the true Benedictine characteristics with the finer qualities of the Ottonian miniatures. There is one church on the outskirts of Rome in which these two are united: S. Bastianello on the Palatine hill, formerly known as Sta. Maria-in-Pallara⁽¹⁾.

(¹) *De Rossi*, *Bollet. di archeol. crist.*, 1869 p. 7. *P. A. Ucelli*, *La chiesa di*

This church should be of especial interest for us, because it was given — as I mentioned before — in 1065 by Pope Alexander II to Abbot Desiderius of Montecassino, and it is precisely in the apse of this church that we find one of those typically Roman compositions which were imitated in Capua. We have here, then, an incontestable link between the art-loving abbot of Montecassino and a contemporary Roman painter. The elevation of the abbot to the pontifical power under the name of Victor III (1086–87) can only have contributed to strengthen the link between Rome and his beloved monastery.

The apsidal decoration here consists, above, of a central figure of the Lord indicating a phoenix — the symbol of resurrection — between SS. Sebastian, Lawrence, Zoticus and Stephen. At either end the row of figures is terminated by a shrub; lower down the usual procession of lambs is depicted, while beneath this we see the Virgin between two archangels and four crowned female martyrs bordered by a beautiful meander. In the centre of this there is an addition of later date representing St. Benedict between SS. Peter and Stephen, added, no doubt, when the church was given to the Benedictine order; as this took place in 1065 it proves that the rest of the decoration is anterior to this date. I believe it to be a work of the very beginning of the 11th century.

On the arch we find parts of a representation of the apocalyptic Elders offering their crowns, old men carrying others on their shoulders, and a portrait of the founder — a certain Peter — with the model of the church; on the right we see St. Zoticus touching the heads of two lambs which are offered to him by two women, and at either side two martyrs with their crowns. Of the long series of scenes from the Life of Christ and the legends of SS. Sebastian, Ananias, Irene, and Zoticus we only have the old aquarelles preserved in the Vatican (¹).

S. Sebastiano martire sul colle Palatino e Urbano VII etc., Roma, 1876. *E. Stevenson*, Il cimitero di S. Zotico, Modena 1876 p. 76. *Dobbert*, S. S. al Palatino. *Repert. f. Kunstwissensch.* 1890, 1892, 1893. *P. Fedele*, Una chiesa del Palatino, *Archiv. delle R. Soc. Rom. di Stor. Patr.* XXVI 1903 p. 349. *Bertaux*, op. cit., p. 187. *Venturi*, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*. III p. 186. *R. van Marle*, op. cit., p. 127.

(¹) *Barberini* 9071. As the same collection contains aquarelles of other paintings representing the beginning of the story of the Genesis the

The frescoes of S. Bastianello are among the less refined productions of the group now under consideration, and although they do not belong to the 10th century decadence I believe reminiscences of the latter may be found in their somewhat careless execution. The connection, however, with the more typical works of this movement is plain enough to convince us that these frescoes also belonged to it, although they seem to be among its earlier productions, forming as it were an introduction to the other works of this group, which we find in S. Elia near Nepi, S. Abbondio in Rignano Flaminio, S. Silvestro at Tivoli, and probably beneath the repainted decoration of the apse of S. Saba in Rome.



Fig. 68 Martyrs and archangel, XI century.
S. Elia, Nepi

Photo Biagi.

The frescoes of S. Elia near Nepi⁽¹⁾ show in the uppermost division a thin ascetic Christ standing between SS. Peter and Paul, behind whom each holding a tree, are Moses and Elias, equipped as soldiers. This arrangement is again inspired by the mosaics in the apse of SS. Cosme e Damiano. On a lower level a Virgin Queen enthroned and holding the Child on her knee is represented escorted by two archangels, while from either side, against a blue background studded with stars, a procession of female saints, dressed like Byzantine princesses, advances, bearing crowns of martyrdom, toward the central figure; the names of two, SS. Lucy and Catherine, still remain visible (fig. 68). The procession of saints as here depicted is familiar from the 6th century onward, being first represented in the mosaics of Ravenna. The archangels, who were frequently figured in older paintings, Crucifixion etc without mentioning where they were, it seems possible that they adorned the same church.

⁽¹⁾ *Stevenson*: Mostra della città di Roma all'esposizione di Torino nell'anno 1884, p. 222. *M. G. Zimmermann*, op. cit., p. 57. *Bertaux*, op. cit., p. 301. *R. van Marle*, op. cit., p. 129.

are here represented holding a staff in one hand and a globe in the other; a small ornament, which ends in a curve below the ears, adorns their heads, which are encircled by dark nimbi. Their dark dress, with black linear folds gathered at the base into a broad jewelled border, is covered by a pallium with crudely jewelled edges. From under the loose sleeves which end just below the elbow appears a tight-fitting striped garment which ends in a mail-clad hand, the fingers alone remaining uncovered. The two angels are identical, while the expressionless saints differ only in the design of their raiment. The Virgin is seated on the traditional cushioned throne, her apparently armour-clad arm holding a sceptre, while a compassionate and imploring donor kneels at her feet. This painting is divided from that above it by a row of twelve lambs on a yellow background, advancing in four groups, intersected by windows, from the two celestial cities, of which Bethlehem has disappeared, towards the bleeding central Lamb, who is enclosed in a medallion at the feet of the Lord in the division above, a few palm-trees are seen in the background. Above the apse the twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse, differing from those in the mosaic in Sta Prassede in that they hold, at about the level of their faces, chalices instead of crowns in their covered hands, form a rather stately but monotonous procession, displaying no variety but in colour. Above them twelve figures of saints are perhaps meant to represent the Twelve Apostles. On the lateral walls prophets and saints holding scrolls appear to form a continuation of the decoration of the apse, the figures separated by trees; and beneath these, on the right, are many scenes taken from the Apocalypse; amongst them St. John prostrating himself before a radiant Christ, men blowing trumpets (fig. 69), angels flying over water containing fish. Four Horsemen, a battle between angels and a dragon, and other now almost indistinguishable paintings, while those on the wall opposite have been practically effaced.

On the wall to the right of the apse two scenes illustrative of some legend may still be observed: one depicts a man in a church with three priests, the other seven men sleeping under a cupola. These scenes, as well as the rows, are all divided one from the other by handsome decorated borders in which are medallions of birds and vases. The whole is of good decorative effect



Fig. 69. Apocalyptic Scene, XI century. S. Elia, Nepi.

Photo Brogi.

but expression is totally absent, the faces lacking all relief, the features being executed in the hasty manner of many paintings previously mentioned; the cheeks are indicated by roughly-smear'd patches, the nose mostly by two vertical, and the mouth by thin horizontal lines, while an upward-curving line serves to indicate the chin, and a semi-circle the anatomy of the throat. The angular composition, the heavy drawing and the juxta-

position of bright colours, especially yellow, but also light brown, red, white and black, with purple shading, on a background of blue and green, all suggest that the artists have sought inspiration in mosaic-work.

Although there is much in the quality of these paintings that calls for criticism it should not be forgotten that this peculiar conventionalized style of drawing forms as it were a new manner, to which the frescoes of S. Bastianello had led the way. In analysing the different elements which constitute this art we find, besides some Byzantino-Lombard characteristics, the same curious linear effects, which may be noticed in the Benedictine miniatures and frescoes of South Italy. Comparing, for example, the apsidal ornamentation of Foro Claudio with that of Nepi, we find not only that they belong to one and the same school, but that the archangels in both are identical.

At Nepi, however, the linear effect has been pushed to the extreme; every available space seems to be filled up with lines which either run parallel or radiate in all directions from one point. Such a new and unfamiliar aspect of schematic design bears only a faint and greatly modified resemblance to the Byzantine manner. These multitudinous fine lines form, perhaps, the most striking characteristic of this school; others will be found in the slender, attenuated and graceful proportions of the figures, and the vivid, harsh, un-Byzantine colouring, including a profusion of yellows and reddish browns. The presence of the signatures of the artists, John and Stephen of Rome, and their nephew Nicholas, attaches a particular interest to these paintings.

The same manner will be met with in an important fresco, reproducing the composition of the mosaics of SS. Cosme e Damiano in the church of SS. Abbondio e Abbondanzio at Rignano Flaminio ⁽¹⁾.

This painting is now partly replaced by more recent work and partly in very bad condition. The mystical Lamb, surrounded by the symbols of the Evangelists is shown above the medallion of a bust of the Lord, lifeless and hideous in expression, in the mosaic style. He is dressed in a red tunic adorned with a design in gold

⁽¹⁾ *D. Tumata*, La chiesa di S.S. Abbondio e Abbondanzio in Rignano Flaminio presso Roma, *L'Arte*, 1898, p. 12.

and many colours; he holds a book in one hand and blesses with the other. On either side are two seraphim with long brightly-edged wings, followed by a group of angels who are graceful and well drawn, but monotonous in attitude. Lower down the twenty four Elders of the Apocalypse, already seen in Sta. Prassede, in Rome, are represented all in an identical manner, motionless, and holding martyr's crowns in their covered



Fig 70 Madonna and Saints about 1100. S. Silvestro, Tivoli.

Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

hands. Most of the painting is in glaring colours, with green shadows, against a green background. The fragments on the adjacent wall are of a later date.

A much more highly developed style of this art will be found in the apsidal frescoes of S. Silvestro at Tivoli, which were discovered only a few years ago ⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Conferenze 30th November 1879, *Bulletino di Archeol. Crist.*, Serie III year IV Rome, 1881. p. 102 *Bertaux*, op. cit., p. 187 *F. Hermanin*. La leggenda di Constant, nella chiesa di S. Silvestro a Tivoli. *Nuov. Boll. di Arch. Crist.*, 1913 p. 181 *O. Cocconari*, Un insegno monum. del sec. XII, *Boll. di Stor. e Arch. di Tivoli*, 1919 p. 58. *V. Pacifici*. La chiesa di S. S. a T.. *Arte Crist.* 1921. *R. van Marle*, op. cit., p. 131.

Here we see the Lord standing in the centre of the vault, in the act of presenting a scroll to St. Peter (on the right), while St. Paul (standing on the left) holds a similar scroll. An ornamental wreath completely surrounds this scene, separating it from the twelve lambs beneath it, who are advancing from the mystical cities toward a lamb haloed and enclosed in a medallion, immediately beneath which is a Madonna, seated on a large square throne, holding with both hands the Child, whose hand is raised in blessing (fig. 70).

On either side are seven figures of saints and prophets in varying attitudes, each holding a scroll with an inscription; the lower part of the central figure on either side is missing on account of windows having been made in the wall. Another border separates this row from that beneath it, in which four scenes from the life of St. Sylvester are depicted. They represent the Emperor Constantine refusing to sacrifice children in order to cure his leprosy, St. Sylvester baptising Constantine, St. Sylvester miraculously reviving a bull which a Jewish priest had killed by magic, and the saint, accompanied by two priests, binding the mouth of a dragon (fig. 71). On a still lower level are some votive paintings of later date. On the wall above the apse the twenty-four Elders, holding chalices, approach a central medallion, in which is a bust of Christ surrounded by the seven mystical candlesticks. Above this are the four Gospel symbols, while below, on the spandrels, are two figures, one of which is an angel. The paintings, though crude, are again characteristic, the colouring, vivid but tasteful, seems to be principally inspired by mosaic decoration, as in S. Elia near Nepi; the combination of colours is here more pleasing, yellow again being predominant. In the crypt of S. Silvestro some fragments of frescoes are possibly of the same period.

In these paintings we may trace other characteristics of the Nepi frescoes, but the three figures in the vault show little resemblance to them, and the proportions of many of the other figures have lost that elegance which formed the chief charm of the paintings at Nepi. From this I should judge this decoration to be of a considerably later date, probably about 1100, or even slightly after.

The decoration entirely repainted in the apse of S. Saba reveals a similar composition to that of Tivoli. In the vault above.

the Lord is represented between SS. Andrew and Sabas, a holy monk of Greece to whom the church was dedicated. Underneath we see the row of thirteen lambs and under this the Madonna enthroned between the Apostles. It seems to me certain that this part of the decorative scheme dates from before the devastation of the church, which took place in 1084, for it was not restored until the end of the 12th century, an impossible date for a decoration of this kind.



Fig 71. Scene from the legend of St. Sylvester, about 1100.
S. Silvestro, Tivoli.

Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

The number of frescoes of this school of which we find traces in Rome and the Romagna is fairly large, but many of these consist of representations of events, and are therefore executed in a somewhat different manner. The characteristics of this group are grace of form, multiplicity of line, and an extremely fine outline, which assume a calligraphical significance; very frequently too we meet with a schematic rendering of the features, to which the staring eyes and markedly arched eyebrows give an expression of surprise.

Some frescoes of this group have been discovered in the excavations made at the Sancta Sanctorum (¹). Most of these, however, are isolated figures, like the one of the holy Pope Stephen near whom is depicted another pope, probably much disfigured by later additions. We find here still a third pope, a half-figure of the Lord in benediction, and a design of purely ornamental character, a lion devouring another animal. Besides these there is a representation probably of the funeral of St. John the Evangelist, who is seen lying in his coffin while two young clerics stand near by; spots on the fresco indicate the miraculous rain of manna which took place on this occasion. Although the just mentioned characteristics may be observed in these works, we find some traits of the 10th century decadence still present which lead us to suppose that we have here products of the beginning of the 11th century.

A fragment of the Last Supper preserved in the cloister of S. Paolo-fuori-le-Mura dates, according to Mgr Wilpert, from the time of Gregory the Great (1073—85) (²). Other products of this style are to be found in S. Giovanni in Laterano in a fresco showing Ananias and Sapphira before St. Peter and the representation of a burial, and at Sta. Cecilia in Trastevere, where in the right lateral chapel a fresco from the series which adorned the portico, represents the holy martyr appearing to Pope Pascal I and indicating to him the site of her grave (³).

More important than these isolated scenes are the remains of the decorations of a small chapel behind the apse of the church of

(¹) *G. Maragnon*, Istoria dell' antichissimo oratorio etc comunemente appellato Sancta Sanctorum etc. Roma 1747 *Rohault de Fleury*, Le Latran au Moyen-âge, Paris 1877, p. 378 *P. L. Lauer*, Les fouilles du Sancta Sanctorum au Latran, Mélanges d' Archéol. et d' Hist., p. 260 *Wilpert*, op. cit., pl. 237.

(²) *Wilpert*, op. cit., pls. 232—33.

(³) We know the aspect of the entire decoration from aquarelles made in 1620 preserved in the Vaticana (Barberini 4402 fol. 21 etc. It consisted in a row of saints, scenes of martyrdom, and nine illustrations of the legend of St. Cicely. *A. Bosio*, Historia passionis B. Caeciliae virginis etc. atque Paschalis p.p. I epistola de eorundum Ss. corporum inventione et in urbem translatione, Romae 1600 *V. Bianchi-Cagliesi*, Sta Cecilia e la sua basilica nel Trastevere, Roma 1902. *d'Agincourt*, op. cit. pl. 84 and vol. VI p. 315 reproduces fourteen scenes. *Wilpert*, op. cit., p. 238.

S. Pudenziana. The most important painting here is one of the Madonna enthroned, holding the Child Jesus, to whom two martyrs — probably SS. Pudenziana and Praxede — offer their crowns (fig. 72). There are still two more representations of St. Pudenziana with other saints, while a series of rather damaged frescoes illustrates her legend. In the vault a medallion containing the Lamb is surrounded by the symbols of the Evangelists and an ornamental design. Although not of so good a quality, these frescoes are precursory to the paintings which we shall find in the



Fig 72 Madonna and Martyrs 2nd half of XI century. S. Pudenziana, Rome
Photo Sousam.

lower church of S. Clemente, but before coming to them I shall describe some in the small church of S. Urbano alla Caffarella outside the Porta San Sebastiano ⁽¹⁾.

These frescoes form several rows; the inscription in the Crucifixion scene gives us the name of the donor, Bonizzo, and the date, 1011. It is true that this Crucifixion has been so largely repainted that the inscription can hardly be original; that it is faithfully copied, however, is probable, not only from the style of the paintings, but also from the fact that an

abbot of S. Lorenzo-fuori-le-Mura, which is not very far distant, who bore the same name as the donor, had there his tombstone, whose date is 1022 ⁽²⁾.

The most traditional of these representations is that opposite the entrance, in which Christ in benediction, and holding the Gospel, is enthroned between St. Peter, St. Paul and two angels. The type of the Lord, his manner of blessing, as well as the absence of St. Peter's keys and St. Paul's sword, point to Byzantine

⁽¹⁾ Outline drawings of many of these frescoes are given by *d'Agincourt*, op. cit., pl. XCIV-V. *R van Marle*, op. cit., p. 133

⁽²⁾ *d'Agincourt*, op. cit., VI p. 327

influence⁽¹⁾. The repainted Crucifixion above the door shows the Lord still living, larger than the other figures, with his feet nailed to a kind of bracket. He is clothed in a short garment falling to the knees, his arms are slightly bent, his eyes are open and his face expresses suffering. Above the well-defined Cross the letters I.N.R.I. are inscribed upon a light background. Two angels look over the cross-bar, and below on either side of the Cross stand the Virgin and St. John, sad and weeping. The two small figures of the executioners express a zealous interest in their actions. At the foot of the Cross two men are holding the Lord's raiment in attitudes of great veneration, but no doubt these figures represented the gambling soldiers before the repainting. To the left and right of the group are the crucified thieves whose arms hang over the cross-bar with the hands bound to it from behind. The Crucifixion forms the centre of a



Fig. 73 The message to the Shepherds 1011.

S Urbano alla Caffarella near, Rome

Photo Mosconi

series of eighteen scenes of the history of Christ, starting with the Annunciation and finishing with a Descent into Limbo and a *Noli mi tangere* (fig. 73). Besides these there are some scenes from the histories of the martyrs SS. Urban, Ciceley and Lawrence(?).

Technically speaking these paintings are not of a high standard; the figures have little of that elegance which I described as typical of this art, nor is the drawing very refined; but on the other hand they are remarkable for their great animation and naturalness of action. All the figures are full of expression, and the variety of feeling says much for the skill and temperament of the artist, so that we have in this series an important example of Roman narrative art.

⁽¹⁾ As *Crowe* and *Cavalcaselle* remark in „A History of Painting in Italy”, I, London. 1903, p. 53.

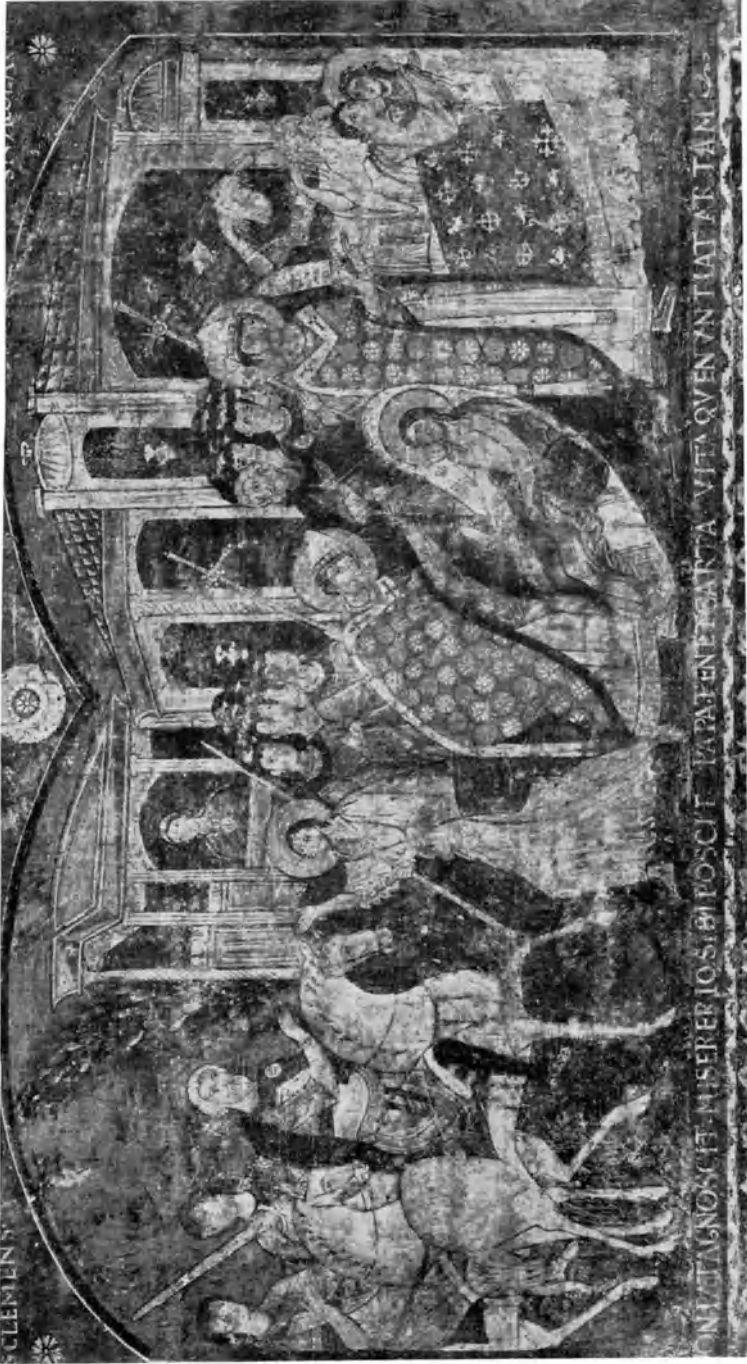


Fig. 74. Story of St. Alexius, 1073–84. S. Clemente, Rome

Photo: Anderson

As I have said before, the finest products of Benedictine painting in Rome are the frescoes which, in the subterranean church of S. Clemente, illustrate the lives of SS. Clement and Alexis; they were probably executed during the pontificate of Gregory the Great (1073), and certainly before the year 1084, as the church was then abandoned⁽¹⁾.

The series begins in the subterranean narthex, but to understand the subject of the first fresco, one must remember how the legendary tales of St. Clement relate that his grave was on an island in the Black Sea, and once a year the sea ebbed so as to allow the pilgrims to pass to the tomb of the saint, and how on one of these occasions the rising tide caught and drowned a child. But the following year the mother made the same pilgrimage, and her prayers resulted in the resuscitation of her child. This is the scene depicted; on a background of a baldaquin-shaped chapel, the curtains of which are drawn aside, revealing hanging lamps and an altar with lighted candles, the mother is twice represented, first stooping and picking up the child, and immediately behind this standing, and holding the infant in her arms. To the right of the chapel, and above it — in the painter's intention, behind — is the sea, which, but for the numerous fish that swim in it, might raise a doubt in our minds as to what the painter wished to portray. On the extreme left a procession of clerics emerges from a city gate, and advances toward the happy mother. Of this procession only five faces in the two first rows are visible; of the figures in the front row, which are the only ones represented, one holds a bishop's staff, and one a jewelled book; all the rest are indicated by the outline of the upper portion of their heads. A long Latin inscription informs us that the donor of this painting was one Benodi Rapiza, whose family was especially prominent in Rome during the 11th century. Another large painting shows the translation of the body of St. Clement. The saint, carried on a stretcher, is followed by women and priests, and at a little distance by a Pope, and a large procession, of which again only a few faces are visible. Two choristers are swinging their censers before and behind the dead saint. The cortege has just arrived before a chapel, which greatly resembles that shown in the pre-

⁽¹⁾ For literature on these frescoes see that already quoted for the older paintings of this church.

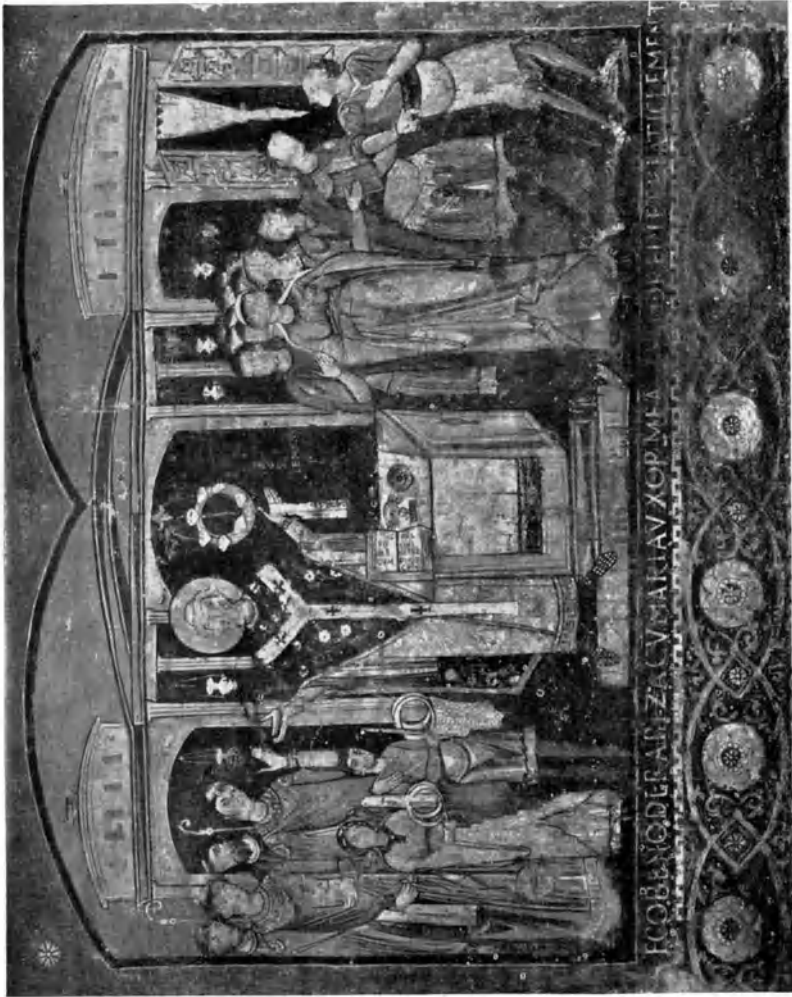


Fig. 75. Story of St. Clement 1073—84. S. Clemente, Rome.

Photo Anderson

vious fresco, and in which a Pope is saying mass. An inscription mentions "Mary the butcher's wife" as donor.

On a pillar of the nave are three excellent scenes from the life of St. Alexis: the meeting with his father, who does not recognise him, his death, when he gives his biography to the Pope, and his reconciliation with his relations and bride (fig. 74). Of the scene of St. Clement enthroned by St. Peter, attended by SS. Lin and Clet

and three other figures, which is also depicted on a pillar, only the lower part remains, while beneath it are two scenes from the life of St. Clement, showing how Sisinius, prefect of Rome, desiring to imprison the saint because he had converted his wife to Christianity, was, together with his slaves, struck blind on entering the chapel where the Pope was performing the rites, (fig. 75) and in their blindness the slaves dragged a pillar to prison instead of the saint. The two scenes represented are St. Clement saying mass in a crowded chapel and the blind slaves hauling the pillar to prison ⁽¹⁾, in which the baldaquin-shaped architecture is again to be observed. Beneath several of these frescoes we notice decorative painting of exquisite design.

In looking at these frescoes one is struck by the diversity and adequate character of the facial expressions, and the realistic attitudes of the figures, bearing witness to the keen observation of the painter, who evidently worked from life, which led him to commit the absurdity, so frequently repeated later, of representing figures in the costume of his own time, but which also enabled him to represent *scènes de genre* without any trace of traditionalism. An excellent example of this variety of expression is to be found in the first scene, where the action of the mother in picking up her child expresses her almost violent impatience and her satisfaction after long and anxious waiting; while the same mother, carrying the child in her arms and holding its little head against her own, is full of tender affection. The priestly procession, on the other hand, is expressive of pomp and dignity. The fish in the sea are well designed, and an interesting attempt at foreshortening is to be seen in the drawing of the lowest fish on the right. In the translation scene some of the heads in the procession are rather stiff, but the Pope has a saintly expression. In the attitudes of the bearers, and their bent knees, we see a courageous attempt at realism, an attempt to express the weight of the stretcher and the effort of the bearers; and their feet are so placed as to convey the idea of their marching in step. Some of the faces are pleasing, especially that of one of the bearers at the head of the stretcher; on the other hand, the figures of the forerunner of the cortege and the Pope saying mass are

⁽¹⁾ Wrongly interpreted by Zimmermann (op cit., p. 235) as being the building of a church.

stiff and lifeless. In the fall of the garments we find a reminiscence of the Byzantine facet-forming folds, and in the enthronement of St. Clement the large jewels of the same tradition are found in the decoration. In the story of Sisinius, St. Clement saying mass successfully expresses religious emotion, and the onlookers display a great variety of attitudes, some rather peculiar and a few deficient in life. The drawing of the blind Sisinius, led into the church by a servant, and of the cursing slaves, whose insulting language is inscribed in vulgar Latin, is excellent. The actual movements of the blind are depicted with some elements of caricature. One may imagine the artist's amused delight in this story, in which the oppressors of Christianity are so easily deluded.

The three scenes from the life of St. Alexis are represented in one fresco; where the saint, unrecognised, begs from his own father, his attitude is graceful; and the horses, though far from perfect, are proof that the painter worked from nature; human feeling is well depicted in the death-scene of the saint, where signs of genuine distress are represented; the central scene is, on the other hand, less well executed; the saint lies on a sloping mattress, the Pope bending over him in a stiff unnatural attitude, while his followers are depicted as in the other groups.

The drawing of the figures is refined, without thick crude, outlines; the faces, however, are often lacking in relief, and sometimes show patches on the cheeks; but the proportions are generally correct. The artist's one weak point is his inability to arrange and represent a large gathering of people, as seen in several frescoes, while his greatness lies in the enormous advance he has made towards beautiful and realistic representation.

M. Bertaux has remarked that the technique of these paintings reminds one of the Benedictine frescoes of Aussonia; but I should be more inclined to say that their accurate drawing relates them rather to the miniatures of this school, such, for example, as those in the *Exultet* of Bari. The stiff drawing of Nepi here displays more liberty, thanks to the painter's sense of realism; the taste for linear effects, however, is still evident, although less predominant. Once more we have a cycle of paintings of great narrative value superior to that previously executed in S. Urbano.

Traces of inspiration from these beautiful paintings may be found at Magliano-Pecorareccio — in the region of Nepi — where

the Grotto dei Angeli contains important remains of mural decorations⁽¹⁾. The frescoes preserved show us a figure of the Lord, blessing, between two angels; the Nativity, which takes place in a grotto, combined with the announcement to the Shepherds; the Presentation in the Temple, and a fragment of the Adoration of the Magi. Besides these scenes we find represented the figures of SS. Nicholas of Bari, Sebastian, Giles and other saints, a young man, perhaps the donor, whose name, Righetto, is mentioned, and a monk. While the manner of execution and the quality of painting are not unlike those of the frescoes of Nepi, which is not far distant, we detect in the work of this painter a certain tendency toward realistic action, which he might have acquired from such an artist as he who produced the St. Clement and St. Alexis scenes in S. Clemente, Rome. He also possessed more subtlety of design than the artist of Nepi.

A series of similar frescoes adorns the „Grotta del Salvatore” near Valerano; one of the paintings there represents the Lord offering the Eucharist to the Apostles⁽²⁾.

An important series of paintings in the same style, but differing in composition, adorns the church of S. Pietro near Toscanella, or Tuscania as it is now called, which town is about fifteen miles from Viterbo, consequently not far from Rome. The work belongs, like those of Nepi and Tivoli, to the Roman art of the 11th century,



Fig. 76. SS. Sebastian and Giles, 2nd half of the XI century. Magliano-Pecorareccio, (Sabina)

Photo Sansan

⁽¹⁾ *F. Hermann*, La Grotta degli Angeli a Magliano-Pecorareccio, *Bollet. della Soc. filologica Romana*, IV, 1903, p. 45. *R. van Marle*, op. cit., p. 147.

⁽²⁾ *A. Bertini Calosso*, Gli affreschi della Grotta del Salvatore presso Valerano, *arch. dell. R. Soc. Rom. di Stor. Patr.*, XXX, 1907, p. 189

and might perhaps date from the year 1039, as it is known that at this time important renovations were made in the building, which is itself of the 9th century. One might, however, easily believe them to be of a somewhat later date. The principal painting is an Ascension of Christ, which occupies the apse; in the central upper part stands an enormous figure of the Lord, holding a globe, amidst triangular clouds, while on either side, stepping towards him in the attitude frequently seen in representations of the Annunciation, is a large angel; lower, on each side, are three smaller figures of angels, two of whom, only partly visible, hold half-open scrolls with inscriptions. On a yet lower level the Twelve Apostles, divided from one another by trees, and into two groups by a 14th century painting of St. Peter as Pope, look up toward the Lord, while below them are seven medallions of saints, an eighth having disappeared. The apse is bordered by an ornamental wreath.

On the wall above the Divine Lamb, together with three angels, is depicted a medallion of Christ — the head missing — surrounded by the seven mystical candlesticks and the four symbols of the Gospel-writers. On the spandrels on either side are the twenty-four Elders in an irregular group, offering their crowns in their covered hands. Here again the painting is rough, streaked, and hasty, outlined in white and brown, the cheeks patched with red, and the folds forming facets. The figures, however, are full of life and movement, but the attitudes are not always natural, as is the case particularly with the two tall angels escorting Christ. The gestures of the Apostles are more successful; in their expression of awe and alarmed surprise they resemble greatly the corresponding figures in the 9th century fresco of the same subject in S. Clemente, Rome.

On the right wall of the choir are interesting scenes, in two rows, from the life of St. Peter. Of those above, two have been reduced to incomprehensible fragments, while the remaining one represents, under architecture, two men, one of whom takes by the hand a third, kneeling in a different building. The first scene of the lower row is of Simon Magus falling head first to the ground from the erection from which he attempted to fly ¹⁾ while

¹⁾ One might suspect a connection between Gregory the Great's campaign against the heresy of simony and the representation here of the fall of Simon Magus.

to the left a king, with some followers behind him, sits on a throne, with one leg crossed over the other and to the right, at a short distance, kneel SS. Peter and Paul, one pointing up toward two angels flying above them. The next two frescoes represent the beginning of the martyrdom of the two saints; we see the king, seated as before, with one person on a chair behind him and another in front, pointing to the saints, who are guarded by soldiers. The third scene shows again the saints, escorted by soldiers, under architecture. In these frescoes the figures, which are small, and drawn with greater care than those in the apse, display skilful execution, graceful attitudes and harmonious colouring. The two lateral apses are decorated in the same style as the central one, the left with the Baptism of Christ, of which, apart from two angels and two faded saints, little remains; but on the wall above three other scenes from his life are depicted; these are the Annunciation, peculiar in that the angel approaches the Virgin from the right; she is seated, on the left, under architecture: the Nativity, in which the Virgin is seated in bed, with the cradle near by, one woman bringing in gifts while another stands behind ¹⁾; the third may be the Adoration of the Magi, but is somewhat effaced, although three standing figures and one bowing are still visible. In the right apse Christ is seen, holding a scroll, between two holy bishops.

It is a remarkable fact that the artist — for it would seem that all this decoration is from the same hand — followed two rather different manners, one for the scenes in which action had to be expressed and the other for the solemn representations of the figures of the Lord and the Virgin. The painter of Toscanella was one of the best artists of this group. His figures are full of life and movement and are not without grace.

Two works of little importance, of the Roman Benedictine school, may just be mentioned in passing. One will be found in Viterbo in the church of S. Andrea, where we see in the crypt some ornamental paintings: in the left apse a half length figure of the Lord adorned with large jewels; in the central apse a lamb and

¹⁾ This last detail belongs rather to the iconography of the birth of the Virgin

the symbols of the two Evangelists SS. Mark and John, and on the arch of the right apse the haloed head of an old man. Small fragments scattered all over the walls prove to us that these are only a few remains of a once important decoration. The work, however, is not very characteristic of this art. nor are the figures of a Pope, dressed in red, a bishop, blessing, and a Madonna and Child, in the Cathedral of Sutri (1).

As I have said before, the artistic revival which took place in Roman painting during the 11th century was due to the influence of the Ottonian princes. It would have been too curious an occurrence if the art of this city, which at the end of the 10th century had reached its lowest level, had revived at the moment when these art-loving princes made it their residence without there being some connection between the two facts.

Such a connection does exist. The Roman painters of the 11th century certainly betray a knowledge of what I called the Byzantino-Lombard style, but the more regular forms, the oval shape of the faces, the subtlety of drawing, the animated expression and action are all so plainly reminiscent of Ottonian art that the resemblance cannot escape us. The real narrative element in these series of frescoes, however, is probably rather an Italian than a German characteristic.

This suggestion, based on historical facts and stylistic similarity is entirely confirmed by the study of Ottonian and Roman Benedictine iconography. I will not repeat here the arguments which I have used elsewhere (2); it will suffice to state that the subjects treated in the lost frescoes of S. Bastianello and in those of S. Urbano at Rome correspond, not with the usual Byzantine cycles, but with the Ottonian; the Flagellation, which is represented in both the Roman series, as in all the German ones, is exceptional in Byzantine art even in the 12th century (3), and the composition of the Crucifixion in the church of S. Urbano does not correspond with any of the innumerable Byzantine images of

(1) *Baumstarck*, Wand-Gemalde in Sutri, Nepi u. Civita-Castellana. Rom Quartalschr., XVI. p. 243.

(2) *R. van Marle*, op. cit., p. 146.

(3) *Millet*, op. cit., p. 652.

this event, but identical arrangements are found in Ottonian miniatures and ivories (¹).

It is obvious but easily explained that the Byzantine tradition had taken a stronger hold in South Italy. As we have seen, the iconography of the Gospel scenes in S. Angelo-in-Formis is on the whole Byzantine; although here too the choice of subjects, and more especially the style of execution, seems to be Ottonian, as is also the fresco of the Last Judgment. These, however, were not the only German characteristics, for we have already seen that to the remnants of Carolingian decorative drawing in illuminations, met with throughout Italy in the 11th century, certain Ottonian elements were added; the portrayal of the Lord, still represented beardless at the beginning of the 11th century, and the allegorical personifications, may be persisting factors of Carolingian art; though M. Bertaux wonders why Ottonian crowns appear on the heads of several personages in an *Exultet* from Montecassino now in the Barberini Library.

The results of our enquiries point to the existence of a Benedictine school which had centres in Rome and at Montecassino; centres which, although they display certain similarities of style, show some dissimilarity also, the former being under a more direct Ottonian influence, while the latter displays a greater number of Byzantine elements.

In Lombardy a series of frescoes in the church of S. Vincenzo at Galliano, in the region of Como, is obviously a Benedictine work, but, again, of a somewhat different tendency, and, I should say, considerably more influenced by German works of art (²). The church seems to have been consecrated in 1007, so that probably the paintings were finished at this date. The frescoes are not all preserved, but an old engraving (³) gives us a fairly precise idea of the apsidal decoration. In the centre of the apse the Lord, in an aureole, raising one hand, and holding a book in the other, stands between the bowing figures of the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel and two archangels, all of which, except one

(¹) *Voge*, op. cit., p. 60 *Goldschmidt*, op. cit., figs. 3, 55, 58, 134, 152

(²) *Toesca*, *Pittura e miniatura in Lombardia*, p. 42

(³) v. *Toesca*, op. cit., fig. 29

of the latter, remain visible. Below this composition several small scenes form as it were a predella. Here Dacianus is seen watching the martyrdom of St. Vincent, which is continued in the next scene, where the saint, stretched on a gridiron over a fire, is surrounded by six torturers; then follows the entombment; the body of the saint is seen lying on the seashore with a raven



Fig 77. Aribert Intimiano: fresco of ab. 1007. Ambrosiana, Milan.
Photo Bessani.

keeping away the voracious animals, while a pious woman, aided by brother Christians, prepares the sepulchre; further to the right Aribert Intimiano, presented by St. Adeodatus, offered a model of the church to the Lord, above, but now only a detached fragment of the first person is preserved in the Ambrosiana Library, Milan (fig. 77). Little remains of the rest of the decoration of this church, whose walls were once entirely covered. On the triumphal arch the border alone is visible; on the left wall only some scenes from the story of Adam and Eve remain in the

uppermost row; the third row was occupied by scenes from the life of St. Margaret. On the right wall a large figure of St. Christopher has been preserved; on the top row a young girl is seen talking to an old man, who is seated; on the second are scenes from the life of St. Christopher; in one of the more visible he is depicted being led by three men before the emperor, behind whom stand two soldiers; and on the lowest row is the story of his martyrdom.

The paintings in the apse are the work of a different artist; they are of much better quality and remind us of the good Roman Benedictine products. The conventionality of the folds is less evident, but the grace of the figures and the importance given to movements and gestures are the same. We find here also a taste for beautiful borders; the archangel which has been preserved in the apse is very similar to those of Nepi or Foro Claudio. Notwithstanding that the drawing is still refined, the importance given to linear effects is greatly diminished, while the technique of the painting of the faces reminds us much more of real Ottonian art. The effect is produced with much light and shade, elements which were often entirely absent in Benedictine work of Rome and South Italy.

The frescoes on the lateral walls are more roughly executed, the brush-strokes heavy and the figures without elegance. Here, however, the vivacity of movement, the eyes of the faces and the expression remind us particularly of Benedictine art.

Some paintings somewhat resembling the better ones at Galliano will be found in the church of S. Fedelino at Novate, also in Lombardy, on the small lake of Mezzola⁽¹⁾. Besides some remains of purely ornamental design and faint traces of figures of saints, the apse is decorated with an image of the Lord between two adoring angels; the one on the left, which seems least repainted, is a beautiful picture of refined and conventional design and regular but animated features.

Some half-length figures of saints⁽²⁾ in medallions, in the church of S. Ambrogio, Milan, faintly resemble those of Galliano, but they are on a much lower artistic level.

(¹) *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 62

(²) *Toesca*, op. cit., figs. 39 and 40.

In SS. Pietro ed Orso at Aosta there are some fragments of this period: a few heads under a decorative border ⁽¹⁾ are all that remain of a probably once important series of frescoes executed in a manner not unlike that of the paintings on the side walls of S. Vincenzo at Galliano ⁽²⁾.

These few North Italian works throw a new light on the movement which in Rome and at Montecassino had assumed such a special aspect, so that the products of the 11th century — including the Benedictine school — lead the way to a new form of art, which in the next century develops into a definite manner and acquires a definite name: the Romanesque school. It is true that the formation of this movement involved other elements which had yet to be introduced, but the important step which had already been taken was the formation in Italy of a type of art which was not decadent and did not chiefly depend on Byzantine elements.

It might still be of interest to quote the names of some other Italian painters of whom we find mention in the 11th century, besides those of Nepi. At Parma, Everardo is known to have decorated the facade of the cathedral; at Bologna, "Gandolfinus pictor" is mentioned in 1090, and Martino da Gorgadella appears to have worked in 1096 in the region of Reggio Emilia ⁽³⁾.

The *Liber Pontificalis* informs us of the fact that under Pope Pascal II (1099—1118) many Greek artists were still working in Rome, but nothing remains of their activities.

⁽¹⁾ *P. Toesca*, Aosta, Catalogo delle cose d'arte e di antichità d'Italia, fasc. I Roma, 1911 p. 88.

⁽²⁾ *A. Kingsley Porter* in his book on Lombard architecture gives a list of remains of fresco decoration discovered by him; they are mostly of a purely ornamental design. vol. I p. 315.

⁽³⁾ *A. Venturi*, Notizie di Artisti Reggiane etc., Atte e Mem. del R.R. Deput. di Stor. Patr. per i prov. Modanesi e Parmesi, III vol. II part. I Modena, 1884 p. 29.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ROMANESQUE SCHOOL IN THE XIIth AND EARLY XIIIth CENTURIES.

The movement of separation from Byzantium which we observed in the previous chapter developed during the 12th century and acquired definite new forms, some of which seem to be a revival of the antique, but their persistence during the 11th century was hardly to be noted. However, the series of paintings in S. Urbano alla Caffarella has by some students been considered a late form of catacomb art. Personally I do not find many arguments in support of this hypothesis, but am rather of the opinion that some of these not exactly datable works of the great decadence, generally attributed to the 10th century, are really products of the 11th: as, for example, those we found at Assisi; but no development of style enables us to make any definite statement as to the chronology of these paintings.

In Rome the artistic movement seems to have originated in the movement of political emancipation which favoured the re-establishment of the ancient city in all its splendour and force. The revolution against the Pontifical temporal power, led by Arnold of Brescia, reached a climax in 1143, when the Republic was proclaimed on the Capitol and the Senate and Consuls reinstated. This new republic began to count the years from its foundation, coined its own money and sought a Cesar; for this honour they first invited Conrad III and then Frederic Barbarossa, but both refused to accept the responsibility.

For all that concerned the ancient pagan city, the inhabitants had a superstitious admiration. Texts such as the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* or the accounts given by the Rabbi Benjamin de Tudela show us what fantastic beliefs were at this time entertained by the population of the unlimited greatness and

glory of pre-Christian Rome. The figure of Virgil became that of a demi-god, equally venerated in Naples and in Rome (1).

It is not wonderful that such a conception of antiquity and all it comprised had an effect on the artistic movement and that



Fig. 78. The Crucifixion. Mosaic. 1099—1118. S. Clemente, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

a new style developed out of it. This is most obvious in decorative sculpture, and some of the ornamental friezes of the 12th century are only with difficulty recognised from those made a thousand years earlier. In painting this tendency is manifested by a still

(1) *F. Gregorovius*, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, 5th ed IV, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1910, p. 634 et. seq. *A Graf*, *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del Medio-Evo*, new ed. Turin, 1915, passim.

greater detachment from Byzantine examples. External elements, such as large jewels, with general profusion of ornament and conventional drape, persisted, the change being chiefly noticeable in the proportions, which became more anatomically correct; the heads were made larger and more prominent, while the faces belonged to quite another type.

In Rome more than elsewhere the mosaics preserved elements of the Byzantine tradition, which had probably taken too firm a hold to be completely uprooted; except, however, for a few productions, which seem to have been made by Greeks or under their direct influence, all the Roman mosaics and paintings of this period demonstrate in a greater or less degree the ascendancy of the new style.

The first datable mosaic in Rome is that in the apse of S. Clemente, executed during the time of Pope Pascal II (1099—1118); here we find a curious mixture of early Christian elements and those of a much later origin, which has led some critics to regard it as a very old work, in which only the central part is of the early 12th century (fig. 78).

The apse is decorated with a multitude of spiral wreaths in which we find small human figures, birds and vases. From a shell-shaped ornament above the hand of God descends toward the Crucifix, which grows out of an acanthus plant. On the cross-bar eleven doves are depicted; the Lord on the Cross is represented dead; his head is fallen sideways and his face wears an expression of suffering. On either side stand the Virgin and St. John. This group looks less archaic than the rest of the apsidal mosaic which corresponds in style rather with the row of lambs below, as they advance from the two celestial cities toward the central Holy Lamb. The figures of the prophets Isaac and Jeremiah, and the Saints Paul, Laurence, Peter and Clement, on the wall beyond the vault, as well as the half-figures of the Lord and the four symbols of the Gospel-writers in medallions above, might be called typical productions of the 12th century.

The four evangelical emblems — shown on either side of a jewelled Cross — the two prophets, and the processions of lambs, may be traced back to the apsidal mosaic of Sta. Maria in Trastevere, a work executed during the pontificate of Popes Innocent II and Eugenius III which was finished probably about 1145. Here too

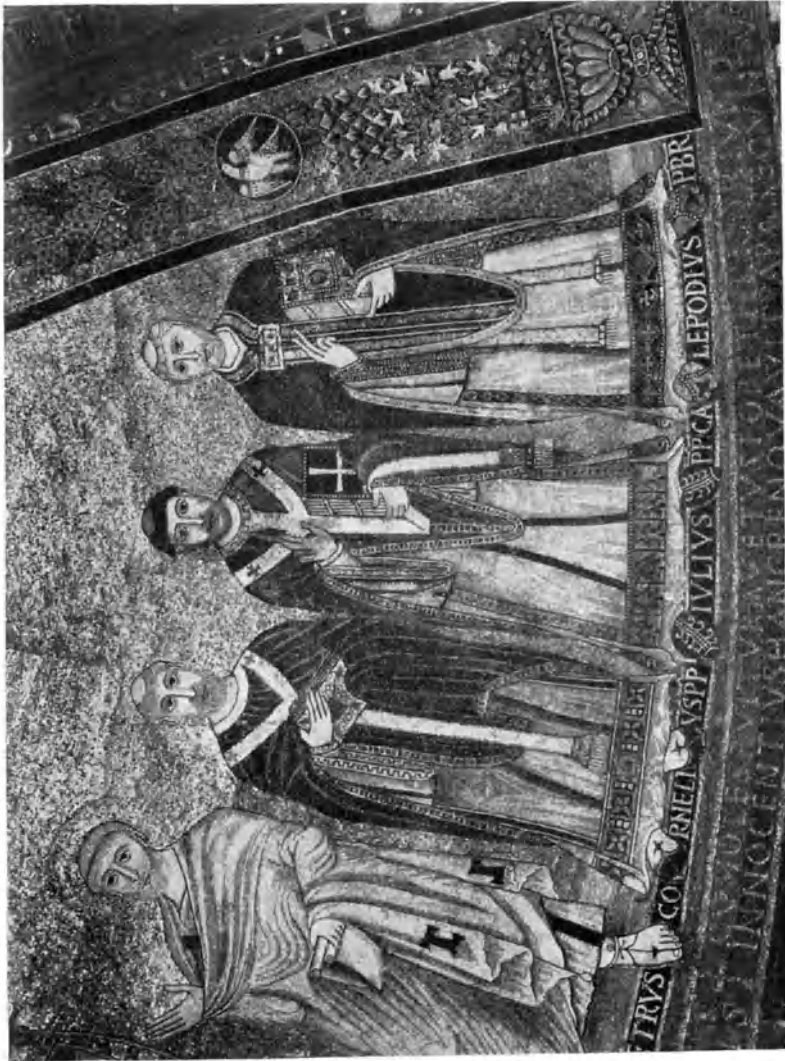


Fig. 79. St. Peter and other figures. Mosaic, *circa* 1145.
Sta. Maria in Trastevere, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

the hand of the Eternal appears from a shell-shaped ornament, but the central group of this mosaic is composed of the Lord, who tenderly encircles with his arm the shoulder of his Mother, beside whom he is seated on the same throne and, on the right four other figures: St. Peter, the Popes Cornelius and Julius, and the priest

Calepodius (fig 79) while the three on the left are Pope Calixtus, St. Laurence and Pope Innocent II, holding the model of the church. Notwithstanding the richness of the ornamentation of the Madonna's crown and her beautifully embroidered robe, the characteristics above-mentioned are here completely predominant. The throne has the curiously curved back which we observed in S. Apollinare of Ravenna, and in some late antique Roman paintings.

A half figure of Christ, all that remains of the mosaic which once decorated the church of S. Bartolommeo all' Isola⁽¹⁾, resembles that of Sta. Maria in Trastevere to such an extent that we may attribute it to the same hand.

The apsidal mosaic of Sta. Francesca Romana, consecrated in 1161, is more Romanesque. Again the hand of God is depicted above; below, between the Apostles, Peter, Andrew, James and John, separated one from the other by arches, the enthroned Virgin is represented holding the Child, who stands on her knee (fig. 80). All the qualities of Byzantine design are missing in this mosaic, and the presence of other qualities does not entirely make up for this deficiency. The execution is crude and the lines angular, the faces and all the features seem enormous, and it is obvious that here we are further removed from the Oriental current. Again, the back of the throne of the Virgin, who wears a heavy jewelled diadem, is of the curiously curved type. An engraving in Ciampini's *Monumenta Vetera* and an old drawing of the mosaic over the arch of this church prove to us that it was identical with that of Sta. Maria in Trastevere.

The only painting which we have of the time of Pope Pascal II is an ornamental frieze. This formed part of a decoration in the church of SS. Quattro Coronati, and we know from a description previous to 1623 that the figures of King Solomo, Saints and Popes were executed here "not in the manner of Cimabue", which might very well mean that they were not in the Byzantine style⁽²⁾. We learn from the same source that the artists were G. and C. Petrolinus.

As Pope Calixtus II consecrated the church of Sta. Maria in

⁽¹⁾ *A. Muñoz*, Frammento di mosaico a S. Bartolommeo all' Isola in Roma, *L'Arte*, 1904 p. 516

⁽²⁾ *Munoz*, I restauri della chiesa etc. dei St. Quattro Coronati, p. 63.



Fig. 86 The Virgin and Saints, Mosaic *circa* 1161, Sta Francesca Romana, Rome

Fig. to Anderson.

Cosmedin in 1123 we naturally look amongst the many, sorry remnants of painting which are still visible, for some which might date from his time ⁽¹⁾. The only ones possibly of this period are the two in the portico, one of which combines the Annunciation and the Nativity, while the other represents the Virgin and Child enthroned between two guardian angels and two — perhaps originally more — other figures, wearing pointed bonnets. This last fresco may have formed part of an Adoration of the Magi, in which case the composition would offer some points in common with that in S. Apollinare, Ravenna.

The fragmentary scenes forming two rows in the upper part of the nave seem to me of a somewhat later date, a distinct antique inspiration is noticeable in the forms and the drapery. Amongst the badly damaged paintings we can still recognise the healing of the lame man (?), the Resurrection and the Saviour in an aureole between two seraphim.

The series of frescoes in the Cappella del Martiorologio ⁽²⁾, which covers part of the right-hand side of S. Paolo-fuori-le-Mura, Rome, can be best compared with the mosaics of Sta. Francesca Romana. The Crucifixion scene of this series of paintings is not unlike that found in S. Urbano and here also is placed over the door. The Saviour whose erect body is nailed to the Cross, is represented with open eyes, and alive, and seems almost to stand on the ground. The Virgin and St. John, both too calm and composed for such a scene, and two Roman soldiers with shield and spear, stand under the Cross, while above, the sun, the moon and a host of angels are seen on either side. The two ends of the wall, a little withdrawn from the principal group, are occupied by the figures of SS. Peter and Paul, each standing near a palm-tree. The wall on our right, as we face the door, has a procession of six Saints and Apostles with inscriptions, all carrying a scroll, and another emblem, and divided one from another by similar palm-trees; the last figure holds the model of a church and his name, St. Matthew with that of the preceeding one, St. Judas, is still clearly visible. This group is separated by a frame from another series of saints which also decorates this wall: these are SS. Timothy, Stephen, Laurence and Cesarus, all holding books, and, except

⁽¹⁾ V literature quoted for the older frescoes of this church.

⁽²⁾ Reprod in Zimmermann op. cit., fig 59

the first mentioned, all in sacerdotal vestments. Continuing, we find a holy monk with a staff, Sancta Marcianila(?) holding a Child, and St. Basilissa and below, completing the decoration of the right wall, are five medallions of bishops in benediction, each carrying a book. On the opposite wall again are two heads in medallions, and above, eleven male saints, holding books, and two female saints, all nameless; they are separated from one another by trees. All the frescoes are framed in ornamental borders.

I do not think, as Mr. Zimmermann does, that we find here, an echo of the catacomb decorations, although some connection may be argued from the fact that, besides showing a complete separation from the Byzantine formalism, they betray obvious traces of knowledge — if not a direct study — of classic drapery. This however does not prevent these figures from having a somewhat barbaric aspect, and being of inferior quality, thus separating them as much from the paintings in the nave of Sta. Maria in Cosmedin as from those of S. Giovanni in Porta Latina.

This latter very important cycle is considerably damaged, but sufficient remains for us to form a high opinion of its value. As Pope Celestine III had this church restored in 1191—98, it seems almost certain in any case that these paintings, which are of the end of the 12th century, date from those years ⁽¹⁾. The scenes represented are taken from the Old and New Testaments, and form three rows on either wall; on the right, above, near the choir, we find illustrations from the Book of Genesis, beginning with the Creation of the World, followed by the Creation of Adam and Eve and the histories of Cain and Abel, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. The second row on this side is occupied by Gospel scenes, ⁽²⁾ starting with the Annunciation and continuing with what appears to be the Adoration of the Magi, which appears to be followed at once by the Crucifixion. Nothing is visible of the third row. On the wall opposite we find only the Lord at the age of twelve teaching in the Temple; on the second row and the third are some of his appearances after the Resurrection and the

⁽¹⁾ *Wulpert*, op. cit., pl. 225. *Cresimbini*, Storia di S. Giovanni a Porta Latina, Roma, 1716. *D'Agincourt*, op. cit., pl. CV, fig. 6 and vol. VI, p. 355.

⁽²⁾ The combination of Old and New Testament scenes on the same wall is very unusual.

Ascension. The entrance wall is occupied by a representation of the Lord seated on a rainbow and some scenes from the history of Joachim and Anna.

The decoration of the apse has disappeared, but that of the arch shows us the well-known composition of the Apocalyptic Throne between the four symbols of the Evangelists and two angels, the twenty-four Elders here genuflecting. To the left and right are the two Saints John and the head of one Evangelist: all that remains of four figures which were once enclosed in frames.

The bright colouring of these works is as different from Byzantine painting as are the attempts at large proportions and broad folds, obviously borrowed from classic art. A certain schematism dominates the design, but it is based on classical and not on Oriental forms. The anatomical drawing of the nude is clearly inspired by ancient statuary.

The series in S. Giovanni in Porta Latina is closely connected with another cycle, which, although not in Rome. I should like to mention here.

In the hills, some miles from Ferentillo, in the region of Terni, is the very old abbey of St. Peter's, whose walls are decorated in a manner very like that seen in S. Giovanni; and it is for this reason that I class them rather with the Roman group than with that of Spoleto, which developed in a somewhat different manner⁽¹⁾. These series of frescoes, which may be slightly older than those of S. Giovanni in Porta Latina, occupy three rows on each wall; but here the scenes from the Old and New Testaments are separate, the former on the left wall, the latter on the right. Many of the paintings are missing, but others are in a good state of preservation, especially the beginning of the series: the Creations of

⁽¹⁾ *G. B. De Rossi* in the *Bollet. di Archeol. Crist.*, 1875 p. 55 *Tikkanen*, Die Genesismosaiken von S. Marco in Venedig und die Cottonbibel. Helsingfors, 1879, p. 19 *Descemet*, in the *Bollet. di Archeol. Crist.*, 3^d series V 1880 p. 56 *A. Schmarzow*, Romische Wandgemälde der Abteikirche S. Pietro bei Ferentillo, *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.* XXVIII 1906 p. 391. *G. G. Vitzthum*, Die Malerei u. Plastik des Mittelalters, Berlin, 1914 p. 58 *T. Garber*, Wirkungen der frühchristl. Gemäldezyklen etc. p. 30 *R. van Marle* op. cit. p. 163 The public library of Perugia possesses a Bible of the later 12th century, the miniatures of which resemble these frescoes, not only in composition but also in style

the Universe and of Adam (fig. 81), Adam naming the animals, (fig. 82) and the Creation of Eve; following on these are the stories of Cain, Abel, Noah, Abraham and Isaac.

On the right wall above, the Lord was apparently represented



Fig. 81. The Creation of Adam, 2nd half of the XII century.
S. Pietro, near Ferentillo.

Photo Minist Publ Istr

in glory between prophets and angels. The childhood of Christ is there illustrated, but of these scenes the best preserved is the Adoration of the Magi. Below we find his history continued from the Entry into Jerusalem to the Calvary; the Crucifixion as in S. Urbano alla Caffarella and the Martiorologio chapel of S. Paolo-fuori-le-Mura may have been depicted over the door.

Besides the classical inspiration which in some of these paint-

ings — especially in the nude figures — is even more pronounced than in the decoration of S. Giovanni in Porta Latina, we shall also note here elements of Ottonian art, such as the type of the Eternal in the Creation scenes, which is identical with the image of the Saviour in the German school of the 11th century. The Lord himself and some iconographical details belong rather to the Byzantine tradition, of which, however, no trace is found in the style or execution.

Some Roman works of about the same period demonstrate a greater familiarity with the Byzantine school. The artists who belonged to this group seem to have copied Byzantine models, but were not really influenced in their manner by this movement; because in looking at these Byzantine figures we cannot help feeling that their authors were by no means of this school.

The most important series of similar paintings in Rome adorned the church of Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme, where they are still preserved between the original and the present roof, but are practically inaccessible. As the church was restored by Pope Lucius II (1144–45), it has been supposed that these paintings were executed in 1148, simultaneously with a certain ciborium by the brothers Giovanni, Sassone, Angelo, and Gianpaolo; but I think this new return to Byzantine examples dates from the last quarter of the 12th century. On the arch we find the Apocalyptic Throne between the symbols of the Evangelists, and along the walls twenty-four medallions contain bearded figures, mostly from the Old Testament. These images show elements of such an exaggerated conventionality that the effect is almost caricature. This is not really a Byzantine feature, but there exists in these frescoes a curious contrast between Oriental schematism and Latin animation of expression.

Four medallions executed in a similar manner will be found in the Lateran Museum, transported thither from the demolished church of S. Nicola in Carcere (fig. 83). Notwithstanding their indubitable Byzantine inspiration, these paintings have not an Eastern appearance; the spirit of the figures is by no means Byzantine.

Outside Rome let us first mention the remains of frescoes still visible in the abbey of Farfa in Sabine. In the monastery itself we find a fragment of the angel of the Annunciation and in the



Fig. 82. Adam naming the Animals, 2nd half of the XII century.

S. Pietro near Ferentillo.

Photo Minist. Publ. Istr

tower remains of a Last Judgment and of an Ascension. They are of a rough schematic execution, but not really Byzantine in

appearance. An interesting factor is the strong contrast between light and shade. In the oratory of S. Martino, situated near by, ornamental wreaths are depicted encircling small figures (Adam and Eve?), and some busts are found painted in a somewhat impressionistic manner, reminding us of the Pompeian style.

The most important product of the Byzantino-Romanesque manner is the decoration of the crypt of the cathedral of Anagni, while the largest number of such works is to be found at Spoleto, where a flourishing school of this style of painting seems to have existed.

Signor Toesca, who has made a detailed study of the crypt of Anagni ⁽¹⁾, calls the principal artist of this decoration on account of his having executed a fresco representing the translation of St. Magnus, "il Maestro della Traslazione". We shall follow his example, although I do not agree with this author that these paintings were made toward the middle of the 13th century. I feel certain that they are products of the later 12th century, probably of the time of Pope Alexander III (1159-81), who lived for a long time at Anagni, and canonized St. Thomas à Becket (1173), to whom an entire chapel is dedicated. Other paintings in the same crypt are of a later date.

The principal frescoes of the "Maestro della Traslazione" are to be found in the three apses; the left is adorned by the history of the Martyrdom and Translation of St. Secundus and the Virgin



Fig. 83. The Prophet Amos, XII century.
Lateran Museum, Rome.

Photo Sansoni.

⁽¹⁾ *P. Toesca*, *Gli affreschi della cattedrale di Anagni*, *Le Gallerie Nazionali Italiane*, V, Roma, 1902, v. also *Barbier de Montault*, *La cathédrale d'Anagni*, *Ann. archéol.*, 1856. *T. E. Stevensen*, *Krypta von Anagni*, *Rom. Quartalschr.*, 1891. *R. van Marle*, *op cit.*, p. 165.

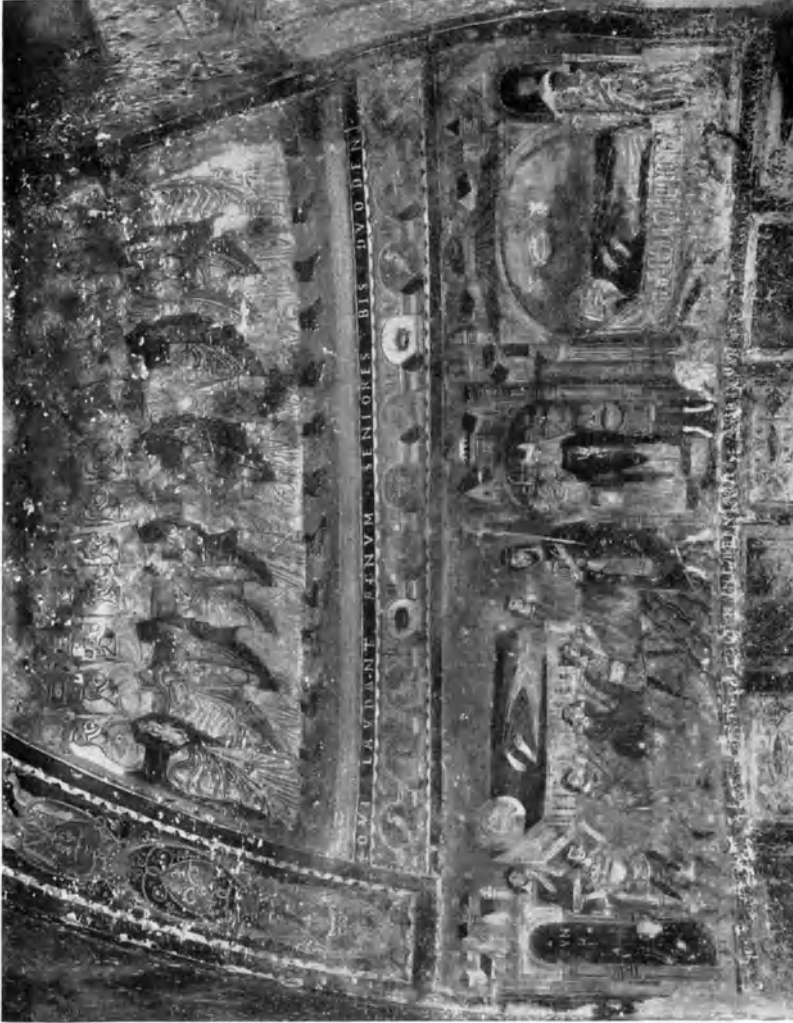


Fig 84. Legend of St. Magnus and Apocalyptic figures, 1173—81 (?).
Cathedral, Anagni

Photo Brogi.

and Child between SS. Aurelia and Noemisia. In the central apse we find similar scenes from the life of St. Magnus (fig 84), as well as some representations of miracles which he accomplished after his death. Higher up are the twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse, holding their chalices, the four symbols of the Evangelists, and the Paschal Lamb, around which the naked figures of the martyrs

demand vengeance, raising their arms towards the Lord, who in either hand carries a stole to clothe their nudity (fig. 85). On the other side the four Horsemen of the Apocalypse are depicted. Of the series of saints which adorned the right apse only three remain.

A vault near the entrance boasts of a Zodiac and a graphic image of the union of the elements; in a lunette below the figures

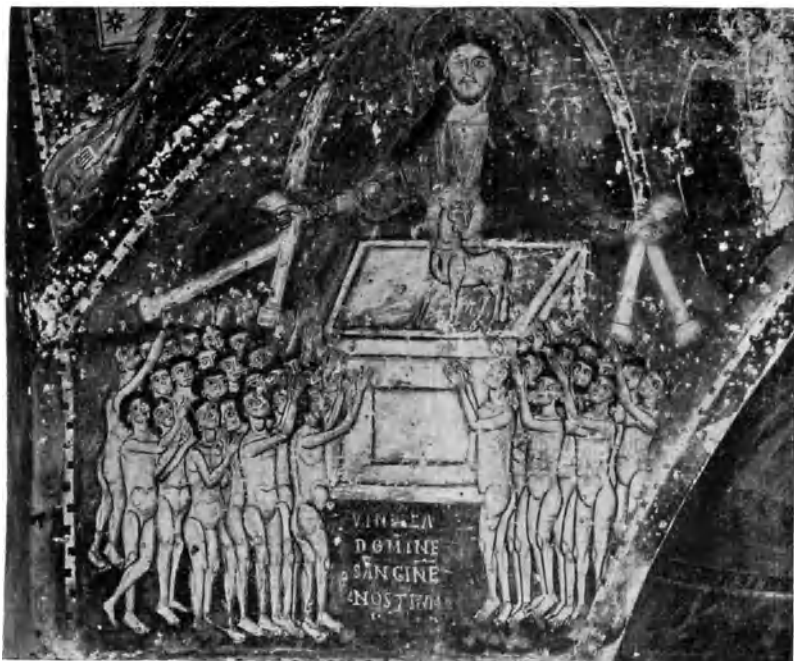


Fig. 85 Apocalyptic scene, 1173—81 (?). Cathedral, Anagni.

Photo Brogi

of Hippocrates and Galenus are depicted sitting opposite each other, with open books, and surrounded by apparatus for chemical research (fig. 86). These two figures are of great decorative effect, especially on account of their colouring. The first scenes illustrating the history of the Ark of the Covenant may be attributed to the same hand; they show us how the Ark was taken by the Philistines, who decapitated the sons of Eli.

Signor Toesca has also observed that the Byzantine elements in these frescoes are merely external, seen chiefly in their grace of outline and their schematic draperies. As we noticed in previ-

ous works, here again the proportions differ from those of Byzantine art, the heads being larger; the expressions too are more varied, the gestures more lifelike, and few of the faces belong to the Eastern type. Some, however, such as those of the twenty-four Elders, are more Byzantine in conception, but the monotony of their attitudes seems strangely opposed to their animated expressions and vivacious gestures.

A follower of the "Master of the Translation", but a much less skilful painter, decorated the grotto of St. Thomas à Becket situated near by. The frescoes here, however, are very badly damaged. In the vault there remain some fragments of scenes from the Book of Genesis; on the back wall the Lord is represented with the Madonna, St. Thomas à Becket and other saints. The remaining walls are covered with figures of apostles and saints. The crude



Fig. 86. Hippocrates and Galenus,
1173–81. Cathedral, Anagni.

Photo Brogi.

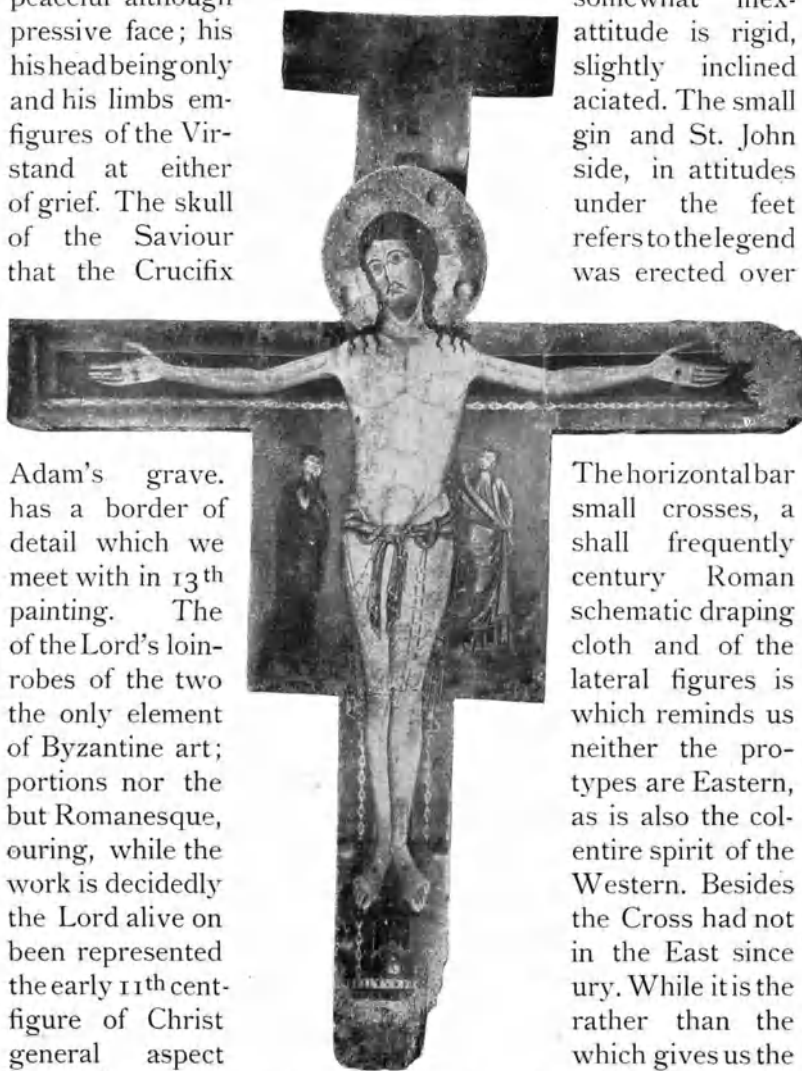
drawing and hard colours form an unpleasant contrast with the refined products of the other artist. The numerous works in this style still found at Spoleto justify us in considering it to have possessed, if not a school, at least a group of its own ⁽¹⁾.

A point of particular interest for us in studying the works at Spoleto is that we find here a signed and dated painting of the period which we have at present under discussion. It is a crucifix on which we read, under the feet of Christ, the name *Alberto Soti(?)* and the date *MCLXXXVII* . . . originally from the church of S. Giovanni e Paolo, but now in the cathedral. For some time it was in a chapel on the right of the entrance, but has now been placed in the left transept. The last letter of the artist's name is not certain, and it may even be that there is more than one letter missing; the date also may be incomplete, but one year's difference is of little importance; the great fact is that we have here an artist and a date which enable us to make other attributions without much risk.

⁽¹⁾ (*Sansi*), *Intorno ad alcune pitture anteriori al risorgimento dell'arte*, *Annuario dell'Accademia Spoletina*, 1855 p. 174.

On the crucifix by Sotio (fig. 87), which is a painting on parchment attached to wood, the Lord is depicted alive, with calm and peaceful although expressive face; his head being only slightly inclined and his limbs em-figured of the Virgin and St. John stand at either side of grief. The skull of the Saviour that the Crucifix

somewhat inexpressive attitude is rigid, slightly inclined and associated. The small figures of the Virgin and St. John stand under the feet of the Crucifix which refers to the legend that the Crucifix was erected over



Adam's grave. The horizontal bar has a border of detail which we meet with in 13th century painting. The small crosses of the Lord's loinclothes of the two lateral figures is the only element of Byzantine art; portions nor the draping but Romanesque, while the Lord alive on the cross has been represented since the early 11th century. The figure of Christ is generally of a general aspect that still impresses us as a product, still

Fig. 87. Alberto Sotio, Crucifix 1187 (?). Cathedral, Spoleto.
Photo Anderson.

The horizontal bar has small crosses, a frequently seen Romanesque schematic draping cloth and of the lateral figures is which reminds us neither the prototypes are Eastern, as is also the col-entire spirit of the Western. Besides the Cross had not been in the East since early. While it is the rather than the which gives us the this is an Occident- the freely gesticu- popularly expres-

expressive images of the Virgin and St. John are antithetic to the Eastern spirit. The schematism also is different here; the Greek

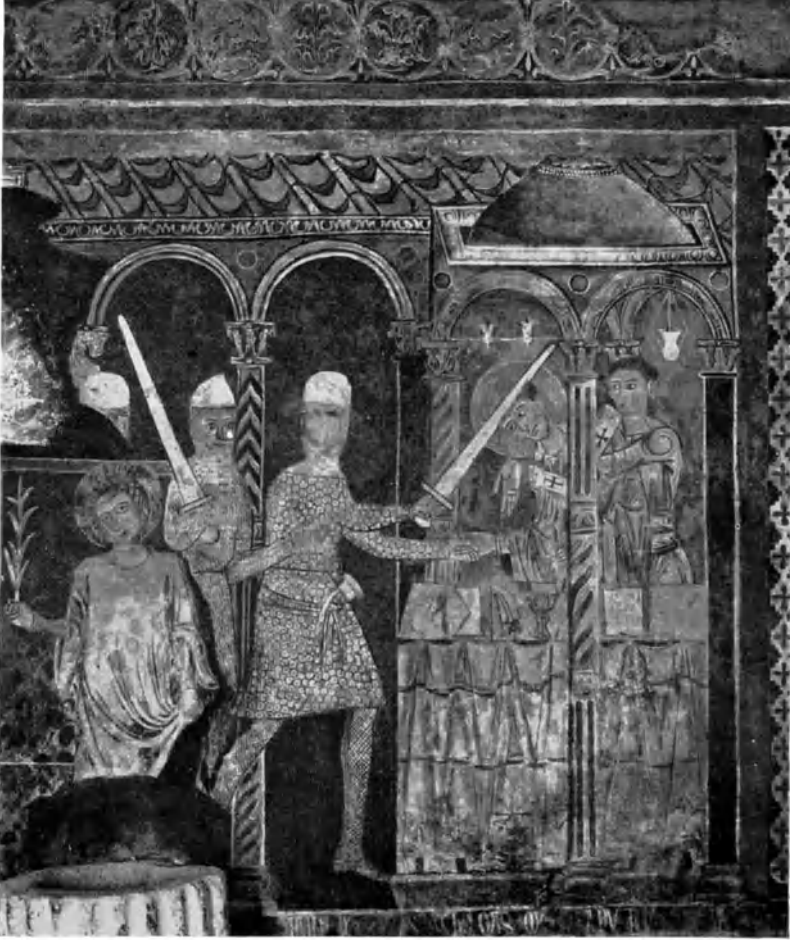


Fig. 88. Alberto Sotio, Martyrdom of St. Thomas à Becket, SS.
Giovanni e Paolo, Spoleto.

Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

artists had a definite aesthetic conception of the regular fall of the folds, while in Sotio's painting the schematic design of the drapery interferes much less with the movements of his figures.

In the lumber-room of the "Congregazione di Carita" of this city I saw a sorry fragment of a Romanesque crucifix in which the head of the Saviour and the figure of the Virgin still remain visible. This, I think, might be a work by the same

artist, and it gives us a better idea of his bright colouring ⁽¹⁾.

The manner of Sotio becomes still more evident in the frescoes which have been attributed to him in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, where some paintings have recently been discovered. The scenes on the left wall, one again representing the martyrdom of St

Thomas à Becket (fig. 88), and the other probably Salome dancing before Herod (fig. 89), seem to be by Sotio. As the English martyr became very popular immediately after his canonization, which, as I said before, took place in 1173, it is likely that this fresco was executed even before the crucifix of 1187 or 88. Of this scene we still see on the left some fragments of a person in command, with a body-guard of soldiers, seated on a throne ⁽²⁾ in an ornate and prettily arcaded church, while a little



Fig 89. Alberto Sotio, The Dance of Salome (?)
SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Spoleto.

Photo Minist. Publ. Ist.

to the right stands a soldier, whose head is missing, holding St. Thomas by the hand as he strikes at his head with a sword. The saint stands behind the altar, on which his mitre, a chalice and a

⁽¹⁾ "In the church of Sta. Maria in the Village of Valle di Nera, in the valley of the same name, I saw an equally damaged crucifix, similar in all respects".

In the Pinacoteca of Spoleto and in the church of Sta. Cristina of Caso in the suburbs we find crucifixes of a similar arrangement to that of Sotio; in both the Saviour is depicted with open eyes. As both are works of the 14th century, when the Lord was never represented thus, it seems probable that these are free copies of Sotio's crucifix.

⁽²⁾ Most of this is covered by the figure of a female saint of the 14th century.



Fig. 90. Alberto Sotio, Martyrdom of SS. John and Paul, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Spoleto

Photo: Andrea...

book are placed. Close behind him is a cleric who has lost his hand in his attempt to protect the saint. The faces are full of expression, and the gestures, although somewhat cramped by the schematic design, are dramatic. Next to this scene the isolated figure of St. Nicholas of Bari is depicted in a frame; a curious formation under his feet looks like badly drawn waves. This thoroughly schematic decorative design, which will also be found in the following fresco is apparently of Ottonian origin, for we find the very same detail in many German miniatures of the 11th century ⁽¹⁾.

The continuation of the frame indicates that most probably a considerable part of the church — if not all of it — was decorated by the same master. This impression is also confirmed by the fact that the other fresco by the same hand is found at a different height and much nearer the choir. This scene, as I have already said, probably represents Solome dancing before Herod, who, adorned with a heavy crown of peculiar shape, is seen seated with other personages behind a table, in front of which a female figure with curious long sleeves dances on the „undulated“ ground.

The most important of Sotio's works in this church adorns the crypt where we find a fresco representing the martyrdom of SS. John and Paul. To the left, against an architectural background, a king with a heavy crown is seated with crossed legs on a throne, giving an order to a man near him. On the right an executioner is in the act of beheading one of the two martyrs, while the other, already beheaded, lies on the ground (fig. 90). In the centre SS. John and Paul, the latter's name being given, open the doors of Paradise, while above is a bust of Christ, the head missing. The drawing is by no means crude; the cheeks are spotted with red, but not too markedly, each hair is separately drawn on a reddish-brown background. Most of the relief is in white, also the muscles of the legs, while the folds, full of detail, are drawn with care. On the whole this painting is clearly the work of a skilful artist, and although the figures are rather lanky, the proportions are very good. The attitude of the king is realistic and the violent efforts of the executioner well expressed;

⁽¹⁾ *W. Voge*, Eine deutsche Malerschule um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends, figs. 2, 3, 12, 23, 24, 29, 30 etc

the victims are not so good. The background is partly adorned by large white stars with four points; a wreath decorates the inside of the arch which frames this interesting fresco. Again it should be stated that although some external details may remind us here of Byzantine art, none of these paintings belongs to that school, the spirit of the works being entirely Western. The expression of violence forms a curious contrast with the schematic design. The colouring, with its yellow ochre and dark red, reminds us of the Roman frescoes of the 11th century.

At Spoleto a most remarkable series of frescoes is to be found in the crypt of the church of S. Ansano (¹), and although fragmentary, various scenes may still be clearly interpreted. In the representation of the Last Supper, taking place at a round table on which some knives may be observed, Judas sits opposite the Lord, and is in the act of receiving a piece of bread on which a cross is marked.

The scene in which Christ is taken prisoner is less complete, many of the figures originally depicted have disappeared. Of a cycle of scenes, probably from the life of Isaac, a beheading remains, in which the body is seen lying on the ground, the executioner carrying the head, angels flying from above and fragments of faces may also be distinguished. In the central apse Abraham is depicted about to sacrifice a ram, which he holds by the horns. Above is the Madonna seated on a square, heavily decorated throne, escorted by angels and one aged saint, standing on the right. On either side of this are other scenes; on the left one person leads another by the hand, and the presence, originally, of two other figures is obvious, as fragments of their heads and feet remain. On the right there are two figures above which the Lord is placed, and a third carrying a cross around which a snake is curled. Above the entry door is a row of heads, and in an arch over a stairway which leads from the crypt we see a Madonna and Child between two angels, perhaps the best of all the paintings. The shadow under the eyes is in blue; the cheeks are not patched in red, but are of a fairly good flesh tint; the execution, however, like that of all the frescoes, is very hasty. The drawing, in white with heavy black lines, is

(¹) *Sansi*, op cit



Fig. 91. Scenes from Genesis end of XII century. S. Paolo near Spoleto.
Photo Anderson.

conspicuous; the folds are indicated by dark shading; the colouring on the whole is dim. Bodily grace is not attempted, but in the limbs, which are half in light and half in shadow, a certain amount of relief is aimed at.

Just outside the same town an important series of frescoes is

found above the sacristy of S. Paolo, in a place now more or less used as a lumber-room of the asylum, but once forming the right transept of the church. On the wall opposite the entry, under an ornamental frieze, are scenes from the Book of Genesis (fig. 91), including God seated between two angels, perhaps depicting the



Fig. 92. A Prophet, end of the XII century, S. Paolo near Spoleto.
Photo Anderson.

separation of light from darkness; next to it is a scene probably representing God creating the animals; below this God is depicted creating Adam, and to the right He is seen enthroned between two seraphim, holding a globe. Divided from these by a window are frescoes of Adam in Paradise surrounded by animals and holding a fish, and below is the creation of Eve from the rib of Adam. The scenes are not divided from one another, the work is very rough, heavily outlined, painted largely in green relieved by white. The entire left wall was covered by a Madonna and Child — the upper part of which is missing — amidst twelve large figures of the ancestors of the Virgin(?) and prophets (fig. 92), one of which has been replaced by a window. They all stand in arcades, the pillars of which

separate them one from another. One of the figures in a blue coat of armour is very remarkable.

The artistic value of these is not superior to that of the smaller scenes; the features are depicted in white on brown-coloured flesh; the eyes are enormous. The borders of the garments are heavily embroidered and the folds are straight, broad and faceted.

The art of the painters of Spoleto spread through Umbria, and

I know of three other crucifixes which might be compared with that of Alberto Sotio; two of them are to be found at Assisi, one in the treasury of the church of S. Francesco and the other in the convent of the Poor Clares, but visible through a grille in the Sacrament chapel of Sta. Chiara. It was this which, according to the legend, ordered St. Francis to rebuild a church. The third crucifix forms part of the collection of pictures in the Victoria and Albert Museum and is of unknown provenance (fig. 93).

Of these three I think at least that which most in the cathedral of Spetrace of the development the body which appearance. The in London, seems to be more evolved type. Besides which are represented in Sotio's crucifix, we filling the extremities the Lord is depicted left and right are the the Holy Women at while below two small symbolize Peter's denial cloth of the Crucified

A faint beginning of Lord's body, which in oped into a sort of ar-
 In the panel in S. Francesco (fig. 94) we find, besides the Virgin and St. John, the figures of Mary, Magdalene and Martha, while in the crucifix of Sta. Chiara (fig. 95) the converted centurion also is represented, as well as two small figures at the extremities, one with the spear, the other with the sponge. In the broad upper part of both these crucifixes the Lord is depicted being carried to heaven; in the cross in S. Francesco, however, the figure which occupied the mandorla carried by two angels is now missing. In that of Sta. Chiara the Saviour is represented in profile, as in certain paintings of the

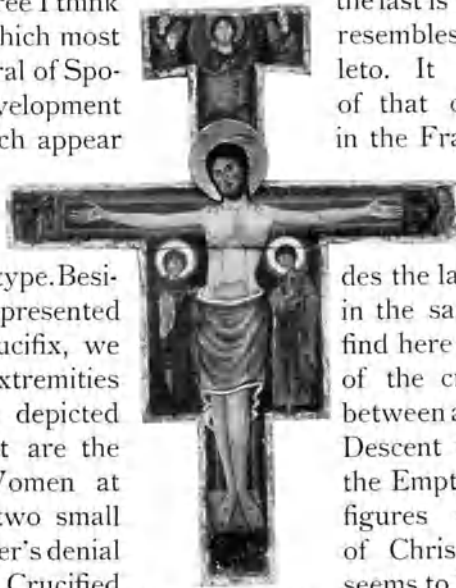


Fig. 93. Crucifix, school of Spoleto, end of the XII century, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

the last is the oldest, or resembles the crucifix leto. It shows little of that curvature of in the Franciscan mo- crucifix however, long to a des the lateral figures, in the same places as find here small scenes of the cross. Above, between angels; on the Descent into Hell and the Empty Sepulchre, figures and a cock of Christ. The loin- seems to be repainted.

the curvature of the the 13th century devel- ched line, may be noti-
 In the panel in S. Francesco (fig. 94) we find, besides the Virgin and St. John, the figures of Mary, Magdalene and Martha, while in the crucifix of Sta. Chiara (fig. 95) the converted centurion also is represented, as well as two small figures at the extremities, one with the spear, the other with the sponge. In the broad upper part of both these crucifixes the Lord is depicted being carried to heaven; in the cross in S. Francesco, however, the figure which occupied the mandorla carried by two angels is now missing. In that of Sta. Chiara the Saviour is represented in profile, as in certain paintings of the

Ascension; ten
ed around him,
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The hand of the
the uppermost
The panel is
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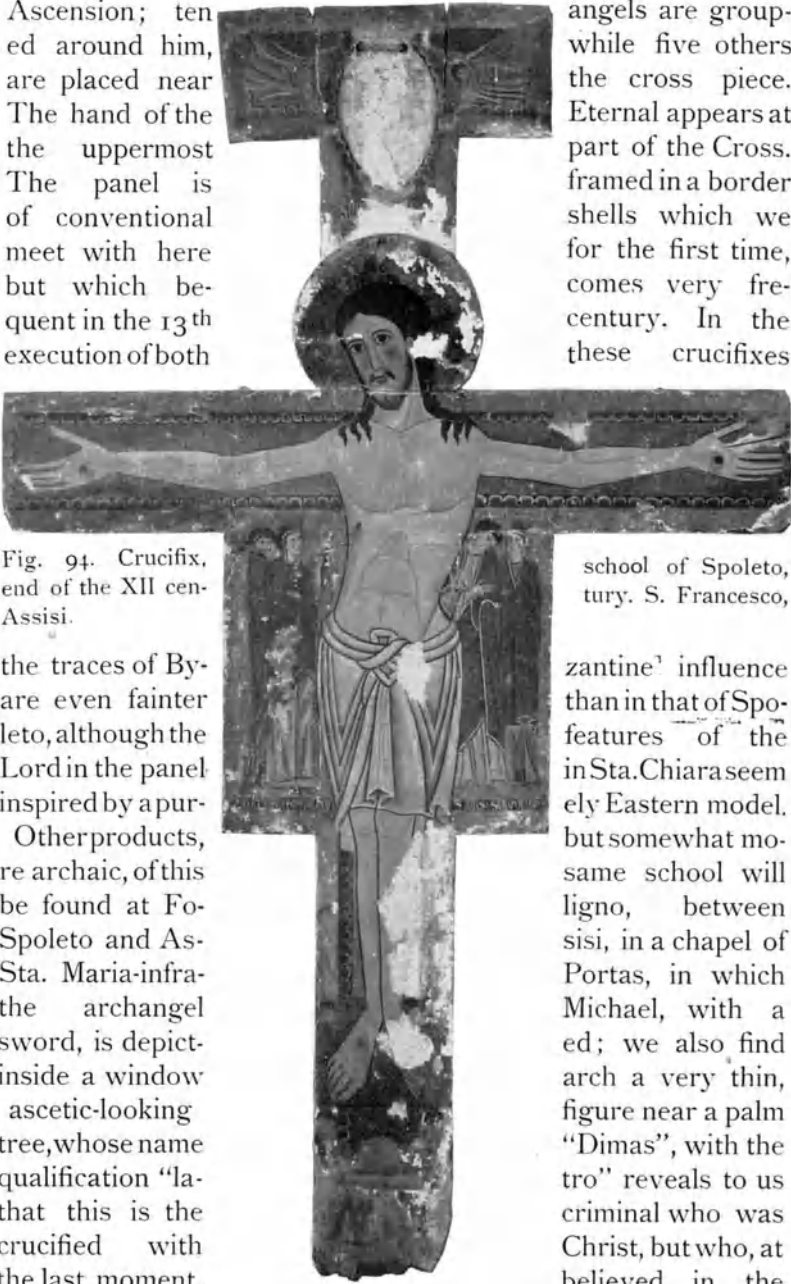


Fig. 94. Crucifix,
end of the XII cen-
Assisi.

the traces of By-
are even fainter
leto, although the
Lord in the panel
inspired by a pur-

Other products,
re archaic, of this
be found at Fo-
Spoleto and As-
Sta. Maria-infra-
the archangel
sword, is depict-
inside a window
ascetic-looking
tree, whose name
qualification "la-
that this is the
crucified with
the last moment,
Saviour, and is

angels are group-
while five others
the cross piece.
Eternal appears at
part of the Cross.
framed in a border
shells which we
for the first time,
comes very fre-
century. In the
these crucifixes

school of Spoleto,
tury. S. Francesco,

zantine' influence
than in that of Spo-
features of the
in Sta. Chiara seem
ely Eastern model.
but somewhat mo-
same school will
ligno, between
sisi, in a chapel of
Portas, in which
Michael, with a
ed; we also find
arch a very thin,
figure near a palm
"Dimas", with the
tro" reveals to us
criminal who was
Christ, but who, at
believed in the
here represented

in heaven ⁽¹⁾. He is clothed only in a loin-cloth, and displays the same anatomy as Christ in the above Crucifixion; his thin beard falls in two pointed halves on his chest. On the al-fresco, of the the Greek fashion with keys — an him in Western holding a book,

ed halves on his tar wall another Lord blessing in between St Peter emblem given to art — and St. Paul is very linear in

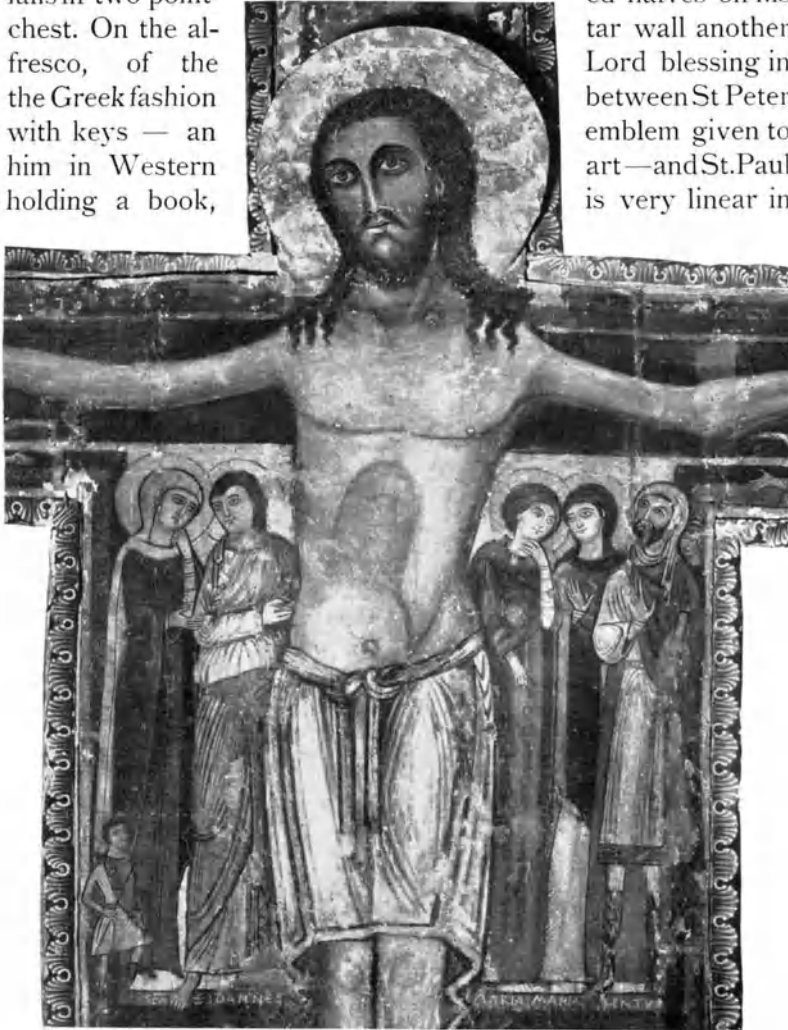


Fig. 95. A detail of the Crucifix, school of Spoleto, end of the XII century Sta. Chiara, Assisi

Photo A. MARI

design. All the figures are dark, with large markedly outlined

⁽¹⁾ Reprod in *Faloci Pulgnani*, Foligno, Bergamo 1917 p 24 and 25

eyes and straight noses. The wall below is decorated with a pretty Romanesque design, in which proudly-stepping heraldic lions are placed in a pattern of circles and squares ⁽¹⁾ (fig. 96).

A complete absence of Byzantine elements might lead us to believe that some frescoes in the now abandoned church of S. Prospero just outside Perugia are an outcome of the Romanesque movement; this work, however, is so artless and innocent of style that it is hard to attribute it to any movement at all. Of



Fig 96 Ornamental fresco, 2nd half of the XII century. Sta. Maria-infra-Portas.

Photo Public. Minist. Istr.

certain interest, however, is the signature "Bon Amicus Pictor" and the date 1225. The artist was charged with the decoration of a chapel to the right of the entrance of the small church, in which we now find several rows of grotesque figures. Above the entrance arch Christ and the Twelve Apostles are represented (fig. 97), separated by the signature beneath it from a group of other figures; an inscription tells us that one of them is Donna Benedicta; next to them we see a saint and a kneeling worshipper. An ornamental border crosses the ceiling from side to side, and on the opposite side a variety of figures is represented. In the uppermost row are seven prophets, while below are the following saints: Mary Magdalene, Margaret, Bridge, Humilita, Prosperus with a worshipper, Michael, and Abraham, who, with many miniature figures in his lap, represents Paradise, while an adjacent scene depicts Hades. In a yet lower row some of the figures are missing, but SS. Leonard, Benedict, Nicholas and Sylvester remain in fair preservation. On the lateral

⁽¹⁾ An ornamentation very similar to this and of the same period is to be found in the crypt of the cathedral of Chartres.

walls only the figures of St. John the Baptist, St. John the Evangelist and an angel of the Annunciation are visible on the right although several other names are still legible; the sole decoration of the left wall is an ornamental border in imitation of a draped curtain, which is continued round three walls of the chapel. The painting is extremely rough, the colours clash, and the figures are short and dwarfish without expression, relief, shading or shape. Mr. Zimmerman describes this work as an intermingling of Romanesque and Byzantine elements, but to me it appears rather to represent the unskilful attempts of an untrained artist, interesting chiefly in the fact that it is an entirely independent work not belonging to any known school or tendency.

In leaving Umbria and penetrating into Tuscany we find some works in another style and this difference encourages us to regard the works with which we have been dealing as a homogeneous group, which may be classified under the school of Umbria, or better still perhaps, to name it after its principal centre, the school of Spoleto.



Fig. 97. Bonamicus The Lord and Apostles S Prospero near Perugia.
Photo Anderson

The Tuscan works of the 12th century are almost entirely limited to crucifixes and a few other panels at Siena.

Just beyond the frontiers of Umbria we find a Romanesque crucifix in the Gallery of Castiglione Fiorentino, originally in the Collegiata. It is an imposing, more than life-sized representation; beneath the feet of the Saviour we see St. Peter conversing with Pilate's servant. The pronounced anatomical drawing proves it to be a late product of this movement. Of earlier date seems a much smaller one in the Pieve of Arezzo (fig. 98); the arrangement is here similar to that of Alberto Sotio's crucifix; that is to say,

only the Virgin and St. John are depicted at the sides, and the panel is surrounded by a little border of crosses; above the inscription at the upper end of the vertical bar a half figure of Christ is represented in a medallion. This picture, however, is executed in a somewhat different manner; the features and expression of the Saviour belong to another type, and the general attitude is more rigid, slightly inclined. The more pronounced and taken to produce a and shade. This paint- esque and if not older belongs at least to a

In Flo- find a sim- in a crucifix lo (fig. 99), which, however, is sides the Virgin and cross we find here two the horizontal bar, the angels on the broad- above, on which is ular addition, contain- viour, and a cock be- Crucified, a symbolic denial. The panel is border of a diamond- though Romanesque this crucifix betrays, in the grace of some of the smaller figures especially, a knowledge of Byzantine art; this is very noticeable in the attitude of the Madonna with her clasped hands.

With the important crucifix which, until recently was the No. 3 of the Uffizi, but has now been removed to the Accademia of Florence, we come to the first example of the crucifixes in which the Virgin and St. John, on either side of the body of the



Fig. 98. Crucifix, Tuscan school, ab. 1200. Pieve, Arezzo.

Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

the head being only anatomical drawing is much trouble has been plastic effect with light ing is purely Roman- than Sotio's crucifix, it more archaic type (1).

rence we ilar rigidity in the Bigal- the form of more complicated. Be- St. John under the angels at the ends of Virgin between two ened-out extremity superimposed a circ- ing the bust of the Sa- neath the feet of the portrayal of Peter's here surrounded by a shaped design. Al-

in its general aspect, in the grace of some of the smaller figures especially, a knowledge of Byzantine art; this is very noticeable in the attitude of the Madonna with her clasped hands.

(1) A painter called Teuzone is mentioned in Arezzo in 1140. *U. Pasqui, Pittori aretini vissuti dalla meta del XII secolo al 1157, Rivista d'Arte X 1917-18 p. 32.*

Lord, are replaced by several small scenes (figs. 100 and 101). Here again the Lord, has been slightly pictured with open still describes curve. Above the fixed there is only this of course that originally have been a tremity contain-Virgin and St. presented on the left of the figures on

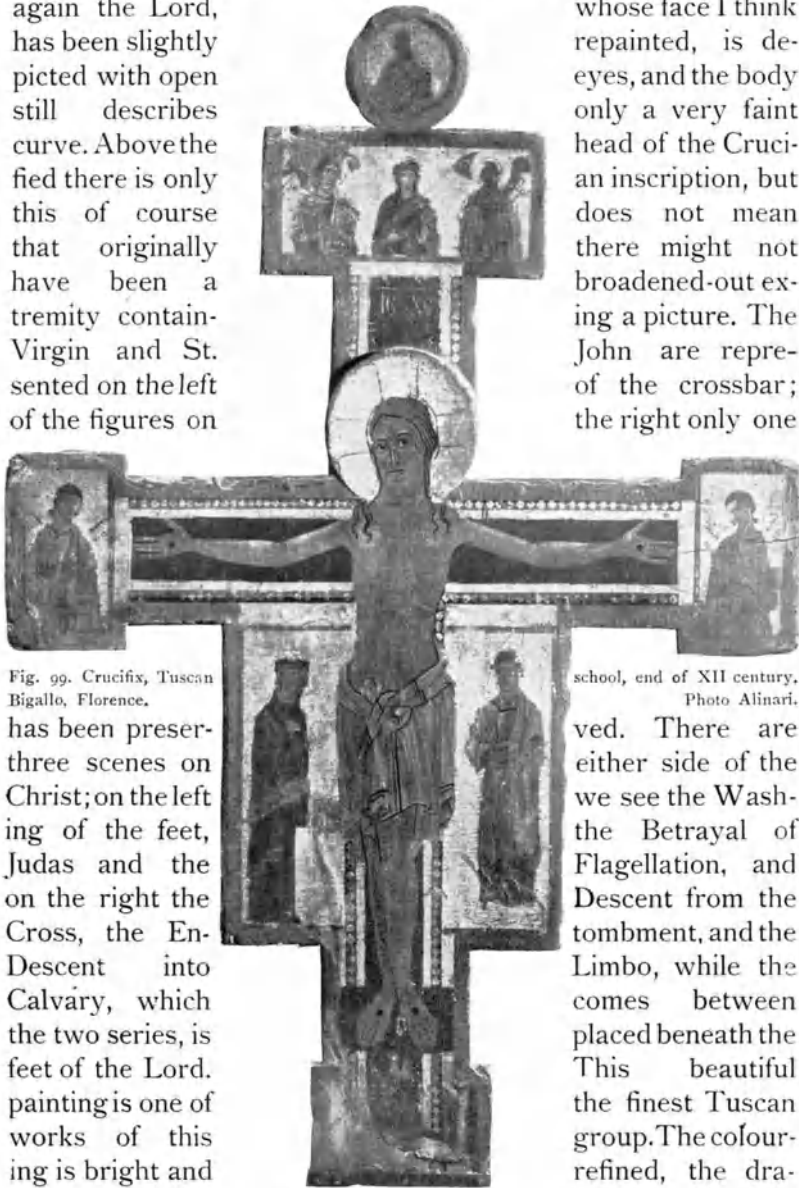


Fig. 99. Crucifix, Tuscan Bigallo, Florence.

has been preserved. There are three scenes on Christ; on the left wing of the feet, Judas and the on the right the Cross, the Entombment, the Descent into Limbo, which the two series, is the feet of the Lord. This beautiful painting is one of the finest works of this school. The colouring is bright and wing graceful; neither is Byzantine; they are both Romanesque, as are also the features and the proportions. Even in the iconography we find

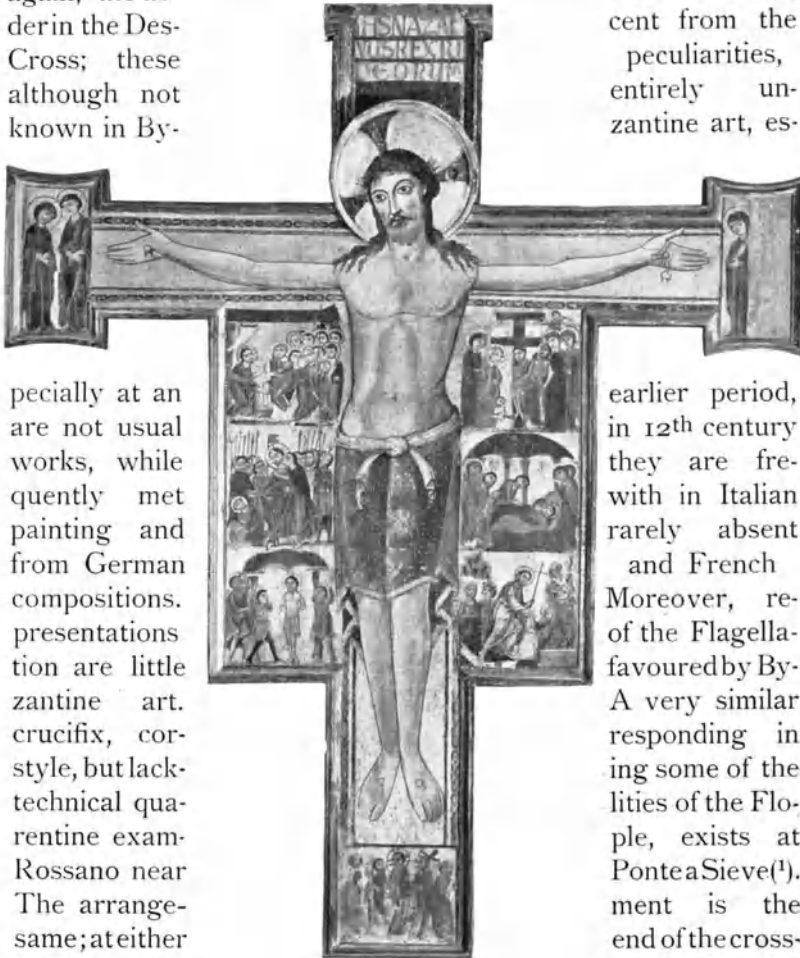
whose face I think repainted, is de-eyes, and the body only a very faint head of the Crucifixion inscription, but does not mean there might not broadened-out existing a picture. The John are represented of the crossbar; the right only one

school, end of XII century, Photo Alinari.

ved. There are either side of the we see the Washing of Feet, the Betrayal of Christ, the Flagellation, and the Descent from the Cross, the Entombment, and the Limbo, while the comes between placed beneath the This beautiful the finest Tuscan group. The colouring is refined, the drawing is full of spirit;

Even in the iconography we find

elements which are rather Western than Byzantine: such for instance as the isolation of the group of Peter cutting off the ear of Malchus from the other figures in the Betrayal of Judas, or again, the absence of the ladder in the Descent from the Cross; these peculiarities, although not known in Byzantine art, es-



pecially at an earlier period, in 12th century they are frequently met with in Italian and French compositions. More of the Flagellation are little known in Byzantine art. A very similar crucifix, constructed in some of the styles of the Florentine example, exists at Ponte a Sieve⁽¹⁾. The arrangement is the same; at either end of the cross-bar we see the Virgin and St. John and the two Marias. The six lateral scenes in pieces of architecture resembling those in the Florentine example,

Fig. 100. Crucifix, Tuscan school 2nd half of XII century. Accademia, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

⁽²⁾ O. Siren. *Toskanische Maler im XIII Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1922 p. 184, erroneously attributes this Crucifix to the Pisan painter Tedice.

represent Judas' Betrayal, the Descent from the Cross, the Descent into Limbo, the Entombment, the Maries at the empty Sepulchre and the Pilgrims on the road to Emmaus. Below the feet of the Crucified, St. Peter is seen speaking to Pilate's servant.



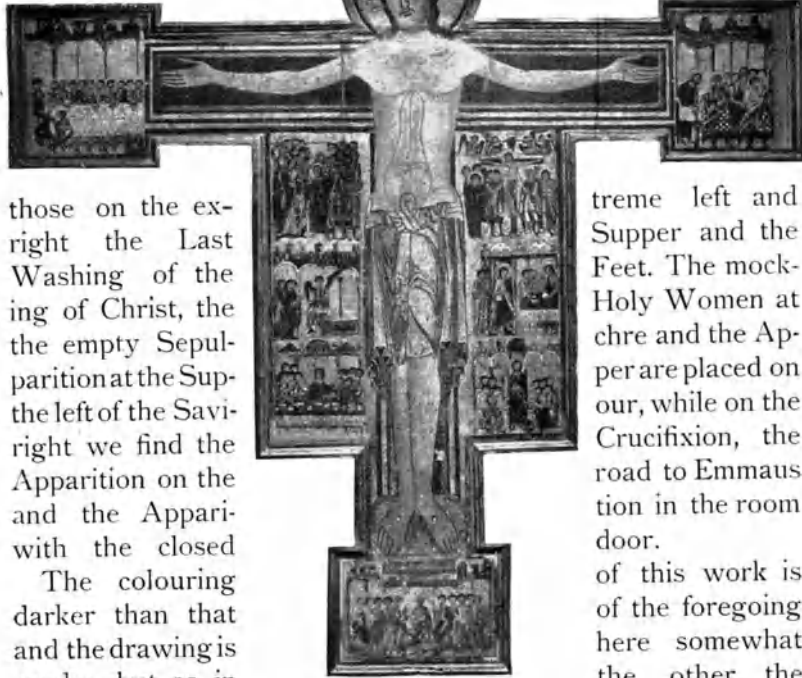
Fig. 101. Detail of fig. 100.

Photo Biagi

The figure of the Lord on a crucifix in the Gallery of Pisa ⁽¹⁾ shows some connection with that which we found at Arezzo; this

⁽¹⁾ In the year 1169 there is mention in Pisa of a painter called Ugone di Giordano Scudario. *T.B. Supino, Arte Pisana* Florence, 1904 p. 250.

not only in the rigidity and proportions, but also in the anatomical design and the schematic folds of the loincloth (figs. 102 and 103). The figure at Pisa, however, is finer in execution, and is moreover sur-



those on the ex-
right the Last
Washing of the
ing of Christ, the
the empty Sepul-
parition at the Sup-
the left of the Savi-
right we find the
Apparition on the
and the Appari-
with the closed

The colouring
darker than that
and the drawing is
cruder, but as in
features and pro-
Byzantine, as are
feeling and the
strong contrast of

more noticeable in the small figures, reminds us of the crucifix of Arezzo. Another un-Byzantine factor is the architecture, for instead of the domes that appear in Oriental work we find

rounded by small
ced at the sides
figure, two at the
cross-bar, one
the Christ and
the Cross. These
the Ascension
the Holy Ghost;

treme left and
Supper and the
Feet. The mock-
Holy Women at
chre and the Ap-
per are placed on
our, while on the
Crucifixion, the
road to Emmaus
tion in the room
door.

of this work is
of the foregoing
here somewhat
the other the
portions are un-
also the general
technique. The
light and shade,

Fig. 102. Crucifix, Tuscan school
end of the XII century. Gallery,
Pisa.

Photo Minist. Public. Istr.



Photo. Munst., Publ. Istr.

Fig. 103 Detail of fig. 102

here mostly flat roofs supported by arcades. Some details are contrary to Eastern iconography: such for instance as the square table at the Last Supper and the incidents chosen from the story of the pilgrims of Emmaus, which in this case show the pilgrims entering the house and the Lord seated with them at table. Byzantine art generally shows us the journey to Emmaus; this, however, is also found in the mosaics of Monreale. From an Eastern standpoint, there are too many representations of apparitions after the death of Christ for such a brief series; such incidents from the story of the Saviour are not very common at this early period ⁽¹⁾, nor is the scene of the mocking of Christ ⁽²⁾.

The oldest Romanesque crucifix is to be found in the cathedral of Sarzana near Spezia; it is dated 1138, and Rosini was still able to read the now partly obliterated name of the artist, Guglielmus ⁽³⁾. The Lord is represented living, erect and calm; his enormous eyes are not without expression. At the sides we see four mourning figures, below which we find, on the left, the Betrayal of Judas, the Flagellation and the Visit to the empty Sepulchre, and on the right the Mocking of Christ, the Descent from the Cross and the Entombment. At either end of the cross-bar a prophet and two Gospel symbols are depicted. The aspect of this important painting is considerably less Byzantine than that by Sotio at Spoleto; the figures have other and more Romanesque proportions, although the features of the Saviour are purely Oriental.

The work most closely resembling this production is a crucifix in the "Pesciollini" chapel — the first on the left — of the church of S. Frediano at Pisa; it is probably of a somewhat later date, but is in very bad condition. The Lord is represented living, erect

⁽¹⁾ *G. Millet*, Recherches etc, p. 53.

⁽²⁾ *O. Sirèn*, op cit. p. 181 attributes also this Crucifix to Tedice.

⁽³⁾ The inscription around the Lord's nimbus is reported to have been: Anno Milleno centeno terquoque deno octavo pinxit Guilielmus et haec metra finxit *G. Rosini*, Storia della pittura Italiana, 7 vols and atlas, Pisa, 1840-47 plate A. The details of the engraving given by Rosini are inexact. *A. Venturi*, Storia dell' Arte Italiana, V, Milan, 1907, p. 2, *F. Podesta*, Arte Antica nell' Duomo di Sarzana, Genoa, 1904 *The Same*, L'arte in Sarzana, 1915.

and full of dignity; his head is slightly turned but not inclined. Two figures occupy the left-hand extremity of the cross-bar, on the right there is but one. Above we find the Descent of the Holy Ghost, while on the left are represented the Lord preaching (?), the Flagellation, and St. Peter's attempt to reach Christ by walking on the waters, and on the right the Carrying of the Cross, the Resurrection, and the Apparition of the Lord in the room with the closed door. Notwithstanding the black hair and general Oriental appearance of the Saviour, it is obvious that here again we are dealing with a Romanesque work. Not only do the figures belong to this movement, but also the vivid action and the iconography. The sailing-boat from which St. Peter leaps, as well as the low square box out of which the Saviour appears in the scene of the Resurrection, is quite untraditional. The representation of the Flagellation was at this date not yet admitted into Byzantine art.

Behind the altar of S. Paolo-a-l'Orto we find a head of the Lord which originally must have formed part of a similar cross.

To Prof. Peleo Bacci, through whose kindness I have acquired much information as to the primitive art of this region, I also owe the knowledge of a crucifix near Vico Pisano, on which the Lord is again depicted living, erect, and peaceful, but with features almost repulsive: the eyes are enormous, the mouth small and absurdly shaped. A description of this much dilapidated cross will shortly be published by Prof. Bacci, so I will confine my description to a mention of the smaller scenes. At the upper extremity we find the Ascension, in which the Saviour is carried in an encircling mandorla by two angels; to the left of Christ are represented the Kiss of Judas, the Flagellation, and the Calvary in which the Lord is seen carrying a very large cross, while on the right are the Descent from the Cross and the Holy Women at the empty Sepulchre, the third on this side being destroyed.

Rather similar to the Sarzana crucifix, but of the later part of the 12th century, is the cross on the altar of Sta. Giulia of Lucca. Here the Lord's head is slightly inclined; the type is very Oriental, grave but not agonized. On the upper terminal a half-figure of the Saviour is depicted, and slightly lower the two SS. John (?). On the extremities of the cross-bar we see the symbols of the Evangelists, while beside the Crucified are the full length figures of

the Virgin and St. John, below each of whom we find represented one of the crucified thieves, whose legs are being broken by a man with a club; lower, on the left, is the dead body of Christ, surrounded by a group of mourners, and on the right the Visit to the empty Sepulchre, which here has the shape of a small building. Although not predominating, the Eastern features are on the whole more obvious in this painting than in any of the others.

The representation of the two crucified thieves next to the Saviour, forming, as it were, although much smaller in proportion, the accompanying figures of the central image, is an iconographical feature of the school of Lucca of which we find two other examples in this city. On account of the "Volta Santa" preserved in the cathedral, Lucca had a special veneration for the crucifix, and I think it quite possible that this accounted for the great production of crucifixes in this part of Tuscany at this early period.

The older apparently of the two other crucifixes in this city, which Cavalcaselle attributed to the 11th century, hangs from a beam in the middle of the church of S. Michele. Its darkened colour and its position make it difficult to form a very clear idea of this work. The principal figure, which is straighter and more dignified than in any of the other crucifixes, is for the greater part in relief. At the upper extremity the Lord is depicted with an open book between two kneeling angels, and the symbols of the Evangelists, with a flying angel, are found at either extremity of the cross-bar. Beside the Saviour are represented the Virgin and St. John, the crucified thieves, whose legs are being broken, the mourners over the dead body of the Lord, and the Maries at the empty Sepulchre: in short, precisely what we found on the crucifix of Sta. Giulia.

The second of these crucifixes is in the sacristy of Sta. Maria dei Servi. In general appearance it bears a strong resemblance to the foregoing, only here we find four lateral figures, whereas in the other the Virgin and St. John alone were represented. This panel has some details in common with the crucifix of Sta. Giulia, especially noticeable in the composition of the Holy Women at the empty Sepulchre, while we find here a curious anatomical design which divides the upper part of the Lord's chest into two complete circles, a detail also present in the crucifix of S. Michele. Colouring and design are here again quite Romanesque.

Without any doubt the crucifixes in Sta. Giulia, S. Michele and the Servi of Lucca form a little group, of which two are probably copies of the original, which would in this case be that in S. Michele; or all three may reproduce some other contemporary model. In style the second and third show special resemblances, although I should not attribute them to the same hand,⁽¹⁾ while the crucifix of Sta. Giulia betrays more connection with some of those which we found at Pisa.

There existed at Siena too an important school of Romanesque painting. Two Madonnas of this school may be classed together; one is now in the Saracini Gallery; the other may be found in the church of Sta. Maria in Tressa, a short distance outside the Porta San Marco. In the former⁽²⁾ we see the Madonna full face, holding erect upon her lap, with both hands, the Child Jesus, who is raising his hand in benediction; in the



Fig. 104. Madonna, Siennese school end of the XII century. Sta. Maria in Tressa near Siena.

Photo Minst. Publ. Isti.

upper corners of the picture two small angels seem to bring offerings, while lower down are the equally small images of a bearded old man and a woman holding a receptacle, the emblem of Mary Magdalene.

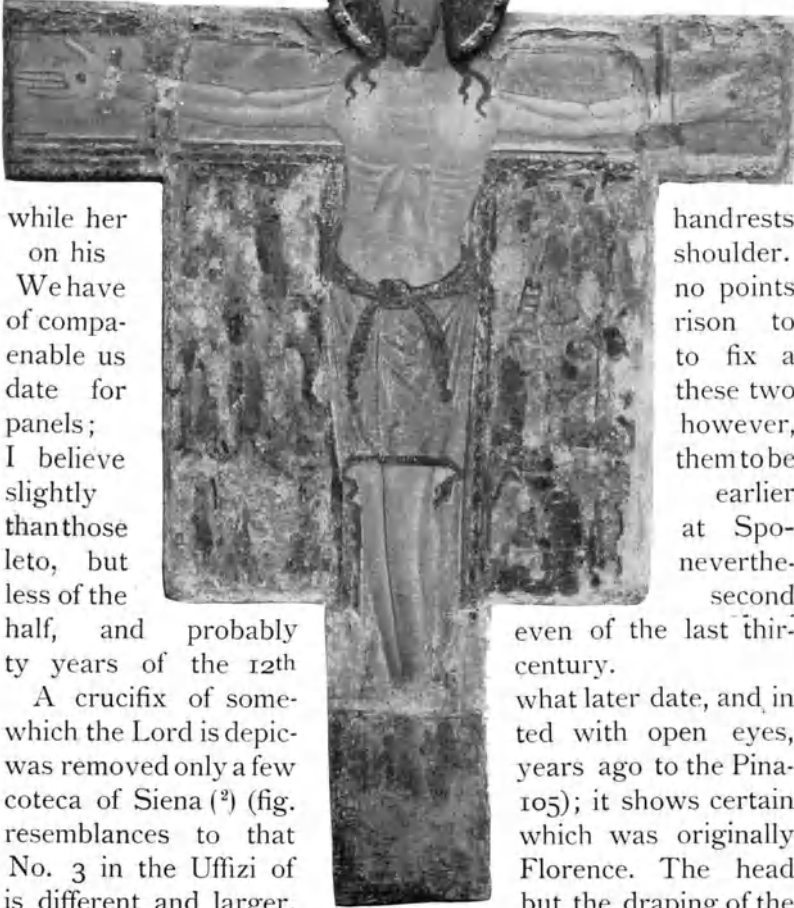
Although some external elements, such as the covered hands of the angels, the manner in which the Lord is blessing, and the pointed cushions on the throne, may be traced to a Byzantine source, it is obvious that this picture has nothing to do with that artistic tradition, but is a genuinely Romanesque production, and, moreover, even one of a very barbaric aspect.

⁽¹⁾ As is done by *O. Siren*, op. cit. p. 62, who places them as late as 1230.

⁽²⁾ Reprod. in *E. Jacobsen*, *Siennische Meister des Trecento in der Gemaldegalerie zu Siena*, Strasbourg, 1907 pl. 1.

The Madonna of Tressa (1) in its manner of execution resembles the foregoing panel, but it seems possible that this is only a part of a larger picture which sides and at the level of 104). She supports with of the Child, who again

has been cut at the the Virgin's knees (fig. her right hand the feet is standing in her lap



while her on his We have of comparable us date for panels; I believe slightly than those leto, but less of the half, and probably ty years of the 12th

A crucifix of some- which the Lord is depic- was removed only a few coteca of Siena (2) (fig. resemblances to that No. 3 in the Uffizi of is different and larger, loincloth knot by

Fig. 105. Crucifix, Sienese school end of the XII century. Gallery, Siena. Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

handrests shoulder. no points rison to to fix a these two however, them to be earlier at Sponeverthe- second even of the last thir- century.

what later date, and in ted with open eyes, years ago to the Pina- 105); it shows certain which was originally Florence. The head but the draping of the and the which it is

(1) *G. De Nicola*, *Arte Senese inedita*, *Vita d'Arte*, July 1912.

(2) *R. van Marle*, *La pittura senese prima di Duccio*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1920 p. 265.

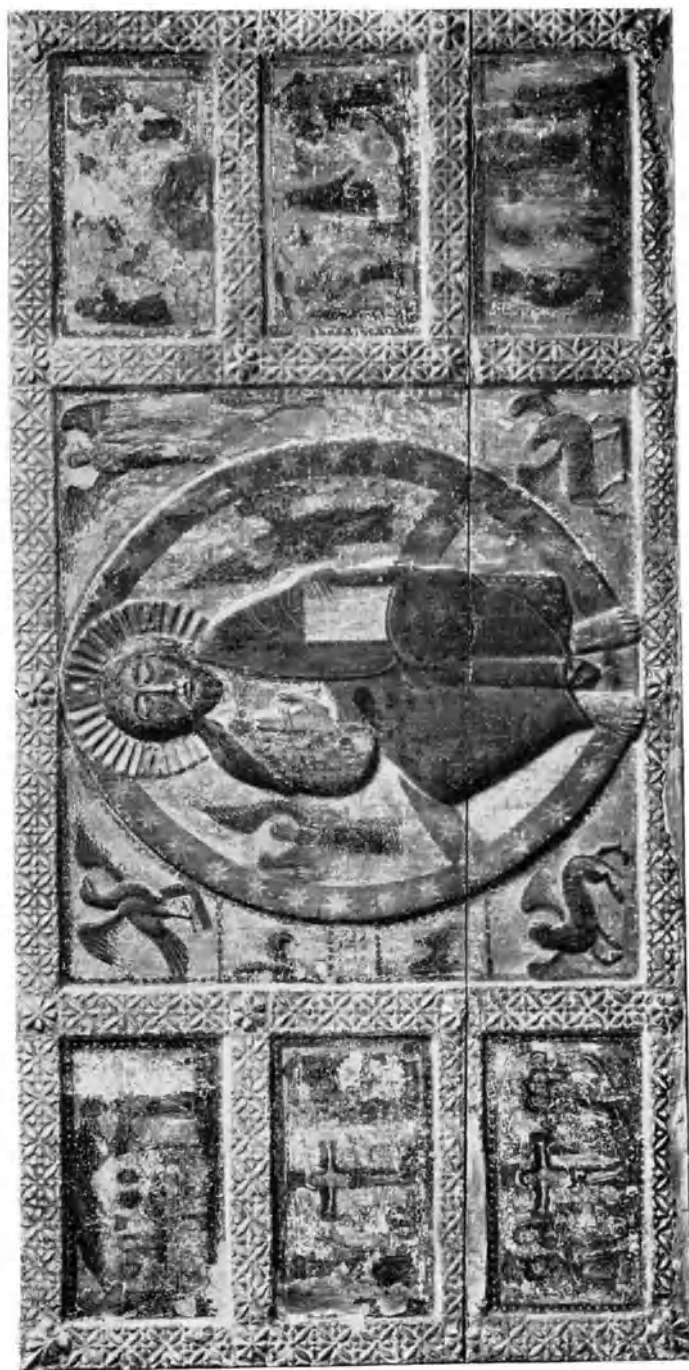


Fig. 106. The Saviour and the Legend of the Cross and other scenes, Sienese school 1215 Gallery, Siena.
Photo Anderson.

fastened are identical; the colouring too shows the same bright tints. The hair of the Saviour is here a reddish blond.

Six small scenes are placed at the sides of the Crucified, the subjects of which correspond in part with the Florentine cross, and in part with that at Pisa; they represent the Kiss of Judas, the Mocking of Christ, the Flagellation, the Descent from the Cross, here with a ladder, the Holy Women at the empty Sepulchre, and the Descent into Hell. The latter are in such bad condition that they are almost indistinguishable; it is very probable that originally other scenes were depicted on the extremities of



Fig. 107. Detail of fig. 106

Photo Lombardi.

the cross. The left hand seems renovated, also the feet of Christ, which are perforated both by one single nail, a detail which appears only at a later date. (¹)

Possibly older than this crucifix is one in the Saracini collection, which, however, is so much damaged that it is difficult to form a clear conception of it. The type differs from that of the foregoing, being darker and more like those of Florence and Arezzo; the Christ is the only figure represented, and the upper part of the cross is rounded.

In Siena we still find two other purely Romanesque panels

(¹) In the church of S. Pietro-in-Vincoli near San Giovanni d'Asso (prov. of Siena) there is a small considerably damaged Crucifix in the same style, but in stead of the lateral scenes we see here the Virgin and St. John

which originally, on account of their similarity of arrangement, may have been pendants one to the other.

The first of these is No. 1 of the Accadèmia of Siena, on which the date November 1215 has fortunately been preserved (¹) (fig. 106 and 107). In the centre the Lord, seated on a rainbow, is enclosed in a mandorla; both rainbow and aureole are decked with stars. He raises his right hand in blessing, and holds a book in his left, while behind are two little angels. Between the mandorla and the frame of the central part the symbols of the Evangelists are represented. Most of the figures, and the frame of the panel, as well as the frames of the smaller scenes, are in relief, being of gesso-work. The six lateral paintings – three on either side – owe nothing to the Byzantine school; though greatly damaged, evidence of an independent art is manifest in the curiously proportioned, lively and fairly well drawn figures, with expressive faces, whose attitudes are neither stiff nor angular. The interpretation of these scenes has never definitely been determined; Signor Venturi believes some of them to represent the legend of the Cross (²). On the uppermost scene on the left hand side we see four people seated at a table, on which some drinking vessels are placed, and on the extreme right a crucifix; below, the crucified Christ occupies the centre, while at the sides, against a background of fragmentary architecture, we can distinguish the two soldiers with the sponge and the spear, two figures, one kneeling, and one standing, probably Mary and St. John, and two seated persons who might be Caiaphas and Pontius Pilate. The third scene also is centered about the Cross; the enthroned, kneeling and standing figures of the previous scene are again represented, with the addition of a group of six persons touching different parts of their bodies, perhaps indicating that they are the subjects of miraculous recoveries. Of the scenes on the right, especially the upper two, very little is preserved; however, in the first we can discern a female figure, with crown and nimbus, enthroned on

(¹) Anno Dni Millesimo CCXV mense novembris hec tabula facta est. The picture originates from the abbey of SS. Salvatore e Alessandro at Fontebuona.

(²) The theory that these representations should have been made, as Signor Venturi infers, in accordance with the text of da Vorasgine's Golden Legend, must be excluded, since this author was born only in 1228

the right, and fragments of three male figures, the foremost apparently presenting the others, and the last extending his hands as in supplication. The narrative is evidently continued in the second picture, in which the saint is again seen enthroned, and two of the three men, escorting a woman, are followed by a crowd. The last scene appears to be a martyrdom; a commanding



Fig 108. Madonna, beginning of the XIII century Cathedral Museum, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

figure sits on a throne on the left, while a half-naked person wearing a crown is represented on the right near a priest. On several of the paintings fragments of inscriptions are still visible.

Of the panel which I believe once formed the pendant to the previous one only the central figure now remains, in the Opera del Duomo of Siena. It consists of the Madonna, also in relief, holding the blessing Child on her lap in exactly the same attitude as the Madonna of Tressa (fig. 108). From the upper corners two little angels approach the Virgin; the whole image is framed by a frieze in

relief identical with that of the panel in the Accadèmia. The figures here are somewhat cruder than those of the previous picture.

In the Cathedral of Mercatello in the province of The Marches we find a panel of the Virgin (¹) which reminds us to a certain extent of the Madonnas of Tressa and the Saracini collection; more especially of the latter, because in both panels the head of the Virgin overlaps the upper part of the picture, and is painted on an additional circular piece of wood such as we

(¹) *L. Venturi, A traverso Le Marche, L'Arte* 1915. p. 1.

often find in crucifixes. Here, as in Tressa, the Madonna supports the Child with one hand and lays the other on his shoulder; it differs however from the other works in the fact that the Madonna seems to be standing. The border is in relief, like that on the panel in the museum of Siena's cathedral.

Outside Tuscany and Umbria we find some Romanesque paintings in Lombardy and in the South Italian provinces, where the Benedictine style developed into an interesting and fairly independent form of Romanesque art.

In the neighbourhood of Montecassino there exist some 12th



Fig. 108a Apocalyptic scene, 2nd half of the XII century

S. Pietro, Civate.

Photo Istit. Arte Grafiche.

century paintings in the church of S. Niccolo near San Vittore, including an enthroned Christ, a Madonna and Child, an archangel, SS. Paul, Peter and Calixtus, and a fragment of the Last Judgment.

South of Naples an important monument of the beginning of the 12th century is to be seen in S. Annunziata Minuto, between Amalfi and Scala⁽¹⁾, where the decorations of two walls and three-fourths of the vault have been preserved, and in which are depicted a Christ Pantocrator resembling those of the Sicilian mosaics, the two SS. John, the Baptist, very ascetic, Daniel in Oriental costume, David, the Nativity, in conjunction with the Angelic Message to the Shepherds, the Visitation, a Byzantine St. George,

(1) Reprod. in *Bertaux*, op. cit., fig. 106

the portrait of a bishop, and two incidents from the life of St. Nicholas. Again M. Bertaux believes this to be Montecassino work, and discovers resemblances to the paintings of S. Angelo-in-Formis; the design, however, is hard, the style Byzantine and not of refined quality: the best figure is that of the graceful Virgin in the Annunciation; the expressions of the faces are vivid, but again the grouping is very defective, the choir of angels being huddled together without any arrangement.

In the Abruzzi district a fresco of the very beginning of the 12th century, representing Christ enthroned, is found in S. Piero-ad-Oratorium near Bussi. It bears much resemblance to the one in the apse of S. Angelo, and, as in that, the Christ carries an open book with a Latin title, and is surrounded by the four symbols of the Evangelists.

The composition of the central part of the decoration of S. Angelo Pianella near Chieti shows us the Lord, of austere aspect, seated on a decorated rainbow and encompassed by a twofold oval aureole supported by angels. Under this is placed a row of upright, lifeless Apostles, drawn in strongly emphasized outlines and hard red and ochreous colouring. The folds, especially in the drapery of the figures above, are harsh and the drawing of them too prominent.

M. Bertaux has made a curious statement concerning the paintings in Sta. Maria de Ronzano near Fossasecia⁽¹⁾ which are dated 1181; he believes them to have been executed by a French artist, or at least by one familiar with French art. The following are the scenes found here: the Creation, three representations from the story of Adam and Eve, the Annunciation, the Message to the Shepherds, Herod, the three Magi, the Betrothal of the Virgin, the Presentation in the Temple, a fragment of the Last Judgment, the Visitation, the Nativity, the Flight into Egypt, the Massacre of the Innocents (in two parts), the Betrayal of Judas, Christ before Pilate, the Burial of Christ, and the twelve Apostles, divided into two groups by the Annunciation.

M. Bertaux in his description points out that none of these scenes belongs iconographically to the Byzantine tradition, but that there are many striking resemblances to certain paintings

(1) Reprod. in *Bertaux*, op. cit., figs. 109—10 *Balzano*, *L'arte Abruzzese*, Bergamo, 1910, p. 46—7.

in France; certainly the style of the figures, especially the Virgin-Queen of the Annunciation, somewhat resembles the early French sculpture.

However, once we admit that Carolingian and Ottonian elements had penetrated into Benedictine art, then in view of the fact that in the 12th century Italian art was more Romanesque than Byzantine, we have no reason to share M. Bertaux's surprise at the presence of un-Byzantine iconographical details in these paintings. If their general aspect showed any connection with the Byzantine tradition there might still have been some reason for wonder, but in this case the manner of execution is as un-Byzantine as the iconography. It must however be confessed that it is but a poor example of Romanesque art.

In Lombardy we meet with quite a different phenomenon; here the external Byzantine characteristics, such as the drapery and the proportions, show much greater persistence than in Central Italy, and works of a purely Romanesque type are very rare.

All the remains of this early art have been studied at length by Signor Toesca in his magnificent book on the Lombard school ⁽¹⁾, and it is needless to repeat the descriptions again here. We shall dwell at some length on the frescoes of Civate only; as for the others a brief enumeration will be sufficient.

A row of saints in the church of S. Giorgio at Como is of fairly Byzantine aspect and might date from the beginning of the 12th century ⁽²⁾; this Oriental tendency is still more felt in a fragment of the Lord in a circular aureole, with Apostles on either side, in the church of S. Carlo at Prugiasco (Ticino) ⁽³⁾. On the other hand, the Byzantine characteristics become more extrinsic in a fragment, probably representing Abraham receiving the Blessed in his bosom, in the church of S. Michele of Oleggio ⁽⁴⁾, and they become even less evident in the various Madonnas which are to be found in S. Celso in Milan, SS. Faustino e Giovita at Lambrata, and the

⁽¹⁾ *P. Toesca*, *Pittura e miniatura Lombarda*, p. 95 etc

⁽²⁾ *Toesca*, op. cit., fig. 66. *G. Carotti*, *Affreschi del XI secolo scoperti nella antica chiesa di S. Giorgio a Como*, *L'Arte*, XI, 1908, p. 143, believed them to be of 1081, the date mentioned in an inscription.

⁽³⁾ *Toesca*, fig. 68.

⁽⁴⁾ *Idem*, fig. 67.

two in S. Teodoro at Pavia ⁽¹⁾ some of which, in their plump and lively appearance, wondering expression, and curious proportions, in which the large size of the head is very striking, remind us of the Sienese Madonnas. At Pavia in the church of S. Teodoro, a figure of the Baptist is, on the other hand, quite Byzantine in spirit, although not in its execution, which obviously only imitates this manner ⁽²⁾. Numerous fragments in the atrium of S. Ambrogio in Milan are Romanesque ⁽³⁾: such, for example, as the fresco of a devotee ⁽⁴⁾ and one of the seated Saviour, whose type shows some resemblance to the Crucified with open eyes on the cross in the Gallery of Siena ⁽⁵⁾.

The painters of S. Pietro at Civate were, of all, those most genuinely inspired by the Byzantine tradition, though they too mingled a good deal of Western spirit with their Eastern forms.

Here we find numerous important paintings by different artists ⁽⁶⁾. We first notice a fresco of the Lord giving the keys to St. Peter and a book to St. Paul; then two other rather similar paintings, one depicting St. Marcellinus (?), the other St. Gregory, both in sacerdotal garments, and in front of a group of people. In one vault we find a representation of the celestial Jerusalem, in which the Lord seems to be seated in an inclosed garden, while angels look through the openings in the wall; another vault is adorned by four male figures, each holding a vase from which issues a current of water, no doubt symbolical of the four streams of Paradise.

In the vault of the right apse angelic trumpeters and a seraph are depicted; they probably once formed part of the celestial hierarchy escorting the Lord; near by we find remains of a row of holy anchorites and popes. In a lunette an apocalyptic vision is represented in which the Lord, in a mandorla, is surrounded by a host of angels, who are seen in the act of slaying an enormous dragon, to which a woman, lying on the ground, seems to be

⁽¹⁾ *Toesca*, op. cit., figs. 82–85.

⁽²⁾ *Idem*, fig. 87

⁽³⁾ *Toesca* gives a list of these fragments, op. cit., p. 137 note 4.

⁽⁴⁾ *Toesca*, op. cit., fig. 93.

⁽⁵⁾ *Idem*, fig. 94. The date of about 1267 proposed by Signor Toesca for this fresco seems to me too late.

⁽⁶⁾ *Idem*, p. 100.

throwing a child (fig. 108*a*). Some paintings of sacred warriors and the Wise Virgins adorn the crypt. This church also contains some stucco reliefs of the same kind as those celebrated ones which adorn the ciborium of S. Ambrogio, Milan.

Amongst the different painters who worked in this church he who executed the apocalyptic scene of the slaying of the dragon was by far the most skilful, but also the most conventionally Byzantine. The design is here refined and beautiful and the whole spirit of the work is Oriental. In the two paintings in the vaults, and also in the figures of the celestial trumpeters, the Byzantine elements are already more extrinsic, while in the scenes showing St. Marcellinus (?) and St. Gregory other elements predominate. In these we are reminded rather of the Benedictine art of the 11th century, of which I suppose this is a late and somewhat distorted result. The vivacious actions, the expressive faces and the forms in general recall to us the Benedictine works at Galliano, from which, however, they are separated by a considerable lapse of time, for the period of the second half of the 12th century, — proposed by Toesca for these frescoes — seems to me very probably correct. On the whole we should not exaggerate the importance of the Byzantine elements in these paintings, for the master who executed the fresco of the slaying of the dragon was the only one in whom the Byzantine conceptions had taken root, although here too, as in all the other paintings, the colouring is Romanesque. In the rest of the decorations the Eastern factors are more superficial, although they are nevertheless always more prominent than in the works of Central Italy.

In North Italy we might still quote as Romanesque work of the 12th century a fresco in the subterranean church of S. Pietro in Carnario at Verona, (¹) where the Lord is represented alive on the cross, on the transverse bar of which two half-figures of angels seem to rest, while on either side of the Crucified stand the Virgin and St. John. It is a crude unattractive painting, showing, however, the characteristics of Romanesque art, as do also the figures, although of superior quality, of the Lord (in an aureole), SS Michael, Celsus, and Nazarus, which were removed from the Grotto of S. Nazaro and brought to the Verona museum.

(¹) *Venturi*, Storia dell' Arte italiana, II p. 264

I will not mention the 12th century miniatures, which are fairly numerous, but which offer us nothing new. I should like, however, to deal briefly with an important form of Romanesque art which we meet with in the 12th century: viz. mosaic floors with decorative figures; they are specially abundant in North Italy ⁽¹⁾. The oldest examples of these we find in the abbey of S. Stefano at Carrara near Padua (1027) and in the abbey of Pomposa (1036), where a design of animals is depicted in black and white. Again at Aqvi in Piedmont we find one in which, besides certain chimerical designs, the history of Jonah is related; this decoration, dating probably from shortly after 1067, is executed in a purely Northern spirit. At Ivrea there is a representation of the Liberal Arts ⁽²⁾ (1105). Of about the same period we find in S. Salvatore, Turin, designs of Fortune, the Ocean and the Winds, while others, found near the cathedral and removed to the museum, represent the wheel of Fortune ⁽³⁾. Those of Aosta are of two different periods; the older part, which is of the 12th century, shows us symbolical representations of the Years and the Months and chimerical personifications of rivers etc ⁽⁴⁾.

In Lombardy the following may be cited: a fragment of a Baptism near the church of S. Salvatore in Xenodochio at Milan. some Biblical figures of about 1040 ⁽⁵⁾ in Sta. Maria Maggiore at Vercelli; in the sacristy of the cathedral of Novara scenes of the First Sin, the four streams of Paradise and the symbols of the Evangelists; and in S. Evasio at Casale Montferrate scenes from the stories of Abraham and Jonah. In S. Benedetto of Polerone figures of virtues and decorative wreaths may be dated about 1151; those at Pieve Terzagni (about 1100) and Aquanegra-sul-chiese are less important.

Similar mosaics at Cremona, Pavia and Bobbio may be differentiated by their more vivid colour. In the Campo Santo of the first of these cities the ornamentation, which probably dates from between 1107 and 1117, represents allegorical figures fighting

⁽¹⁾ *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 79 etc, *Kingsley Porter*, Lombard architecture I, Newhaven, 1917, p. 308.

⁽²⁾ Reprod. in *K. Porter*, op. cit., pl. 101^b

⁽³⁾ *L'Arte*, 1909, p. 461.

⁽⁴⁾ *Toesca*, Catalogo dell cose d'arte etc., Aosta, p. 11.

⁽⁵⁾ Date proposed by *A. Venturi*, *Storia dell' Arte* etc., III p. 433.

one another in a tapestry-like design ⁽¹⁾. In the museum of the same town we find a few fragments brought from the church of St. Agata. At Pavia some rough fragments remain in S. Pietro-in-Ciel-d'oro; Virtues and Vices struggling with each other are to be found in Sta. Maria del Popolo, and a fragment from S. Invenzio has been removed to the museum. The decoration of S. Michele, dating from about 1100, is more important; it shows us, besides David and Goliath, and personifications of the year and the Months, Theseus slaying the Minotaur ⁽²⁾, which, as Prof. Kingsley Porter remarks, has such a striking resemblance to a Roman mosaic found at Salzburg, and now preserved in the museum of Vienna, as to make him think it possible that the representation may be a traditional one, dating from pre-Christian times ⁽³⁾. In the monastery of Bobbio we again find personifications of the months, here combined with the signs of the zodiac and chimerical figures fighting a dragon.

In Emilia the church of S. Savino at Piacenza preserves important remains of a representation of the months, which may be dated 1107 ⁽⁴⁾ and in St. Eufemia of the same town there exists a mosaic showing a knight attacking a dragon. The cathedral of Reggio contains divers curious scenes with figures ⁽⁵⁾; one of which represents a man ringing a church bell — quite out of proportion — with the inscription "Milio campanarius"; this work dates from about 1090. The ornamental wreaths with figures ⁽⁶⁾ of about 1110 in the church of S. Tommaso are more important. In the church of S. Benedetto near Mantua a mosaic floor of 1152 is adorned with the Virtues and chimerical beasts. At Pesaro we again see animals and scenes from the Trojan war, of about the end of the 12th century. At Ravenna in S. Giovanni Evangelista the pavement of 1213 is adorned with animals and scenes from the legend of Arthur.

The nearer we approach Central Italy the more we find that such decorations are replaced by mosaic pavements of geometrical

⁽¹⁾ *Porter*, op. cit. pl. 85¹⁻².

⁽²⁾ *Idem*, pl. 174².

⁽³⁾ *Idem*, I, p. 307

⁽⁴⁾ *Idem*, pl. 186⁵

⁽⁵⁾ *Idem*, pl. 191¹⁻².

⁽⁶⁾ *Idem*, pl. 1913.

design in the Byzantine style. Such pavements were executed by the Cosmati, and other Roman „marmorari' but many churches in Rome, and also in Umbria, Tuscany and Southern Italy, preserve their original pavements. There is of course the Zodiac of 1207 in the Baptistery of Florence, and at Terracina, in a frieze which adorns the outside of the portico of the cathedral, we find represented a man in a ship, fighting knights, and grotesque animals, which may be classed with this form of art, and which apparently date from about the end of the 12th century.

Ornamental mosaic pavements are more frequently met with in Calabria and Puglia ⁽¹⁾; those found in Calabria, however, belong to the Byzantine school, and for this reason will be considered in the following chapter.

In the cathedral of Otranto we find a figured pavement made, as the inscription informs us, in 1163--66; it depicts innumerable animals, some human figures, the zodiac, and King Arthur, all of a thoroughly Northern aspect, due no doubt to the influence emanating from the presence of the Norman kings, and certainly not to the Greek priest, Pantaleone, who had it executed.

Of similar mosaics once existing in the cathedrals of Tarento, Lecce, Trani and Brindisi only a few remnants are left to us. Style and subjects always followed the Northern tradition; at Brindisi the cycle narrated the history of Charles the Great and the Battle of Roncesvalles.

It is my opinion that this branch of art had quite an independent existence, being very little influenced by the movement which took place in painting and in mosaic-work of a more representative nature. We find numerous examples in Germany and France which in technique and appearance are identical with those made in Italy ⁽²⁾, and although more seem to have been made in this country than elsewhere, there are, except in Calabria, too many purely Northern elements in such works for us not to admit that these Italian productions formed part of a more or less international movement.

⁽¹⁾ *Bertaux*, *L'Art dans l'Italie mérid*, p. 482

⁽²⁾ The best known is that in the crypt of S. Gereon in Cologne, vide *P. Clemen*, *Die Romanische Monumental Malerei in dem Rheinlande*, (1 vol and 1 atlas, Dusseldorf, 1916 p. 135) who deals with other similar works in Germany and in France, p. 168.

In concluding this chapter I should like to state in a few words exactly what I understand by Romanesque painting and wherein this current deviates from the Byzantine, for many of my predecessors have included numerous works which I class under this category as the outcome of the Byzantine influence in Italy.

Of course if any painting in which schematic folds are found may be called Byzantine, then Romanesque painting does not exist, since, owing to poverty of resource, or because the manner was too firmly established to be abandoned, we always find this angular drapery, full of parallel lines which first made its appearance in Byzantine art; but I am of opinion that although not altogether negligible, this is none the less too external a detail to determine a whole school.

What really differentiates Romanesque painting from Greek is the types, the proportions, and the power of expression displayed by the former.

First let us compare the respective types. The Byzantine artist, we shall always find, attempts to produce a certain ideal of regular preconceived beauty, the character of which forms an important element of the entire school, and which may be briefly qualified as a schematic and Oriental rendering of classic forms. Nothing of this will be found in Romanesque art. This difference was already obvious in the Benedictine works of the 11th century; the artist painted without any apparent aesthetic principles, but with complete liberty, producing features which he thought suitable but which were certainly not always beautiful.

The proportions of the human body in Byzantine work, especially in the 11th and 12th centuries, are well established and faithfully observed; they are regular but with an evident tendency to elegance and even to ascetic emaciation. This again is absent from Romanesque art. Owing to the importance which the artists of this school attributed to expression, the shape of the faces altered, the heads becoming generally larger than the rigid proportions of the Byzantine canon would allow of; emaciation is exceptional; the bodies are shorter, and usually sufficiently well developed to indicate physical strength. The chief difference, however, lies in the fact that the Byzantine artist, always guided by aesthetic principles, the first obligations of which were great reserve and a seemly bearing, never "lets himself go" in a natural

rendering of a dramatic action in which his entire resources might be employed to express an event with all its psychological effects on the "dramatis personae", and even their physical efforts. The variety of gestures and movements is very limited in Byzantine representation; a demonstrative hand which seems to be making a gesture of acceptance or refusal is practically the rule, and in any case no movement or gesture awakes expectation of its continuance or its effect, since it has become a mere attitude. The expressions show the same lack of variety as the movements. It is useless to say that these peculiarities are not always pushed to the extreme in every Byzantine work; they are certainly the tendencies which we observe in this school. In these points Romanesque art is its absolute conserve: in as far as the artist was capable of rendering it, every movement is free, and the expression manifests an obvious endeavour to make it match the action. The chief object of the Byzantine artist was to create beautiful harmonious forms, while the Romanesque painter aimed at the production of comprehensible and informative pictures: in short, of narrative representation.

We have observed that a certain proportion of the 12th century artists show an obvious tendency to return to the classic forms; moreover, we discover in them the influence of the last products of the decadence of the antique style of which we find datable works as late as the middle of the 11th century. At all events, the freedom displayed in the productions of the Romanesque school is in contradiction to the austerity imposed upon the adherents of Byzantine art, and this I daresay was the outcome of the large amount of liberty which was one of the chief charms of the Hellenic movement.

The Byzantine manner remained more or less the same in whatever country it penetrated; the Romanesque acquired in other countries a profoundly national aspect; but it must be admitted, with the possible exception of its purest creations, that a good many Byzantine elements were intermingled with this art in Italy.

CHAPTER V.

BYZANTINE MOSAICS ON THE NORTH COAST OF THE ADRIATIC, IN ROME, SICILY AND ELSEWHERE. BYZANTINE PAINTING IN SOUTHERN ITALY.

The Byzantine mosaics in Italy, with the exception of the dated examples of Sicily, form a somewhat delicate subject, on account of the enormous diversity of opinion which exists regarding the period of their execution. As after all this does not really form part of the subject of this volume, we shall limit ourselves to the principal points.

We know that at an early date mosaics were made in Venice, as we found a specimen of Lombard art there, but those decorating S. Marco belong to the Byzantine movement, and the question is at what period this art first existed.

We find mention of works of mosaic in Venice from the 9th century onwards⁽¹⁾, and it is more than probable that when S. Marco was completed, about 1095, it was already adorned with its mosaic decoration. Yet again the names of Greek artists appear in the Venetian province in 1143⁽²⁾, and in 1153 we hear of the mosaicist "Marco greco Indriomeni"⁽³⁾. All this, however, does not help us to prove that in the basilica of S. Marco⁽⁴⁾, whose mosaic decoration was continued until the 19th century, any of the original 11th century mosaics remain preserved. And I do not think that this is the case, in spite of the contrary opinion held by

(1) Documenti per la Storia dell'aug. duc. Basilica de San Marco in Venezia etc, Venice, 1886, p. 1. *P. Saccardo*, Les mosaïques de St. Marc a Venise, Venice, 1896 p. 17

(2) *L. Testi*, Storia della pittura Veneziana, I p. 93

(3) *Saccardo*, op. cit., p. 23.

(4) *Ongania*, La Basilica di S. Marco, Venice, 1878—93 *C. Neumann*, Die Markuskirche in Venedig, Jahrb. der K. Preuss. Kunstsamml., 1892.



Fig. 109. The Resurrection and the Doubting Thomas, Mosaic of the middle of the XII century, S. Marco, Venice.

such well-known scholars as M. Diehl⁽¹⁾ and above all M. Gabriel Millet⁽²⁾. In confronting these mosaics with the celebrated examples of Kiev, St. Luke in Phocidia, and Daphne, we are strongly impressed by the fact that, apart from a difference in quality, we have in Venice a later form of the same style, and considering the slow evolution of Byzantine art in general we are justified in admitting a not too negligible difference of age.

I think the oldest mosaics of S. Marco were probably executed in the middle of the 12th century, and might possibly be attributed to one artist; they occupy the vault of the left aisle, in the corridor leading to the door of the Madonna, and represent seven episodes from the life of the Virgin, from her wedding until the Journey to Bethlehem; four other scenes illustrating the History of Christ from the Entry into Jerusalem until the Washing of the Feet are in the right aisle of the church, in the arch between the central vault and that on the right, while opposite these five other scenes continue the cycle from the Betrayal of Judas to the Doubting of Thomas (figs. 109 and 110). Besides these there are in the basilica a great number of less important representations, mostly isolated figures of saints, which are in the same style and probably once formed part of this series. Four rather extensively restored mosaics of scenes from the lives of SS. Peter and Mark in the left gallery of the tribune to the left of the choir might originally have belonged to the same group.

These are the most important parts of the oldest decorations, which, as I said before, I do not believe to be earlier than the middle of the 12th century, while dating from the latter years of the same century are two mosaics, one of the Lord between the Virgin and St. Mark in a lunette above the principal entrance,⁽³⁾ and the other, near the left door, of the Saviour, between the prophets Hosea, Joel, Micah and Jeremiah.

It may be assumed that all the works we have just mentioned were executed by Greeks, because they are Byzantine

⁽¹⁾ *Ch. Diehl*, Manuel d'art byzantin, Paris, 1910, p. 505

⁽²⁾ *G. Millet*, L'art byzantin: in the "Histoire de l'Art", published under the direction of André Michel, I, Paris, 1905, p. 197

⁽³⁾ *L. Testi*, op. cit., p. 78 believes it to date from the end of the 13th century, but to me this seems much too late, it is certainly not a product of the 11th century, to which it is frequently attributed.

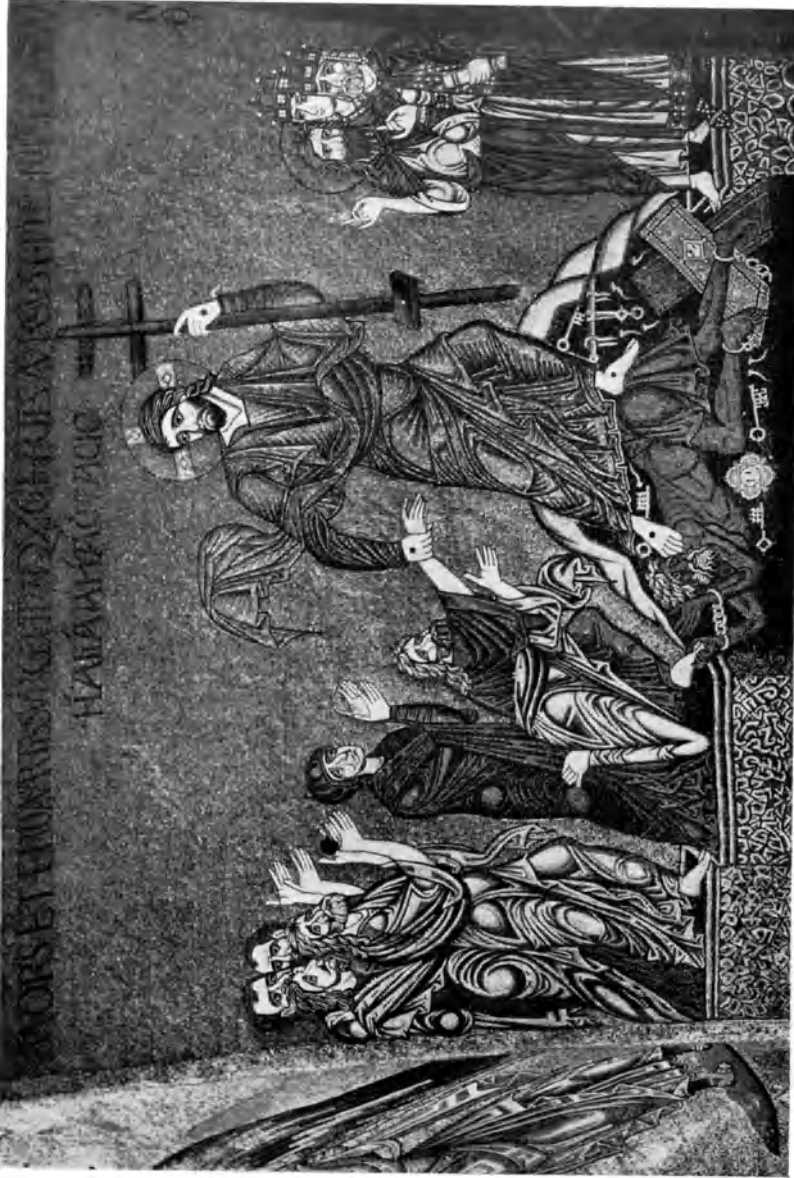


Fig. 110 The Descent into Limbo. Mosaic of the middle of the XII century. S. Marco, Venice.

Photo Alinari

in style though I admit the presence of those slightly Italian elements which Prof. Venturi finds in all the mosaics executed in Venice. These elements are only faintly evident in the representations from the Book of Genesis which adorn the eight vaults of the atrium with the stories: I, of the Creation with Adam and Eve; II, of Noah; III, of Noah's drunkenness and the tower of Babel; IV, of Abraham; V, VI and VII, of Joseph, and VIII, of Moses ⁽¹⁾; but they become more obvious in the only old portion of the decoration of the facade, depicting the transport of the relics of St. Mark to his basilica, a picture which offers us a view of the original aspect of the church, and which Signor Testi believes was executed in 1250—'75: a date which seems quite admissible. We find a similar style of execution in the mosaics of the Descent of the Holy Ghost in the western dome and the Ascension in the central one. The Italian factors become quite evident in the gallery of the chapel of S. Isidore, where are represented the following scenes: the Lord asleep in a boat on a rough sea, and, in the same picture,



Fig. 111 The miraculous catch of fish.
 Mosaic of 1250—75 S. Marco, Venice.

Photo Alinari

stilling the storm; the Curing of the Palsy, and of the Dropsy, and the miraculous Catch of Fish ⁽²⁾ (fig. 111) The artist to whom we owe these works only distantly followed his Greek predecessors

I shall not enumerate more of the countless mosaics which this wonderful building contains, but from what I have said, if my dating be right, we come to the conclusion that during the 12th century real Byzantine mosaics were made in Venice, but that national characteristics were making their influence felt. Very

⁽¹⁾ *J. J. Tukanen*, *Le rappresentazioni della Genesis in San Marco etc*, *Arch Stor dell' Arte*, I 1888 p. 212, 257, 348. *The Same*, *Die Genesismosaiken von S. Marco in Venedig*, *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, XVII Helsingfors, 1889 p. 207, has studied the connection between these mosaics and the much older miniatures of the Cotton Bible

⁽²⁾ This incident seems to be combined with the Sermon from the Boat.

likely many Venetians took up the art of mosaic making, although, as we shall see later, the Pope wrote to the doge of Venice in 1218 asking him to send Greek mosaicists for the ornamentation of S. Paolo-fuori-le-Mura, and as late as 1302 Florence made a similar request, so that Greek artists were even then still active in the City of the Lagoon.

The same diversity of opinion existing as regards the mosaics of S. Marco exists also in respect of those of Torcello. This is only logical, as all admit the striking resemblance between the two groups; yet notwithstanding the fact that the inscriptions at Torcello are partly in Greek and those of Venice in Latin, it has been suggested that they were produced by the same hand, for which theory — considering the resemblance between all Byzantine mosaics of this period — I see no reasonable support.

The principal decoration at Torcello is the enormous Last Judgment on the entry wall (fig. 112). Besides this we find, in the central apse, the Madonna, standing, holding the Child, and on a lower level the Twelve Apostles (fig. 113), while outside the arch are the two figures of the Annunciation. In the chapel of the Sacrament is represented the very old motive, which we have frequently encountered, of four angels, holding over their heads a medallion encircling the holy Lamb, against a background of garlands; and in the apse the Lord, enthroned, is depicted between two angels, beneath which composition are four figures of saints.

Although by a different artist, I do not think that any considerable lapse of time separates the apsidal decorations of this church from the mosaic of the Last Judgment (¹). I believe them both to be of the 12th century, the latter contemporary with the earliest mosaics existing in Venice and dating therefore from about 1150. The apsidal decoration may be earlier. The Last Judgment of Torcello is, I believe, the largest Byzantine mosaic picture in existence. It is composed of five tiers and shows us the Descent

(¹) I wonder what leads Prof *Venturi*, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, II, p. 429, to attribute the Last Judgment to the 9th century? *O. M. Dalton*, *Byzantine Art and Archeology*, p. 402, as well as *M. Diehl*, believes the Last Judgment to be of the end of the 11th century; but Mr. Dalton attributes the other figures in the apse to the beginning of this century. *L. Testi*, *op. cit.*, p. 82 etc. dates the former from the 13th century, the latter from the 12th.



Fig. 112 The Descent into Limbo and the Last Judgment. Mosaic *circa* the middle of the XII century. Cathedral, Torcello.

Photo Anderson

into Limbo, the Deesis — the Lord between the Virgin and St. John — surrounded by angels with the Apostles seated, and, in three tiers, the Resurrection from the Dead, the separation of

the Good from the Wicked, the Apocalyptic Throne, and the half figure of the Virgin, *orante*.

Although impressive and of great decorative value, the design and execution are rather coarse; the draping especially, on account of the elaborate and markedly schematic folds, is inferior to that of Venice.



Fig. 113. The Annunciation, the Madonna and the Apostles. Mosaic *circa* the middle of the XII century Cathedral, Torcello

Photo Anderson.

Somewhat more refined, but not less schematic, is a figure of the Madonna standing alone on a small platform, in the church of SS. Maria e Donato at Murano (fig. 114). It resembles the image in the apse of the basilica of Torcello, and no doubt belongs to the same period — the first half of the 12th century. The drawing of the features is very conventional.

The apse of S. Cipriano, another church in Murano, was also once adorned by an important mosaic, but this has now been transferred to the Friedenskirche of Berlin. It shows us the Lord enthroned amidst the Virgin, St. Peter, the Baptist, St. Cyprian and two archangels greatly resembling those in the composition of the Sacrament Chapel of Torcello. This work probably dates from the later 12th century. Very similar angels are found on either side of the Madonna in the apse of the cathedral of Trieste, in a mosaic whose composition strongly resembles that in the apse of the chapel of Torcello; even the ornamental design on the throne is the same (fig. 115). Below we find a row of Apostles; the vault is bordered by a series of squares containing half figures of angels. In the right apse the Lord is represented between SS. Justus and Servolus. This decoration is of a somewhat later date, probably approaching the year 1200. It shows great similarity to contemporary works in S. Marco, Venice.

A Madonna *orante* in the church of Sta. Maria in Porta, Ravenna, seems to be a work of the 13th century.



Fig 114. Madonna Mosaic of the first half of the XII century. SS. Maria e Donato, Murano

Photo Alinari.

More or less dependant on the Adriatic mosaics of the 12th century is that which adorns the apse of S. Ambrogio in Milan⁽¹⁾, where at an earlier date there had existed a series of portraits of the bishops of Milan and the north of Italy. Here we are no doubt dealing with an Italian imitation of the Byzantine manner;

(1) *Toesca*, op cit, p 128



Fig. 115. Madonna, Archangels and Apostles. Mosaic, *circa* 1200.
Cathedral, Trieste.

Photo Alinari.

we have already seen that in the 12th century Lombard artists rather favoured this school.

In the centre the Lord is seated on an elaborate throne, blessing with one hand and holding in the other an open book; from above two archangels fly towards him; at his sides stand SS. Protasius

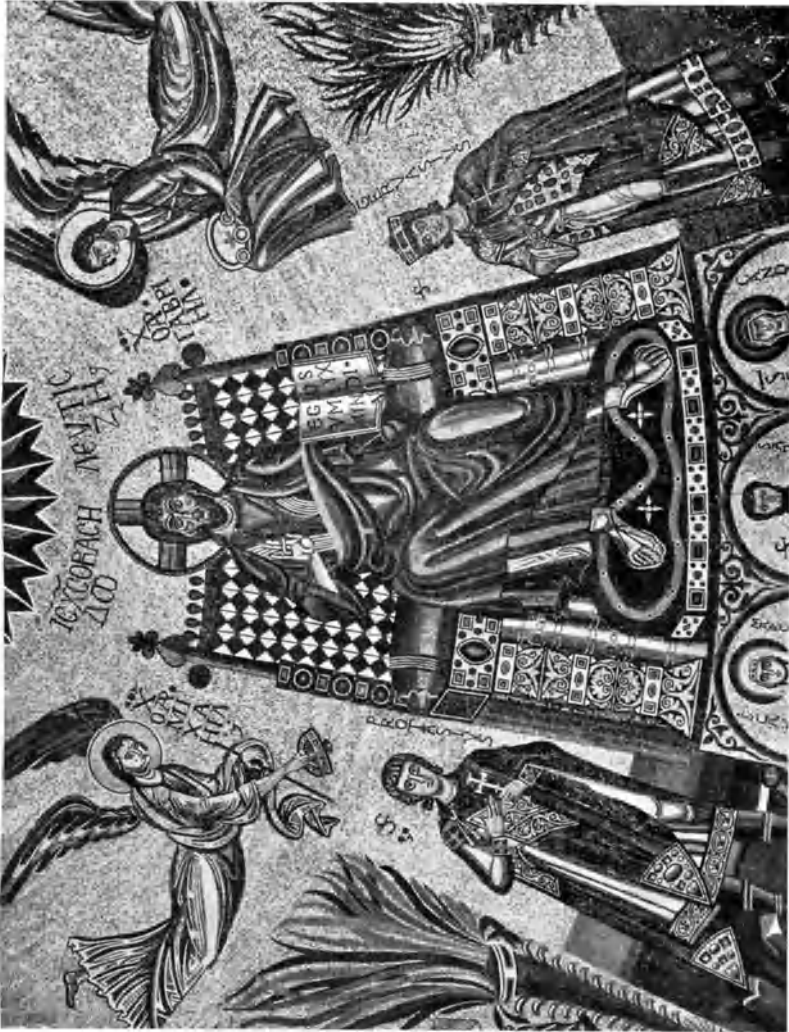


Fig. 116. The Lord enthroned, with saints. Mosaic, 2nd half of the XII century S. Ambrogio, Milan

Photo Alinari.

and Gervasius, while below are represented the busts of SS. Marcellina, Salirus and Candida (fig. 116). At either side is represented a scene of the miraculous appearance of St. Ambrosius, while he seems asleep during a mass at Milan, beside the deathbed of St. Martin at Tours. Both scenes are represented as taking

place inside a church, of which we see the outside as well as the interior; each mosaic is framed in two bending palm-trees. The inscriptions which we find here are some Greek and some Latin. The schematic design is disagreeably marked in the faces. This mosaic has suffered much from restoration, but the image of the Lord seems intact, while the figures near him are the best preserved. It is a work which has frequently been attributed to the 8th or 9th century, but more probably belongs to the second half of the 12th.

Going further south we find in Florence some purely Byzantine portable mosaics in the Cathedral Museum, each representing



Fig 117. Solsternus. Mosaic of the Deesis, 1207. Facade of the cathedral, Spoleto.

Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

six scenes from the Life of Christ, and the Bargello contains a half-length figure of the Saviour: but these may have been brought from the East, and so in all probability, were the not wholly dissimilar image of St. Demetrius at Sassoferato ⁽¹⁾, a St. Theodore in the Vatican Library, and a representation of the Virgin and Apostles in the Villa Borghese ⁽²⁾. In the museum of Cortona there is a mosaic of the Madonna which apparently once adorned the market-place; it is an inferior work of rude

execution, probably of the later 12th century.

Of purely Byzantine aspect is the mosaic on the facade of the cathedral of Spoleto ⁽³⁾ (fig. 117) representing the Deesis (the Lord between the Virgin and St. John). The head of the latter is slightly restored. This beautiful work is signed by an otherwise entirely unknown artist, "Doctor Solsternus", and dated 1207. It seems very probable that its author was not a native of Spo-

⁽¹⁾ Byzant. Zeitschrift, 1901, p 718

⁽²⁾ H. Muñoz, L'art byzantin a l' exposition de Grottoferrata, p 169

⁽³⁾ R. van Marle, Il mosaico del Duomo di Spoleto, Rassegna d' Arte Umbra, 1921. p. 102

leto, but rather a Roman for his mosaic work shows certain points in common with that executed some years earlier at Grottoferrata.

Here we find, above the entrance of the monastery, which is the property of Greek monks, another representation of the Deesis⁽¹⁾ with the Abbot Bartholomew kneeling at the Saviour's feet. Inside the apsidal arch is depicted the Etimasia, the Apocalyptic Throne amidst the Twelve Apostles, on whose heads descend rays of light, as in representations of the Pentecost (fig. 118). This latter mosaic is not without merit and probably dates from the latter years of the 12th century, while the Deesis might be a little older. Although the mosaic on the entrance-wall is not lacking in Italian elements, it is very likely that both were executed by Greeks, for it is obvious that artists of Greek nationality may have worked in this monastery.

Of the same date and equally Byzantine in workmanship are some panels to be seen in Rome and at Tivoli, such as the Madonna on the altar of Sta. Maria-in-Via-Lata⁽²⁾, and one in Sta. Maria Maggiore at Tivoli, or again, the picture of the Saviour in the cathedral of the same town⁽³⁾.

Mosaic floors of purely ornamental design — conventionalized animals — belonging to the Byzantine manner, which, as we have already remarked, are not rare in Calabria, will be found in the churches of S. Andrea near S. Demetrio Corona, Sta. Maria del Pater, in the choir of S. Nicola of Bari (1105—1123) and in



Fig. 118 The Etimasia. Mosaic of the late XII century. Abbey of Grottoferrata.

Photo Moscioni.

⁽¹⁾ *A L Frothingham*, Les mosaïques de Grottoferrata, Gazette Archéol., 1883

⁽²⁾ *Cavazzi*, op. cit., p. 63.

⁽³⁾ *Walpert*, Die Romischen Mosaiken und Malereien, pl. 244.

the abbatial church of Termiti. More or less important remains of similar floors are to be found in S. Marco, Venice, and in SS. Maria e Donato at Murano.

Some mosaics in South Italy containing decorative figures of equally Byzantine appearance have been mentioned as Benedictine productions.

The mosaics of Sicily⁽³⁾ are certainly more beautiful, and, with the exception of those at Monreale, more thoroughly Byzantine than any to be found in other parts of Italy.

The earliest were those in the cathedral of Messina, but even by the end of the 13th century they were almost completely renewed, while the earthquake of 1908 reduced the building to a ruin, and little remains of the decorations.

At Palermo, in the church of Sta. Maria dell' Ammiraglio, or, as it commonly called, the Martorana, built by Roger II's admiral, George of Antioch, and consecrated in 1143, we still find some very beautiful mosaics, the most important of which form the decoration of the cupola, which shows the Pantocrator surrounded by four angels, and lower down the Evangelists and prophets, the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Presentation in the Temple, and the magnificent representation of the Death of the Madonna (fig. 119); we also find here the badly restored figures of the founder in adoration at the feet of the Virgin, and several important isolated figures and medallions. The mosaic of Roger II being crowned by the Lord, although a genuinely Byzantine image, is probably of a somewhat later date than the rest of the decorations, and has not that purity of style which enchants the eye in the other mosaics, which, besides the refined elegance of the better productions of genuine Byzantine art, display also its magnificent richness and subtle transitions of colour. In comparing this decoration with masterpieces like the mosaics of Daphne, we may perhaps note a slight hardness of outline. The inscriptions are here all in Greek.

(³) *Di Marzo*, Delle belle arte in Sicilia dai Normani sino alla fine del secolo XIV, II Palermo, 1859, p. 36; *G. Clausse*, Basiliques et mosaïques chrétiennes, Paris, 1893 *Ch. Diehl*, L'art byzantin dans l'Italie méridionale, Paris, 1894 *A. Venturi*, Storia dell'arte Italiana, II p. 394 *G. Mallet*, L'art byzantin, p. 199. *Ch. Diehl*, Manuel d'art byzantin, p. 513 *O. M. Dalton*, Byzantine Art and Archeology, p. 405



Fig. 119. Death of the Virgin. Mosaic *circa* 1143 Martorana, Palermo.
Photo Alinari.

This complaint of hardness of outline cannot be made in respect of the mosaics of about 1148 in the cathedral of Cefalu, which rank with the best products of Byzantium. The vault is decorated with seraphim and angels; the apse has a half-length figure of the Lord in benediction, holding a book; beneath is the Virgin, orante between four archangels, while still lower the Apostles are depicted

in two rows; at the sides of the choir are eight saints, again forming two rows (fig. 120). The figures are solemn, but neither rigid nor monotonous; stately, but not without life and expression. The four holy warriors in their armour holding shield and sword are the most pleasing of all these fine figures; the richness and refined transition of colouring is of great beauty. The inscriptions are here partly in Greek and partly in Latin



Fig 120. Saints. Mosaic *circa* 1148. Cathedral, Cefalù.

Photo Alman

The mosaics of the Palatine Chapel in the royal palace of Palermo were not finished until about 1160. Here again the apse is adorned by a bust of the Saviour, below which is the restored figure of the Virgin enthroned amidst saints. Among the many images which form this beautiful ensemble I will mention the Lord and the Madonna, depicted in the lateral apses together

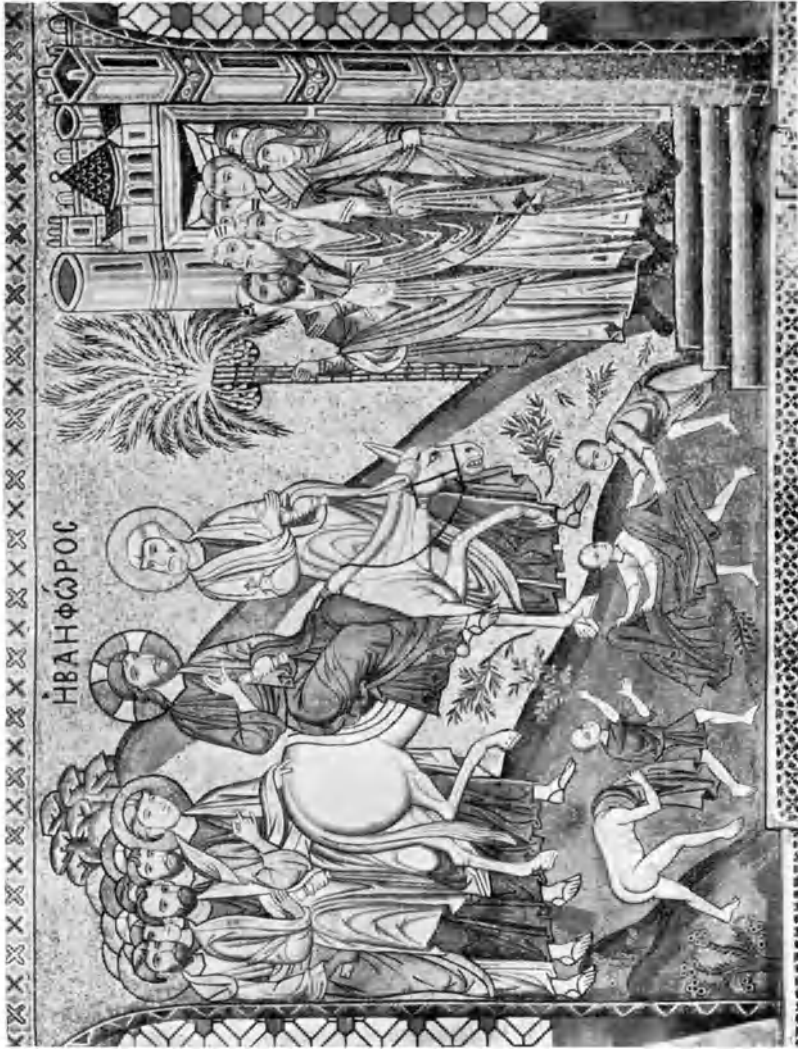


Fig. 121. Entry into Jerusalem Mosaic *circa* 1160. Palatine Chapel, Palermo.
Photo Alinari

with the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi; the Pantocrator in the cupola, the Descent of the Holy Ghost in one of the vaults, scenes from the New Testament which correspond with the twelve principal feasts of the Church (fig. 121) in the choir and transept, and episodes from the Old Testament and the Acts of the Apostles, which seem of somewhat later date, and not so

purely Byzantine, in the nave and aisles. The glory of this almost complete decoration is still further enhanced by the splendidly decorated ceiling of Saracenic workmanship. The quality of the mosaics, however, is not equal to that of the decoration of the Martorana, or of Cefalu, as conventionality and schematism have rendered them somewhat stiff and mannered.

Of about the same period (1154—66) are the mosaics in a room of the Palace of the Ziza, which was built by William I and is situated just outside the town. Besides a much restored ceiling of a purely decorative design, with figures of animals, like the mosaic floors of South Italy and of Venice, we see, in what is called the "Camera di Ruggero", on the upper parts of the walls, against a landscape background of trees, some hunters shooting deer and birds. A small decoration of the same kind will be found on the ground floor near a fountain⁽¹⁾. In the cathedral of Palermo there still exists over one of the doors a mosaic of the Virgin enthroned, with the Child on her knee which dates from the later 12th century.

The cathedral of Monreale⁽²⁾ contains the greatest extant group of mosaics executed in the Byzantine style⁽³⁾; these, however, cannot be regarded as pure Greek productions; some parts of the decoration of the choir might at the most be attributed to Oriental artists or their immediate followers. The decoration of Monreale provides us with the last of the Sicilian mosaics; the cathedral was built between 1174 and 1182, for William II, and no doubt the decoration is almost contemporary; it is obvious that we are here approaching the decadence of the Sicilian school. In the apse we find again a bust of the Lord in benediction, holding a book (fig. 122), beneath which the Virgin is enthroned between two archangels and saints. In the choir near the nave we see two representations of King William II; in one he offers a fantastic model of his church to the Virgin and in the other the Lord is depicted laying a hand on the king's head; these

⁽¹⁾ A fragment of a mosaic representing a lion beside a tree, in the museum of Syracuse, might have formed part of a similar decoration

⁽²⁾ *D. Gravina*, *Il Duomo di Monreale, Palermo, 1859.*

⁽³⁾ It comprises more than 6000 square metres of mosaic decoration. *Diehl, Manuel* etc p. 524.



Fig 122 The Lord. Mosaic 1174—82 Cathedral, Monreale.

Photo Alman

decorations are those which most nearly approach the true Byzantine style. In the two lateral apses we find the figures of SS. Peter and Paul with scenes from their lives. The principal decoration of the church, however, consists of a very long series of scenes from the Old Testament, which form two rows in the nave, while New Testament scenes adorn the transept and the aisles. In the

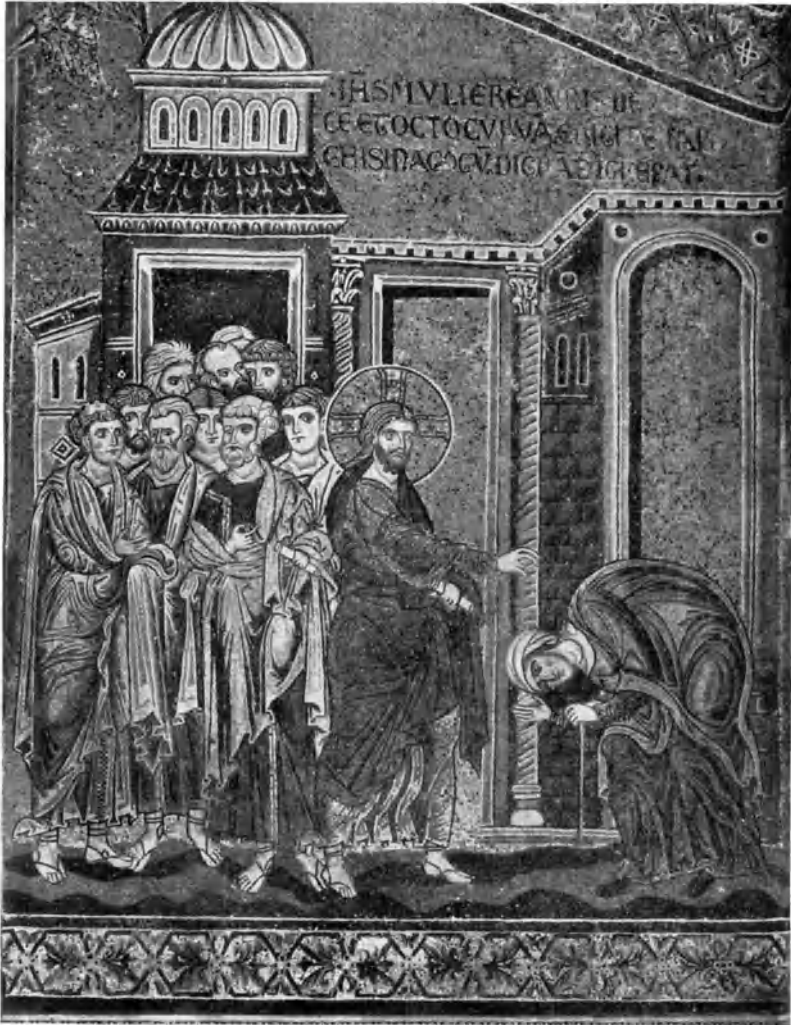


Fig. 123.

Curing of the hunch-backed woman. Mosaic 1174—82. Cathedral, Monreale.
Photo Ahnari.

former we find, also in two rows, the Childhood of Christ and the history of the Passion, and in the latter, for the most part, scenes of miraculous cures (fig. 123). Besides these series in all the intervening spaces, images of saints, either full length or half length figures are depicted.

No one will deny that the authors of these wonderful decora-

tions were inspired by the Byzantine school; but while this is very evident in the schematic design of the figures and the drapery, the types frequently differ from those which we are accustomed to find in real Greek work; this is especially the case in the scenes which illustrate the beginning of Genesis, but in many of the other pictures we find images foreign to the Byzantine tradition. The iconography, on the whole, remains true to Byzantium, although some small variations may be observed here and there; frequently the action is depicted with a lack of the characteristic Oriental austerity, and is not even always free from vulgarity; the gestures are too numerous and too violent, and the pictures have lost the tranquil dignity of the East. The inscriptions are in Latin.

Moreover, as I said before, the execution does not possess the refinement either of design or of colouring which we have found in earlier work. However, on entering this enormous building the impression of multicoloured splendour will always be overwhelming.

The mosaics of Monreale clearly mark the end of this art in Sicily; it originated about 1130, lasted some fifty years and ended in the weakening of the Byzantine style and an introduction of Italian elements.

A protracted term of Byzantine influence may also be observed in the decorations of the numerous grottoes of Southern Italy, the majority of which decorations date from the 12th to the 14th century, although some of it has been executed as early as the middle of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century. The grottoes referred to, containing the work of Basilian and other Greek monks, are found in the vicinity of Otranto, Taranto and Matera. Since the inaccurate account of Salazaro, these paintings, all of which I have not seen, have been minutely described by M. Charles Diehl and again by M. Berteaux (¹). They differ greatly from contemporary Byzantine work in other parts of Italy, and their influence, if any at all can be admitted, has been very limited; it will therefore be sufficient to mention the most important of these paintings.

¹) *Ch. Diehl*, *L'art byzantin dans l'Italie méridionale*, and *Berteaux* op. cit., p. 138-153

The earliest will be found in the grotto of Carpignano, where the Lord is represented seated on a jewelled throne, blessing with one hand and holding a book in the other. The work is crude and outlined in white; it is signed by a Greek painter and dated 959. An identical composition, but dated 1020, also adorns this grotto, while in a similar style and probably of the same period is a fresco of the Virgin and Child, the former of a hard, severe type.

Near Brindisi the crypt of Sta. Lucia contains an enthroned Madonna and Child of the 12th century and a large head of a saint, probably St. Nicholas, of the 13th, while some angels and saints with a Latin inscription on one side and a Greek one on the other are, according to M. Diehl, of the 14th century.

The crypt of S. Giovanni near S. Vito dei Normanni is decorated with a 13th century painting of St. John dressed in purple, between the Madonna and St. Clement in Papal vestments; the two saints are very ascetic-looking; the inscription is in Latin but with the Greek S(c). Also in this crypt, and thoroughly Byzantine in style is an archangel dressed in purple and gold and covered with gems; the inscription too is Greek, but the face, which is very beautiful, manifests an Italian influence.

In the neighbourhood of Brindisi and very near the above-mentioned cave is that of S. Biagio, in which the following frescoes are signed, and dated 1197: on the ceiling the Flight into Egypt, the Presentation in the Temple, the Annunciation, with the busts of David and Isaiah, the Entry into Jerusalem, and a large bust of the Lord, who, dark and austere, is represented blessing in the Greek manner and holding a Greek Testament, while around him are the symbols of the four Evangelists, Daniel, and Ezekiel. The iconography, as well as the inscriptions of these mediocre paintings, is Greek. Other frescoes in the same grotto, but of the 14th century, represent the Nativity of Christ, the Adoration of the Magi, with a miniature donor, Herod and the Magi, an animated scene of SS. George and Demetrius on horseback, each slaying a dragon, and yet another Nativity with women washing the infant Jesus, Joseph asleep, and the Shepherds and Magi, guided by an angel, approaching to adore the new-born Child. In the grotto of SS. Stefani, near Vaste in the Otranto region, most of the paintings are of the 14th century, and represent saints, many of Western origin: for example, St. Francis, and St.

Antony with his pig; or at least showing details which point towards a Western influence. Some of the frescoes are dated 1376, but in many cases have been repainted. A Madonna and Child in a niche, and numerous saints decorating the pillars, are also of this period; one, however — St. Philip — is much older, and may be assigned to the 12th century, to which period some other representations in this grotto also belong; one is of an impressive and beautiful Christ, dressed in red, between two tall archangels; others are the majestic and dignified figures of St. Nicholas and St. Basil, each holding a book; St. Gregory of Nazianzen with a cross, and a beautiful St. Michael in white and red. All are full of detail and strictly Eastern in type. The inscriptions are in Greek, and it is interesting to note that the paintings of the 14th century have retained a predominantly Byzantine character⁽¹⁾.

In this same region, near Supersano, we find the grotto of Celimanna, where some 14th and 15th century paintings of saints, notwithstanding their Greek inscriptions, belong to the Latin tradition; this is also true of the frescoes of S. Giovanni in Sepolcro near Brindisi. Paintings of the 11th century existed⁽²⁾ in a stable, formerly the church of Cento Pietre near Patù; and in the grotto dell' Annunziata near Erchie, where a St. George and remains of an Annunciation were at one time visible; but all have now been completely effaced.

The Carmine church near Ruffano contains a fresco of the 12th century, in which a figure of St. Peter, blessing and holding a book, closely resembles the figures of St. John the Theologian, and St. Nicholas as bishop, in the Lama di Villanova near Ostuni.

The paintings of the crypt of Veglia, to the west of Lecce, which are of the 15th century, manifest a curious mixture of Greek and Latin elements.

In the chapel of S. Stefano near Soleto a series of paintings representing saints, martyrs, and scenes of the Passion dates from the year 1347, but is of inferior workmanship; beneath some other frescoes of the same date earlier paintings may be detected, while an interesting representation of the Holy Trinity may, on account of its style, be attributed to the late 12th or early

⁽¹⁾ Since M. Diehl visited this grotto the paintings have been greatly damaged

⁽²⁾ When explored by M. Diehl

13th century. On the entry wall is an important Last Judgment, of Eastern iconography, which is, according to M. Diehl, one of the last efforts of the Byzantine school in South Italy.

The 13th century paintings in the Grotto di Candelora, representing a Presentation in the Temple, numerous saints, and a Madonna-orante with the Child, already testify to a Latin influence; whereas in the cave of S. Leonardo a painting of the 14th century, depicting the Lord enthroned, blessing in the Greek manner, with his feet resting on a book, between the Madonna and St. John, is entirely Byzantine and of unskilful execution; so too are an Annunciation, and several saints; while other figures appear to be even of the 16th century.

The paintings of the 14th century in the Gravina di Mottola near Tarento, where there are two representations of the Lord enthroned amidst the Virgin and St. John and saints, bear a Latin inscription. The frescoes in the principal grotto of the Gravina di Grottaglia, which, when M. Diehl inspected them, were in such a damaged condition that he could hardly distinguish the saints and Passion scenes represented, were once inscribed with the date 1392. In the same neighbourhood the Gravina di Palagianello contains, in the grotto called S. Girolamo, a Virgin and Child of the 15th century, with some older paintings more Byzantine in style. The frescoes of the Grotto S. Andrea, which, excepting one figure of St. Vitus, dated 1520, are all of the 14th century, display once more, in the representation of the Lord, with archangels and saints, the interesting combination of Greek and Latin elements also to be noted in the frescoes of the St. Nicholas cavern, which were executed between 1311 and 1444.

The 13th century decoration of the Gravina S. Giorgio, where in the niches are seen SS. John and Demetrius as Greek soldiers, and the Lord attended by St. George, St. Paul and a devotee monk, is of thoroughly Byzantine execution, although the inscriptions are in Latin. Similar characteristics, confirmed by a Greek inscription, were noted in the interesting paintings of the Cappella dei SS. Eremiti, which M. Diehl ascribed to the 12th century, but which have now unfortunately disappeared. In the grotto of Sta. Margherita near Casabrutta, besides paintings of later date, we find in the apse a bust of the Lord between the Virgin and St. John, a Madonna and Child in a niche, and, on a pillar, St. Michael, all

of which, although largely painted over, belong to the 12th century. The S. Nicola chapel was decorated in the 11th century with two Madonnas and numerous saints, unhappily almost all repainted; but the older stratum is sometimes found under the actual surface, proving that the renovations of the 14th century followed the original design. The inscriptions are part Latin and part Greek. Belonging to the earlier date is the figure of S. Nicola which decorates one of the pillars, but more important remains of the original paintings are found in the apse, where a half-figure of a thin, ascetic Christ-Pantocrator in benediction is attended by the Virgin and St. John.

Of the numerous paintings in and near Matera we shall only mention those which are previous to the 14th century. There is, in the grotto chapel of Sta. Sofia, a Madonna and Child with a Greek inscription of the 13th century, while in the apse of the Grotto della Madonna delle tre Porte is a Virgin and Child which may date from the 12th or 13th century; the Virgin, with a jewelled nimbus, is seated on a throne containing the traditional pointed cushions; the Child, whose head is encircled by a crossed nimbus, stands on her knee. The enormous head of Christ with a jewelled halo in the Grotto Sta. Lucia à Bradona is apparently of the 12th century.

M. Bertaux describes some early paintings which M. Diehl does not mention. S. Lorenzo near Fasano possesses a representation of a calm and beautiful Christ enthroned between a preoccupied-looking Virgin and a sad St. John, some angels, and several saints with individual features. More lifelike but of an art less refined than usual is the fresco of Christ attended by the Virgin, St. John, an angel and St. Philip in S. Michele, Monticchio, in the Basilicate region, somewhat resembling those in the SS. Stefani crypt. In the church of Nardo near Gallipoli a Latin inscribed fresco, dated 1249, of the Lord in benediction, seated and holding a book, reminds one of older works. Amongst other 13th century paintings there are representations of Pentecost, the Trinity, etc.

In Puglia, in the grotto of Castello near Barletta, frescoes of the 13th century, representing saints, alone or attending Christ and the Virgin Mary, display in their garments a Latin influence, which must be regarded as a local phenomenon only and must by no means be taken as a proof of a general acclimatiz-

ation of Byzantine art. M. Bertaux, however, believes this to be the first manifestation of an Occidental influence.

Although Benedictine monks lived in the Otranto district before the 14th century there is no evidence of their presence to be found in the numerous grottoes and crypts, whose decorations clearly belong to the Byzantine school. M. Diehl does not think that all these grottoes were adorned by Basilian monks; he does not even admit that they may have been pilgrimage chapels, but explains their existence by the presence of Greek monks, who congregated in subterranean dwelling places, or who lived in these caves, round a central chapel.

M. Lenormant ⁽¹⁾ believes that these frescoes, in view of their style and linguistic differences, may be definitely divided into two groups: the first comprising the work of Greeks in the 11th and 12th centuries, and the second the productions of a Latin school in the Otranto region in the 13th and 14th centuries; and although M. Diehl does not entirely agree with him, he admits that this may be true in general.

The fact that the mosaics and frescoes which we have dealt with in this chapter did not cause a Byzantine movement in Italian art, but rather created centres of Oriental traditions in Italy, which would not greatly facilitate the development of our subject, sufficiently explains why they have not been dealt with in greater detail in these pages.

⁽¹⁾ Notes archéologiques sur la terre d'Otrante, Gazette Archéol., 1881-2.

CHAPTER VI.

BYZANTINE AND FRANCISCAN INFLUENCES DURING THE XIII CENTURY IN PISA, LUCCA, FLORENCE, AREZZO AND PISTOIA. THE SPREAD OF THE FRANCIS- CAN CRUCIFIX ⁽¹⁾.

Two different events caused the existence of influences which were to be of enormous importance for the development of Italian painting during the 13th century. They were the fall of Constantinople and the apparition of St. Francis.

The former, which occurred in 1204, resulted in a new influx of Byzantinism into Europe. Not only did Western nations get

⁽¹⁾ The following pages were written a considerable time before the appearance of *O. Siren's* new book: *Toskanische Maler im XIII Jahrhundert* Berlin, 1922, actually dealing with the painters of Lucca, Pisa and Florence and, with the exception of the addition of a few works previously unknown to me, I have in no way changed my opinion on this subject. The numerous divergencies that the reader will observe in our respective writings are mainly due to our different methods. My conviction, which I expounded in the introduction to this volume, is that, in the case of the 13th century artists who not only were inspired by common models but frequently attempted slavish imitations, we require a particularly strong degree of similarity practically even identity of forms, before attributing different works to the same artist. In this respect Mr. Siren is more liberal, for in many instances where he ascribes a group of works to one artist, I differentiate between those of master and pupil, and where he speaks of painters and their schools it is in vain that I look for the connection entitling the use of the latter expression. I do not think that it is necessary to point out on each occasion where Mr. Siren and I hold different opinions. During the 13th century there were a great many artists but very few works of that period have been handed down to us. That several productions from one hand survive may happen, but it is exceptional, and this is another reason why, in dealing with the 13th century, we should refrain from making identifications and attributions, and from creating new artists as Mr. Siren has made a habit of doing.

into still closer contact with this art, on account of the occupation of the Greek Empire, which occupation was the cause of a rich booty of Byzantine artistic treasures being brought to Northern Europe, but also thousands of Greeks abandoned their unhappy fatherland, and Italy, was naturally, as on previous occasions, the first country into which they emigrated and settled. These two contemporary movements, which were not limited to Italy, explain why we discover, during the 13th century, a similarity of style between the painting of other European countries and of Italy. Both were tainted by the same Eastern elements. This time the aim of the emigrants seems to have been more especially Tuscany, with which province they had been in commercial relationship for many long years, through the seaport of Pisa, then Genoa's great rival on the Mediterranean shores. From the early 12th century onwards Pisa had held commercial and diplomatic relations with many towns of the East, with which none of the other Tuscan cities was in touch (¹).

The effect of the Franciscan movement was of a twofold character; besides the forms of art created by the enormous and daily increasing popularity of the order, which found expression in the decoration of churches, in pictures of saints and in the painted Crucifix, the veneration for which had been greatly increased and had even acquired a fresh aspect as a result of the miracle of the stigmata, one may say that the art of figure painting in general was influenced by the teaching of St. Francis and the effect produced thereby on the mediaeval mind.

While the unrealistic conception of Christ and the saints and the abstract mysticism of the age had produced the inhuman and symmetrical forms of Byzantine art, St. Francis' conception in which the beauty of all things created by God formed so large a part, led people once more to observe and admire this creation. In the religious conceptions of the early Middle Ages there was a good deal of unconscious dualism in which God was, in a certain sense, constantly dissatisfied with His creatures, while these creatures were considered in disobedience towards God; besides, all things material were looked upon as obstacles, as they

(¹) *G. Muller*, Documenti sulle relazioni delle città Toscane coll' Oriente cristiano e coi Turchi fino al anno 1531, Firenze, 1879, p. 1—109. *R. Davidsohn*, Forsch. zur Geschichte von Florenz, II, Berlin, 1900, p. 294.

captivated the attention with their unworthy interests, driving the divine thoughts from the human mind. Material creation, consequently, was highly undesirable, something thoroughly wicked, and Nature was condemned rather than admired, while her beauties were regarded almost as traps set by the Evil One to snare the human senses. I will not pretend that all these were explicit theological doctrines, but they formed part of the mediæval mentality and resulted in the asceticism of the time.

These ideas, however, were flatly contradicted in the sermons of St. Francis, who glorified Nature and her beauties as the work of God and praised Creation as being a reflex of the Eternal. St. Francis had a strongly developed sense of beauty, and the beautiful and the divine seem to have been in his unconscious pantheism all but synonymous. The idea that God's Creation was something wicked or despicable was, in his opinion, entirely erroneous. The effect of these theories on art may readily be understood, for they directly encouraged the study of Nature; the result was almost immediate and the reaction strongly marked. Whereas previously the central figures of worship were always represented as something apart from human nature, in this new-born art the artist seemed to make a strenuous effort to depict them as thoroughly human, without any distinction or difference in their physical appearance, sometimes even without beauty, as will presently be seen. This change was not confined to the plastic arts, but is also to be found in others; in poetry, for instance, the Franciscan Jacopone da Todi describes the Virgin Mary in the most human way, expressing quite tender feelings of love and admiration for the Mother of Jesus Christ. The orator, St. Antony of Padua, and the mystical narrator, Bonaventura, also took their images from daily life or from Nature, thus popularizing their teachings.

It was to the Franciscan movement that 13th century panel painting owed the numerous representations of the crucifix in which the Saviour was depicted dead on the Cross. This subject, although new to Italy, had already, from the 11th century onwards, been fairly frequent in Byzantium⁽¹⁾, where for more than a cen-

(1) *G. Millet*, *Recherches sur l'iconographie etc.*, p. 399. In 1054 the legatees of Leo IX reproached the Greek church with the representation of the living Christ on the Cross.

ture the Christ had not been represented alive on the Cross. It is, then, only a coincidence that the re-influx of Byzantine art into Italy brought with it this type of the Crucified, which at the same time was presented to their hearers by the Franciscan preachers. The conception expounded in their sermons, however, went further than the Byzantine idea. It was not on the death of the Lord but on His wounds that St. Francis meditated; and in Italy the Saviour dead on the Cross became the Redeemer of humanity, His body twisted in agony, His features distorted by suffering, although the style of execution did not undergo much change. Another outcome of the Franciscan movement was the great output of hagiographic painting, beginning with the image of St. Francis himself, to which scenes from his legend were soon added, while representations of other saints followed. The didactic aim of this art had, as in previous centuries, the result that the artist, in his desire to communicate the event to the public, accentuated expression and movement, giving a popular aspect to these works. To this group likewise, which might be called a late form of Romanesque art, a certain number of crucifixes belong.

We find Franciscan-Byzantine paintings of a similar style in Arezzo, Florence, Pistoia, Lucca and Pisa. The two latter cities, however, produced a somewhat isolated group of painters who mastered a finer technique and were more genuinely influenced by the Greek style, doubtless owing to a more direct connection with Byzantium. Those of Florence and Pistoia are somewhat more Italian and so, in a less degree, are those of Arezzo.

In documents of the 13th century various names of painters belonging to these cities are recorded. In Arezzo there is mention of a Michele in 1244, of Ristoro in 1262 and of Bruno in 1272⁽¹⁾. Florence has no record of painters before 1223, when we read of one Adamo, and in 1225, when we find Fidanze; then, except for the mosaics of the Baptistery, there follows a long silence until 1294-96, when a considerable number are mentioned⁽²⁾. In 1282, however, the association of painters is spoken of as being subordinate to and forming part of more important corporations⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *U. Pasqui*, Pittore aretini and *G. F. Gamurri*, I pittori aretini del anno 1150—1527, *Rivista d'Arte*, X, 1917—18, p. 32.

⁽²⁾ *R. Davidsohn*, op. cit., III, N^o. 986, 987, 1132—1143, 1216.

⁽³⁾ *R. Davidsohn*, *Geschichte von Florenz*, II, Berlin, 1908, p. 215.

Besides Coppo di Marcovaldo and his son Salerno, Pistoia possessed Schiatta di Bonodito (1280), Puccino (1293-1320), Nanni di Ughetto (1295-96), Vanni di Orlandetto (1299) and Bettino (1300)⁽¹⁾. Besides the Pisan artists whose works have come down to us, and which we shall presently consider, we find mentioned the names of some miniaturists, and of the following painters: Gherardo (1228), Opissino (1257), Petruccio di Puccio (1295), who was to be apprenticed to Bertino della Marra of Florence⁽²⁾, and in 1299 Apparechiato di Lucca and Vincenzo di Pistoia⁽³⁾. These last three instances are of particular interest, as they show us that the artists of Pisa, Florence, Lucca and Pistoia intermingled.

In these cities three fairly distinct tendencies may be noted during the 13th century: firstly a revival of Byzantinism, only a faint connection with the Franciscan movement shown in the choice of subjects; secondly, the dramatic representation of the Lord on the Cross, likewise Byzantine in style, although less so than the foregoing, but Franciscan in spirit; and thirdly, the popular hagiographic style of painting, founded, as shall be seen on the Byzantine schematism, but Italian (popular) in feeling and execution.

I shall begin with the Byzantine group to which several mosaics in Florence and one at Lucca belong.

The oldest mosaic of this group in Florence is the much restored work which we see above the entrance of the basilica of S. Miniato, and which might be dated from the first years of the 13th century⁽⁴⁾ (fig. 124). If the right lateral figure were St. John the composition would be that of the Deesis. The Lord, Who reminds us of the figures in the Sicilian vaults, raises one hand in benediction, and holds a book in the other; the Madonna makes a stiff gesture, while the other personage offers a curious

(1) *P. Bacci*, Documenti Toscani per la storia dell' arte, I, Florence, 1910, p. 94.

(2) *I. B. Supino*, Arte Pisana, p. 250.

(3) *A. Da Morrone*, Pisa illustrata nelle arte del disegno, 2nd ed., I, Livorno, 1812, p. 154 note.

(4) *L. Damis*, La Basilica di S. Miniato al Monte, Bolletino d'Arte del Ministero della P. Istr., 1915, p. 217. The pillars of the throne remind us of those of the chair of the Madonna in the apsidal mosaic of Sta Francesca Romana in Rome.

object, which, on comparing it with the corresponding figure in the apse, we discover to be a cross; in this case the figure may be that of St. Miniatus, as we find him in the apse; but this detail does not seem original, and it may well be that the painting is a representation of St. John.

In 1225 "frater Jacobus" of the Franciscan order -- who certainly cannot be identified with Jacopo Torrita, who was working in Rome at the end of the 13th century, although Vasari calls him,



Fig. 124. The Deesis. Mosaic, beginning of the XIII century S Miniato, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

for unknown reasons, Jacopo da Turrita, — signed the mosaics which are still to be seen in the apse of the Baptistery of Florence (1). It is curious that the inscription should mention the order of *Saint Francis*, since in the year 1225 the "po-verello" of Assisi was still alive. It may, however, be assumed either that the inscription was added some time after the work was executed, or that it under-

went a slight rectification after the canonization of St. Francis had taken place. I do not think, however, that we have any reason to doubt the date given, which corresponds perfectly with the style of the work. The conception is original, although early Christian elements are apparent. Four kneeling figures seem to support the vault, which is occupied by the Twelve Apostles grouped around a central medallion containing the Divine Lamb. On the sides of the vault we see the Virgin enthroned, with the Child (fig. 125), and St. John the Baptist, while prophets and patriarchs, framed and isolated, adorn the entrance arch. The style of execution is here almost purely Byzantine, and somewhat schematic in quality.

We have documentary evidence that in 1271 preparations

(1) *R. Davidsohn*, *Das älteste Werk der Franziskaner Kunst*, *Repert f Kunstwiss.*, XXII The stanza of eight lines of verse in which the artist's name, and qualities are described, as well as the date of execution, is given by *Milanesi* in his edition of *G. Vasari, Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, I, Firenze, 1878, p 340, note.



Fig. 125. The Madonna Mosaic of 1225. Tribune of the Baptistery, Florence.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 126. The Last Judgment. Mosaic of the first half of the XIII century. Baptistery, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

were made for the execution of mosaics for the cupola of the Baptistery; but this does not prove the impossibility of already existing mosaics. On the contrary, it hardly seems likely that the decoration of such an inconspicuous place as the apse is here, was

the only work originally undertaken. It seems to me that although not from the hand of Frater Jacobus, the scenes representing the Last Judgment and the angelic hierarchies, which occupy the upper division of each of the eight sections of the Baptistery wall, approach more closely, both in period and in style, the mosaics of the tribune than any others made after 1271, and it is likely that this part of the decoration was executed in 1225 or slightly later.

In the first of these compartments — that above the apse — we see in a mandorla an enormous figure of the Lord seated on a rainbow, dividing the chosen from the damned; beneath His feet are the dead arising from their tombs; while above this, He is again represented attended by four seraphim. The upper portions of the compartments on either side of this contain a group of angels led by one blowing a trumpet, while beneath them, is a row of Apostles with the figure of the Madonna on the spectators left, seated on a richly decorated bench, over the back of which appear heads of angels (fig. 126). Still lower, on the left, the saved are led by an angel through a gate behind which Abraham and two other patriarchs receive them in their bosoms, while on the right the wicked are seen in Hell, being devoured by the Devil (fig. 127). At the top of each of the eight mosaic decorations which line the cupola of the Baptistery two members of the celestial hierarchy are represented, the Powers and Dominations, together with archangels etc., while the vault itself is adorned with a garland, below which are depicted deer, birds and lambs.

The purely decorative mosaics are more difficult to date with precision, but it seems obvious that the figures of this part are executed in a much more archaic style than the rest of the decorations of the cupola. Exception may be made for the Apostles on the left, who appear to have undergone some later transformation. All the other figures show a tendency toward an extremely schematic style of drawing in their attitudes and their drapery, their cheeks are marked by red patches. Comparing this part of the mosaic decoration with the rest, I believe that a difference of about half a century must be admitted.

Documents inform us that mosaics were made for the dome of the Baptistery in September 1271; that in March 1272 money was collected for this purpose, and that in 1281 more funds were



Fig. 127. The Wicked at the Last Judgment. Mosaic of the first half of the XIII century. Baptistery, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

required. In 1301 two artists, Bingus and Pazzus, were dismissed on account of misappropriating material, while Master Constantinus and his son were commissioned to work constantly on the mosaics and to invite other artists from Venice to assist them ⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *R Davidsohn*, *Forschungen zu Gesch. v. Flor*, IV, p. 462.

There is no mention in any of these documents of Andrea Taffi, who, according to Vasari, assisted by the Greek Apollonius, whom he brought from Venice, should have worked here. Some connection, however, does exist between Vasari's statement and the fact that the building commission of the Baptistery proposed to summon artists from Venice, while Del Migliore informs us that he saw a contract of 1297 in which the name "magister Apollonius pictor Florentius" appeared (1). Again, a comparison of the styles of Venetian and Tuscan mosaics would help to confirm Vasari's assertion concerning the otherwise wholly unknown Andrea Taffi, to the effect that this artist worked in the church of S. Marco in Venice as well as in Florence and Pisa.

The mosaics in the dome of the Baptistery, which, as we saw, were begun shortly after 1271 and were not completed by 1301, are composed of four rows, each of three scenes, in five of the eight divisions of the cupola, thus making in all sixty pictures.

The top row is occupied by scenes from the Book of Genesis, the stories of Adam and Eve (fig. 128), Cain and Abel, and Noah's Ark; the second contains the story of Joseph, beginning with his dream and continuing in detail until his final meeting with his father; then follows the history of the Lord, from the Annunciation until the scene of the Holy Women at the Empty Sepulchre, and lastly the life of St. John the Baptist, from the angelic message to Zacharias until his entombment (figs. 129-130).

These compositions, although all of good Italo-Byzantine workmanship, show some differences in execution. The first three divisions on the right of the Last Judgment are considerably finer



Fig 128 The Creation of Eve. Mosaic after 1271 Baptistery, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

(1) *Vasari-Milanesi*, I, p 340.

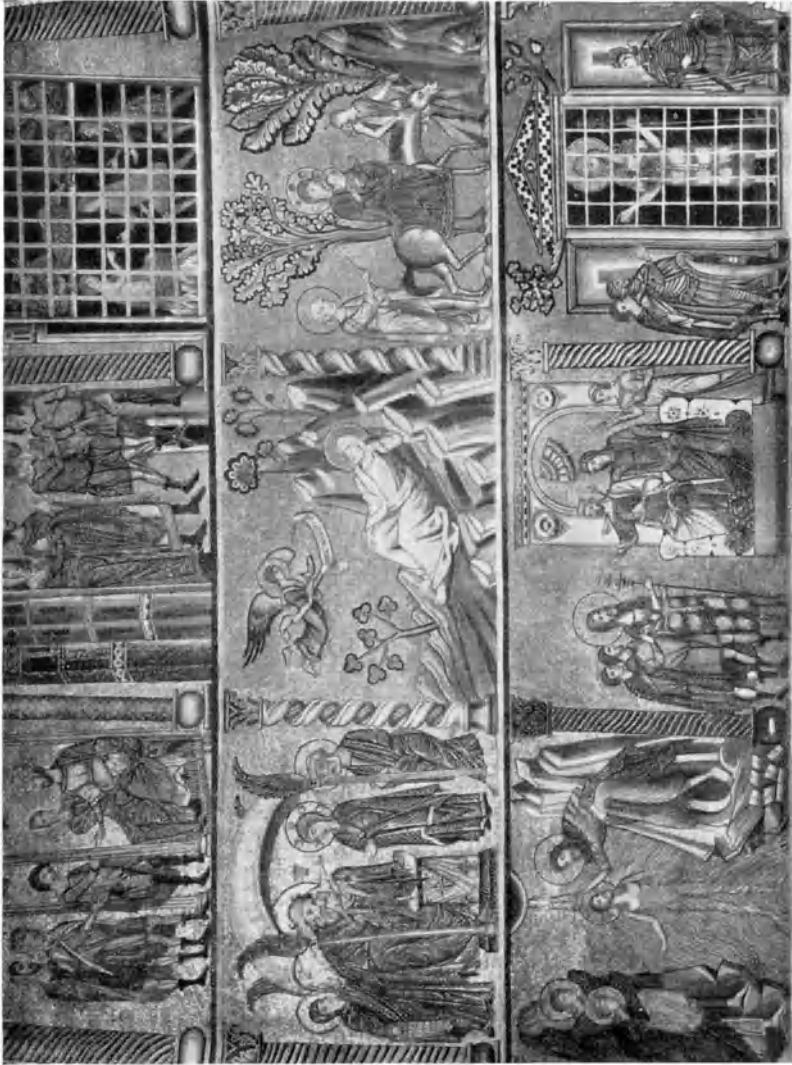


Fig. 129. Scenes from the Lives of Joseph, the Lord and St. John.
Mosaic after 1271. Baptistery, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

and more Byzantine in execution than the rest, and here the second and third (fig. 131), are by a different and a better artist than the first. The fourth, which shows us certain scenes from the Life of Christ—the Massacre of the Innocents, the Last Supper



Fig. 130. Detail of the Nativity of St John. Mosaic after 1271
Baptistery, Florence

Photo Alinari.

and the Betrayal of Judas — does not, especially in the lower part, reveal the same refinement of design, though the figures are larger and more animated. I should be inclined to admit a rather considerable interval in the execution of these mosaics, which must date from about 1300, the previous ones, probably having been made soon after 1271. The two upper rows of this



Fig 131. Detail of St. John before Herod. Mosaic after 1271.
Baptistery, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

division may have been executed during the interval. In the fifth division we find no difference in style between the various tiers; they all seem to be the work of one artist, who, although probably not the same as the mosaicist who executed the two lower rows of the previous compartment, approaches him very closely as regards his style.



Fig. 132. The Lord between the Virgin and St. Miniatus. Mosaic 1297.
S. Miniato, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

In the apse of S. Miniato al Monte we find a dated but much restored mosaic of 1297⁽¹⁾; the same year, according to Del

⁽¹⁾ *Danu*, op. cit.

Migliore, in which the painter Apollonius was mentioned in a document as "pictor Florentius", for which reason some critics and historians have ascribed this mosaic to him.

The composition of the subject here represented is that of the Deesis (fig. 132). The principal figures, and their attitudes, are identical with those to be seen on the facade. The decoration of the apse, however, is much more elaborate; the symbols of the Evangelists surround the throne of Christ; at the sides, beyond

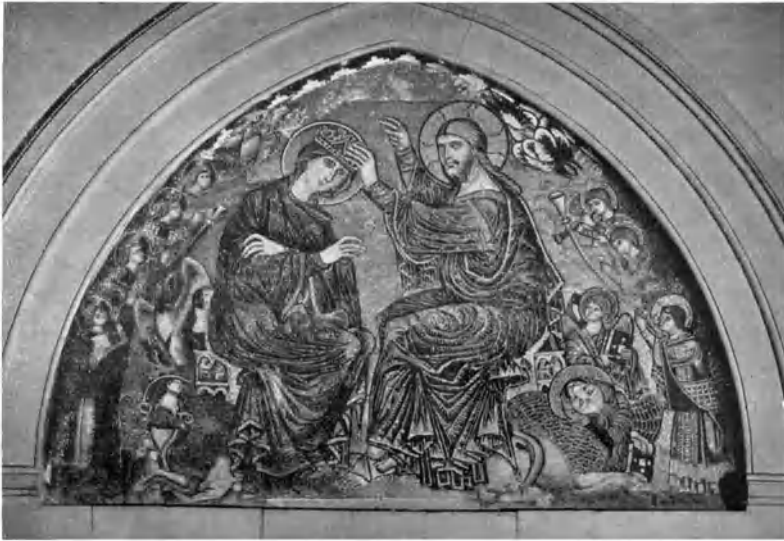


Fig. 133. Coronation of the Virgin. Mosaic of the end of the XIII century. Cathedral, Florence.

Photo Almari.

the figures, trees are represented, birds are shown on the ground, and on the left we see a small figure of an adorer; a row of medallions containing whole and half-length figures surrounds the mosaic. The numerous inscriptions which fill up the background inform us that the male figure on one side is not that of St. John, but the saint to whom the church is dedicated, who is seen here offering his martyrdom to the Saviour. This work is hard and rigid in design, the figures are lifeless, and the expression of the Lord severe and terrible.

Vasari attributes to Gaddo Gaddi the mosaic of the Coronation of the Virgin, which fills a lunette over the entrance of the Flo-



Fig 134 The Ascension. Mosaic of the first half of the XIII century.
S. Frediano, Lucca.

Photo Alinari

rence cathedral (fig. 133). The group is surrounded by angelic musicians and seraphim, while at the feet of the principal figures are two chimerical lions, reminding us somewhat of the symbols of the Gospel-writers in the apsidal decoration of S. Miniato, with whose style of execution, however, this mosaic has nothing in common. On the other hand, I find so much resemblance between



Fig. 135. Coppo di Marcovaldo, Madonna, 1261. Servi Church, Siena.
Photo Anderson.

this work and what I believe to be the most recent of those in the Baptistery, that I do not hesitate to admit that the author of the Coronation participated in the execution of the latter, so that it may be that Gaddo Gaddi at one time worked in the Baptistery.

The only Tuscan mosaic of this group outside Florence is that which decorates the facade of S. Frediano at Lucca (fig. 134).

Few of those who mention this work have realised the fact that it represents the Ascension, which perhaps is not at once obvious, owing to an ornamental border which separates the lower from the upper part. In the upper part the Saviour, seated on a throne within an aureole, is carried by two angels, while beneath this are the Apostles in a row, gesticulating, so that we find in this composition elements known to us since the execution of the fresco of S. Clemente and other 11th century Roman paintings. I have been told that in an old description of Lucca there is mention of a figure of the Madonna amidst the Apostles; but the site which it probably occupied is now filled by a window. This mosaic is of inferior quality, and the figures are distorted by stereotyped draughtmanship, but the effect is highly decorative. Probably it is contemporary with the work of Frate Jacobus in the Baptistery of Florence, and is consequently of the first half of the 13th century.

With these mosaics of Byzantine inspiration we may connect a considerable number of panel paintings made in Florence. In this case also we have the name of a painter and a dated work, for the artist Coppo di Marcovaldo⁽¹⁾ signed and dated the Madonna called "del Bordone" now in the Servi church of Siena: *MCCLXI Copus di Florentia me pinxit* (fig. 135). At least, such is the information given us in a description of Siena of 1625, perhaps by Fabio Chigi, afterwards Pope Alexander VII⁽²⁾; but the inscription has now disappeared. H. Thode is the only writer who has expressed some doubt as to the accuracy of this statement, and believes the

⁽¹⁾ *P. Bacci*, Coppo di Marcovaldo e il figlio Salerno pittori Fiorentini e prete Insalato di Jacopo, *L'Arte*, 1900, p. 32 and republished in *Documenti Toscani per la Storia dell'Arte*, II, p. 1.

⁽²⁾ Manuscript in the Siena library.

panel to be the work of Guido da Siena⁽¹⁾. Thode's mistake, however, is easily explained, as Guido's Madonna and Coppo's were both repainted by a follower of Duccio, so that now they have more or less the same appearance; moreover, the two paintings must originally have shown many points of similarity in their composition, as we shall presently see is the case with many Tuscan Madonnas of the 13th century. How the Florentine painter, who in 1260 was still mentioned as being in his own city, was, after the fierce battle of Monteperto, between the Florentines and the Sienese, suddenly translated to Siena, is something of a problem. It has been conjectured that having been taken prisoner on the occasion of this battle, in which he certainly took part, he was allowed to exercise his trade in the victorious city. The conditions under which the prisoners were kept does not seem to exclude this possibility⁽²⁾.

From 1265 onward Coppo di Marcovaldo is found only at Pistoia, where he might have taken refuge from the strife of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, and where he painted a chapel in the cathedral, at which work he was still occupied in 1269, assisted by a Pisan artist of the curious name of Prete Insalato, whom we find still alive in 1295. In 1274 Coppo is commissioned with his son Salerno to paint a crucifix and two panels representing the Virgin and St. John for the choir of the cathedral, and a crucifix and a figure of St. Michael for the altar of this archangel.

Coppo's son, who was imprisoned for debt, was even set free to co-operate with his father in this considerable enterprise. In 1275 there is mention of a beam which was to be placed above the choir, so that the decorations must have corresponded with what we find represented in two of the frescoes of the Franciscan legend in the Upper Church of Assisi. In 1276 Coppo is mentioned for the last time as having worked for the cathedral.

From 17th century authors we know that Coppo's Madonna at Pistoia had small scenes around the principal figure, that it was dated 1275, and was placed on the altar. Even in the year of its execution it was already venerated, for regular gifts of

⁽¹⁾ *H. Thode*. Studien zur Geschichte der Italienischen Kunst im 13^{ten} Jahrh., Repert. f. Kunstwiss., XIII, 1890, p. 13.

⁽²⁾ *C. Paoli*, Il libro di Montaperti, Florence, 1889.

oil were bequeathed to the church, to be burned in front of the picture.

We have, then, as an authentic work of Coppo's, the almost entirely repainted Madonna of Siena, while of the pictures painted by him and his son together, only the crucifix remains. Judging from this last we should class Coppo amongst the good artists of the Byzantine tradition, but I do not think this justifies our regarding him, more than any other painter of this group, as the master of Cimabue⁽¹⁾, although he was certainly the older man. The fact that his son co-operated with him in 1274 makes it probable that he himself was born at least fifty years earlier; his principal period of activity must consequently have been the third quarter of the 13th century.

The Madonna of 1261 shows us a composition differing only in minor details from a painting of Guido da Siena's dating from 1221 with which we shall deal later on, and which seems to me the prototype of all these large enthroned Madonnas, to which type the Madonnas of Cimabue, Duccio and Giotto really still belong. But Guido depicts the Virgin with her right hand open in front of her body — a Byzantine detail frequently found before this date, and repeated by numerous followers — while Coppo shows her making the much more extraordinary gesture of holding the Child's foot in her hand. This is a detail which we find in Sienese Romanesque art, but which in the latter half of the 13th century seems rather a characteristic of the Florentine Madonnas. Such is also the case with the small figures of angels seen in entirety above the back of the throne, common in the earlier works, but which the later painters replaced by half-length figures.

Besides the attitudes in general and some gold embroidery on the robe and shoe of the Madonna, only the throne has been preserved. In it we find again the curved line of the back known to us from the mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo of Ravenna and other contemporary works. A fleur-de-lis ornament terminates the upper part of the back of the throne.

This Madonna offers us too few original elements to enable us

(1) *K. Frey, Le Vite di Giorgio Vasari mit kritischem Apparate herausgegeben*, I, Munich, 1911, p. 432

to decide what part Coppo took in the execution of the crucifix which he made in co-operation with his son, or whether we owe it entirely to the one or the other. The features of the Saviour, with the projecting lower part of the face, are characteristic of these artists; the expression is agonized, but the execution is



Fig. 136. Salerno di Coppo di Marcovaldo(?),
Madonna Servi Church, Orvieto.

Photo Raffaelli-Armoni.

finer and the general spirit not so dramatic as in the works of Giunta and his followers. On the left we find represented the Betrayal of Judas, the Flagellation, and the Descent from the Cross, and on the right the Saviour before Caiaphas, the Entombment, and the Holy Women at the Empty Sepulchre: all equally good and refined as regards their technique.

Curiously enough, we find at Orvieto a crucifix and a Madonna which show striking points of resemblance with the Madonna of Siena and the crucifix of Pistoia. The cross, which is preserved in the museum of the cathedral, has no lateral scenes, but the features of the Saviour are very similar to

those on the Pistoia crucifix of 1275. The Madonna of Orvieto will be found behind the altar of the Servi church, and is hardly visible (fig. 136); we can, however, make out that the gesture of the Madonna, who is holding the foot of the blessing Child, is identical, and also the shape of the back of the throne; but the woven gold drapery seems to fall into more angular folds, and the two angels are not seen in their entirety, but only as half-length figures appearing over the back of the Madonna's



Fig.137. Coppo di Marcovaldo (?), Madonna. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.



Fig. 138. Madonna, later XIII century Sta. Maria Maggiore, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

throne. I should imagine that the general aspect of the Sienese panel was originally slightly more archaic. If this be so it would lead us to believe that not Coppo but his son Salerno might have executed, if not the Pistoia crucifix, at least the two panels at Orvieto.

Another Madonna, which I think must have borne an even closer resemblance to the panel of 1261 in its original condition, now forms part of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin (no. 1663) (fig. 137)⁽¹⁾. Again we find the same attitude, with two small angels seen in full length in the upper part of the picture. The back of the throne does not bulge outwards at the sides, but the lower part is similar and it looks as though the cushion, which is curiously finished off at either end by three points, plainly visible in the Berlin Madonna, may originally have been identical with those in the Sienese painting. The gold drapery also is the same, and I think it quite possible, despite the greater refinement of the Berlin panel, and slight differences in the proportions, that the two Madonnas are by the same artist.

This picture is extremely refined and worthy of a good Italo-Byzantine artist, but there are also marked Italian elements in the features of the different faces, and in the general feeling and spirit of the picture. In its general aspect it shows many curious points in common with the finest and most Byzantine-looking mosaics of the Baptistery of Florence, which I believe to have been made shortly after 1271⁽²⁾, which date may provisionally be ascribed to this fine painting.

These two works show some outstanding points of resemblance to the figures and scenes which, in Sta Maria Maggiore, Florence, surround the so-called "Virgine del Carmelo", a wooden relief of the Madonna seated on a painted throne and holding the Child on her lap (fig. 138). The throne has in this case no back, but the cushions are identical with those of the panels of Siena

⁽¹⁾ I formerly believed this panel to belong to the group of paintings, executed in Siena in the refined Byzantine style (v. *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1921, p. 265) but I have since changed my mind

⁽²⁾ We note a striking similarity in the manner in which the forms are revealed through the drapery; compare, for example, from this point of view, the Madonna with the figure of the servant in the mosaic of the Visitation.



Fig 139 Madonna, Tuscan school, 2nd half of the XIII century.
Gallery, Arezzo.

Photo Anderson.

and Berlin, and here too a pair of full-length, but somewhat larger, angels stand in the background. On either of the vertical sides of the frame four figures of saints are depicted, and on the horizontal sides there are two; probably they represent the Twelve Apostles. Below the feet of the sculptured Madonna we find the Annunciation, and the three Women at the Empty Sepulchre; the former is identical with the representation of the same scene in the Baptistery. This work likewise, in its execution, is entirely dominated by the Byzantine manner, and the Italian characteristics are even less evident than in the Berlin panel.

Also very closely connected with the mosaicist who worked in the Baptistery of Florence was the painter who executed the two panels, likewise in the Berlin Museum, representing the Visitation, the Nativity of St. John, Zacharias writing the name of his son and receiving the angelic message, the Sermon of St. John, and the Last Judgment ⁽¹⁾.

No doubt can exist that these paintings, the Madonna in the Sta. Maria Maggiore, the one in the Berlin Museum, the panels by Coppo and his son, and the mosaics in the dome of the Baptistery, form a little group characterized not only by the degree of its Byzantine inspiration, but also by its notable refinement of drawing and form.

I should like to mention here another Florentine work, equally an outcome of the Byzantine movement, and as fine in execution as those of the previous group, but later in date and more purely Italian in feeling. It is a little panel which adorns an altar on the left side of the same church of Sta. Maria Maggiore; it shows little more than the heads of the Virgin and Child, who are tenderly embracing one another. In the border twenty small busts of saints are depicted, adoring the central group, towards which several are turned. We obviously have here a later product of the movement which produced the previous group ⁽²⁾.

Of the Madonnas of which Guido da Siena's is the prototype

⁽¹⁾ O. Wulff, Jahrb. der K. Preus. Kunstsamml., 1916

⁽²⁾ Mr. Weigelt's attribution of this charming little panel to Meo da Siena seems to me utterly incomprehensible. S. K. Weigelt, Su alcuni dipinti di Meo da Siena non ancora riconosciuti, Rassegna d'Arte Senese, 1909, p. 101



Fig. 140. Madonna, Tuscan school, 2nd half of the XIII century.
Accademia, Florence.

Photo Alinari



Fig. 141. Madonna and Child, with Scenes from the History of Anna and Joachim, Pisan school, end of the XIII century. Gallery, Pisa.

Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

we find two examples in the region which we are now discussing: one is in the Gallery of Arezzo, (fig. 139) while the other was, until a short time ago, in the Uffizi, but is now in the Accademia of Florence (fig. 140). These two pictures, which attain the vast proportions of Guido's Madonna in the Palazzo Pubblico of

Siena, are so alike that one may be considered a free copy of the other; in both the Virgin is holding her open right hand before her body and carrying the Child in her left arm, on a large cloth; even the drapery of the Madonna's robes is the same, while the little Jesus is bestowing a blessing with one hand and holding a scroll in the other. The only slight differences to be noted are in the form of the throne. Although both pictures clearly belong to the Byzantine tradition, the Eastern characteristics are much more obvious in the Arezzo panel, in which the Virgin and Child have both quite an Oriental aspect, with dark shadows and a more markedly schematic design. On the Child's feet we see the narrow laces of His sandals, a Greek detail absent in the other picture; there is no doubt, however, that the Arezzo panel too is of Italian workmanship.

To the same group, though more elaborate and of later date, belongs a panel in the Pisa Gallery (figs. 141-144). It shows us the Madonna and Child in a similar attitude, but more freely rendered, seated on a gorgeous throne, over the back of which two half-length figures of angels appear, while beneath this a small figure is seen of St. Martin on horseback, dividing his cloak with the beggar, so that the picture may once have belonged to the church dedicated to this saint, which is still in existence in Pisa. Eleven of the lateral scenes, proceeding alternately to left and right, tell the story of St. Anna and Joachim, beginning with the Annunciation to the Mother of the Virgin and ending with the Nativity of the Madonna (¹). The twelfth depicts four full-length figures of saints.

(¹) From various details it is clear that the artist has followed the text of the Apocryphal Gospel of the pseudo-Matthew, who alone mentions the public present with Joachim and the priests at the altar, and is the only author to relate the conversation between the angel and Joachim respecting the sacrifice, which makes the presence of the angel, as depicted on the panel, comprehensible. Again, for the narrative of Joachim's dream in which the angel orders him to return to his wife (in other versions this is mentioned in the part dealing with the Annunciation), and Joachim telling the dream to the shepherds, the pseudo-Matthew is the sole source. These events are all unrecorded by the other Apocryphal Gospels, nor are they to be found in the Golden Legend; they are given, however, in the German "Passional" printed in 1471. (New ed. *Der Heiligen Leben und Leiden*, II, Leipzig, 1913, p. 255).

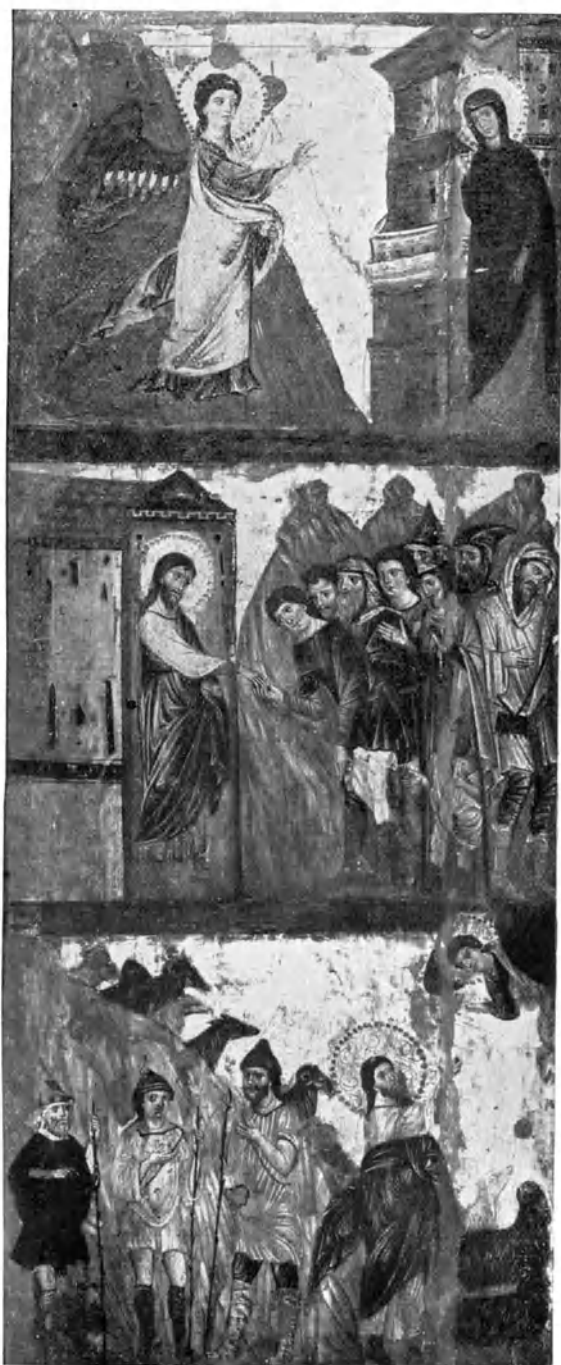


Fig. 143 Detail of fig. 141

Photo Minst. Publ. Istr.



Fig. 142. Detail of fig. 141.

Photo Min st. Publ. Istr.



Fig. 144. Detail of fig. 141.
Photo Minst. Publ. I-str.

The lateral scenes especially are very beautiful and of a refined technique but rarely met with. Besides the obvious Byzantine elements in the general style and their architecture, we find here and there figures which seem to be inspired by some classic model. This is especially noticeable in the fourth scene on the right, which represents Joachim returning with the shepherds. In the general feeling of this work, moreover, and in the style of execution, there is something broad and solid which strikes one as being un-Byzantine, but neither does present the characteristics of the Italian Duecento. We should not forget that when this picture was painted — during the last years of the 13th century — Niccolò Pisano had already revived the study of classical art in Pisa.

Four other important paintings of the Madonna of the Lamentation, of the type of the Madonna of the Lamentation, found in the Pisa. The is a small

I, no. 20) of refined execution are both purely Byzantine — their chief characteristic summed by the Madonna, whose hand she holds against her breast. In the Gallery (nos. 8, 13 reminds us in type of the beautiful picture with the twelve lateral scenes. In Pisa, too, in a chapel of the church of S. Martino, we find a lunette decorated with a Madonna feeding the Child, whose author has likewise felt the Byzantine influence.

An unimportant Italo-Byzantine Madonna will be found in the Bandini Museum at Fiesole (no. 4).

There are some crucifixes which, on account of their execution and their decidedly Eastern style, deserve to be classed rather with the group of works directly inspired by Byzantium than with the Franciscan crosses which followed the dramatic representations of Giunta Pisano.

Although the Byzantine iconography no longer admitted the



Fig. 145. Crucifix, half of the XIII Pisa.

Pisan school, first century. Gallery, Photo. Minist.

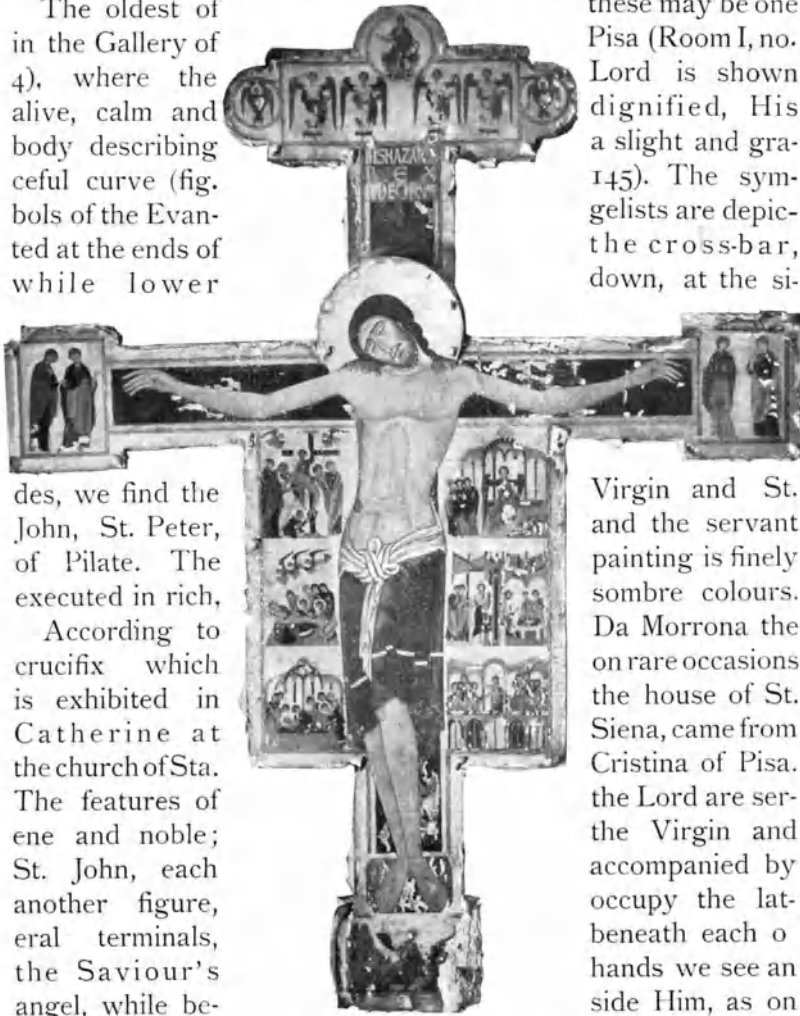
Publ. Istr.

less important paintings of the Madonna of the Lamentation may still be found in the Gallery at Pisa. The best of these is a small panel (Room 10, no. 20) of refined execution and attitude, as found at Siena; being the gesture as who holds her open. Of the other three panels (nos. 8, 13 and 22), the first reminds us in type of the beautiful picture with the twelve lateral scenes.

representation of the Saviour alive on the Cross, we find several Italo-Byzantine examples of this character.

The oldest of in the Gallery of 4), where the alive, calm and body describing ceful curve (fig. bols of the Evan- ted at the ends of while lower

these may be one Pisa (Room I, no. Lord is shown dignified, His a slight and gra- 145). The sym- gelists are depic- the cross-bar, down, at the si-



des, we find the John, St. Peter, of Pilate. The executed in rich,

According to crucifix which is exhibited in Catherine at the church of Sta. The features of ene and noble; St. John, each another figure, eral terminals, the Saviour's angel, while be- the 12th century ca, the two cruci- whose limbs broken, are represented.

Virgin and St. and the servant painting is finely sombre colours. Da Morrone the on rare occasions the house of St. Siena, came from Cristina of Pisa. the Lord are ser- the Virgin and accompanied by occupy the lat- beneath each o hands we see an side Him, as on crucifixes at Luc- fied thieves have been bro-

Fig. 146. Crucifix, Pisan school, middle of the XIII century. Gallery, Pisa.

Photo Brogi.

The Saviour is again depicted with open eyes in the crucifix now in the Bandini Museum at Fiesole; His features are very peculiar, but His large dark eyes are profoundly expressive. Here the

body is only slightly curved. The Virgin and St. John stand mourning on either side, while above the Saviour, the half-length figure of the Madonna is depicted between two angels. The execution is Byzantine in style, but less refined than in the previous example. Both probably date from the first half of the 13th century.

Of somewhat later date is the magnificently preserved crucifix which we find above the first altar on the right in Sta. Marta, at Pisa; it is a most beautiful work of art, in which the Saviour, markedly Oriental in type, with heavy black locks, is represented about two thirds life-size, straight but not rigid. At the extremities of the cross-bar the Virgin and St. John are seen, while just above the head of the Crucified we find a half-length figure of the Saviour. On one side are depicted the Betrayal of Judas, the Mocking of Christ, and the Descent from the Cross, while facing these are Jesus before Pontius Pilate, the Flagellation and the Holy Women at the Empty Sepulchre. The figures of St. Peter and Pilate's servant are seen at the feet of Christ. It is an excellent painting of a refined technique, but its author was completely under the influence of the Byzantine style.

In the basilica of San Miniato, just above Florence, there is a crucifix partly repainted and very badly damaged, but here too the Saviour is represented with open eyes, or at least so the attitude of the body leads one to suppose. The Virgin and St. John, on either side, manifest their sorrow, while two angels adorn the ends of the cross-bar. This seems to be a rather unrefined product of the Italo-Byzantine tradition.

The most important specimen of the crosses executed in accordance with the Byzantine tradition, in which the Lord is depicted dead, is one in the Gallery of Pisa (figs. 146 and 147). The head of the Crucified falls over on the right shoulder; the expression is sad but very peaceful, while the loin-cloth is uncommon, being of a dark material with a light border.

At the top of the Cross is the Lord, in a circle, and above this four angels and two cherubs; beyond the arms are seen two figures at either end, while the lateral panels contain, on the left hand, the Descent from the Cross, the Pietà and the Entombment, and on the right the Holy Women at the Sepulchre, the Meeting on the Road to Emmaus, the Doubting Thomas and the Descent into Hell. The artistic merits of this work are very great. The last

four scenes are depicted against a background of interesting architecture, while the second and third show graceful domes of Byzantine type. The angelic figures at the top of the Cross are especially fine, and the half-length figures of angels in the scenes of the Descent from the Cross and the Pietà very graceful. A



Fig. 147 Detail of fig 146

Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

profoundly religious feeling finds expression in the attitudes of the personages of the three scenes on the left, and is especially noticeable in the touching manner in which the Lord's arms are supported in the Descent from the Cross; another good example of the expression of feeling is the mingled awe and reverence

which the beautiful guardian angel inspires in the Holy Women at the Empty Sepulchre. All the additional narrative scenes are miniature-like in their execution, their meticulous detail and refinement.

Another large and very beautiful crucifix in the same manner hangs on the altar wall of S. Pierino in Pisa. The Lord is here life-size; His eyes are closed, and an expression of great suffering is depicted on His face. The body is markedly curved and the arms also are slightly bent. Above we find a representation of the Ascension in a mandorla, upwards by two angels, while between two half-length figures of the Virgin and St. John the Baptist. At the cross-bar are two half-length figures of the Apostles. At the feet of Christ is a kneeling figure of St. Peter, warming his hands before the fire which was burning in the courtyard according to the Gospel, the court-yard, and Pilate's servant.

The drawing is extremely schematic, with straight lines intersecting far as feeling is concerned, this cross is much

more advanced than those which depict the calm, dead figure of Christ, the drooping mouth and agonized expression revealing a more tragic but also a more demonstrative temper than any we have met with until now.

I believe this crucifix to have been executed about 1260 or 1280.

A still later instance of the same tradition is found in a crucifix without lateral figures in the Carmine church in



Fig. 148. Crucifix, Tuscan school, 2nd half of the XIII century. Carmine Church, Florence.

Photo Brogi.

which the Lord, is carried upwards by two angels, while the Virgin and St. Peter, sitting with hands before the fire which was burning in the courtyard and Pilate's servant.

of the features conventional or circles and curving. As concerned, this more advanced

Florence ⁽¹⁾ (fig. 148). The body of the Saviour forms a more pronounced curve, but the expression, although sad, is calm and peaceful; a small figure of a female saint, probably St. Clare, kisses the feet of Christ. This painting shows many points of resemblance to those of Deodato Orlandi, whom we shall shortly consider. On the other hand, it approximates in some respects to that which is sometimes attributed to Cimabue, but which, I believe, belongs merely to his school, in the refectory of Sta. Croce in Florence.



Fig 149. St. Anna and the Virgin, Pisan school, end of the XIII century. Gallery, Pisa.

Photo Biagi

There are still a few panels on which neither the Madonna nor the Christ on the Cross is represented, but which, by their style, belong to this movement, having been made under a strong Byzantine influence.

Closely analagous to the panels of the Madonna is a painting in the Pisa Gallery representing St. Anna with the Virgin in her arms (fig. 149). The Holy Mother is seated on an elaborate throne, behind which appear two half-length figures of angels. Her attitude is identical with that of the Virgin in the panels painted under the influence of Guido da Siena; the Infant Virgin holds both her hands in front of her.

It is a finely executed work, showing a strong Byzantine influence in the technique, although full of Italian feeling.

(1) *W. Suda*, *Einige Florentinische Maler aus der Zeit des Uebergangs vom Duecento im Trecento*, Jahrb. der K. Preus. Kunstsamml., 1905, p. 28. Herr Suda believes the following works to be by the same artist: the crucifix in the Carmine church; another in S. Stefano at Paterno, which I place with those that I believe to be inspired by Giunta Pisano, a Ducciesque Madonna at Crevole (near Siena) and the Rucellai Madonna in Sta. Maria Novella, Florence. Personally I do not think that any two of these works are by the same hand.

Of less importance are three other pictures in the same Gallery, and one in the Gallery of Parma; of the former, one is a small but wonderfully fine figure of St. Michael weighing souls (Room I no. 2), which, but for the Latin inscription, might pass for an excellent Byzantine work. Quite Byzantine in manner and style, but obviously provincial Italian, is an oblong panel (Room II no. 3) composed of five half-length figures — the Lord in the centre, the Virgin, St. Catherine, the Baptist and a holy bishop to the sides — divided by arcades and with angels in the spandrels. The robes are made of a woven gold fabric and the figures wear heavy jewels.

A painter of similar temperament was a certain Meliore, who executed a panel of the same form and style now in the Parma Gallery (fig. 149a). Besides bearing the signature "*Meliore me pinxit*", it is dated 1271. The five half-length figures are in this case the Virgin and St. Peter, St. John and St. Paul, with the Saviour in the centre, while the spandrels are adorned by figures of cherubim. The inspiration is here still more markedly Byzantine, and the execution more rigid. The old attribution to a Greek artist is obviously erroneous; no doubt can possibly exist as to the Italian nationality of its author. One might even agree with Prof. Venturi in identifying him as a Tuscan⁽¹⁾, but I do not find that any connection exists between him and Guido da Siena.

Somewhat superior in quality, but rather hastily executed, is a half-length figure of the Lord in benediction, in the Pisan Gallery (Room I, no. 12).

Two panels, one of which is merely a copy of the other, will be found in the museum of the Florence Cathedral. Each represents St. Agatha in royal attire, crowned and adorned with large jewels; in one hand she carries a small cross, while she holds her other hand palm outwards against her bosom (fig. 150). The face of the original of these two pictures is of schematic Byzantine workmanship, and the spirit of the entire work is Oriental.

Of Manfredino d'Alberto of Pistoia only two frescoes still

(¹) *A. Venturi*, Di un dipinto di Meliore Toscano nella Galleria di Parma, *L'Arte*, VIII, 1910, p. 304. *The same*, Storia dell'Arte Ital., V, p. 109, *P. Bacchi*, Coppo di Marcoaldo, p. 12, mentions two artists of this name, one in Florence, the other in 1284 in Pisa but a native of Florence



Fig 19a. Melchiorre Toscano, the Saviour and Saints Gallery, Pisa.

Photo Minist. Pubbl. Istr.

exist (1). He was called to Genoa to work upon the decoration of the Cathedral, which was then being undertaken; in 1280, he received a payment for his part in the work, and we find yet another mention of him in the same year.

The examples which we still have of this artist's work come from the church of S. Michele in Genoa, but are now placed in



Fig. 150. St. Agatha, end of the XIII century.
Cathedral Museum, Florence.

Photo Alinari

the Accademia Linguistica of that city. Under the panel representing Mary Magdalene at the feet of the Saviour we still see the signature: "*Magister Manfredinus Pistoriensis me pinxit MCC LXXXII in mense madi*" while at the foot of the other, which depicts St. Michael weighing souls, we read: — "*in mense januaris hoc opus factum fuit*". His name is again found in a Genoese document of November 5th

1293.

These works show us Manfredino

as one of the minor artists of this period, and strongly influenced by Byzantium. In the scene of the meal at Bethany the guests are seated at a round table; the Christ, as principal figure, is placed higher than the others, while prostrate at his feet is Mary Mag-

(1) *F. Alizeri*, *Notizie dei professori di disegno in Liguria*, I, Genova, 1873. *P. Bacci*, *Manfredino d'Alberto etc.*, *Documenti Toscani per la storia dell'Arte*, I, p 93.

dalene The background is most unusual, consisting of a view of an apparently Oriental city. The figure of the Archangel is majestic; in one hand is his spear, with which he fights the dragon, and in the other he holds the balance.

Both these works are refined in execution, while in style, type and feeling they are wholly Oriental.

To complete this group we ought still to mention some fragments of fresco in the church of S. Miniato-al-Monte near Florence. On the wall just to the left of the steps which lead up to the choir we see the standing figure of the Madonna, no doubt part of an Annunciation, and the Nativity, in which the reclining figure of the Virgin, with Joseph seated, and an angel, remain clearly visible; to the right we find some figures of saints adorned with precious stones and holding jewelled crosses. These frescoes belong to the Italo-Byzantine movement, but are of very little importance.

We now come to another group of works, which, although still forming part of the Byzantine movement, is less dominated by the Oriental tendency than the foregoing one. These paintings, for the greater part, are of later date, approaching the year 1300; but a few may be ascribed to an earlier period. This movement comprises only some paintings of the Madonna, and some oblong panels of separately framed half-length figures, arranged in a row.

The oldest paintings of this group are probably a few Madonnas, represented full-faced, holding the Child in the centre of their lap: a composition already familiar in the Sienese Romanesque panels and the above-mentioned relief in the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore in Florence. An example of this type of Madonna will be found in the church of Impruneta in the neighbourhood of Florence.

This painting, however, in its present condition, is quite undatable, as it is entirely repainted, but the general composition and the attitudes would lead us to conclude that the original work was of a very archaic aspect.

The panel of the Madonna in the Pieve of Stia in the Casentino ⁽¹⁾ is, on the other hand, well preserved, but in this painting the Infant is depicted in a freer attitude, slightly turned to one side;

(1) *G. De Niccola, Di alcuni dipinti del Casentino, L'Arte, 1914, p. 257.*

the Madonna, however, is represented full-face. Two small half-length figures of angels appear above the decorated and rounded back of the throne. This work probably dates from the last years of the 13th century. Not unlike this panel at Stia is another at Romena, in the same region.

In the Casentino we still find two other Madonnas of about this period or perhaps slightly older, but of a different type. The more important of these is found in the Badia of Poppi⁽¹⁾; it shows us the attitude which we have already noted, of the Virgin holding the foot of the Child, who is bestowing a blessing and carrying a scroll; two little angels also are seen in this panel, above the rounded back of the throne. The originality of this composition lies in the fact that the Child is seated on His mother's right knee instead of on the left, as has until now invariably been the case. The types and expressions are Italian; it is only the composition and the general principles of the design which can be said to be inspired by Byzantium. The broad drapery, especially obvious in the lower part of the Madonna's robe, seems to be a Florentine characteristic, and one which we shall find in other works.

A panel of the Madonna in S. Michele at Rovezzano⁽²⁾ near Florence has many points in common with the one at Poppi and particularly the figure of the Child, who is again seated on the Virgin's right knee. Another Madonna in S. Andrea of the same little town belongs to the Romanesque tradition and will be dealt with later on.

A fresco detached, as I have been informed, from the marketplace, and now in the refectory of Sta. Croce in Florence, represents the Madonna enthroned, holding the Child in her left arm; an angel stands near the throne. Another fragment of the same origin shows us the figure of a saint; while yet a third piece represents St. John(?) enthroned. Notwithstanding the enormous eyes, the features are not disagreeable, but these remains of fresco possess no great artistic importance. They seem to date from the end of the 13th century.

Several other paintings of the Madonna, made about, or even

⁽¹⁾ *De Niccola*, op. cit

⁽²⁾ *Suida*, in *Monatsheft für Kunstwis*, 1909, p. 66. The date of about 1265 proposed by Suida seems to me somewhat early.

after, the year 1300, show us, notwithstanding the persistence of schematic Oriental elements, a greater freedom of attitude, which not infrequently conveys a feeling of affection.

One of the most interesting of these forms part of the Friedrich



Fig 151. Madonna and Passion scenes, Tuscan school, ab 1300. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin. Photo Hanfstaengl.

Wilhelm Museum of Berlin; it represents, in the centre, the Madonna, seated on a high throne, pressing the face of the Divine Child tenderly against her cheek (fig. 151), and having at the sides four small scenes. On the left we see the Saviour ascending the Cross by means of a ladder, and also the Deposition; while to the right are depicted the Crucifixion and the faithful surround-

ing and holding the dead body of Christ, which is placed on the Virgin's knee. It is a fine picture, but, for this period, somewhat schematic in execution; none the less, it is quite Italian in its dramatic feeling.

At Mosciano, near Florence, we find a Madonna seated on a large throne, her feet, shod in beautifully decorated slippers, set on a little platform ⁽¹⁾; on her right knee is seated the Child who stretches His hands out towards a little bird the Madonna holds (fig. 152). Two half-length figures of angels of somewhat larger dimensions than usual look over the back of the throne. It is a finely executed panel, showing some analogies with early Sienese work, and, although of later date, slightly reminiscent of the Madonna of Poppi. As in this latter panel, so too in that of Mosciano we find the typical broad folds in the lower part of the Madonna's dress. Many points of resemblance exist between the Madonna of Mosciano and another which a short time ago was the property of Signor Guiseppe Verzocchi of Milan ⁽²⁾. It represents the Madonna seated on an equally imposing throne of the type with a curved back, behind which angels are seen. The Infant in this picture stands on the Virgin's knee, again on the spectator's left.

What unites the pictures of Poppi, Mosciano and the work just considered is not only the unusual position of the Child (on the Virgin's right, a detail found in the Rovezzano panel as well) but also the fact that He is shown with an almost bald head, having only a few tufts of hair at the side and on the crown of the head. In general appearance one might say that the two latter approximate more or less to the type of Cimabue's Madonna; they are, however, later than this artist's earlier works, dating probably from about the year 1300.

The Child standing on His Mother's knee is shown in some other panels, one of which will be found in the church of S. Lorenzo at Vicchio di Rimaggio, Florence ⁽³⁾ (fig. 153). This, no doubt, is a work of slightly later date, very likely of the beginning of the

⁽¹⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Due quadri inedite*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1916, p. 121.

⁽²⁾ Some articles appeared lately in the Italian newspapers as to the origin of this painting which was investigated by the Italian police. All doubt on the legality of the sale of this work of art has since been cleared. It has recently been bought by the Austrian government.

⁽³⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Un altro quadro primitivo inedito*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1916, p. 156.



Fig 152. Madonna, Florentine school, towards 1300. Mosciano.
(Florence). Photo Reali.

14th century. The Child is depicted embracing the Madonna; the two angels are no longer unconcerned watchers, but look down on the central figures. Another painting of identical composition but of a more archaic type, and Byzantine in aspect, was a little while



Fig. 153. Madonna, Florentine school, first years of the XIV century. S. Lorenzo at Vicchio di Rimaggio

Photo Reali

ago offered for sale in Rome; its date might have been anything between 1280 and 1290.

The Pisa Gallery contains a panel (Room I no. 18) of which the composition is similar, but the style is slightly more recent and the forms somewhat Gothic. Two angels are represented behind the throne and two small figures of saints are depicted standing at the sides.

Of less importance but belonging to this type are two other Madonnas, both dating from about 1300. In each of these two angels are seen behind the throne. One appears to be included in the Miethke collection in Vienna ⁽¹⁾, the other is in the Cella di S. Francesco dei Capuccini, Cortona ⁽²⁾; in the latter the Virgin is depicted

facing the spectator and seated on a throne without any back.

With the panels of Deodato Orlandi this group of works comes to an end. Apart from what we learn of this artist from his signed and dated pictures, we are informed that he died about 1337. One

⁽¹⁾ Monatsheft f Kunstwis, 1909, p. 66.

⁽²⁾ G. Mancini, Cortona, Bergamo, 1909, p. 91.

of his authentic works is a crucifix in the Gallery of Lucca with the inscription: "*A. D. MCCLXXXVIII Deodatus Filius Orlandi De Luchame pinxit*" (fig. 154), the other is a long panel of the Virgin between four half-length figures of saints in the Gallery of Pisa with a brief signed inscription and the date 1301. The crucifix which was originally in the church of S. Cerbone outside Lucca⁽¹⁾, shows some resemblance to that in the Carmine Florence. The drawing of much charm and feeling, but does not possess that dramatic quality which characterizes the crucifixes of Giunta Pisano. A medallion at the top represents the Almighty.

Another crucifix has lately been discovered in a Florentine church, but as it will shortly be published by Dr. Offner, to inform me of the fact, it is not unlike that of

Oblong pictures of the same type as that of Orlandi at Pisa were more common at Siena. The figures of the Pisan paintings are divided one from another by columns, while in the centre the Virgin is depicted carrying the Infant Jesus in her arms; on the left are SS. James and Dominic, and on the right SS. Peter and Paul. We find the same characteristics as in the other elements are obvious, but the spirit of the work is rather Italian. A short time ago I saw in private hands a Madonna signed by Deodato Orlandi which might originally have formed the centre of a similar oblong panel; it strongly resembled the central part of the Pisan picture. As we know that the dated pictures are youthful works of Deodato's, it is only logical to

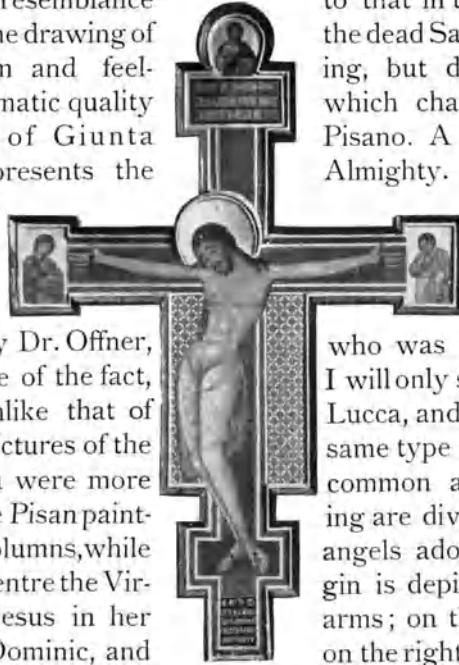


Fig. 154. Deodato Orlandi, Crucifix, 1288. Gallery, Lucca. Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

who was good enough I will only state here that Lucca, and is dated 1301. The same type as that of Orlandi at Pisa were more common at Siena. The figures are divided one from another by columns, while in the centre the Virgin is depicted carrying the Infant Jesus in her arms; on the left are SS. James and Dominic, and on the right SS. Peter and Paul. We find the same characteristics as in the other elements are obvious, but the spirit of the work is rather Italian. A short time ago I saw in private hands a Madonna signed by Deodato Orlandi which might originally have formed the centre of a similar oblong panel; it strongly resembled the central part of the Pisan picture. As we know that the dated pictures are youthful works of Deodato's, it is only logical to

(1) I think Cavalcaselle has made a mistake in mentioning two signed crucifixes by Orlandi, one in the Palace of Parma dating from 1288, originally in S. Cerbone, the other in the Gallery of Lucca dating from 1289. *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, ed. Langton Douglas, I, p. 42, and notes 1-3.

look for other paintings which might be ascribed to him. An enthroned Madonna in the Pisa Gallery (Room II no. 4) has rightly been attributed to him (fig 155). Iconographically this picture belongs to the group we have already dealt with. Four angels look over the back of the throne and the Virgin holds the Infant's foot. I do not think however that Deodato is the author of the frescoes of S. Pier in Grado near Pisa ⁽¹⁾, which in my opinion seem to belong to a different movement. Ridolfi, an art

historian of Lucca of a past generation, believed that Orlandi executed a Madonna and Child and a figure of St. John the Evangelist. Both are now in the Gallery of Pisa, but these too were originally in the church of S. Cerbone ⁽²⁾. In appearance these panels are purely Sienese work of the 14th century.



Fig. 155. Deodato Orlandi,
Madonna. Gallery, Pisa.

Photo Minist. Publ. Istr

and St. Francis, and are without any dividing framework. This picture, which forms part of the collection of Yale University, New Haven, U. S. A., has been lately attributed to Deodato himself, after having been ascribed to Cimabue and Margari-

A fresco in the cloister of S. Francesco at Lucca, representing the Madonna and Child between St. Francis and Bonagiunta Tignozini, seems to be more in the manner of Deodato, and I think I am right in attributing to his school an oblong panel, again depicting the Virgin amidst four saints; in this instance they are St. John the Baptist, St. James, St. Peter

⁽¹⁾ This decoration is attributed to Deodato Orlandi by *Signor D' Achardi*: *Gli affreschi di S. Pier in Grado*, Atti del Congr. Intern. di Scien. Stor., Rome, 1905, VII.

⁽²⁾ *Ridolfi*, *Sopra i tre piu antichi pittori lucchesi*, Atti del R. Acc. lucchese, XIII, Lucca, 1845. Also in the Catalogue of the Gallery of Lucca.

tone⁽¹⁾. The absence of Byzantine elements is too conspicuous to allow us to attribute this picture to the same hand that executed the Pisan panel. A painting of this shape, but originally much longer, is still to be seen in the Gallery of Lucca; it originally represented the Crucifixion, with ten subsidiary figures, of which only six remain: the five saints, Louis of Toulouse, Stephen, Nicholas, Mary Magdalene and Agnes to the left and the archangel Michael to the right (fig 156). This painting, which dates from about the year 1300 is fine in quality, but is rather in advance of the works of Deodato Orlandi, and is one of the last paintings which can be cited as belonging to the more Byzantine movement

The characteristic peculiarity of the crucifixes of the type produced by Giunta and his followers is, not the fact that in them the Saviour is represented dead on the Cross, since after 1240 this became the general rule, but the tragic and suffering aspect which was given to the figure of Christ. The body of the Saviour seems to writhe in agony, and pain has distorted His features, which consequently are no longer beautiful, and there is no attempt to make them even attractive.

The name Giunta, it seems, was not rare in Pisa, and is not easy to determine which of the persons bearing this name was the painter. We meet with the name in do-

(1) *O. Siren*, A descriptive Catalogue of the Pictures in the Jarves Collection belonging to Yale University, New Haven, London, 1916, p. 17.



Fig 156 Crucifixion Archangel and Saints, ab 1300 Gallery, Lucca

Photo, Minst. Publ. Istr.

cuments of 1202, 1203, many authors report *ta Capitaneus pictor*" Archbishop Federico what voluble Da Mo- others in 1258, 1267, "*Giuduccio famulus* he found in a document P. Bacci, in an excellent

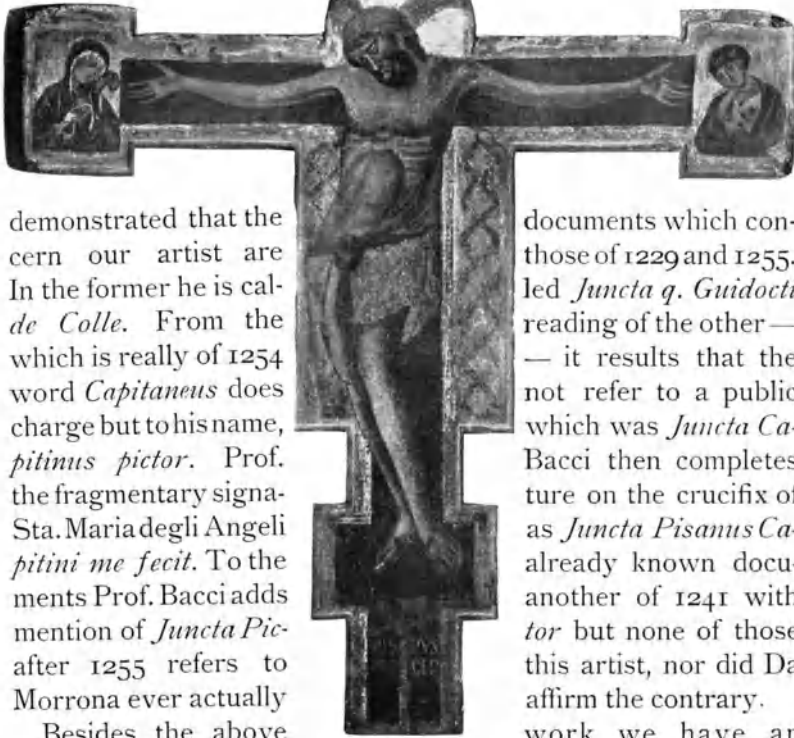


Fig. 157. Giunta Pisano. Crucifix. SS. Ranieri e Leonardo, Pisa. Photo Alinari.

demonstrated that the cern our artist are In the former he is cal- *de Colle*. From the which is really of 1254 word *Capitaneus* does charge but to his name, *pitinus pictor*. Prof. the fragmentary signa- Sta. Maria degli Angeli *pitini me fecit*. To the ments Prof. Bacci adds mention of *Juncta Pic-* after 1255 refers to Morrona ever actually

Besides the above othersigned crucifix by of a third, signed and now disappeared. This

1225 and 1229, while that in 1255 a "*Junc-* swore fidelity to the Visconti. The some- rrona⁽¹⁾ mentions 1270, and speaks of *Junctae*" whose name of 1300. Recently Prof. critical study⁽²⁾, has

documents which con- those of 1229 and 1255. led *Juncta q. Guidocti* reading of the other — it results that the not refer to a public which was *Juncta Ca-* Bacci then completes ture on the crucifix of as *Juncta Pisanus Ca-* already known docu- another of 1241 with *tor* but none of those this artist, nor did Da affirm the contrary.

work we have an Giunta and the records dated 1236, which has last example, which

⁽¹⁾ *Da Morrona*, op. cit. II, p. 116. *Rosini*, Storia della pittura Italiana, I, Pisa, 1839, p. 103.

⁽²⁾ *P. Bacci*, *Juncta Pisanus pictor*, Bolletino d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr., 1922, p. 145.

was in the church of S. Francesco at Assisi, contained the following inscription:

Frater Elias fieri fecit
 Jesu Christe Pie
 Miserere precantis Helie
 Giunta Pisanus me pinxit AD 1236
 Ind. 9. ⁽¹⁾

Wadding, in his Franciscan annals, relates the fate of this painting: the cord by which it was attached rotted, on account of the damp, and the cross fell from a considerable height and was spoiled; but there seems to exist a 17th century copy of the figure of Frate Elia ⁽²⁾.

The two extant crucifixes of Giunta Pisano's, both of which are rather small, are to be found, respectively, in the church of SS. Raineri e Leonardo of Pisa — originally in the church of St. Anna (fig. 157) — and in the basilica of Sta. Maria degli Angeli near Assisi. Both show us the Saviour dead on the Cross. The expression on the face of the Christ in the first of these crucifixes, which is extensively restored, is particularly agonized; the body droops in a curve, and the head rests on the right shoulder. At the ends of the cross-bar half-length figures of the Virgin and St. John are seen, manifesting their grief, while above the upper terminal, on which appears the inscription I.N.R.I., a medallion contains the half-length figure of the Lord. On the lateral panels there is a decorative design, while below the feet of the Saviour we can still read “. . . . *Pisanus me fecit.*” The cross in Sta. Maria degli Angeli (figs. 158—160) is somewhat different and seems finer in execution, while what chiefly strikes us in the Pisan crucifix is the power of dramatic emotion which emanates from all the personages. The design and form are in both cases skilfully worked out, and in both the artist was slightly influenced by the Byzantine movement. It is however obvious that for the greater part he

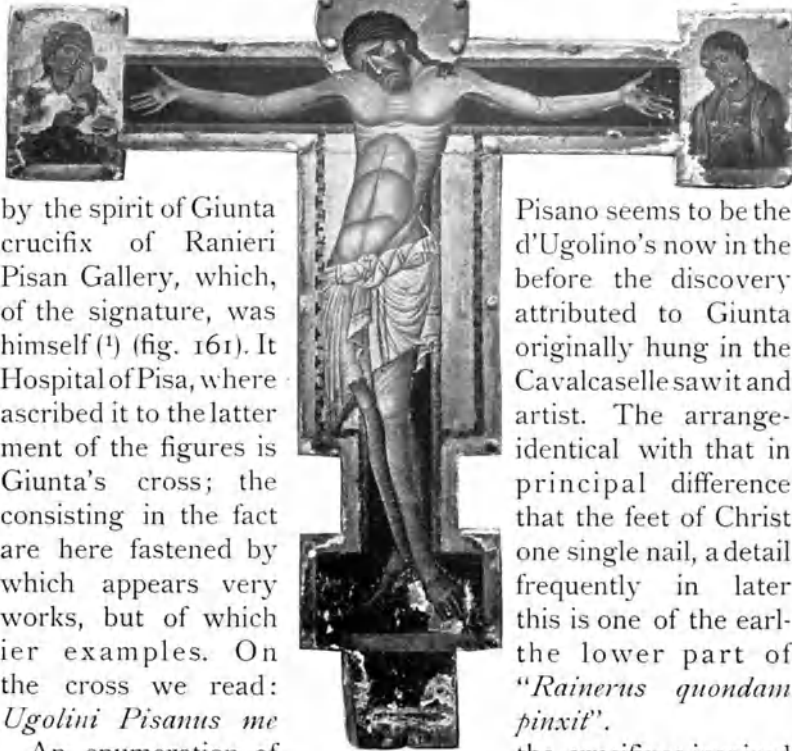
⁽¹⁾ *Da Morrona*, op. cit., p. 127, tells us that four different antiquarians cite this inscription and gives it in the above wording.

⁽²⁾ *Zimmermann*, op. cit., p. 181, note, tells a fantastic story about this crucifix being now at Gualdo after having been illegally sold, and later recovered by the Italian government. There is no truth in this account; the crucifix of Gualdo Tadino has no connection with this one, and there is no crucifix of this period at any of the other Gualdos.

was inspired by the compassion which St. Francis and his followers felt for the suffer-

It would be useless description of all the crucifixes in this category; they are numerous, although in the latter they lose a certain dramatic force, conventional, expressing vividly. The most

ings of the Redeemer. to give a detailed description which enter into however very numerous part of the 13th century and become more conscious of the artist's indifferently influenced



by the spirit of Giunta crucifix of Ranieri Pisan Gallery, which, of the signature, was himself⁽¹⁾ (fig. 161). It Hospital of Pisa, where ascribed it to the latter ment of the figures is Giunta's cross; the consisting in the fact are here fastened by which appears very works, but of which ier examples. On the cross we read: *Ugolini Pisanus me*

An enumeration of by Giunta's model the enormous produc- in Central Italy. In the are still three other

Pisano seems to be the d'Ugolino's now in the before the discovery attributed to Giunta originally hung in the Cavalcaselle saw it and artist. The arrange- identical with that in principal difference that the feet of Christ one single nail, a detail frequently in later this is one of the earl- the lower part of "*Rainerus quondam pinxit*".

the crucifixes inspired gives us some idea of tion of similar works Gallery of Pisa there crosses on which the

Fig. 158. Giunta Pisano, Crucifix. Sta. Maria degli Angeli, Assisi. Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

⁽¹⁾ V. for example *Supino*, Arte Pisano, p. 256.

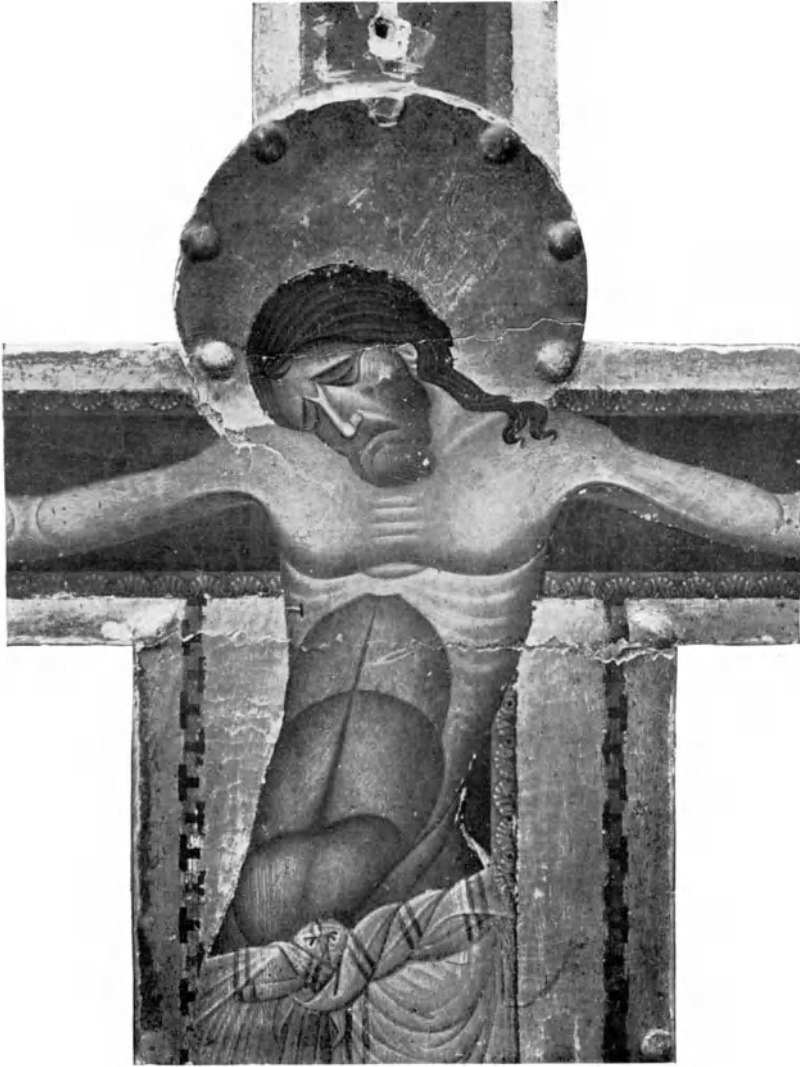


Fig 159. Detail of fig. 158

Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

Lord is depicted dead, after suffering agonies. The first (Room I no. 23) of these once showed the full-length figures of the Virgin and St. John at the sides; but now only one figure remains. In another (no. 6) we find, besides these two figures, a richly adorned half-length figure of an angel at either end of the cross-bar, while



Fig 160 Detail of fig 158

Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

the third shows a figure of the Saviour at the back as well as at the front of the panel, but the head of one of them has disappeared; while the terminals of the horizontal arms of this crucifix seem to have been cut off. A diamond-shaped design adorns the border as in Giunta's crucifix in this city. In the church of S. Matteo of Pisa we find yet another example, above the left-hand lateral

altar, in which the Lord is represented dead and hanging heavily on the Cross. This too completely reclear idea of its ori- the hands and face some connection sides that by Coppo Pistoia possesses less importance, in Francesco; and

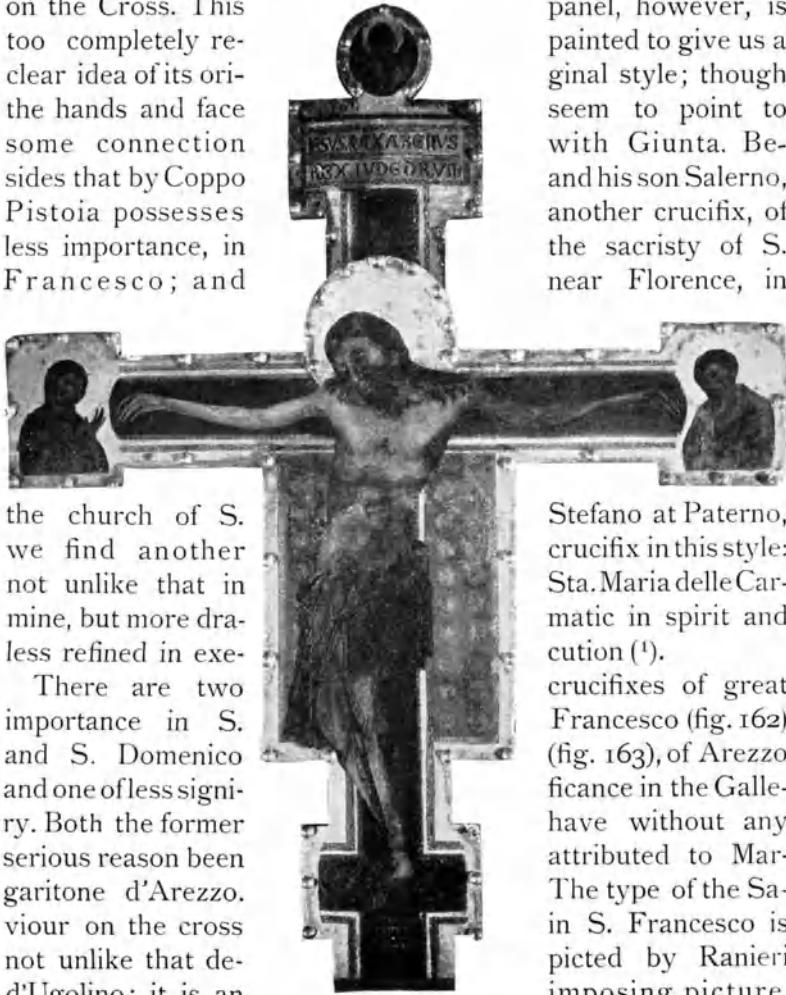


Fig. 161. Ranieri di Ugolino, Crucifix. Gallery, Pisa. Photo Brogi.

the church of S. we find another not unlike that in mine, but more dra- less refined in exe-

There are two importance in S. and S. Domenico and one of less signi- rry. Both the former serious reason been garitone d'Arezzo. viour on the cross not unlike that ded'Ugolino; it is an and one of those in St. Francis is repre- Christ. The crucifix morerefinedinexec-

atic draping is of Byzantine inspiration. Not far from Arezzo, at Castiglione Fiorentino, a crucifix of this type will be found in

panel, however, is painted to give us a ginal style; though seem to point to with Giunta. Be- and his son Salerno, another crucifix, of the sacristy of S. near Florence, in

Stefano at Paterno, crucifix in this style: Sta. Maria delle Car- matic in spirit and cution (1).

crucifixes of great Francesco (fig. 162) (fig. 163), of Arezzo ficance in the Galle- have without any attributed to Mar- The type of the Sa- in S. Francesco is picted by Ranieri imposing picture, which the adoring sented at the feet of in S. Domenico is ution, but the schem-

(1) As I have already said *Herr Suida* attributes these two crucifixes to the same author.



Fig 162. Detail of the Crucifix, 2nd half of the XIII century. S. Francesco, Arezzo. Photo Minist. Publ Istr.

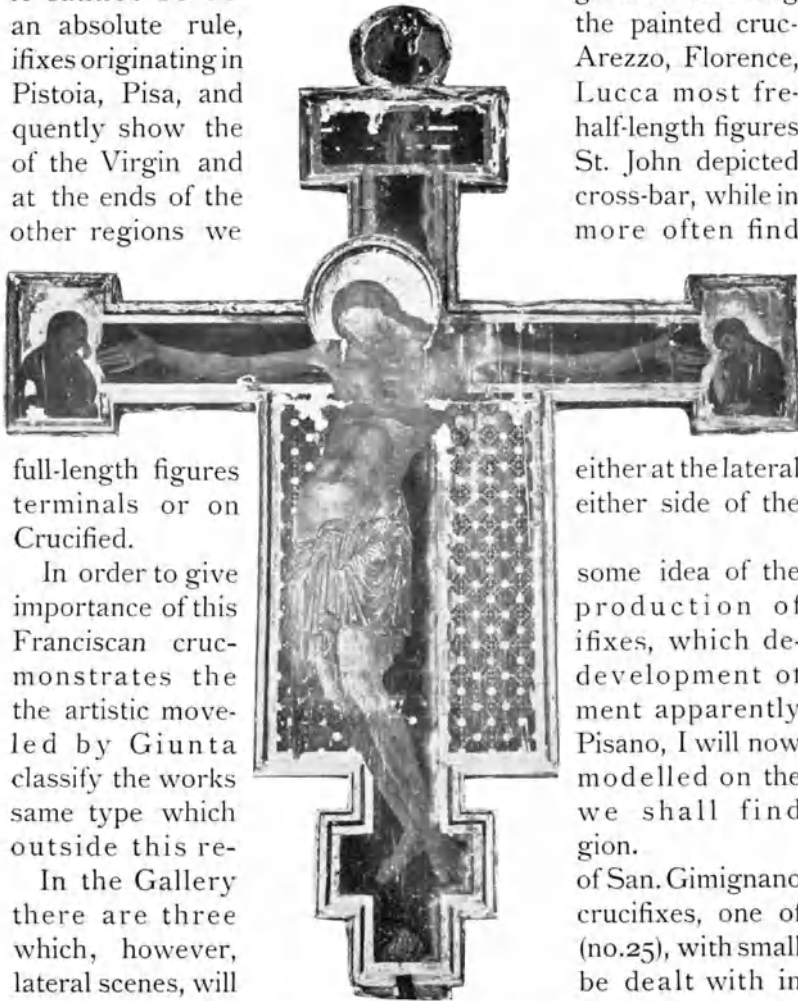
the collection of paintings at present united in the Town Hall. It once belonged to a church in the neighbourhood. It is a work full of dramatic force, directly inspired by Giunta's examples; the expression on Christ's face is distressful in the extreme. The small scenes at the sides have almost entirely disappeared

Continuing on this route, we find, not far distant, in the Gallery of Cortona, another crucifix belonging to this group.

Comparing the above-mentioned works with crucifixes painted

in other parts of Central Italy, we shall find that in general, although it cannot be regarded as forming an absolute rule, it fixes originating in Pistoia, Pisa, and frequently show the of the Virgin and at the ends of the other regions we

regarded as forming the painted crucifixes of Arezzo, Florence, Lucca most frequently half-length figures of the Virgin and St. John depicted at the ends of the cross-bar, while in more often find



full-length figures at the terminals or on the Crucified.

In order to give importance of this Franciscan crucifixion demonstrates the the artistic movement led by Giunta classify the works of the same type which outside this re-

In the Gallery there are three which, however, lateral scenes, will another group. Of no. 5 is a fine the crucifix by or that in Sta.

Florence. The half-length figures of the Virgin and St. John occupy the lateral extremities, while above is a medallion containing a bust of the Lord (fig. 164). We find this latter detail in the other much less attractive work (no. 1), in which two pro-

either at the lateral either side of the

some idea of the production of crucifixes, which development of ment apparently Pisano, I will now modelled on the we shall find gion.

of San. Gimignano crucifixes, one of (no. 25), with small be dealt with in the other two work, not unlike Deodato Orlandi, Maria Maggiore,

Fig. 163. Crucifix, 2nd half of the XIII century. S. Domenico, Arezzo. Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

phets are depicted at the ends of the cross-bar, while the Madonna and St. John stand side of the Crucified. feet are fastened to nail. In the city of only one crucifix category: that in Niccolo at the a beautiful work

refined style, appearance, not the refectory of Sta. buted to Cimabue.

At Grosseto a portance is to church of S. Fran-

A number of found in Umbria, bed together with "Maestro di S. Fran- mous cross in the Pi- is dated 1272; cruc- are to be found in the sacristy of S. and in the choir of same city. With class the crucifixes Spoleto, of which are found, one at Fa- Palazzo Davanzati

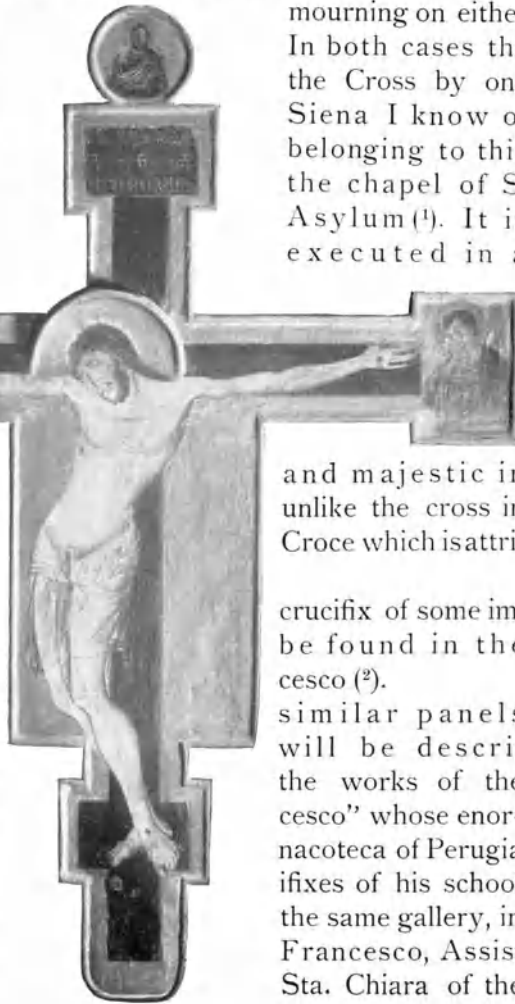


Fig. 164. Crucifix, later XIII century. Gallery, San Gimignano.

Photo Logi.

mourning on either In both cases the the Cross by one Siena I know of belonging to this the chapel of S. Asylum⁽¹⁾. It is executed in a

and majestic in unlike the cross in Croce which is attri-

crucifix of some im- be found in the cesco⁽²⁾.

similar panels will be descri- the works of the cesco" whose enor- nacoteca of Perugia ifixes of his school the same gallery, in Francesco, Assisi Sta. Chiara of the these we shall also of Ranaldictus of signed specimens brianano and one in the in Florence, while

⁽¹⁾ This might be the same as the work which *Da Morrona*, Pisa illustr., III, p. 149, mentions as being in the Servi church in Siena, and which he attributes to Giunta or his school.

⁽²⁾ *Nicolosi*, *Il Littorale Maremmano*, Bergamo, 1910, p. 106.

the Fornari collection and the little museum at Gualdo Tadino possess other examples. I have already mentioned the crucifix, probably by Salerno di Coppo, in the Cathedral museum of Orvieto.

An important cross in Umbria, however, has still to be noted here: it is that in the sacristy of the Cathedral of Nocera Umbra near Gualdo Tadino ⁽¹⁾. The body of the Saviour forms an emphatic curve, and the painting is obviously inspired by the works of Giunta.

This is perhaps still more evident in a small dark crucifix in the Gallery of Spoleto (no. 17), in which the features of the Lord are rendered unattractive by the realistic expression of His agony. Small scenes are here depicted on the upper and lateral terminals of the Cross. Above these we see a figure of the Saviour carried by angels, while at the sides we find the fainting Virgin supported by two angels, and a group of soldiers, figures of the Crucifixion, which here form an *ensemble* with the central figure in a manner which I believe to be quite unique; at all events, I know of no other examples. This picture, although somewhat damaged by time, must originally have been a very fine piece of work.

Between Spoleto and Foligno we find in the gallery of the small town of Trevi an unimportant crucifix of the last years of the 13th century; while Todi, a small town to the South of Perugia, possesses a contemporary but much superior example. This painting, which is preserved in the winter choir of the Cathedral, is finely executed. The loin-cloth of the Saviour is interwoven with gold; the Virgin and St. John are depicted at the extremities of the cross-bar, and a small figure of a monk is seen in adoration at the feet of the Crucified.

At Montefalco, a town in the hills near Foligno, the Gallery, which is installed in the dismantled church of S. Francesco, contains a very beautiful but late example of this art, in which the Virgin is depicted weeping, while a small figure, no doubt of St. Francis, is seen adoring at the foot of the Cross. This panel may date from the beginning of the 14th century.

No doubt the somewhat unimportant crucifix in the Vatican Gallery (no. 40) is of Umbrian origin. We find a restored specimen

⁽¹⁾ Archivio per la storia Eccles del Umbria, III, 1916, p. 120

in the Bandini Museum of Fiesole, which also contains a panel representing the Crucifixion, of which the central figure belongs to the same type. Da Morrona mentions other works which he found in or near Florence; in the churches of Sta. Maria del Prato del Castello, S. Casciano, and S. Marco⁽¹⁾, which have since disappeared; but in his enumeration of so-called works of the school of Giunta Pisano this author also includes certain Giottesque panels⁽²⁾.

Outside Tuscany we find two important examples of these crucifixes in S. Francesco of Bologna, one of which shows so much resemblance to some of the Pisan panels that we might assume that it was painted in that region.

There exists another fine crucifix possibly also of Tuscan workmanship in the S. Lorenzo chapel of the Cathedral of Ancona.

This is not at all the case in a crucifix to be seen in Milan, in the church of S. Eusturgio, in which the figures are much more elongated, and almost Gothic in form; the Virgin and St. John are represented as full-length figures on the lateral terminals, while above is a medallion containing a figure of the Lord⁽³⁾.

As I said at the beginning of this chapter, one of the forms of art which originated in the Franciscan movement was the popular didactic painting which lent itself chiefly to the production of hagiographic representations.

Besides the fact that the paintings attached to this movement show an un-Oriental, dramatic and vivacious action, there are many other points which would lead us to consider them a product of the Romanesque rather than of the Byzantine movement. However, the latter style was so generally spread throughout Italy at this period that externally almost all the products of this group betray some Oriental influence, chiefly evident in the schematic folds of the draperies.

The school which we are now considering contains several

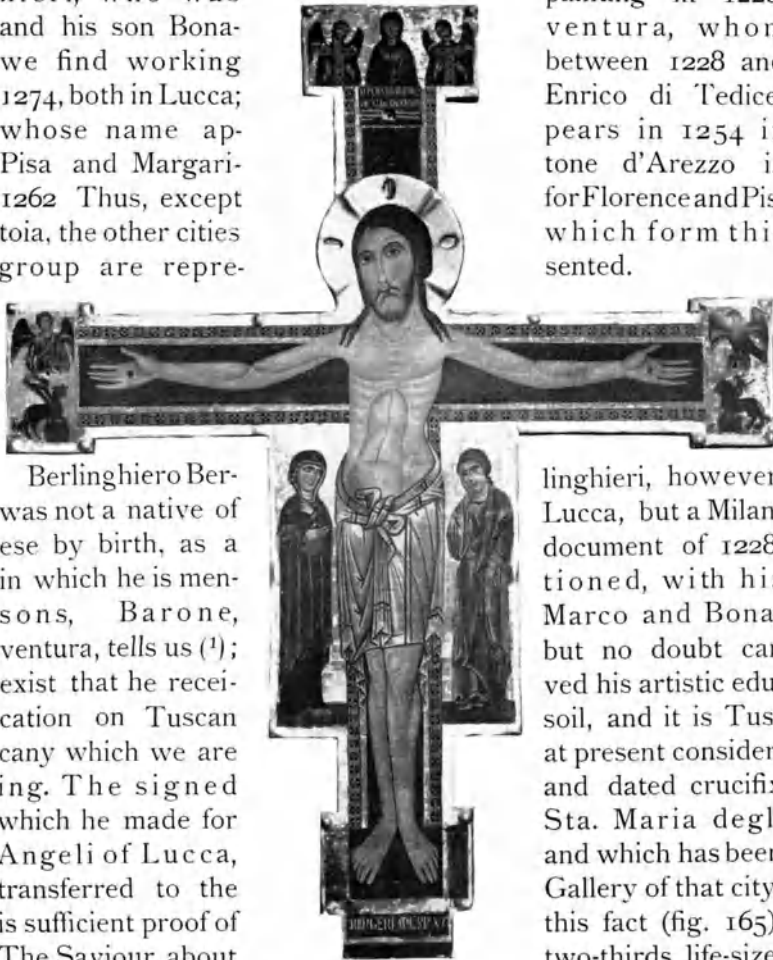
⁽¹⁾ *Da Morrona*, Pisa illustr., II, p. 149.

⁽²⁾ Similar mistakes are made by art historians of the present day; vide *O. H. Giglioli*, *Empoli artistica*, Florence, 1906, p. 188, who describes a crucifix of the 13th century executed in the Byzantine manner, to be seen in the church of S. Pietro at Marcignana, some miles from Empoli, which, on inspection, I discovered to be an unimportant work of the later 14th century.

⁽³⁾ *Toesca*, *Pittura e Min. Lomb.*, p. 145.

well-known artists: such, for example, as Berlinghiero Berlinghieri, who was and his son Bonaventura, whom we find working in Lucca; whose name appears in Pisa and Margherita in 1262. Thus, except for Lucca, the other cities in this group are represented.

painting in 1228, Bonaventura, whom we find working between 1228 and 1254 in Lucca, and Enrico di Tedice, whose name appears in 1254 in Lucca and in Arezzo in 1254 for Florence and Pisa, which form this group.



Berlinghiero Berlinghieri was not a native of Lucca, as in which he is mentioned in the documents, Barone Bonaventura, tells us (1); it is evident that he received his education in Tuscany, which we are now discussing. The signed crucifix which he made for the church of the Angeli of Lucca, transferred to the Gallery of that city, is sufficient proof of his origin. The Saviour, about two-thirds life-size, is represented as a handsome and noble figure with stretched arms, the expression of being nailed to the Cross. The Virgin and St. John stand one

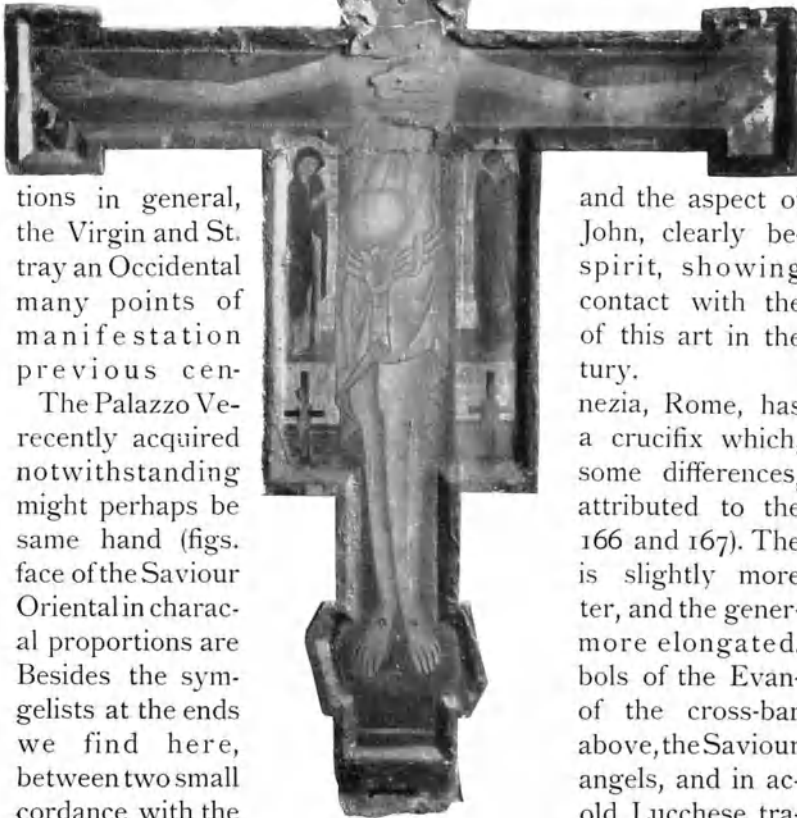
on either side of the crucifix, however, in Lucca, but a Milanese document of 1228, mentioned, with his name Marco and Bonaventura, but no doubt he received his artistic education in Tuscany, and it is Tuscany at present considered the most important and dated crucifix in the Gallery of that city, and which has been transferred to the Gallery of that city, this fact (fig. 165). The Saviour, two-thirds life-size, is still living, with stretched arms. His outstanding features. His outstanding features do not give one the impression of being fastened to the

Fig. 165. Berlinghiero Berlinghieri, Crucifix. Gallery, Lucca. Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

(1) *Ridolfi*, op. cit. *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, op. cit., I, p. 140. *Thieme-Becker*, Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler, III, Leipzig, 1909, p. 422. *B. Khvoshinsky e M. Salmi*, I pittori Toscani dal XIII al XVI secolo, I, Roma, 1912, p. 27. *O. Siren*, Toskanische Maler, p. 37.

Saviour, beneath the extremities of the cross are depicted the symbols of the four Evangelists; above we see the face of the Virgin and the signature *pinxit* is clearly visible beneath the feet of the

We see at a glance that this painting does not belong to the Byzantine movement. The large head of the Sa-



tions in general, the Virgin and St. John, clearly betray an Occidental character. Many points of manifestation are in accordance with the previous century.

The Palazzo Venezia recently acquired another crucifix, which, notwithstanding some differences, might perhaps be the same hand (figs. 166 and 167). The face of the Saviour is slightly more Oriental in character. Besides the symbols of the four Evangelists at the ends of the cross-bar, we find here, in accordance with the tradition, small representations of the crucified thieves and St. John, on either

side of the cross-bar, on which are depicted the Evangelists; half-length figures of two angels, while the signature *„Berlinghieri me pinxit“* is clearly legible beneath the feet of the Crucified.

At a glance that this painting does not belong to the Byzantine movement. The large head of the Saviour, the propor-

tion of the face, and the aspect of St. John, clearly betray an Occidental character, showing contact with the movement of this art in the thirteenth century.

The Palazzo Venezia, Rome, has another crucifix which, notwithstanding some differences, is attributed to the same hand (figs. 166 and 167). The face of the Saviour is slightly more Oriental in character, and the figure is more elongated. Besides the symbols of the four Evangelists at the ends of the cross-bar, we find here, in accordance with the tradition, small representations of the crucified thieves and St. John, on either

Fig. 166. Berlinghiero Berlinghieri, Crucifix. Museum in the Palazzo Venezia, Rome.

Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

Yet a third crucifix, with which I am not acquainted, has been frequently attributed to him. It will be found in the church of Sta. Maria Assilica; the date ascribed to this

The three sons were painters concerning the workments inform us painted some Bible of a priest no of Lucca,

sunta at Villa Ba-1230 has been panel (1).

of Berlinghieri likewise. Con- of Marco, docu- that in 1250 he miniatures in the named Alaman- while for un-

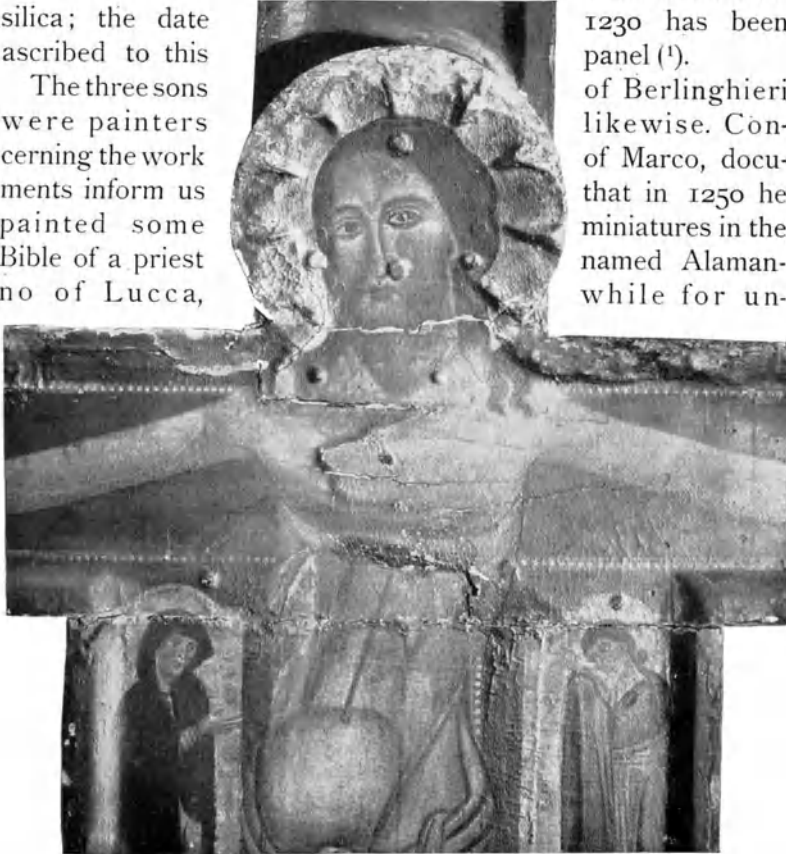


Fig. 167. Detail of fig. 166.

Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

known reasons he is sometimes supposed to have executed some of the figures of the crucifix of Sta. Giulia in this city; but this, for two reasons, seems impossible; firstly, the painting is apparently older, and secondly, it is very obviously the work of one artist only.

(1) Amongst the works that Mr. Sirén attributes to this artist, a crucifix in the Sta. Maria church at Tereglio seems, from the drawing reproduced, to show connection with Berlinghiero's art. I am not acquainted with the one he saw in Prof. Rutelli's house, Rome

Barone Berlinghieri belonged to the order of St. Francis; he worked at Lucca between the years 1240 and 1284, and is said to have painted frescoes: including a crucifix for the Pieve of Casabasciana, another for S. Alessandro Maggiore of the same city, and a Madonna with St. Andrew. None of his works have survived, but it may be supposed that in his crucifixes he no longer depicted the Lord triumphant, as his father had done.

Of Bonaventura Berlinghieri we possess a signed and dated



Fig. 168 Follower of Bonaventura Berlinghieri, the Descent from the Cross. Yale University, U.S.A

Photo Juley

work of 1235, and he is also mentioned in documents of 1240, 1243, when he painted a Madonna in co-operation with his brother Barone, 1244, and for the last time in 1274, while a record of 1266 informs us that at that moment he was about 50 years old. The panel still existing is a representation of St. Francis, which was executed only nine years after the death of the saint and is, excepting that at Subiaco, the oldest portrait which we possess of the "poverello" It is now in the church of S. Francesco at

Pescia, a small town situated between Lucca and Pistoia ⁽¹⁾. The saint, as central figure, stands erect and rigid, with one hand upraised before him and the other holding a book. His cowl half covers his head. Attitude and expression are lifeless, and the picture as a whole does not impress one as being a realistic representation of the saint. Above we see two half-length figures

⁽¹⁾ *E. Lazzareschi*, Un nuovo contributo allo studio dell' iconografia francescana, *Bulletino d. R. Deput. di Stor. Patr. p. l'Umbria*, XIV, 1909, fasc. 2-3. *M. Salmi*, Una tavola primitiva nella chiesa di S. Francesco a Pescia, *Rivista d'Arte*, VII, 1910, fasc. 3-4.

of angels in Byzantine attire, and near the feet of the saint the following is inscribed in two lines: ".A.D.MCCXXXV Bonaventura Berliḡheri De Lu . . . ". while three events from the legend of St. Francis are depicted on either side; on the left are: the Miracle of the Stigmata, the Sermon to the Birds, and the Resurrection of a Child; and to the right we find the Healing of Cripples, the Healing of a lame Man and the Exorcism of one Possessed.

The Byzantine elements in this picture are obvious; the architecture displays Oriental domes, together with Occidental buildings with the towers, narrow windows and quadrigeminous openings which are common to so many Central Italian works of this period. It is especially the type and the vivacious action of the figures in the small scenes that leads us to classify this as a work belonging to the Romanesque tradition (1).

These elements are still more pronounced in the products of another artist, clearly a follower of Bonaventura Berlinghieri, of whose work we possess four panel paintings. Three of these, doubtless once forming part of a more important ensemble, are now in the Jarves Collection of Yale University, U.S.A. where they are attributed to Bonaventura Berlinghieri himself (2). They represent the Crucifixion, with the Virgin and St. John, the Descent from the Cross (fig. 168), in which a larger group of figures surrounds the body of the Lord, and the Entombment (fig. 169), a representation full of dramatic feeling, in which two figures in despair bend over the body of the Saviour, while with a tragic and hopeless gesture a woman stretches her arms toward the heavens. An interesting iconographical peculiarity is the Y-shaped form of the Cross.

This artist's drawing is more schematic than Berlinghieri's, and is sometimes a little clumsy; the features are more expressive but less well-proportioned, while the architectural details are like those of Bonaventura's panel. We find here a decoration first seen in a crucifix of the 12th century, and often recurring in 13th century works; it consists of the repetition of a motive which in shape might be described as something between a shell and a broad conventional leaf.

(1) In the Montecuculi family of Modena there existed a 17th century oil painting of this panel, which was once supposed to be the original work.

(2) *O. Siren*, *A descriptive Catalogue etc.* nos 1-3.

The other work by this master is a representation of St Francis receiving the stigmata, which is now in the Accademia of Florence (fig. 170). Here the composition differs somewhat from that of Barone Berlinghieri; far more passion is expressed in the attitude and features of the saint; the apparition, as at



Fig. 169. Follower of Bonaventura Berlinghieri, the Entombment.
Yale University, U. S. A. Photo Juley

Pescia, takes the form of a seraph, but here the celestial figure is depicted crucified, a detail which in after years is frequently met with but of which this is the earliest example I know. The saint kneels on a small platform, which has a curious appearance as of cut stones set in a mosaic, a peculiarity found also in the Yale Entombment. The architecture shows the same elements as before and again we find the shell-shaped motive, this time in the frame.



Fig. 170. Follower of Bonaventura Berlinghieri St. Francis receiving the Stigmata. Accademia, Florence. Photo Alinari.



Fig 171. School of Bonaventura Berlinghieri, the Madonna and the Crucifixion. Accademia, Florence. Photo Alinari.

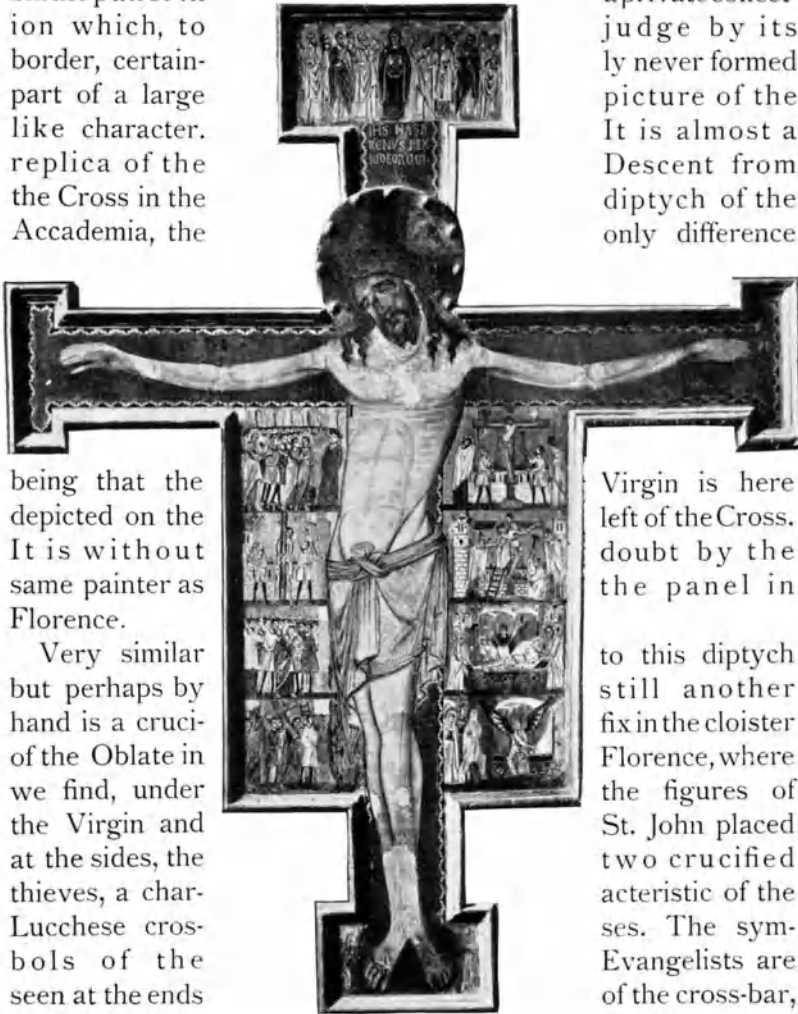
Another immediate follower of Bonaventura Berlinghieri is the painter of an interesting diptych in the Accademia of Florence, often attributed to the master himself, in which the subjects represented are, on the one side, the Madonna and Child, and on the other the Crucifixion (fig. 171). The Virgin, only the upper half of whose person is depicted, holds the Divine Infant closely to her, with a loving gesture. The head of the Child has the peculiar round formation, sparsely covered with hair, to be seen in other

Florentine works. Around the Virgin we find the figures of SS. Peter and John the Baptist above, St. Clare being on one side, and St. Michael beneath in the centre with SS. Francis, Antony of Padua and two Apostles at the sides. Apart from the handsome angel who is depicted in richly decorated Byzantine attire, standing on a dragon and holding a sceptre and a globe on which is placed a cross, all the other figures are represented in almost the same attitude, one hand being uplifted with the fingers fully extended, or in the act of blessing, while the other hand carries some object.

The Cross on the opposite panel has the same Y-shape as the painting in the Jarves collection. Two angels under the side bars are seen catching the blood dripping from the hands of Christ, and underneath, on the left, the fainting Virgin, with closed eyes and an exaggerated expression, is supported by three women, while lower down on the same side we have the Carrying of the Cross. The Lord, with one foot on the mound in which the Cross is planted, is apparently moving, but the two soldiers who are escorting him and the three mourning women behind are stationary. On the right of the central figure St. John is seen above, holding the hand of the Virgin, while below a small representation of the Descent from the Cross forms the pendant to the Bearing of the Cross; and again the curiously shaped crucifix is worthy of remark. One disciple on the top of a ladder supports the markedly curved body of Christ; another, with enormous pincers, extracts the nails from his feet; St. John holds the left arm, which the painter has made a convenient length, without any thought of anatomical exactitude; while the Virgin kisses the right hand. Behind the figure of the Virgin a fragment of the head of Mary Magdalene is visible. Comparing this panel with the work of Berlinghieri we shall find it wanting in skill; the folds especially are of an extreme rigidity. The best is perhaps the large half-length figure of the Virgin, whose features are not unpleasing; a sense of reality is manifest in the swooning and inert figure of the Madonna beneath the Cross. The two scenes underneath are quite devoid of merit. Red and blue are the prevailing colours, with heavy black outlines, and the flesh is of a brownish tint.

Notwithstanding the technical shortcomings of this diptych

there emanates from it a depth of religious feeling which we find only in the productions of this very primitive art. There exists a small panel in the upper part of the cross which, to the right of the Virgin, contains a picture of the Descent from the Cross in the Accademia, the



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It is almost a
Descent from
diptych of the
only difference

being that the
depicted on the
It is without
same painter as
Florence.

Very similar
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hand is a cruci-
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The next art-
have an auth-
Enrico di Tedice, who is mentioned in a Pisan document of 1254. In one of the chapels in S. Martino of Pisa we find this work, a crucifix on which in the 17th century the inscription could still be read:

Virgin is here
left of the Cross.
doubt by the
the panel in

to this diptych
still another
fix in the cloister
Florence, where
the figures of
St. John placed
two crucified
acteristic of the
ses. The sym-
Evangelists are
of the cross-bar,
Eternal be-
angels.

ist of whom we
entic work is

Fig. 172. Enrico di Tedice, Crucifix.
S. Martino, Pisa.

Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

“*Enricus quondam Tedici me pinxit*” (fig. 172) ⁽¹⁾. Although iconographically this painting has some points in common with the crucifix in the church of S. Pierino, which belongs to the Byzantine tradition, it is a fairly pure Romanesque product, in feeling as well as in technique. The Lord is depicted dead, but rigidly erect, his head slightly inclined to the right and the face very mournful. Above we find a group of the Apostles with the Madonna, arranged as they are usually seen in representations of the Ascension, which makes it extremely probable that a medalion above the Cross, which has now disappeared, once showed the Saviour being borne upwards to Heaven. The smaller scenes illustrate: on the left, the Betrayal of Judas, the Flagellation, the Lord being taken before the Judge, and the Calvary; while on the right we find the Crucifixion, the Descent from the Cross, the Entombment, and the Holy Women at the Empty Sepulchre. At the foot of the Cross we see St. Peter warming his hands at a fire, with Pilate's servant; this scene, as well as that on the upper terminal, corresponds with those on the crucifix of S. Pierino.

The somewhat marionette-like but animated figures, the clear cool colouring and the broad black outlines, which may be regarded as the chief characteristics of this painter, will be found again in a small panel in the Pinacoteca of Pisa (Room I no. 14), which I think may safely be attributed to the same hand. The subject is here the Descent from the Cross, but it is a more elaborate composition than the lateral scene on the S. Martino crucifix.

To the five figures of the latter composition three others have been added. We find in both works a peculiar and unusual detail: namely, that the towers visible in the background are draped.

The best known artist of this group is Margaritone d'Arezzo ⁽²⁾, but the dated information we possess is very scanty. We find him mentioned as renting a house in Arezzo in 1262 ⁽³⁾ while other documents of 1281 and 1305 ⁽⁴⁾ speak of persons of the

⁽¹⁾ *Taufam Centofanti*, Notizie di artisti tratti dai documenti pisani, Pisa, 1872, p. 181. *Supino*, op. cit., p. 250

⁽²⁾ *A. Del Vita*, La Vita di Margaritone commentata, Letture Vasariane, Arezzo, 1910

⁽³⁾ *Vasari-Milanesi*, I, p. 359

⁽⁴⁾ *A. Del Vita*, Notizie e documenti sui antichi artisti Aretini, L'Arte, XVI 1913, p. 228.



Fig. 173. Magaritone d'Arezzo, Madonna and small Scenes National Gallery, London.

same or of a similar name who, however, cannot be identified with our artist (¹).

Milanesi, in his annotations to Vasari (²) has attempted to complete the inscription under the altarpiece of San Savino, which will presently be described; he found "*Margaritus A R T A MCC XIII*", which he thought must originally have read: "Margaritus de Aretio fecit (or restauravit) (³) Anno Domini MCCLXXXIII". I must confess that on looking at the original inscription I was unable to discover anything beyond the name of the artist, although there seems to be no doubt that other words must have followed it. Again, Vasari tells us that Margaritone died at the age of 77, and in his first edition he gives the year of his death as 1313, from which one may conclude that he was born in 1236.

Notwithstanding Vasari's notorious inaccuracy, this assertion might deserve some consideration, since he himself was a native of Arezzo and must have seen Margaritone's tombstone, then in the cathedral of the city.

On the other hand, Milanesi is of opinion that Margaritone died in 1299 or earlier, because his name does not appear in the rolls of the "Fraternita" of Arezzo, which were first kept in that year. He argues that the year 1313 given by Vasari might be a printers' error for 1293 (⁴). For once, however, I am inclined to believe Vasari's statement; nevertheless, I think we may consider that his career might have commenced earlier than



Fig 174. Detail of fig 173

(¹) *U. Pasqui*, Pittori aretini vissuti dalla metà del sec. XII al 1527, Rivista d'Arte, X, 1917-18, p. 36

(²) *Vasari-Milanesi*, I, p. 362.

(³) The supposition that the word *restauravit* might have been written here goes back to the legend that the picture was miraculously brought from the Orient to this sanctuary and restored merely by Margaritone.

(⁴) MCCCXIII instead of MCCXCIII.

that of Cimabue — a much debated problem — for we meet with Cimabue's name for the first time ten years later than our first acquaintance with Margaritone.

From Vasari we also learn that the Palazzo Comunale and the facade of S. Ciriaco at Ancona were built to Margaritone's design. The former, however, was altered in the 16th century, and of the latter the portal alone remains, but it may well be, as Crowe and Cavalcaselle suggest, that the inaccurate Vasari has confounded the name of Margaritone with that of Marchione. It is also stated that he executed a group of figures in wood representing a Descent from the Cross, which



Fig 175. Detail of fig. 173.

Vasari judged, when he saw it in the Pieve of Arezzo, to be in the Byzantine manner. The authentic works of Margaritone are the Madonna in the National Gallery, various portraits of St. Francis, and an altarpiece in the sanctuary della Vertighe near Monte San Savino in the region of Arezzo. According to Vasari we must attribute to this artist the panel of St. Catherine now in the Museum of Pisa, but

I cannot say that I think it his work. The Madonna in the National Gallery (figs. 173—175) shows Margaritone as a conservative inheritor of the old Romanesque tradition. The mandorla, the two small angels near the central figure and the symbols of the four Evangelists are like those to be found in much earlier examples of this art. The Virgin is seated on a handsome Romanesque throne, decorated with two lion's heads and a tapering cushion; her cloak is peculiarly embroidered and her dress, adorned with a different motive, is shapeless, while on her head she wears a diadem. Her face is oval, the nose long and sharp, and her gaze is directed sideways. The hands, which are very evident, grasp the body and one foot of the Child, Who, seated in the centre of His Mother's lap, faces the spectator, the right hand bestowing a blessing, and the left holding a scroll. The position of the legs is somewhat unusual. On either side of the central

figure are four small scenes; the two above on the left represent the nativity of St. John, and his martyrdom in boiling oil, while the two below depict the beheading of St. Catherine, and St. Nicholas exhorting the sailors to throw away the cup given them by Satan. On the right we find, above, the resurrection of Drusiana and St. Benedict torturing himself in a thorn-brake, while below are St. Nicholas rescuing the condemned and St. Margaret in the mouth of the dragon. Separating the upper from the lower row is a handsome border of Romanesque ornament.

The altarpiece in the sanctuary della Vertighe at Monte San Savino shows, besides the Madonna and Child in the centre, as described, the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Assumption of the Virgin, and six figures in the side compartments; for this panel, now broken up, was originally a triptych. On account of the great veneration in which it is held, this painting is visible only on rare occasions; I therefore think it will be helpful if I give a more detailed account of it.

The panel, without the laterals, measures some 42×30 inches and the general aspect is very similar to that in the National Gallery; the animals, half dragon, half lion, which support the Virgin's throne are the same, but here we see the Madonna offering the Child Jesus a bunch of grapes; her head dress was originally identical, but in the 18th century her head was covered, as was the Child's, with a golden crown. The central part of the panel is about 18 ins. in width. On the decorated throne is a red, pointed cushion; the Virgin wears a dress of blue with white flowers; the Infant is clothed in deep purple and gold. The faces resemble those of the London panel; the eyes are very big, the flesh is a brownish colour, against which the lips look a deep red; the features are outlined in white; the shadows under the eyes like all the other shadows are extremely dark. On the rest of the panel are four scenes, each measuring $11\frac{1}{4} \times 10$ ins., in which a great deal of golden background is visible. They are placed two on either side of the Madonna and separated from one another by a handsome border of floral decoration, as in the London picture; a smaller edging in the same style is found in the upper and lower borders of the panel. The scenes represent: on the left, the Annunciation and the Nativity; on the right, the Assumption and the Adoration of the Magi, the name of the subject being inscribed on each.

In the Annunciation a third person — the servant — is seen in an adjacent room. The Nativity, as in the London specimen, shows the Byzantine composition; the Virgin is lying on a mattress inside a cave; to the right is placed the manger, which a shepherd is approaching, while above angels announce the glad tidings; St. Joseph is seen sitting in the left hand corner. The Virgin in the Assumption is represented in a mandorla carried to Heaven by angels. In the Adoration of the Magi one of the wise men kneels before the Child Jesus; the others are shown standing. These small scenes, like those of the painting in the National Gallery, London, reveal a level of execution greatly superior to that of Margaritone's large figures. The signature is to be found in a greyish-brown border at the foot of the central panel.



Fig. 176- Margaritone
d'Arezzo, St Francis
Gallery, Siena.

Photo Alinari.

While this one precious part is safely locked away in a recess above the high altar of the church, the pieces which originally formed the wings are with much less care kept in a dark niche behind the same altar, where it is far from easy to study them. The two figures now in the centre are incomplete, and what remains is in a very damaged condition, having probably been retouched by the person who joined the two panels together. In the one half three figures — possibly the Magi — are represented, while on the other are two popes, both wearing the pallium, on which crosses are embroidered, and a curiously shaped low triangular tiara; only two of the Magi are crowned, but all three carry offerings. The general style and execution of the picture are very inferior; so much so that the question arises whether these lateral parts are the work of Margaritone or were left to an assistant. The principal colours are

blue and red; the cheeks are indicated by patches and the features by broad white lines; each hair is a separate streak, while all the rest of the drawing is heavy and the figures are decked out with clumsily set jewels.

Margaritone in his day was probably a specialist in portraits of St. Francis; he certainly painted a great many, several of which have survived. He painted them with very little variation, one being more or less the replica of another, which makes it probable that he constantly reproduced one particular original, which he no doubt thought corresponded with the actual appearance of the saint, or which might have been an original portrait executed during the life time of St. Francis. These, without exception, are signed. Such portraits are to be found in the Galleries of Arezzo, Siena (fig. 176) and the Vatican, and there is one, much restored, in the church of Ghagheretto in the Valdarno. All show the saint, his head covered by his cowl, holding a book pressed against his body with one hand, while the other is uplifted before him, palm outwards. The one in the church of S. Francesco at Castiglione Fiorentino, in which the background is restored, depicts the saint a little differently; his head is slightly turned, and in one hand he holds a cross. Milanesi mentions two others, one in the Cappuccini church at Sinagaglia, while in his time the other was offered for sale in Florence. Both, however, have disappeared, as well as a third which Cavalcaselle saw in the monastery of Sarziano near Arezzo, while the panel in the collection of Christ Church, Oxford, which is sometimes referred to as a work of Margaritone's, is merely a late copy of the 13th century picture of the saint which we find in Sta. Croce, Florence (¹).

The church of S. Domenico of Arezzo contains a badly damaged fresco of the Entombment, full of dramatic feeling, which has been attributed, not without some doubt, to Margaritone (²). Personally I cannot see that there are any arguments in favour of this hypothesis, nor of the attribution to Margaritone of the two crucifixes in the churches of S. Domenico and S. Francesco of Arezzo,

(¹) *T. Borenius*, Pictures by the old Masters in the Library of Christ Church Oxford, Oxford, 1916, p. 19

(²) *M. Salmi*, Un affresco primitivo in S. Domenico di Arezzo, *Rassegna d'Arte*, X, 1910, fasc. 12. *Klvoskumsky e Salmi*, op. cit., p. 37.

which we have already described⁽¹⁾. Cavalcaselle mentions a signed work of Margaritone's, formerly in the Wornum collection, London, representing the Virgin and Child with SS. Bruno and Benedict and two Cistercian monks, and he also informs us that he executed some frescoes in the church of S. Clemente in Arezzo which were destroyed by the fire of 1547.



Fig. 177. Follower of Margaritone d'Arezzo, St. Francis. S. Francesco-a Ripa, Rome.

Photo Alinari

the panels now in London and San Savino is clearer than in the portraits of St. Francis. As to temperament, this artist must be classed with the Berlinghieris and di Tedice.

Of the numerous works of unknown artists belonging to this

(1) In the Jarves Collection of Yale University a Madonna between two saints with lateral scenes and a small triptych which will be described later, are wrongly attributed to the school of Margaritone. *Sirén*, Descriptive Catalogue etc., nos 3 and 4.

The Byzantine elements in Margaritone's works, if not entirely absent, are quite extrinsic, being limited to a few conventional folds in the drapery and certain iconographical details. The spirit and general technique of Margaritone's work is Romanesque. This is obvious from the types of the faces, the proportions — e. g. the large heads which strike the eye in all the portraits of St. Francis, — the decorative design, and lastly, the dramatic feeling shown by the figures, which are somewhat ungracefully and crudely rendered, but are full of life and unrestrained in gesture. A true Romanesque feature is the manner in which he represents the whole of the eye when painting a profile. The colouring in

group I should first like to mention those representing St. Francis, since the whole movement was, as I have already stated, the popular aspect of the art which had its origin in the "Poverello" of Assisi.

The first of these is a portrait of the saint executed in much the same spirit as those of Margaritone. It is a three-quarter length figure, showing St. Francis in a cowl and carrying a cross, and is to be found in the chapel, above the choir of S. Francesco a Ripa in Rome (fig. 177). The type of the saint resembles, but is not a mere reproduction of, that adopted by the painter of Arezzo.

There are seven different panels in which St. Francis, as central figure, is surrounded by small scenes. One of these, to be seen at Pescia, is the work of Bonaventura Berlinghieri. This we have already described; another must be classified with the productions of the school of Guido da Siena, while the five others belong to this group. On the whole these representations contain more Byzantine elements than the other works of this movement. This is especially the case in the painting to be seen in the sacristy of S. Francesco, Assisi, which has two small scenes on either side of the central saint, who is here depicted with a half-open book in one and a cross in the other of his wounded hands (fig. 178). His bare head is almost spherical, while his ascetic face is very thin, the drawing of the features consisting chiefly of straight lines. The staring eyes are without expression. The hair and beard are black. The finely-drawn small scenes, especially in the domed architecture, show a marked Byzantine influence. Of these Prof. Venturi believes the first or upper one on the left to represent the Roman lady Frangipani at the grave of St. Francis, below which is the healing of an infirm person. On the right we see, in the upper painting, the cure of a demoniac, and in the lower an old man kneeling in prayer before an altar⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Prof. Thode saw in the Vatican a similar representation in which he found so much in common with this picture that he did not hesitate to attribute it to the same master; the chief difference being that the head was cowed, and the small scenes, although depicting the same subjects, showed slight variations in their composition. v. *H. Thode*, *Franz von Assisi und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien*, 2^e aufl., Berlin, 1904, p. 77. I cannot discover which picture Prof. Thode refers to here, as there is no panel corresponding with this description in the Vatican Gallery at the present time.

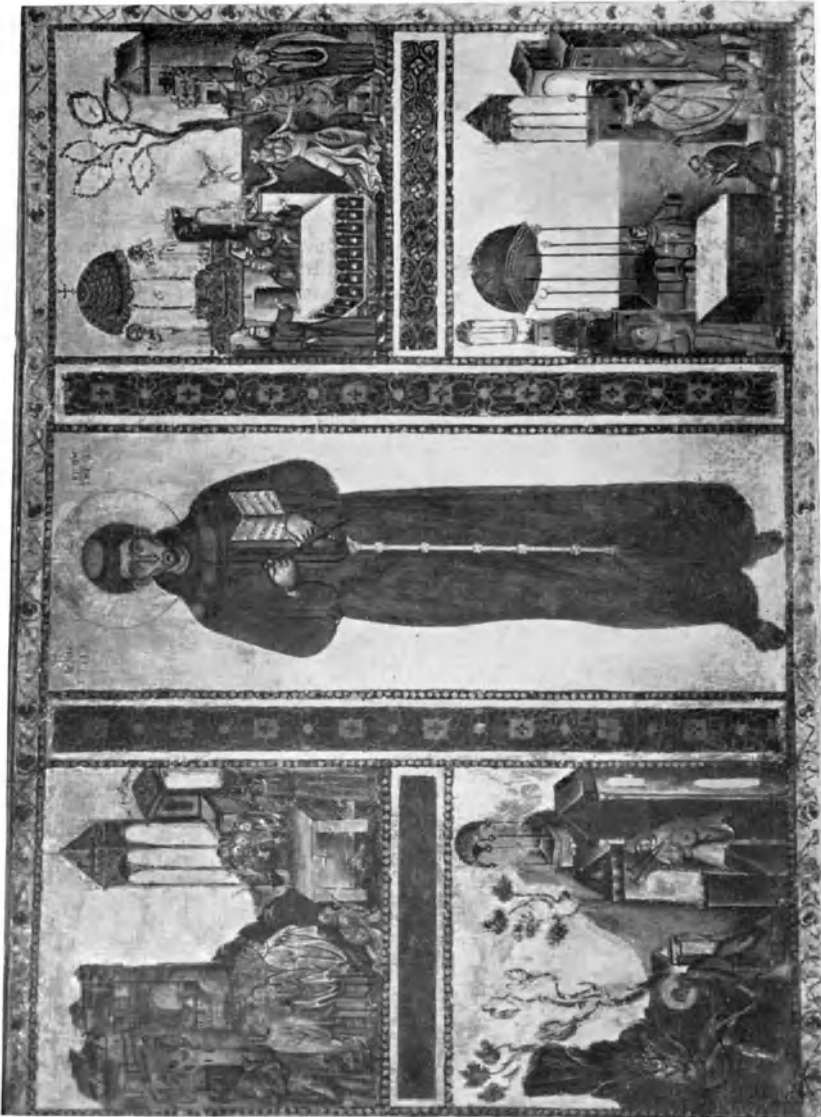


Fig. 178. St. Francis and Scenes from his Legend. Tuscan school, 2nd half of the XIII century. S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Benvenuto

In the sacristy of S. Francesco, Pistoia, another painting of the saint manifests many Byzantine elements, which are likewise plainly visible in the architecture of the surrounding scenes. How-



Fig. 179. St. Francis and Scenes from his Legend, 2nd half of the XIII century.
S. Francesco, Pistoia.

Photo Minist. Publ. Isti

ever a certain spontaneity and freedom of movement characterize it as belonging to this group (fig. 179). The face is peculiar, even ugly, but the drawing is not so linear as in that already described. One hand is uplifted against his body, while in the other he holds a book; the stigmata are absent, and the cowl is hanging down his back, as indicated by the folds at the sides of the neck. Of the eight scenes which decorate the panel laterally, the uppermost



Fig. 180. St. Francis and twenty Scenes from his Legend, Florentine school, 2nd half of the XIII century Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Alinari



Photo Bregi.

Fig. 18r. Detail of fig. 18o.

Fig 18r Detail.



Fig. 182. St Francis and Scenes from his Life. 2nd half of the XIII century. S. Francesco, Pisa.

Photo Reali.

in each row is triangular in shape, allowing space for the two medallions which occupy the upper angles; the other scenes are broader than they are long, and all illustrate events from the life of St. Francis, or miraculous recoveries at his grave. The Oriental influence is manifest in the refined Byzantine technique, as well as in the frequency of the dome-shaped structures among the houses. Inferior and more schematic in design is the dark representation of the saint over the altar of the Bardi

chapel in Sta. Croce, Florence (figs. 180 and 181) ⁽¹⁾. We see him marked with the stigmata, carrying a book in one hand and bestowing his blessing with the other; his cowl hangs to one side, over his left shoulder, revealing thick black hair about a wide tonsure.

The drawing of the drapery and of the unpleasant face is hard and linear, displaying the characteristics of the Byzantine decadence, which are especially evident in the oval beard and the faceted folds of the saint's gown. The two angels over his head are executed in the same imperfect manner. Twenty small scenes, illustrating his life and miracles, are placed around the central figure: there are six rather larger scenes on either side, and eight smaller ones in two rows beneath these. The design is somewhat rigid but not without dramatic feeling; the weakness of composition becomes very evident when the artist attempts to depict a group: as for instance, in the scene of St. Francis preaching to the birds, where his audience is represented as hovering in stiff little rows in the air. Crowe and Cavalcaselle believed this to be the work of Margaritone d'Arezzo, but Prof. Thode has already, and rightly, protested against this opinion. The painting has some connection with the Pistoia panel, but I find the latter of slightly superior workmanship, while the Florentine picture is decidedly more Romanesque.

Another dark picture of the same school is to be found over the altar of a chapel in S. Francesco, Pisa (fig. 182) ⁽²⁾. According to Vasari it is the work of Cimabue, but the hard linear drawing contra-indicates this attribution. The saint is represented raising the right hand and holding a book in the left; near his head are two small half-figures of angels, below each of which are three scenes of events from the saint's life; once more, with a great deal of architectural detail in the background, in which the Byzantine dome is noticeable.

In the church of S. Antonio at Amalfi there existed a panel showing a long figure of St. Francis in the centre and some considerably damaged small scenes at the sides, which was entirely

⁽¹⁾ There exists in the church of Aquasparta (Umbria) a 17th century copy in oils of this picture.

⁽²⁾ *M. Salmi*, Una tavola primitiva nella chiesa di S. Francesco a Pisa, *Rivista d'Arte*, VII, 1910, p. 67.



Fig 183 St. Catherine and Scenes from her Legend Pisan school, third quarter of the XIII century. Gallery, Pisa

Photo Minist. Publ. Ist.

unknown until quite recently when it was stolen from the church. The floating drapery and coarse execution do not allow us to classify this picture with the Tuscan group. It is probably a production of a local artist.

In the Johnson collection, Philadelphia, we find a small panel of superior workmanship, on which St. Francis with an adoring friar is represented, doubtless a lateral scene of a similar picture.

As I said before, these panels, especially the one in Pisa, are more Byzantine in aspect than the generality of works belonging to this group; but as regards their general atmosphere they illustrate the Western rather than the Eastern tendency, moreover, these Oriental elements have become purely external in the Pistoia panel and are still less evident in the Florentine picture.



Fig 184 Detail of fig. 183

Photo Minst. Publ. Istr.



Fig. 185 Mary Magdalene and Scenes from her Life,
Florentine school. 1270–80. Accademia, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

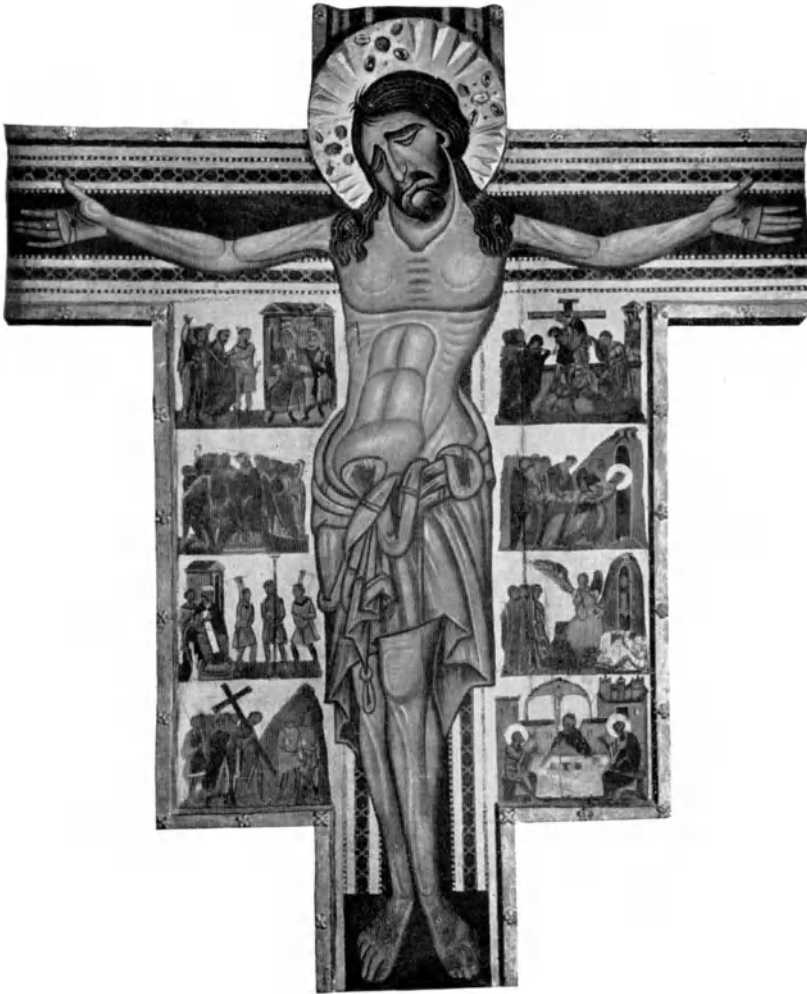


Fig. 186. Crucifix. Tuscan school, 2nd half of the XIII century Accademia, Florence.

Photo Alinari

Other pictures of saints, surrounded by scenes from their histories, were obviously modelled on those of St. Francis. One of these is a large panel of St. Clare of Assisi, with scenes from her life, now in Sta. Chiara of that city; but this painting will be described in connection with the Umbrian school, while two others of similar composition also belong to this group.

The first of these, in the Gallery of Pisa, represents St. Cather-

ine of Alexandria and eight narrative illustrations (figs. 183 and 184). In this panel, which Vasari attributed to Margaritone, the principal figure is depicted in gorgeous attire, a magnificent coat of heraldic design hanging from her shoulders; she wears a heavy crown, and is richly adorned with jewels. The figures of the small scenes really resemble to a certain extent those of Margaritone, and the extremely clear colouring, although surpassing his in brilliancy, reminds us even more definitely of the work of Enrico di Tedice. In the two last scenes on the right we see that peculiar mosaic work as of cut stones which we noted in the paintings of a follower of Bonaventura Berlinghieri; the architecture too, and the curiously shaped mountains, favoured by this artist, are again reproduced here. The panel, however, is apparently of a somewhat later date, having been executed probably sometime after the middle of the 13th century.

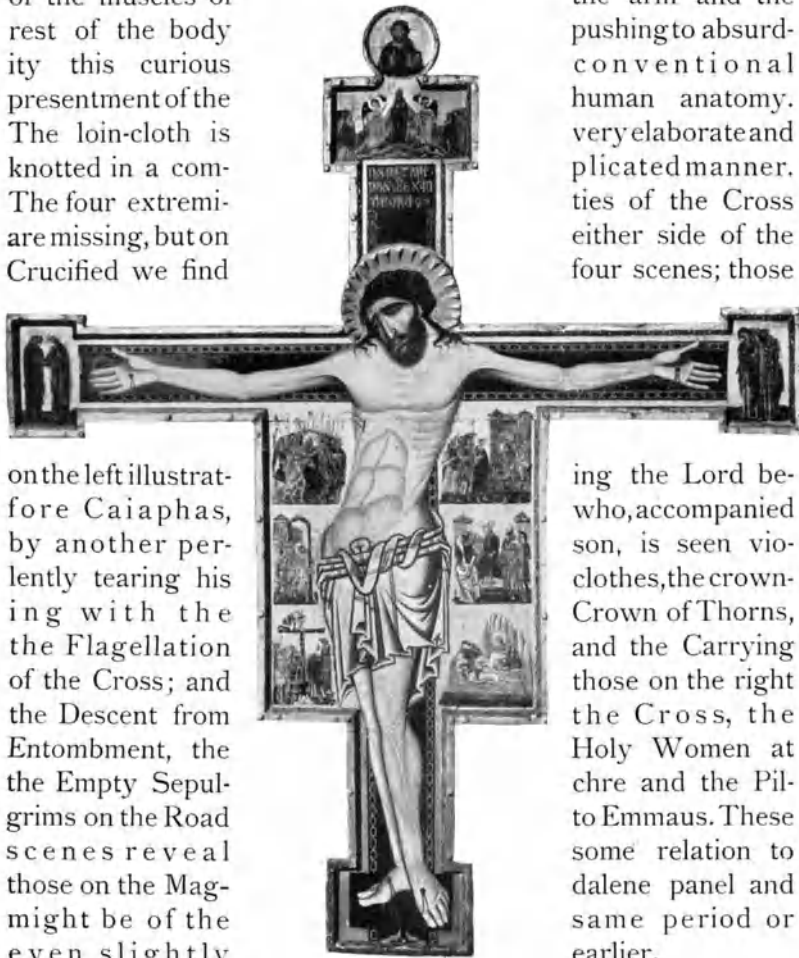
A picture of Mary Magdalene surrounded by eight small scenes from her life, in the Accademia of Florence (fig. 185) seems to be of later date still, and may have been painted between 1270 and 1280. The saint, covered by her hair, holds an inscription in one hand and raises the other open, with the palm outwards, before her body. The position of her feet is, as we usually find in such like representations, similar to that of the Lord's on the Cross. The four scenes on either side illustrate her legend from the moment of anointing the feet of the Saviour until her death, including the *Noli me Tangere* and the Resurrection of Lazarus. They are depicted with a certain sober lucidity of composition, and although the actions are not rendered with much animation, the picture is absolutely free of Oriental elements. Its spirit is purely Occidental, as are also the types, particularly that of the saint herself, with her red-spotted cheeks.

Two crucifixes, not so much because of the central figure, which might lead us to class these works as a late outcome of Giunta's manner, but because of the small surrounding scenes, belong to this category of works, founded on the Romanesque tradition modified by Byzantine influences.

One of them was recently removed from the Uffizi (no. 4) to the Accademia of Florence (fig. 186). The Saviour is represented as dead, but almost erect on the Cross; his face has a pained and disagreeable expression. The general design, with its numer-

ous curves and circles, is schematic in the extreme; the drawing of the muscles of rest of the body ity this curious presentment of the The loin-cloth is knotted in a com- The four extremi- are missing, but on Crucified we find

the arm and the pushing to absurd-conventional human anatomy. very elaborate and plicated manner. ties of the Cross either side of the four scenes; those



on the left illustrating Caiaphas, by another perceptibly tearing his ing with the the Flagellation of the Cross; and the Descent from Entombment, the the Empty Sepulgrims on the Road scenes reveal those on the Mag- might be of the even slightly

ing the Lord be- who, accompanied son, is seen vio- clothes, the crown- Crown of Thorns, and the Carrying those on the right the Cross, the Holy Women at chre and the Pil- to Emmaus. These some relation to dalene panel and same period or earlier.

The crucifix of is of greater ar- (figs. 187 and 188). noble, and the

Fig. 187 Crucifix, Tuscan School, end of the XIII century. Gallery, San Gimignano.

Photo Brogi.

San Gimignano tistic importance The features are schematic design

is pronounced only in the anatomy of the chest. The curve of the body is slightly more marked than in the previous painting; the loin-cloth is nearly as elaborate, but here the left leg and foot almost completely cover the right, only a small part of the latter remaining visible. The terminals have here been preserved and



Fig. 188. Detail of fig. 187.

Photo Logi

show us, first the Ascension, in which we see the Virgin with two angels and the Apostles, and, in a medaillon superimposed on the upper extremity of the Cross, a half-length figure of the Lord, while at the ends of the cross-bar groups of mourners are depicted; the lateral scenes represent, on the left, the Kiss of Judas, the Flag-

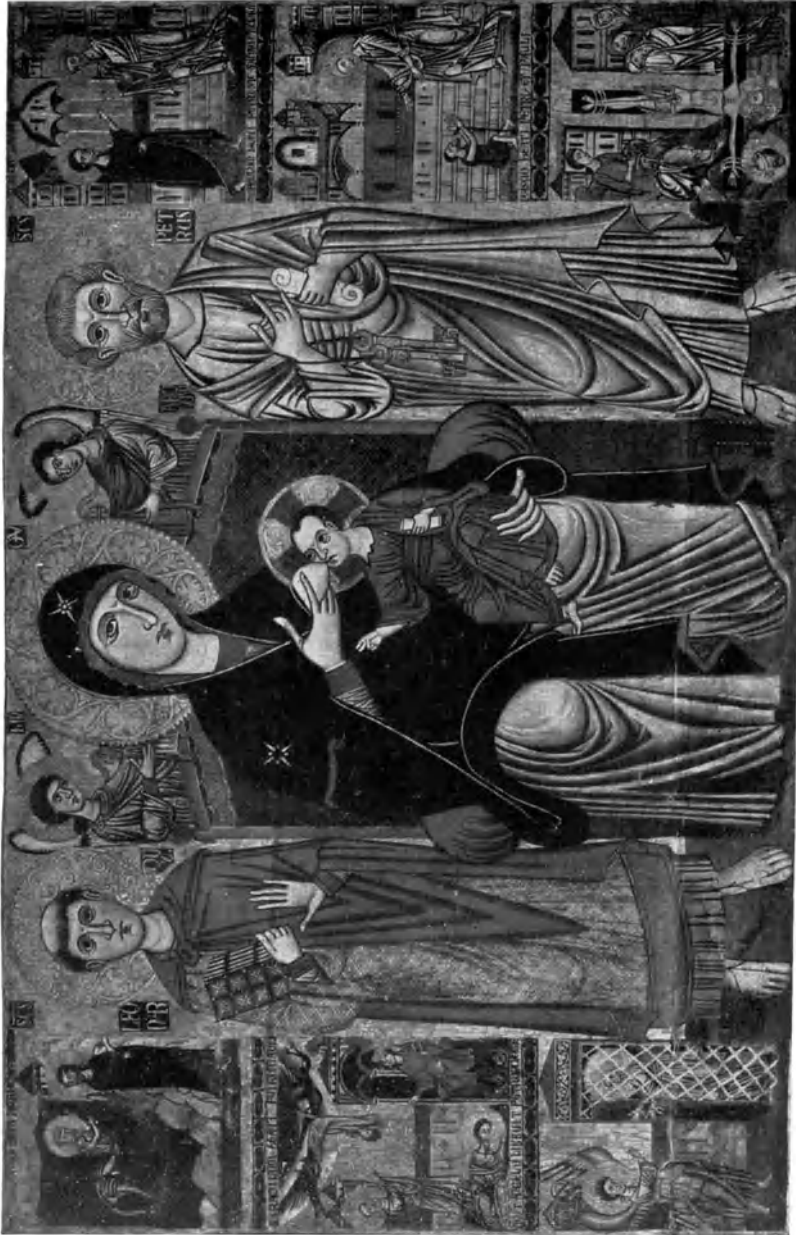


Fig. 189. Madonna, Saints and Scenes from the History of St. Peter, Florentine school, middle of the XIII century. Yale University, U.S.A.

Photo July.

Fig. 189. Madonna

ellation and the Lord preparing to mount on the Cross (a very rare scene); and on the right the Saviour before Caiaphas, who, as on the Florentine crucifix, is rending his garments, and is accompanied by another person seated near him; the Mocking of the Saviour, and the Entombment We have here a greater refine-



Fig. 190. Madonna, Florentine school, 2nd half of the XIII century. Accademia, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

ment of execution and more feeling in the representation of action than exist in the panel previously described. It is, of course, rather later in date, no doubt approaching the end of the 13th century.

Among the pictures of the Madonna which belong to this movement is one embellished with small lateral scenes which now forms part of the collection of Yale University (fig. 189). In the centre the Madonna is represented feeding the Divine Infant: two half-figures of angels look over the back of the throne, beside which stand SS. Laurence and Peter. To the right and the left of these are depicted three scenes from the story of St. Peter; the Lord calling him on the

water, the fall of Simon Magus, the angel delivering Peter from prison, Christ sending him forth to convert unbelievers, his cure of a lame person and the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul. This picture, which has been attributed to Margaritone's studio (¹), seems to me rather of Florentine origin. The shape of

¹ *O. Siren, A descriptive Catalogue etc.. n^o. 3*



Fig 191. Triptych, Florentine school, middle of the XIII century.
Blumenthal Collection, New York.

the throne and the angels looking over the back remind us of Coppo; the standing saints, especially St. Peter, and the small scenes, have many points in common with the above-mentioned panel of

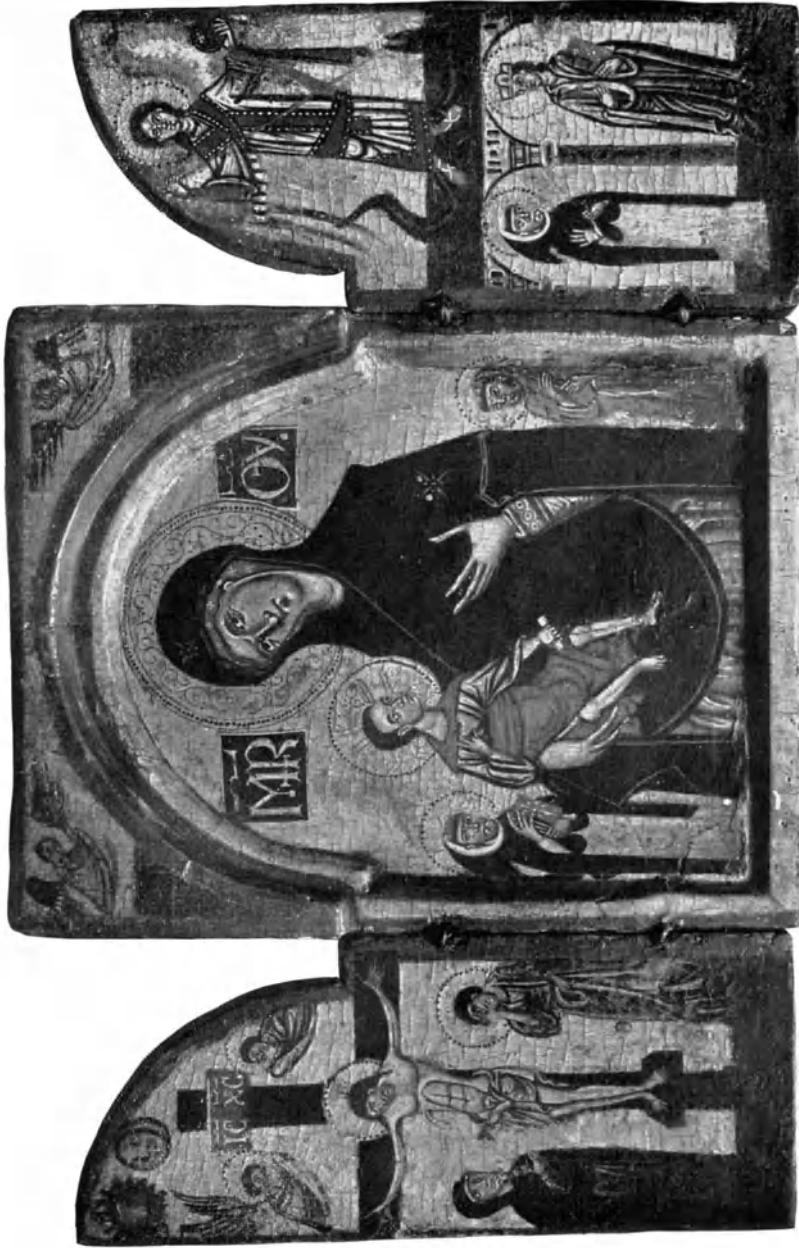


Fig. 192. Triptych.

Fig. 192. Triptych. Florentine school, beginning of the 2nd half of the XIII century. Yale University, U.S.A.

the Magdalene, while the broad folds of the lower part of the Madonna's dress are, as we have already remarked, a typically Florentine feature. The artistic capacity of the author of this panel does not seem to have been very great; on the other hand, the execution and the decorative details show so much care that we cannot suppose it to have been made by some provincial master working in the neighbourhood of a larger centre; consequently we must regard it as a genuine Florentine work. Moreover we find in Florence another panel of the Madonna executed quite in the same manner. This piece has also recently been removed from the Uffizi (no. 2) to the Accademia. Here we see the Virgin and Child, both crowned, the former carefully holding in both arms the Infant Jesus, Who raises one hand in blessing, the other holding a scroll (fig. 190). The simple form of the throne again bears some resemblance to this detail in Coppo's work. In the upper corners of the panel two isolated half-length figures of angels are depicted. In style, feeling and technique there is much in common between this picture and that previously described. Once more we note the broad folds of the Virgin's dress, but here the execution is somewhat coarser.

The same may be said of a triptych in the Blumenthal collection in New York (fig. 191), which bears, moreover, a striking resemblance to that in the Jarves collection. Here, however, the Madonna is facing in the opposite direction. The similarities of the figures may be due to the fact that this painting is slightly older, and, I think, should be placed about the middle of the 13th century. To the side of the Madonna are the figures of SS. Peter and Paul, and above these is an Annunciation. On the left we find the Saviour in a curiously decorated mandorla, the Last Supper, which, according to Byzantine iconography, is taken round a semi-circular table, and the Betrayal of Judas. On the right the scenes of the Crucifixion and the Flagellation show in the background the low wall so typical of Tuscany; between them is the Carrying of the Cross.

Although somewhat more schematic in design, a small triptych in the Jarves collection at Yale University belongs also to this group (fig. 192) ⁽¹⁾. We see in the centre the half-figure of the

(1) *Sirén*, A descriptive Catalogue, No. 4.



Fig. 193. Madonna, Florentine school, 2nd half of the XIII century.
Private Collection.

Virgin holding the Child in her right arm; on either side of her head is a monogram, one in Greek, the other in Latin; beneath these, on either side, stand the small figures of St. Francis and St.



Fig 194 The Virgin between the two SS. John, Pisan school, 2nd half of the XIII century. Cathedral Museum, Pisa. Photo Minist Publ Istr,

Dominic (?), while the spandrels above contain two half-length figures of angels, which have many points in common with those in the panel of the Madonna now in the Accademia of Florence.

The wings show on one side the Lord on the Cross, accompanied by the Virgin, St. John, two angels and the sun and moon, while on the other side we see, above, St. Michael slaying the dragon, and below, St. Dominic(?) and a crowned female saint.

An enthroned Madonna, holding the Child on her right knee, in the Loeser collection, Florence, belongs to quite the same type as the Madonnas of Stia and S. Michele of Rovezzano but is more Romanesque in appearance.

Several other representations of the Madonna may be regarded as belonging to the Romanesque tradition. One of these, which forms part of a private collection (fig. 193), shows us the half-length figure of the Virgin in an attitude resembling that already noted in several examples to be found in Pisa; an attitude which we shall encounter again in certain Sieneſe productions; she holds one open hand before her body, palm outwards, and carries the Child in the other arm. It is a very typical production of this tradition, and in style and feeling shows some relation to the work of Margaritone. Another representation of the Virgin is more important. It is a detached fresco in the Cathedral Museum (Seminarium) of Pisa (fig. 194) showing the Virgin seated on a throne with a very low back and holding with both hands the Child, with one hand raised in blessing. Arcades divide the central figure from the two SS. John, who stand one on either side (1).

Two other half-length representations of the Madonna executed in this style, are found, the one in the Worcester Museum (U. S. A.) (2), the other in the Fogg Art Museum; both date from the end of the 13th century and are probably of Florentine origin. Some other panels showing the Madonna facing the spectator combine Byzantine majesty of aspect with Romanesque forms. One of these in which the Madonna is seated on a throne above the back of which two angels are seen, is found in the church of S. Andrea at Rovezzano. Two others, both half-length figures are preserved in the Cathedral of Fiesole and in a private collection in Stockholm (3), while an enthroned Madonna in the Hamilton collection, New York, previously in Paris, forms the connecting link between

(1) This fresco was reproduced by *Rosmi*, *Stor della pitt ital*, I, p 76

(2) In the Museum Bulletin of January 1922 this picture, without any reason, was attributed to Guido da Siena.

(3) *Swan*, *op cit*, pl 7



Fig 195. Crucifixion and the Madonna, Tuscan school, end of the XIII century.
Private Collection.

this little group and similar Madonnas of the Byzantine tradition. Again, we find half-length representations of the Madonna forming part of small panel paintings. A similar picture may be found in a diptych of about the year 1300, which belonged to the Sterbini collection in Rome, and was shown in the exhibition of By-

zantine art held at Grottaferrata⁽¹⁾. The left-hand half of the diptych shows, as regards the upper part, the Virgin holding the Child, and a half-length figure of Joseph. Beneath this stand the three saints, Lawrence, Philip and the Baptist, all very Byzantine in appearance. The right half shows the Crucifixion, with a low wall in the background, between the Virgin and St. John, with Mary Magdalene kissing the feet of the Lord, and beneath this St. Francis receiving the stigmata, and St. Louis of Toulouse. The figures on this half are in no wise Oriental; they are elongated and slightly curved, reminding us rather of the Gothic type; the feeling too, seems quite Occidental. Another panel, also in two divisions, forming part of a private collection, belongs to the same tradition (fig. 195). Again the upper half represents the Crucifixion, in which the lower part of the background once more consists of a low wall, while only the Virgin and St. John are seen beside the Cross. The lower division is occupied by a half-length figure of the Madonna carrying the Child. Her head is slightly bowed; the back of the throne describes a curve and consists of a curtain hanging from a rod: two details of very ancient origin.

Such like panels, also showing Gothic elements, are found in the Gallery of Modena, where the upper part contains a Crucifixion, the lower the Entombment, and in the Gallery of Faenza where the subjects are the Crucifixion and the Descent into Limbo.

The last work belonging to this group which I should like to mention is the extensive decoration of S. Piero a Grado near Pisa (fig. 196). Here we see thirty-one scenes from the lives of SS. Peter and Paul decorating the nave of the church, beneath which we find a long series of portraits of the Popes⁽²⁾. Above some of the scenes angels are depicted looking through half-opened windows.

It would be of little use again to describe this long series of paintings, as this has already been very completely done by Dr.

⁽¹⁾ *A. Venturi*, Un dittico attribuito a Cimabue nell'esposizione di Grottaferrata, *L'Arte*, 1905, p. 199. *The same*, Storia dell'arte Italiana, V, figs. 93 and 94. *Munoz*, L'art byzantin à l'Exposition de Grottaferrata. Rome, 1906, p. 6

⁽²⁾ *I. B. Supino*, Arte Pisana, Florence, 1904, p. 257. *The same*, Pisa, Bergamo, 1905, p. 79. *P. D' Achardi*, Gli affreschi di S. Piero a Grado presso Pisa, Atti del Congr. internaz. di Scien Stor. VII 4. Rome, 1905. *A. Bellini Pietri*, Gli affreschi di S. P. a G., Rassegna d'Arte. 1903, p. 70. *Aubert*, Die Malerische Dekoration der S. Francesco Kirche, Leipz., 1907, p. 110

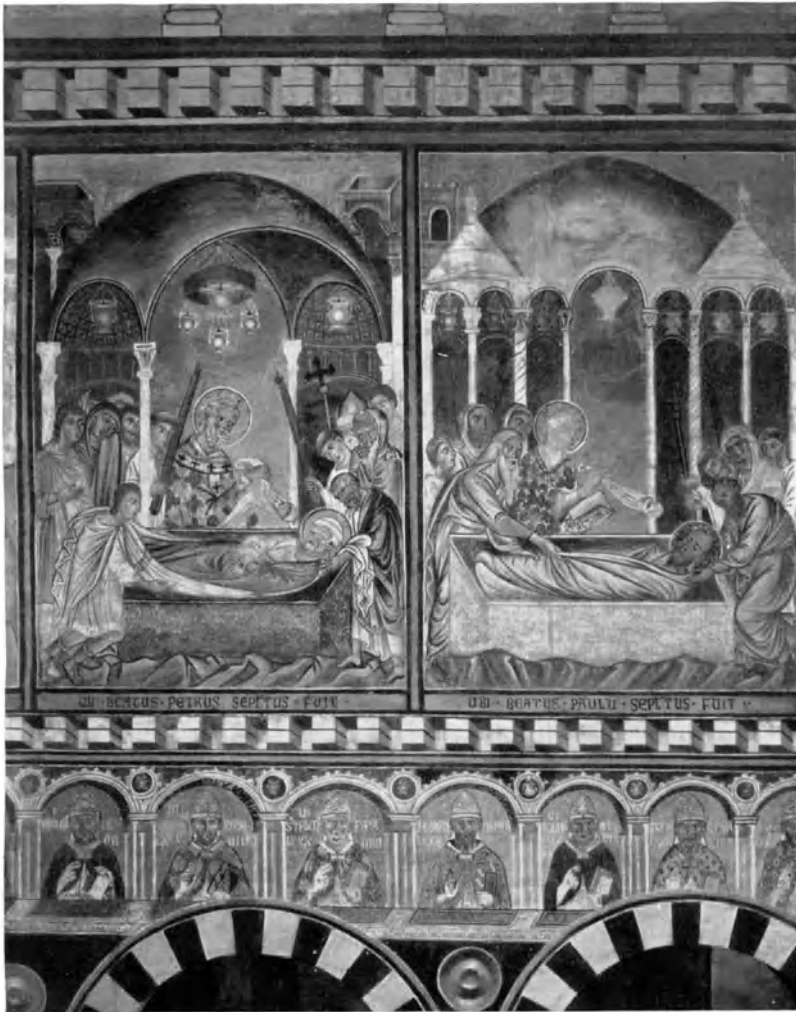


Fig. 196. Scenes from the Histories of SS Peter and Paul, end of the XIII century. S Piero a Grado near Pisa. Photo Biagi

D'Achiardi. This author has already pointed out the numerous characteristics which this series has in common with the old paintings in St. Peter's church in Rome, known to us only from Grimaldi's drawings. This similarity seems to prove that for such popular saints as SS Peter and Paul there existed an iconographical tradition just as rigidly observed as in the case of illustrations of scenes from the Gospels.

Dr. D'Achiardi has been able to date these frescoes with great exactness on account of the coat-of-arms of the Gaetani family, which is depicted in one of these paintings, for documentary evidence informs us that between 1300 and 1312 Benedetto Gaetani was the highest dignitary of this church. He received this office from his uncle Boniface VIII, and it seems that if the series of portraits had been continued, there would have just been sufficient space to include the portrait of this pontiff. These arguments are so convincing that we may regard the long controversy as to the period of these frescoes as settled. Various dates from the 11th century onward have been proposed in the past.

I am not convinced of the attribution to Deodato Orlandi made by Dr. D'Achiardi; moreover these paintings at different times have erroneously been ascribed to Margaritone, Gaddo Gaddi and Cavallini. Deodato is more faithful to Byzantium than this artist, who, although later and slightly more Oriental than Margaritone, has some points in common with him: such for example as the representation of the whole eye in profiles. Notwithstanding some Byzantine elements in the drapery and the architecture — which latter, however, as Dr. D'Achiardi notes, is not free from Roman elements — the features and movements, and the general spirit of this decoration is as Romanesque as the other works of the same group.

Casting a glance back over the material which we have dealt with in this long chapter, we find that in this region Pisa dominated all artistic activities. The Franciscan movement, which naturally first flourished in Umbria, found in the Pisan artist Giunta, the master who best interpreted the Franciscan conception of the crucifix, and his fame must have been wide-spread, for we find him called to Assisi, where he painted at least two crucifixes; but he must certainly have executed other works also to explain the survival of his school in later years, as represented by the Master of St. Francis and his followers.

The Franciscan crucifix was the only new achievement which artists in this region of Tuscany accomplished during the 13th century. What I venture to call the Romanesque current was the survival of an older form of art, which was now adapted to a fresh aspect — to the didactic element of Franciscan art. This

change, however, did not necessitate a new style. As for the Byzantine tradition, no essential variation taking place, it continued much the same as we know it to have been in earlier times.

Pisa, then, of these cities, was the only one to produce something really new, and there also the two other currents — the Byzantine and the Romanesque — flourished more vigorously than elsewhere. Lucca, where an important artistic movement took place during the 12th century, Pistoia and Arezzo seem to have profited only by their vicinity to this more influential centre, while the important city of Florence produced a large quantity of paintings, both of the Byzantine and of the Romanesque tradition but, on the whole, so conventional, that, with the exception of some parts of the mosaics of the Baptistery, nothing foretold the appearance of such geniuses as Cimabue and Giotto ⁽¹⁾

(¹) Other Franciscan crucifixes are to be found at *Bologna*, Museo Civico, no. 190 of the Giunta Pisano tradition with figures of the Virgin and St. John. *Bologna*, S. Domenico, eighth chapel to the left, a crucifix with half-figures of the Virgin, St. John and God the Father. *Cologne*, Kunstgewerbe-Museum, a rough and very schematic painting with half-figures of the Virgin and St. John. *Faenza*, Gallery, a fine, markedly Byzantine work adorned with gems, besides the Virgin and St. John we see here St. Francis at the foot of the Cross. *Florence*, Loeser collection, a work of great refinement and probably by the same hand as the crucifix at San Gimignano (fig. 164). *London*, d'Hendecourt collection, a very dramatic piece of painting with the Eternal above, the Virgin and St. John at one side and a small devotee at the Saviour's feet (*Sirèn*, op. cit., fig. 130 erroneously connects it with Cimabue's school). *Pisa*, Rosini, op. cit., pl. 5 reproduces a crucifix showing the Lord with open eyes, the Virgin, St. John and the Eternal once upon a time in the Casa Rossi. *Volterra*, Gallery, crucifix of the end of the 13th century with half-figures of the Virgin, St. John and the Eternal. *Worcester*, U. S. A., Art Museum, a crucifix of the end of the 13th century with the Virgin and St. John at the sides and three small adorers at the foot of the Cross, probably Florentine; in the museum Bulletin of January 1923, it is erroneously attributed to Bonaventura Berlinghieri. *Zara*, convent of Sta. Maria, a crucifix of the later part of the 13th century although the Lord's eyes are open.

CHAPTER VII.

THE XIII CENTURY PAINTERS OF SIENA AND UMBRIA, INCLUDING FABRIANO.

If I separate Siena from the other Tuscan centres of artistic activity in the 13th century, it is because there exist certain elements which differentiate it, although essentially it is much the same. First of all Giunta's dramatic spirit had no influence on the pictorial production of this city, and we find no trace of mosaic workers; but, on the other hand, in the latter half of the 13th century we meet with paintings which betray such a striking similarity to the Byzantine miniatures that they form a group by themselves, though modified by traces of the Romanesque and Byzantine movements, and by the work of Guido da Siena and his school, whose art was the predominating factor in Siena throughout the Duecento. The type of the Madonna, the architecture in the background of many pictures, and the shell-shaped ornament, betray a certain connection with the other parts of Tuscany.

Of Guido's work we possess only one signed and dated example. This is an enormous panel of the Madonna, which now hangs in the Palazzo Pubblico, but was first mentioned as being in S. Gregorio in Campo Regio⁽²⁾, and then in S. Domenico. This picture, however, is so much repainted by a pupil of Duccio's, that as regards the principal figure only some parts of the Madonna's dress and of her throne seem original. Beyond the main panel, however, we find three angels in each of the upper corners, while a triangle above contains a half-length figure of Christ between two angels (fig. 197) all of which, happily, has not been retouched. What has, however, been repainted entirely is the signature at the foot of the panel, which reads "*Me Guido de Senis Diebus Depinxit Amenis quem X̄ps Lenis*"

(1) *R. van Marle*. La pittura Senese prima di Duccio, Rassegna d'Arte Antica e Moderna, VII, 1920, p. 265

(2) It seems very probable that this picture was previously in another church as the construction of S. Gregorio was only started in 1239: *V. Lusini*, Il Duomo di Siena, 1911, p. 69.

Nullis Velit Agere Penes Ano Di MCCXXI." The form of the letters as well as the manner in which the inscription is continued up the right-hand margin of the painting is identical with that to be seen in Duccio's own signature beneath his "Maesta", and we cannot doubt that the original was covered over when the Madonna was repainted in the Ducciesque style (¹).

It is obvious that when Milanesi began his attack upon the authenticity of this inscription, arguing that an L was missing between the last C and the first X — so that the date 1221 should read 1271 — he judged the picture from its actual aspect, not even noticing that the upper part was of a more archaic appearance than the rest (²). Strzygowski (³), Davidsohn (⁴) and many other



Fig. 197. Guido da Siena, upper part of the panel of 1221. Palazzo Pubblico, Siena

modern critics support Milanesi's theory, while Wickhoff, Thode and of late also Weigelt, believe the date 1221 to be correct (⁵). I agree with the latter. To begin with, a slight space between numerals of different value is very common in inscriptions,

(¹) I cannot understand what has led Mr. Langton Douglas to say "the inscription is the most genuine part of the picture". *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, op. cit., I, p. 161 note 2.

(²) *G. Milanesi*, Della vera età di Guido pittore senese e della celebra sua tavola in S. Domenico di Siena, Giornale degli archivi Toscani, III, 1859, and Scritti varie, Siena, 1873, p. 89.

(³) *J. Strzygowski*, Cimabue u Rom, Wien, 1888.

(⁴) *R. Davidsohn*, Guido da Siena, Repert. fur Kunstw., XXIX and Rivista d'Arte, 1907, p. 29

(⁵) *T. Wickhoff*, Ueber die Zeit des Guido von Siena, Mittheil. des Oester. Inst. f. Gesch.-forsch., X, 1889, p. 244. *H. Thode*, Studien zur Gesch. der Ital. Kunst im XIII. Jahrh., Repert. f. Kunstw., XIII, 1890, p. 1. *C. H. Weigelt*, Duccio di Buoninsegna. Leipzig, 1911, p. 211

and it seems most unlikely that when the inscription was rewritten at the beginning of the 14th century, the painter should have made a mistake of fifty years without its detection by anyone. Other arguments in favour of the earlier date have lately come to light: viz., the discovery of a Madonna, not repainted and not signed, but unquestionably by the same artist; and the fact that a picture containing part of the same inscription as Guido's panel, without the artist's name, but with the date 1270⁽¹⁾, is obviously the work of a follower, even betraying, to a certain extent, the decadence of Guido's school, so that a considerable lapse of time must divide the one from the other. Against these arguments the fact that a Guido Graziani, a Guido Cinati and other Guidos are found amongst the Sienese painters of the later 13th century is of no importance. My opinion is that the facility with which Milanesi's interpretation finds adherents even today is due to the fact that only a few critics realize the incredible slowness of artistic progress during the Duecento.

Personally I consider Guido a great painter, and one who achieved a marked advance over the Sienese artists of the 12th and the first years of the 13th century, whose works we considered in a previous chapter. He certainly was a much better artist, and I do not think of later date, than Bonaventura Berlinghieri, for he still betrays a very close connection with the Romanesque style of the 12th century.

Apart from the figures of the upper triangle of the panel in the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena, we obtain a very clear idea of Guido's art from the Madonna (fig. 198) which once belonged to the late Signor Galli-Dunn, who exhibited it in the Palazzo Bernini in Rome⁽²⁾, and at the exhibition of Sienese art held in Siena in 1904⁽³⁾, but is now in the Gallery of Siena (no. 587).

It is a smaller panel than the dated one. The Virgin is depicted supporting the Child with one hand and holding the other against her bosom. Two little angels occupy the upper corners. The throne on which the Madonna is seated displays a rich but purely Romanesque ornamentation, which we also find in that

⁽¹⁾ *A. Lisini*, Un interessante questione artistica, *Miscellanea storica senese*, III, 1905, p. 101

⁽²⁾ *Venturi*, *Stor dell' arte ital.*, V, fig. 34.

⁽³⁾ *C. Ricci*, *Il Palazzo di Siena e la mostra d'antica arte senese*, Bergamo 1904, fig. 54.



Fig 198. Guido da Siena, Madonna Gallery, Siena

Photo Alinari.

part of the picture in the Palazzo Pubblico, which has not been repainted. The type and proportions, especially the large head of the Madonna, are also Romanesque. The gold woven clothing and the plainly visible green preparation of the panel, although this latter element had been introduced much earlier into Western art, are of Byzantine origin.

I think it very likely that yet a third Madonna may be attributed to this master. In Siena, where the veneration felt for the Virgin had always been particularly great, it increased enormously after the Battle of Montaperti in 1260, at which the victory of the Sienese over the Florentines was attributed to the Virgin, whose image had been carried by their soldiers. From this moment the town took the name "Civitas Virginis", and was considered to be under the special protection of the Madonna. The image which is supposed to have given the Sienese their victory on this occasion is now kept in a special small chapel on the right of the nave of the cathedral; and to me it seems to show such an extraordinary resemblance to Guido's work in the Gallery that notwithstanding the difficulty of seeing it, on account of the veneration in which it is held and the votive offerings which cover it, I am inclined to attribute this third work to the hand of Guido da Siena⁽¹⁾

It hardly seems likely that a newly-painted panel would have been chosen for this purpose; on the contrary, it is more than probable that the picture had already gained the reputation of granting favours to its adorers; which is another argument in favour of our belief that its author lived at the beginning of the 13th century.

I do not think we can attribute other paintings to this master, although the two works which I included in the Northern Tuscan products of the Byzantine tradition — one in the Accademia of Florence, the other in the Gallery of Arezzo — seem to be copies of Guido's panel in the Palazzo Pubblico, the former especially corresponding in every detail. In the Gallery of San Gimignano a large Madonna of similar composition is attributed to Guido, but although the arrangement of the figures is the same, the work is so completely repainted that it is impossible to form any opinion on its original aspect.

There are a certain number of late 13th century panels which repeat Guido's Madonna; they seem particularly inspired by the

(1) Reprod. in *V. Lusini*, *Il Duomo di Siena*, fig. opp. p. 66.

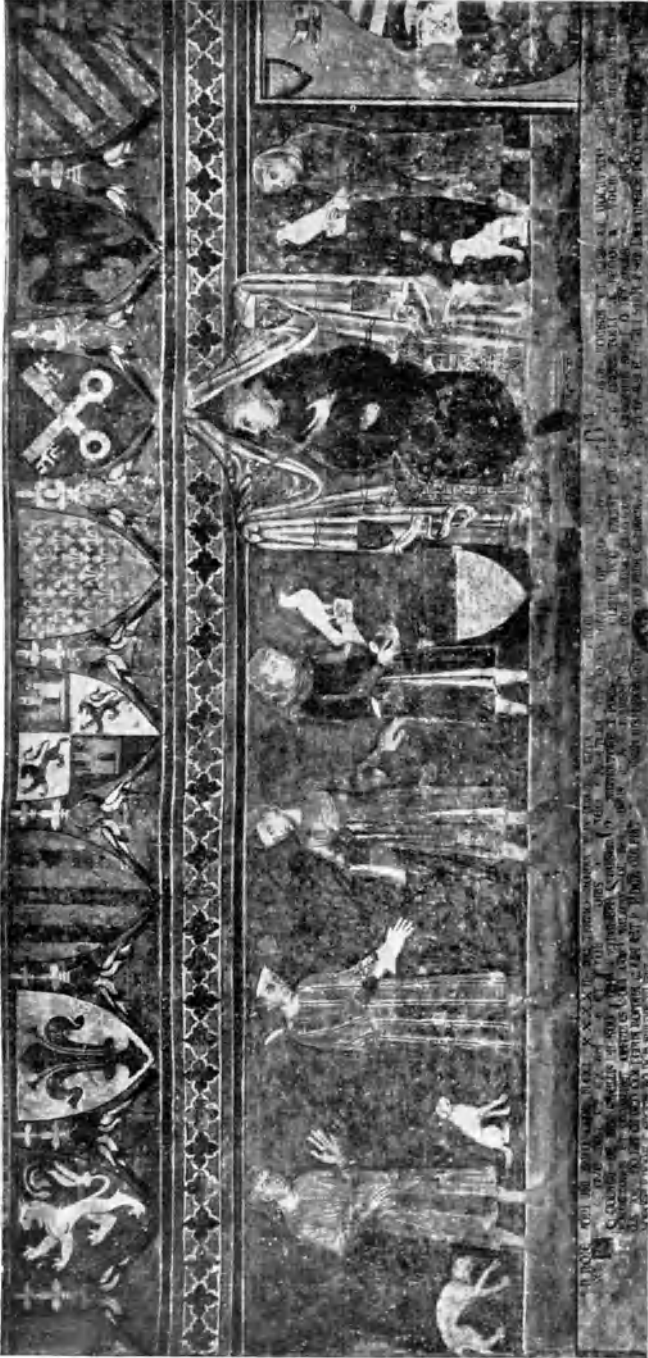


Fig. 199. Preparation for the Chase, 1242, executed under the influence of Guido da Siena. Palazzo Pubblico, San Gimignano.

Photo Progi.

panel in the cathedral, all showing the half-length figure of the Virgin; but these I shall deal with later on.

One of the first manifestations of the development of Guido's style has been preserved to us in a dated work not far from Siena. This is the decoration of the Council Room of the Palazzo Pubblico of San Gimignano, and is dated 1242. On one wall, besides numerous coats-of-arms, we see a nobleman seated on a draped throne while his valets near by prepare dogs and falcon for the chase (fig. 199). Another wall is decorated with representations of a battle between armoured knights on horseback, hunting scenes (fig. 200), animals fighting and a centaur loosing an arrow at a dragon. Besides being a very precious specimen of profane decoration, this work is highly important, as it shows us that even in 1242 no trace of Byzantine influence had yet affected the works of the school of Guido da Siena. That we have here a decoration inspired by the art of the master is obvious from its general features, and especially the technical qualities of the drawing of the faces. The same characteristic traits, as well as a reminiscence of Guido's Romanesque art, may be observed throughout the Sienese movement of the 13th century, the later productions of which, however, show evidence of a Byzantine infiltration.

Amongst these later masters there are a certain number of individual artists, some of whom are even known to us by name. They are the painters of the so-called "tavolette della Biccherna" or wooden book-covers, several of which are still preserved in the archives of Siena, while many have been sold to foreign countries⁽¹⁾. Amongst the most important is the one painted by a certain Gilio in 1258, representing a monk holding an open book seated in front of a table (fig. 201). It is an interesting and still purely Romanesque work.

The long continued survival of Guido's art in Siena is in great measure due to the fact that a very active painter of the 13th century faithfully reproduced his manner, introducing only certain

(1) *F. Ellison*, Tavolette dipinte della Biccherna di Siena, che si trovano nel Museo di Berlino, Siena, 1895. *A. Lisini*, Le tavolette dipinte di Biccherna e di Gabella, Siena, 1901, in which the older literature on this subject is quoted. *Crowe and Cavallasele*, op. cit., I, p. 159 and notes. The Gallery of Budapest possesses several of these panels; two of them showing human figures, date from 1282 and 1296. *G. von Terey*, Die Gemälde Galerie des Museums f. Bild. Kunst in Budapest, Berlin, 1916, pp. 20 and 21.



Fig 200 Hunting Scenes, 1242, influenced by Guido da Siena Palazzo Pubblico, San Gimignano.

Photo Brogi.

Oriental details, which on the one hand, added some refinements to his compositions, but, on the other, produced a slight rigidity of form, as a result of which, notwithstanding his incontestable merit, he distorted Guido's art, causing as it were the beginning of its decadence.

I think we may assume that there are two periods in the career

of this painter, one during which he was more directly inspired by Guido, and another, during which he gradually fell more and more under the influence of the Byzantine style, which was then becoming more general. The large altarpiece dated 1270 in the Gallery of Siena belongs to this latter manner, while I think his career may have begun about the year 1240.

Dating from this earlier period we possess an oblong panel in the Gallery of Siena (no. 6), showing the half-length figures of the Virgin, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. John the Evangelist and St.



Fig. 201 Gilio, Book-cover, 1258 Archives, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

Andrew (?) with angels above, between the arches which partly surround the heads of the five principal figures (fig. 202). In the same gallery we find two panels, identical in form, both being tall, with pointed tops, and both divided into four scenes, which we certainly owe to the same master. One of them (no. 4) is a product of the early period, and represents St. Francis receiving the stigmata, St. Dominic praying that Reginald may be healed, and the Blessed Andrea Gallerani giving alms to the poor, and the same holy man in prayer before the crucifix (fig. 203) Dating from about the same period is a painting on linen, divided into three parts, representing the Transfiguration, the Entry into Jerusalem

and the Resurrection of Lazarus (no. 8); moreover, the Gallery contains another painting (no. 313) by the same artist, which shows St. Francis and four scenes from his life on either side (fig. 204). Not only does the iconography of these small illustrations differ somewhat from the traditional, but a host of angels overhead gives this painting a triumphant aspect which is entirely absent from the North Tuscan representations. The saint himself is depicted carrying a cross and a book.

A panel representing the Last Judgement, in the cathedral of Grosseto (fig. 205), is probably yet another product of the early years of this artists' career. The subject is, I think, unique in the panel painting of this primitive period.



Fig. 202 Follower of Guido da Siena, Virgin and Saints. Gallery, Siena.
Photo Lombardi.

A Madonna in the Platt collection at Englewood, U. S. A. ⁽¹⁾, must have been executed some years later. Here the Virgin holds the Child with a loving gesture, and the Byzantine elements are more evident. Five small predella panels, in very bad condition and much repainted, in the Gallery of Siena, have apparently been executed in the same manner. They represent the Crucifixion, the Massacre of the Innocents, the Betrayal of Judas, the Descent from the Cross and the Entombment (fig. 206); the Adoration of the Magi, the Flight into Egypt and the Flagellation belonging to the same series are found in the Altenburg Gallery, while the one showing the Lord mounting on the Cross belongs to the Archiepiscopal Museum of Utrecht.

⁽¹⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Dipinti Senesi sconosciuti e inediti*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1914, p. 97.



Fig 203. Follower of Guido da Siena, Scenes from the Lives of St Francis, St. Dominic and the Bl. Andrea Gallerani. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.



Fig. 204. Follower of Guido da Siena. St Francis and Scenes
from his Life Gallery, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

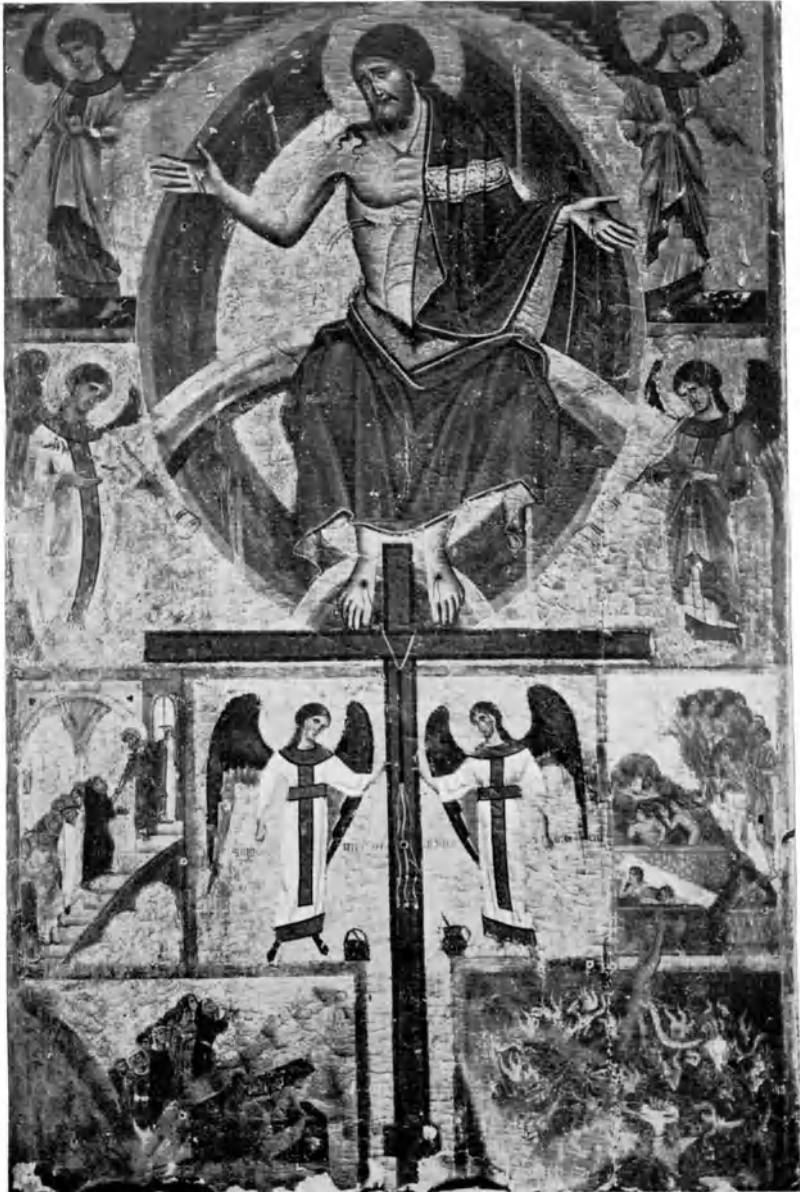


Fig. 205. Follower of Guido da Siena, Last Judgment. Cathedral, Grosseto.

Photo Lombardi.

A more schematic design and slight inferiority in execution characterize those works which I believe to be of the master's later years, and which perhaps in part are products of his workshop. Amongst these we must class the oblong panel in the Gallery of Siena (no. 7) with the date 1270 and the inscription similar to the one we found in Guido's large Madonna in the Palazzo Pubblico: "...X....amens quem X̄ps Lenis nullis velit angere penus Anno Mclesimo Ducentesimo septuagesimo" (fig. 207). The



Fig. 206 Follower of Guido da Siena, Entombment. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

composition is the same as in the earlier work of this form. Here again the Virgin occupies the centre but the Child is depicted in a slightly different attitude; the lateral figures are St. John the Baptist, St. Francis, St. John the Evangelist and Mary Magdalene. The predominance of schematic design is especially striking in the figure of St. Francis.

A recent acquisition of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, U.S.A., representing the half-length figure of St. Dominic (fig. 208), is undoubtedly from the same hand, and the artist has copied the features of St. Francis from the above-mentioned picture.

The other panel, which has also its pendant in the Gallery of Siena, reveals, when we compare it with the latter, a marked increase of rigidity, due to Byzantine influence (no. 5) The four scenes here represented are: St. Francis receiving the Stigmata; the flaying of St. Bartholomew; St. Catherine repelling the Saracens by exposing the Eucharist; and the martyrdom of St. Catherine (fig. 209).

Even admitting the modification of his style in the course of his career, and not forgetting how prevalent imitation was amongst painters of the 13th century, I am inclined rather to admit, although it may seem extraordinary to ascribe so many different works to one single artist of this obscure period, that we are



Fig. 207. Follower of Guido da Siena, Madonna and Saints, 1270.

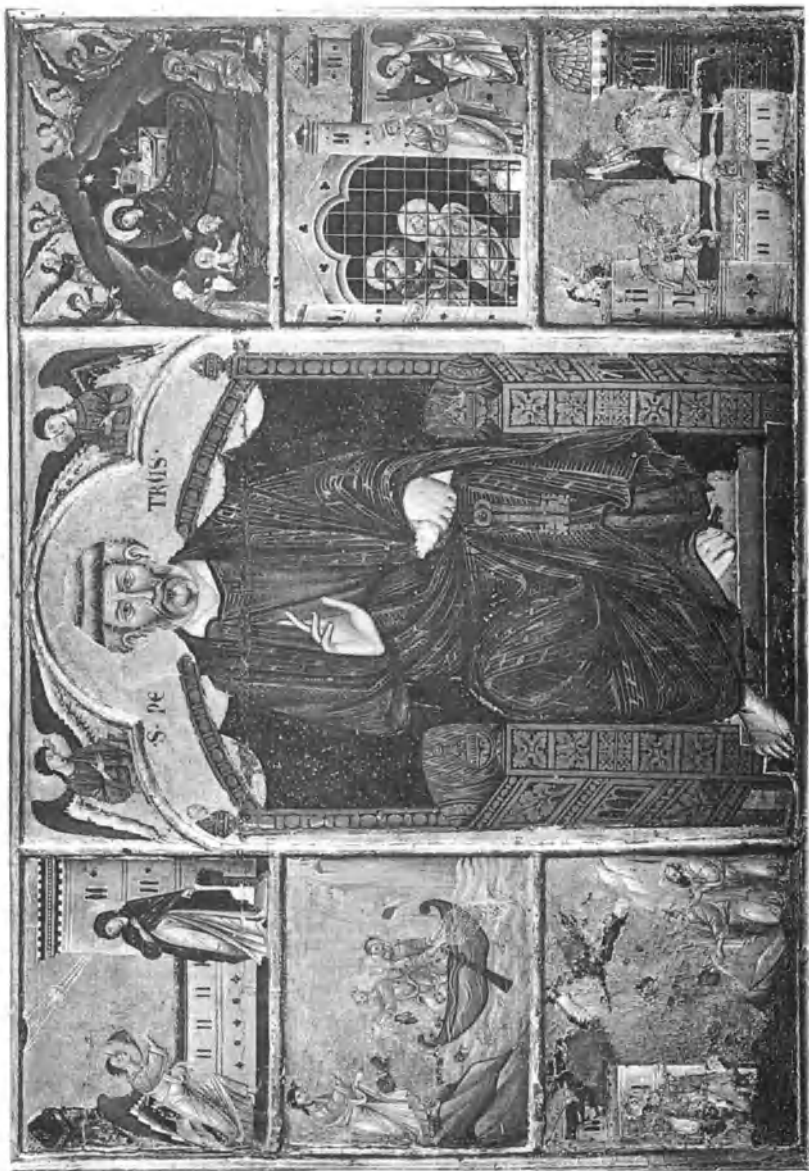
Gallery, Siena

Photo Anderson.

dealing with the creations of different manners of the same painter, who continued and developed the art of Guido da Siena; or if this is not the case, at least with paintings executed under his immediate control

Moreover we find, in the Sienese school of the later 13th century, certain other reflections of Guido's manner.

There are in the Gallery of Siena two late 13th century Madonnas (fig. 210), and in the church of Bellem, just outside the city, there is yet a third, all of which are obviously copies of the one in the cathedral. In each we see the Madonna, a half-length figure, supporting the Child in her left arm, which is covered with a white cloth, which she holds in the same hand, while the right hand



*St. PETER, SCENES FROM HIS LIFE AND FROM THE LIFE OF THE LORD
Sienese school of the 2nd half of the XIII century, Accademia, Siena.*

Photo Anderson.

is held against her bosom. The Infant Christ is bestowing a blessing with one hand and carrying a scroll in the other.

While it is chiefly the general aspect of these panels which reminds us of Guido's Madonna, we find a much closer connection between his art and a painting of the Lord crucified, with the Virgin and St. John in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, England (fig. 211). The arms of the crucifix slope upwards, as in crucifixes of the school of Berlinghieri; but the facial types, the prevailing features and the drapery are identical with those of Guido's work, and his followers. Behind the Cross we see a low wall and a domed turret.

A very similar background is found in the Gallery of Budapest, in a picture representing the isolated figure of the Redeemer on the Cross, an image which bears a striking resemblance to that of the crucifix, before which we see the Blessed Andrea Gallerani praying in one of the panels of the Gallery of Siena. In

the background we see the shell-shaped ornament which also adorns the eight small predella pictures divided between Siena, Altenburg and Utrecht. Two half-length figures of sorrowing angels are depicted in the spandrels. Not unlike this picture in style is a panel in the H. Harris collection, London, showing



Fig 208. Follower of Guido da Siena,
St. Dominic Fogg Museum,
Cambridge U.S.A.

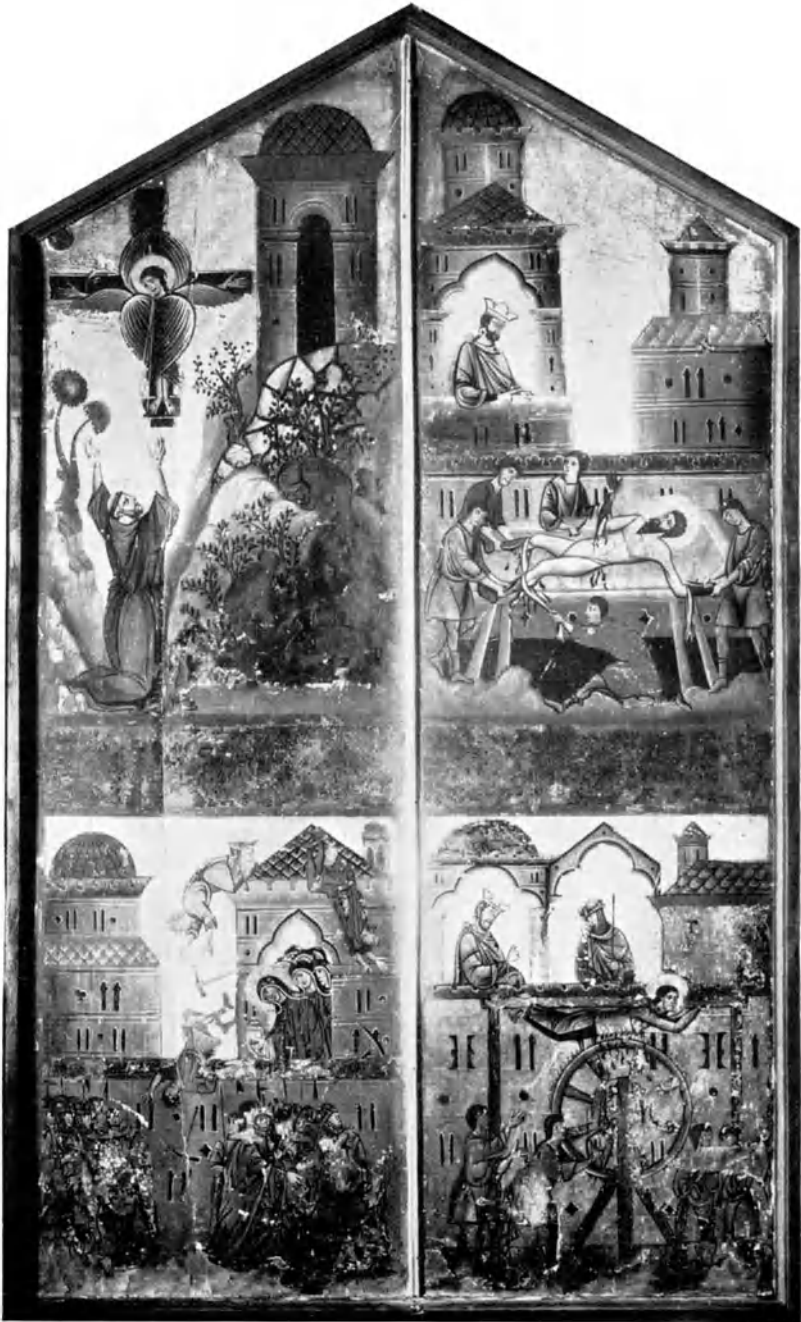


Fig. 209. Follower of Guido da Siena, Scenes from the Stories of SS. Francis, Bartholomew, Clare and Catherine. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

the Lord on the Cross between the Virgin and St. John with two angels above (¹).

Examples of the ordinary Italo-Byzantine movement are rare in Siena. Besides some negligible fragments of mural painting in the Carmine church, we find on the right of the choir a panel showing the half-length figure of the Madonna and Child in a posture expressive of domestic affection, the Infant pressed against his Mother's cheek (fig. 212). An iconographical detail which deserves to be remarked is the turban like head-dress of the Virgin. The same peculiarity may also be observed in a small panel of little artistic importance in the Gallery of San Gimignano (no. 3) in which the attitude, is so similar that we may regard it as a free and contemporary copy of the former.

Of great importance is an oblong panel signed by Vigoroso da Siena in the Gallery of Perugia (fig. 213) (¹). Of this artist we know that in 1276 he became a citizen of Siena, and is mentioned there in 1292

as painting miniatures in the books of a certain magistrate. The panel in Perugia must have been executed between these two dates, since it seems that the almost effaced date should read 1283. The central portion is again occupied by a half-length figure of the Virgin with the Child, while at the sides are the two SS. John, Mary Magdalene and St. Juliana: above each of



Fig. 210. School of Guido da Siena, Madonna. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

(¹) *T. Borenius*, Burlington Magazine, 1921, p. 53. *Sirén*, op. cit., p. 163 attributes it to Giunta Pisano

(²) *I. Vavasour Elder*, La pittura senese nella Pinacoteca di Perugia, Rassegna d'Arte Senese, 1909, p. 64. *Weigelt*, Duccio, p. 223.

whom a triangle contains an angel, while over the central panel is a bust of the Saviour in benediction. This painting is somewhat damaged, but sufficient remains to show us that the colouring was dark and crude and the drawing careless and schematic.

Another group of the Sienese school, apparently a very small one, was, as I have already remarked, inspired by the refined art of miniature-painting, which at that period, and some time earlier,



Fig. 211. School of Guido da Siena, Crucifixion. Fitz-William Museum, Cambridge Photo Mansell

was practised in Byzantium, though it none the less contains certain elements which remind us of Guido's style.

The most important and most beautiful of the works belonging to this tradition is a panel in the Gallery of Siena (no. 15) representing St. Peter enthroned in benediction, and six scenes, three on either side, from the story of his life, while the spandrels of the central panel are decorated each with the half-length figure of an angel (plate II).

The general aspect and spirit of this painting are obviously Italian, but the quality of the technique, some of the types, and a certain conventionality in the drapery, especially in the gold-woven robe of St. Peter, betray a strong Byzantine influence. The small scenes represent: on the left, the Annunciation, the call of St. Peter, and the fall of Simon Magus; and on the right, the Nativity (fig. 214), St. Peter delivered from prison by an angel, and the saint's crucifixion. This magnificent picture is one of the finest products of pre-Duccesque art.

Near by in the same gallery hangs a similar painting but with St. John the Baptist as central figure; he is crowned, and on either side of his head hover two small angels (fig. 215). The lateral scenes are here more numerous, being six on either side, arranged in pairs. On the left we see the Annunciation to Zacharias;

the Visitation; the Nativity of St. John (fig. 216); the Infant St. John adoring the Child Christ, and two representations of St. John in the desert; on the other side are depicted the meeting of the Lord and St. John; the Baptism; the beheading of the Baptist; Herod's daughter with the head of the saint; St. John announcing the coming of Christ in limbo; and St. John in heaven before the Redeemer and the Virgin.

Although beautiful, this picture has not the same charm as that previously described; the decorative value is less, the forms are elongated; and here and there we find faint traces of resemblance to the Romanesque art of Northern Tuscany; the action and expression are less restrained and the colouring darker.

A picture of much less importance, but belonging to the same group, is a panel recently acquired by the Gallery of Perugia, showing, above, the Virgin, who is seen holding the Child with an affectionate gesture, and below, St. John baptising the Saviour (fig. 217). The type of the Madonna and of the Child reminds us of that



Fig. 212 Madonna, Sienese School, later XIII century Carmine Church, Siena. Photo Lombardi.

in the Carmine church of Siena and the Gallery of San Gimignano. The Byzantine elements are obvious in the inscription as well as in the garments, woven with gold; and the group on the lower part of the panel, more obviously than any other work surviving, pre-announces Duccio. A small diptych might be ascribed to the same artistic movement; it forms the principal part of a reliquary which is made up of all sorts of heterochitic objects and is preserved in the Gubbio Museum⁽¹⁾. The two small panels

⁽¹⁾ *R van Marle*, *Il Reliquario di S. Francesco alla Pinacoteca di Gubbio*, *Rassegna d'Arte Umbra*, 1921, p. 81.



Fig. 213. Vigoroso da Siena, Altarpiece Gallery, Perugia.

Photo Anderson

represent a half-length figure of the Madonna with the Child, and the Saviour on the Cross, between the Virgin and St John They are of very fine and almost purely Byzantine workmanship.



Fig 214. The Nativity, detail of the St. Peter altarpiece. Gallery, Siena.
Photo Lombardi.

To the same group still belong two small panels in the Museum of Pienza representing the Baptism of the Lord and the Presentation in the Temple. A triptych in the Budapest Gallery (no. 34) — the half-figure of the Madonna between the Crucifixion and St. Francis receiving the stigmata — seems to be the last manifestation of this tradition ⁽¹⁾.

Consequently the various elements which go to make up the Sienese school of the 13th century differentiate it rather considerably from the other productions of Tuscan art. The Romanesque as well as the Byzantine movement here followed quite a different development; even the architecture of the backgrounds, although they may be ascribed to the same manner, nevertheless shows a certain dissimilarity.

Of the Umbrian school of the 13th century we possess a good

⁽¹⁾ *von Terrey*, op cit, p 24.

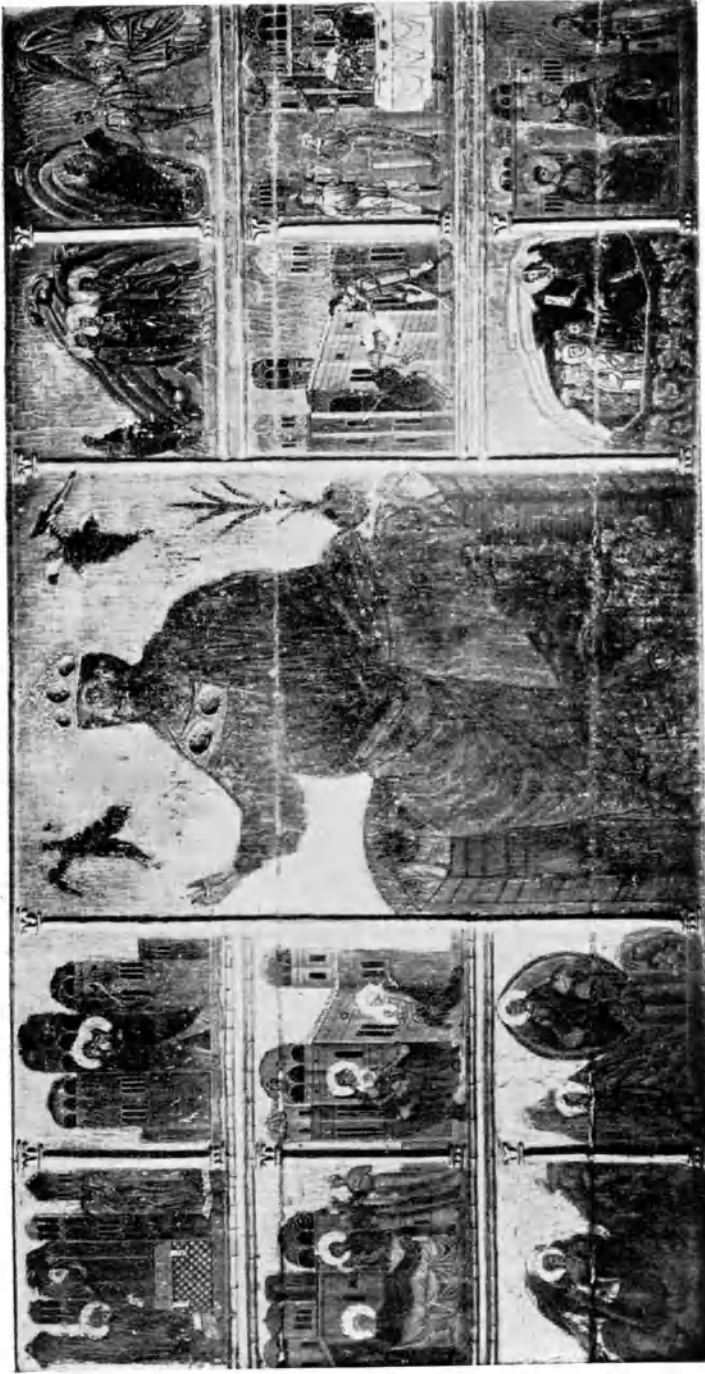


Fig. 215. St. John the Baptist and Scenes from his Life, Siennese school, 2nd half of the XIII century Gallery, Siena.
Photo Lombardi.

many works and a certain number of documents, which, in so far as they concern Perugia, the most important centre of this region, have been published by Herr W. Bombe (¹).

What may be called the individual Umbrian school of painting of the 13th century is likewise led by one figure, and as in Siena, where the principal follower of Guido da Siena caused a considerable survival of the master's art, so too in Umbria, Giunta Pisano's best pupil continued this artist's manner until the very end of the 13th century.

As I have already stated, the presence of two of Giunta's works at Assisi — the lost Crucifix of 1236 and the cross in the church of Sta. Maria degli Angeli — and even more his extraordinary influence over the following generation make it more than probable that the master himself sojourned in this city.

His principal adherent there has been called the "Master of St. Francis" on account of the portrait of St. Francis in the church of Sta. Maria degli Angeli near Assisi, which he painted on the plank that had served the saint as bed. One of the first attempts to define this individual was made by Thode in his book on St. Francis, but I believe I have been able, thanks to Thode's pioneering work, to form a more definite conception of this painter, to whom a considerable number of works may be attributed (²).

The only date which we possess for the "Master of St. Francis" is that of 1272, on the enormous crucifix in the Gallery of Perugia (figs. 218 and 219). Comparing this work with the cruci-



Fig. 216. Detail of fig. 215, the Nativity of St. John.

Photo Lombardi.

(¹) *W. Bombe*, *Geschichte der Peruginer Malerei bis zu Perugino u. Pinturicchio*, Berlin, 1912, p. 284.

(²) *R. van Marle*, *Il "Maestro di S. Francesco"*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1919, p. 9.

fixes of Giunta Pisano, the source of its inspiration is obvious, but the drawing, and above all the colouring are so different that we may reject the attribution of this cross to Giunta as altogether erroneous.

The Master of St. Francis is, in a way, more calligraphic in his drawing than Giunta. When we look closely at the faces of his figures we note, beneath the eye, a curiously curved line running from the nose to the ear. The features are sharply designed and somewhat elongated, the draping of fabrics betrays a strong Byzantine influence, the hands are small and round when shut, but long and with tapering fingers when open, the heads of the female figures, if covered with a veil, have a peculiar broad formation. The expressions are full of animation and the artist has depicted his scenes with great dramatic force. Most characteristic, however, is his colouring; he has used soft and tender shades of which we know no other examples, whether contemporary or of earlier date even in the art of miniature-painting. We find in his panels mouse-grey, pale pink, sky blue and others similar



Fig. 217. Madonna and Baptism of Christ, Siennese school, end of the XIII century. Gallery, Perugia

Photo Grolé.

delicate tints which form a strange contrast with the Byzantine elements of the design.

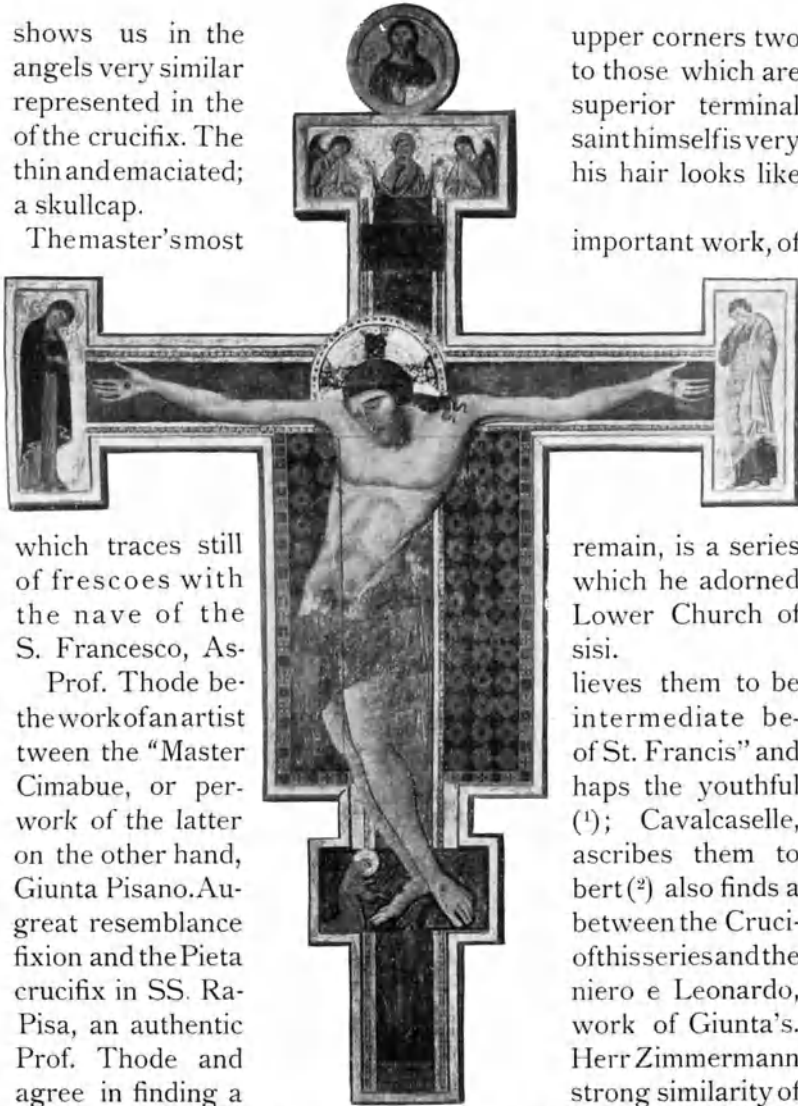
The portrait of St. Francis in Sta. Maria degli Angeli (fig. 220)

shows us in the angels very similar represented in the of the crucifix. The thin and emaciated; a skullcap.

The master's most

upper corners two to those which are superior terminal saint himself is very his hair looks like

important work, of



which traces still of frescoes with the nave of the S. Francesco, As-

Prof. Thode be- the work of an artist tween the "Master Cimabue, or per- work of the latter on the other hand, Giunta Pisano. Au- great resemblance fixation and the Pieta crucifix in SS. Ra- Pisa, an authentic Prof. Thode and agree in finding a style between the Pieta of the Assisi of 1272, the St.

remain, is a series which he adorned Lower Church of sisi.

lieves them to be intermediate be- of St. Francis" and haps the youthful (1); Cavalcaselle, ascribes them to bert (2) also finds a between the Cruci- of this series and the niero e Leonardo, work of Giunta's. Herr Zimmermann strong similarity of Crucifixion and the series, the Crucifix Francis, and the

Fig. 218. "The Master of St. Francis", Crucifix, 1272. Gallery, Perugia.

Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

(1) Vasari mentions Cimabue's activity in the Lower Church of Assisi.

(2) A. Aubert, Die Malerische Decoration der S. Francesco Kirche in Assisi. Ein Beitrag zur Lösung der Cimabue Frage, Kunstgesch. Monogr. VI. Leipzig, 1907, p. 82.

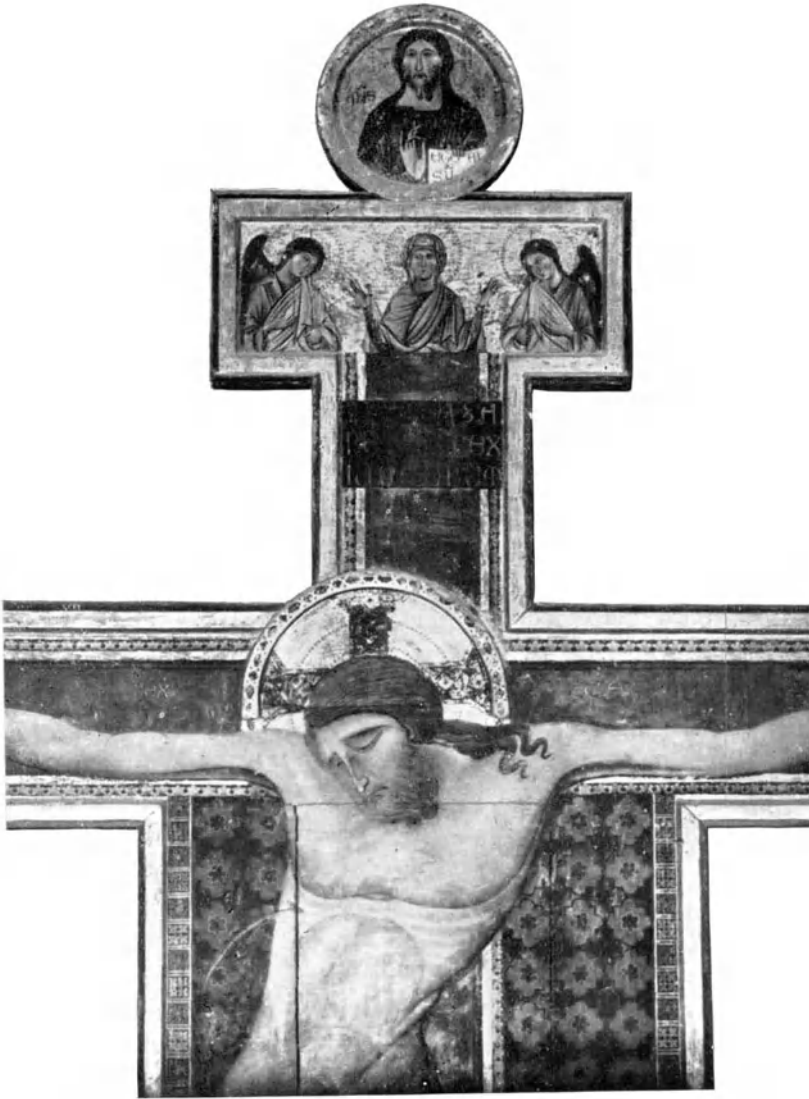


Fig 219 Detail of fig. 218.

Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

two Passion scenes in the Pinacoteca of Perugia; but Herr Zimmerman does not share Prof. Thode's admiration for this artist and regards the St. Francis cycle as superior to the Passion frescoes; Prof. Thode is of the reverse opinion, in which I fully



Fig. 220. "The Master of St. Francis". St. Francis. Sta. Maria degli Angeli, ASSISI.

Photo Alinari.

agree with him, and cannot understand how Herr Zimmermann, who is so perfectly acquainted with the slow development of the independence of Italian art, can describe these frescoes, which to my thinking play a part of the greatest importance in this development, "an unimportant, inferior work by a local nonentity". As to the dark colouring, it is hardly fair to the artist to judge his capacities by the dilapidated and half vanished fragments which are all that remains of his frescoes.

Prof. Thode's opinion that a juvenile work of Cimabue's might have had very much the look of these mural paintings is, I think, the outcome of his desire to discover more paintings by Cimabue. In any case the theory is risky and unconvincing, and Vasari's statement, on which it is founded, might refer only to the frescoes of the Madonna with angels and St. Francis. Of necessity the decoration was sacrificed, with the walls, when the lateral chapels were added to the original structure, so that of the Passion cycle only half of each scene now remains. As regards not only their authorship, but also their date, a great diversity of opinion exists. Herr Aubert, who does not believe them to be by the same artist as the Crucifix of 1272, dates them before 1250, while Prof. Thode judges them to be about 1270; a lapse of twenty years, however, does not exclude the fact that the two works might be executed by one and the same artist. Herr Zimmermann thinks that the decorations of the Lower Church must have been painted shortly after 1253, when the construction of the Basilica was completed, but it is in all probability even a little later ⁽¹⁾.

Going toward the choir, we find the Passion scenes on the right, divided from each other by arcades. Prof. Thode and Herr Zimmermann both believe that the Crucifixion occupied the first two arcades, the central part having been destroyed, so that the sides alone remain; and of these the right hand side shows us the Cross, a ladder and some men. I disagree with the opinion of the above-mentioned authorities; no doubt this fragment formed part of the first scene, which represented the Lord's preparation for mounting the Cross, a subject not frequently treated, but of which, none the less, various examples are to be found. The composition here might have resembled that of a panel by some

⁽¹⁾ *Von Rumohr* mentions in his "Forschungen" still older frescoes which have since disappeared.



Fig. 221. "The Master of St Francis", Descent from the Cross. Nave of the Lower Church of S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Carloforti

follower of the master in the Pinacoteca of Perugia, which will be described later on. The Saviour is seen standing to the left of the Cross.

What Prof. Thode and Herr Zimmermann believe to be the left-hand side of the same scene is in reality part of the second fresco, representing the Crucifixion, in which the Virgin, with bowed head, stands near St. John, and is followed by three women, one of whom raises a hand to her head; the inscription "ecce Mater tua" points to the incident of the Lord's sacrifice, which the painter wished to depict. The third fresco is the Descent from the Cross (fig. 221), the greater part of which has been well preserved. The composition betrays no peculiarities; Joseph of Arimathea, with a white beard, stands on the ladder supporting the body, the upper part of which is gone; St. John kisses the hand of the Lord, while Nicodemus, illogically holding a hammer, kneels down to pull the nails from the feet of the Crucified; a female figure behind St. John is seen with one hand to her face, the other is uplifted in a gesture indicative of fear; beneath the one remaining arm of the cross-bar the bust of an angel is represented. The colouring of this fresco is particularly bright, and Prof. Thode is right in calling our attention to the resemblance which exists between this work and the representation of the same scene by the "Master of St. Francis", which will be found in the Pinacoteca, Perugia. The adjacent fresco depicts the mourners over the Lord's body, which is indistinctly seen to be lying on a stone, with a group of angels flying overhead; to the left the fainting Virgin is supported by three women, while beyond the dead Christ the figure of St. John is represented. In the next scene only some trees and buildings remain; and the last arcade is decorated with a circular design.

On the opposite wall the cycle of the life of St. Francis is represented. The story begins with St. Francis breaking with his father; on the left the bishop is seen, covering the naked youth with a mantle, some spectators standing behind him; on the almost entirely destroyed right-hand half of the picture an isolated figure probably represents the angry father. The next incident is the vision of Pope Innocent III, who, lying in bed, crowned with his tiara, sees St. Francis supporting the Church; the latter figure is very fragmentary, but the effort which the saint is making is still discernible. In the Sermon to the Birds, which is the subject of the

following scene, the saint is shown holding a book, blessing his auditors, who are seen beneath a tree, in the orthodox manner; behind St. Francis stands a monk whose face has been repainted. Of the fresco representing the saint receiving the Stigmata only the seraph remains clearly visible, reminding one slightly of the crucifixes of Giunta Pisano; the crucified apparition being shown with straight arms, slightly flexed legs, and feet close together; the expression of the eyes is very penetrating, although the eyes themselves are prominently outlined; the figure of the saint is hardly distinguishable.

The last of the series represents the death of St. Francis; three monks kneel at his bedside, one pointing out to another, who makes a gesture of surprise, the wound in the saint's side; three others stand erect, of whom one swings a censur; facing him is a bearded figure in priestly clothing, while above an angel is seen.

These series of frescoes, in which the artist gave full rein to his realistically tragic talent, furnish us with an argument relating to quite

a different problem: that of the plan of the church, which at present has, as it were, a transept at either end of the nave. I agree with those who believe that the second transept, by which one now enters the church, is a later addition; that the original plan was quite plain, the nave continuing as far as the end wall, in which case the walls knocked down in order to make this change would have borne other frescoes belonging to these two series; and this seems all the more likely as it is very unusual for a Passion series to begin with a representation of the Preparation for the Crucifixion, or even to include this scene at all if the whole series is composed of only four illustrations. The frescoes of Assisi are surrounded by arched borders like those of two small panels by



Fig. 222. "The Master of St Francis", the Entombment Gallery, Perugia.

Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.



Fig. 223. "The Master of St. Francis", St. Francis and St. John the Evangelist(?). Gallery, Perugia.

Photo Minist. Publ. Istr

the "Master of St. Francis" in the Gallery of Perugia, which represent the Descent from the Cross and the Entombment (fig. 222), and no doubt once formed part of a more important picture. For as far as the fragmentary paintings in Assisi enable us to judge, the compositions in both cases are almost identical, save that the latter of these scenes is inverted. We find three other small panels in the Gallery of Perugia, by the same master, two of which obviously belonged to one *ensemble*; they represent St. Francis holding an open book and a figure clad in a toga, carrying a scroll; probably St. John the Gospel-writer (fig. 223). The third small panel contains,

under an arched border, the figure of St. Antony of Padua, also holding an open book, while the treasury of the church of S. Francesco of Assisi possesses a somewhat damaged painting of the Prophet Isaiah on a panel of identical shape. Recently I saw in a Roman collection two similar small panels by this master, representing two male saints.

The school of the "Master of St. Francis" was, it seems, of great importance in and around Perugia and Assisi.

The Gallery of the former of these two cities possesses examples of this artist which, as far as we can learn, were all found in churches of the city and the surrounding parts. The most important of these is an oblong panel whose centre shows the Virgin and Child and the sides the Betrayal of Judas, the Preparation for the Crucifixion, the Descent from the Cross and the moment before the Entombment (fig. 224). The three scenes which were also represented at



Fig. 224. Follower of the "Master of St. Francis", Madonna and Passion Scenes, Gallery, Perugia
 Photo Ministr. Publ. Ist.

Assisi show the same composition as the frescoes there, while the two latter are closely analogous to the small paintings of the master in this Gallery, which originally formed part of a similar *ensemble*, save that the position of the Lord in the Entombment is not inverted, as in the panel, the figure facing in the same direction as in the fresco of Assisi. This disciple is not so accomplished an artist as the "Master of St. Francis"; his inferiority being evident in his drawing his colouring, of dramatic

The Gallery possesses two from the brush and more inner, representing St. Francis and above each of pictured a small

In the same find two other this school; proximates to the work of St. Francis" is both sides (fig. the Lord dead, body and depression, of Giunta Papaniedoneith-

Virgin and St. John, in almost the same position, back and front. The former of these two figures bears a striking resemblance to the Madonna on the large cross by the "Master of St. Francis". The Virgin between two angels, as in the crucifix of the master, is represented on one side only of the upper terminal; the lower part shows the skull of Adam.

Near by hangs the second crucifix belonging to this school, which is much coarser in execution; the type of the Redeemer, however, is the same; a small angel occupies each of



Fig. 225. Follower of the "Master of St. Francis", Crucifix. Gallery, Perugia.

Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

as well as in and his lack feeling.

of Perugia little panels, of another spired following St. St. Clare, whom is de-angel.

Gallery we crucifixes of one which approximate more closely the "Master of painted on 225). We see with curved tressful ex- in the manner sano, accom- er side by the

the lateral terminals while the Virgin and St. John are represented on either side of the Saviour.

Another member of the same artistic group has left us three paintings in the church of Sta. Chiara at Assisi, and as one of these pictures is a large panel of St. Clare, with scenes from her life, we might well call this artist the "Master of St. Clare". The work and a crucifix⁽¹⁾. Un-
works have been re-
more recent coats of
ed, and the original in

The
(fig. 226)
the mid-
apse; it
artist as
ious ad-
Giunta's tradition, but
of the "Master of St.
cross of 1272 is here
ures are arranged in
here, at the foot of the
figure of St. Francis,
an abbess whose name
tioned in the inscrip-
though of the 17th cen-
copy of the original:
Ciara P(rima) Abb.
there was still the word
have completed the
manner, telling us who
it is known that the
in 1260, we must conclude if the inscription be reliable, that the
cross was painted after her death, as it cannot possibly date from
before 1280.

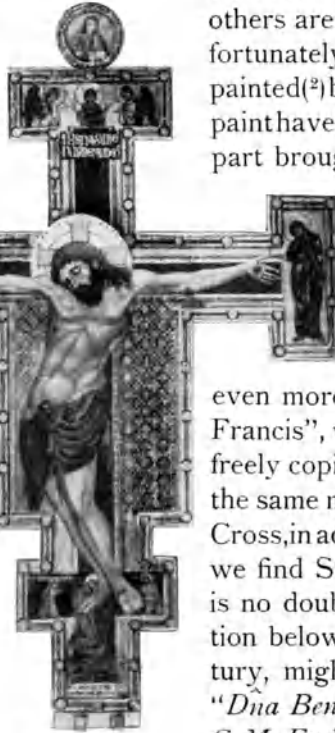


Fig. 226. "The
Master of St. Clare",
Crucifix, Sta Chiara,
Assisi.
Photo Benvenuti.

call this artist the "Mas-
others are a Madonna
fortunately all three
painted⁽²⁾ but of late the
paint have been remov-
part brought to light.

crucifix
hangs in
dle of the
shows the
an obv-
herent of
even more a follower
Francis", whose large
freely copied. The fig-
the same manner, only
Cross, in addition to the
we find St. Clare, and
is no doubt that men-
tion below, which, al-
tury, might be a true
"Dna Benedicta Post.
S. Me Fecit". Probably
"fieri", which would
inscription in the usual
ordered the crucifix. As

(1) Prof. Thode attributed to the same hand the frescoes in the nave of the Lower Church and the panels of the Madonna and St. Clare, while he believed the crucifix to be by Cimabue.

(2) No doubt the reason why Prof. Venturi judged the St. Clare panel to be a 17th century copy of a 13th century triptych.



Fig. 227. "The Master of St. Clare", St. Clare and Scenes from her Life.
Sta. Chiara, Assisi.

Photo Benvenuti.

The panel of St. Clare, with four scenes from her life on either side, and a little angel in each triangular part, between the saint's head and the two uppermost scenes, hangs in the right transept of the church of Sta. Chiara (fig. 227). The lateral illustrations are in perfect condition, the central figure alone having been repainted. Under the feet of the saint a 17th century inscription runs: "*Facta fuerunt iste sub Anno D. 128 XI Tempore Dni Martini Papae quart*". Martin IV was Pope from 1281 until 1285 and the painting may very well date from this period, but as the original inscription, which can be distinguished through the later one, gives only the name of the saint, the date, if correct, must have been obtained from some other source. From the interesting small scenes (figs. 228 and 229) we can judge of the talent of this artist, who was considerably less Byzantine than the "Master of St. Francis". From him, however, he borrows the elongated forms and certain other features, but his composition and drawing are free from Oriental schematism, the feeling of the painting being quite Romanesque.



Fig 228. Detail of fig. 227

Photo Benvenuti

The more than life-sized picture of the Madonna was certainly intended as a pendant to the panel of St. Clare. The size and the thickness of the wood are the same, and the frame, too, is almost identical.

This picture hangs in the opposite transept. During a recent restoration it was found impossible to discover the original faces of the two figures, but apparently the Virgin had the large face and other proportions characteristic of Romanesque work, as well as the bright colouring of that tradition; but the woven cloth of gold

betrays a Byzantine influence. The two small angels holding a curtain behind the Madonna resemble those on the previous panel.

Yet another and very refined painter belonging to the same group is the one to whom we owe the small crucifix in the sacristy of S. Francesco, Assisi (fig. 230), in which the Crucified,



Fig. 229. Detail of fig. 227.

Photo Benvenuti.

whose body describes a wide, graceful curve, is seen between the Virgin and St. John. Although the folds of the garments are heavier and the dramatic effect less, the artist was obviously inspired by the "Master of St. Francis", as we may clearly see in the subtle gradation of colours. Perhaps by the same artist are the figures of the Virgin and St. John — no doubt: from a Crucifix — in a private collection in Stockholm (1).

An artist more closely and directly connected with Giunta Pisano than with the "Master of St. Francis" was Renaldictus of Spoleto, of whose works we possess two signed crucifixes, and we

can ascribe two others, if not to his own hand, at least to his studio.

Of the authentic works we find one in the Fabriano Gallery, (fig. 231) while the other is at present exhibited with other old paintings in the Palazzo Davanzati in Florence. The two panels are very similar; in each the Lord is depicted with an expression of suffering on His face but His body only slightly curved against a decorated background. On the lateral extremities are the full-length figures of the Virgin and St. John. Although the graceful

(1) *Siren*, op. cit. fig. 82.

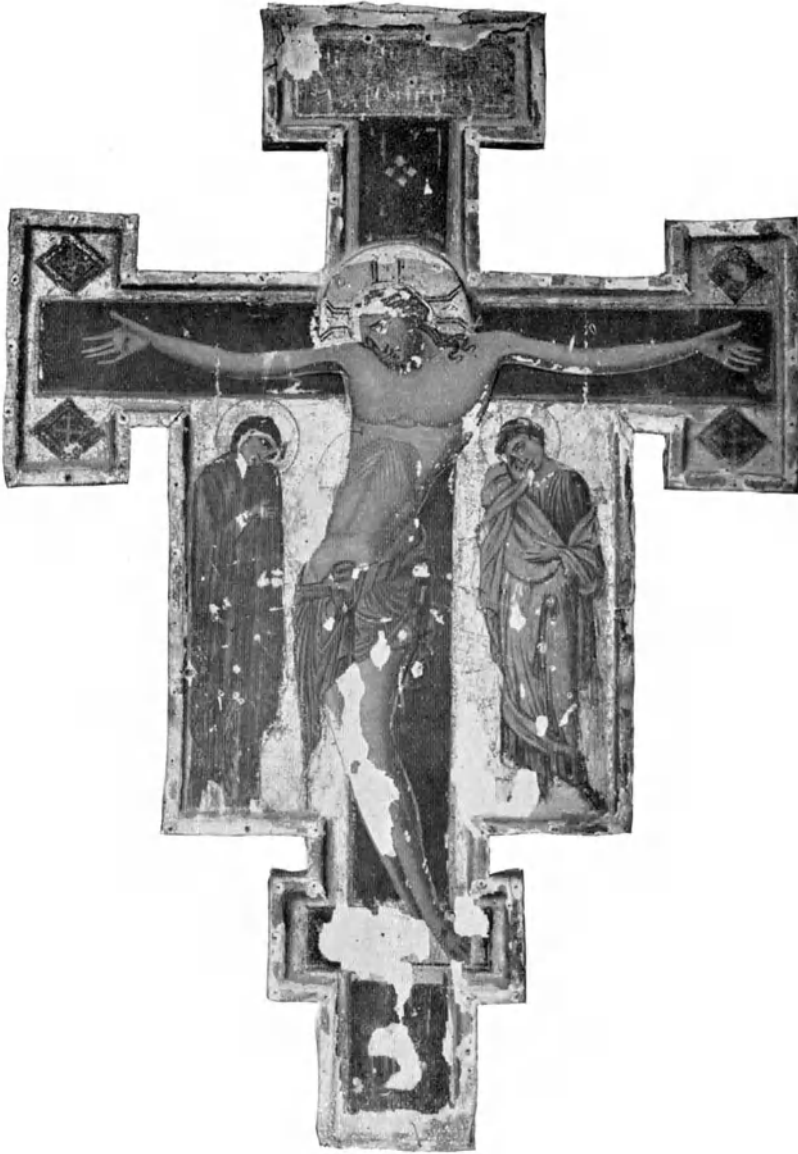


Fig. 230. School of the "Master of St Francis", Crucifix S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

form of the body does not show the convulsive contortion of Giunta's Christs; the face, on the other hand, seems to wear a more agonized expression; the eyes are tightly closed, the fore-

head deeply wrinkled and the mouth drooping. In both crucifixes the name of the artist is still legible. The following inscription is found below the feet of the Christ in the Fabriano cross: "[Ra]naldictus Ra[n]nuci De Spol[eto] Pinsit H. op." (1).

The extraordinary features of the Crucified form a connection between these signed works and two other crosses, one until recently in the Fornari collection at Fabriano, the other in the small Pinacoteca of Gualdo Tadino, not far distant from Fabriano (fig. 232). While of the Lord cally identically those of works of Regeneral as Gualdo described as but, on the more monumental figures of the St. John are on the ends bar, with a of St. Francis the feet of Looking at this picture we observe in the wealth of



Fig. 231. Renaldictus di Spoleto, Crucifix. Gallery, Fabriano.

Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

the features are practical with the signed naldictus, the aspect of theifix may be less graceful other hand, mental in Here also the Virgin and represented of the cross-small figure prostrate at Christ. very closely ure we observe a design a conventio-

nal and calligraphical detail such as we seldom encounter.

The crucifix in the Fornari collection, in this respect as well as in general appearance, may be placed midway between the signed crucifixes and the one at Gualdo.

I know a crucifix in a private collection which shows striking points of resemblance to this latter work: only here, instead

(1) U. Gnoli, *L'Arte Umbra alla Mostra di Perugia*, Bergamo, 1908, p. 26. L. Venturi, *A traverso Le Marche*, *L'Arte*, XVIII, 1915, p. 1 reads Benaidictus. The first two letters of the inscription are hardly visible, but the signature on the cross of Florence leaves us in no doubt as to the name of the artist.

of St. John and the Virgin at the ends of the cross-bar, four figures are represented on either side of the Cross.

Executed in the same spirit, and containing many points of resemblance, is a fresco in the abbatial church of Monte l'Abate, near Perugia. The slender body here forms a more pronounced curve, but the features of the Redeemer are almost identical.

Besides these works, as the outcome of Giunta's school, I have already mentioned, in connection with Umbria, the crucifix



Fig 232 Ranaldictus di Spoleto(?), detail of the Crucifix Gallery,
Gualdo Tadino Photo Gnoli,

in the Cathedral of Nocero Umbra — a few miles from Gualdo Tadino — and those in the Gallery of Spoleto and the Cathedral of Todi.

We now come to quite a different artistic movement, of which we find more examples in Umbria than in any other province in Italy. This is the conventional Italo-Byzantine style, an outcome of that Byzantine influence which in Siena, in a purer form, produced such magnificent panels, but which, in Umbria, made its appearance in a less finished form.

Manifestations of this art are to be found all over Umbria, con-

sisting chiefly of traces of more or less important series of frescoes; but few, if any, are really striking.

Some frescoes in this style decorate the altar wall of S. Matteo, just beyond the Porta S. Angelo, Perugia. Above we see an Ascension of Christ, who, holding a book, is encircled by a mandorla borne by angels, while Apostles are represented on either side in attitudes of adoration. Lower down, to the left, is the Madonna in



Fig. 233. Madonna, ab 1300. S. Matteo,
Perugia.

Photo Anderson.

red, seated on a marble throne, with tapering cushions, supporting the Child Jesus, who stands on her knee in the posture of benediction (fig. 233). Still farther to the left is the head of a bishop. On the same level but on the right is a portrait of St. Francis, in grey, holding a book in one hand and raising the other; beside him is a saint with long hair, dressed in red, carrying a book, on which the name "Lucca" is inscribed. On a pillar to the left and on the right-hand wall, remains of other figures in the same style are still visible. In these paintings little heed has been

paid to the composition; the faces have little expression, and although the colours are bright and not too hard the general appearance is unattractive.

Certain frescoes under the roof of the old convent of S. Giuliana, now the military hospital, just beyond the city walls, which Count Gnoli, art superintendent of Umbria, discovered some years ago, show a strong resemblance to the foregoing paintings. We find here a representation of the Last Supper, in which St. John, leaning his head on the Lord's shoulder, and an impres-

sive head of St. Peter, remain visible; on the wall opposite is depicted the Assumption of the Madonna, who, as in the Coronation of the Virgin by Torriti, is seated on the same throne as the Saviour. save that here their attitude is more affectionate; also in this fresco two groups of angels are represented on either side of the aureole, which, however, is here of oval shape. I quite agree with Dr. Salmi that these frescoes are by the artist who decorated S. Matteo; but I do not find that he was inspired by Cimabue. On the contrary, I consider that his work betrays the influence of Torriti, the great Roman mosaicist (¹).

Two large detached frescoes in the Gallery of Perugia obviously belonged to a once very important *ensemble*. One of these has recently been mounted on linen and exhibited in one of the rooms of the Pinacoteca. Each shows us a row of saints, some of whom are loaded with Oriental gems. They are lifeless in the extreme, but possess a certain monumental, pompous dignity.

Remains of an important decoration may be found in the Cathedral of Assisi, in a room above the present choir. Here we see the Nativity with the washing of the Child Jesus, and the angel announcing the glad tidings to the Shepherds; lower down are some fragments, originally part of the Adoration of the Magi, while on the other side of the window we find the drooping body of Christ on the Cross: once, no doubt, forming the central figure of a scene of the Crucifixion. Some figures in the same style adorn the window arch likewise. On one of the other walls another and a less archaic hand has executed an enormous representation of St. Christopher. This last figure might date from the latter part of the 13th century, while the rest of the decoration seems to be of earlier origin, from about 1250 or a little later.

Outside Spoleto some interesting remains of frescoes dating from about 1280 or 1290 were found in the old church of Sta. Maria-inter-Angelos, now a farmhouse called "le Palazze"; amongst them was a representation of the Crucifixion in which the Lord was depicted attached to a cross which appeared to be a real tree, while beneath it the fainting Madonna was seen in the midst of a fairly

(¹) *M. Salmi*, Note sulla Galleria di Perugia, *L'Arte*, 1921, p. 155. This author, however, draws our attention to the connection between these paintings and the figures of Apostles in S. Bevignate, which incontestably belong to the school of Torriti and will be discussed when dealing with the Roman school

large group of followers. Here we found also the Last Judgement, an equally elaborate composition; to the right stood the Madonna, gathering under her mantle those whom she wished to protect. This, to the best of my knowledge, is the oldest representation of the "Madonna della Misericordia", which in later years became



Fig. 234. The Crucifixion, 2nd half of the XIII century. Gallery, Fabriano.
Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

such a favourite subject. Then followed the Last Supper, in a corner of which was depicted a small scene of the Lord praying in the Garden of Olives. After a blank space came the Nativity, represented in a grotto, according to the Byzantine iconography, and the Annunciation, in which the Madonna was standing before her chair: another detail of Byzantine origin.

These frescoes, which have quite recently been detached and sold, were executed by an able artist whose figures are full of

life and individuality, although his technique remains stereotyped and Byzantine, as regards the drawing of clothes, drapery, etc. His colours seem to have been limited to red, yellow, blue and green of very bright shades

Of the same Italo-Byzantine school, but more monumental in aspect and less refined in execution, are three detached frescoes in the Pinacoteca of Fabriano; the first represents the Crucifixion⁽¹⁾ between the Virgin and St. John; above the cross-bar we see the sun and the moon; angels catch the blood dripping from the wounds of the Crucified, who, with an agonized expression and closed eyes, the head falling heavily on the breast, forms an especially emphasized curve (fig. 234). The second shows us a holy hermit (?), old and white-bearded, in a landscape, to whom the hand of God appears from above. The third represents a sainted Pope blessing a group of monks; he is accompanied by several clerical dignitaries: a composition which would correspond with the confirmation of the rules of St. Francis (fig. 235). This painter's great merit is to be observed in the variety of facial types and expressions among the monks kneeling before the Pope; but the composition is rather crude and the figures heavy; the best quality of these works is their decorative value, for the colours are bright, the decorative border, which originally framed these scenes, very effective, and the architecture imposing.

In the opposite corner of Umbria we find an interesting fresco of this period in the church of the Abbey of S. Severo near Orvieto, where, on the altar wall, an important Crucifixion with life-sized figures will be found. The Christ is shown dead, the head drooping and the legs crossed, though the feet are attached separately; on the left of the Cross, the Virgin, Mary Magdalene, St. Augustine and a somewhat effaced St. Severus, as bishop, form a small procession, the pendant being composed of SS. John, Elizabeth, John the Baptist and a female saint whose name has been effaced. The lower part of the background is occupied by architecture, brown in colour, while some angels fly above. Most of the figures stand unoccupied and motionless, but the Virgin is leaning her head upon her hand, and St. John touches his neck. St. John the Baptist and

⁽¹⁾ They have been attributed to a certain Bocco da Fabriano, being the only known artist Fabriano possessed during this early period. *L. Venturi*, op. cit., thinks them possibly by Ranaldictus of Spoleto.

Mary Magdalene have covered hands. The figures are drawn in broad black lines, the folds of their garments forming many facets; even the tips of the long curved noses are faceted, and the hair of the Baptist is roughly indicated by separate streaks. The



Fig. 235 Conformation of the Rules of St. Francis (?), 2nd half of the XIII century Gallery, Fabriano.

Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

general appearance of this fresco, however, is imposing and monumental, and expresses a feeling which, although diminished, is visible through the extreme simplicity of the execution.

In a chapel of the upper floor of the adjacent church, a Crucifixion in the same manner decorates a small niche; here Christ, with jewelled nimbus, agonized expression, and exaggerated

thoracic anatomy, represents a type which we have frequently found on panels of this period; two angels, one yellow and one white, are seen beneath the cross-bar; below, on one side, is St. John the disciple, holding his head, followed by St. John the Baptist, with a dark halo, and dressed in a skin, while opposite him are the Virgin and a female saint; beyond each group is a saint with a dark halo. The painting is in very bad condition; the faces have almost completely disappeared, but sufficient of the garments remains to show that here, as in the larger fresco, the folds fall into facets.

A detached fresco representing two half-length figures of saints, now in the cathedral museum at Orvieto, originally, I have been told, formed part of the decoration of this abbey.

In Umbria we find also some panel paintings executed in the same Italo-Byzantine manner. The most important of these, an enormous triptych in the Gallery of Perugia ⁽¹⁾, is, however, not quite free from the influence of the "Master of St Francis", or rather of the painter who executed the cruder of the two crucifixes belonging to his school, many figures in the triptych in particular resembling the Madonna, and also the St. John, depicted under the Cross.

Each wing is surmounted by a figure of the Annunciation, below which are eight scenes on either side, arranged in couples; on the left we find the Visitation and Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, the Flight into Egypt and Christ teaching in the Temple; and in the lowest row are the Baptism and a somewhat mysterious scene which might be Satan tempting the Lord. Beneath the figure of the Virgin, on the right, we have the Betrayal of Judas and the Flagellation, the Crucifixion and the Entombment (fig. 236), the two Mariés with the angel at the Empty Sepulchre and the *Noli me tangere*; and in the lowest rank are the Ascension and the Pentecost. Some of the figures in these scenes are neither stiff nor rigid, but living, moving people, such as the angel Gabriel and the two women in the Visitation. The Nativity is depicted, according to the old Byzantine iconography, as taking place in a cave, with cattle inside and angels on the rocks above; in the Presentation in the Temple we find the Byzant-

(1) *U. Gnoli, L'arte umbra*, p. 26, figs. 41-43.



Fig. 236. Detail of a triptych. Umbrian school, end of the XIII century.
Gallery, Perugia. Photo Istit. Ital. d'Arte Grafiche.

ine dome, and other interesting architectural details. The spectators of the Betrayal are divided into two lateral groups, as was often the case in 13th century representations. In the Crucifixion scene the Cross is Y-shaped, the body of the Lord is more curved than usual, and the feet are pierced by a single nail; Mary and John, supporting their heads in their hands, stand under the Cross. The linear design with faceted folds is very Byzantine, but the expressions and attitudes are lifelike and also the clear colouring seems rather of the Western tradition; the technique, however, is that of a miniaturist. On the outside of the wings the much damaged figures of SS. Francis and Clare are represented.

A similar triptych, but smaller and in a much less perfect state of preservation, is that in St. George's chapel, to the right of the nave, in Sta. Chiara, Assisi; the attitude of the Madonna in the centre is more rigid than that in the panel of Perugia; she raises her right hand, while the Child, seated on her knee, blesses in the Greek manner. Both upper corners of the central panel were originally decorated with a figure, but now that on the left – an angel – alone remains. The wings are decorated each with four small scenes; the first on the left is the Annunciation, in which composition the Virgin Mary, on whom two rays of light descend, stands before a small throne, while on the left, and a little behind, the angel blesses her, according to the Greek tradition; below this the Nativity is represented as taking place within a grotto, the Madonna, half reclining on a mattress, occupies the greater part of the scene; behind her the Infant lies in a cradle over which lean the usual pinkish ox and grey donkey; the meditative figure of Joseph is seen on the left, and on the right is one of the shepherds; beneath the Madonna, the Child is being washed in a cup-shaped receptacle; outside the grotto and above it are six angels. In the Adoration an angel flies above the heads of the Magi, who, in a semi-kneeling attitude, one behind the other, proffer their gifts to the new-born Christ, whom we see seated on his Mother's knee below a canopy of Byzantine shape. The last scene on this side depicts the Kiss of Judas; behind the two principal figures there seems to be a confused mob of people, but the painting here is so greatly damaged that the subject is distinguished only with difficulty. The uppermost scene on the right wing is that of the Flagellation, in which the half-naked Christ, bound to a stake, is

much larger than the two scourgers. The next scene is that of the Crucifixion, in which the flexed and drooping body of the Lord is drawn in an exaggerated and anatomical manner, while the face wears an expression of intense suffering; under the Cross stand the Virgin and St. John, both holding their heads, with their hands to their faces, the former with her hand covered; and above the cross-bar we see two small figures of flying angels. The following scene — the Descent from the Cross — is composed of a group of five persons around the dead Christ; two stand on slight eminences, one supporting the body and the other removing the nail from the left hand; the right hand is held by the Virgin, who lifts it to her lips, while the remaining figures stand one on either side, unoccupied but very sorrowful. The scene of the Holy Women at the Tomb, which is the last of the series, depicts the two Marias on one side, as if in conversation, and the angel, majestically seated in the centre, points to the empty sepulchre.

Although this triptych has many points in common with that at Perugia, the drawing and the expressions of the small figures are greatly superior; the central figure is not the best part of the picture, the drawing being too linear; the Virgin's hand, with its attenuated fingers, is rather stiff, while the white high lights, the features outlined in black, and the faceted folds are not very beautiful. Little trace remains of the once vivid colouring. The Byzantine influence is very obvious in the manner of blessing and the inscription I. H. S. X. P. S. above the crucifix.

One of the finest Italo-Byzantine panel paintings in Umbria has quite recently been transported from the neighbourhood of Montefalco to the Pinacoteca of Perugia. It shows the Lord in an aureole, between two rows of saints and prophets, below which are five medaillons containing the Lamb and the four symbols of the Evangelists with a scene from the martyrdom of St. Laurence at either side.

An Italo-Byzantine panel will also be found outside the hut in which St. Francis died, one of the two small buildings around which the church of Sta. Maria degli Angeli was built. It is a long narrow painting of the saint, who faces the spectator as in the portraits of Margaritone, except that here the head is uncovered, and he is holding a book in both hands. This partly repainted picture is frequently attributed to Giunta Pisano; it is cer-

tainly not from his hand, but is rather a feeble production of the later 13th century, although the face is not without a certain individuality.

In Umbria I know of only one 13th century decoration which might be called Romanesque. It is an important set of frescoes discovered some years ago in the church of S. Bevignate, just outside Perugia (¹); the church is known to have been founded about the year 1270, and the decoration can almost with certainty be ascribed to the same period. The choir, as is usually the case, is the site of the principal frescoes, and on the altar wall we find a Crucifixion with the Virgin, St. John, St. Bevignate as bishop and another figure, of which only the head has been preserved, the four symbols of the Evangelists, traces of the figures of SS. Peter and Paul, and the Virgin and Child, whose heads are missing, between two angels with proffered gifts in their covered hands.

On the right wall we find remains of a Last Judgment, in which we see a row of Apostles escorting a much larger figure of Christ with uplifted hands, revealing the wound in his side; while below, but still on a level with the lower part of the Redeemer, are the instruments of the Passion. At the ends of this row stand two Apostles, for whom there was not space above, while between them are angels, two of whom are blowing blasts on trumpets, to awaken the dead; lower down a row of figures in white on a red background are shown in identical attitudes, raising their arms toward the Lord; while on a narrow strip beneath are seen the dead rising out of their coffins. On the lowest level some half-naked figures scourging themselves do not, as Herr Bombe supposes, represent the punishments of Hell, but rather, as Count Gnoli suggests, members of the religious order which the Blessed Raniero Fasani founded here in 1260, administering the self-chastisement which formed part of the discipline of the order. On the opposite wall are seen the outlines of the figures of the Last Supper and SS. Mary Magdalene, Stephen and Laurence, whose names are inscribed, as well as some votive paintings of the 14th and 15th centuries on the walls of the nave

In the archaic rigidity of these figures we do not see any trace

⁽¹⁾ *W. Bombe*. *Geschichte etc*, p. 22. *L. Gnoli*, *La Storia della Pittura Perugia*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1914, p. 246

of Byzantine influence; on the contrary, although rather lacking in artistic value, spirit, design and colouring are all characteristic of purely Romanesque works.

The number of 13th century Umbrian works still remaining is fairly large, but they are mostly of too inferior quality or too small in size to help us to form a better idea of Umbrian art of this period; we shall therefore include them in the list of Duecento paintings which will follow presently.

From what has been said we see that in Umbria Giunta's influence played a preponderant part, many painters working entirely in his manner; and co-existing with this most important influence was the Italo-Byzantine movement, which was rather conventional, although not without local elements, while the Romanesque style is seen in one work only.

The Basilica of Assisi is naturally full of the works of Roman painters, but their productions, and those of their adherents, must form the subject of another chapter.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE BYZANTINE AND ROMANESQUE TRADITIONS IN ROME DURING THE XIII CENTURY. IMPORTANT MONUMENTS OF THIS PERIOD AT PARMA AND IN SOUTH ITALY.

In a previous chapter I explained the reason for the return of the Byzantine manner, more traces of which are to be found in Rome than anywhere else; there, the Oriental style is predominant in a fairly large number of mosaics, the taste for which seems to have revived simultaneously with the reappearance of the Byzantine style.

The works of James and Cosmas I of the Cosmati family date from the first years of the 13th century, and we find one of them in Rome on what was originally the facade of S. Tommaso in Formis; it is a small round mosaic representing the Lord between a black slave and a white. That this church had been given by Innocent III to the order founded to abolish slavery⁽¹⁾ by John of Malta explains the subject of this mosaic. In the narthex of the Cathedral of Civita Castellana the same James signed in 1210 a mosaic representing the half-length figure of the Lord. These two mosaics, though otherwise of no importance, prove that their author was entirely under the influence of the Oriental movement.

To the same period I believe we may ascribe the much restored mosaic which adorns the facade of Sta. Maria-in-Trastevere, generally attributed, like the mosaic of the apse, to the middle of the 12th century; but as the style of the two works is not in any way similar, and as we know that Innocent III (1198 – 1216) had extensive restorations carried out in this church, I venture to believe that it was on this occasion that the decoration of the

⁽¹⁾ *d'Agincourt*, pl 18^o and vol. VI, p. 56. *M. Armellini*, *Le chiese di Roma*, Rome, 1891, p. 504. *De Waal*, *Roma Sacra*, Munich, p. 349

facade was executed. We find here represented the Madonna feeding the Child Jesus — a subject never met with in Italy in the middle of the 12th century — between a procession of the Wise and the Foolish Virgins, (fig. 237) who are clad in Oriental magnificence, holding their lamps and forming a stately but motionless row of figures. Two miniature adorers in sacerdotal attire kneel on either side of the Madonna's throne.



Fig. 237. The Madonna between the Wise and the Foolish Virgins Mosaic of 1198—1216 (?). Sta. Maria-in-Trastevere, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

We know that in 1218 Pope Honorius III wrote to the Doge of Venice requesting him to send more mosaicists in order to finish the decoration of S. Paolo-fuori-le-Mura, which had been begun by other artists from that city. It was again Innocent III who began this decoration, and although the greater part of it was accomplished during the pontificate of Honorius III, it was not completed until after his death.

After the fire of 1823 little of the original mosaic remained. In the vault we find the Lord enthroned in the midst of St. Paul (whose name is inscribed in Latin and in Greek) and other saints,

while the small figure of Pope Honorius is represented kissing the feet of Christ. On the left side of the arch the Virgin and an adorer are depicted, and on the right side St. John the Baptist.

Lower down on the wall of the apse the Twelve Apostles in a row replace the so frequently represented lambs; in the centre we see the Throne of the Apocalypse, the Passion instruments carried by two angels, and five small figures personifying the martyrs whose remains were deposited in this church. Of the original mosaic only this central part, with the angels and the two nearest Apostles, remains. Of the part destroyed, some fragments which were saved are now preserved in the sacristy of the church; they represent two heads of Apostles (fig. 238) and some parts of the boughs with birds perched on them, which formed the background; the head of another Apostle is to be seen in the crypt of S. Pietro. These fragments show us that the original decoration was a work of some merit, in the pure

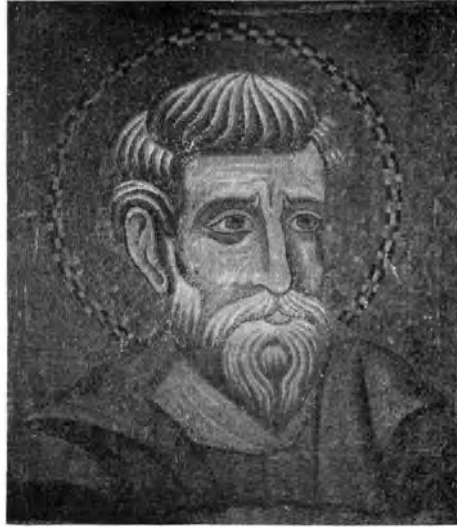


Fig. 238 Apostle, fragment of the mosaic of 1218 S. Paolo-fuori-le-Mura, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

Byzantine style, and of a more refined technique than contemporary Roman mosaics. No doubt the Doge sent a majority of actual Greek workers, there being at that moment a considerable number in Venice.

Another form of art which greatly contributed to the preservation of the Byzantine style in Rome consisted in panel paintings of the Lord or the Virgin which formed objects of special veneration. It may be that some of these were imported from the Orient, although in most of them the Italian features are too conspicuous to admit of this hypothesis.

The best known of these is the famous "archeropita" or image

of the Saviour "not made by human hands" in the Sancta Sanctorum, but it is difficult to judge the age and origin of this curious painting. It seems certainly to be Oriental, and of a very remote period (¹).

Possibly earlier than the 13th century, and perhaps likewise of Oriental origin, is a dark painting of the Lord blessing and holding a decorated book in the Vatican Gallery (²).



Fig. 239. The Redeemer, XIII century. Cathedral, Sutri.

Photo Alinari.

An important representation of the Lord which, notwithstanding its markedly Eastern aspect, I believe to be an Italian production of the beginning of the 13th century, will be found in the Cathedral of Sutri (fig. 239). The Lord is here represented enthroned, blessing and holding a large volume. The drawing of the folds in the drapery is very conventional (³).

A damaged picture of the Saviour in Sta. Maria Nuova (Sta. Francesca Romana) is rather similar in appearance but of somewhat later date and less archaic aspect.

The image of the Lord in Sta. Maria Assunta at Trevignano (fig. 240) is undoubtedly an Italian work; it belongs to the same type as the two previous ones, only here the Saviour is crowned and the shape of the throne is different.

This is really a representation of the Deesis, since we find on either side a painting of the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist. The technique is not finished and the panel has the aspect of an Italo-Byzantine work of mediocre

(¹) Recent studies on this subject are those of *J. Wilpert*, *L'archeropita ossia l'immagine del Salvatore* etc., *L'Arte*, 1907, pp. 161 and 247 *The Same* in *Rom. Quartalschr.*, 1907, p. 65. *H. Grisar*, *L'immagine archeropita del Salvatore*, *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1907, p. 434.

(²) *Wilpert*, *Romische Mosaiken u. Malereien*, pl. 260.

(³) *Bargellini*, *Etruria Meridionale*, Bergamo, 1907, p. 74

quality. The inscription leads us to believe that this was a shrine in which remains of several martyrs had been preserved.

Representations of the Madonna in this style are more numerous than those of the Saviour. The most important of these from an artistic point of view is that in Sta. Maria Maggiore, almost entirely covered by an elaborate tabernacle made by order of Pope Paul V⁽¹⁾. The Virgin, of whom a half-length figure is shown, carries in both arms the Child Jesus who is bestowing a blessing (fig. 241). This is a noble and beautiful painting of the Madonna, whose regular features wear a peaceful and serene expression. The types, however, betray no trace of Italian origin and I believe it quite possible that this panel may have been executed in the East.

The chapel to the left of the choir of S. Paolo-fuori-le-Mura contains a small but finely executed mosaic of the same subject, no doubt of Italian workmanship, but obviously Byzantine in inspiration⁽²⁾; while panels showing more or less the same composition may be found in Rome in the churches of Sta. Maria del Popolo⁽³⁾, Sta. Maria Nuova, Sta. Francesca Romana (much repainted), Sta. Maria in Cos-



Fig. 240. The Redeemer,
2nd half of the XIII century.
Sta. Maria Assunta,
Trevignano.

Photo Brugi.

⁽¹⁾ *Wilpert*, pls. 271-2. Dell' immagine della Madonna di S. Maria Maggiore etc, Cod. Vat. Reg. 228-2100 C 19 etc *Federico e Marino Ranaldi*, Storia dell' antica immagine della Madre di Dio etc, Cod. Vat. 5539 *Fr. Fabi Montani*, Dell' antica immagine di Maria Sanctissima nella Basilica Liberiana, Roma, 1861. *O Ceccarelli*, La miracolosa immagine della Madonna della Grazie etc, Roma *G Bascotti*, L immagine della Madonna detta di S. Luca a S. M. M., Roma, Bolletino dell' Arte del Ministero della P. Istr., 1916, p. 231.

⁽²⁾ *Wilpert*, op. cit., p. 558.

⁽³⁾ *Wilpert*, op. cit., pl. 299.

medin⁽¹⁾, S. Crisogono⁽²⁾, SS. Sergio e Bacco in Suburra⁽³⁾ and S. Alfonso on the Esquiline. In the neighbourhood of Rome others are preserved in Sta. Maria del Sorbo⁽⁴⁾, in the abbey of Grottaferrata, at Tivoli in the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore⁽⁵⁾ and in the collection of Signor Sila Rosa⁽⁶⁾. Although all of these manifest many Byzantine elements I do not think any of them



Fig. 241. Madonna, XIII century.
Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

were executed in the Orient.

A similar Madonna in the church of Sta. Maria in Vescovis in Sabine is of somewhat later date. Many other similar Madonnas exist all over Italy. Of them might still be quoted those in the Cathedral of Spoleto and in the Santuario della Madona in Bologna.

A possibly genuine Byzantine product, although not earlier than the 13th century, is the panel of SS Peter and Paul in the Treasury of St. Peter's, Rome, which according to an old tradition was presented in the 9th century by SS Cyril and Methodius to the tomb of the saint⁽⁷⁾.

(1) *d'Agincourt*, pl. 105¹¹. *G. M. Crescibeni*, *Notizie istoriche della sacra immagine della B. Vergine della Basilica di S. Maria in Cosmedin, Roma, 1722. Notizie storiche della antichissima e miracolosa immagine della B. Vergine che se venera nell' insigne basilica di S.M. in C., Roma, 1803, 1818, 1835, 1851 and 1867.*

(2) *Fr. Cancellerie*, *Breve notizia della antica etc. immagine di Maria Vergine etc nell' antica chiesa di S. Crisogono, Cod. Vat. 9191 C 46d.*

(3) *Istoria dell' invenzione e traslazione dell' immagine di M.V. detta del Pascolo, Roma, 1869. Cenni storici sul' immagine di Maria Ssma. del Pascolo nella ven. chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco, Roma, 1874.*

(4) *Wilpert*, op. cit., pl. 263

(5) *Wilpert*, op. cit., pl. 297.

(6) *Wilpert*, op. cit., pl. 298.

(7) *L. Jehc*, *Nuove osservazione sull' icone Vaticana dei SS Pietro e Paolo, Rom Quartalschr., 1892, p. 83*

The art which produced these panels was too directly inspired by the Byzantine icons to show any signs of the artistic movement which was then taking place in Rome and elsewhere

Frescoes of a more or less purely Byzantine aspect are rare in Rome, but Italo-Byzantine works are fairly numerous.

The most Byzantine-looking are two badly damaged mural paintings in the subterranean church of SS Cosme e Damiano, representing Mary Magdalene washing the feet of the Lord and the three Holy Women at the Empty Sepulchre⁽¹⁾. The fine graceful figures of these two compositions exhibit, in spirit, in technique and in iconography⁽²⁾ unmistakable Byzantine elements, although the workmanship is certainly Italian and probably dates from the first half of the 13th century. Of much less artistic value, but equally Byzantine in inspiration, is a fresco of the Saviour in the midst of six saints found in the excavations made under SS. Giovanni e Paolo⁽³⁾. The figures, although not without a certain majesty, are hard and too schematic in execution.



Fig 242. Angels, 1272. Grottaferrata.
Photo Minist. Publ. I-str.

Somewhat more Italian in spirit but on the whole still very near to Byzantium are the fine frescoes, which are distinguished only with difficulty, in the church of Grottaferrata, above the mosaic of the arch representing the Hetymase⁽⁴⁾. The central part is occupied by the figures of the Trinity; the Eternal holds the Saviour on the middle on His knee, as in the old representations of the Virgin and Child; the

⁽¹⁾ *R. van Marle*, *La peinture romaine etc*, p. 183.

⁽²⁾ *G. Millet*, *Recherches etc.*, pp. 536 and 685 note 3

⁽³⁾ *R. van Marle*, *op cit*, p. 178

⁽⁴⁾ *A. Rocchi*, *La Badia di Grottaferrata*, Roma, 1884 *P. Toesca*, *Notizie della B. di G.*, *L'Arte*, 1909, p. 317. *R. van Marle*, *op. cit*, p. 183 Copies of these frescoes will be found in the abbey museum

dove between them symbolizes the Holy Ghost, while hosts of angels are depicted on either side (fig. 242). Some other scenes illustrate the history of Moses and Aaron; of these, Moses flying from the serpent (fig. 243) and Moses and the burning bush, as well as a figure of King David, remain clearly visible. These paintings were probably executed in 1272, as important restorations were made to the church that year. The Byzantine elements are to be found chiefly in external details, such as the big jewels etc., and in the fineness of execution.

The most important series of Italo-Byzantine painting in Rome is the one illustrating the history of St. Sylvester and the Last



Fig 243. Moses flying from the serpent, 1272. Grottaferrata.

Photo Minist. Publ. Istr

Judgment, which was executed in 1246 in the chapel of S. Silvestro, just outside the church of the SS. Quattro Coronati⁽¹⁾. In the latter representation many iconographical elements are Byzantine. Above, Christ, double the size of the other figures, is enthroned between the Virgin and St. John and the Twelve Apostles, while over their heads, but level with that of Christ's, fly two angels, the one on the right blowing a trumpet, and the other apparently holding an astronomical chart⁽²⁾. Part of the upper half of the Saviour's body is nude⁽³⁾, showing an exaggerated anatomical style of drawing; His right hand is raised and He carries a cross in His left; feet and hands are marked with the stigmata. Two instruments of the Passion separate Him from the Virgin and St. John, who mournfully stand in attitudes similar to those which they so often assume under the Cross. The Apostles, ranged on either side, on benches, as in S. Angelo in Formis, are in identical posi-

⁽¹⁾ *G. B. De Rossi*, *I Santi Quattro Coronati e la loro chiesa sul Celio*, *Bullet. d'Arch. Crist.*, ser. III an IV, 1879, p. 45. *A Muñoz*, *Il restauro della chiesa etc. dei S.S. Quat. Cor.*, p. 103. *R. van Marle*, *op. cit.*, p. 180

⁽²⁾ A Byzantine detail, *Bertaux*, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

⁽³⁾ A peculiarity more frequently met with in France than in Italy.



St. FRANCIS

From the fresco of 1228 in the Sacro-Speco Monastery, Subiaco.

Photo Alinari.

tions, all with their faces looking towards Christ. However, their faces vary in appearance, thus rendering them a little less monotonous. Although manneristic and somewhat linear, especially in the features and the clothing, the drawing is good, the muscles in the naked arm of Christ being specially well drawn. The series of scenes from the life of St. Sylvester, Bishop of Rome, relates how Constantine suffering from leprosy, was ordered to bathe himself in the blood of children, but he refused to sacrifice so many lives in order to cure his disease. In a dream SS. Peter and Paul appear



Fig. 244. Scene from the legend of St. Sylvester, 1246 SS Quattro Coronati. Rome. Photo Minist Publ Isti

to the king and inform him that Christ, moved by his good deed, has sent them to tell him that he must fetch Sylvester from the hills, where he had taken refuge from the persecutions of the pagan monarch, and that he would cure the disease by bathing him three times in a font. Constantine recognizes the Apostles from paintings which St. Sylvester shows him when recalled to the court; everything happens as it had been predicted, and Constantine is converted to Christianity. This legend is illustrated in SS. Quattro Coronati by the following frescoes: (1) the children and their appealing mothers before the Emperor, (2) SS. Peter and Paul appear to Constantine, (3) the three messengers ride in search of St. Sylvester, (4) they prostrate themselves before the

saint, (5) St. Sylvester shows the portraits of SS. Peter and Paul to Constantine (fig. 244), (6) he baptises the Emperor, (7) Constantine crowns Sylvester Pope and gives him a horse, and (8) Constantine, humbly walking, leads the Pope and his suite on horseback to Rome (fig. 245). These paintings are very primitive, hard and rigid, imitating in design and colouring the mosaic effect. The lifeless attitudes, the absence of subtle drawing, and the expressionless faces, combined with the gorgeous dresses and enormous jewels, clearly belong to the later Byzantine decadence. The processional



Fig. 245. Scene from the Legend of St. Sylvester, 1246. SS. Quattro Coronati, Rome. Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

arrangement, as seen in the frescoes of the messengers going in search of Sylvester, and Constantine leading the Pope to Rome, is characteristic of the earlier mosaics. Many of the paintings have architectural backgrounds, and in these no attention is paid to proportions, the human figures being made the size that happens to be convenient. The artist's utter lack of any capacity of expressing dramatic action is manifest in the features and the attitudes. The faces are almost without expression, as will be seen if we examine the two rigid rows of mothers, who instead of imploring mercy for their infants, appear merely preoccupied. The next scene, in which the two saints appear to the sick monarch, is a little better, Con-

stantine has really the appearance of a sick man, but the lack of perspective makes the prettily ornamented cushion which supports his head look vertical. The spirit which evidently animated the artist was one of love of symmetry and tradition. The folds of the coverlet of the emperor's bed are all exactly alike, as also the curved lines on the necks of the various persons; age is indicated by an increased number of wrinkles on the face, Peter and Paul having a great many, and the clothing is arranged in hard and heavy folds.

From Byzantium the master borrowed his rigid, stately figures, his types, and his schematic draping. These elements, however, have not been adopted without a certain vulgarity of execution, a spirit of animation and a sense of narration incompatible with the hieratic style of painting. Here, then, we find the real intermingling of the two tendencies, which results in a not wholly satisfactory popular form of painting, in which each movement had to sacrifice too much to the other to preserve their respective merits.

On the outside of the apse of Sta. Maria Nuova or Sta. Francesca Romana a fragment of the Virgin holding the Child in benediction, SS. Paul, Bartholomew and Andrew on the left ⁽¹⁾, betray such a strong resemblance in style and execution to the frescoes of the S. Silvestro chapel, that we may attribute them to the same hand ⁽²⁾.

Of much better quality are some frescoes which will be found in the left aisle of the church of S. Saba, but they are, for the greater part, in such a disastrous condition that even the subject cannot be elucidated. Only one of these paintings has preserved its colour; it represents the Madonna holding the Child, in the act of benediction while beside them stand three figures — a monk, a bishop, and an old bearded man — who no doubt were originally four. This fresco is proof of the excellent quality of these works, which seem to have been executed by one of the best Italo-Byzantine masters of the city, at the end of the 13th century.

Passing over in silence some other frescoes of minor importance in Rome itself ⁽³⁾, we come to some very fine products of this manner in the neighbourhood, amongst which must first be men-

⁽¹⁾ *Wilpert*, op. cit., pl. 232

⁽²⁾ *A Muñoz*, *Roma di Dante*, Roma, 1921, p. 191 believes that this painter came from Southern Italy and was active at Anagni; with which hypotheses I do not agree

⁽³⁾ I have mentioned these in my book on Roman painting

tioned, the oldest series of the frescoes of the Sacro Speco monastery of Subiaco, the decoration of the St. Gregory chapel. A great point of interest of this work is that it can be accurately referred to the year 1228⁽¹⁾. In addition to some merely decorative paintings, we see, near the entrance, the figure of Gregory the Great, in a red coat, near whose feet crouches Job, covered with wounds.



Fig. 246 St. Francis, 1228. Sacro Speco, Subiaco.

Photo Alinari.

To the right is the famous portrait of St. Francis (fig. 246 and plate III) which was frequently supposed to have been executed during his life-time, on the occasion of his visit to the monastery in 1218, because he is represented without a nimbus, and without the stigmata, and is spoken of in the inscription as *Fr. Franciscu*. On the other hand the appearance of the saint does not correspond at all with the description given of him by Thomas of Celano, and it hardly seems likely that during his life time he would have been represented with a worshipper at his feet, while again the hand that executed this portrait is without any doubt the same as the one which made the rest of the decoration of 1228, so that Signor Hermann's hypothesis that the picture was made in commemoration of the saint's visit, but by order of Pope Gregory IX (1227—41) seems

very plausible. Besides, the Pope, who was eighty years old at the

⁽¹⁾ *Mabillon*, *Museum Italicum*, Paris, I, 1724, p. 126. *d'Agincourt*, *op. cit.*, pls. 100, 126 and VI pp 339 and 386. *X. Barbier de Montault*, *Subiaco, les fresques du Sacro Speco*, *Annales archeol.*, XVIII, 1858, p. 350. *Zimmermann*, *op. cit.*, p. 254. *Toesca*, *Gli affreschi di Anagni*, p. 26. *P. Egidio*, *G. Giovannoni*, e *F. Hermann*, *I monasteri di Subiaco*, Roma, 1904, I, p. 407 (*Hermann*, *Gli affreschi*). *A. Colasanti*, *L'Amene*, Bergamo, 1906, p. 114. *R. van Marle*, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

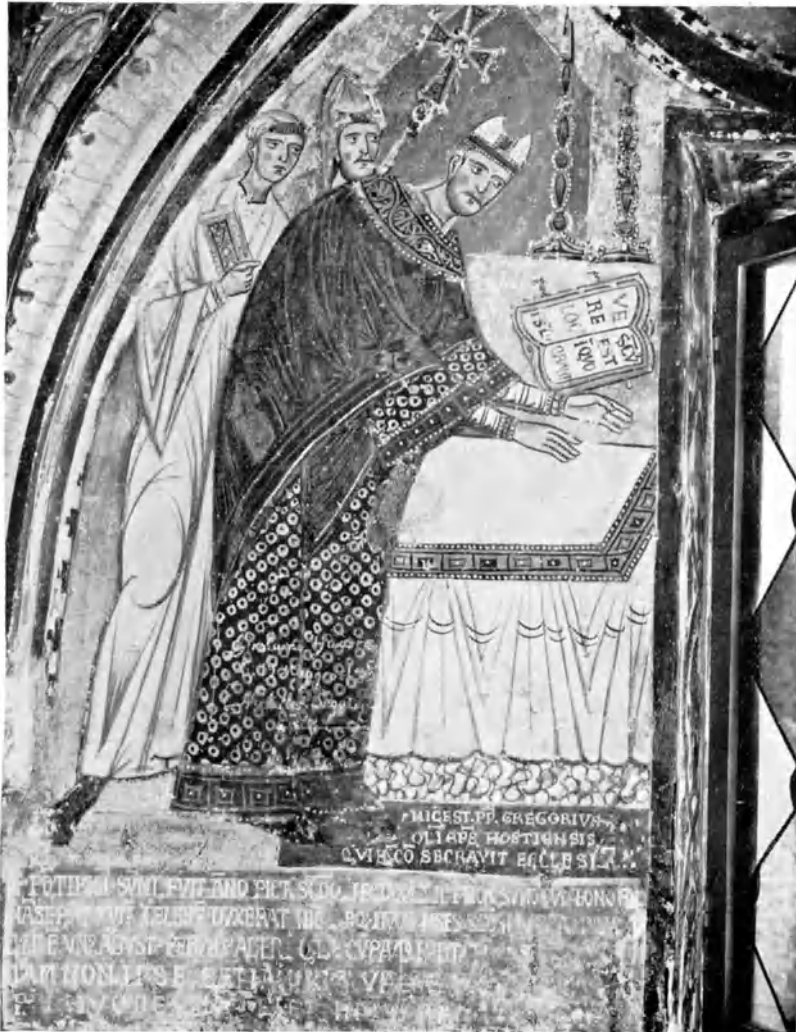


Fig. 247. Gregory IX consecrating a Chapel, 1228. Sacro Speco, Subiaco.
Photo Alinari.

moment of his election, is represented as being much younger in the adjacent scene, which illustrates his consecration of this chapel; behind him stand a young cleric, and again apparently St. Francis, but only his head is visible (fig. 247). An inscription informing us that this fresco was executed in the second year of the pontificate of Gregory IX dates these paintings. We also find here

half-figures of Christ and of SS. Peter and Paul, near whom are the adoring "Frater Romanus"⁽¹⁾, and "Frater Oddo", seemingly praying to St. Michael, who is depicted swinging a censer. Besides these we see some traces of a St. Onuphrius, a Crucifixion with the Virgin, St. John and the two soldiers, and in the vault four cherubim and the symbols of the Evangelists.

Apart from some less important fragments near the "Scala Santa", a lunette on the left wall of the church contains the seated



Fig. 248. SS Stephen, Thomas and Nicholas, ab. 1260. Sacro Speco, Subiaco.
Photo Alinari.

figures of St. Thomas of Canterbury and St. Nicholas, next whom stands St. Stephen (fig. 248). The presence of a coat-of-arms caused these frescoes to be attributed to the time of Abbot John VI (1217-27), but it seems that because of the form of the letters, and especially on account of the style of the painting, they must be ascribed to a later date. I think about 1260. No doubt the same artist decorated a great part of the walls of the monastery but his

⁽¹⁾ *Signor Toesca* took this to be the image and name of the artist, to whom he also attributed part of the frescoes of Anagni. I disagree with him entirely and, as I have already said, the paintings of Anagni are considerably older than these.

work was almost entirely repainted about thirty years later by Conxolus, through whose work the older layer is here and there visible.

We find, then, at Subiaco two different painters, who, with a lapse of about thirty years between the one and the other, both worked after the Italo-Byzantine manner. In the paintings of the older master, however, the Italian elements are much more obvious, he may have borrowed from the Oriental movement a certain conventionality and rigidity in the drapery and the proportions, but the types, expressions and general feeling are distinctly Italian, and betray the animated individuality of the artist. The later master who represented St. Thomas of Caterbury and the accompanying saints, is, on the other hand, much more under the influence of the Byzantine style, which is obvious in the hieratic severity of his figures, and the marked linear treatment of their features.

A more refined work, but I believe by the same master, is a panel representing St. Nicholas of Bari in the church dedicated to that saint at Scandriglia in Lazio (fig. 249). The picture, which shows the holy bishop enthroned, is even more conventional in design and more brilliant in colouring than the previous example, and may pass for one of the best panels of this school.

At some twenty-five miles' distance from Subiaco, the little town of Filetino possesses in the church of S. Niccolo, a not unimportant fresco which might have formed part of a composition of the Last Judgment. The painting represents the Twelve Apostles seated in a row, with an angelic trumpeter at either



Fig. 249. St. Nicholas of Bari, Roman school, 2nd half of the XIII century S. Niccolo, Scandriglia (Sabina)

end, and above, three half-figures of angels, within oval aureoles (1).

One of the greatest Italo-Byzantine painters was the master who decorated some of the vaults of the Cathedral of Anagni, and who, it must be confessed, shows a certain similarity of style with

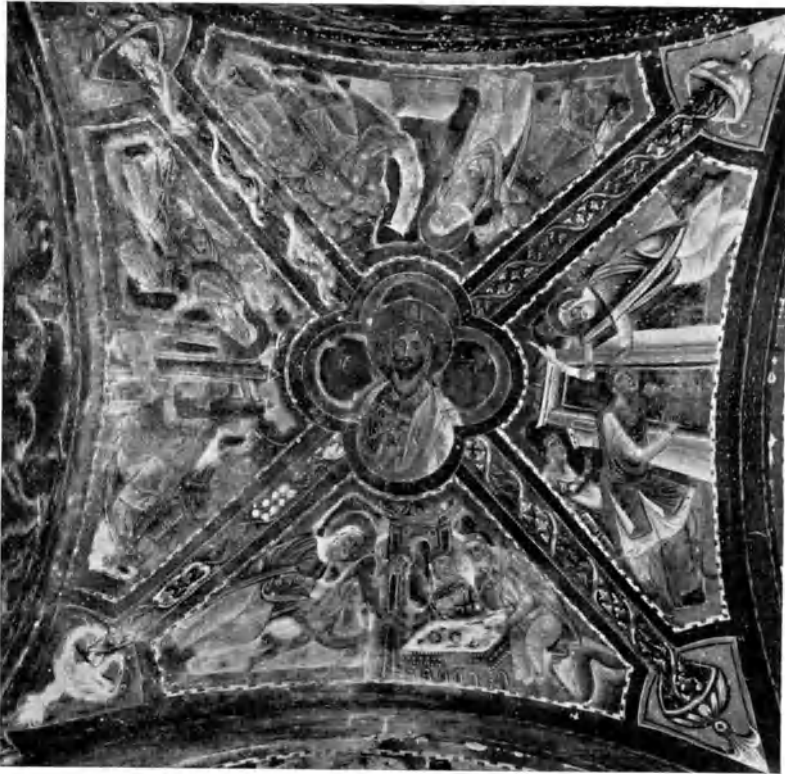


Fig. 250. The Saviour and Scenes from the History of Samuel, middle of the XIII century. Cathedral. Anagni.

Photo Brogi.

the artist of Subiaco, with whom Signor Toesca wished to identify him; but the painter of Anagni is more Oriental in style (2). In two of the vaults he represented a magnificent half-figure of the Saviour between four scenes from the history of Samuel (fig. 250) and the Battle of Masphat, while he decorated other walls

(1) *G. Bernardini* published a small note on these frescoes in the *Rassegna d'Arte*, December, 1913, p. I-II.

(2) *Toesca*, op. cit., *R. van Marle*, op. cit., p. 192

of the same crypt with a fresco of SS. Peter, Paul, a bishop, and St. John the Evangelist, (fig. 251) other figures of saints and still more scenes from the story of Samuel. The different merits of this set of frescoes are very great; the sense of beauty which is manifest in the superbly majestic and solemn figures of the Lord, the gracefulness of line, the vivacity of movement, and the brilliancy of colour, make of these paintings a creation of exceptional and individual value. A certain conventionality in the drapery and the regularity of the features betray a faint Byzantine influence, but no Oriental rigidity nor hardness of expression can be observed in any of the figures.

An inferior, and much less individual artist, executed other paintings here⁽¹⁾. The most important of his works is the decoration of one of the vaults, in which he represented four angels, each carrying a medallion with a decorated cross; he also depicted the chastisements sent by God to the cities of the Philistines, a miracle of St. Magnus', the martyrdom of St.



Fig 251. Saints, middle of the XIII century.
Cathedral, Anagni.

Photo Brogi.

John, the Madonna as Orant and the Lord seated in the attitude of benediction amidst four saints (fig. 252). The last mentioned fresco is a very characteristic work of this painter's whose art, although somewhat more refined, reminds us considerably of that of the master of the S. Silvestro chapel of the SS. Quattro Coronati, Rome. His conventional drawing, however, compared with that of the other painter concerned in these decorations, rather shocks the eye. Some other works of minor importance, obviously by followers of these two artists, are still to be found in the crypt and in the Cathedral itself.

It seems very likely that this important decoration of the Cathe-

(1) *R van Marle*, op cit, p 182

dral of Anagni was ordered by Pope Gregory IX (1227—41) whose family belonged to this city.

As in Tuscan, so also in Roman painting we can discern, besides the Byzantine or Italo-Byzantine influence, another which differs from it in technique, and in spirit as well as in narrative value. The two former elements are very evident in the only fragment preserved of the addition which Pope Innocent III (1189—1216) had made to the mosaic of the apse of S. Pietro, and which consisted in the



Fig. 252 The Lord and four Saints, middle of the XIII century. Cathedral, Anagni.

Photo Brogi.

allegorical representation of the Church and a portrait of the Pope; the head of this latter figure is all that now remains, and it is preserved in the palace of the family Torlonia in Rome. Although a fragment of little importance, it deserves a certain amount of consideration on account of the fact that the animated individual features prove to us how the un-Byzantine spirit penetrated even into the essentially Byzantine art of mosaic.

No doubt Honorius III (1216—27) ordered the now entirely repainted series of frescoes in the portico of S. Lorenzo-fuori-le-Mura, because, according to the aquarelles of these decorations made by A. Ecclissi in 1639⁽¹⁾, this Pope was represented adoring in a mosaic of the Saviour, the Madonna, St. Stephen and St. Lawrence, who presents the Pontiff. As the Redeemer in this composition is depicted beardless, it may be that, like his predecessor, Honorius III had his portrait added to an older representation.

⁽¹⁾ Vatican, Barberini, 4403: see also *d'Agincourt*, pl 99, vol. VI, p. 336. *S. Foresi da Morrovalle*. La basilica di S.L.f.le M., illustrata con append. di Tito Bollici. Bologna, 1861. *E. M. Bozzoli*, Brevi cenni storici etc. della basilica di S. Lorenzo extra muros, Roma, 1894. *Wilpert*. op. cit., p. 953

Moreover, some incidents represented in the long series of additional frescoes relate events from the life of the Pope. We see him, for example, giving communion to Peter of Courtenay, whom in 1217 he crowned Emperor of Constantinople in this church. On the right-hand wall twelve scenes illustrate the life of Emperor Frederic II, but most of the paintings, thirty-two in number, reproduce events from the lives of SS. Stephen, Lawrence and Hippolytus, near which, according to the same set of 17th century aquarelles, was inscribed: "*Hoc opus fecit fieri Dñs Matheus sc̃ Albt P A(n)i(m)a sua*" while above the entrance of the church was written the signature "*Paulus Hcs et Filippus filius eius fecerunt hoc opus*" so that if the copyist was exact it does not seem probable that the authors were Italian. It may be that the legends of the Golden Calf and the Golden Belt were also represented here ⁽¹⁾.

Notwithstanding that these frescoes have lost their original aspect on account of a too thorough restoration, what remains, combined with what we find in the aquarelles of 1639, is enough to prove to us that the style in which they were executed was not Byzantine, but an outcome of the Romanesque tradition. Inside the same church we find a fresco of 1256, near the tomb of Cardinal Guglielmo Fieschi ⁽²⁾, representing the Lord between SS. Lawrence and Stephen with SS. Hippolytus and Eustachius at the sides and the Madonna and Child on the side wall. Notwithstanding the presence of some Oriental mannerisms, the bright colouring, the forms, and the expression of the features, of which the cheeks are indicated by red patches, belong to Western art. The older series of frescoes, which were removed from the walls of St. Agnese-in-Trastevere and taken to the Lateran Museum, also belong to this



Fig. 253. Scene from the History of St Catherine, circa 1260—70. Lateran Museum, Rome.

Photo Sansoni.

⁽¹⁾ *Wilpert*, op, cit, p 974.

⁽²⁾ Vat Barb. 4403, fol. 46-7. *d'Agincourt*, pl 106^s and vol. VI, p 359

group (figs. 253 and 254)⁽¹⁾. Here again the only connection with Byzantium will be found in the stereotyped drawing of the drapery. The facial types, the dramatic feeling, and above all, the hard, bright colouring, are proof of the artist's adherence to the Western tendency.

It seems probable that the frescoes in the church of S. Passera, near S. Paolo-fuori, which show us a much older type of composition – an apocalyptic representation with the Saviour and Virgin in majesty in the midst of saints⁽²⁾ – also form part of this group, but their present repainted condition does not allow us to form an exact opinion on the subject.



Fig. 254. Scene from the History of St Catherine, circa 1260—70
Lateran Museum, Rome
Photo Sansani.

Of the frescoes in this manner executed in the Sta. Barbara chapel near SS. Quattro Coronati, no fragments of special interest remain, but in the church itself a small but very characteristic painting represents, probably, the architect Ramaldo discoursing with the Abbot.

Among the artists who advanced the development of painting and helped to form the style of the 13th century is one whose value has only recently been discovered. His name will be found in the inscription "*Magister Conxolus pinxit hoc opus*", accompanying the representation of the Madonna and Child which forms part of the mural decorations of the Sacro Speco, Subiaco. Mr. A. L. Frothingham, who does not hesitate to cite Conxolus amongst the Greek artists, attributes to him all the other paintings in this monastery, and declares that a study of these frescoes must lead to this opinion; Signor Hermanin, on the other hand, whose

⁽¹⁾ *O. Marucchi*, Guida del Museo Cristiano Lateranese, Roma, 1898, p. 178-179. *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, History of Italian Painting, ed. Langton Douglas, London, I, 1903, p. 52. *L. Nardone*, L'antico oratorio di S. Agnese-in-Trastevere con pitture cristiane del sec XI, Roma, 1870. *Zimmermann*, op. cit., p. 248. *R. van Marle*, op. cit., p. 196

⁽²⁾ *C. R. Morey*, The lost Mosaics and Frescoes of Rome, Princeton, U.S.A., 1915, p. 55.

arguments carry much greater authority, have formed a different conclusion, and attributes to Conxolus the illustrations of the story of St. Benedict, the repainting of the representation of Innocent III distributing privileges, and of some other older scenes; the busts of SS. Benedict and Scholastica, the two SS. John adoring the Divine Lamb, the Lord between two angels, and in the corridor, between the lower church and St. Gregory's chapel, the figures painted over of SS. Catherine, Victoria, Apollonia, and St. Anatolia, with angels, and St. Chelidonia in a cave with two small devotees, as well as much of the beautiful and symmetrical decorative work ⁽¹⁾.

This may well be so, and in any case, comparing the St. Benedict series, with the authentic Madonna and Child, I am convinced that at least this group may be ascribed to Conxolus. The Madonna is represented against an architectural background, in a manner not unlike that which Cimabue followed; she holds the cross-haloed Child, who, though seated on her knee, is placed rather high; on either side stands a fair-haired angel. The scenes from the life of St. Benedict, which are not consecutive, being often interrupted by other paintings, represent the saint in a short tunic, praying with his nurse, leaving his nurse in order to lead a solitary life, his meeting with the hermit Romanus, who charges himself with the care of the saint, the miraculous way in which he causes a pick-axe which a Gothic workman of his order has dropped into the water, to float on the surface; the wonderful manner in which he saves a child from drowning; the attempt of the monk Florentianus to kill him, which is depicted in two scenes; in the one poisonous food is brought to him, and in the other he gives it to a crow, to carry to a spot where it can harm no one (fig. 255). Continuing, we see him in a grotto surrounded by angels; he is in another represented reading, while Romanus and a second monk near by gaze up towards heaven, in which a vision of the Lord appears; and lastly an incident of his early life: the cord of the bell, which Romanus rang to summon St. Benedict to his food, being cut by the devil.

⁽¹⁾ *Hermann, Federici and Giovannoni*, I Monasteri di Subiaco. 2 vols., Rome, 1904, I, p. 468. *G. Modigliani*, Die Kloster von Subiaco, Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst, Neue Folge, XVIII, 1906-7, p. 279. *R van Marle*, La peinture romaine, p. 200.



Fig. 255 Conxolus, Scenes from the Legend of St Benedict Sacro Speco,
Subiaco

Photo Brogi.

Signor Hermanin has a great and justified admiration for Conxolus, whom he places in the second half of the 13th century. I think it would be more correct to place him towards the end of the century, but I agree that his paintings belong to the popular style of Roman art, tracing their descent from the second series of frescoes in S. Clemente; in both we find the same long figures

and crude folds, the characteristics of Conxolus being found in the long hands and necks, the curved noses, the small heads and the still smaller mouths and eyes; it is especially, however, the life, the expression and the correct observation of his models which make this painter a leading figure of the Romanesque tradition. During the time which had elapsed since the frescoes of S. Clemente were executed a great advance had been made in the recognition of the proportions of the human body, and in the drawing of its garments, and also in the colours, which became much warmer; the expressions are more life-like, quite in keeping with the circumstances and without exaggeration; as a narrative artist Conxolus points the way to Giotto. In his works Signor Hermanin rightly observes several points resembling the painting of Cavallini, notably in the portrayal of the angels. Conxolus' weakness still lies in an all but complete absence of perspective and space, as, for instance, in the scene of the Gothic workman, where the water looks like a table; and in another the child who is supposed to be drowning appears as if laid on the ground. On the other hand, the background of trees and mountains is correctly drawn and beautiful. For this one fault, moreover, the beauty of his human figures largely atones, the types being highly refined, while the attitudes and movements are full of grace and feeling. The expression of the saint when he parts from his nurse is most touching, but in some cases it is rather severe. Excepting the subtle drawing, this artist owes nothing to the Byzantine tradition.

Although a much earlier date has been ascribed to them, I believe that the frescoes which adorn the nave of the Cathedral of Sabina, Sta. Maria-in-Vescovio — near Stimigliano, between Orte and Rome — are likewise of the second part of the 13th century ⁽¹⁾, probably about 1270 or 1280; but those in the crypt, and on that part of the altar which was originally below the level of the church, are much older. The entrance wall was originally adorned by a Last Judgment, of which there now remains only the Lord on a jewelled throne, in an oval mandorla. He is dressed in a green tunic, and is stretching his hands downwards in the manner frequently seen in Last Judgments,

⁽¹⁾ *Stegenseck*, S. Maria in Vescovio, Kathedrale der Sabina, Romische Quartalschrift, XVI, p. 15. *L. Fiocca*, La Chiesa di S. Maria in Vescovio, Arte Christiana, III, 1915, p. 368. *van Marle*, op. cit., p. 198.

the right hand open to welcome the just, and the left hand reversed, bidding the lost souls depart. The instruments of the Passion are placed around him, and below, in the left-hand corner, are some heads forming part of the same scene. On the left wall are scenes from the Life of Christ, and on the right, representations from the Old Testament. Of this latter series the first fresco, counting towards the choir, depicts Esau with bow and arrow, before his father, who raises his hand, and asks his son to go hunting for him. The second scene represents the hunter killing a white hare; and in the third we see Jacob presenting himself to his father, with the flesh of his quarry on a dish, and his hands and neck covered with a white skin, to simulate his elder brother, while Rebecca, his mother, who has devised the deception, watches the success of her plan from behind a curtain. The next fresco is probably Isaac blessing Esau after the discovery of the fraud; but the condition of the painting is too fragmentary to be certain of a correct interpretation. Of the two following scenes there remains only one person looking upwards, and another making a gesture of affright. When I visited this church the row of paintings above these had not yet been revealed, but their presence was betrayed by several gaps in the whitewash, through which the paint underneath could be seen. On the opposite wall, next to the choir, the first scene in the upper row is probably an Annunciation, of which fragments of the seated Madonna and the standing angel alone remain. The second and third scenes are entirely obliterated; the fourth was evidently an Adoration of the Magi, the head of the Virgin alone surviving and, on a lower level, the head of one of the Kings from the East, who, we conclude, was in a kneeling attitude. The upright figure of a woman in the following fresco might well be a fragment of the Presentation in the Temple, while the last and only plainly visible scene represents the Flight into Egypt; an angel leads a pink-coloured donkey carrying the Virgin and Child, of whom a small part only remains, while St. Joseph follows behind. The paintings on the lower part of the wall alone give us an idea of the artistic importance of the decorations of this monument. Above the pulpit is the Transfiguration; not one of the best of these paintings, but already showing an honest attempt at realism without losing in dignity. On the left, next to a

palm tree, Moses, represented as a young man, stretches his hand toward the Lord, who stands on the summit of a small mountain; a little farther on, Elias, who is given a short beard, also makes a gesture of adoration. Beneath him is St. Peter, kneeling and manifesting well expressed surprise at what he sees. The next figure, St. John, is missing, while the third, who has evidently fallen on his back in sheer bewilderment, half raises himself up to see the great event, shading his eyes with one hand. The composition of this fresco is particularly good, and the drawing of the hand strikingly accurate. The colours are perhaps too variegated, and sometimes clash, as, for example, the reddish colour of Christ's hair with a yellow halo, a blue cross and a red border, the general outline being brownish; or again, the yellowish-red hair of Elias, divided into separate locks by brown lines, and many other instances might be cited. The shading in green is well handled but is perhaps too nearly parallel with the outline. In the painting of the Lord's Supper the table, round, and covered with a white table-cloth, bears a chalice and a dish containing a fish. The Lord is placed at one end; he wears a dark red tunic with a bright red pallium, and behind his head a cruciform nimbus is visible. St. Peter is seated next to Christ, thus occupying St. John's accustomed place; but he is clearly recognizable from the Transfiguration scene; Judas, at the other end of the row, is in the act of receiving a piece of bread from the Lord. This representation, as Herr Stegenseck remarks, has some points in common with the fresco of the same subject from S. Bastianello on the Palatine, Rome, and also with that in S. Angelo-in-Formis. The Christ in Sta Maria-in-Vescovio is in appearance majestic, serene and even beautiful, and his importance in the scene is accentuated by the gaze of all the disciples being fixed on him; there is a great variety of expression in the faces of the Apostles, who, however, are packed together without any respect for the composition. The articles on the table are not skilfully designed; those which are horizontal look as if they were in a vertical position. The tablecloth falls in heavy straight folds, as does the lower part of the Lord's tunic.

The Betrayal of Judas is represented in quite a different spirit, and, as is often the case, the action appears to be sudden and the scene almost violent. In the Crucifixion fresco the body of Jesus is no longer rigid, but flexed, as it is depicted, practically without

exception, in later compositions. The fainting Virgin, with uplifted arms, is supported by a second female figure; and on the other side of the Cross, behind St. John, who is seated, an old man stands with one arm raised. This scene expresses intense human suffering in a manner no longer that of primitive art. The Resurrection depicts Christ holding a globe and a cross within a red halo, stepping majestically out of a rose-coloured coffin, around which lie four sleeping soldiers. The scene of the Holy Women at the Sepulchre is far from complete, but the three women approaching are still clearly visible, as well as a beautiful seated angel, pointing to the empty sepulchre, in which a white shroud may be observed. One of the women in this scene is the most beautiful in the whole series of frescoes; her attitude is calm and noble, and altogether the figure bears a close resemblance to those of classic antiquity. These paintings, in brighter colour than those attributed to the movement still under Byzantine influence, represent an important step in the development of Italian art. Not only may a vigorous attempt at depicting the truth be observed, but also a sense of dignity and beauty lacking before this period.

For this reason the painter of these frescoes may be placed amongst the direct ancestors of the great artists of the late 13th and early 14th century, in whose works the combination of these two elements reaches its highest perfection.

Another and somewhat earlier precursor of Cavallini was the author of the beautiful panel painting of the Madonna and Child between two angels, and adored by a Pope, which we find over an altar in Sta. Maria in Trastevere, Rome (fig. 256) ⁽¹⁾. Notwithstanding the Byzantine elements, such as the large jewels, the noble expressions, the harmonious though retouched colouring, the antique beauty and regularity of the faces in this panel clearly proclaim the coming of the great Roman master.

We find an important monument of the Italo-Byzantine school of painting in the Baptistery of Parma ⁽²⁾. These frescoes differ from many others of this type in that even the isolated figures have not been depicted completely motionless; on the contrary,

⁽¹⁾ *J. Wilpert*, *L'immagine della Madonna detta della Clemenza in Sta. Maria-in-Trastevere*, *L'Arte*, 1906, p. 163. *Wilpert*, *Mosaiken u. Malereien*, pls. 274 and 275. *R. van Marle*, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

⁽²⁾ *L. Testi*, *Le Baptistere de Parme*, Florence, 1916.



Fig 256. Madonna, 2nd half of the XIII century. Sta Maria-in-Trastevere, Rome. Photo Sansami.

many of their attitudes are expressive of action and movement, while some of the faces are full of life and really beautiful. On the highest section of the dome, beneath an ornamental

centre, are the Twelve Apostles seated with the symbols of the Evangelists, and in the second zone we find the Lord in benediction enthroned amidst the Madonna, St. John, and certain persons of the Old Testament, amongst whom is Solomon, very young and looking almost effeminate. They differ entirely one from another, but are all finely drawn. The zone below is occupied by scenes on a blue background from the life of St. John, illustrating his birth; his sojourn in the desert; his preaching; the baptism of the Gentiles; the meeting with Christ; the baptism of Christ; Herod and St. John; St. John in prison; two disciples going to tell the Lord; the Baptist delivered from prison; the beheading of St. John and Salome with the head of the saint. Behind the altar there is another baptism of Christ, (fig. 256*a*), and although it is now greatly faded, traces of bright colours and green shading disclose its original appearance; in both pictures the river Jordan is personified by a small figure at the feet of Christ.

On the upper part of the wall, just under the dome, are sixteen ogival lunettes, in the spandrels of which are depicted various figures, some being in medallions. The lunettes themselves, are occupied either by scenes from the Old Testament or by windows. In the latter a standing figure is represented on either side. The personages shown in the spandrels are mostly allegorical representations of the elements, the rivers of Eden, the four Seasons, the three dimensions etc. Lower down on the spandrels of sixteen semicircular niches are similar figures, again frequently in medallions; in the centre of each niche is a statue with one or more painted figures at the sides; amongst them being the Evangelists, the Early Fathers of the Church seated at their desks, seraphim, angels, old bearded men (prophets), Christ in glory, the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, the Visitation, and St. Francis.

In many of these frescoes we discover features of beauty which are not often met with in Italo-Byzantine art. The most beautiful perhaps is the head of the Virgin, who has a sad but penetrating expression; the shading round the eyes and under the nose and mouth is rather marked, but on the whole gives a good effect of relief. The heavy folds of her dress are drawn in a hard streaky manner, showing the well-known linear curves; but the whole figure displays a great refinement of attitude and



Fig 256*a* The Baptism and the Madonna with Angels, circa 1270.
Baptistry, Parma

feature, and an improved technique, lacking in so many of the other figures, where the drawing and the contrasts of light and shade are too pronounced; this, for instance, is seen in the meeting between Christ and St. John, in which the long, angular figures with coarse, hard outlines, and without any grace or expression, are certainly products of a decadent art. Some of the figures, amongst them the man with the white beard, are traditional Byzantine types. The grouping, too, is far from good; no attention seems to have been paid to the principal figure of the scene; but to remedy this shortcoming the artist makes the person on the extreme left face directly towards the Saviour, to whom he vainly tries to give a kindly and dignified air; here, as well as in the decapitation scene, a certain animation has been attempted. In the fresco of the Baptism of Christ, in the vault, St. John has a very wild, unattractive and ascetic appearance, and although his arm is well drawn the anatomy of his legs and of Christ's torso is inaccurate. The number of nimbî represented might point to the presence of six angels, but only three are visible, who, in serious and graceful attitudes, stand at the side with covered hands.

Notwithstanding the animation of expression and movement, the types and the technique of these paintings are too obviously inspired by the Byzantine movement to be classified as anything but productions of the Italo-Byzantine school. No doubt can exist as to the fact that several different artists were engaged on these decorations, the best of whom might be compared with the great master who worked at Anagni. However, their figures are not equal to his; moreover, the decorations of Parma are of a slightly later date — I believe not before 1270 —. Thinking over the origin of the artists of the Baptistery, who were evidently members of an important and homogeneous group, it seems most natural to connect them with Rome, where at this time the Italo-Byzantine manner was enjoying great popularity, its products very closely resembling the work under consideration (1).

In Southern Italy we find a certain number of frescoes in the Abruzzi district (2), but they do not offer any common characteristics which would enable us to group them together.

(1) I see no reason to agree with Signor Testi's hypothesis of the presence of a German artist.

(2) *V. Balzano, L'Arte Abruzzese*, p. 48

Round about Chieti a fair number of mural paintings are to be found; a Last Judgment, not of great importance, is to be seen in the church of Sta. Maria in Lago near Muscufo (¹), dating from about the end of the 13th century. The paintings of Sta. Maria di Castignano, near Bussi(²), give sign of a superior technique. They are dated 1237, and are known to be not by a Monte Cassino monk, but by an artist known as Armenino da Modena, a North Italian painter, who followed the Byzantine style but not the Byzantine technique. His work somewhat resembles the Last Judgment of the S. Silvestro chapel in Rome, comprising, as there, several elements reminiscent of the Crucifixion. The Christ, seated on the traditional cushions, holding a Latin book in His hand, is enthroned in majesty against a starry sky in which both the sun and the moon are to be seen; the Virgin and St. John with a long pointed beard, stand on either side. The figures have very little charm, being stiff and angular, but in the matter of composition this painting has much to distinguish it from the usual type. The throne is not of the customary shape, and there is an almost complete absence of ornament.



Fig 257 Creation of Adam and Eve, middle of the XIII century Sta Maria ad Cryptas near Fossa.

Photo Mosconi.

It seems as though in the 13th century a curious process of degeneration must have taken place as regards the painters of this district, for comparing their work with the frescoes of Sta. Maria di Ronzano, which are dated 1181, those of Sta. Maria ad Cryptas near Fossa (³) of the middle of the 13th century, are in every respect more primitive. Apart from some 14th century paintings, the decorations include a series of scenes from the Old Testament,

(¹) *Bertaux*, op cit., p 285. note.

(²) Reprod in *Bertaux*. op. cit., fig 108

(³) Reprod in *Bertaux*. op cit., figs 114—118 and pl XIV

relating events from the Creation (fig. 257) down to the fall and the expulsion from Eden. In the apse, beneath a composition of Christ seated in glory between SS. Peter and Paul and the two SS. John, these are representations of the Passion — the Last Supper, the Betrayal of Judas (fig. 258), the Flagellation, the Crucifixion and the Entombment — while the donors, with their family, in the costume of the later 13th century, are seen kneeling to the right of the Crucifixion. Other Gospel scenes are found on the walls, while the vaults above are decorated with large figures of the Apostles. Over the portal is a detailed painting of the Last Judgment, but it



Fig. 258. The Betrayal of Judas, middle of the XIII century. Sta. Maria ad Cryptas near Fossa.
Photo Moscioni.

is in bad condition, and has been repainted. Besides the traditional figures and scenes, we find in it elements of Byzantine iconography: as, for instance, the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, receiving the souls of the saved (figures often represented in Western countries likewise) and a gorgeous St. Michael weighing them. On either side six peasants are represented, each occupied with one of the tasks of the last six months of the year, while above are SS. George and Maurice on horseback. On one

of the side walls a late Renaissance baldaquin replaces the greater part of what may have been an important fresco, six figures of prophets alone remaining visible. The artist who executed these works did not seek to reproduce the Byzantine style, and evidently was not acquainted even with the Benedictine technique and iconography; but in setting forth this unpleasant set of paintings he followed the northern tradition transmitted to him by the earlier paintings of the same movement, which may be found in the vicinity. He depicts the human body by crude, rough drawings, unobservant of its normal form. Mannerism, which is excusable on account of its monumental and decorative effect, is here almost absent, a rigid symmetry alone being retained; examples of this may be observed in the figures facing the spectator, which display

an equal number of folds on either side, in the horses of SS. George and Maurice, which stand facing each other in identical attitudes, and in the Last Supper, where all the heads are on the same level, except St. John's, who seems about to lean his head on the Saviour's shoulder; and under the table the feet form one straight row, with the exception of the Lord's, which are turned toward St. John's; the number and dresses of the Apostles are alternately light and dark, and the folds of the table-cloth repeat the same pattern without interruption, which may indeed be said of most of the garments; especially of those of St Paul and John the Baptist, who attend Christ seated in glory. It is difficult to imagine more lifeless and motionless figures than those in this series of frescoes. The Lord enthroned, the principal figure of the group, is much smaller than those around him; His manner of blessing, and the title of the book in His hands, are both Latin. In the Flagellation, on the other hand, the Lord is larger than the



Fig 259 The Descent into Limbo, 2nd half of the XIII century S. Tomas near Caramanico (Chieti).

Photo Mosconi.

other persons, and peculiarly distorted in form; the strangely shaped angular eyebrows give Him a look of pained surprise. Some anatomical details are attempted in the figure of the crucified Christ, whose arms are bent and whose feet and legs are crossed, while the downward droop at the corners of the mouth is intended to convey an expression of grief. Two half-length figures of angels are placed over the cross-bar. The attitude of the Virgin, with one hand uplifted, and that of St. John, with hands clasped, speak of a certain amount of grief; but their faces are quite devoid of such feeling. The features in general are lifeless; and this is

most noticeable in the Entombment scene, in which only the face of the dead Christ has an expression of pain. In the matter of composition the Kiss of Judas is perhaps the most primitive of all the scenes; the soldiers and Apostles, in two groups, gaze lifelessly at one another; but in the movement of the betrayer towards Christ, the central figure, there is a slight attempt to express violence, a detail which we have previously met with in other paintings. Although uninspired, the face of the Lord is not without a certain dignity. In the left-hand corner is the soldier whose ear is being cut off, making a horrible grimace. In the Creation of the Animals, God, represented as young and beardless, is seated on a throne, with the oft-recurring pointed cushions. The animals are scarcely recognizable; the birds, however, being better than the quadrupeds. Distance and perspective have been attempted by placing those far off on a higher level; all the figures are lacking in relief, the modelling of the faces being depicted by a few spots or curved lines. Perhaps the best figures, which reveal a certain feeling for decoration, are those of the three patriarchs holding the souls of the chosen in their laps. The paintings in S. Tomaso, Caramanico, (fig. 259) might also be by the same unskilful hand; and those of Sta. Maria della Grotte, Isernia, are no better.

In the same region we find frescoes of much better quality: in S. Giovanni-in-Venere, near Lanciano⁽¹⁾, which M. Bertaux believes to be Benedictine work. Here is a Virgin and Child between an archangel and St. Nicholas of Bari. The central group is neither angular nor rigid; the garments fall into natural folds, and the faces are well drawn and pleasing, except that the figures are rather lanky, and the attempt to depict the Virgin as seated is not successful. Her throne is not of the usual shape, but has a rounded back, and a square seat, on which the traditional cushions are placed. The Child Jesus stands on His Mother's right knee. On the same side is a heavily jewelled archangel, who holds a globe adorned with a cross in one of his outstretched hands, while at his feet the small figure of the donor is represented. On the other side St.

⁽¹⁾ Reprod. in *Bindi*, Monumenti storici ed artistici degli Abruzzi, II, Naples, 1889, pls. 104 and 105; text in vol. I, p. 393-4. *V. Zecca*, La Basilica di San Giovanni in Venere nella storia e nell'arte, Pescara, 1910, pls. XIII-XVI.

Nicholas, with his bishop's mitre and staff, is of rather solemn countenance. From the inscription we learn that this work was ordered by Abbot Oderisius II and executed by one Luca di Palestro. In a chapel another painting represents the Lord seated on a square throne, blessing and holding a book on His knee, His sandalled feet resting on a footstool. His beautiful, calm and well-modelled face is encircled by a jewelled halo; the eyes are large and penetrating; standing on the right are the figures of SS. Vitus and Philip, while those on the left have been effaced. In the central apse we see an 11th century Benedictine fresco which has already been mentioned. The right-hand apse is adorned by a figure of Christ blessing with one hand and holding a book in the other, seated on a square throne of marble mosaic, between SS. Paul and Peter on the right and the two SS. John on the left; the whole being enclosed in a decorative border.

The two rows of saints, one male and the other female, in the choir of the Cathedral of Atri, are in my opinion of inferior execution (¹).

More interesting but not very beautiful are the paintings in the S. Pellegrino chapel at Bominaco, dating probably from shortly after 1263, when the building of the church was completed. While the style is so different, the principle of decoration is practically the same as in Sta. Maria ad Cryptas near Fossa, save that here persons from the Old Testament, as well as several busts, occupy the vaulted roof. The New Testament and Passion scenes are, with a few exceptions, treated in a like fashion. The Last Judgment is less advanced, but we have the figure of St Michael weighing souls; also peasants, personifying different months, who are here accompanied by a calendar. These paintings manifest, in the manner of blessing, the details of dress etc., several Byzantine elements which are completely absent from the frescoes at Ronzano of a century earlier; but many northern characteristics also are present. Amongst these may be mentioned the representation of the Twelve Months, Sta. Anastasia taking the place of the midwife Salome at the birth of Christ, and the gigantic St. Christopher, who appears, along with other saints, such as St. Francis, and St. Martin, on horseback, dividing his coat.

Here again the general style of the paintings is mannered, and

(¹) Reprod. in *Bindi*, op cit., II, pl. 37.

when, as in many of the frescoes here, movements are expressed by attitudes, this mannerism becomes more objectionable than in works of a monumental character. The expression of the faces is seldom adequate, but in general the decoration is tasteful and harmonious, some of the large upright figures reminding us of the Sicilian mosaics.



Fig. 260. Holy Monk, end of the XIII century. Sta. Croce near Andria

Photo Moscioni.

Besides the Byzantine grotto paintings mentioned in a previous chapter, the works of this period are rare in the southernmost part of Italy.

Some remains of frescoes in the subterranean church of Sta. Croce near Andria in Apulia might date from the last years of the 13th century⁽¹⁾. Of a probably long series of Old Testament representations there remains only the scene of the Creation of Eve from Adam's rib; the Creator, whose head is formed by two faces and a dove, is meant to interpret the doctrine of the Trinity, the reproduction of which in later years was prohibited in human art. On another wall we find the figure of a holy monk (fig. 260). The

paintings are refined in execution and less Byzantine in appearance than one would have expected in this part of the country.

In the church of Sta. Maria a Balsignano near Modugno in the vicinity of Bari there are some pictures of saints, probably of the first half of the 13th century; very inferior as to quality, but without any traces of a direct Oriental influence.

⁽¹⁾ *A. Vinaccia*, *I monumenti medievale di Terra di Bari*, Bari, 1915, p. 49

CHAPTER IX.

CIMABUE AND HIS SCHOOL.

The works of Cimabue, especially his frescoes in the church of S. Francesco, Assisi, provide a field of battle for the historians of art. One party, with Prof. Thode⁽¹⁾ at its head, sees in this artist one of the geniuses who led the way to the perfection of the Renaissance; this idea has been taken up and greatly exaggerated by Prof. Strzygowski⁽²⁾, who adds a long list of works to the already considerable number which Prof. Thode attributes to Cimabue. Wickhoff, on the other hand, is one of the supporters of the extreme opposition to this theory: the name of Cimabue is familiar to us through various documents which have been preserved; so too are the names of many other painters, but have we any reason to believe that, apart from the small fragment of mosaic at Pisa, we have any other works of his? If not, on what can we base our estimate of this painter's value? On the extremely small amount of evidence existing, Messrs. Zimmermann, Fry, Langton, Douglas, Richter, Wood Brown, Aubert, Suida and others, have formed different opinions on this subject, nor do they agree as to which of a number of works should be attributed to Cimabue.

It is obvious that the opposing parties have gone to extremes; Strzygowki has not a sufficient basis for many of his assertions, while Wickhoff, when he states that the lack of information should prevent us from saying anything more about Cimabue other than the mere fact that he worked on the mosaics at Pisa, seems anxious to close the door on any further investigations which might traverse his arguments and overthrow his theory.

Let us collate the few facts known to us concerning this much discussed figure.

⁽¹⁾ In his work on St. Francis; also in *Sind uns Werken von Cimabue erhalten*, *Repert. f. Kunstwissensch.*, XIII, 1890, p. 1

⁽²⁾ *J. Strzygowski*, *Cimabue u Rom*, Vienna, 1888.

Firstly we will mention these frequently quoted verses of Dante's, stating that Cimabue was the most celebrated painter before Giotto's time :

Credette Cimabue nella pittura
Tener lo campo, ed ora ha Giotto il grido
Sì che la fama di colui è oscura (Purg. XI 94).

Mr. Roger Fry⁽¹⁾ in reply to this argument says that Dante, claiming, as he does in these lines, another Florentine as the most famous painter before Giotto, could only have been inspired by the local national pride so prevalent in these days. This statement relating to Cimabue would be of some value even were Dante's commendation the only fact which has come to our knowledge ; but the documentary evidence concerning Cimabue's activities at Pisa⁽²⁾ is very much more important. Here we find that in August 1301 he followed Master Francesco as director of the mosaic work, and remained there until January 1302, thus working 94 days, which is the longest period (except one of 164 days) for which any artist remained at this occupation, his immediate predecessor remaining only 67 days. In addition to the figure of St. John, which is reputed to be entirely his work, he also directed some details of the figure of the Lord ; as, for example, the throne on which He is seated and the allegorical animals under His feet. Possibly he also gave some directions as to the figure of the Virgin, which, however, was not completed until 1321 (fig. 261). From the documents we learn that Cimabue received ten soldi a day, while the next best paid artist earned only four soldi, nine others getting four soldi, two, and even less. It is true that his predecessor Francesco earned the same amount, but the difference between Cimabue's pay and that of the others proves that he must have been considered the leading artist, while those who received less than two soldi can only have been craftsmen.

Granting that it was Dante's sense of patriotism which led him to call Cimabue the greatest painter before Giotto, we must also reflect that the Pisans, for the same reason would surely

⁽¹⁾ Monthly Review, Dec. 1900.

⁽²⁾ *G. Fontana*, Due documenti inedite riguardante Cimabue. Pisa, 1878. *E. Trenta*, I mosaici del Duomo di Pisa e i loro autori, Florence, 1896. *L. Tanfani Centofanti*, Notizie di artisti tratti dai documenti Pisani, Pisa, 1897, p. 114.



Fig. 261. Cimabue, the Deesis. Mosaic of 1302. Cathedral, Pisa

Photo Alinari

have preferred to give the direction of this work to a fellow-townsmen, instead of to a Florentine; so that the only conclusion which we can draw is, that Cimabue must certainly have had a more than ordinary reputation to overcome the feeling of rivalry which existed between the two towns. Those who seek to mini-

mize Cimabue's importance and also that of the evidence which is left to us, state that little of the original mosaic executed at Pisa remains; this, however is not correct, for careful observation will prove that no important restorations have ever been made, especially in the figure of St. John. When we come to deal with the frescoes at Assisi we shall see that the figure of St. John in the Crucifixion in the Upper Church so strongly resembles the St. John of the Pisan mosaic that it is all but impossible to suppose that they can have been executed by different artists. Moreover, it may be safely said that neither the mosaic in the Cathedral of Pisa nor the decoration of the Franciscan basilica would have been entrusted to an unknown artist: and we have proof that the former of these two works was executed to the entire satisfaction of those who ordered it, for the artist was afterwards commissioned, together with "Nichulus Apparechiati", to paint an altar-piece for the Spedale Nuovo of the same city.

Further evidence of the existence of Cimabue is found in a Roman document in the archives of Sta. Maria Maggiore, which is dated 18th June 1272, and on which he is called, as witness, "Cimabue pictore de Florencia". This fact induces Prof. Strzygowski to attribute to Cimabue a plan which Charles of Anjou had made of the city of Rome; Mr. Langton Douglas, on the other hand, even doubts whether the Cimabue mentioned is the same individual as the artist whom we are considering. Vasari gives us various details as to the life of Cimabue which as far as they can be tested must be considered fictitious. He was not born of a noble family, as Vasari states; he was not called Giovanni, nor can we accept the story of the triumphant procession in which his Madonna was brought to Sta. Maria Novella, the same tale being told of Duccio and Simone Napolitano. It may be true that he was born in 1240, but he did not die in 1300, for in 1302 he was working at Pisa; his real name was Cenni — an abbreviation of Benvenuto di Pepi, — Cimabue being only an additional name (¹). Prof. Strzygowski appears to have great faith in a list of Cimabue's works which he believes Vasari obtained from a 14th century source, but which he owed in reality to the writ-

(¹) In the document of 1302, in which he is charged with the execution of a picture for the hospital, he is mentioned as "Magister Cenni dictus Cimabue pictor condam Pepi di florentia di populo Sancti Ambrosii".

ings of Antonio Billi⁽¹⁾ and Albertinelli, and a MS. in the Library of Florence⁽²⁾. In his first edition Vasari repeated these authors' lists of Cimabue's works, but in later editions their number is increased, until the works in the following list are all ascribed to this artist: the frescoes in the Gondi Chapel of Sta. Maria Novella, Florence; the "dossale" representing St. Cicely, now in the Uffizi; the Madonna, also now in the Uffizi; the frescoes in the Porcellana Hospital, Florence; a crucifix made for Sta. Croce, Florence; the St. Francis in the church dedicated to this saint at Pisa, the Madonna in the Louvre, once in this same church; a painting of St. Agnes in S. Paolo-in-Ripa-d'Arno, Pisa; many of the frescoes in S. Francesco, Assisi; some of those in S. Spirito, Florence; certain works at Empoli, and the Rucellai Madonna in Sta. Maria Novella, Florence. It is not surprising that this fantastic list should be severely criticised by modern experts, Mr. Wickhoff, however, goes to the other extreme, rejecting every item on the list as a possible work of Cimabue's.

An attempt has been made to ascribe to Cimabue also the frescoes which once adorned the portico of the Vatican church, but which are known to us only from Grimaldi's drawings of the 17th century. We shall see that the death of St. Peter was copied more or less exactly in the fresco of this subject in the Upper Church of Assisi, and we saw that an important part of the series was repeated by the painter of S. Pier-in-Grado, near Pisa. To me it is quite incomprehensible that any one should think it possible to identify the painters of 13th century frescoes when these said frescoes are known to us only from very free sketches of the 17th century, in which no attempt has been made to reproduce the original style. Nevertheless, Prof. Venturi believes that he can recognize the hand of Cimabue in these works, while Prof. Strzygowski attributes them to Cavallini.

Besides the mosaic of Pisa I am of opinion that we owe to Cima-

⁽¹⁾ *C. de Fabriczy*, Il libro di Antonio Billi e le sue copie nella Bibl. Naz. di Firenze, Arch. Stor. Ital., V, tome, VII, 1891, p. 219. *C. Frey*, Il libro di A.B. etc., Berlin, 1892.

⁽²⁾ *Wickhoff*, Mittheil. des Instit. für Oest. Geschichtsforsch., X, p. 244. *C. Frey*, Il codice Magliabechiano XVII 17 continente notizie sopra l'arte degli antichi e quella de' Fiorentini da Cimabue a Michelangelo, Berlin 1893, *C. de Fabriczy*, Il Codice dell'anonimo Gaddiano etc. nella Bibl. Nazionale di Firenze, Archiv. Stor. Ital., V, tome XII, 1893, pp. 15 and 275



Fig 262 Cimabue, Madonna Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

bue the Madonna in the Uffizi, the Madonna amidst angels and St. Francis in the Lower Church of Assisi, and the frescoes in the transept and choir of the Upper Church.

It is generally agreed that the Madonna which was once in Sta. Trinita, Florence, but is now in the Uffizi, is an authentic work of Cimabue's (fig. 262). The Virgin is here depicted with a rather staring expression, her gaze being directed slightly to one side; she lifts one hand toward the Child, as on the panels of Guido da Siena, and with the other supports Him. The figure of the Infant Christ conveys more feeling and a greater sense of the divine than that of the Madonna; He directly faces the spectator, bestowing a blessing with His right hand and holding a scroll in His left, which at the same time He rests on His Mother's hand. The wise but childish face is a most impressive and pleasing piece of work; it would be impossible to imagine a more adequate representation of the Child-Saviour. He sits in a free and graceful attitude, with the right foot a little higher than the left. On either side of the central group four angels with bowed heads support the throne; each angel resembles his pendant on the opposite side, and with only two exceptions all face directly the spectator. Beneath the high throne four prophets are depicted. The idea of placing them there is perhaps not quite in the best of taste. The traces of Byzantine influence in this panel, though not conspicuous, are none the less perceptible in the cloth of gold of which Christ's robe is made, and also in the attitudes of the figures; these, however, are not rigid, those of the angels being extremely elegant and graceful, and pleasing without any apparent effort to please. It may well be that this painting is one of Cimabue's oldest works; the throne is profusely decorated, inlaid with marble and adorned with little columns.

Very similar to the throne in the foregoing panel is that in the fresco to be found in the Lower Church of S. Francesco, Assisi (fig. 263). The attitudes of the angels bear a striking resemblance, to those described above, and although as it now exists it offers us hardly anything but a 17th century copy of the original, it is important to note that this fresco is generally admitted as being a work of Cimabue's. The angel to the extreme right of the spectator alone retains some of the original paint. The general yellowish-white colour of this work can hardly be that which the artist



Fig 263. Cimabue, Madonna, Angels and St. Francis. Lower Church of S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Benvenuti.

chose for his figures ; the Child most of all, has lost His primitive appearance, and His head might be regarded as a typical example of the baroque. The expression of the Virgin is here more emotional than in the panel just described ; her right hand holds the foot

of the Child, while her left arm supports His body; she, as well as the four angels, faces the public. The figure of St. Francis, placed on the right of the group, is impressive in its devout solemnity.

Cimabue's most important work is the decoration of the choir and transept of the Upper Church of S. Francesco, Assisi. Unhappily no records of any importance remain to enlighten us as to the history of the whole decorative scheme of this Sanctuary, which contains the most important series of mediaeval mural paintings to be found in Italy.

No doubt Cimabue's share in this series is, together with the frescoes of Cavallini, the oldest part of the decorations of the Upper Church, but it certainly did not exist at the time of the first consecration of the church, which is mentioned as having taken place in 1255; it is probable that only the building was completed at that date. In 1288 we again find mention of the church in a bull of Pope Nicholas IV, which informs us of all the purposes for which money was required in connection with this basilica, but the expressions used are too general to allow us to form any conclusion (¹). It might well be that about this time — or in consequence of the gifts then offered — Cimabue was called to Assisi, his work was at all events completed by 1296, a date which we find scratched in the paint of the first gallery of the apse, just above the little door which leads to the transept.

Cimabue's most important work must have been his share in the decoration of the Upper Church. Unhappily none of these paintings have come down to us in their original condition, so that they must be regarded more or less as the negative of a photograph, where the merits of the artist can only be appreciated by deduction.

Let us first enumerate the various scenes found in this part of the church.

On the left wall of the left transept is (1) the Crucifixion, the most important work of the whole series; above it are (2) three angels on the wall of the triforium, and still higher (3) six half-length

(¹) *A. Aubert*, Die Malerische Dekoration des S. Francesco Kirche in Assisi, ein Beitrag zur Lösung der Cimabue Frage, Leipzig, 1907, p. 80, thinks that this decoration must have already been completed as in the enumeration of works to be executed this does not play an important part. I hardly think we should base our opinion on so uncertain an argument.

figures of angels, beyond which is seen (4) a practically empty lunette. The window wall of this transept is decorated below with three scenes from the Apocalypse (5) described in Chaps. IV and V, (6) the five angels mentioned in Chap. VII v. 1—3, and (7) the breaking of the seventh seal described in Chap. VIII. together with the 144 thousand, mentioned in the fourth verse of the previous Chapter. Above these scenes on the left of the window are (8) three angels, one above the other; while as pendant on the right hand (9) there was probably at one time a similar decoration, which has since been largely effaced. Around the window are fourteen medallions, enclosing angels' heads.

On the wall opposite the Crucifixion we find (10) the Fall of Babylon as described in Chap. XVIII of the Apocalypse, (11) a painting which Prof. Thode believes is intended to illustrate Chap. XVIII v. 21 or Chap. XXII v. 1., but which, I, in agreement with Herr Zimmermann, am inclined to regard as the Island of Patmos, on which St. John is seen seated, while angels show him his different visions. What Prof. Thode took for flames is in reality water. As on the opposite wall, we again find, above the foregoing scenes, (12) three figures of angels, decorating the triforium, and above them we once more have (13) six half-length figures of angels, while higher still in the lunette are (14) three angels, one of whom — St. Michael — is seen killing a dragon with a spear. Of the five small wall-panels of the apse we find on the first (15) the last moments of the Virgin, high upon the gallery wall; (16) three half-length figures of old bearded saints with (17) the Virgin between two angels (?) and still higher on the outer surface of the balustrade of the small balcony, (18) the Betrothal of the Virgin, and in the lunette above (19) the Nativity of the Virgin. The second wall-panel contains (20) the Death of the Madonna, while near the Pope's throne, which is placed against the central panel, are (21) the portraits of Gregory IX and Innocent IV. The fourth panel is decorated with (22) the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, and the last wall, arranged as the first, with (23) the Madonna in glory, (24) three busts of holy bishops, (25) the Virgin between SS. Peter (?) and Paul (?), (26) Joachim's offering (?) and in the lunette (27) the Annunciation to Joachim. Each of the five window recesses is adorned on its upper curved portion by four medallions of angels and on the vertical surfaces with standing figures of saints.

We now come to the right transept, where we find, on the left-hand wall, (28) St. Peter curing the lame, and (29) the death of Ananias and Sapphira (?); and on the wall of the triforium (30) six Apostles, but only the figures of St. Paul and one more youthful Apostle are clearly visible. Above this are (31) six medallions of angels, and the lunette at the top represents (32) the Lord surrounded by the four symbols of the Gospel-writers. The window wall contains (33) the fall of Simon Magus, (34) the crucifixion of St. Peter, (35) the decapitation of St. Paul (?), while above these, on either side of the window, are (36) an Apostle and a saint in armour. On the right wall of this transept we find (37) a Crucifixion which forms a pendant to the one on the corresponding wall of the opposite transept; in the gallery above (38) two Apostles of the original six are still more or less distinguishable, above these are (39) six medallions containing angels, and in the lunette (40) the Transfiguration. With this list must be included the previously mentioned decoration of the vaulted roof over the high altar: the four Evangelists, each with a personification of a region of the earth; facing the nave we find (41) St. Luke with Greece; on his left is (42) St. Mark with Rome; facing the apse (43) St. Matthew with Judea, and opposite St. Mark, (44) St. John with Asia ⁽¹⁾.

Several modern critics agree in ascribing the bulk of this work to Cimabue, contesting at the same time portions of it, but Prof. Thode is, I believe, the only one who includes with it the second Crucifixion, even though he finds some difference of manner between this and the one in the left transept which is almost universally considered to be from the hand of the great Florentine.

That the Crucifixion of the right transept is considerably the older of the two, is generally agreed upon. If we compare the figure of St. John in the mosaic of the Cathedral of Pisa with that found in the first-mentioned Crucifixion, no doubt can remain but that these two figures are the work of one artist, and no one -- not even Prof. Wickhoff -- denies that almost all the frescoes in the apse and the left transept are by the same hand.

It is now necessary to describe a few of these frescoes, many of which are reproduced in Mr. Aubert's volume. On the Cruci-

⁽¹⁾ The subjects of the scenes which I have marked with a point of interrogation are to me uncertain; in general I agree with Prof. Thode's assertions on the subject.



Fig. 264. Cimabue, Crucifixion. Upper Church of S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Anderson.

fixion in the left transept, (fig. 264) we find, in the centre, the Lord nailed to the Cross with the body curved, the head drooping, and the feet resting on a wide foot-rest; around him fly ten graceful angels, three of whom catch the blood dripping from the wounds

in the side and hands of the Crucified. The groups of mourners and spectators below the Cross are excellent in composition; several on the right show signs of extreme grief, while on the left, with the exception of Mary Magdalene, who stretches her arms upwards in a dramatic and impressive manifestation of violent sorrow, the other principal figures, standing in the foreground, are in appearance calm and unemotional, they are the Virgin, followed by St. John, who holds one of her wrists. and three attendant women; the depth of their feelings is just as fully expressed as in the case of the Magdalene, although in a more serenely reserved and dignified manner, the Madonna and the chosen disciple being especially pathetic. The gesture of Mary Magdalene is found repeated on the right, where each of three men stretches forth an arm toward the Lord. The dilapidated state of the painting gives us but a poor idea of the original qualities of the work. We can still, however, admire the statuesque figures with their rich but flowing drapery, the excellent drawing, the graceful and expressive attitudes, and the great vitality and depth of feeling which animate every figure, but Prof. Thode somewhat exaggerates when he states that "a new world" can be seen in the attitude of the Magdalene (1).

Amongst the Apocalyptic scenes the representation of St. Michael slaying the dragon in a church dedicated to St. Francis had, according to Prof. Thode, a deeper significance, for there was a popular belief that the saint himself was the seventh angel mentioned in that Book, and that the duty of the three Franciscan orders was to contend against the demon of heresy. The first (5) of these scenes represents the Child lying on a throne enclosed in a mandorla, around which are various personages contained in almost complete circles: in the first are medallions of the four symbols of the Gospel-writers; then comes an intervening space, and then the twenty-four Elders, around whom, in the outermost zone, are saints and angels, some of the latter being very graceful and not unlike those of the Crucifixion fresco. In the next scene (6) we find four angels drawn up in a row before a city, although they should be in the four corners of the earth, holding in their hands large horns containing the winds "which should not blow".

(1) The same gesture has already been seen in the case of an angel in the Entombment by the Master of St. Francis at Perugia and in a small Crucifixion of the second half of the 13th century in the Gallery of Siena

From above another angel descends from the Sun with "the Seal of the living God". The adjacent fresco (7) depicts a large crowd, the 144 thousand chosen ones, amongst whom, slightly to the left of the centre St. Francis may be detected; they all look upwards towards the Lord, Who, with one hand uplifted, is enclosed in a double mandorla, surrounded by seven angelic trumpeters; between this group and the crowd below, two angels originally carried the Golden Altar, but now only one, whose beauty is of the classical type, remains.

Of the fall of Babylon (10) little is now visible but an angel descending to the city from heaven, in which we see a few people and an ostrich, "the unclean and hateful bird", the symbol of hypocrisy⁽¹⁾. The other paintings, those of the large angels (12) and the half-length figures (13) in the gallery above, pendants to those on the opposite wall, as well as several others which I shall not mention further, are so far dilapidated that little but the subject can be distinguished, although a close examination of these fragments will convince us that they are by the same artist as the other frescoes in the transept. This does not apply to the paintings in the apse, of which I believe that only the scenes from the life of the Virgin are by Cimabue; the rest, such as the portraits of the Popes (21), the Madonna between two saints (25), the Madonna between two angels (17), the busts of the three sainted elders (16), and the three bishops (24) are all by another hand, probably that of a pupil.

The fresco depicting the last moments of the Virgin's life (15) is one of the best pictures which Cimabue has left us (fig. 265). The Virgin is seen in a half lying, half sitting posture, surrounded by the Twelve Apostles, seated or kneeling, each an individual figure, differing from the rest in type and attitude. Those whose backs are turned to the spectator are so placed that their faces are none the less visible. At the foot of the bed stands the Lord, an imposing, majestic figure, holding a scroll in one hand and stretching the other toward His dying Mother. The Betrothal of the Virgin (18) takes place under a baldaquin; St. Joseph is seen holding the rod on which the dove appears as indication that he is the chosen one. Of the Nativity of the Virgin (19), St. Anne in bed and another figure alone can be distinguished. In the fresco

⁽¹⁾ *Thode*, op. cit., p. 230 note 1.



Fig. 265. Cimabue, the last Moments of the Virgin Upper Church of S. Francesco, Assisi. Photo Carloforti

of the Death of the Virgin (20) part of the central figure has been damaged; behind it is seen the Lord, bearing in His arms the soul of His Mother, personified, as in many cases, by the small figure of a child. To the right are several ranks of angels, which Prof. Thode believes to be saints; they are, of all the figures in this scene, the best preserved. The Assumption (22) is in good condition; above, the Lord, and the Virgin, who is clothed in a robe of

some figured fabric, leaning affectionately against one another. are framed in an oval mandorla, which is supported by four angels; below, a number of saints are seated, in three long, uniform rows, twenty-four in each, those in the upper two rows wear crowns, while before the two lower ranks, and a little below them, is seen the empty sepulchre with six haloed figures, probably Apostles, standing on either side. The Virgin in Glory (24) is represented wearing the same robe as in the previous fresco, and is seated next to the Lord on a very high monumental throne, escorted by the three rows of saints, but now some are missing, for each row is composed of ten, five on either side, below whom are two Apostles instead of six, as before; while above the highest row of saints, are represented five angels on either side, those nearest the centre touching the throne, a detail which we have already noticed.

It is unnecessary to return to Cimabue's qualities, which we find in abundance in these sadly mutilated examples of his art.

Of the frescoes in the right transept, which, in my opinion, cannot be ascribed to Cimabue, the first represents St. Peter curing the lame (28); the event takes place outside the gate of the Temple, which forms a curious and complicated architectural background to this scene, in which the principal figures are St. Peter, a young saint, and a group of men.

Again, we find peculiarly shaped buildings in the following fresco, which, according to Prof. Thode, represents the death of Ananias and Sapphira (29), where, besides St. Peter, we are able to discern three other saints and a group of people above whom devils are flying through the air. Much more has been preserved of the fall of Simon Magus (33); above the erection from which the flight was attempted are hideous demons, bearing away the magician, toward whom St. Peter (below, on the left) stretches out a hand, while near the saint is a kneeling figure. The architecture here resembles that of the previous frescoes. The Crucifixion of St. Peter (34) represents the saint head downwards on the cross between two groups of people whose heads alone are clearly distinguishable; in the background the pyramid of Cestus and the light-house tower of Nero are depicted, giving this painting something in common with the frescoes in the old St. Peter's

church, Rome, known to us only by the drawings of Grimaldi and their replicas in S. Piero-a-Grado, near Pisa.

Agreeing with Mr. Aubert, as against Prof. Strzygowski, I am of opinion that the Roman frescoes were not mere copies of those at Assisi, although the latter are the older, and certainly inspired the painter who decorated St Peter's.

Of that scene which probably represents the decapitation of St. Paul (35), we can discern only a hilly landscape, some heads, and what look like the figures of soldiers.

When we have thoroughly realized and appreciated the characteristics of Cimabue's figures, we cannot possibly attribute to him the Crucifixion (37) in the right transept, and though Prof. Thode is right in pointing out that one of the angel's heads reminds us of that of Cimabue's Madonna in the Lower Church, I find in the abrupt and ungraceful, though spontaneous movements, and the coarse drawing, elements quite foreign to Cimabue's manner, and instead of attributing this Crucifixion, as Prof. Thode does, to an early stage of Cimabue's career, I would rather believe it to be a later and more advanced work of his school.

Here we find the body of the Lord describing a larger curve, the head drooping lower, and the feet separately attached. On either side of the Cross stand two torturers with spear and sponge; to the right the fainting Virgin is supported by three women, while one of a group of bearded men to the left stretches his arms towards the Lord; an attitude which Prof. Thode claims as an invention of Cimabue. The great difference which exists between this fresco and those of the older style is found in the presence of the six angels who are flying around the Crucified, three of whom, as in the Crucifixion in the left transept, catch the blood from the wounds in the side and hands of the Lord.

Of the decoration of the upper parts of the right and left walls of this transept (30—32, and 38—40), one being a pendant to the other, so little remains that we are only just able to imagine how handsome the *ensemble* must originally have been. On either side six figures of Apostles were painted on the wall of the triforium, behind the pillars, the higher parts of which are connected by decorative arcades with small turrets, on which are set pinnacles separating the five medallions of angels. Of the original colouring



Fig. 266. Cimabue, St. Luke. Vault of the Upper Church of S Francesco, ASSISI.

Photo Carloforti

nothing is left, and the design is now reduced almost entirely to the ground colours of black on green. The two scenes in the lunettes above are also badly damaged; of the one on the left, the Lord enthroned between the four Gospel Symbols (32), one can only distinguish some part of the throne, and of St. Luke while

of the Ascension (40), on the right, the outline of the Lord in a mandorla, with one kneeling adorer and three other figures lower down, is still visible.

Having completed the description of these melancholy relics of this most beautiful monument of 13th century painting, we come to a work of Cimabue's which is better preserved viz: the painting of the four Gospel-writers (41—44) which decorated the vault over the high altar. Excepting St. Luke, (fig. 266) they are old and bearded; each is seated on a decorated chair — very like those on which this painter placed his Madonnas — at a desk with a book; St. Luke is in the act of writing, St. Mark supports his book with his left hand while he holds a pen in his right; St. Matthew seems to be reading from his half-opened volume, and St. John holds his well open, studying it attentively. In front of each a province or a city is represented by a complicated building. From above an angel descends upon each, touching his head with one hand; near their desks are the symbols of the Evangelists, while behind St. John is placed a lectern. In their attitudes and the colours of their garments a great variety may be noted.

Although we may consider practically the entire decorative scheme of the apse, choir, vault and transept, with the exception perhaps of the second Crucifixion, as planned by Cimabue, it is obvious that he himself did not execute every part of it. The scenes for which I hold him personally and entirely responsible are: the Crucifixion and the Apocalyptic scenes in the left transept, the Death of the Virgin and the Madonna in glory in the apse, and the figures of the Evangelists on the vaulted ceiling.

The painter who approximates most closely to the master's manner, but is slightly inferior in execution and somewhat lacking in dignity, is the one to whom we owe the figures of the angels which adorn the wall above and behind the gallery of the left transept; he probably also decorated that part of the apse which is between the first and second galleries, and executed the incidents in the lives of SS. Peter and Paul which we find in the right transept.

An assistant of much less merit painted the images of saints, bishops and other figures in the arches of the apsidal windows and on the adjacent walls. This inferior artist, however, worked

entirely in the manner of Cimabue. The work of a third assistant has a much more archaic appearance. His conventional composition and mannered effects, sketched out in red and white, are easily recognizable in the medallions of angels in the window arch of the left transept and in the arches of the first division on either side of the nave on entering from the choir. He also executed the fresco of the Wedding at Cana, and probably the other three scenes, of which, however, only small fragments remain visible.

The hand of a fourth painter, who I believe executed the figures of Apostles behind the balustrade of the first gallery in the right transept, is still discernible, but he, like the author of the second Crucifixion, is sufficiently individual to be given his own place in the school of the great Florentine.

Having dealt with the works of Cimabue, I should now like to try to assign to this fine painter his rightful place in Italian art; and I may say, first of all, that we have in him a link between the North Tuscan and the Roman schools; indeed we might even state that to the former he owed his artistic conceptions, and to the latter his temperament and his technique.

His Madonna type, as we see it in the Uffizi, has a close connection with the numerous pictures of the Virgin belonging to the Byzantine tradition which we find in and near Florence, and most of all with the Rucellai Madonna, which I believe to be an early work of Duccio's, and the small panel of the Virgin adored by three monks, another very early painting of Duccio's, in the Gallery of Siena. Thus Cimabue, as a Florentine, would confirm the connection which existed at the end of the 13th century between Siena and Florence, and it might even be shown that the type of Cimabue's Madonna could trace its descent from that of Guido da Siena. Again, one might say that the early stages of the curiously leonine type of features which he affects, may be observed in the mosaics of Florence, and also that the dramatic yet varying spirit of his works finds its counterpart in the productions of Giunta Pisano and the crucifix painters of his school.

On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that in Florence itself there is practically nothing to prepare us for the birth of so great a genius as Cimabue. On the whole the artistic production of Florence, although fairly abundant, followed, as we saw in a previ-

ous chapter, a very conventional course, and the dramatic sense of the master would have developed more freely in Pisa, under Giunta's influence, than in Florence; but I dare say the knowledge of the Franciscan crucifix had all the same much influence on the formation of his talent. It is however in Rome that we find Cimabue a perfectly comprehensible figure, the outcome of a great movement to which artists such as Conxolus and the "Master of Sta. Maria in Vescovio" more especially paved the way. The dramatic narration of his representations, interpreted by his dignified and impressive monumental paintings, was not at all usual in Florence. Do not let us forget that several facts relating to his life tell us that he must be classed as a member of the Roman school. First of all, he is mentioned in Rome in 1272; secondly, like Cavallini, Torriti and Rusuti, he is at once a painter and a mosaicist, while the artists engaged on the decoration of S. Francesco, Assisi, in which Cimabue took such an active part, were apparently all sent from Rome, which is not surprising, considering the interest that the Popes took in the achievement of this enterprise. Cavallini and Torriti with their helpers were amongst the Roman artists who worked with Cimabue at Assisi. Again, it should be remarked that if we find works of his school in Florence, we do the same in Rome, so that, with our knowledge of his activities in Pisa, we come to the conclusion that this highly gifted person was very probably, like most of his contemporary fellow craftsmen, a journeyman artist, undoubtedly of Florentine origin, but more at home in the important artistic centre which Rome was at that time, and owing much of his art to the Roman school (1).

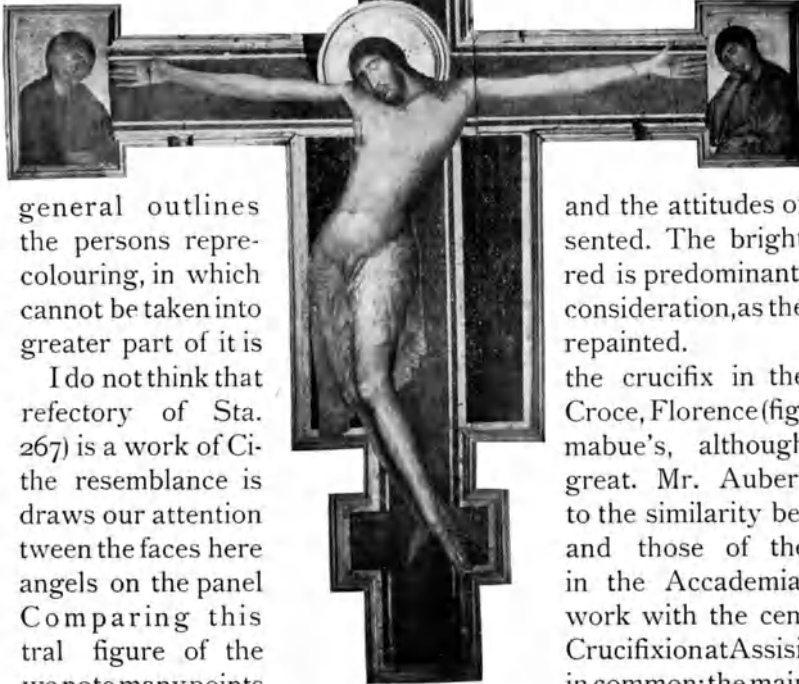
(1) See, besides the literature already quoted, the following books or articles on Cimabue: *J. Strzygowski*, Cimabue und Rom, Vienna, 1888. *J. P. Richter*, Lectures on the National Gallery, London, 1898, p. 1. *P. Galetti*, Istoriciografi fiorentini, Arte e Storia, XVIII, 1899, p. 124. *Wood Brown*, Cimabue and Duccio at Sta. Maria Novella, Repert. f. Kunstwissensch., XXIV, 1901, p. 127. *Langton Douglas*, The real Cimabue, Nineteenth Century, 1903, p. 453. *A. Chapelli*, Cimabue e la critica moderna. Pagine d'antica arte fiorentina, Florence, 1905, p. 57. *A. Venturi*, Dittico attribuito a Cimabue nell'esposizione di Grottaferrata, L'Arte, 1905, p. 199. *G. Lafenestre*, St. François d'Assise et Savonarola inspireurs de l'art italien, Paris, 1911 (p. 117 Cavallini et Cimabue). *K. Frey*, Edition of Vasari, I, Munich, 1911, p. 388. *A. Gottschewski u. G. Gronau*, Edition of Vasari, I¹, Strasburg, 1916, p. 43. *B. Berenson*, A newly discovered Cimabue, Art in America, 1920, p. 251. *R. van Marle*, op. cit., p. 206.

Let us now turn to some of the works of the school of Cimabue. Not everyone agrees that the Madonna of the Louvre is a work of the master's. Messrs Thode, Fry, Venturi and Pératé support the hypothesis that it is from his hand; Herr Suida, however, believes it to be inspired by the Rucellai Madonna, for which he has discovered a special "Master"; Herr Zimmermann thinks it a work of a later date; Mr. Langton Douglas is of opinion that it is a Sienese picture, while Mr. Aubert, who is convinced that it is Florentine, does not believe it to be by Cimabue, in which I agree. Although the artist has been influenced by Cimabue, it is certainly the production of a follower, who reveals neither the grace, the inspiration nor the subtle fall of drapery found in the master's work. It might, however, just possibly be a youthful work of Cimabue's, but this I do not think probable; however, if we had not some of Cimabue's better pictures, it would be considered an important work of art. The attitudes of the figures do not differ greatly from those found in his paintings at Florence and Assisi; the Virgin, holding Jesus on her left arm, touches with her right hand the Child's knee, while the Child raises one hand in benediction, and in the other holds a scroll. Both direct their gaze straight forward, and so do the three angels who stand at either side, supporting the throne. These faces are all somewhat lacking in expression. The angelic figures convey something of the melancholy grace of Siena which perhaps justifies Mr. Langton Douglas's opinion; with heads slightly inclined they form a stiff vertical line, and are far from possessing the free elegance of Cimabue's angels, whom we never find in the rigid postures of the two foremost in this panel. The throne, as in the previous pictures, is raised from the ground, but here the back is at a much higher level, giving a heavier look to the whole composition.

The Madonna in the Servi church, Bologna, has of late been acknowledged by some historians of art as a probable work of Cimabue's. Prof Thode places it amongst the early works of this artist, while Herr Strzygowski believes it to be one of his last. Mr. Aubert also attributes it to the painter of the Madonna in the Lower Church of Assisi, with the remark that both are influenced by the panel of Coppo di Marcovaldo in the Servi church, Siena. The two small angels looking over the back of the throne remind us more of Coppo's than of Cimabue's other works, and so too does the

Child Jesus who stands on the Madonna's left knee, stretching His hand towards her face, although the attitude is the same as in the fresco of S. Francesco. There is very little gold thread in the robes, which fall in well sculptural and typed folds. The mental columns, is, of the back, in Cimabue's style, and so notes, are the

arranged, though somewhat stereothrone, with its ornate except for the shape bue's style, and so notes, are the



general outlines the persons represented, in which cannot be taken into greater part of it is

I do not think that refectory of Sta. 267) is a work of Cimabue's, although the resemblance is drawn our attention between the faces here angels on the panel. Comparing this central figure of the we note many points curved line of the the feet, the attitude the not unduly agitated face; the figures however, as well as the position of their arms, are entirely different, being in particular more Byzantine; and I do not find it advisable to consider this crucifix otherwise than as belonging to the school of Cimabue.

and the attitudes of sented. The bright red is predominant, consideration, as the repainted.

the crucifix in the Croce, Florence (fig. 267) is a work of Cimabue's, although great. Mr. Aubert to the similarity between those of the in the Accademia. work with the central Crucifixion at Assisi, in common: the main body, the position of of the hands, and nized expression of of Mary and St. John,

Fig. 267. Crucifix, School of Cimabue. Refectory, Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

Herr Thode and Signor Venturi agree in attributing to this

artist the somewhat dilapidated frescoes in a chapel of the choir of Sta. Croce, Florence, which represent a host of angels, led by St. Michael, slaying the dragon (fig. 268), and the miracle of Gargano. Herr Zimmermann's attribution differs somewhat from this, for he believes the first fresco to have been executed by an artist influenced by Cimabue and Giotto, and the second by a later follower of Giotto's; with reference to this latter theory I share his opinion, and cannot imagine how anyone can discover Cimabue's style in this work. The former, however, seems to me a work in this master's manner, the angels — especially their faces — belong to the type seen in Cimabue's panels and frescoes, only lacking the statuesque effect which his figures so frequently possess. Of the two rows of angels who follow St. Michael those in the second row are still and motionless and all almost similar; those in the first row are engaged in fighting small demons, while the much larger figure of the archangel is seen killing a well-drawn and fantastic dragon. The other fresco represents Gargano with a bow, two shepherds, the half-figure of the archangel Michael, and before him a kneeling procession with a bishop at its head. The movements of several of the figures are remarkably spontaneous and natural, and the manner of painting seems to me altogether different from Cimabue's; Prof. Thode himself seems to realize that this work is unlike others by this artist.

Recently a triptych representing the half-length figure of the Lord between SS. Peter and James, in the Hamilton collection, New York, has been attributed to Cimabue⁽¹⁾. Although this painting is known to me only from reproductions, and notwithstanding the fact that this attribution is Mr. Berenson's, it is impossible for me to class the picture with Cimabue's own works, not even as a product of some period of his career with which we are not familiar. The connection with the master is very obvious, and I do not doubt but that the painting is of good quality; the spirit of the work, however, is different, and the treatment of the drapery is less rigid than in Cimabue's paintings, while the figures of the two Apostles do not possess the features so characteristic of our master.

The influence of Cimabue is very evident in a series of medallions — originally at least fourteen — containing half-figures of saints holding open scrolls, and one encircling the mystical Lamb

(1) *B. Berenson*, op. cit.



Fig 268. St. Michael slaying the Dragon, School of Cimabue. Sta. Croce, Florence

Photo Alinari.

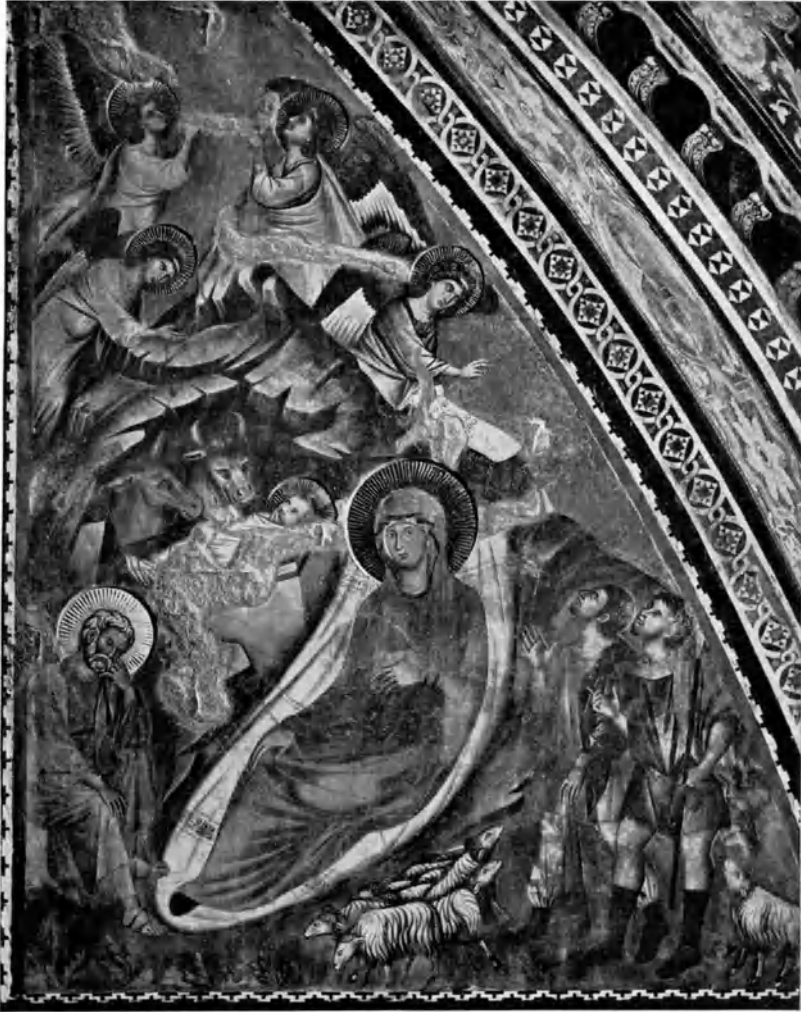


Fig 269. Eclectic follower of Cimabue, Nativity. Upper Church, Assisi.

Photo Alinari.

in the upper part of the ancient transept of Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome⁽¹⁾. This painter reproduces very exactly Cimabue's characteristic facial type, rather square, with a heavy lower jaw; but with him Cimabue's accurate drawing degenerates into an unpleasant hardness. Refinement of execution, a sense of the aesthetic and a

⁽¹⁾ *P. Toesca*, *Gli antichi affreschi di Sta. Maria Maggiore*, *L'Arte*, 1904, p. 312. *Venturi*, *op. cit.*, p. 127. *Wilpert*, *op. cit.*, pls 276-8.



Fig 270. Eclectic follower of Cimabue, Betrayal of Judas Upper Church, Assisi.

Photo Anderson

feeling for the dramatic are all absent in this artist's works, and of Cimabue's art only some external elements remain.

In the collection of the late Count Stroganoff there existed two panels representing St. Peter and St. Paul, which, although made under the influence of Cimabue, are more Byzantine in execution. Sig. Muñoz believed them to date from about the year 1264, which to Mgr. Wilpert seemed too early. I too would rather place them about 1280⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *A. Muñoz*, *Le pitture del portico della vecchia basilica Vaticana etc*, *Nuov. Bullet. di Arch. Crist.*, 1913. *Wilpert*, *op. cit.*, p. 410

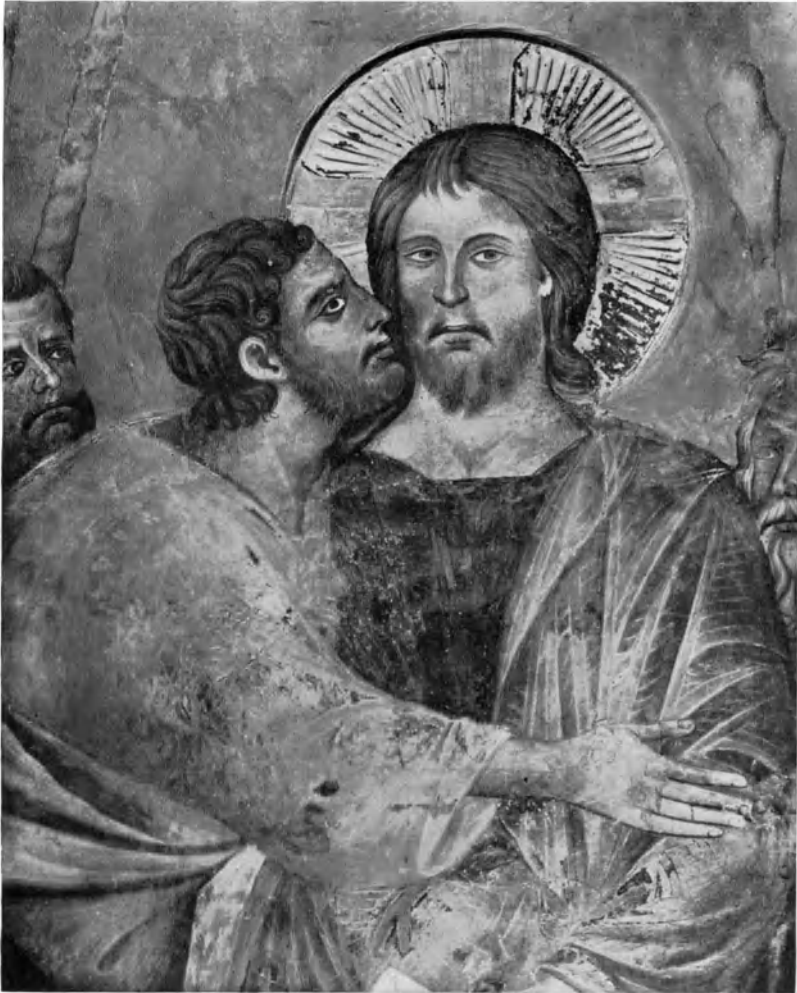


Fig 271 Detail of fig 270

Photo Anderson.

The most individual of Cimabue's followers is that one who, as I have already remarked, painted in the Upper Church the figures of the Apostles in the first gallery of the right transept, and several frescoes in the nave, of which only the Nativity (fig. 269) and the Betrayal of Judas (figs. 270 and 271), placed one above the other, are in a good state of preservation; but fragments allow us to attribute to him also the Crucifixion and the Calvary, while the other scenes

close by have completely disappeared⁽¹⁾. The style of this peculiarly individual artist seems to have resulted from a combination of the manners of Cimabue, Cavallini and Torriti, whose works he found on the walls of the church, he owes most, however, to the first of these masters. The elements which he borrowed from him will be noted in certain faces; as, for instance, that of the Lord in the Betrayal of Judas, and in some of the short, powerful figures standing at the side of this scene. Next to these we see the elongated proportions and the schematic folds of the garments, as in the figure of Judas, which will be found in Torriti's products, while the technique of chiaroscuro, the oval shape of some of the faces and the somewhat classical types, such as that of the Madonna in the Nativity, remind us most of all of the manner of Cavallini, with whose mosaic of the Nativity in Sta. Maria-in-Trastevere this fresco shows striking similarities. The author of these works, then, was an eclectic who gathered from the walls of the Basilica at Assisi the constructive elements of his art.



Fig. 272. Eclectic follower of Cimabue, Flagellation. Gallery, Perugia.

Photo Verri.

To the same painter I think we may also attribute a small crucifix recently discovered in the Gallery of Perugia, showing on one side the Saviour on the Cross, amidst groups of soldiers, the Virgin and St. John, and below, two adoring Franciscan monks; while on the back we find the Flagellation (fig. 272) with two angels at the sides and a holy bishop below.

With this fine little panel we complete the list of works inspired by the great tragic master, who, as we see, was not the focus of a very extensive school.

⁽¹⁾ They represented the Adoration of the Magi, the Lord before one of His Judges, the Presentation in the Temple and the Flight into Egypt

CHAPTER X.

THE BYZANTINE STYLE AND THE CLASSIC TRADITION IN ROME AT THE END OF THE XIII CENTURY. JACOPO TORRITI, FILIPPO RUSUTI AND THE COSMATI; CAVALLINI AND HIS SCHOOL.

After the resuscitation of the Byzantine style in Rome, which we noted during the first years of the 13th century, the city produced nothing for a very long time but Italo-Byzantine works; however, towards the end of this period we find there some examples as thoroughly Byzantine in character as those made almost a hundred years earlier by Venetian artists working in S. Paolo-fuori-le-Mura, save that their artistic merit is much greater.

This is especially true of the works of Jacopo Torriti, of whom we possess two very important mosaic decorations in the apses of S. Giovanni in Laterano (fig. 273) and Sta. Maria Maggiore.

It has been said that the work of Torriti in both cases was limited to the renovation of very old mosaics. This, as we shall see, was impossible in the case of Sta. Maria Maggiore; as for S. Giovanni in Laterano, the *Liber Pontificalis* informs us that at the time of St. Sylvester the church already possessed a mosaic which had been restored by the consul T. Felix in the 5th century. An inscription on the apsidal vault tells us that the image of the Saviour found here appeared miraculously on the day of the consecration ⁽¹⁾.

Even if this part of the decoration be older than the rest, no

⁽¹⁾ *E. Muntz*, Des éléments antiques dans les mosaïques romaines du Moyen-âge, *Revue archéologique*, 1879, p. 109. *J. de Laurière*, L'abside de St Jean de Latran, *Bull. Monum*, V Serie, VII, 1879, p. 213. *T. Armellini*, L'abside della basilica Lateranese, 1880. *Gerspach*, La mosaïque absidiale de St. Jean de Latran, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Feb. 1890. *De Rossi*, *Mosaici cristiani*.

doubt can exist that Torriti considerably changed its aspect, for it now harmonizes perfectly with the lower part of the composition, and the scenes in the same style. The bust of the Redeemer is depicted against a background of clouds and surrounded by angels. Below, in the centre, we find a jewelled cross placed on a slight eminence, down the sides of which run four streams, from which two deer and six lambs are seen drinking; the celestial city of Jerusalem or Paradise is represented by what looks like a fortress, guarded by a seraph, at the foot of the hill. To the left of the Cross are depicted the Virgin, who lays her hand on the head of the miniature figure of Pope Nicholas IV, who kneels at her feet, a small figure of St. Francis, St. Peter and St. Paul, and to the right St. John the Baptist, a much smaller St. Antony of Padua, as pendant to St. Francis, St. John the Evangelist and St. Andrew. These figures stand in a flowering field adorned by birds and cupids, while we see animals swimming and little naked figures playing in the stream which occupies the foreground of the mosaic⁽¹⁾. Below this the remainder of the Apostles form a row intersected by windows. On the left a small figure of a Franciscan monk kneeling at the feet of St. James is drawing with a compass, while another on the right, near St. Bartholomew, is wielding a hammer. I do not think the former is a portrait of the artist himself, who, had he been a monk, would not have omitted to mention the fact in the signature: "*Jacobus Torriti pict(or) (h)oc op(us) fecit*"⁽²⁾. Near the second kneeling figure we read the name of the master's assistant: "*Frater Jacobus de Camerino socius magistri operis recommendat se misericordiae Dei et Meritis Beati Johannis*".

The figures composing this mosaic are really magnificent, but so purely Byzantine that if we had not been able to identify their author, they might almost have passed for the work of an Oriental artist. The names of the saints are inscribed vertically in Latin, but over the head of the Madonna we see a Greek monogram.

(1) This piece of the decoration was thought to have formed part of the older mosaic; the style of execution of the little figures, however, is identical with that of the rest of the work.

(2) This signature has been partly restored. Originally it seems to have run "*Jacob Torriti pictor H. Op. fecit*" *Morey, Lost Mosaics and Frescoes of Rome*, p. 54.



Fig. 273. Jacopo Torriti.

Fig. 273. Jacopo Torriti, Apsidal Mosaic, 1291. S. Giovanni-in-Laterano, Rome. Photo. Alinari.



S. S. PETER, PAUL AND FRANCIS OF ASSISI
From Torrti's mosaic of 1296 (?) in Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome.
Photo Alinari.



Fig. 274. Detail of Torriti's mosaic. Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome.

Photo Alinari.

In the apses of Sta. Maria Maggiore, Torriti has left us perhaps the most beautiful mosaic decoration to be found in Italy. Against a superb background of garlands, within a circular aureole, the Lord places a crown on the head of the Virgin (fig. 274); both are seated, as in the 12th century mosaic of Sta. Maria-in-Trastevere, on the same throne, the back of which has the curved form which we have noted in very much older works. At either side kneels a

host of adoring angels (fig. 275); beyond them, on the left, are the figures of SS. Peter, Paul and Francis (pl. IV) and on the right the two SS. John and St. Antony of Padua. Pope Nicholas IV, who was general of the Franciscan order, kneels before the former group, and on the opposite side is depicted Cardinal James Colonna, while below is the River Jordan, in which dolphins and birds are swimming among tiny sailing-ships, and at the extremities two figures of bearded old men personify the river after the classical manner.

Because of the 5th century mosaic on the arch round the apse it has been supposed that this part of the decoration and the magnificent spirals (fig. 276) belong to the same period and that Torriti only added the lateral figures; this, however, is impossible, since the apse was constructed at a much later date.

Below the vault we find five separate scenes; the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Death of the Virgin (fig. 277), the Adoration of the Magi and the Presentation in the Temple. In these representations the master betrays to a still greater extent his absolute fidelity to the Byzantine tradition. Not only do the compositions belong entirely to this particular form of art, but many of the figures possess a rigidity, a conventionality and a lifelessness so thoroughly Byzantine that we wonder how an Italian artist ever became so familiar with the Oriental style that he was able to reproduce even its shortcomings to perfection. The signature runs "*Jacob(us) Torriti pictor h(oc) op(us) mosaicum fec(it).*"

We do not find any other works of Torriti's in Rome, but no doubt we owe to him part of the decoration of the Upper Church



Fig. 275. Detail of the Coronation of the Virgin. Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome.

Photo Alinari

of S. Francesco, Assisi. A striking resemblance exists between the Madonna in the mosaic of S. Giovanni in Laterano and one on the vaulted roof of the Upper Church, where a half-length figure of the Virgin is depicted in one of the triangular compartments, the others being occupied by the Saviour, St. John the Baptist and St. Francis, each guarded by two beautiful angels and divided by magnificently elaborate ornamental borders. (fig. 278)

We again find his manner in the first of the Old Testament scenes, which we see high up on the left as we enter the nave from the choir; they represent the Creation of the Universe (fig. 279), of the First Man, and of Eve; the Forbidden Fruit, Adam and Eve driven out of the Garden of Eden, and the archangel guarding the entrance to Eden; but of this last scene very little remains visible. I believe that all these paintings are from the hand of the master himself, as well as the fresco, in the row beneath, of Abraham visited by angels, of



Fig. 276. Jacopo Torriti, ornamental wreath in the mosaic of Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome.

Photo Alinari.

which, however, only the angelic figures are preserved; but judging from these graceful images this must have been one of the most beautiful and most characteristic of Torriti's works. Of the three preceding scenes on this level only two are in a good state of preservation, the first, which combines Noah receiving the order to build the Ark and the building itself (fig. 280) and the third, which represents Abraham's sacrifice (fig. 281) while the second, in which only small fragments of the Ark floating on the waters remain visible, must have depicted the Deluge. It is obvious that the author of these frescoes was directly inspired by

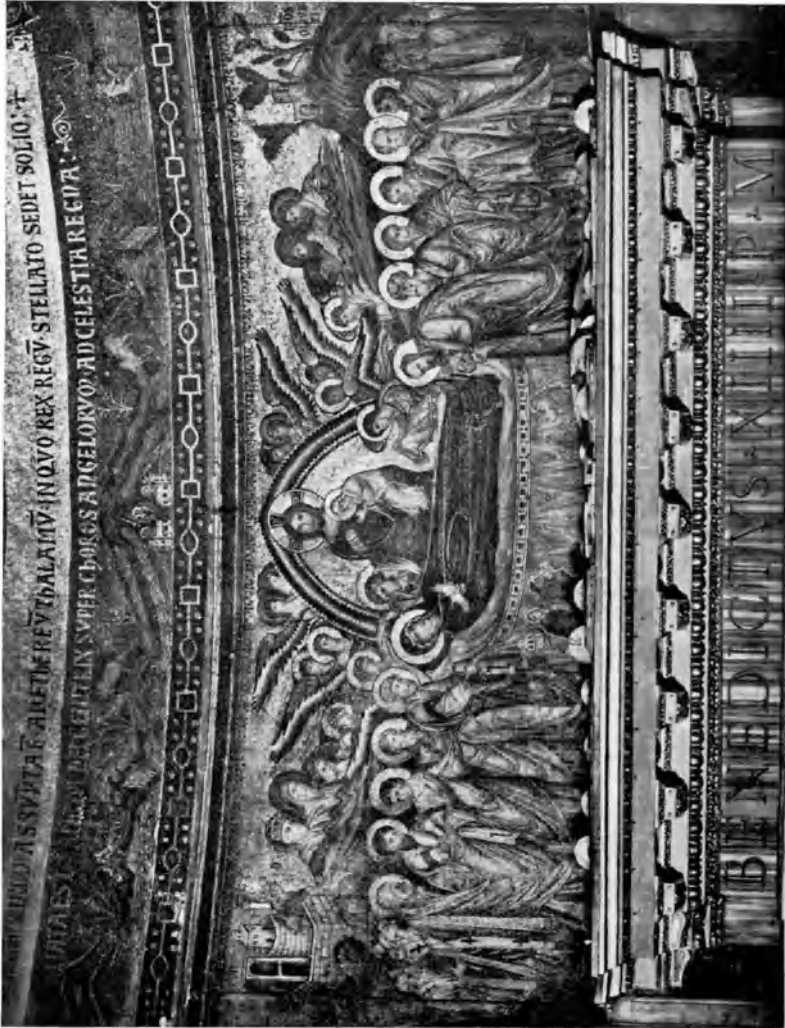


Fig. 277. Jacopo Torriti, the Death of the Virgin. Mosaic, Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome.

Photo Alinari

Torriti, but the schematic design has given a less pleasant appearance to these paintings; the folds are hard and linear and the figures have not the grace which was one of the chief charms of the master's products; some of them even showing a lack of skill in the drawing, as for example the workmen in the building of the Ark, and Isaac in the Sacrifice of Abraham. On the other hand,



Fig. 278. Jacopo Torriti, Decoration of a vault. S. Francesco, Assisi.
Photo Anderson.

these figures possess an extraordinary animation entirely absent in the art of Torriti.

Although we do not find any other products of this master's school at Assisi, on the walls of S. Bevignate, just outside the neighbouring city of Perugia, the older decoration of which

church has already been described, there is a series of the Twelve Apostles, each set within a frame and divided from his neighbours by a considerable interval, which certainly belongs to this style (fig. 282) ⁽¹⁾. In the pleasing proportions of these elegant figures we can detect the grace of Torriti's works, while the draping of the garments, although perhaps slightly more schematic, is likewise very like Torriti's. The features, however, are rather different, being, on the whole, softer and more Italian, but some of them seem to have been inspired by classic types.



Fig. 279. Jacopo Torriti, the Eternal, detail from the Creation of the Universe. S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Carloforti

Filippo Rusuti⁽²⁾ was another but rather feeble follower of Torriti's. The only work we have of his is a mosaic on the facade of Sta. Maria Maggiore, which is signed "*Philipp' Rusuti fecit hoc opus*".

I do not find any reason for attributing to him the four doctors of the church on the ceiling of the nave of the Upper Church of S. Francesco, Assisi.

Besides the certainty that Rusuti was active in Rome, we know that he was called to Poitiers to work for Philippe le Bel of France, and is mentioned

there in 1308, together with his son Giovanni and a certain Nicolas Desmarz, also a Roman, receiving thirty livres tournois as painters to the King; the following year we find them restoring the palace and receiving twenty livres, and again in 1317 the same three artists are mentioned in a document as painters to the King, but in 1322 only the name of Giovanni is found ⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *U. Gnoli*, *La storia della pittura Perugina*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1914, p. 246, has already remarked that these figures belonged to the Roman school. *M. Salmi*, *L'Arte*, 1921, p. 160, sees in these figures the influence of Cimabue.

⁽²⁾ *A. Aubert*, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

⁽³⁾ *H. Moranville*, *Peintres romains pensionnaires de Philippe le Bel*, *Biblioth. de l'Ec. des Chartes*, XLIII, 1887, p. 631. *B. Prost*, *Quelques documents sur l'histoire des arts en France*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, XXXV, p. 358.



Fig. 280. Follower of Torriti, Noah receiving the order to build the Ark and its construction. S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Anderson.

The mosaic ornamentation of Sta. Maria Maggiore represents, in its highest portion, the Lord enthroned in benediction, within a circular aureole, beyond which are angels, two on either side, the lower two kneeling and holding candles (fig. 283), and four standing figures, amongst whom we can recognize, on the left, the Virgin and St. Paul, and on the right SS. John, Peter and Andrew.

The star-studded aureole and the curved formation of the back



Fig 281. Follower of Torriti, the Sacrifice of Abraham. S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Anderson,

of the throne are the same as in Torriti's Coronation of the Virgin inside this church, while the Saviour strongly resembles the Eternal Father in the Creation scenes at Assisi. Rusuti, however, lacks Torriti's grace and sense of style, and in comparing the works of the two artists those of Rusuti betray a certain degree of commonness.

Beneath the Lord in majesty, the legend of the foundation of the church is illustrated by the following scenes: the Virgin giving the order for the building of the church, first to Pope Liberius, then to the patrician Giovanni (fig. 284); the patrician John kneeling before the Pope and telling him of the order received; and the miraculous way in which a fall of snow indicates the site and plan of the church. It is quite possible that Rusuti was not responsible for the whole series, although his signature is found inside the aureole encircling the Saviour. In his life of Gaddo Gaddi, Vasari tells us of his reading in an ancient book that this artist finished some decorations on the facade of Sta. Maria Maggiore shortly after 1308⁽¹⁾. However inaccurate Vasari's statements may be, this remark is corroborated by the facts, firstly, that Rusuti was at Poitiers in 1308, and secondly, that the figures in the lower part of the mosaic differ very perceptibly from those in the upper part, the former being slenderer, less schematic, and far more expressive. It is true that this part of the decorations has undergone more restoration, the Madonnas in the two apparition scenes resembling rather the work of the school of Pinturricchio, but again the greater realism of action inclines us already to admit the possibility of Giotto's influence.



Fig. 282. Apostle, School of Torriti. S. Bevignate, Perugia.

Photo Alinari

The problem becomes even more complex when we discover that the Coronation of the Virgin in the Cathedral of Florence, which, according to Vasari, is one of Gaddo Gaddi's works, resembles rather that part of the facade of Sta. Maria Maggiore

⁽¹⁾ *Vasari-Milanesi*, I, p. 347.



Fig. 283. Filippo Rusuti, the Lord and Angels. Mosaic of ab. 1308, facade of Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome. Photo Alinari

which is signed by Rusuti than the scenes of the legend of the foundation.

However — still according to Vasari — Gaddo also completed some mosaics of Torriti's in S. Giovanni-in-Laterano, made some in the Capella Maggiore of S. Pietro, and a large image of God the Father on the facade of this basilica, and several decorative works in Arezzo, Pisa and Florence, while the old texts on the life of Cimabue speak of Gaddo as “compagno” of this great master.

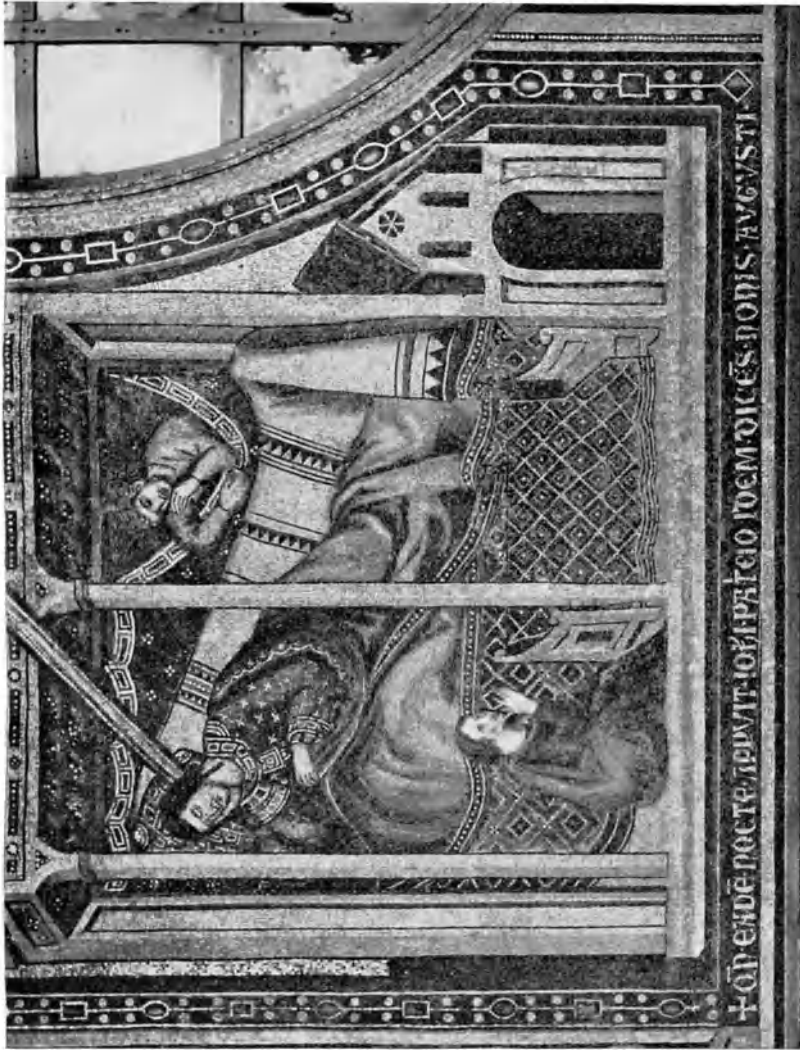


Fig. 284 Filippo Rusuti, a scene from the legend of the building of Sta Maria Maggiore. Mosaic of ab. 1308, facade of Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

Another group of workers in mosaic whose art was influenced by the Byzantine style, was formed by the members of the second family of the Cosmati, who were not related to the other artists of this name whom we have discovered to have been working at the beginning of the 13th cent-

ury (1). This latter group of the Cosmati is headed by one Cosmas, generally known as Cosmas II, who was the son of a certain Pietro Mellini.

It seems likely that Cosmas II and his four or five sons practised a variety of arts, amongst them sculpture, music, and probably, architecture.

No doubt can exist that it is Cosmas II's signature, "*Magister*



Fig. 285 Cosmas II, the Lord surrounded by angels, 1277–80. Sancta Sanctorum, Rome

Photo Alinari.

Cosmaties fecit hoc opus", that we find on a pillar to the left of the entry of the Sancta Sanctorum. Pope Nicholas III (1277–80) had the small sanctuary rebuilt, and it was certainly then that the

(1) *G. B. De Rossi*, Delle famiglie di marmorari romani dei secoli XI, XII, XIII etc., *Bullet. di archeol. crist.*, II, Serie VI, 1875, p. 124. *Frey*, Die Genealogie der Cosmati, *Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml.*, 1885. *G. Boni*, The Roman marmorari, Rome, 1893. *A. Milani*, I cosiddetti Cosmati, *Arte e Storia*, XVIII, Feb. 1899. *G. Giovannoni*, Note sui marmorari romani, *Arch. dell. Soc. Rom. di Stor. patr.*, 1904, p. 11. *G. Giovannoni* in *P. Egidio*, *G. Giovannoni e P. Hermann*, I Monasteri di Subiaco, 1904, I, p. 313. *Tomassetti*, Il Quinto (?) Centenario dei marmorari romani, *Bollet. del Com. Arch. comun.*, 1906, p. 255. *L. Filippini*, La Scultura nel Trecento in Roma, Torino, 1908, p. 17.



Fig. 286. Funereal mosaic of 1296. Sta. Maria Sopra Minerva, Rome.

Photo Anderson

mosaic decoration, above the altar was executed, and not, as De Rossi believed, during the pontificate of Honorius III (1216–27), who was likewise responsible for certain restorations. The mosaic represents the half-length figure of the Saviour, blessing, and holding a book, in a circular medallion supported by four angels

(fig. 285), not unlike those which we found next to the aureole in Rusuti's mosaic, while the Saviour Himself, and the frame encircling Him, have many points in common with Torriti's frescoes at Assisi.

Giovanni, the son of Cosmas II, signed two surviving commemorative monuments in Rome; one, of 1296, in memory of Bishop Durand of Mende in the church of Sta. Maria-Sopra-Minerva (fig. 286), and the other, erected in 1299, in memory of Cardinal Gonsalve Rodriguez, in Sta. Maria Maggiore (fig. 287). In each case the form of the dead prelate, with an angel at his head and one at his feet, is shown in a small Gothic building,



Fig 287. Funereal mosaic of 1299. Sta Maria Maggiore, Rome. Photo Alinari.

while both are adorned above by a mosaic of the enthroned Virgin with the defunct prelate kneeling at her feet, and a saint standing on either hand; in the former these figures are St. Privat, Bishop of Mende and St. Dominic, in the latter SS. Matthew and Jerome. In both mosaics we see a Greek monogram near the Virgin's head and, not far from the lower edge, the signature: "*Johs Filius Magri Cosmati Fec(it) Hoc op(us).*"

Although the sculptured figures in these monuments have certainly been executed by the same hand, this is not so in the case of the mosaics; that of Sta. Maria sopra Minerva is, in composition, style and form of the throne, much more Byzantine than the other, in which the garments hang in broader folds, while the proportions are larger and the whole work altogether more Romanesque in type, so that as regards this part of the decorative scheme I think we must exclude the possibility that both these works were executed or controlled by the same hand. No doubt different members of the Cosmati family worked on one or the other, of these schemes, while the signature may refer only to the sculpture, or perhaps, to the general plan of the two sepulchres.



Fig 288. Funeral mosaic, last years of the XIII century. Sta Maria in Aracoeli, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

We find yet another funeral mosaic of similar composition, especially resembling in style the tomb of the Bishop of Mende, in the Sta. Rosa chapel of Sta. Maria in Aracoeli (fig. 288 and 289) ⁽¹⁾. The absence here of the back of the throne may very well

⁽¹⁾ *De Angelis*, Basilicae S. Mariae Maioris de Urbe etc. descriptio etc. Roma, 1621, p. 87. *Gatti*, Musaico della capella Valenti etc., Mostra della città di Roma alla Esposizione di Torino nell' anno 1884, p. 213. *L. Olgier O. F. M.*, Due mosaici con S. Francesco della chiesa di Aracoeli in Roma, Archiv. Francis Hist., IV, 1911, p. 213.

be due to restoration, but there still remains a difference in the quality of the mosaic, as the tesserae in this case are much larger. The saints on either side are St Francis of Assisi and St. John the Baptist, while the kneeling figure wearing the robes of a senator has never been certainly identified. Sign. De Rossi suggested that it might be Giovanni Colonna, while Herr Strzygowski favours Pandolfo Savelli; it also has been thought to be Giovanni Capocci, to whose family the chapel belonged, but as he died in



Fig. 289. Detail of 288

Photo Anderson

1256 and the style of the mosaic clearly points to a later date, some time during the last years of the 13th century, this hypothesis is probably incorrect; moreover, as will be seen, his tomb was elsewhere.

A mosaic which in the middle of the 17th century was transported from Sta. Maria in Aracoeli to the chapel of the Palazzo Colonna, where it is still preserved, might be attributed to the same hand⁽¹⁾. The form, however, must have been different, since the Madonna mentioned

above, who is depicted as escorted by two small angels, with the usual Greek monogram near her head, was probably not enthroned but placed on a level with the other figures. Only part of the left-hand side of the mosaic now remains, showing us the half-figures of St. John the Evangelist and St. Francis, and between them a small image of Giovanni Colonna, who was senator in 1279—80 and 1290—91. The Colonna coat of arms is seen on the extreme left. It does not seem likely that in the original mosaic only half-length figures were represented; moreover, we still know of a mosaic in which senator Giovanni

⁽¹⁾ *Olgier*, op. cit.

Capocci and his wife were depicted adoring the Madonna once in the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore. This composition, which was of an earlier date than the others — for, as we have already remarked, he died in 1256 — was also very different; the dead man and his wife were shown kneeling on the right, facing the Virgin and Child, who were represented on the left in profile⁽¹⁾. Resembling the foregoing compositions more closely was the funereal mosaic of Senator Pandolfo Savelli, whose tomb was erected in a chapel of the church of S. Alessio, by his brother, Pope Honorius IV, who died in 1287. It represented the Madonna enthroned between two angels who held the aureole; the deceased senator and his wife knelt one on either side of the Virgin, while the two saints Alexius and Boniface were depicted laying a protecting hand on each of the adorers' heads⁽²⁾.

To this group of mosaics belongs yet another of quite a different type, which covers the tomb in S. Sabina of the Spanish General of the Dominicans, Munio da Zamora, who died in 1300 (fig. 290). This mosaic has the form of a simple slab on which the General is represented death, and with hands crossed; the Gothic frame around the figure reminds us of the sculptured tabernacle of Giovanni Cosmati. In style and execution this mosaic shows some connection with those of Sta. Maria in Aracoeli and the Colonna chapel.

Some of these funereal mosaics, and others made at this time in Rome, show us that the Roman mosaicists had quite a special



Fig. 290. Funereal mosaic,
Cosmati school, 1300.
S. Sabina, Rome.
Photo Anderson.

⁽¹⁾ *P. De Angelis*, op cit , fig. on p. 87 when ce ourknowledge of this mosaic.

⁽²⁾ *Verini*, De templo et coenobio SS Bonifacii et Alexii historica monumenta, Roma, 1752, p 260, pl. VIII. (*Olger*, op. cit)



Fig. 291 Madonna, Roman school, later XIII century. Kahn Collection, New York.

type for the representation of St. Francis, whom they depict as young and beardless; this is especially striking in the mosaics of Torriti, who, however, in his frescoes at Assisi, is faithful to the current iconography and depicts him with a short beard.

It may be observed that many of the mosaics just described adorn the tombs of Senators; I know of no reason for this fact, which is perhaps purely fortuitous.

The Oriental style, as we have seen, was very marked in several of the above works, but this Byzantine influence will be found still more obvious in some panel paintings which I believe to have been made in Rome during this period.

The most important of these are two Madonnas, now both in private American collections; one belonging to Mr. O. Kahn (fig. 291) and the other to Mr. C. Hamilton (fig. 292). Almost simultaneously with my first attribution of these panels to the Roman school of the end of the 13th century (¹), Mr. Berenson ascribed them to a painter of Constantinople of a hundred years earlier (²), but as Mr. Berenson himself confesses, the lack of other contemporary paintings of this centre does not allow of a comparison which might enable us to form a definite conclusion; I believe, however, that even although we are rather short of material for making a satisfactory comparison, once we have realized the spirit of the genuine Byzantine art of the earlier and later periods, we must inevitably come to the conclusion that these two Madonnas do not belong to it. They are certainly amongst the most Oriental looking products of Italian art which we have as yet encountered, but if we consider for a moment how familiar Torriti was with the Greek style, we should not be surprised to discover another master who simulates the art of Byzantium even more closely. It is only in other works of the Byzantine manner executed in Italy that we find similar conventional folds and creases of the clothing of the persons represented. As to their features, those of the Madonnas in particular seem to me decidedly Ita-

(¹) *R. van Marle*, op. cit., p. 227. One of these paintings had previously been attributed to the Roman school, more precisely to Pietro Cavallini. *O. Siren*, A Picture by Pietro Cavallini, *The Burlington Magazine*, February 1918.

(²) *B. Berenson*, Due dipinti del decimosecondo secolo venuti da Constantinopoli. *Dedalo*, 1921, fasc. 5.



Fig. 292. Madonna, Roman school, later XIII century, Hamilton Collection
New York.

lian in type, as well as in spirit⁽¹⁾; moreover, the emotion emanating from these two magnificent panels, which, although not identical, may well be ascribed to different periods in the career of a single artist, is also Italian in quality.

Both pictures were found at Calahorra in Spain and Mr. Benson believes them to have been brought there from the East; but to me it seems just as likely that they were exported from Italy. We have seen in the foregoing pages that a Spanish Cardinal and a Spanish General of the Dominican order had mosaics made by members of the Cosmati family. Thus there is a well-established connection between certain art-loving church dignitaries from Spain and the Roman school of art. Does it not seem likely that it was through their instrumentality that Italian works of art reached Spain, more especially as the general aspect and spirit of the two paintings now in America makes us associate them more especially with the group of Cosmati Madonnas?

A small panel representing the Nativity in a private collection is, if possible, still more Byzantine⁽²⁾. A host of angels and the mounted Magi are seen on the slope of the hill in which the grotto is excavated; to the right the shepherds receive the good tidings, while below they are depicted standing outside the grotto, near the entrance of which the Infant Jesus is being bathed. Inside the cave the Virgin, above whose head is inscribed the usual Greek monogram, adores the Child Christ in His cradle, to Whom the Magi offer their gifts. It is only in a few insignificant elements, such as the types and attitudes and the chiaroscuro effects, that this curious little painting differs from the purely Byzantine icons; these traits, however, are sufficient to establish its author as a Roman mosaicist of about 1260—70; its origin, too, confirms this attribution.

It would however have been impossible for Roman art to approach more closely to the Byzantine without the two movements coalescing.

Pietro Cavallini was the leading artist of the other school which existed simultaneously with the purely Byzantine school in Rome.

⁽¹⁾ The figure in the Byzantine school of mosaic showing the closest resemblance appears to be the Madonna in the Adoration of the Magi at Dafni.

⁽²⁾ *R. van Marle*, op. cit., p. 228 and fig. 117.

Hitherto we have qualified the movement opposed to the Oriental one as Romanesque; but here it would be more exact to speak of a return to classic art.

For Pietro Cavallini⁽¹⁾ we possess three certain dates, and we can deduce the stages in his career during which he executed some of his frescoes.

There is mention of "Pietrus dictus Cavallinus de Cerronibus" in a document of 1273, which however does not allow us to identify this person with our artist⁽²⁾. In 1291 the master signed

⁽¹⁾ *H. H. Schulz*, *Denkmaler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien*, 4 vols., Dresden, 1860, IV, p. 126. *G. Navone*, *Di un mosaico di Pietro Cavallini in S. Maria Transtiberiana e degli Stefaneschi di Trastevere*, *Arch. dell. Soc. Rom. di Stor. Patr.*, 1877. *D. Salazaro*, *Brevi considerazioni sugli affreschi del monastero di Donna Regina, Napoli, 1877. The Same*, P. C. pittore scultore ed archit. romano del sec. XIII, *Atti di R. Accad. di Archeol. lett. etc. in Napoli*, 1882-83, p. 11. *G. Fornari*, *Le antiche pitture di Donna Regina in Napoli*, *Bollet. del Colleg. degli ingegneri e archit. in Napoli*, VIII, 1890, Nos. 5-6. *L'anonimo Gaddiano* ed. De Fabriczy, p. 49 and 289. *E. Bertaux*, *S. Maria di Donna Regina e l'arte Senese a Napoli nel sec. XIV*, *Docum. per la stor. etc. Napoletane*, I, Napoli, 1899. *F. Hermann*, *Un affresco di P. C. a Sta. Cecilia in Trastevere*, *Archiv. dell. Soc. Rom. di Stor. Patr.*, XXIII, 1900, p. 397. *The Same*, *Nuovi affreschi di P. C.*, *L'arte*, 1901, p. 239. *The Same*, *Gli affreschi di P. C.*, *Le Gallerie Nazionali*, V, 1902, p. 61. *Schubring*, *Review of Hermann's essay*, *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.*, XXVI, p. 140. *Huckhoff*, *Review of Hermann's essay*, *Kunstgesch. Anzeig.*, 1904, No. 3. *E. Gerspach*, *A proposito degli affreschi della chiesa di S. Cecilia*, *Arte e Storia*, 1901, p. 22. *The Same*, *Una annunciazione del C. a Firenze*, *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, 1901. *S. Franchetti*, *P. C. a Sta. Maria in Trastevere*, *Fanfulla della Domenica*, 1901, No. 8. *G. Ferris*, *Un docum. su P. C.*, *Nozze Hermann-Hausmann, Perugia*, 1904. *R. Artiole*, *La scoperta dei affreschi di P. C. nel convento di S. Cecilia in Roma e le picche artistiche*, *Rivista di Roma*, Maggio 1904, p. 355. *E. Bertaux*, *Gli affreschi di S. Maria di Donna Regina, Napoli Nobilissimi*, XV, 1906, p. 129. *A. Venturi*, *P. C. a Napoli*, *L'Arte*, IX, 1906, p. 117. *A. Sorrentino*, *Bollet. d'Arte del Minist. della Pub. Istr.*, 1909, p. 228 and 231. *J. Strzykowski*, *Atti del Congr. Storico Internaz. di Roma*, 1910, p. 260. *G. Lafenestre*, *S. François d'Assise et Savonarola*, p. 117. *W. Rolfs*, *Geschichte der Malerei Neapels*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 16. *I. v. Schlosser*, *Lorenzo Ghiberti's Denkwürdigkeiten*, Berlin 1912. *W. Bombe*, *Geschichte der Peruginer Malerei*, Berlin, 1912, p. 24. *Hermann*, in *Thieme-Becker, Künstler-Lexikon VI*, 1912, p. 222. *B. Berenson*, *A Nativity and Adoration, of the School of P. C. in the Collection of Mr. John G. Johnson*, *Art in America*, 1913, p. 17. *S. Lothrop*, *P. C.*, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, II, 1918. *T. Garber*, *Wirkungen der frühchristlichen Gemäldezyklen der alten Peters und Pauls Basiliken in Rom*, Berlin-Wien, (1920), p. 55. *R. van Marle*, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

⁽²⁾ *Ferris*, *op. cit.*

the still existing mosaics in Sta. Maria-in-Trastevere, and in 1308 we find him at Naples, where he receives from the King a salary of thirty ounces of gold, two of which go to pay the rent of his house (1).

Amongst the works which Ghiberti attributes to Cavallini are the mosaics of the façade of S. Paolo-fuori-le-Mura, and the frescoes of Old Testament stories in the interior of the same church. The mosaic decoration which was ordered by Pope John XXII (1316–34) would doubtless have been a product of Cavallini's last years. According to a drawing of the 16th century in the Vatican (Cod. Vat. Lat. 5407 fol. 63) the composition showed the Lord in a mandorla, and beneath this the Virgin, St. Paul, the Baptist, at whose feet the donor is represented, and St. Peter. Two very much restored fragments of this decoration are preserved on the arch and in the apse of the church.

Mr. Garber, in the essay previously quoted, has pointed out that there were three different sets of frescoes in S. Paolo-fuori which might be attributed to Cavallini. These paintings have disappeared, but old aquarelles of them have been preserved in the Vatican (Cod. Barb. Lat. 4406) (2). The illustrations to the Acts of the Apostles on the left wall were made during the abbotship of John VI, whose name was seen beneath the frescoes, and who ruled the monastery from 1270 until 1279; consequently these would be the oldest works of this master of which we have any mention. The Abbot Bartholomew (1282–87), who was depicted kneeling near a figure of St. Paul, no doubt ordered the Old Testament scenes which seem to have formed part of the same *ensemble*, while the monogram of Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303) has been deciphered near the figure of a Pope, and beneath was the tragedy of Calvary, which, together with three other Passion scenes, and the figures of the four Evangelists, made up the third series.

The hypothesis that these frescoes were all executed at one time, during the pontificate of Boniface VIII, partly in commemoration of the two abbots, is rendered very improbable by the fact that the sculptor Arnolfo di Cambio signed and dated in 1285 a

(1) *Schulz*, op cit. IV p 127.

(2) *d'Agincourt*, op cit, Pittura, pl CXXV *E Muntz*, Les peintures murales de l'ancienne basilique de St. Paul, Nuov. Bull di Archeol Crist, 1895. p 112 *The same* L'ancienne basilique de St P., ses fresques et ses mosaïques etc., Revue de l'art chrétien, IX, 1898. p. 1 and 108

tabernacle ordered by the Abbot Bartholomew, and it seems extremely likely that the mural paintings of Cavallini were executed at the same time, more especially as on another occasion we meet Arnolfo and Cavallini working together at their respective arts in the church of Sta. Cecilia, where in 1293 the sculptor made a tabernacle, so that the paintings of Cavallini may almost with certainty be ascribed to the same date.

Mr. Hermanin argues that the fresco which may be attributed to Cavallini in S. Giorgio-in-Velabro was made shortly after 1295, for it was in that year that Jacopo Stefaneschi became the Cardinal-deacon of this church, and as it was his brother Bertholdo who had the mosaics of Sta. Maria in-Trastevere executed in 1291, we may suppose that the latter recommended the artist to his brother.

We thus arrive at the following chronological lists of the works of the great Roman master:

- 1270—'79 the first set of frescoes in S. Paolo-fuori-le-Mura.
- 1273 found mentioned in a document.
- 1282 -- '87 the second set of frescoes in S. Paolo-fuori-le-Mura.
- 1291 the mosaics of Sta. Maria-in-Trastevere.
- 1293 the frescoes of Sta. Cecilia,
- 1294—1303 the third set of frescoes in S. Paolo-fuori-le-Mura.
- 1295 (or shortly after) the fresco in S. Giorgio-in-Velabro.
- 1308 mentioned in Naples.
- 1316—'34 the mosaics of the facade of S. Paolo-fuori-le-Mura.

Vasari informs us in his first edition that the death of Cavallini occurred in 1344, and that he was then 75 years of age; in the second edition, the year of his death is given as 1364 and his age as 85. Dr. De Nicola, however, has discovered a biography which Sebastiano Vanini wrote of Jacopo Stefaneschi, in 1642, of which the manuscript is preserved in the Vatican. This text agrees with Vasari that Pietro Cavallini died at the age of 75 and that his tombstone in S. Paolo-fuori-le-Mura bore the epitaph: "*Quantum Romanae Petrus decus addidit Urbi-Pictura, tantum dat deus ipse polo*".

Admitting his age to have been 75, and the mosaics of S. Paolo-fuori one of his last works, we must admit, considering that he is mentioned as early as 1273, that Cavallini was born about the middle of the 13th century, or even somewhat earlier.

I do not think we should take into serious consideration the sup-

position that the "*Petrus Civis Romanus*", whose name appears, together with that of Arnolfo, on the tabernacle of 1285, and who also signed the tomb of Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey, is to be identified with Pietro Cavallini. The only facts in support of this theory are that twice we meet Arnolfo and Cavallini working together, and that some resemblance in style may be observed between the sculptured figures and those of Cavallini's frescoes.

Of the works which must be attributed to Cavallini we possess a list in Ghiberti's "Commentarii"⁽¹⁾, repeated by the "Anonimo Gaddiano" but injudiciously increased by Vasari.

The far more subtle critic Ghiberti mentions the enormous figures of the four Gospel-writers with St. Peter and St. Paul, on the entry wall of the church of S. Pietro; he praises the relief of these works, comparing them with other paintings in the nave, which he judges to be "a little in the old manner, that is to say, the Greek". He tells us besides that Cavallini decorated the whole of the church of Sta. Cecilia, the greater part of S. Crisogono, and executed the mosaics in Sta. Maria-in-Trastevere, which seemed to Ghiberti to be the most beautiful which he had ever seen. According to the same author Cavallini decorated the whole of the church of S. Francesco; he also mentions the mosaics on the facade of S. Paolo, the Old Testament scenes inside the church, and others in the Chapter-house, as well as many paintings in different buildings in Rome.

Ghiberti was impressed by the same factors, which still surprise us to day in the works of Cavallini; for example, his plasticity, in contrast with reminiscences of the Byzantine influence. It was not he but Vasari who announced the fact that Cavallini was a pupil of Giotto's; a mistake which has been the cause of many misunderstandings as to the origin of Florentine painting, and the importance of the Roman school, which culminated in the genius of Cavallini. The earliest authentic work we still possess of Pietro Cavallini's is the mosaic decoration of the apse of Sta. Maria-in-Trastevere, beneath the 12th century Coronation of the Virgin. Of these mosaics there exist two series of aquarelles in the Vatican Library, one by Ecclissi (Cod. Barb. 2010 fol. 16), the other by

⁽¹⁾ *L. Ghiberti's Denkwürdigkeiten* herausg. von *J. von Schlosser*, Berlin, 1912, I, p. 39, II, p. 134

A. Ciacconio (Cod. Lat. 54c8) and a third, also by Ecclissi, now in the library of Windsor. The first of these shows us the fragmentary signature, still visible at that time, "...us...it Petrus..." which Mr. Morey, the publisher of the Windsor aquarelles, taking into consideration the blank spaces, and keeping in mind the manner in which Torriti signed his works, proposes to complete as "*Hoc op. Musiv. fecit Petrus Pictor*".⁽¹⁾ As for the date, Barbet de Jouy⁽²⁾ professes to have read under the scene of the Nativity the figures *MCCLCI*; but, as De Rossi has remarked, the year 1251, the only one deducible from this, does not correspond with the donor's dates⁽³⁾. We know now that neither is it a date admissible for the artist, so that we may assume, as De Rossi does, that the inscription was actually *MCCXCI*.

As I have already said, it was by order of Pietro, brother of Cardinal Stefaneschi, that Cavallini here decorated the apse and sides of the arch with a series of seven mosaics representing, besides the donor adoring the Virgin, the Nativity of Mary, the Annunciation, the Birth of Christ, the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation of the Lord in the Temple and the Death of the Virgin. The first of the series is certainly not the best; above, enclosed in a circular frame, the Madonna holds the Child Christ; below Bertoldo kneels with folded hands, while St. Peter stands behind him, holding a book in his left hand and laying his right on the head of the adorer; St. Paul is represented on the other side carrying a book and a sword; immediately below the Virgin a long inscription and a coat of arms are seen, while growing on the ground are various flowers and plants.

Of the figures in this mosaic, the well draped St. Peter is most to be admired, but the expression of the Madonna is interesting and will be found in other works of Cavallini's.

The Nativity of the Virgin (fig. 293) is of a much greater artistic value; St. Anna, supported by cushions, is almost sitting up in her bed; behind her stand two women, one holding a can, the other placing a dish on a small table, on which a knife and some other implements are seen; at the foot of the bed the new-born Child is about to have her first bath; she is held by one woman

⁽¹⁾ *Morey, Lost Mosaics and Frescoes of Rome*, p. 54.

⁽²⁾ *Barbet de Jouy, Les mosaïques chrétiennes de Rome*, Paris, 1857, p. 127.

⁽³⁾ *De Rossi, I mosaici cristiani di Roma*, p. 176

who sits on a low bench, feeling the temperature of the bath, while another is carefully pouring in more water. The scene takes place in a real lying-in chamber, but without the vulgarity of exaggerated details; on the contrary the figures are full of poetic feeling. The fact that the mother takes no notice of the refreshments just brought to her, but looks in a loving, thoughtful way at her child, while the two women who have brought the food stand waiting in respectful attitudes, not daring to disturb the contemplation of St. Anna, gives this representation a psychological value by virtue of which it far surpasses the merely realistic composition. To quite another train of thought, however, belongs the typical and busy midwife, who holds the child in an expert manner, and is thoroughly occupied with the preparations for its first ablution. There is no mysticism in this part of the mosaic, but rather a strong sense of reality. The gestures of the child can hardly be said to be those of a babe just newly born; the bath



Fig. 293. Cavallini, the Nativity of the Virgin, Mosaic 1291, Sta Maria-in-Trastevere, Rome

Photo Anderson

is of the curiously high chalice type which we have already found in older frescoes. The background consists of some tasteful curtains hanging from the wall, which is edged with ornamental Roman marble mosaic; this same decoration is found on the complicated throne of the Virgin in the following scene of the Annunciation.

Here the angel with flying wings and uplifted arm is seen taking a long step towards the Virgin Mary, who holds one hand before her breast in a gesture of reserve, such as is frequently found in Byzantine art. Placed on the throne to the right of the Virgin is a vase of flowers, and on her left a dish of fruit; above the angel is depicted the head of God the Father, from whom descends the

Holy Ghost; on the ground behind the angel some traces of vegetation are to be found.

The Nativity is represented according to the tradition which we have so often encountered already. The event takes place in a cavern hollowed out of a hillside; above this rocky prominence shines the star which leads the Wise Men from the East, and on the hill itself are three half-hidden angels, two on the left, looking inside the grotto, and the third on the right, announcing to a shepherd the glad tidings, which are written on an unrolled scroll; a second shepherd sits on the ground playing on his pipe to his sheep, which are grazing around the entrance of the cave; behind him a funny little dog is seated, which seems to look round to the sound of the music. Within the cavern the Virgin is represented with her head turned toward the right, which is unusual; she is in almost a sitting attitude, on a mattress, which, as in much older works, seems to form an aureole around her; near her left arm is placed the manger in which the swathed Child lies, while above it are the heads of a donkey and an ox. At the foot of the bed Joseph, with one hand supporting his head and the other on his knee, seems to meditate on the miracle. The most striking figure in the scene is the Virgin, whose great beauty certainly belongs to classic art; the angels too are very graceful, but on the whole the composition is not good; there are too many incoherent figures, unity is lacking, and proportion entirely absent. As in the Nativity of the Virgin, we have here again, besides the refined religious feeling, an element of a thoroughly real and natural kind, which is exemplified in the simple shepherd receiving the angel's message, and the figure of his musical brother, with the little dog; the attitude of Joseph is also very good. The ground, as in the previous scenes, is here and there strewn with plants.

The Adoration of the Magi (fig. 294) does not offer us any outstanding figures, as in the first three scenes, but the composition of this mosaic is excellent. The Virgin is again seated on a throne, with Joseph, a grave and statuesque figure, standing behind it; the Child on the Virgin's knee stretches His hands out towards the gifts which the first Magus offers as he kneels before Him on the ground; behind him, in attitudes of deep respect, the other Magi approach, also carrying their offerings, their head-dress and foot-wear betraying an Oriental luxury. Behind them, on the



Fig. 294 Cavallini, The Adoration of the Magi. Sta. Maria-in-Trastevere, Rome. Photo Anderson.

top of a mountain, on which one tree is seen growing, the city of Bethlehem is depicted.

In the Presentation in the Temple we see, between two incomprehensible pieces of architecture, a small altar, with a roof, on columns; at the side of which Simeon holds the Child, with covered hands, in an attitude of great reverence, while the female figure behind him must certainly be the prophetess Anna. From the other side of the altar the Virgin stretches out her hand towards her Son, whom she regards with much tenderness. Joseph follows behind, carrying two pigeons in his hands, which are covered. The



Fig. 295. Cavallini, The Death of the Virgin. Sta Maria in Trastevere, Rome.
Photo Anderson

drapery of the two female figures is particularly good, and their gestures free and natural. Amusingly realistic again is the care with which Joseph carries the birds, which evidently demand all his attention; his figure, however, is somewhat rigid, and Simeon's head too small in proportion to the size of his majestic body. The altar and one of the lateral buildings are again adorned by mosaics in the style Cosmati.

In the scene of her death the Virgin is represented lying with her arms crossed over her body (fig. 295). The decorated cover of the bed hangs down in well-arranged folds. Behind the body of the Virgin a stately and impressive image of the Lord in a mandorla is seen, conveying to heaven a minute figure of the Virgin dressed in white, escorted on either side by an angel with wide-

spread wings. Of those who are present at the death-bed two, whose heads alone are visible, kneel at the bed-side; the others form two groups, one led by St. Peter, at the head of the Virgin, the other, at her feet, led by St. Paul, who strongly resembles the St. Paul of the first mosaic. The grouping is particularly good, and the variety of expressions, of which not two are alike, is very interesting. SS. Peter and Paul are larger than the other figures; the former displays the same defect as Simeon in the previous scene, his head being out of proportion to the size of his body. It may be, however, that Cavallini took his model for Simeon, the high priest, and St. Peter, who is also represented as a priest, from officiating clergy with their heavy liturgical vestments, which would readily make their bodies seem disproportionately large, and thus account for the artist's mistake.

In looking at these mosaics one is struck by the expressive and penetrating eyes, which will be found a characteristic of Cavallini's frescoes. The figures are all active, and — except in the Birth of Christ — there is generally unity in their activity. There is no obvious effort to render the figures realistic or their movements natural; their strength, majesty or stateliness is not in any way diminished by the fact that they are real living figures. The mosaics of Sta. Maria-in-Trastevere are about the only ones made in Rome before the end of the 13th century in which there is practically no trace of Byzantine influence; the attitudes and proportions, especially those of the Virgin in the Nativity, as well as the plastic effects — so entirely different from the linear Oriental design — seem on the contrary to have been inspired by classic sculpture. Nevertheless a faint reminiscence of the Byzantine type of design may perhaps be detected here and there, in a few somewhat stereotyped lines in the draping of garments and in certain of the faces.

Two years after the execution of these mosaics Cavallini decorated Sta. Cecilia with a series of frescoes.

It is probable that Ghiberti, at the end of the 14th century saw this series in its entirety; still later descriptions are also known to us, but for centuries it was covered with whitewash and only in 1900 was it revealed anew. Some stray fragments on the walls of the church justify the statement that probably the whole of the building was decorated with scenes from the Old and New Testaments. Part



Fig 296. Cavallini, Two Apostles. Sta. Cecilia, Rome

Photo Alinari.

of a magnificent Last Judgment is preserved in good condition on the walls of the nun's choir at the back of the church. Of the highest figure of this scene only traces of a mandorla surrounded by angels remain; under this, in a purple aureole, is the Lord (frontispiece), with downward-pointing hands, dressed in purple and seated on an decorated throne; he was originally surrounded by eight richly jewelled archangels, but the lowest on the right is now missing, and all but the head of its pendant has been effaced.



Fig. 297. Cavallini, Apostle. Sta. Cecilia, Rome. Photo Alinari.

The Virgin standing on the left is much damaged by repainting; St. John on the right is of a somewhat Byzantine and ascetic type, and both are represented praying, with clasped hands. Each figure is followed by a row of six seated Apostles, who are all turned toward the centrepiece (figs. 296 and 297). Originally the names were inscribed, but many have now disappeared; the third from the left, who holds a crown, strongly resembles Christ. On a

lower level four large angels announce the Last Judgment through long trumpets, which they blow in different directions; SS. Stephen and Lawrence are depicted on the right; the instruments of the Passion are exposed on an altar, to the right of which are the condemned, all naked, and divided into two groups, one being driven from the altar by archangels and the other struggling with demons, who drag them to their punishment; the chosen on the left are arranged in three rows, male saints, clerics and female saints, each led by an angel, who, as Signor Hermann remarks, is greatly superior to the figures of the procession, which look more as if they had been drawn by a pupil. The condemned are much more lifelike and natural.

On the left wall fragments of an enormous St Christopher, carrying the Child, are seen, but this figure has been ruined by a door being cut in the wall. Of the series of New Testament scenes all that remains is a dilapidated Annunciation, in which the heads have been taken away and replaced, and the figures so much restored and repainted that they have almost entirely lost their original aspect. On the opposite, or right-hand wall, are some Old Testament scenes, of which Jacob's dream and Jacob deceiving Isaac, though much damaged, are still distinguishable. Through the former a door has again been made, leaving only the figure of the dreamer, minus his head, and fragments of an angel. The latter still clearly shows us Isaac on his couch, with two figures near by, which I take to be Rebecca and Esau, although others believe the second figure to be Jacob. It is true that in illustrations of this story it is Jacob and not Esau who should be accompanied by his mother, but, on the other hand, the bow and arrow and the dead hare, which he holds out to his blind father, point to its being Esau, just returned from hunting and not the younger brother; and in his fresco of this subject at Assisi, Cavallini depicts Rebecca as present, although concealed, at the interview between the elder son and Isaac. On this same wall there is still a figure of a young saint who does not seem to have any connection with the story.

Signor Hermanin is convinced that these last three works are by the artist who painted the Last Judgment, and in this I think everyone will agree with him; the same critic believes that the figures of the Annunciation were executed by a pupil, after a design of Cavallini's; and the same opinion is held concerning

the three angels to the right of the Lord. The most important figures however — Christ enthroned and the lateral rows of Apostles — are undoubtedly the original work of the great master himself, whose inspiration and ideals of beauty seem to derive their origin from classic art. Cavallini has borrowed little from older representations of this scene; perhaps he owes the gorgeous archangels and the decorated throne to the Eastern tradition, while some of the old men remind us of Byzantine types (fig. 298), but of the confused and overcrowded composition of the Last Judgment, this master has given a simplified and highly artistic rendering. Each figure has become an inspired individual, and the central piece is one of the most beautiful paintings of the Lord known to me; amongst the angels and the Apostles — especially the younger ones — there are faces of serene beauty, and their attitudes are noble and dignified, the draping masterly, and the colouring, in which there is much gray, is soft and luminous. But for a few exceptions the faces strike us as being rather round as opposed to the elongated features of the Greek style. These shapes, as well as the proportions in general, the sculptural effects of the bodies, and the light and shade in the draping of garments, are again clearly the outcome, not merely of a taste for antique forms, but of an actual study of classical sculpture.



Fig 298. Cavallini, Apostle Sta. Cecilia, Rome.

Photo Alinari.

Photo Alinari.

The next important painting, now generally ascribed to Cavallini, although previously considered to be by Giotto, is the much restored fresco in the apse of S. Giorgio-in-Velabro, Rome, which was made, as we have seen probably later than 1295, by

order of Cardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi. This painting represents, in the centre, the Lord, standing on the globe, uplifting His right hand in benediction and holding a scroll in His left; to the right of Christ, and separated from Him by a little palm-tree, is the Virgin, behind whom St. George in armour is seen leading a white horse and carrying a flag, decorated with a cross. On the other side of Christ are St. Peter with a scroll and his keys, and a bearded St. Sebastian, again dressed as a warrior, with a shield and sword. Although the refinement of this work is in part masked by over-painting, to which much of the hard colouring also is due, there is little doubt possible that we have here again a work of Cavallini's. The Lord and the Virgin have been modelled on classic sculpture; a similar type of the Madonna will be found in the mosaics of Sta. Maria-in-Trastevere, in which the St. Peter likewise strongly resembles the Peter of this fresco, where, again, the small head is out of proportion to the size of the body. Signor Hermann also draws a comparison between the St. George seen here and the Jacob in the fresco of Sta. Cecilia.

Since the discovery of several of Cavallini's works, certain writers interested in this problem attribute some of the most important frescoes in the Upper Church of Assisi to the great Roman artist; this attribution will, I think, prove to be correct, but so far, few are agreed as to which of the paintings are by Cavallini and which are not.

Signor Hermann and Mr. Langton Douglas⁽¹⁾ claim for this artist the representations of the Nativity, the Creation, the Original Sin, Adam and Eve driven from Eden, Abraham and the Angels, the Sacrifice of Abraham, and the Betrayal of Judas; but Signor Toesca states, and I share his opinion, that in ascribing such a work as the Sacrifice of Abraham to Cavallini we degrade this great artist⁽²⁾.

Herr Wickhoff protests against the assertions of Prof. Thode and Herr Zimmermann that Giotto executed some part of this painting; nor does he admit that Cavallini ever worked here, while he states, without any proof, but with great certainty, that the whole series was executed by a Roman follower of Cavallini's.

⁽¹⁾ Annotation on *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, I, p. 96.

⁽²⁾ *L'Arte*, 1904, p. 317 I do not however agree with Signor Toesca in classifying the Nativity as a decadent production.

Mr. Aubert, on the other hand, ascribes almost all the frescoes to a follower of Cimabue.

We have nowadays a certain number of Cavallini's works with which we can compare these paintings in the Upper Church of Assisi, and a very careful and prolonged study has led me to attribute the following works to this artist, or to him and an assistant. The two frescoes of Isaac and his sons; the two scenes of Joseph; the Baptism; the mourning over the body of Christ; the Resurrection (probably) and also the Pentecost and Ascension on the entrance wall. The Visitation; the Flight into Egypt, the Child Christ teaching in the Temple; the Resurrection of Lazarus, and Christ before Pilate are all so badly damaged that it is impossible to form a definite opinion of them. Amongst these paintings I think we can hold the master himself responsible only for the two scenes of Isaac and his sons, and at least two of the figures mourning over the dead body of Christ. No doubt Cavallini made sketches for all the other frescoes, but left the execution of many of them to an assistant, whom we are able to recognize by his less imposing proportions, a somewhat harder outline, an incomplete sense of relief, and a somewhat rudimentary representation of the features of his personages; forehead, nose and chin forming, as it were, one undulating line.

In these frescoes, which I claim to be from the hand of Cavallini himself, all the characteristics which I pointed out when considering his authentic works are found again. The excellent draping, which reminds us of classic sculpture; the round faces, with well marked relief, the penetrating eyes, often small in comparison with the arched orbits; the stately but graceful, classical postures of the figures, especially to be noted in the upright figures mourning over the dead body of the Lord, and in the brothers of Joseph paying him homage; the serene yet inspired facial expressions, and the soft, clear colouring: these are all qualities peculiar to Cavallini, and to be noted in those frescoes of the Upper Church which we have attributed to this master. Signor Hermanin has already pointed out the great similarity which exists between the fresco of Isaac blessing his sons and the fragment of this scene still visible in Sta. Cecilia, Rome; not only is the composition identical, but the attitude of the old blind man, and the folds of his garments, are certainly from the same hand as the decorations of Sta. Cecilia.

A very striking resemblance will be found between one of the women who brings an offering to St. Anna in the mosaic of the Birth of the Virgin at Rome, and Rebecca in the painting of Esau before Isaac at Assisi; it is not only their general appearance which leads one to associate these two figures, but the peculiar



Fig. 299. Cavallini, Esau before Isaac. S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Alinari,

manner in which they look out of the corners of their eyes is so characteristic that one can hardly attribute the painting to another hand than that which executed the mosaic.

This peculiarity has been found in other works of Cavallini's. The types of the Apostles in the Descent of the Holy Ghost and several of the younger figures in the other frescoes remind us of those in the Last Judgment in Sta. Cecilia, and of the mosaic of the Death of the Virgin in Sta. Maria-in-Trastevere. It would be impossible even to hint at all the details which, after minute invest-



Fig. 300. Detail of fig. 299

Photo Carloforti.

igation, led me to the above decision ; but having given the principal reasons, I shall now proceed to the description of these works, or rather, of what remains of them.

The scene of Isaac blessing his younger son shows us the indistinct form of the Patriarch lying on a couch by which stands Jacob, whose hands and neck are covered with the skin of an animal ; next to him is the badly damaged figure of Rebecca. The face of Jacob, who is carrying a dish of roast meat, is very regular as to its features, and his expression serene ; perhaps even too



Fig. 301 Detail of fig. 299.

Photo Carloforti

serene for one on the point of deceiving his father. In the beautiful representation of Esau before Isaac (figs. 299–302), the old man is depicted sitting up in bed, supported by cushions; the helpless gestures of his hands and his venerable face clearly manifest his blindness.

Esau, with but little expression in his face, holds out a dish towards him, while Rebecca witnesses the scene, with a cunning look in her eye which clearly expresses her guilt. The head of Isaac, with its fine relief and absolute absence of rigid design, is a masterpiece, while the colours, in which various shades of pink

appear, form a perfect harmony. In the fresco of Joseph being lowered into a pit, besides some unimportant fragments, including a lamb, there remain only two faces plainly visible. The scene where the brothers plead before Joseph once had for its background an enormous building adorned with Cosmati mosaics; to the right is Joseph, seated on a throne, behind which stands a man, and before which kneel the ten brethren, while Benjamin approaches from the left, carrying the silver cup which he is supposed to have stolen. Although we find in this scene a certain monotony of attitude we cannot but admire the faces, the simple, realistic draping, and the variety of the soft colouring.

The Baptism of the Lord, though greatly damaged, still shows plainly the central figure of Christ in the water, which is of a greenish colour, forming a strong contrast with the blue of the sky. The Lord is represented with drooping arms and bowed head, a dove descending upon him from above. The two angels on the left, and the lower part of St. John the Baptist on the right manifest the qualities of Cavallini's work, for example, the drawing of St. John's bare foot; the anatomy of the central figure was obviously well expressed, but the present state of the figure is very imperfect.

What must have been a magnificent work, and in part at least by Cavallini, is that representing the mourning over the dead body of the Lord. In the foreground five kneeling figures surround the dead Christ, the Virgin supporting His head, St. John kissing His hand and Mary Magdalene His foot; another woman, between the Virgin and the disciple, is seen holding her head, while



Fig. 302. Detail of fig. 299.

Photo Carloforti.

behind the head of the Lord the fifth figure is only faintly visible. Behind this group six figures arranged in pairs are represented; on the right are two men, one of whom clasps his hands before him, while the other raises one hand to his face, which, like that of his companion, has unhappily disappeared; in the centre the two women, obviously conversing, are majestic figures of classic beauty, no doubt from the master's hand; while to the left are two younger women, of more tender but not less beautiful appearance. Above are four angels flying but only one of them, extending his arms toward the sorrowful scene beneath him, is clearly discernible. The exaggerated rigidity of the dead body is perhaps the one jarring note which shocks the eye in this beautiful composition.

So little remains of the Resurrection that our opinion is based almost entirely on the one figure of the sleeping soldier whom we see seated near the tomb, with his head practically resting on his knees. Only scattered fragments of the other figures remain visible.

Much more important are the remnants of the Descent of the Holy Ghost which decorated the entrance wall. As in works of much older date, the event is represented as occurring in front of the building in which it really should take place. This building is here a handsome Gothic loggia with mosaic decorations, from which the Virgin and the Apostles are divided by a wall. The actors in this scene are seated in a circle, the Madonna and four Apostles facing the spectator; two others on either side are represented in profile, but of these only three are now visible, while the last four are seated on an inlaid marble bench, with their backs to the spectator, but turning their heads so that their faces must have originally been visible; unfortunately only one remains. The draping of the Apostles' garments, and the drawing of their seated figures, seen from behind, are excellent. A dove descends from on high in a dark circle surrounded by clouds, from which beams of light radiate downwards. Decorating the other side of this wall is the far more badly damaged fresco of the Ascension. Above, the Lord is seen in profile, touching, with one of His hands, the innermost of three circles, which symbolize heaven, and toward which He seems to be ascending (fig. 303); below is a half-length figure of a very beautiful angel with widespread wings; to the right, and slightly

lower, are the heads of six Apostles; of two of them the feet and garments as far as the knee are visible; behind their heads are the branches of a tree. To the left of the angel nothing remains but a fragment of a second angel and a tiny portion of the head of one of the other six Apostles, who no doubt formed a pendant to those on the right. The head of the Saviour is fine, but shows the formation characteristic of Cavallini's assistant.

Above each of these last two scenes, and separated from them by an ornamental border, is a medallion; that on the left contains St. Paul and that on the right St. Peter.

In attempting to give these frescoes their proper place in the artist's career, I am inclined to class them as a juvenile work: that is, executed earlier than the majority of his works which have come to our knowledge. Although even here the master was already inspired by classic sculpture rather than by the Byzantine tradition, we find here and there reminiscences



Fig. 303. Helper of Cavallini, detail of the Ascension S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Carloforti.

of the stereotyped drawing characteristic of Oriental art; these are perhaps even more noticeable than in the mosaics of Sta. Maria-in-Trastevere, which date from 1291; so that they might be ascribed to a period shortly before that date. Perhaps, like Cimabue's employment at Assisi, Cavallini's presence there may likewise be explained by the Papal bull of 1288.

I do not think any other works can be attributed to the master himself, although the fresco over the tomb of Cardinal d'Aquasparta, who died in 1302, in the church of Sta. Maria-in-Aracoeli, was certainly executed in his immediate environment. Its compo-

sition is similar to that of the funereal mosaics of the Cosmati group; the Madonna, enthroned and holding the Child, turns slightly toward the kneeling cardinal, who is presented by St. Francis; the young St. John on the left was certainly inspired by a classic model. The faces are calm and noble and the whole work possesses the serene dignity of Cavallini's paintings, but lacks just that refinement of execution which would otherwise have led me

to ascribe it to the master himself; the figures, moreover, are not altogether free from a certain heaviness.

To an immediate follower of Cavallini's we may also attribute a half-figure of the Madonna in a circular frame above a side door of the same church. Not only the type and proportions betray Cavallini's direct influence, but a small ornament on the sleeve of the Virgin seems to have been copied from the mosaics of Sta. Maria-in-Trastevere.

Almost as closely simulating the master's manner as this fresco may have been the mosaic over



Fig. 304 The Virgin, St. Crisogono and St. James. school of Cavallini.
S. Crisogono, Rome.

Photo Alinari.

the altar of S. Crisogono, which Prof. Venturi believes to have been executed by Cavallini himself. If Ghiberti meant to include it with the works in S. Crisogono which he ascribed to Cavallini, it has since undergone so many restorations and alterations that very little of the original remains (fig. 304). In a throne adorned with Cosmati marble work the Virgin is represented seated and holding the Child Jesus on her left knee; on the left stands St. Crisogono dressed as a Roman warrior, and on the right St. James, whose tunic is the only part of this work which

can be said to remind us of Cavallini. Signor Hermann calls it the production of an inferior pupil. The Virgin is much larger than the two saints; the composition of the figures and their attitudes are reminiscent of the fresco in Sta. Maria-in-Aracoeli.

These two works, the fresco in Sta. Maria-in-Aracoeli and the mosaic in S. Crisogono, may be regarded as having been executed under the direct inspiration of Cavallini, and, as in the master's own paintings, we find in these too the plastic forms of classical antiquity, the serene, regular beauty, the round heads and classical proportions, but also the lifeless attitudes which are the natural result of the study of statuary.

There are many works whose authors interpreted somewhat freely the manner of Cavallini. Amongst the frescoes of Rome those of the Sancta Sanctorum, dating, no doubt, like the mosaics, from the pontificate of Nicholas III (1277—80), must originally have resembled the paintings of Cavallini, although the restoration carried out under Sixtus V (1585—90) prevents our being certain. The vault here is decorated with the four symbols of the Evangelists, and the walls with scenes from the martyrdoms of SS. Stephen, Laurence, Agnes, Peter and Paul, and a miracle of St. Nicholas. Lower down, under Gothic arcades, the Apostles, Gospel-writers, and holy church dignitaries are depicted, while over the altar we see the Virgin between St. John and another Apostle. Although the details of these works can no longer be distinguished, the broad forms and grandiose proportions seem connected with the style in which Cavallini worked; the angel symbolizing St. Matthew, which is perhaps slightly less repainted than the rest, reminds us strongly of the master's manner.

I should like to mention here an unimportant fresco of the school of Cavallini, whose chief interest lies in the fact that it is so near Sta. Cecilia that a connection between the great painter and the much less skilful artist who worked here may be readily imagined. It decorates the beautiful little church of Sta. Maria-in-Capella and represents the Madonna seated on a decorated throne, suckling the Child Jesus; she is escorted by an old saint in sacerdotal vestments (St. Peter?) and a holy bishop. The condition of this work, however, is now too far for us to conclude in what style it was originally executed.

Of the lost frescoes in Rome which, according to 17th century aquarelles (Cod. Vat Barb. 4408), seem to have resembled the works of Cavallini, we may quote those which decorated the outside of the hospital of S. Giovanni in Laterano and those in the church of S. Giacomo-al-Colosseo.

Outside Rome we find the work of an artist directly influenced by Cavallini, with whom he might have co-operated at Assisi,



Fig 305. Detail of the Creation of Adam, School of Cavallini Sala dei Notari, Perugia.

Photo Verni

although we are unable to distinguish his hand there, in the decoration of the spandrels and walls over the doors of the "Sala dei Notari" in the town hall of Perugia, which decoration was executed about 1296⁽¹⁾. Originally there were thirty-three representations, but two of them have now disappeared. No leading idea can be discerned in the choice of the subjects; several of the scenes illustrate the Book of Genesis, but without chronological order, the finest and most important being those of the Creation (fig. 305). On the opposite side some frescoes represent incidents from Aesop's fables and others hunting and battle scenes. We

find in the work of the great artist who executed these paintings the fine modelling and the grandiose proportions of Cavallini, but not his facility of design and beauty of form. The figures in Perugia, on the other hand, are somewhat more animated and more expressive than those of Cavallini.

The most important series of frescoes of the school of Cavallini is that in Sta. Maria di Donna Regina in Naples. These paintings, which, before the discovery of Cavallini's works in Sta. Cecilia, Rome, M. Bertaux attributed to the Sienese school, are

⁽¹⁾ *Bombe*, *Gesch. der Peruginer Malerei*, p. 124.

by some critics, amongst whom is Prof. Venturi, believed to be at least in part by Cavallini himself. Everyone will naturally think of the document which informs us that Cavallini was in Naples in 1308, but no connection can exist between this date and the decoration of the church of Sta. Maria di Donna Regina, which was constructed with funds provided by Mary of Hungary, Queen of Naples, in 1308 and 1314, and not completed until sometime between this latter date and 1320⁽¹⁾; moreover, as part of the ornamentation is painted on the masonry with which some of the windows are filled in, and as it does not seem likely that the windows would have been blocked immediately after the building of the church was completed, we may assume that these frescoes were executed a considerable number of years after 1308.

The paintings which decorate the upper part of the walls of this church, and which are seen from the first floor, represent, on the right wall, scenes from the legends of SS. Agnes and Catherine; on the inner surface of the facade wall we find a large composition of the Last Judgment, while on the left wall there are, first, a series of small scenes arranged in four rows of five each, the three upper rows illustrating the history of the Passion and the lowest the life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary; next to this, on the surface of a walled-in window, are depicted the Assumption and the Pentecost; nearer the choir are six pairs of prophets and Apostles, with two isolated figures below, a *Noli Me Tangere*, and some remains representing dragons, angels and a lamb, of which there is question in the Apocalypse XII, 4; V and XV. The angelic hierarchy is depicted on the triumphal arch.

We shall begin with a description of the Last Judgment, the most important scene in this group of frescoes. It is divided into three separate compartments by two long windows; in the centre, above, the Lord is seen seated in a mandorla, with the busts of three patriarchs on the right, and the half-figure of an angel with a sword on the left, while below, the Virgin and St. John with clasped hands, stand in a pleading attitude. On a lower level we see an altar on which a cross is placed, kneeling before which are two groups of children, dressed in white, one group on either side; while beyond them, on the right, is seen an angelic trumpeter,

⁽¹⁾ Bertaux, *op cit.*, p. 12.

and on the left four standing figures. Below these flies a solitary angel, underneath whom four others blow trumpets, to awaken the dead, while on the left stand four figures, amongst whom a king and a queen are discernible; between these two groups and the dead rising from their graves are two flying angels, one of whom carries a human figure in his arms. Quite at the foot, but separated from the Last Judgment, is a row of half-figures of male and female saints. On the lateral compartments beyond the windows we find the continuation of the composition (fig. 306); on either side, at the top, is a host of singing angels, all bending forward, and only half visible, beneath them is a row of six prophets, holding scrolls, and half hidden by the six Apostles, who are represented below, seated, and holding open books. Lower, we find on the right the wicked and their torments, and on the left the chosen, whom Christ indicates with His hands in the usual manner. The good are divided into four rows, the highest of which is composed of saints dressed in the antique toga; one, who is seated, appears to be St Peter; the second rank is of clerical dignitaries, amongst whom is a Pope, while bishops and monks may be distinguished; the third row is of female figures, and the fourth forms a stately procession led by angels toward the gate of Heaven. The wicked are depicted on the right, being forced into the fire of hell by armoured angels.

The twenty small scenes in rows on one of the lateral walls are all separated from each other by painted marble columns; they occupy only part of the wall, and are very small in comparison with the extensive surface which had to be decorated.

The scenes on the first row, starting on the left, are the Lord's Supper, which is taken at a semi-circular table, the washing of Peter's feet, the disciples sleeping in the Garden of Olives, the Betrayal of Judas, which takes place amidst an excited mob and St. Peter cutting off the ear of Malchus (fig. 307); in the second row we see an agitated scene of the Flagellation, against a curious architectural background, and the combined scenes of Christ being led to the palace of Pilate and being ill-treated by soldiers; they are separated by an angle of the building, and on both the Madonna and the Holy Women are seen amidst the crowd; the third fresco is again divided, this time by an archway, on one side of which is the Mocking of Christ, and on the other the Calvary (fig. 308). Amongst the figures

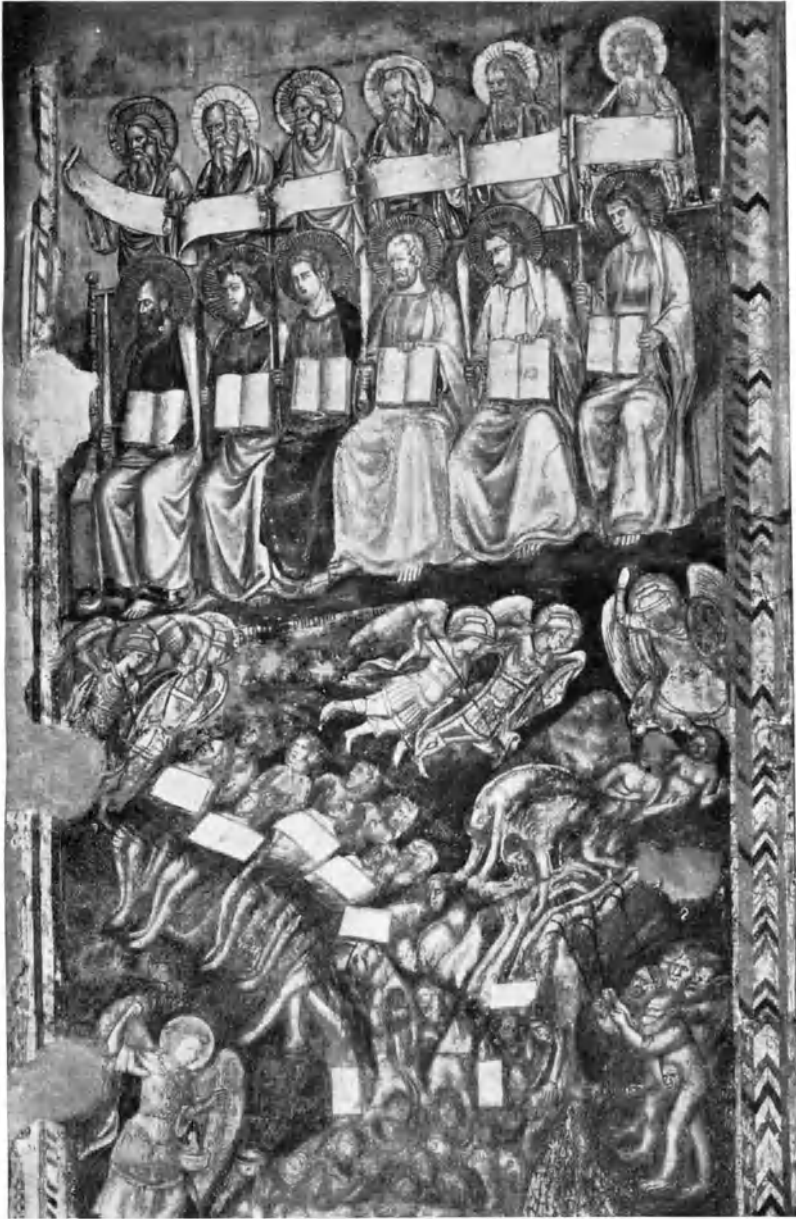


Fig. 306. Detail of the Last Judgment, School of Cavallini. Sta. Maria di D Regna, Naples.

Photo Alinari.

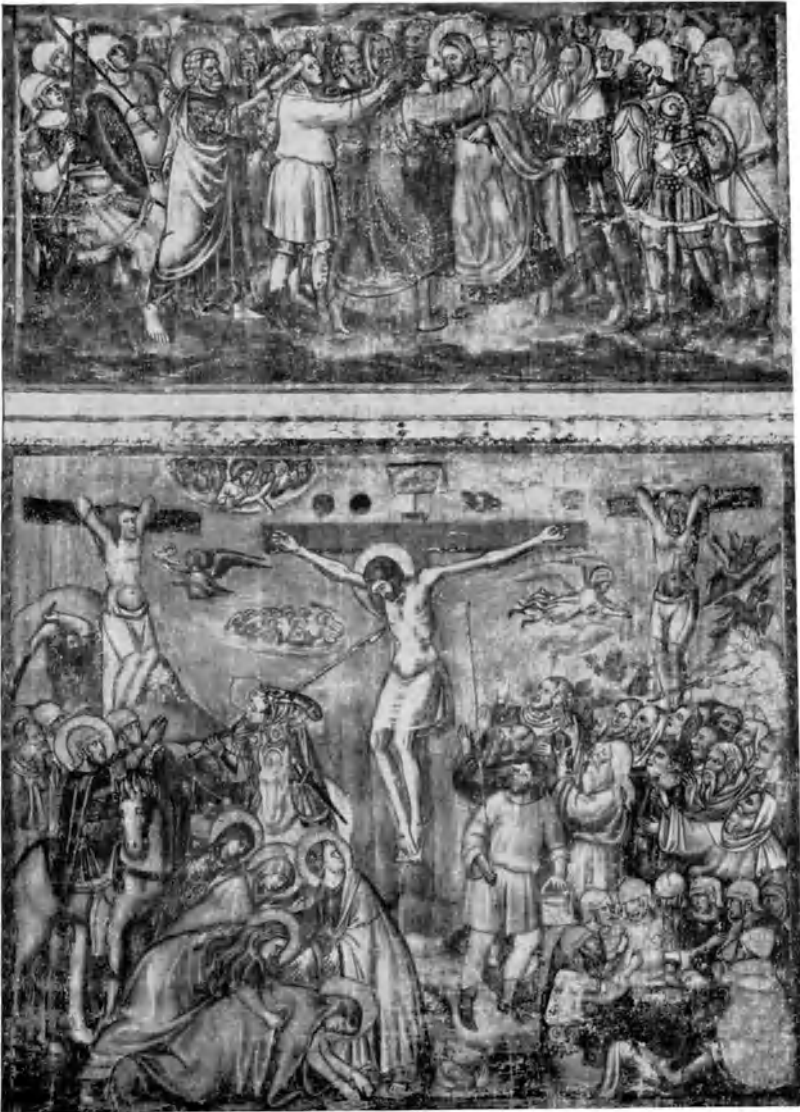


Fig. 307. The Betrayal of Judas and the Crucifixion, School of Cavallini.
Sta. Maria di D. Regina, Naples.

Photo Alinari.

in the latter, the Virgin and her companions are again depicted; in the fourth compartment of this row we see in one corner Christ being stripped of His vestments by the soldiers, and the Virgin binding a loin-cloth around Him, while the rest of the space is occupied



Fig. 308. The Calvary, School of Cavallini. Sta. Maria di D. Regina, Naples.
Photo Alinari.

by the soldiers roughly pulling Christ on to the Cross and the fainting Virgin supported by her faithful companions at the foot of the Cross; the last scene of this row represents the Crucifixion, (fig. 307): the Lord is placed between the two thieves and is surrounded by a crowd of excited people; the Virgin is prostrate at the foot of the Cross, and in a corner the soldiers are throwing dice for the Saviour's garments. The first scene in the third row, the Descent

from the Cross, is very much damaged, but one can distinguish three men, one of whom is mounted on a ladder, supporting the body; on the Pieta, which is also represented in this fresco, we see the dead Christ surrounded by five figures, one kissing a hand and another His feet, while others stand in the background, waiting to close the grave. The second fresco is divided horizontally into two parts; in the upper — the Resurrection — the Lord triumphant stands in a mandorla above His tomb, while the surrounding soldiers fall to the ground; below, as He descends into Hell, accompanied by armoured angels, He lifts the kneeling Adam by the hand. On the next scene several episodes are depicted: above, the Saviour appears to Joseph of Arimathea in prison, and to the Virgin in her house; below, the angel is seen seated at the empty sepulchre with the three Holy Women standing near by, and the soldiers still lying on the ground, while on the right, and separated from the last by a rock, is the apparition of Christ to Mary Magdalene. The fourth fresco of this row shows us, above, three different meetings with the Lord, and the meal at Emmaus on the left beneath it; while on the right Christ appears to the disciples. The fact that the door was closed is well emphasized. In the upper division of the last fresco of this row are three apparitions to the disciples; the third takes place while they are seated round a semi-circular table. Below this we see the doubting Thomas touching the wounded side in the presence of all the other Apostles. The two scenes within the old window-frame form a continuation of this series; in the Ascension the Lord is accompanied by two angels in white, while the Apostles stand below looking up at Him; in the second scene the Madonna is seated amidst the Apostles in a circular building with a crowd of spectators on a slightly lower level. At the foot of this fresco are three busts which M. Bertaux believes to be those of SS. Ladislas, Stephen and Elizabeth of Hungary.

We shall now return to the fourth row of small scenes which illustrate the life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary; of these the first has completely disappeared, the second depicts, above, three incidents of her childhood, and below, her wedding, which takes place in a large room divided by two pillars into three sections, of which the left is occupied by musicians, the right by the King and Queen of Hungary, and the centre by the wedding party. The next painting shows us the saint in her nuptial chamber chastised by a

servant, while above are two smaller scenes, one of Elizabeth in prayer, receiving a message, and the other of her parting with her husband, who goes to the Crusades. In the following fresco M. Bertaux recognizes the legend of the poor woman who was so amazed at the richness of a garment given her by St. Elizabeth that she fainted, but was revived by the prayers of the saint; above we see her swearing obedience to the clergy, on a book held by a monk, and beside this she enters, with a servant, a small room, where the Lord appears to her. In the last division we find St. Elizabeth depicted washing the feet of the poor, probably in her hospital at Gotha; persecuted by Henry of Thuringen; her flight from Wartburg castle; taking shelter in a pig-sty; being admitted by a monk into a church, and her humiliating occupations; while the series ends with her death, which is seen taking place in a large room, where she lies in bed surrounded by priests and invalids, who expect to be cured in the presence of her holy body.



Fig 309 Detail of St. Agnes led to her Martyrdom, School of Cavallini. Sta.

Maria di D Regina, Naples

Photo Alinari.

Only four scenes illustrating the life of St. Catherine have been preserved. In the first we see a crowd kneeling round an idol, with the Emperor Maxentius enthroned on the right and St. Catherine standing on the left; the second depicts the saint arguing with the heathen priests near a building, while beyond an empty space, which was once no doubt decorated with other scenes from the legend of this saint, the enthroned emperor surrounded by courtiers watches her being taken to prison. The fourth fresco depicts

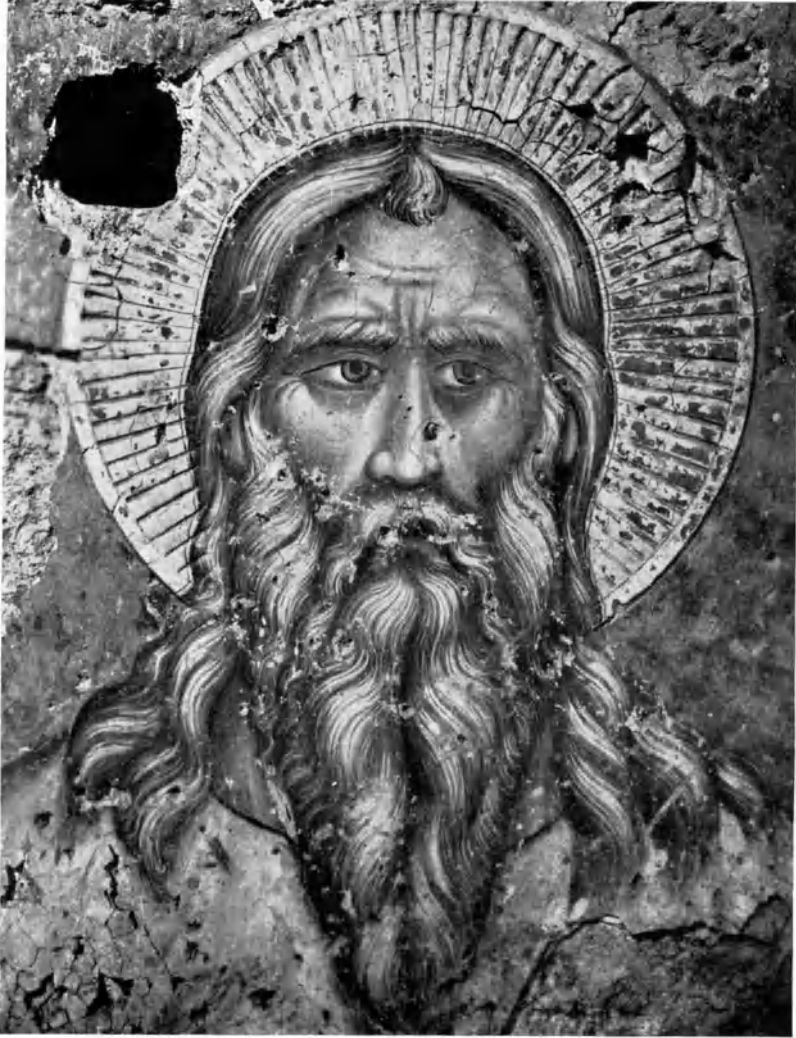


Fig. 310. Head of a prophet, School of Cavallini Sta. Maria di D Regina, Naples. Photo Alinari

the martyrdom of the heathen priests whom St. Catherine had converted to Christianity, while angels are seen carrying their souls to heaven. The saint looking from the window of a tower, around which are grouped many people, is represented in one corner of this painting; the emperor again takes part in this scene.

In the St. Agnes series we see her first as a child at school, where the master is depicted working at a desk, and the child is fetched

from school by a maid; then follows the meeting with the son of the prefect on the occasion when he declares his love for her; of the next picture only two heads are visible, and the adjacent one shows us St. Agnes refusing to adore the goddess Vesta, and being led away hand-cuffed to her horrible ordeal (fig. 309); she is escorted by soldiers preceded by musicians, and spectators are seen on a balcony watching the procession. The saint is here represented covered by her hair, which grew in a miraculous manner when her clothes were roughly torn from her. The next is the death scene: the prefect sits on a throne surrounded by soldiers and officials; the body of his son, whom St. Agnes resuscitates, lies on the ground; farther to the right the saint stands free of the flames, which, instead of burning her, attack the pagans; in the centre a soldier stabs her in the neck from behind. The last scene depicts how the Princess Constance, suffering from plague, was placed near the sarcophagus of St. Agnes, and was cured on



Fig. 311. Two Apostles, School of Cavallini.
Sta. Maria di D. Regina. Naples

Photo Alinari.

seeing a vision of the saint flying towards her. This series of frescoes illustrating the lives of the three saints closely follows the text of the Golden Legend.

The fourteen Old and New Testament figures which are placed nearer the choir are also very important (figs. 310 and 311). Twelve of them are arranged in three rows of two, placed on either side of a window; the figures of each pair are separated by a palm tree; two isolated figures are painted lower down. These personages, whose names are almost all inscribed, belong to the best part of the decoration of this church; their figures

are noble and majestic and their faces are especially beautiful.

The colouring of the whole decoration has suffered somewhat. The partly repainted triumphal arch and the upper rows of the scenes of the Passion have become quite yellow, from which M. Bertaux draws the conclusion that the painter executed the frescoes according to the Byzantine method, and the work now visible displays the fourth stage of the technical procedure, which consisted in the application of yellow ochre.

I think we can discover two different hands in this *ensemble* of frescoes; the first of them, who so closely copied Cavallini's own manner, executed the Last Judgment, the angels on the triumphal arch, and the isolated biblical figures and although I do not think we could ever mistake his paintings for those of the master, we observe in his manner the same esthetic principles, the same serene and regular beauty, the large proportions and the plastic effects. The style of the second artist, who is more remote from Cavallini, will be found in the Passion scenes, and those illustrating the legends of the different saints. He gives more movement to all his figures, even representing them in agitated groups; this liveliness does not at all harmonize with the broad sculptural aspect he attempts to preserve. In the exaggerated action which may be observed in several of the scenes, especially that one of Christ preparing to ascend the Cross, the artist cannot be said to be free from a certain vulgarity; from this he may also be judged to be of a later date than Cavallini himself. This fact is also revealed by the manner in which the artist treats the architectural part of his compositions; he no longer depicts the building in which an event takes place as the background to the action, nor does he place isolated parts of buildings in his pictures, both of which Cavallini, and also Giotto habitually did. On the other hand, he continues to represent interiors as though the wall were removed, so that we see floor, ceiling, and the two side walls enclosing a room whose interior is depicted in conjunction with part of the exterior of the building. This archaic manner of representation, which is met with in pictures by many of the painters of the 13th century, was one of the rare primitive elements which this master inherited from a previous generation, and although directly influenced by Cavallini, his art really belongs to the 14th century.

Of the few panel paintings belonging to the school of Cavallini,



Fig. 312 The Nativity and Adoration, School of Cavallini Collection of the late Mr. J. G. Johnson, Philadelphia.

the Nativity which formed part of the collection of the late Mr. J. G. Johnson of Philadelphia is that which most closely approaches the paintings of the master (fig. 312) ⁽¹⁾. The Virgin is seen lying on a couch, looking at the swathed Child in a little box-like crib;

⁽¹⁾ *B. Berenson, A Nativity and Adoration of the School of P.C., Art in America, 1913, p. 17. The Same. Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings and some Art Objects; Italian Painting Philadelphia 1913, no. 116 Prof. Venturi had attributed this to Segna di Bonaventura when the picture formed part of the Sterbini collection. A. Venturi, La Raccolta Sterbini, L'Arte, 1905, p. 422.*

three angels surround this group, while from the left the Magi approach; the foremost, who has removed his crown, and placed it on the ground, kneeling at the feet of the Virgin, and offering his gift. Below the first bath is being given to the Child, between the meditating figure of Joseph on the one side, and the two gesticulating shepherds on the other. The execution of this panel is so extremely fine that it reminds us of the technique of a miniaturist.

There still exists a small group of painters, who, although greatly influenced by Cavallini, differ from him in greater animation of expression and action, qualities which take us back to the 13th century Roman artists of the Romanesque tradition, such as Conxolus, and the Master of Sta. Maria-in-Vescovio. Their art is consequently the outcome of the union of the two movements whose simultaneous existence in Rome we have already remarked: the one inspired by antique statuary, and widely distributed through the influence of Cavallini, the other, the Romanesque, whose popular narrative and eloquent representations, especially found in Rome, have been familiar to us since the early Middle Ages.

The most interesting of these artists is the one who decorated, in the Upper Church of Assisi, the triangular divisions of the first vault with representations of the four Church Fathers, for whom the Franciscans had a particular veneration: SS. Jerome, Ambrosius, Gregory (fig. 313) and Augustine, all in bishop's attire and seated on richly inlaid marble thrones; each has an open book before him, while opposite, on seats of varying type, sit a like number of monks, reading or writing. In the uppermost corner of each triangle the bust of Christ appears in the midst of clouds. A little bird is seen whispering into the ear of Gregory.

Although the subject is not suitable as a medium for expressing emotion, the desire of the artist to depict individual types is most obvious. The Church Fathers, as well as the monks, are very different, not only in appearance, but also in psychological expression. The artist had certainly no reason to conceive these four holy personages, or their scribes, in one manner rather than another, but he clearly betrays his desire to show us each of them under a peculiar personal aspect.

To the same hand, which Cavalcaselle and Prof. Venturi both identify as that of Rusuti's, an identification with which I cannot



Fig 313. Eclectic follower of Cavallini St. Gregory, S Francesco, Assisi
Photo Anderson.

agree, I ascribe the twelve upper figures of the sixteen which decorate the arch over the main entrance of the Upper Church — the lower four having been painted by that assistant of Cavallini's who executed the neighbouring frescoes — the fourteen saints in medallions in each of the first window arches to the right and

left, and those around the rose window of the facade. Amongst the firms of these we find the principal saints of the Franciscan order, St. Rufinus, the patron of Assisi, St. Dominic, and others of equal importance.

To a more advanced stage of evolution belonged the remarkable artist who executed eleven now badly damaged frescoes, in the Church of Sta. Agnese, Rome, whence they have been trans-



Fig 314. Eclectic follower of Cavallini, Scene from the Legend of St. Magnus of San Galle? Lateran Museum, Rome.

Photo Sansami.

ported to the Lateran Museum. Some of them seem to illustrate the legend of St. Magnus of San Galle (fig. 314). This subject afforded better opportunity for the expression of different emotions and the artist shows himself capable of portraying the most varied aspects of humane psychology. We cannot praise the master or his faultless composition, for here and there we are struck by the stiffness of his drawing, as regards modelling and plastic effects, but Cavallini's influence is again obvious here (¹).

By a greater and more skilful, but less expressive artist, is the panel of the Madonna of 1308, in the town hall of Cesi (Umbria), brought there from the church of Sta. Maria (fig. 315).

The central figure is that of the Virgin, seated, facing the spectator, on an inlaid marble throne; she holds the Child's feet in her left hand and places the right on His shoulder; her head is covered by a veil which is continued on to the shoulders. The Lord, in proportion to the Madonna, is very small, He is turned slightly towards the left, holding one hand uplifted in benediction; the

(¹) *R. van Marle*, op cit, p. 250 *G J Hoogewerff*, Mededeel. v. h Nederl Hist Instit te Rome, I, The Hague, 1921, p 132.

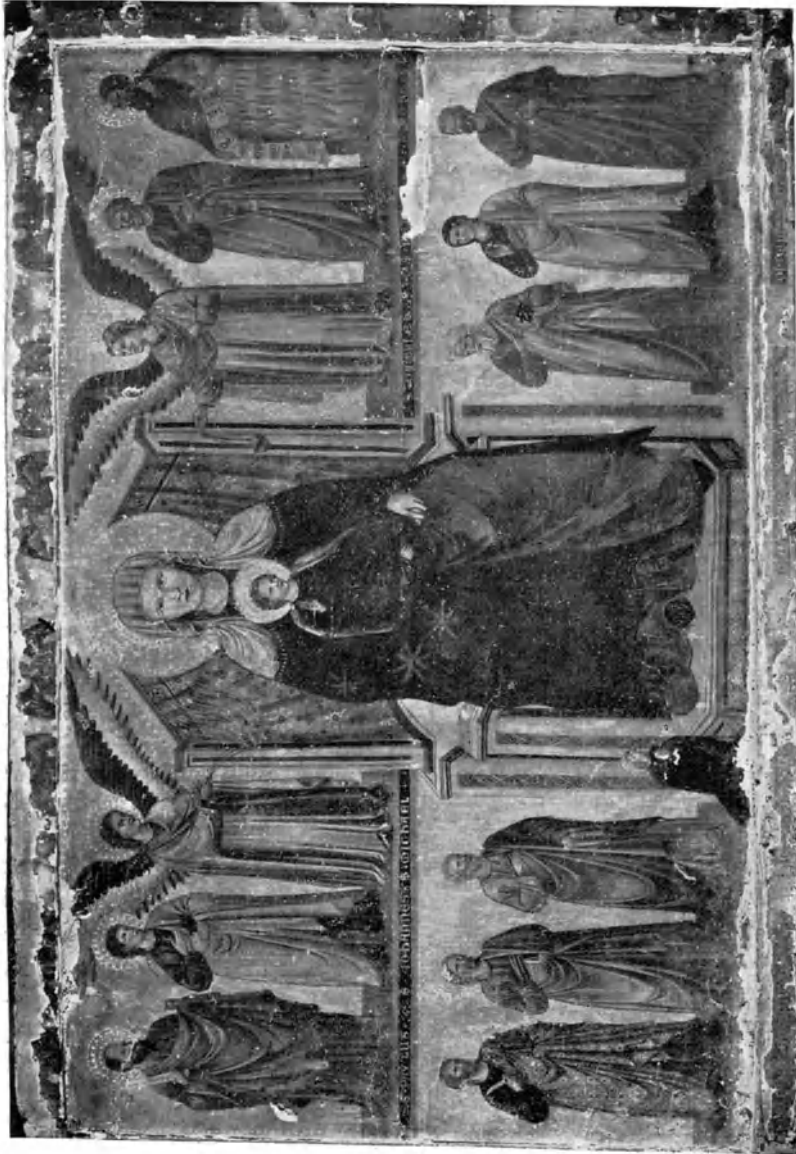


Fig. 315. Eclectic follower of Cavallini, Madonna with Angels and Saints, 1308.
Town Hall, Cesi.

Photo Alinari.

expression of His face is spiritual and penetrating. On either side of the central group are six figures in superimposed rows of three. Above, and next the throne, are the archangels Michael and Gabriel swinging censers towards the Child Jesus; the former, on the left, is accompanied by SS. John the Evangelist and Paul; the latter, on the right, by SS. Peter and John the Baptist. On the lower level are six other disciples, whose names are much less legible than those above. At the feet of the Virgin, on the left, is a miniature figure of the donor. The panel is enclosed in a frame, which is also decorated; the upper horizontal part with busts of angels with widespread wings, the sides with small figures of saints, while the bottom frame is occupied by a long inscription. The figures of SS. Peter and Paul remind us of those we have seen in works of Cavallini's, especially in the mosaics of Sta. Maria-in-Trastevere, where, in the representation of the Death of the Virgin, we also find figures swinging censers.

The classic and sculptural character which we remarked in the master's works is here exaggerated into a certain clumsiness, which also mars the image of the Madonna. A striking disproportion between the small heads and broad bodies is to be noticed in some of the figures, which, however, have many artistic qualities, and judging from what remains of those in the frame, they must have originally been very beautiful, especially the angels, who have fine faces and much of Cavallini's stateliness. The faces, however, of these and of the other figures are so full of life, individuality and expression, that its place is certainly amongst the works of the artists we have just dealt with ⁽¹⁾.

An interesting, but somewhat rustic, specimen of this same style will be found in the cemetery chapel of Poggio Mirtete in Sabine, in which, besides an utterly ruined part, we see the figure of a king on horseback and an Entombment, in which Cavallini's plastic effects mingle with the tragic spirit of the popular narrative art.

⁽¹⁾ With a group of panel paintings frequently composed of small scenes of the Passion and obviously inspired by Cavallini I shall deal in another volume, as they comprise the first manifestation of the 14th century school of Rimini. *Mr. Svrén*, *Burlington Magazine*, 1916, p. 272, attributes the picture of Cesi to Giuliano da Rimini; it really does show a slight connection with the Riminese school.

Glancing back at the movement which took place in Rome at the end of the 13th century, it is clear that through the evolution of certain forms the way was prepared for the birth of Giotto's art. On one hand Cavallini replaced the traditional composition of the Byzantine school by the beautiful plasticity inspired by antique sculpture, and on the other, the old dramatic narrative representation had been purified and transformed into paintings which revealed, not only the realistic, but also the artistic side, of human psychology. The combination of these two in Giotto's art acquires a new and still more artistic form, and when a prolonged period of spiritual poverty sets in in Rome with the exodus of the Popes, Giotto brings to Florence the great artistic tradition, which, like his own talent, had originated and developed in the Eternal City.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Without attempting to complete the list of pre-Giottesque paintings in Italy, I should still like to mention some works of the 13th century, and a few of even earlier date, all of which are but little known. Many of them are to be found in *Lombardy*, and have been described at length by Sig. Toesca in his "Pittura e miniatura nella Lombardia". The most important are those in Milan⁽¹⁾. The Archaeological Museum possesses two detached frescoes (nos. 74 and 75), representing the Madonna and Child and St. John the Baptist. Several fragments adorn the court of S. Ambrogio; the best preserved are a Madonna, a figure called Bonamicus Taverna, a bishop in benediction, and a representation of the Saviour. The last is the oldest, and might date from the restoration made in 1267; the others belong to the later part of the 13th century⁽²⁾. In the church of S. Eusturgio we find, on the second pillar to the left, a female martyr, and on the last pillar to the right, part of a Crucifixion, both of about the year 1300; on the fourth pillar to the left, a painting of the Madonna and Child dates from half a century earlier. Remains of figures still adorn the wall near the right lateral door of Sta. Babila. Frescoes there belonging to the end of the 13th century, but still betraying a Byzantine influence, are preserved in the Torre di Ansperto, near the Monastero Maggiore⁽³⁾. Cavalcaselle dated them about 1200. The principal representations are the Crucifixion and the Stigmatization of St. Francis. In the last years of the 13th century the apse of the "Chiesa Rossa" has been adorned with a less Byzantine-looking fresco of the Lord in a mandorla, between saints and the four symbols of the Evangelists⁽⁴⁾. Some figures in the tower of S. Marco are executed after the same manner⁽⁵⁾. An enthroned Madonna in

(1) *Toesca*, op. cit., pp. 124, 141², 150, 151, 174, 175.

(2) *Toesca*, p. 136 et seq, figs 91—95.

(3) *U Nebbia* in the Rassegna d' Arte, 1911, p. 15

(4) *Toesca*, op. cit, fig. 123

(5) *Toesca*, fig. 124.

S. Celso is more Byzantine in appearance and dates from about the middle of the 13th century⁽¹⁾.

In the neighbourhood of Milan, the chapel of the cemetery of Chiara-valle contains some fresco remains, and the church of SS. Faustino e Giovita at Lambrate, a Madonna of the beginning of the 13th century⁽²⁾.

To the north of Milan we find near Como, in the church of S. Vincenzo, at Galliano, a Byzantine fresco of the Madonna and Child enthroned amidst saints, dating from the later 13th century⁽³⁾. Belonging to the same artistic tradition, but earlier, and of rougher execution, are some figures of saints in the apse of the church of Piona⁽⁴⁾, while some unattractive paintings in the apse of the oratory of Solbiate date, according to an incomplete inscription, from between 1290 and 1300⁽⁵⁾.

The frescoes in the church of Agliate would be of extraordinary importance if they were not entirely repainted. There are cycles of scenes from the Book of Genesis and the Gospels, no doubt dating from the 11th century, and resembling those of Galliano⁽⁶⁾.

Crossing the frontier and penetrating into Switzerland, we still find some frescoes⁽⁷⁾. Those at Morcote⁽⁸⁾, on the lake of Lugano, belong to the beginning of the 13th century; they include a Crucifixion, a Madonna, and a figure of a bishop, perhaps Guglielmo delle Torre, who founded this small church in the early years of the Duecento. The spirit of these works is very Byzantine.

In the Ticino, three representations of St. Christopher, all of the first half of the 13th century, are to be found at Montecarasso, Biasca⁽⁹⁾ and Baveno. Some remains of mural decoration are still visible in S. Ambrogio at Antoliva⁽¹⁰⁾, while some purely ornamental fragments are preserved in the castle of Magliaso at Ponte Tresa⁽¹¹⁾.

In the eastern part of Lombardy an important fresco of the end of

(1) *Toesca*, fig. 82. Sig. Toesca classes it with 12th century work.

(2) *Toesca*, fig. 83 This fresco is also ascribed to the 12th century.

(3) *Toesca*, fig. 97.

(4) *Toesca*, pp. 127 note and 143 note.

(5) *Toesca*, p. 150 note

(6) *Toesca*, p. 67 note

(7) *Toesca*, pp. 99, 141, 142 note.

(8) *J.R.Rahn*, Die Mittellaterl. Wandgemal. in der Italien. Schweiz, Mittheil. der Antiquar. Gesellsch. in Zurich, XXI, p. 10.

(9) *Rahn*, p. 13.

(10) *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 142 note 2

(11) *Rahn*, op. cit., p. 15.

the 13th century, in the old Cathedral of Bergamo, depicts the members of the Confraternity of Charity distributing gifts⁽¹⁾. In the drapery of the figures the Byzantine influence is very evident. The church of S. Giorgio of Almenno S. Salvatore, near this city, contains some frescoes, the most important of which is that of the Last Supper⁽²⁾. Although perhaps slightly later in date to the previous works, they appear more archaic. A figure of a woman in the same church is considerably older.

South of Milan, in the church of S. Francesco at Lodi, the fourth pillar to the left is decorated with a representation of the stigmatization of the patron saint; it is a work of the late 13th century and betrays a Northern Gothic influence⁽³⁾. In the church of S. Bassiano, we find frescoes representing the Lord in a mandorla, the Evangelists, and a row of Apostles of about 1260—70⁽⁴⁾.

In S. Michele, Pavia, there are also some remains of 13th century wall painting.

Some works of slightly later date are preserved in the Cathedral of Piacenza; one, in the apse, depicts the Resurrection of the Dead, while in the left transept we find a representation of St. George killing the dragon⁽⁵⁾. In the apse of S. Michele at Cremona, some important fragments of a rudely executed fresco of the Last Judgment enable us to assign this decoration to about the year 1300. The church of Sta. Lucia in the same city contains some coarsely executed paintings in the Byzantine style⁽⁶⁾. At Mantua traces of much older frescoes — perhaps of the 11th century — still exist in the church of S. Lorenzo. The sacristy of the Gradaro church in the same town is adorned with some imposing frescoes of decadent Byzantine style; the most important is a representation of the Last Supper⁽⁷⁾.

Piedmont is poor in primitive paintings. At Novara a frieze in the town hall is also of the 12th century⁽⁸⁾, while a fragment in the cathedral cloister is of the 13th⁽⁹⁾; both represent battle scenes. In the

⁽¹⁾ *Toesca*, op. cit., fig. 104.

⁽²⁾ *Toesca*, op. cit., fig. 103.

⁽³⁾ *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 151 ^{note 3}

⁽⁴⁾ *D. Sant' Ambrogio*. Lodi Vecchio, p. 26, pls. XVII—XVIII

⁽⁵⁾ *Venturi*, op. cit., III, p. 417. *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 150

⁽⁶⁾ *Toesca*, op. cit., fig. 102 and p. 127 ^{note}

⁽⁷⁾ *Toesca*, fig. 36.

⁽⁸⁾ *Toesca*, p. 155.

⁽⁹⁾ *Venturi*, op. cit., III, p. 418.

tower of S. Giusto at Susa we find some traces of figures of knights in black, probably dating from the 11th century. Not far from there the apse in the monastery of Novalesse is adorned with a fresco, the composition of which reminds us of the Roman mosaics. The centre is occupied by a jewelled cross, and the vault by a figure of the Saviour, blessing in the Greek manner, enthroned between bejewelled arch-angels carrying globes with the Constantinian monogram. At a lower level, SS. Nicholas and Eldred are represented with two miniature figures of monks at their feet. Incidents from the lives of these saints and some from that of St. Myra are also illustrated⁽¹⁾.

The cloister of the Abbey of Vezzolano still preserves some of its late 13th century decoration. Amongst the frescoes, we find represented the Crucifixion, knights before skeletons, the contrast of the three living and the three dead, two images of the Lord in glory, one surrounded by the Gospel symbols, and two paintings of the Madonna, one between angels, the other with saints⁽²⁾.

Besides the frescoes of Manfredino di Alberto da Pistoia with which we have already dealt, we find in *Liguria* other 13th century paintings in the Cathedral of Genoa. The principal picture is one of St. George on horseback; it is a work of good quality and belongs to the Byzantine tradition. In a lunette the half figure of the Virgin is seen, holding the Child in an affectionate attitude between two saints⁽³⁾.

At Albenga, in the cemetery of Campochiese, the church of S. Giorgio contains at the end of the lateral nave some remains of 12th century frescoes, and a series of scenes from the story of a holy bishop, of a hundred years later. Just outside Genoa, in the church of S. Pier d' Arena, the Lord surrounded by the symbols of the Evangelists and the Elders of the Apocalypse are represented on the chancel arch. On the left hand wall we find fragments of the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Flight into Egypt and the Last Supper. Judging from these remnants the decoration probably dates from the 12th century⁽⁴⁾.

From Lombardy, going towards the east, we come to Verona, where a certain number of 13th century works are preserved, but they are not of very high quality. Most of them adorn the church of S. Zeno; on

⁽¹⁾ *C. Cipolla*, Monumenta Novalicensis Vetustoria, I, Roma, 1908.

⁽²⁾ *L. Motta Ciaccio*, Gli affreschi di S. Maria di Vezzolano, L'Arte, XIII, 1910, p. 335.

⁽³⁾ *Il Duomo di Genova*, Milano, 1910, p. 15.

⁽⁴⁾ *P. Toesca*, L'Arte, 1906, p. 459.

the walls of the church itself are found the Baptism of Christ, the Resurrection of Lazarus (fig. 316), the Last Supper, the Saviour enthroned as Judge, the Madonna between SS. Zeno and Catherine, and many fragments⁽¹⁾. These frescoes are ordinary products of the Italo-Byzantine school of the second half of the 13th century. A Madonna, preserved in the crypt, is of monumental aspect; while in the tower of



Fig. 316. Resurrection of Lazarus, second half of the XIII century. S. Zeno, Verona. Photo Anderson

the church there are also some remains of mural painting. Above the entrance a fresco of the Last Judgment has been discovered⁽²⁾.

An important fresco in a small court between the cathedral and the baptistery belongs to the second half of the 13th century. It represents the enthroned Madonna escorted by St. Francis, whose pendant on the other side has disappeared. Some figures of saints are preserved

⁽¹⁾ *Biadego*, Verona, Bergamo, 1914, p. 76.

⁽²⁾ *Cronaca dei restauri etc.* dell' Ufficio regionale ora soprintendenza dei monumenti di Venezia, Venice, 1912, p. 263.

on the left wall, and in the apse of the baptistery, under one of the former, we read the name of St. Giles, and under one of the latter, that of St. Nicholas. Some detached frescoes have been brought from the chapel excavations on Mount Scaglione or Castiglione to the gallery of this town. Their rough workmanship gives them an archaic appearance, but I do not think they are anterior to the beginning of the 13th century ⁽¹⁾.



Fig. 317. Descent from the Cross, Venetian school, towards 1300. SS. Apostoli, Venice Photo Alinari

Profane representations, but of a later date, are preserved at *Treviso* in the Loggia dei Lanzi ⁽²⁾. Copies of them now adorn a porch of the town museum. The spirit of these decorations is illustrative of the romances of mediæval chivalry of Northern Europe. In the chapter room of S. Niccolo of the same town, a Crucifixion of the last years of the 13th century is reminiscent of Byzantium. SS. Peter and Paul stand next the Virgin and St. John. The central figure is peculiar

⁽¹⁾ *G. Trecca*, *Catalogo della Pinacoteca Comun. di Verona*, Bergamo, 1912, p. 112, assigns them to the 12th century. *Maffei*, *Verona Illustrata*, III, col. 43, mentions several other works of the 12th and 13th centuries, which existed at his time.

⁽²⁾ *von Schlosser*, *Tommaso da Modena etc.*, *Jahrb. der Kunsthist. Samml. des Allerh. Kaiserhauses*, 1898

in that the curve of the body is towards the right, instead of the left, as is usually the case.

At *Padua*, some unimportant fragments of frescoes of the 13th century still exist in a chapel on the right of the nave of the Eremitani church.

The SS. Apostoli church in *Venice* contains two fine frescoes; they represent the Descent from the Cross (fig. 317) and the Entombment, and are the works of an artist, who, although active about the year 1300, betrays the influence of the Byzantine tradition in the treatment of his drapery (¹).

Also in the Tempietto of *Cividale*, there are some frescoes of the 13th century, the most important of which are a row of five saints, a holy bishop enthroned between two nimbused clerics and scenes concerning a holy monk.

In the crypt of the Cathedral of *Aquileia* there are some important frescoes, which Sig. Testi assigns to the date of the foundation (1031), and to the Benedictine school of Montecassino (²). This date, it is true, is found under one of these paintings, that representing the Emperor Conrad, his wife Giselda, their son Henry, and other figures, but the inscription alludes only to the foundation and not to the mural decoration. Another fresco depicts the patriarch Popon, who ordered the construction of the church, Henry III, and two saints. Others show us St. Peter consecrating the holy Ermagoras as bishop, the Crucifixion (fig. 318) and the Descent from the Cross. They are important Italo-Byzantine works, of stereotyped but subtle composition, and full of dramatic feeling. Their style, as well as their iconographical development, excludes the possibility of the date of their execution being prior to 1200.

In *Zara*, the church of S. Francesco possesses a crucifix showing the Lord with open eyes, the Virgin, St. John and angels in the terminals, which apparently dates from the early years of the 13th century. A similar crucifix is preserved in the church of S. Michele of the same town. Some primitive figures of saints which once adorned the church of S. Gregorio have disappeared (³).

In *Emilia* we find, in the Bishop's Palace at Parma, a good Italo-

(¹) *A. Moschetti*, *L'Arte*, 1904, p. 396, attributes these to the 14th century.

(²) *L. Testi*, *Storia della pittura Veneziana*, I, p. 94.

(³) *A. Dudan*, *La Dalmazia nell' arte Italiana*, I, Milano, 1921, pp. 90, 121, 128.



Fig 318. Crucifixion, *circa* 1200. Crypt of the Cathedral of Aquileia.

Photo Alinari

Byzantine painting of about the middle of the 13th century, representing the Lord in benediction between the Virgin and St. John⁽¹⁾. A very important detached fresco, executed in the monumental Italo-

⁽¹⁾ *L. Testi*, Pier Ilario e Michele Mazzola, note sul pitt Parmegiana del 1250 al fine del XV sec, *Bollet. d'Arte del Minist. del. Pubbl. Istr.*, 1910, p 53.

Byzantine manner, many examples of which are preserved in Central Italy, is found in the small museum belonging to the church of S. Stefano, Bologna. It represents the Massacre of the Innocents, and Sta. Juliana. In the court behind S. Stefano some traces of 13th century decoration remain visible on the facade of Sta. Trinita, in the apse of which church remnants of considerably older frescoes are seen while in the court to the right of this and near the entrance, fragments of a fine Italo-Byzantine fresco of the latter part of the 13th century represent a beardless Saviour (?) amidst the Apostles. Three panels, decorated on either side with a series of monks, still exist in the second chapel to the right in Sta. Maria della Purificazione. They seem to be of slightly later date. The apse of S. Vittore contains some much older paintings; the principal figure is that of the patron saint.

The Cathedral of Modena possesses some unimportant frescoes of the end of the 13th century. They adorn the entrance wall and a niche in the right-hand wall, and show the Saviour, an enormous figure of St. Christopher, and St. Peter; on the same wall near the apse we see still two figures of saints. Fragmentary frescoes on the facade of the Cathedral of Reggio, and in the apse of the Sagra of Carpi, are also insignificant.

Entering *Tuscany*, we find, in the Gallery of Pistoia, a detached fresco of the Madonna and Child. It is a rough work, drawn in white with brown outlines, and probably dates from the beginning of the 13th century. Amongst the frescoes, recently discovered in S. Domenico at Arezzo, at least three figures of saints — SS. Peter, Paul and Dominic — date from the 13th century.

A fragment of a Madonna, against an architectural background, which adorns the second altar to the right in the Carmine church of Siena, is in type not unlike Guido's figures.

A small, roughly executed Crucifixion belonging to the S. Francesco church at Lucignano is reminiscent of Giunta Pisano.

In *Umbria* should still be mentioned a fragment of 12th century fresco in the Gallery of Perugia; it depicts the martyrdom of a saint and is clearly Romanesque in style. In a room adjoining the Cathedral of Assisi, I found two detached fragments of frescoes, both showing the head of the Madonna. One is roughly executed in the Romanesque style, and dates from about 1200, the other is about a hundred years later and represents the Madonna resting her head on her hand; it no doubt formed part of a Crucifixion. In a chapel to the left of the choir in S.

Pietro of Assisi we find a decoration, interesting because it is an example of profane painting on the walls of a church. The decoration consists of four medallions, in which are represented a hunter and his dogs chasing a stag and a hare. Above and below are the figures of St. John the Baptist and a bishop in benediction. The intrados of the arch which leads from this chapel to the apse is decorated with a garland supported by an imp-like figure.

In the church of S. Tommaso dei Capischi of Foligno some traces of important frescoes by divers artists are visible. On the right wall remain a finely drawn Madonna, and some more roughly executed figures of saints — amongst them Mary Magdalene — and on the left a representation of the Descent from the Cross. They may be ascribed to the end of the 13th century. In the same town, above the old entrance to S. Domenico, now within the precincts of the Confraternity del Crocifisso, there is to be found a fresco of the Madonna, seated on a wide throne. The style of execution is purely Romanesque. In the church of the small village of Borroni, near Foligno, I saw some unimportant fragments of mural painting of the end of the 13th century, belonging to the Byzantine tradition.

The library of the Seminary at Nocera Umbra contains a small Italo-Byzantine panel. It shows the figure of St. John Chrysostom in episcopal vestments, and the execution is extremely fine.

Spoletto affords us several examples of 12th and 13th century painting, besides those we have already dealt with. A recently discovered fresco in the central apse of the Crocifisso church might date from the first half of the 12th century; it represents the enthroned Madonna holding the Child Jesus, in an attitude of benediction, on her left knee. Two angels flying behind, hold the back of the throne; a saint in a green robe stands with uplifted hands, on the right. In the lateral apses little more than large diamond-shaped ornaments are visible.

Other paintings of this period are yet to be seen in the apse of S. Gregorio, where seven pairs of feet and the lower parts of the legs, six to the right and one to the left are remains of a large composition. On the wall by the steps to the right, an enthroned Madonna somewhat resembles those of Guido da Siena, only the attitude is more affectionate. The Child is seated on the Virgin's left arm, which is covered with a cloth; He presses His face against that of the Virgin, who raises her right hand. The back of the throne is hung with

wreaths, and adorned with columns; of the little angels who fly towards it, only the one on the right remains. Artistically the work is of little value, being crude with heavy outlines. Some figures on the entrance wall belong to the beginning of the 13th century; those that have not been covered over by later paintings, seem to represent the Holy Women at the Empty Sepulchre. The design is very stiff, and the garments are studded with gems. Still at Spoleto we find, on the exterior of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, an enthroned Madonna; it is a coarsely executed and damaged work. On the entrance, or right wall of this chapel are the standing figures of St. Margaret,



Fig. 319 SS. Margaret, Michael and Tadeus, beginning of the XIII century SS Giovanni e Paolo, Spoleto

Photo Minist Public Istr.

crowned between two archangels — one obviously St. Michael with the dragon — St. Tadeus, and another saint (fig 319); the names, except that of the last, are written on the border. The execution is rough, the lines broad and the folds too prominent. Although dating from the first years of the 13th century, they have obviously been inspired by the paintings that Sotio made in this chapel in the 12th

century. Besides an important figure of St. Francis, we find on the wall opposite part of an Assumption. The Virgin is depicted seated in a mandorla carried by angels; two of the original four alone remain. St. Thomas, kneeling below, receives the holy girdle (fig. 320). These frescoes are of a much higher artistic value, and belong to the late years of the 13th century.

At Todi, in S. Niccolo in Cryptas, fragments of an Annunciation of the early 13th century remain on one of the pillars. The seated Madonna and the angel, with widespread wings, approaching from the left, are still discernible. A projecting piece of wall in the same church is decorated with a crowned Madonna seated on a marble throne and nursing the Child. The lack of skill on the part of the artist, rather than the age of the painting, accounts for its archaic aspect; it is not prior to 1300. In the "Granda Sala di Consiglio" of the town hall, a few traces

of 13th century frescoes are still visible. On the left wall we find some remnants of a representation of a tourney and a seated male figure. In the left upper corner of the same room are the two figures of the Annunciation; the Madonna sits holding a spindle — an Oriental iconographical detail — and the angel approaches from the right. The fragmentary figure of St. Michael, holding scales and spear is visible on the end wall. The style and colour of these figures, and of the



Fig. 320. The Assumption and St. Francis, last years of the XIII century, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Spoleto. Photo Minist. Publ. Istr.

ornamental frieze above, remind one strongly of the artist who executed the large detached frescoes in the Pinacoteca of Fabriano.

In the ruined church of S. Niccolo at San Gemini there are some unimportant traces of a Madonna against a tapestried background. The only interest of this work lies in the now almost effaced inscription, which gives the name of the artist, "*Magistro Rogero Tutertino*" (of Todi) and the date, 1295⁽¹⁾

At Narni, on a pillar to the right, in S. Domenico, a very roughly

⁽¹⁾ *M. Guardabassi*, *Indice-Guida dei monumenti etc dell Umbria, Perugia*, 1878, p. 92

executed Madonna, between two angels, belongs to the Romanesque tradition and may date from the year 1190. Amongst some later works decorating other pillars in this church, two representations of the Virgin, and some figures of saints of the end of the 13th century, may be discovered. The church of S. Salvatore at Terni contains a figure of St. Paul of the same period.

A detached fresco of the Madonna and Child of the Maesta type is preserved in a chapel to the left in the Cathedral of Rieti. It may date from about 1300, but its repainted condition prevents us from confirming this suggestion.

At Orvieto, on the other side of Umbria, some 13th century frescoes still exist. In S. Giovenale, where much of the decoration is of later date, we find a fresco of the Madonna between a holy bishop and another saint on the entrance wall; the Annunciation, the Visitation and the figure of a bishop on the first pillar to the right; the Crucifixion, with the Virgin, SS. John, Dominic, Francis and another saint on the corresponding pillar on the left — the central figure is reminiscent of the crucifix possibly by Salerno di Coppo in the Cathedral Museum — and on the right wall, over the steps which lead to the choir, an isolated head. All these belong to the end of the 13th century; they are roughly executed and betray traces of Byzantine influence. A niche in the left wall of the Cathedral is decorated with a figure on horseback of about the same period. The apse of S. Lorenzo contains a large figure of the Saviour enthroned between the Virgin, St. Lawrence, St. John the Apostle and St. Francis; two angels swinging censers stand behind the throne. Although the work is entirely repainted, some details betray the fact that the original belongs to the late monumental Italo-Byzantine form of art.

In the province of *The Marches*, the church of S. Francesco in Mercatello possesses a fine panel of the Madonna carrying the Child on her right arm in the attitude of benediction⁽¹⁾. This is a product of the Italo-Byzantine manner of about 1270—80; the colouring is bright. A slight connection, however, is evident between this panel and those made around Florence at a somewhat later date, for example the Madonna of Mosciano. An interesting feature of this picture is the signature of the artist, "*Bonaventura Mu(c)haelis*".

The convent of Beata Mattia of Matelica owns another panel of the

(1) *L. Venturi*, *A traverso Le Marche*, *L'Arte*, 1915, p. 2.

Virgin as well as a painted crucifix; the latter is of a very wooden design and neither is of great significance.

Important frescoes in the church of S. Vittorio at Ascoli-Piceno represent the Saviour mounting the Cross and the mourning over His dead body; these paintings are rough, but executed with great spontaneity ⁽¹⁾. Some less important mural decoration is found in S. Rufino near Amandola ⁽²⁾, while in the crypt of S. Lorenzo at San Severino a few fragments — some half-figures and traces of others — are all that remain of what once must have been a fine work. They belong to the last stage of the Italo-Byzantine manner, and were probably executed slightly before the end of the 13th century.

Some very important remnants of frescoes, probably of the 11th century, are to be found in the church-yard of S. Decenzio at Pesaro. They represent figures of saints, some in clerical attire, and are of purely Romanesque workmanship.

North of Rome, interesting, but far from beautiful frescoes of about the year 1300, still exist in S. Giovanni in Argentilla, near Palombara; in one we see William of Aquitania leading his army against the monastery of Clairvaux, and in another St. Bernard appearing with the Eucharist, before which, according to the legend, the horses should kneel, but here the artist has depicted them sitting on their haunches. A third shows us the saint with kneeling worshippers ⁽³⁾. Some very old paintings are still preserved in the church of S. Silvestro on Mount Soracte. It is possible that the figure of a saint in sacerdotal vestments dates from the foundation of the church, the construction of which was ordered by Pepin the Short, who came to Italy in 756.

The Museum of Viterbo possesses two detached frescoes, both of the Madonna; the one, in which she is enthroned, is very much restored; the other, which shows us the half-length figure of the Virgin and the Child in an affectionate pose, has many points in common with North Tuscan paintings of the end of the 13th century (fig. 321).

The S. Benedetto church in *Rome* contains in a chapel to the right of the choir, a Madonna with four adorers at her feet; she is

⁽¹⁾ *C. Cantalamessa*, *Pitture romaniche in Ascoli Piceno*, *Nuova Rivista Misen*, III, 1890, p. 101. *C. Mariotti*, *Ascoli-Piceno*, Bergamo, 1913, p. 62.

⁽²⁾ *P. Ferranti*, *Pitture romaniche in S. Rufino in Amandola*, *Nuova Rivista Misen*, 1890, p. 38.

⁽³⁾ *A. Colasanti*, *L'Amene*, Bergamo, 1906, p. 29.

seated on a throne without any back. It is a work of the middle of the 13th century (1).

In the apse of what was formerly the church of Sta. Maria in Campo Marzio but is now used as a storeroom for state archives, the vault is decorated with a figure of the Lord between two saints. It is a work of the end of the 13th century and seems to be entirely unknown.

At *Tivoli* some decorative frescoes of the late 13th century are found in the choir of S. Francesco, and, in a lunette in S. Vincenzo, the bust of a saint.



Fig. 321. Madonna, detached fresco, end of XIII century. Museum, Viterbo
Photo Mimist Pubbl Istr.

To the *south of Rome*, we find in the palace of Boniface VIII (1294—1303) at Anagni some ornamental paintings (2). Terracina possesses in the church of S. Domenico figures of SS. Peter and Dominic, as well as some heads, all of the 13th century. To this period also belongs the fresco of the hermit bringing clothes to Mary Magdalene in her cave, in the Grotto Ascemicali (3).

In the *Abruzzi*, in the town of Antrodoco, some very faded figures of saints, in the bell-tower of the cemetery church, date from the beginning of the 13th century. Traces of frescoes in the apse may be contemporary. Some mural decoration in the church of S. Giusto at Bazzano, at a short distance from Aquila, is still older. The most important figure is that of an enthroned Madonna holding the Child in the centre of her lap; it probably dates from the 12th century.

Other paintings of this period are found in a lunette in S. Paolo of Prata Ansidonia; they comprise a badly damaged row of saints, amongst

(1) *A. Munoz*, *L'Arte*, 1905, p. 60.

(2) *Bollet. d'Arte del Minis. della Pubbl. Istr.*, 1921—1922, p. 390

(3) *A. Rossi*, *Terracina*, Bergamo, 1912, p. 109.

whom St. Paul is recognizable, and several small scenes on either side. Some figures of saints adorn the apse of S. Pietro ad Oratorium at Capistrano; each of them is enclosed in an arcade. They are more refined and at the same time more archaic than the others, and may be slightly older ⁽¹⁾.

In *Naples*, the church of S. Domenico contains a panel of the titular saint, probably dating from about 1300.

In *Apulia*, painting of this period, apart from the Byzantine grotto decoration, is scarce. The high altar of Sta. Maria del Casale at Brindisi is decorated with a repainted panel of the Madonna, in half-figure, with the Child. It is a purely Italian work of the end of the 13th century.

At Bisceglie there exists in the Sta. Margherita church a diptych of the 13th century representing SS. Margaret and Nicholas; the crypt of S. Nicola of Bari contains a panel representing this saint with other figures around ⁽²⁾.

In *Sicily*, too, paintings previous to the 14th century are rare. G. Di Marzo ⁽³⁾, it is true, mentioned a certain number of works dating from the 11th century onward, but when he wrote, many had already disappeared; since, others have been lost, while many — especially the panels, — have been proved to be of much later date.

In Palermo an important series of frescoes must have once decorated the church of the Sette Angeli. Some wall paintings of the 12th century are still visible in S. Giovanni degli Eremiti of the same city. Amongst them the Virgin, enthroned between SS. James and John the Apostle, is still recognizable. The style is more or less analogous to that of contemporary Sicilian mosaics. Perhaps the frescoes in the small church of Sta. Cristina "la Vetere", of which faint traces are still visible, were of the same date and manner. A panel of Abraham kneeling before three angels, in the sacristy of Sta. Trinita della Magione, has been attributed to the middle of the 12th century, without any sufficient reason. It is a Greek picture of considerably later date ⁽⁴⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *P. Piccirelli*, Rassegna d'Arte, 1914, p. 23. *V. Bindi* speaks in his "Monumenti storici e artistici degli Abruzzi," 2 vols, Naples, 1889, of several frescoes which he attributes to this early period, his dating however is unreliable.

⁽²⁾ *M. Salmi*, L'Arte, 1919, p. 152 ^{note 1}

⁽³⁾ *G. Di Marzo*, Delle Belle Arte in Sicilia, II, Palermo, 1859, p. 135.

⁽⁴⁾ *Di Giovanni*, Sopra un quadro del secolo XII etc. nella chiesa della Magione in Palermo, La Sicilia Artistica, Palermo, 1888, p. 9. *G. Di Marzo*, La pittura in Palermo nel Rinascimento, Palermo, 1899, p. 25. *A. Venturi*, Storia dell'Arte, II, p. 386.

A Madonna in a niche in the church of S. Ippolito seems to have been painted before 1267. Another in the cloister of the Cathedral of Monreale has been ascribed to the period of the foundation, on account of the similarity it bears to the mosaics in the church (1).

The mosaic style seems also to have inspired the painter who executed the figures of saints in the Grotta della Sibila, or crypt of Sta. Maria della Grotta, at Marsala. These were mentioned by Di Marzo as being considerably damaged; now only very faint traces remain, but amongst them a Madonna can still be recognized.

In *Sardegna* the Badia of Sta. Trinita di Saccargia contains a fresco of the Lord in a mandorla carried by angels, in the midst of other figures; lower down the Twelve Apostles are depicted while other representations are seen below (2). Romanesque painting in *Sardegna* is still to be found in the S. Simplicio church of Terranova, and in Sta. Maria del Regna at Ardara.

Besides the artists whom I have already cited in the text, there are some other painters of the 13th century and earlier whose names have come down to us.

Following the same itinerary as before, we find in Lombardy a certain Guglielmo mentioned in Bergamo in 1296 (3).

Varni has recorded some artists who were active at Levanto in Liguria (4).

Maffei enumerates frescoes executed in Verona from 1123 onward (5), the following names of painters have been found: Ereburtus, in the 8th century, Pietro Beaquinus, 1184, Ognibene at the end of the 13th century, Poia, 1290—1308, Gerardino who made his will in 1317 (6). A painter called Pietro was active in Belluno in the 13th century (7). In Dalmatia mention is made of a certain Zorobabel at Zara and one, Buvina, at Spalato, both about 1200 (8).

(1) *Di Marzo*, op. cit., pp. 24 and 25.

(2) *D. Scano*, Storia dell' arte in Sardegna, dal XI al XIV secolo, Cagliari, 1907, p. 175.

(3) *Lanzi*, op. cit., II, p. 81.

(4) *Varni*, Appunti artistici sopra Levanto, Genoa, 1870, p. 108.

(5) *Maffei*, Verona illustr., III, col. 43.

(6) *V. Famelli*, Rivista Trentina, March 1910.

(7) *Lanzi*, op. cit., II, p. 80.

(8) *A. Dudan*, op. cit., I, p. 107.

ERRATA.

p. 86. The footnotes 2 and 3 together should form note 2 and the actual note 4 become note 3.

p. 97. The lines 3—7 from below, describing the frescoes in the oratory of the Quarante Martiri, should be suppressed.

p. 160. 8th line from below: Romagna. should read: region around Rome.

p. 352—58. To the group of Florentine Madonnas of the 2nd half of the 13th century which has been dealt with on pp. 352—58, another example which became known to me only after the printing of this volume should still be added. It is a half-figure of the Virgin holding the Child in an affectionate attitude, forming the centre of a triptych in the wings of which are represented the Annunciation, the Flagellation and the Crucifixion. The triptych belongs to the collection of Mr. de Gruneisen, Florence, who has published it as a work of Bonaventura Berlinghieri's in: *Studien zur Kunst des Ostens*, Josef Strzygowski zum zehntzigstem Geburtstag etc, Wien u. Hellaau, 1923, p. 204 and pl. XXIV.

p. 436. 9th line from below: 13th century, should read: 14th century.

At Ferrara, Gelasio di Niccolo della Masnada di S. Giorgio is found as court painter in 1242. Further information concerning him is also recorded (1). A picture of the early 15th century in the Gallery of Ferrara has been attributed to him. At Modena a painter Obizzo is documented in 1278 while Ugolino and Gerardino Berardi are named in 1279 (2).

Malvasia cites various Bolognese painters from 1178 onward; Signor Corrado Ricci has also published the records of a certain number (3) so that the list of Bolognese artists between the above date and 1286 is fairly considerable.

According to Rosini, a contemporary of Cimabue's, called Beliotto, worked in Sta. Maria Novella, Florence (4).

About 1230 Simeone and Machilon are found at Spoleto (5).

Rosini speaks of Tommaso degli Stefani who founded the Neapolitan school about 1250 and Filippo Tesauro whose artistic activities caused the further development of this school of painting (6)

(1) *Thieme Becker*, *Kunstler Lexikon*, XIII, p. 358.

(2) *G. Bertoni e P. Vicini*, Tommaso da Modena, Mem della R. Depart. di Stor. Patr. per le Prov. Modenesi, Ser. V, vol. III, 1903, p. 148.

(3) *C. Ricci*, Atti e mem della R. Dep di Stor Patr per la Romagna, IV, 1886, p. 50 *The Same*, Guida di Bologna, 5th ed., Bologna, p. 119. For Canellus pictor 1277-80 v. *Filippini*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1908, p. 124

(4) *G. Rosini*, op. cit., I, p. 210.

(5) *C. Bandini*, Spoleto, Bergamo, 1921, p. 63.

(6) *Rosini*, loc. cit.

INDICES

INDICES

An iconographical index, indicating New and Old Testament and hagiographical scenes and other important representations will be found at the end of volume V.

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ERRATA.

p. 86. The footnotes 2 and 3 together should form note 2 and the actual note 4 become note 3.

p. 97. The lines 3—7 from below, describing the frescoes in the oratory of the Quarante Martiri, should be suppressed.

p. 160. 8th line from below: Romagna. should read: region around Rome.

p. 352—58. To the group of Florentine Madonnas of the 2nd half of the 13th century which has been dealt with on pp. 352—58, another example which became known to me only after the printing of this volume should still be added. It is a half-figure of the Virgin holding the Child in an affectionate attitude, forming the centre of a triptych in the wings of which are represented the Annunciation, the Flagellation and the Crucifixion. The triptych belongs to the collection of Mr. de Gruneisen, Florence, who has published it as a work of Bonaventura Berlinghieri's in: *Studien zur Kunst des Ostens*, Josef Strzygowski zum zehntzigstem Geburtstag etc, Wien u. Hellaau, 1923, p. 204 and pl. XXIV.

p. 436. 9th line from below: 13th century, should read: 14th century.