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HISTORY OF DESIGN IN MURAL PAINTING

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES
TO THE TWELFTH CENTURY

*With an Introduction on the Art of the
Pre-Christian Period*

By N. H. J. WESTLAKE, F.S.A.

Author of "The History of Design in Painted Glass," etc., etc.

Four Hundred and Forty-three Illustrations

VOLUME TWO

FROM THE SECOND UNTIL THE TWELFTH CENTURIES, A.D.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

INTRODUCTION :

PREAMBLE OF THE VOLUME.

	PAGE
THE MADONNA OF S. LUKE, FROM S. MARIA MAGGIORE ; PAINTING FROM A JEWISH CEMETERY IN ROME ; DOORWAY OF A SYNAGOGUE AT SÛFSÂF ; PAINTINGS FROM A CEMETERY AT PALMYRA ; PAINTING OF A HEAD FROM A MUMMY CASE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY ; PAINTING OF A HEAD FROM ST. CLEMENT'S, ROME, OF THE FOURTH CENTURY ; MOSAIC OF ORPHEUS AND OTHER FIGURES, FROM JERUSALEM - - - - -	I

CHAPTER I.

THE ROMAN CEMETERY AND ROMAN ART ; THE CONDITION OF THE JEWS IN ROME ; ART IN THEIR CEMETERIES ; THE CONDITION OF ART IN EGYPT AND SYRIA ; THE SYROHELLENIC INFLUENCE ON THE LATER ART OF THE CATACOMBS, ESPECIALLY CONCERNING THE PORTRAITS OF OUR LORD ; THE PORTRAITS FROM (1) THE SACRISTY OF S. PETER'S AT ROME, (2) S. BARTHOLOMEW, GENOA, (3) S. SILVESTRO, ROME, (4) THE CEMETERY OF S. DOMITILLA, (5) THE CEMETERY OF GENEROSA, (6) THE CEMETERY OF S. CECILIA, (7) FROM S. PONZIANO, FROM CHIMAY ; THE OPINIONS OF S. BASIL AND S. AUGUSTINE ON THE PORTRAITS ; THE EARLY CRUCIFIXION, FROM THE SYRIAC MS. IN FLORENCE -	II
--	----

CHAPTER II.

MURAL PAINTINGS IN THE CEMETERIES AND CHURCHES OF ROME FROM ABOUT THE TIME OF CONSTANTINE TILL THE END OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.	
THE EFFECTS OF ROMAN AND BYZANTINE WORK UPON EACH OTHER ; IMPERIAL INFLUENCE ; THE GROWTH OF SYMBOLISM AND TYPES ; THE NIMBUS ; THE METHODS OF COMPOSITION ; THE EFFECT OF MOSAIC ; STAGNATION IN ROMAN AND ITALIAN ART ; PAINTINGS IN THE CEMETERIES OF THE VIA APPIA AND ARDENTINA, OF SS. AGNES, CALLISTUS, GENEROSA, VALENTINO, CORNELIUS, THE BAPTISTRY OF S. PONZIANO, THE CORRIDOR OF THE SENTINELS, AND FROM THE CHURCHES OF S. PETRUS IN VINCULIS, S. CECILIA. SS. GIOVANNI É PAULO, S. ANDREA IN BARBARA, S. MARIA ANTIQUA, S. CLEMENTE, AND S. URBANO A LA CAFFARELLA - - - - -	20

CHAPTER III.

MURAL PAINTINGS IN NORTH AND SOUTH ITALY.

THE CEMETERIES (GROTTE), NAPLES ; THE BADIA, ON THE RIVIERA D'AMALFI ; BEATA MARIA DELLE FRATTE, NEAR CARPIGNIANO ; S. ANGELO IN FORMIS ; MONREALE ; CEFALÙ ; THE CAPELLA REALE, PALERMO ; S. MARIA LA LIBERA, FEROCCLAUDIO ; SAN SEPOLCRO, BARLETTA ; THE HEREMITIC CRYPTS OF S. GIOVANNI, S. LUCIA, S. VITO, AND S. BIAGIO, BRINDISI ; S. GIOVANNI DEGLI EREMITI, PALERMO ; S. STEFANO, BOLOGNA - - - - -	58
---	----

CHAPTER IV.

MURAL PAINTING IN EUROPEAN AND ASIATIC GREECE, WITH SOME ILLUSTRATIONS OF COPTIC AND SCLAVONIC ART.

	PAGE
PAINTINGS FROM SEPULCHRES IN KERTCH ; ILLUSTRATIONS FROM MANUSCRIPTS OF THE SEVENTH AND TENTH CENTURIES ; S. GEORGE'S, THESSALONICA ; S. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE, &c. ; THE PARTHENON, THE HOLY VIRGIN (MEGALE PANAGIA), AND OTHER CHURCHES IN ATHENS ; S. LUKE OF STIRIS, IN PHOCIA ; DAPHNE ; TWO MSS. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM AND ONE IN PARIS ; S. MICHAEL'S (ASOMATOS TAXIARCHES), ATHENS ; ATHOS : COPTIC ART, THEBES ; S. SIMEON AT ASSOUAN ; ABOU HERMES ; SCLAVONIC ART, KIEV	84

CHAPTER V.

MURAL PAINTING IN FRANCE.

THE CHURCHES OF S. SAVIN (VIENNE) ; S. JEAN, NÔTRE DAME, AND S. HILAIRE POITIERS (VIENNE) ; VIC (INDRE-ET-LOIRE) ; MONTOIRE (LOIRE-ET-CHER) ; S. MARTIN DE LAVAL, LIGET (INDRE-ET-LOIRE) ; PETIT QUEVILLY, S. CHEF, S. DESIRÉ (ALLIER) ; PONCE, MONT-SANNÈS (LOT-ET-GARONNE) ; S. MICHAELS, RACAMODOUR (LOT)	115
--	-----

CHAPTER VI.

GERMAN WALL PAINTING.

S. MICHAEL'S BURGFELDEN ; REICHENAU ; S. GEORGE'S, OBERZELL ; S. KATHERINE'S, HOCHEPAN ; THE BENEDICTINE ABBEY MARIENBERG ; S. MARIA ZUR HÖHE, SOEST ; S. MICHAEL'S, HILDESHEIM ; S. MARIA LYSKIRCHEN, COLOGNE ; THE UNDER CHURCH OF SCHWARTZ-RHEINDORF, NEAR BONN	129
--	-----

CHAPTER VII.

ENGLISH MURAL PAINTING TO THE END OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

INTRODUCTORY NOTES : ILLUSTRATIONS FROM MSS. AND SCULPTURE ; CANTERBURY ; CLAYTON ; COPFORD ; HARDHAM ; CHALDON ; CHICHESTER ; PATCHAM ; CLAVERLEY ; KEMPLEY ; WEST CHESTERTON ; PETERBOROUGH ; PITTINGTON ; DURHAM ; ROMSEY ; BINSTED AND ST. ALEANS. NOTES ON CHURCHES IN OTHER LOCALITIES	141
--	-----

CHAPTER VIII.

ORNAMENT.

ARRANGEMENT OF ORNAMENT IN THE CATACOMBS ; EARLY INSCRIPTIONS ; ROMAN ORNAMENT IN ENGLAND ; THE ROSETTE AND PALMETTE ; THE SWASTICA, FRET AND RIBAND ; THE DEGRADED ACANTHUS ; THE SCROLL ; COPTIC ORNAMENT ; INTERLACING ORNAMENT ; CELTIC DETAILS ; ENGLISH, DURHAM AND NEWMINSTER (WINCHESTER) WORK ; VARIOUS DETAILS SHOWING TRANSITION DESIGNS	176
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THE "MADONNA" OF S. LUKE, FROM
S. MARIA MAGGIORE, ROME.

(A short history of this picture is given by Padre Garucci, vol. iii., pp. 106, 107.)

INTRODUCTION.

PREAMBLE OF THE VOLUME.

THE MADONNA OF S. LUKE, FROM S. MARIA MAGGIORE; PAINTING FROM A JEWISH CEMETERY IN ROME; DOORWAY OF A SYNAGOGUE AT SÛFSÂF; PAINTINGS FROM A CEMETERY AT PALMYRA; PAINTING OF A HEAD FROM A MUMMY CASE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY; PAINTING OF A HEAD FROM ST. CLEMENT'S, ROME, OF THE FOURTH CENTURY; MOSAIC OF ORPHEUS AND OTHER FIGURES, FROM JERUSALEM.

THE preceding volume of this work covered the period when the arts were entirely under pagan domination, without a knowledge of which condition, that under the influence of Christianity cannot be understood. The period about which the reader will be concerned in this volume exhibits the gradual adaptation of the ancient styles of Art by the Christian artists of the various localities, the assimilation of the old symbols into their art, and the gradual use of such to teach Christian doctrines and to involve Christian ideas.

The gradual transformation of the old into the new, during what is commonly called the Byzantine period, is the most interesting, if not the most beautiful phase of Art under Christianity.

Although "Byzantine" may serve as a general expression, it insufficiently defines the many varieties of styles of the arts of the first twelve centuries.

This present volume is, I think, the first attempt to examine these traditions and to draw from them the comparative values of the arts as developed in the various new countries from the old ones, and to trace *ab origine* the forms of mediæval painting, and even of later Art, bringing that of our own country into line.

No one is more aware than myself of its deficiencies or of the difficulty of selecting and condensing, into the small space of this volume, researches of which a reasonable account might form a library. All that can be said for any

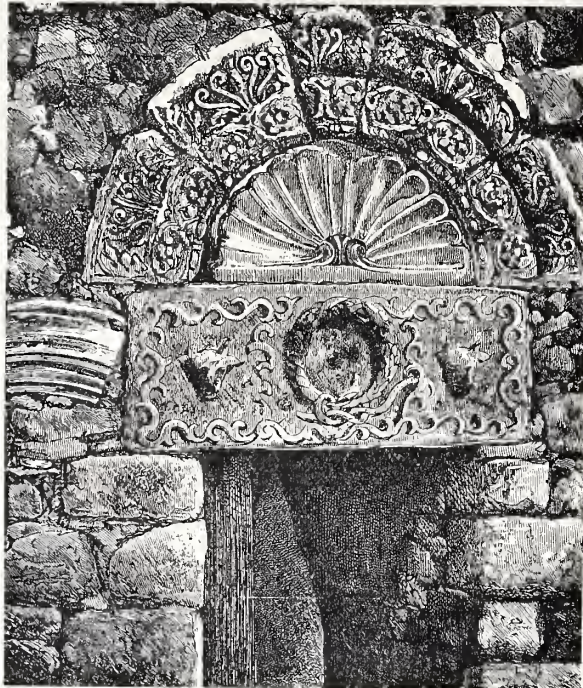
author under such circumstances is that he has used fair judgment, and I hope to deserve this meed of praise.

Although the phrase "Byzantine" is accepted and understood, it must be remembered that not only the immediate productions of Constantinople, but the greater portion of those that passed through that centre, as time went on, were of many diversities.

The notion which seems to possess many minds is that, under Christianity, a new sort of Art rapidly sprang up, and that "Christian art" immediately came into existence. On the contrary, the translation of forms and ideas into a new Art was very slow, and was not accomplished until probably the fifth or sixth century in any reasonable way. The various divisions of pagan cults each had their own symbolism; these different symbolisms were naturally used for a very long period by the new Christian nations to carry the new doctrines exactly as they carried the old ones. Little by little a selection from all the old forms was made, and such selected symbols, like selected phrases, were used to express common Christian ideas.

To take an example of such symbolism. Although much of the Art of Pompeii and Rome in the Imperial period was Alexandrine, many of the pagan artists themselves, possibly Italian subordinates, were ignorant of the meaning of some of the ornaments and drew the palmette carelessly; on the other hand, the Coptic Christians used this symbol of Horus, the sun rising in the new morning, in Christian Art exactly as their pagan ancestors had done, and to imply the same meaning; and on their various steles, or tombstones, it evidently means the resurrection of the

PLATE II.



FRAGMENTS OF THE DOOR OF A SYNAGOGUE AT SÛFSÂF. CIRCA A.D. 120.

dead* or the new life. In the same way it is sometimes attached to the Cross, one may suppose to signify the new life through the Cross. No less interesting than the palmette is the gradual development and transmission of the ancient sunrayed forms into the cruciform nimbus, or of the swastica, meander or fret, into a decoration for Christian churches, and, for the same purpose, of nearly every ancient symbol beautified by Art and consecrated by religious use. As a parallel, it has before been said, every student knows how the old words, such as that even of the name of

God Himself, have been converted.

Of the various localities having styles of ancient Art, each with its own characteristics, I have already mentioned the Alexandrine. Of this there were many phases; but whether under the Ptolemies, the Christian patriarchs, the Copts, or the Saracens, its styles were all tinged with ancient Egyptian traditions. The Alexandrine was thus probably the fountain-head from which Arab Art was ultimately developed, and we find many very ancient forms transmitted for centuries even into Europe. The early Christian Roman, and even the South Italian Art, became gradually a debased nationalised Alexandrine, until they again received continual renewals from other Eastern sources. The various phases Art assumed at certain periods and in many places are, some-

* See pp. 18, 29, 52-3-4, Plates and CLXV., CLXXIV., CLXXIX. of Vol. I. of this work, and in chapter iv. of this volume; also in *l'Art Copte*, par Al. Gayet (Paris, Leroux), plates, pp. 73, 74, 78, 81, 83, 85, 89, 96, 97.

In the chapters on Western Art it will be shown how the various forms of the palmette were used until the end of the twelfth century.

times erroneously, classed as Byzantine.

I repeat "sometimes erroneously," for it must be remembered that there were various ancient schools upon which the local arts, under Christian influences, were founded. That the free-flowing line of the designs of the Macedonian period* was to my mind the foundation of the Athenian Christian, the African Hellenic, and that of many Asiatic localities, has been suggested in these pages previously, but my impression is that the Byzantine Christian Art† grew upon a Byzantine pagan base, and from a more severe Hellenic school.

We shall therefore, in the course of the volume, have to attempt to distinguish between the schools of Christian Art, in successive periods of Athens, Rome, Alexandria, Constantinople, Ravenna, Cæsarea, Antioch, Athos, and of other places, and their influences in the formation of the Art of the new civilisations of the West.

The influence and the patronage of the Emperors of New Rome, such as Constantine and Valentinian; and of Theodoric the King, on the growth of the new Art received a rude check under Leo the Isaurian and Constantine V.; whilst the wholesale destruction of the works under their dominion has caused the most serious loss in following the history of Hellenic Art. Leo's capacity for government and the strength the new Empire assumed under his successors and the new Ma-

PLATE III.



PAINTING FROM A JEWISH CEMETERY AT
ROME. CIRCA A.D. 150.

cedonian line eventually, however,* gave such great advantages to the Christian position that when a reaction took place the patronage of Art revived in a most wonderful manner, and we may reckon the succeeding three centuries from the time of Leo as the period during which what may be really called "Christian Art," before developing into its mediæval style, took an advanced form, and more elaborated Christian subjects were conceived and painted.

Various circumstances tended to make the spreading abroad of Art at the end of this period still more remarkable. The principal one of these was the growth of the religious orders, especially those of S. Basil and S. Benedict, and the election of the Sovereign Pontiffs from the latter order during the eleventh century with their study and encouragement of the arts. This was assisted by the opportunities for their exhibition in the splendid

foundations made for the orders by such patrons as Charlemagne and other munificent persons. The assistance to this great revival given by the most able discrimination of the Sovereign Pontiff Gregory VII., and his friend Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino, afterwards Victor III., will be dwelt upon hereafter. Gregory himself was a Cluniac, and Desiderius a Cassinese, both Benedic-

* From the beginning of the eighth century, *temp.* Leo the Isaurian, to the beginning of the eleventh, the Constantinopolitan empire was very strong, the Iconoclasts and the Macedonians being most able. It beat back the Saracens and kept them at bay, and destroyed the Bulgars. It had the carrying trade between Asia and Western Europe. In the eleventh century symptoms of decline appeared, but John and Manuel Comnenus were distinguished for courage, warlike skill and culture. (See remarks by Mr. Tozer, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. ii., p. 241.)

* See the plates of various styles of ancient Art, pp. 5 to 21, and pp. 98, 99, Vol. I.

† See p. 101, Vol. I.

tines. The patronage and influence of Robert the Norman also subsequently strengthened the new movement. Western Europe (and, what is more important to us, England especially) shows to this day the indelible mark which the Religious Orders made upon it, concerning the Art of this country; the existing monuments are the solid evidence that they really established the great tradition of Christian Art here.

Of the establishment of the art of painting in England from the time of Benedict Biscop, a glimpse will hereafter be given, but it may be here most convenient to describe its character. From a variety of causes and influences, such as those of the Monastic Scriptorium and the designing for mosaic for larger edifices, leaving painting for subsidiary ones, painting had ceased to have any great technical value: it became a method of delineating on the walls. If any one compares the technical painting of the best work of the eleventh century with the commonest work at Pompeii, or even with the "chic" execution of the head on the mummy in the British Museum shown on Plate VII., this fact will be established in their experience.

In the eleventh century the Builder erected what may be called a painters' building; the large flat walls were easily and rapidly covered with fresco painting or work of a similar kind. These buildings had a broad and spacious appearance and their walls were easily kept clean, as there were no elaborate mouldings to cut up the breadth or accumulate dust. The rapid rise and growth of these buildings involved a rapid growth of artistic talent to cover them.

The religious knew their work: not only was it necessary to give some culture to the peoples amongst whom they lived, but the vital truths of Christianity had to be taught, and Art was the chosen language to teach them in.

It was impossible that everyone could have a manuscript. Manuscripts were laborious to produce, expensive, and beyond the means of most people, but, even had the printing press existed, the power of letters is feeble to convey an image with the speed and force of a picture. There was, therefore, another result involved: the art became essentially

descriptive, it had colour and form, and it was sought to make these harmonious and good, but educationally there was no need of pictorial effect: and it became, as it were, a literature, and in some countries and periods it degenerated into calligraphy.*

I think it will be made almost evident as the subject is pursued that the "Scriptorium" was the source of all design. There the monks consulted; there the Church was planned and the sculpture and painting designed: it was the learned source of the artisan's labour. It had serious drawbacks, as has much modern work carried on in a somewhat similar way: nearly all the imagination, technical excellence and colour sense of the artist was thrown away, he had to work to a recipe, and every design for technical work proceeded from one hand, though it was a hand certainly guided by many minds. The modern designer is not so assisted, and the result is not equal to that resulting from the monastic consultation. From this cause comes the receipt-like character and moderate execution of much modern wall-painting.

The reader may thus realise why religious Art never reached real technical excellence until a painter's period came again in the fourteenth century, when, under the great Art revival, artist and builder again began to co-operate, each considering the value of the other's labour with one sentiment and with the idea of producing one sublime effect.

Such was the condition of painting becoming during the later period of the era this volume covers. It is true that in this "Scriptorium" system, so conservative, so able, intellectual and learned, much of the poetry, grandeur, dignity and excellence of the antique was transmitted, but it is equally true that in later periods the faults of barbarism were equally conserved, until dispelled by the great Art revivals.

Nothing else, however, could or would have preserved to us the arts and literature of the past in the way that these "Scriptoria" did, and the civilised world, such as it is, must owe an obliga-

* See the remarks on Celtic MSS. in the chapter on English Art.

tion to them which it is impossible to pay. These monasteries probably contained designers and painters of many nationalities. In the ninth century the Benedictines had monasteries in Greece,* Italy,† England, France, Germany and elsewhere, and in them the artists were always associated with the learned: thus was culture and knowledge disseminated. It is unnecessary for me to pursue this phase of the Introduction further: details of all the points dwelt upon will be given in the chapters which follow. The reader will understand that it is necessary in

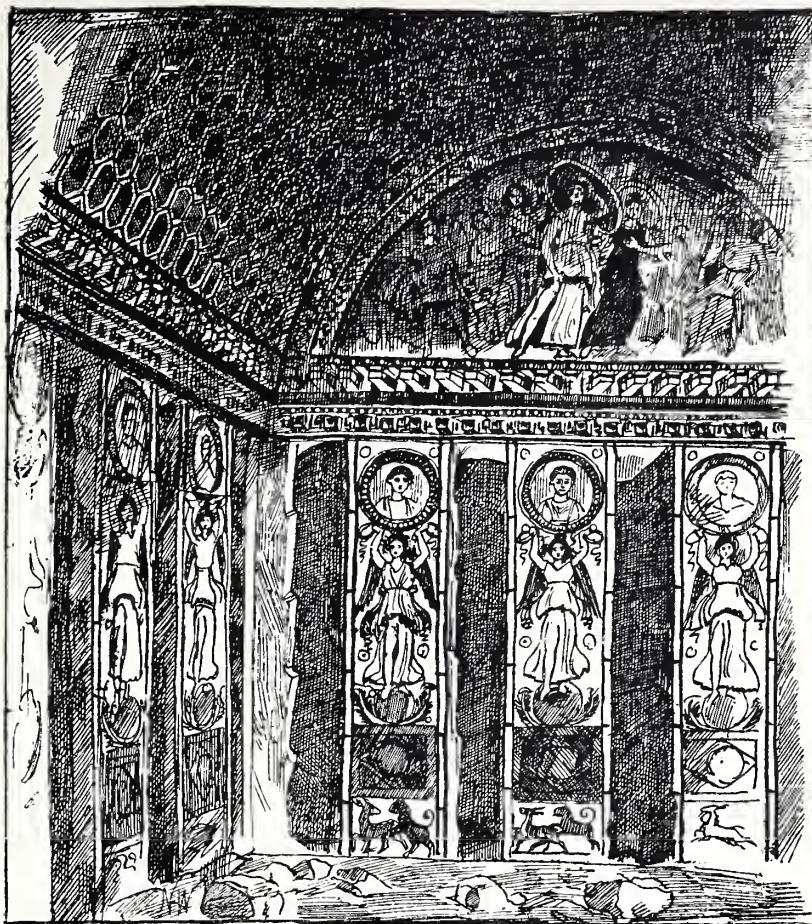
these volumes to include the painting of the roofs under the heading of Mural Painting. Some of the finest work is on the stone vaults or wooden roofs of the buildings, and the process of painting the latter is entirely different from wall-painting generally. Whereas, on the wall, from its power of absorption and other characteristics, processes can be practised in which the simple pigment only is necessary, or, if the wall is dry, some ordinary mordant: on the wood from the earliest period, that I know of, in the West,‡ oil has been

* Refer to *Proceedings of the Royal Institution of British Architects*, 1857-1858, p. 129, and appendix B to chapter iv.

† See for references the chapters on Italian, French, German and English Art.

‡ There is no foundation for the assertions of some historians that Van Eyck invented either oil painting or staining glass, examples of both of which date long before his time; both were practised long before he was born. These assertions are part of the common practice of assisting a great artist to a greater reputation by fictitious attributes.

PLATE IV.



PAINTINGS ON THE WALL OF ONE OF THE CHAMBERS OF A CEMETERY.
FROM PALMYRA.

used, probably to preserve the wood as well as to form a vehicle for the pigment. It is found in the records of the painting on wood of the Peterborough Roof in the twelfth century, and of the Painted Chambers of Westminster in the thirteenth. In the last chapter of the first volume allusions were made to the conditions of Art in Syria and the adjacent countries in the early Christian periods. The opportunity is taken in this Introduction to give some few illustrations and descriptions of some examples which, although useful in binding my work to-

gether, could not easily have been placed in either of the chapters, as the paintings are not Christian, and the Christian works are not wall paintings.

Plate I. The "Madonna" of S. Luke in S. Maria Maggiore is another of the portraits ascribed to the evangelist, of which one was given in the first volume.* Tradition is in their favour, and that these portraits were neither impossible nor improbable has already been stated.

There is also the evidence already given† that the Byzantine painting and some other Syro-Hellenic work of the apostolic period was of the severe character that we associate with the posterior productions of New Rome and with its re-appearance in later Christian work. It is not wise to press this question of portraiture farther; but, whatever may be the result of any future dis-

* Page 114.

† Pp. 99 and 101, Vol. I.

PLATE V.



PAINTING IN A CEMETERY
AT PALMYRA.

covery, it is perfectly certain that these pictures have been possibly "restored," and additions, such as that of the nimbus, made to them.

The adoption of Hellenic Art by the Jews and their adhesion to its characteristics is shown in Plate CLXXIX., Vol. I., and Plate II. of the present volume, which shows portions of a synagogue at Sûfsâf. This is supposed to be one of many* synagogues built by Rabbi Simeon Bai Jochai Phars. The style is peculiar to Galilee, in which province they are usually found.

It is built into the local mosque. The lintel with rams' heads probably came from a small doorway, to which also belonged the smaller fragments of the voussoir embedded at its side; the larger voussoir over the lintel came from one of the larger doors. This larger voussoir has the nautilus palmette,† common in Semitic Art, and the rosette.‡

The Peacock in Plate III., the rams' heads on Plate II., a hare sculptured on the Synagogue at Nebartem, and the lions on the lintel at Umme-el-Amud, show us that the Jews did not read the commandment concerning the "graving of images" in the way many suppose, and that early in the Christian era, or before, they were accustomed by Hellenic § proclivities to paint and sculpture natural objects.

PLATE VI.



A. PAINTING IN A CEMETERY, PALMYRA.
B. CARVED BUST FROM THE SAME CEMETERY.

* See *The Builder*, 1876.

† See Vol. I., Plate LXXV.

‡ *Ibid.*, Plate LXIII. S. Ka. Bb.

§ They were not only Hellenised in Art, but, as is well known, in language and socially, although still retaining the practice of their religion.

The following passages illustrate these statements:

The educated classes would know Greek and their native dialect; thus our Lord when addressing His Eternal Father speaks in His dialect, at other times in Greek. The Priests

and Levites in addition learnt Hebrew for their office, and certain other of the population would know Latin.¹

The inscription on the Cross was in Greek, Latin and Hebrew (or probably Aramaic).

In the league between Julius Cæsar and the Jews, the letters to the Jews of Alexandria declaring them citizens of the City, and to other Jews of Jerusalem, Sidon, Tyre, Askelon, Delos, and other cities, there occur these passages:

"I have sent you a copy of that decree registered on the tables, which concerns Hyrcanus the son Alexander, the High-

¹ S. Luke, xxiii. 38; S. Mark, xv. 34.

A very good example of the decorative painting of the period—about A.D. 150 (Plate III.)—comes down to us from a singular place in which to find such a subject painted—that is, in one of the Jewish cemeteries of Rome. That the Peacock had some meaning in ancient Art, which has not yet been quite decided, is evident. It appears in the Paradise scene from S. Callixtus,* and is frequently found in cemeteries and on votive altars, so that one is inclined to look upon it as some emblem of a future state, a sort of “bird of Paradise.” Its use was continued emblematically long after the introduction of Christianity. I do not at all agree with the idea that it is intended for the Phœnix. In the same cemetery are found other pagan emblems, such as the Pegasus.

One of the most interesting discoveries of recent years is the beautiful cemetery at Palmyra illustrated in Plates IV., V., VI. It effectively reveals

PLATE VII.



PAINTED HEAD ON A MUMMY CASE FROM THE FAYOUM, EGYPT. FOURTH CENTURY. (Now in the British Museum.)

Priest and Ethnarch of the Jews, that it be laid up amongst the public records; and I will that it be openly proposed on a table of brass both in Greek and Latin” . . .

“It is also granted to Hyrcanus and to his sons, and to the ambassadors by them sent to us, that in fights between single gladiators and in those with wild beasts that they sit amongst the Senators to see these shows” . . .

They were also in certain cases relieved of the service in the army on account of the “superstition” they were under. There is a passage in a message of peace from Pergamos “desiring them to remember that our ancestors were friendly to the Jews even in the days of Abraham, who was the father of all Hebrews; as we have found set down in our public records.” (Whiston’s *Josephus’ Antiquities of the Jews*, book xiv., cap. x.)

* Plate CXCI., Vol. I., and the painting from Kertch in the Greek chapter.

to us the condition of Art of the third century of our era in its locality. One can only say, if such were the cemeteries, what were the palaces and baths? I should define this work as distinctly Syro-Hellenic, untouched by Byzantine influence. The drawing and attitude of the figures bring back to our memory the vases of the Macedonian period,* and the paintings illustrate, to my eye, the work of a school belonging to and continuing that tradition, and therefore akin to the Alexandrine. The cemetery † is in the form of a cross, the entrance being one portion; we then come to a central chamber about 13 ft. square, arched on either side; to the right and to the left are long chambers; one of these con-

tained sarcophagi. In front are two other chambers; the nearer is unadorned and smaller than the farther, which is sumptuously decorated, and from which the illustrations, Plates IV. and V., are taken. On each of three sides of this chamber are openings for burials; each opening appears to have contained five. The smaller chamber has six openings, and the larger lateral chamber sixteen each; so that nearly 300 persons were laid in this tomb. These openings were probably closed and plastered before the paintings were executed, so that it was a complete chamber. Whether the occupants belonged to one or more families is a question with which Herr Strzygowski deals at

* See Plate XXX., Vol. I.

† For the plans of many ancient cemeteries, see *D’Agincourt*, vol. i., plate ix., and some illustrations from Kertch in chapter iv.

some length.* To his work I am indebted for the greater portion of the information here given, and to it I must refer the reader for a more complete account of the contents of the cemetery. The chamber (Plate IV.) from which the illustration is taken has a barrel-vaulted roof, covered with a hexagonal honeycomb pattern in blue and gold; this is surrounded by an egg-and-tongue ornament. All this is supported by a line of imitated corbelled rafters, and under these, again, a meander, with the little square spout so frequently found in the East and in South Italy, and which eventually found its way to our vicinities. In the lunette there is a subject with a number of figures. The centre one, apparently a female, is holding a shield above her head; there are also other females with shields, and one or two children. On either side are warriors, also with shields and wearing the Phrygian pileus. Strzygowski suggests that one of these is Ulysses, who discovers in the centre figure Achilles, dressed in female attire amongst the daughters of Lycomedes. There is, however, on the opposite side another figure like the Ulysses, which makes the question complicated. The figure which for our purpose shall, however, be called Achilles is vested in a girded chiton with an overlap, and has one leg exposed.

Beneath the lunette are a series of painted pilasters; one of these is shown in detail in Plate V.; each pilaster is surmounted by a portrait of some deceased person, painted on a blue ground

* *Orient oder Rom* (Leipzig, 1901). The objections of Herr Strzygowski to Wickhoff theories concerning Roman art, to some of which I have already referred (see Vol. I., pp. 81 and 101), should also be read.

PLATE VIII.



REMAINS OF THE PAINTING OF A ROMAN HEAD OF THE FOURTH CENTURY. FROM ST. CLEMENT'S, ROME.

and surrounded by a yellow frame, intended to be gold, I presume; only, as it is decorated and shadowed, colour is used, whereas on the roof, where the effect is flat, gold itself is used. This gives us an insight into the ancient practice, the result of experience.

Upon the question of the relationship of these portraits and of their identity, I must refer the reader to the work already mentioned. The author, however, suggests that the centre head with the slight beard is "Male," the son

of Iad'ū, son of Iadi'abel, a name mentioned more than once in the inscriptions of the tomb.

Supporting these framed heads are a series of winged female figures, a repetition of that of Achilles in dress and attitude. These are all closely alike; they are dressed in white, have brown hair, and wear pearl necklaces and other ornaments: the wings are grey blue, the girdle is red. They stand on a blue globe, which is placed on leaves and bloom of the acanthus. The socle beneath is of violet with red border, the centre is green in a yellow lozenge. Beneath these socles is a series of scenes from animals of chase.

The woman carrying a child, Plate VI., comes from another series of pilasters. This, again, is surmounted with the meander pattern in relief, while at the sides is painted an entwined vine,* reminding one of many of the decorations found in Rome; by the side is a column with capital and base. The figure of the woman is painted larger than life. She wears a rich, jewelled and characteristic Palmyrean head-dress. On her inner dress are the lines of the clavi, whilst the outer one is of a

* See Plates CLXXVI., CLXXXIII., CLXXXV. and VI., CXCII. and CCII., Vol. I.

curious shape, and the edge of the skirt is ornamentally scalloped. She also wears pearled necklets and earrings and jewelled bracelets. By her side is a seat and footstool. The child wears a hat quite like a modern fez; indeed, the Aramaic character of the figures and dresses, mixed with the Hellenic Art, makes these paintings of supreme interest. An inscription tells us that the figure is Bad'a, daughter of Simon.

On the right-hand wall of the left-hand chamber on entering, there is an inscription which gives us the date of the work, or of its completion (A.D. 259), so that we may consider it as of the first half of the third century.

It may be remembered that Zenobia conquered Egypt in 269. Her secretary was a Christian, but the Christian influence does not appear to have been important. He was assassinated and there was a persecution of Christians and the destruction of their churches in 303. This would account for the absence of Christian Art.

Plates VII. and VIII. are from two characteristic heads both illustrating the ordinary everyday portraiture of the decadence. Plate VII. is on a panel on a mummy from the Fayûm now in the British Museum, and Plate VIII. from the pre-Christian Art in S. Clement's, Rome.

The fragment of mosaic pavement placed as Plate IX. occupies a position in the Introduction for two reasons. The first, that it attaches the subject-history to the first volume in the representation of Orpheus; in the second, as an example of Syro-Hellenic Art of the first importance. It is one of the few, perhaps the only instance of the remains of picture art found in Jerusalem. It was found about seven feet below the surface in a poor quarter, near the Convent of the Dominican Fathers, close to their new Church of S. Stephen, on the site where the basilica of Eudoxia once stood. It is about fifteen feet long. Near it was also found an equilateral cross about a foot square. "Towards this object the eyes of two figures (nimbed) appear directed," so says the correspondent of the *Nuovo Bulletino di Archeologia Christiana*,* who attributes the work to the fifth or sixth century. With this estimate of the period of its execution I must seriously differ. Before, however, entering into details, we will consider the constituents of the whole pavement. In the principal panel is Orpheus; he is seated amongst the animals, who are enthralled with his music. All are placed

PLATE IX.



PART OF A MOSAIC PAVEMENT FROM JERUSALEM.

sixth century. With this estimate of the period of its execution I must seriously differ. Before, however, entering into details, we will consider the constituents of the whole pavement. In the principal panel is Orpheus; he is seated amongst the animals, who are enthralled with his music. All are placed

* G. Angelini, in No. 3, anno VII. (Roma, Spithover, 1901).

on a flat field without perspective. Seated in the lower part of the panel are two Satyrs; surrounding this panel is a lotus-flowered border of precisely the same design as part of a mosaic of the second century from Carthage now in the British Museum. This pattern may therefore be a Semitic survival in both cases. Around this, again, is a foliated scroll enclosing animals, and having four masks, one at each corner; and surrounding this, again, another bordering with a guilloche pattern of irregular formation. Below this, as shown in the illustration, are three panels; two of these have been filled with pieces of stone; the other is filled or partially filled in an imperfect way with two nimbed figures, with their names, respectively ΘΕΩΔΟCΙΑ and ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑ. Three panels below this, again, appear to represent a hunting scene.*

It is obvious almost at the first view that the two personages, Theodosia and Georgia, are insertions, and are probably of later date even than the sixth century.

To speculate with any degree of certainty it would be necessary to see the actual mosaic, and I have not had this advantage. I do not think the Orpheus commonly occurs in Christian Art later than about the fifth century, even in the East; it had long ceased to be common in the West.†

* "A letter addressed by Olympiodorus to S. Nilus, disciple of S. J. Chrysostom,¹ tells us that the walls of the basilicas in the fifth century were covered with representations of different animals, and of scenes taken from fishing and the chase. And the saint, having been asked his opinion upon this practice, severely censures such childish and unmeaning decorations as substitutes for the older and better fashion of depicting scenes from the Old and New Testaments." (*Rom. Sott.*, v. ii., p. 209.)

Art cone Nicen., Lake, tom. viii., 875.

† That at Ravenna is, I believe, the latest.

Moreover, it appears from the drawing that this panel is by quite a different artist from him who did the two standing figures, and it is not, therefore, certain that the work is of Christian production, even if it was found in a Christian church.

Of Orpheus as a centre figure amongst panels of hunting scenes this is not a solitary example. Amongst others, there is a very good example at Rothwell,* in Germany, of about the same period or perhaps a little later. The whole of this mosaic, excepting the two small figures, may therefore have formed part of the pavement of the basilica of Eudoxia, or it may even have been earlier than that, and used, as many other pagan details often were used, for the embellishment of a Christian church. There is nothing in the character of Eudoxia to lead us to suppose that she would have been very particular as to the use of the subject itself.

The whole panel is quasi-Hellenic, and the wavy border of lotus flowers might possibly be classed as of Semitic-Hellenic origin, whilst the foliage and the beautiful masks at the corner are certainly of a finer art than the rest of the panel. In conclusion, I am inclined to think that the whole pavement was made up of old parts, or restored and placed as part of a floor for a building when the two small figures were inserted, perhaps as late as the eighth century, and the irregularity of the guilloche may have arisen from the exigencies of the make-up.

* In the Church of S. Laurence, at Rottwell, in Germany, there is an old Roman mosaic pavement from a bath. The Orpheus has the Phrygian cap, a tunic with a broad stripe in front, and a chlamys fastened on the shoulder. He holds a square harp, and both the groundwork of the panel and its surroundings are in perspective. Amongst its surroundings are hunting scenes. (See Bergl iv., *Jahresheft des Württ. Altertums-verein.*)



HEAD OF OUR LORD. FROM THE SUDARIUM
IN THE VATICAN.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY REPRESENTATIONS OF OUR LORD'S FACE AND THE CRUCIFIXION.

THE ROMAN CEMETERY AND ROMAN ART; THE CONDITION OF THE JEWS IN ROME; ART IN THEIR CEMETERIES; THE CONDITION OF ART IN EGYPT AND SYRIA; THE SYRO-HELLENIC INFLUENCE ON THE LATER ART OF THE CATACOMBS, ESPECIALLY CONCERNING THE PORTRAITS OF OUR LORD; THE PORTRAITS FROM (1) THE SACRISTY OF S. PETER'S AT ROME, (2) S. BARTHOLOMEW, GENOA, (3) S. SILVESTRO, ROME, (4) THE CEMETERY OF S. DOMITILLA, (5) THE CEMETERY OF GENEROSA, (6) THE CEMETERY OF S. CECILIA, (7) FROM S. PONZIANO, (8) FROM CHIMAY; THE OPINIONS OF S. BASIL AND S. AUGUSTINE ON THE PORTRAITS; THE EARLY CRUCIFIXION, FROM THE SYRIAC MS. IN FLORENCE.

IN the concluding chapter of the last volume, a summary of the earliest Art in the Roman Christian Catacombs was sketched. The reader would probably already know that the laws and reverent customs of the ancient Romans and of the Italic Peoples generally concerning the dead lent themselves to the formation of these cemeteries and to their artistic decoration. Many of them originated in the private cemeteries of members of patrician families who, on becoming Christians, made gifts of them to the Church for the common use of their fellow converts. Some of them are still known by the names of the original benefactors.

It may strike the reader, as it has struck me when pondering over these names* and the Art

* The accompanying footnote would be some little evidence that strangers had then separate cemeteries:

“While Pietro Campana was searching the ground in his first attempt of 1840, a cubiculum was discovered the painting of which represented biblical scenes. ‘The Good Shepherd’ was given the place of honour in the middle of the vault, while ‘Moses Striking the Rock,’ ‘The Feeding of the Five Thousand,’ ‘The Raising of Lazarus,’ and a fourth uncertain subject were painted in four lunettes. Three sides of the room were occupied by arcosolia, the fourth by the door. The paintings of the arcosolia represented the ‘Orante,’ ‘Daniel in the Lions’ Den,’ ‘Noah and the Ark.’ The figures of the Paralytic and of Job were represented on each side of the door. Two inscriptions were found in front of two arco-

of the cemeteries attached to them, that it is all essentially what is called Roman. We know that persons of other nations assumed Roman names, but it is questionable if they are strongly represented in the Christian cemeteries. The earliest subjects are simply those common of the period, and there is no special evidence of immediate foreign influence, except elements of the Greek tradition which were common to all, and which penetrated all Art of the period. The heads of Our Lord and of Our Lady and of the Prophets, such as that of Isaiah,* are generally Roman, and appear to be the work of the ordinary native artist. Those founded on the Syro-Hellenic models are not often found in the earliest designs, and the mural painters employed, and even some of the employers, were probably ignorant of the true appearance of the persons they painted. Although many converts were patricians, such as Pomponia Græcina, and those of the Gens Flavia, the Acilla, the Fabia, etc.,† and those giving their names

PLATE XI.



PORTRAIT OF OUR LORD. IN THE CHURCH OF
S. BARTHOLOMEW, GENOA.

to the Cemeteries of Astorius and Domitilla, they may not individually have been sufficiently wealthy to have employed the best artists. Still, there was at times in some of these cemeteries work in no way inferior to that found in some of the public buildings.

In the early years of the third century (A.D. 193-211), during the reign of Septimius Severus, the relaxation of some of the burial laws allowed the Church as a community to regulate the cemeteries, and S. Zephyrinus placed under the care of Callixtus all that series known by his name, who subsequently became Pope, and is known as St. Callixtus the first. After this period, we may

reasonably conclude that the overseer of the cemeteries was responsible for the Art. It was about this period that the painting of Christian Scripture subjects became more frequent and supplanted in a great measure those of a more Roman and pagan origin; it is also in the cemetery named of S. Callixtus that the first portrait of Our Lord which follows the Eastern tradition is found in the Cemeteries of Rome. This brings before us the question whether the direct Eastern influence in the earliest Art of the catacombs was of any importance? It is true historically that S. Peter's ancient seat is shown in the cemetery, and doubtless with S. Peter and S. Mark there were other Jews, but how many were there and what was their influence on the Art? Whether or not the early Christians held their cemeteries as a religious sect, of Jewish origin, or as Jews, does not help us; that is simply a legal position, and one which was disturbed eventually by the Jews themselves, resulting in a persecution.

A glance at the historical position of the Roman Jews shows us that Judas Maccabeus* sent

solia, one of which, written in a *patois* half Greek, half Latin, bore the name of Veratius Nikatoras (ΒΗΡΑΤΙΟΥΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΑΣ) and ended with the sentence ΒΙΟΣ ΤΑΥΤΑ (this is life). This Veratius was a Galatian, as proved by the discovery made by Perrot, near Ancyra, of the tombstone of his wife, which ends with the same words, Ο ΒΙΟΣ ΤΑΥΤΑ. Now it seems certain that this particular plot of the necropolis was destined for foreigners who died in Rome. De Rossi discovered here, in 1883, the broken epitaph of one of the faithful of Smyrna; and Campana, the tombstone of another from the borderland of Cappadocia and Armenia. The importance of the discovery lies in the fact that the crypt adorned with Christian paintings must be older than the walls of Aurelian (272), contemporary, in fact, with some of the pagan mausoleums by which it is surrounded. The remarkable monument is lost. Campana concealed its discovery from de Rossi and revealed it only many years afterwards when he had lost the memory of its exact position. De Rossi tried in vain to find it in 1884. (*Lanciani*, p. 336.)

* Plate CLXXXVIII., Vol. I.

† See *Bull. Christ.* 1884, pp. 57, 58; 1886, pp. 14, 17; also Seechi G. P., *Monumenti Inediti*.

* *Maccab.* VIII. 23.

Empolemus and Jason, Jews, as ambassadors to Rome in B.C. 160, so that it is improbable that there were any Jews then residing in Rome who could use their influence for that purpose. The position in 51 B.C. was altered, for Cicero says that they were then sufficiently influential to sway decrees. Julius Cæsar allowed them important settlements in Alexandria, and Augustus allowed them to settle in the Trastevere; they were therefore influential in Rome about the time of the coming of Our Lord. An event, however, occurred in 17 A.D. which changed the colour of the picture; for under Tiberius, Tacitus tells us, 4,000 of their youth were impressed into military service and the rest were banished the city. Thus their power was at an early period of Christianity much crippled. That they returned to Rome again subsequently in small numbers is evident from the advent of S. Peter and his companions amongst others, but the above sketch prepares us for their loss of influence for a very considerable period, such a period as, indeed, would fully admit of the pre-eminence of Roman Christians, Roman ideas and Roman Art in all the earlier art workmanship.

That the earliest work in the Catacombs is what is called Roman, and that the later work should be more foreign in idea and tradition, appears reasonable from all sources of information.*

This absence of Asiatic influence in the earlier Art of the Roman cemeteries leads me to repeat the question in my last chapter of the first volume, "Was there any other early Christian Art than that in the Roman cemeteries?"

* There is only one Jewish name in the Christian Catacombs, and although the Jews spoke Greek and occasionally Latin, and adopted Greek and Roman names, there is no direct evidence of many Christian Jews being buried there. We have also the evidence of a cemetery for foreign Christians (see footnote, p. 11) as well as others for Jews (see the character of the Art in the illustration—Plate III).

PLATE XII.



HEAD OF OUR LORD. IN S. SILVESTRO, ROME.
SUPPOSED TO BE BY A CONTEMPORARY ARTIST,
NAME UNKNOWN.

What were the Christians of the Syro-Hellenic and Syro-Phœnician provinces doing? What was the Art of Alexandria,* of Cæsarea, of all the great centres of philosophy, literature and art in the East? Were the populations of these places less artistic than the Romans, or were the converts less eminent or numerous?

Was there to be Art for Clement, for Cornelius, for Callixtus, and not for Tertullian, for Origen, or for Ignatius? We know there was; but, as I have before said, almost all other than the Roman is apparently lost, destroyed or hidden, excepting some fragments in Alexandria and Syracuse, Canopus,

Malta, and Naples—hidden as was Christian Roman Art until the Catacombs were unearthed.

There are, however, as in the instance of the picture of Our Lady, pictures with traditions, pictures which may have been retouched, traditions which have been added to, but the evidences of the antiquity of both have considerable value and demand notice. That a certain reverence was attached to certain "Icons" at an early period is historically certain; this in itself argues that at the period of record the works themselves must have been old enough to acquire this respect.

In the Introduction, there are no examples of the Eastern Art of the earlier years of Christianity illustrated; they have been retained for insertion in this volume. There is both monumental and written evidence that even the Jews had an Architecture, and not improbably some Art, which they called their own.† Besides the existing examples, some of which have been illustrated, there is considerable literary evidence, for example, when, in the time of Ptolemy Philometer, Onias built a temple and an altar to God at Leontopolis in

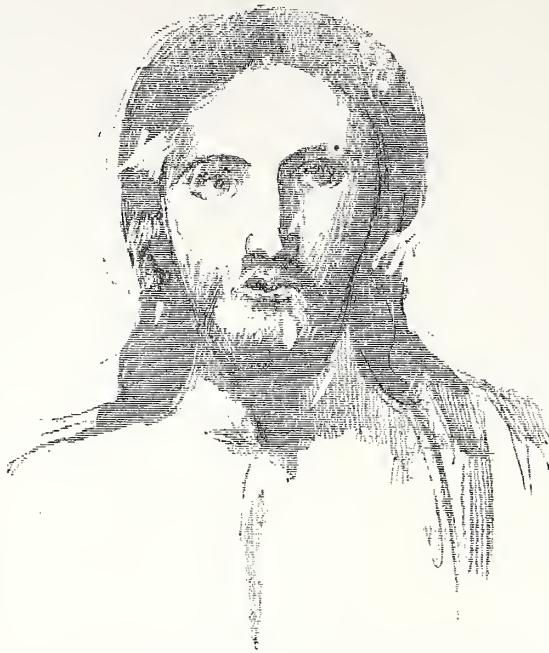
* See vol. i., pp. 88, 89, on the importance of Alexandrian Art at this period.

† Whiston's Josephus, *Antiquities*, chap. cxi.

the name of Heliopolis, which is named from the country Bubastis; he had it built after the style of that in Jerusalem, but smaller. All the sepulchral architecture of Jerusalem has essentially its own character, gathered historically from the various associations of the Jews, mixed Egyptian, Greek and Phœnician.

The Architecture and Art of the African and Asiatic Hellenes was at this time as celebrated or even more so than that in Europe. Trajan employed Apollodorus of Damascus to design his forum, one of the greatest masterpieces of design and engineering in Rome.

PLATE XIII.

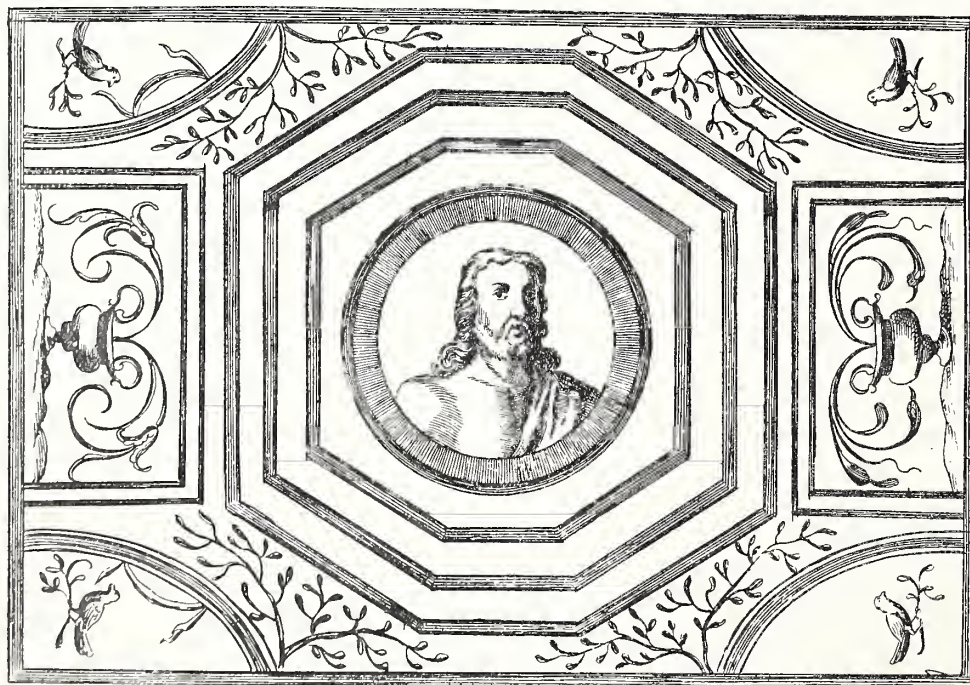


HEAD OF OUR LORD. SKETCHED BY MR. HEAPHY.
FROM THE CEMETERY OF S. DOMITILLA. SEE
PLATE XIV.

nothing historically to give a tittle of evidence to the idea that the early pictures ascribed to apostolic times, as I have before said, were impossible or even improbable. It was at one time a fashion to attribute all, even the early works of the various Greek schools, as of the sixth, seventh or eighth centuries, but there are evidences that the severe style goes back anterior to the Christian era in Byzantium and existed until 1200 (A.D.) at least; indeed, he would be considered an able archæologist who could even now give a date at sight to a piece of Byzantine work.

We have already commenced the examination of some ex-

PLATE XIV.



HEAD OF OUR LORD IN THE CEMETERY OF S. DOMITILLA, FROM *Aringhi* (lib. iii., p. 321). ANOTHER VERSION OF THE SAME HEAD IS PUBLISHED BY MR. HEAPHY. (PLATE XIII.) THAT IN *Aringhi* IS EVIDENTLY ILL-DRAWN. IT IS ALSO GIVEN, ENLARGED, IN *Kügler* (vol. i., p. 15, ed. 1857); AND IN *Croze and Cavascacelle* (vol. vi., p. 5, 2nd ed.) ALL MODERN DRAWINGS ARE UNRELIABLE, AS THE ORIGINAL IS INDISTINCT.

Numerous examples and instances will occur to the reader's own memory, but it would be inconvenient to load these pages with them.* There is

* Refer also to the chapter on Ornament at the end of this volume.

amples of Syro-Hellenic Art, the history and traditions of which reach back to the most remote antiquity of the Christian era. But those certainly of the greatest importance are the portraits of Our Lord, Our Lady, the Apostles

and others. It has already been said that in the earlier cemeteries they are essentially what is called Roman; it is therefore probable that the artists who did these, being native, had never seen any picture which purported to be a true resemblance of either. This may account for the origin of the beardless head of Our Lord.* This type, from its occurrence in the Roman Cemeteries, may have been from that circumstance in after years taken as of authority; hence the use of two types. At the end of the second or the beginning of the third century a head of the type that is now the traditional portrait of Our Lord—already mentioned—appears to have been painted in a cubiculum in the cemetery of S. Domitilla (Plate XIV.); from about this period the same tradition continues all over the West, coming, as I suppose, from the East. A little later on we find a traditional portrait of Our Lady introduced into the West, and on the glasses and sarcophagi the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul, John, James, and others. These portraits are more common on the glasses and sarcophagi than on the earlier walls, possibly because the originals from which they are copied were transported from the East.

I have, therefore, to account for the occurrence of these incidents, supposed that the ancient Sudaria were then unknown even by copies to the Roman artists, and were kept so reserved that they were only shown or seen on important occasions, but that eventually copies were made, perhaps by some special envoy from the Pope Zephyrinus, for the portrait in the cemetery of S. Domitilla. The subsequent universal adhesion to the tradition shows the value set upon it.

* See Kraus, F. Z., *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, p. 181, vol. i.

PLATE XV.



HEAD OF OUR LORD. FROM THE CEMETERY OF GENEROSA, AS IN PLATE XXXI. OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

A series of the earliest heads, Plates X. to XIX., from the common resemblance, gives evidence of their origin from an individual.

Let us now examine their written credentials one by one, which from the destruction of ancient history, are very scarce. Mr. Heaphy,* who has made this subject an especial study, relates the following history of the Sudarium at Genoa (Plate XI.).

We are told that an Eastern monarch, in the year 30 of our era, Agbarus,† King of Edessa, in Asia Minor, fell sick, and

having heard of Our Lord's miracles in the adjacent country of Judæa, sent to request a visit. But the Saviour, ministering only to the sheep of the house of Israel, instead of going himself, the legend states, sent his portrait, painted purposely by S. Luke,‡ the miraculous effect of which was such that the sick man recovered immediately on beholding it.§ Eusebius quotes ecclesias-

* Mr. Heaphy, unfortunately, in his quotations, does not give us chapter and verse. He is also very uninformed in the general history of painting; this, however, is not the "point" of his work.

† "Agbarus" is the title of the Kings of Edessa—which of these it was, the history does not say.

‡ S. Luke's name does not appear in the earliest accounts, and it was possibly added from some tradition. There is also a portrait in the Vatican attributed to S. Luke. It is framed in a sort of horse shoe shape. I have not given an illustration of this; it is quite like the others mentioned.

§ The apocryphal Gospel of Christ and Agbarus, mentioned by Eusebius, is extant in certain forms; in one of these no mention is made of the portrait. John of Damascus, writing in the eighth century, mentions the likeness, but the different copies of the epistle vary. One says that the painter could not get the portrait because of the light of Our Lord's countenance, but that Our Lord then pressed the cloth to his face, and on it appeared the portrait. This last form of the legend, although of great antiquity, may have arisen from the nature of the portrait, it being simply stained with transparent colour

tical writings then extant to show that the picture was known to exist in the royal library at Edessa in the middle of the second century, and was then considered as a work of the apostolic age. Mores Coronero, an Armenian of the fourth century, also mentions it as in his possession in his capacity of keeper of the royal archives at Edessa; his authority must on this account be unquestionable, and the German critic, Schröder, hesitates not to style him

an author *optima notæ et indubitæ fidei*. Again, in the same century, S. Ephrem, deacon of the church at Edessa, makes mention of it. Eusebius on his own authority speaks of it as existing in his time. The historian Evagrius, in the sixth century, mentions it as performing many wonders in his days. The picture remained in the Royal Library at Edessa till the Genoese, in the middle of the tenth century,* removed it to the Church of S. Bartholomew.†

The framing of the picture is of early Byzantine workmanship. Although the picture is in the

on cloth. Two recent discoveries of ancient copies of the Agbarus letter, one the lintel of a house of the fifth century at Ephesus, and another at Cappadocia, lend still greater interest to the subject of these letters. I have not obtained a copy of these.

* *The Likeness of Christ* (David Bogue, 1880), p. 80. Unfortunately, neither Mr. Heaphy nor Sir Wyke Baylis, his editor, give chapter or page when referring to his authorities, so that I cannot verify them.

† Another account says that "John Paleologus, in the year A.D. 1362, gave it to a Genoese admiral."

Church of S. Bartholomew, it belongs to the municipality of Genoa is very difficult to see, and is only publicly exhibited on the Whit Sunday of every year.

The second Sudarium is now in the church of S. Silvester, in Rome; it does not take much examination to see that the portrait is from the same person as that at Genoa.

The Sudarium (Plate I.), with the face having closed eyes, is now in the Sacristy of S. Peter's of the Vatican.

There are also the portraits attributed to S. Luke, in Rome; that on the ancient Hebrew medal, both of precisely the same type; and that attributed to S. Peter, which is too indistinct for me to say anything about it.

It is said that the Gnostics claimed to possess a portrait "made by order of Pilate when Jesus lived amongst men." Of this Gnostic portrait I

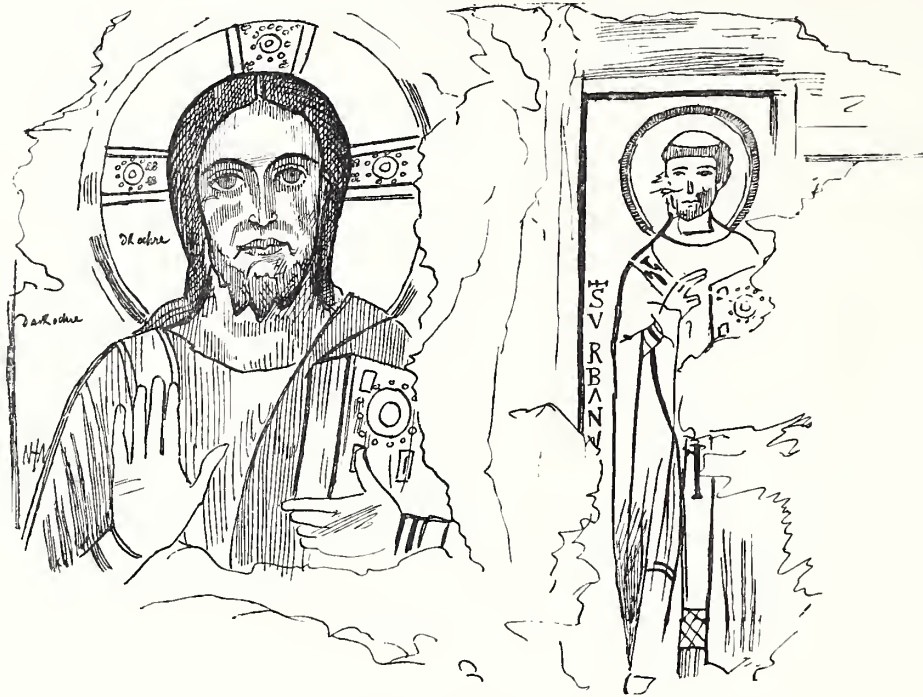
do not remember any examples. It is said to have been very young and beardless.*

There is another head of the bearded tradition which acquires some value as evidence from certain circumstances mentioned in connection with it. It is on the end of a sarcophagus of the fourth century in the Christian museum of the Vatican,† and

* *Ivæneus C. Heres*, lib. i., 25-26; *S. Augustine de Trinit.*, viii. 5, and tome viii., p. 1326, ed. *Gaume*; *S. Basil*, ccix., tome iii. p. 674, *Gaume*. My own impression is that the Egyptian artists copied the early beardless head in the Roman cemeteries; and that it thus became the African tradition, and was disseminated from Alexandria as well as from Rome. An example is given in Chapter IV.

† De Laurent, *Guide de l'art chrétien*, tome ii., p. 236.

PLATE XVI.



HEAD OF OUR LORD AND A FIGURE OF S. ARBANUS. FROM THE CEMETERY OF S. CECILIA.

Kraus, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, vol. i. p. 183) considers this portrait as of the eighth century; De Rossi as of the ninth century (see *Roma Sott.*, Eng. ed., vol. ii., p. 223). It will be observed that this pallium of S. Urban is like the Greek bishops' at Bardella (Plate XCV.) and S. Sophia, Constantinople (Plate LVIII.).

reminds us of the statue which Eusebius* says was set up by the grateful woman who was cured of the issue, in Paneas (or Cæsarea Philippi). † He says that the group "was placed on a high pedestal and that it consisted of the figure of the woman on her knees, with her hands stretched forward like a person petitioning for something; that opposite to this there was the upright figure of a man * * * and that he is stretching forth his hand towards the woman." * * * They say that this image represents the likeness of Jesus. And it has remained even to our own days." It is very much like the profile on the Hebrew medal.

That the artist of the sarcophagus knew of the original, and was employed to copy it, is not improbable.

The ivory head of great antiquity mentioned by De Rossi‡ follows the same tradition. That of Naples (Plate LXII.) of the sixth century is also of the same tradition, modified by the painter. This last portrait appears, from the picture in Garucci,§ to have been painted over an earlier one, of which it is a larger reproduction.

In connection with these portraits we may consider the passages from the Fathers, S. Basil and S. Augustine, concerning such effigies generally. It must be remembered that neither spoke with any great authority on the question of archæological Art; neither of them had the advantages of the

PLATE XVII.



BUST OF OUR LORD IN S. PONZIANO. AT THE BASE OF THE BUST WAS AN INSCRIPTION, NOW LOST, DE DONIS DEI GAUDIOSUS FECIT. IT IS PROBABLY OF THE NINTH CENTURY. (Kraus thinks this portrait is of a different tradition; it appears to me but an artistic variation of the same.)

historical research that has taken place up to our time. S. Basil, writing to S. Julian,* says, he "invokes the holy Apostles, Prophets and Martyrs as intercessors with God, and honours and reverences the impressions of their likenesses, handed down to us from the holy Apostles." A writer from whom we should expect a different opinion † thinks this only relates to the practice of intercession, but I think such an interpretation a very crabbed notion of the sentence, which to my mind seems to clearly convey the impression that S. Basil believed in the authority of the portraits. As against the value of these portraits S. Augustine ‡ says, "neither do we know the face of the Virgin Mary,

nor what were the features of Lazarus." There can be no doubt, therefore, that S. Augustine did not believe in the authenticity of any of these portraits. S. Augustine's researches on the question may not have been very great; at any rate,

he is of no greater authority on the question than is S. Basil; moreover, S. Basil may have been more in touch with the Syrian tradition. We have again in the ninth century the evidence of the patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem, which may be read either way. In a letter

PLATE XIX.



A SECOND HEAD OF OUR LORD. FROM S. PONZIANO.

* *H. E.*, vii. 18.

† *Northcote and Brownlow*, vol. ii., p. 222.

‡ *Christian Museum of the Vatican*, book 5, chap. ii., sections 4 to 5.

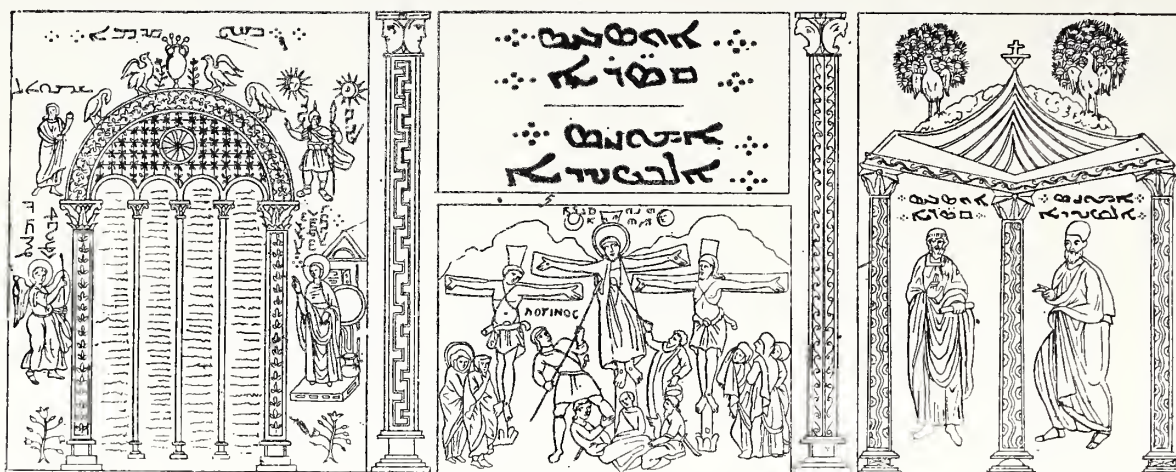
§ *Plate CV.*, vol. ii.

* *Epist.* cclx., tom. iii., p. 674.

† *Roma Sotteranea*, English ed., vol. ii., p. 216.

‡ *De Trinit.*, viii. 5, tom. viii., p. 1326, edition Gaume.

PLATE XX.



THE ANNUNCIATION, AND THE CRUCIFIXION. THREE PAGES FROM A SYRIAN MANUSCRIPT OF THE SIXTH CENTURY.

written to the Iconoclast Theophilus, they say "That Constantine caused a likeness of Our Lord to be painted according to the description which had been handed down by the historian." Whence the historians* got the description we do not know, but we have certain authority for supposing that some of them had seen the portraits already described as existing before the time of Constantine.

They say, "He was tall in figure, with beautiful eyes, eyebrows meeting, a correct (straight) nose, curly hair, good fair complexion and a dark beard." Then, for what it may be worth, must also be added the so-called letter of Lentulius to the Roman Senate, which agrees with the above, except that it says, "His hair was dark golden and glossy, falling upon His shoulders in curls and parted in the middle after the manner of the Nazarenes, the beard of the same colour. The eyes light in colour and very bright."

The series of portraits† which I have given show

* Antoninus of Piacenza describes an image of Our Lord preserved at Jerusalem, and dating without doubt from the fourth or fifth century, as having a long face and hands and well formed. *Itinera et descriptiones Jecce Sancta*, ed. Iobler, i. 104. Diehl, *Art Byzantin en Italie*, p. 36. At the end of the seventh century, Andrew of Crete speaks of Our Lord in much the same manner.

† *Per contra*, it is interesting to read what Finlay says about the portraits of Our Lord. "The legendary history of the Greek monasteries tells us that the country was once utterly deserted, and that the rugged limestone mountains were overgrown with forests and thick brushwood, and that in these deserted spots holy hermits retired to avoid the

that the tradition which involves the *Sudaria*, the portraits and pictures in the catacombs, on the glasses and on the sarcophagi, were accepted and respected from the most ancient time. Concerning a portrait of Our Lord from a ceiling in the Catacomb of Domitilla, to which I have already once referred (Plate XIV.), Kügler saw this portrait when, I presume, it was in fair condition, and he has given an engraving of it in the *Schools of Painting in Italy*.* His description of the portrait quite tallies with the most ancient, viz., the face is oval, with a straight nose, arched eyebrows, smooth and rather high forehead, the expression serious and mild; the hair parted on the forehead, and flowing in long curls down the shoulders; the beard is not thick, but short and divided; the age between 30 and 40.

It is in the same chamber of the cemetery of S. Domitilla as the "Orpheus," and, in the opinion of De Rossi and other critics, at least as old as the

presence of pagan Sclavonians who occupied the rich plains and pastoral slopes of the lower hills. In these retreats the holy anchorites dreamed that they were dwelling in cells once occupied by saints of an earlier day, men who were supposed to have fled from imaginary persecution of Roman Emperors, who had depopulated whole provinces by their hatred of Christianity instead of by administrative oppression; and the hermits saw visions revealing where these predecessors had concealed portraits painted by S. Luke himself, or miraculous pictures the work of no human hand." (*Finlay*, vol. ii., p. 380.)

* Vol. i., p. 15, ed. 1851 (?); and *ante*, S. Callixtus.

third century. Mr. Heaphy has also given a sketch of it in his book. This sketch was, however, done when the picture was partly decayed, but his drawing was not at all like the engraving given by Kügler. Perhaps it is the more accurate; but in the present condition of the painting, which is gradually decaying, it is impossible to say which is the more exact.

Padre Garucci, in the second volume of his great work, has also gone into the history of the portraiture of Our Lord, Our Lady, SS. Peter and Paul and other Saints.

In concluding these notes on the priority of certain portraits, and subjects in Syro-Hellenic Art, I may observe that the earliest painted Crucifixion, although only a miniature, with which I have as yet met is of this school. It is in a MS. now in the Library of S. Lorenzo at Florence. It is dated A.D. 586, and was written in Syriac in the Monastery of S. John at Zagba, in Mesopotamia, by one Rabula; it was carried in 1066 to the Convent of S. Maria Maiphuk, and afterwards to that of S. Maria de Kannubin, where it remained until 1497, when it passed into the Library of the Medici at Florence. This picture, and others in the same MS., are particularly interesting from many circumstances (Plate XX.). They show us

that elaborated compositions were to be found in Mesopotamia in the sixth century in MSS., and therefore probably in mural work, for the one nearly always reflected the other.

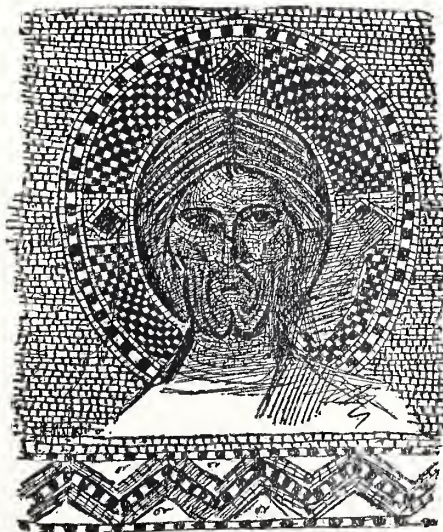
A description of the MS., with the opinions of various authors, is given in *d'Agincourt*.* It should be noted that the pictures may have been done, or partly done, by a Syrian Greek—the name Longinus being so written. At the foot of the cross they play “mora” for the vestments. There is little doubt but that Syrian Art considerably influenced later productions in the East and West. The Greek MS. in the British Museum,† and many of the early Celtic MSS.‡ and monuments, also show Our Lord clothed, and on either side the man with the lance and the man with the sponge, in the same way that they are represented in the painting in the Catacombs (Plate XXV.), that from the Cœlian House (Plate XXIV.), and by the fresco at S. Maria Antiqua, a picture, it must be remembered, painted in Rome during the pontificate of a Syrian.

* Plate XXVII., vol. iii., and *Garucci*, tav. CXXXIX.

† See the Greek chapter, Plates CI. and CV.

‡ Examples are given in the chapters on English work, and on Ornament.

PLATE XXA.



FROM A MOSAIC HEAD OF OUR LORD BELONGING TO THE TREASURY OF SS. PETER AND PAUL AT CHIMAY. It was presented to Philip de Croy, second Count of Chimay, in 1475, by Pope Sextus IV. The plate is of the same size as the original, which is in very small tesserae, and apparently of the eleventh century. There was evidently a great demand for these mosaic heads, probably as considered of authentic portraiture of similar relics are in the Church of Borcette near Aix-la-Chapelle, in the Louvre, and at Florence.

This chapter was completed and printed before the publication of Sir Wyke Baylis' *Rex Regum*, or I should have had the pleasure of inserting some remarks from his work.



OUR LADY AND THE DIVINE INFANT. OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE FOURTH CENTURY. FROM THE CEMETERY OF S. AGNES. THERE IS A GOOD COPY AT SOUTH KENSINGTON OF THE ORIGINAL. FOR THE WHOLE ARRANGEMENT OF THE CUBICULUM SEE ARINGHI (cap. ix., p. 89).

CHAPTER II.

MURAL PAINTINGS IN THE CEMETERIES AND CHURCHES OF ROME FROM ABOUT THE TIME OF CONSTANTINE TILL THE END OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

THE EFFECTS OF ROMAN AND BYZANTINE WORK UPON EACH OTHER; IMPERIAL INFLUENCE; THE GROWTH OF SYMBOLISM AND TYPES; THE NIMBUS; THE METHODS OF COMPOSITION; THE EFFECT OF MOSAIC; STAGNATION IN ROMAN AND ITALIAN ART; PAINTINGS IN THE CEMETERIES OF THE VIA APPIA AND ARDENTINA, OF SS. AGNES, CALLISTUS, GENEROSA, VALENTINO, CORNELIUS, THE BAPTISTRY OF S. PONZIANO, THE CORRIDOR OF THE SENTINELS, AND FROM THE CHURCHES OF S. PETRUS IN VINCULIS, S. CECILIA, SS. GIOVANNI É PAULO, S. ANDREA IN BARBARA, S. MARIA ANTIQUA, S. CLEMENTE, AND S. URBANO A LA CAFFARELLA.

BEFORE treating of the paintings in their historic order there are a few preliminary questions on which it is necessary to write somewhat, although it can only be in a fragmentary way. When Constantine became converted to the Christian religion, and the seat of empire was removed to Constantinople, certain results naturally followed, such as: the personal influence of the Emperor himself on the cultivation of Art, in which he took great interest in its Christian

character; then the effect of Roman taste upon European, Asiatic, Greek and African* Art, this Roman art being in itself greatly a reflected action of that already coloured by various Hellenic influences; and then the renewed effects of Byzantine and other traditions upon Roman work, especially

* In the fourth century S. Paula, a Roman Lady, built three convents and a monastery in Africa. S. Jerome managed all these.

by the continual emigration of Eastern artists to Rome.* Concerning the personal influences of the Emperors and the Sovereign Pontiffs, they will be considered hereafter as opportunities occur; for the effect of the new currents of Eastern Art upon Roman work is the question primarily considered in this chapter.

Considerable attention was given in the preceding chapter to the Eastern influence which appears in representations or portraits of Our Lord and of the principal founders of Christianity, to the altered type of features given to them in the later paintings in the Roman cemeteries and churches, and to the establishment of the tradition in the West concerning these portraits.

Various Eastern traditions also influenced the position, attitude and attire of the figures and of the ornament for many centuries, frequently supplanting the earlier by other and later influences and inventions.

Particular treatments of the pictures of Our Lady and the divine Child, such as that in Plate XXI., showing a Hellenic origin, are to this day established in the East,† and have become frequent in the

* St. Jerome speaks of the daily reception of numbers of monks, as well as seculars, from India, Persia, and Ethiopia, as well as Greece. Some of these were artists.

† The Russian tradition which follows it appears to have succeeded and to have been first established in the Chersonese, according to Sabatier, in the eleventh century. The seal of the Higoumenus of Daphne, of the eleventh, and a seal of the Abbey of Malvern of the twelfth, have adaptations of this representation. The ancient banner of the city of Stras-

PLATE XXII.



THE EARLIEST PICTURE OF THE ANNUNCIATION. FROM THE CEMETERY OF S. PRISCILLA VIA SALARIA (ARINGHI).*

* Aringhi (lib. iv., cap. xxxvii.) says: "Tabula hæc pictas ipso in fornice imagines exhibet: mulieres nimium cujusdam sedentis effigiem, ante cujus conspectum vir quidam stans, protensaque manu quid indicans, vel certe quidpiam sedenti exporrigenis exprimitur."

burg is also undoubtedly founded on an *icon* of this tradition. See also the dates of it on Coins in the appendix to Chapter V.

* See Plates CXX., CXXI., CXXII., and Plate 33, vol. i., *History of Mural Painting*, and Appendix A to this chapter.

† We must remember that Theodoric, whose artistic taste had such influence at Constantinople, Rome, and Ravenna, was educated under Byzantine tutelage in Constantinople. Cassiodorus, at one time his minister, founded the Benedictine Monastery of Viviera in Calabria, which contained one of the richest libraries of the world.

West. The portraits of figures of the Apostles and Evangelists, whether in painting, on the sepulchral glasses, on the sarcophagi, or in ivory, witness the same origin. The peculiar angular fold and general severity of the drapery and figure and the excessive jewelling betray Byzantine teaching. This peculiar severity and the painting of jewels and pearls on the borders of vestures, on the pallium, and on the crowns, thrones, and other accessories, I am inclined to attribute to Syro-Hellenic influence.

Another influence, as I take it, which was developed both in East and West, but probably originated in the East, is the symbolism of subjects such as was in the middle ages called "the story of the old law and the new,"* and by some authors of later date the *Biblia Pauperum*. Amongst these was the history of Daniel in the Lions' Den as a type of Our Lord's burial; of Jonah delivered from the Whale—a scriptural type of Our Lord's resurrection; Noah in his Ark, a type of the saving power in the Church; Moses striking the Rock, type of the Crucifixion and Holy Eucharist. Another subject is the Gathering of the Manna, also an Eucharistic type; the Young Men before Nebuchadnezzar; the Magi before Herod. All these appear to have been common† in the fourth century and to have been continually added to, with some alterations in their representations, perhaps also Eastern: for example, in some of the Catacombs, the Wise Men are two, or four,‡ but afterwards when symbolically used we find them as three, thus according with what is taken as their prototype, the three Jewish children who were told to bow to the image of Nebuchadnezzar, and were afterwards thrown into the furnace. These twin subjects often occur together in painting, sculpture and the other arts.

Plate XXIII. of the Three Children is from Aringhi; it is rather modernised in his drawing.§ The "Adoration of the Magi," Plate XXIV., is from the Cemetery of S. Soteris. This subject, from its ornamental accessories, may be by a painter of Egypto-Hellenic origin. Another subject is interesting in its development from the third and fourth centuries until the sixteenth: it is Our Lord as sitting in majesty, and also as giving His mission to the Apostles to teach Jew and Gentile.

In the earlier examples it is the Church as

* See *History of Design on Painted Glass* (Parker), vol. iv., pp. 28-29

† See Plates CXX., CXXI., CXXII., and footnote, Plate XXXIII., vol. i., *History of Mural Painting*.

‡ Vol. i., p. 124, *ibid.*

§ The theological question is considered in Palmer's *Symbolism*, 4tc, p. 41.

Orante, or Our Lord symbolised as the Good Shepherd,* who acts. Now it is Our Lord Himself,† and with the growth of Christian theology and the formation of Christian thought the representation of Our Lord with His attributes becomes more and more pronounced or emphasised. I think one of the earliest of these figures of Our Lord is in the cemetery of SS. Nereus and Achilles.‡

In Plate XXV., from the Cemetery of the Via Appia and Ardentina, the central figure still retains the Roman type of head, as though the artist had not as yet seen the Eastern effigy; but the question of the beardless Head of our Lord is of frequent occurrence in this volume.

In Plate XXVI., from the cemetery of SS. Peter and Marcellinus, which is, according to De Rossi, of the fifth century, we get three advances: in the Eastern type of head of Our Lord, in the types of the heads of the Apostles, and in the Nimbus. The latter has not yet become a developed symbol of difference between Our Lord, Our Lady, the Saints, and the Beati, and is here only indicative of Jesus Christ, God and Man. Hereafter, this question of the Nimbus will be treated more in detail.

We shall also, in later Art, see Our Lord represented in majesty with an aureola, that is, with rays round His body, nimbed, as God; and surrounded by symbols and figures associated with ideas gathered from the visions of the Apocalypse.

It is remarkable that the subject of "The Annunciation,"§ such as Plate XXII. is supposed to represent, is as yet, in the fourth century, very simply treated, and without its theological types: these, by degrees, develop historically in an interesting way. It is the same with the Nativity and the Baptism, and it is curious that the Adoration of the Magi should be arranged with its types so much in advance of these and other subjects of equal importance. Neither as yet has any very early

* Plate CCCI., Palmer's *Symbolism*.

† Plate CXCIX., vol. i., *History of Mural Painting*.

‡ Plate CCIII., *ibid.*

§ An engraving of this in its present condition in the Cemetery of S. Priscilla is given in Kraus, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, vol. i., p. 188.

PLATE XXIII.



THE THREE CHILDREN IN THE FURNACE. IN THE CEMETERY OF S. PRISCILLA VIA SALARIA.
From *Aringhi*, lib. iv., p. 143.

representation of the Crucifixion connected with its type* like other subjects been discovered: its development appears later than that even of the "Majesty," which perhaps grew into the mind as the Church commenced to triumph under Constantine.†

* Although Moses Striking the Rock is often found.

† It is quite possible that there were Crucifixion pictures earlier. We have the well-known caricature in the Kircherian Museum, which may argue that its proper representation was in use, and we also have the passages of Tertullian relating to the subject.

Leo, the Isaurian, removed the bronze figure of Our Lord from the Cross which Constantine had placed on the door of the Imperial Palace, and he had most of the mural paintings whitewashed. (*D'Agincourt*, vol. i., p. xii.)

The opposition to religious Art at this period paralysed its condition in Greece. Constantine V. decreed in a Council of the Eastern Church in 754: "That the disgraceful and blasphemous art of painters had destroyed the work of our redemption, and had perverted all the work of the six General Councils." Every figure painted or ornament on altars or walls was destroyed. The Pope and the three independent Patriarchs of the East rejected the decree.

From 726 till 784 there was no communication between

This is the only way in which I can account to myself for its appearance, for we must bear in mind that neither in literature nor in Art do some of the most important subjects appear to have asserted themselves in the order of their importance, but according to some accident, or the ability or learning of some theo-

PLATE XXIV.



THE OFFERING OF THE THREE WISE MEN. FROM THE CEMETERY OF SAINT SOTERIS.

many on the second Commandment, which is "in the letter utterly done away with by the fact of the Incarnation. To refuse, then, the benefit which we derive from the frequent use of the Crucifix, under the pretence of the second Commandment, is a folly, because God has sanctioned one conceivable similitude of Himself when He declared Himself in the Person of Christ."

the Greek and Latin Churches, but Irene helped to restore amity, and the use of images was sanctioned, and the Pope Adrian received the Patriarch of Constantinople's submission at a Council, 787. In 816, however, at the instigation of Leo the Armenian, the sacred images and pictures were again destroyed. In 842 a Council of Constantinople reversed all this, and images and pictures were again restored. The opinion of Dr. Arnold, quoted in his biography, on this point is worth repeating. He says, concerning the view held by

logian meditating upon Holy Writ: I must now leave the question of the development of types, subjects, and their treatment; hereafter they will necessarily receive considerable attention as they occur.

Such an important adjunct to figures as the Nimbus requires especial attention.

It is a symbol which in early Art is of uncertain import, but it has since become universal and elaborately systemised. When we first find it used this system was in its infancy. Many authors have written essays upon this subject, and have given their notions of its origin and history; perhaps the most elaborate of these was that by the late M. Didron.* There can, however, be scarcely a doubt but that it was the application of the emblem of the an-

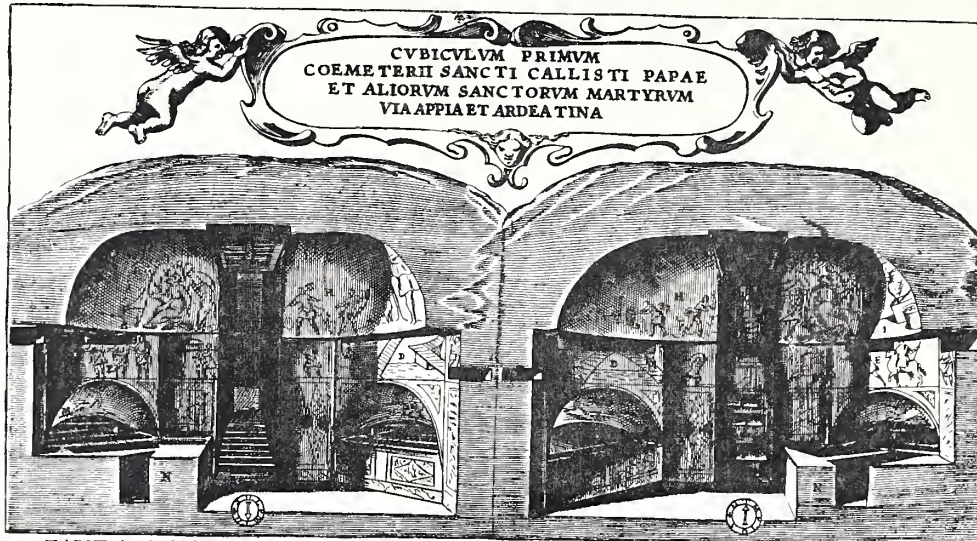
cient method of distinguishing objects considered divine, and was originally a suggestion of clothing the head and body with a sun-form or cloud of sunlight, intended to suggest the appearance of the sun. How else could such dignity as that of Our Lord or His Saints be explained to the pagan or to

the Christian disciple; what other forms could the teacher who wished to be understood use?

The reader who has considered the chapter on Ornament will have observed its application to various sun deities by the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans.*

I have not found, however, that there was any systemised variation of its form or ornaments to indicate degrees of spiritual or temporal power amongst these people, although it would appear that Christian symbolism did gradually apply preceding indications of the highest of these symbols to the Nimbus of Our Lord. I allude to the four or more rayed nimbus, sometimes called the Cruciferous Orb, such as we find in ancient solar emblems, an emblem appropriately given to

PLATE XXV.



TABVLA PRIMA CVBICVLI PRIMI COEMETERII SANCTI CALLISTI PAPAE ET ALIORVM SANCTORVM MARTYRVVM VIA APPIA ET ARDEATINA



TABVLA SECVNDA CVBICVLI PRIMI COEMETERII SANCTI CALLISTI PAPAE ET ALIORVM SANCTORVM MARTYRVVM VIA APPIA ET ARDEATINA

THE CHARGE TO THE APOSTLES AND THE METHOD OF DECORATING THE CUBICULA. FROM SS. NEREUS AND ACHILLES (ARINGHI).

Him who said, "I am the Light."

The modern notion that there was in early Christianity any exact science as to the placing and character of the Nimbus will not bear an historical examination. It does not appear to have been fairly systematised until the end of the fourteenth

* See Appendix B., at the end of this chapter.

* *History of Mural Painting*, vol. i., pp. 42 et seq.

century; and that Benedict XIV. had to promulgate a decree declaring that the *Beati* should have only rays and no circle to their Nimbi is an evidence of the late development of the rule concerning their use. As this work proceeds instances will be given of the various developments which appear to follow and indicate the theological teaching concerning Our Lord, Our Lady, the Angels, and the Saints, by the Fathers and Doctors of the Church.

It has been observed, in the early Roman work of the Catacombs, that there are no Nimbi, yet the Nimbus was known to the Romans. Some Emperors wore it as an attribute of divinity or power up to the time of Justinian, who with Theodora wears the Nimbus at Ravenna.

Even after its introduction, probably from the East, into the Art of the Catacombs, at first Our Lord only has the simple circle shown in Plate XXVI.

In that picture we also get the traditional heads of Our Lord and SS. Peter and Paul, such as are found on the glasses and sarcophagi: these are likewise probably of Eastern importation.

The cross rays appear to have been introduced about the fifth century, and are not invariably used in all countries until the eleventh century.

In the catacomb of S. Syriacus there is a subject supposed to represent the Wise and Foolish Virgins, and in the catacomb of S. Agnes a picture of five virgins enthroned eating the Marriage Feast of the Lamb. These subjects are said to have reference to the Holy Eucharist, the heavenly banquet; the Nimbus is here found both on the wise and on the

foolish Virgins, and is so placed upon them as virgins.*

Concerning Our Lady, she is without any Nimbus until about the fifth century, and the aureola, which forms a nimbus of glory around the figure of Our Lord and Our Lady, is of later use still. Indeed, the emphasising of dignity grew little by little, perhaps for distinction when any dispute arose. In the early ivories the Nimbus is sometimes represented, sometimes omitted; I do not remember its occurrence in any sculpture or sarcophagus. A very important emblem became common on Christian paintings in the period of

Constantine, and originating in his vision. On the Plate XXI. we find an early representation of this cross and holy name derived from the *labarum*; and, arising from the form seen by him in the sky, many varieties of the sign are introduced. This form is also sometimes used to represent the star which guided the Wise Men to Bethlehem.

An influence of major importance must now be considered; it is that caused by the change of architectural forms upon the arrangements of the composition of mural painting. The dome, the apse, and the circular arches all had their influences on the shape of the wall, and necessarily on new methods of composition in the earlier painting; afterwards the barrel vault and the groined and timber roof again necessitated fresh developments.

It is probable that the dome and its decoration are of the same origin. The loss of links in the

PLATE XXVI.



OUR LORD SITTING IN MAJESTY BETWEEN SS. PETER AND PAUL. FROM THE CEMETERY OF SS. PETER AND MARCELLINUS (? OF THE EARLY YEARS OF THE SIXTH CENTURY). THE SKETCH EXHIBITS A FORESHORTENED VIEW. The same subject drawn without foreshortening, and the subject below it, is given in the second volume of Garucci's work.

* This also occurs at Rheims. See Appendix B.

chain of its history prevent any absolute proof of its architectural descent. To my mind, it was and is essentially Eastern, and from an early period to this it is most common where Eastern influence has prevailed. If I may tempt criticism with my own view—it appears to me that the theory of Dieulafoy* has never been quite disposed of, weak as some points of his position may be.

It is difficult to see how the structure of what are called "Byzantine" churches can be evolved without primarily considering the Asiatic tradition, including the architecture of the Persians as a factor in this domed style. Although that itself was indebted to Imperial Rome, in after periods, still it probably gave more to the West than it received.

As it is not directly a painter's province, I must leave this interesting question to the reader to pursue after his own manner and to form his own opinion upon it.

In the last chapter of the first volume many illustrations of the arcosolium and arched cubiculum are given, and in Plate XXV. and at the end of this volume two others, taken from Aringhi, paintings of important examples as they existed in his time. Preceding these were the examples from the flat and arched roof of pagan tombs,† and many examples remain from secular edifices,‡ such as that from the baths of Titus,§ but their antecedent prototype and genesis are lost. As we proceed we shall see that all these historical methods of treating ceilings became the sources of the decoration of the arched edifices. Amongst the early examples of this kind of architecture for Christian uses were the small basilica of the Catacombs,|| and before proceeding to describe in detail the historical method of composing the painting of later ceilings or walls, it is better that we should consider these in the illustrations given already.¶

* Even by Perrot et Chipiez, *L'Art Perse*; see Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique*, tom. iii. and iv.

† Vol. i., pp. 111 to 113. ‡ Plates CXXXII. and CLV., vol. i.

§ Plate CLV., vol. i. || CLXXV., vol. i.

¶ See Plates CLXVIII. to CLXXVII. and CXCIX. to CCXVI., *History of Mural Painting*, vol. i.

We have seen in the earliest known compositions that they, following the architectural lines, were always, or nearly always, in rectilinear forms, and that the various incidents of a subject were not always divided one from the other. I have previously treated on this "continuous"* method.

That the Greeks, the Etruscans, and the Romans† proceeded on the same lines is also evident from existing works, and they afford additional evidence of the adherence to the Greek practice, as given in the description by Pausanias of the works of Polygnotus in the Lesche.‡ These seem to have been rendered in parallel horizontal zones, one above the other, such as are illustrated in many plates in the succeeding chapters and which have continued in use in certain localities almost until to-day. When it became desirable and necessary that the various incidents should be divided so that each may be distinguished, they were placed in separate rectangular forms. Illustrations of some of these methods amongst the Ancient Greeks are well exemplified in sculpture, in the frieze and metopes of the Parthenon marbles, in the British Museum.

The ceiling painting also followed the same broad lines. The earliest "free treatments" that I remember are those necessitated by the form of the Etruscan tombs.§

It is fair, perhaps, to speculate on the probability that, at a certain period of South Italian Art, a subject may have been spread, in its various episodes, over an entire wall space such as is suggested by some of the vases of the period,|| but I know not of the existence of an example in pagan antiquity. It is not uncommon on walls or in tapestries in later Christian times.

The next method of composition appears to be that exemplified in the wall painting of imperial Rome and Pompeii, that is, placing an incident in

* Vol. i., p. 81-101.

† Plate XXXII. and the vase Plate XXXI., vol. i.; CXIX., vol. i.

‡ *History of Mural Painting*, vol. i., p. 15, and Plate CXIX.

§ *Ibid.*, see Plate LII., vol. i.

|| *Ibid.*, see Plates XXVIII. and XXX., vol. i.

a central quadrangular space and surrounding it by ornament, either of an architectural or other species of design, so that it forms part of the ornamentation* of the whole wall or ceiling. This method is unusual in early Christian painting in Europe. It is not improbable that it would have been common in early Alexandrine churches before Byzantine influence dominated, had any remained for our study.

The placing of figures or subjects in subsidiary positions† as details of ornament, or as architectural adjuncts, such as capitals, columns, or bases, was done both in sculpture and painting.

The panelling of the walls of the principal rooms was frequently of natural and conventional ornament conjoined.‡

We now come to a type of composition quite new, but which eventually, both in the ornamentation of the walls of the circular arched architecture and in domed and vaulted ceilings, became common. I have already referred to many examples, but shall call attention to their variation and development in proceeding.

When a building has an arched colonnade as part of the structure, the epistyle (above the arches) admits of an entirely different method in the compositions of its painting to that of a wall over a

PLATE XXVII.



OUR LADY. FROM THE CORRIDOR OF THE SENTINELS, AURELIAN WALL (? ABOUT 600).

PLATE XXVIII.



S. JOHN. FROM S. PETRUS IN VINCULIS, SIXTH CENTURY. NOW IN THE LATERAN MUSEUM.

straight lintel. The compositions may still be in rectangular forms, as at S. Maria Antiqua in Rome, S. Angelo in Formis, S. Savin in France, or Oberzell in Germany, or they may follow the space formed by the circular lines of the arch, as in the painting of the Crucifixion at S. Angelo in Formis, Plate LXXIV., or in the mosaics of Palermo or Monreale (Plate LXXV.). A sort of precedent of this method is formed in the insertion of figures in such spaces in early Roman decoration, especially in its sculptured panels.* In some churches of this period, as at Palermo, the arch is so stilted that a standing figure symmetrically fills the space above the capital, and it may be suggested that the construction was purposely so contrived for the figure. The varieties of design which were developed from practice, as round-arch architecture proceeded, will afford us occasionally a keynote to the probable origin of the school of design of a particular nationality or locality.

I am considering, as the reader may observe, one by one, the influences that affected painting, both as to its subjective composition and technicality. The ordering of these is difficult, but I have as far as possible arranged them historically. Amongst the influences affecting the technical character of painting was the great impetus given to wall

* *History of Mural Painting*, Plates CXXVI., CXXXV., CXLIV., CXLV., CXLVI., vol. i.

† *Ibid.*, Plates CXXIX., CXXXII., CXXXVI., CXLVIII.-IX., vol. i.

‡ *Ibid.*, Plates CXXX., CLXXXV., CLXXXVI., vol. i.

* Such as in Plates CLXXIV.-V., vol. i.

mosaic in Europe from the end of the fourth century.

When mosaics appear to have been rising to their zenith, the designing of Christian subjects was commencing to be elaborated and complicated in their composition; symbolism and imagery, as well as scriptural legends written on the background or on scrolls, were introduced into these compositions to render them not only beautiful as art and devotional from a religious point of view, but a popular method of teaching.

Mosaic was not the equal of painting in any of the more subtle, more refined and more expressive phases of Art; it had its own characteristics, and in the use of mosaic we must remember what they were and really are. It requires scale and simplicity; the small mosaic works, composed of minute smalti, are only works of dexterity or amusement; other arts fulfil the object to which they are often devoted in a better way. Its great effect in large work results from the varying angles of the facettes of the larger cubes, so that the light shimmers in a multitude of reflections. It thus gives an interest by this variety of tone and reflections to large masses of gold or colour, and there its virtue ends. To those who prefer glitter and shimmer it appeals very strongly, and to such tastes it is fascinating.* It has often struck me that jewels fascinate some persons in the same way.

* The position of the Byzantine Empire, with its power and enormous wealth in the ninth century, enabled its emperors to indulge in fantastic luxuries, and to introduce into Byzantine Art foreign elements. We are told that Theophilus "built in imitation of the great palace of the caliphs at Bagdat at Byras on the Asiatic shore.¹ The varied form, the peculiar arches and coloured decorations, the mathematical tracery, and the rich gilding, had induced John, the Grammarian, when he visited the Caliph Metassem as ambassador from Theophilus, to bring back drawings and plans of this building, which was totally different from the Byzantine style then in use." (*Finlay*, vol. ii., p. 179.)

Concerning the remarks I have already made about Eastern jewelry, the same author says: "In works of Art, the Emperor's taste appears not to have been very pure. A puerile vanity induced him to lavish enormous sums in fabricating gorgeous toys of jewelry."² He even prostituted the talents of such a man as Leo to design these works, although highly scientific appliances were associated with them.

¹ *Contin.*, 61.

² *Ibid.*

If it is preferred to painting as more durable* the preference is mistaken, for there is not the slightest doubt but that, if the durability of mosaic and certain methods of painting were tried by a court taking evidence, the painting would have the best chance of a verdict in its favour; wherever

* There is not, I believe, an unrestored ancient mosaic, and the restoration is most expensive. At the time that the figures of the saints were executed on the Lumniare, the tomb of S. Cecilia was ornamented with mosaic work the pattern of which can no longer be recognised.

As to the durability of real fresco, it is worth considering those from the house from "La Farnesina" (see Plates CXXXV.-CXXXVIII., vol. i., *History of Mural Painting*). "The pavements of this noble mansion are only 8 metres and 20 centimetres above the level of the sea, and about 3 metres above that of the river. During the four months employed by us in removing the frescoes and the stucco panels, the Tiber entered the house *five times*. Taking ten times as a yearly average, the paintings and the stuccoes must have been washed by ordinary floods four thousand times, from the age of Augustus, to which the house belongs, to the fall of the empire; and yet frescoes and stuccoes were in perfect condition, and showed no sign of having been spoilt by water." (*The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, by R. Lanciani, p. 15, 1897.)

Concerning the remains at the corner of the Via Merulana and Leopardi: "The apse and the niches were covered with exquisite landscapes in the style of those of Livia's Villa at Prima Porta. These have since all faded away except a few bits under shelter of the niches."

From the above one gathers that damp and exposure to the intense heat of the sun in the open air will destroy fresco, which must therefore be kept in shadow *when exposed*. Neither light nor damp alone injure them permanently. If they had been mosaic in either of the above cases, they would by the ponderance of the tesserae have all fallen to pieces. If oil had been used, good light would be imperative.

The Romans had inherited a method of painting which was called *in udo pariete pingere*, another *in cretula pingere*, of which Vitruvius, vii., 3, speaks thus: "Colores autem udo tectoris cum diligentur sunt inducti, ideo non remittunt." Professor Middleton has collated Pliny's account with that of Vitruvius, and finds that the latter borrowed it word for word without acknowledgment, an unusual occurrence with him. Winckelmann's opinion is against fresco simply because some of the work "scaled" off. This is inconclusive evidence, as in pure fresco, if the artist is using his pigment mixed thickly with the lime white, and the wall has commenced to dry, the adhesion is often imperfect, as the exudation of the silicate from the sand has ceased to penetrate and saturate the upper pigment; or, the lime may have been too stale. In the revival many of the frescoes by Correggio were very solidly painted, but he took care that his wall was quite wet, and it will be seen in examining some heads, which are or were in the collection of Earl Dudley, that the painter has strongly worked into even the stucco of the wall with his full brush. There cannot be any

the wall is damp or shaky or the roof plaster weak, the mosaic falls by its own weightiness. But the fault, historically, of mosaic is that, whenever it has been fashionable, to use an ordinary phrase, wall painting has suffered violence in its more beautiful qualities, not only because the wall painter who had to design the mosaic became less careful of his technique as a painter, having to work to the necessities of mosaic, but that it was a material circumventing all the more subtle parts of thought, design and execution.

It will thus be found, on examining the history of painting, that the great mosaic periods are not those in which mural painting flourished. A modern author* has said of it that it is "no art practised directly by the

doubt but that the staining of the wall using little if any solid colour is the most durable, if not the most effective method of execution.

Da Vinci seems to have experimented with his work, and Kugler is of opinion that he used oil. If he did and the wall was not perfectly dry, there would be saponification, and of course destruction.

The picture of the fourteenth century opposite the "Da Vinci," in the same refectory, only in distemper, is much more perfect in execution, for durability.

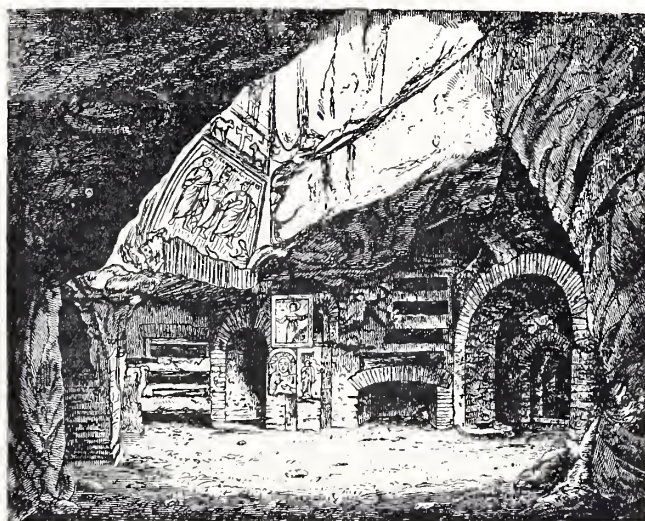
* *Woermann and Woltmann*, vol. i., p. 166.

PLATE XXIX.



S. CECILIA. FROM THE CATACOMB NAMED AFTER HER, OF ABOUT THE SIXTH CENTURY.

PLATE XXX.



THE CRYPT OF S. CECILIA, CEMETERY OF S. CALLIXTUS, SHOWING THE POSITION OF PLATES XXIX. AND XIX.

hand of a creative artist, but only a laborious industry which by fitting together innumerable minute blocks produces a copy."

It may here be a convenience if I give the reader a few of the approximate dates of great mosaic works.* At the end of the fourth century the apse of S. Pudentiana was commenced. The church was restored by Pope Siricus in 398. This mosaic was last restored in 1588. That of S. Sabina on the Aventine about A.D. 422-433; the only old parts are in the entrance hall; and the small subjects in

S. Maria Maggiore, A.D. 432-440. All the existing mosaics are "restored;" the large subject in the apse is of much later date.

The transept of the Basilica of S. Paul, A.D. 440, is now restored. The mosaic of SS. Cosmos and Damian in the Forum, A.D. 526-530. Those of Ravenna, Galla Placida, 450.† S. Appolonia Nuovo, about 553-556. That of S. Sophia, in Constantinople, was commenced in 532, but most of those now

* It is curious that at this very period not only did painting in Europe become worse, but that the walls became less skilfully prepared for the painting—the whole process of the art seems to have suffered.

† Some of the restoration is done in stucco. See *Crowe and Cavascacelle*, vol. i., 2nd ed., p. 35.

remaining are of later date. All these mosaics show serious signs of repair.

One has only to look at the monotony of design in the rows of figures in the large churches of Ravenna to wonder what subjective interest beyond the decorative effect could then have been found in the work. Of course, they are *now* interesting from other points of view.

Whilst, however, mosaic was in vogue in Europe painting also was preserved in the East. Libanus* tells us that the young men forsook the schools of the rhetoricians and philosophers of Antioch and streamed in crowds to the studios of the painters. This shows that it was attempted to give a new life to painting, even in Syria. Later on, this was, however, completely checked by the Iconoclastic movement.

In the earlier pages, the personal influence of certain patrons of Christian art has been referred to. Constantine himself was a great promoter of architecture, and laws were enacted in his time to promote the training of architects, painters, sculptors, and workers in mosaic, and all of these had specific legal exemptions from other duties. In A.D. 375 and afterwards, the Emperors Valentinian† and Gratian also granted important privileges to artists.‡

In the West, although Cassiodorus tells us that in the time of Theodoric a population of statues existed in Rome for the artists to study, yet the tradition of fine design became gradually lost, and the attitudes and draperies became almost stereotyped, because "the life" was too little considered. With the decline of its power, the decay of its virility and the lapse of Roman influence, the degradation of its Art was certain: in A.D. 476 the Roman

Empire in the West ceased. It was at one time thought that the invasion of the Goths precipitated the downfall of the Arts. The sack of Rome by Alaric in 410, when all its citizens were reduced, is, of course, one of the principal reasons why painting at this period for a while declined in Rome. At first, of course, the general upset would impede Art and literature, but immediately afterwards the Ostrogothic kings tried to recover the arts and literature, for they studied Greek and Latin, and encouraged them during their reign in Rome. After their departure we find many periodical revivals. John III. restored many catacombs and their paintings, Gregory I. helped, and the stand made against the Iconoclasts by Gregory II. and III. was the occasion for many Greek artists to come to Italy. Pope Zacharias, a Syrian Greek, encouraged Eastern artists, and we see some of the results in the newly discovered Basilica S. Maria Antiqua.

Yet painting had almost declined to its utmost in Rome, despite these encouragements, when in the ninth century, in Greece, a new era commenced which was reflected in Italy later on, and its influence is in evidence in the best work in S. Clemente.*

It appears that its greatest effect upon Italy was in the eleventh century, under Bruno and the other Popes elected by the influence of Hildebrand, as well as of that Pontiff himself: his efforts were continued by Urban II.

All these had been Abbots of Cluny, and I think that the power and influence of the Abbey of Cluny gave considerable impulse to Art all over Europe. It had a rule that every Cluniac Benedictine, no matter where living, had to be professed by the Abbot himself.

If we survey the character of peoples impartially, we shall find that the Gothic and so-called Celtic races were eminently artistic. The great renaissance of the thirteenth century commenced amongst people affiliated to the former races.

For my own part, I cannot see any real advance in European design outside of Greece after this of the eleventh century, when it had reached to

* Libanus, *De professoribus*, quoted by Emeric Davi, *Hist. de la peinture au Moyen-age*, 1842, p. 14.

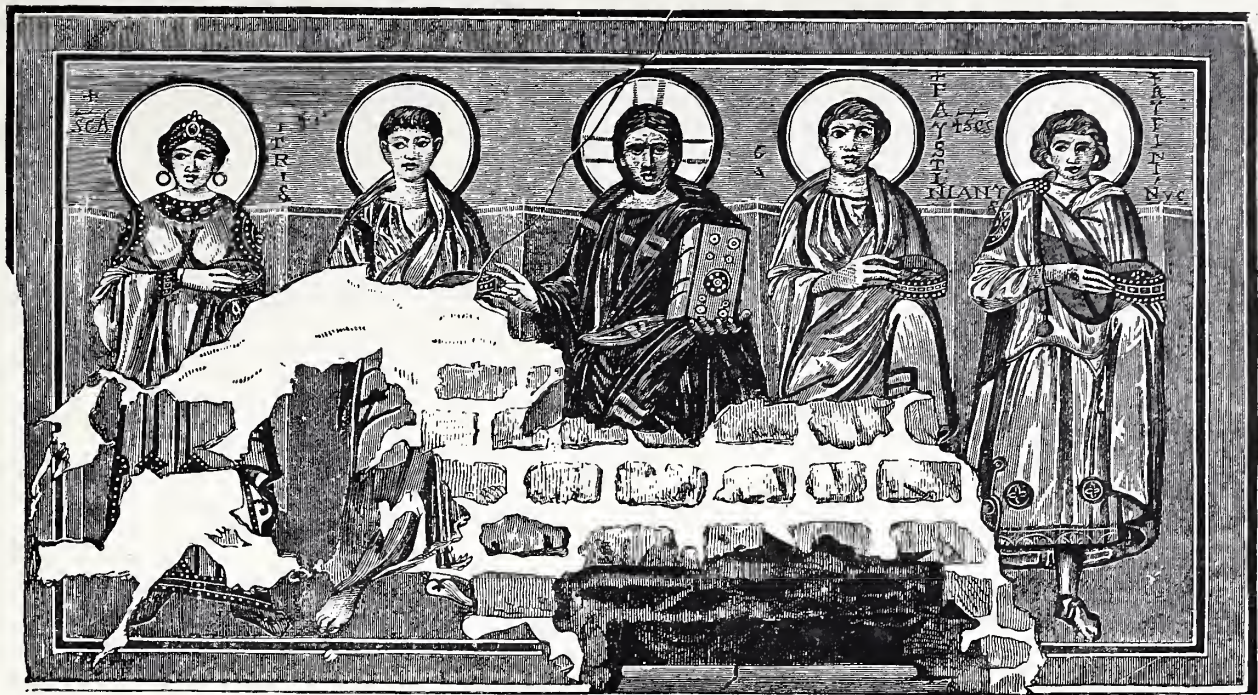
† D'Agincourt, vol. i., vi., quoting Ammianus Marcellinus,¹ says: "Valentinian knew how to paint and model with taste; he framed advantageous laws in favour of the Greek and Roman schools of literature. Theodosius also ordered Constantinople and Antioch to be embellished with palaces, baths and other buildings.

¹ "Scribens decorè venustè-que pingens et fingens." (L. xxx. c. 9.)

‡ Richter, *Die Mosäiken von Ravenna*, chap. iv., 1878.

* See Plate LVIII.

PLATE XXXI.



OUR LORD WITH THE SAINTS SS. SIMPLICIUS, FAUSTINUS, RUFINUS AND BEATRIX. FROM THE CEMETERY OF GENEROSA. FRESCO IN CUBICULUM BEHIND THE BASILIA. SEVENTH CENTURY, ROMANO-BYZANTINE.

a fairly complicated state, until the time of the Pisani and Cimabue; variations of quality in the work and drawing, more or less ingenuity of designing, are to be found, but it appears to me that it was either imported or preserved in the West by successive and continual replenishment from the East, which soon commenced itself to stand still. It is one of the most curious phases of Art history that this development itself should have been, some centuries later, ultimately checked in the East and its progress transferred to the West. Doubtless the East and the West, even in later centuries, would have gone hand in hand in the developments of the art of the painter but for a curious and most *reasonable* law practised in the former, certainly more *reasonable* than artistic, namely, that there should be a dogmatic recipe* for the

composition of scripture subjects. I think it arose thus. The gradual formation of Christian imagery and iconography, which is illustrated in its commencement in the last volume and continued in this, began about the fifth century to grow with rapidity and to almost entirely supplant all other art in Christian countries, and representations of certain historical events were designed in different ways, according to tradition or the imagination of the painter. It may have been considered that, as an event could only have occurred in one way, these varied representations would cause some difficulty in realising the event in the vulgar mind.

A Greek monk, writer and painter (Dionysius),* collected and arranged what was considered an orthodox method of depicting the various subjects. This method of dogmatising on the methods of representation commenced at a much earlier period than the manuscript could have been writ-

* This recipe form of picture was evidently already defined before the second Council of Nice in A.D. 787, when the following observations in defence of pictures show that it was common: "The composition of a picture is not the painter's own invention, but the law and approved tradition of the Catholic Church, for what is ancient should be honoured, as S. Basil saith."

* This has been translated by M. le Dr. Paul Durand, and published with an introduction by M. Didron (Paris, 1845). Various authors assign different dates to this MS., ranging from the twelfth to the thirteenth centuries. The book is more fully considered in the Greek chapter.

ten, and had both its merits and demerits; on one hand, it prevented very absurd compositions, at a time when the texts of the events were not in everyone's hand; on the other, it prevented the development of composition and the correction of traditional mistakes or misreadings. It is part of that system which has entirely changed the Art of the East, from being inventive in design and varied in method of execution in interesting ways, to a system of the *quasi* manufacture of pictures which exercise neither the imagination nor the intellectual reflections of artists.* We know that in the frequent decadences of Italian art it gained a firm footing in Italy, and Greek methods and artists dominated in some parts till the fourteenth century. The gradual displacement of the Greeks by national Art must necessarily form one of the themes of the succeeding volumes.

It is now necessary to give some historic accounts of the paintings illustrated in this chapter and to return to the fifth century to commence with.

When the cemeteries ceased to be burial places, about A.D., 410-427, they still remained as places of the most intense devotion and the resort of pilgrimages. S. Damasus and the succeeding Pontiffs continually added little basilicas or oratories to those in which public devotion was carried on.

It is, however, remarkable that the structure of

these oratories was not so perfect, especially in the plastering, as the old Roman cubicula, in which it was particularly good and solid, preserving the painting and allowing of a higher finish. The later plaster is carelessly made, and the painting is neither so sound nor so good as most of the earlier work.

Pope S. Damasus appears to have been a person of great taste and judgment: not only did he have paintings executed but also the beautiful inscriptions by Filoculus.* These inscriptions were imitated by the direction of the successor of Damasus, S. Siricus, but the work is inferior. S. Damasus himself was buried above ground near the Cemetery of Domitilla. It should be remembered that he was assisted by the learned and holy Jerome, who was his secretary.

Amongst the works of S. Damasus in the Cemeteries was the reconstruction and enlargement, with a new staircase and vestibule, of the

CEMETERY OF S. CECILIA,

with its luminaria. This appears to have been covered with marbles and mosaics, but the decay of the walls and falling to pieces of the latter set in at a very early date, and paintings were executed upon the replastered and decayed mosaic. One of these, a picture of S. Cecilia (Plate XXIX.), is apparently of about the end of the fifth century, or a little later; it gives us a fair example of the effect of early Byzantine influence, especially, as I have previously remarked, in the patterning and the pearling of the draperies and headgear, which afterwards became so pronounced a feature.

There are also some paintings of character in the luminaria done at a later period, when the cemetery was reopened, probably in the time of Pope Sixtus! Three figures of Saints, Polycannes, Sabustranus and Cyprimus, of very much better workmanship than most of the sepulchral art of the period, are especially remarkable. This ground†

* I fear the same influence is at work in our own days. Certain shops sell "sets," or pictures copied from prints or paintings, for the design or copyright of which they have never paid a farthing, nor from them has the artist received the least compensation. A flagrant instance is that a series of paintings designed by *Fuhrich*, which have been copied in a manner injurious to the reputation of the artist, and totally unfit for the edifices containing them, thus disfiguring the building. Reproductions of these and other works are to be seen in very many of the *churches* of England, Ireland and Scotland, and in many churches of the continent. Nor was *Fuhrich* the only sufferer; other painters' works are poached in the same way. Christian art must suffer in the West as it did in the East from this, for every simple composition painted by an artist causes *Art* to grow in its channel. Poverty is sometimes pleaded; but, if one looks around and sees money wasted in gewgaws and bad statuary, one considers that all endeavour to proceed is sacrificed to whim, caprice and bad taste, under the excuse of economy, or to the importunities of the commercial traveller and his bribes. It must be remembered that such copies are not equal, as Art, to a good print.

* See the chapter on Ornament.

† In the area of SS. Soteris and Hibenius, in the Cemetery called S. Callixtus, of the end of the fourth century.

was the property of S. Cecilia and of the *gens* to which she belonged, and here her body was found.

There is hardly space here for the insertion of the beautiful history of her martyrdom and of the finding of her body: it is fully recorded by many authors, amongst others by Drs. Brownlow and Northcote, in their work, so often quoted.*

I have inserted hereafter an outline from D'Agincourt, of considerably later date (Plate XLIII). It represents S. Cecilia appearing to Pope Pascal (A.D. 817-824), and suggesting to him the place of her interment. The painting was formerly over the portico of the Church of S. Cecilia in Trastevere. This church was built by John the Twelfth in the tenth century. All these paintings are now destroyed, and the engraving is taken from a drawing in the Barberini Library. The drawings of the paintings were executed under the superintendence of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, whose memory deserves to be perpetuated for his taste in preserving memorials of these and other paintings. Plate XLII. represents the preaching of SS. Peter and Paul and their martyrdom. The picture is taken by D'Agincourt from Ciampini,† and by Ciampini from the Church of *St. Andrea in Barbara*, now demolished. Ciampini considered the work to be of about the sixth century, but it is undoubtedly very

* Pp. 317-319, vol. i.

† Vol. i., chap. vii., Plate XXV.

PLATE XXXII.



SS. OPTATUS AND XYSTUS (SIXTUS). FROM THE CEMETERY OF S. CORNELIUS.

PLATE XXXIII.



SS. CORNELIUS AND CYPRIAN. FROM THE CEMETERY OF S. CORNELIUS.

much later. S. Andrea was built upon the ruins of the Basilica Sicinia in the fifth century.

Of a similar character in its jewellery to the picture of S. Cecilia, but rather more severe in its design, is a figure of S. John of the sixth century (Plate XXVIII.), from

S. PETRUS IN VINCULIS.

It is now in the Lateran museum, and is a good typical example of its period. Of about the same period is the figure of Our Lady from

THE CORRIDOR OF THE SENTINELS

(Plate XXVII.) in the Aurelian Wall, a most interesting early example of a type of representation which has since become common.

Passing to the seventh* century, we have an illustration (Plate XXXI.) of a picture from the

CEMETERY OF GENEROSA.†

It is situated in the cubiculum behind the basilica. The head of Our Lord from this fresco has already

* Mr. Parker thinks the sixth, *Catacombs*, p. 66. The bodies of the Martyrs were translated by Leo II. to the Church of S. Bibiana, in A.D. 682.

† Generosa is the name of a Christian lady who founded a small and what may be called a suburban cemetery on the site of the ancient sacred grove of the College of Arvales, Via Portuensis; it is outside the zone of the larger ones. In 1868, during excavations made by Dr. Henzen and De Rossi, at the expense of the King

been illustrated and described in the first chapter. This is a painting of better character and workmanship than many of the Cemetery paintings. In this subject our Lord stands, blessing, and holding the Book of the Gospels; on either side are two Saints. Two names are legible, one is effaced, and one partly effaced. There is, however, no doubt but that the names were SS. Simplicius, Faustinus, Rufinus and Beatrix.

The picture is, I think, a good example of the developed Romano-Byzantine style. Its excellence can be appreciated by comparing it with a subject of similar treatment (Plate XXXVI.)—I think of later date.

and Queen of Prussia, a small basilica was discovered, and behind the apse of this basilica a cubiculum. On one side of the wall of the cubiculum were some paintings of the seventh century. In the centre stood our Lord, blessing, and holding the Gospels; on His left-hand side SS. Faustinus and Rufinus; on the right, one name is effaced. The other figure—a lady—has only the last letters of her name, "TRIS." Fragments of later discovery would complete the name, "VIATRIS" (Beatrice).

Simplicius and Faustinus were martyrs in the persecution of Diocletian, and the cemetery was then in existence. It is related that their bodies were thrown into the Tiber, and were recovered by their sister Victrix, or Beatrix, near the place called *Adseptum Philippi*, on the Via

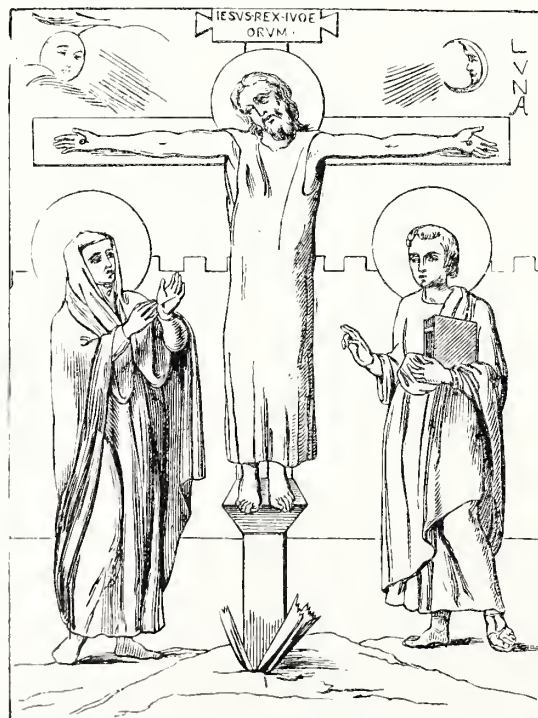
PLATE XXXIV.



THE CRUCIFIXION. FROM THE CRYPT OF SS. JOHN AND PAUL ON THE CÆLIAN HILL.

basilica by Pope Leo. III., but there is considerable difference of opinion as to the date of its execution.* Plate XXXIV. is from the Crypt of

PLATE XXXV.



THE CRUCIFIXION. FROM THE CEMETERY OF S. VALENTINE. ADOPTED FROM ARINGHI. IT IS OF THE EIGHTH OR NINTH CENTURY. A SKETCH OF THIS IN ITS PRESENT CONDITION IS GIVEN IN PLATE XLVIII.

The paintings of four Saints (Plates XXXII., XXXIII.) are in the little "basilica" of

S. CORNELIUS, POPE,

near the Cemetery of S. Calixtus, which was made by St. Leo in the years 440-461 A.D. It is now part of the great Cemetery and is between that of S. Lucina and S. Calixtus. The painting probably forms part of the restoration of this

SS. JOHN AND PAUL ON THE CÆLIAN HILL.

In this our Lord appears to have been painted with two

Portuensis. She took shelter in the house of Lucina, but was apprehended; and she was suffocated after being imprisoned. Lucina recovered the body, and it was interred at Sextus Philippus.

The relics of these saints were translated to S. Bibiana in A.D. 682—the paintings must have preceded that date, as the opening to obtain the relics is cut through the painting. There also remains part of inscription of Pope Damasus concerning these martyrs. It is possible that the paintings are as early as the sixth century.

See also for its history, *Scavi del Bosco Sacro, &c., pubblicata da Gugl. Herzen, Roma, 1868.*

* See *Roma Sott.*, Eng. ed., vol. i., p. 187, vol. ii., pp. 206, 236; Roller's *Catacombs*, vol. ii., p. 336; Parker's ditto, p. 21.

angels on either side. This picture at SS. John and Paul's is very much decayed, and it is only fair to say that it is not in condition for judgment to be pronounced upon it. It is probably as late as the ninth century. There is also in this church an interesting painting of the Crucifixion (Plate XXXIV.), which, with that from the Cemetery of S. Valentine (Plate XXXV.), is hereafter compared with that in *S. Maria Antiqua*.*

Following the portrait of our Lord from the Cemetery of Genesora, in the first chapter, was that from the

CEMETERY OF PONZIANO.

In the same cemetery there are some paintings, supposed on good authority to be of about the years 858-867† A.D., at which time Pope Nicholas I. restored the cemetery. These are all interesting, but especially one subject, the Baptism of Our Lord (Plate XXXVIII.). It is over an arch on a painted wall in the baptistry of the crypt.

* See Plate XLIX.

† Amongst the paintings of that period that are lost, were some discovered in 1702 in the walls of a buried church near the Tor de Specchi. They have since decayed.

PLATE XXXVI.



OUR LORD WITH THE ARCHANGELS ON EITHER SIDE. FROM THE CHURCH OF SS. JOHN AND PAUL ON THE CÆLIAN HILL.

Below the Baptism is a painted jewelled cross. The whole arrangement of the composition is shown in the smaller diagram (Plate XXXIX.). There are certain suggestions of resemblance in the design of the Baptism to the same subject in mosaic in the ceiling of the baptistry of S. Maria in Cosmedin at Ravenna, which renders it possible that there was some very old representation of the subject held in veneration, from which this traditional method is derived.* Certain resemblances to this design are also found continually at later dates.

The incident of the Hart, as an emblem of the Soul tasting of the fountain of the eternal water, is beautiful and interesting.

The crypt, in which the baptistry is, was made in the fourth century for the reception of the relics of the noble Persians, Abdon and Sennen,† who had been martyred. Cardinal Bartoli has recently discovered the "cella confessionis" in

PLATE XXXVII.



S. PETER BETWEEN SS. PRASSIDE AND PUDENSIANA. FROM THE CATACOMB OF S. PRISCILLA.

* See *Iconographie der Taufe Christi*, von Dr. Joseph Strzygowski (München, 1883), text and plates 1, 2, 3.

† There is a sort of representation of them given by *Avinghi*, and the costume is identical with that of Daniel at Daphne. Plate CXII. It was probably a Greek dress of the period, of Persian origin.

which the bodies of the saints were and still are, in the church of S. Marco.

There appears in the cemetery of S. Soteris an interesting treatment in colour, probably from Byzantium. The ground is red, upon which figures of the children in the furnace in black and white are painted, a recurrence to a very ancient Greek method, whilst one other chamber has a blue monochrome ceiling.

These frescoes, although fairly well preserved, are very moderate. The three Saints, Marcellinus, Paul, and Peter (Plate XLVII.), of the same period but different in style, are painted across one of the corridors in a brick wall. These saints were all martyred in the time of Diocletian.

This church with the crypt is not far from the Cemetery of the Jews, already referred to, which is held to have been the prototype of the Christian Cemeteries.

Fifty years ago there were few examples of paintings of the

eighth, ninth and tenth centuries to be studied in Rome; but, thanks to the unearthing of the Basilicas of S. Clement and that of S. Maria antiqua, we are

PLATE XXXVIII.



THE BAPTISM. FROM THE CEMETERY OF S. PONZIANO (NINTH CENTURY, A.D. 858—67.) MUCH DECAYED.

now in a position to judge of the conditions of the Art at this period with accuracy. The Italian Government is at this time producing facsimiles of the work in the latter basilica, and until they are published I cannot get permission to draw the subjects therein, but I was allowed to examine and note their condition, character and method of execution. Awaiting the publication, I have placed references to both of the above-named churches later on; for the present therefore, I have placed those of S. Ponziano and SS. John and Paul, and that of the Four Saints in the Crypt of S. Cornelius, before them.

The quality of the Art in the Catacombs, as all students can see, varies very much.

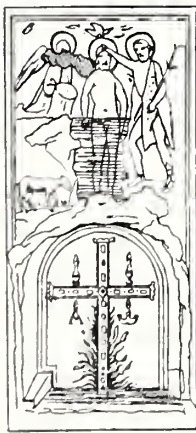
S. MARIA ANTIQUA.*

This church of S. Maria Antiqua is one

* "In 1702, a contractor named Andrea Branchi gained permission from Sister Costagna de Santacroce, Abbess of

the monastery of Rue di Specchi, to search for building materials within and near the Temple. He found the church of S. Maria Antiqua, that is to say, the inner hall of the Augusteum which had been adapted to Christian worship at the end of

PLATE XXXIX.



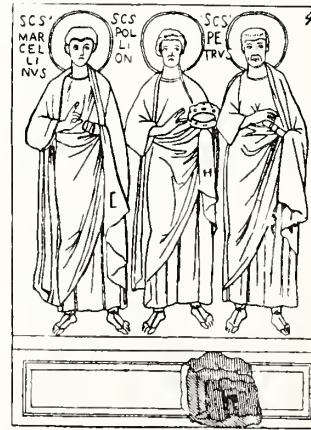
ARRANGEMENT OF THE BAPTISM IN S. PONZIANO (PLATE XXXVIII.) WITH A DECORATED CROSS BELOW IT.

PLATE XL.



PAINTINGS OF S. PYGMENIUS (WHO SUFFERED UNDER JULIAN THE APOSTATE) AND ANOTHER, UNKNOWN. FROM S. PONZIANO.

PLATE XLI.



SS. MARCELLINUS, POLLION, AND PETER. FROM S. PONZIANO.

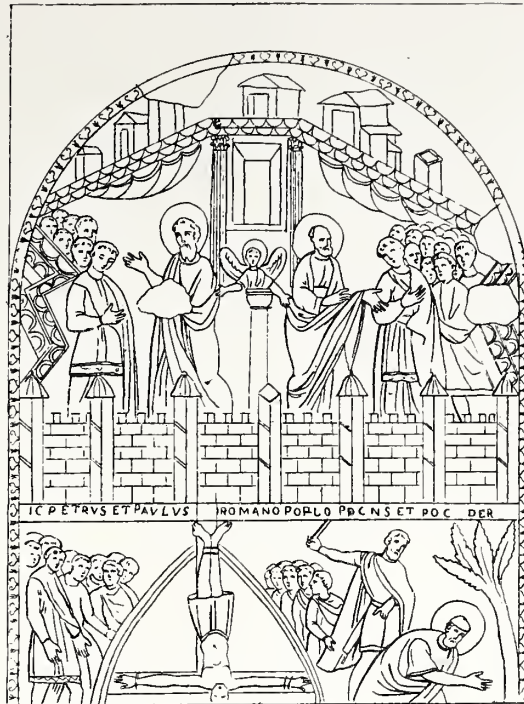
of the most interesting discoveries of modern times, it is an ancient basilica in the Roman forum at the corner of the Palatine Hill.

A church with this title is found in the catalogue of Roman churches of the seventh and early in the eighth century, and it is mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis*, in the time of John I., A.D. 705-707. Not

the fourth century and dedicated to the Virgin Mary, in opposition to the worship of Vesta, the headquarters of which were on the other side of the street. There are two descriptions of the find, one by Galleti in the Vatican Library (chron. miscell.: XXXIII.), another by Valesio in Cancellieris *solenni possessi*, p. 370. The church was level with the floor of the Augustæum and ended in an apse, with frescoes representing the Saviour and some saints; amongst these was a figure of Paul I. (757-767) with a square nimbus and the legend *Santiss Paulus Romanus Papa*. The frescoes on the walls of the aisles represented scenes in the life of the Saviour, with legends from the Gospel in Greek and Gothic Latin letters. The figure of the crucifix showed the feet nailed apart. Benedict XIV. ordered the church to be roofed over and kept open for inspection, but the order was never executed."

It was discovered, in 1885, "that the Church of S. Maria Antiqua behind the Augustæum had been put in communication with the Augustæum itself by cutting an irregular partition through the wall, seven feet thick. The sides of the passage were covered with figures of saints painted, the eleventh century with the name appended to each of them; those of the Eastern Church, led by

PLATE XLII.



THE PREACHING AND MARTYRDOM OF SS. PETER AND PAUL. FROM THE ANCIENT CHURCH OF ST. ANDREA IN BARBARA (NOW DESTROYED). CIAMPINI, VOL. I., CAP. VII., PLATE 25. HE CONSIDERS IT OF THE FIFTH CENTURY, I THINK THE EIGHTH.

PLATE XLIII.



S. CECILIA APPEARING TO POPE PASCAL I. FROM THE CHURCH OF S. CECILIA IN TRASTAVÈRE (TENTH CENTURY).

only is the basilica named, but some of the painting is notified thus, *Basilicam itaque sanctæ Dei Genetricis qui Antiqua vocatur picturæ decoravit*. The authority for this title to the newly discovered building, and indeed, for some of the paintings, will be dwelt upon in the course of the chapter.

There is every probability that the church was in use quite as early as the sixth*

Scs. Basilius, on one side; those of the Western, led by Scs. Benedictus, on the other. The two images are connected with the Basilian and Benedictine brotherhoods and convents which at that time flourished on the Palatine." (S. Cesario, in *Palatio*, and S. Sebastiano, in *Pallua*. Lanciani, *Ancient Rome*, 1897, pp. 124-5.)

"In 760 Paul I. rebuilt the Church of S. Maria Antiqua in the inner hall of the Augustæum, and raised a new one to S. Peter in the vestibule of the Temple of Venus and Rome, transformed in 850 by Leo IV. into S. Maria Nuova. This is now S. Francesca Romana." See also Mr. Rushworth's Paper, Part 1, Publications of the English School, Rome.

* There is a dispute on this point amongst such authorities as Marucchi,¹ Duchesne,² Lanciani³ and Grisar.⁴ Some would make it to have been used as a church at an earlier date, as it was known as "Antiqua" in the seventh. Into this controversy the question of painting does not enter.

¹ *Nuovo Bulletino di Archeologia Christiana*, 1900.

² *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, 1897, and *Cosmos Cattalicos* No. 3. Anno. IX.

³ *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*.

⁴ *Civiltà Cattolica*, January, 1901.

century, and then partially decorated, but the earliest recognisable paintings yet discovered are not earlier than the time of John VII. (705-707). I shall attempt hereafter to describe the works in their due order.

The entry to the sacred edifice itself is in the vestibule of the house of Caligula, from which one passes to the large Imperial Hall, which was transformed into a Christian church, and the

visitor can now see how this lent itself to the construction of the basilica with its essentials, namely, the atrium, narthex, aula or nave, and the sanctuary, with its apse and chapels. All these evidently had paintings on their walls, for where we do not find pictures or figures we find fragments of such still remaining. Underneath the exterior coat of lime-white on which the work of the eighth century is executed there are remains of even two or more coats of stucco or wash one over the other; the earliest may be of the sixth century, for there are some accounts of a church having been formed from part of, or juxtaposed with the Imperial Palace of the Palatine at this period.

I need not detail more minutely information concerning the edifice that has already been given frequently elsewhere.

In this slight account of the mural paintings I will commence with the sanctuary.

It contained, without doubt, that which at one time was the most important work; unfortunately, very little of it is in good condition. Over the arch of the apse is the Crucifixion; this really is not only the altar subject but also forms part of a series of Scripture subjects extended to the side walls. In the Crucifixion Our Lord wears only the peri-

PLATE XLIV.



THE APSE AND LEFT WALL OF SANCTUARY OF S. MARIA ANTIQUA.
IN THE FORUM, ROME.

zoneum, differing thus from the draped Crucifixion in the Chapel of St. Cyriacus hereafter described.

I have in the Greek chapter made some remarks on these various methods of representing the Crucifixion, which occur in the same MS. The differences may be intended to represent various incidents of same event.

Our Lord's head is erect and the eyes are open; the head is encircled by the cru-

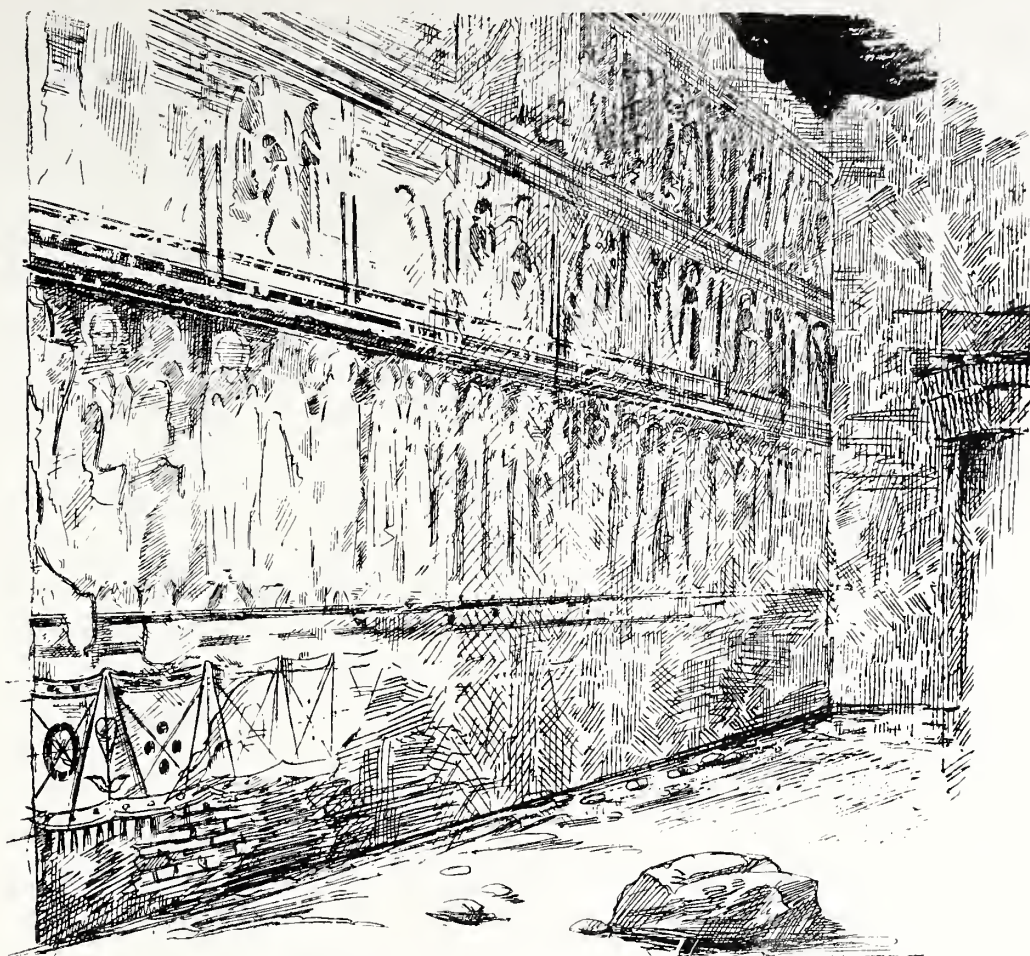
ciferous nimbus. Above the arms of the cross on either side are two seraphic heads with cherubs of six wings, full of eyes, they are supported by red clouds. There were at one time figures of Our Lady and S. John; part of the nimbus of the latter remains. At either side are zones of adoring angels;] the inner group is red, and the outer in albs, standing, their hands in front with out-turned palms and sandalled feet, on about the same plane as Our Lord. On either side of this picture there were long inscriptions*; that on the right side remains; they are painted in white letters on red. There is, in the zone below, a "many afar off," as shown in the St. Angelo work.†

In the next zone are shown four popes, two on each side of the arch of the apse; they are all nimbed with circles, except the first, who has a square. Some of the zones below this are very much decayed, and show different strata of plastering and painting. They contained full-faced figures of the Fathers of the Church, with quotations used by the Lateran Council (A.D. 649) against the Monothelite

* These are given by Marucci in *Nuovo Bulletino*, &c., 1900, p. 296, and by Mr. Rushworth, Publications of British School, Rome, vol. i., p. 60.

† Plate LXXIV.

PLATE XLV.



S. MARIA ANTIQUA. SHOWING THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE FIGURES AND SUBJECTS ON THE SIDE WALL (F ON PLAN.)

heresy ; below them is an inscription, and below this the patterned dado.

The character of the painting of the Crucifixion is, in Mr. Rushworth's opinion, more classical, or, as I have called it, Alexandrine,* but I have seen Greek work of the Tenth Century very similar in execution, possibly they are the work of an imported artist. It is surmised that this is the work done under Pope John VII. (705-707), whose connection with the church has already been alluded to. This pope was also associated with many other artistic works.†

Turning to the right-hand side of the apse, the supposed earliest work is that of Our Lady and the Divine

Child crowned, and seated on a carved and jewelled throne. They are represented in the Greek manner. Part of the left-hand side of the throne has been destroyed in the construction of the apse ;* it is, therefore, fairly conjectured that this figure is anterior to that construction and is of the same period as the marble dado, part of which is shown on the left-hand side of the apse. As the Fathers of the Church, painted on the succeeding coat of plaster, bear texts cited at the Lateran Council of A.D. 649,† these figures are supposed to have been painted A.D. 649-705, *i.e.*, before John VII. succeeded. Our Lady, therefore, being of the under decorative painting, may date back even earlier than this.

In the centre of the apse there is a grand figure of Our Lord in majesty, blessing and holding the

* This style was nearly obliterated during the occupation of the Goths.

† The mosaics of Our Lady's Chapel, the Almonry, St. Peter's, fragments in the Lateran Museum ; S. Mary in Cosmedin, and St. Mark's, Venice.

* Almost a parallel case to that at Clayton. See the English chapter.

† Quoted by Mr. Rushworth, pp. 72-73.

book of the Gospels. On either side of Our Lord was a tetramorph. The background of the upper part is blue with white stars, and the dado behind our Lord's throne is of stripes alternately red and green. Standing below on the left hand is a Pope with a square nimbus and a mitre in blue. He has black hair and a short black beard, with a rather sad expression; he was evidently a middle-aged man, and his name in two columns of letters is by his side :

SANCTISSIMVS
PAVLVS PP
ROMANVS.

This majesty is, therefore, of the time of Paul I. (757-767).

Below this painting there are traces of anterior work. The dado of the apse is of red with white interlacing circles; this would also be of the time of Paul I.; it covers up the earlier white-and-yellow hangings.

On the side walls are the following subjects, in two zones.

1.—The Adoration of the Magi. This has the addition of the Angel showing the way, as at Ravenna, and in the fragment from S. Peter's at S. Maria in Cosmedin.* This is the only subject left on this side.

On the right hand is the Presentation in the Temple. The next subject was probably the Flight into Egypt. All the other upper subjects are gone.

The lower subjects on the left hand were: the Procession to Calvary, with Simon the Cyrenian.

The lower subjects on the right hand are also nearly gone. It is probable that the first was

* And in the *Chasse de Huy*. See my sketches at Malines (Parker, London).

PLATE XLVI.



ARCHITECTURE AND PAINTINGS OF SIDE WALL, S. MARIA ANTIQUA.
F. H. ON THE PLAN.

the Holy Women at the Tomb. The next scene appears to have been Our Lord's Apparition to the Apostles and the incredulity of S. Thomas. The next scene is our Lord's Apparition on the Lake of Tiberias. The other subjects are too obliterated for surmise.

Below these scenes are the Heads of the Apostles in circular medallions; these medallions are swung on a festoon of oak leaves, black and white, on the red wall.

The dado is white, with birds in yellow circles.

On the left of the side door is a female nimbed holding an infant, supposed to be

S. Anne. On the opposite side is another figure holding a child with a cruciform nimbus.* There appears to be one other space from which a figure is gone.

Passing from the sanctuary to the chapel, on the left, facing the altar, we enter the Chapel of SS. Cuiricus and Julietta. In my opinion, some of the paintings in this chapel are the most interesting and best preserved relics of the basilica; the barrel-vaulted roof having remained to protect the work accounts in a great measure for their condition. The date of the work, which is of the eighth century, and the dedication of the chapel to SS. Cuiricus and Julietta, the son and his mother, martyrs at Tarsus in the Diocletian persecution, are both certain from the figures and inscriptions in the chapel.

* These were possibly the three mother Marias. These representations were common. They occur in Holy Trinity Church, York, on the screen at Ranworth, Norfolk, and in the Royal MSS., 2 B VII., British Museum; part of this was reproduced by myself some years since (Parker & Co.).

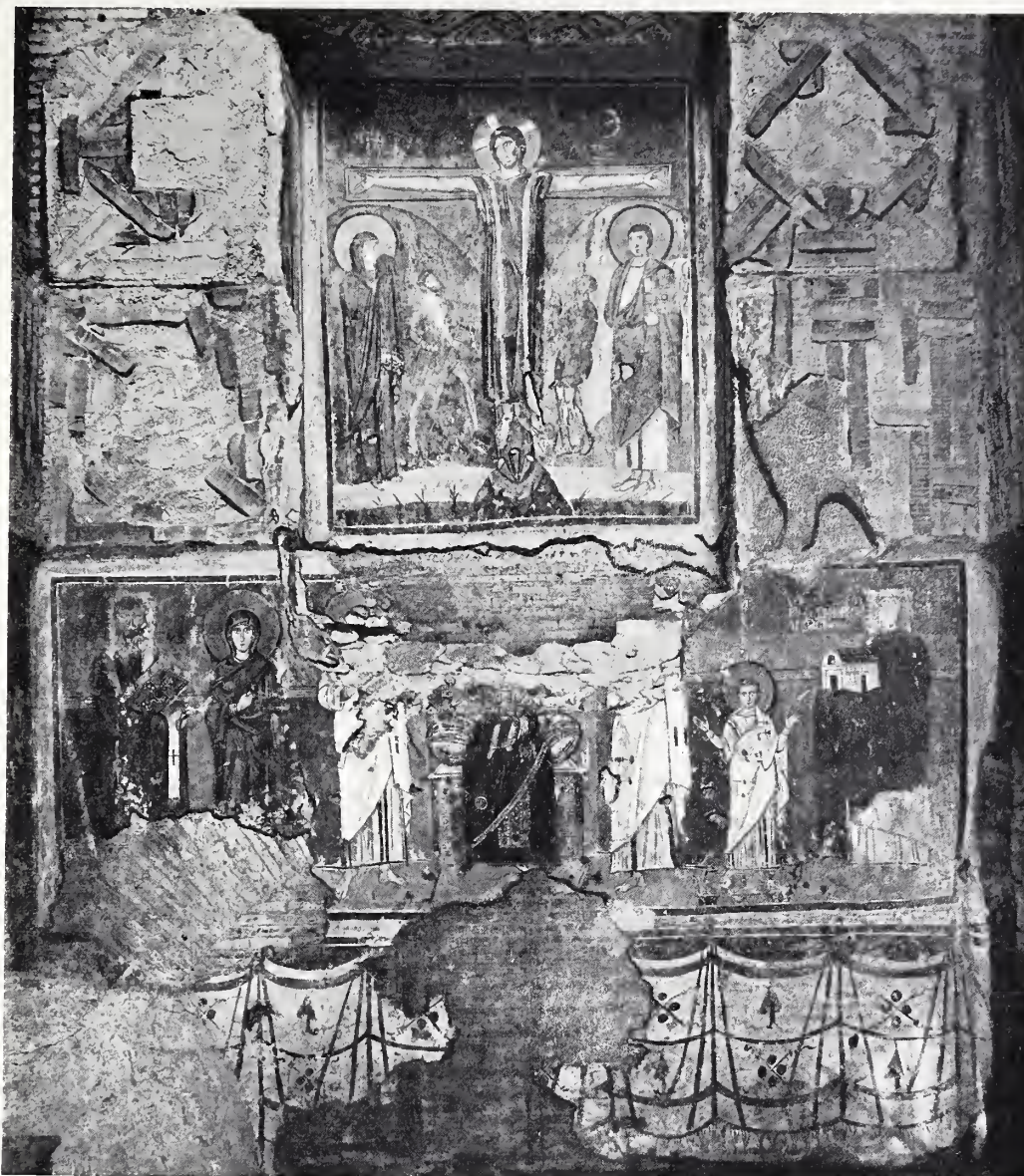
PLATE XLVII.

The chapel was divided by a low marble screen; above this was a beam. The walls are of some height, but the pictures are all arranged to be seen conveniently. Commencing with the wall over the back of the altar, we see in a square recess* a somewhat crude, but effective, picture of the Crucifixion, of which sketches are given in Plates XLVII. and XLIX.

The centre figure, Our Lord, has His arms extended straight, following the line of the cross. His eyes are partly open, the last moment has not arrived, the spear is about to be thrust by S. Longinus into His side and the sponge is being offered to Him. He is vested in a purple "colobium" with two yellow stripes, one on either side. So far the representation goes back to some very ancient type. It has already been referred to in the preceding chapter, and occurs in the illustration from the early Syriac Gospel there given. My impression is that it is of Syro-Hellenic origin, and was introduced from Byzantium into Rome. Other examples are given in this and in the succeeding chapters.

Proceeding with the description, the nimbus is

* This method of placing pictures in a recess or niche was not unusual in Italy during the Byzantine period; other examples are referred to in p. 45.



PAINTINGS IN THE CHAPEL OF SS. QUIRICUS AND JULIETTA, SANTA MARIA ANTIQUA, ROME.

of a simple cruciform character, the cross is of an ochre tint, and the titula bears the words, "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews."

+ ΙΣ Ο ΝΑΖΑΡΑΙΟΣ
Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΤΩΝ
ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ.

His feet are nailed separately, and near the ankle.

On His right-hand side stands Our Blessed Lady, vested in the *planeta*, or ample chasuble, which She usually wears in this event in Greek Art.

Her hands are raised and covered in a similar way to

that which the priest in some Eastern rites of the mass holds his hands when he commences the offering, before he brings them from under the ample chasuble.*

Her head is expressive of profound sorrow and very dignified. Her name is written at her side

perpendicularly.

S
C
A
M
A
R
I
A

On the left-hand side of

Our Lord is S. John in the usual attitude in this art; his right hand is blessing, and he holds his

* I remember when I was present at the Church of S. Francis, Notting Hill, many years ago, Fr. Issa, an archimandrite of a Greek community at Jerusalem, used the ample chasuble, and his hands were at times thus covered by it.—N. H. J. W.

Gospel in his left. Both the figures of Our Lady and S. John are rather shorter than that of Our Lord, and the Centurion and man with the sponge are much smaller.

The darkened sun and new moon are over the arms of the cross.

The colouring of the Crucifixion is interesting and effective. I took the following notes concerning it when it was first shown after its resuscitation.

The groundwork of the sky, &c., is a dark blue inclining to blackness; I am inclined to think it is a mixture of cobalt and black. The rock behind Our Lady is a laky red, rather of the character of *Rosso possuoli*,* but a little more lake-like. Behind S. John the ground is of dull green, with a yellow pathway. The flesh is low in tone, the hair brown. Our Lady has a vesture of dull purple, a little more blue than the dress of Our Lord. S. John's toga or vesture is yellow, his tunic white with red stripes, and his name is by his side, written perpendicularly, and below it "Evangelistus."

* The upper part of the niche in which the picture is painted has a red pattern, and the sides are painted with date trees, reminding one of the Ravenna Baptistry Plate LXXII.

PLATE XLVIII.



THE CRUCIFIXION IN THE CEMETERY OF S. VALENTINE, GIVEN IN PLATE XXXV. ITS PRESENT CONDITION. It shows resemblances to the same subject in S. Maria Antiqua.

S
C
S
I
O
A
N
N
I
SE
V
A
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G
E
L
I
S
T
A

S. Longinus is in green, with blue hose, and his sword hangs by a strap over his left shoulder. His name is written perpen-

dicularly at his side. The

L
O
N
G
I
N
U
S

tunic of the sponge-holder is red-brown, he has high boots and bare legs; by his side is a vessel with vinegar.

In the zone below there is a seated figure of Our Lady. This picture is also purple-blue and red. All the reds and yellows appear to be earth colours. The blues may be smalti of cobalt. I should mention that to render the walls hollow and dry, such as all painted walls should be, drain pipes are laid between the walls and the outer coats of plaster. It is also observable that some of the columns are brick, plastered upon and painted; such columns are common in houses in Pompeii, and in other antique dwellings.

Under this niche containing the Crucifixion there is a row of figures placed as shown at the foot of this page; they are on a background striped red and green. This figure (No. 7) is recognised as Theo-

1 Pope Zacharias, 741—752, with yellow chasuble, a pallium with three red crosses and a square nimbus. See Plate LIV.	2 S. Julietta, yel- low toga, glory over her head, on which is a wreath. She holds a cross and a crown.	3 S. Paul, white, with pallium	4 CENTRE. Our Lady, enthroned, vested in blue, jewelled; our Lord on her knee is in a yellow dress	5 S. Peter, white, with pallium	6 S. Cuiricus as a youth; he stands on a pedestal	7 Ecclesiastic in a russet chasuble, presenting a model of a church as a founder; he has a square nimbus, and on either side is this inscription:
---	--	---	--	--	--	--

+ THEODOVS PRIMO DEFENSORUM

ET DISPENSATORE
GENITRICIS . SEN
BIRGO . MARIA . QUI
ANTIQA

SCE . DI
PER QVE
APPELATR

dotus, who is historically known as a military official who afterwards became an ecclesiastic of position at this period. We, therefore, have here a short history of the chapel and its painting.

It is not known exactly what reasons either Theodotus or Zaccharias had for devotion to SS. Cuiricus and Julietta. The martyrs were of Tarsus, in Asia Minor, and, as Zaccharias was a Syrian, he perhaps suggested the subject of the dedication.

It is known that he approved of the accession of Pepin, and S. Cuiricus appears on one of Pepin's coins, perhaps as a compliment to Zaccharias.

It is now in order to consider the subjects on the side walls of this chapel. They consist of certain pictures and subjects from the history of SS. Quiricus, or Cuiricus, and Julietta.

Commencing on the left, we have :

(1) S. Julietta before Alexander.

(2) S. Cuiricus is placed in prison.

(3) The picture is nearly destroyed.

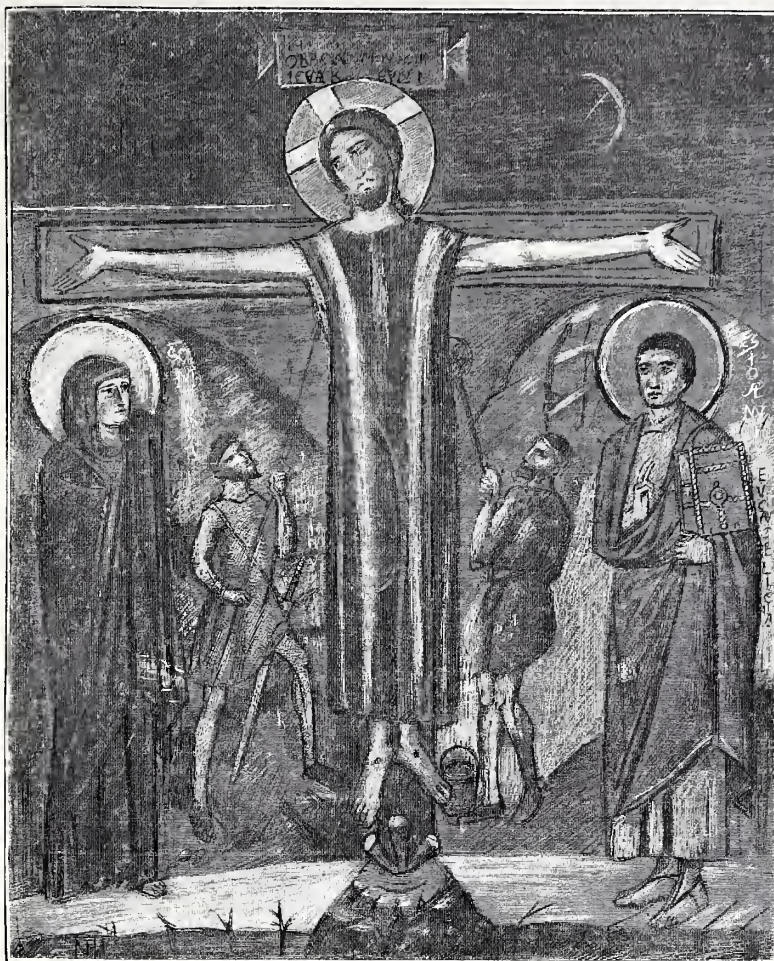
(4) S. Cuiricus is flagellated.

(5) S. Cuiricus speaks before the magistrate; behind him is his mother Julietta.

(6) SS. Cuiricus and Julietta are replaced in prison.

Here on the wall on the right is the Crucifixion.

PLATE XLIX.



THE CRUCIFIXION. FROM THE CHAPEL OF SS. QUIRICUS AND JULIETTA, S. MARIA ANTIQUA.

PLATE L.



OUR LADY AND S. JOHN. FROM A PORTABLE SILVER-GILT RELIQUARY OF THE NINTH CENTURY. ONCE IN AN ABBEY IN THE DIOCESE OF LIEGE. NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF M. VERGANIVEN, OF GHENT.*

* See sketches at Malines by N. H. J. W., 1866. (Parker and Co.)

(7) SS. Cuiricus and Julietta are tormented.

(8) S. Cuiricus is martyred by having a nail driven into his head, &c.*

On the outside of the screen there are the remains of a picture of Our Lady and her Divine Infant, and around them a group of living persons are represented. They have square nimbi. One, in a chasuble, holding a candle, in front of himself is a young boy. On the other side of Our Lady was another figure, probably a female, but the upper part is gone. Corresponding to the boy, on the other side, is a young girl. In her

hand she holds a red flower, and she wears large Greek earrings and pendants. This group probably represents the family of Theodotus offering their gift to Our Lady. We now come to the wall opposite the Crucifixion on which is a person with a yellow chasuble, holding in each hand a candle with a large base, before the Saints Cuiricus and Julietta. This figure is probably Theodotus. On the other side

* There are two accounts of these pictures easily accessible; that of Signor Marucchi, in the *Cosmos Cattolico*, and the other by Mr. Rushworth, in the *Paper of the British School of Rome* (Macmillan). The latter, I am sorry to say, has only been published as my chapter is going to press, or I should have made greater use of it. Detailed accounts of the SS. Cuiricus and Julietta paintings will be found on pp. 43-51.

of the doorway are four anonymous Saints. On the other side of the apse there is disposed a similar chapel, also painted, but of later date (*c*).

On the right and entrance walls there are certain figures with their names in Greek. There appear to have been, amongst others—SS. Demetrius-Barachision (a Persian), Dometis, Pantaleon, Celsus and, I think, Procopius. In the wall below, is a rectangular niche in a fragmentary state, having some figures nearly obliterated, with the names of SS. Cosmo, Damian, Albaciro and Stephen.

Passing into the basilica, we proceed to the peristyle, or, as we should say in a modern church, the nave and aisles, the walls of which were entirely painted; those on the right hand are best preserved. The deco-

ration (Plate LXV.) was painted in four zones; the two upper being filled with long rectangular subjects from Old Testament history, beginning with the Creation. All the earliest ones have fallen into decay, the remaining vestiges being those of the subject of the ark. Commencing on the

left is the "Death of Abel." There is next to this fragments of "The entry into the Ark,"* "The Deluge," and "Noah's Sacrifice." There is here a hiatus, from decay; then some indistinct subjects: "Jacob's dream" (?); "Jacob and the angel," "Joseph telling his dream," "He is placed on the well, and afterwards sold," "He is taken before Potiphar," "The temptation by Potiphar's wife," "He is thrown into prison with the Baker and Cupbearer," "The Banquet of Pharoah," and "The Fate of the Baker and Cup-bearer" according to the dream. In the zone underneath these pictures

This arrangement of figures is also found in the English MSS. of the fourteenth Century, 2, B. VII.—already referred to. The Serpent in the flood scene has attempted to sink the Ark by driving his tail through the bottom; a singular tradition.

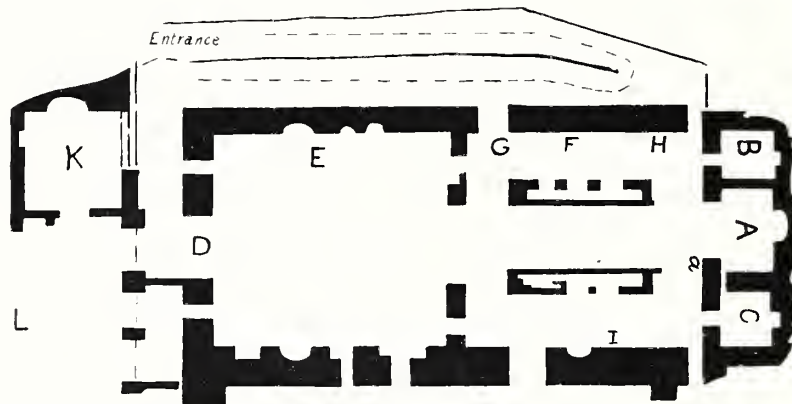
there is a grand series of saints both of the Latin and of the Greek Churches, with our Lord sitting in majesty in the centre, blessing and holding the Gospels. Each saint has his name in Greek letters vertically painted white on a blue ground; above this blue there is a broad red band. On the right of our Lord are the Latin Saints SS. Clement, Silvester, Leo, Alexander, Valentine, Abundius, Enthymius, Sabbas, Sergeus, Gregory, Bacchus x x x Mamas (?). On the left the Greeks SS. John Chrysostum, Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, Peter of Alexandria, Cyril, Epiphanius, Anastasius, Nicolas and Erasmus. All these figures appear to be of the eighth century. Below this row of saints there is a zone of drapery pattern.

Proceeding to the door (G) on the wall of the jambs, amongst other remains are three mothers holding three infants. In the centre, Mary with the Divine Infant; on the right, S. Anna with the infant Mary; and on the left, S. Elizabeth with the infant John the Baptist. This arrangement shows us that at this

period the cultus both of S. Anna and S. Elizabeth were pronounced.*

On the opposite side is represented a descent into hell. This representation does not follow the South Italian tradition,† but Mr. Rushworth gives others from MS.‡ and the sculpture in Bristol Cathedral. In all three examples Our Lord has His foot, as in the representations in S. Maria Antiqua, on the evil one. In the other representation given by Mr. Rushworth, Our Lord treads on the doors in a manner common in Byzantine art.

PLATE LI.



REFERENCE PLAN OF S. MARIA ANTIQUA.

* Mr. Rushworth says, Our Lady and two Angels.

† See S. Angelo in Formis. Plate LXXXIV.

‡ Additional 19352, see *Paper of British School at Rome*, vol. i., pp. 117, 118, 119.

In the Greek chapter this subject is dealt with in more detail. (Plates CVII., CX. and CXIV.).

Between the paintings of the Greek and Latin Fathers and the Chapel of SS. Cuiricus and Julietta, and corresponding to the height of the figures of the Fathers, are two zones of subjects with small figures (H). The subjects are supposed to represent the history of the Forty Martyrs of Antioch. These as well as the other work in this part are very much decayed. There are also the Three Children in the Furnace, and the figures of Our Lady and S. John the Baptist with Our Lord in the centre.

Passing to the aisle wall (I) opposite to that of the Greek and Latin Fathers. Very few fragments are found here, but enough to show us that the upper zones of paintings of subjects corresponded to those on the other side, but instead of the zone of figures there appears to have been a third one of subjects; fragments would lead us to suppose that they were from the New Testament. In the centre of the wall is a niche, as in the two side chapels of the apse. I have observed, elsewhere, niches for paintings were common in early Italian art. This niche has considerable fragments of the Three Holy Mothers with their children, Jesus, Anna and John the Baptist: these figures are very much later than the others on the wall, as the niche was cut into the paintings. On a pier near this is "The Annunciation," painted over the same subject previously existing there; on another pier angle is S. Demetrius; on another, Our

PLATE LII.



THE DESCENT INTO LIMBO. FROM S. MARIA, ANTIQUA. COMPARE WITH PLATES LIII., LXXXIV., CVII., CX. AND CXIV.

PLATE LIII.



THE SAME SUBJECT FROM S. CLEMENTE.

Lady holding her Infant. In another corner are considerable fragments of the Seven Maccabees and their mother Solomone. There are many other figures and fragments, such as Judith, &c., and there are a few more important paintings, such as those of SS. Agnes and Cecilia, with others, in the Great Hall and the Chapel of the Forty Martyrs (K). Lack of space compels me to omit details of these, but they can be found in the work already alluded to.* By the permission of Comm. Fiorilli and the courtesy of Comm. Boni, I was enabled to thoroughly examine the paintings, and I have made these notes before the impression they had made fades.

The most evident fact upon careful examination is that very little of the work rises to anything above a common level. I may except some of the heads, and other portions in the apsidal part, but even here the method of painting the hair with solid touches and streaks, and the drawing of the features, is exceedingly conventional. If the miniatures of the period were very much enlarged, the similitude

of the one to the other would be obvious.

The head of Our Lord in the Crucifixion in the Chapel of S. Cuiricus is, however, full of sentiment, and although the scene is of a traditional type, the artist has felt his work.

The rows of figures on the side walls of the "nave" are barely more than outline with lined

* Rushworth, p. 34.

draperies and a little shadow. Whether artists capable of more could then be obtained is a question, but the whole has an economical appearance. These figures do not gain by being compared even with those on the walls of the Parthenon,* I should not think them to be the work of Greeks, and they are certainly not by the most eminent artists. It must not, however, be imagined that the figures are without merit or dignity.

In recapitulating the dates of the paintings that are fairly authenticated we have those already described of the times of the Sovereign Pontiffs, John VII. (705 to 707 A.D.), Zacharias (741 to 752 A.D.), Paul I. (757 to 767 A.D.), possibly those of Stephen III., Nicholas I. and those of Adrian I. (774 to 795 A.D.).

I have taken some of these particulars of the history of this basilica from the contributions of the various authors named in my footnote, but I have visited it many times to form my own opinion on the paintings. To those who would thoroughly study the basilica there will be soon, if it is not already published, the magnificent work by the Italian Government. † I have seen some of the copies of the paintings,

* Plate CII.

† It was advanced in the spring of 1901, and Comm. Boni said then, it would soon be published. It has not yet appeared.

PLATE LIV.

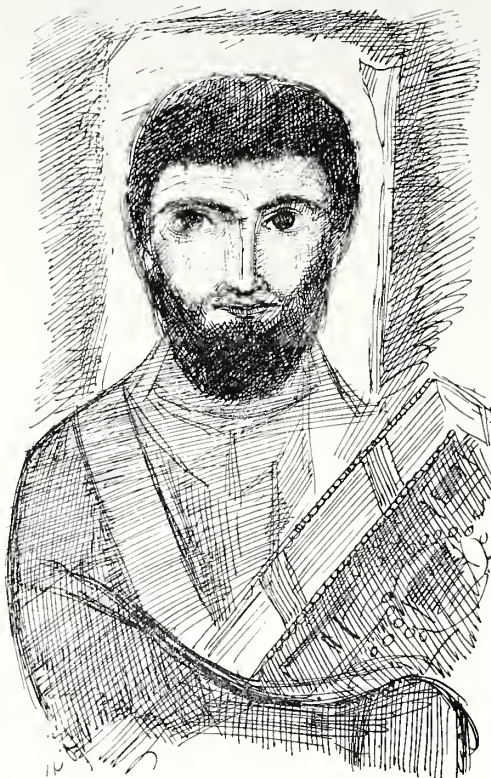


PLATE LV.



SKETCHES OF THE PORTRAIT OF POPE ZACHARIAS, PLATE LIV. AND A SUBJECT FROM S. MARIA ANTIQUA, RIGHT HAND SIDE OF THE APSE.

made for this purpose when they were being executed in the building itself, and I was almost deceived into supposing them to be originals; they are quite to be relied upon.

The ancient wall-paintings in

S. CLEMENT'S,

which form the subjects of some of the illustrations of this chapter, are in the subterranean church underneath the more modern but still ancient basilica which now claims the title. The excavations were commenced in 1858, and continued after 1861 by Father Mullooly, the prior of the Dominicans occupying the basilica, and continued by him and his successors ever since. Prior Mullooly died in 1880, after having gained for the world these treasures, upon the subjects of which he was of considerable authority.

It is unnecessary here to go into the disputed paternity of S. Clement, to whom the basilica is dedicated. It is sufficient to observe that this lower church is mentioned by S. Jerome in A.D. 392, and was in A.D. 417, occupied by a Council of the Church. In 1084, during the disputes concerning the papacy, Robert Guiscard took possession of Rome, and comprised in the great destruction he caused was this lower church, which was almost laid

level to the ground. It appears that the remains and the site were partially filled with

earth, and upon this, in A.D. 1108, Pope Pascal II. commenced the building of the present basilica, having taken from the lower building many of its original and more ancient portions, such as the ambo and portions of the choir. These are sufficiently described in other works, and moreover do not belong to our theme. This lower church was very much larger than the present upper one, and appears to have been most elaborately painted, probably by the best artists of its times—namely from the fourth to the eleventh centuries. Referring to our illustrations, and commencing at the vestibule, there is a picture of Our Lord blessing in the Greek manner; the figure is short and not unlike that in "Generosa";* on either

side are SS. Michael, Andrew, Gabriel and Clement, before him kneel SS. Cyril and Methodius. The archangels wear broad, jewelled, magisterial palliums similar to those in *S. Angelo in Formis*. In this vestibule also is the fresco illustrating the finding of a child alive by its mother, at the altar of S. Clement (Plate LXI.), the child having previously been drowned in the sea, and a year later thrown on shore. Below this picture there is a portrait of S. Clement, with portraits of the family of the donor grouped around it. The inscription is as follows: EGO BENO DE RAPIZA PRO AMORE ET BEATI CLEMENTIS PINGERE FECIT. This picture is of the first decade of the eleventh century. On the right hand side of the same vestibule is the picture of the translation of the relics of S. Cyril from the Vatican to S.

* See Plate XXXI.

PLATE LVI.



OUR LADY AND HER DIVINE CHILD. FROM S. CLEMENTE. SUPPOSED TO BE OF THE NINTH CENTURY, BUT PROBABLY EARLIER.

blindness. Small pictures of the donor Beno and his wife are on the left hand; below this subject is the inscription EGO BENO DI RAPIZA CUM UXORE MEA. The lower zone contains a picture of Sisinius having a column bound in lieu of S. Clement. This picture is also of the eleventh century.

The side of the pier has paintings of the same date (Plate LV.), representing SS. Anthony, Giles, Blaize, and Daniel in the Lions' Den. The detail of these paintings, which is similar to that of the larger fresco, is interesting and shows the degraded form the Acanthus† and other ancient orna-

* See Lanciani's *Ancient Rome* (p. 337). He there says that Beno de Rapiza and his wife had not only these works, but those in S. Urbano and others now decayed, done in the eleventh century.

† D'Agincourt, who had never seen these details, considered this degradation as a sign of decaying art.

Clements; this took place in the pontificate of Nicholas. It has the dedication: *Ego Maria Macellaria pro timore Dei et remedio anima meo hæc pingere feci.**

The lower aisle has some frescoes in a rather decayed state. One is of a child brought to life at the shrine of S. Clement, others are S. Cyril before the Emperor, and Michael and a youth baptised by S. Methodius.

In the nave there remains a painting in three zones (Plate LX.). The upper contained the enthroning of S. Clement; the upper half of this zone has been involved in the building above. In the middle zone S. Clement says mass, on the right hand is Theodora converted, and her husband Sisinius is struck with

ments now assume. Some comments upon this question are made in the following chapters on the Art of other countries, and in that on Ornament.

Another fresco in three zones, the upper of which is half obliterated, had Our Lord between SS. Michael and Clement, and SS. Gabriel and Nicholas; in the middle zone are three scenes from the life of S. Alexius.

(1) He returns to Rome as a Hermit unrecognised.

(2) Pope Boniface blesses him when dying.

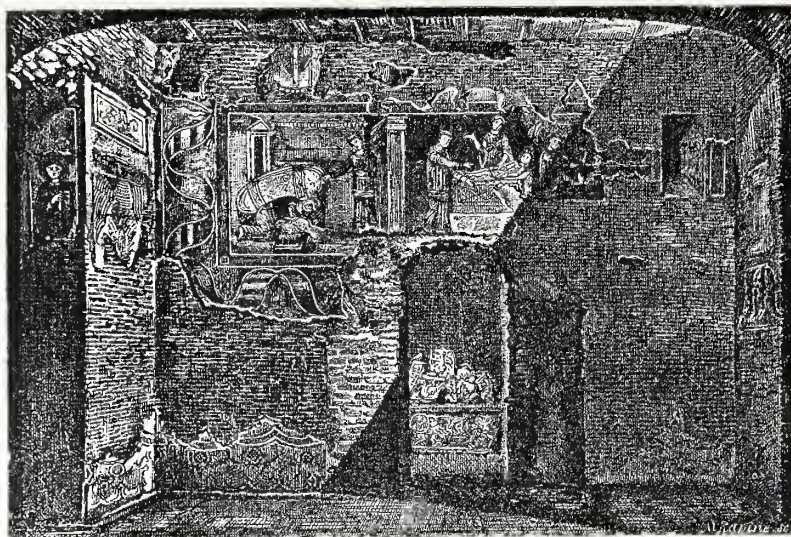
(3) His betrothed recognises his corpse.

The lowest zone has a nicely designed square of flowers, festoons, and birds. At the end of the nave are some scenes from the life of Our Lord: (1) The Crucifixion; (2) two Holy Women coming to the Tomb and seeing the Angel, who is speaking to them—a lamp is hung on the tomb; (3) the Descent into Limbo; (4) the Raising of Lazarus, and (5) a subject obliterated.

On the left-hand side is the Assumption of Our Lady, in view of the assembled Apostles; amongst the latter on the right hand is S. Vitus, and on the left hand the Pontiff Leo IV., with a square nimbus, an evidence that he was living at the time the painting was executed in the ninth century—A.D. 845-857 (Plate LVIII.).

On the external wall of the right aisle are some works in a decaying state. On the top is a head of Our Lord as a youth, beardless; at the sides there are heads of jewel-crowned saints, and vestiges of, what are apparently, the martyrdoms of them below. In a niche is the figure of Our Lady and the Divine Child (Plate LVI.). The date of these works is disputed; Our Lord has the youthful beardless head. The picture of Our Lady is generally considered to be of the

PLATE LVII.



LEGEND OF S. LIBERTINO, AS RELATED BY S. GREGORY. SUPPOSED TO DATE 715-730.

eighth century, but it might be of any date, from the fifth to the eighth.

Some twenty-five years ago, I carefully examined these pictures, as I did again last year, and on rubbing hard at some portions, it was evident that wax had been used either in painting or in preserving them. If in the former, they are encaustic work; but, however executed,

the method is valuable and interesting, as they have stood the test of ages, and have been buried in the dirt and resuscitated. The colouring generally is of a moderately low tone, perhaps with age; but there are some copies of certain of these pictures in South Kensington Museum which give a very fair notion of their colour and effect. The ornament, as I have previously remarked, is exceedingly interesting, especially as we know the probable period of its execution. Much of the work is apparently by a Roman artist, such as that containing the picture of S. Clement, who is blessing in the Latin manner. In the story of S. Sisinius, S. Clement wears the pallium* in a manner entirely different from those in the paintings in the Basilica of S. Cornelius. Moreover the whole method of treatment of the figures, and the size of nimbus, is quite different from any antecedent examples that I have found. It would therefore follow, if my argument is well founded, that the ornament is typically Roman of its period, although it is equally certain that the school of the artist's tuition was eastern. It is also evident that another hand was employed in the fresco of the vestibule in which Our Lord blesses in the Greek manner;

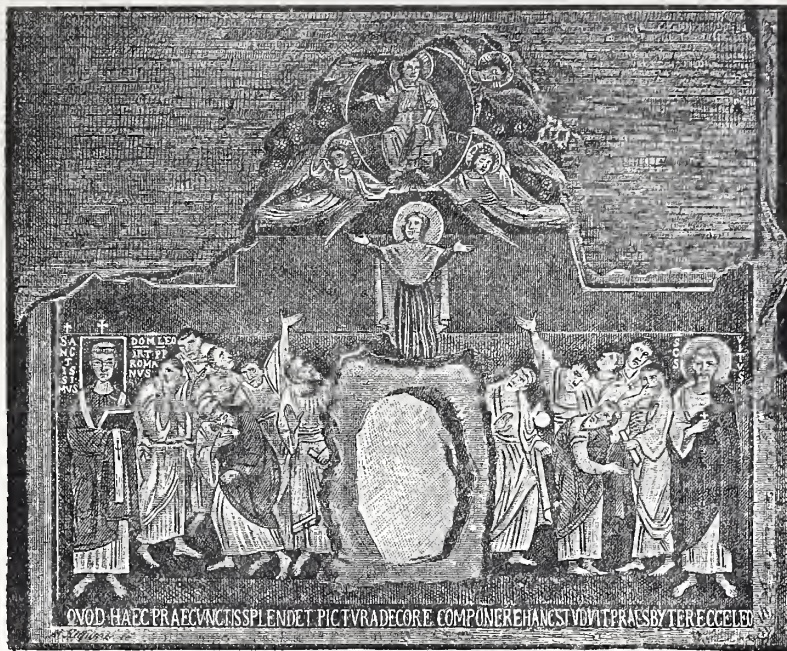
* For the comparison of pallia and their dates, see Appendix C.

here the angels have the magisterial pallium, whilst S. Clement has the episcopal pallium worn in the Greek manner.

These pictures* show us that, from between the fifth and sixth centuries until the tenth and eleventh, the complication of the composition of subjects from Scriptures and the histories of the Saints had proceeded in the same ratio that Christian ideas had developed and accumulated, and had become common property. Still subject-painting had lost many characteristics that had taken centuries on centuries to develop. Fairly correct perspective, the brush manipulation of the Augustan period, even as much of these as was retained in some of the catacomb pictures, is not now to be found. This, I reiterate, must have been very much due to the technical necessities of designing for mosaic,

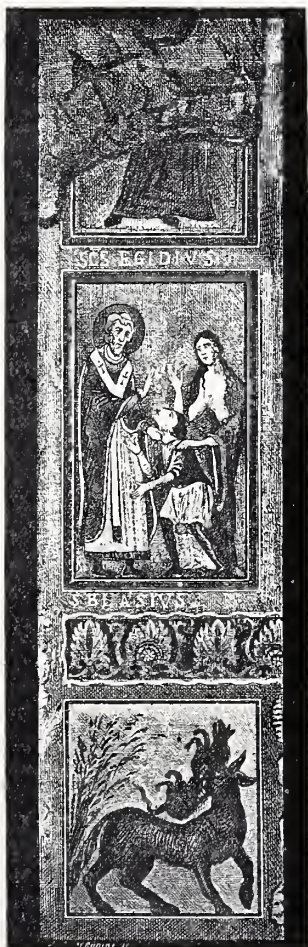
* The compositions in mosaic at Ravenna are additional evidence of this. (See footnote, page 63.)

PLATE LVIII.

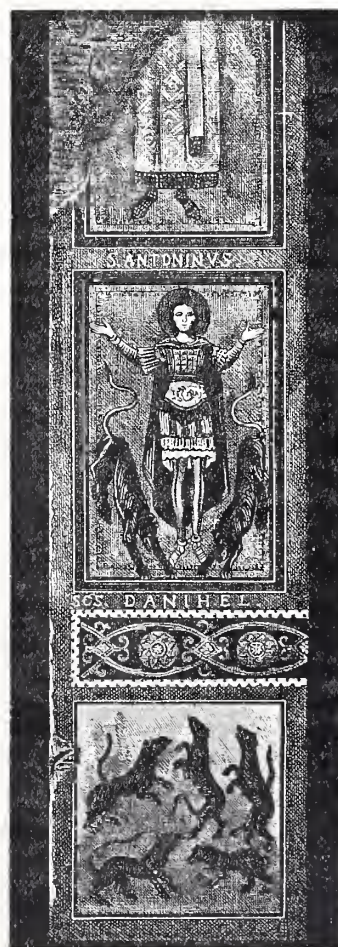


THE ASSUMPTION OF OUR LADY. FROM S. CLEMENTE. AT THE SIDE IS A PORTRAIT OF S. LEO. The execution is Greek in character and the pallium of S. Leo is worn in the old manner as in the Cornelius Plate.

PLATE LIX.



PART OF A FIGURE OF S. GILES. BELOW THIS, S. BLAISE WORKING A MIRACLE.



PART OF A FIGURE OF S. ANTHONY. BELOW THIS, DANIEL IN THE LIONS' DEN.

FROM S. CLEMENTE.

for it is without doubt that many of the mural painters were employed on cartoons to be so rendered. They also worked from designs in miniature, the painter being a mere enlarger and copyist.

Plate LXIII. is from the little church of S. URBANO ALLA CAFFARELLA, originally said to have been a temple of Bacchus,* and converted into a church by Pope Paschal I., about A.D. 820. It is close to the *via Appia Pigriatelli*, and is of more than

ordinary interest, as by an inscription on the picture we get both the name † *Bonizzo*, and the date A.D. 1001.

The figure of Our Lord is habited in the short perizonium as in S. Clemente, ‡ and the man with the spear and the man with the sponge are still prominent as in the

* See Parker's *Archaeology of Rome*, vol. xii., p. 142.

† Lanciani says (*Ancient Rome*, p. 337) in the passage already quoted, that these paintings were given by Beni de Rapiza and Maria Macellaria his wife, who also gave those in S. Clemente's.

See *Roller*, vol. ii., p. 348.

Syrian and nearly all early works. The latter has a sort of extending rod, which he holds behind his body.* The rays on Our Lord's nimbus are not cruciform, but when complete would form six double rays.† This is an evidence that the rays of the sun and not the cross may have been the original idea in designing Our Lord's nimbus, and the artist may have followed some early tradition.

Our Lord stands upon a wooden table, such as we frequently see in Eastern representations,‡ in front of which are some figures holding vestments. These persons may have been portraits of the donors, Beni and his wife, Maria Macellaria, or SS. Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea.

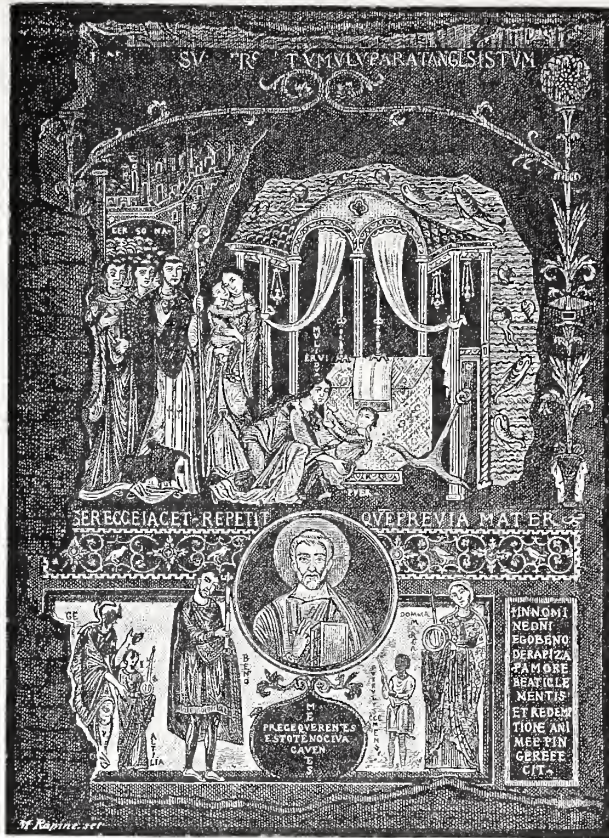
Unfortunately, the picture has been very seriously spoilt, by restoration under Pope Urban VIII., about A.D. 1640, and only the general design can be relied upon. Around the interior walls (Plate LXIII.) there is also a double zone of frescoes representing scriptural subjects, from the Annunciation to the De-

* See Plate LXIII.

† Like at S. Paul's *fuori i muri*. The Coptic head (Pl. CXXXII.) and other examples which will hereafter be given.

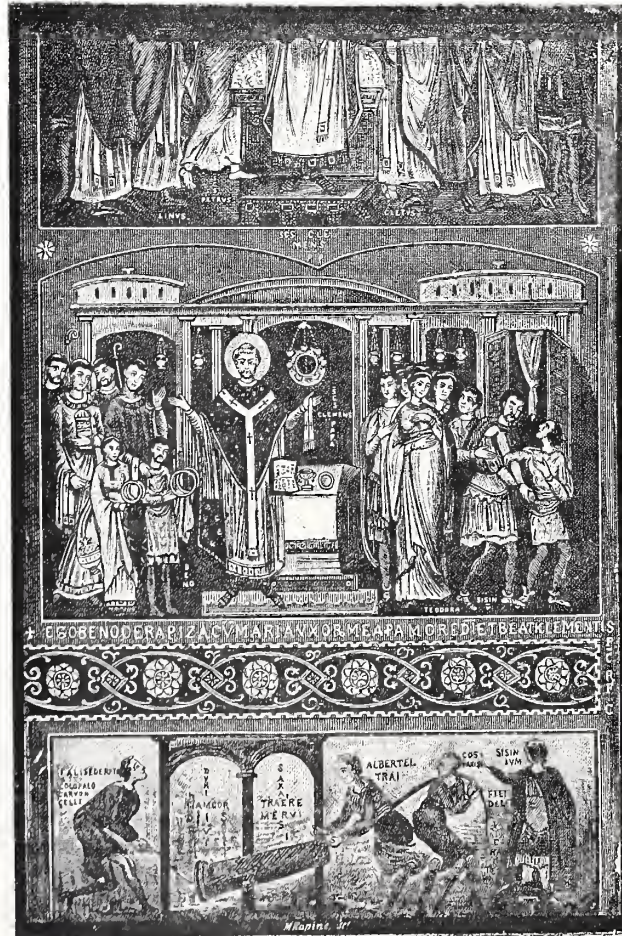
‡ See also Plates CVII., CIX., CXIII., in the Greek chapter.

PLATE LX.



THE DROWNED CHILD FOUND BY HIS MOTHER. FROM THE ALTAR OF S. CLEMENT (ELEVENTH CENTURY).

PLATE LXI.



SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF S. CLEMENT, INCLUDING THE STORY OF SISINIUS. S. CLEMENT'S, ROME (ELEVENTH CENTURY).

scent into Limbo; also the story of S. Urban, who was martyred in A.D. 233, and that of S. Cecilia, with her affianced Valerian and his brother Tiburtius.* There is also a picture of the martyrdom of S. Lawrence. This last picture may give us a clue to the Bonizzo of "the Crucifixion." One Bonizzo was the Abbot of S. Lorenzo—where there remains his epitaph and the date of his death, A.D. 1022. There are two sets of coloured drawings of these pictures in the Barberini Palace, one taken before the frescoes were *restored* and one afterwards. In these days no words are necessary to condemn these "restorations," in which the conceit of the modern artist is equal to the occasion, by destroying his predecessor's work, and we can see here what havoc has been wrought.

It is not a little singular that these paintings are somewhat like those in some of the Coptic churches, both in treatment and order of subject. Sketches of these are given in Plates CXXV. to CXXVII.

There is a series of early paintings underneath these, which have been

* Outlines of these designs are given by *D'Agincourt*, tav. xciv., xcv.

painted over them; and it is therefore possible, if this edifice is the temple dedicated to Honour and Liberty, that they are the pictures by Cornelius Pinus and Accius Priscus mentioned by Pliny.

In the crypt there are also some rude but very interesting paintings, and rather Greek in character (Plate LXII.), and I think of about the tenth century.

There is a circumstance deserving of remark, that in certain subjects Our Lord is young and beardless, and that the treatment of many subjects in which this occurs is very like some of those in the Catacombs, particularly the Raising of Lazarus. I am not able to account for this revival or survival, in the later paintings, except by supposing, as I have before and hereafter suggested, the catacomb influence and *quasi* authority. It is, moreover, of very frequent occurrence, in every country, as will be seen in the illustrations of this volume.

The beardless Head of our Lord is often found in the same churches as the bearded*; in the "Majesty" here He is bearded. The Plates LXV., LXVI., which I have given, are taken from D'Agincourt; they are slight, but, as their only value since their restoration,

* See footnote to p. 63. Examples of the beardless Head with cruciform nimbus, not given in this volume, will be found in the Grotta of S. Januarius, Naples. See *Garrucci*, Plate XCII.

PLATE LXII.



OUR LADY WITH OUR LORD AND SS. PETER AND JOHN. FROM THE CRYPT OF S. URBAN.

important bearing on the art of mural painting, especially in Germany, France, and our own country.

The paintings referred to are in the Monastery of Saint Elia (a warrior Saint) about seven miles from Nepi, north of Rome, on the road to Civita Castellana.

They are by the monks John and Stephen, and their nephew Nicholas, who were sent from a monastery in Rome.

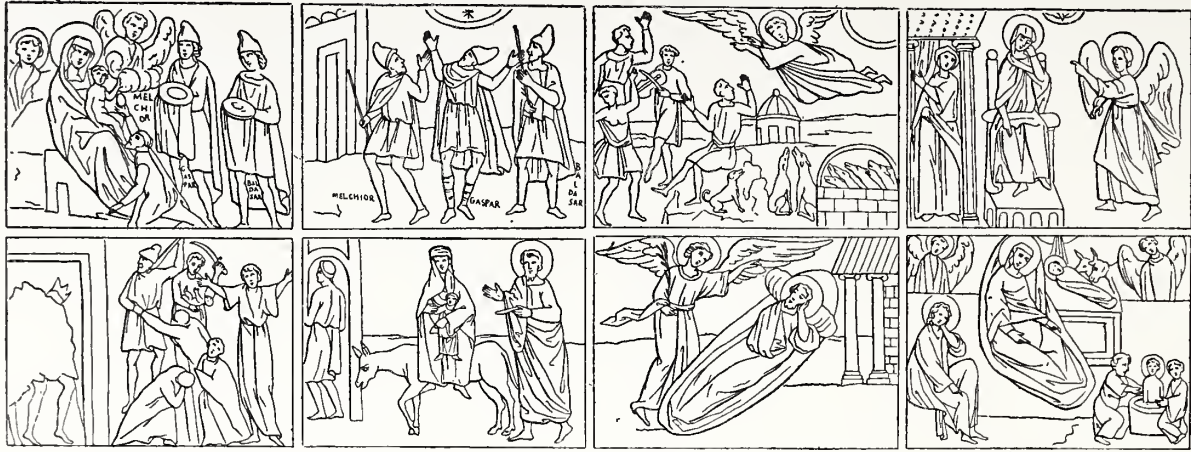
The execution of these pictures is in strong body colour and shows all the characteristics of mosaic design. The artists appear to have worked on a yellow ground, not the green, as used by the Greeks; they used a strong outline and shadowed their flesh with red, and deepened it with blue or black. The extreme lights and darks were obtained by lines of white or black, such as is common in both paintings and miniatures of the period. The paintings are of considerable historical value and importance, and in some respects resemble the S. Angelo work, but their exact date is unknown.

PLATE LXIII.



SKETCH OF THE INTERIOR OF S. URBANO ALLA CAFFARELLA.

PLATE LXV. FROM S. URBANO ALLA CAFFARELLA.



THE ADORATION OF THE WISE MEN.

THE WISE MEN FOLLOW THE STAR.

THE ANGEL APPEARS TO THE SHEPHERDS.

THE ANNUNCIATION.

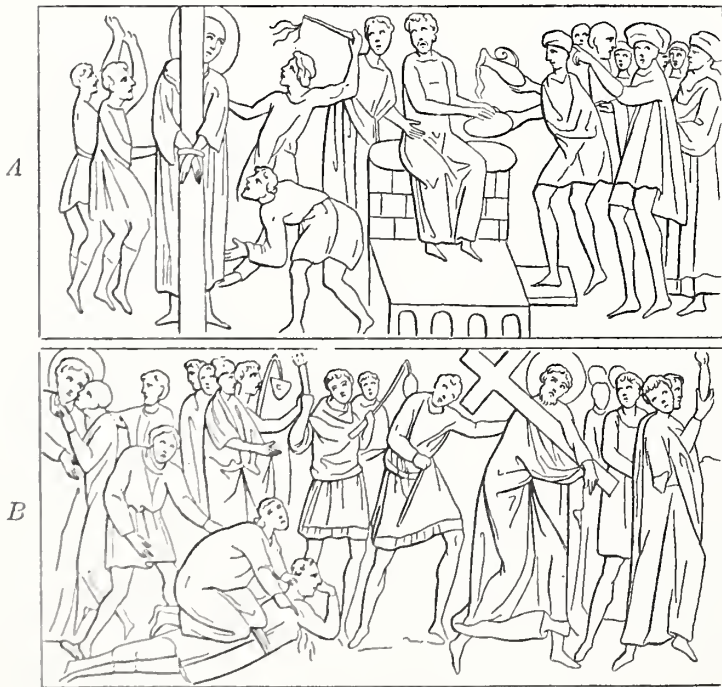
THE MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS.

THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT.

THE VISION OF S. JOSEPH.

THE NATIVITY.

PLATE LXVI.



A. THE FLAGELLATION OF OUR LORD. PILATE IS WASHING HIS HANDS.

B. THE BETRAVAL AND OUR LORD CARRYING HIS CROSS.

PLATE LXVII.



THE CRUCIFIXION. FROM S. URBANO ALLA CAFFARELLA.

PLATE LXVII.



A AND B ARE FROM THE ASSYRIAN SCULPTURES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. C FROM THE TAK-I-BOSTON.

APPENDIX A.

THE incident of pearling the draperies, and of ornamenting books and diadems *profusely* with pearls,* occurs somewhat so suddenly in the history of the paintings at Rome and in Southern Italy, that it attracted my attention; it appears to mark a definite distinction in the style of work. The history of jewellery and jewelling is not my theme, but this question has tempted me to write a short *excursus* on the probable genesis of this characteristic in Europe.

It occurs, as I have observed, on the S. Cecilia Plate (XXIX.) and the S. John Plate (XXVIII.) of about the fifth century, and the figure of Our Lady of later date (Plate LVI.), and is especially marked on the nimbi, and covers of the various books shown in different plates, and very ostensibly on the crowns and dresses of Justinian and Theodora at Ravenna.

Now, the jewelled crowns and ear-pendants are no new feature. Pendants of a very similar kind, not pearled, but of most beautiful workmanship, have been found in certain tombs of the neighbourhood of Kertch.†

In the work of MM. Kondakoff, Tolstoi and Reinach, a considerable number of examples of such work are given; but they lack the excessive pearling and the addition of strings of pearls which are found in the "Byzantine" paintings and the Ravenna mosaics of Theodora, &c.

Pearling is found on some of the Assyrian sculpture (Plates LXVII., a, b), but it is nothing in comparison with which is found in Persia, and of which numerous examples that will be found in the work of Messrs. Flaudin and Coste.‡

From this work I have sketched one of the figures from TAK-I-BOSTON, near BI-SOUROUN (Plate LXVII. C). On this figure not only have we strings of pearls on the girdle, sword belt and sword scabbard, but, to use the expression of those writers,§ "La robe de ce personnage est semée de grosses perles." This carving, which is one of a very interesting

* I am aware that the spotted ornament on the dresses on certain ancient vases may be pearling, but it is distinctly different in character.

† See those from Grand Brignitza (p. 59) and Coul-aba (pp. 207 and 234) in Kondakoff's *Antiquités de la Russie Méridionale*, Paris, 1892.

‡ See *La Perse*, plates 13, 178, 185-6, 188, 191.

§ *Ibid.*, page 4.

series, is of about the second or third century A.D., as one of the monarchs represented, perhaps of a little later workmanship than this figure, is Sapor, son of Hormuz. All the figures are immense, this one being at least sixteen feet high. It may also be remarked that the pearls on the dresses of SS. Katherine and Helena in Plate LXVIII. are hung in an identical manner.

Having so far traced this pearling in ancient Assyrian and in later Persian work, it struck me that if we pushed farther eastward to India we might find records of an earlier date, and a friend* has kindly culled for me the following quotations from the *Rgveda* and *Atharveda* :—

PEARLS IN THE R̥GVEDA.

(1)

abhí çyāvám ná kíçanebhir áçvam
náksatrebhiḥ pitáro dyām apiṃçan/
rātryām támo ádadhur jyótir
áhan bṛhaspátir bhínád ádriṃ vidad gāḥ || R̥g X. 68. ||

The commentator explains kíçana as sauvarṇair ābhavaṇaih with golden ornaments.

"The fathers adorned the Heaven with stars (planets)

"Like a dark horse with pearls;

† "Darkness was in the night; when they placed the dawnbolt;

"Bṛhaspáti slew, he cleft the Rock, he found the cows."

(2)

abhívr̥tam kíçanair víçvárūpaṃ
híranyaçamyam yajató bṛhántam/
āsthād rátham savitā citrábhānuh
kṛṣṇā rájāmsi táviṣim dádhanah ||

"The worshipful Savitr shining brightly, mounted his chariot,

"which faced us, of all shapes with pearls, with gold

"pins, massy, directing his strength to the dark worlds."

* L. A. Magnus, Esq., L.B.

† Interpretation difficult.

(3)

sámudrajā rátnā. "Treasures born in the ocean."
devānām ásthi kṛṣṇanam babhūva. (Atharveda X. 1·7.)
"The Divine bone was pearl."
hiranyajā—"sprung from gold." (ditto iv. 10·1·3.)
Bœhtlingk. *urdhvakṛṣṇana*—"pearling upwards."
(R̥gveda 144·2), but very doubtful in meaning.

(4)

catvārimṣad dáṣarathasya ṣṇāḥ
sahásrasyāgre ṣṛónim nayanti
madacyútah kṛṣṇānváto ányān
kaksivanta úd amrkṣanta pajrāh || R̥g. I., 126·4.

The forty ruddy kaksivanta at the head of a thousand guide the rear of a chariot with ten [horses] : incited with some strong. They have adorned others with pearls.

(5)

catvāro mā pajavanásya dānāḥ
smáddiṣṭayah kṛṣṇanīno nireké /
"Four givers to me, well spoken, decked with pearls, from King Sudās (son of Pijavaná) for ever," &c.

The probability also of this feature of the European work having come through New Rome from a Perso-Hellenic origin, is the circumstance that the ancient pearl fisheries were the Persian Gulf and the Bay of Ceylon. Moreover, the largest historical pearl is that of a Shah of Persia. It is, therefore, to my thinking, a not improbable hypothesis that we owe the stiffer vestments of the Byzantine monarchs and of the consuls and to their capability of being jewelled to the same source, and how much of the mediæval vestments, regalia, and book covers with such traditional features should be called of Perso-Hellenic origin is a question for the historian of costume and jewellery. It would be somewhat curious if the costume, like the architecture, called Byzantine, owed much to Persia. My knowledge is too limited to say more.

APPENDIX B.

THE CHARACTER OF THE GLORY.

NOT only was the nimbus adopted at a much earlier period in the East than in the West but it was also much more lavishly given there than with us ; in fact, except in the few rare instances about to be noticed, its use here is restricted entirely to God and the Saints ; in the East few heads are without it. Every emperor, every king, prince, and even their consorts, are dignified with this glorious attribute ; it seems inherent in the persons themselves. Justinian, who is not a saint, has a nimbus. In the Musée of the Louvre* there is a carved cup of Arabic workmanship which was formerly kept in the chapel of the Chateau de Vincennes. The figures on this vase represent hunters in pursuit of stags and wild beasts ; all these huntsmen without exception are invested with the nimbus, and, what is even more remarkable, those who appear to be the chiefs amongst them are encircled, together with their horses, by a large circular aureole. The beautiful vases, procured from China and Japan, which we see exposed for sale in old curiosity shops, often exhibit figures of persons of secular character adorned with the nimbus.

It sometimes even surrounds the head of those monstrous and fantastic beasts which seem to growl at us from our brilliant porcelain, and bear so strong a resemblance to Christian devils or the open-mouthed gurgoyles of our cathedrals. In the Buddhist volumes belonging to the Bibliothèque Royale some good and even evil genii are honoured with the nimbus. A Greek psalter with many curious and beautiful miniatures (No. 139 in the Bibliothèque Royale) contains a number of different figures all adorned with the nimbus. First come the prophets, Isaiah, Jonah,

Nathan, Samuel, Moses, and the prophetess Anna. There is little in this to excite astonishment, for the same individuals frequently have a nimbus in the West also, and although not generally styled saints by the Latin Church, yet possess all the attributes of true holiness, but each historical subject in the manuscript is accompanied by allegorical personages, serving to explain the history related. Thus, beside King David stand figures of Wisdom and Prophecy (*Σοφία Προφητεια*), personified by two tall genii, clad like women, giving inspiration to the poet and prophet king.* In the same manner David, repentant, is attended by the genius of Repentance ; when killing the lion who had attacked his lambs he is assisted by the powerful genius of Strength. Prayer assists Hezekiah in his entreaties for a prolonged life, and Night watches the disasters of Pharoah, who is being drowned in his passage through the Red Sea. All these genii, who in other respects have the antique form, are adorned with a

* The Cathedral of S. Nizier de Troyes, and the beautiful church of St. Urbain in the same city, the north porch of the Cathedral of Chartres, and some other churches, contain figures of prophets and prophetesses, executed in painting and sculpture, all invested with the nimbus. At Chartres, Aaron, Moses and Melchizedek may be observed with the nimbus. A proof still more convincing is furnished by the painted glass windows in the same Cathedral, representing the History of Roland and the Expedition of Charlemagne into Spain, in which both Charlemagne and Roland are invested with the nimbus. It is true that Sarius, "Vitæ Sanctorum," enrols Roland and Oliver among the saints, and consecrates to them one chapter of his book under the title of "De Sanctis Rolando et Olivero, e sociis eorum." Yet St. Roland is not named in the Martyrology. The Cathedral of Chartres presents many ascertained and singular points of affinity with the East, which well deserve to be examined.

† See an engraving of this subject in the "History of the Holy Ghost," Fig. 110, Didron's *Iconography*, vol. i.

* The Cathedral of St. Nizier de Troyes.

nimbus—blue, yellow, red, or rose-colour. The kings themselves, both David and Hezekiah, wear the nimbus; so even has Saul, a king who was guilty of suicide, and what is still more surprising, Pharaoh—the impious King of Egypt, at the moment when he is engulfed in the abysses of the Red Sea—has a nimbus, and even a golden nimbus, resembling that of David himself, or Hezekiah. Finally, the terrible King Herod,* that monster by whose command all the young children in his dominions who had been born at the same time with our Saviour were slain, is invested with a nimbus in a mosaic in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore, the work of a Greek artist. And the scene in which he is introduced is precisely that of the Massacre of the Innocents. It cannot, therefore, be denied that the nimbus is most prodigally given by the Byzantines.† Balaam, an infidel and prevaricating prophet, has a nimbus, even at the moment when his ass is stopped by the angel of God, who commands the prophet, instead of cursing, to bless the people of Israel (*Hist. de l'Art par les Monuments*, Plates XLIII. and XLIV.; *Atlas de la Peinture*), and indeed in every region of the East.

The nimbus is not there, as amongst us, exclusively the symbol of holiness; it is also, and more particularly, an attribute of power generally, or of virtue, taking that word in its most enlarged signification, which, properly speaking, is that of strength. The nimbus is not there confined to the qualities of the soul, but is also extended to express physical strength and vigour, intellectual power and authority, however acquired, and whether employed for good or evil purposes. This assertion is supported in a very curious manner by several monuments of western art, those most especially in which we trace any influence of Byzantine or Oriental genius. Take, for example, the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins sculptured in the Cathedral at Rheims.‡ The wise virgins have the nimbus, to which they seem justly entitled, and they are constantly figured with that attribute, as having been admitted by Christ into paradise; but at Rheims the foolish virgins also have the nimbus—a singular circumstance and very rarely to be observed elsewhere.§ It cannot, of course, be their folly which is thus honoured and canonised, but rather their virginity; for these unhappy women, however foolish they might be, were not the less virgins, and virginity, in the East especially, is a peculiarly sublime virtue.

Notre Dame de Rheims, in most of its sculptures and throughout its painted glass, exhales, as it were, a Byzantine spirit replete with grace and ideality. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque Royale || contains a miniature of the taking of Christ at the precise moment of His betrayal by the kiss of the traitor Judas; our Saviour's nimbus is cruciform. St. Peter, who is cutting off the ear of Malchus, has the nimbus, and most appropriately, for Peter is a hero and a saint.

* This also occurs in Coptic Art. See Plate CXXVII.

† In the illuminated Bible of San Paoli fuori-le-Mura, which dates from the ninth century, we find Joshua at the passage of Jordan drawn with a nimbus.

‡ This also occurs in the Cemetery of S. Siriacus.

§ These Virgins are in the north porch in the vaulting of the left entrance. In the vaulting of the west porch in the Cathedral of Laon, the series of Virgins are represented in a similar manner, the five foolish having a nimbus as well as the five wise. The Cathedral of Laon is the parent of that at Rheims, and I am not aware that this singular peculiarity exists anywhere except at Rheims and Laon. It may possibly be there owing to Byzantine influence, and this idea is supported by several other facts analogous to these.

|| See the similar treatment at Athens. Plate CXV.

Judas, too, has a nimbus, although every devout Christian would recoil with horror if the title of saint were applied to Judas Iscariot.

But Judas, it should be remarked, is not merely a covetous person, a traitor, and an apostate; with all this, but, which is here more important far, he is an apostle. Now, the apostleship being a sublime office, emanating immediately from God, the nimbus—which, we must remember, is in the East an attribute of dignity and power, whether exerted for good or evil—ought unquestionably to illumine the brow of Judas. In the West it is the ordinary attribute of sanctity alone, and Judas, even at the Last Supper, and with still greater justice, on the Mount of Olives, is destitute of the nimbus.

The manuscript in the Bibliothèque Royale may have been painted by a miniaturist either of Byzantine origin, affection, or education.

In the apse of one of the numerous small churches with which the city of Athens is crowded is a fresco painting of the Last Supper. All the apostles have the nimbus, Judas not excepted; but those of the good apostles are of some bright, glorious colour, white, green, or golden-yellow, while that of Judas is black. Judas is an apostle, and therefore has a nimbus, but his heart is black, and the nimbus appears clad in mourning.

The Byzantines, however, go farther still, and even Satan is represented with a nimbus. An old illuminated Bible, containing miniatures of the ninth and tenth centuries, has a picture of Job sitting mournfully upon the ruins of his house, while Satan stands before him exulting in the destruction he has caused. In another miniature the infernal being is seen burning Job with a red-hot goad, which renders the body of the patient one immense wound. The Satan dancing on the ruined house and the Satan wounding Job have each a nimbus like that ordinarily given to a guardian angel or consoling spirit.*

(The example given in Didron's *Iconography*, pl. xlvi., vol. i., represents Satan standing before Job, who is seated sadly on the ruins of his house. The demon is nimbed and holds in his hand a brazier wherewith to set on fire the habitations he has overthrown.)

Lastly, a manuscript Apocalypse, with miniatures belonging to the close of the twelfth century, represents the Dragon with seven heads conquered by St. Michael; the Serpent with seven heads, pursuing the woman into the desert, and the monster of the seas shaking seven heads above his frightful body. The heads all have nimbi of yellow or green, as would be the case with the most renowned saints in paradise. That the Apocalypse was certainly painted either by a Byzantine artist or by one who had visited Byzantium is sufficiently proved by the crescents emblazoned on the angelic buckles and the Arabic cupolas surmounting the buildings represented. (Didron's *Christian Iconography*, translated by E. J. Millington, pp. 153, 159, vol. i. Bohn, 1851.)

* Satan does in fact resemble an angel—those angels more especially who are painted in other parts of the same manuscript. Thus, in a miniature representing Elijah carried up to heaven in a chariot drawn by horses of fire, an angel stands behind the car like a pilot on the poop of a vessel. That angel exactly resembles the Satan in Fig. 46; like the evil genius, he has bird-like wings and a nimbus of a simple circular thread; he is almost naked, clothed only with a short petticoat covering the hips and loins. The only perceptible difference is that the angel has nails on his feet and Satan has claws.

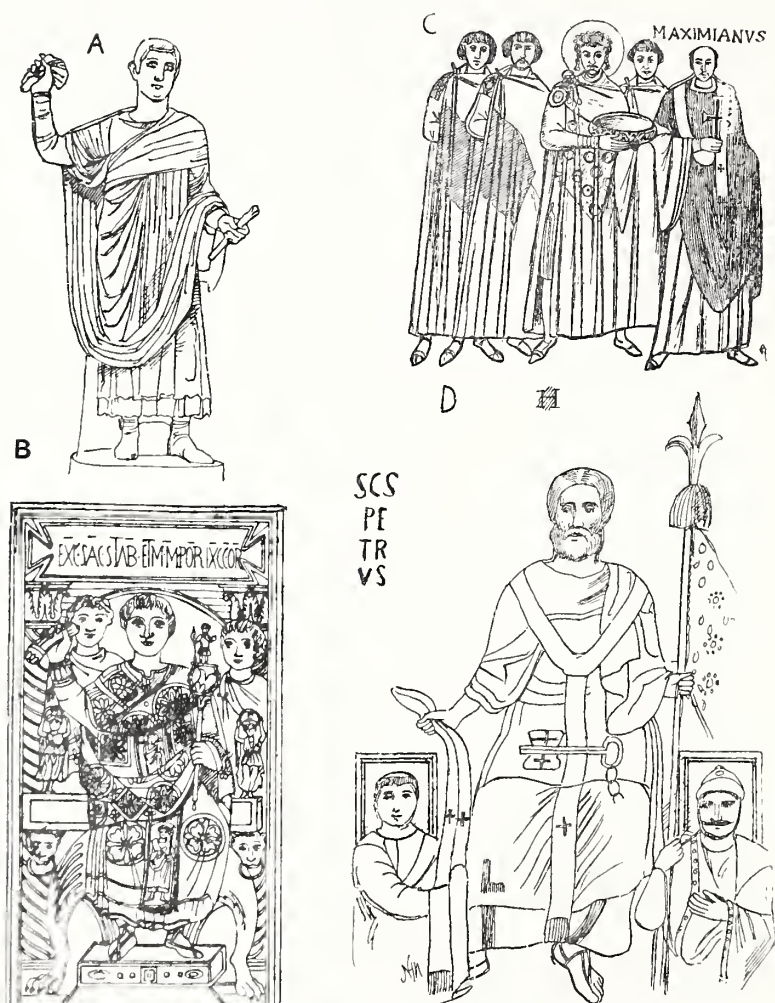
APPENDIX C.

EXAMPLES OF THE PALLIUM.

It is not my intention to attempt a history of the pallium as worn by ecclesiastics, and I may observe that in no work that I have consulted is its development by any means clear; there appears to be quite room yet for a new work on the subject. That it should be the vesture emblematic of the highest dignity conferred by Rome, by the successors of the Empire whose patricians were proud of the title of "Gens togata," is in itself curious.

The ordinary toga, as every student knows, was very little different from the Greek pallium, but there was at one time "sufficient distinction to render the latter unpopular." There, however, rests the probability that the first use of the ecclesiastical pallium came from the East, even if it was not, as some suggest, first conferred on the Sovereign Pontiff by the Emperors themselves. The pallium originally as a secular vestment was a rectangular piece of cloth—worn in a variety of ways, sometimes as a sort of cloak fastened on the shoulder, and at other times brought across the back and thrown over the left shoulder and arm, as it is frequently represented on antique statuary and much in the manner that a modern Italian wears his cloak in cold weather. This appears more than any other to have been the origin of the method of

PLATE LXVIII.



A. SYMMACHUS (CONSUL IN A.D. 391) THROWING DOWN THE MAPPULA. FROM A STATUE FOUND IN ROME IN 1878.

If the arrangement of this vesture and the method of wearing it is compared with the ornamented variety, the resemblance will be apparent even to the little fold over the right shoulder, which in all cases appears to be pinned or stitched down. The later ivories of David and S. Gregory at Monza are also of similar texture. Symmachus had a controversy with S. Damasus concerning the treatment of the Christians.

B. THE GENERAL STILICHO IN "TOGA PICTA."

C. JUSTINIAN AND HIS COURT. FROM S. VITALE, RAVENNA.

Maximianus wears the ecclesiastical pallium and chasuble. The others wear the secular pallium (this has sometimes been called the chlamys) fastened on shoulder.

D. S. PETER GIVING THE PALLIUM TO S. LEO WITH THE BANNER TO CHARLEMAGNE. FROM A RESTORED MOSAIC IN S. JOHN LATERAN.

wearing it in early mediæval times, for if its border, which in later times may have been sumptuous, were separated from it and worn alone, we should get a very great resemblance to the secular and ecclesiastical pallia of the fifth and sixth centuries.

In the illustration, Plate LXXXVIII, is a sketch of Symmachus vested in a toga or pallium, which already appears to be "tailor-made," as it could hardly naturally remain thus fitted without pins or stitches. The robe of Stilicho (Plate LXVIII., B) is also arranged in the same manner, but, as it is stiff and covered with embroidery, it is the Eastern vestment of the same sort. Rich, I think, calls it the *toga picta*.* My reason for thinking the latter is Eastern is that the Assyrian and Persian vestments from very antique times had this stiff character.

The various ways in which the ecclesiastical pallium and the Greek vesture, the *onophorion*, which resembles it, were worn are shown in the illustrations to this note. It will be observed that variations of the vesture were given to Archangels, Prophets, Emperors and Empresses, and indeed to all dignities. The tradition of throwing the end over the right arm or shoul-

* *Dictionary Ant.*, "Toga."

PLATE LXVIII.



EE. ABBOT WITH PALLIUM, FROM A LATIN CODEX AT BOBBIO, OF THE TENTH CENTURY. ADDITIONAL 19352, BRITISH MUSEUM, GREEK OF A.D. 1066. (See footnote in Greek Chapter.) F. THE PROPHET DANIEL, FROM THE MS. G. A BISHOP WITH THE EPITRACHELION. H, I, K, L, M. WITH ONOPHORIA AND EPITRACHELIA, AND N, St. KATHERINE, ALL FROM THE SAME M.S. R. St. NICHOLAS, WITH GREEK EPITRACHELION AND ONOPHORION, FROM THE Latin M.S. OF QUEEN MELISENDA, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, OF 1130 A.D. (This figure belongs to the MS. itself, and not to the series of earlier Greek paintings bound up in the same volume.) O. St. HELEN, P. St. KATHERINE, AND S. A BISHOP WITH ONOPHORION AND EPITRACHELION, FROM S. LUKE OF STIRIS. It will be observed that the pallium from the Bobbio MS., EE, resembles in some respects both the Greek onophorion and epitachelion. It is difficult to tell which vestment is intended in Plate XCV. Greek rites were then still prevalent in Bara, and the stole, or epitachelion, was still undivided, whilst the onophorion was generally folded, as shown in L and R.

PLATE LXVIIIIt.



der appears to be the only figment left of the original method of wearing this apparel, and this practice is found in secular vestments for over a thousand years running side by side with the ecclesiastical pallium.

The reader who wishes to study the history of the pallium will find matter in the following works. The best condensed account of the ancient classical pallia and toga that I have found is in *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, by Anthony Rich, junr. There is also a description of the classical vestment in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*. On the pallium generally the following writers may be consulted: Tertullian's treatise *De Pallio*; Thomassinus, *Vetus et Nova Ecclesiae Disciplina*, vii., book ii.; Duchesne, Abbé, *Origines du Culte Chrétien* (Paris, 1889), pp. 372 et seq.; *ibid.*, English edition (S.P.C.K., London, 1903), pp. 384 et seq.; Marriott, W. B., *Vestiarius Christianum*; Rohault de Fleury, M.C., *La Messe*, vol. viii.; Prof. Kraus, art. "Pallium" in the *Real Encyclopädie*; *The Pallium*, by the Rev. H. Thurston, S.J., a very handy pamphlet; Vespasiani, *De Sacri Pallii Origine*.

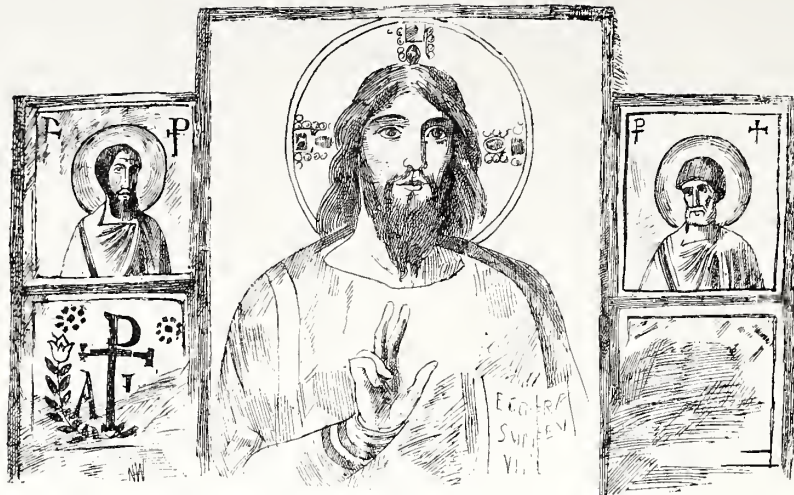
PLATE LXVIIIIt.—S. HELENA. FROM A MS. COPY OF S. GREGORY NAUZIANZEN OF THE NINTH CENTURY, IN THE *Bibliothèque Nationale*. THE ROCK IN HER HAND IS PARTLY OBLITERATED.

PLATE LXVIIIiv.



S. ANTHINOS. FROM S. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE.

PLATE LXIX.



HEADS OF OUR LORD, FROM THE GAUDIOSA GROTTA, NAPLES, AND
SS. PETER AND PAUL FROM THAT OF VITALIA.

CHAPTER III.

MURAL PAINTINGS IN NORTH AND SOUTH ITALY.

THE CEMETERIES (GROTTE), NAPLES; THE BADIA, ON THE RIVIERA D'AMALFI; BEATA MARIA DELLE FRATTE, NEAR CARPIGNIANO; S. ANGELO IN FORMIS; MONREALE; CEFALÙ; THE CAPELLA REALE, PALERMO; S. MARIA LA LIBERA, FEROCIAUDIO; SAN SEPOLCRO, BARLETTA; THE HEREMITIC CRYPTS OF S. GIOVANNI, S. LUCIA, S. VITO, AND S. BIAGIO, BRINDISI; S. GIOVANNI DEGLI EREMITI, PALERMO; S. STEFANO, BOLOGNA.

THERE is some difficulty in deciding which section of this history should occupy the second chapter—the remains of painting in European Greece and the Hellenised Asiatic and African provinces, or the Italian. It is difficult to understand the Italian painting without some knowledge of the Greek, but from Greece itself we hardly obtain such a complete view of the condition of painting as we do in the more perfect series, as far as periods are concerned, preserved in Italy; but if the reader considers the third and fourth chapters together, after studying them, the difficulty will be solved.

Concerning the exact dates of many of the examples both in Italy and in Greece, there is a

difference amongst authorities. For example, M. Didron* considers that on Mount Athos the examples extend from the ninth to the sixteenth centuries. On the other hand, recent opinions† of greater weight consider that no painting in any monastery of Athos is anything like so early in date; and when one considers the continual reproduction of the same design for centuries, there is little to wonder at in any diversity

* See the footnotes in the Greek chapter.

† Herr Brockhaus, *die Kunst in den Athosklöstern*, pp. 287 to 295; and M. Diehl, in *L'Art Byzantin en Italie*, pp. 302 *et seq.*, who quotes Bayet et Duchesne, *Mission à Mont Athos*, to this effect.

of opinion in the date of Greek pictures; but we shall consider this question further in the succeeding chapter. That the whole of the Art we are considering in the present volume is essentially of Hellenic influence can hardly now be questioned.

It little matters whether it was done for Greek, Syrian, African, Goth or Roman, or indeed for any of the people which towards the middle and end of the period occupied by this volume were forming into new nations, Hellenic influence is marked and unmistakable. Indeed, there is exact evidence, notwithstanding the rise of national schools, that the Greeks went on painting in Italy and in other countries in the same receipt-like manner as they did in Greece. This method was continued in some localities until the fifteenth century, and in others the style is adhered to even till our own time.

Although the numerous monasteries of the Basilian order spread over Sicily, and the southern and central provinces of Italy contained artists who were originally probably all Greek painters, they had before the ninth century formed national schools on Greek models. It is probable that Italians eventually joined those monasteries* of S. Basil, and it is

* In 1024, *temp.* John XIX., irritation between the two Churches had ceased, but it was renewed by Michael. There were in the Latin Church Greek monasteries, and in the Greek Church Latin monasteries. In 1053 Michael Cellularius ordered all Greek churches in which the Roman rite was used to be closed, and the abbots who would not conform to be punished. To this Leo IX. answered: "There

PLATE LXX.



PORTRAIT OF "VITALIA" AS AN ORANTE. FROM A CEMETERY IN NAPLES.

even to the fourteenth century were exceedingly "Greek."† This must be steadfastly borne in mind in considering the illustrations of this volume.

For lack of anything like perfect existing examples of the earliest Christian periods outside Rome, we must commence with those of the fifth

century, but it is quite fair to say that this gap is lessened by the examples of the second, third and fourth centuries

are in Rome and outside many Greek monasteries and churches; none of these have been disturbed nor prevented from observing the customs of their forefathers. On the contrary, they have been advised to keep to them. Various uses according to time and place are no hindrance to salvation, since the one faith, working by love for good, recommends us all to one God."

* It is most probable that Benedictines from the Greek monasteries considerably assisted in carrying Greek art into the extreme west (see

Appendix to Greek chapter).

† The rite became Latinised in Rome in the fourth century, and soon after in many parts of Italy, but Nicephoros Phocas, who still retained Calabria, Sicily, Sardinia, and some Mediterranean island, partly to spite the Pope, ordered that the See of Otranto should be made an Archbishopric under the Patriarch of Constantinople, and that he should ordain the bishops of the surrounding countries, and that the Greek should succeed the Latin language in the liturgies of Apulia and Calabria (Döllinger's *History*, translated, vol. iii., p. 104). Nicephoros Phocas was killed in A.D. 909, in the conspiracy of Zimisces.

PLATE LXXI.



PART OF A GROUP OF FIVE FIGURES. FROM A CEMETERY IN NAPLES.

found in the Roman chapters of this and the preceding volume.

The design of the fifth and sixth centuries, if not illustrated by many mural paintings, is, as I have elsewhere remarked, shown by designs that must

to that purpose, but I have given a few examples to make the cycle of design illustrated in this volume more complete. One of these illustrates the method of designing for the dome. It will be seen that it is a development of the ideas already shown in the

PLATE LXXII.



DESIGN OF THE MOSAIC IN THE DOME OF THE BAPTISTRY OF S. MARIA IN COSMEDIN, RAVENNA.

have been executed by mural painters. I allude to the mosaics at Ravenna;* and certain examples in Rome; and elsewhere. These mosaics have been illustrated in many works especially devoted

* "Dans cette Pompeii italo-byzantine, plus grecque encore qu'italienne, l'art chrétien du V^e et du VI^e siècle a laissé ses plus vivants et ses plus magnifiques souvenirs." — Diehl, *Ravenna*, p. 2.

cubicula of the catacombs.* The idea from which both sprang was undoubtedly older than any European Art, and probably Eastern. From examples given in succeeding chapters, similar methods were practised in succeeding centuries with certain variations of forms in the subjects

* Plates CCV. to CCXIII., vol. i.

and figures. There is the probability that the designs of most of these mosaics at Rome, Ravenna and elsewhere, were influenced by Constantinople,* although the workmen who executed them may have sometimes been Italian.

* S. Vitalis. "An account of its building is preserved in the annals of a monk of Ravenna, named Agnellus, who lived in the reign of Charlemagne. In 775, he wrote an account of the Bishops of Ravenna and their transactions, from the foundation of the Church there down to the time just preceding his death." In describing the life of Ecclesius, elected Bishop in 524, during the reign of Theodoric, Agnellus says: "Ipsius temporibus Ecclesia B. Vitalis Martyris a Juliano Argentario una cum ipso Præsule fundata est." Agnellus also tells us that the church was commenced after Ecclesius had returned to Rome from Constantinople with John the Pope, whither he had been sent by Theodoric.¹

Ecclesius went to Constantinople in A.D. 525, and returned in A.D. 526. Theodoric died in July, 526. Ecclesius returned some few months before he died. Agnellus tells us that in his time the church was built at the cost of Julianus Argentarius, and that "Nulla in Italia ecclesia similis est in ædificiis et in mechanicis operibus." Ecclesius died in 534, was buried in the Monastery of S. Nazarius, and was succeeded in his see by Ursicinus, who died in A.D. 538, but he was buried in S. Vitalis. Bishop Victor, who succeeded him, died in A.D. 546; he was succeeded by Maximianus, who consecrated the church.

Theodoric was succeeded by his daughter, Amalasantha, as guardian of her son Amalaric; and she formed an alliance with the Emperor Justinian. She reigned with her son till his death in 538, but was soon after murdered, and the government taken by Vitiges, who was conquered by Belisarius, in 539. It therefore appears the church was twenty years from its foundation to its consecration. The mosaics were then, of course, there before consecration. In the mosaics of the apse, the effigy of Ecclesius holds a model of the church.

During these twenty years, the Churches of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, SS. Sophia and Eirene, at Constantinople, were in course of erection; and when the Bishops Ecclesius and Maximianus went to Constantinople, they would have seen them. S. Vitalis was therefore built in the reign of two bishops acquainted with Constantinople in the best period of Byzantine architecture, the times of Anthenius and Isidore.

At the same time, S. Apollinaris in Classis, and S. Martin, now called S. Apollinaris Nuovo, both plain basilicas unlike S. Vitalis, were built. S. Apollinaris in Classis was commenced by Bishop Ursicinus, it was consecrated by Maximianus, and Julian Argentarius aided in the building. There has been some discussion as to who Julianus Argentarius was. Architect or munificent contributor? he was probably "Argentarius" a banker of Ravenna, who saw to the payments.

S. Apollinaris Nuovo was also commenced in the reign of Theodoric, and it was consecrated by Agnellus in 553; it had previously been decorated by him with mosaics. There is no church on the Levant which was built in that age which could compare with the churches already named in Constantinople, unless it were S. Vitalis in Ravenna.

¹ Agnelli *Liber Pontificalis* (Modena, 1708), pars secunda, p. 38.

The figures in the mosaic of the baptistry are immeasurably superior in design to those in S. Apollinare Nuovo, and a sketch of the mosaic is given in Plate LXXII. as a good specimen of its period. The tessera on the larger mosaics are very big and the work exceedingly coarse.

The earliest examples of wall painting during the Christian era in Italy, not Roman, are those in the cemeteries or *grotte* of Naples. They have received considerable attention from numerous learned men, and complete valuable and interesting works have been published fully describing them.* In making a selection for the purpose of this work I have confined myself to the examples which I think most fully exhibit the characteristics of each period.

The fresco painting of an Orante (Plate LXX.) of the fourth or fifth century, from Naples, recalls to the reader the attitude so frequent in the Roman cemeteries, but it has a distinct character. The demi-figure, apparently a portrait of Vitalia the memorialised person (*Bitalia in pace* is the in-

If not an imitation of S. Sophia, its builder received his inspiration in part from it. Dr. Freshfield then goes on to prove in detail its resemblance to the Byzantine churches.

The Churches of SS. Apollinaris in Classis and Nuovo¹ are both basilicas—but the same Julianus Argentarius had to do with them, and that the ecclesiastical ornaments they contain were brought from Constantinople and from Rome. *Archæologia*, vol. xlv., pp. 417 to 426.

Signor Riviora thinks that the work between A.D. 425 and 458 was probably local, or, as he calls it, *Romano-Ravennate*. See *Le origini della Architettura Lombardia*, pp. 1 to 120, vol. i. (Roma, Ermans Loescher & Co., 1901).

* See Salazaro, D. *Studi sui monumenti d'Italia*, &c.; and Diehl, *L'Art Byzantin en Italie* (Paris).

¹ S. *Appollinare Nuovo*, formerly S. *Martinus in Calo aureo*, was at one time the Royal Chapel of Theodoric. It has lost its apse, which, it is asserted, was decorated with mosaic of the time of Theodoric. The side walls and upper zones are of his period, or that immediately succeeding. Beside and between the windows are thirty figures of fairly good style, above the windows a zone of historical pictures separated by the summits of three domes of the lower niches. There are thirteen compositions on each side. On the north side, the style of the composition is somewhat of the early Alexandrine type of the Roman Catacombs, arranged as on a stage—the spectator being addressed in these. Our Lord is fair and beardless. On the south side He is older and bearded, and taller than other figures. The scenes have a later storiated appearance. In the Passion series of subjects there is a gap between the Bearing of the Cross and the myrrh bearers at the tomb. The Procession of Martyrs on the nave clerestory is inferior, and was done under Bishop Agnellus, A.D. 553-558. It was about this period that the quasi-Alexandrine classic style gave way to the Syro-Hellenic. See *Garucci* Plates 229, 233, 241-2, 252.

scription) is vested in an outer dress resembling the full chasuble. The head is that of a person of good appearance, about fifty years of age, as the hair, curling on the forehead, is grey; the colour is soft, both the outer vesture and the head dress are of a low-toned red, such as would be produced by the admixture of a red earth with white; the under dress is of pale grey-green and the background grey-blue. The execution as well as the colour tell us that the work is of the South Italian school founded on the Egypto-Hellenic models, such as we have already considered in the Pompeian paintings; it is therefore quite different from the Roman Byzantine work we have last been considering, and the Italian painting which we shall hereafter have to review, which shows Syro-Hellenic influence.

Of the same character is a composition of five figures from another Neapolitan grotto (Plate LXXI.). It is difficult to say what this subject means. Four figures are nimbed, probably SS. James, Paul, Peter and John. The figures are named in the order in which they are placed. In the centre is a youth dressed in a vestment like the ample chasuble, coloured red; he has black hose, and has no tunic or other visible vestment than the chasuble. In his left hand he holds an open book, with his right hand he blesses; and, it should be emphasised, in the Latin manner.* Over his head there has been appa-

* I had already written the above before seeing M. Gayet's *l'Art Copte*. On p. 59 there is over a Gnostic figure an emblem of this kind enclosing an effulgent cross. It is quite probable that the painter of the Italian work was of Alexandria, and there had seen such emblems on Our Lord's head, and that

PLATE LXXIII.



OUR LADY AS AN ORANTE, TWO OTHER SAINTS, AND A FOUNDER OF THE CHURCH OF THE BADIA, ON THE RIVIERA D'AMALFI, S. ITALY.

youth to be a portrait of some person of secular importance.†

The colouring, as in the case of Plate LXIII., is soft, the flesh and draperies are modelled after the Pompeian manner, and I am inclined to think that some of the work, like this, in the Neapolitan grotto is better than that in the Roman cemeteries.

The painting is ascribed to the fourth century.

The next illustration from S. Gandioso, Naples, introduces us to another style, and we detect at once a new Byzantine‡ influence. This is attributed to the sixth century. It is a painting which has often previously received considerable notice and is of great interest. It represents a

this may be the beardless figure of Our Lord. It will be observed that the figure has no nimbus other than this. This also may have been the cause of the erasure of the emblem possibly used by the Monothelites. Their heresy was condemned by the Lateran Council in 649.

* Garucci (tav. 105) says, "*in alto sul capo di lui campeggia una corona è probabilmente un festone,*" and that the figures may be SS. Peter, Paul, Severus, and Januarius, patrons of the youth. I cannot agree to the corona and festoon.

† Una figura giovanile d'un illustre defunto forse un legislatore, il quale è vestito de casula e mentre benedice aiutato colgesta della mano destra, tiene con la sinistra un libro aperto. Al disopra della testa di questo personaggio si osserva una grandiosa corona dall'oro, alla quale non sappiamo dare una spiegazione. Salazaro, *D. Studi su monumenti d'Italia*, lib. i., p. 7.

‡ See *Northcote and Brownlow*, p. 225, vol. ii.; and, I think, in Mr. Heaphy's book.

rently something painted, which has been purposely defaced. This is a loss to archæology, as it was undoubtedly the key to the composition. Padre Garucci gives a wreath.* Signor Salazaro, the historian of Italian art, cannot offer us a suggestion, and I think he is in error in supposing the

bust of Our Lord blessing in the Latin manner (Plate LXIX.), from Gaudiosa, with smaller busts of SS. Peter and Paul on either side, from Vitalia.

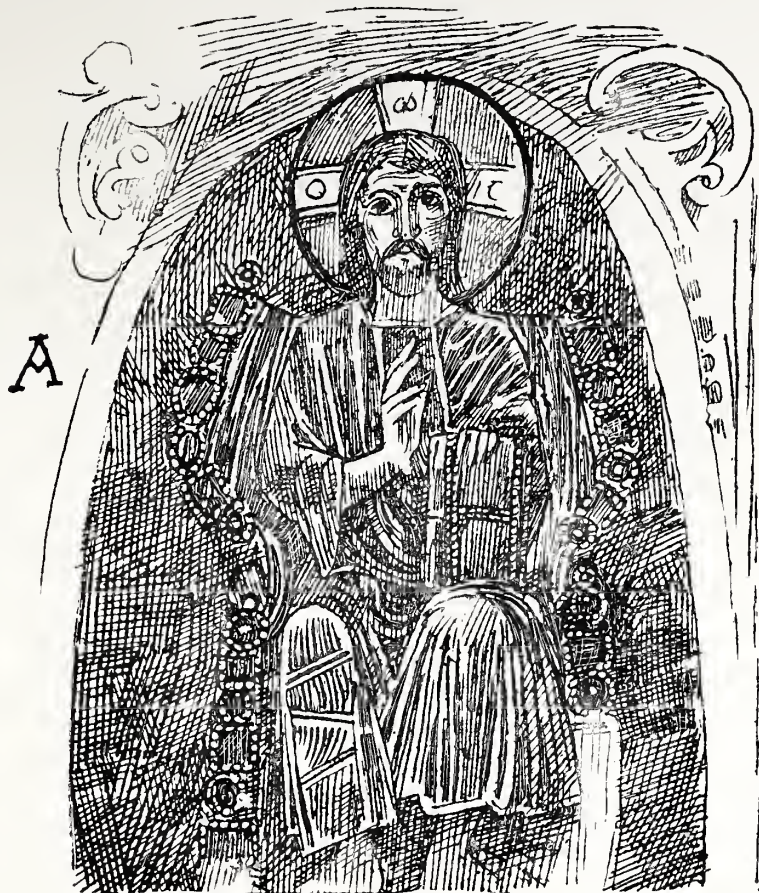
Although the head of Our Lord is represented after the Eastern tradition, a glance tells us that it is an adaptation, probably that of a local artist who had seen those already described, or some copy of one of them. The hair has been slightly altered, the beard lengthened, and the face made more ordinary and handsome, whilst the moustache and beard are of a type then customary in South Italy, as we see

by the faces in the succeeding plates. The heads of SS. Peter and Paul have also undergone some transformation, although retaining the tradition. Interesting in other respects, it retains some of the simplicity and style of treatment of the Empire work, but has distinct Byzantine characteristics imposed upon it; evidently it is therefore of a period of transition. The colouring is simple; nearly all the draperies are white, toned and shadowed with grey, as are also the backgrounds; the exceptions are the nimbus of Our Lord and the stripes on His dress, which are yellow; the broad circumscribing lines are red and black.

The next illustration (Plate LXXIII.) brings us to a style of local art of yet more distinctly Byzantine influence. It contains four figures. Our Lady, as "Orante,"* or advocate, is repre-

* The Orante appear to be of Egyptian origin, if one may trust Gayet. Attitudes of prayer are generally of great antiquity.

PLATE LXXIV.



OUR LORD IN MAJESTY. FROM SANTA MARIA DELLE FRATTE (A.D. 959).

sented with uplifted hands between two saints — probably SS. James and George — perhaps the patronymics of the fourth figure, which is evidently a portrait of the founder of the Badia, on the Riviera d'Amalfi, a hermitage where two anchorites, John and Peter, lived in sanctity, and built a little church dedicated to Our Lady. They drew to themselves in the course of time other brethren, and all eventually took the Benedictine habit. Later on this Monastery of S. Mary was conceded to the Abbot Pietro della Minta de Cava by Duke

Roger in 1088; the donation was confirmed by Urban II. At what time exactly their chapel was painted is unknown. They are ascribed by Signor Salazaro to about the seventh century. The paintings were, however, celebrated enough to attract visitors in the eleventh century:

The colouring of the figures generally is dark, and they are placed upon what appears to have been originally a black background. Our Lady is vested in a dark blue planeta such as it seems to have been the custom in southern Italy with which to invest the *oranti* generally. Her robe is dark rich red, powdered with the three spots of white, or pearls, after the Greek manner. The military figure on her left hand has blue steel scale-armour, a red cloak and blue hose; he holds a copper or brass shield. The Saint on the right has a yellow toga with red shadows and a white tunic with blue stripes, in which colour also, but of lower tone, is the tunic of the donor holding the little church. The whole picture is most interesting in all its

features, the character of the heads, the costumes, the colour and the style of work.

It is instructive to compare these figures with others at Ravenna (Plates LXXII.). At a glance it is evident that Italianism has to a certain extent asserted itself, especially in the military figures, in which all idea of grace or design have been subordinated to correctness of costume, and as an example of this period the painting is valuable. The later work of Ravenna, conventional as it has become, is still more classic and retains a grace in the attitude and composition of the figures.

It is evident that South Italian art was soon after this period rapidly declining, if only temporarily, possibly a reflection of the effect of the iconoclastic schism in Greece; for although the immediate result of the schism was to drive artists from Greece to Italy, those so emigrating to South Italy do not seem to have been of the best. These probably still found work in Greek patriarchates not under Leo.

The example of a figure of Our Lord (Plate LXXIV.) from the crypt of the subterranean chapel of *Santa Maria delle fratte*, near Carpignano, of which a sketch is here given, is good evidence of this decline. The chapel in which the figures are painted is beneath the church of *Santa Maria delle Grazie* (Plate LXXV.), this is a capital example of an inexpensive, effective and artistic oratory, the whole structure being extremely simple and wholly painted in an economic manner. There are many compositions and figures on the walls, and each space seems to have been painted as pictures

PLATE LXXV.



PORTION OF THE SUBTERRANEAN CHAPEL OF *Santa Maria delle Fratte*.
NEAR CARPIGNANO.

were given and as time went on; a scheme having been at the beginning settled upon. This scheme, however, seems at times to have been departed from, as there are two figures of S. Christine. A group of three figures on a pilaster appears to be of the thirteenth century, whilst there is a second figure of S. Nicholas as late as the fifteenth century.

The arcosolium is built into the walls and contains figures of Our Lady; S. Nicholas, blessing in the Greek manner, vested as a bishop; and S. Theodore, of the twelfth century. On the wall to the right of this is a figure of Our Lord; He holds a book and blesses in the Latin manner; there is

also a figure of Our Lady and the Divine Child; an inscription in Greek of A.D. 1020 gives us the date of these.

The figure of Our Lord in Majesty, which is here given (Plate LXXIV.), is dated the year of the world 6467, that is equal to A.D. 959. His drapery is dark purple, and He sits on a curiously shaped throne, pearled at the sides. There is an inscription in Greek which tells us that it was the gift of a cleric, his wife and son.* The method of

* ΜΝΗΣΘ(Η)ΤΗ Κ(ΟΡΕ)Ε ΤΟΤ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΣΟΥ
ΛΕΩΝΤΟΣ ΠΡΕΣΒΙ(ΤΕ)ΡΟΥ Κ(ΑΙ) ΤΗ(Σ) ΣΥΜΒΙΟΥ
ΑΤΤΟΥ ΧΡΥΕΟΝΤΑΣ Κ(ΑΙ) ΠΑΤΔΟΥ ΤΟΤ ΤΙΟΥ
Α*ΤΟ* ΑΜΗΝ ΓΡΑΦΕΝ ΔΙΑ ΧΗΡ(ΟΣ) ΘΕΟΦΥ-
ΛΛ(Κ)ΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΖΟΓΡΑΦΟΥ ΜΗΝΙ (ΜΑ)ΗΟ ΙΝΔΙΚ-
ΤΙΟΝΒΕΤΟ*Σ

ΜΙ
ΟΙ
ΠΙ
ΝΙ

blessing would make it appear that it was done by a local artist, and, as it commemorates a Greek cleric, tends to show that the monastic painter had not yet come into all the practice; and moreover, that the edict of Nicephoros* did not affect the executant, as M. Diehl imagines; whereas within a century, as we see by the previously mentioned figures of Our Lord and S. Nicholas, who bless in the Greek manner, it is probable that Basilian religious or Greek artists became the executants. There are also two paintings signed by Greeks, Eustathios and Theophylactos, in the same chapel.

From the decadence shown in this figure we turn to some very important work done near Capua in the next century. It would appear from circumstances that this revival was due to the taste and energy of Gregory VII.† and the men he selected to assist him. Amongst these Desiderius, afterwards Abbot of Monte Cassino, was one of the most celebrated (Plate LXXVII.); he became subsequently Cardinal, and as Pope Victor III. he succeeded Gregory VII. in the Papal chair. He

* Footnote, p. 61.

† Gregory VII. seems to have been dissatisfied with the then condition of Roman and Italian Art.

PLATE LXXVI.



PAINTINGS OVER THE DOOR AND IN THE CENTRAL ARCH OF THE PORCH.
S. ANGELO IN FORMIS.

was sent by Stephen IX. as "Apocrisarius"* to the Court of Constantinople, where he met some

* ORNAMENTA.

Legatos Constanti nopolim ad locandos artifices destinavit, peritos utique in arte musivaria et quadrataria, ex quibus videlicet alii absidam, et arcum atque vestibulum majoris basilicæ musivo comerent; alii vero totius ecclesiæ pavementum diversorum iapiolum varietate consternerent. Quarum artium tunc ei destinati magistri, cujus perfectionis exstiterint, in eorum est operibus aestimari, cum et in musivo animatas fere autem et se quisque figuras et quæque virentia cernere, et in marmoribus omnigenum colorum flores pulcra putet diversitate vernare. Et quoniam artium istarum ingenium

quingentis et ultra jam annis magistra Latinitas intermiserta et studio hujus, inspirante et co-operante Deo, nostro hoc tempore recuperare promerint, ne sane id ultra Italiæ deperiret, studuit vir totius prudentiæ plerosque de monasterii pueris diligenter eisdem artibus erudiri. Non autem de iis tantum, sed et de omnibus artificiis quæcunque ex auro, vel argento, ære, ferro, vitro, ebore, ligno, gypso, vel lapide patrari possent, studiosissimos prorsus artifices de suis sibi paravit; sed hæc alias. Nunc vero constructam basilicam qualiter ex parte decoraverit, demumque sacraverit prout possumus designemus. Plumbeis igitur domatibus illam totam cum titulo et utroque porticu ac vestibulo decenter operiens, absidam et arcum majorem musivo vestivit, in cujus videlicet circuitus amplitudine aureis literis hos versus describi præcepit.

"Ut, duce te, patria justis poliatur adepta hinc Desiderius, Pater, hanc tibi condidit aulam." In absida vero hinc inde sub pedibus sanctorum Baptistæ et Evangelistæ Joannis versus istos:

"Hæc domus est similis Sinai sacra jura ferentis, ut lex demonstrat hic quæ fuit edita quondam, lex hinc exivit, mentes quæ ducit ab imis, et vulgata dedit lumen per climata sæcli."
—Mabillon, *Acta Benedictina*, ix., p. 185.

distinguished artists, and he appears to have been dissatisfied with the then condition of Art in Italy, for he apparently chose in Constantinople or from some other part of Greece the artists and mosaicists to be employed in the work at Monte Cassino. These artists were evidently masters of the best schools, as their work is of the same style as that afterwards found at Palermo, Monreale, Cefalu, S. Luke in Stiris and Daphne. We may date from before this period a new Byzantine, or rather Romanesque, painting revival, which seems, by the aid of the Benedictine order, to have spread throughout Europe. With these few words I introduce to the reader the work at

S. ANGELO IN FORMIS.

About half-an-hour's ride from Santa Maria near Capua, in an obscure but picturesque position, is the little basilica of *S. Angelo in Formis*, so named after the aquaduct which carries water from Tifata to Capua; originally it was named *Saint Angelo ad arcum Diana*, from the circumstance of the original edifice upon which this present one, now dedicated to S. Michæl, was founded having been a temple to Diana.

In 1065,* when Martin III. was Pope, and the

* The account in Mabillon slightly differs, as far as S. Angelo is concerned—probably the more recent research is correct, as they have seen the dated document. The new Basilica at Monte Cassino was consecrated in A.D. 1071, and S. Angelo in Formis, in 1072, was given to Desiderius. It had, however, already been in the possession of the Capuan Benedictines for some time.

"In sequens annus MLXXI. novæ Casiensis ecclesia dedicatione fuit, maxime ob consecrationis dignitatem. Hanc basilicam intra quinquennium construxerat Desiderius abbas et Cardinalis" * * * * * (It appears that Desiderius also had it decorated.) Leo Maisicanus gives a list of these. Mabillon's *Annales Ordines S. Benedicti*, Paris, 1713, lib. lxiii., cap. lxxviii.; and *Chron. Casin.*, lib. iii., cap. xxx., xxxi., xxxii.

"Hoc item anno (A.D. 1072) monasterium S. Angeli ad Formam seu Formas apud Capuam, Richardus¹ princeps Sancto Benedicto obtulit in manu Desideris abbatis-que illud restruxit, assignatu et media parte mobilium Albaneta cella

¹ *Chron. Casinensi*, lib. iii., cap. xxxvii.

PLATE LXXVII.



THE ABBOT DESIDERIUS
HOLDING A MODEL OF
S. ANGELO IN FORMIS.

celebrated Desiderius,* afterwards Pope Victor III., was Abbot of Monte Cassin, Richard I., Duke of Normandy, Count d'Aversa, who had become possessed of Capua in 1058, arranged with Hildebrand, the then Bishop of Capua, to exchange the Church of Landepaldi for S. Angelo, which he gave to the Benedictines. There is an interesting illumination of this event,† with the document itself recording the exchange, in the Abbey of Monte Cassino. The basilica was enlarged in 1073, and consecrated, in 1075, by Ervelo, Bishop of Capua.

It does not appear to have been then nor until after 1075 embellished in any way, but the mural paintings which still remain on its walls, and which were probably executed as soon as the monks could arrange, were undoubtedly painted immediately afterwards, and before the death of Desiderius. They rank of the first importance in the history of mural painting, especially having certain considerations to their great resemblance to certain work in Greece, to the Sicilian mosaics, and to certain characteristics of our own art in England. Before, however, going into details concerning the paintings, I wish to make a few preliminary remarks upon the building itself.

That it remains now in much the same shape as

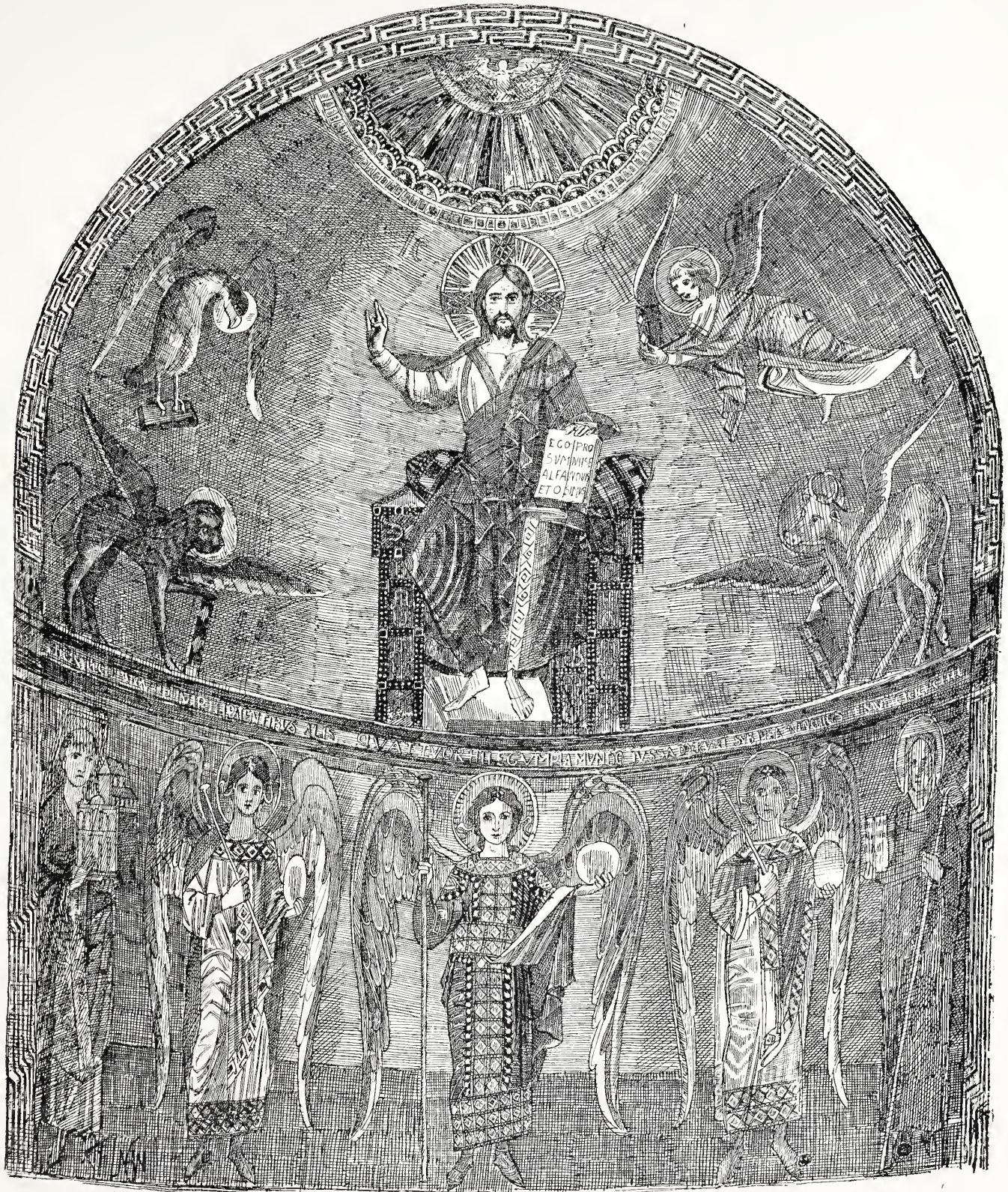
Casiensis, ex qua etiam monachorum Coloniam illuc deduci curavit. Hoc monasterium positum erat ad arcum Dianæ Tisatinæ, sic dictæ a Tisata proximo monte, ubi unus tantum monachus paullo ante medium sæculum decimum habitabat. Verum cum Sico Episcopus illud inique invasisset; Marinus papa¹ ipsum eidem monacho restitui jussit, et monasterium liberum esse sanxit sub custodia monasterii sancti Benedicti Capuani. Extat apud Peregrinum in historia principum Longobardorum insignis formula judicati, data anno MCXLIX. in gratiam Joannis propositi S. Angeli ad Formam. *Ibid.*, lib. lxiv., cap. ii.

¹ *Ibid.*, lib. i, cap. lvii.; *C. Peregrin*, p. 251.

* The Life of Desiderius was written by Leo of Ostia and is frequently quoted by Muratori and others. He ordered his novices to study Art. See Muratori, *Rev. Ital. Sculptores*, iv., p. 442.

† Since reproduced under Dom Odoriscius Priscicelli, O.S.B.

PLATE LXXVIII.



PAINTINGS OF THE APSE OF S. ANGELO IN FORMIS.

in the time of Abbot Desiderius is evident from the illuminations still in the Abbey, and in the apsidal fresco of S. Angelo in which it is also represented. A small basilica with a tile-covered porch composed of five arches (Plate LXXVII.), the centre, leading to the doorway, being the highest, and sheltering a fresco of Our Lady, with hands upraised like the ancient orante, this is in a circle carried by two angels; beneath the arch an angel is painted over the flat-headed door. The subjects in the tympani over the side arches are from the lives of the hermits S. Paul and S. Anthony; by inscriptions on these subjects we know that the artists were Greek. There are some curious circumstances connected with this porch. The columns supporting the arcade of the porch, with their capitals, belonged to the ancient temple of Diana, and the arches of the porch, although drawn as semi-circular in the MS., have now in reality a decidedly pointed tendency. If this point is original to the structure, these arches must reckon as pointed examples, earlier than those of the Church of *S. Giovanni dei Leprosi* at Palermo.*

This is a question which I am not in a position to settle, but I would call the attention of authors and architects to it.

All the windows of the basilica itself appear to be circular-headed. By the side of the basilica is its ancient tower, the arches of which are also round. The paintings are as follows:—

Commencing at the entrance, the whole western wall, excepting the doorways and windows, is covered with a representation of the Last Judgment (Plate LXXXV.), a typical kind of composition which has since had many adaptations; this is, I believe, the earliest existing painted example extant of the subject. The figures are in zones,

* Mr. Hubbard says: "The conquerors adapted and their adaptation revolutionised the architecture of Christendom. The earliest known work by a Norman architect is *S. Giovanni dei Leprosi*, about 1100, a date at which it is safe to say no Christian churches had pointed arches." *Archæologia*, vol. lxxvi.

Schultz, H. W., *Denkmäler der Kunst der Mittel-alters*, 1860, *Dresden* (taf. LXX) draws the arches as pointed, which they certainly now are.

one over the other, excepting the centre, in which there is a large figure of Our Lord seated on His throne and surrounded by an aureola. On either side, in the upper zones, are the Holy Angels, and in those below these the Twelve Apostles sitting also in judgment. Under Our Lord three recording angels hold a scroll, and on one side of these, to the right hand, the blessed are entering Paradise.* Here, as in the Catacombs and other early Italian work, Heaven is in a garden, not in cloudland. On the sinister side the damned are driven into Hell, of which that in the glass at Fairford appears to be of the same tradition, continued for over six centuries.†

Turning round we face the great painting in the centre apse — Our Lord seated in majesty enthroned, blessing in the Greek manner and holding an open book, with the text, "EGO SUM ALFA ET OMEGA" (Plate LXXVIII.). Our Lord's head is of precisely the same type as the Greek and Sicilian work already referred to, and has the care-worn wrinkles on His forehead. Above His head is the Holy Dove, with an elaboration of rays, and on either side the evangelical emblems. Beneath are the three archangels, S. Michael, the patron of the dedication, in the centre; at one extremity the Abbot Desiderius with a model of the church in his hand; on the other side S. Benedict.

The following inscription runs round the apse between the figure of Our Lord and the angels below: "QUATUOR HILLEGUM PIA MUNDA JUSSA DEERUNT SUB QUEAVEUNT."

The ornament around the arch is a simple key-pattern such as was used by the Greeks and has no perspective or shadow such as is shown in the swastica at *Corneto*, or *Civita Lavinia*, and Oberzell, or in the fret at *S. Maria Feroclaudio*,‡ &c. This point will hereafter be enlarged upon. On either side of the church and above the capitals of the arcade

* They are mostly religious, and the habits alternate black and white.

† *The History of Design in Painted Glass*, vol. iii., p. 150. The place of punishment is also often so represented in paintings even of later date.

‡ See plates of the fret and swastica in the last chapter of this volume.

PLATE LXXIX.



HEAD OF OUR LORD AND SAINTS FROM MONREALE.

are scenes from the life of Our Lord.* That of the Crucifixion (Plate LXXXII.) is interesting: it differs in composition in some details from the ancient Greek and Roman tradition, frequently found in ancient Roman churches, such as those of S. M. Maggiore, SS. John and Paul,† S. Maria Antiqua,‡ and in the catacomb of S. Valentine.§ The composition is no longer rectilinear but extended into the space over the capitals, as afterwards adopted in the mosaics of the *Capella Reale* of Palermo (Pl. LXXXIII.), and Cathedral of

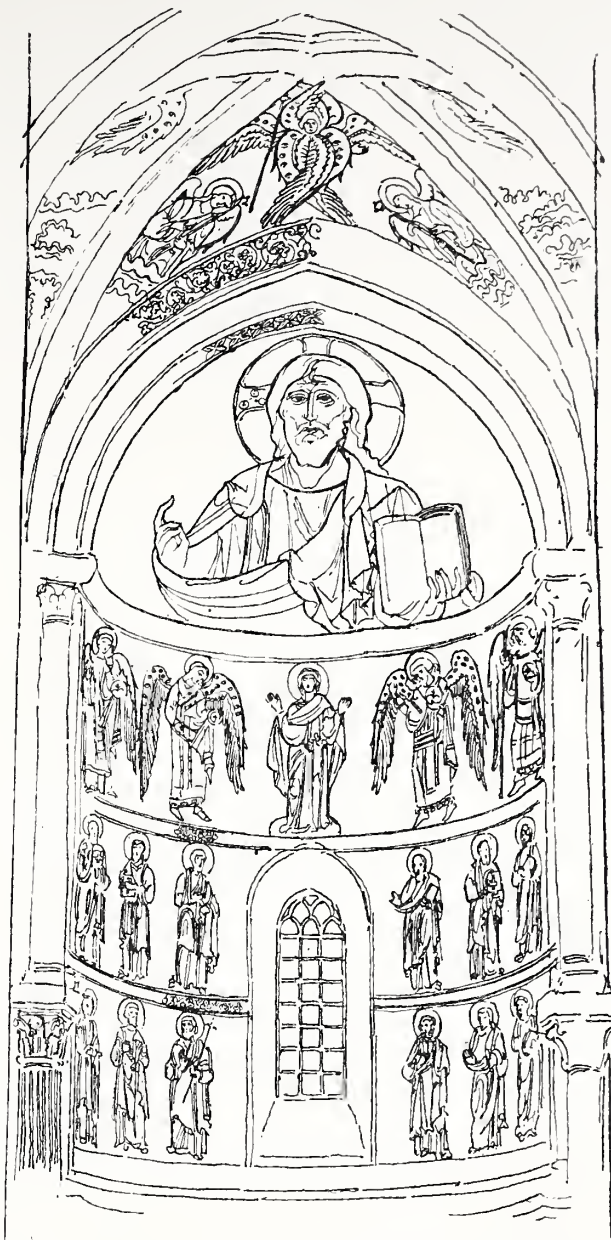
* The prophets and subjects on the side walls are given in an appendix. I am indebted to the article by Her Krauss in the *Jahrbuch der königlich-preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, vol. xlv., p. 893, for this list, that in Salazaro being imperfect.

† Plate XXXIV.

‡ Plate L.

§ Plate XXXV. and XLVIII.

PLATE LXXX.



HEAD OF OUR LORD (PANTOCRATOR) AND THREE ZONES OF SAINTS FROM THE APSE OF CEFALU.

Monreale (Pl. LXXXI.). Our Lord wears only the perizonium, and there is neither the man with the spear nor he with the sponge. There is the group of distant spectators described in the Gospel* of S. Mark, which gospel appears to have been principally used, and the soldiers casting lots; St. Longinus and the other centurion are in the distance. Above the cross are two curiously designed demi-angels, with the sun and the moon.

I have also given (Plate LXXXIV.) the series

* Cap. xv., v. 40.

SCHEME OF SUBJECTS AT

SOUTH

ZONES I AND 2 ABOVE

ZONE 3.	10. WASHING FEET. <i>LEX NOVA . . . IS . . . TUS. AS</i>	9. HOLY EUCHARIST.	8. MISSING.	7. THE ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM.	6. WOMEN AT OUR LORD'S FEET. CURING THE ISSUE.
ZONE 4.	9. PROPHET. UNDECIPHERED INSCRIPTION.	8. MOSES PROFETA. (?) <i>PROPHETAM TIBI SUS- CITABIT DNS.</i>	7. ZACHARIAS PROPHETA. <i>ECCE REX TUUS VENIET SEDENS SUPER ASINAM. Vulgate, ASCENDENS SUPER ASINAM. Is. lxii. 11 ; S. Matt. xxi. 5.</i>		6. MALACHIAS PRO- PHETA. <i>ECCE VENIT DICIT DOMINUS EXERCITUUM.</i>

NORTH

IN ZONE I THE SCENES ARE DIVIDED BY

ZONE 1.	HEROD ORDERING THE SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENTS.	THE SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENTS.	OUR LORD WITH THE DOCTORS.	CURSING THE BARREN FIG-TREE. NEARLY DESTROYED.		
ZONE 2.	1. THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT. NEARLY DESTROYED.	2. TAKE A GROAT. <i>(S. Matt. xvii. 24-27.)</i> NEARLY DESTROYED.	3. OUR LORD BLESSING A CHILD.	4. UNRECOGNISABLE.	5. (?) OUR LORD SITTING WITH OTHERS. SUBDITUR.	6. (? INSCRIPTION.) <i>LINGUENS SPECTA- CULA PACIS.</i>
ZONE 3.	1. OUR LORD ON THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.* <i>CHRISTUS HIC ORAT CALICIS UT TRANS- EAT HORA.</i>	2. THE BETRAYAL. FIRST SCENE IN SAME PICTURE : JUDAS SELLS OUR LORD TO THE HIGH PRIEST.	3. OUR LORD MOCKED. <i>AVE REX IUDÆORUM.</i>	4. TWO SCENES. PILATE WASHES HIS HANDS. OUR LORD CAR- RIES HIS CROSS. WITH SIMON THE CYRENIAN, ALSO A SMALL FIGURE WHICH FILLS THE BASE.	5. THE CRUCIFIXION. (PLATE LXXXII.) <i>MORTI VITA DATVR SED MORS MORIENTE NECATUR.</i>	6. BURIAL OF OUR LORD. (PLATE LXXXIV.) INSCRIPTION ERASED EXCEPT "NOTUM."
ZONE 4.	1. SIBYLLA PERSICA. SHE WEARS A LONG DRESS. JUDICII SIGNUM TELLUS SU- DORE MA DEXIT. (This is one of the earliest paintings of a Sibyl recorded, if not the earliest, and it is here connected with the Prophets.)	2. DAVID REX. <i>QUI EDEBAT PANES MEOS —AMPLIAVIT ADVERSOS ME SUPPLANTIONEM. Vul- gate Version : MAGNI- FICAT SUPER ME SUPPLAN- TIONEM.</i>	3. SALOMON REX. <i>MORTE TURPISSIMA—CON- DEMNUM (US) EUM. (Sap. ii. 20.)</i>	4. OSEE PPHE. <i>ERO MORS TUA O MORS MORSUS TUUS ERO.</i>		

THE PROPHETS AND THE SIBYL ARE ALL NIMBED. THE INSCRIPTIONS AS AT

* This Subject has the upper and lower figure of Our Lord as at Athens (Plate CXV.), but not the middle figure.

S. ANGELO IN FORMIS.

SIDE.

THESE DESTROYED.

5. THE RAISING OF LAZARUS.	4. THE BLIND CURED.	3. THE WOMAN TAKEN IN ADULTERY. OBEDITI.	2. OUR LORD AND THE SAMARITAN WOMAN.	1. VISIT OF OUR LORD TO ZACCHEUS.
5. BALAAM \$. ORIETUR STELLA EX JACOB.	4. MICHEAS TU BETHLEHEM FF. . AT . . A (EUPHRATA) PARVLVS ES IN MILIB IUDA.	3. (?) JEREMIAS. FACE LIKE OUR LORD, PROPHECY AND NAME GONE.	2. EZEKIEL. INSCRIPTION NOT TRAN- SCRIBED.	1. JESAIAS. PROPHECY DESTROYED.

SIDE.

WINDOWS—AND DONE BY A LATER HAND.

THE BAPTISM OF OUR LORD.	(?) 1ST TEMPTATION.	(?) 2ND TEMPTATION.	(?) 3RD TEMPTATION.		
7. HEALING A LEPER. ... HIC ABIT ILLE FUGIT ... SALVTI.	8. THE POOL OF BETHESDA.	9. DIVES AT SUP- PER. LAZARUS ASIDE.	10. DIVES IN HELL.	11. THE HEALING OF THE DROP- SICAL MAN. (ALSO AT OBERZELL, PLATE CLXXI.) See German Chapter.	12. DESTROYED.
7. THE DESCENT INTO LIMBO. O MORS EGO . . . AMORE MOMORDI. (PLATE LXXXIV.)	8. THE HOLY WOMEN AT THE TOMB. (PLATE LXXXV.)	9. THE JOURNEY TO EMMAUS. (PLATE LXXIV.) TEXTS OBLITERATED. .	10. OUR LORD APPEARS TO THE DISCIPLES.	11. THE INCREDULITY OF S. THOMAS.	12. THE ASCENSION. NEARLY DESTROYED.
5. SOFFONIAS PPHE. EXPECTA ME DICT DOMI- NUS IN DIE RESURREC- TIONIS. (Soph. iii. 8.)	6. DANIEL PPHE. POST EBDOMADAS SEXA- GINTA DUAS OCCIDETUR CHRISTUS.	7. AMOS. TEXT GONE.	8. DESTROYED.		

REICHANAU IN GERMANY AND AT HARDHAM IN ENGLAND, ARE IN LEONINE VERSE.

The resemblance is considerable, but Our Lord is a large figure in the lower portion.

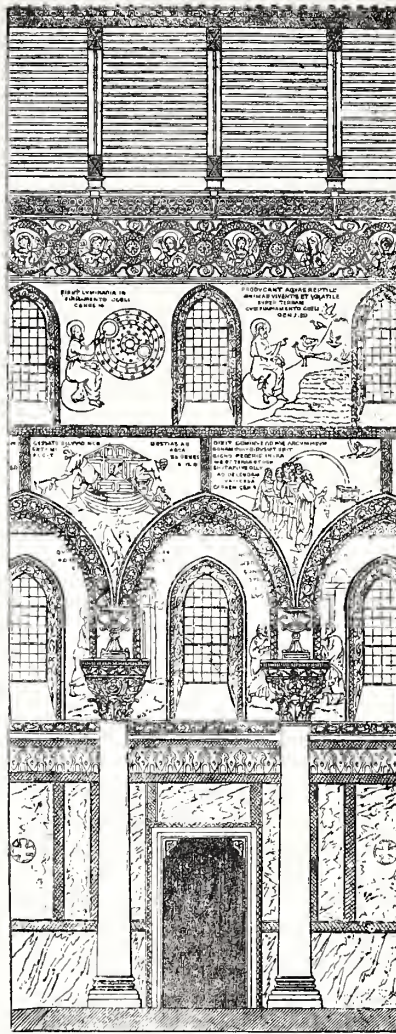
of subjects immediately following the Crucifixion. The first is the Entombment. This subject, like all the others excepting the Crucifixion, does not occupy the space over the column. These are filled with prophets holding scrolls, as in the mosaics over the columns at Palermo, only that the arches of the architecture are not so stilted. Here we find the exact precedent for the treatment of the paintings in S. Savin and at Poitiers, in France,* certain paintings in Reichenau, and Oberzell, in Germany; and other localities where the Benedictines, Cluniacs and otherwise, were settled, which will form the subject of future comment.

There is a detail in these figures worthy of comment. It is the patterned, embroidered hose on some of the figures; this sort of hose is seen on the kings in S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, and again as late as the Durham paintings.†

Who was the master-designer, and who were the painters of these frescoes, is a question as yet unsolved. They are undoubtedly of the time of Desiderius, neither is there much question but that this Abbot was imbued with a love of Greek art and of Greek ritual and Greek vestments, for in his effigy in the MS. (Plate LXXVII.) he wears the oriental amice, and the large Greek stole‡ over the dalmatic; moreover, in the inventories of his time, I observe the entry of chasubles of colours one often finds in old Greek art, but I think not often in old Latin work.

I have already remarked that Our Lord blesses in the Greek manner; there is also a certain

PLATE LXXXI.



PORTION OF THE NAVE AND AISLE
OF THE CATHEDRAL, MONREALE.
TWELFTH CENTURY.

amount of the pearled and jewelled detail which I have considered a mark of Byzantine influence, but I do not think it is so abundant nor used in the same manner as in most of the Byzanto-Roman work. It is hardly the work of artists educated in the school which produced that work; the artists had probably been engaged at Constantinople, and they may have belonged to the Athenian schools but had become corrupted by Byzantine practices, such as is to be observed in the vesting of the archangels in jewelled and pearled robes. At any rate, whatever school these paintings represent was afterwards responsible for the cartoons from which the Sicilian mosaics were reproduced, and the characteristics are sufficient to point to one parent stem for the art in St. Angelo, Sicily, Daphne, and other places in Greece and Italy. The character of the composition and details, such as the wing and costumes of the angels, are identical. The Greek manner of blessing, the head of Our Lord, and the method of the draperies,

all are of the same character.*

* I do not quite agree with Woermann, who says, p. 334: "These paintings can scarcely have been executed by Greeks, but were very likely the work of artists trained under Byzantine masters, whose influence shows itself not only in occasional Greek inscriptions, but even more in the severe architectural arrangement of the pictures, in the typical conception of certain scenes, as well as in the costumes and actions. The drawing, however, is vulgar, the nude primitively treated, the handling coarse enough and rendered inharmonious by the underlying green preparation, which appears through the flesh colour. The Italian pupils of the Greeks could not at once shake off their native rudeness, and the Byzantines themselves no longer stood at the same high level as in the days of Theodoric, when their influence touched the arts of Germany." The pictures are unequal, probably by masters and their pupils, perhaps some of them local monks. I differ also with Caravita (*loc. laud.*, tom. i.), who does not think them Byzantine. My own idea is that much of the work is superior to certain of the other works done, certainly, by Greeks.

Illustrated in the French and German chapters.

† See Plate in the English chapter.

‡ The stole was not then worn in Rome. See Duchesne, *Origines*, chap. xi.

The school that produced the artist who designed for Desiderius produced those who worked for Roger of Sicily, and designed some of the coins of the Emperors. Moreover, that we get in these plates examples of the style of design which once covered the walls of the ancient monasteries of Monte Cassino and Subiaco, hardly admits of doubt.

The evidences of the relationship of this style are numerous. A few are here given, but they could easily be multiplied. It has been observed that the head of Our Lord is drawn expressing care and anxiety, such as we find in the early Sudaria, and later, at S. Luke* of Stiris, Cefalu (Plate LXXXIX.) (A.D. 1148), Monreale (Plate LXXX.) (A.D. 1182), and at Palermo; † and ever since in Greek art. It is also identical with the bust on the coins of Constantine and Nicephorus Phocas, the medals of John I. (A.D. 979) and Basil II. (A.D. 1028), and some of the succeeding Emperors. ‡

* See chapter on Greek Art, Plate CVII., and Plates IX., X., XI., CVII., CVIII. and ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΙΚΗ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΜΟΝΗΣ ΔΑΦΝΙΟΥ. ΤΠΟ ΓΣΩΡΤΙΟΥ ΛΑΜΠΙΑΚΗ· ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ, 1889, pp. 123 to 128.

† Details of the head of Our Lord and the Angels at Palermo are given by *Woermann and Woltmann* (Eng. ed.), p. 342, vol. i.

‡ See Sabatier (J.), *Iconographie d'une collection de cinq mille medailles* (St. Petersburg, Bellizard, MDCCCLVII.), and the appendix to the next chapter.

PLATE LXXXII.



THE CRUCIFIXION. FROM S. ANGELO IN FORMIS. ELEVENTH CENTURY.

Consider still farther the alliances in detail between this work, the Sicilian and Greek Painting, that at St. Angelo, that in St. Savin,* in France, and other European designs, † and it will be at once evident that the latter were founded on the most ancient methods of design inherited from the Romans, Greeks, Assyrians, Phœni-

cians, and Egyptians.

In the St. Angelo designs, the arrangement of the figures, singly in zones under Our Lord, is identical with that anciently described by Pausanias as used by the Greeks, and which was used by the Egyptians long before.

The exact alliances alluded to between the Sicilian and Italian work is evident. Our Lady as patroness takes the central place below Our Lord at Palermo and Monreale; S. Michael, being the patron at St. Angelo, takes the like position there. In other respects, such as the design of the wings, and the attitude, vestures, and positions of the angels, are almost identical in all the Greek, Sicilian and Italian designs.

It has been suggested that the Italian pupils of the Greeks ‡ employed at Monte Cassino and S.

* See Chapter v., Plates CXXXIII., CXXXV., CXXXVIII.

† See the German and English chapters.

‡ Herr Kraus, in the work already quoted, is of opinion that there is also work by older monks educated in a nationalised Roman school, of which he thinks he sees examples at Reichenau, but even this nationalised school

Angelo also worked on these paintings. This was most probable. It has already been observed that Desiderius encouraged his monks to study the Arts, and it is evident from the difference of quality in the works, a difference most marked, that some of the pupils were novices.

No mediæval works of art with which I am acquainted have anything like the historical importance that those in this village basilica possess. It shows us the condition of Western art at this period and enables us by affinities of resemblance not only to appreciate the more perfect works in the large monasteries but to distinguish and trace the origin or developments of the Art of many countries, enabling us to determine whether they followed practices already settled in Rome, no matter of what origin, or of those others periodically introduced by fresh importations from the East, perhaps arising from the reputation of some Eastern celebrity whose work or that of whose pupils became in demand.

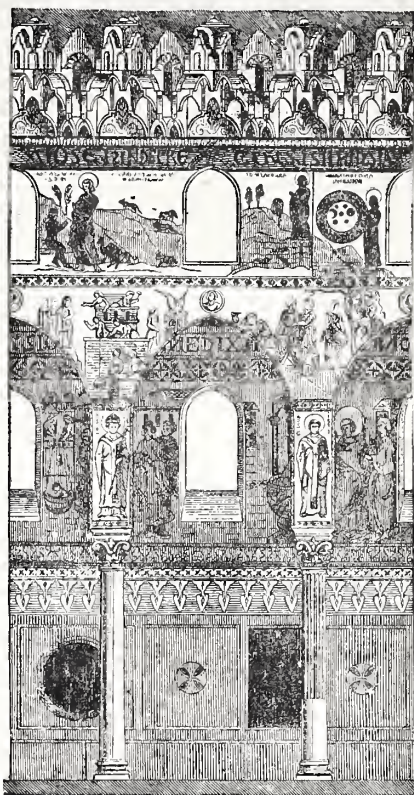
Turning to the French, English and German methods of composition, the arrangement of the figures of Prophets with scrolls and the zones of rectilinear subjects over them is identical.

In England we have the spandrels filled with the subject and the zone arrangement below, in the chapel of S. Gabriel at Canterbury.

The arrangement of the figure of Our Lord in Majesty, surrounded by the aureola and evangelic symbols, became universal. Indeed, wherever the monks of S. Benedict founded an abbey, we find

was only the result of an earlier Greek invasion. If, as I feel convinced, the whole of the designs in the monastic work come from the master in the Scriptorium, a master who had studied in one of these quasi-Greek schools, and that different painters assisted the master in carrying out the work, the whole question is solved.

PLATE LXXXIII.



PORTION OF THE NAVE AND AISLE OF THE CAPELLA REALE, PALERMO, SHOWING THE SARACENIC TENDENCIES IN THE ARCHITECTURE AND ORNAMENT. TWELFTH CENTURY.

in them various schools of art differing somewhat in style but following the ancient traditions embodied and still existing at S. Angelo in Formis and which were undoubtedly more fully represented in the large monasteries of Monte Cassino and Subiaco.

There is another important lesson given to us by these frescoes. In the decay of some of the pictures the method of execution which the Byzantines at this period had developed and practised is exposed. Its exceedingly simple recipe appearance arose probably from the practice of sketching for the manufacture of mosaics, for there can be little doubt but that these same painters were mosaicists or designed for them. On a thin coating of pale, low-toned green the subject was sketched, this tone sufficing for the half tints! The flesh portions were developed by painting the high lights with pale yellow, and darkening the shadows with a reddish

brown; the draperies were also painted over it in the usual manner. The effect was of course harmonious, even if slightly monotonous. This practice seems to have been an accepted method, for it is found again at Spoleto, and in other places where Greeks worked. It has been a question in my mind if the green tone of the mosaic and fresco suggested a similar green tone which is used in the white of early painted glass. As a basal tone it is the most reposeful for ecclesiastical purposes. This, in glass, has hitherto been attributed to accident, but it is open to question.

The basilica of

S. MARIA LA LIBERA

at Carniola, adjacent to Fero Claudio, near Sessa, Terra di Lavoro, was founded during the Lombard occupation of Capua and afterwards was sustained by the Norman Princes. The building is of much

PLATE LXXXIV.



THREE ZONES OF SUBJECTS, WITH PROPHETS BELOW THEM. FROM THE NORTH WALL OF S. ANGELO IN FORMIS. ELEVENTH CENTURY.

the same character as S. Angelo in Formis and was built at about the same period. It has an apse with a nave and two aisles, divided by sixteen ancient marble columns. The frescoes within may have been commenced under Bishop John, who in A.D. 1071 assisted at the consecration of Monte Cassino, or they may be some few years later.

The fresco of the apse (Plate LXXXVI.) preserves much of its original freshness, and represents, in the centre, Our Lady crowned, holding the Divine Infant in the Greek manner; she wears a blue cape elaborately embroidered with a broad gold border and jewelled, and a dull red dalmatic also elaborately embroidered and jewelled, with a white tunic, having the folds indicated by blue lines. Over her head is a rayed aureola, like that in the apse of S. Angelo, and on either side of her are the archangels SS. Gabriel and Raphael. Our

Lord wears a green dalmatic also elaborately set off. The crown of Our Lady reminds one of those in the Christian paintings of the Parthenon* at Athens: it is apparently constructed and jewelled like that of Charlemagne. The background is blue, but the figures stand on zones of imitation green and sienna marble. S. Gabriel is dressed in the same coloured, dull red tunic, or dalmatic, as Our Lady.

On a band is the legend around the apse underneath Our Lady:

UT TUTARIS VIRGO PREBE PETRO NON
CLAUDI CARCERE TETRO,

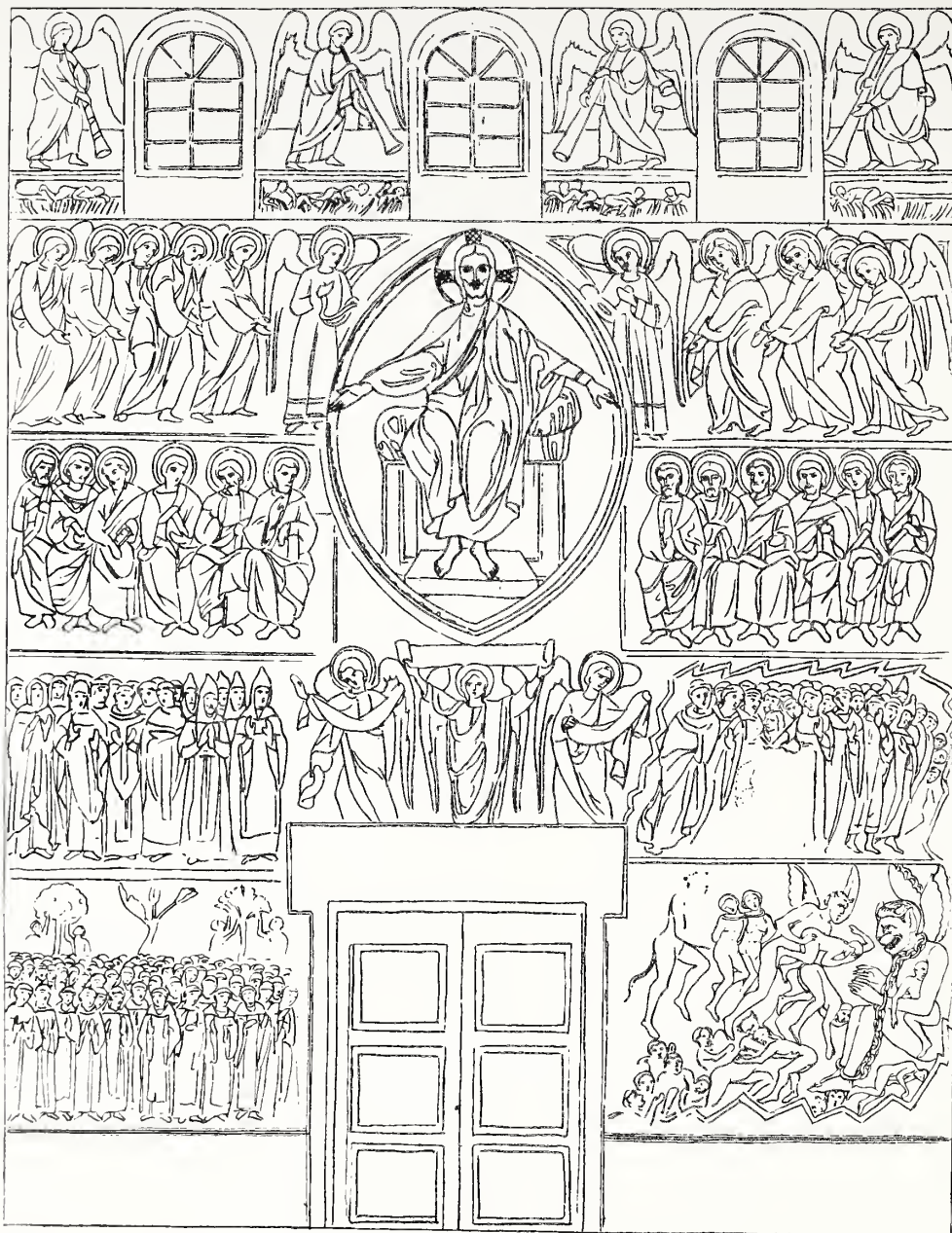
an invocation to S. Maria Libera. The church is also called S. Maria dell Episcopo and S. Maria del val d'oro.

* See Plate CII.

The shadowed fret under the inscription is of considerable archæological value, as it binds together the traditions of the ornament from Pæstum, the Etruscan* of B.C. 200, which was of Greek origin; the Latin,† of A.D. 200; the South Italian,‡ and the German,§ English and French.

In the centre below is S. Michael, with a low-toned, red dalmatic, embroidered with gold and jewelled; he has the same attitude and character as in the work at S. Angelo, Palermo, and Monreale. On either side of S. Michael are SS. Peter and Paul and the other Apostles. The dado behind

PLATE LXXXV.



THE DOOM. FROM THE WESTERN WALL OF S. ANGELO IN FORMIS.

them is a very dark green with an azure sky above it.

Below these figures there is the first part of an inscription; the rest is destroyed:—

VOS HIC DEPICTI
PIETATEM POS-
CITE CHRISTI,
XXXV.

The shadowed fret is curiously coloured, the four keys in the centre are of pale blue, then follow two of pale pink, and again four pale blue and the two pink repeated. The lines circumscribing the apse are of red and yellow, white and black, and the inscription is in white letters on a very dark blue

ground. The ornament below the subjects is a variation of one of the most ancient forms, the "guilloche."*

The same style of fresco is found in the basilica of Tifato.

Bernard of Capua was ordained Bishop of Claudio (his native city) by Pope Victor III.

* Plate LI., vol. i., *History of Mural Painting*.

† Plate CLXIII. B, *ibid.* ‡ Plate LXXXVI., vol. ii.

§ See in the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters.

The swastica is carved in relief at Pæstum, and was probably the original from which those in the plates, vol. i., were derived. It is shadowed to imitate relief at Corneto, on pavements at Pompeii; in paintings at Lanuvium, at Oberzell in Germany, and both in France and in England.

* See Plates XXXIX. and XCII., vol. I, and Plate LXXI. of this volume. The exact form of this guilloche is also found in the Temple of Bacchus. See *Serlio*, English edition, chapter iv., fo. 8.

(Desiderius) on the 20th March, 1087, and it is not improbable that he may have employed men of the same school as those who were entrusted by that Pope, when Abbot of Monte Cassino, to work in the church of S. Angelo in Formis. The work here is, however, evidently somewhat later than in that church.

The church of

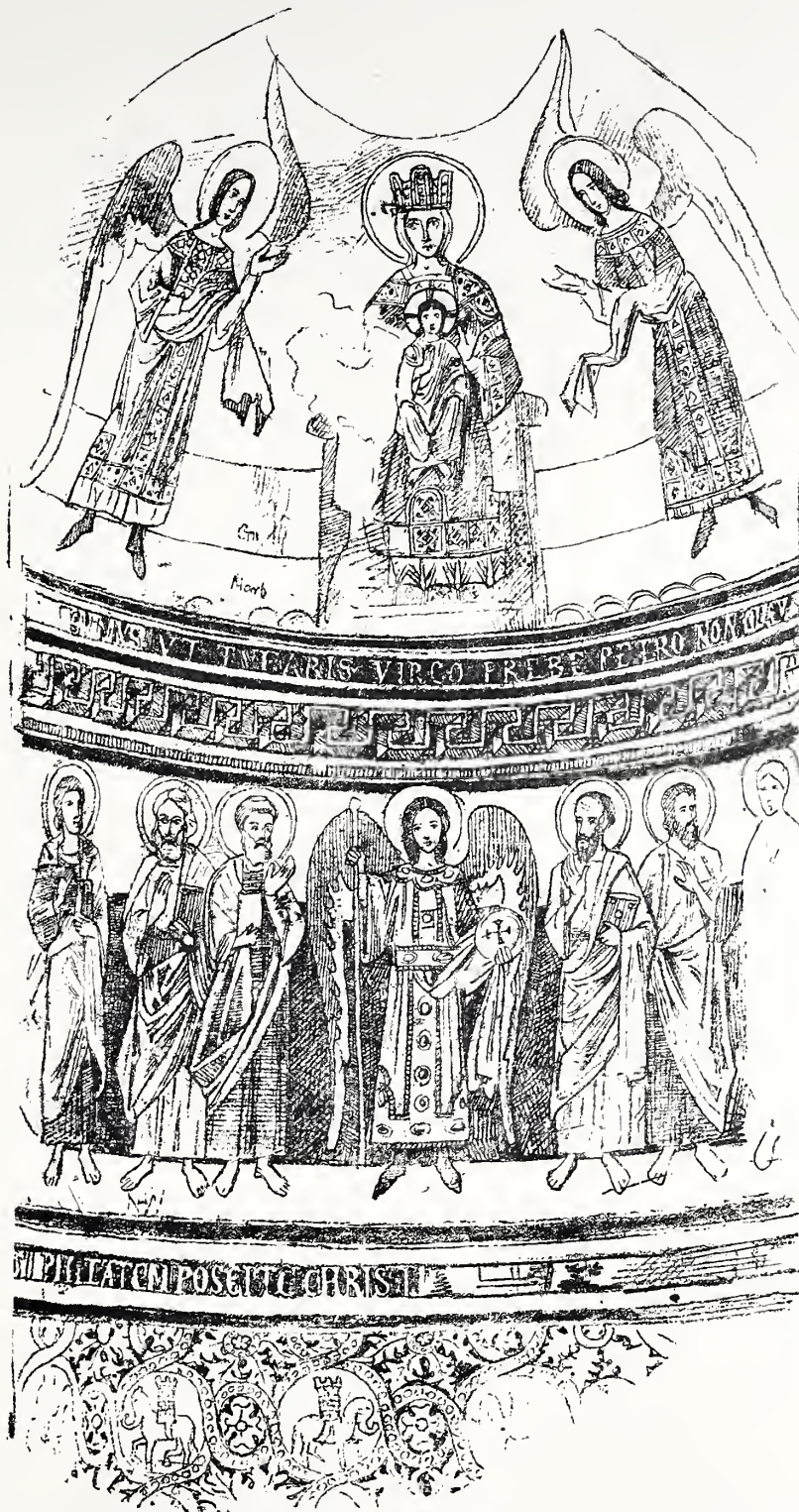
S. SEPOLCRO AT BARLETTA

was early in the twelfth century part of an hospital erected by the Teutonic knights after their return from the Holy Land.

Around the ancient choir are certain frescoes from the life of S. Sebastian, in one of which he blesses three women, each holding one of her breasts in her hands.

There is also a portion of an interesting Annunciation. The most remarkable work is, however, the life-sized busts of the anchorites SS. Anthony and Paul (Plates LXXXVIII., and LXXXIX.). The execution of the heads is very much above the average painting of the period, and, as they are apparently local works, it argues that there was a

PLATE LXXXVI.



SKETCH OF THE CENTRE PORTION OF THE APSE OF THE CHURCH OF SANTA MARIA DELLA LIBERA FERRO CLAUDIO.

considerable school of fairly competent artists working upon this coast of the Adriatic at that time.*

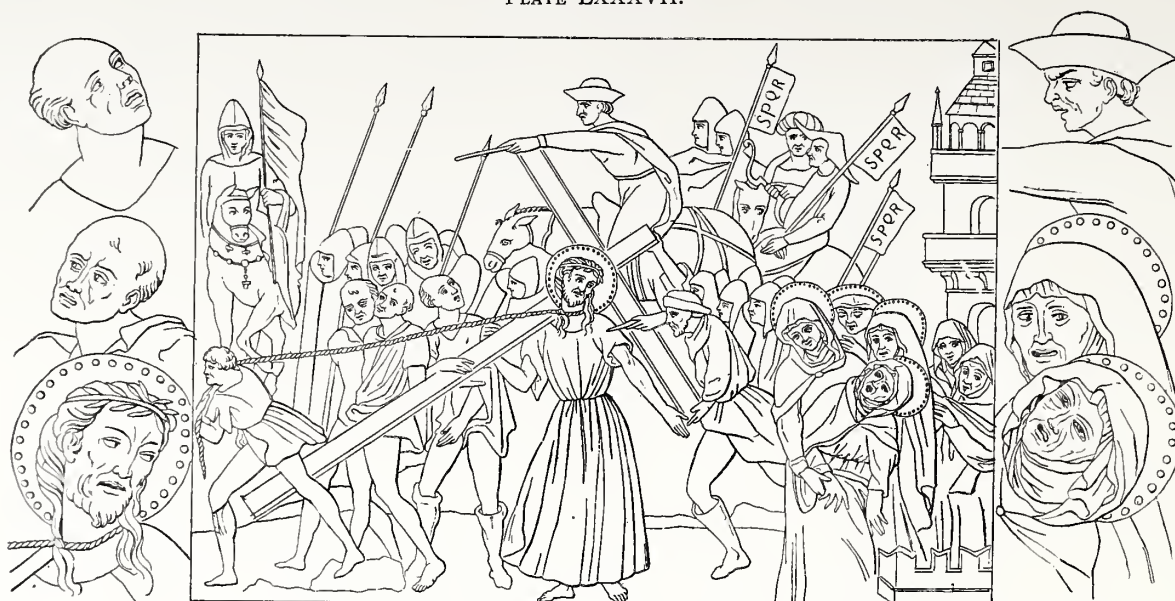
The two scenes from the Temptation of S. Anthony appear to be from another hand (Plate XC.).

For a certain period the province of Otranto, by its situation and by the conditions of politics and religion, gives us some of the best illustrations of the effect of the East in Italy. There the Basilian monks settled, fleeing from the persecution of Leo the Iconoclast and his successor. There, in the ninth and tenth centuries, numerous colonies were transported from the Peloponnesus by Basil I., Leo VI. and Nicephoras Phocas. Later on, in the fifteenth century, other refugees came from Albania, hurrying from the Turks.

* "La voisinage des pays grecques, la longue domination des Byzantins, les migrations fréquentes venues du rivage opposé de l'Adriatique et de la

mer Donienne, la persistance des monastères basilien et des colonies grecques, ont produit du X^e au XIV^e siècle une magnifique floraison artistique dont le caractère purement oriental est absolument incontestable." Quoted by M. Diehl, p. 12 from the *Report de la Commission des écoles de Rome et d'Athènes*, par Alb. Dumont, 1883, pp. 28 to 33.

PLATE LXXXVII.



THE CARRYING OF THE CROSS. FROM S. STEFANO IN BOLOGNA (WITH CERTAIN DETAILS) FROM D'AGINCOURT, WHO ATTRIBUTES IT TO THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

BRINDISI,

had it its rights, would be full of marvellous works of art, but earthquakes, time, and wars, have despoiled it of nearly all its jewels. It was the Brundisium of Pliny and Strabo, and the Brundisium of Livy and others. Here Pacuvius the painter lived and here Virgil died. Here Tancred married his son Roger to the Greek Emperor's daughter Irene. In its ancient seaport Pompey gathered his forces for his descent on Epirus, and here he defended himself against Cæsar; here in A.D. 545 Totila overthrew Belisarius, and in his fall fell also Naples and Rome into the hands of the Goth. It was to them only second in importance to Ravenna, so that here, had it remained, we should probably have found equal Art.

Through various other vicissitudes the city went, too numerous even to mention here, but the painting that remains was done under the Normans: these, when Roger occupied it, encouraged the Benedictines, who, it seems, were already settled there. From Brindisi, Bohemond started on the Crusade he led and in honour of which he built the round church of St. John the Baptist (San Giovanni), the ruins of which remain. The most interesting painting remaining in Brindisi is, however, of the latter part of the twelfth century.

In the city the Churches of San Giovanni in Sepolcro and the crypt of S. Lucia are noted, and in the vicinity, near the station of San Vito, those of S. Vitus, S. John, and S. Blaise, deserve examination. *S. Giovanni in Sepolcro* is an interesting circular church of the twelfth century. The series of paintings at first attracting attention are apparently of the fourteenth century, but very much decayed; underneath the plaister on which they are painted there is work of an earlier date. They represent work of the local Byzantine school of Lecce* before it was influenced by the Venetians.

The crypt of S. Lucia, most ancient and very curious, is decorated with paintings from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, upon different coatings of plaister, with a curious mixture of Latin and Greek inscriptions. Only the niches of the apse and the surrounding walls preserve their original paintings.

In one of the recesses or niches in the wall is a picture of Our Lady holding her Divine Son (Plate XCI.). She is sitting on a throne of curious form, but to which we find many resemblances in the designs on the coins of the Byzantine Emperors,

* Diehl, p. 44.

and in that on which Our Lord is seated, in the narthex of S. Sophia at Constantinople.

The whole air of the painting, both of the figure and ornament, bespeak Eastern influences; and it appears to belong to the latter Hellenic school, which took form in certain localities at a later date than such as we have studied from S. Angelo in Formis. The colour is rich and beautiful. Our Lady's wimple, which really appears to be an ample hood attached to her dress, is of a rich red, tintured brownish, and this is placed on a yellow nimbus; this in its turn is set in a deep, rich, blue background, on which there is also a Greek inscription embellished with curious curves. The ornaments on Our Lady's dark blue skirt and red robes have the same feeling, and the dangling string of pearls, which we also find identical on Our Lady, in the Athenian Church (Plate CXIX.), betray the old leaven of Syro-Greek art. Our Lord is dressed in a scarlet tunic and a blue toga with white lights. The throne back is yellow picked out with a pattern having alternately red and green flowers, and the cushions red and gold. Our Lord is vested in red with an outer robe of blue, having white high lights; the flesh is rich.

The crypts of *S. Vito dei Normanni* (S. Vitus) are very interesting, as the remaining centres or chapels of the anchorites who were living around them, in a number of circular cells of small dimensions, being only about six feet across and little more than three high, the entrance to which had to be made on the knees. The crypt of *S. John in the Masseria, Cafaro*, is rectangular, and its walls are partly covered by paintings, accompanied by Latin inscriptions. On entering one sees on the

PLATE LXXXVIII.



S. ANTHONY. FROM S. SEPOLCRO, BARLETTA.

wall to the right hand S. John the Baptist standing between Our Lady, holding Our Lord, and S. Clement. S. John wears a red tunic in place of his ordinary hair shirt, and a white "orarium," fastened in front by a fibula. S. Clement wears a low mitre of curious shape. These figures appear to be of the later years of the thirteenth century, of which period there are also other interesting works. But the most interesting object is an Archangel (Plate XCIII. b.). He is dressed in a purple and embroidered tunic. In his right hand he carries a globe marked with a patriarchal

cross and in the angle the letters $\bar{M} \cdot \Theta$ and a little lower $\bar{\Pi}$. The fourth letter is gone ($\mu\eta\tau\eta\rho \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$). On his nimbus are the letters $A \Omega$ —.*

The Crypt of S. Blaise, in the *Masseria Giannuzzo*, some distance from that of *San Vito*, is of a rectangular plan, with a small apse at the end. It is about 40 ft. long, 15 wide and 9 high. On the side wall frescoes of a more recent period cover up the earlier ones, but on the vaulting the frescoes are old and untouched; accompanying them is a Greek inscription giving the name of the abbot, the artist, and the date—very great advantages to archæological lore.

The plan of the grotto is in five compartments. Four of these have scenes from Our Lord's life: The Annunciation (Plate XCII.), the Presentation,†

* M. Diehl places this figure in the eleventh century in his text, p. 51, and twelfth century under his plate. Comparing it with the angels in S. Angelo and at Feroclaudio, there appears to be little doubt but that it belongs to the former date. This "species" of figures, with the wings and costume down to the boots, appears to belong to the Norman epoch, as far as examples that remain are a guide.

† This is given in *Diehl*, p. 57.

the Flight into Egypt, and the Entry into Jerusalem. In the fifth and central compartment is a demi-figure of Our Lord, blessing, and holding an open book. The inscription around Our Lord and the text in the book are also in Greek.* The face has rather an aged look, and I am not certain that it is not intended for the Eternal Father. On the background of the Annunciation are two medallions, one of David, the other of the Prophet Isaiah.

Our Lady is vested in an external dress of blue, and a red under-dress. She is standing in front of a pearled and painted seat, with a back. The Archangel has a blue tunic and red mantle and purple boots. The wings look very artificial, as a structure of feathers with peacocks' eyes and pearls; very unlike the previous type (Plate XCIII.). I have sketched my illustration from a drawing by M. H. Bosanquet-Boze in the book of M. Diehl. It is quite a new way of rendering a painting, and I imagine the white lines are intended for high lights. I say this because in a great quantity of old work the tracing colour in the lines has fallen away from the wall and left light lines.

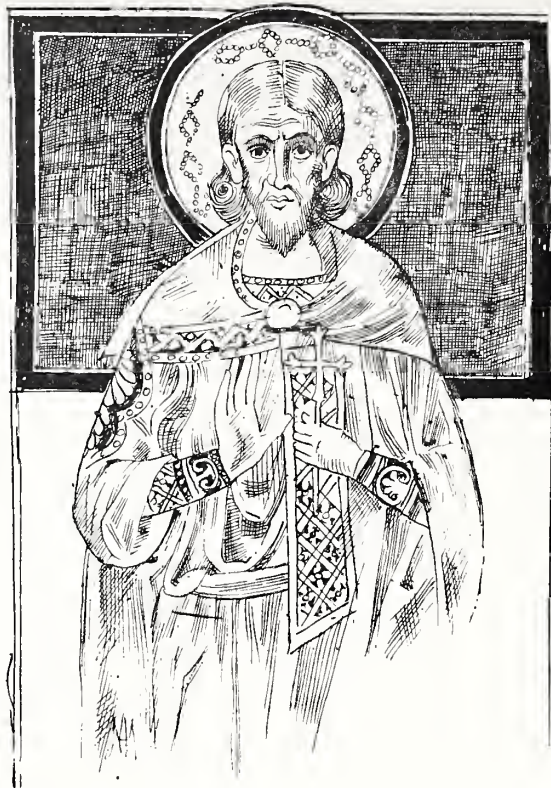
The Flight into Egypt † has been retouched.

There are some interesting figures on the other walls.

* This is also in *Diehl*, p. 53.

† This is the case at Clayton, and other examples are plentiful.

PLATE LXXXIX.



S. PAUL THE HERMIT. FROM S. SEPOLCRO, BARLETTA.

S. Andrew and S. John with a little figure kneeling before him with the name $\text{I}\omega$ (*Iωαννης*). M. Tarantino thinks he recognises here the anchorite, Hesy-chius, and in the kneeling figure the portrait of the painter Daniel. S. Blaise the Martyr, to whom the grotto is consecrated, is represented sitting on a semi-circular throne. There are also two figures of S. George and S. Demetrius on horseback, which are very spirited.* S. Demetrius has a long, flat-topped shield covered with chevrons.

There is also an interesting Nativity—like that at Palermo—with other and later work. The inscription is fortunately preserved.†

It gives the dedication to S. Blaise, the names of Abbot Benedict, under whom the chapel was painted, and Daniel the master painter, *μαιοτρον* (*di maestro*)—was he an Italian?—and the date the year of the world 6705 (A.D. 1197). Plate XCV. represents

THE CONSECRATION OF S. NICHOLAS,

forming part of a triptych painted in oil on canvas in S. Margareta di Bisceglia.

Bisceglia was once a city of the Pen-

* See *Diehl*, p. 61.

† [$\text{A}\nu\omicron\iota\chi$]ο [δ]ομή[σθ]η $\bar{\chi}\rho$ κ[αι] α[νιστορ]σθη ὁ πάνσεπτος ναος του ἁγίου ἱερομάρτηρου βλα[σίου ἡμῶν π]ατρὸς [ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγίου] κησοῦ ἡχουμένου βενεδιτουσ XXI δια συνδο[μην] τοῦ μ—αιου τεν . . . XXI δια χειρος μαιοτρον Δανιηλ XXI μρ . . . ε τ[ου]σ] σφε ἰν δ[ικτιου]σ].

The parts in brackets are not in the original inscription.

PLATE XC.



THE TEMPTATION OF S. ANTHONY. FROM S. SEPOLCRO, BARLETTA.

cezie ; it is five miles from Trani.

The present cathedral dates from 1118, and was then dedicated to the apostles Peter and Paul. Of this building only the façade remains. The interior of the church and the crypt have been restored. In 1197, when the Benedictine abbot Bisanzio occupied the see, he instituted a college under the title of S. Margaret, with a church of solid construction and considerable size, but very simple. Upon the altar of this church there is an ancient diptych in oil upon canvas. On the wings are panelled S. Nicholas of Bari, who is vested in a dalmatic, also a figure of S. Margaret as an orante ; both figures have a very ancient appearance.

The paintings appear to be of the date of the foundation (about 1197). In the central picture (XCV.) S. Nicholas appears to me to be vested in an episcopal costume, namely, a dull but rich purple phænolion or chasuble, which is hanging rather more over his right than his left arm ; his vestment beneath is dark purple of a bluer tone ; both phænolion and vestment have blue edges, and the inner dress two blue lines around the skirt ; he also wears the onophorion, which appears to be very like those in Plate LXVIII. (V), from S. Sophia, Constantinople.* The attendant archbishops and bishops have, the one holding the book with S. Nicholas, a red phænolion

PLATE XCI.



OUR LADY AND THE DIVINE CHILD. FROM THE CRYPT OF S. LUCIA, BRINDISI.

struck me that this is to render the edge of the step more visible in ascending and descending, especially useful in dull light or to old people. The inscription describing the event is still on the picture in its old lettering.

In the village of Vasti, to the south-west of Otranto, there is another grotta of S. Stephan,* containing paintings in the apse, roughly painted on the wall and in a style difficult to reproduce. . . . As they do not appear to be of any artistic or archæological use, I have omitted them, although they are undoubtedly of interest, especially to those visiting the neighbourhood.

At Palermo I found, recently uncovered, some interesting fragments of paintings (Plate XCIV.) in the church of S. Giovanni degli Eremiti (the

* The costume is questionable ; see Appendix C to Chapter III. The outer vestures may be *pallia*.

* A plan is given with sketches, in *Diehl*, p. 65.

PLATE NCH.



THE ANNUNCIATION. FROM THE CRYPT OF S. BLAISE, BRINDISI.

PLATE NCHII.

AN ARCHANGEL, PROBABLY S. MICHAEL.
FROM THE CRYPT OF S. JOHN, CAFARO.

church of the Sicilian Vespers). In the centre, when perfect, was a figure of Our Lady with the Divine Child seated, enthroned, and on either side are SS. James and John. Below Our Lady is a patterned hanging such as we find continually used as a decoration for the "dado" of churches. As paintings are less plentiful than mosaics in Sicily, this example is interesting as showing its condition and practice at a certain period.

This chapter must now be considered finished. There are very many places in Italy where paintings exist that I have not noted or illustrated, such as Supersano, Ruffano, Patri, Er-

chie, Ostuni, Veglie, and Soletto, where the Church of S. Stephen has works of many centuries of great interest. Soletto is interesting in very many archaeological phases; it preserved the Greek rite until about the year 1400, and with it the Byzantine method of painting. Some of these works are there still in good condition. The decoration of the apse is more ancient, and contains a picture of the Holy Trinity, not represented as "Our Father of Pity," but Our Lord resting on the Father's bosom.

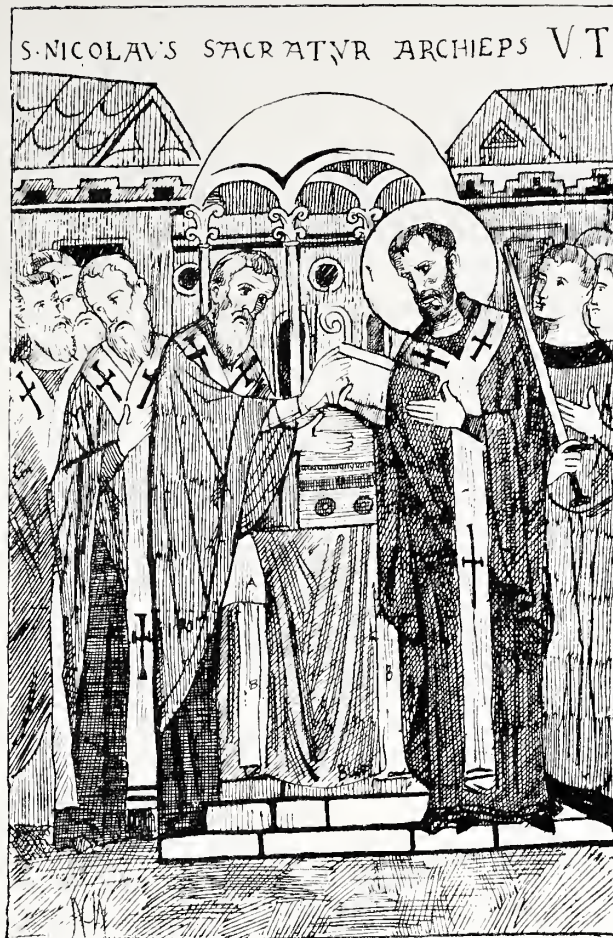
At Tarento the eremitical caves of the little village of *Massafra* have also little chapels. That of the *Gravonia di*

PLATE NCIV.

FRAGMENTS OF OUR LADY AND SS. JOHN AND JAMES. FROM
S. GIOVANNI DEGLI EREMITI, PALERMO.

San Marco contains a painting of S. Mark, with the donor, but of little importance. In many other of these chapels in the vicinity there are old paintings worth looking at, but not sufficiently important as typical examples to publish. The chapel of *Lama di Pensiero*, near the village of Grottaglia, has also a number of interesting remains of pictures. The chapel of S. Nicholas, near the Mount of Mottola, has early paintings of a certain class. The paintings in the Church of San Paolo, at Spoleto, must not be forgotten by travellers. They are above the

PLATE XCV.



THE CONSECRATION OF S. NICHOLAS. FROM S. MARGARETA DI BISAGLIA. THE VESTMENTS WITH CROSSES ARE PROBABLY ONOPHORIA, ALTHOUGH THE FOLDING IS NOT INDICATED. SEE APPENDIX C, CHAPTER III.

PLATE XCVI.



THE CRUCIFIXION. NOW IN STA. CHIARA ASSISI. IT WAS ONCE IN THE CHURCH OF S. DAMIANO, AND IS SAID TO HAVE SPOKEN TO S. FRANCIS WHEN HE WAS PRAYING BEFORE IT.

false roof, and are somewhat in the same style as those at S. Angelo, but space will not allow of their illustration here.

In *Basilicata* the Greek rite existed in some places even as late as the seventeenth century, and it is almost as difficult to tell the period of certain paintings as it would be in the Slav countries without some other data than the paintings themselves. In Calabria, even until our own time, there are various rites and various styles of art of considerable interest, but it is impossible here to treat in a more extended way of Italian Art.

CHAPTER IV.

MURAL PAINTING IN EUROPEAN AND ASIATIC GREECE, WITH SOME ILLUSTRATIONS OF COPTIC AND SCLAVONIC ART; FROM THE SECOND UNTIL THE END OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

PAINTINGS FROM SEPULCHRES IN KERTCH; ILLUSTRATIONS FROM MANUSCRIPTS OF THE SEVENTH AND TENTH CENTURIES; S. GEORGE'S, THESSALONICA; S. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE, &c.; THE PAR- THENON, THE HOLY VIRGIN (MEGALÉ PANAGIA), AND OTHER CHURCHES IN ATHENS; S. LUKE, OF STIRIS, IN PHOCIA; DAPHNE; TWO MSS. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM AND ONE IN PARIS; S. MICHAEL'S (ASOMATOS TAXIARCHES), ATHENS; ATHOS; COPTIC ART, THEBES; S. SIMEON AT ASSOUAN; ABOU HERMES; SCLAVONIC ART, KIEV.

IN the first volume there were illustrations from paintings in Egyptian, Etruscan, and South Italian sepulchres; and, preceding the Christian Roman burial places, illustrations of paintings in Pagan Roman tombs. These were supplemented, in the Introduction to this volume, by those from that of the Jews in Rome and an interesting series from Palmyra. I have been seeking an appropriate place to insert some sketches from burial places in Kertch, and, as the Roman pagan work preceded the Roman Christian, it has occurred to me that work which is essentially Greek should precede the Art of Christian Greece.

Although Kertch (the ancient Panticapæon) was inhabited by the agricultural Sarmatians, and the peoples of a warlike and nomadic character called by the classical authors Scythians, the Art of the sepulchres is undoubtedly of a Greek character, and is probably the work of Greeks settled in the locality.

The events portrayed are usually episodes from the deeds of warriors, and are unusually interesting, as many ceremonies, both of their life and burial, are painted upon these walls. I am sorry that in the limited space of this volume there is not the opportunity of giving all that has been discovered.

The reader should, however, himself study the work of Kondakoff,* to whose book I am indebted for them.

There is a character in the distribution of the painted work which seems to be of a better tradition than that in the Etruscan and South Italian tombs, in that the size of the figures to the subjects composed of them is more in proportion to the size of the chamber. They usually occupy only the upper zone, as shown in Plate XCVII., but in the chamber itself there is a continuation of the masonry pattern below.

In Plate XCIX. there is also a curious and obvious resemblance in the Art to that of China and Japan, as we now know it, but my knowledge of any method of its transition is too limited even to offer a suggestion or do more than throw out this hint. There are in other instances repetitions of vine scrolls running over the subject very similar to those found in Corneto,† I presume showing the common Grecian origin of both.

* *Antiquités de la Russie Méridionale*, par Kondakoff (Tolstoi et Reinach, Paris, 1892).

† See Plate XLIX., page 211, Vol. I. of this work, and page 211, *Kondakoff*.

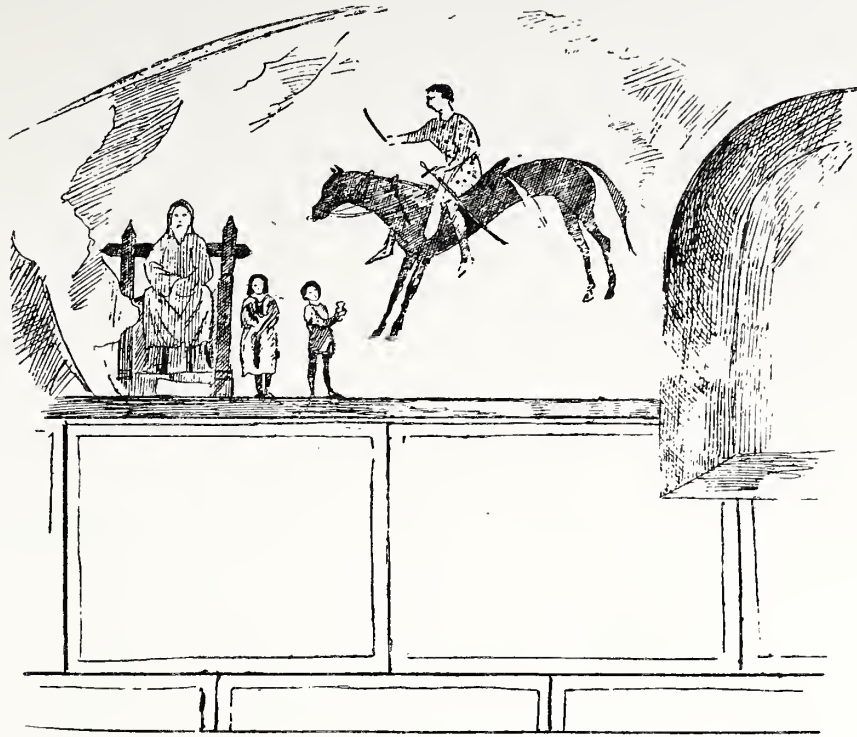
Some minor details deserve attention. For example, it will be seen that the tail of the horse in Plate XCVII. has a peculiar shape—it bulges on the top and then becomes tapering to a point. This peculiarity is evidently obtained in the same way as that shown in the tail of a horse of a Persian warrior in the work of Flaudin and Coste.*

The tail is evidently tied around half way down, and then tied or plaited to a point. This method survives even in England to our own time, as the tails of horses going for sale to a fair are often so done and decorated with ribbon.

There is another singularity. The horses of the attacking party in Plate XCIX. have their manes plaited in cords and joined together in one line at the top. The cords of the mane resemble those which used to obtain on English race-horses, but I have never seen them joined, so as to form a sort of plaited hog-mane.

In one of the paintings the attacking soldiers are seated on one side of the horse; they are vested

PLATE XCVII.



A PAINTING FROM A SEPULCHRE IN KERTCH.

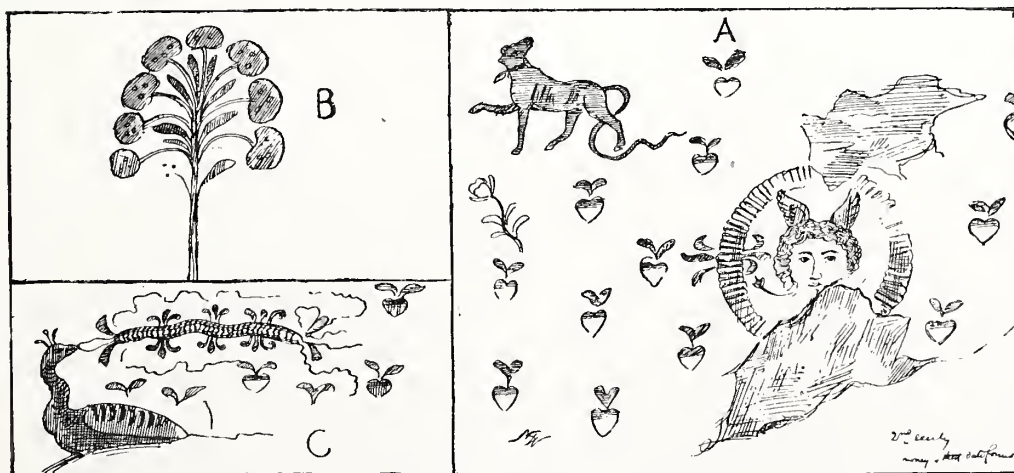
in long coats reaching nearly to their ankles; they also wear a conical helmet; both the coat and the helmet are covered apparently with small plates of mail.

The costume is not unlike that found at Tak-i-Boston, and it is related by Marcelinus that the Sarmatians, when fighting with the Romans in the fourth century, had* “Marha! Marha!” (Death) for a war-cry. Both circumstances point to an Iranian descent for

some of these people.

Plate XCVIII. has three details from other sepulchres, doubly interesting from the resemblance

PLATE XCVIII.



FRAGMENTS OF PAINTINGS FROM SEPULCHRES IN KERTCH.

of the method and detail of the painting to our decoration of the late fifteenth century. The field *parsemé* of a powdering—with a bust upon it—and the heraldic *fleury counter fleury* are curious.

I have given at B Plate some

of the details of the ornament on a larger scale.

The great art resemblance between these paintings of about the second century of our era, and that of our wall decoration about fifteen hundred is curious, as in both periods the

* *La Perse*, Plates xxxviii-xxxix.

* Quoted by Kondakoff.

character of historic painting had reached to much the same climax.

With regret that one cannot dwell longer on this portion of the theme, I must commence some slight account of the Art of Christian Greece.

The Art of Western Europe in the period under notice, I may reiterate, would be historically incomprehensible unless considered with that of Greece, and Greek influence, European, Asiatic and African. In my judgment, Greek Art is more or less reflected in all the styles and in every part, in the period we are contemplating in this volume.

We have already been impressed with its influence and importance, and it is impossible to proceed in our appreciation of the current of Art in any other country thoroughly without some knowledge of its principal characteristics and details in its ancient homes. The influence of Egypt, Assyria, and Phœnicia on ancient Greek Art, and the reflected influence of Hellenic Art on those countries, and that of all these sources on Etruria, Southern Italy and Rome, has already been reviewed. These influences of the Art of one people on that of another in many ways, and the survival of the ancient pre-Christian forms to express Christian ideas amongst the various nations, is a subject of deep interest.

As every student knows, from the time that Byzantium became New Rome, it gradually became the centre of Art and Commerce.

For some considerable period after the seat of Empire was removed to Constantinople, both pagan* and Christian Art were produced there. Christianity was not immediately the religion of the State. The futile attempt of Julian to re-establish paganism is, however, a proof that it was in decay.†

* The Senate and the Roman nobility remained firmly attached to paganism, which was converted into the bond of union of the conservative party in the Western portion of the Empire, and thus the Greeks were enabled to secure a predominancy in the Christian Church. *Finlay*, p. 129.

† Christians were not more than a twelfth, perhaps a twentieth, of the Empire. *Ibid.*, pp. 131, 330, 527.

† "The attempt of Julian to re-establish paganism was, however, a very unstatesmanlike proceeding, and exhibited the strongest proof that the rapidly decreasing numbers of the pagans proclaimed the approaching dissolution of the old religion. The fancy of Julian to restore Hellenism, and to call himself a Greek, was therefore regarded by all parties in the empire as an imperial folly." *Ibid.*, p. 131.

The importance of Alexandria, Athens, Cæsarea, and numerous other large centres of artistic production, must not be overlooked, for they still flourished, nor must it be forgotten that their Arts with their local peculiarities were at times directly reflected in Rome, and perhaps even more so in Southern Italy, as we have seen in the last chapter.

When, therefore, we use the terms "Byzantine"* or "Romanesque," as describing works of Art, we must recognise their comprehensive meaning, and study to affiliate their origin and their various characteristic details.

When Constantinople became the centre that supplied a great portion of the civilised world with Art and artists, even with those produced in other centres, the communication in the periods we are here discussing was principally religious; but towards the end of the period, the new cities of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, and the great commercial leagues, stepped in. This phase of events will have to be considered hereafter.

Unfortunately there remains little religious painting of the first eight centuries in those parts of Greece over which Leo the Isaurian and Constantine held sway. The effect of the Iconoclastic schism has, however, already had considerable attention and need not here be enlarged upon; but I think that, upon its suppression, the reaction produced a religious enthusiasm which started the art of painting with renewed vigour.

Before entering upon the question of the Art of Painting in this revival, it is well to recollect that we have some fine early Greek manuscripts saved from the general destruction, and others of later periods, which give us an idea of the strength and beauty still maintained in their Art. From these I have taken two illustrations. I am aware that many could be given, and indeed illustrations from some others will be found in other parts of this volume; but this is not a work on MSS., and only sufficient examples are at any time given to complete, or to assist to complete, a cycle of design.

* "The historian of Art should make it his business to define the idea of Byzantine art more precisely than it has been done." *Woermann and Waltmann*, Eng. ed., vol. i., p. 181.

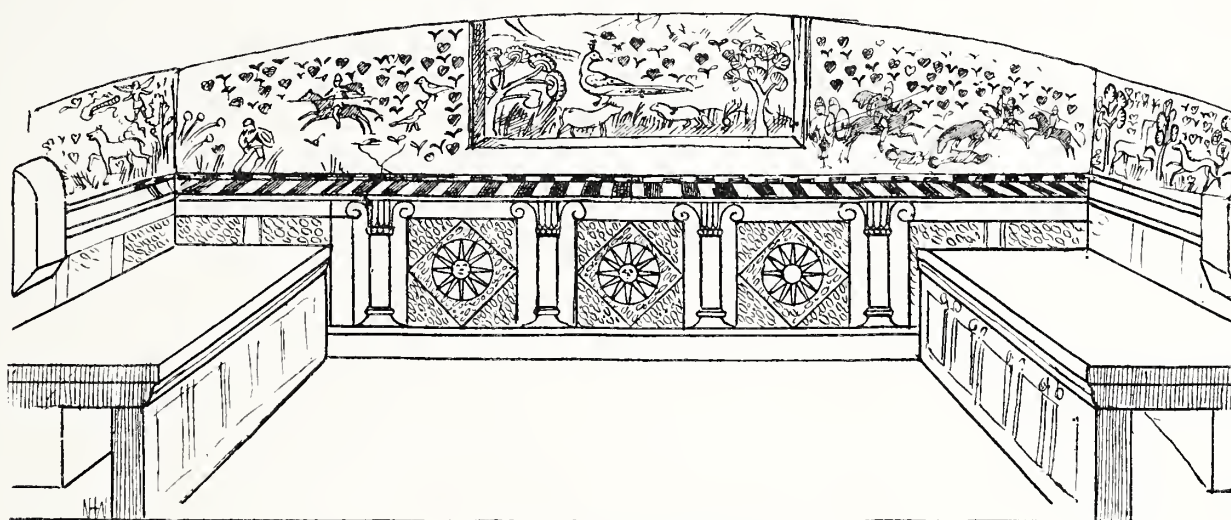
One of these Plates (C.), I consider, illustrates the pre-iconoclastic Art. It represents Joshua at Gibeon commanding the sun to stand still, and is remarkable for the strength and vigour of its design. The manuscript from which it comes, and which contains many other fine designs, is said to be of the seventh century, and is in the Vatican Library.*

The second illustration (Pl. CI.) is also from the Vatican Library; it is a Greek menologium of about or before the year A.D. 1100†; the subjects and the names of the artists are given under the illus-

trations. frequent reference, especially when treating upon the subjects at Daphne.

Its date must be after A.D. 787, as one of the subjects by the artist, Pantaleon, is the seventh Synod held in that year. The other artists named are George, Michael Blanchernita, Simeon Mænas, Simeon Blanchernita, Michael Mikros, and Nestor.* The four examples given are by three of the latter and are named under the plate. Finlay† tells us that it was prepared for the Emperor Bazil I. and of the ninth century, but the Roman editor ascribed it to Bazil II. These

PLATE XCIX.



PAINTED SEPULCHRE IN KERTCH.

trations. To these I shall have hereafter to make

* See *D'Agincourt*, vol. iii., pl. xxix. and xxx., and *Garucci*, vol. iii.

† "This menologium is one of the most valuable manuscripts in the library of the Vatican. It contains four hundred and thirty miniature paintings. The engraving of this work, with a Latin translation, was commenced by Pope Clement XI., continued by his two successors, Innocent XIII. and Benedict XIII., completed by his nephew Annibali Albani, and published under the following title: 'Menologium Græcorum jussu Basilii imperatoris Græce olim editum munificentia et liberalitate S. D. N. Benedict XIII., nunc primum Græce et Latine prodit,' &c. *Urbini*, 1727, 3 vols. folio.

"The words at the commencement of the manuscript, 'Rex totius terræ sol purpuræ Basilius,' &c., prove that the work was executed for an Emperor Basilius, we should think most probably for Basilius II.,¹ Porphyrogenites, in the tenth century, who could say of himself, in the words of the son of Marcus Aurelius, 'Imperatoria purpura me suscipit simulque sol hominem me vidit et principem.'" (Herodianus, *Hist.*, lib.), from *D'Agincourt*, vol. iii., pl. xxxi.

¹ There is an error here; neither Basil I. or II. are so known. It is hardly possible, as Finlay says, that it is of the time of Basil I. (the Macedonian). Other authorities say Basil II. See the New Palæographical Plate 4.

manuscript pictures bring us to a period in which we find the remains of wall paintings still *in situ*, and in a condition to be fairly judged as to their merits. The general design of certain subjects is repeated even as late as at Daphne, and differs from those both at S. Angelo, S. Luke in Stiris and other places; the work may, therefore, be Athenian.

* "There were many distinguished painters in the Byzantine Empire at this time. The works of Lazardo are said to have been miraculous, and Methodius painted the tortures of the damned so as to terrify the King of the Bulgarians. This Methodius may have been the partner of Kyrillus in the invention of the Kyrillic alphabet, and in the conversion of the Bulgars (*Finlay*, vol. ii., p. 266).

There is a painting of SS. Cyril and Methodius, with other Saints around our Lord, in S. Clement's, Rome. They were early writers in Slavonic.

† Vol. ii., p. 267. Crowe and Cavascacelle seem to have missed the indication of its date (see vol. i., p. 77). They, however, tell us that in it and many other Greek MSS. the miniatures are painted on a green ground, like the mural work of S. Angelo (see Plate LXXXIV.).

Added to these manuscripts we have very great evidences of the character of early Greek Christian painting in the mosaics of Thessalonica, Constantinople, Rome and Ravenna. These latter have already been alluded to, and the illustrations of some are in the Italian chapter.

Concerning the mosaics in the Church of S. George, Thessalonica, some historians have considered them as early as the time of Constantine, but more recent and better informed opinion is in favour of as late a date as the reign of Justinian* as the period of the building and decoration of the present Church. The building itself has indeed been considered by some as early as the reign of Trajan, but I think this opinion is now no longer held.

It is, therefore, most probable that either Anthemius of Thrales, or Isidore of Miletus, who were the architects engaged on S. Sophia at Constantinople, was employed here: Anthemius, probably, as he was also engaged on the building of S. Sophia at Thessalonica.

Neither in Constantinople nor in Thessalonica, nor indeed in any other Church in Greece, is it probable that there is either mosaic or painting existing earlier than the time of Justinian.

In the Italian chapter I have taken some of the work at Ravenna as by Greeks; it is, therefore, an example of the same tradition, but of a slightly earlier period, and the example of the dome therein given would be typical.

There is, however, a coloured illustration from Thessalonica in the work of Messrs. Texier and Pullan† of an interesting type, as it shows, to

* Some have assigned these pictures to the time of Constantine, because of the severe design of the building and the purely classical style of the draped figures; but the author considers a later source more probable. The true pictorial feeling of an earlier time is already superseded by the sculptural style; the architecture, a copy of timber structure with columns, architraves, and small domes, is, it is true, still classical, but the details, as the combination of ionic volutes with rude capitals of trapezoidal shape, bespeak the style first adopted by Byzantine architecture in the sixth century. This view is shared by Unger, in *Ersch and Gruber*, lxxxiv., 407; *Woermann and Woltmann*, English edition, vol. i., p. 198.

† *Byzantine Architecture* (London, 1864), pl. xxx.-xxxiv. It is reproduced in engraving in *Woermann and Woltmann*, vol. i., p. 183.

my thinking, a condition of the growth of the canopy and figure treatment which developed in later periods.

Two figures in deep colour are placed against a building of grey stones, recalling the picturesque treatment of earlier periods, and, although the general design of the Justinian period was sculptural in the draperies of the figures, this treatment is certainly painter-like.

In Plate LXVIII. there is also a slight and small sketch of a figure from S. Sophia at Constantinople, but, unless there is evidence to the contrary, I should not place it earlier than the eleventh century.* Considering, however, the space in this volume required for a history of painting, one cannot dilate at length on all mosaics, and I must refer the reader who wishes to study those of Venice, &c., to the very numerous works on them.

It would be labouring my subject too much to try and give an account of the various evidences of the first post-iconoclastic revivals to which I

* In the interior of S. Sophia, in the barrel vaulting next to the principal apse, there comes first a solemn figure of an angel with sceptre and globe. This is ascribed to the time of Justinian. In the semidome of the apse Our Lady is enthroned with Our Lord as a child before her.

“According to ancient accounts, the dome once contained Our Lord on a rainbow as judge of the earth; the four spandrels below it were filled with gigantic heads of Cherubim. In the corner of each of the four supporting arches under the dome appears a medallion; at the spring of the same arches, on each side, stands a simple figure above the cornice of the main pier. The western arch contains in the medallion Our Lady with traces of Our Lord’s head, and on either side SS. Peter and Paul; these belong to the time of Basil,¹ who caused the western apse to be restored. The subjects are described in his biography by Constantine Porphyrogenetos. The mosaics at the soffits of the north arch are still later. In the medallion is a golden table, with book and cross; at the sides S. John the Baptist, Our Lady (orante), and at their feet John Palæologos (fourteenth century). On the great lunettes at the north and south ends of the transept, in three courses beside and under the windows, stand dignified colossal figures of Saints, Martyrs, Prophets and Angels; none of these can be earlier than the eleventh century. In the women’s choir is Pentecost, in one of the small domes. The arch over the central doorway has the famous picture of an Emperor kneeling before Our Lord; on either side of Our Lord are medallions, Our Lady and St. Michael. *Woermann*, vol. i., p. 233.

¹ See also the work of Messrs. Lethaby and Swainson, p. 123.

PLATE C.



REDUCED FROM A TRACING OF A MINIATURE IN A MS. OF THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES IN THE VATICAN. IT REPRESENTS JOSHUA COMMANDING THE SUN TO STAND STILL. IN THE CORNER IS THE RIVER GIBBEAR, PERSONIFIED BY A WOMAN. WE HAVE IN THIS THE WORK OF AN ARTIST FULL OF THE CLASSICAL FEELING FOR ACTION AND COMPOSITION, BEFORE THE EXTREMELY CONVENTIONAL PERIOD.

have alluded, but there is fairly consequential evidence of the rise and growth at this period of a school of such importance that its influence covered the civilised Christian world, and its early style of design is in some parts* reproduced even to our own time.

My impressions from the studies which I have made are that this school may have started in Athens somewhere before the end of the tenth century. Unfortunately, of all the centres of Christian Art, Athens appears the most deficient in records that have been preserved concerning it.†

We know that the destruction of Art consisted not only of pictures, but that Libraries of the most valuable description shared the same fate.‡

* See Dr. N. Pokroffsky:

СТѢННЫЯ РОСНИЦИ ВЪ ДРЕВНИХЪ ХРАМАХЪ
ГРЕЧЕСКИХЪ И РУССКИХЪ

or wall paintings in old Greek or Russian churches, Moscow, 1890, to which references will continually be made in the succeeding volumes.

† Millet, *Le Monastère de Daphné*, p. 1, records but one letter, and knows of no other.

‡ Leo III., the Isaurian, is accused of having burnt a library

There was one human element which still gave energy and cohesion to these Greek schools;—it was the pride of race. Wherever he was, a Greek was a Greek,* and he was proud to point to the race that had produced some of the most renowned of philosophers, historians, painters, poets, sculptors, architects, and warriors, that the world ever knew.† Socially this pride had its drawbacks,

of 33,000 volumes, and ordered the Professors of the University to be thrown into the flames. There was also the great earthquake of 740, which destroyed many churches.

* “The habits and tastes of the Greeks and Romans were so different that their familiar intercourse produced a feeling of antipathy in the two nations.” (P. 71.) “The Romans were never very deeply imbued with a passionate admiration of Grecian art, with which every rank in Greece was animated.” *Finlay*, vol. i., pp. 68 and 71.

† A strong mental difference was, therefore, the permanent cause of the aversion to Greece and the Greeks that is apparent in Byzantine society, and which only began to disappear after the commencement of the eleventh century. Its operation is equally visible in the Hellenic race, in whom the spirit of local patriotism has always been powerful, and it kept them aloof from the Byzantine service, so that the native Greeks really occupy a less prominent figure in the social and political history of the empire than they were entitled to claim.” *Finlay*, vol. i., p. 180.

but when Art was concerned, the Greek was still preëminent though influenced by his surroundings.

Returning to the question of the revival. M. Millet, in his recent work, has carefully systematised its differences from the work of the older schools such as we have considered already; especially does he think, and with every reason, that it is entirely different from that at Ravenna.*

The character of this revival has been twice or thrice discussed in previous chapters, and its effect will be a frequent topic in the chapters to follow. It is here convenient to summarise the evidence of its rise about the period that I have stated, namely, early in the tenth century. The reader has already had attention called to certain resemblances and to certain differences between the Menologium, the S. Angelo, the Sicilian, the S. Luke of Stiris, and the Daphne, compositions. Of these the dates of the work, in S. Angelo in Formis, S. Luke in Stiris, and in Sicily are known: the date of the mosaics at Daphne† and the various churches of Mount Athos‡ are uncertain.

The relationship of all these works, however, once established leads but to one conclusion, namely, that designs and schemes of quite a similar character are found in places considerably distant

* See footnote, p. 61, especially the earlier work, probably of Egypto-Roman origin.

† Those at Daphne are recorded as existing early in the twelfth century.

‡ The nineteen monasteries of Mount Athos are Simenon, Vatopedi, Pantocrator, Stavro-Nikita, Iviron, Philotheou, Caracallou, Saint-Laura, Pavlou, Grigoriou, Simo-Petra, Xiropotamau, Rossicon, Xenophon, Constamonitou, Dochiarion, Zographou, Chilandri and Coutloumousiou. The twentieth, S. Basil, is in ruins and uninhabited. (*Annales Archæologiques*, p. 42, vol. vii.) In none of these are there any very early paintings remaining.

M. Didron erroneously observes that the Monastery of Vatopedi is covered with mosaics of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and frescoes of the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. Brockhaus gives all these paintings as of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the mosaics as of the fourteenth and later dates (see *Die Kunst in den Athos Klöstern*, pp. 290 to 294). There is also the work of a painter who painted and signed his name *Macanos*, from 1786-1789. On the exterior porch there is another inscription, which says that "The present Narthex has been painted and paid for by Christians. The hand of Benjamin and his brethren of the village of Galatia did the work. May 15, 1838."

from each other, in the middle of the eleventh century. Such a development and such a widespread exhibition of that development is the work of at least more than a century, in my opinion.

With this preamble it may be now convenient to describe the illustrations of this chapter.

Early in the eleventh century, the Emperor Basil II., who was the only Emperor that had been to Athens for many years, visited the Acropolis, the buildings of which had hardly suffered from the hand of time. Finlay says: "If the original splendour of the external painting and gilding which had once adorned the Parthenon of Pericles had faded, the mural paintings of saints, martyrs, emperors, and empresses, that covered the interior of the cells, gave a new interest to the Church of the Virgin, into which it had been transformed. The mind of Basil, though insensible to Hellenic literature, was deeply sensible of religious impressions, and the glorious combination of the variety of beauty in Art and nature that he saw in the Acropolis touched his stern soul. He testified his feelings by splendid gifts to the city, and rich dedications to the shrine of the Virgin in the Parthenon."* Some years ago the writer contributed a paper to the *Archæologia* upon the paintings in the Parthenon,† in which from internal evidences he was then inclined to attribute certain of the paintings in the Parthenon to the eleventh century, but many circumstances have come to light since then which permit an alteration of opinion. The foregoing quotation by Finlay would place them much earlier than the eleventh cen-

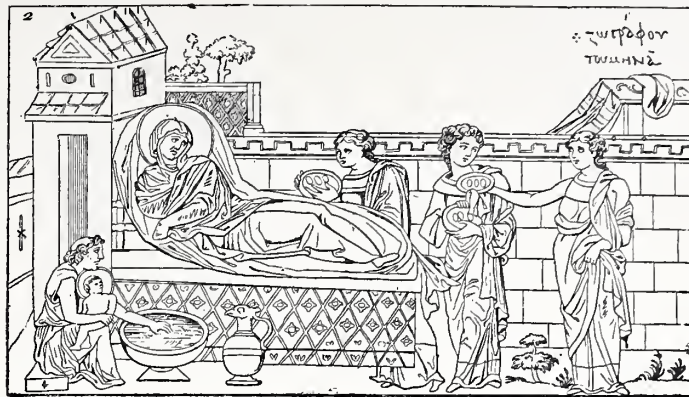
* *Finlay*, vol. ii., p. 452: he quotes *Cedrenus*, 717; *Zonaras*, ii. 227.

He is not always certain in his opinions. He says in another place: "Basil's indomitable courage, terrific cruelty, *indifference to art* and literature, and religious superstition, all combine to render him a true type of his empire and of his age." (The italics are mine.) *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 436.

Gibbon says: "Basilus was a wise Emperor, and compares him to Augustus. He appears to have been very friendly to Rome, as in the Council held by his influence it was declared that whoever by words or writings attacked the See of Peter should be condemned."

† See *Archæologia*, vol. li.

PLATE CI.



MINIATURES FROM A GREEK MENOLOGIUM IN THE VATICAN OF ABOUT A.D. 1000. (1) REPRESENTS THE MARTYRDOM OF S. IGNATIUS, BY MICHAEL MITHOS. (2) THE BIRTH OF OUR LADY, BY MAENAS. (3) S. AMPHILOCUS, BISHOP OF ICONIUM, BY NESTOR. (4) THE NATIVITY OF OUR LORD, BY NESTOR.

D'Agincourt says that, as the dedication of this menologium is to an Emperor "Basilius," — "we should think most probably for *Basil II., Porphyro-genitus.*" Now Basil II. was *Bulgaroktonos* (976-1025). *Constantine Porphyro genitus* preceded him some twenty-five years, and was a literary emperor and an artist. He did much for the encouragement of both literature and art. He was the grandson of Basil I. and wrote his life. The work certainly was not dedicated to him. Basil II. was the grandson of Constantine.

tury, and there is no reason why they should not have been executed before the reign of Basil II., and be some of the firstfruits of the revival. The Parthenon was used as a Christian church in the seventh century, and the changes in style in Greek Art were very slow and imperceptible.

As additional evidence of this earlier date, in Plate CIII. is given an engraving of a fabric of the tenth century, having a portrait of Basil which was found in the tomb of Gunther, Bishop of Bamvey, in the eleventh century. We here get much the same character of head dress as we find on the female saints in the painting (Plate CII.), and also on the head of Our Lady at Fero Claudio (Plate LXXXVI.).

The portion of these paintings given in Plate CII. are executed in red outline with a little

shadow, in the same manner as those in S. Maria Antiqua, Rome, and elsewhere. They are rather above life size, and it will be seen, on reference to the illustration, are in zones one above the other.

The writer of an article upon "Athenian Paintings," in the *Scottish Review*,* has suggested that the artist had copied the style of the old classical work, as described by Pausanius,† some of which may then have been in existence. If so, we have no difficulty in accounting for the introduction or

* The late Marquess of Bute, see No. vi., pp. 95, 96. See also the articles by the same author in the *Scottish Review*, No. vi., p. 87. There are also in the possession of the present Marquess the very fine copies, made for the late Marquess, from which my plates are produced. These are valuable and interesting, as most of the originals are destroyed.

† See p. 15, Vol. I. of this work.

revival of the paintings in tiers or zones in this ancient manner so common in Christian buildings in the Art of subsequent periods.

The upper zone contained in the centre a seated figure, and from the appearance of the fragment it was probably Our Lord in majesty, and in the lower zone it was Our Lady with the Divine Infant. It will be observed that the pallium on the side figures is broad and plain, having neither fringe nor tassels. The robes of the female saints in the zone beneath have neither ornament or jewels, neither do we find that excessive angularity in the draperies associated with the idea of Byzantine Art.

It is impossible to describe who the figures represent, as the inscriptions are nearly all erased. The centre one holds a roll, the outer one a book. I imagine that there were on both sides of the figure of Our Lord seated in majesty, and of Our Lady, apostles and other saints, such as we see in the fragments of painting now, only on the right-hand side. It is important to observe that the painting was done on the marble without preparation.

Of the other churches in Athens in which there were paintings, for the church of which I am about to write has been partially if not totally destroyed,* I allude to that of the

MEGALÉ PANAGIA (OR THE HOLY VIRGIN).

(Plates CIV., CV.) are from paintings in the dome, which is supported by a circular wall with four windows.

This is one of the various treatments of the dome which are interesting; it continues the development of a species of ornament found in the more ancient simple Greek and Roman work and on the ceilings of the Catacombs and in early mosaics, which in the succeeding centuries develops into the most elaborate and picturesque decoration, sometimes entirely confusing and destroying the form and proportion of the dome itself.

* I have since learnt that it is totally destroyed and the flat-builder has occupied the site. He is the same Vandal in Greece as elsewhere.

The illustrations of the wall under the dome (Plates CV.) represent ideas contained in the three last Psalms, and texts from them are introduced into the compositions in various ways. In the centre is Our Lord seated in a lozenge-shaped aureola with divergent rays surrounding His body.* His feet rest on the interlaced, winged, wheeling cherubim. Around Our Lord are the nine orders of the heavenly hierarchy, in semi-circles; the names of each division of angels being written on the spandrels between the groups. Around the dome, above the wall, is a firmament with the sun, moon and stars, and the signs of the Zodiac figured upon it. The position of the sun and moon seems intended to mark the date of the Assumption.†

Between the windows of the wall under the dome are the terrestrial subjects: the dragons, the deep whirlpools, and forms of fire, hail, snow, ice, and stormy winds; also the mountains, hills, fruitful trees and cedars. Then come the children of Israel and saints in prayer, supporting the model of a church, and beyond this there is evidence of a choir of virgins and others, dancing, singing, and playing instruments. The spandrels of the dome evidently once contained the four Evangelists.

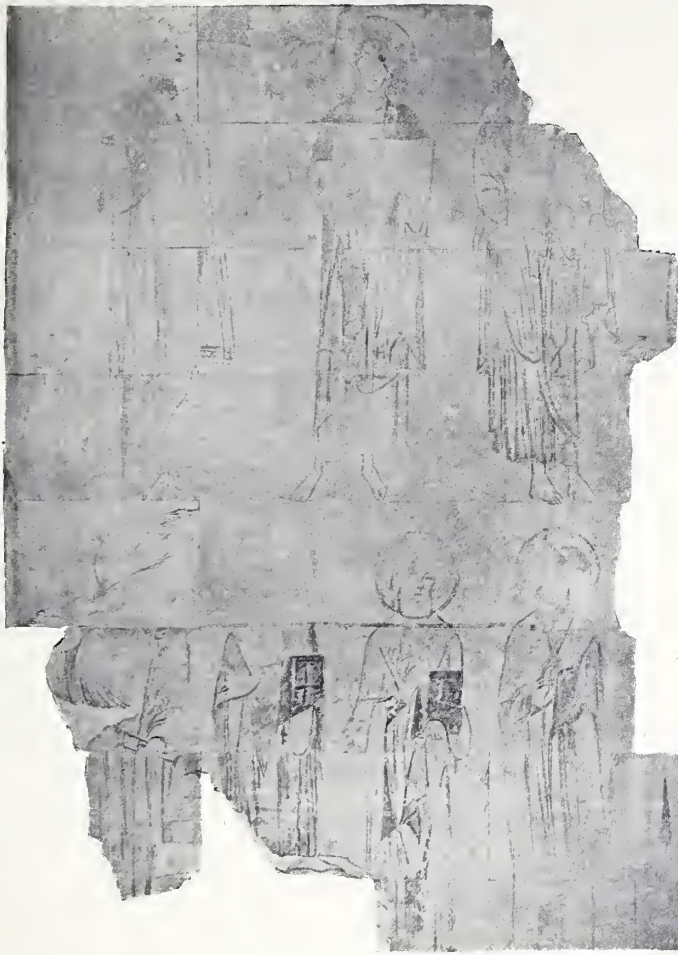
Plate CVI. is from a slight sketch of the paintings from the vault of the Church of S. Saviour, Athens. It was done by my friend, Mr. T. J. Willson, on his first visit to Athens with another of my friends, Mr. Penrose, in 1846-7. The church is, I believe, now destroyed; it was then disused. Although the sketch is merely slight and suggestive, it is an invaluable addition to my chapter, showing as it does a simple and interesting scheme of dome-painting. The head of Our Lord and the scheme are different from those at Daphne, Palermo, Cefalu and Monreale.

* There were probably originally eight rays such as we find in sun emblems. These also appear on the Transfiguration at Daphne, the imperial dalmatic in the Treasury of S. Peter's in Rome, in a MS. in the Vatican; see *D'Agincourt*, Plate lvii.; in the MSS. of Queen Melisinda in the British Museum; in the nimbus of Our Lord at S. Urban's, Plate LXIII.; in the Coptic, Plate CXXII., and in many other instances. It is without doubt a vestige of sun rays.

† August 15. See *Scottish Review*, vol. vi., pp. 102-4.

The scheme of colour and the general effect is of course quite different to the mosaic pictures. All the tones are more grey and harmonious. The

PLATE CII.



EARLY WALL PAINTING FROM THE PARTHENON, ATHENS.

head of Our Lord is of a dark, warm, flesh tone, the nimbus and under-drapery are yellow, the cross on the nimbus and the outer drapery are blue, the ground a species of rosy pink, all the pronounced lines separating the subjects of zones are red, and the whole background of the figures and wall below a cool blue. The Kerubim have olive wings with eyes on them, and the angels below are vested in cool, laky-reds, yellows, olives and white. I can form no opinion as to its date. It is too interesting to omit even if late.

The usefulness of the mosaic and manuscript pictures is at this point of the history most evident. By some peculiar eccentricity of taste the Greeks of to-day, whilst *restoring* and altering the positions of mosaics in some churches, so as to make "show

things," and whilst most carefully preserving their manuscripts, they have at the same time white-washed their precious antique paintings, or pulled down the churches containing them, often merely to obtain some few marble columns, or mere ordinary building material.

Moreover, as we cannot place great value on the technique of painting, which at this period had been made subservient to mosaic design, we shall from manuscripts and mosaics obtain what we require, that is, the connecting links in the history of the development of design in mural work.

By the kindness of my friend, Mr. R. W. Schultz, I can here give a drawing of the east wall of the narthex and the gallery over in S. Luke* of Stiris in Phocis. The work at S. Luke's is of the eleventh century.

* S. Luke of Stiris was an anchorite, of the ninth century, renowned for great miracles. The reader should thoroughly



study the large work by Messrs. Schultz and Barnsley, on S. Luke's in connection with eleventh-century design: it has the advantage not only of being in English, but of being by far the best work on the subject. Mr. Schultz has also a series of most careful and excellent drawings of the mosaics at Daphne, copied before the restorations, and therefore of primary importance. It is lamentable to consider that these remain unpublished. In any other country these would find publication, and the descriptions that would accompany them, numerous readers.

From the few paintings illustrated, these drawings of S. Luke's, some others from Daphne, and some important manuscripts of this period, we shall be able to see what changes came about in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, by comparing these designs with those in the cemeteries and churches of Rome, and in the churches of Ravenna and Southern Italy, of earlier and coëval periods.

Concerning the arrangement of the design on the wall at S. Luke's, it will be observed that all the lower area is covered with a simple scheme of marble work which is of exquisite taste in colour, and which carries us back into a much greater antiquity by its method.

We may remember the preference expressed by Vitruvius for this, as contrasted with the more florid methods.* It occurs in the cemeteries of Kertch (Plates XCVII., XCIX.), and it was also the earliest Pompeian method, excepting that in these marble has been imitated in paint, pointing to the earlier existence of marble itself in such positions.†

At much later periods this imitation of marbling is found in practice in S. Maria Antiqua, and it continued in use westward even to the twelfth and thirteenth century,‡ and was a feature of the Renaissance.

* See footnote, p. 84, Vol. I. of this work. † *Ibid.*, p. 99.

‡ It is found in the cemetery of Generosa, in S. Maria Antiqua, at S. Savin, in S. Hilaire at Poitiers, on an *armoire* at Bayeux, and, indeed, in very many places, so that the marbling of the *rococo* period is only a revival.

PLATE CIII.



FROM A TISSUE REPRESENTING THE EMPEROR, BASIL I.
FROM CAHIER'S *Mélanges Archéologiques*.

We shall find that, in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, there were considerable variations in the designs of the subjects and figures, but resemblance enough in all details to assume their origin to have been in the compositions of some artists in a great original school of earlier date.

Let us take the subject of the Crucifixion. Up to the ninth century, as far as painting is concerned, we do not find the semi-nude figures with the *perizoneum** common, and we find the man with the spear and the sponge nearly always

present.† In the ancient Syrian MS.,‡ and in the paintings in S. John and S. Paul,§ S. Maria Antiqua,|| and the Cemetery of S. Valentino, Rome,¶ the latter three being of the eighth and ninth centuries, we find our Lord vested in the "colobium"; it hangs from the shoulders almost to the feet, and is of purple, with the clavi (stripes) in yellow. It is again found in the MSS.** of the eleventh century

* Of early examples of the nude Crucifixion with the perizoneum I only remember two. One is the well-known caricature of the Crucifixion; the other is of ivory in the British Museum, attributed to the fifth century, but about which I have my doubts. That at S. Sabine is probably much later.

† Their frequent occurrence in Celtic MSS. of early periods should be noted.

‡ Plate XX., Vol. II.

§ Plate XXXIV.

|| Plate XLIX.

¶ Plate XXXVI.

** Additl. 19,352, British Museum, Greek Septuagint, written and illuminated by the Archpresbyter Theodorus of Cæsarea, under the orders of the *Syncellus*, Michal, the head of the

PLATE CIV.



DOMES OF THE CHURCH OF MEGALÈ PANAGIA, ATHENS. NOW DESTROYED.

PLATES CV.



WALL BELOW THE DOME. CHURCH OF MEGALÈ PANAGIA, ATHENS.

in the British Museum, as is also the other method, that of the perizoneum* (Plate CXII).

In the eleventh century, at S. Angelo,* at S. Luke's Stiris,† at Daphne,‡ in a Greek MS., in the Vatican MS.,§ in the Cæsarea MSS., in S. Urbano, Rome,|| and in nearly every example in the West already referred to, the perizoneum is found; and, although the man with the sponge and the man with spear occur at S. Angelo and S. Urban's, they gradually become less frequent in the subjects directly derived from Greece. In some Greek miniatures of the eleventh century bound up with the MS.¶ of Queen Melisenda, Our Lord has a short perizoneum. Our Lady and S. John are on the right side, the Centurion and the spear and sponge bearers on the left. In the Resurrection or Limbo scene, which is very like that at S. Luke's, Adam seems to be leaping from the sarcophagus at the touch of Our Lord's hand. In the "Agony" subject there are two incidents, Our Lord with the Angel, and Our Lord speaking to the disciples, as at Athens (Plate CXV.), but all the subjects in these miniatures are isolated on the gold background. There are also two scenes from the Adoration of the Magi. In one the Angel is conducting the Kings, who are on horseback, at a gallop. In the other, the Angel brings them to the Holy Child. This is the earliest picture of the Kings on horseback that I know.

I must leave this question with these examples at present for the reader's study, consideration and

monastery of the Studium at Constantinople, A.D. 1066, the same date as S. Angelo in Formis. Theodorus Studita (Abbot of the Studium) was the principal opponent of the Emperor Leo.

* Plates LXXXII.

† Plate CVII.

‡ Plate CIX.

§ No. 1156. See *D'Agincourt*, Plate LVII.

|| See Plate LXII.

¶ The MS. of Queen Melisenda (British Museum, Egerton, No. 1139) is in Latin, and the miniatures were executed by "Basilius," whose name is signed on the last miniature. Melisenda was the eldest daughter of Baldwin II. and wife of Foulques, Comte d'Anjou. The obit of Baldwin II., A.D. 1131, and of his wife Eucorfia, are in the Calendar. The works of another miniaturist bound up in these marvellous covers are of earlier date and purely Greek.

comparison with others, but I shall have occasion hereafter to write more about them.

The other subject from S. Luke's is the "Descent into Hell." It is called by the Greeks "The Resurrection." In this, again, we have varieties with much common resemblance. At S. Maria Antiqua, the treatment is quite simple: Our Lord stands upon the prostrate evil spirit, the Prince of Darkness, but the doors and other things are missing.

At S. Angelo* and S. Clemente he appears simply entering into a rent cave, but the figure of S. John Baptist and of Adam still remind us of the composition at St. Luke's (a) at Daphne; (b) at Torcello; in a MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale (c) (Plate CXIV.); in a MS. in the Vatican†; and in another MS. in the same Library, dated A.D. 1128.‡ In all of these we find much the same figures, slightly different in grouping, but individually of a common origin. At S. Luke's and in two of the MSS. quoted there are no doors or recumbent figures, but a long sarcophagus§ tomb.

Other subjects could also be compared in the same way if we had space. We have enough examples, however, to point to the circumstance that some change of design from the earlier to that of the later condition had already taken place before the time of Basil II., that is supposing the dedication of the menologium already quoted|| to have been to that Emperor, for in the MS. we get a common resemblance between most of the important designs and those in other places. Not only is this resem-

* (a) Plate LXXXIV; (b) CX.; (c) 74 G.

† No. 1,156. See *D'Agincourt*, Pl. LVII.

‡ No. 5. See *D'Agincourt*, Pl. LIX.

§ This scene is called the *Resurrection* (H ANACTACIC) on the mosaic at S. Luke's. In the *Manuel d'Iconographie*, p. 199, it is called *La Descente aux enfers*, and the description does not quite agree with any of the pictures mentioned. In all of these Our Lord simply takes Adam by the hand. In the MS. it says, *Le Sauveur prend Adam de la main droite et Ève de la gauche*, and there are other serious differences. The MS. follows the Gospel of S. Nicodemus.

|| See Plate CI., and *Woermann and Woltmann*, p. 227, vol. i.; and Plate IV., publication of the New Paleographical Society.

blance in the subjects, but it also occurs in the isolated figures.

We have now the centre figure at S. Luke's (the Pantocrator) to consider. It will be seen that this is of a different type as concerns the arrangement of the hands and draping to those at Monreale (*a*), Daphne (*b*),* etc., and agrees with the figure on the coins of Michael VI.†

There is, however, also in one of the domes a replica of the same type of bust as that at Monreale. Not only are there the diversities of the same compositions at S. Luke's and at Daphne, but Mr. Schultz, who has thoroughly studied these mosaics, tells me that there is great difference in the general expression of the work. Daphne shows, either the efforts of another school, or a great improvement of the same as that at S. Luke's and elsewhere. Indeed, in many respects, both in the drawing, colouring, expression, sentiment, and the action of the figures, one is reminded in the former more of the early Italian revival.

In his great work on

DAPHNE,

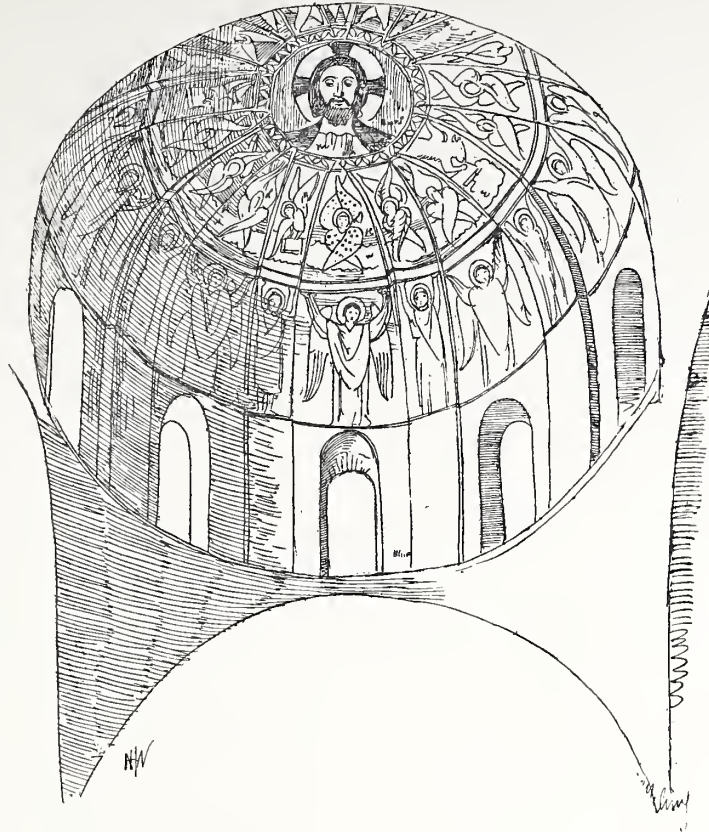
M. Millet considers that the earlier monastery, from the study of its remaining details, was probably as early as the time of Justinian, and that this later one was built upon it, or on parts of its foundations, little by little, about the eleventh century. In estimating the period he considers not only the character of the architecture, but also the style of the mosaic.

There is scarcely any documentary evidence to

* (*a*) Plates LXIX., and Cefalu, LXXX.; (*b*) CVIII.

† See Appendix A to this chapter.

PLATE CVI.



TREATMENT OF THE PAINTED DOME. FROM THE CHURCH OF S. SAVIOUR'S, ATHENS.

go upon,* but in one MS. a reference is made which records its existence early in the twelfth century.†

It is, however, very difficult to give anything like a certain date from the design of the mosaics. M. Millet has gone into the details of the development of design and colour with great care and with such elaboration that it is impossible to gain an adequate idea of his argument without studying the whole of his book.

There remains, however, the difficulty that most of the designs are of the traditional character, even in detail, and form a connecting link of earlier works, such as

those that occur in the menologium already quoted as of the ninth and tenth century, and of later works, such as the *Chasse de Huy* in the twelfth.

The same author has also carefully compared the details of the designs with those at Ravenna, Venice, Sicily, &c., and I have given a summary of these remarks in a note.‡

* "Les murs du monastère ne portent aucune inscription ancienne; aucune pièce de ses archives, aucun manuscrit de sa bibliothèque n'est parvenu jusqu'à nous; à peine le sceau d'un de ses higoumenès s'est-il retrouvé." *Le Monastère de Daphni, par Gabriel Millet (Leroux, Paris, 1899).*

The Madonna as Orante, Divine Child in centre, is on the leaden seal of a Hegumen of Daphne. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

† "Cette constatation, si elle est exacte, a son importance; elle indique que l'église actuelle, sinon les mosaïques, existait au moment où des documents du XI. siècle mentionnent le monastère, car il n'est probable que les premières constructions aient duré jusqu'alors et quelles aient été abandonnées, puis refaites, au cours du XII. siècle.

"Le plus important de ces documents est la vie de Mélétiós écrit dans la première mode du XII. siècle par Théodore Pudrome."—*Ibid.*, p. 17. Meletios was a Cappadocian monk.

‡ "Du VI^e au XI^e siècle, de Ravenne à Daphni, le style inspiré par cette (*the antique*) tradition s'est transformé. La

Of the designs not here illustrated, I may say that the head of Our Lord in the Betrayal is much finer than at Ravenna, and that this subject at Daphne differs from both the Ravenna, the S. Angelo in Formis, and most of the MS. representations: whereas the Descent into Limbo (Plate CX.) is very like that at Torcello, and the same figures are represented, but it differs from many others in that it has *both*, the doors of "Hell" and the fallen demon, the others generally having either the one or the other.

If it is possible to speculate on these pictures, one would say that they are of at least two periods in composition; one portion may have belonged to the old monastery in its later days, or the old ones may have been copied. Others of the series seem later in feeling and drawing.

In the Transfiguration (Plate CXI. D) Our Lord has the divergent rays as well as the aureola.

The little Annunciation (Plate CXI. A) is somewhat reminiscent of that at Brindisi* in Southern Italy, and the Angels carry on the tradition of attitude and of wings which we have found there, whereas in their draperies they

simplicité, l'uniformité, ont fait place à la recherche, à la variété; les poses de face, franches et solides, aux corps légèrement tournés, fléchissant le buste, la symétrie des bras repliés devant la poitrine, au rythme antique des mouvements; les large masses de draperies, d'un ajustement monotone, les longs plis droits et les bords rectilignes aux arrangements multiples de l'himation moulant la tunique, aux plis courts et pressés cernant et coupant les saillies, aux chutes pittoresques et tourmentées, découpant les bords; les grands yeux ronds, les nez forts et droits, aux paupières allongées, aux nez busqués et minces; les masses simples des cheveux et des barbes, aux artifices les plus adroits. Nos mosaïques sont loin de la simplicité de Ravenna; mais, dans la recherche même du détail ingénieux, du caractère élégant, de l'effet pittoresque, elles s'inspirent de l'antique et lui empruntent quelques-unes de leurs innovations. Par cette recherche de nouveaux effets, au contact permanent de ses modèles, l'art byzantin a perdu un peu de la solidité, de la grandeur décorative de ses premières œuvres; mais il a pu acquérir, avec une expérience plus étendue, une exécution plus souple, plus variée et plus élégante." — *Ibid.*, p. 182.

* Plate XCII.



IN THE CHURCH OF THE MONASTERY OF S. LUKE OF

retain a more purely classical character and a more European type.

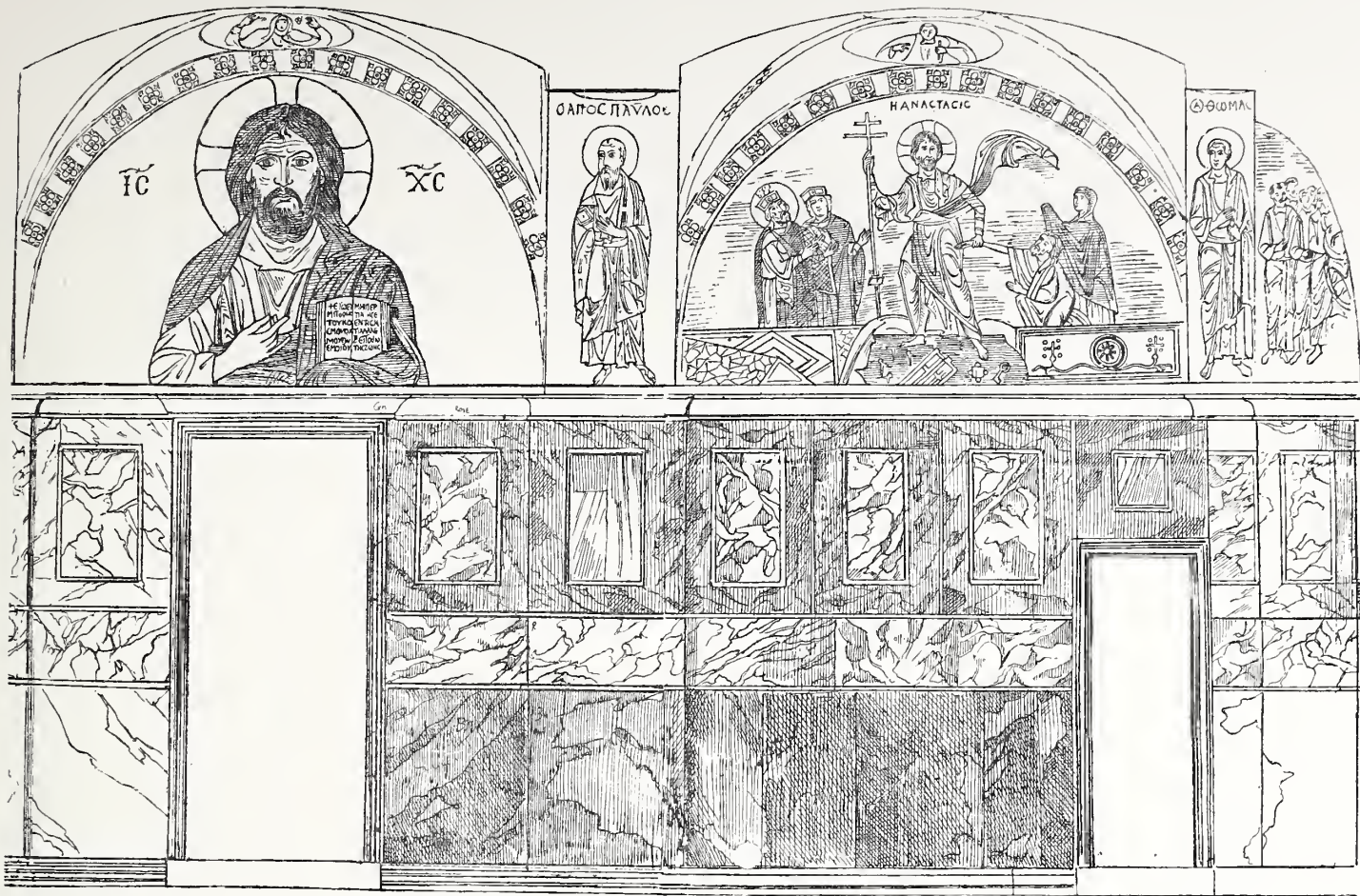
There are other important mosaics of about this period such as those at Sinai, by one Ephraim, executed in A.D. 1169, and others at Bethlehem, but of these I have not obtained any representations. They are described by Dr. George Hebers in his work on Sinai, but descriptions are here of little service. We shall, however, hereafter, in later centuries, consider this same tradition, with its developments.

Returning again to Athens, the paintings illustrated in Plate CXV. are from the Church, or Oratory, as it is turned to the North, supposed to have been dedicated to Asomatos Taxiarches (S. Michael).

Like that of the Holy Virgin, it is situated in the so-called Stoa of Hadrian.

The arrangement of the composition, when complete, appears to have included another row of

PLATE CVII.



STIRIS, PHOCIA. FROM A DRAWING BY R. WEIR SCHULTZ, ESQ.

figures at the bottom, below the busts in circles of foliage, which are the present base in the illustration. Many of the subjects or figures are undistinguishable, but those remaining are of the greatest value.

The large space of the painting is divided into two scenes, the Agony in the Garden, and the Betrayal of Our Lord. In the upper part of the Agony picture the Angel appears comforting Our Lord; a little below this, Our Lord again appears in His great agony; and again a little lower He appears as visiting the Disciples when He said, "Could you not watch with me an hour?"* The

* This combination of subjects relating to the Agony in the Garden and Betrayal also occur in the MSS. of Queen Melissenda, and in another MS. in D'Agincourt (Plate CVII.), and two of the scenes in the painting at S. Angelo in Formis. Two episodes are often found in Greek illustrations of this subject, although the *Manuel d'iconographie* does not so describe it.

composition therefore includes three incidents of the one event, and would be included by Professor Wickhoff in his continuous composition theory.

The scene of the Betrayal also includes the Kiss of Judas and Peter cutting off the ear of Malchus. At the top of the subject is the figure of David and over him written the event of which he prophesied. In the circle below are a series of half lengths of Martyrs surrounded by a sort of foliage not unknown in classical paintings and sculpture; we find certain details not unlike it in the Catacombs,* but nothing of precisely the same forms. Very similar details also occur at Winchester in the thirteenth century, and will be given in my next volume.

The colouring of the work appears as artistic as the design. "These solemn scenes are painted on

* Plate CCXIII A, Vol. I. I do not think it is usual in Byzantine Art, but it is found in European.

a grey-blue ground, dull in effect, as though a night scene were intended; and the draperies are in subdued low tones of red and grey, and black grey. The rocks are dull red as though of sandstone. In some of the smaller draperies of the Agony, a little purple and yellow, low in tone, is used to separate and distinguish the other draperies. The figure of Our Lord at the summit, where the Angel appears, is of black and red, as though to emphasise an effect such as when we see figures on mountain tops against the grey sky at evening. Perhaps the intention was also to give the effect of darkness and sorrow, as the Angel is also so vested.”*

It is extremely difficult to fix the date of these frescoes. Remembering that the Greek works showed a concentration of thought and an elaborateness of complication in their Scriptural composition before the Latins, I should attribute them to a period when Christian Greek art was at its zenith, before the recipe picture held entire sway, and early in the twelfth century. I have said in my previous essay that I think it is work of the thirteenth century, but more mature consideration and experience tempt me to place it earlier, notwithstanding that the form of some of the halberds and instruments puzzle one and might be made to argue as late a date as the fifteenth century.†

* See the *Scottish Review*, vol. vi., in the article already alluded to. For this plate I am also indebted to the late Marquess of Bute, who had an excellent copy made of the painting before the church was destroyed.

† See also *D'Agincourt*, pl. lvii., from a MS. of the twelfth century in the Vatican. All the Apostles are present at the Agony, and the Betrayal on the left hand is almost identical with the picture under notice, but reversed.

PLATE CVIII.



THE PANTOCRATOR, FROM DAPHNE.

Others, as I have before observed, bear some resemblance to those found in the MSS. of A.D. 1066* and A.D. 1131.†

It will be seen that the draperies and attitudes are almost identical with the mosaics of Kiev, which are of Greek production and of the eleventh century (Plate CXVI.). To this I shall have occasion to refer hereafter.

There are, or were, other paintings of interest in the different Churches of Athens,‡ but it appears

* Additl. 19352; and

† The MS. of Queen Melisenda, Egerton 1139. Both in the British Museum.

‡ M. Didron wrote some account of the paintings in the Athenian churches in 1844, and the Marquess of Bute in the *Scottish Review*, 1891. From the latter article I have frequently quoted. From the work of M. Didron I take the following quotation, which describes many Greek churches and shows, to an extent, why we have not more early Athenian paintings: “Malgré les terribles guerres qui l’ont saccagée à diverses reprises, et surtout depuis trois siècles, la ville d’Athènes contient encore quatre vingt-huit églises. Ces églises, il est vrai, ne sont que des chapelles, si on les compare aux nôtres; mais chacune d’elles forme un petit monument ayant un porche, une nef, un chœur et un sanctuaire, le tout est surmonté d’une ou de plusieurs coupoles.

“Autrefois ces petits edifices étaient peints à fresque ou couverts de mosaïques, depuis le soubassement jusqu’aux coupoles; mais les Grecs modernes, comme les Français de notre époque, comme les Turcs de tous les temps, ont effacé les personnages et les sujets historiques qu’on y avait peints. Cependant, cinq églises, dont quatre abandonnées et l’autre l’ancienne cathédrale convertie d’abord en bibliothèque publique, puis et définitivement en chapelle baptisimal, ont échappé au lait de chaux, et conservé à peu près tous leurs saints. Dans les autres, on retrouve encore une Vierge au fond de l’abside, un Pantocrator dans la coupole, un Saint Démétrius sur un contre-fort. Au Parthénon même, nous avons admiré, tracés à cru sur le martre des parois intérieures, quelques longs personnages debout, et des bustes encadrés dans les médaillons fleuris. Ces peintures remarquables ont été faites par les chrétiens, lorsqu’ils changèrent, en église

PLATE CVIIIA.



COIN OF NICEPHORUS PHOCAS. (REDUCTION.)

that they are continually being destroyed. Anyone visiting Athens with the intention of studying them should first refer to the article in the *Scottish Review*, which I have often quoted.

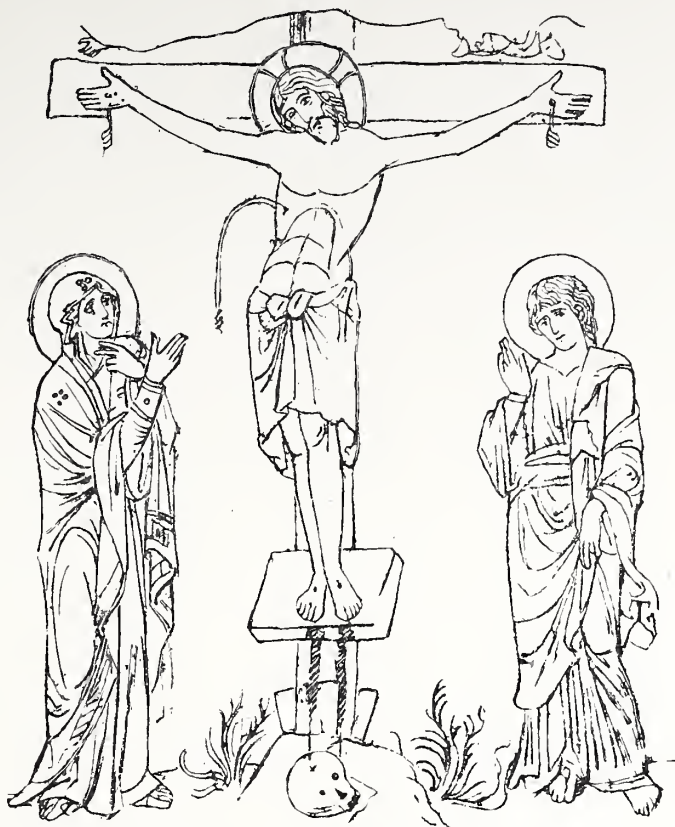
consacré à Marie, le temple dédié à Minerve la vierge, du paganisme.

“ Dans un pli du mont Hyette, au charmant monastère de Césariani, l'église (porche, nef, chœur, bas côtés, sanctuaire, et coupoles) est entièrement peinte à fresque. Sur la route d'Athènes à Éleusis, au monastère de Daphné, l'église est couverte de mosaïques anciennes et d'un grand caractère. En Livadie, au pied de l'Helicon, sur le penchant d'un mamelon qui regarde au sud le golfe de Lépante, le couvent de Saint Luc¹ possède une grande église. Bâtie à peu près sur le plan de Sainte Sophie de Constantinople, elle est complètement revêtue de mosaïques à fond d'or et d'un style remarquable. L'église moyenne du même couvent est peinte à fresque. A Delphes au confluent des eaux qui sortent du Parnasse de ce fameux rocher, dont on distingue si bien les deux têtes, un petit prieuré (*μετοχή*) se cache à l'ombre d'oliviers nombreux. Ce prieuré renferme une église historique à fresque, sur endroit gypseux. Tout le grand couvent de Mégaspoleon, en Achaïe, est peint à fresque et en mosaïque.

“ A Mistra, la grande église, appuyée contre le rocher qui porte le château ou l'acropole, est peinte à fresque du pavé à la voûte et du porche au fond du sanctuaire. L'église d'Arachova en Lacomé, l'église d'Argos dédiée à la mort de la

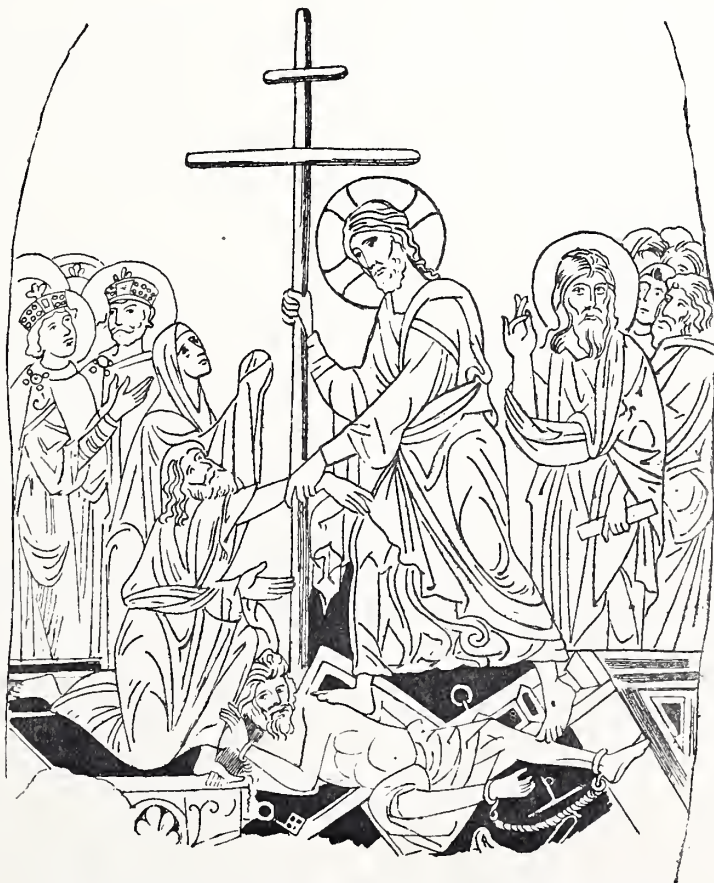
¹ See the work by Messrs. Schultz and Bamsley, published by Macmillan, already referred to, and Plate of this volume.

PLATE CIX.



THE CRUCIFIXION. FROM THE MONASTERY OF DAPHNE.

PLATE CX.

THE DESCENT INTO LIMBO. CALLED BY THE GREEKS, THE RESURRECTION (*Anastasis*.) FROM DAPHNE.

A “tetramorph,” from Athens (Plate CXVII.) is given in evidence of the identity of the Greek origin of some English design; it is also useful for comparison with the detail of angelic wings in

Vierge, quelques pauvres églises de Corinthe et de Mégara, sont également couvertes de peintures en detrempe appliqués sur des couches de chaux.

“ Pendant le voyage que je fis dans ces contrées, en août et septembre, 1839, j'étudiai ces fresques et ces mosaïques avec le plus grand soin, je prenais des notes minutieuses destinées à compléter les dessins que relevaient mes compagnons de voyage. Les sujets et personnages figurés dans ces églises sont, comme dans les nôtres, toujours à peu près les mêmes. C'est de la Bible, du martyrologe, de la légende, et de la symbolique religieuse, qu'on les tire. Rien de plus simple. Mais chez nous, une scène de l'Ancien ou du Nouveau Testament, représentée dans un édifice du XII^e Siècle, diffère notablement de la même scène figuré dans un édifice du XIII^e siècle, du XV^e et surtout du XVI^e en Grèce; à Saint Luc, le Baptême de Jesus Christ, ou bien la Pentecôte, Moïse ou bien David, sont peints en mosaïque, absolument comme sont peints à fresque dans Cesariani, David, Moïse, la Pentecôte et le Baptême du Christ. Cependant, Saint Luc est du X^e Siècle, et Cesariani du XVII^e. En France, dans des monuments de même époque et de même style, mais de province différente, on surprend de curieuses variétés dans la représentation d'un sujet semblable. Ainsi à la chute d'Adam le fruit qui séduit Eve est souvent un raisin en Bourgogne et en Champagne, c'est ordinairement une

PLATE CXI.



A



B



C

A. THE ANNUNCIATION. B and C. The ARCH-ANGELS MICHAEL AND GABRIEL.

many countries. It is possibly of much later date, but, like Greek detail generally, its tradition is doubtless of great antiquity. In the Syrian MS. already alluded to (Plate XX.), Our Lord, in His ascension, is supported by a somewhat similar figure.*

I have frequently mentioned the ancient book† of recipes for the

figure ou un orange en Provence, et quelquefois une pomme en Normandie. Mais en Grèce, dans la ville d'Athènes comme dans celle de Mistra, dans la Beotie comme dans le Péloponnèse, toutes les images sont des copies prises l'une sur l'autre, et comme des autre-épreuves.

“L'ancienne cathédrale d'Athènes (bibliothèque publique en 1839) et redevenue église depuis trois ans, a onze mètres de longueur dans œuvre, six mètres vingt-cinq centimètres de largeur, et sept mètres de hauteur. La plus grande des églises anciennes nommée la Kamkaréa a treize mètres de long sur onze de large. On voit que ces édifices sont à peine des oratoires, puisque la Sainte Chapelle de Paris, par exemple, a dans œuvre trente-quatre mètres de longueur, dix de large. Hors d'œuvre, la Sainte Chapelle est longue de trente-sept mètres, haute de trente-huit et large de seize. Hors d'œuvres et jusqu'au sommet de la coupole, la cathédrale d'Athènes a dix mètres, le quart à peu près de la Chapelle de Saint Louis, même privée de la haute flèche qui la dominait. Les églises de Salamine, surtout celles du mont Athos, de Salonique et de Constantinople, sont plus grandes, mais c'est encore bien petit quand on compare cela à nos cathédrales de Reims, d'Amiens, de Chartres et de Paris. Notre moyen âge de l'Orient. Si les monuments religieux fourmillent en Orient, c'est parce qu'ils sont nains: une église n'y atteint guère que les proportions d'un oratoire particulier.”—*Introduction, Manuel de Chrétienne Grecque et Latine, par M. Didron.*

* See *Garucci*, Plate 139, and *D'Agincourt*, Plate 27, vol. iii.

† *Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne, Grecque et Latin, avec une introduction et des notes par M. Didron, traduit des manuscrits Byzantine par le Dr. Paul Darand.* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, MDCCCXLV.) A portion of this work has been translated by Miss M. Stokes, and forms vol. ii. of *Didron's Iconography*, Bohn's series.

PLATE CXII.



D



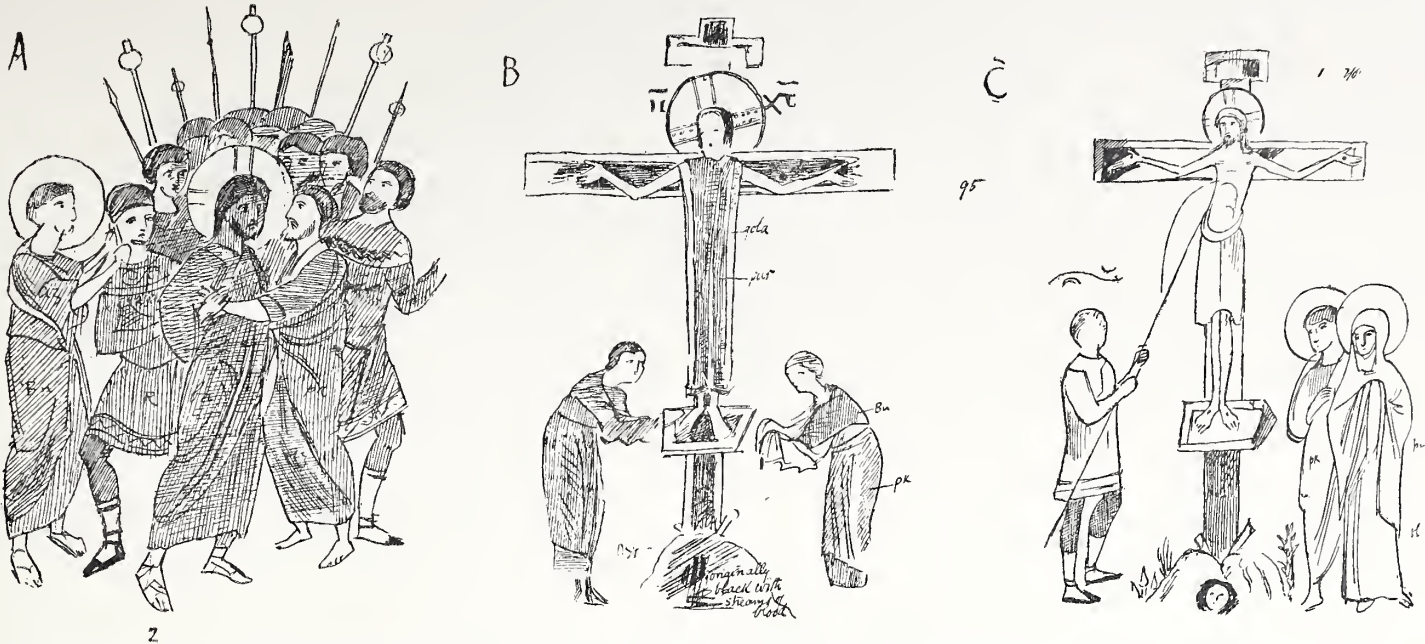
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F

D. FROM THE TRANSFIGURATION. E. FROM THE PROPHET DANIEL. F. ST. ISAAC. FROM THE MONASTERY OF DAPHNE.

PLATE CXIII.



SKETCHES FROM A GREEK MS., A.D. 1066. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (ADDL. 19352). A. THE BETRAYAL. B. THE CRUCIFIXION (OUR LORD IS VESTED IN THE COLOBIUM). C. HE IS PIERCED WITH THE SPEAR.

PLATE CXIV.



THE RESURRECTION. FROM A MS., No. 74G, IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS.

treatment of Christian subjects in Greek churches. It is continually referred to by authors as a work that has been followed in the designing of certain works outside Greece to prove the Byzantine descent of those works. My own view is that it was written long after a settled scheme had been made by the practices of both the Western and Eastern branches of the Church, and

that the great Panselinos,* whose practice is quoted as of authority by the author, was learned in this scheme, which he taught to his pupils.

In this notice of Greek painting the reader has the opportunity of comparing it with the productions of what appears to be the work of various other schools, both European, African and Asiatic, such as

those of South Italy, Sicily, Athens, Daphne, Constantinople, Alexandria, France, Germany, and

The reader must therefore not be surprised if I only occasionally refer to it as an authority. He can see for himself that its description of certain subjects does not accord with that which would fit the most early examples known. It is undoubtedly a useful book to painters for the Eastern Church and to us as a book of reference for some of their traditions. This MS. is a copy of one by Dionysius Monk, of Fournas d'Aprapha, who says, "Assisted by his pupil, Cyril of Chio, he has arranged everything necessary for the painter of religious subjects,

from the works of the master, Manuel Panselinos of Thessalonica." M. Didron observes that Panselinos was the Giotto of the Byzantine school, and that they show his work in the principal church of Kares at Mount Athos. It is said that he lived under Andronicus I. To this work I have had continually to refer.

* Brockhaus, *die Kunst in den Athos-Klöstern*, deals considerably with this artist. See references in *Register*, p. 302.

PLATE CXV.



SCENES FROM THE BETRAYAL AND THE AGONY IN THE GARDEN, WITH BUSTS OF MARTYRS BELOW.
FROM THE CHURCH OF S. MICHAEL, ATHENS.

PLATE CXVI.



THE HOLY EUCHARIST. LEFT-HAND PORTION OF A
MOSAIC IN THE CATHEDRAL OF S. SOPHIA AT KIEFF.

England. If we may attempt to form an opinion from the few samples existing, the Athenian schools appear to have retained or recovered the simplicity of treatment attributed to Polygnotus* in its methods of composition. This method of storiation in zones is continually illustrated in the plates of the former and present volumes, and was imitated at later dates throughout the Christian world. It is found in Italy, France, Germany, and England, and, indeed, wherever Christian Art has penetrated.

The Athenian school does not exhibit that con-

tinual stiffness of costume with jewellery so common in the examples coming from other centres. Moreover, in its general use of ornamentation, it is very simple, relying for its effect on the beautiful lines of its arrangements and draperies, which are inclined to be free. The Byzantine school proper, as I have before remarked, even

in the time of Julius Cæsar, was severe in its pose and draperies, but before the time of Constantine it had evidently become affected by the Eastern taste for decoration and jewellery on its dresses.

The Alexandrian and other Egyptian schools seem to have at an early date influenced Roman

* Evidently derived from Egypt.

PLATE CXIX.



OUR LADY AND THE DIVINE CHILD. FROM ATHENS. PROBABLY OF THE EARLY PART OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY. FROM *Bayet*.

painting and at a later period to have been considerably re-influenced from Rome, but on this question I have dealt more fully in the chapter on Coptic Art. It should, however, be noted that it, for a time, supplanted the zone method in Roman Art, and is, I think, responsible for the isolated picture in canopy work or frame.

PLATE CXVII.



TETRAMORPH FROM ATHENS.

prints from Italy and Germany.

THE COPTIC.

Some particular instances which will be here referred to are the probable reflections from the Christian Roman Catacombs on the Christian Egyptian work. The subject has been already, in

Indeed, to sum up much of the question of style of these centuries, the two great divisions appear to be of very ancient tradition; the more simple being of European culture, and the more elaborate of Asiatic and of later date.

In later volumes there will be again occasional references to Greek painting, which, as far as the style of design is concerned, made little change up to the early years of the sixteenth century, excepting at intervals, when digressions were made in imitating drawings and

PLATE CXVIII.



S. JOHN THE BAPTIST, ATHENS.

This idea was repeated until the sixteenth century. See *Didron's Iconography*, vol. i., p. 306. On the left-hand side of Our Lord in Majesty.

a degree, considered by De Rossi in the *Bulletino Cristiano*, but the recent work of M. Gayet, to which I have already referred, gives us evidences of a more complete kind, and although his arguments in favour of certain theories are at times very questionable, the work is of archaeological value.

Unfortunately many of the earliest works to which he refers have partly scaled from the wall, but very interesting fragments of mural painting remain, which combine practices gathered from their forerunners, the ancient Egyptians, from the pre-Christian Greeks, from Byzantium, and from Rome.

The influence of ancient Egypt is shown in the colours used and in the method of using them. They are mostly earths and col-

ours such as experience has proved durable in water media; they are laid on in flat masses without half tints, and lines are considerably used in delineation. From the ancient Greeks comes the foundation of some of the ornament, and the ornament is sometimes conjoined with that to be traced to a more remote (Egyptian) antiquity; from Byzantium much of the treatment, the position, and the vestments of many figures; and from Rome the type of countenance, and other parts of composition or subject,

such as the symbolism which we find in the Catacombs. The subjects of illustration are not of that class of art to which an extended notice should be given, but they are of considerable interest, as it is questionable how far they have been the *via media* of other styles and art in other countries, for we must not lose sight of the importance of Alexandria and Thebes as art centres.

Some of the earlier paintings appear to be at Thebes: these, it is supposed, may go back even to the time of Queen Helena, but they are nearly sealed off; there also, in the Christian Church built on the Temple of Ammon,* even now, remain interesting fragments.

The most perfect for illustration appear to be those in the Deir of the Church of S. Simeon, at Assouan. Our Lord is represented in majesty with the Archangels on either side, such as we have shown represented in the churches of Italy, Sicily,

* Gayet, p. 271.

PLATE CXX.



A GREEK PANEL PICTURE. A FINE EXAMPLE OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

and Greece (Plate CXXI). He is beardless and young, reminding M. Gayet of the Good Shepherd in the Catacombs, and by him this figure is considered as a reflection from the Roman Cemeteries.* There are also in the same church interesting pictures of the Annunciation (Plate CXXV.). This, with "The Vision of S. Joseph" (M. Gayet erroneously calls it the Nativity) and the "Flight into Egypt," from the Deir-Abou-Hermes, are given in Plates CXXVI. and

CXXVIII., and another picture of Our Lady between SS. Gabriel and Michael, as in the Italian and Sicilian tradition. The retention of the hawk's wing palmette ornament† in the relieving arch of the dome is also interesting. These three fragments of pictures are particularly remarkable as showing the origin of the ideas of their compositions, both figures and ornament.

In the first place, the subjects, except in very few details, are not in accordance with the *Guide to Painters* by the monk Dionysius,‡ but they do accord, singularly, with the pictures in *S. Urbano à la Cafferella at Rome* (Plate LXVI.), and which we may take to be of Romanesque rather than of Byzantine tradition. Neither does one wonder at this continual alliance of idea between two such theological centres as Alexandria—probably the origin of the Coptic compositions—and Rome, an

* Gayet, p. 270.

† See Plates LXI. *et seq.*, Vol. I.

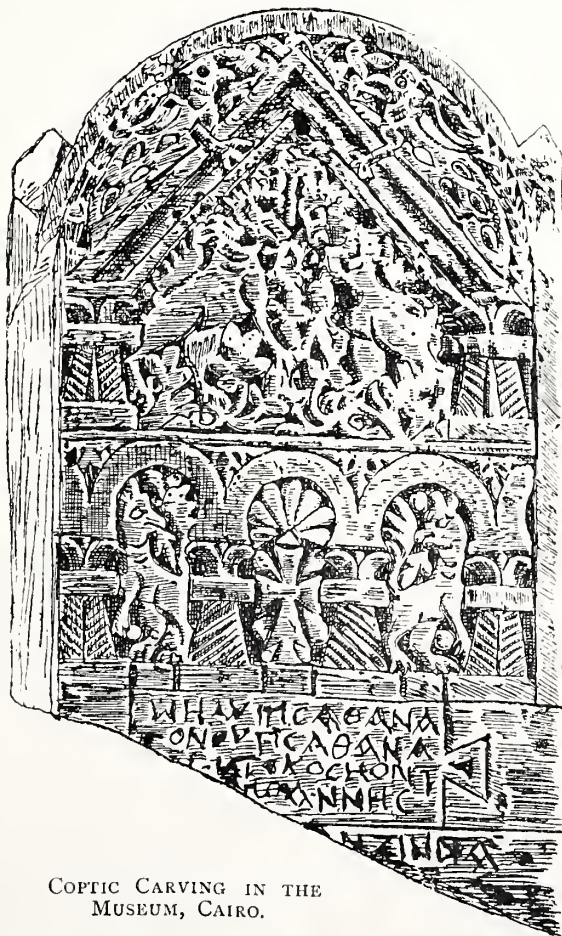
‡ The work already quoted, *Iconographie Chrétienne*, p. 155, wherein the Angel of the Annunciation is miscalled Michael, and pp. 160, 161.

PLATE CXXI.



OUR LORD IN MAJESTY, WITH ARCHANGELS. FROM S. SIMEON, AT ASSOUAN. FROM GAYET.

PLATE CXXII.



COPTIC CARVING IN THE MUSEUM, CAIRO.

PLATE CXXIII.



HEAD OF OUR LORD ON LINEN, S. KENSINGTON MUSEUM.

alliance which has frequently been commented upon, and upon which something more will have to be said hereafter. The resemblance in "The Annunciation" is very close, and the dominant characteristics are identical. The Angel approaches with hand advanced, one wing is in front of the figure, the other behind; a little in the background is the seated figure of Our Lady: whilst a third figure is under a porch at the other end of the composition.

In "The Vision of S. Joseph," which, as I have said, is called by M. Gayet the Birth of Our Lord, the identity is equally exact: the Angel bends over the oblong couch of S. Joseph, who is sleeping; behind him there is a porch. The only difference is—probably a natural difference in a hot climate—that S. Joseph is unclothed in the Copt picture. The "Flight into Egypt" is too much decayed to pass judgment upon, but in "The Massacre of the Innocents" there is Herod* under the porch looking at the massacre outside, but the *Abou-Hermé's* picture is so decayed that we cannot discover the mothers of the children. Turning to the ornament, no one can hesitate in styling it distinctly Egypto-Hellenic with its lotus leaves† and

* Herod here has a nimbus and aureole as at S. Maria Maggiore (see footnote, p. 57).

See *History of Mural Painting*, vol. i., p. 111, and Plate LXXIV.

convolvulus flowers. As a whole the composition is national, and probably the work of either an Egyptian or African Hellene. To understand this resemblance to Roman art, it is necessary to consider the earlier history of the Copts and their Gnostic and Monotholite heresies on the one hand and its pious and orthodox Christians on the other. It may have arisen from the Melchite

influence in Alexandria, but the close alliance between the Roman See, Alexandria, and Carthage, is sufficient to account for either African influence in Rome or Roman in Africa. This may have been one of the many reasons for finding such particularly Roman resemblances at this date in African Art. Unfortunately, from the destruction of almost all the Copt work by the Moslems, there is very little painting left to give us more evidences, but, to my mind, that which is here placed before the reader is of very considerable interest; to those who would know more, the work of M. Gayet is both reasonable in size and interesting, although sometimes misleading in its information.

In concluding this notice of Coptic Art, the opportunity is taken of dwelling more fully on the two representations of Our Lord—the bearded and the beardless; the latter always occurring in the Coptic pictures, that I have seen.

One of the great difficulties con-

cerning Our Lord's face in history is that throughout the Christian world the two representations alluded to were perpetuated to the thirteenth century, and even later in certain cases. As far as my examination of the cause of this dual portraiture goes, it appears to me that one is Roman and Alexandrine, the other Syrian and Hellenic. I have suggested how it was probable that these two diversities came into the Catacombs, but we have to account for the Coptic being beardless, like the Roman. The representations in this art (Plates CXXI. and CXXII.) may have originated either from the reflected action of Roman art on Alexandrine, or from the Coptic* Gnostic tradition; if from the latter, we should here have examples of its character.

Supposing the central figure in Plate LXXI. from Naples is of the late Alexandrine tradition, and not of the Roman, we should get, possibly, if it had the Gnostic cross-emitting rays over the head, another verification of the Gnostic portrait. Still, however, there is the difficulty of the continual dual reproduction in Europe. On one side of the Basilica of S. Appolinaris Nuovo at Ravenna, Our Lord is beardless, on the other bearded. Woermann† sees, in the composition of the former, the demonstrative or ancient classic styles, *as in the Catacombs*, in the latter the new Byzantine style. I have already mentioned the beardless figure in Naples, but coeval with this there is also the celebrated bearded example, Plate LXIX.

In Germany, at Burgfelden, Marienberg, Reiche-

* See *ante*, p. 16.

† This broad demarcation between the two representations would agree in some respects with the theory of Sigr. Rivieri already alluded to (p. 61), the earlier being Romano-Ravenante, the latter Greek. See *Garucci*, Plates 229-252; these are a little beautified, and in certain cases lose the character of the work.

PLATE CXXIV.



ORANTE FROM THE MUSEUM AT CAIRO,
WITH SUN PALMETTE.
(See Vol. I., pp. 52 *et seq.*)

PLATE CXXV.



THE ANNUNCIATION. PAINTING FROM S. SIMEON AT ASSOUAN.

nau, and Oberzell we have Our Lord beardless, and at Niederzell He is bearded. Occasionally in France we find the same difference. At S. Clement's, Rome, He is represented in both ways. Perhaps, however, the most singular occurrence of the two heads is in two manuscripts, both of the same school and of the same period, namely, of the twelfth century and of the Scriptorium of the Monastery at Newminster, near Winchester. In the charter (Vespasian A, VIII., Cotton MSS., British Museum) Our Lord is beardless, and is carried by Angels in a vesica, after the Greek manner, and such as we see painted in the S. Gabriel Chapel at Canterbury. D'Agincourt (Plate 91) has a plate from a Greek triptych, in which Our Lord is beard-

less, and in a full round aureola like a sun; on No. 8 in the same plate from the same triptych, He is bearded. He is also beardless in Plate 51 from a MS. in the Vatican, No. 1162, executed in the Monastery of Coccinobaphi; He is ascending in an aureola carried by Angels.

My only solution to the question, as far as Europe is concerned, and in later Art, is that the pilgrims to the Roman cemeteries brought back accounts of

a beardless and of a bearded head, and not being able to account for it, took their choice. The question is, however, continually cropping up in the succeeding chapters.*

In the previous volume the influence of Pagan Alexandria upon Pagan Rome† was treated upon and some reference was made to the reflected action of Rome upon Alexandria in the second chapter of this volume.

* I have a fifteenth-century head in painted glass, from Oxford, beardless.

† P. 81, Vol. I.

PLATE CXXVI.



THE DREAM OF S. JOSEPH AND THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT. FROM ABOU-HERMES.

PLATE CXXVII.



THE MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS. COPTIC ART FROM ABOU-HERMES.

Perhaps in no vestiges of ancient Art are the origin of individual detail of parts forming the ultimate whole so easily detected as in the simplicities of Coptic work.

Mr. Middleton has made the following interesting notes on paintings in Coptic churches :

“The pictures, which exist in great numbers in all the churches, are of three kinds: (1) the most ancient are painted *a secco in tempera** on plaster or marble. The best and earliest examples of these are nearly life-size figures of Saints on the wall of the north-west apse of Abou-Sergeb, and others on the marble columns of the nave arcade. (2) Paintings on panel covered with gesso, often with gold ground, come next in order of date; they are generally large, half-length figures of Christ and the Saints, or events from their lives. They are often painted with miniature-like delicacy, and in style resemble the works of painters of the early Sienese and Florentine schools, such as Buoninsegna and Cimabue. (3) Paintings on canvas, chiefly of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These have little merit as works of art.

“Besides the row of pictures on the iconostasis, which generally represent Christ and the Apostles, with incidents in the life of Our Lord, the favourite subjects seem to be St. George, St. Menas (two saints of this name), and St. Barbara. Pictures representing these and many other subjects are fixed at almost every part of the churches, and many are propped up against the apsidal seats and central throne.

“Owing to the stereotyped style of art which has so long prevailed in the East, it is impossible to fix

* A water-medium body-colour, either on plain lime-wash or on a prepared ground of plaster.

PLATE CXXVIII.



THE THREE HOLY WOMEN FROM S. JEROME, IN UPPER EGYPT.

the dates of these various paintings. Even at the present time artists in Greece and Russia are producing works which have many of the characteristics of the thirteenth-century painters of Umbria or Florence—especially the peculiarity of the strong green

tints in the flesh shadows.”*

From a work† published since this was in press I take a sketch of “The Three Holy Women at the Tomb.” It is in one of the churches at S. Jerome, Upper Egypt, and resembles the Greek work of the same period already illustrated.‡

Although in a Coptic country, it appears to have been executed for the Armenian colony and bishop, and it strongly resembles other work at S. Jerome and some at the Schemite Monastery done by Theodoros, a painter and scribe, about the year 1124, A.D., for Armenians in Egypt. The works in the latter places consist of Our Lord in Majesty surrounded by an aureole and angels, with the Evangelists sitting writing, and other figures.

Some little addition to this notice will be found in the chapter on Ornament.

Any account of Christian Greek painting would be incomplete without some references to its various branches in Bulgaria, Russia, &c. Indeed, its most exact imitators, until a very late period, are to be found with the Slavonic peoples, especially the

* The Italians obtained this method from the Greeks (see p. 74, and footnotes pp. 72 and 87), whom the Copts also evidently followed.

† *Kleinasion*, by Josef Strzygowski, pp. 205 *et seq.* (Heinrichs, Leipzig, 1903.)

‡ Plates XCII and CXI.

Russians, and for my own part I regret that they, later on, flirted with the Italian* and German influences, and at certain times with French methods.

The introduction of Christian Art amongst the Slavs was partly due to the Bulgars. Their appearance as a nation took place about A.D. 679, in the reign of Constantine IV., when Isperich, the first King of Bulgaria, collected the tribes who had come down as nomads from the Fin country. After various wars with the Byzantine Emperors, they came to the help of Leo the Isaurian in 718, and assisted him in driving back the Saracens. In 797 they defeated Constantine VI., and Nicephorus in 811. The Bulgarians under Crumn again defeated Michael in 813, and took an immense number of captives to Bulgaria. In 921 they defeated the army under John Rector, and again advanced against Constantinople, when the splendour and discipline of their army astonished the Byzantines,† so rapidly had they grown in power. Their army was, however, defeated, and so diminished that their advance was put back, but they, in turn, defeated Leo VI. In 970 the whole of Bulgaria was conquered by the Russians, a Slav people, commanded by Rurik, chief of a Swedish Viking band, and the ancestor of the rulers of Russia. Their capital was at Kieff, on the Dnieper. The Russians were, however, in turn, later on, conquered by the army of John Zimisce, and driven into or across the Danube.‡

* The architects of Russian churches were generally foreign. "At Kieff, their earliest capital, the churches were erected by Greek architects, those of Moscow by Italians or Germans, and those of St. Petersburg, with hardly a single exception, were erected by Italian, German, and French architects." (*Ferguson*, p. 978, ed. 1859.) One is therefore not surprised at the employment or the imitation of the art best known to the architects.

† *Finlay*, vol. ii., p. 369.

‡ "It is interesting to note that the Russians all fought on foot, in great square columns, armed with spear and axe; they wore mail shirts and peaked helmets, just like the Normans of Western Europe, to whom their princes were akin. The shock of their columns was terrible, and their constancy in standing firm almost incredible. Against these warriors of the North Zimisce led the mailed bowmen and slingers, who were the flower of the Byzantine infantry. The tale of John's two battles with the Russians at Presthlava and Silistria reads like the tale of the Battle of Hastings. In Bulgaria, as in Sussex, the sturdy axemen long beat off the desperate cavalry charges of their opponents. But they could not resist the hail of arrows to which they had no missile weapons to oppose, and when once the archers had thinned their ranks, the Byzantine cavalry burst in, and made a fearful slaughter in the broken phalanx. More fortunate than Harold Godwinson at the field of Senlac, King Swiatoslaf escaped with his life

The Bulgarians, after recovering from the Russian defeat were again conquered by Basil II. (*Bulgarktonos*), historically named the slayer of the Bulgarians. The war lasted thirty-four years, and Samuel, King of Bulgars, died of grief in 1014, when finally conquered. It was, however, lost to the Empire by revolt in the time of Isaac II., after nearly 200 years of subjection, and they defeated and slew Baldaris I. in 1205, but were conquered by the Seljouk Turks about 1360; but they never became Mahomedans.

Concerning the various origins of Art in Bulgaria, it is generally conceded that it commenced at the same time as their conversion to Christianity, in the latter portion of the ninth century. It appears to have originated in the importation of a number of Greek captives taken by Crumn in 812, and it is not improbable that the father of Basil I. was amongst these. The Bulgarians had already acquired some sense of civilisation, and the example of the captives is said to have edified them. The Greek monk Koupharas, who was a captive, had also converted many by his preaching. During the invasion of Bulgaria by Leo V., a sister of King Buigoris was taken prisoner to Constantinople and educated there. The Empress Theodora exchanged this lady for the monk Koupharas, and on her return she introduced christianity into her brother's palace.

and the relics of his army. But he was beleagured within the walls of Silistria, and forced to yield himself on the terms that he and his men might take their way homeward, on swearing never to molest the empire again. The Russian swore the oath and took a solemn farewell of Zimisce. The contrast between the two monarchs struck Leo the Deacon, a chronicler who seems to have been present at the scene, and caused him to describe the meeting with some vigour. We learn how the Emperor, a small, alert, fair-haired man, sat on his great war-horse by the river bank, in his golden armour, with his guards about him, while the burly Viking rowed to meet him in a boat, clad in nothing but a white shirt, and with his long moustache floating in the wind. They bade each other adieu and the Russian departed, only to fall in battle ere the year was out, at the hands of the Patzinak Tartars of the Southern Steppes. Soon after Swiatoslaf's death the majority of the Russians became Christians, and ere long ceased to trouble the Empire by their raids. They became faithful adherents of the Eastern Church, and drew their learning, their civilisation, even their names and titles, from Constantinople. The Tzars are but Cæsars misspelt, and the list of their names—Michael, Alexander, Nicholas, John, Peter, Alexis—sufficiently witnesses to their Byzantine godparents. Russian mercenaries were ere long enlisted in the Imperial army, and formed the nucleus of the 'Varangian guard,' in which, at a later day, Danes, English, and Norsemen of all sorts were incorporated."—*The Byzantine Empire*, by C. W. C. Oman, M.A., F.S.A., MDCCCXII., pp. 235-6.

As the result of another war in 861,* the details of which are not preserved, the Bulgarian King, Buigoris, became christian, and took the name of Michael, the name of the Emperor, his godfather.

The Bulgarian King, we are told, was very much assisted in this determination not only by the preaching but by the painting of S. Methodius, and in him we find an example that was frequently followed by the Eastern and Slavonic clergy, many of whom were also artists, and the connected introduction of Religion and Art into Bulgaria.

The S. Methodius above mentioned was one of two brothers SS. Cyril and Methodius, who went as missionaries to various nations, amongst others to the Bulgarians. These two monks, natives of Thessalonica, where they lived surrounded by a fierce tribe of Slavonians, devoted themselves principally to the study of the language.

The picture which S. Methodius painted for Buigoris is said to have been the "Punishment of the Wicked." † The result of the preaching, painting, and writing of these accomplished saints might encourage missionaries of our day, often deficient in some of these accomplishments, to consider the value placed upon them by these missionary saints.

The King Michael afterwards sent an embassy to the Holy See, and Pope Nicholas I. responded by sending him legates, who were bishops, and who in 867 confirmed those who had been baptised by the Greeks. On these matters SS. Cyril and Methodius had consulted the Pope, as was shown by his letter answering them.

The style of the Art of the people has always been the same as it was at about the period of their conversion. The Arts of Leura, Croatia, Dalmatia, show later on considerable Italian influence,

* There is some difference in this date by the historians. Pagi gives it as 861, Baronius and Henschenius in 845, Assesmani in 865. See Alban Butler's *Lives*, vol. ii., p. 1061, edition R. Coyne, Dublin. Finlay takes the 861 date, vol. ii., p. 218.

† *Finlay*, vol. ii., p. 266. *Alban Butler*, vol. ii., p. 1061.

but I must reserve my illustrations for the succeeding volume, for reasons hereafter given.

The eleventh century was not only a great period in Greece and Italy, but a century of great revivals elsewhere. In Russia* there arose a strong school, founded on the Byzantine Art of that period, so that we get a fair notion of its character from the examples of that work. It would appear that many artists were also religious, and even prelates, and founded and painted their own churches and images.†

The earliest artists and architects who worked on Russian churches were Greeks, and the illustration (Plate CXXVI.) from Kieff gives a fair example of its style and identity with Greek work. The Princess Olga was baptised in 964 A.D., but no mural painting of her period is known to exist, and, although Christianity became the religion of Russia under Vladimir (981-1015 A.D.), who is said to have been converted by a picture of the Last Judgment, explained to him by Constantine, and who built many small churches, yet I fear we have no work of his period. His son, Yaroslaf (1019-1054 A.D.), also built many churches, amongst others those of S. Irene, and the Cathedral at Kieff, from which comes the illustration already alluded to, the cathedral of Novogorod and the church of Mokur.

A few examples of the original paintings still exist in these churches; they are essentially Greek, and some of them will be given in the succeeding volume.

My reason for reserving them is that they there may be contrasted with later Slavonic work.

* Le XI. siècle vit naître aussi chez nous (in Russia), le peinture à fresque et les miniatures. On retrouve d'anciennes fresques dans beaucoup d'églises de Kieff, de Tschernigoff, de Staroï-Lodoga, de Novogorod, de Vladimir, de Zreingorod, de Westäsenä, de quelques autres villes, et en plusieurs endroits on s'est donné la peine de restaurer une partie de ces vieilles peintures.—P. 33, *Notions sur l'iconographie sacrée en Russie*. Par J. Sabatier. (S. Petersbourg, 1849.)

† La première apparition de l'iconographie à Moscou correspond à l'établissement du siège patriarcal dans cette ville. En effet, le premier chef de l'église à Moscou fit en même temps son premier peintre d'images, et c'est à son pinceau qu'on doit entre autres œuvres une image sainte qu'il fit pour la Cathédrale de l'Assomption, fondée aussi pour lui.—*Ibid.*

PLATE CXXVIIIa.



MS. OF TENTH CENTURY. BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE.

APPENDIX A OF GREEK CHAPTER.

SUBJECT ON COIN OR MEDAL.	NAME AND PERIOD OF EMPEROR.		
Bust of Our Lord nimbed blessing with right hand and holding book in the left, arrangement of drapery and features similar to those at Daphne and in Sicily. (See Plates LXXIX., LXXX.)	Nicephoros II. (Phocas), A.D. 963-969. Isaac I., 1057-1059.	John I., A.D. 969-976. Romanus IV., 1067-1070.	Constantine XI., (963) 1025-1028. Manuel I. 1143-1180.
Bust of Our Lord blessing with His hand in front, as at S. Luke's of Stiris. (Plate CVII.)	Michael VI., 1056-1057.	Alexis I., 1180.	Manuel I. 1143-1186.
Bust of Our Lord without hand, as in Plate CVI.	Michael I., 811-813.	Michael III., 842-867.	Constantine XIII., 1059-1067. Michael VII., 1071-1078.
Bust of Our Lord without nimbus or hand.	Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 913-959.	Romanus IV., 1067-1070.	Michael VII., A.D. 1071-1078. The last has a flower on either side, the same shape as in the Kells book.
Bust of Our Lord without nimbus, but a jewelled cross behind His head, and two crescents.	Late Latin Emperor, 1204.		
Bust of Our Lord blessing, hand in front, roll in left hand, nimbus of five double rays.	Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 913-959.		
Bust of Our Lord as a youth.	Isaac II., 1185-1195.		
Our Lord nimbed sitting blessing, arm extended, book in left hand, as at S. Angelo in Formis, S. Simeon at Assouan (Plates LXXVIII., CXXI.), and frequently in Germany, England and France.	Constantine X., A.D. 913-959. Isaac I., 1057-1059. Nicephorus II., 1078-1081.	Romanus I., (alone). A.D. 920-944. Constantine XIII., 1059-1067. Alexius I., (Comnenus) 1081-1118.	Constantine XI., 1025-1028. Eudoxia, 1059-1071. John II., 1118-1143.
Our Lord nimbed sitting blessing, hand in front, as in Plate LXXIV.	Eudoxia, 1059-1071.	Michael and Constantia.	Manuel I.
Our Lord seated blessing crown of Emperor kneeling.	Michael VIII., 1261-1282.		
Our Lord beardless neither blessing nor holding book.	Constantine XIII., 1448-1453.		
Our Lord bearded and seated, holding book before him with both hands.	Michael VII., 1071-1078.		
Our Lord half figure, blessing and holding book.	John I., 967-976.		
Our Lord standing full figure.	Theodora.		
Our Lord standing full figure, flower on each side.	Manuel I.		
Our Lord standing blessing crowned Emperor.	John II., 1118-1143.	Alexis I., 1180.	Andronicus II., 1282-1328.
Our Lord standing blessing two Emperors.	Michael IX.		
Bust of Our Lady with Divine Infant in front, as in Plates XXI., CXIX.	Nicephoros Phocas, 963-969. Michael VII., 1071-1078.	Romanus X.	Eudoxia, 1059-1071.
Bust of Our Lady as orante (Plates LXXIII. and LXXVI), but without Child.	Leo VI., 886-912. Constantine XIII., 1059-1067. Michael VIII. (rude), 1261-1282.	Theodora, 1042. John I., 1118-1143.	Michael VI., 1056-1057. Isaac II., 1185-1195. Andronicus II., 1282-1328.
Bust of Our Lady as orante, young, without head dress.	Romanus IV., 1067-1070.		
Bust of Our Lady as orante, head dress and nimbus; in a walled city.	Michael VIII., 1261-1282.	Andronicus II., 1282-1328.	Michael IX.
Full-length figure of Our Lady standing as an orante, as in Plate LXXIII.	Constantine XII., 1042-1055.	Michael VII., 1071-1078.	Constantine XIII., 1448-1453.
Our Lady standing as orante, a nimbed head in front of her.	Isaac II.		
Our Lady sitting on throne holding nimbed head before her. See also the Franks' casket, Plate CLXI.	Michael VII., 1071-1078.	John II., 1118-1143.	Manuel I., 1143-1180. Andronicus II., 1282-1328.
Our Lady standing holding Infant on left side.	Romanus IV., 1067-1070.		
Our Lady enthroned, no Infant.	Michael VIII., 1261-1282.		
Saint and Patriarch blessing Emperor, both standing.	Manuel I.		
S. Onofrius (?) and Emperor.	Alexis I., 1081-1118.		
„ holding standard with Emperor.	John II., 1118-1143.		

It may be considered that the representations were of ancient recognised cult before being impressed on coins.

APPENDIX B.

I HAVE written of the prevalence of the Egypto-Hellenic style from Alexandria in Rome during the time of the Cæsars and of its having deposed the Roman style founded on a previous Grecian incursion. This Alexandrine style appears to have been the foundation of the earlier paintings in the Catacombs,* and was only gradually displaced by the advent of the Syro-Hellenic and Byzantine; the predominance of these latter styles appears to have been due considerably to Christian influences, especially to those of such prominent missionaries as SS. Jerome and Augustine, and Eusebius of Vercelli. The advent of the more severe Eastern style, now commonly called Byzantine, was the result of the rise and importance of Constantinople and singularly coincides with the time of S. Benedict, whose followers did so much to spread its influence internationally, an influence to which these pages strongly testify. To give an illustrated detailed account of the whole history of this influence would be to write a work of magnitude, but its European history is fairly well known. I have, however, inserted the following details concerning the history of the houses of the order in the East as showing what facility the religious had for acquiring and communicating such ideas to Europe through their *Scriptoria*. We know also that important personages of the order actually sought out and brought to Europe not only the Arts, but the Artists.†

St. Gregory himself went to Constantinople as Apocriarius in 578, and after six years' residence there was elected Abbot of St. Andrea, in Rome. Every reader knows the interest S. Gregory took in Art, both in music and in painting. His letter to the Bishop of Marseilles is an instance of the latter. He says: "Painting is to the ignorant what writing is to those who read."‡ He also founded a monastery at Jerusalem in the sixth century. Monasteries in the East were recorded as existing at the following periods:

There is a reference to the O.S.B. Church at Daphne near Eleusis in the *Proceedings of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 1857-58, p. 7 and p. 129. It was probably built by the Venetians.

* Vol. i., pp. 20-22 and p. 133 of this volume. The similarity of the Alexandrian and Roman liturgies is also evidence of the close relationship of the two sees and places. (See *Duchesne*, cap. 11, conclusion of § 1; chap. iii. § 1.)

† See footnote, pp. 61 and 65 of this volume.

‡ *Epist.* xi., cap. 13.

There were Benedictines in the eleventh century at S. Mary's, Constantinople; at Jerusalem (S. Mary de Latina, with two dependent monasteries); and one at the reputed tomb of the B.V.M. in the Valley of Jehosaphat.

Ante 1038. St. Stephen, King of Hungary, founds an abbey O.S.B in Jerusalem.

1113. Black Benedictines (from Cluny) established at Mount Thabor.

1095. The First Crusade. During the next few years most of the O.S.B. houses in Palestine were founded. I only find dates for Thabor and Palmaria.

1170. Abbey of Benedictine monks established at Palmaria (Palm Grove), n'Caiffa near coast, north of S. Jean d'Acre.

At Constantinople	} Monasteries O.S.B.
Civitot	
Padras	

N.B.—*Pera*, Constantinople. The Benedictine Monastery, Our Lady of Mercy, there was in 1449 united to the (Italian) congregation of S. Justina, Padua (now called the Cassinese), by P. Nicholas V. The caste was taken in 1450, and five monks professed.

Cluny had houses at Thabor and Palmaria.

There were Benedictine nuns at Bethany (S. Lazarus), at Josaphat Gate (S. Anne's, Jerusalem), and another at Mount Sinai, one hundred Greek monks of O.S.B. rule.

At Antioch there was a Benedictine Abbey of S. Paul, and O.S.B. nuns at H. Cross de Carpita. In A.D. 1235 the monks and hermits of Montana Nigra (Dc. of Antioch) were turned into Benedictines by Pope Gregory IX. At Calcedon, Abbey of Monomach, given to S. Paul's, Rome, for O.S.B. At Corinth the Cistercian monks had a house. Cluny had also houses at Hiero-Komis, near Patras, and Terocomata, in Greece. Cistercians at Taurus or Laurus.

In Cyprus the Benedictines had S. Nicholas and Bella Pais, and others.

The Cistercians in Cyprus: S. John-au-bois, Trinity at Rephech, Beaulieu, Salvatio. Cistercian nuns at Ptolomais in Palestine. At Constantinople—Cistercian monks at S. Angelo and Cistercian nuns at Perchoir.

Cf. Mabillon, *Acta SS.*, O.S.B., sæc. VI., tom. i., pp. iv. &c.

I am indebted for the above list of monasteries to the research of the Rev. Dom. Gilbert Dolan, O.S.B.

The Cistercians were at Daphne early in the thirteenth century.



“THE SECOND ADVENT.” OUR LORD COMING IN MAJESTY. FROM THE VESTIBULE OF THE CHURCH OF S. SAVIN, VIENNE.

CHAPTER V.

MURAL PAINTING IN FRANCE.

THE CHURCHES OF S. SAVIN (VIENNE); S. JEAN, NÔTRE DAME, AND S. HILAIRE POITIERS (VIENNE); VIC (INDRE-ET-LOIRE); MONTOIRE (LOIRE-ET-CHER); S. MARTIN DE LAVAL, LIGET (INDRE-ET-LOIRE); PETIT QUEVILLY, S. CHEF, S. DESIRÉ (ALLIER); PONCE, MONTSANNÈS (LOT-ET-GARONNE); S. MICHAELS, RACAMODOUR (LOT).

THE art of painting in France was in its earliest civilised form an offshoot of that of the Roman Empire. Wherever a person of consideration resided, or a building of importance was raised, or a tomb was built, we have fragmentary evidence of the cultivation of the arts. That portable works of art were imported in considerable quantities, that these were imitated with added touches of local character, and that a *quasi*-Roman-Greek school existed is also in evidence.

Of other works of this Roman period many important examples remain; the roofs and the walls of most of the buildings have fallen, but the floor beneath still retains its mosaic pavement: mosaic of an artistic description in which the materials were

marble, coloured stone, pieces of brick—anything indeed, that the artist could find that would produce for him the effect he desired; whilst carving of the period is fairly plentiful.

These earlier productions have, however, left but the slightest trace of their influence upon any existing mural paintings of importance, all of which are either of the Romanesque or of the Eastern traditions. Examples of works influenced by various of these styles are still in evidence.

The writings of numerous authors testify to the continual and successful practices of the arts. Amongst others, Sidonius Apollinaris, Gregory of Tours, Fortunatus, and Vincent of Beauvais, tell us of a lost grandeur, and manuscripts of consider-

able beauty still existing reflect to us the character of the art that once covered the walls of churches and other buildings with the glories of picture art. That the wall painting was often like an enlarged miniature from a MS. is evident, and that the ancient miniature is totally different from the modern framed picture is also evident. The latter generally belongs to an entirely different style of work from the historic mural painting.

It is difficult to write a history of French Art as distinguished from that of the other portions of Frankia until the time of Charlemagne, but at his period we have evidence of local differences of style arising from one common origin, and some of these we may properly call French.

An influence upon the Art of the time of Charlemagne, which is technically called "Carlovingian," very singularly, is of Irish-Celtic origin, and is known on the Continent principally by the miniatures of the monks of S. Gall, and of those of Bobbio in Italy, in which a brother of S. Gall resided. S. Gall, the founder, was an Irishman. As far as painting is concerned, the work of S. Gall influences it but very slightly, and that only in the ornament, which it received through Celtic admixture in the Carlovingian work. The figures of the Celtic work were of little importance, and as calligraphic in treatment as the ornament. Examples are given in the chapter on English Painting. The figures in metal work from various examples still existing in Ireland are very superior to many of the period, and are exceedingly characteristic, but they do not appear to have had more influence on the existing paintings than did those in the manuscripts.

PLATE CXXX.



THE COMBAT BETWEEN S. MICHAEL AND THE REBEL ANGELS. FROM THE VESTIBULE OF S. SAVIN.

the Carlovingian Manuscript ornamental details do not appear to influence the design of wall painting until just before the thirteenth century.

The paintings of the eleventh century in France are the earliest of importance that have survived to our time from the wars and destruction that have crossed that country. The most important of these are in the Abbey of

S. SAVIN,

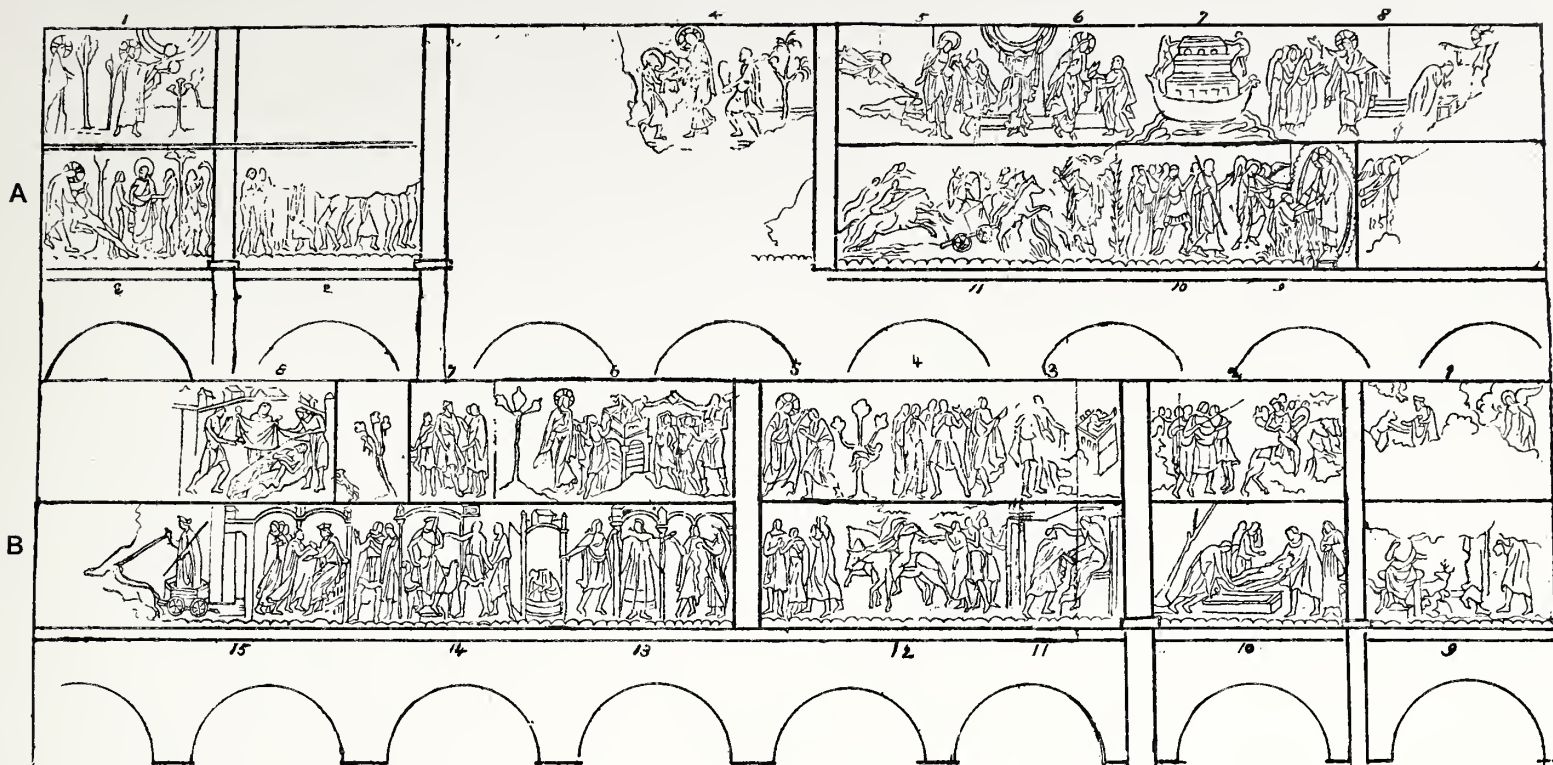
in the department of Vienne.

In one of the fortresses in Aquitaine, built by Charlemagne, he established a monastery, wherein he placed, under the care of some religious, the relics of the martyr and poet S. Prudentius, which he had brought from Spain, with those of S. Marinus and some others. Later on, Louis le Debonnaire caused the relics of S. Savin and S. Cyprian to be placed in this monastery, which was enlarged and dedicated to S. Savin, by whose name it is still known.

It was one of the earliest French Benedictine foundations, and it grew rapidly under Abbot Odo in 1023, who added to the church the bell-tower. Odo II., who succeeded him in 1050, reconstructed

* See the chapter on Ornament.

PLATE CXXXI.



THE PAINTINGS FROM THE BIBLE HISTORY ON THE EPISTYLE OF THE NAVE OF S. SAVIN. A. THE SOUTH SIDE. B. THE NORTH SIDE.

the Church on a much larger scale than that of its predecessor.

It is probable that the earliest frescoes date from the completion of this building; they were the only decoration it contained, and the opinion of M. Prosper Mérimée,* to whom we are also indebted for some of our illustrations, is that the paintings of the vestibule—S. Michael, Plate CXXX. (from the middle zone on the south side), the Triumph of Our Lady (from the north side), the painting of the epistyle of the nave and the choir—are works of the latter half of the eleventh century. The work of the crypt (Plates CXXXIV., CXXXV.) is of the earlier portion of the twelfth century, and the figure of Our Lady (Plate CXXXVII.) at the door of the nave, the latter part of the twelfth century or the earlier portion of the thirteenth.

There is undoubted internal evidence of the workmanship of different hands carrying out the

scheme from the designs and under the direction of masters of the various periods illustrated.

The vestibule of S. Savin is rectangular, with a semi-circular arched vault, and divided into two parts by the groining. Against the wall of the adjoining nave is another groin a little larger. The existing paintings occupy the tympanum at the end, the space over the nave entrance, and all the roof. It is probable also that the rest of the walls were once painted.

The painting on the tympanum of the vestibule (Plate CXXIX.) is characteristic.* Our Lord,

* The colours used are white, black, and yellow, many tints of red and of green, blue, and the secondary colours resulting from the mixtures of these. The white is thin and weak, as though made of a poor lime; the yellows and reds are of the ochre species. One of the reds inclines to the quality and tone of what is now called dark Indian red. The blue has not at all times stood well. M. Chevreul has found that it has a cobalt base, and this colour is not a perfect fresco pigment. The green appears at times to be of copper or arsenical, at others to be an admixture of cobalt. There is no evidence of oil or wax, and the work is probably *fresco* or *fresco secco*, often merely colours mixed in water on new limewash. S. Savin appears to have been the centre of a large school penetrating many departments of France.

* *Notice sur les peintures de Saint Savin* (Paris, 1845). See also *La Peinture decorative*, par P. Gélis Didot et H. Laffillé (Paris, Morel).

His throne, and His nimbus are all now of a pale yellow, which, I think, was once white. The border and ornaments of His draperies, the thicker circle around the circular aureola and the clouds are now greenish; they were probably blue; the other lines of the aureola were white. The background of the inner part of the circle is red with darker red crosses. Our Lord is surrounded by angels carrying instruments of the Passion. The major part of the vestments of the angels are red and white, and the semi-circular cloud enclosing the whole picture is also red of a lake tone. The dado behind the angel is yellow and the sky light blue. The lines below are of the same simple colouring. The throne of Our Lord will remind the reader of that continually found in the Italian Byzantine. On the arch vault close to the figure of Our Lord are the Apostles and angels alternating in groups of three.

Plate CXXX., representing the Combat of St. Michael* against the Dragon, occupies the centre of the south side vault. The scene below is the Deliverance of the Three Angels chained on the river Euphrates.† The subject of the lower zone is nearly destroyed.

On the top of the north side is the opening of the gates of the deeps.‡ In the centre the Woman with Child pursued by the Dragon,§ and at the bottom is the triumph of Our Lady.

In the middle vault are the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac on blue grounds in circles; these are placed on a yellow background.|| On other parts of the vestibule are remains of paintings of the "Elders" of the Apocalypse and various early ornaments.¶

The epistyle of the nave possesses that which is probably the most complete series of scripture subjects of the period in painting. They are arranged in a continuous band and in rectilinear

* Apocalypse xii. 7-8. These apocalyptic subjects were common in the eleventh century.

† *Ibid.* ix. 15. ‡ *Ibid.* x. 1-10. § *Ibid.* xii.

|| These were common subjects both in sculpture and painting: in the latter form they also occupy the soffit of the chancel arch at Copford, in Essex. See Plate CXC.

¶ See Chapter on Ornament at the end.

forms (Plate CXXXI.). Over the capitals in the spandrels of the arches there are a series of Prophets (Plate CXXXIII.), which are of the tradition found at S. Angelo in Formis, Palermo, and elsewhere.* M. Viollet le Duc† considers that there is in the attitude of the figures a dramatic character not to be found in the Byzantine, and to a considerable extent I agree with him that it is a national characteristic.

There is evidence of more than one hand being employed on these paintings—probably there were many carrying out the designs of one master. At this period the character of the churches lent themselves entirely to painting, and there is evidence of a number of artists of different calibre at work in different countries.

This subordination of artistic work must be carefully considered. For example, we may possibly find in a smaller church, either in France or England, subjects barbarously rendered, but similar in details to the S. Savin work, and the argument would be that the man who had done them, although trained in that school, was found unfit to work with better and more advancing men, and journeyed hither and thither doing little works.

Or, on the other hand, some good man—Greek, Italian, or English—working in England was probably called across the water, as occasion required, to paint on important French buildings. The international occupation of artists was greater than it is now. There is certainly a one-sided desire on our part in England to be international in Religious and Historic painting and carving, but I am afraid that it only arises from a desire to have cheap and showy work, from which even the higher and perhaps some of the educated classes are not free. The result is frequently worse than that of good English work and very little cheaper, but the fiction exists that the foreign art must be better, cheap or dear. We have beaten the whole world in the most decisive way in painted glass, and if only the same patronage and *interest* were taken in painted walls, the art of this country would soon reckon

* See Plates LXXXIII. and LXXXIV.

† *Dictionnaire ; Art, Peinture*, p. 69.

with the best, but we must remember that the best artists for large works are not trained in the school of the square-framed, vendable picture, the only art here ordinarily patronised, and with which and their commonly designed gold frames, walls are covered.*

There is yet one observation more. We endow art schools at a great expense and train a student to practise the art of mural painting, who finds that when he can work and wants work, as an Englishman he is not employed. I am sorry that the interest of individuals does not encourage him, at least for some few years, by putting some duty on foreign industrial art of all kinds. If the interest of the country, and not of a section, was considered, the country would soon be proud of its art. At present poor states like Spain can produce, as in the

* Dans la décoration de l'architecture, il faut convenir, il est vrai que la peinture est la partie la plus difficile peut être et celle qui demande le plus de calculs et d'expérience. *Ibid.*, p. 59, v. xvii.

L'art du peinture de tableaux et l'art du peintre appliqué à l'architecture procèdent très différemment, que vouloir mêler ces deux arts c'est tenter l'impossible. Viollet le Duc, *Dictionnaire, Art. Peinture*, p. 61.

Le XII^e siècle atteint l'apogée de l'art de la peinture architectonique pendant le moyen âge en France; les vitraux, les vignettes des manuscrits et les fragments de peintures murales de cette époque accusent un art savant, très avancé, une singulière entente de l'harmonie des tons, la coïncidence de cette harmonie avec les formes de l'architecture. *Ibid.*

M. Viollet le Duc erroneously, as was the custom of his time, attributed mediæval art to an Indian septentrional source. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

PLATE CXXXII.



THE "WORD." DELIVERING THE COMMANDMENTS TO MOSES. FROM THE EPISTYLE OF THE NAVE, S. SAVIN.

new church of S. Francis at Madrid, better work than we can in our largest and richest cathedrals.

Returning from my digression, on patronage, to the nave frescoes at S. Savin. Some of the subjects there show great mastery in style, and are of monumental strength, although mere shadowed outlines. This can

be easily observed even in the small works. Some of the subjects that I have given do not lack in either design or sentiment, and their elevated tone helps to make a building sublime. I would call the reader's attention to this character, because much modern wall-painting seems to delight in puerile eccentricities, which distract and amuse, but are utterly void of this profound feeling.

The subjects describe the Old Testament from the Creation until the Giving of the Law. The series commences on the higher line on the north side, and so continues from left to right, *i.e.*, it reads eastwards, and so on the opposite side.*

Unfortunately some of the ornament was re-

* The subjects of the nave are as follows:—

Plate CXXXI., upper zone south.

1. Creation of vegetation and the firmament of heaven.
- 1a. (Missing) Creation of Adam, and other subjects?
2. Creation of Eve—placing Adam and Eve in Eden—and the temptation of Eve.
3. The expulsion from Eden.
4. The acceptable offering of Abel and other subjects (obliterated).
5. The death of Abel, and cursing of Cain.
6. The promise to Noah (this seems misplaced), and the command to build the Ark.
7. The Ark.
8. Exit from the Ark, and sacrifice of Noah.

PLATE CXXXIII.



THE PROPHET JONAS PAINTED ON THE SPANDREL OVER A COLUMN. FROM S. SAVIN. THESE FIGURES OCCUPY THE SPACES LEFT VACANT UNDER THE SUBJECTS IN PLATE CXXXI.

PLATE CXXXIV.



THE PROPHET JONAS. FROM NÔTRE DAME, POITIERS (VIENNE).

painted in the fourteenth century, and the old work is obliterated.

LOWER ZONE SOUTH.

9. { The Law given to Moses, &c. (Plate CXXXII.).
 10. {
 11. The destruction of the hosts of Pharaoh.

The subjects following read on from No. 8 to 1 north side.

UPPER ZONE NORTH.

1. Melchisedeck offers bread and wine.
2. Defeat of the four kings by Abraham.
3. Query subject.
4. Abraham and Lot separate.
5. The apparition to Abraham.
6. The Tower of Babel.
7. The curse of Shem.

8. { Noah cultivates the vine.
 { Noah covered over by his sons.

LOWER ZONE.

9. Noah refuses the booty offered by the King of Sodom.
10. The funeral of Abraham.
11. Jacob sends Joseph to Sychem.
12. { Joseph is sold by his brethren.
 { Joseph sold to the Eunuch of Potiphar.
13. Joseph accused by Potiphar's wife.
 { Joseph in prison.
14. { Joseph before Pharaoh.
15. The triumph of Joseph, &c.

N.B.—In these subjects the Creator, when introduced, has a cruciferous nimbus, and other figures are occasionally nimbed.

In the vault of the choir the decoration is gone, but traces remaining on the columns of the transept and other details show us that the whole church, with its chapels, was one mass of colour glorious and majestic to view, and that subjects theologically and historically well arranged occupied the intellect.

The crypt is composed of two rectangular chambers, the more distant and smaller being the sanctuary; both chambers are barrel-vaulted. Each portion of the vault is divided longitudinally into four, having in the centre and on either side scenes from the lives of S. Savin and S. Cyprian. The inscriptions in Latin verse separating the subjects are in white letters on a black ground. These paintings remind one forcibly of the twelfth-century painted glass at Le Mans.

The little sanctuary has paintings with a greater degree of finish. They represent, in the centre, Our Lord in a circular aureola (Plate CXXXVI.), which is enclosed in a square having at each corner an evangelical emblem, and is surrounded by palmette ornaments. On either side of Our Lord are three saints—on one side they carry books and on the other

PLATE CXXXV.



PAINTINGS ON THE VAULT AND WALLS OF THE SANCTUARY OF THE CRYPT OF S. SAVIN (VIENNE).
From *La Peinture Décorative en France*, par MM. Gélis-Didôt et H. Laffillée, Paris (Morel).

side boxes of perfume. These saints stand in arched compartments, the columns of which are fluted in

the same way as the pilasters at S. Angelo in Formis, and in a method retained in Germany until the sixteenth century.* Similar figures under similar arches occur on either side of the windows over the altar. One of the figures in them is the poet S. Prudentius, the other S. Fercincta (Plate CXXXVII. A). Both chambers have a high dado of white

curtains, such as we have seen continually in Roman work and in Italy in such positions.

* See *History of Design in Painted Glass*, Plates CXIX., CXX. and CLIII., vol. iv.

The wall of the nave near the sanctuary is painted in the imitation of marble.

PLATE CXXXVI.



OUR LORD IN MAJESTY. FROM THE CRYPT OF S. SAVIN (VIENNE).

eleventh century.

Some of the paintings recall the design of the master-painter at S. Savin; whilst it is not a little singular to find exactly the same features as we have at Vic, the perspective fret, and double-meander

The Church of

S. JOHN AT
POITIERS

is an edifice of a singular and interesting character, both on plan and elevation. Recent discoveries show us in it the materials of an ancient baptistry dating back, it is asserted, to the fourth or fifth century.

Unfortunately, there is no wall painting remaining of an earlier date than the

ornament running on the top of the wall over the triple arcade of the sanctuary.* It is also found in many other of these old churches with wooden roofs. This last circumstance is, however, an additional evidence of their early date; perhaps even earlier than some of the work at S. Savin, for it is difficult to tell which is the prototype. The imitation of marbling and the ornamental curls in the drapery folds remind us both of Byzantine work and of

the Roman-Byzantine in some Italian churches, such as that in S. Maria Antiqua, and the Greek MSS. already alluded to.

The decoration over the triple arch consists of Our Lord in Glory in the centre, surrounded by an aureole; this figure is under a pointed, painted canopy, the side compartments of which, all but the angels, have disappeared, are under round-arch canopies. On the one side is S. Michael, having on his right a peacock and on his left a dragon; on the other side is S. Gabriel with two peacocks. The row of figures on either side are painted on a white background and stand on an undulating foreground.† (Plates CXL. and CXLI.)

The Church of

S. HILARY, AT POITIERS,

also contains paintings of the twelfth century. They

* This also still remains at Burghfelden, in Würtemberg (Plate CLXIX.), at Oberzell and other churches in Germany, and at Clayton, in Sussex.

† *History of Design in Painted Glass*, from Le Mans, vol. i., pp. 6 and 13.

PLATE CXXXVII.



A. S. FERCINCTA IN THE SANCTUARY OF THE CRYPT. B. AN ANGEL FROM THE NAVE. S. SAVIN.

are principally figures of Bishops on the columns. We have here again the brown and white marbling, and certain interesting pieces of ornament, illustrated in the concluding chapter. In the Church of

OUR LADY, AT POITIERS,

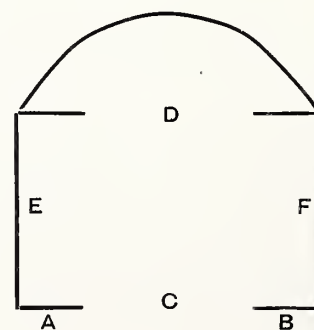
there is also decoration of the same period. The figure of a prophet (Plate CXXXIV.) undoubtedly recalls the master of S. Savin. The vault now con-

tains Our Lord in Glory and the Twelve Apostles, unfortunately restored.

The Church of

VIC (INDRE-ET-LOIRE)

is of a very simple plan. It has a short rectangular chancel with an elongated circular apse rather narrower than the square portion; it was lighted by a small splayed window in its centre. There is also a smaller chapel, much in the same style, which appears to have been subsequently erected on the Epistle side. It dates probably from the earlier years of the twelfth century. At present only the



paintings of the apse (D, E, F) and the wall towards the nave (A, B, C) remain. The nave itself is of more recent construction. This painting is of considerable interest; it had also originally in its ornamentation the perspective fret, so common at this period, at its summit. Below this, in the centre, is Our Lord in Majesty, in an aureola, with five Apostles on either side; below the Majesty is the Agnus Dei,* nimbed, with a cross behind it, in a circular aureola (Plate CXLI).

The painting under the Apostles, following the ancient method, is in three zones. The subjects are, reading from the Epistle side: (1) The Annunciation; (2) The Visitation; (3) The three Magi arriving on horseback†; (4) The Epiphany. In the lower zone on either side of the arch are: (1) The Presentation in the Temple, and the Descent from the Cross, with the person supporting Our Lord's body, as in Plates CXLI. and CXLV.‡ Over the cross are two angels in circles, the Sun and the Moon.

On the other face of the same wall (D, E, F), inside the sanctuary, there are, in the upper zone, Our Lord's entry into Jerusalem and portions of scenes from a "Doom." The wall on the Gospel side (E) is the continuation of the Entry into Jerusalem. On the wall F is a subject, probably of local interest, relating to the religious order possessing the

* See also chapter on Ornament (Plate CXXI. D and E).

† The placing of the Kings or the Magi on horseback is in a miniature bound up with the MS. of Queen Melisenda; and in some other Greek miniatures in the British Museum. The French seem to have adopted this treatment from the Greek at an early date.

‡ Also see the "Chasse de Huy" in my *Sketches at Malines*.

PLATE CXXXVIII.



THE "VIERGE PORTIÈRE" OF THE INSIDE WALL OF THE NAVE ADJOINING THE VESTIBULE. THIS PAINTING IS PROBABLY OF ITALIAN ORIGIN, AND OF THE END OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

Church. On the side C are three prophets and an angel treading on a fiend. The vault of the apse has Our Lord in Glory surrounded by the four Evangelists.

The character of the work is interesting. The execution is facile and bold, with considerable evidences of knowledge and study, and also many of self-satisfaction and haste, giving one the idea that the artist, having studied and made a

reputation, proceeded to "knock off" and execute large works with rapidity. The design somewhat reminds one of the vestibule work at S. Savin.

In the little church of

MONTOIRE (LOIRE-ET-CHER)

there are remains of paintings apparently of the earlier years of the twelfth century. They appear to me to be the work of a different school to the S. Savin paintings, or to have been done under another master painter, as there is a different feeling in some of the principal figures, although certain details are of the same type.*

The church is planned in the form of a cross with a sanctuary of three apses, one at the east end and two others forming a transept and a nave. In each of these apses there is a figure of Our Lord in Majesty; one of these is given in Plate CXLII. That in the eastern apse has been retraced and

* MM. Gélis-Didôt and Laffillée (Plate 19) think they are of the S. Savin type. It is, perhaps, not wise to differ from such excellent authorities, but there are, in my judgment, differences of character. I have commented on the black flesh elsewhere; see Plates CLII., CCV., CCVI.

spoilt. On the soffit of the principal arch there is a bust either of the Eternal Father or of Our Lord (it has the Λ and Ω on either side, and brown hair and beard) and below two armed angels crushing dragons and devils. One has the inscription,

CASTIGAS
LUXURIA.

These lower figures are evidently, as MM. Gelis-Didôt and Laffillée remark, of the same school as those at Saint Desiré (Allier). Evidences of this will be given in the illustrations of the concluding chapter.

The colouring is very simple, not going beyond the earths, some cobalt, a green preparation of copper, and black, and white, as usual, of lime. The effect, although not brilliant, is exceedingly harmonious and satisfactory.

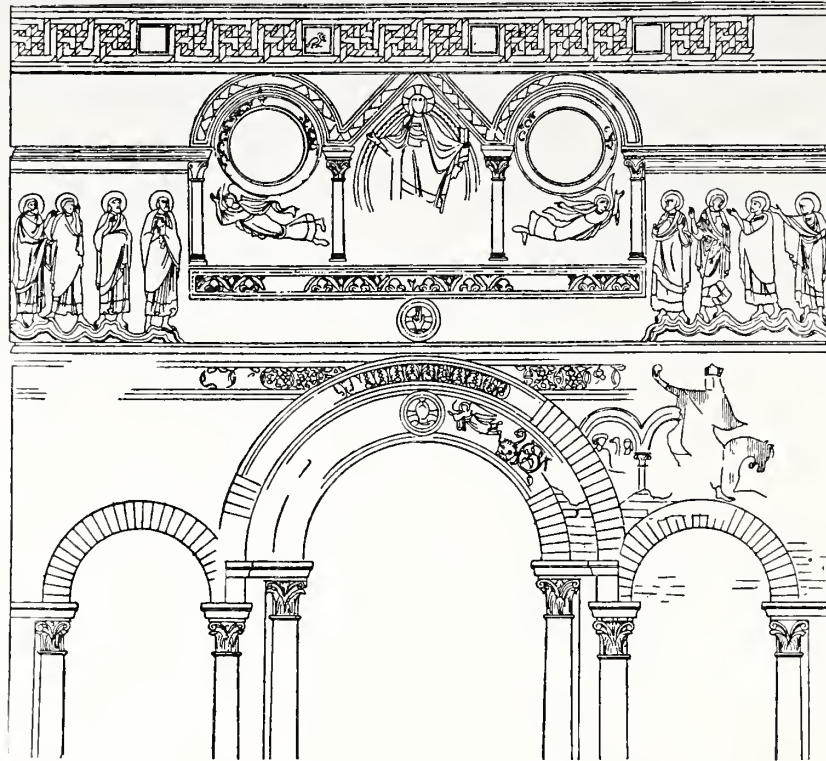
The school of painting represented in the Church of

S. MARTIN DE LAVAL

is probably of the later years of the twelfth century, and resembles in some points that of later date at Vic.* It shows

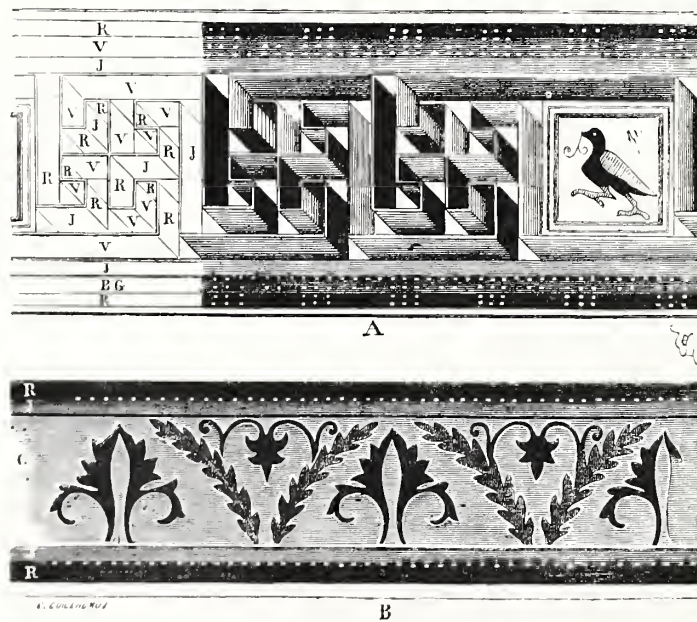
* In the thirteenth century, illustrations of which will be given in the next volume.

PLATE CXXXIX.



PAINTINGS IN ST. JEAN, POITIERS, SHOWING SOME OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY WORK PAINTED OVER THAT OF THE TWELFTH.

PLATE CXL.



ST. JOHN'S, POITIERS. THE CAPITALS ARE INDICATIVE OF THE COLOURS, IN FRENCH—R Rouge, V Vert, &c. FROM VIOLET LE DUC.

a diminution of Greek influence, the assertion of a national feeling in the architecture, and a more characteristic method of drawing in the compositions and the expression of the heads.

Unfortunately the work is restored and in a certain sense ruined, and probably it has been added to. Amongst the most important remains are those of a series of prophets and kings of the Old Testament placed under an arcade (Plate CXLIII.), which remind one very forcibly of the early French glass.

The resemblances to certain details at Vic, already mentioned, to those in the crypt at Chartres and elsewhere lead one to suppose that these fragments represent a considerable school.

It appears that in all countries simultaneously about this era this change was rising, which ultimately developed into the styles with the characteristics of the new nationalities.

THE ABBEY OF S. CHEF,

now the parish church, contains some mural painting of the latter part of the twelfth century in the

PLATE CXLI.



PAINTING OVER THE SANCTUARY ARCH, FACING THE NEW NAVE. FROM THE CHURCH OF VIC
(INDRE-ET-LOIRE).

triforium. The subject of the painting appears to be from the *Te Deum*. On the summit is Our Lord in Majesty in an aureola surrounded by a shadowed riband, somewhat as at Clayton; below this in a row, the choir of the angels, represented by individual angels; and in the zone below are various saints, apostles, martyrs and others. The upper zones are divided by a palmette ornament and those below by a simple riband in perspective. The subject does not fill up the splays of the arches below, as in other instances, but these are filled with foliated ornament. On the pilasters on either side of the triple arch are painted two sitting figures. A plan, some coloured details and a scheme of the work, are given by MM. Gélis-Didôt and Laffillée.*

* *Ordre de classement*, 9.

At

S. DESIRÉ (ALLIER),

there were some interesting paintings which appear now to have been lost, and are only represented by sketches made by M. D'Arcy; amongst these was an inscription with the name of "Omblardus, 1116, A.D.," a monk who was living at that time. Some details are given in the chapter on Ornament.

The circular chapel at

LIGET

has wall painting probably of the end of the twelfth century, possibly belonging to the School of Poitiers. It still retains many Eastern characteristics, and some Greek Byzantine sentiment. In this they possess certain details common to the work of the period in Vic, Montoire and Ponce

(Sarthe). The arrangement of the compositions, from the Bible, is very interesting (Plates CXLV. and CXLVI.). The chapel is circular and the subjects are placed in the spaces between the circular-headed windows, whilst above them, ranged in a narrow line, touching the top of the arch of the windows and the roof, are a series of demi-figures of Prophets with legends; each little figure is divided by a square of swastica in perspective. Below the windows there is a broad band, and underneath this is a painted curtain reaching to the ground. In the *Archives des Monuments Historiques* there is a complete review of these pictures, but they are not quite exact and lack touch.

The paintings at

PONCE

show a different arrangement. Between the pointed arches of the nave, filling the whole space, the different scenes are painted; over the summit of each arch there is a small, circular-headed window; between these windows again a smaller series of subjects are painted. These are divided from the roof above and from the subjects below by a wavy ornament. Figures are also painted on the pilasters of the arches.

The Church of

MONTSAUNÈS,

Lot-et-Garonne-Bagneaux (Allier), contains, or did contain, some fragments of interest: I think they

PLATE CXLII.



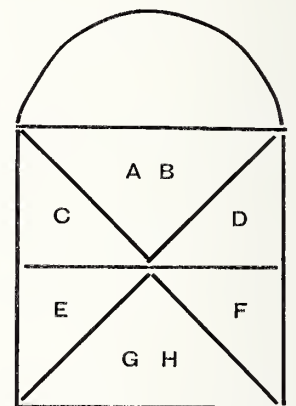
OUR LORD, FROM THE SECOND ADVENT. THE CHURCH OF MONTOIRE (LOIRE-ET-CHER).

are now destroyed, excepting a draped dado given in the concluding chapter.

In the vaulting of the choir in the church of

PETIT-QUEVILLY,

near Rouen, there are painted eight scenes from the life of Our Lord. Each triangular space contains one event in a circle, A, B, C, D, &c.,



the figures being in pale colour on a blue background; the parts exterior to the circle are filled with ornament, evidently another cor-

ruption of the Acanthus*; the ribs are ornamented with a pattern of squares skilfully toned in yellow and blue, reminding one of the circle around Our Lord at Delphi.† The whole is surrounded by a well-designed riband border (Plate CXLIV.). These paintings are of great interest, as they remind us of the painted glass of the period,‡ and it is not improbable that they were the work of an artist accustomed to design cartoons

* See Acanthus in the chapter on Ornament.

† Plate CVIII. This is evidently of the mosaic tradition.

‡ See *History of Design in Painted Glass* (Parker, London and Oxford), vol. i., pp. 52 and 121.

PLATE CXLIII.



FROM THE CHURCH OF S. MARTIN DE LAVAL.

for windows. There is a very proper distinction in the treatment of the ornament from that in the painted windows of the period, such as a skilled expert in both arts would be able to take advantage of in applying his work to either the one or the other.

This work again receives attention in the concluding chapter, as also do the paintings at Saint Quiriace (Provins), wherein the ornamental portions appear to be of the same school or origin.

Situated in a most picturesque position, and actually built on to a rock, is the Chapel of S. Michael, a portion of the ancient Abbey of

ROCAMADOUR

(Lot). Traces of the painting of the interior are found both on the walls and on the rock itself.

PLATE CXLV.



THE DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS.
FROM THE CIRCULAR CHAPEL AT
LIGET (INDRE-ET-LOIRE).

PLATE CXLIV.



FROM THE VAULTED APSES OF THE CHURCH OF PETIT-QUEVILLY, NEAR ROME.

In the apse is a figure of Our Lord in Majesty, surrounded by a quatrefoiled aureola, with frag-

ments of standing figures of the Four Evangelists and angels. On the exterior door of the staircase there is a figure of S. Michael in the same style. The most remarkable work is, however, of later date, apparently no earlier than the end of the twelfth century, and is exterior to the building. It represents two subjects frequently found conjoined in ecclesiastical iconography, namely, the "Annunciation" and the "Visitation." In the treatment of these subjects (Plate CXLVII.) a device was used which became common in Italian art of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, namely, the embossing of certain features,

PLATE CXLVI.



S. EGIDIUS. FROM THE CHAPEL AT LIGET. FROM VIOLETT LE DUC.

PLATE CXLVII.



FROM THE CHURCH OF S. MICHAEL, RACAMADOUR (LOT).

such as the nimbi, which project considerably from the face of the painting. Certain bosses, also, once probably having glass or enamel attached, were placed in the background; moreover, the corbels and other adjoining architectural features were coloured to harmonise with the pictures. The figures have a peculiarity of style; they have become essentially French in countenance, character and sentiment, but retain evidences of Byzantine extraction. The painting is executed in the manner common to smaller Greek work. On a flat drapery, the lights are hatched with white and the shadows with black. The background is a rich blue. The angel

is vested in a dull brown pink tunic with lighter pink lights, and has an olive toga with a red-brown border. Our Lady is dressed in the same red-brown with an olive border. In the "Visitation" much the same colours are used, distributed differently.

The reader who wishes to study the colour of many of these French paintings will find fairly good renderings of them in the fine work of MM. Gélis-Didôt and Laffillée already referred to, but an exact and useful knowledge can, of course, only be obtained by study of the actual work.

CHAPTER VI.

GERMAN WALL PAINTING.

S. MICHAEL'S, BURGFELDEN; REICHENAU; S. GEORGE'S, OBERZELL; S. KATHERINE'S, HOCHPEPPAN; THE BENEDICTINE ABBEY MARIENBERG; S. MARIA ZUR HÖHE, SOEST; S. MICHAEL'S, HILDESHEIM; S. MARIA LYSKIRCHEN, COLOGNE; THE UNDER CHURCH OF SCHWARTZ-RHEINDORF, NEAR BONN.

OF the early history of painting in Germany until the middle of the ninth century, that which has already been written in the Introduction to the preceding chapter perfectly applies. The original local Roman Art* had but the most distant influence on existing Christian painting in Germany as we now know it.

I have already alluded to the influence on the ornament of the Frankish and Carolingian work by the remarkable characteristics of the Irish Celtic introduced by S. Gall, his brothers and fellow monks. Many fine manuscripts of the period still exist in Germany, and two outline illustrations† are

* At Cologne there are fragments of frescoes in a guard-room of the subway, now under 48, Unter Goldschmeid.

According to the paragraph subjoined, which appeared in the *Standard*, there has been found an ancient early picture of the Roman period below the pavement at Strasburg.

“ROMAN ANTIQUITIES IN GERMANY.

(From our Correspondent.)

“BERLIN, Monday night.—The fragments of a wall, found three mètres below the pavement in Kleber Square, at Strasburg, in Alsace, have been put together, and the painting upon them is now visible. One picture represents a garden scene. Three women are at work in a garden, with trees and vines in the background. The woman in the centre holds peculiar strips between her lips, which are probably grass stalks for tying the vines. The background of the picture is dark, and the whole is framed in a brightly-painted arabesque of gentians and large daisies. Another picture represents Hercules, with a lion's skin thrown over him, and a young woman.”

† Others are given in the English Chapter and in the Chapter on Ornament. Those who wish to study the best examples will find many in the British Museum, and some reproduced in Professor Westwood's *Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS.*

given in my text; the figure work in these MSS. is only caligraphic, and I do not think it ever influenced or represented the wall painting of the period, which the Carolingian Art, such as is given in Plate CXLIX., from the *Codex Aureus*, probably did.

The most ancient Christian painting in Germany at present discovered is that on the eastern wall of

S. MICHAEL'S CHURCH AT BURGFELDEN,

in Würtemberg, which is considered to be of the middle of the eleventh century. It presents a Doom, or the Second Advent of Our Lord, as He comes to the Judgment of the World. The eastern end, forming one of the walls of a square tower, is the oldest and most pure part of the edifice, as the side walls have been altered by having large pointed windows inserted to replace the original small, round, arched openings. The western wall has also been rebuilt, shortening the original structure.

The most perfect of the work remaining is that on the eastern wall, already mentioned. The subject is original in its treatment. Our Lord, who is beardless, sits in the centre, nimbed and surrounded by an almond-shaped aureola, before Him is His cross carried by two angels; the cross is probably intended for the “sign of the Son of Man” which is to be seen in the heavens. At the base of the subject the angels sound their trumpets over the sepulchres and awake the dead, who are rising to their judgment. Those to the right are passing to

their eternal happiness, those to the left are thrust into Hell by an angel with a long rod, and placed in the custody of a demon who has a head like a rabbit. It will be observed that, in this scene, the Apostles, sitting on twelve thrones as assistant judges, and the figure of Our Lady interceding, are not inserted as in the "Doom" of Reichenau (Plate CLXXI.), and it may be questioned if those additions are not of a later date in the iconography of the subject.

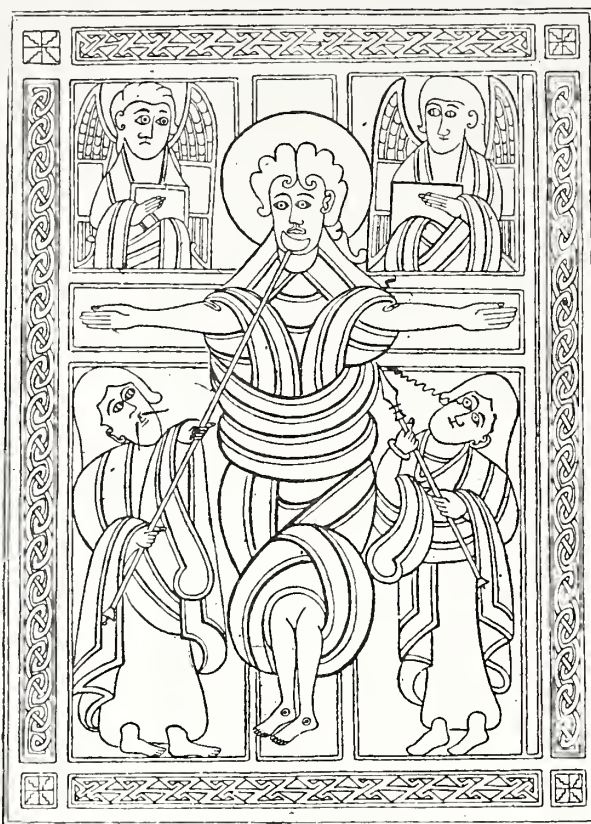
The subject, according to some authorities,* has been painted in broad, brown outline in fresco on the wet plaster and the slight tinted shadowings done *al secco*. There is a curious constructional feature in the plastering; certain earthenware bosses or pots have been inserted in the wall under the picture, possibly to assist in holding or keying the plaster.

The style of the work is considered by German experts as transitional between the Carolingian and the later Romanesque.

On the side walls there is also a picture zone similar to that at the east end (Plate CL.), having a shadowed elaborate meander at the top, such as we continually find under the wooden beam and wall plate of the roof, and an early quatrefoil pattern running underneath the subjects. The paintings are about eleven feet six inches from the floor.

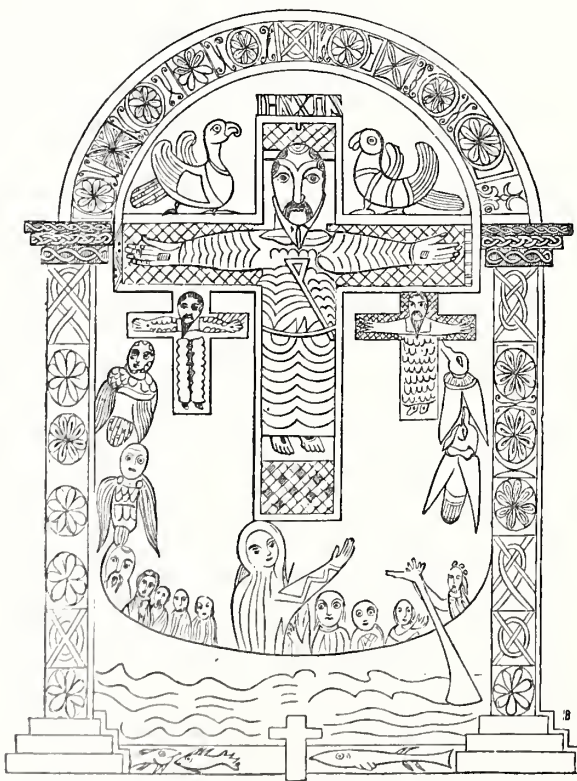
* Borrmann, see footnote p. 131.

PLATE CXLVIII A.



THE CRUCIFIXION. FROM THE IRISH GOSPELS OF S. GALL.

PLATE CXLVIII B.



FROM A CELTIC MS.* IN THE LIBRARY AT WURTZBURG.
OUR LORD HAS NO NIMBUS.

Is it possible that the birds have any connection with the legend of the Crossbill?

* See an article by Miss M. Stokes. *Archaeologia*, vol. xliii., p. 141

The foundations of the oldest churches of

REICHENAU

are as early as the eighth century, when their founder, the holy Pirmin, sought the solitude of the Island of Untersee. The monastery of Mittelzell was the first of these establishments.

In the early years of the ninth century Bishop Egino, of Verona, founded the monastery and church of Niederzell, and, in the following century, Abbot Hatto the Third built the Church of St. George at Hattzell. The ruins of some portions of these and of the other monasteries and churches still remain. Reichenau was, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, an artistic centre, and a considerable school of wall painters was established there. In the *Stifts-kirche* SS. Peter and Paul, there is a painting of Our Lord in Majesty, Our Lady and S. John, with the four evangelical symbols, and seraph on wheels on either side, and below this subject a series of figures seated under canopied arches (Plate CLI.) of an interesting type, suggesting an origin for some of our English work. The painting is later than of the eleventh century, and considerably decayed also. Of this school the paintings in this chapter from the Church of St. George at Oberzell are good examples; there is also a fine Evangelarium, of the year 979, from the same source in the Library of Trèves.

PLATE CXLIX.

THE EVANGELIST S. MARK. FROM THE "CODEx AUREUS," IN THE *Bibliothèque Nationale*, PARIS.

The Church of St. George itself dates from the ninth century, and the remarkable wall paintings it contains are divided by Kraus,* Borrmann, and others into two kinds; that on the western apse (Plate CLII.), and those in the narthex and the zone of the pictures in the nave (Plate CLIII. and CLIV_A and B). These apse pictures were discovered by the glass painter, Herr Adler, in 1840, and published by him in 1859.†

There has been considerable discussion concerning some of the paintings, and Kraus‡ considers them to belong to a school of the same origin as portions of the work at *S. Angelo in Formis*, even if some of them are not by either of the artists who painted there.

Borrmann,§ in many respects, differs in opinion. It requires a most careful technical examination to even properly discuss this question, but, taking the designs as a guide, my impression is that, though the paintings in both have great similarity in linear design, scheme and technique, there is a certain national difference. That the latter belong to the same cycle as those at *S. Angelo* and *S. Maria at Ferroclaudio* is almost obvious, and it is probable that some of the Benedictines at Reichenau had been either in Monte Cassino or had designs from thence. The most remarkable resemblances to some of the *S. George's* designs are, however, found in a MS., the *Codex Egbertus*, and Kraus gives illustrations from this Codex, which he has also edited, in his book on *S. Georges*'.

* Kraus, F., *Die Wandgemälde in der S. Georgenkirche zu Oberzell. Freiburg in Breisgau*, 1884.

† Adler, F., *Denkmäler von Reichenau* (Berlin).

‡ *Jahrbuch der königlich-preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, vol. xlv., 1893.

§ Borrmann recites the technical difference in his *Aufnahmen mittelalterlicher Wand- u. Deckenmalereien in Deutschland*, 1903.

The subjects in the Porch or west apse (Plate CLII.), are The Last Judgment, with the crucifix beneath. The latter is placed under a baldacchino projecting from the wall, which has also been decorated with colour. These pictures are to my mind less reminiscent of *S. Angelo* than the side walls of the anterior of the church, and I may mention, *ad interim*, that although the baldacchino is in proper ritualistic order, the shadow produced on a painting by an excessive projection is objectionable. There is also this peculiarity about the Last Judgment, that the painter appears to have used red lead to tincture his flesh, with the result that it has gone black.

The same blackness of the flesh occurs about this period in France,* and also in England.† In the "Last Judgment" also Our Lord is beardless,‡ and in the aureola around him there appear holes as though jewels or glass had at one time been fixed in their colours.

In the top of the picture there is the shadowed swastika, which intimately connects this work with the Italian; the colouring of the background behind the seated Apostles is in zones. The Resurrection of the Dead at the base, in a series of demi-figures arising from their graves, is somewhat singular in design.

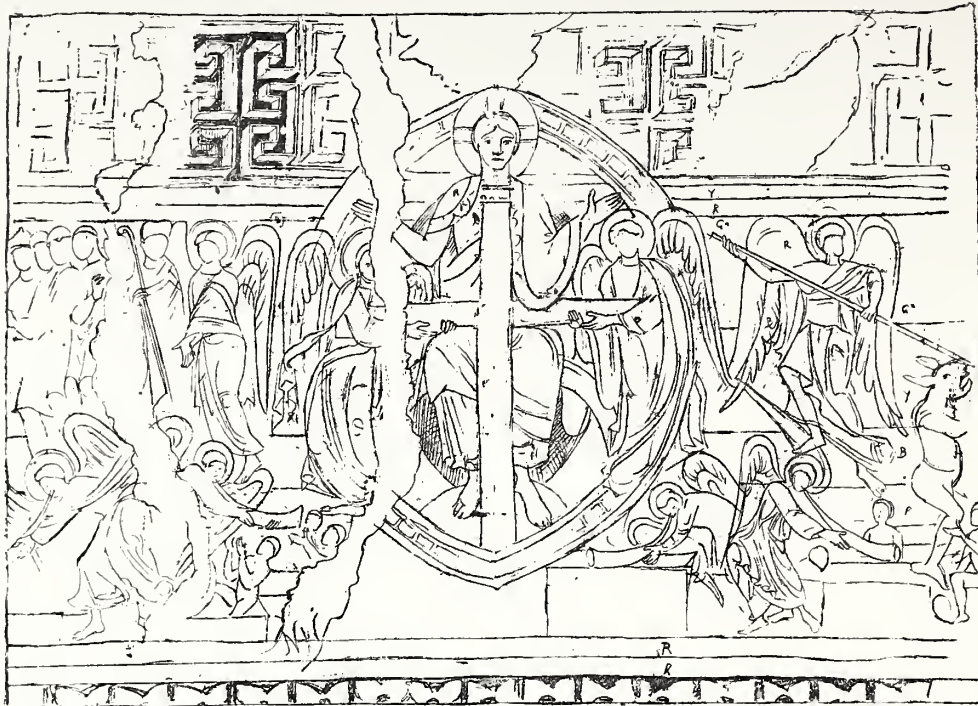
Concerning the interior of the church, the nave is divided from the aisles by a series of arches on low pillars; both the arches and capitals of the pillars are plain in surface, but decorated with

* Montire, Plate CXLI. The two figures have strong resemblances.

† At *S. Albans*; *Binstead*, *Sussex*, and other places.

‡ Our Lord is also beardless at *Brauweiler*, but He is bearded at *Schwartz Rheindorf*.

PLATE CL.

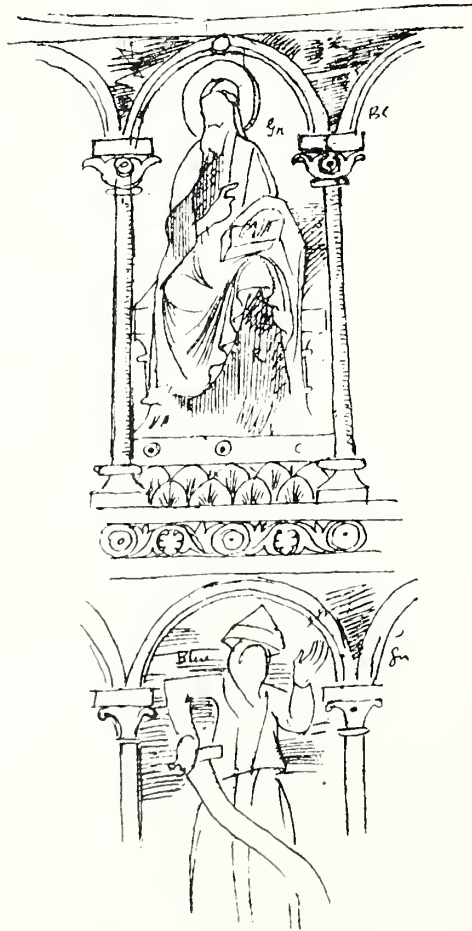


WALL PAINTING FROM THE CHURCH OF S. MICHAEL'S, BURGELDEN, WURTEMBERG.

painting (Plate CLIII.). Over the arches a zone of pictures, after the usual manner, runs from west to east; under these subjects there is a very elaborate meander* or fret pattern about three feet high and over them a simple one reaching to the clerestory windows. Between the windows in every case there is an Apostle of great proportions, considering the size of the

* The meander, or fret, at the top is shaded pale yellow with deeper shades of red. It is on a gold ground, the line immediately below is green; then a deep red line and a lighter red curtain of clouds: this has a red border divided from it by a thin white line. The Apostles are both dressed in red and white, with deeper red shadows. The ground behind them has the upper third blue, the centre green and the ground beneath pale red. The middle fret, a swastica, is on a pale-green olive ground, shadowed with deep red, pink, yellow and pale green in a regular manner; below this are broad pale yellow and black lines. The subject has its upper or cloud curtain line yellow, the middle zone of the background blue and green, the ground pale red. Our Lord is

PLATE CLI



WALL PAINTING FROM THE CHURCH OF SS. PETER AND PAUL, REICHENAU.

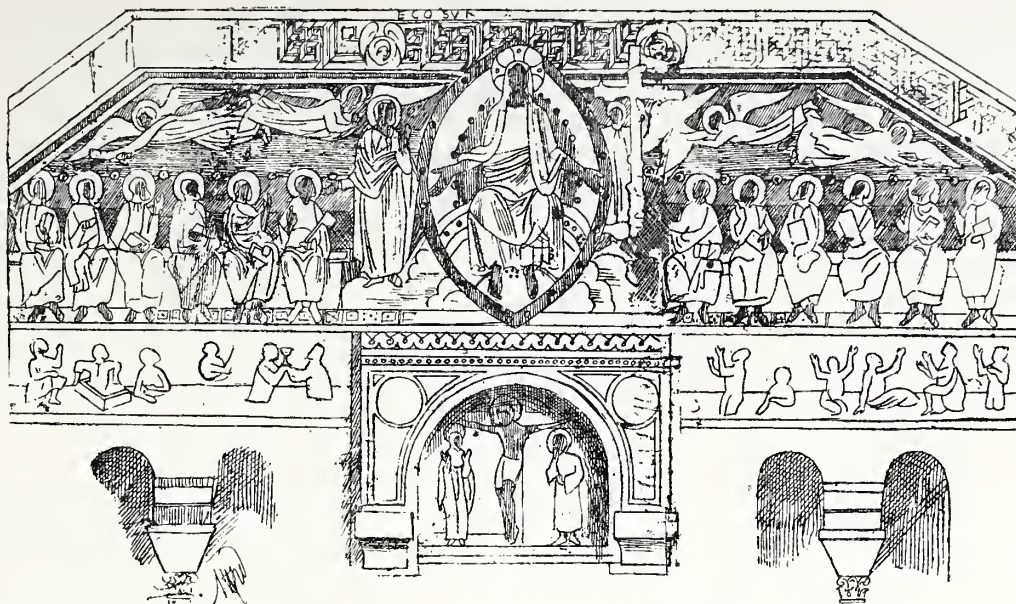
church, as they are about seven feet six inches high.

Above the windows and under the roof runs another perspective fret. There are also round medallions of about two feet four inches over the capitals, somewhat like the church at Essen. The bust of Our Lord and the ornament* belong to the eastern choir side.

in deep brown purple and dull olive, his nimbus is of a white cruciform on yellow. S. Peter is yellow and white, and S. John dull red and pale olive. The standing female, Martha, is draped in white and pale olive, S. Mary Magdalene is in deep purple and white. The persons holding their noses are both in brown purple, and the spectators behind them pale brown and pale yellow. Below them is a black or black-red line, and the triple meander swastica is shaded deep red, pink and yellow on a green ground; the lines below are two shades of olive and the lower curtain-cloud yellow with white lines. The demi-figures in circles are red and white on olive ground, and the arcade a deeper olive bordered with a white and black or black-red line.

* See chapter on Ornament (Plate CCXXIC.).

PLATE CLII.



THE CRUCIFIXION AND "DOOM." PAINTINGS FROM THE WESTERN APSE OF
S. GEORGE'S, OBERZELL.

The chief subjects of this zone are, reading from west to east: (1) The Raising of Lazarus; (2) The Healing of the Issue of Blood; (3) The Raising of the Son of the Widow of Nain (an after addition); (4) The Healing of the Leper; (5) The Devils driven out (Plate CLIV_A); (6) The Healing of the Dropsical (Plate CLIV_B); (7) Stilling the Tempest; (8) The giving Sight to one born Blind. Each picture has an explanatory inscription.

It will be seen that these pictures belong to the regular series continually found in *quasi*-Romanesque and Byzantine works. The group of Our Lord with His Disciples in the scene of the dropsical cure is repeated more than once, and it will be observed that in these subjects Our Lord is beardless and the Apostles are without nimbi, which rather argues that the painter had studied some of the earlier Romanesque works which followed ideas and types found in the Catacombs; moreover, there is a naturalism and quaintness in the characters which are not found in work tracing to the later Byzantine schools, such as we find in S. Maria Antiqua and S. Clement's, Rome, and elsewhere in Italy.

Borrman considers these works as containing the last echo of the ancient Roman work in combination with the Carolingian style. He observes that the face-type, the costumes, and the manners of the figures are non-Byzantine. The men appear

in tunic and chlamys, bareheaded and unshod, differing from the painting at Burgfelden.

The painting at Oberzell derives an extraordinary interest from the many clues that it gives us, connecting various works, the productions of distant centres, by resemblances of details in them and in it. Herr Kraus has dealt elaborately with the resemblances in its figure compositions to the Egbert MSS.,* certainly most extraordinary; but the ornament carries us in an entirely contrary direction—it takes us to the south and it takes us to the east.

In the first volume reasons and evidences were given for attributing the style of painting in Rome and Italy, especially during the time of Augustus,† to the influence of the Egyptian Hellenic, always a powerful school, and which at certain periods has given great names such as those of Nicomachos, Antiphilaus, Theon,‡ and Helen, to history.

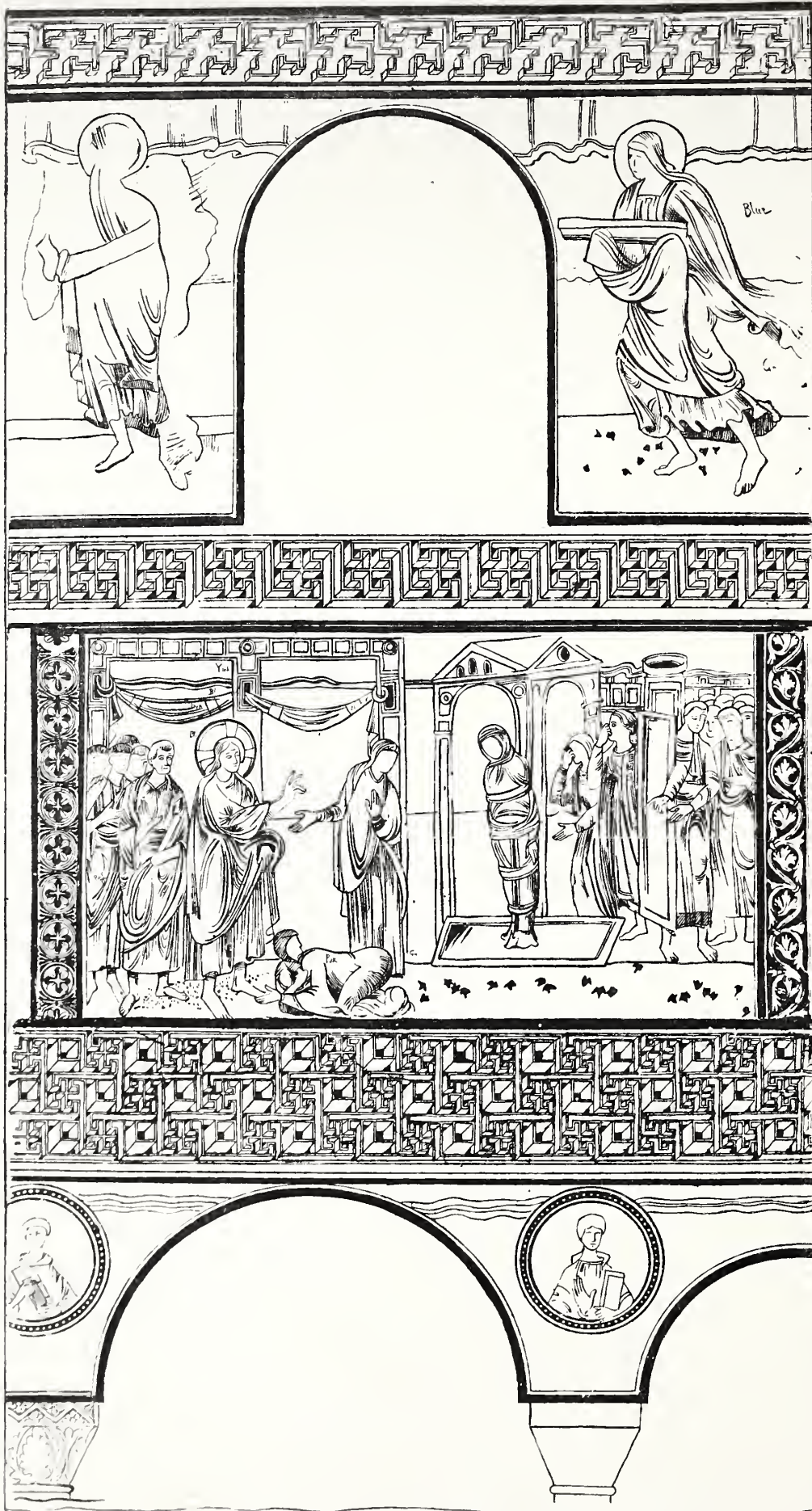
It is, therefore, some evidence and corroboration of this theory when we find many features originally supposed to be the result of Alexandrine influence on Rome combined with those of Roman reflections in Egypt transmitted together.

* *Codex Egbertus*. Archbishop Egbertus, who was perhaps of English origin, was Archbishop of Trèves in 977 A.D.

† P. 99, vol. i.

‡ Pp. 20-22, vol. i. See also Appendix B to the Greek chapter.

PLATE CLIII.



TWO EVANGELISTS, THE RAISING OF LAZARUS, AND BUSTS OF SAINTS.
WALL PAINTINGS OF THE NAVE, S. GEORGE'S, OBERZELL.

PLATE CLIVA.



THE SWINE POSSESSED BY DEVILS.

PLATE CLVB.



THE CURING OF THE DROPSICAL MAN.

PAINTINGS IN THE NAVE OF S. GEORGE'S, OBERZELL.

At Pompeii and at Lanuvium,* in Coptic art, presumably of Alexandrine influence,† and at Oberzell, we find the shadowed swastica as an ornament; and, still more, we also find at Oberzell the triple swastica like the Coptic (Plate CLIII.) and the swastica alternating with the square tunnel of Pompeii, combined with the beardless figure of Our Lord in Majesty, which always appears associated with works of this school.

It is all the more remarkable as the Roman work of the Byzantine influences, whether in the Basilicas or the cemeteries, in S. Maria Antiqua or at S. Clement's, has none of these ornamental characteristics, nor has the work of Byzantine influence in other parts of Italy, nor is there, even in Sicily, anything more nearly approaching this swastica than the shaded fret.

Unfortunately, it is at present out of my power to account for the appearance of Alexandrine influence in Germany in an exact way. Had these same features shown evidence of transmission *via* Rome the problem would have been solved: as it is, I must leave the farther solution to Germany, the home of erudite scholarship in Art. All the painting is probably of the early years of the twelfth century.

The figure of Our Lady and Child from

S. KATHERINE'S, HOCHIPPAN

(Plate CLV.), presents us with a type of German art which is of archæological value, as it connects itself by various incidents with the South Italian art, and shows us the existence of that tradition in Germany for many years after it had reached its climax south. For example, the throne in its shape and in its jewellery recalls that of Our Lord at St. Angelo (in Formis), whilst the character of the head and its drapery reminds us of the picture in the Grotta of S. Lucia, Brindisi. The picture as a whole is, however, thoroughly Germanised Byzantine.

The large figure of Our Lord, His attitude, the ornaments of the nimbi and at the top of the picture, and the lateral divisions of the coloured backgrounds, make up a certain combination. These details separately may be traced elsewhere, but it is the whole which gives it a character. The drapery of Our Lady is a rich blue and the tunic a greenish white of the Greek type. Our Lord is pale brown, pink and grey-white, and the throne is outlined in brownish red and jewelled with pearls. The background is striped with blues, reds and greens of various tones. The painting is of about A.D. 1140.

* Plate CLXIII., vol. i.

† Plate CCXIVd.

In the crypt of the
Benedictine abbey at

MARIENBERG,

in the Tyrol, there is an interesting and characteristic wall painting (Plate CLVI). It consists of Our Lord in Majesty, surrounded by angels. This composition is ascribed to the second half of the twelfth century, with every probability of its correctness. A curious and quaint design, it is not given here as an example of high quality, but as of a certain Tyrolean style, an outgrowth of Byzantine influence. Neither the drawing nor the colour are remarkable for their beauty, but both are quaint. Our Lord sits on the bow with a globe beneath His feet. He is surrounded by a broad aureola composed of various bands of colour; that nearest to Him is olive, separated by a white line from the blue, around which is a shaded red line; the olive and white line are repeated again, and then a yellow band with a white line, leaving the space left blue; this again is divided by a yellow line, with a nebulous edge of white, and again by red with the nebulous edge repeated. The inner dress of Our Lord is shaded with red, with a pale blue lining; the toga is pale blue. The angel has brown wings lined with gold, and yellow, long feathers. The lower angel is dressed in pale yellow and pale blue, with white lights.

The work is said to resemble that in the Chapel of S. Catherine at Hocheppan (?), but a little later in

PLATE CLV.



OUR LADY AND DIVINE INFANT. FROM S. KATHERINE'S, HOCHIPPAN.

style. In 1150 A.D. Ulrich von Jarasp, who was already connected with the "foundation" of an older establishment in the Engadine valley, founded the abbey *super montem Sanctæ Mariæ*. He then built the crypt, which is cruciform. It was consecrated in 1156 by Bishop Adelgöz, of Chur. This was used until the church proper above it was built. The paintings were re-found in 1887, for, although mentioned in an old chronicle of Prior Gôzrom, who died about 1390, they had been lost. The crypt has a large central apse and two smaller *quasi*-transept apses of half circles; on the wall between these are the likenesses of Ulrich von Jarasp and Bishop Adelgöz, mentioned also by Gôzrom.

From the church of
S. MARIA ZUR HÖHE,
SOEST,

comes the curious picture of the acceptable and unacceptable offerings to Our Lord (Plate CLVII.). On the right-hand side Abel, looking towards Him, offers a firstling of his flock, and the sentence, SACRUM FIGUE DABO N MA CI SAC FICABO, is on the phylactery, whilst on the sinister side is Cain with the products of the earth; his head is turned away, and the phylactery above him has the text,

EN FÆGS TIBI DO S D COR MI PSI RETINEBO.

Our Lord, a three-quarter figure in an aureola, blesses in the Latin manner. The subject has reference to the acceptability of the sacrifice of the

Holy Eucharist—the True Lamb and the good disposition of the heart.

Over the figures are two trees of scroll work, and across the vault is a cross of ornaments, the end of the cross touching Our Lord's aureola. The whole of this cross is covered with patterns of the same character as the part shown; the patterns or the colours differ in each case. The design is hard and the colour poor. The draughtsman shows us a character of work which was often found in Northern Byzantine and Romanesque, and which seems to have originated in the design of iron-work, but becomes stern, hard, and unsympathetic under brush manipulation. Some few years ago work of this type saw a revival, but I hope it is now dead for ever.

Soest was one of the towns of the Hanseatic League, a power

PLATE CLVI.



OUR LORD IN MAJESTY, ANGELS AND SAINTS. FROM THE CRYPT OF THE BENEDICTINE ABBEY, MARIENBERG. THE ORNAMENTS, D, ARE FROM OTHER PARTS OF THE CHURCH.

PLATE CLVII.

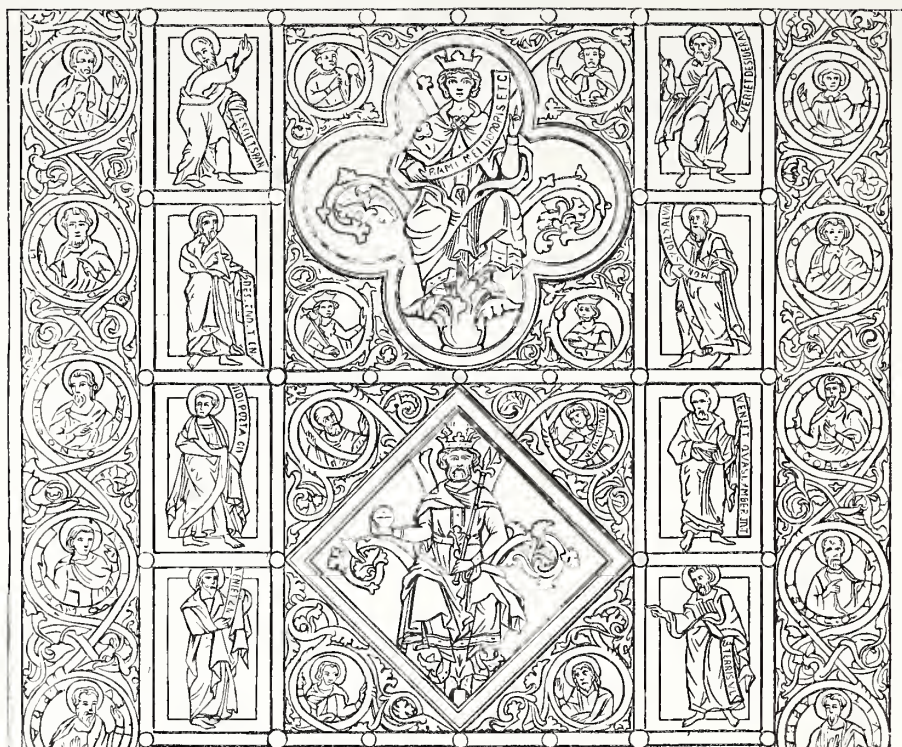


OUR LORD IN MAJESTY. CAIN AND ABEL. FROM S. MARIA ZUR HÖHE, SOEST.

which at this period rivalled the religious bodies in transporting art and artists into western Europe. It may be that this was work done under these auspices: the love of a species of novelty easy to produce, instead of perfecting or trying to be more perfect on accepted traditional lines, marks the training of the mercantile character. The groundwork of the whole is white. The colouring of Our Lord is dark red with green lining, the background is a deep green — perhaps it is a discoloured blue. The dress of Abel is brown and the under-tunic yellow, with green shadows. Cain is dressed in dark brown and green. The aureola around Our Lord is variegated. The work is of the end of the twelfth century.

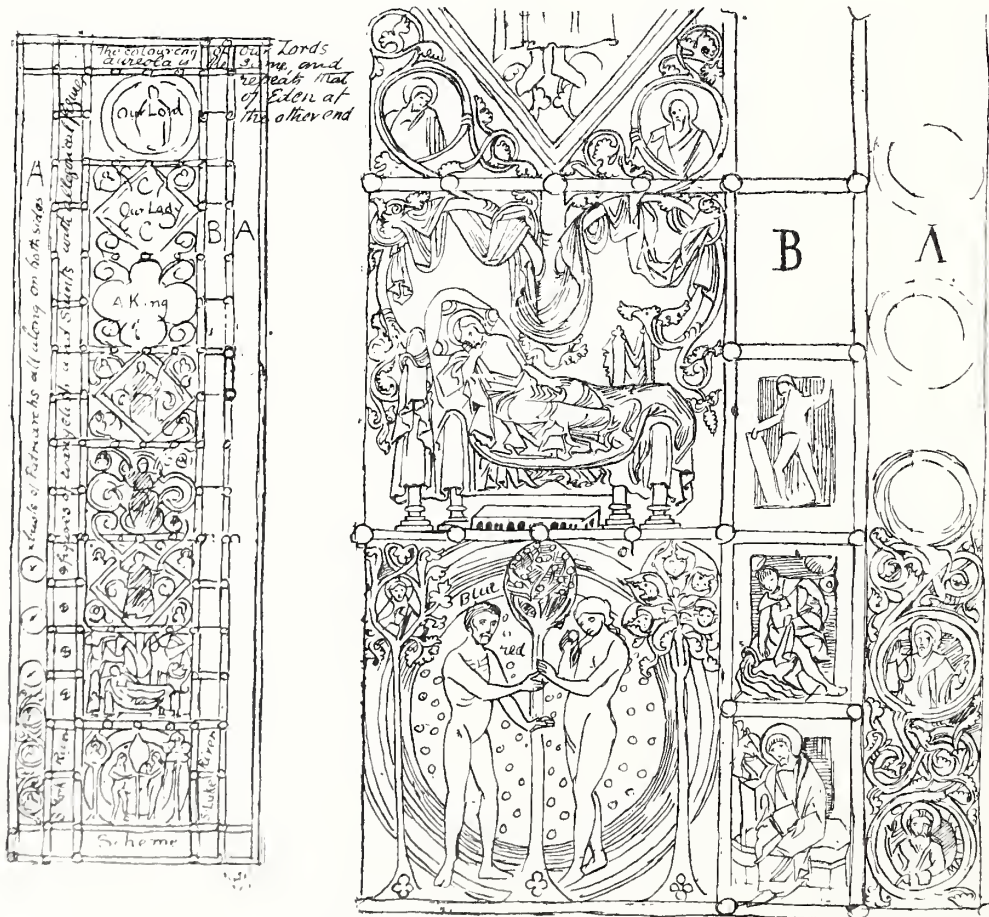
The roof of
S. MICHAEL'S,
HILDESHEIM,

is probably the



1

2



THE "JESSE TREE" PAINTINGS ON THE ROOF OF S. MICHAEL'S, HILDESHEIM.
 NO. 1 SHOWS THE SCHEME OF THE ENTIRE CEILING. NO. 2, THE LOWER COMPARTMENTS ON A
 LARGER SCALE. NO. 3, TWO COMPARTMENTS ABOVE THESE.

best example of a flat-painted ceiling existing. The subject running through the entire length is a "Jesse Tree," which is also found very frequently with somewhat similar treatment in glass* of the same period, the latter part of the twelfth century. It was painted after the fire in A.D. 1186.

There is no window, nor any other painting of the period that I know of, treated so elaborately. The roof is divided into five compartments in width (Plate CLXXVI., A, B, C) and ten in length. The centre large compartments commence at the base or west end with the garden of Eden, in which Eve is going to taste the forbidden fruit. This represents The Fall. Immediately above it is Jesse, sleeping on a couch, and from him springs the tree of Redemption bearing the fruit of eternal life. In the centres are the Kings, ancestors of Our Lady, who occupies the eighth compartment, and above her is Our Lord. The background of Our Lord is a counterpart of the Garden of Eden at the other end. Around each king are small busts of prophets with a legend; around Our Lady are busts of the Four Virtues,† and around Our Lord the four Evangelists. The smaller inside compartments have various figures, such as the Evangelists and figures emblematic of the four rivers of Paradise. This introduction of figurative rivers has been alluded to before as a tradition of Hellenic art.‡ The ex-

* I think the glass at St. Denis is the earliest "Jesse." See *History of Design in Painted Glass*, by N. H. J. W., pp. 20, 28, 134, vol. i. (Parker & Co.) and *Archæological Journal*, vol. lx., pp. 379, 380.

† The Virtues and Evangelical Counsels are placed around Our Lady in other examples of German art—such as that at Gurk in Carinthia.

‡ See page 89 of this volume.

PLATE CLIX



THE "EPIPHANY." FROM THE INNER DOORWAY IN S. MARIA LYSKIRCHEN, COLOGNE.

ternal border is filled with busts of Old Testament patriarchs and prophets such as Methuselah, Noah, &c. These are all bareheaded and nimbed, like New Testament personages—an iconographic error, even at this period. The effect of the design and colour is magnificent, and can only be realised properly by a visit and some study of the roof *in*

situ. The work follows the account of S. Matthew.

The Adoration of the Magi, from the inside of the porch,

S. MARIA LYSKIRCHEN, COLOGNE,

is interesting, as showing the earlier development of that particular style of design which was practised by the Cologne school. It foreshadows such as we find in S. Gereon's* and elsewhere in the vicinity.

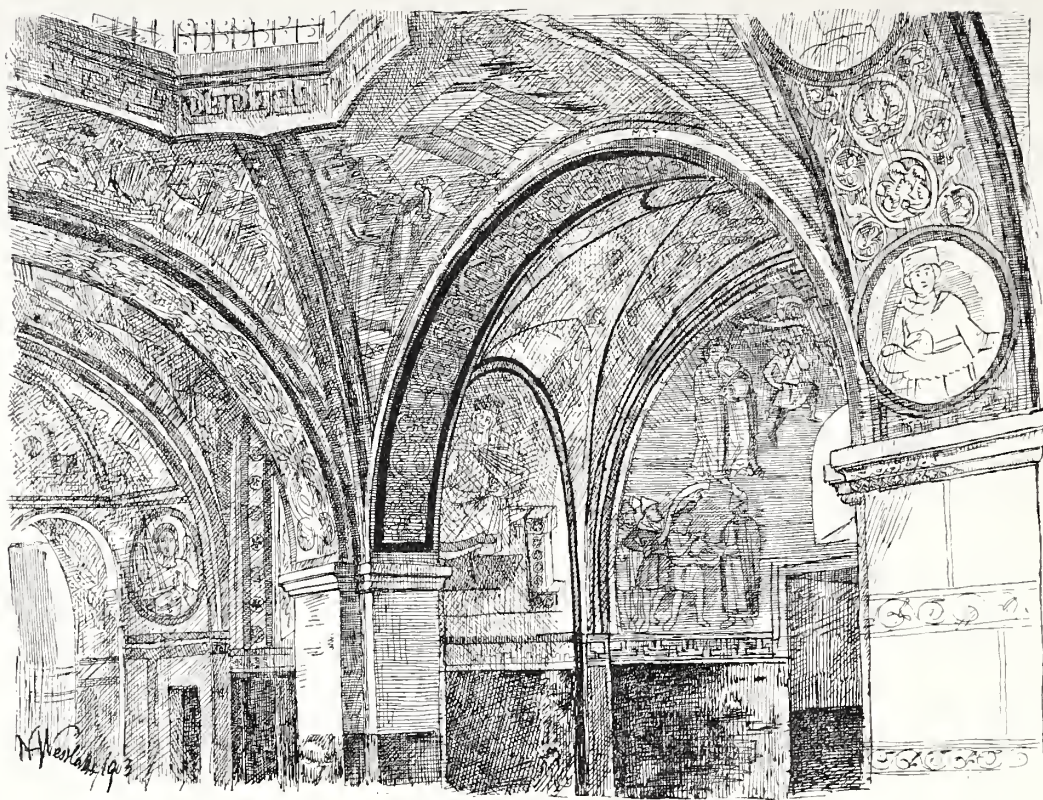
Although the paintings of the under chapel of

SCHWARTZ-RHEINDORF,

near Bonn (Plate CLXXVIII.), have been restored, they retain sufficient of their original character to give us fair information as to the manner in which such an edifice was painted. The church is Romanesque, and was founded by Arnold von Weld, Archbishop of Cologne, in A.D. 1157, as a mortuary chapel for the Archbishops. Amongst the subjects is a very interesting one of the Crucifixion, which is distributed over the wall in a singular way, the part of this given in the illustration shows Our Lord crucified and the

* I have just been examining the work in the baptistry of S. Gereon's—an example of this school in its integrity, but I am saddened to hear that this, too, is to be restored—that is, obliterated. It would be far better to remove it to a museum, and paint a copy.—N. H. J. W., 1903.

PLATE CLX.



THE UNDER CHURCH, SCHWARTZ-RHEINDORF, NEAR BONN.

soldier as piercing His side; on the left-hand side are S. John and Our Lady; below these figures Pilate washes his hands; on the other side of the window, opposite Pilate, the soldiers are dividing the Garments. In the conch of an apse in the upper chapel there is a figure of Our Lord in Majesty, bearded, surrounded by a circular aureola, the four evangelical symbols, angels, etc., not unlike the composition at S. Savin; below the Majesty there is a series of figures, repeating the arrangement found at S. Angelo in Formis, and elsewhere. There are also a series of symbolical subjects from the Old Testament, such as the burning bush, &c.* The ornamental portions, like those at Hildesheim, in certain ways resemble the early work in painted glass.

Before concluding this chapter I would call the attention of my readers, especially of anyone who may have time and disposition to go thoroughly

* Detailed drawings of all the subjects of the over and under chapel are given in *Wandmalereien des Christlichen mittelalters*, by Ernst Ausin Weerth, Plates XVIII. to XXXVIII., Leipzig, 1880.

into the question, to the circumstance that many subjects are found in German art of a typical Greek character earlier than existing examples are found in Greek work. Subjects also of a particular treatment, found in Russian art and presumably of Eastern origin, still remain on the walls of German churches of an earlier date.

Whether the particular treatment of these subjects was invented by Greek artists in Frankia and thence reflected to the East, or whether the ancient type, lost in the East, was still preserved in Germany, is a question I cannot determine, but I may allude to two prominent examples. In an antiphonary* at Salzburg, of the end of the 11th century, the treatment of the Annunciation is the same as that at Daphne (Plate CXI.), whilst the type of the "Doom" at Oberzell (Plate CLII.) is found of considerably later date,† in Russia.

* "Ein Antiphonarium mit Bilderschmuck, etc., im Stifte St. Peters zu Salzburg befindlich," tav. vii. Von Dr. Karl Lind. Vienna, 1870.

† See plates V. and VII., Dr. Pokroffsky's work already mentioned.



PANEL FROM THE ENGLISH "FISHBONE" CASKET.
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

CHAPTER VII.

ENGLISH MURAL PAINTING TO THE END OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

INTRODUCTORY NOTES: ILLUSTRATIONS FROM MSS. AND SCULPTURE; CANTERBURY; CLAYTON; COPFORD; HARDHAM; CHALDON; CHICHESTER; PATCHAM; CLAVERLEY; KEMPLEY; WEST CHESTERTON; PETERBOROUGH; PITTINGTON; DURHAM; ROMSEY; BINSTAD AND ST. ALBANS. NOTES ON CHURCHES IN OTHER LOCALITIES.

THE earliest mural decorations existing in England are fragments of Roman painting; they are few and far apart, but they show us that mural painting was practised in England much in the same manner, and with many of the same colours,* as in Italy and other countries in which Imperial Rome obtained a hold.

I have placed in the Ornamental chapter the design of a Roman dado from Silchester,† and there are in Lyson's *Reliquæ* fragments of painting from Combe End. I do not, however, think it advisable to discuss the question at great length of how much English historical art of the Christian era was due to the pagan Roman, but without doubt our early national manuscripts show considerable direct classic influence.‡

* See footnote p. 176, on Ornament.

† See (Plate CCVII.).

‡ Compare the character of the draperies in the Joshua Plate C. with many A.-S. miniatures.

It is probable that mural painting as introduced during the Roman era, and kept alive here for some time by their artists, had some effect, but how much of that effect was left after their departure and the destruction of their work is quite hypothetical.

The earliest English art existing in a perfect state is of course in the manuscripts and on some stray pieces of carving and sculpture. We know that the manuscripts afford some criterion of the state of the design in mural painting at most periods, and that in either of these arts the same subjects are portrayed, the composition considered, in much the same manner; the same ornaments are also often used. It is, moreover, probable that the "Scriptoria" provided the designs, the painting itself being merely an enlargement generally devoid, in this period, of especial technical ability.*

* It is very probable that there was a chief designer in each scriptorium, one who sketched in the compositions of the

The space allowed in this volume will not permit of an elaborate speculative history of what English painting probably was before the twelfth century, interesting as such an essay would be.

In considering English art at this period we must, to a great extent, lay aside the insular idea. The influence of this country, and the enterprise of Englishmen, was comparatively greater during the early middle ages than it is now. English ecclesiastical ceremonial and ritual was celebrated and influential. English soldiers fought in the armies of Byzantine Emperors. The Englishman, Willibrord (S. Boniface) converted Germany and preached in Russia; Alcuin was Secretary to Charlemagne; the Celt, S. Gall, and his brothers founded monasteries in Switzerland; English sees and monasteries had received ecclesiastics and monks from nearly every part. A Saga also tells us of Gunnlaugr Ormstunga, an Icelander, who came to London *via* Norway in an English trading ship.* Then we have S. Ivo from Persia, and Theodore the Greek.

The known learning of the world was as centralised here as elsewhere, and the international communication of literature and art greater then perhaps than now. The paintings at Canterbury, at Clayton, at Copford, at Durham, and a number of other places, remind us of those at Constantinople, at Rome, in Southern Italy or Palmero; not only was the monastic intercourse perpetual, but the Norman domination was potent in the eleventh century in nearly all these places. We shall find the same general details of drapery, of ornament, of furniture, and in some cases, of physiognomy preserved, although, as the national art develops this latter changes first. One will not, therefore, be surprised to find the almost exact resemblance of details here and as far as

manuscripts and gave rough compositions to the painter and carver. The sketches, when found in certain MSS. combined with finished illumination, generally show great artistic skill. This is particularly evident in a MS. of the fourteenth century in the British Museum (2 B VII.), wherein the finished illumination lacks the life of the sketch.

* Professor Magnusson says that the English introduced improved shipbuilding into Scandinavia. Thangbrand, sent to convert Iceland, was an English missionary.

Southern Italy, Sicily or Greece. But it is not necessary longer to dwell generally on these things, as they must be recapitulated in the descriptions of local art.

There remains not the slightest doubt, from authentic accounts still existing, that the churches of early England were as richly painted as those in any other country of Europe. The terrible havoc worked by the Danes destroyed all or nearly all of the work in these buildings, and even the buildings themselves.

There are, however, some passages from coeval historians, some of which I have quoted, giving the strongest evidence of my assertion. An oft-quoted passage in Bede's "Lives of the Abbots" * tells us that S. Bennett Biscop brought over designs from Rome, which he had painted on the walls of his monasteries. This passage also tends to give evidence of the practice of multiplying designs on a small scale in the Scriptoria, which small designs were sent or carried away for enlargement on the walls. Of all the paintings of the pre-Danish period, however, hardly a fragment remains. The only ones for which I could hazard to place at an earlier date are two heads in the Clayton Church hereafter described, but even these are open to question.

In the Introduction to the West Saxon version of S. Gregory's "Pastoral Care," by King Alfred the Great, this destruction of beautiful objects and churches by the Danes is thus recorded and de-

* *Quintum picturas imaginum sanctarum quas ad ornandum ecclesiam beati Petri Apostoli quam construxerat, detulit; imaginem, videlicet beatæ Dei Genitricis semperque Virginis Mariæ, simul et duodecim Apostolorum, quibus mediam ejusdem ecclesiæ testudinem, ducto a pariete ad parietem tabulato præcingeret; imagines evangelicæ historiæ, quibus australem ecclesiæ parietem decoraret; imagines visionum Apocalypsis beati Johannis, quibus septentrionalem æque parietem ornaret, quatenus intrantes ecclesiam omnes, etiam literarum ignari, quaquaversum intenderent, vel semper amabilem Christi sanctorumque ejus, quamvis in imagine, contemplarentur aspectum; vel Dominicæ incarnationis gratiam vigilantiore mente recolerent; vel extremi discrimen examinare meminissent.*—*Beda, Opera Historica Memorata*, edited by Joseph Stevenson, vol. ii., p. 145 (Londini Sumptibus Societatis, MDCCCXLI.)

plored: "All the churches throughout the whole of England stood filled with treasures and books."*

We shall, however, find it profitable to study as far as possible the characteristics of the early Christian period in England from some existing examples which, although not of mural painting, tell us, comparatively, the condition of that art.

The first illustration that is here given is from the celebrated "Franks" casket (Plate CLXI.), so called because it was found and given to the British Museum† by that most distinguished antiquary, the late Sir Augustus Woollaston Franks. It is of the greatest interest, showing the condition of a certain art, that of ivory or bone‡ carving, in the North of England about the commence-

* "Ond hū ǣ cirican geond eall Angel - Kynn stódon maðma and bóca gefylda," etc. (E. Text Soc., 1878.) Edited by Prof. Sweet. Page 6.

† Some minor portions are in Florence, but photographs of them are attached to the Casket in the British Museum.

‡ Whalebone, probably the scapula. (See the article by Dr. J. S. Napier in the *English Miscellany*, presented to Dr. Furnival on his birthday, at Oxford, MDCCCXI., p. 365).

§ This point has been disputed by some authors, but Prof. Napier endorses Stephen's conclusions. *Ibid.*, p. 378.

The Bewcastle inscription

PLATE CLXII.



S. LUKE. FROM THE MS. OF S. GALL.

PLATE CLXIII.



FIGURES FROM THE BREAC MEDOC SHRINE, METAL WORK.

ment of the eighth§ century. We may fairly assume that, if delineation and carving on a very difficult material were so advanced the more facile art of mural painting was in a much better condition.

All authors seem to consider it certain that this plate is intended to represent the event of the coming of the Wise Men described in the New Testament, as the word "magi," the star, and the presence of the three Magi with Our Lady and the Divine Child (?) seem to warrant; but I have been disputing with myself whether it does not represent a scene from some ritual act on the feast of the Epiphany and a visit of three men dressed as magi to some northern shrine. This suggests itself to me from the circumstances that the "shrine" contains merely two heads, and that of Our Lord is apparently bearded. Devotion to a repre-

and that on the Casket, (flōdu) are the only inscriptions in old English which show the archaic preservation of a final *u* after long-stressed syllables. In the Bewcastle inscription only proper names show this, but in the casket, a word of everyday use, "flōdu" for later "flōd," flood. (See the article in the *Grundriss der Germ. Philologie*, by Friedr. Kluge, *Geschichte der englischen Sprache*, p. 113, and the literature there mentioned).

sensation of this kind was common at an early date, and it occurs on the coins of many Byzantine Emperors.*

In this subject the shrine, very curiously, has annulets in the columns; these occur also in the Temple representation, and unless, as in the archery subject, the top of the building is intended to be on plan, their introduction at so early a period is incomprehensible. The offerings to this pearled shrine seem to be a goose, a chalice, or cup containing fruit, a daisy flower, and a staff. It has, therefore, suggested itself to me that this represented a local function, or commemoration.

There are other various scenes carved on the casket, with runic descriptions; but this is the only Christian subject, the others representing the attack on the Temple of Jerusalem by Titus, the suckling of Romulus and Remus, and some subjects of disputed intention from the Sagas.

The next illustrations show an entirely different character in design, and one which, as I have already remarked, had considerable international influence on ornamental design. It was developed in Ireland, and is called Irish Celtic (Plate CLXII). Its ornament has the characteristics of having been developed by manuscript work, for it is essentially caligraphic. The basis of this style, although eventually a script style, may have been originally antique goldsmith's work. Upon the

PLATE CLXIV.

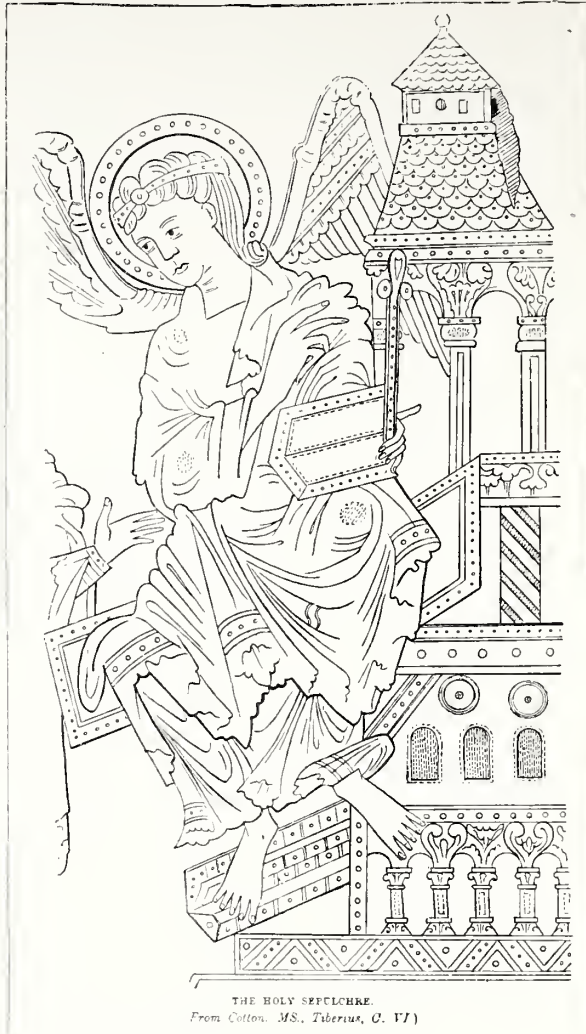
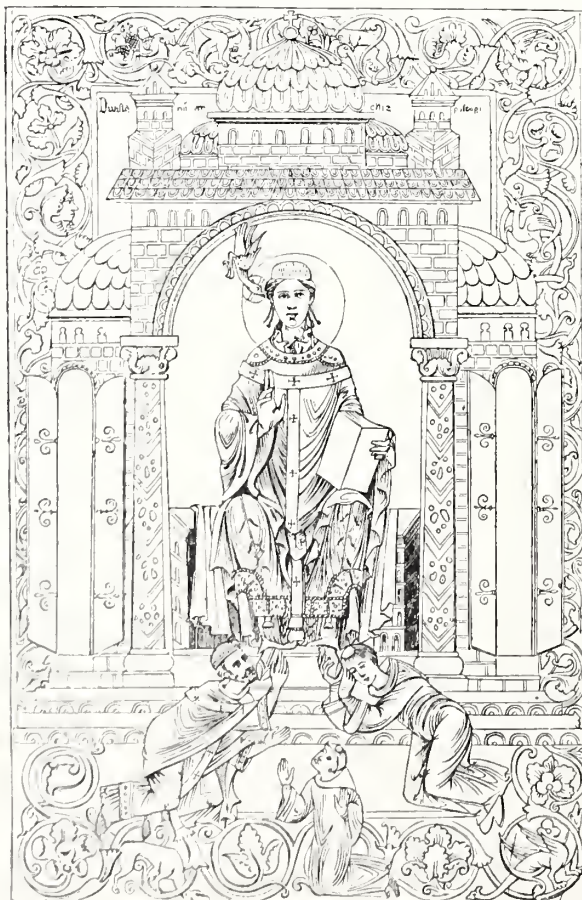
THE HOLY SEPULCHRE
From Cotton. MS. Tiberius. C. VI.

PLATE CLXV.

GREGORY I. SENDING MISSIONARIES TO ENGLAND.
FROM CLAUDIUS A III., COTTON MSS. IN THE
BRITISH MUSEUM OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.
THE MS. IS BY SOME ATTRIBUTED TO S. DUNSTAN.

ornamental parts of painting it may have had influence in England, through Lindisfarne and the Carolingian tradition probably, into which it entered considerably. But on these points I have dwelt more in the concluding chapter on Ornament.

The figure work is singular and apparently quite national; for, although Byzantine elements are found in the arrangement of the draperies, such as we see in the Harper (Pl. CLXIII A.), and in the ornament, the character of the heads, the long hair* of the men, and the religious women are essentially Irish, and were re-

* The missionaries are described as "wearing long flowing beards, they coloured some parts of their body such as the eyelids, and were provided with long walking-sticks, flasks, and leathern wallets." See also Miss Stokes' *Irish Art*, p. 34. Moreover, it forms part of a series of figures (Plate CLXIII c.) in which there is a characteristic quite national. I allude to the tying together ornament of the three figures formed by the interlacing of a cord they all hold, and to the quaint way in which they all three turn their toes out.

In Plate CLXIII E, from the same shrine, the three Virgins wear the long hair, as customary with the Irish until A.D. 888.

They must, however, in certain cases, have still worn the hair thus, for the figures are of later date. Their hands are folded the reverse way, and their feet are direct. The shape of the arch enclosing them is also characteristic; but the whole shrine should be examined by any student desirous of studying this intense nationality.

This nationality is the same in the ornament, although the elements of its composition were derived from foreign sources; in its remarkable intricacy and ingenuity of invention it certainly displays original and interesting combinations. It is, however, singular that it most frequently is placed in compositions in such a way as to show its origin.

* See Appendix A. to chap. iv.

tained in their Art, even if not in practice, until the tenth century.

That the Irish ever had a school of mural painting seems to me improbable, from the circumstance that in the MSS. the figures are almost as caligraphic as the writing, which was very celebrated, and I do not think this caligraphic style was ever transmitted to the wall. In the sculpture it is sometimes modified and becomes more naturalistic, and to students of Art-archæology generally the shrines and crosses,* decorated with Celtic work, are of the greatest interest as subjects for study.

On the other hand, the Carolingian manuscripts, and those of Durham and Lindisfarne, show that, however much the scribe admired and imitated the Celtic ornament and caligraphy, he had assistance in the scriptorium of another and better order, for we find the figures inserted are often of very good Art, and such as we eventually find in wall paintings existing in Germany, France and England. Some plates from manuscripts of both styles are given. Those of the Anglo-Saxon MS.† are very reminiscent of the Christian Græco-Roman attitude and style of composition; as an example,

* For examples see: *Old Northern Runic Monuments*, by Geo. Stevens, F.S.A., London, 1866. *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, by Dr. J. Stuart, Aberdeen, printed for the Spalding Club, 1856. *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, by J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A., &c., Edinburgh, 1903. *The Sculptured Monuments of Iona and the West Highlands*, by J. Drummond, R.S.A., Edinburgh, 1881. Lyson's *Magna Britannia*. O'Neill's *Sculptured Crosses of Ancient Ireland*. But the reader will find a more complete series in Mr. Romilly Allen's *Early Christian Monuments*, pp. 415 to 419.

† Cotton, Tiberius, CVI., British Museum.

the rude figure in Plate CLXIV. has a certain resemblance to those in the Greek MSS. Perhaps the best example of our work of about this period is the Benedictional of S. Ethelwold hereinafter described.

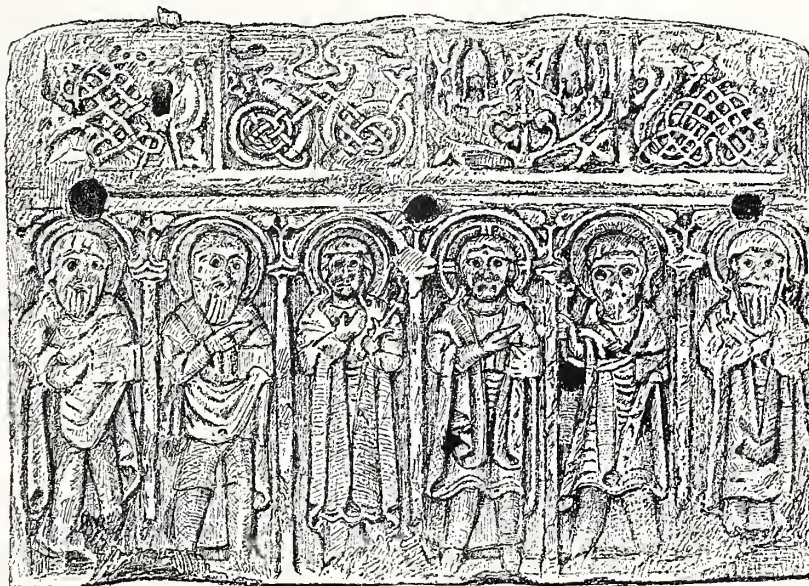
I have mentioned the Carolingian tradition as having affected English Art. This is very evident in the productions of the MSS. of the Newminster School at Winchester, and in some details of our paintings in England, which show French influences; but even these Celtic, Carolingian and French influences are but variations in designs of Alexandrine, Romanesque or Syro-Hellenic origin, and it is the old tale of Greek meeting Greek, only in another way. It is, of course, difficult, but not always impossible, to tell from which source any particular detail or practice of our national work was obtained.

Miss Stokes remarks the resemblances of the Celtic-Irish to the Ravenna and early Lombardic details, but to our own Saxon work the same remarks would almost apply, and it

would really seem that all is from one common exotic source with "climatic" variations.

Of authenticated Anglo-Saxon figure painting on the walls, I know of none, unless the previously mentioned *quasi*-Byzantine heads at Clayton (Plate CLXXXVII.) be examples; my reason for supposing them to be pre-Norman is given in describing the plate. It is, therefore, from the manuscripts and fragments of carving that we must get our knowledge of the character of Anglo-Saxon Art. These are full of suggestions as to its eclectic origins—here a Greek tendency with Eastern details, there evidences of Romanesque influence; again, certain

PLATE CLXVI.



FRONT OF MONUMENTAL STONE AT PETERBOROUGH, SHOWING THE SURVIVAL OF CELTIC IDEAS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY. FROM THE *Proceedings of S. Antiqs*: London, vol. xiv., p. 157.

resemblances to Lombardic, and quotations from Celtic and Carolingian ornamental details. There is a curious resemblance between the palace and houses in the MS. Claudius B IV.,* (Plate CLXVII.) in the

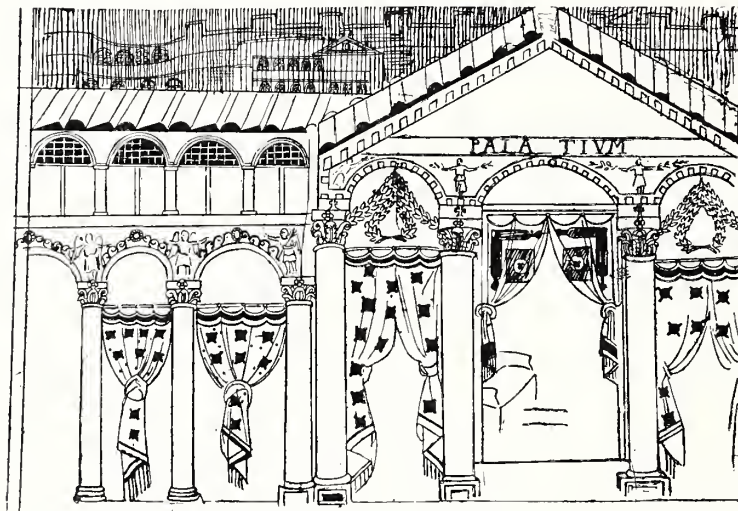
* In the Baptism scene in the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold, mentioned hereafter, we see the Jordan personified as a man pouring out a stream from a vase. This personification of the Jordan also occurs on the roof of *St. Giovanni in fonte* at Ravenna. In the same way the town of Gibeon is personified by a female in the "Joshua" scene from the Vatican Greek MSS. (Plate C.). This personification of towns and rivers is of Hellenic origin, but the whole character and arrangements of the draperies and the compositions of the arches betray the same source. At Ravenna, in the Church of Appolinare Nuovo, on the draperies of the angels and others wearing the toga, there is a series of folds carried across the waist, almost like a band; this band like drapery is one of the characteristics of the Benedictional. An account of these singular resemblances might occupy many pages, but I may mention two or three more. In the same church at Ravenna the Magi are advancing with short tunics in certain attitudes; in the Benediction of St. Ethelwold the method of advance and short dress

PLATE CLXVII.



HOME OF AN ENGLISH NOBLEMAN ABOUT THE IITH CENTURY. FROM MS., CLAUDIUS B IV. BRITISH MUSEUM.

PLATE CLXVIII.



THE PALACE OF THEODOSIOS. FROM THE MOSAIC IN S. APOLLINARE NUOVO RAVENNA.

PLATE CLXIX.



AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENTS. FROM CLAUDIUS B IV.

British Museum, and the palace of Theodoric at Ravenna (Plate CLXVIII.) when the details are analysed and the characteristics are compared. Whether such buildings existed, or whether they are merely manuscript traditions, one cannot say, nor whether both the Ravenna work and the MS. illuminations owe something to the East; but, to this latter idea, Signor Rivieri* would certainly object.

The MS., Claudius B IV., is from Ælfric's A.S. pentateuch.

The next illustrations are from one of the most interesting English manuscripts existing — the Benedictional of S. Ethelwold (Plates CLXX. to CLXXII.).

S. Ethelwold was Abbot of Abingdon in 948 A.D., and was afterwards promoted

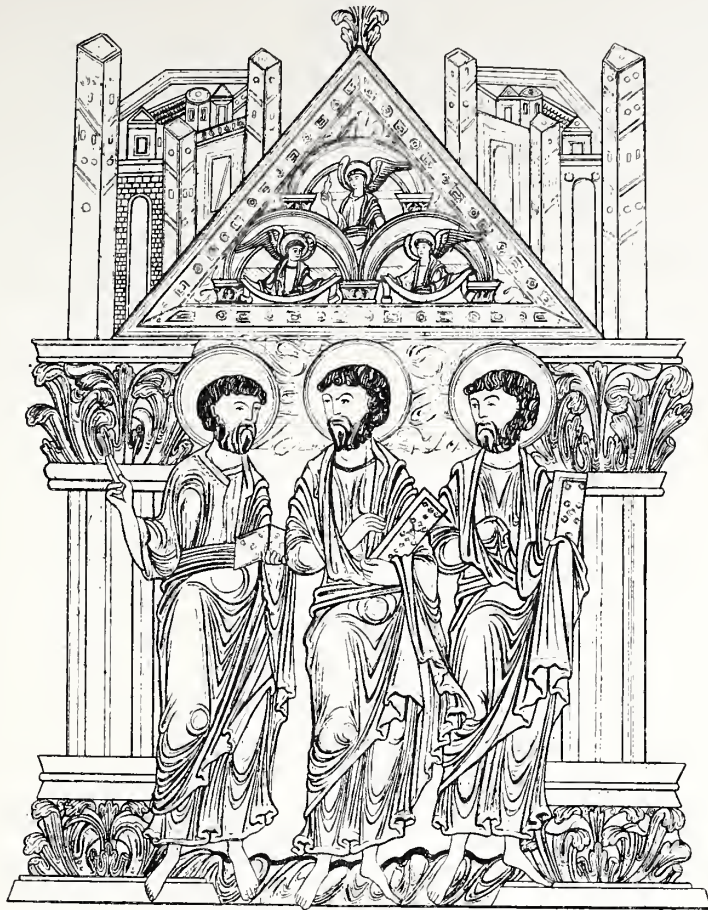
is similar, only that the costume is nationalised. In the painting at Hardham (Plate CXCII.) and in the carving on the fishbone (Plate CLXI.) and in other English examples, the Magi are approaching in somewhat similar attire and attitude.

* See *ante*, p. 63.

to the bishopric of Winchester on the Vigil of S. Andrew, 963 A.D. He died in August, 984.*

* "A prelate whom the Lord had caused to be the head of the Church of Winchester, the great Æthelwold, truly understanding how to preserve the fleecy lambs of Christ from the malignant art of the devil; this steward, illustrious, venerable, and mild, desirous likewise to render fruit to God when the Judge shall come who weighs the actions of the whole world, what each has done, and shall render such reward as they deserve—to the just eternal life and to the wicked punishment—commended a certain monk, subject to him, to write the present book: he ordered also to be made in it many arches elegantly decorated and filled up with various ornamental pictures expressed in divers beautiful colours and gold: the aforesaid Boanerges caused this book to be written for him,

PLATE CLXX.

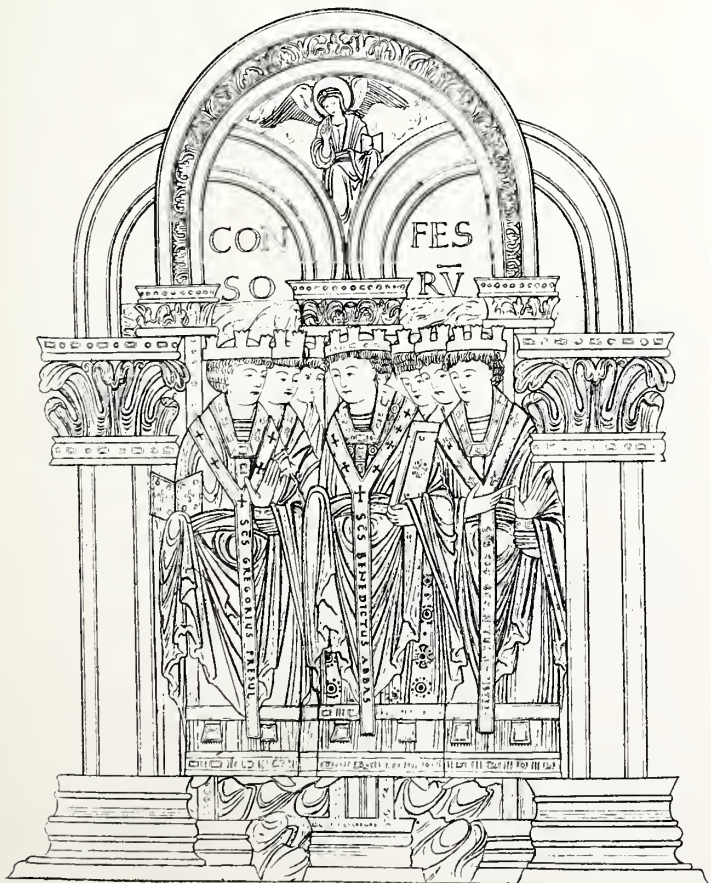


THREE APOSTLES FROM THE BENEDICTIONAL OF S. ETHELWOLD.

The miniatures show continual reminiscences of Greek and Roman Art in the postures, draperies, and methods of composition.

to the intent that he might from it sanctify the people of Our Saviour and pour forth to God holy prayers for the flock committed to his charge, that he might not lose a little lamb of his fold, but be able joyfully to say: *'Behold, I present you the children whom thou gavest me to preserve; of them, by thy propitious aid, the daring, voracious wolf has stolen none away, but we stand here together, and desire to receive eternal life to be enjoyed in heaven with the High Prince whose members we are, who by right is the head and salvation of those baptised in the high-sounding name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, that if they go not astray, but maintain their faith, and in their works fulfil the commandments of salvation and banish all heresy from their heart, always*

PLATE CLXXI.



SS. BENEDICT, GREGORY AND AUGUSTINE. FROM THE SAME MS. OF S. ETHELWOLD.

PLATE CLXXII.



S. SCHOLASTICA AND OTHER FEMALE SAINTS. FROM THE SAME MS.

These valuable illustrations of the English Art of the tenth century are evidences of the mixed Greek and Carolingian influence in our national Art, and belong to the Newminster School of Winchester. We are told by S. Wulstan, his disciple, that S. Ethelwold received the habit of his order from S. Dunstan, at Glastonbury.

The next illustrations are from the Cædmon* of the first years of the eleventh century, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Each subject is described underneath the plate (CLXXIII. to CLXXVI.).

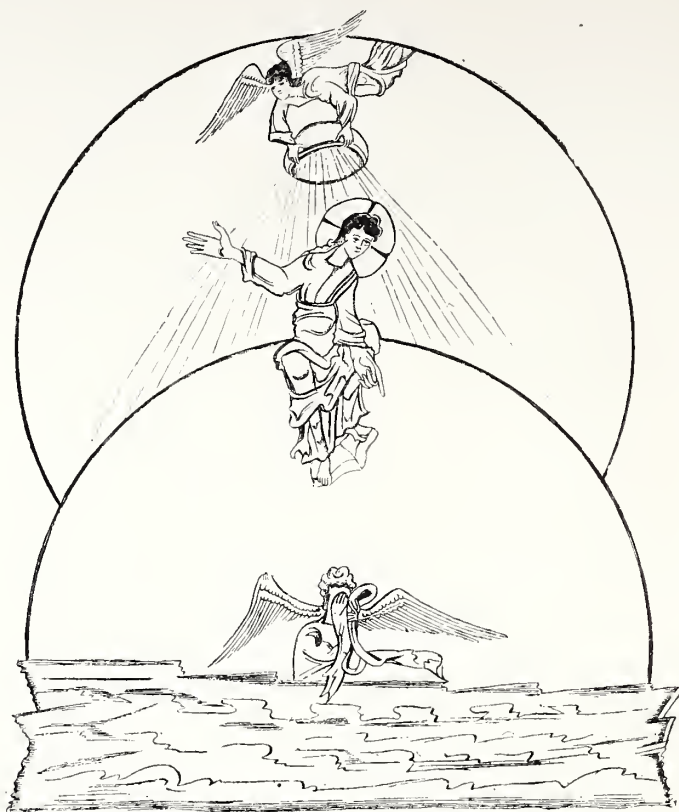
The tendency in design is rather towards a Byzantine than a Roman motive. The artist was, however, a man of most original conceptions, full of naïveté and poetical sentiment; the latter is evident in Plate CLXXIII., the uprising of the firmament, and the former in the history of the Temptation, wherein the Evil One behaves in the most plausible way until the poor creatures have fallen, when he absolutely crows on a hill.

Byzantine tendencies are also paramount in the illustrations from Cotton Library, Claudius A III. (Plate CLXV.) of the eleventh century, and

striving to overcome sin, they may be joined to the Lord for ever. May Christ the merciful Saviour and good King of the world grant this to all washed with holy baptism; and to the great father, who ordered the book to be written, may He give an eternal kingdom on high; and let all who behold this book always pray that after this term of the flesh I may be worthy to rest in heaven. This is the fervent prayer of the writer, Godeman.—See the article by Mr. Gage in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv.

* See article by Sir H. Ellis in *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv.

PLATE CLXXIII.



“LET THERE BE LIGHT.” FROM THE BODLEIAN “CÆDMON.”

Tiberius CVI. (Plate CLXV.) of the same library, of the early part of the same century. Both MSS. are in the British Museum and have been already referred to. So far illustrations from MS., &c., were necessary. Concerning paintings, those in S. Gabriel's Chapel in the crypt of

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

are the most important works of the kind remaining in England, and with the most important of all advantages, that they have neither been covered over nor restored.

S. Gabriel was held in high esteem at Canter-

bury; his gilded figure surmounted the vane of the central tower, and was the first object that caught the attention of the devout pilgrim to Canterbury; the third bell was also named “Gabriel.”

One, therefore, does not wonder at the art bestowed on the shrine of the great angel of the Annunciation in the chapel dedicated to him. The chapel is divided into two parts, the nave and the sanctuary; the former is square, the latter apsidal.* Moreover, the paintings on the former are later and of a different school to those in the latter, the painting in which is the immediate object of our attention.

There is a useful engraving of the whole given in Dart's *Canterbury*, published in 1726. The perspective rendering of the painting is incorrect, but easily understood, and it is a useful record of the work as then existing. A reproduction of this is given in Plate CLXXVII.

* It measures 11 ft. by 17 ft. Gostling says that bones were found under the floor of this apse.

Another and more correct rendering sketched by Mr. Neale, and published in Canon Scott-Robertson's article in the *Archæologia Cantiana*,* is also given in Plate CLXXVIII.

The subjects are as follows :—

In the centre of the groined roof is Our Lord in Majesty, seated, surrounded by an aureole carried by angels, a treatment exceedingly common in Greek art, as the reader has already seen in the previous chapters, and can more fully study by the examination of manuscripts, and wall paintings with Greek characteristics such as those at *S. Clemente*, Rome; *Santa Maria delle Fratte*; and *S. Angelo in Formis*.

Surrounding this figure are subjects, which as their base take the lines of the architecture: the principal of these are the Annunciations made by S. Gabriel, the one to Our Lady, the other to S. Zacharias, followed by the Birth of Our Lord on the north side, and the Birth of S. John the Baptist on the left hand. These are supported by subsequent and consequent events. On the north side are Zacharias when dumb appearing before the people,

* Vol. for 1880.

† See Plates LVIII., LXXV. and LXXVI.

PLATE CLXXIV.



SATAN AND EVE. FROM THE METRICAL PARAPHRASE OF CÆDMON IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY AT OXFORD.

PLATE CLXXV.



SATAN WITH ADAM AND EVE.

PLATE CLXXVI.



SATAN EXULTING OVER THE FALL.

and the friend of S. Elizabeth coming to name her son; on the south side are the visitation of Our Lady by S. Elizabeth, and the birth of Our Lord. There is also another subject nearly obliterated.

At the eastern entrance of the apse on either side there is painted a cherubim on a winged wheel (Plate CLXXXI.), and on the soffit under the arch the Seven Angels of the Churches of Asia, four on one side, three on the other, and a figure of S. John writing his Apocalypse, to complete the balance (Plate CLXXX.) In the apses of the arch are the Seven Stars.*

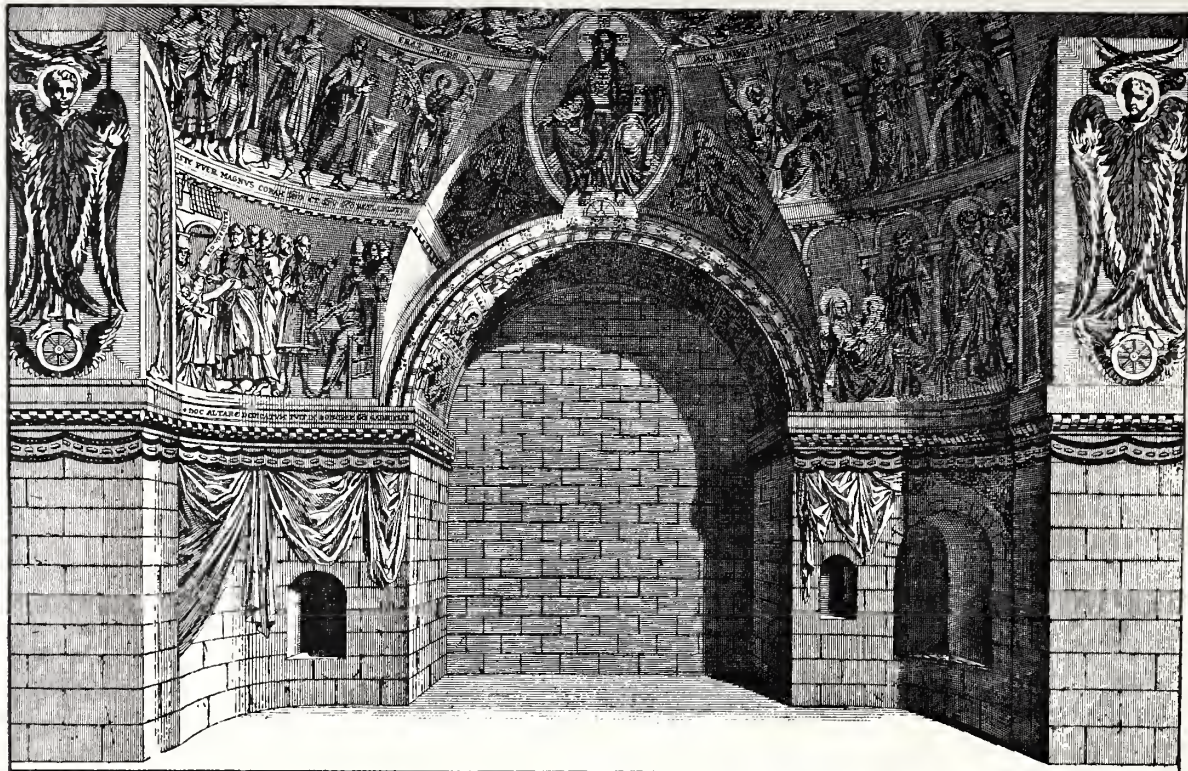
Having enumerated the subjects, some attempt is advisable to fix the date† of this work. Gervase writing in 1190, does not mention these paintings, although they certainly existed. The supposed reason for this omission is that it was kept as a secret hiding-place by the monks, and at one time contained the body of S. Thomas of Kent. It is still walled up, excepting a small aperture for entrance.

Every probability points to the date of this por-

* *Apoc.* i.

† This question is dealt with and elaborated in the article in the *Archæological Cant.*, vol. for 1880.

PLATE CLXXVII.

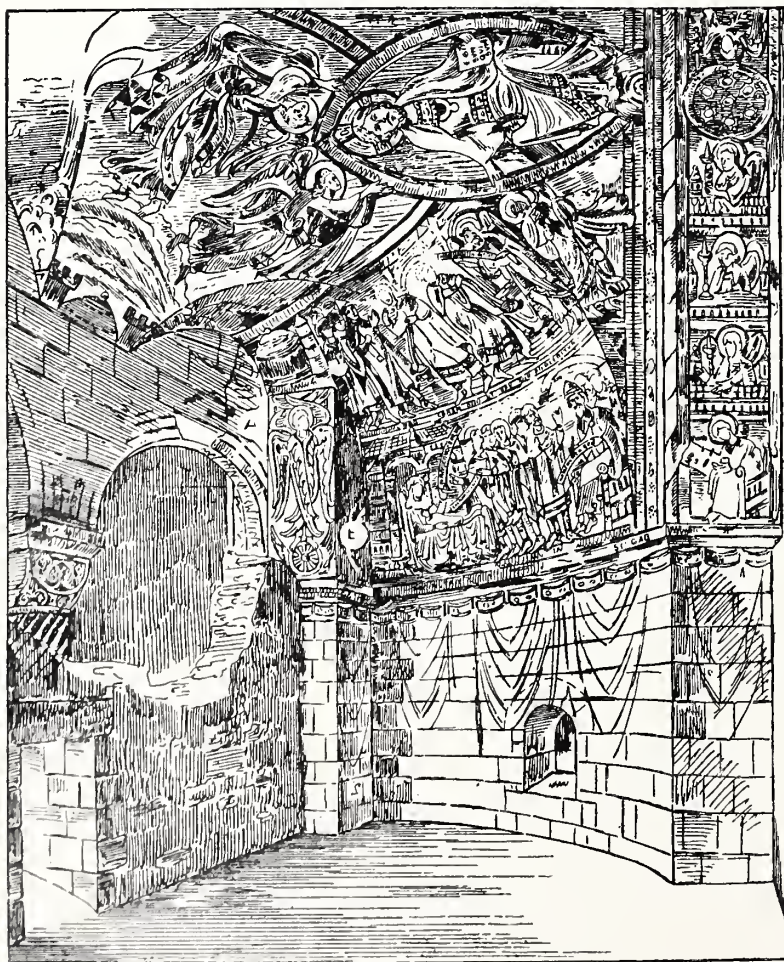


COPY OF AN ENGRAVING IN DART'S *Kent*, SHOWING THE POSITION OF THE FIGURES AND SUBJECTS IN S. GABRIEL'S CHAPEL. THE CURTAINS SHOWN IN THE LOWER PART OF THE DECORATION ARE NOW ALMOST DECAYED.

tion of the crypt as being about 1100. Ernulf had built the choir, and the roof had been painted by 1107. How soon after this date the chapel was painted is still a matter of speculation, but my supposition is that it was almost coeval and earlier than has been supposed. The reasons for this supposition are as follows: In the chapel there are two or three kinds of work, one apparently Greco-Italian, the second more Norman, and the other Norman-English (Plate CLXXIV.), to the latter especially belongs the ornamental portion of the work, which does not look

PLATE CLXXVIII.

C



SKETCH FROM *Archæologia Cantiana*. ALSO SHOWING THE POSITION OF THE FIGURES IN S. GABRIEL'S CHAPEL IN A MORE CORRECT MANNER AND THE DECAY OF THE DADO. THE DETAILS OF FIGURES, A, B, C, D, ARE SHOWN IN THE FOLLOWING PLATE.

of the same handiwork as the figures of the apse.

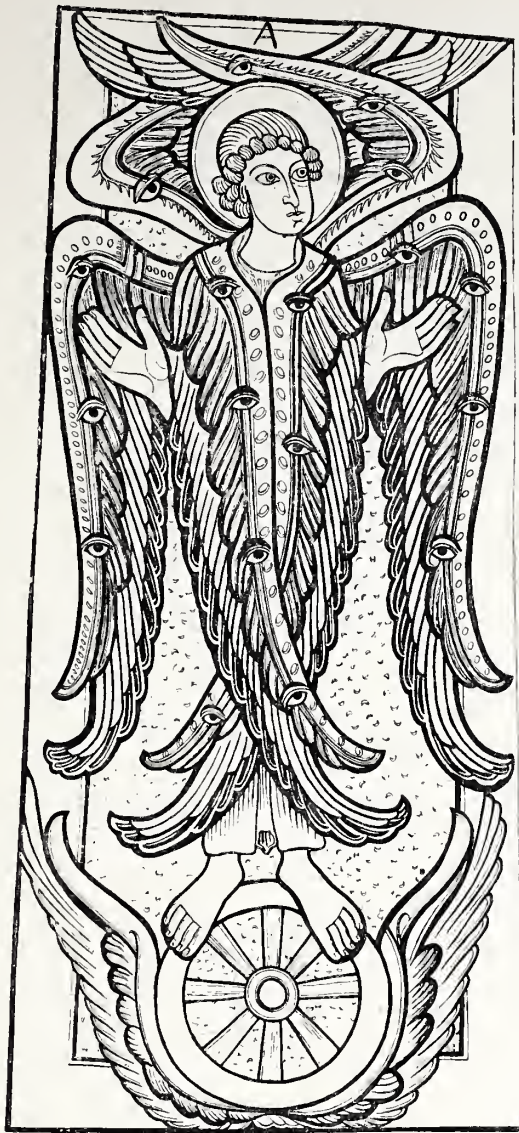
That artists of different countries worked together is well known, and I have given some particulars of such partnership and of the resemblance between some English and other paintings in my previous writings.*

Since I first published my notes† upon this chapel very little fresh light has been thrown upon the subject of the authorship of this work, but a source of speculation is fairly opened by the illustrations and

* *History of Design in Painted Glass*, vol. i., p. 39.

† 1879.

PLATE CLXXXI



Canterbury

PLATE CLXXXII.

B

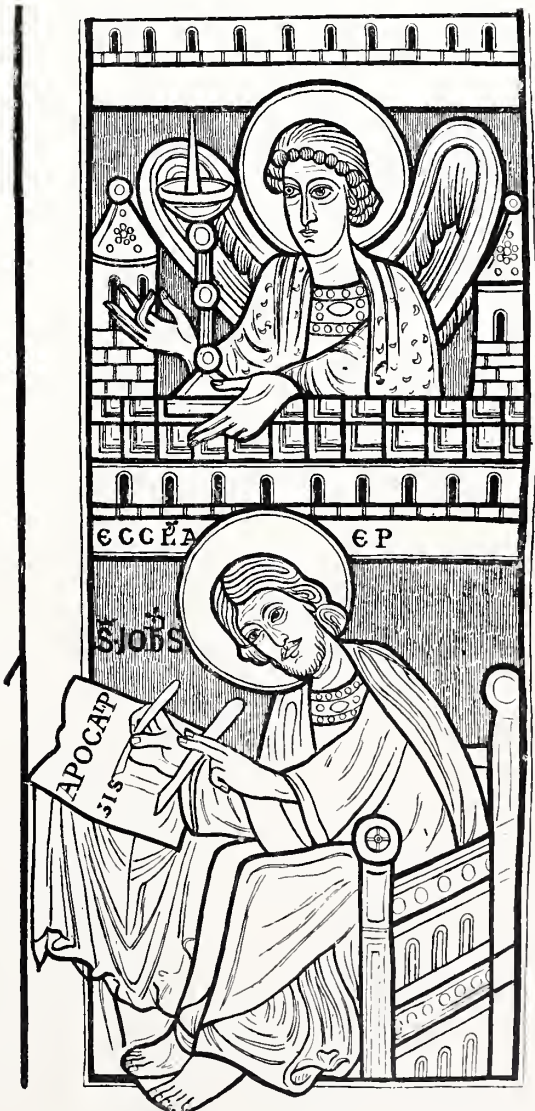


PLATE CLXXIX.



PLATE CLXXX.

D



A. THE CHERUBIM. B. AN ANGEL SUPPORTING OUR LORD'S AUREOLA. C. OUR LORD IN MAJESTY. D. ST. JOHN AND ONE OF THE ANGELS OF THE SEVEN CHURCHES. (See PLATE CLXXVIII.)

the knowledge already obtained in the perusal of the previous pages of this work, especially the chapters upon the Art of Southern Italy.*

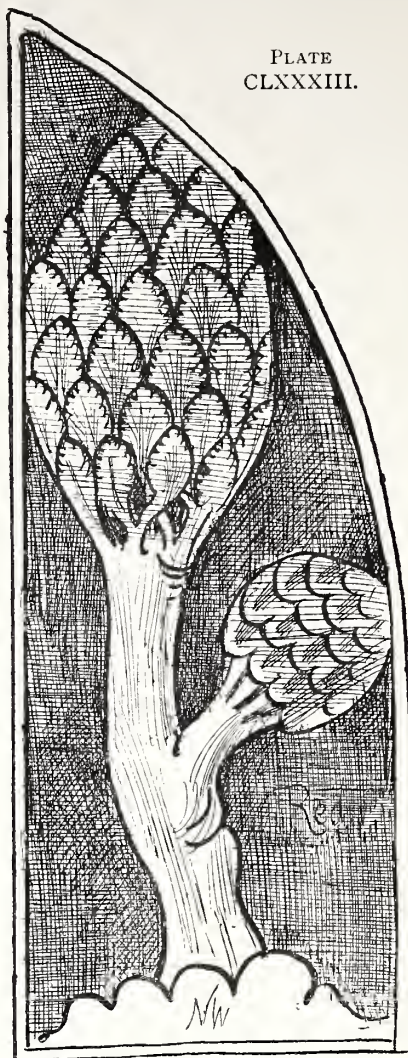
The relationship between the Benedictines of S. Augustine's, Canterbury, and those of Monte Cassino, who had the paintings at S. Angelo executed, was undoubtedly intimate. The Abbot of Monte Cassino sat in the first position in all important councils, and the Abbot of S. Augustine in the second, or on his right-hand side. Such personal proximities and such an important connection cannot be overlooked.

We know that Desiderius,† afterwards Pope Victor III., at the end of the eleventh century went to Constantinople for art, we presume, superior to that to be found in Italy. Some of the results of the importation of this school of artists have formed the subject of some of the most interesting pages of this work.

These Greeks, without doubt, not only painted, but taught and influenced the religious artists of Monte Cassino, and through them of many monasteries of the order. That some of these artists came to England is probable from the internal evidence of the painting, and from the necessity of making Canterbury worthy of its position in Christianity. This necessity would be best supplied from Monte Cassino.

The internal evidences are important; but, before comparing the work immediately with that in South Italy, it must be remembered that we have not the works of the same hands, but of minds influenced by their work, or perhaps even of Cassinese Benedictines themselves, who were instructing artists working in Canterbury. The method of designing the central figure, the com-

PLATE
CLXXXIII.



A TREE SHOWN ON THE SPACE E,
PLATE CLXXXVIII.

position of the subjects, and their external lines, following the architectural form; the designing of the draperies, the jewellery and the characteristic wings, obviously founded on Byzantine models, is not precisely like either the Greek, German or French work of the period, nor is it like work, which I presume was done under French influence, in Durham.

In conclusion, let us consider that we must give full consideration to the great necessity and importance of the monastic connections of the School of Art in Canterbury in its origin and bearings, and we shall find many traditional ideas comprehensible.

Certain passages of design, both in figure and ornament, have characteristics common to the MS. of both countries, generally considered as Frankish or Carolingian, but these elements had been gradually absorbed into our national work. Indeed, it might not be straining a term too far to call the school

Anglo-Hellenic or Anglo-Byzantine.

That the art of Canterbury had Greek tendencies from the time of Theodore* is certain; most of this may have been stamped out during the Danish period, but influences possibly survived.

These paintings will be the subject of reference again and again, but not the least part of their value is the contrast of affinities the designs afford to that of other Benedictine schools of the period, such as that of Chertsey, Chaldon and Copford; that of Lewes at Clayton; and that of Winchester, in the Benedictional of S. Ethelwold, and in some paintings which will be treated of in the succeeding volume.

The picture of S. Paul (Plate CLXXXIV.), a

* Page 58 *et seq.*

† *Ante*, pp. 65, 66.

* See Mr. Chappell's article on the Music of the Liturgy of Canterbury, *Archæologia*, vol. xlvi., p. 389.

painting in the apse of S. Anselm's Chapel, also in Canterbury Cathedral, has been hidden by a wall, which has only been uncovered during a comparatively recent period. The stones of the wall bear marks of having been in the fire, probably of 1174 A.D., and we thus know how the painting was preserved. This chapel was built by Prior Ernulf in 1093 A.D., and was originally dedicated to S. S. Peter and Paul.

It is assumed by Dr. Morris* that this wall and that enclosing S. Gabriel's Chapel were built by Conrad in 1130,† and therefore we get a date for the painting which coincides with its style, that is between the years 1093 and 1130 A.D.

The painting is of a very high class, for its period, both in drawing and colouring, and is fortunately well preserved.

* *Archæologia*, vol. lii., pp. 389-391.

† S. Gabriel's Chapel originally bore the title of S. John the Baptist (*Arch.*, vol. lii., p. 390).

PLATE CLXXXIV.



S. PAUL SHAKING OFF THE VIPER AT MILETUS. FROM CANTERBURY.

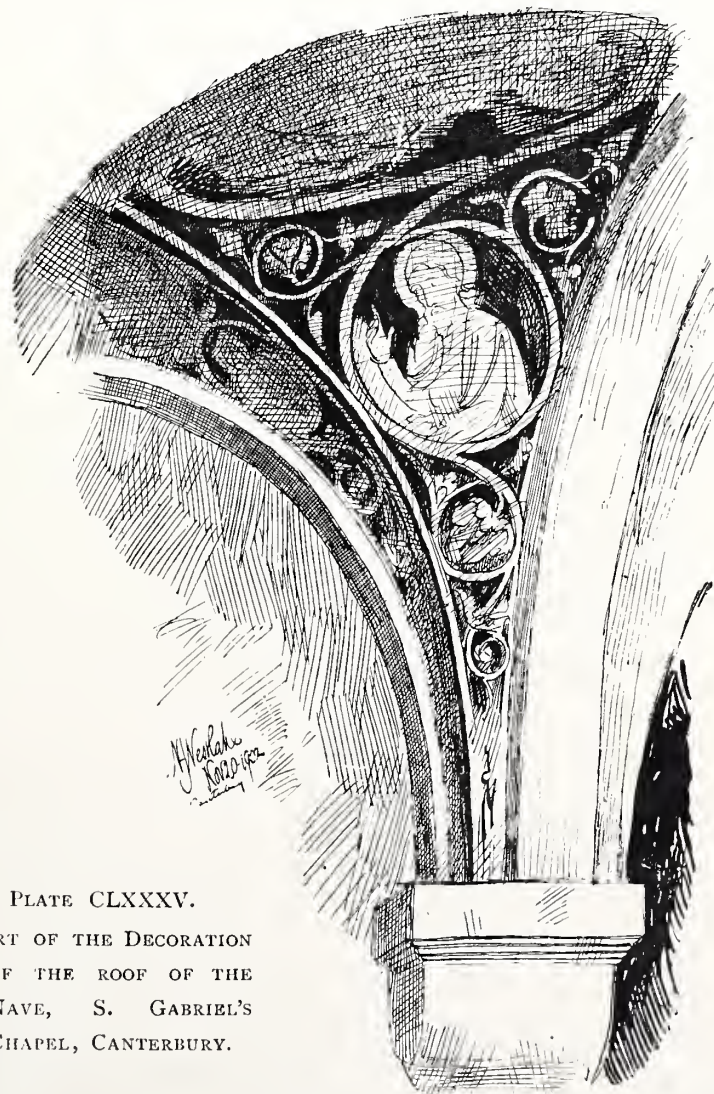


PLATE CLXXXV.
PART OF THE DECORATION
OF THE ROOF OF THE
NAVE, S. GABRIEL'S
CHAPEL, CANTERBURY.

The paintings in the little church of St. Peter with SS. Cosmos and Damian at

CLAYTON,

near Hassocks, in Sussex, are of the greatest historical interest, on account of the numerous fragments of various styles there remaining, extending from the eleventh until the seventeenth century. The latter is only represented by a piece of an inscription, but it covers earlier work, and is evidence of the repeated coatings of lime-white repaintings which the walls have received.

At first sight the painting appears considerably confused and mixed. This is caused by the peeling of the different coatings from the wall, so that portions of various later paintings are visible with those of earlier date. Even where the portion remaining is not of solid paint, there are stains from the colour of later painting which has affected the under coatings.

The earliest works remaining, in my judgment, are two small heads of Our Lord, one on either side of

PLATE CLXXXVI.



REMAINS OF PAINTINGS OVER THE CHANCEL ARCH OF CLAYTON CHURCH, SUSSEX.

the springing of the chancel arch (Plate CLXXXVI.), which are almost perfect, and the ornamental part on the top of the wall under the beam at the east end. These have all the character, at the latest, of eleventh century work. The old church may have been simply a square building,* and the fragments by the side of the columns of the chancel aisle (both being heads of Our Lord) portions of the paintings over side altars; as there is every appearance that the rude, but picturesque, arch now leading to the chancel has been either made or enlarged after these side paintings were complete, so that it cuts into the figure on the north side. On this point I have more to say hereafter. Concerning the Majesty, there are evidences, now very visible, of a large subject, if not of two subjects, one over the other, of later dates having been painted over parts of the figure and throne of Our Lord. In scaling the wash from the wall, the later paintings, of course, came off first, leaving only a little stain on the original work, which, having been more absorbed by the new wall,

* Or it may have been cruciform with a smaller opening into a smaller sanctuary, and two small side chapels as transept. There are fragments of side arches remaining.

the plaster of which had more tenacity to hold colour than the over coats of thin wash, so that, generally speaking, the earlier work is more visible at first sight.

Amongst the evidences of other earlier work visible is the Shadowed Key fret* such as we find in work of the period in France and Germany, and of earlier date in Italy, running along the top of the wall under the wooden roof. I have over-expressed this in my sketch on purpose, as it is a very important feature. Painted over and below this fret there are also evidences of a later series of figures of larger size. Whether the arch was made afterwards for a newly built chancel or whether it is an enlargement of an older one is uncertain, but the piece of painted

* The shadowed fret was probably of Hellenic origin, and was used by them in the same position as it occupies in Christian churches, that is immediately under the roof. There are no existing examples in Greece, but in Etruscan work (Plate LI., vol. i.), evidently of Greek inspiration, it is so used. It is found also in Roman work (Plate CLXIII. B, vol. i.), in the church at Fero Cladio (Plate LXXXVI.), and in French and German works in Plates CXL. and CLI. to CLIII. It has been already considerably referred to, but its importance allows one to recapitulate.

PLATE CLXXXVII.



AA. AN EARLY PAINTING OF OUR LORD SEATED ON A THRONE, FROM CLAYTON; ON THE LEFT HAND, IS AN OVER-PAINTING OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. IT APPEARS TO BE PART OF A SUBJECT FROM THE LIFE OF S. PETER. B. THE COLUMN AND CAPITAL, D, HAVE EVIDENTLY BEEN CUT INTO A PORTION OF THE FIGURE OF OUR LORD. C AND D ARE ORNAMENTS, AND E A FIGURE OF OUR LORD, FROM THE CARVINGS ON THE PORCH OF THE ABBEY CHURCH OF CHARITÉ SUR LOIRE, AN EARLY CLUNIAN ABBEY FOUNDED BY POPE PASCAL IN 1106 A.D.

IT WILL BE SEEN THAT THE FIGURE AND ORNAMENTS OF THIS CHURCH EXACTLY RESEMBLE THOSE AT CLAYTON (PLATE CLXXXVI.), A CHURCH BELONGING TO THE ABBEY OF LEWES, ALSO A CLUNIAN FOUNDATION. THESE CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD HELP TO SHOW THAT THE DESIGNS FOR THE PAINTING AND THE CARVING CAME FROM THE SAME SCRIPTORIUM, ONE SET BEING GIVEN TO A PAINTER, THE OTHER TO A CARVER. THE ARCHBISHOP, B, IS FROM THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE NAVE AT CLAYTON, THE ENDS OF THE PALLIUM AND THE STOLE ARE SIMILAR TO OTHER VESTMENTS IN MSS. OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY, SUCH AS THAT FROM *Bobbio* (PLATE LXVIII. E E), AND ANOTHER IN A PICTURE OF S. WULFRAN, BISHOP OF LEUS, WHOSE RELICS WERE TRANSLATED TO ROUEN IN 1032 A.D.; FROM *The Chronicon Fontetinese* OF EARLIER DATE.

PLATE CLXXXVIII.



HEADS OF KINGS PARTLY COVERED BY SOME RECENT PAINTINGS SOUTH SIDE OF CLAYTON.

ornament running just over its apex appears to be rather more elaborate than that on the side walls, and not exactly like it; moreover, it has cut into the base of the aureole around Our Lord. The most evident portions of the subject, over the arch, would lead to the conclusion that it was the Last Judgment or the Second Advent of Our Lord, who is seated on a throne, jewelled as in Byzantine work, enclosed in an aureole of the pattern shown in my drawing. On either side there were, I think, angels carrying instruments of the Passion, of which fragments remain; over this there are still on the wall vestiges of at least two paintings of later work. The aureole and throne of the present figure appear to be of the original work. When I say the present figure, I mean that of the Byzantine-looking fragments, for there appears to have been three figures, each painted over the other, and by careful examination fragments of other nimbi and heads are visible. I think, therefore, that we see portions of pre-painting and re-painting confusing the proportions and details of the central figure.

This subject was probably rectangular and formed the great picture of the church, there being two smaller subjects to which the figures of Our Lord on either side below, belonged. My idea is that this lower painting was cut into to form the present opening or to enlarge an existing one into the chancel, and that at that period the principal subject was repainted, and two new smaller ones were also painted over the earlier ones, of which the figure of Our Lord seated, on the north side, and the head on the south, were parts. One of the figures of the over-painting appears to have been S. Peter holding a book and bending towards another figure, fragments and stains of which are still very evident.

Leaving the eastern wall for the present, we find, on the south side towards the east, there appears to be in the earlier painting a cross, carried by angels.*

* The same subject in which angels carry the cross and implements of the Passion occurs also at S. Savin (Plate CXXIX.), Oberzell (Plate CLII.), and Plumpton,¹ where it has the

¹ See the *Sussex Archaeological Collection*, vol. xx., p. 209.

On either side are two bishops ; one, I think, is an Archbishop vested in chasuble, pallium and stole, wearing a mitre and carrying a crozier. The stoles have large fringed ends ; the chasuble, or the pallium, I think the latter, has also a similar end (Plate CLXXXVII., *B*). I am not quite clear that even this early painting has not been painted on one of anterior date, as over the later window, which has been cut into the subject, and towards the west, there are portions of the Twenty-four Elders, who wear jewelled crowns of an early form (Plate CLXXXVIII.). Still

ornament, with little black, arched openings—perhaps intended for clouds. It is not a little curious that the same subject, only carried in front of the figure of Our Lord, is found at Burgfelden, in South Germany (Plate CL.). In the latter case it is also connected with a shadowed fret. These circumstances show a widespread method of design—the Priory of Lewis being Cluniac, would in a great measure account for this.

PLATE CLXXXIX.



SKETCH OF VARIOUS PAINTINGS AS THE NORTH AISLE WALL, CLAYTON, SUSSEX. *A A* REPRESENT OVER-PAINTINGS. *B B*.—UNDER PAINTINGS OF EARLIER DATE. THE SCROLL UNDERNEATH HAS ALSO BEEN REPAINTED.

PLATE CXC.



A PORTION OF THE ROOF OF APSE OF COPFORD CHURCH NEAR MARKS TEY, AS RESTORED.

more westward there are vestiges of another figure of Our Lord, nude, showing His wounds ; but all this is very indistinct by being mixed up with subsequent over-paintings.

The north wall is also most confusing, because on it the figures of different periods and fragments or stains of later architectural work are very visible, indeed equally visible in parts as the earlier, which is, I take it, late twelfth-century work. There is a subject and there are some figures marked *BBB* (Plate CLXXXIX.), evidently of one scheme, and there are a series of figures of later date all of the same design or nearly so, apparently angels, *AAA*, painted over these. At *E* a pavement has been painted over the earlier ornament, and stains the large naked feet of *A*, which are visible crossing the shoes, in front of the Bishop *B*.

Stains of an arch—apparently of the fifteenth century, *FF*,

are also evident, and the figure under it, *CCC*, was evidently in white and painted across the subject *BB*. This subject, *BB*, seems to be of the original series, and that to which the Bishops are approaching. It consists of figures or a figure in a walled city, such as we find on many Byzantine medals and coins.* If the stain *AA* is that of the form of an early angel, *A* might be S. John told to measure the heavenly Jerusalem, but it is a question involving considerable examination and study.† The later paintings came down to the bottom of the wall, and fragments of them are still quite plainly seen. Returning for a moment to the chancel arch—by minute examination I think the spectator will find stains or vestiges of small heads all over the upper parts, as though in the fifteenth century a painting of the same kind as that at Rotherfield had been executed covering all earlier work. This last painting would be the first to go in scaling the whitewash of the wall, as it would be attached to the heavy over-coating.

In the Church of

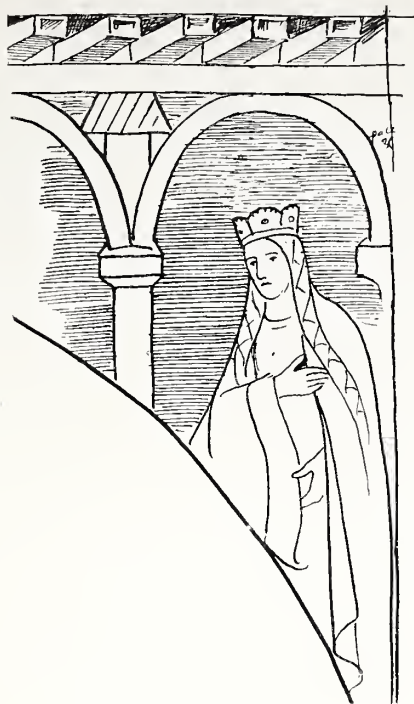
S. MICHAEL AND ALL ANGELS, COFFORD,

near Marks Tey, in Essex, there still remains the design-painting of the whole of a village church,

* See p. 113, and a painting at Schwartz Rheindorf, said to refer to Ezekiel v. 1 and 2, given in *Wandmalereien des Christlichen Mittelalters*, by Weerth (Plate XXI.).

† There are photographs of this and the other walls in the *Sussex Archaeological*, vol. xl.; unfortunately this one is printed backwards; it accompanies an article by Mr. Keyser. I have said that these fragments are of great importance. I know of none more historically valuable. We get evidences on international Art continually, and if, as supposed, the little church belonged to the Abbey of Lewes, there is the link in the fret ornaments which binds it to the Art of the Benedictine Abbeys of Germany, France and Italy (see footnote, p. 154), and shows us the widespread influence of the monastic schools to which I have so often referred. We can therefore infer that the ancient Abbey of Lewes was also decorated consistent with the traditions thus pointed out.

PLATE CXCA.



FRAGMENT. A PAINTING OF A QUEEN, COFFORD.

probably of the end of the eleventh or the early years of the twelfth century. I have used the term "design-painting," as a great deal of the original work itself is restored or painted over, but the design is, with certain exceptions, preserved.

It is singular that many of the churches in which the paintings in the different countries are still preserved and available for comparison are dedicated to the angels. We have S. Angelo in Formis dedicated to S. Michael; the Chapel of S. Gabriel at Canterbury, and S. Michael's at Copford.

There has been some dispute as to the foundation of the church at Copford. Many Roman fragments

are built into the walls, and some have argued that it was originally the site of a Roman temple adapted to Christian worship. The probability is, however, that the date of the present structure is of the eleventh century. More than any other painting in England, the work allies itself to the traditional school which finds earlier exposition in S. Angelo in Formis and S. Maria Feroclaudio in Italy in the eleventh century, and at a later date shows offshoots at Poitiers, S. Savin, and Montoire, in France; and at Burgfelden, Oberzell, and other monasteries of Germany; also at Canterbury, Copford, and Clayton, in England. All have that one key, in a double sense, which locks them together, the traditional resemblances in general treatment and in ornament. All the subjects and figures, as well as the principal divisions of the painting, are surrounded or divided by the consecutive broad bands of colour which comes to us from the antique; some have the aureola or circle of glory around Our Lord, or Our Lady carried by the angels, common both to the paintings and to the miniatures of the early MSS. Nearly all have in the ornament the key-fret or swastica shadowed in relief, which we have found in nearly all the foundations of the religious fol-

lowing the rule of S. Benedict ; of this much has already been said, and yet a little more will follow in the chapter on Ornament. All give the same simple scheme of colour, and apparently the same methods of execution.

Commencing my description with the apse and vault, the painting of this at once strikes one as having a strong resemblance to the Oberzell school in Germany and the Vienne school of French work already mentioned. There is the circle with its concentric lines of colour, as in the vestibule of S. Savin, but there are differences ; some arising from constructional causes, others from various other reasons. At S. Savin Our Lord blesses in the Latin manner, and if this figure is rightly restored at Copford He blesses in the Greek manner. Now, many figures in western churches are so painted, as we have already seen, but it is unusual in France and England.

From many considerations my impressions are that the original under-paintings of the Majesty and Angels were of the eleventh century, but that they were repainted in the late twelfth or thirteenth centuries. Such repaintings over the original composition are not uncommon in old work. The retention of old forms, such as the general composition, the Greek method of blessing (if it originally was so), the throne, the flying ends of drapery exactly like those at Fero Claudio,* and somewhat like those retained in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon miniatures, the forms of the wings and many other details, do not agree with the character of Our Lord's head, crowned, for I know of no early "Majesty" so depicted ; the draperies of the lower figures and the pavement are also questionable. Although we may be thankful for what remains, the probable double or triple repaintings and the inaccurate modern restoration must be considered.

There is no written legend around the aureola, such as we continually find in France and Germany. It is also unusual, as in the case here, that Our Lord should have a closed book and show His open, wounded hand, and I think the

restoration of the left hand and book is probably incorrect.

Of four angels carrying the aureola of Our Lord, it will be observed that two are sitting ; one of these has an open book, the other a closed one.

Of the ten Apostles, restored at the lower compartment, none of which retain their old character, I shall write hereafter, but I think it very probable that even those now restored were painted over the earlier ones at the end of the thirteenth century, and that when the whitewash over the pictures was taken off and some of the work scaled, that it was not easy to divide the later and earlier work, and the restorer has joined them together, for we must remember that the painting was by no means in a perfect condition.

Under the soffit of the arch dividing the sanctuary from the nave are painted the signs of the Zodiac in an interwoven foliated ornament. "Virgo" is represented by Our Lady with a nimbus.

Leaving the apse for awhile, we will examine the walls of the nave ; and here, again, we find reminiscences of French and German design of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries of the most striking character.

Here are the busts in circles,* the wavy line, as though of clouds, for backgrounds,† the riband pattern,‡ which has been confused in restoration, and, indeed, all the general arrangement is of a similar type. We miss the hanging curtains, but they have probably been painted over and destroyed. There are two figures in mail on either side of the Norman window in the nave, but they are later and much less interesting than the apsidal work. Neither are the other fragments of subjects especially remarkable.

The figures of SS. Michael and Gabriel in the splays of the east window are bad ; I fear they have been seriously tampered with in repainting.

I do not think the Canterbury, Clayton or Copford paintings can quite be classed as perfectly national, although certain local tendencies are in-

* CCXXI., A, B, F.

† At Oberzell (Plate CLXIII.).

‡ Swastica (Plate CCX.), B, G, K, M, N, O.

* Plate LXXXVI.

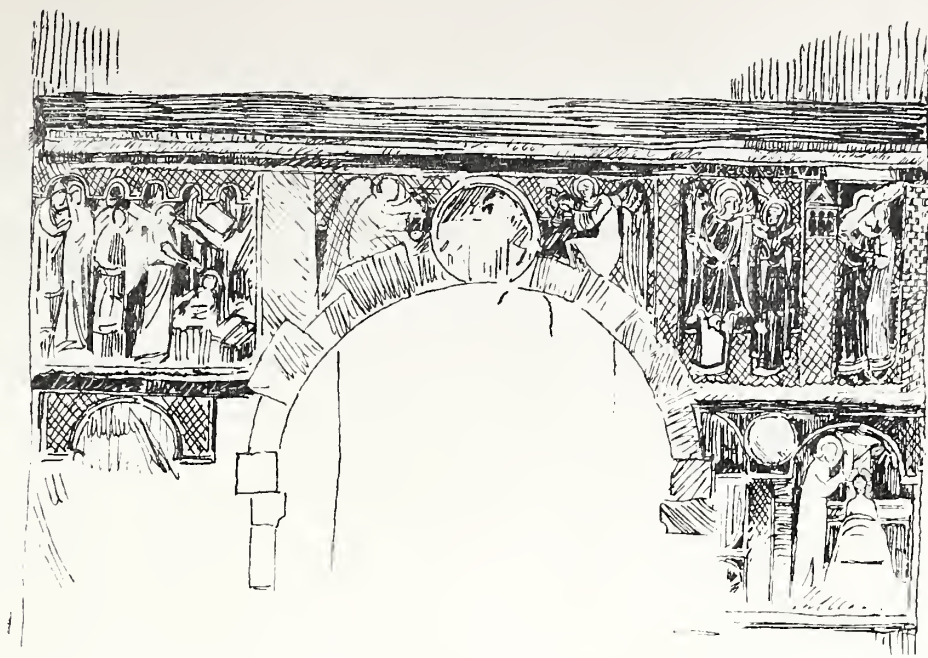
growing. The foundation of the original drawing is essentially Italo-Byzantine, with certain accretions apparently both Teutonic and Frankish.

What else is one to conclude of productions which have features found in the Benedictine churches of Italy, Germany and France, or of an art which seems to possess details from the Greek classic which became nationalised in South Italy with other Greek and Byzantine notions added to it in its passage through Italy, Germany, and France to England, and then exhibited all these features combined?

Remembering that this combination of Art details originated in foundations formed under the Benedictine Rule, one is obliged to conclude that they are the result of men of various nationalities working together in a monastery in England. They may be called, therefore, an early English monastic tradition.

It may be that the work is from the hands of Englishmen, who either studied in the foreign monasteries, or were, as in St. Benet Biscop's

PLATE CXCI.



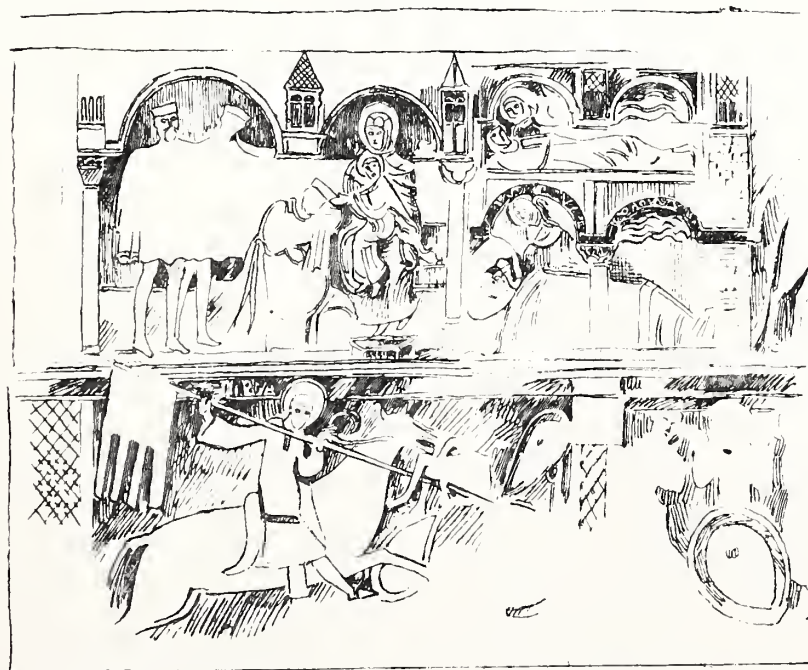
THE NATIVITY, THE ANUNCIATION, AND THE SALUTATION, FROM HARDHAM CHURCH.

study considers the foundation or earliest parts of the building to be of the latter years of the eleventh century. There can scarcely be a doubt

but that some of the paintings belong to the earlier years of the twelfth, if not to the latter years of the eleventh centuries.

If we do not find the master work of the period, such as distinguishes the Chapel of S. Gabriel in Canterbury Cathedral, we find a most valuable example of the series of paintings such as was evidently common in the small churches in the South of England, such as Plumpton, Westmeston, Patcham, Clayton, Preston, and others.

PLATE CXCH.



THE MAGI, THE DREAM OF S. JOSEPH, AND A SCENE, SUPPOSED TO REPRESENT S. GEORGE AT ANTIOCH, FROM HARDHAM.

* See Mr. Philip Mainwaring Johnston's contribution to Plate XLIV. of the Sussex Archæological Society's Collections.

Before describing the series of subjects Mr. Johnston* makes some remarks on the colours, method, and vehicles used in the execution of these paintings. "In the earlier uncovering (1866) it is to be feared that much injury was wrought in ignorance, and much also inevitably by reason of the close adhesion of the whitewash to the surface of the painting, which, unlike ordinary tempera, has been left by the artists with a varnished or encaustic face." "So durable was the process employed on the original work, however, that even where the painting has practically disappeared, stains and faint outlines of figures and architectural settings remain to indicate the nature of the subjects."

"The medium used is in itself curious and very unusual. An enamel-like face, especially noticeable when the whitewash was freshly removed, seems to render it certain that a varnish or encaustic was originally employed to give a glaze to the finished paintings. The colour below this glaze is very thick and tough, several coats being applied one over another in many places, and over all in some cases (such as for heightening the effects of faces and dresses and for the scallop-edged borders to the subjects) a thick white body colour is laid on, the whole effect being much more like that of oil painting than that of tempera." Mr. Johnston here goes some way into the question of the

* See note on p. 159.

PLATE CXCI.



PAINTING FROM HARDHAM. A PORTION OF PLATE CXCI. SHOWING THE "VISITATION" ON A LARGER SCALE.

it soaks in, and produces the result observed on these walls when the surface was removed. In the second place, if lime is strong and the sand good, and little solid white used in working, the dissolution of the silica in the sand by the caustic lime and its exudation over the surface of the wall produce, when dry, a substantial and beautiful glaze. In the third place, the heightening of the lights and flesh tints with pure lime or "S. Giovanni" white is especially mentioned in ancient descriptions of pure fresco painting. It must be remembered that fresco or fresh plaster painting is the simplest of all methods. It requires dexterity and practice, but, as there is no vehicle used with the pigment other than water, the preservative material is found in the exudation of dissolved silica as of a varnish. The colours

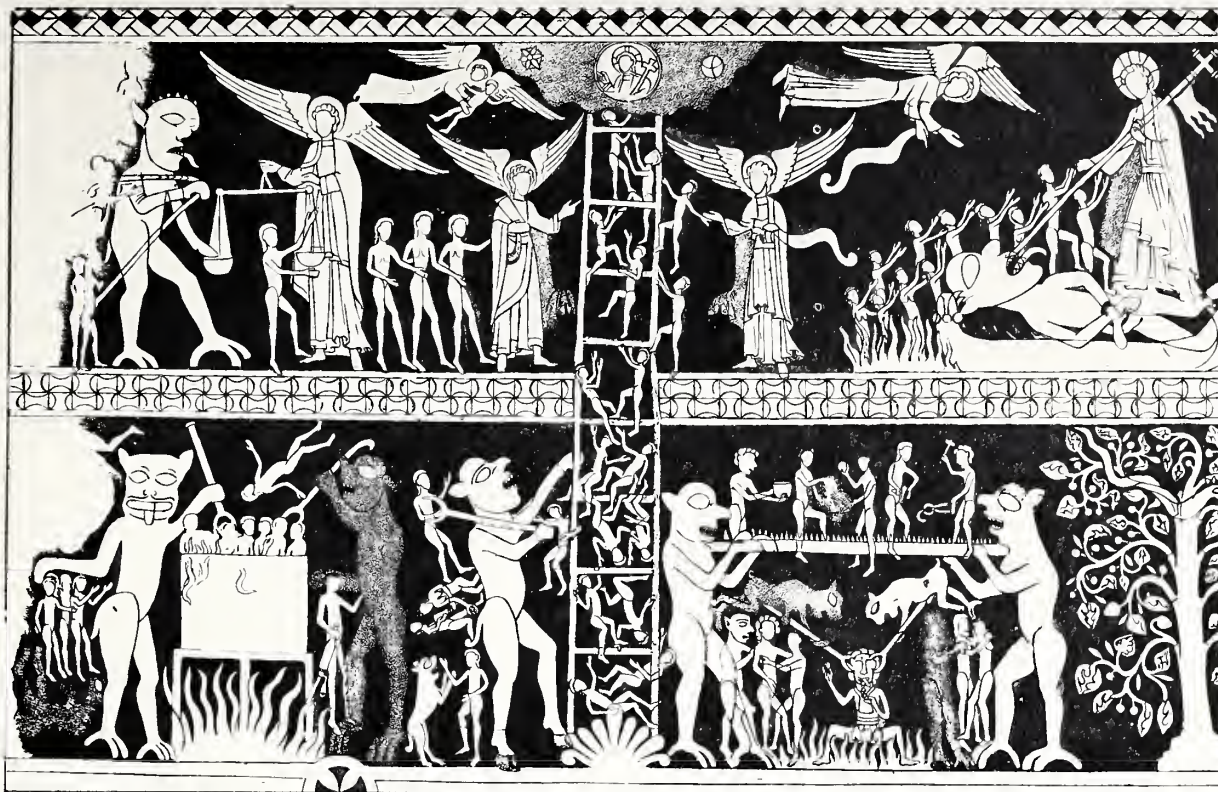
* Oil was used on wood, not on the wall, as a rule, as it saponifies with fresh lime, see Peterborough, p. 168, but oil does not produce a glaze; this is either varnish, or the silica caused by fresco. Pure *fresco* is not common in England.

† White over slaked lime is called by the old masters *bianco di S. Giovanni*. I think it is a badly adhering pigment, and the consequence of the decay in many *solidly* painted frescoes.

antiquity of oil* or varnish mediums at a very early date, but his description of the surface tallies completely with the result often obtained in good fresco, especially the glaze, and the loading on of the "S. Giovanni" † white, or pure slaked lime in this method.

In the first place, when the colour is applied to the wet wall

PLATE CXCV.



THE LADDER TO HEAVEN, FROM CHALDON, SURREY. IT IS TO BE NOTED THAT THE PALMETTE AT THE BASE CAN HARDLY SIGNIFY ANYTHING ELSE BUT THE "NEW LIFE."

P.S.—I have, since writing the above, seen "A Ladder to Heaven," by Baccio Baldini, the Florentine. It was republished by the Chalcographical Society in 1892. On the top of the ladder is Our Lord in Glory, surrounded by Angels. The rungs of the ladder are named *Sapientia*, *Intellecto*, *Consigno*, *Fortessa*, *Scientia*, *Pieta*, *Timor Domini*, *Justitia*, *Fortezza* (bis), *Temperantia*, *Prudentia*, *Humilita*. The uprights of the ladder are sacraments. The rock on which it rests is Faith, Hope, and Charity. Under the ladder a young man is held by one foot shackled, and a demon holds him. The young man has a scroll with "*Levavi oculos meos*" upon it. The shackle is named *Cecita*. Below the ladder are flames and fiends.

described as used are also those especially fitted for fresco, being mostly earths and minerals and not animal and vegetable products, such as cochineal and madder, or a chemical combination such as we have in Antwerp and Prussian blue. They are described as follows: * "At Hardham the colours employed are, with the possible exception of one, (a green) † earth or mineral colours. They consist in the main of deep

* Almost the same description is applied by another author to the Westmeston paintings. *Sussex Archaeological*, vol. xvi.

† Probably arsenical, as copper green turns brown.

PLATE CXCV.



PORTION OF A PAINTING FROM CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.

Indian red* which in some cases has a purplish cast; pink in various shades; a rich yellow ochre; brown umber, chiefly in outlines of features and nimbuses; cream and white, the latter in heightening outlines, features, and hands, for folds and details of costumes, lettering of inscriptions over the subjects, and for borders and divisions of the paintings. Besides these a brilliant emerald green (probably a metallic colour) is used for the nimbuses with fine effect, and for touches on the dresses. Cobalt

* Probably burnt ochres of various tones.

blue* appears in one painting side by side with a hot tomato red."

The subject on the west wall is the "Torments of the Damned," which subject also adorns the west wall of Chaldon Church, Surrey. It may have, therefore, been the usual locality for such subjects. The subjects of the upper part of the north, south, and east walls illustrate the nativity and infancy of Our Lord, those on the lower portions are allegorical and legendary.

Beginning on the southern side is the "Annunciation," then comes the "Visitation" and "Salutation" by S. Elizabeth. (Plate CXCI.). Over these on a red border is the legend "VIRGO SALUTATUR. STERILIS FECUNDA PROBATOR."† On the south nave wall we have the Nativity and the Shepherds. The appearance of the Star, the Magi on their journey, and Herod conferring with the Chief Priests and Scribes. Mr. Johnstone says: "Two circumstances directly mark this work as not later than about 1180, the square letter (E) and the heart-shaped shield."‡

In the upper tier of the north wall there are the subjects of the Magi presenting their gifts; a double picture, one over the other, of S. Joseph and the Magi warned in dreams; of the Flight into Egypt and the Massacre of the Innocents.

The next subject partly destroyed was the "Circumcision," or the "Presentation," and on the north half of the south wall of the nave "The Finding in the Temple."

Over the chancel arch there remain vestiges of a circular medallion; it is uncertain what subject was painted on it.

There are some fragments of paintings of the

* I have found the green at Chichester can be imitated by mixing cobalt, ochre and white. Cobalt was also used at S. Savin. See page 117.

† Mr. Johnston adds the leonine verses were a distinguishing feature of the destroyed Westmeston paintings, painted in the same manner, white Roman lettering on a red ground.

‡ The kite-shaped shield became by degrees wider at the top, as may be seen in the cases of some of the warders, and towards the close of the 12th century became considerably shortened. Sir F. Madden, *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv., p. 271.

occupations of the months, such as we frequently find also in sculpture and painted glass. On the lower end of the nave we have the "Circumcision," nearly obliterated, and "The Baptism." The south wall seems to have had episodes from the history of Dives and Lazarus.

In the north wall of the nave some representations from the history of S. George contain probably the earliest S. George in England (Plate CXCII.), as these subjects appear to be S. George at the Battle of Antioch and S. George on the wheel. The date of the siege of Antioch in which S. George miraculously intervened was 1098. In the chancel, pendant to the "Annunciation" we have the Fall of Adam and Eve, and Adam and Eve after the Expulsion.

It is questionable what were exactly the other paintings, perhaps corresponding figures of Apostles and Prophets, but on both sides of the east end and along the east wall are the Four-and-twenty Elders and portion of the Evangelical emblems, so that we may fairly conclude that the Adoration of our Lord in Majesty in Heaven was the central subject of the east, confronting the Hell of the western end. The Elders wear the square crown so frequently found in French glass and painting.* The subjects of the lower zone of the chancel are the Institution of the Holy Eucharist, and probably, The Betrayal, The Entombment, and the Three Holy Women of the Sepulchre. Mr. Johnston remarks on the absence of the "Crucifixion" and the "Ascension." Perhaps there was an altar picture of the former, and the latter is inferred by the representation of Our Lord in heaven.

The "Majesty" and the Resurrection from the Dead, from

PATCHAM

Church, is in its way as interesting as the Hardham paintings; indeed, it lends a light by which we can observe the varieties of style and treatment that subjects received in those village churches. Our

* Also at S. Savin, eleventh century. See *Prosper Mérimée*, and in glass at Le Mans. See *History of Design in Painted Glass*, vol. i., p. 6.

Lord in an aureole of quatrefoil form sits in the centre.

I think, notwithstanding certain archaicisms, that the painting is quite of the end of the twelfth century if it is not of the earlier years of the thirteenth. Moreover, the artist who carried out the work seems to have been employed in other works: his peculiarities in the ornament, and in the wings of the angels, are marked and resemble those at Claverley.

The painting (Plate CXCIV.) still remaining in the Church of

PLATE CXCVI.



THE "DOOM," FROM PATCHAM CHURCH, OF LATE 12TH CENTURY OR EARLY 13TH CENTURY WORK. THE LOWER ORNAMENT IS PROBABLY EARLIER.

chancel, and two aisles; a chapel on the south of the chancel and a south porch. It is probable that the aisles were added about the twelfth century, and at the

stode * cum Chalvedone" were granted to the monastery of Chertsey.

This grant to Chertsey was confirmed by King Edgar in 967, and in 1062 the same grant was confirmed by King Edward.

This painting has therefore considerable value as exhibiting the style of painting practised at that abbey.

The church is not forty feet in length, and consists of a nave,

and at the same time the paintings on the west wall were executed. It appears to have been originally dedicated to the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul. The painting under consideration measures 17ft. 2in. in length and 11ft. 2in. in height.

The subject is uncommon in mural painting, and, although the recipe for its composition is given in the Greek MS. to which I have

occasionally referred, I cannot call to my recollection another example either in the West or East.

The most pronounced object is a ladder springing

* It is questionable if these forms could be found in an 8th century MS.

CHALDON,

on the Surrey Downs, is another evidence of the reliance placed upon painting as a literature, and a method of teaching by a combination of episodes impressing the memory by the imagination, so common that it occurs, even in what may be termed a small and obscure village, in the twelfth century.

Chaldon Church is of considerable antiquity—Chaldon was called then Chalvedone. In a charter of Frithewald, "Subregulus Provinciae Surriatorum," dated 727, V. mansas "apud Chepe-

PLATE CXCVII.



PORTION OF A FRIEZE OF KNIGHTS IN COMBAT, FROM CLAVERLEY CHURCH, SHROPSHIRE.

from a palmette and reaching from the grave to heaven and to the presence of God. The ladder as a means of ascent to heaven, or as the symbol of passage, is common in literature. It is known to all of us in Jacob's vision, it is used metaphorically by many writers and in various beliefs. S. Gregory figuratively speaks of it as made of the wood of the cross.*

Leaving the central ladder, the picture is divided horizontally by a band of conventional clouds. The lower half appears to represent the region of the damned; in the upper part, on the left hand, is the weighing and judging of souls; and, on the right hand, Our Lord releasing the expectant souls from limbo. In an aureola at the top of the ladder is a bust of Our Lord blessing—He has the crossed nimbus and holds a cross. The sun, drawn as in ancient designs, is on His right hand, the moon on His left.

The lower section is divided into different forms of punishment intended to represent "Hell." On the extreme right is the Tree and Serpent, indicative of the fall of man. In the centre of this panel, at the bottom, is an eyeless man, with a money bag around his neck, and money drops from his mouth; he is being forced into flames by two demons. This is supposed to represent Usury or Covetousness—it may be intended for Judas. On either side of this centre are couples† evidently indicating a series of sins of lust and such like. Above this, two im-

* "Haec est scala peccatorum per quam Christus Rex Caelorum ad se traxit omnia. Cujus forma hoc ostendit Qui terrarum comprehendit quatuor confinia." S. Gregory, *Sequentia*.

It appears (*Times*, August 22, 1887) that the early Memphites had a belief in a ladder to the upper world. It is also the subject of a dream by Frater Leo in the *Speculum* of S. Francis. In the *Hortus deliciarum*, A.D. 1160, a MS. once at Strasbourg, but now destroyed, a somewhat similar ladder is described. See also Didron, *Iconographie Chrétienne*, p. 52.

These notes are from a copy of a paper extracted from the *Surrey Archaeological Society's Transactions* now in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and presented to the Society by the author of the paper, F. G. Waller, Esq., F.S.A. He has added in MS. a valuable fund of historical information upon each portion of the subject. This MS. is very valuable, but is too extensive to insert here, and it has a great deal of detail not necessary to every reader.

* See also 2 B., vii., B.M.

mense demons hold a bridge made like a saw. In the centre of the saw appears to be a woman tempting a man with an apple, a suggestion perhaps of disobedience. Church and highway robbery and such-like crimes appear in the old legends as "bridge" punishments.

In the department of "Hell" to the right is a cauldron full of sinners, a punishment which Mr. Waller, quoting Tundale's vision, says was probably thought fit for parricides and fratricides. Amongst the figures one holds a curious emblem, apparently a pilgrim's staff with a bottle, and doubtless the drunkard disfigured many religious pilgrimages.

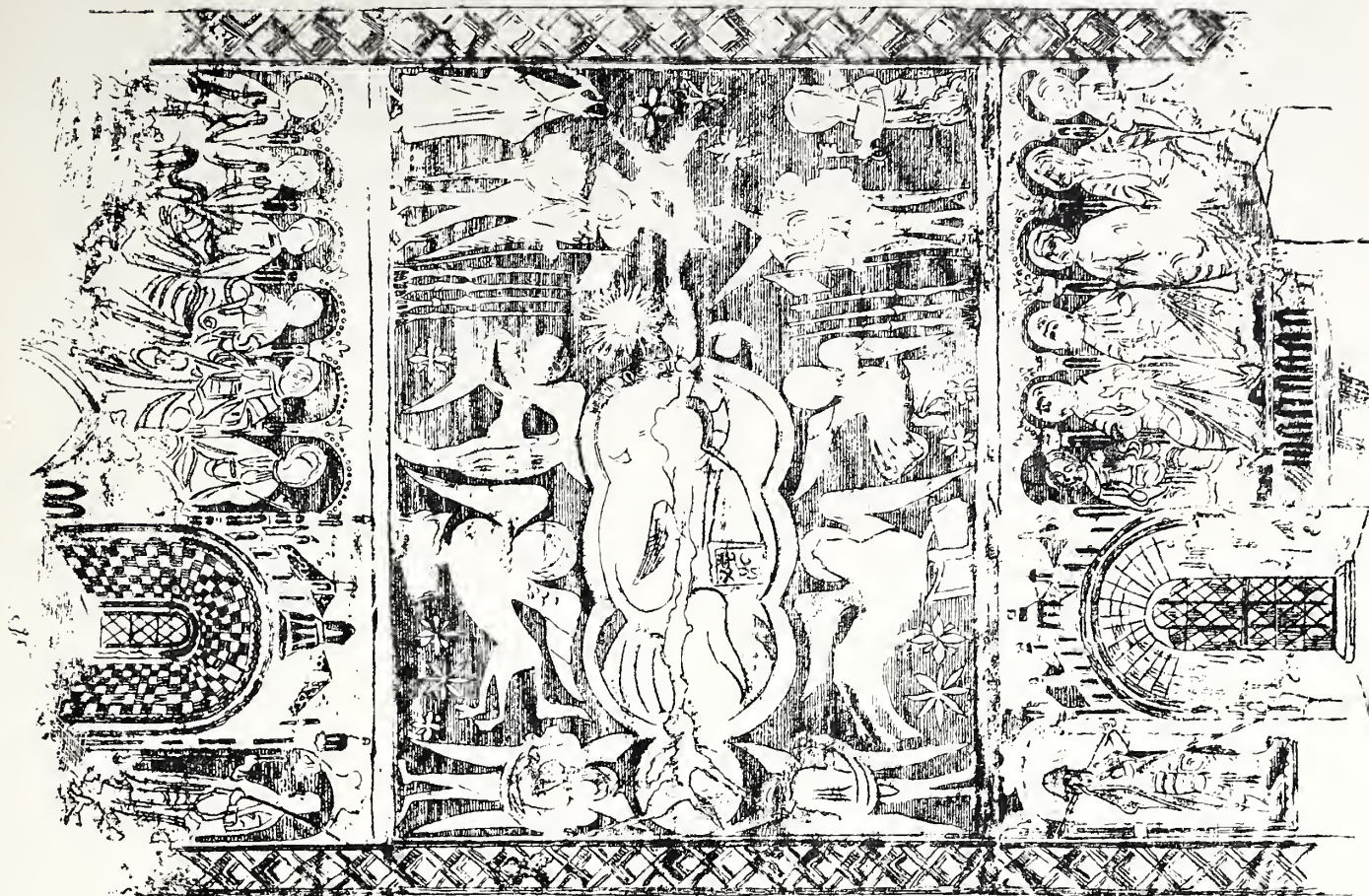
Many circumstances in the pictures are continually related from remote antiquity, and are also found described in the Apocryphal Gospels. The two middle figures on the side of the ladder ascending without being on the rungs may be Enoch and Elias, as related in the Gospel of S. Nicodemus. The genealogy of the various incidents on this painting are of such historical interest that almost an endless book might be written concerning them, but in the limited space at disposal in this history even a *résumé* would occupy too much room. It, however, tells us one thing, namely, that the painter was very learned in the lore of his art; he is not satisfied with the ordinary simple representation, but makes a learned and complicated painted sermon. Two details are of very great importance, as they show the survival amongst Christian artists of that which the pagan Romans themselves often neglected. I allude to the palmette sun over the grave, at the bottom of the ladder, as an emblem of the Resurrection.* It also occurs in the Crucifixion at *S. Angelo in Formis*, and the sun on Our Lord's left, which is represented as a rayed crossed wheel.†

The palmette probably was an emblem from very ancient art, or it may be that there was some Asiatic traditional ladder and the palmette. It is evident that this painting was the work of a very

* See Plate LXXXII., the Crucifixion, as the sacrifice by which we inherit the new life and the resurrection as the risen new life itself.

† Another reminiscence of antique sun-cult (vol. i., Plates LXII., LXIII).

PLATE CXCVIII.



PAINTINGS IN THE CHANCEL, KEMPLY, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

studious man, probably one of the learned monks of Chertsey, and the school of the art of this monastery here finds valuable illustration for comparison with that of Canterbury, Winchester, Lewes and Durham. The work appears unfinished,* as the features in two cases have not been filled in; the treatment of the nude is fairly clever and the composition well balanced. There is very little colour in the composition; what is there is of the simplest.

The interesting fragment of a figure, probably a Bishop (Plate CXCIV.), is on the wall of an arch of the earlier portion of

CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.

The figure is simply treated and the remains show considerable ability and dexterity in the drawing

* Or the pigment with which they were drawn has decayed. This occurs frequently in ancient painting wherein some colour used for the leading lines of the painting has desiccated and left a white vacancy on the wall.

both of the draperies and ornament. The colouring is of the usual type, a yellow earth, the same earth burnt forms the red, the blue is probably cobalt and the dull green made of the cobalt and yellow earth mixed. The fragment does not seem to be the production of either of the schools otherwise illustrated in this chapter.

The figure of a knight (Plate CXCVII.), from the Church of All Saints,

CLAVERLEY,

a village about seven miles north of Bridgnorth, Shropshire, is portion of a long frieze of knights on horseback. The whole length of the painting is about fifty feet, and its width about four feet eight inches. The colouring is of the usual simple kind in this class of painting, which is rude in style. Tied up in this rudeness of style there remain vestiges of historical painting traditions of an interesting character. They appear to have traditions

of the pottery type rather than of that of the higher class of work, and are more of the quality of the later twelfth century work at Soest, in Germany, and in small churches in France. A fragment of the ornament in the last chapter (Plate CCXXIII.) will recall to the reader's recollection many similar designs on the painting of vases or mosaic work. This phase of design crept into mediæval painting probably from Roman antiquity, but that Greek* vases or fragments of pottery were not unknown in religious houses at this period may be fairly presumed.

A more complete representation of this frieze, and a description of it, is to be found in the *Archæological Journal*.† The painting also illustrates another phase of twelfth century art life, and is, judging by some details, by the same hand as the Patcham Majesty (Plate CXCVI.). The family of Roger were connected with both places; the artist may have been under the patronage of the Montgomerys. Claverley is said to have belonged to Prémontré, and Patcham was probably Cluniac.

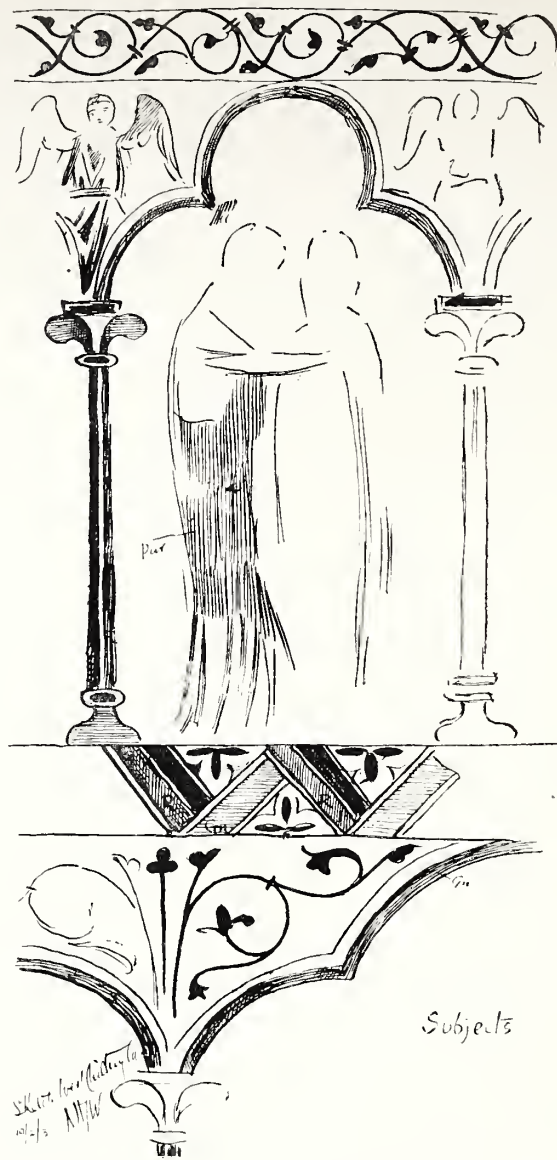
KEMPLEY, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

The illustration here given (Plate CXCVIII.)

Many of the Etruscan tombs had been plundered before their more recent discovery (see Dennis, *Etruria*, vol. i., p. 97).

† Vol. lx., pp. 51 to 71. Mr. P. M. Johnston, the author of the article, thinks it represents the combat between Roger de Montgomery and the Englishman at the battle of Hastings. Mr. S. John Hope rather differs in opinion, and surmises that it may be the conversion of S. Paul, and that the apparent *mêlée* is the result of the fright of the knights. Personally I should prefer the latter explanation, the subject being on a church wall, if there were a vestige of nimbus on the head of the falling knight. See Mr. Johnston's reply, *Sussex Archæological Journal*, vol. 1904.

PLATE CXCIX.



THE "VISITATION" WITH SURROUNDING ORNAMENTS,
WEST CHILTINGTON.

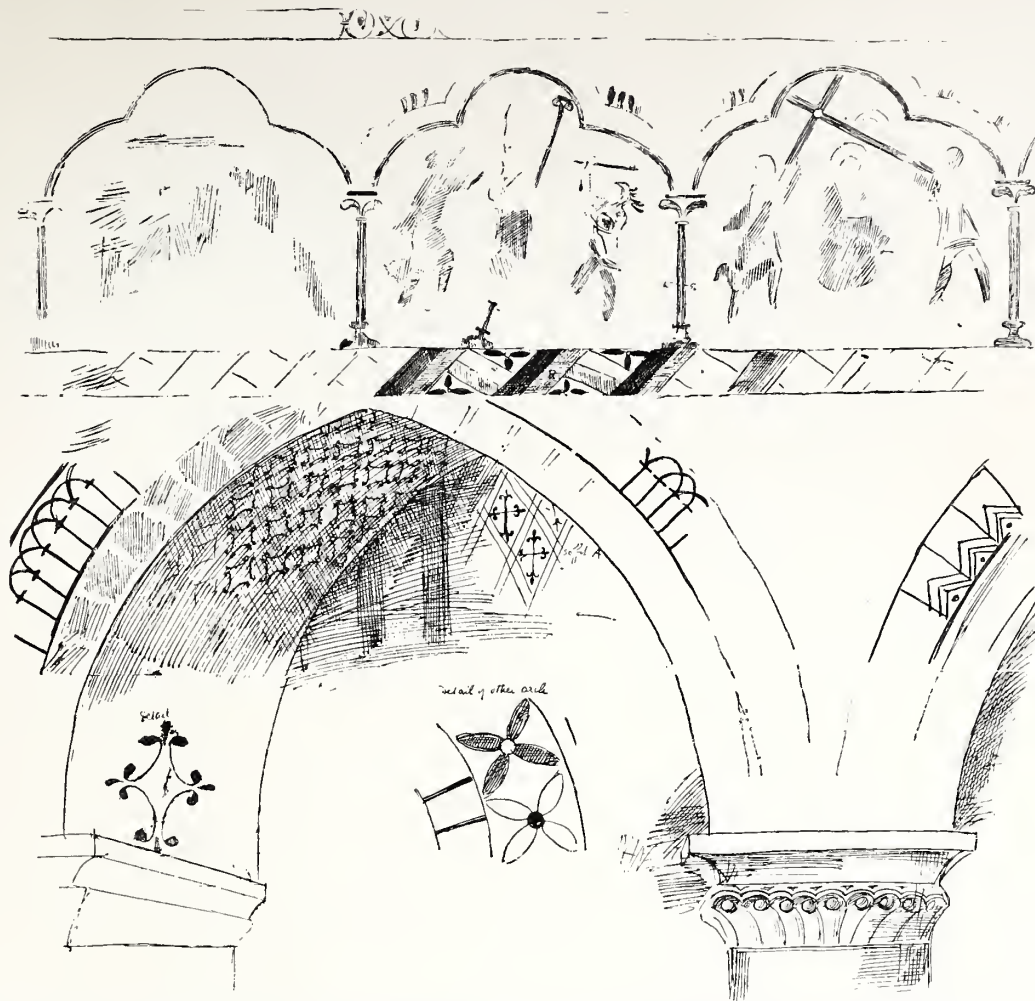
is from a drawing made by the late Professor Middleton, and is published in the *Archæologia* of 1881.* It is there printed in colours to imitate those which are of the usual character in English work of this era: an earth yellow such as ochre, the same burnt for red, a kind of dull cobalt, black, white, and the various admixtures obtained from combinations of these colours. The church is of the Norman period and dedicated to Our Lady.

It is simply formed of a nave and sanctuary; the former about 39 feet by 19, and the latter 18 by 14. The paintings were hidden by a coat of white-wash until 1871, when they were uncovered under the direction of the late Professor Middleton. The subjects represented are in the sanctuary. Upon the barrel vault and side walls is Our Lord in Majesty, and on either side of Him, under canopies, the Apostles are arranged quite in the same way as the reader has already had under consideration in the churches of Germany and France.

The figure of Our Lord is more than life-size. He is seated on the "bow," with the earth (a globe) under His feet; the nimbus is cruciferous, the right hand has evidently been blessing, and the left hand holds an open book with : IHC : XPS upon it. The aureola is of peculiar shape, and above it is the sun, represented rayed; and the moon; around it the four evangelical emblems. At the west end, on either side, are two cherubim, each holding souls; which, one may presume, are come to judgment and beatification. There are also two other cherubim at the eastern side, each holds a flag and book; between

* Pp. 187 to 194. The text which accompanies the illustration is by Mr. Micklethwaite. To this I would refer the reader for further information.

PLATE CC.



THREE PANELS FROM WEST CHILTON, TWO OF WHICH APPARENTLY WERE THE "FLAGELLATION" AND THE PLACING OF THE CROWN ON OUR LORD, WITH SURROUNDING ORNAMENTATION.

these and the "Majesty" are the seven candlesticks. Still more to the east there are figures of Our Lady and S. Peter. One lady has a tall crown, and is without nimbus. She carries a book and S. Peter his key. All this portion, and that of the Apostles, has a red background. The Apostles, the heads of which are more natural than traditional, each appear to hold

in adoration, a book on his chest. Beyond the windows shown in the illustration, are two other figures under canopies similar to those of the Apostles but larger.

One of these wears a cap like Prophets usually have; both hold staves, one over the shoulder, the other in the hand. It is impossible to say whether these are Prophets, or figures of benefactors, whose souls are carried by the Cherubim above them into heaven. The east end of the chancel has below the window the same riband pattern as there is around the vault. Over the window are three roundels, in which are three angels holding emblems.

On each side of the window are figures in canopies; on the south side the figure is a bishop, with a pastoral staff, blessing, and vested in a blue chasuble and maniple with yellow lining—the maniple fimbriated like the stole at Clayton. Around the neck is a red band, probably the

apparel of the amice. The dalmatic is long, reaching nearly to the feet. The mitre is short and red. At the feet of this bishop is an object like a small black pitcher, the emblem of S. Bede.

Over the windows is continued the canopy work of the niches above the Apostles; around them are two red lines, whilst the splays are covered with a chequer of red and white, the

white square having a blue pattern on it. Some portions of the ornament remind one of the subsidiary work at Copford, and others of the thirteenth century work at Easby. In the nave, paintings of various dates are still in existence; that over the chancel aisle appears to be of the same date as that within it. Over a semi-lozenge pattern of blue and white Our Lord is seated on the bow, coming to judgment, whereas in the chancel He is in His beatitude of the Eternal Sabbath; the upper part is cut off by the roof. The other figures are nearly obliterated, except one angel with a trumpet.

On each side of the chancel there has been a figure under a canopy.

The Norman nave at

WEST CHILTON

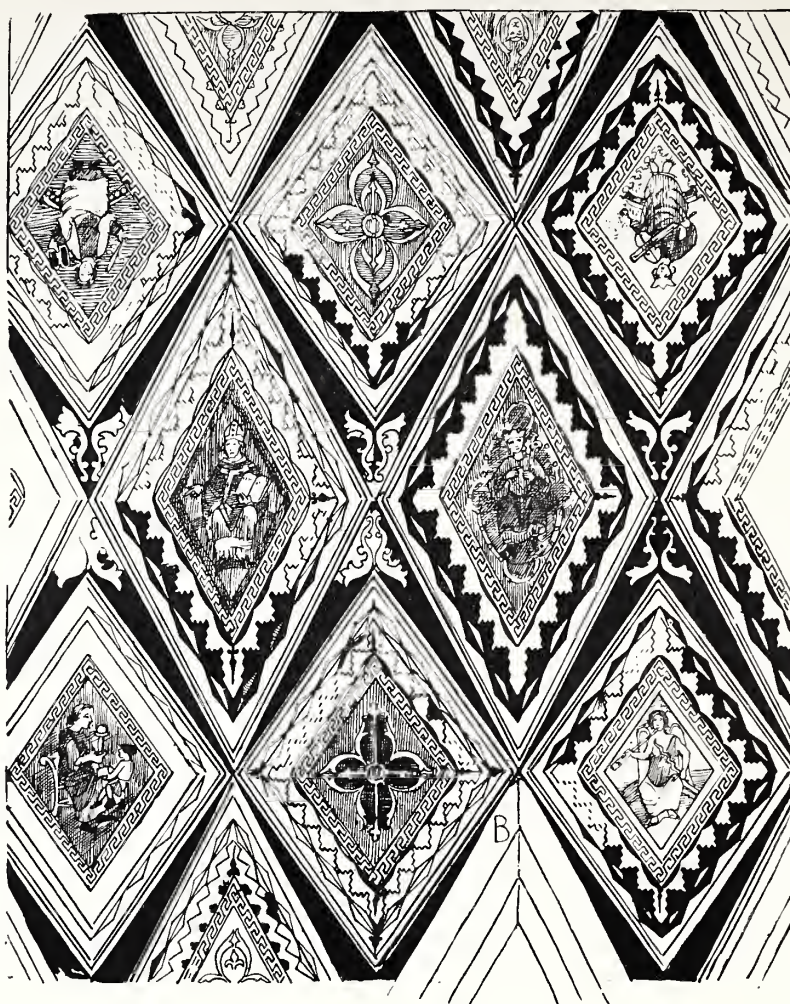
in Sussex has some interesting remains of paintings,

the earliest of which is probably of the last quarter of the twelfth century. Although the figure subjects are very much decayed, the general arrangement of the whole design of the wall is fairly clear. Facing one, on entering the north door, is a zone of subjects under a painted arcade over the nave arches (Plate CC.), underneath the arcade is a riband band of black and red, and above it a scroll pattern, such as we find in all countries at the period. The fragments of subjects are from Our Lord's passion, but they are almost obliterated. The columns, capitals, and crockets of the arcade are painted with a free brush in solid red colour, quite typical

and befitting this style of work. The band below the arcade cuts into a decoration over the arches which is apparently of earlier date and contemporaneous with the architecture, the soffit of the arch is decorated with a later pattern.

On the north wall there is also a series of subjects with accessories similar in their artistic treatment. The subjects, one of which is the Visitation (Plate CXCIX.), are under an arcade in the spandrels of which are seated angels. Below the arcade is a repetition of the riband pattern, and above it the scroll design. Below this upper zone of arcades there is another of wider arches, the spandrels of which are filled with foliated ornament. The colours are the same as usual in this kind of wall work, this portion of which is probably of the last quarter of the twelfth century.

PLATE CCI.



PART OF THE PAINTED CEILING, PETERBOROUGH. B SHOWS THE WOODEN CONSTRUCTION ON THE LINES OF WHICH THE DECORATION IS DESIGNED.

The painted roof of PETERBOROUGH

Cathedral is the oldest painted ceiling now remaining in England and, I think, the oldest painted woodwork, and, what is more curious, was very probably executed in oil colour, as in the inventory of Ely oil is mentioned for use in tempering the colours; moreover, in the succeeding century, it certainly was in common use, as I shall have occasion to show in the succeeding volume.

That the details of foliage and figures have been somewhat altered in a restoration which took place some* hundred and fifty years ago is evident on examination. The reason for

the curious arrangement of the design is to be found in the wooden construction of the roof, which is shown at B in Plate CCI.

* The Bishop of Peterborough told Mr. Poynall, August, 1773, that "He heard that the man who about thirty years ago was employed to repair the ceiling was still living. He sent for him and learnt from him that the whole was painted in oil. He assured his lordship that several of the figures were entirely encrusted with dirt, but that upon applying a sponge they became clear and bright, whence he concludes that the last coat was of oil. He assured his lordship that he only retraced the figures, except in one instance, the third or fourth compartment from the west door, where the whole figure peeled off. In this single instance he followed his own fancy, having nothing else to trust to, and even here he endeavoured to imitate the style of the rest."—*Archæologia*, vol. ix., p. 150.

Certain fragments of wall paintings in

PITTINGTON CHURCH,

Durham, are valuable as throwing some light on the course of certain practices which were then probably comparatively modern. To one of these I may draw especial attention; it is the painting of the eyes in blue, and the subsequent fading away or desiccation of the blue iris in the paintings. The pigment used may have been smalt or cobalt, and neither of these colours has that affinity for the plaister which would cause it to endure so long as the earth colours used at the same time.

I have called attention to this circumstance in the Burgfelden work* of 1016 A.D. in Germany, and in some of the paintings of S. Savin,† Poncé (Sarthe), and Montoire‡ in France, and in England especially to the Chaldon and Clayton remains,§ wherein we also find other resemblances to these fragments in the crown and in the crozier, mitre and vesture of the Bishop (Plate CCII.).

The Burgfelden work is the earliest of these, and it would be reasonable to suppose that the blue eye was first introduced in the German work. It shows how all the schools were in touch with each other.

My plates are taken from a pamphlet by the Rev. J. F. Fowler in the library of the Society of Antiquaries,|| from which also comes the accompany-

PLATE CCII.



WALL PAINTINGS FROM PITTINGTON.

ing footnote.* The plates were copied from some tracings made by Mr. N. Hamlyn.

* The former of these (Plate A.) is partly destroyed, but what is left is in fair preservation. Neither of the paintings has any appearance of having been whitewashed over, which confirms the tradition that points to other paintings existing when the gallery was put up. The illustration speaks for itself. Theodore is pouring the anointing oil on Cuthbert's head from a large flask or cruet, while holding his crozier in his left hand. This consecration took place in York Minster, March 26th, A.D. 685, and the words used by Theodore in the act of anointing would doubtless be similar to, if not identical with, those which we find in the Pontifical of Egbert, Archbishop of York, A.D. 732-766. (*Surtees Soc.*, vol. xxvii., p. 3). "Modo mittendum est oleum in caput ejus Unguatur et consecratur (*sic*) caput tuum coelesti benedictione in ordine pontificali. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Pax tibi, et cum spiritu tuo." We find the same form in the Pontificale Romanum, but with the correct reading, "consecratur." The hands were, and are, in the Roman rite anointed as well as the head, but the artist has chosen the more striking and characteristic act. Over the archbishop's shoulder we see the head of Ecgfrith, King of Northumbria, who was present at the consecration, together with seven bishops, including Theodore. (*Beda, Vit. S. Cuthb.*, xxiv.; *Ecc. Hist.*, iv., xxviii.; *Vit. Anon.*, iv., 30.) The same subject is treated somewhat differently in the S. Cuthbert window

in York Minster, and again, in the S. Cuthbert paintings on the backs of the stalls in Carlisle Cathedral, both of which are much later in date. In neither of these is the act of anointing represented. The accompanying couplet at Carlisle is—

Consecrate byshop yai made by her
Off lyndisfarne both far and ner.

The second subject is S. Cuthbert's vision at Ælflede's table. I will take the liberty of quoting the story from my own account of the S. Cuthbert window at York (*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, iv., 340). "When Cuthbert, conscious of approaching death, resolved to return to a solitary life, he made a farewell visitation of his diocese and acquaintance. While thus engaged as he was sitting at meat with the abbess Ælflede in her monastery at Osingadun (near Whitby) he suddenly turned his mind from the carnal feast to the contemplation of spiritual things. His limbs shook, his colour

* P. 132; Plate CL.

† Plate CXXXI.

‡ Plate CXLIII.

§ Pages 153 *et seq.*

|| 121D.

These paintings occupied the splay of the westernmost of the Norman windows, above the arcade, and are considered to have been executed between 1070 and 1150. The latter date seems to me by far the most reasonable in considering the technique of the work.

It is said that an old man, remembered by one of the parishioners, used to speak of the interior of this church as having been covered with paintings, which were destroyed in 1807 when the building was altered.

The incidents represented

changed, his eyes looked astounded, and his knife dropped. The abbess asked him what he had seen, and he at first playfully dissembled, asking her if she thought he could eat the whole day. But as she urged him to reveal the vision, he said, 'I have seen the soul of a certain holy person borne up by the hands of angels to the joys of the Kingdom of Heaven.' She asked, 'From what place was he taken?' He replied, 'From your own monastery'; and on her asking the name of the person, he said, 'To-morrow, when I am celebrating mass, you shall yourself tell me his name.' She now sent to her greater monastery (Whitby) to make enquiry, but the messenger found all well there. On his return the next day, however, he met some persons carrying in a cart the body of a deceased brother to be buried, and found that it was one of the shepherds, a holy man, who had climbed a tree and fallen down, and was so much injured that he expired at the very time when the man of God had seen him borne up to heaven. The messenger at once told the abbess, who immediately went to the bishop, then engaged in dedicating the church, and with womanlike astonishment, 'I pray you,' said

PLATE CCIII.



PAINTING FROM THE GALILÉE, DURHAM.*

* *The Psalter of S. Louis*, 147 T L, Arsenal Library, Paris, has the same kind of ornaments.

are from the life of St. Cuthbert, viz., his consecration by Archbishop Theodore, and his vision at the table of Ælfleda.

The resemblance of the paintings of Pilkington to miniatures representing the same incidents in different manuscripts referred to in the footnote, again, points to the scriptorium as the centre or origin of the wall paintings.

In the plates given the red lines dominate, as they were evidently sketched into the wall at first when it had moist suction, or perhaps

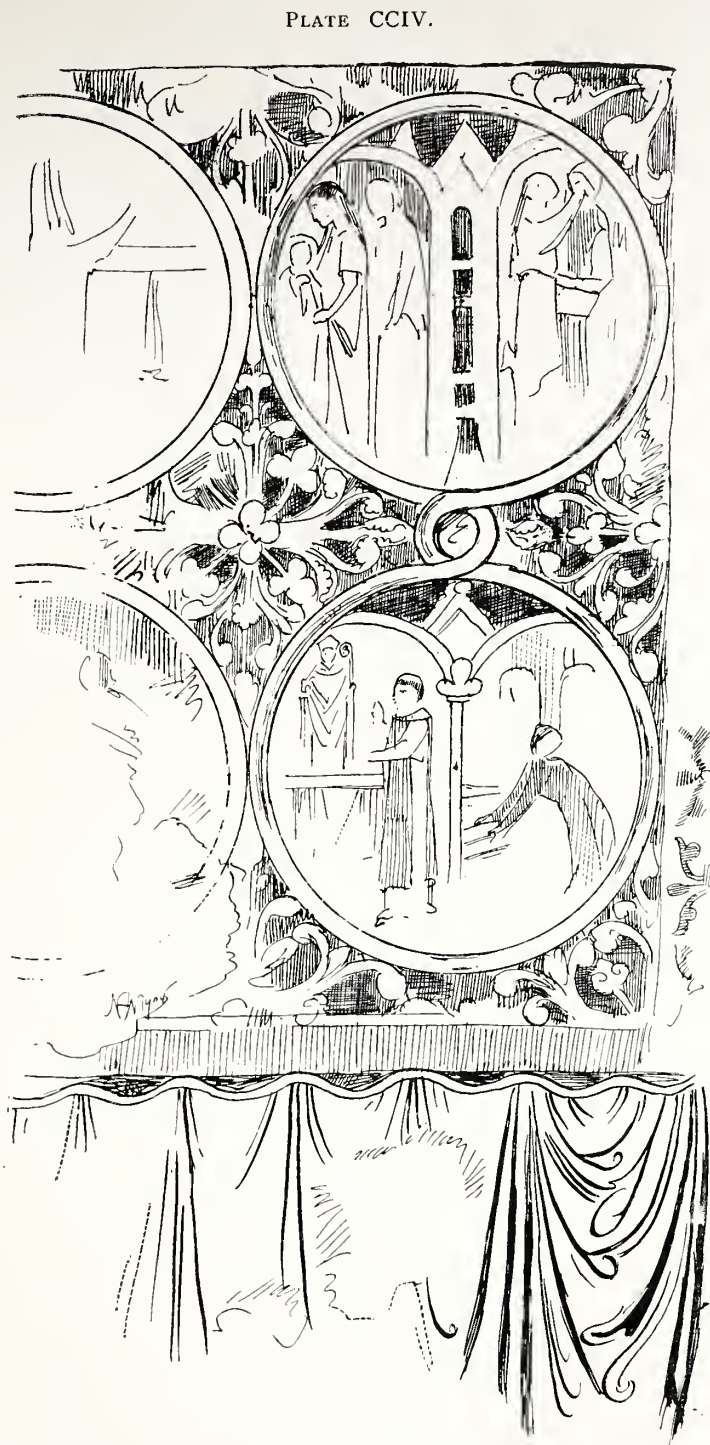
she, 'my lord bishop, remember during mass the soul of my servant Haduuald, who died yesterday by falling from a tree.' Thus was manifested the spirit of prophecy in the holy man." *Beda, Vit. S. Cuthb.*, xxxiv.; *Vit. Anon.*, iv., 39). This interesting story has afforded a favourite subject for pictorial illustration, and has been represented in much the same way in all cases, though with more or less of detail. In the S. Cuthbert window at York two angels are receiving Haduuald's soul in clouds above. In an illuminated MS. containing lives of S. Cuthbert, now in the library of University College, Oxford [MS. CLXV.], but probably in Durham Abbey originally, is a picture remarkably like the Pitlington wall painting. The date of the MS. is about A.D. 1085, and the artist employed at Pitlington may probably have seen it. There, however, S. Cuthbert is nimbed,

and the knife is just dropping from his hand.

In the "Lawson MS." at Brough Hall, of about A.D. 1150, the subject is treated in a very similar way, but Haduuald's fall is shown in a separate picture. Here, too, the knife is dropping from Cuthbert's hand; a man in secular attire is delivering a letter to the abbess.—*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, iv., 332.

even when the plaster or limewash was wet, but there are remains of a fair amount of modelling probably done afterwards in tempera, which would correct the crude impression left by the lines when the work was new.

There was also some variety of treatment, especially in the white vestments which in the cowl of S. Cuthbert is defined with red lines tinted with a cream white, and touched in with blue shadows. The white of the figure with a cloak in *B* has no red lines, but the folds are indicated by blue, whilst the wimple of Ælfedor is defined by green lines, and her cowl, as in the case of S. Cuthbert, with red lines and blue tones. The shadows of the white tablecloth are yellow, defined by red lines, and the trunk of the tree in the background is now of a similar treatment, the green overpainting may have fallen off.



DURHAM.

PAINTING IN ROMSEY ABBEY.

The cathedral at Durham presents us with an entirely different school of art. The paintings of the Galilee porch, which have already been illustrated and described, to a certain extent, in one of my previous works* and the opposite figure to the King herein illustrated (Plate CCIII.) was given.†

* *A History of Design in Painted Glass*, vol. i., p. 38. (Parker, London.)

† Plate XVIII., *ibid.*

It is the figure of a bishop, and is supposed to represent Bishop Pudsey or De Pinset, who built the porch. He was elevated to the See in 1153 A.D., and occupied it until 1195 A.D.

This is in every way possible, neither the King, probably Henry II.* (1154-1189 A.D.) nor the bishop are nimbed either with the round nimbus of the dead or with the square nimbus given to the living, as in Italian art.† This practice, however, seems never to have obtained in England.

That the painting is later than it appears to be, if considered by the side of South-country art, is highly probable. It has none of the characteristics of the Celtic-Saxon art, such as we find in the MSS. of the S. Cuthbert school, nor even of the Carolingian varieties, but, on the contrary, has resemblances to later French work, especially that at Petit Quevilly.‡ This is shown in the chapter on Ornament.

One of the marks of historic decadence, besides the loss of proportion and disfigurement of detail shown in the late Christian periods, was the fanciful and ill-drawn variations of the Acanthus.§

* Some authorities suppose this to be Richard I., but the details of the costume do not warrant this.

† See *ante*, pp. 49, 66, and 67.

‡ See Plate CCXI., *C* and *E*.

§ See Plates CCXI., CCXII.

This is shown on the paintings in S. Clement's,* Rome, in the tenth century, and its effect in France in the decorations of the churches of S. Quiriac Pro vins (Seine-et-Marne), and of Petit Quevilly (Seine Inferieure) of the twelfth century, and in the upper ornament at Durham. Moreover, it finds its way into painted glass in the same localities† of France, and was imported into England about the same period, or a little later. The Church of S. Julien, Petit Quevilly, was built by Henry II. soon after 1162; the identity of style is therefore not surprising, and in both churches we identify a style of ornament which was adopted by the glass-painters. Norman art only succeeded in establishing itself in England after the general hatred, monastic and popular, of the Conquerors had been somewhat crushed, when, I am sorry to say, it supplanted the more Saxon schools. All these styles had their influence on our national art in the succeeding century.

The painting at Durham appears, like some other English work, to have been fresco of some kind—*i.e.*, painting on fresh plaister, or lime-white, the more common practice here, for the painting was executed in the wall whilst still absorbing, as the colour has penetrated considerably into the plaister. The figures are outlined in a dark burnt ochre, and the shadows painted with fine colour and water, without any solid white admixture, there is no doubt but that this latter is the more permanent plan; the admixture of the S. Giovanni or lime-white with the pigment requires a very freshly plaistered wall, so that the silicate may cover it when the wall is sweating, or the pigments will flake away.

The very interesting painting from the abbey of S. Mary and S. Ethelfleda in

ROMSEY ‡

is on one of the piers at the extreme eastern end of

Plate CCXI.

† See Plates XI., XII., XXII., XXIII. *History of Design in Painted Glass*, vol. i. I observe that the interesting glass given in vol. iii. of the *History of Design in Painted Glass*, has been removed from the abbey.

‡ The insertion of a lot of indifferent glass in the aisles, and of perpendicular work in the Norman transept, frittering away its grandeur by its monotonous and small details, does not

the abbey. It is probably of the later years of the twelfth century and is Norman in character, resembling in many ways the work in churches at Petit Quevilly (Plate CXLIV.) and S. Emilion (Gironde). I have not been able as yet to identify the subjects, which are painted in circles interlacing in the middle. Two of the circles have been cut in two when the present eastern wall was built. The ornament generally is on a dark red ground and is shadowed in light tints of various colours, the circles having pale yellow shadowing.

S. ALBAN'S ABBEY AND BINSTED.

I am considering these works together on account of a peculiarity in the blackness of the flesh, to which I have already called attention in the paintings of Montoire* in France and of Oberzell† in Germany. This "blackness" I have attributed to the use of lead in mixing colours for the flesh tint.

The pigment which we now call red lead was of common use in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, and is frequently found in the miniatures of the manuscripts, but its use, as I suppose, as a tinting quality of flesh appears suddenly in about A.D. 1200, and as suddenly disappears, probably because its tendency to discolour rapidly in mixture with other pigment was very soon discovered.

During the last century many celebrated artists, and I think amongst others Sir J. Reynolds, used it. Turner used it in the sunset of the "*Old Téméraire*," but it is protected by thick coats of varnish.

There is no doubt of its value as a colour both in flesh and in other parts of a picture, but its beauty is fatal.

In the old MSS. it is curious that in pages which have laid close together in the binding it is still scarlet, but wherever air or damp have had access it is black.

The archæologist and general reader may think

make amends for this. The piece of sculpture inserted in the perpendicular reredos in the east of the south choir aisle is extremely interesting, and bears marks of being early.

* Plate CXLIII.

† Plate CLII.

me rash in presenting the enclosed picture from S. Albans as early work, when such an authority as Mr. Waller* places it later than the painting on the more eastern column; but I should consider that example, from its general conformation and its resemblance to MS. work, as of about 1300 A.D., and by no means as the work of John of Colchester; but this question will be more fully dealt with in the succeeding volume.

In the twelfth century the master builder or architect was often a craftsman, and Mr. Page, † in his essay, quotes the circumstance that Richard the painter supplemented the building of Hereford Castle in 1172.

The Norman church of S. Albans was built by Abbot Paul of Caen in 1077-1093 A.D., and from every circumstance we should expect to find at S. Albans Norman influence, so that the resemblance to the colouring of Montoire (Plate CXLIII.) in this painting is not remarkable. Walter of Colchester, the painter, was practising in 1192 A.D., and seems to have become a monk of S. Albans at or before 1200 A.D., and in 1213 he had working under him his brother Simon — Richard Simon's son, and apparently Alan, a lay brother

PLATE CCV.



S. MARGARET. FROM BINSTEAD, SUSSEX.

PLATE CCVI.



A CRUCIFIXION. FROM ST. ALBAN'S ABBEY.

painter.* Matthew Paris describes him as *Prælectus pictor*, and, *sculptor et pictor incomparabilis*.

The painting illustrated in Plate CCVI. may possibly be by Walter of Colchester; there is every evidence, in its colour and the linear design of its drapery, of being the work of his period. This linear detail is not sufficiently characterised in the sketch given in the *Archæologia*, and it is valuable as evidence of period.

There are only two circumstances which would imply any later date, and these are not certain evidences. I allude to the bent position of the body and the cross raguly. The bent position of the body is, however, found in French works of the period; for example, at Liget (Plate CXLVI.) and also in Germany (Plate CLII.), and curiously also combined with the dark flesh. Moreover, as is commonly the case in old English work, I think there are retouchings, if not repaintings. The cross is possibly amongst repaintings which have been mixed up in the cleaning and restoration with older work.

From

BINSTEAD

in Sussex come the paintings (Plate CCV). They occupy the splays of a Norman window on the

* See the list of authorities arranged against me in the *Archæologia*, vol. lviii., p. 282.

† *Ibid.*, vol. l., p. 275, from *Pipe Roll Soc.*, xix., 39; xxi., 121.

* Mr. Page, *Archæologia*, vol. lviii., p. 279.

north side of the chancel. On the one side is S. Margaret, presumably of Scotland.* Moreover, it is probably the earliest effigy of that Saint, and was painted immediately after her canonisation. On the opposite side is a three-branched tree; some one has supposed it to be intended for the "Tree of Life," but such trees are sometimes used as ornaments only, in old work.† Around the window is a red arcaded ornament having red spots at its base and green spots in the intervals. Over the centre of the arch is a star or sun emblem, very like the octopus or cuttlefish ornament of antiquity, which also may have been a sun emblem because of its radiation.‡ The colouring is much the same as all other works of the period, excepting the flesh, which is black. The reason of this and its resemblance to other works of approximate date has already been dwelt upon. The whole church bears evidence of having been wholly coloured with subjects and ornaments; indeed, vestiges, now decayed, of these paintings were seen during the time of persons still living. The date of the work is of the last quarter of the twelfth century or a trifle earlier. The plate is from a drawing by Mr. P. M. Johnston, done in 1888.

There are other remaining examples of twelfth century painting in England, although many have been destroyed, such as those at Derehurst, near Tewkesbury, but enough are given to form a good notion of its historical character.

We have now followed the history of painting in its remarkable vicissitudes up to the commencement of the thirteenth century. We have seen it as a

It is presumed by the writer of the article in the *Sussex Arch. Jnl.*, vol. xx., p. 226, that there was Scottish influence in the neighbourhood, as the coin of a Scottish king, *circa* 1060, was found there!

† See Plate CLXXXIII.

‡ Vol. i., pp. 49, 50, and 60.

great teaching power of the early ages—attractive by its beauty. We have found it the language of all nations, as the popular accompanist of literature, as the vehicle and emblem of the greatest culture that this world has ever experienced; it was allied to the Arts making beautiful objects of commerce, objects carried by merchants over wide areas, thus propagating the knowledge of the culture of civilised centres.

It gave beauty and splendour to temples, palaces and houses. It reduced the melancholy of the tomb and consoled the mourner. It rendered comely objects of use and refined the nature of the user.

It appears evident that from about the fifth until the twelfth centuries it was cultivated principally in the religious houses. The records of manuscripts and the localities of the work tell us that in the East its home was in the monasteries under the rule of S. Basil, and in the West in those of S. Benedict hence the communication between the monasteries of these orders was the great medium of its re-introduction into the new kingdoms of the West.*

In the period of which we have arrived, a new medium and a powerful factor of intercommunication became prominent.

The great leagues of commerce were forming. These leagues grew in strength, and gradually formed themselves into that great Hanseatic League, almost of imperial power. They brought the best artists from the East, as well as the most artistic treasures, and the Phœnician period was apparently revived. This portion of the subject, with the coming of the Friars, the variations in power of the hierarchy, the Parliaments, the kings and the peoples upon the culture of Art, will form interesting topics for future volumes.

* S. Benedict, at the conclusion of his rule, says it is not for those who seek absolute perfection—such as these should join the brother order of S. Basil.

PLATE CCVII.



COPFORD CHURCH. CONDITION OF FRESCO BEFORE RESTORATION.
 (SEE PLATE CXC.)

Since the completion and setting up of this chapter I have, by good fortune, discovered the restorer, or rather the gentleman who superintended this restoration—namely, Mr. Robert Dawson—and he has fortunately preserved a photograph of the decoration before it was retouched; this I here present to the reader. It entirely bears out all my speculations, but, unfortunately, the head is not shown in the photo-

graph. My opinion is, however, stronger than ever, seeing how much is new, that the crown is an addition. Traces of the heads on the soffit of the arch give the reader an idea of the general design which comprised the Signs of the Zodiac. Fortunately, fragments of the interesting details of the window splays, capitals, columns, given in Plates CCX., CCXXI., &c., were, according to the photograph, preserved.

CHAPTER VIII.

ORNAMENT.

ARRANGEMENT OF ORNAMENT IN THE CATACOMBS ; EARLY INSCRIPTIONS ; ROMAN ORNAMENT IN ENGLAND ; THE ROSETTE AND PALMETTE ; THE SWASTICA, FRET AND RIBAND ; THE DEGRADED ACANTHUS ; THE SCROLL ; COPTIC ORNAMENT : INTERLACING ORNAMENT ; CELTIC DETAILS ; ENGLISH, DURHAM AND NEWMINSTER (WINCHESTER) WORK ; VARIOUS DETAILS SHOWING TRANSITION DESIGNS.

THE general arrangements of the pictorial compositions in wall painting of the period under review, with the ornamental details of such arrangements and the developments necessitated by architectural changes, have been already described in the foregoing pages ; it is not, therefore, my intention to recapitulate all these descriptions in which references are continually made to the illustrations in this chapter.

A short general survey of the development of details is, however, given, with such farther description of their origin as may be useful to the reader. Concerning English work especially, it is a great misfortune that as yet, although we have considerable remains of mosaic pavements, showing the current of design during the Roman period, we have very little painting. To this circumstance I have already alluded.*

A very valuable fragment from a Roman dado at Silchester is given below, in a footnote,† with

Page 141.

† The fragments of painted wall decoration, with two exceptions, were turned up in various places, and cannot be assigned to any particular chamber in either house. The exceptions are the painted plaster from the lazarium in House No. 2, and from Chamber 22 in House No. 1. The fragments may be classed as follows: representations of drapery, imitations of marbles, architectural forms, and floral and other ornaments.

Of the two or three specimens showing draperies, one is of a gold colour with the folds dependent from shaded lines, probably imitations of mouldings. This fragment may be part of a painting representing a hanging round the lower part of a room; such a hanging as was depicted as a dado on the

the description of its colouring from the article in the *Archæologia*. It will be seen that it is of exactly the same type as we have been accustomed to see in paintings at Rome itself, and we may safely conclude that the mural painting in England during the Roman period was such as has already been described in these volumes.

The peculiarities of the Celtic, Carlovingian and

walls of a villa found at Combe End, in Gloucestershire. Other fragments are possibly portions of draped figures.

The imitations of marbles come, doubtless, from dadoes, though the panels there painted may have been continued upwards as pilasters framing variously coloured spaces. Dadoes representing marbles are to be found in the Pompeian houses, and there, as here, the representation is not an attempt to slavishly imitate in colour and texture the real substance, but is a true picture of the marble; a far higher form of art.

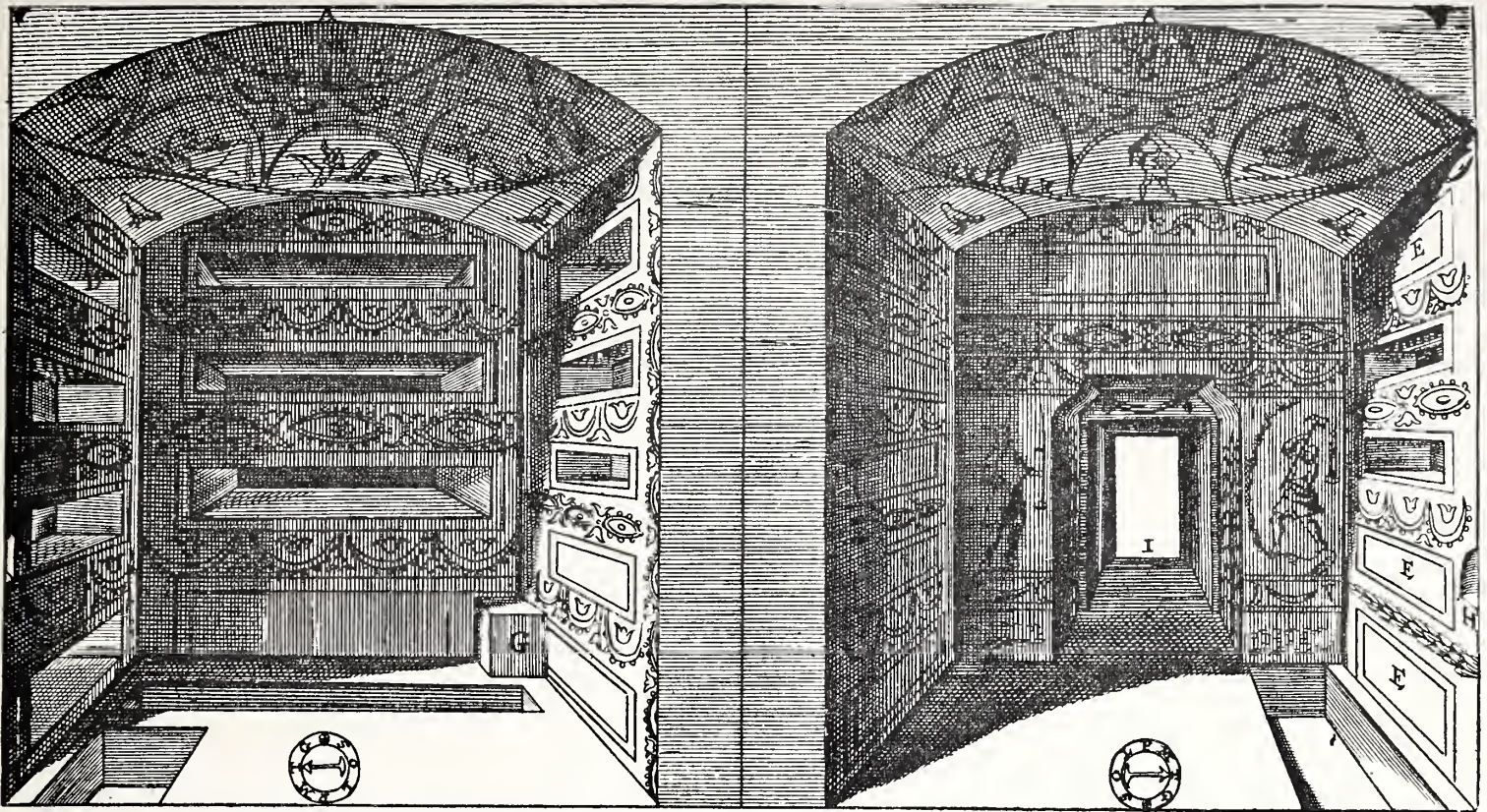
The imitations hitherto found at Silchester include a kind of breccia, giallo-antico, porphyry, and what looks like some kind of granite.

An equally marked way of dividing the wall spaces was by painted columns. Only one piece of wall plaster showing this method has yet been found, as far as we are aware, at Silchester, and this occurred in the ruins of the baths attached to the *hospitium* (*Insula*, VIII.). It probably came from the walls of the *apodyteivium*. Some fragments, on which shaded lines are to be observed, may represent mouldings intended as borders of plain-coloured grounds.

Of ornament other than what has been named there are one or two fragments, some of part of a dolphin.

A number of pieces of wall plaster from Chamber 22, House No. 1, are of special interest. They were turned up from a heap of rubbish just north of that chamber, and had evidently been shovelled away from its floor when the hypocaust beneath it was shundered of its tiles. The pattern on these fragments exhibited a series of rings and hollow squares of a gray colour upon a dark claret red ground, linked together by lines of ears of barley, with intermediate centres of blue rosettes (Plate

PLATE CCVIII.



TABULA VNICA CVBICVLI VNDECIMI COEMETERII SS MARCELLINI ET PETRI INTER DVAS LAVROS AD SHELENAM VIA LABRICANA



CUBICULÆ OF THE CATACOMBS OF ROME, SHOWING THE METHOD OF ARRANGING THE SUBJECTS IN ORNAMENTAL FORMS WITH ACCESSORIES. FROM ARINGHI.

PLATE CCIX.

A

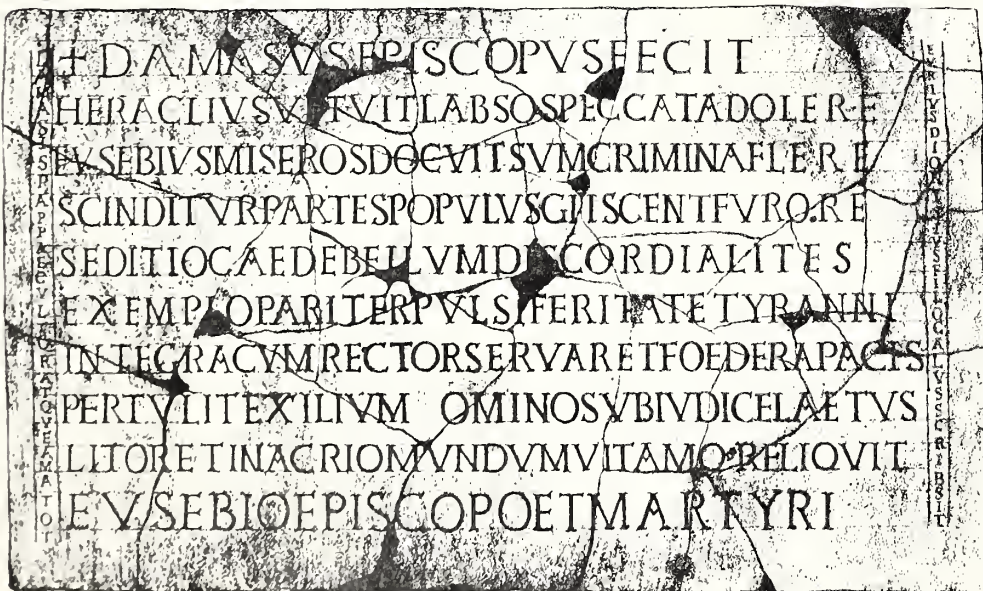


B



A, B. INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ROMAN CATACOMBS. C. AN INSCRIPTION FROM TREVES OF THE FIFTH CENTURY WITH DOVES AND MONOGRAM OF A SIMILAR TYPE. D. A COPY OF THE ORIGINAL DAMASCENE INSCRIPTION CONCERNING POPE EUSEBIUS, DONE IN THE FIFTH CENTURY. ON THE OTHER SIDE THERE IS AN INSCRIPTION IN HONOUR OF CARALLULA, A.D. 214.

D



C



CCX.) From the circles alternating with the squares ran diagonal lines of leaves and berries, which touched at their ends the bands of green and black bordering the composition above and below. From the angles of the squares ears of barley started diagonally also. The whole band of ornament probably constituted part of the dado of the chamber.

It is worth noting in this composition the use made of ears of barley, which the sight of the harvest fields round the Roman city suggested to the painter. Not only are ears of barley represented, but also the flower so frequently found

growing amongst the corn, the corn-cockle; if, indeed, the dull lilac quatrefoil placed above the gray circle and repeated below it may be taken for this flower. As the painters of southern Europe drew their decorative forms from the flora around them, from the vine, the myrtle and the acanthus, so also did the artists of our northern island.

Likewise to be noted is the strong similarity in the technical methods practised here and in Italy. After the walls had received their finishing coat of plaster, the setting-out lines of the decoration were drawn upon the surface of the wall

Anglo-Saxon design concerning painting have also, as far as is convenient, been considered.*

Although, I have inserted, for the use of the student, a sheet of designs from Coptic work (Plate CCXVIII.) showing its general accord with other works of the same periods, yet having some especial characteristics of its own; its influence on Western painting, as far as my knowledge carries me, is, if any, very remote and indirect.†

Concerning some of the more historical details of ornament, it may be advisable to recapitulate some portions of the descriptions already given, adding to them such matter of interest as may occur to me.

An important development in ornamental composition is that, whereas in ancient historical ornaments those of a symbolical character were hitherto kept intact, towards the conclusion of the twelfth century they were combined with each other, or with fresh details. Thus the meander and swastica degenerate into ribands and scrolls (Plates CCXIII., CCXIV.) and the sun ornaments, such as the rosette, are sometimes placed with scrolls or foliage as flowers, and the ornaments are most frequently used at fancy, merely for ornament's sake.

It is now convenient to continue the motive of the third chapter of my first volume, showing the

with some sharp instrument, probably a *stylus*. The ground colours were then applied, and the incised lines showing through them served as guides for the application of the ornamentation. Traces of these setting-out or guide lines are to be seen in the fragments last referred to, and, as they are

PLATE CCX.

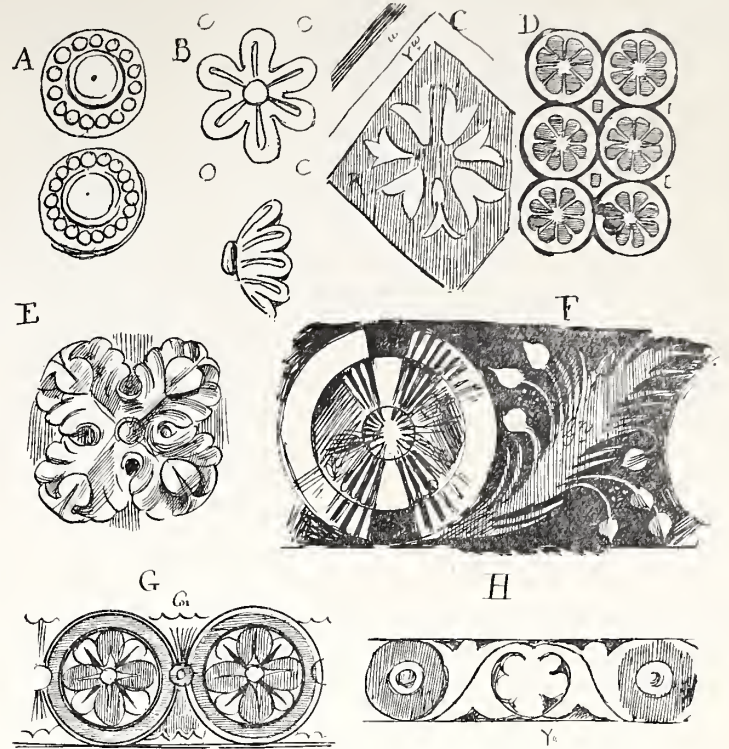


PAINTED DADO FROM SILCHESTER. HOUSE I, INSULA XIV.

filled by the ground colour, they must have been incised in the plaster surface before it received any colouring."—*Archæologia*, vol. lv., part i., pp. 249, 250. "Excavations on the Site of the Roman City at Silchester, Hants, in 1895."

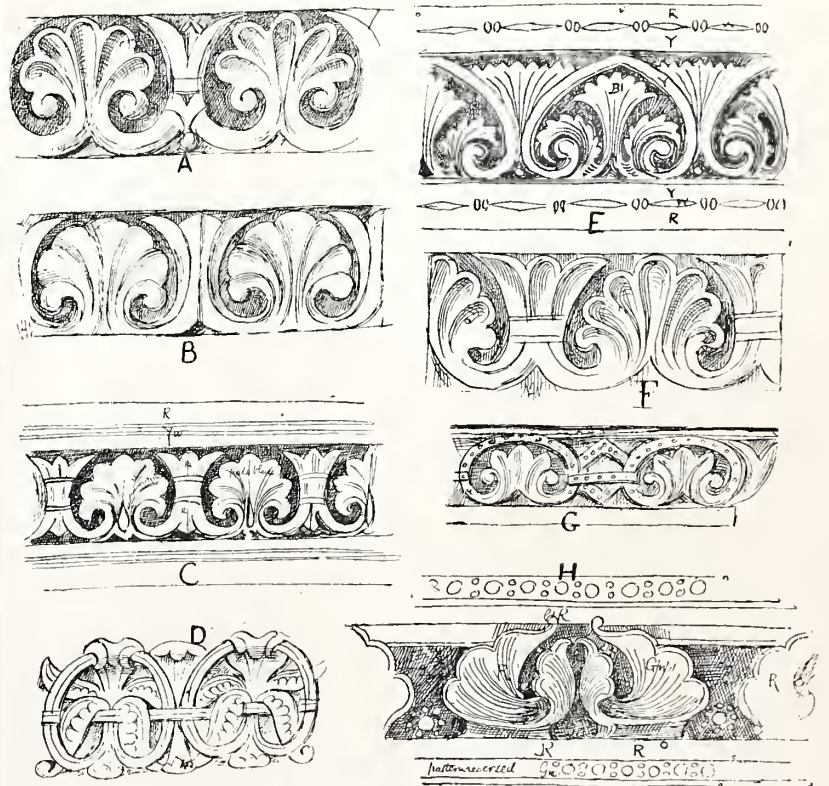
Pages 129 and 143 to 147. † See pp. 107 to 110.

PLATE CCXI.



THE ROSETTE. A. FROM THE BYZANTINE IVORY OF DIOGENES AND EUDOXIA. B. FROM AN IVORY, IN PARIS. C. FROM MURAL PAINTING, S. CLEMENTE, ROME. D. FROM *ARA CÆLI*, ROME. E. FROM A BOSS AT OXFORD. F. FROM S. SAVIN. G AND H. FROM NIEDERZELL, GERMANY.

PLATE CCXII.



PALMETTE. FROM THE NINTH TO THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

A. BYZANTINE IVORY, NINTH CENTURY. B. LINCOLN MINSTER (STONE). C. S. CHEF, ISERE (PAINTING). D. NORWEGIAN (WOOD CARVING). E. S. TROPHINE, ARLES (PAINTING). F. FROM A CAPITAL, S. MICHAELS, SCHWÄBISCH. H. REICHENAU (PAINTING).

PLATE CCXIII.

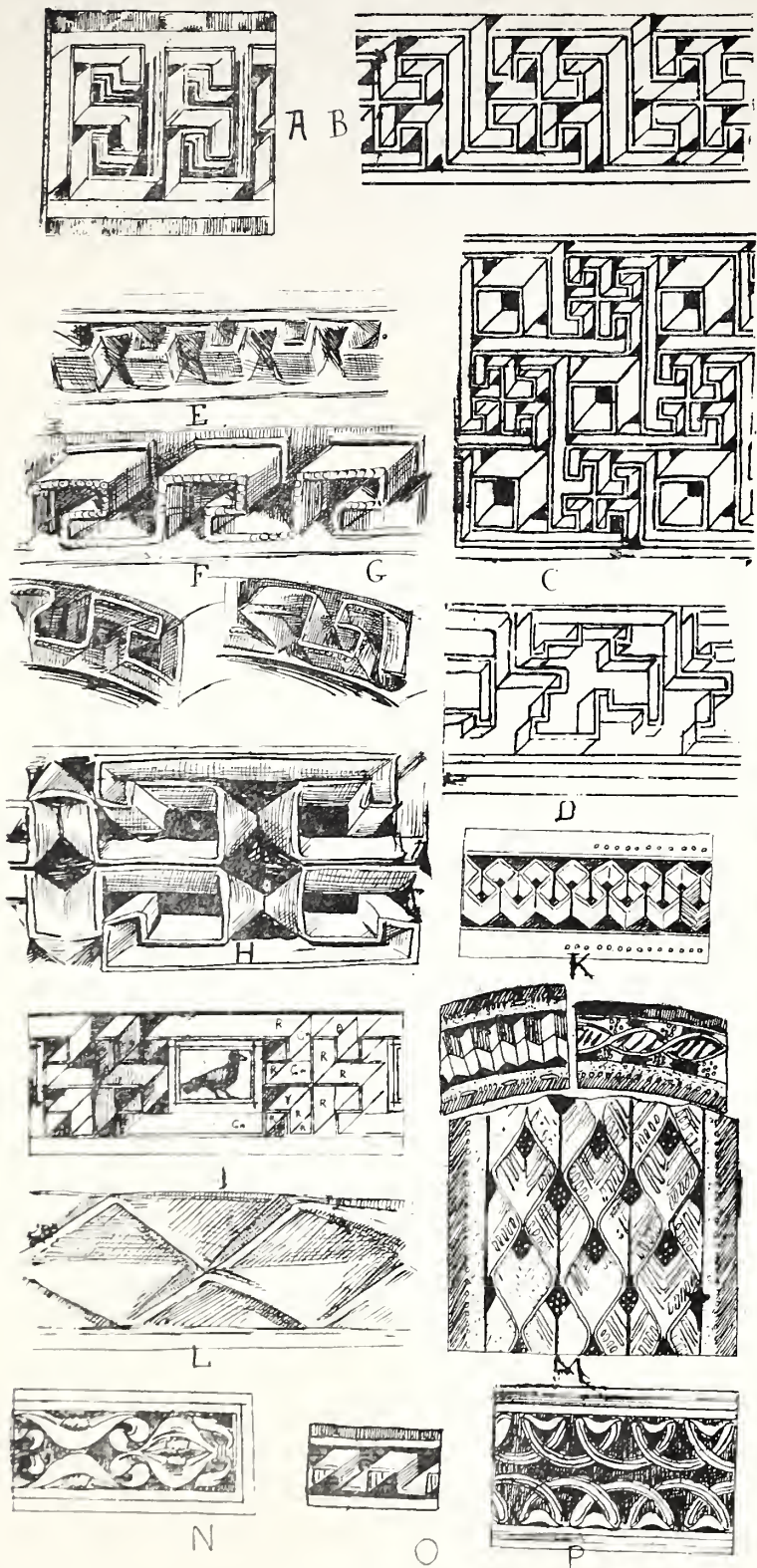
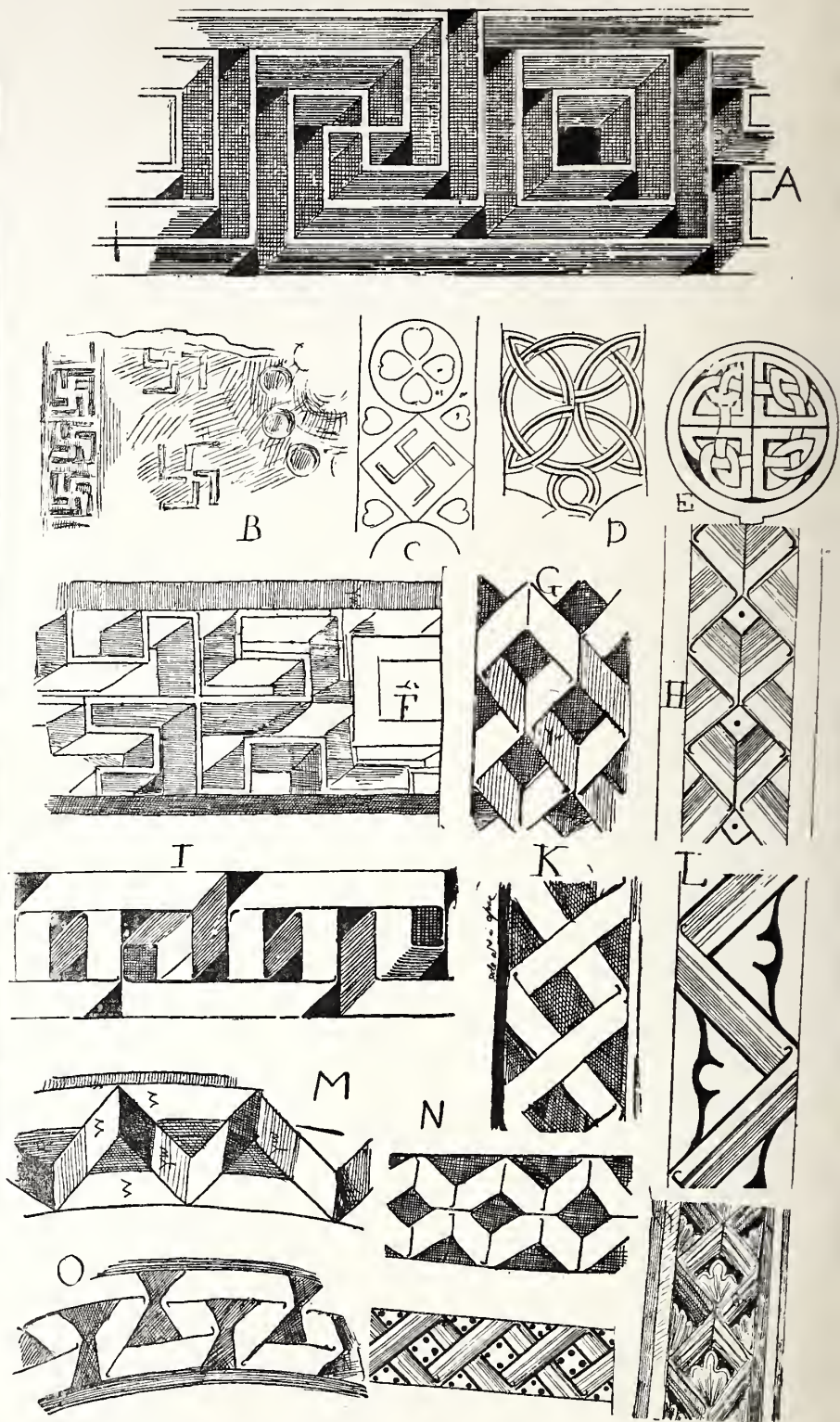


PLATE CCXIV.



A. FROM S. SAVIN. B, C, D. FROM OBERZELL (SEE PLATE CLIII).
 E. WEST DOOR, PRIEURE CHARLIEU (LOIRE). F. SOUVIGNY (ALLIER). G. S. PIERRE, MONSE. H. ABBEY OF DAURADE, TOULOUSE. I. MARCIGNY ABBEY. K. S. SAVIN. L. FROM THE FONT, S. NICHOLAS CHURCH, BRIGHTON. M. MONTOIRE. N. BRAUWEILER ABBEY. O. S. CHEF, ISÈRE. P. THE UNDER CHURCH, S. FRANCESCO, ASSISI.

A. FROM POMPEII (MOAIC). B. ANGLIAN POTTERY BELONGING TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.* C, D. FROM S. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE. E. FROM S. VIGEANS, ANGUSSHIRE. F, G, K, M, N, O. FROM COPFORD, ESSEX. THE REMAINING ORNAMENTS ARE FROM FRENCH AND ENGLISH MSS.

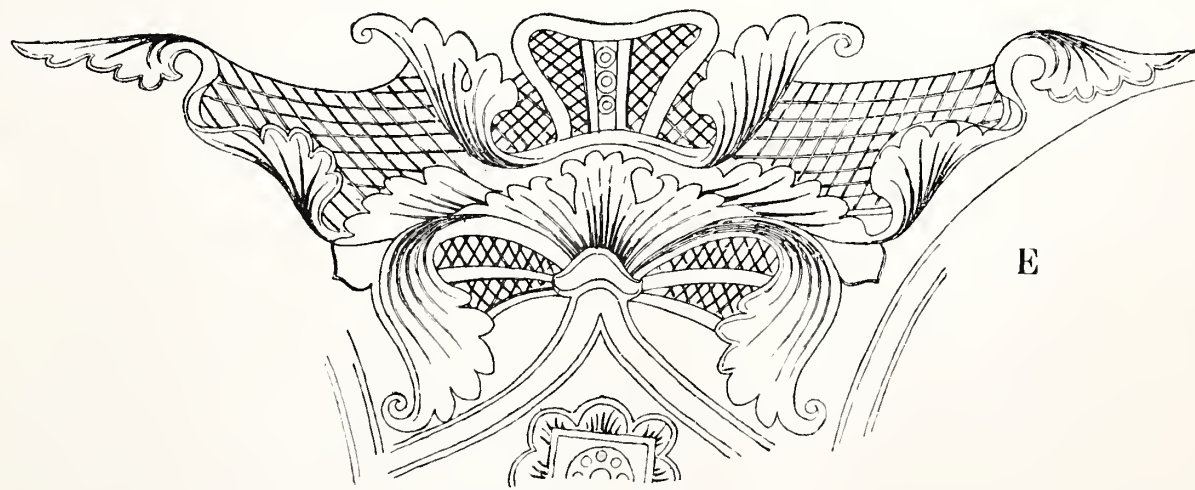
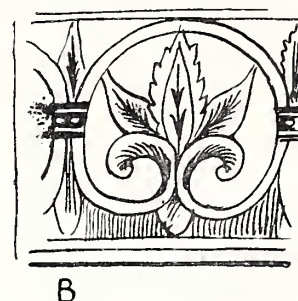
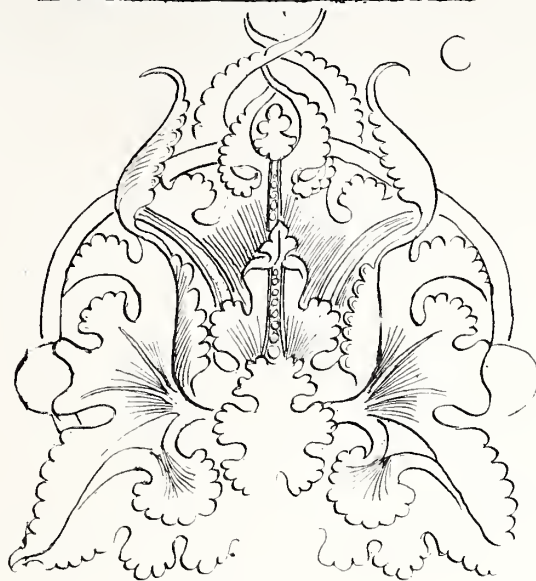
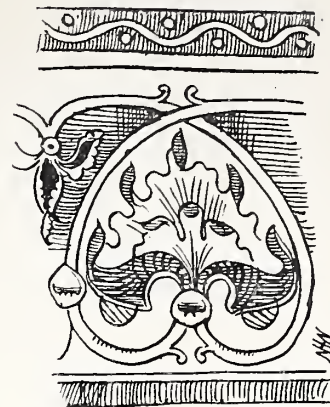
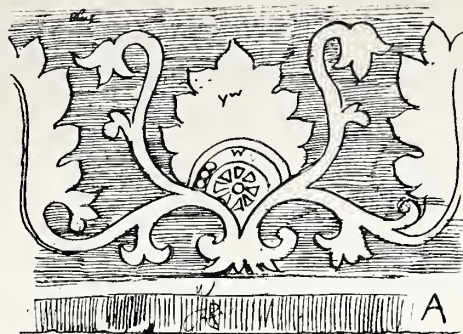
* This was evidently a common ornament in the pottery, as the Swastica is done with four L stamps.

PLATE CCXIV. A.



TOURNUS.
SEINE-ET-LOIRE.

PLATE CCXV.



FROM S. CLEMENTE, ROME.

C. FROM PETIT QUEVILLY.

B, D. FROM DURHAM (PLATE CCIII.).

E. FROM S. QUIRIACE.

genesis of detail from the earliest time. The first examples given had reference to ancient sun-ray traditions, such as the rosette and palmette, and with these I commence the continuation of my subject.

The principal illustration of the rosette is found in the evolution of the cruciferous nimbus,* but various other forms evolved from this tradition are to be continually found in all subsequent art.†

* Plates LIX., LXII., vol. i.; XV., XXA, LXIII.; Appendix B, p. 56; Plates LXXVIII., CXXIII.

† Plate LXIII., vol. i.

Examples, which are placed in an order to explain themselves, are given in plate CCXI. The palmette, although variations of both beauty and quaintness have been evolved from it, still maintains a certain integrity up till a comparatively late date, such as is shown in the illustration from Lincoln Minster, in carving (Plate CCXII. B) and from S. Chef in France (Plate CCXII. C) in painting. do not know whether any ideas of the original

PLATE CCXVI.

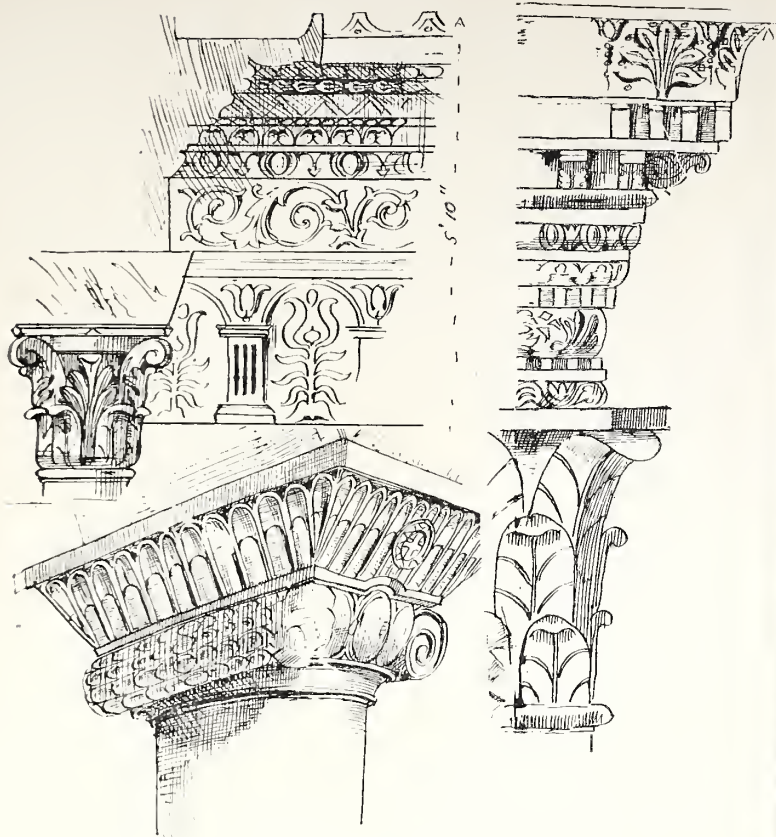


PLATE CCXVII.

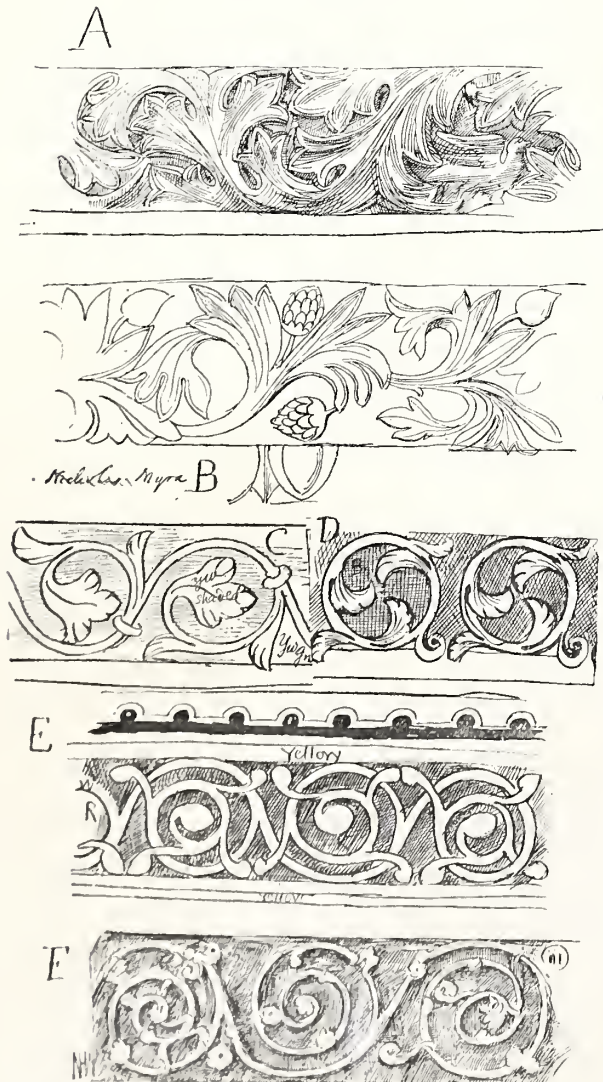


PLATE CCXVIA.

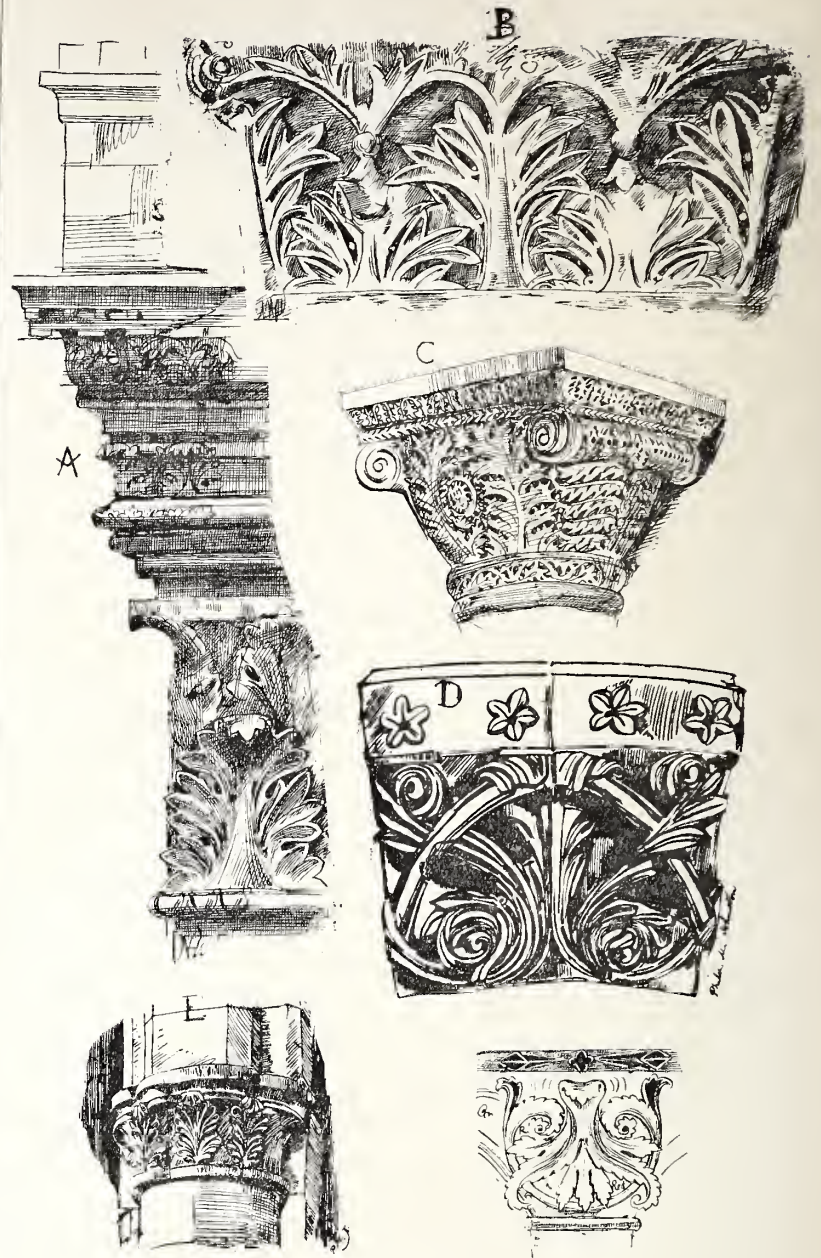


PLATE CCXVI.

A. FROM THE DOME OF THE ROCK. B, C. INSIDE THE GOLDEN GATE. Temp., JUSTINIAN.

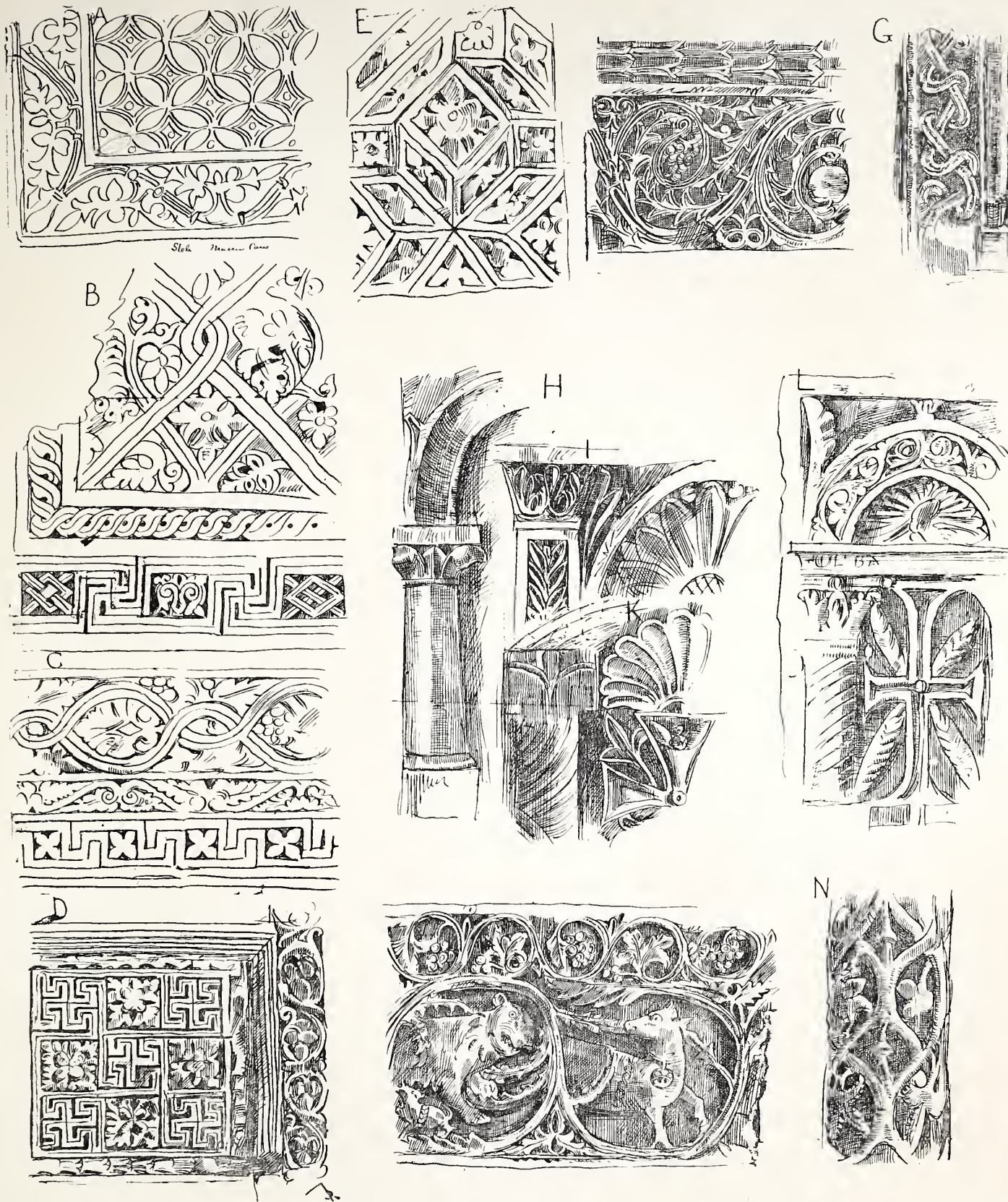
PLATE CCXVIA.

A. FROM THE GOLDEN GATE, JERUSALEM. B. COPTIC, FROM THE MUSEUM, CAIRO. C. FROM S. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE. D. PART OF A VOUSOIR, NOW IN THE MUSÉE CLUNY, PARIS. E. CAPITAL OF A CHANCEL ARCH, MERSTHAM CHURCH, SURREY. F. A PAINTED CAPITAL FROM OBERZELL, GERMANY.

PLATE CCXVII.

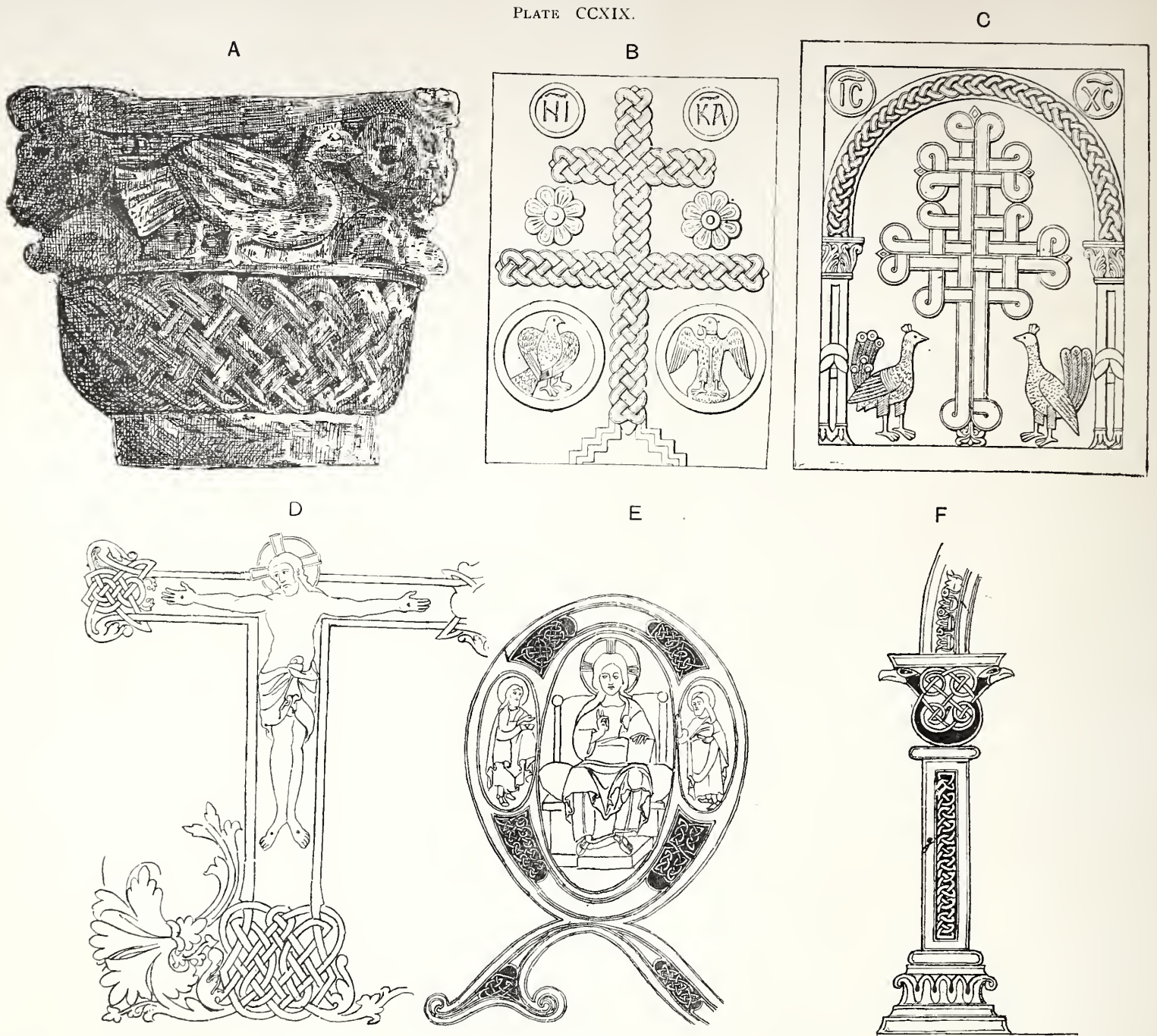
A. FROM S. JOHN'S, CONSTANTINOPLE. B. FROM S. NICHOLAS, MYRA. C, D. FROM HOCHEPAN. E. FROM CLAYTON. F. FROM A RELIQUARY IN THE FRANCISCAN CHURCH AT CREMONA; THE NAME OF NICEPHOROS PHOCAS IS ENGRAVED ON THE BACK.

PLATE CCXVIII.



A. FROM A STELE IN THE MUSEUM, CAIRO. B, C, E, F, G. PAVEMENTS, MUSEUM, CAIRO. D. WOOD-CARVING FROM THE SAME. H. FROM A STELE IN THE POSSESSION OF M. FOUQUET. I, K, L, N. FROM THE MUSEUM, CAIRO. M. FROM THE CHURCH OF AKLURAS.

PLATE CCXIX.



A. CAPITAL FROM THE MUSEUM, CAIRO. B, C. SCULPTURED CROSSES, ATHENS. D. CRUCIFIX, NINTH CENTURY, FROM THE MISSAL IN THE OLD TREASURY, CATHEDRAL, METZ. E. FROM THE LIVES OF THE EVANGELISTS, FORMERLY IN THE ABBEY OF S. MEDARD, SOISSONS, NOW IN THE BIBL. NATIONALE. F. No. 6865 SUPPLEMENT, FRANCO-SAXON, NINTH CENTURY, NOW IN THE BIBL. NATIONALE.

object of the palmettes* were transmitted to the middle ages, but I think they were, as were also the meanings of other symbols adopted by Christian artists—for example, the swastica, with its cross.

It is not at all improbable that some Christian artists may have got the tradition through the Copts, who appear to have retained in their practice the original symbolical meaning of many ornaments,

and to have adopted them to Christian usage; whereas, as I have before pointed out,* many of the

* A liturgiologist of some eminence tells me that there is great resemblance between the early Irish liturgies and the Egyptian. Is it possible that some of the elements of their art came with the liturgies from Alexandria or Carthage? Apparent Egyptian influence on Frankish-Celtic and Saxon design are frequent.—N.H.J.W.

According to Duchesne, the Stowe Missal (Irish) is Gallican, cap. vii., art. 16; and the Gallican Syro-Byzantine affinities came through Milan, cap. iii., § 2.

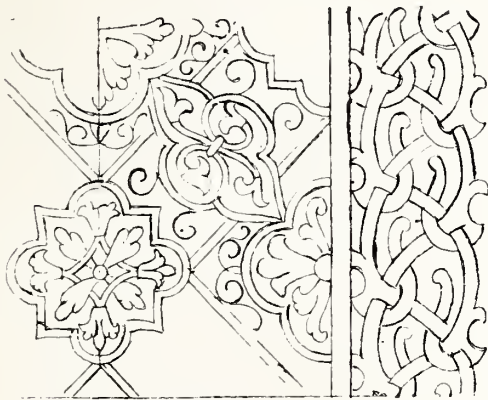
* Footnote, vol. i., pp. 52 to 60.

PLATE CCXX.



CELTIC REPRESENTATION OF THE TEMPLE FROM THE BOOK OF KELLS. IT IS SUGGESTED THAT THE FORM REPRESENTS THAT OF THE EARLY IRISH ORATORIES.*

PLATE CCXXI.



ORNAMENT FROM THE BODLEIAN, CÆDMON.

ordinary painters or house decorators of the Augustan period had neglected to express it properly, or in their circumstances and condition had never learnt it.

Eventually, in Christian art the palmette merely became an ornament, and its symbolical meaning was lost from perhaps the same cause as it was lost in the more common pagan work, whilst it was still preserved on all the *stele*, by the more learned, with its original signification.

Its evolution is shown on Plates CCXII., CCXVIII., CCXXIV.

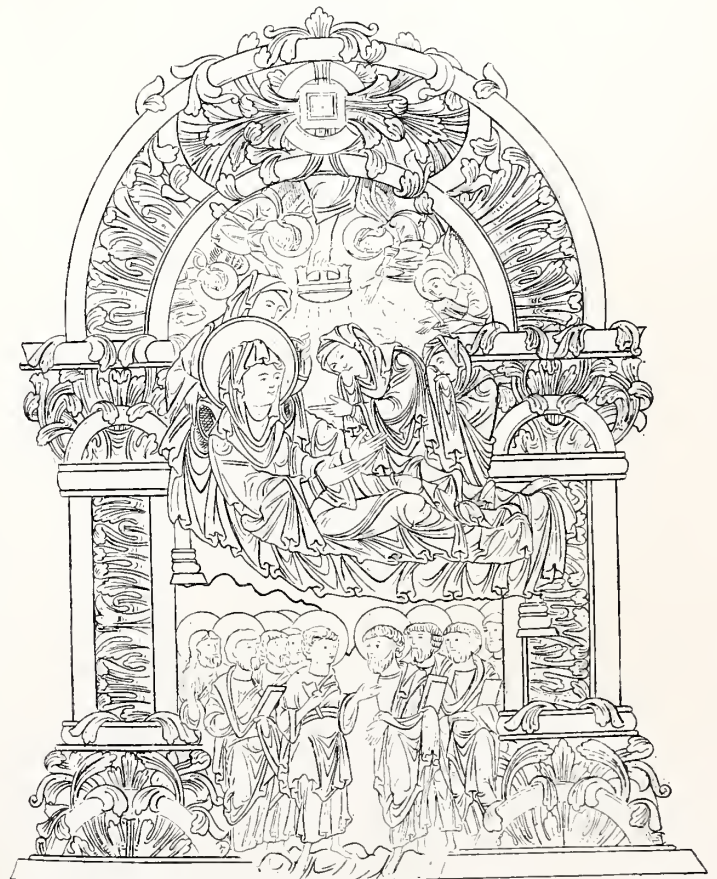
In the next place we will take the ornament or symbol generally called the "swastica" or cross cramponée (Plates CCXIII. and CCXIV.). This

PLATE CCXXII.



INITIAL FROM DURHAM BOOK.

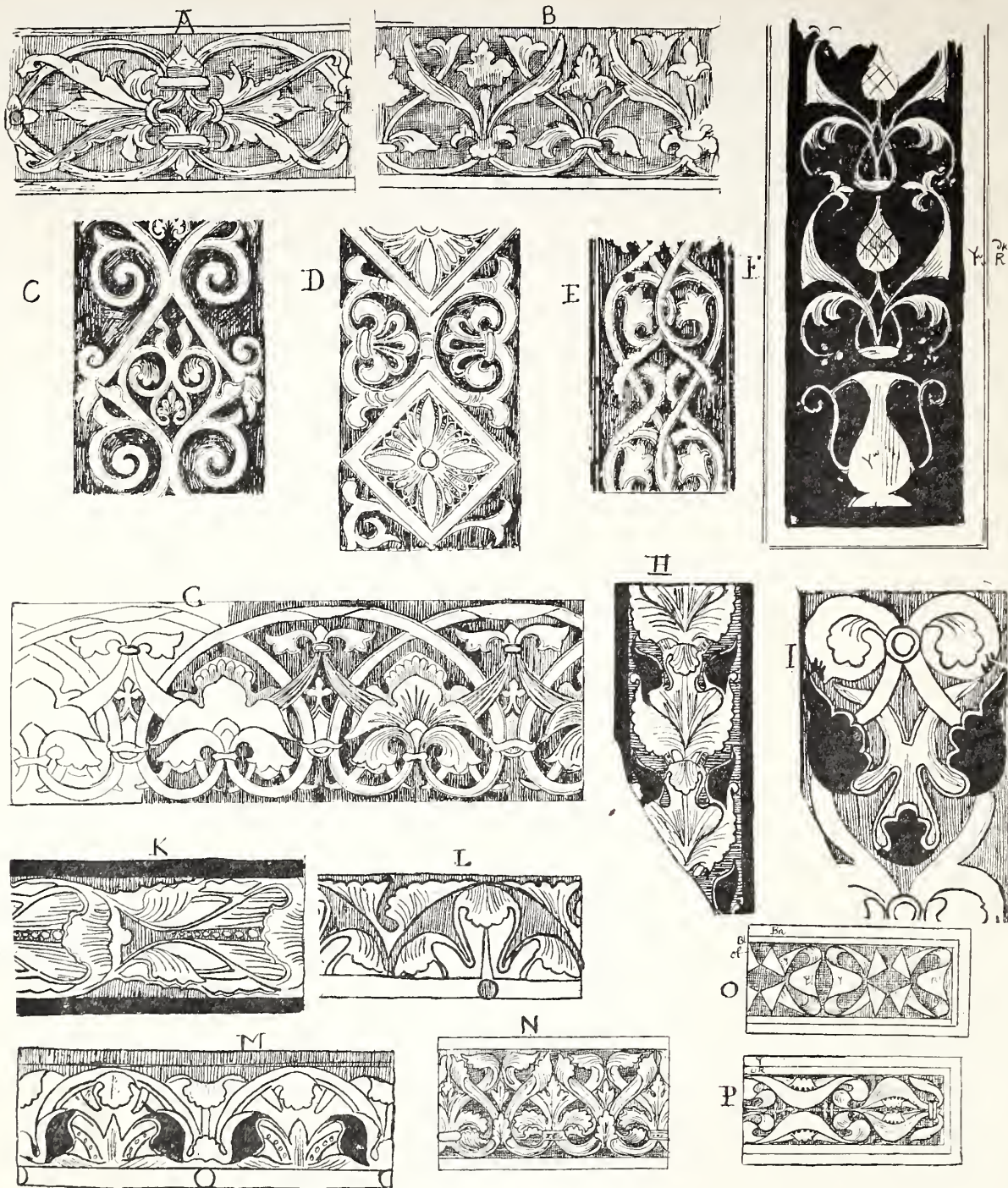
PLATE CCXXIII.



FROM THE BENEDICTINAL OF S. ETHELWOLD. SHOWING ORNAMENT OF THE WINCHESTER SCHOOL.

* See *Archæologia*, vol. xliii., p. 139.

PLATE CCXXIV.

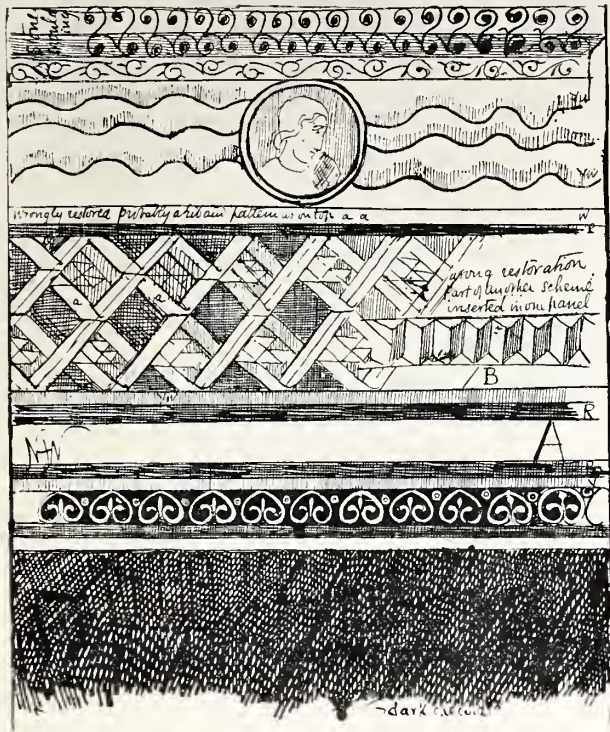


A, B. MOSAICS FROM MONREALE. C, D. PAINTING FROM S. HILAIRE, POITIERS. F. CLERMONT. G. S. QUIRIACE. H. VIC. E, I, K, L. M. PETIT QUEVILLY. N. BRUNSWICK. O. P. BRAUNWEILER ON THE RHINE.

OF THESE VARIATIONS OF PALMETTE AND SCROLL COMBINED, THE EXAMPLES A AND B FROM MONREALE, DONE DURING THE NORMAN DOMINION OF SICILY, APPEAR TO AFFORD US AN IDEA OF THE ORIGIN OF THE DESIGN, IN A GREAT DEAL OF PAINTED GLASS DONE BOTH IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND* UNDER THE SAME RÉGIME; AND TO RELATE THAT ART AND THE MOSAIC GLASS ART CLOSELY TOGETHER, AND TO BE SOME EVIDENCE THAT WITH ENAMELLING MOSAIC HAD SOMETHING TO DO WITH THE ORIGIN OF PAINTED WINDOWS. THE SUBSIDIARY ART OF THE JEWELLER PROBABLY ALSO DERIVED IN LATER PERIODS IDEAS FROM THESE ARTS.

* See Plates VIII., XI., XII., XXIII., LXIII., Vol I., and others. See *History of Design in Painted Glass.*

PLATE CCXXV.



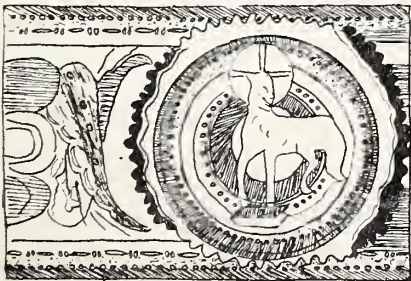
B

C

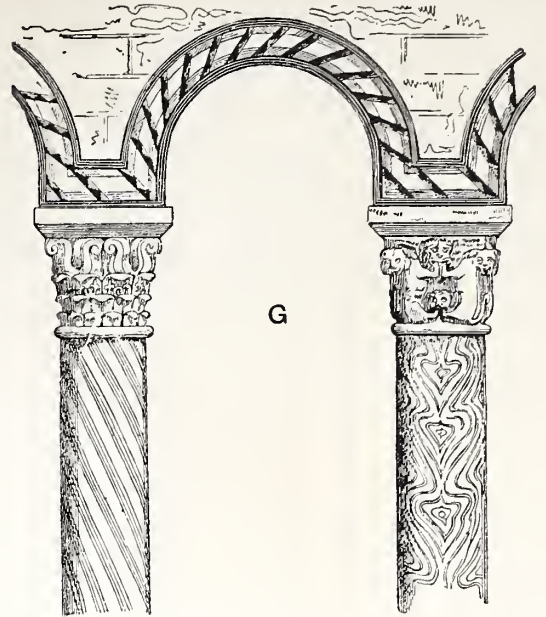


D

E



F



G

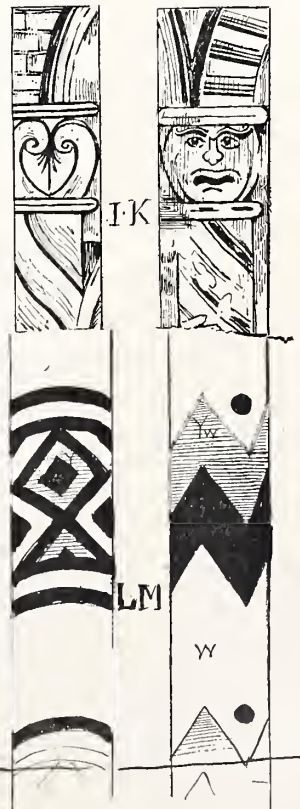


194



465

I



I-K

L-M

W

A, L, M. FROM COPFORD CHURCH.

B, C. FROM OBERZELL. SEE ALSO PLATE CLIII.

D, F. SOFFIT FROM MONTOIRE.

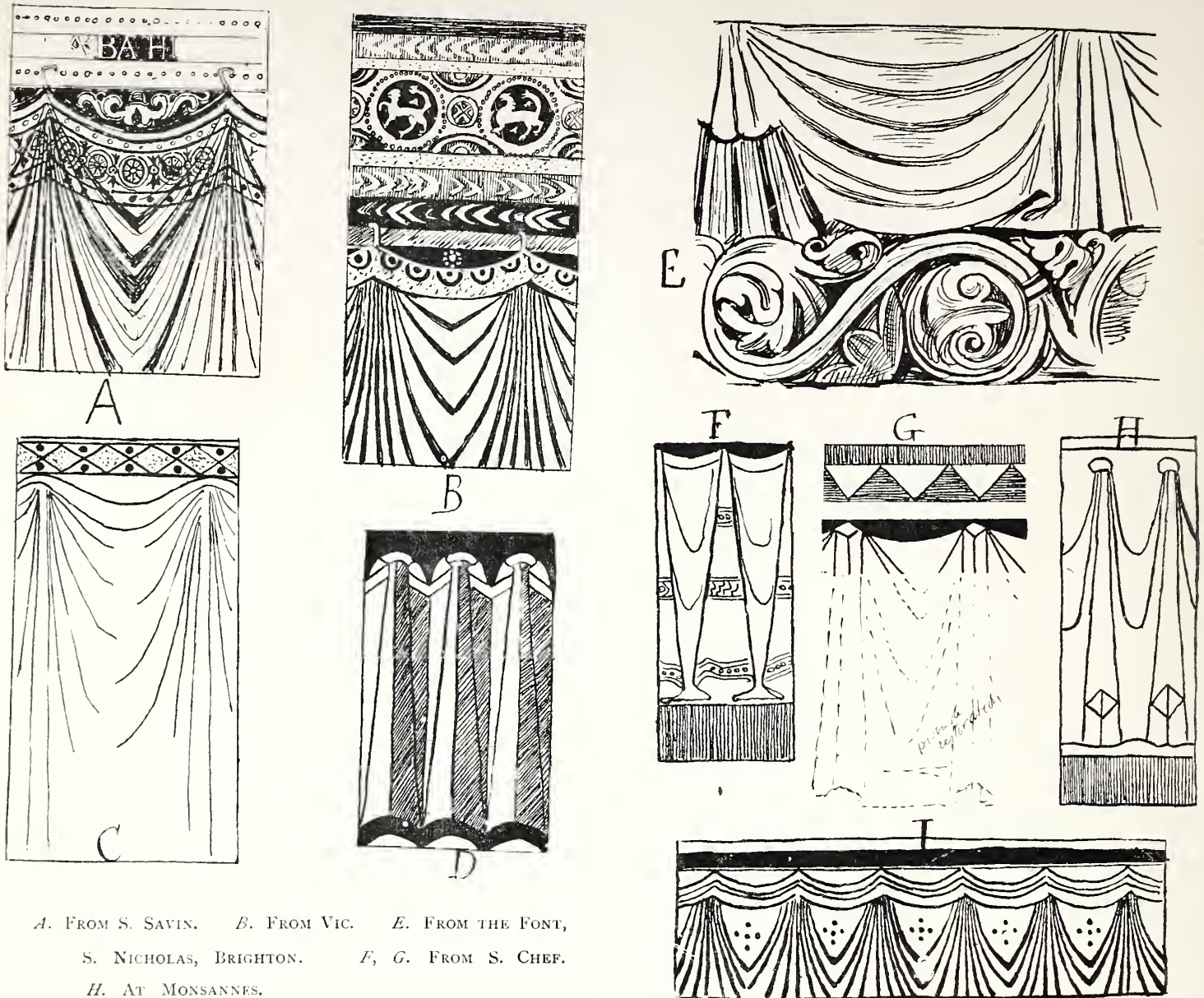
E, F. SOFFIT FROM VIC.

G, I, K. FROM S. SAVIN.

H THIS EGYPTIAN-LOOKING WORK IS FROM THE CLOISTERS OF ELNE, FRANCE.

L, M. FROM COPFORD.

PLATE CCXXVI.



A. FROM S. SAVIN. B. FROM VIC. E. FROM THE FONT,
S. NICHOLAS, BRIGHTON. F, G. FROM S. CHEF.
H. AT MONSANNES.

symbol has been the subject of more discussion than any other, I think,* and was adopted by Christian artists at a comparatively early period. Whether the cause of its adoption was the mere fact of its being a species of the cross ornament, or whether there was also some intention of carrying some of its pagan significations now lost, it is difficult to say.

The continuance of the swastica tradition has been already repeatedly alluded to, but its evolution and the evolution of the meander into various riband patterns is extremely interesting, and is illustrated in examples from Souvigny, Prieure S. Pierre and

* See pp. 66-7 and Plates LI., XCIII. K, and CLXIII. A, B, vol. i.

Toulouse, in Plates CCXIII. and CCXIV. E, F, G, H. Many other examples on the same plates and on Plate CCXVIII. C and D, in Coptic Art.

It is also found in early Celtic,* and in Anglian work in a piece of pottery, in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries (Plate CCXIV. B).

Another tradition of fair antiquity is the spiral or scroll ornaments, both of a simple and of an involved character, such as we see in interlacings.† Examples of the development of this tradition are given

* See *Early Christian Monuments*, by Romilly Allen, pp. 308 to 363, 349, and Nos. 894-895, 898, &c.

† For the antiquity of interlacings, &c., see Plate XXXIX., LXVII., XC., XCI., II. and III., vol. i.

in Plates CCXVII. to CCXXIV. The most interesting development to us is that which appears in Celtic MS.* and that associated with Runic inscriptions in the stone monuments and crosses.

I have already observed that this interlacing work had its influence on certain forms of ornament, especially those forming in the time of Charlemagne and subsequently. Illustrations of this influence are shown in Plates CCXIX., CCXX., CCXXIV., from MSS., and it had a minor effect on the ornaments of wall-painting and painted glass.

The acanthus ornament has also supplied the early Christian designers with another motive which is found more or less degraded in much of the sculpture and painting up to the end of the thirteenth century, and in certain localities even later. Its varieties are so numerous that a complete history of this ornament alone, with some account of the causes of its many changes, would fill a goodly volume. The flat-edged variety seems to have been most common in the East, and to have been thence most frequently introduced into Europe from Byzantine sources.†

There are numerous other forms of ornamental design in Christian art which have their prototype in very ancient forms; examples of some of these are given with accompanying notes.

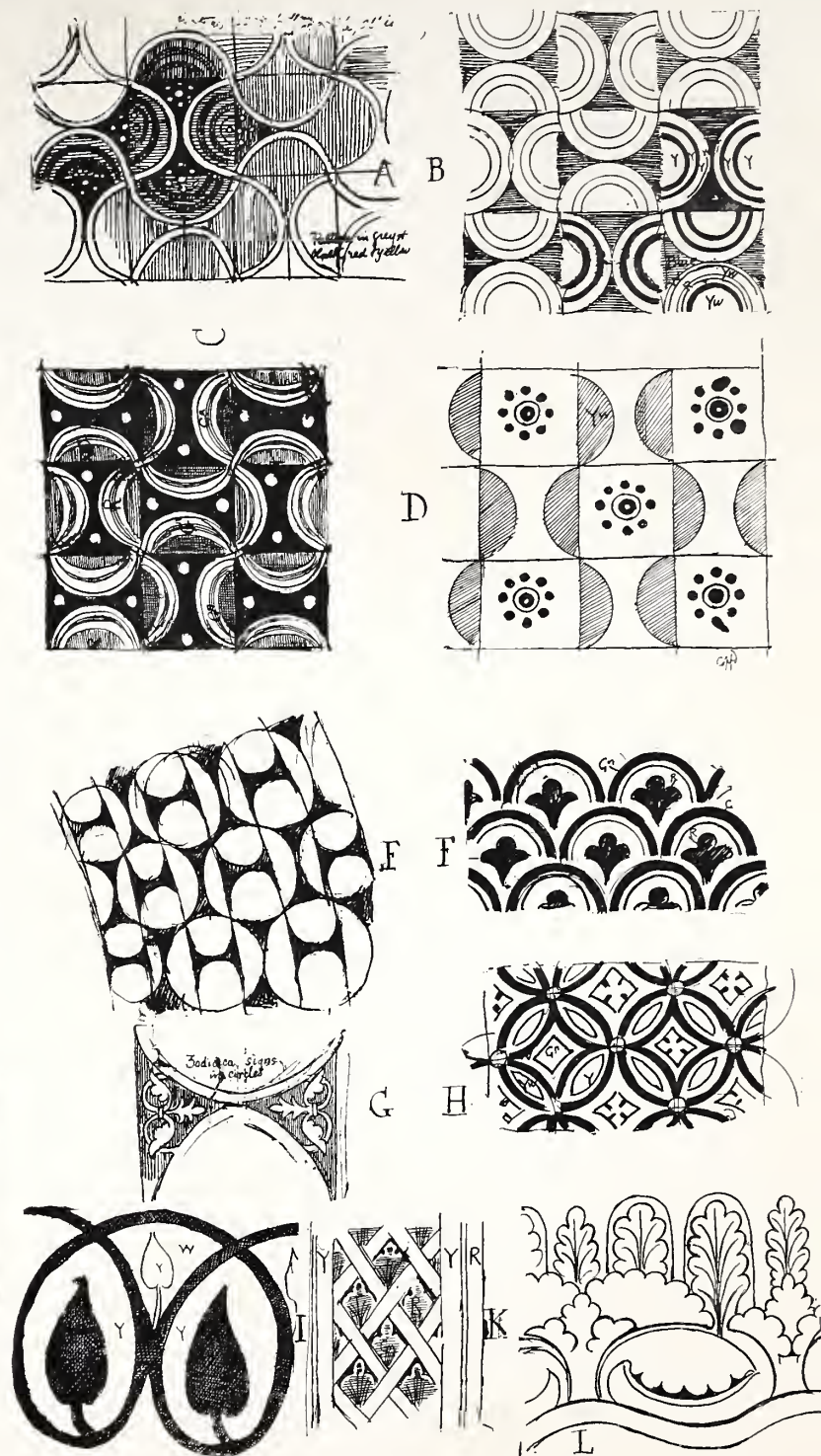
Concerning the methods of using ornament in the compositions of wall-painting, in arranging the plates of this chapter some of these compositions have been given the earliest places; the majority of them will, however, be found amongst the preceding illustrations of the volume.

It is hardly necessary to write a great deal more about them than has already been done in the earlier chapters, and the necessity of new arrangements arising from the changes in architectural construction from the ancient churches and from the catacombs of Rome will have been, I hope, already made comprehensible. The decoration of certain details, such as the capitals, columns and window-plays, are also fairly represented; some additional information is, however, given in Plate CCXXV.

* See Romilly Allen's *Early Christian Monuments* and the works alluded to in footnote, p. 145.

† See plates vol. i. CCXII. A and F., CCXVI., CCXVII. A, B, CCXVIII., vol. ii.

PLATE CCXXVII.



VARIOUS ORNAMENTS. A. FROM MONTTOIRE. B. S. DENIS ALLIER. C, F, H, K. FROM S. CATHERINE'S, HOICHEPPAN. D, E, G. FROM COPFORD, ESSEX. I. FROM CLAVERLEY. L. FROM SCHWARTZ RHEINDORF.

There is a detail of wall-work in the drapery dado which is interesting from two circumstances. The first is its almost universal application in some form or another, the second its variety and its continual development until the Renaissance; many examples are shown in Plate CCXXVI., and others are scat-

tered over the various illustrations of this volume. It is probably an imitation of rich wall hangings. There cannot be much doubt but that it is of ancient and pagan origin, and if my calculations are not at fault, there are vestiges of a curtain in the Roman paintings at Combe End and Silchester.*

Not the least interesting details of ornament are those marked *A*, *B*, *C*, *D*, Plate CCXXVII., and Plate CCXXV. *F*. In principle and origin they are undoubtedly the same, a wavy line composed of

semi-circles running through squares. The examples given are from paintings in France, Germany and England, and show the intimate relationship of the schools of design, even in detail.

In conclusion, my thanks are due to many friends for assistance, and I may especially mention Mr. P. M. Johnstone; Mr. R. W. Schultz; the Rev. Dom Gilbert Dolan, O.S.B.; Dom J. A. Macdonald, O.S.B.; my son, J. S. Westlake, B.A., English lektor at Leipzig; the staff of the Society of Antiquaries; and the Rev. W. Hanbury of Swanmore, in sending me his little work on the portrait of Our Lord at Genoa.

* See footnote, p. 176.



FROM A LIFE OF NICEPHOROS PHOCAS.

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