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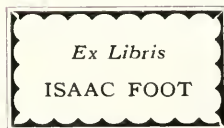
ITALIAN SHRINES

W.G. WATERS





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THE FIVE SHRINES



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# FIVE ITALIAN SHRINES

AN ACCOUNT OF  
THE MONUMENTAL TOMBS OF  
S. AUGUSTINE AT PAVIA  
S. DOMINIC AT BOLOGNA  
S. PETER MARTYR AT MILAN  
S. DONATO AT AREZZO  
AND OF  
ORCAGNA'S TABERNACOLO  
AT FLORENCE

WITH A PREFATORY ESSAY ON  
TUSCAN SCULPTURE

BY W. G. WATERS

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON  
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

1906

13/603  
1038

PRINTED BY  
HAZELL, WATSON AND VINEY, LD.,  
LONDON AND AYLESBURY.



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# THE FIVE SHRINES

## INTRODUCTION

IN times when leisure was more abundant than it now is, it used to be a commonplace that all travel should be preceded by a course of appropriate reading : that the man who went to see his sights with adequate knowledge of them gained by study gathered far more enjoyment and profit than he who set forth uninstructed. Even nowadays there is a lingering superstition that travel enlarges the mind, but it is certain that the mind will undergo little expansion merely by changing the *milieu* of the body—passing from one place to another with no other preparation than the purchase of a guide-book. At the present time a proper study of the famous places lying upon the world's highways is no difficult task, by reason of the numerous admirably written contemporary handbooks dealing with almost every place possessing artistic,

archæological, or historic interest. The constantly increasing supply of such volumes suggests that in spite of the pessimist impressions produced by the sight of the crowds of listless, weary wayfarers who cumber the routes in high season, there must be many still who travel with the true aim.

Thinking, according to Hamlet, makes everything either good or bad—gives it a *differentia*; and Hamlet's maxim seems to have special reference to those spots whose title to eminence lies in associations with the past. There are thousands of oak-trees in our islands more seemly than a certain scrubby one which grows near Amersham, and no one would ever give it a look were it not for the legend of its association with Edmund Waller; and the same may be urged with regard to the famous mulberry-tree at Lausanne, which is said to have looked down upon the completion of the *Decline and Fall*. No student of history can pass by Runnymede, or Pevensey Level, or the Bloody Meadow at Tewkesbury without regarding these acres as different in essence from the adjacent ones, though there is no visible sign to mark their title to renown; the most

unimaginative of pilgrim scholars will not behold them unmoved by some vision of the phantom figures of those who played their parts in the momentous dramas there acted ages ago—pictures which have no existence in the eye of the unlettered rustic or of the gaping, wearied tripper. Moreover, he who goes with an eye instructed and eager to catch sight of the historic spot will find satisfaction infinitely keener and more permanent than he who, on turning to his guide-book, learns for the first time that a famous event came to pass in a certain year upon the piece of ground lying before him.

Age and idiosyncrasy of temperament will always be potent factors in adjudging the palm of supreme interest to one or other of the categories of world-famous places. One pilgrim will return from his wanderings and quote the moment when he stood on the threshold of the Mamertine prison in Rome as his supreme experience; another will award this honour to the church at Fano where Browning came across Guercino's angel; and another to Tasso's dungeon at Ferrara. Battlefields and the birthplaces of great men have also their votaries, and those on the downward

slope of life will often favour the sepulchres of the illustrious dead. Two of the choicest gems of our literature, Sir Thomas Browne's *Urn Burial* and Gray's *Elegy*, reveal a subject which was able to elicit from the makers the best they had to give, and the beauty of the treatment employed in dealing with the haunting dread, which is never far from us even in our lightest moments, seems half to reconcile us to the speedy and inevitable fall of the dusky curtain. No wonder, then, that the shrines and monuments of the great still attract their crowds of devotees of all faiths, lands, and tongues, or that many of us still feel like Walpole, as he surveyed the tombs in Winchester Cathedral—"How much power and ambition under half a dozen stones! I own I grow to look upon tombs as lasting mansions instead of observing them for curious pieces of architecture." This, then, is the charm which makes Westminster Abbey and Santa Croce supremely interesting amongst the churches of the world, and gives to the Via Appia a pathetic charm which no other highway can claim. The titanic grandeur of the Great Pyramid is sublimated and softened by the thought that all this vast mass was reared to



shelter the bones of a king and queen ; and the Nile pilgrimage would lose half its interest had not the greatest of the Pharaohs burrowed the sun-baked mountains with their sepulchral caves, and if private citizens, like the contriver of the tomb of Tih at Sakkara, had not pictured on the walls of their last resting-places the dignified record of calm and useful life. The tomb of Masolus remains for us only as a legendary wonder of the world, but the Taj Mahal is still left standing as a witness of marital love, and the wonder and despair of the modern craftsman.

In our beautiful island there are few fairer sights than a country churchyard. I am not thinking now of the neat overshaven lawn, thickly set with monotonous rows of brand-new white marble crosses, which in these days have too often displaced the mouldering heaps, the moss-encrusted square tombs, and the gravestones leaning in all directions, themselves eloquent witnesses of the ineluctable law of change which dooms to destruction the monuments of dissolution itself. I rather love to recall some dim shaded acre, deep set in the hollow of Wessex

downs, with giant elms as outside warders against the storm.

Some country-nook, where o'er thy unknown grave  
Tall grasses and white-flowering nettles wave,  
Under a dark, red-fruited yew-tree's shade.

In England all the sweetness and sentiment of grief is expended on the churchyard grave. In our more ambitious flights we rarely get beyond the storied urn and animated bust; the stately tomb is reserved for the classic few, and then not seldom fails in its purpose. It is in foreign lands, and in Italy especially, that the illustrious dead are honoured by monumental tombs which, besides keeping alive the fame of the dust they enshrine, have given scope to the genius of the most consummate artists of the golden time, and will, by reason of their own grace and beauty, enjoy a renown greater than that which attaches to them as commemorative objects. Five of these great shrines lie within a moderate radius in Northern and Central Italy, and I have thought it might be some service to travellers of a like humour to my own if these were grouped together and a brief narrative added,

dealing with the fashioning of the tombs themselves, and the personages they commemorate. A halt at Milan will enable the traveller to visit the tomb of S. Peter Martyr in the church of S. Eustorgio, and a half-day may be well spent in Pavia, where is the tomb of S. Augustine in the church of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro. At Bologna the church of S. Domenico contains the tomb of S. Dominic, and in Florence the Tabernacolo of Orcagna is the chief glory of Or. S. Michele. The last-named, indeed, is not a personal monument, but its extraordinary beauty and the romantic interest of its creation justify, or rather compel, its inclusion in any record of the great Italian shrines. Arezzo is an easy excursion from Florence, and there, in the cathedral, may be seen the altar shrine of S. Donato. If the traveller be a student of the history of painting he will not need to be told of Piero della Francesca's Magdalen, also in the cathedral, and of his still more famous frescoes, illustrating the legend of the Cross, in S. Francesco.

All the great tombs which will come under consideration are the work of men who were trained in the Pisan school of sculpture, the

pupils or the artistic descendants of Niccola Pisano; and for this reason it has occurred to the writer that it might be well to interpose a short account of the circumstances which led to the great revival of the art of sculpture in the thirteenth century, and of the great men who were its first-fruits.

## TUSCAN SCULPTURE

GREEK painting exists for us only in tradition, or in a few belated fragments ; therefore we shall never know how it would have borne comparison with Greek sculpture. In Greece, as everywhere else, the plastic method was the first to arrive at excellence because, quite naturally, it was the first to take the fancy of the neophyte in art. The plastic process, so simple and direct, has in every land been the first to commend itself to the shepherd or herdsman when the desire came upon him to fashion out of a bit of wood or stone or a lump of clay something in the likeness of a familiar object. Painting (apart from polychrome wall-decoration and the colouring of images) was only undertaken after society had made a considerable advance. Colour and shadow, aerial perspective and composition, could only come after a long course of experiment and instruction, and it was no easy task to present

to the eye on a flat surface an effect equivalent to that which the carver was able to produce by his shapen mass.

In Italy, under the Empire, painting and sculpture had both been brought to considerable perfection, and both were practically extinguished by the barbarian irruption. When at the opening of the twelfth century there were signs of a permanent revival—apart from mere Byzantine reproductions—it could hardly have been maintained that Italy was virgin soil upon which sculpture would naturally and necessarily enjoy a long start in the race; in such a *milieu* it might well have happened that the two forms of art should advance, *pari passu*, on the upward path of progress and development; indeed, considering their relative position in the Byzantine Empire, whence came so much of the teaching and spirit prior to the Italian revival, it would have been no wonder to find painting taking the lead. Its sister art, that of mural mosaic, had already been applied with a success which still claims the admiration of the world at Ravenna, at Palermo, and at Rome. On the other hand, sculpture in the Eastern Empire had fallen on evil days. Never

much more than a shadow of the later Roman style, sculpture received its death-blow when the iconoclasts, in A.D. 726, succeeded in banishing all images from the churches, which, up to this time, had given the largest and most generous patronage to those who worked at it. Henceforth pictorial decoration alone was allowed in the churches; the lightest relief in stone or metal work, which might suggest the abhorred plastic method, being rigorously prohibited. Works, the execution of which was manifestly governed by this sentiment, found their way in vast numbers from the Byzantine workshops into Italy, the most noteworthy examples being the famous bronze doors of S. Paolo fuori le Mure at Rome which were destroyed in the disastrous fire of 1823. In these the decoration was carried out by outlining the designs by means of a delicate inlay of silver wire: the slightest approach to anything like relief being avoided as an approximation to the forbidden art of sculpture.

With the genius of Byzantine art swayed thus powerfully by the anti-plastic spirit, it is wonderful that its Italian offshoot should have taken so early and so decided a flight in a direction

entirely contrary, and have put forth its first great achievements in the region of sculpture. It is true that the popular religious sentiment in Italy, unlike that of the Eastern Empire, had never been inflamed against the presence of images in churches, and in the course of time Italian artists in metal and stone sought after effect by working in low relief, and ultimately went so far as to detach partially the figures from the ground in imitation of the Roman sarcophagus. As in the elementary stages of art, the men of the chisel kept well ahead of the men of the brush. In distant retrospect it is often difficult to realise the relative positions of plastic and pictorial art at a given period. To any one who debates this question for the first time, it may come as a surprise to learn that the exquisite sculpture done by Niccola Pisano on the pulpit at Siena is only a few years later than the stiff and lifeless frescoes in the Sylvester Chapel of SS. Quattro Coronati at Rome, and some fifty years earlier than Duccio's altar-piece in the Cathedral Museum at Siena. The recently discovered frescoes by Pietro Cavallini in S. Cecilia in Trastevere in Rome are, as artistic productions, more closely in line with Niccola's



achievements. These date approximately from 1300, and show as little trace of Byzantine influence as does Nicola's sculpture, while they resemble his work in the strong suggestions of classic influence which they display. Their inferiority to Pisano's carving lies in the halting and imperfect approach to Nature as a model: they lack entirely the rush and vigour of Nicola's figures in the great pulpit, or in the relief over the door of S. Martino at Lucca. Examples of this prior excellence of sculpture may be found everywhere. Turn where we will in Italy—and in Tuscany especially—we shall find that sculpture, up to the opening years of the fifteenth century, was far in advance of painting in beauty and in effective truth of expression. No one denies the sincerity and the nobility of sentiment in Duccio, or in many of the early Sieneese masters whose hands were far less disciplined than his, but it is surely desirable now and then to leave speculation as to what an artist may have felt, and judge him by the positive excellence of the work he has accomplished. The finished masterpiece speaks its message openly; while the statue or canvas, imperfectly carried out through inexperience by

the early master, or purposely left in hazy incompleteness, may be made to tell any story which the frames and feelings of the critic or "appreciator" may ask for. To be called upon to admit that the maladroit efforts made by Margheritone and other workers of the same period to interpret emotion by contortions and grimaces must necessarily be admirable because they are certainly early and probably sincere, is to put a severe strain on the loyalty of true lovers of art. Up to the middle of the fourteenth century the supremacy of sculpture continued, though the gulf between it and painting grew constantly narrower. Fine as are the frescoes by Orcagna in the Strozzi chapel of S. Maria Novella at Florence, far as they transcend in grace and fidelity to nature all previous efforts of the brush (with a few dubious exceptions from the hand of Giotto), it must be confessed that as artistic achievements they fall short of his work as the sculptor of the Tabernacolo in Or. S. Michele at Florence.

What, then, can be the reason of this splendid and early perfection of sculpture in a land where art in its renascence was necessarily influenced.

by the spirit and the work of teachers to whom sculpture was anathema? One very obvious answer seems to be that the fancy of the Italian worker was stirred, his eye trained, and his touch disciplined by the sight of carven forms wrought while the Empire of the World was still in being; that this stimulus, applied to temperaments rich essentially and responsive to the charm of external nature, led to the emergence of the Tuscan masters. Other influences were no doubt at work, but the most effective one was that which sprang from the presence of classic remains of sculpture and architecture. Dire as was the ruin wrought by the successive swarms of barbarian invaders, hundreds of statues and sarcophagi survived; and though the execution of these may have reflected but a faint shadow of the excellence of the Greek originals, to which the makers would have been introduced through the sight of some Rhodian copy, the fine workmanship of many of the earlier Christian sarcophagi suggests that they are from the hands of sculptors who were thoroughly penetrated by the classic spirit: men who in their time had worked upon other tombs bearing the images and insignia of the old gods

whose race was drawing near to its end. To plain people this source of inspiration of Italian sculpture, its outflow enriched and deepened by prolonged study, and modified in different men by underlying elements of temper and environment, may seem natural and sufficient, but in these busy times art writers are an enterprising and increasing band, and the material necessary for the mass of studies, treatises, and appreciations would never go round if such simple and unsophisticated theorising were the rule. In a certain school of modern art criticism one of the chief rules is that every work which an artist produces must be produced under the influence of the work of some precursor or other. It is deemed impossible that any characteristic trait he may exhibit can spring unaided. He is treated as a scientifically constructed product: one taught to paint by rote, whose course through the public galleries may be tracked by measuring ears and toenails. It seems to be forgotten that the greatest artists have, for the most part, launched their personalities across the firmament without any warning, like errant meteors. The reason why the work which these men have left us is so

immensely superior to that of the facile interpreters of tradition or formula—the students nurtured on old stocks of patterns—is that the true master finds the range of his faculties in the predilections of his own consciousness and in his individual sensitiveness to external nature, rather than in gazing at the achievements of his fore-runners.

But these highly debatable questions as to who may have influenced the artist, or at what particular juncture this influence may have been brought to bear, will at least give occasion for the consumption of ink and paper; and, this controversy once started, there will be forthcoming material for articles, replies, rejoinders, and last words in rich abundance. There are of course well-known instances in which the influence of one artist on another is manifest and undoubted: so clear that any comment on the phenomenon is superfluous; but to assume that all the painters of the past—great, mediocre, or small—were perpetually peeping round the corner and copying the work of this or that predecessor, is an instance of modern exaggeration and intemperance which shows itself as strongly in contem-

porary literary and artistic questions as it does in cricket or golf.

The advent of a master like Niccola Pisano marks an epoch in the history of art as momentous as that of Masaccio or Velasquez, but criticism of late seems to have concerned itself less with Niccola's astonishing works than in the dispute whether he was of Tuscan or Apulian birth,<sup>1</sup> and what were the impulses which swayed the beginnings of Pisan sculpture. These questions are still under debate, and it is not intended here to elaborate the arguments on either side; but as all students will be familiar with the carefully compiled and beautifully illustrated work of M. Marcel Reymond<sup>2</sup> it will be necessary to comment now and again on the dicta he lays down as to the sources of Niccola Pisano's art.

<sup>1</sup> The arguments in this dispute are set forth by Milanesi in his appendix to Niccola's life in his edition of Vasari (Florence, 1878-85—to which all references in the following pages apply), and in an article by J. A. Crowe in the *Nineteenth Century*, April, 1896. In a document relating to the contract for the Siena pulpit, Niccola is called "Nicholani Petri de Apulia," but Milanesi and the Tuscans affirm that Apulia here refers to Puglia, a village near Lucca. M. E. Bertaux, in "L'Art dans l'Italie méridionale," finds a resemblance between certain details of the Pisan pulpit and the work of the Castel del Monte, near Trani.

<sup>2</sup> *La Sculpture Florentine*. Florence: Alinari, 1897.

One of M. Reymond's chief aims is to prove that the revival of Italian sculpture in the middle of the thirteenth century was in no way due to Italian influences, and he begins by censuring Vasari for stating that the revival of art in Western Europe dates from the rise of Niccola Pisano, and that Niccola got all his inspiration from classic models and from nowhere else. Only by a highly strained interpretation can Vasari's words be made to convey this meaning; but M. Reymond, with the theory he has to bring forward, must needs clear Vasari out of the way *coûte que coûte*. "L'ancienne critique"—M. Reymond is no more definite than this—has gone on repeating Vasari's error, and, ignoring entirely the Middle Ages, has asserted that modern art comes direct from antique models. M. Reymond holds that modern art is essentially Christian, and that it takes hardly anything from Greece and Rome: that it comes to us through Byzantium, Rome, and Paris: and that it was the Parisian source which nourished the fair Tuscan growth which blossomed in Niccola Pisano. Commenting on the exquisite sculpture of Paris, Reims, and Chartres, he writes: "Cet art français

étant connu, non seulement nous avons eu une notion plus exacte sur la succession des écoles d'art des peuples germano-latins, mais nous avons compris, ce qui auparavant paraissait inexplicable, l'apparition si brusque et si magnifique de l'art italien, de cet art de Nicolas de Pise que rien n'avait préparé en Italie."<sup>1</sup>

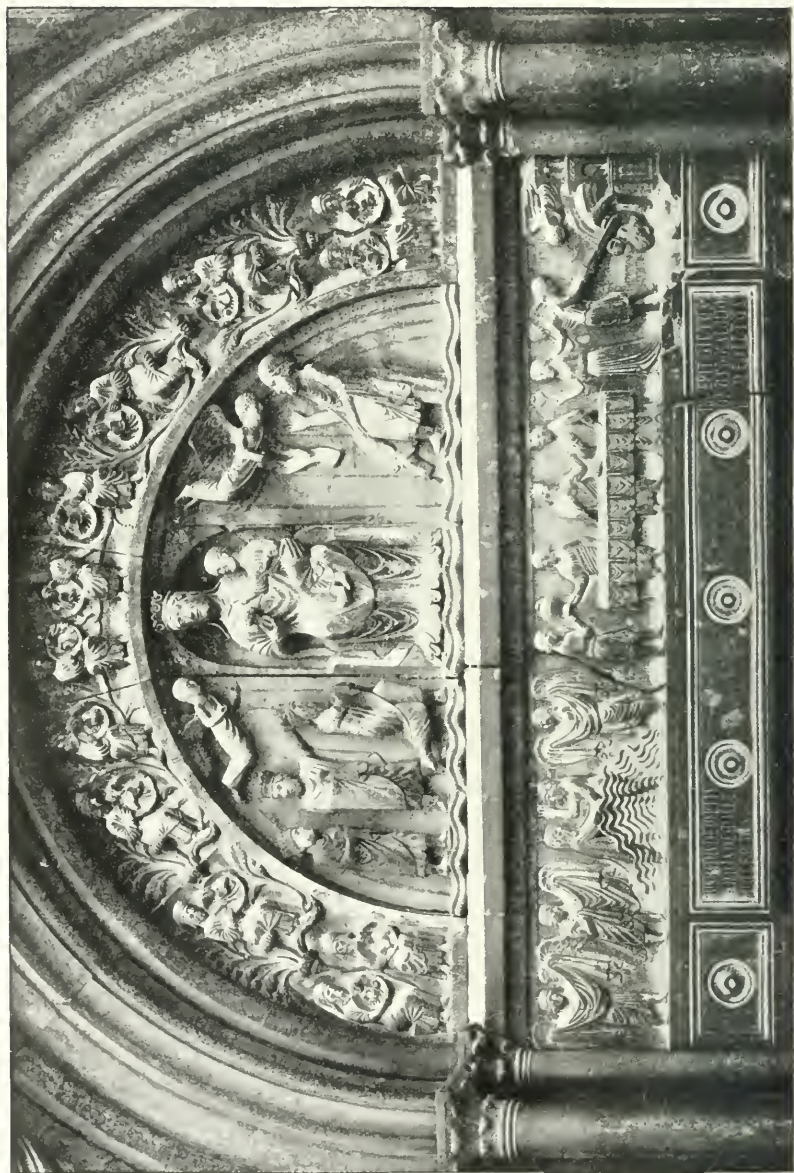
This "rien" is surely an overstatement. It is certain that Niccola must have seen Roman sarcophagi at Pisa and elsewhere, as Vasari has stated; and those who know the Pisan pulpit will be no less certain that he must have studied these models carefully and followed them in his great work, which is absolutely classic in spirit; the figure of the Virgin in the Adoration of the Kings having been manifestly copied from the Phædra on the sarcophagus of the Countess Beatrice in the Campo Santo.<sup>2</sup> This example of classic influence may not be to M. Reymond's taste, but he is hardly justified in treating it as a nullity. He insinuates that, up to Niccola's

<sup>1</sup> *La Sculpture Florentine*, vol. i. p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Vasari states that the sarcophagus of the Countess bears a sculptured relief of Meleager and the hunt of the Calydonian boar, but this is incorrect. There is in the Campo Santo a sarcophagus adorned with a relief of this episode, but it is of late and inferior Roman workmanship.







BENEDETTO ANTELAMI

The Virgin, and Scenes from the Life of S. John Baptist. Baptistry, Parma

début, there had been little or no artistic effort in Italy, and yet he notices with approbation the sculpture of Benedetto Antelami on the baptistery at Parma, executed at the end of the twelfth century, and other interesting early work at Modena and Ferrara. But in a question like this it is necessary to consider art as a whole, and not merely sculpture, the department at present under our consideration. M. Reymond will not be allowed to advance his "rien" unchallenged by those who remember that in Tuscany alone Niccola's eyes could enjoy and feed upon such exquisite masterpieces as the cathedral of Pisa, the adjacent baptistery and its wonderful font, and the pulpit and choir screen of S. Miniato at Florence. Then there is the mystery of his earlier life previous to 1260. One fact may be stated at the outset, that there exists in Tuscany no work executed before this date which can with reason be attributed to him. And yet no one can possibly regard the Pisan pulpit as the first work of any man. To have attained such high powers of composition and handicraft as he here manifests, he must have worked long and arduously. Five years later we have evidence that he had

been educating his son Giovanni for the same career, for in his contract for the Siena pulpit in 1265 he stipulates that his son Giovanni shall be allowed to work at one-third of the customary wages. This provision suggests that Giovanni was at that time an apprentice, but he must have been working for some years under his father's teaching to have attained sufficient skill as a craftsman to justify his employment on such a task.

In Apulia, the hypothetical alternative to Tuscany as the field of Niccola's early labours, there is the same absence of any work of the period bearing the impress of his genius; but here at least the character of the sculpture, dating back to his epoch, is more akin to his recognised style than anything to be found in Tuscany. In the South the tendency was towards the classical model, while in the North it was essentially ascetic, and Niccola's chisel was assuredly guided by the first-named influence rather than by the second. The numerous architectural achievements ascribed to him by Vasari need not be considered seriously. If he worked at Naples or Capua or Melfi on any of the buildings under-

taken by Frederic II., he would have worked as a sculptor; and the strong resemblance of the recently discovered fragments at Capua, and the sculpture on the pulpit by Bartolommeo di Foggia at Ravello, to his Central Italian masterpieces lends a certain degree of probability to Vasari's statement that he spent some years, either as principal or student, in the Kingdom of Naples. It will therefore be easy to imagine a source from which may have flowed the inspiration of Niccola's wonderful genius without travelling so far as the northern cathedrals. Again, at this period Italy—far more than was the case in France—was the favoured land for the emergence of the individual; and in an atmosphere charged with this tendency, with the heritage of the classic world before his eyes, and the example and existence of his seniors and contemporaries in art, there is nothing wonderful that handiwork like his should have sprung from the study of circumjacent models.

M. Reymond remarks with justice that, in the thirteenth-century revival, the Christian spirit in art was the ascetic one, untouched by the mundane idea which characterised the renaissance of the

fifteenth century, after art had felt so powerfully the force of the humanist revival in literature that its religious sentiment revealed itself in ideals essentially Greek in their character, and allowed the human form to enjoy a part of the homage which, in the ages of faith, had been reserved for the spirit alone. In what degree Niccola was swayed by this ascetic spirit we shall never know; we can only remark that in his work he manifested this influence less than his Tuscan predecessors had done, while at the same time he borrowed his methods of expression from the classic fragments around him; but M. Reymond is still convinced that his dominant afflatus must have come from the work of the unknown sculptors of Chartres, Reims, and Paris. He finds the early Tuscan school "si naïve"; it never shows any tendency to the study or imitation of Roman models; wherefore Niccola can hardly have sprung from such a nest as that. He maintains that if we search for the source of Niccola's art south of the Alps, we are brought face to face with a blank wall; and, unless we admit that he learned his secret from the early French sculptors, we must fall back on spontaneous generation.

If it is a matter of such supreme importance to determine the source of Niccola's inspiration, it is surely no less important to account for that of the early northern sculptors (it does not follow they must have been Frenchmen because they happen to have worked in France). Spontaneous generation is just as hard to accept in their case as in Niccola's, and who shall say that their art and that of the early Pisans did not rise from a common fount? In all of the adjacent transalpine provinces of the Empire a taste for the arts had followed in the track of Roman law and order, and the masters of Reims and elsewhere may well have undergone the same formative discipline as Niccola and his contemporaries, through the daily sight of the many remains of Roman sculpture which survived to their day.

There is, however, one distinction to be drawn between the spirit of the artists who worked north and south of the Alps. With the Germans and Franks a national spirit of deep-seated and ardent loyalty for the Roman Emperor, or the King of France or the intermediate lord, had come into being through the unifying force of the rule of Charlemagne. The State was incomparably

stronger than the individual—so much so that the names of the most illustrious masters in architecture and sculpture in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, whose work is still a wonder and a delight to us, are unknown. With the Latins the sub-division into a number of small and constantly warring States rendered the rise of anything like a national sentiment impossible, and promoted the growth of the individual at the cost of the State. Moreover, the southern land at this time was fertile in personalities of exceptional strength. It would have needed a very potent centralising force to have dispossessed men like Niccola and Giovanni Pisano, Arnolfo del Cambio, and Brunelleschi of their heritage of fame, and to have sunk them, as the northern masters sank, out of recognition in the common multitude.

But the question under consideration may be viewed from another side. The great French cathedrals, as Fergusson points out, sprang not so much from the activities of patron, architect, and mason as from the spirit of the whole nation carrying out a combined project to a well-considered end. Great churchmen, like the Abbé Suger, Maurice de Sully, and Fulbert of Chartres,



gave the initiative and the money ; great architects, whose names have perished, came forth when they were wanted ; and the wandering bands of masons, with their secret signs and mysteries, were in readiness to carry out the work ; but their united energies would never have produced work of such consummate excellence if the national mind had not been made up to have nothing but the best that human effort could give. At this period the callings of the stonemason and of the carver were only divided by an invisible line ; and, considering how important a feature sculpture was in the great cathedrals of France, it seems that the carvers of images must have been almost as numerous as the hewers of stone. The Guild of Freemasons was composed of sculptors and builders, and was essentially cosmopolitan ; the art which produced the great cathedrals has no claim to call itself French, German, or Italian.

At the same time the errant character of the bands of sculptor-masons, and the fact that, in the middle of the thirteenth century, the pointed Gothic style had taken firm hold in Italy, give a certain probability to the theory of the operation of northern influence on some of the second genera-

tion of the Florentine sculptors. The building of the great churches of Assisi, Siena, and Orvieto must have attracted to Italy hundreds of workers who had seen, if they had not helped produce, the sculptured façades and porches of Chartres and Strasbourg, Bamberg, and Freiburg. Giovanni and Andrea Pisano and Arnolfo, while they were working at Florence and Orvieto, must necessarily have been brought into relations with these; and in Giovanni's case this association certainly helped on the development of his later style.

Northern influences, indeed, had touched Italy at a much earlier date. Historians who have escaped becoming antiquaries set themselves to trace streams of tendency in art as well as in sociology or politics; these streams they lay down as confidently as the physical geographer maps out the currents of the seas and oceans, and one of the most fruitful and picturesque of them is the stream of new life which flowed over the war- and time-worn provinces of Magna Græcia during the Norman invasion of the eleventh century. The revival of art and poetry which followed is the first sign of the working of the new forces in the south. It is doubtful whether

the conquerors, rough fighters with hands more apt to handle the sword than the pen or the chisel, brought with them any knowledge of the arts or skill in the practice of the same; but when war was over they certainly showed a disposition to cultivate the nobler arts of peace. The Italian tongue and its first efforts in poetry emerged from the Court of Palermo in the reign of William II., the most humane and cultivated sovereign of his age; and, with examples of the classic, the Byzantine, and the Saracenic schools of art before their eyes, the Normans naturally began to long for beautiful objects for the decoration of their permanent homes. Enjoying at last the blessings of peace, the Sicilians and Apulians, stimulated by their keen-witted, vigorous rulers—Norman and Hohenstaufen—produced a set of works in sculpture and architecture which, though they may offend the purist by the strange spectacle they present of mingled influences and temperaments, are supremely interesting as sincere efforts to express emotion: the cathedral of Palermo and its monuments, the pulpit at Ravello, and the surviving fragments of Capuan sculpture may be cited as examples. The Normans, so quick to

assimilate themselves to new surroundings, would certainly have taken up the exercise of the arts, and this movement would have been extended and accentuated under the rule of Frederic II. Some of the work still existing in Apulia may well have been wrought by Norman craftsmen, fellow-students of Niccola Pisano, who, if he was ever subjected to northern influences, felt them at this time and in this place. Any foreign inspiration he might have gathered came not from Paris, but from the lands conquered by the descendants of Rollo.

To revert to the question of Christian influence on early art, it is certain that this influence was a potent one in the Byzantine Empire, where the worker hesitated to reproduce anything suggested by ante-Christian models. The early Italian sculptors took the same line, being kept back by the ethos of the new faith, from which came the paramount influence visible in work like the earlier portions of the bronze doors at S. Zenone at Verona. Here is religious sentiment without any beauty of expression.<sup>1</sup> It is incredible that

<sup>1</sup> It almost seems as if the anathema against corporeal beauty was limited to images of the form of man, the only being endowed with a

from such crude amorphous strivings as these—and in no long time—the exquisite work of the early northern and Pisan sculptors could have sprung into being without any help from classic sources, and it is surely more reasonable to infer that work, the first to manifest beauty of expression, should have been done by some one familiar with antique art rather than by some one who knew it not.

The recent birth of the Christian ideal was in itself enough to account for the degradation of the human form and the deterioration of technique which marks Byzantine and early Italian sculpture; the genius of Christianity tended in this direction, as the Greek genius tended in the other. The highest ideal in Greek art was to portray the human figure as the consummation of physical excellence: the personification of perfect existence in natural environment. The serene aspect of Athene embodied wisdom, Hermes activity, Herakles strength, and Aphrodite beauty; but with Christianity all this was changed, and suffering

soul. Many of the twelfth-century sculptors showed both skill and sense of beauty in their figures of animals, *e.g.* the lions at the door of the cathedral at Modena.

in lieu of joy became the central idea of religious art. The natural universe, according to the Christian teaching, was destined to hold us only for a transitory and corrupt stage of our being; real life began beyond the tomb. The universe itself was deeply tainted with sin, and any representation of its more seductive aspects became in Christian eyes the very quintessence of evil. In any subject which the early Christian carver struck out of stone, the serene beauty, characteristic of classic work, would be modified or even absent altogether. Rest gave place to movement, single figures to groups, and by-and-by the carver combined his figures in action—sometimes violent—by way of displaying in dramatic form the intensity of the sufferings of those who had died for the faith, and of the bliss of those who had entered into their reward. The Christian virtues needed no beauty of form to typify them. The forms and heroes of the Greeks were necessarily graceful and vigorous, but John the Baptist and S. Sebastian, set up in a Christian church, served their purpose just as well when delineated as emaciated peasants. The beauty and sobriety essential to the Greek seemed unnecessary to

the Christian sculptor, or even out of place, and the single figure was ineffective to present such scenes as the Crucifixion and the Last Judgment. Until sculpture was superseded by painting as the main interpretative method of devotional art, it was used almost entirely for groups in bas-relief, and the single figure was rarely seen.

The working of a spirit so active and widespread as that of Christianity could not fail, while changing the sentiment, to modify largely both form and expression in sculpture. Classic influences indeed had continued to manifest themselves in various places during the long agony of the Middle Ages. They appear in the work of the magnificent bronze doors of the cathedrals of Trani, Ravello and Benevento, executed about the middle of the twelfth century,<sup>1</sup> and in Antelami's sculpture over the doors of the Baptistery at Parma. They leavened the work more thoroughly with every succeeding decade until the great pulpit at Pisa stood complete, and demonstrated that men could at last express

<sup>1</sup> The doors of Benevento date from 1150; of Trani from 1160; and of Ravello from 1179.

beauty as well as conceive it. Antelami is essentially classic in form, but M. Reymond sets him amongst the imitators of the northern artists; and, in writing of the sculpture at Parma,<sup>1</sup> executed at the end of the twelfth century, he says, somewhat paradoxically, " Dans ces portes la décoration historiée comprend les pilastres, le linteau, le tympan et la bordure du tympan. Mais l'artiste n'ose pas aller plus loin dans son imitation de l'art français et il ne décore de figures ni les voussures ni les embrasements de la porte, se contentant comme ses prédécesseurs de les orner de colonnes et de moulures."<sup>2</sup>

To begin with, there is something whimsical in the notion that Antelami's hand should suddenly have been arrested by the discovery that he was copying a little too closely some French original, standing many hundred miles away, which assuredly he had never seen, and probably had never heard of. It is not clear what French work M. Reymond is alluding to, but it cannot be the much-lauded statuary of Paris, or Chartres,

<sup>1</sup> The façade of the cathedral of Borgo San Donnino is another fine work by Antelami, *circa* 1175.

<sup>2</sup> Reymond, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 39.



or Reims, seeing that this was not executed till some years later. If the French masterpieces in question had been small objects which could have been copied and transported, if there was extant any record that Niccola or any of his predecessors ever went to study the sculpture of Northern and Central France, there might be some justification for this claim of M. Reymond, who certainly writes in this matter as if he did not realise the difficulties of travel in Niccola's day. A journey over the Alps was, as we know, a perilous and costly business two hundred years later, when Æneas Silvius made his memorable journey; something to be done only by rich men, or by those who travelled in their train, and quite beyond Niccola's resources. As a sculptor Antelami was well in advance of his contemporaries and of many of the workers of the thirteenth century. Of the examples of these early sculptors, the most noteworthy are a relief on the façade of the cathedral at Modena, 1125; a relief of Christ and the four evangelists by Bonamico, in the Campo Santo at Pisa, 1150; the architrave of the door of S. Andrea at Pisa by Gruamonte, 1166; the pulpit in S. Michele at

Groppoli, 1194; the architrave of the door of S. Bartolommeo in Pontano, at Pistoia, 1167; the pulpit in the same church by Guido di Como, 1250; the pulpit at Barga, 1210; and the door of the cathedral at Lucca, 1250.

Niccola's life is almost a blank. The facts we possess are limited to certain inscriptions and contracts, and to the vague details given in Vasari. His birth is placed between 1205 and 1207, and tradition reports that his first artistic essay was in architecture. Which of his extant works is earliest in date was for some time a moot point, but nothing of his that we know could have come from a prentice hand. Early writers point to the lunette of the "Deposition" over one of the west doors of the cathedral at Lucca, and give the year 1233 as the date of its execution, but contemporary criticism, judging by the ripened finish of the composition, allots it to a much later period, and gives the earliest place to the Pisan pulpit, which bears the date of 1260. In 1268 he finished the pulpit in the cathedral at Siena, and in 1280 he carved his name beside that of his son Giovanni upon the great fountain at Perugia, his last signed work. The lunette at Lucca, from its unity of



NICCOLA PISANO

The Adoration of the Kings. Panel of the Pulpit at Pisa



design and freedom of handling, is probably of the same period as the Sienese pulpit.<sup>1</sup>

Niccola's style in the reliefs of the Pisan pulpit shows very strongly the influence of classic study, and it is unimportant whether he found his first models in the Meleager sarcophagus of the Pisan Campo Santo, mentioned by Vasari, or elsewhere. The recumbent Virgin in the "Nativity," on the pulpit in the baptistery, might have been taken bodily from some Græco-Roman presentment of Ariadne. In the Adoration of the Kings she is manifestly copied from the Phædra, on the sarcophagus of the Countess Beatrice in the Campo Santo, and the horses in the background are reproductions of the conventional Greek type.<sup>2</sup> Though Niccola in his early days accepted the

<sup>1</sup> It is now generally held that the above-named works in Pisa, Siena, Lucca, and Perugia comprise all that can with any certainty be ascribed to Niccola. There is no documentary evidence of any value to support the correctness of the vast list of architectural and other works assigned to him by Vasari, who, at the beginning of his *Life*, crowds into a few sentences concerning the tomb of S. Dominic at Bologna, a farrago of blunders big enough to throw discredit on the whole of his article.

<sup>2</sup> Montaigne, who rarely deigned to notice any work of art he came across, could not pass by Niccola's pulpit without comment. "Also the Church of Saint John, near thereto, which is very richly adorned with painting and sculpture. Amongst other rarities is a pulpit set very thickly with statues." *Travels* (Murray, 1903), iii. 113.

suggestions of classical masters as to grouping and modelling, he found the true scope for his genius in the free field of nature; and, as his work progressed, he showed a spirit too virile and independent to fall into the trick of barren imitation, or to limit itself to idle reproductions of the model which his eye had first caught and approved. In the Pisan pulpit the composition is elementary, an equilibrium of masses is often wanting, but everywhere may be marked signs of original fancy. Niccola is still enjoying the primal rapture of creation, and this suffices for him. The time for the full manifestation of his splendid independent power of revelation is yet to come.

The pulpit at Pisa, great as it is, shows inferiority in many respects to the one at Siena, the handling of which has much greater freedom, especially in the figures which stand at the angles between the panels. They make us feel that when he fashioned them he must have been looking less at sarcophagi and more at the graceful human forms around him; he has got out of classical leading-strings, and is giving free course to his own extraordinary genius; but



NICCOLA PISANO

The Nativity: Panel of the Pulpit at Siena





M. Reymond will not admit that Niccola—great artist as he allows him to be—could have compassed this step in advance without the inspiration of French influence: “On croyait voir une statue française de la première moitié du XIII. siècle. Jamais l’art italien ne saura retrouver dans la suite cette noblesse et cette dignité d’attitude, cette simplicité exempte de tout maniérisme.”<sup>1</sup>

In one respect his change of style in his treatment of the Siena pulpit is a striking one. He reduces the size of his figures, and groups many more of them in a single panel. Though they are more closely crowded, though occasionally more than one subject is delineated in the same relief, they are combined with such mastery that the tableau loses nothing in dignity or harmony, though now and then the Sieneese panels suggest that Niccola, in trying to run alone entirely, loses something of the severe simplicity and sobriety which he achieved when he followed more narrowly the classic tradition. Signor Venturi professes to be able to distinguish the work of each one of Niccola’s assistants in the

<sup>1</sup> Reymond, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 72.

separate panels of the pulpit. To Niccola himself he ascribes the Crucifixion and the Purification; to Giovanni, the Massacre of the Innocents and a portion of the Torments of the Wicked; and to Arnolfo, the Elect in Paradise, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, and some of the female figures which stand at the angles between the panels.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the most fertile and momentous experiment that Niccola made in designing his two great pulpits was his decision to introduce, in the spaces between the capitals of the pillars and the sculptured tablets above, that beautiful series of cusped arches, the first instance of the combination of Gothic with classic work. The perfect harmony which followed upon this unprecedented mixture of style is the highest tribute that can be paid to the consummate skill of the creator. Over this episode Mr. Ruskin lifts up a well-known song of triumph, "The change, in a word, for all Europe from the Parthenon to Amiens Cathedral. For Italy it means the rise of the Gothic dynasty, it means the Duomo of Milan instead of the temple of Paestum."

The "Deposition from the Cross," over one

<sup>1</sup> *Storia dell' Arte italiana*, iv. 2.

of the west doors of the cathedral of Lucca, was for some time rated as Niccola's earliest work, but this ascription seems to have arisen from a misreading of the date 1233 upon the portico. Signor Milanese, in his notes to Niccola's life in Vasari, remarks that the date in question refers not to the lunette but to the erection of the portico itself. Putting this date out of sight, and looking at the style and handling of the subject, these alone will convince us that the work dates from Niccola's ripest period of activity. In unity of design, in freedom of action, and in the vitality and stateliness of the individual figures, this splendid picture presents, in its treatment, a strong contrast to the stiff and imperfectly expressed movement in kindred subjects on divers Christian sarcophagi, or even of certain of the panels on Niccola's own pulpit at Pisa.

The work of Giovanni Pisano as a sculptor of relief is perhaps inferior to that of his father in systematic charm, though, viewed with regard to the influence exercised upon the sculptors who came immediately after, it was the more powerful and far-reaching. As an architectonic achievement his chief work, the pulpit in S. Andrea at Pistoia,

must suffer in comparison with Niccola's at Siena. Mr. Symonds, anxious apparently to score a point in Giovanni's favour, refrains from placing it beside this masterpiece, and contents himself with comparing it with the grand, though confessedly inferior, pulpit at Pisa.<sup>1</sup> The charm and beauty of Giovanni's bas-reliefs at Pistoia are undeniable, but it is too much to say that they bear off the palm from Niccola's at Siena. Giovanni's Pistoian pulpit, with its unduly elongated columns and its flattened cusped arches, shows a design manifestly inferior to that of either one of his fathers. Exquisite as his art was in detached portions and in single figures, he lacked the co-ordinating insight by which Niccola was able to control perfectly masses and lines in their complicated interaction. Perhaps his most interesting characteristic is that he was the first sculptor of the revival to attain excellence in carving figures entirely detached from the background—what are known to us as statues.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Renaissance in Italy*, vol. iii. p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> In the reign of Frederic II. many statues were executed in the south of Italy. The statue of "Imperial Capua," of Pietro della Vinea and of an unknown man in the Museum at Capua, and the head of "Mater Ecclesie" on the pulpit at Ravello are the best-known examples.

It is superfluous to praise or even to mention the exquisite figures which are his masterpieces; the Madonnas of the Baptistery and the Campo Santo at Pisa, and of the Scrovegno chapel in the Arena at Padua.

Giovanni also executed the great fountain at Perugia (in conjunction with his father); the Spina Chapel and the Campo Santo at Pisa; and the pulpit at S. Andrea at Pistoia. No one who studies these with attention can fail to mark the advance in the power of expression they display. Whatever of his father's spirit Giovanni may have inherited he certainly freed himself entirely from the classic manner (Niccola, in spite of his Gothic cusped arches, remained a classicist to the end), and thereby lost something of dignity and repose. The vehement intensity of his groups of figures, the sense of "variegated and dramatic life" with which he succeeds in endowing his statues of the Virgin on the door-lintel of the Pisan baptistery, and the exquisite half-length in the Campo Santo were no part of his inherited craftsmanship, but manifestations of some fresh spring of natural genius fostered by association with northern craftsmen. In each of

the two presentations of the Virgin above named, Giovanni rivals the beauty of expression achieved by the masters of Reims and Paris, and at the same time infuses a charm and grace which is thoroughly Italian: a foreshadowing of the supreme achievement of Donatello.

To distinguish between the style of Niccola and his son it will only be necessary to compare the panel representing the Nativity on the Pisan pulpit with that on Giovanni's pulpit in S. Andrea at Pistoia. Niccola's Virgin is in his most classic style, the Roman matron of the conventional type, quite impassive, and wanting even the slight touch of maternal emotion manifested by the Virgin in the Nativity panel at Siena, upon which it must be remembered Giovanni probably worked. The male figures in their heavy draperies personify the stateliest of senators. It is an idyll in stone, but in Giovanni's rendering of the same episode we find lively action and an approach to verisimilitude hitherto unattained. The Virgin is a living, loving, suffering mother, the figures of the women attending on the child are instinct with vitality, and the modern spirit is displayed by the action of the



GIOVANNI PISANO  
The Nativity: Panel from the Pulpit in S. Andrea, Pistoia





nurse who tries the warmth of the bath with her fingers before putting the child into it.

Giovanni repeated this episode in the Nativity panel of the pulpit which he executed in 1310 for the Duomo at Pisa. This was overthrown in the fire of 1595, but some of the finest of the panels are now in the Museo Civico. In these the spirit of the Northern Gothic appears more plainly than in any other of his works. The figures are deeply undercut and stand in high relief—almost detached—and in many of them the ascetic type is strongly accentuated. Some of these were probably executed by his assistants.

A beautiful work by Giovanni is the tomb of Benedict IX. in the church of S. Domenico at Perugia. Benedict was a man of noble character, who happened to stand in the way of the schemes of the crafty and cruel Philip the Fair, and his death after eating a basket of fresh figs—an event which happened most opportunely for Philip's purposes—raised suspicions of poison. The recumbent figure of the Pope is as finely conceived and executed as that of the young Cardinal of Portugal in S. Miniato at Florence, and on either

side angels—marvels of beauty—draw back the curtains to let the world see the last slumber of a good man. Arnolfo di Cambio, one of Niccola's most famous followers, was better known as an architect than as a sculptor, and Balduccio da Pisa and Fra Guglielmo will be dealt with later on in considering certain of their works.





*St. Stephen St. Paul the Hermit and St. Lawrence  
detail from the tomb of St. Augustine*

## S. AUGUSTINE AND HIS MONUMENT AT PAVIA

AUGUSTINE occupies a unique position amongst the great ecclesiastics. He is at once the most human and the most spiritual of them all: the most daring of offenders, the most heart-stricken of penitents, and also the one who was most powerfully infected by the spirit which has dominated religion in modern times. By his development and extension of St. Paul's teaching he certainly did more than any other churchman to give to Western Christianity its present distinctive character. The industry and learning of Augustine were immense. He was an accomplished literary artist—as all who have read *The Confessions* will realise—and, by reason of these qualifications, he was the first of the Fathers who was moved to point out clearly to Christendom what was the necessary drift of its fundamental teaching, and at the same time to vindicate Catholic doctrine

against the militant heretics of the age. The Donatists, the Paulicians, and the Manichæans felt the weight of his hand in controversy; but greater even than his service in this particular field was the work he accomplished in reducing to system and order the disconnected cardinal points of Christian theology. Up to his time there had been no complete exposition of these: little more than faint adumbrations of their significance gathered from the apostolic writings. The earlier fathers—Cyprian and Tertullian, for instance—had confined their efforts to brief treatises on questions of local or temporary interest, but Augustine, in his great works *De Quantitate Animi*, *De Libero Arbitrio*, and *De Civitate Dei*, took all knowledge for his province, and forged a weapon which did shrewd service for the Church in the conflict with the powers of error. In the death-agonies of the Western Empire the ashes of paganism showed flickering life, and Augustine's hand it was which quenched the false fire finally. Afterwards, at various epochs when the Church was passing through one or other of the momentous crises of its history and convulsed in the throes of development, the voice that sounded from the lips

of the pioneer would be the voice of Augustine ; Luther and Calvin, as well, drew largely upon his writings. Jansenius preached Augustinianism *pur et simple*, and if we take away from the popular theology of the modern Protestant sects what it has gathered from Augustine's teaching, little will remain.

On this score alone it would be natural that the tomb of Augustine the theologian should attract more Christian pilgrims than that of any other saint : and Augustine the man is a figure still more fascinating. By the voice of history he is proclaimed a great saint, and his own utterances reveal him to commonplace folk as one of the most picturesque of sinners. The child brought up at the knee of the most pious of mothers rushed wildly into sin as soon as he gained his freedom, as many another educated on the same lines has done since his time. Many a good man can look back upon a period of profligacy ; but few, if any, have left such a picture of a *jeunesse orageuse* as Augustine has left in his inimitable *Confessions*. He is here his own *sacer vates*. What is in reality no more than a record of ordinary dissipation holds us, through the dramatic skill of his

narrative style, as if it were a supreme life-tragedy. In a review of the moral and intellectual crises in the lives of great men we shall come upon few episodes so suggestive and picturesque as his admission that, at the turning-point of his career, he was rescued from a course of licentious materialism, not by a study of the precepts of Christianity, but by the benign philosophy of Cicero ; and his description of the presentation of himself, with his illegitimate son by his side, to receive baptism at the hands of the great Ambrose at Milan.

Augustine was born at Tagasta in Numidia in A.D. 354. His father seems to have been a good easy man who had conformed to Christianity, without baptism, and never afterwards manifested anything of the normal earnestness of the convert—so much so that his son was not baptized in his youth. Augustine was sent, as we should say, to college at Carthage, then one of the most brilliant and licentious cities in the world, and, like many other students in other ages, he spent his time in riotous living and debauchery, rather than over learning, whether pagan or Christian ; but, judging from the rich stores of



knowledge he afterwards displayed and from his reference to the salutary impression he received from reading the *Hortensius* of Cicero, it would appear that his time could not have been entirely given to vicious idleness. The bent of his character and the course of his after life was largely determined by the early discipline he received from his mother, the saintly Monica; home influence was indeed his salvation. Monica soon perceived how eminent her son's gifts were, and also how prone he was by nature to fall a victim to the snares of the world. Her life was one long struggle by prayer and precept to save her darling from the powers of darkness, and before she died she enjoyed the happiness of knowing that her dearest wishes had been fulfilled.

Considering how vast is the figure he makes in history, the life of Augustine was a singularly uneventful one. His spell of wild living at Carthage; his lapse into the errors of Manicheism (possibly rated at home as the most serious of his offences); his visit to Rome in 383, and his more momentous sojourn at Milan, where his future was fixed by association with Archbishop Ambrose; his return to Africa and his acceptance

of the bishopric of the obscure city of Hippo: are its chief landmarks. His death was touched with the pathos of real tragedy. After having fought and conquered with the spiritual arm the great heresiarchs of his age, the close of his life was darkened and troubled by the material assaults of the foes he had confounded in argument. In 420 the army of the heretic Vandals, after ravaging the fertile African coast, laid siege to Hippo, and before the city fell the great Bishop had passed away.

The history of the man is largely to be read in the works he left behind him. His theological writings swayed powerfully the current of popular feeling in the abounding doctrinal controversies of the time, but in contemporary debate over the no less weighty problems of the unseen world, which still engage men's energies, it is doubtful whether the folios which contain his *De Moribus De Quantitate Animi* and *De Libero Arbitrio* are ever disturbed from their dignified and dusty repose. The *City of God* is yet read by the curious as a wonderful monument of ordered reasoning and wide philosophic grasp, but it must be enjoyed as a triumph of literature and not used as a storehouse of argument; for Augustine, with all his great gifts, was no

accurate scholar, and his conclusions often follow from premises which have no foundation. Latin he knew, but his Greek was no better than Shakespeare's, and his Hebrew non-existent. Soon after this work was given to the world Augustine became aware of its many imperfections, and in 428 he wrote his *Retractationes*, in which he frankly acknowledges his faults and corrects them to the best of his ability.

As in the case of Benvenuto Cellini and John Henry Newman, Augustine's name lives largely in literature through the vivid and searching self-portrait he has drawn in his *Confessions*. In later times these autobiographies of the soul became a favourite exercise with men of deep religious convictions, of strong passions, and of over-sensitive, nervous temperament; but Augustine's effort rises far above all others. The secret of this wonderful book lies in the force and clearness with which it portrays the spiritual pangs endured by thousands of other men besides Augustine: pangs over which—fortunately for the world—the iniquity of oblivion hath blindly scattered her poppy, because the subjects have been lacking in the capacity to embody their experience in words. Augustine's

readers were interested when they perceived how exactly their own religious perturbation tallied with that of the great Saint, and they may occasionally have been a little piqued because they had not thought of letting the world read their own story written by themselves—so easy did the effort seem.

Augustine was no mere religious zealot. The miraculous voice which spoke to him at Milan, "Take and read, take and hear!" is almost the only manifestation of the unseen world that he records. His powers of reasoning were of the highest, and his industry and intellectual grasp enabled him to master all the knowledge the Latin world then contained. Considering his position as a soldier in the forefront of the Christian host, then in death-grips with its mortal foe, it would be unreasonable to expect from him dispassionate treatment of controverted religious questions; indeed, any such treatment would have been scouted as unfitting by the religious conscience of the Christian world. Men who feel as profoundly as Augustine felt—whether they be scientists or politicians, lawyers or theologians—can never hold the balance exact. He marshalled his arguments with some show of logical order, but we feel that the verdict can only

be given in favour of the Christian cause : that the tongue of an angel, speaking on the other side, would have failed to convince. No cause ever had a more zealous, loyal servant. After he had taken up arms in the service of the Church, he spent himself without stint ; his activity carried the victorious banners of Christianity into new and hostile lands, and the noble example of his earnest and stainless life provided an ideal the level of which few of the saints who followed him ever attained.

The body of Augustine was interred in the church of S. Stephen at Hippo, but after the fall of the city all the more prominent churchmen were banished, the greater part of them being sent to the island of Sardinia. The exiles were most reluctant to leave the body of their beloved Bishop in the hands of the impious and heretical Vandals, who had gained complete possession of North Africa, and about sixty years after Augustine's death Fulgentius, a noble Carthaginian, undertook the transfer of the relics to Sardinia, where they found a resting-place in the church of S. Saturnino at Cagliari. Here they remained for more than two centuries, and reverence is still paid to the empty tomb where they rested. In

the beginning of the eighth century Sardinia was overrun by the Saracens, and the Christian leaders found it impossible to protect the pilgrims who flocked to Cagliari to do honour to the sainted Bishop of Hippo, wherefore they welcomed the proposition of Luitprand King of the Lombards to acquire the relics and transfer them to Pavia. The cost of this privilege is said to have amounted to sixty thousand gold crowns, paid by Luitprand to the Saracens. Bede, *De Sex Ætibus Mundi*, refers to the event: "Hujus corpus venerabile primo de sua civitate propter Barbaros Sardiniam translata nuper a Luitprando rege dato magno prætio Ticinis relatum." Thus in 710 the body of Augustine was conveyed to Pavia and there deposited in the church of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, which at that time was in the custody of the Benedictines. In 1220 Honorius III. assigned the church to the regular canons, and in 1327 the Eremitani di S. Agostino were associated with them in this office. The Benedictines placed the body of the Saint in a vault beneath the floor of S. Pietro by way of safeguarding such a precious relic from the pious cupidity of the faithful who came to worship. The entrance was bricked up,

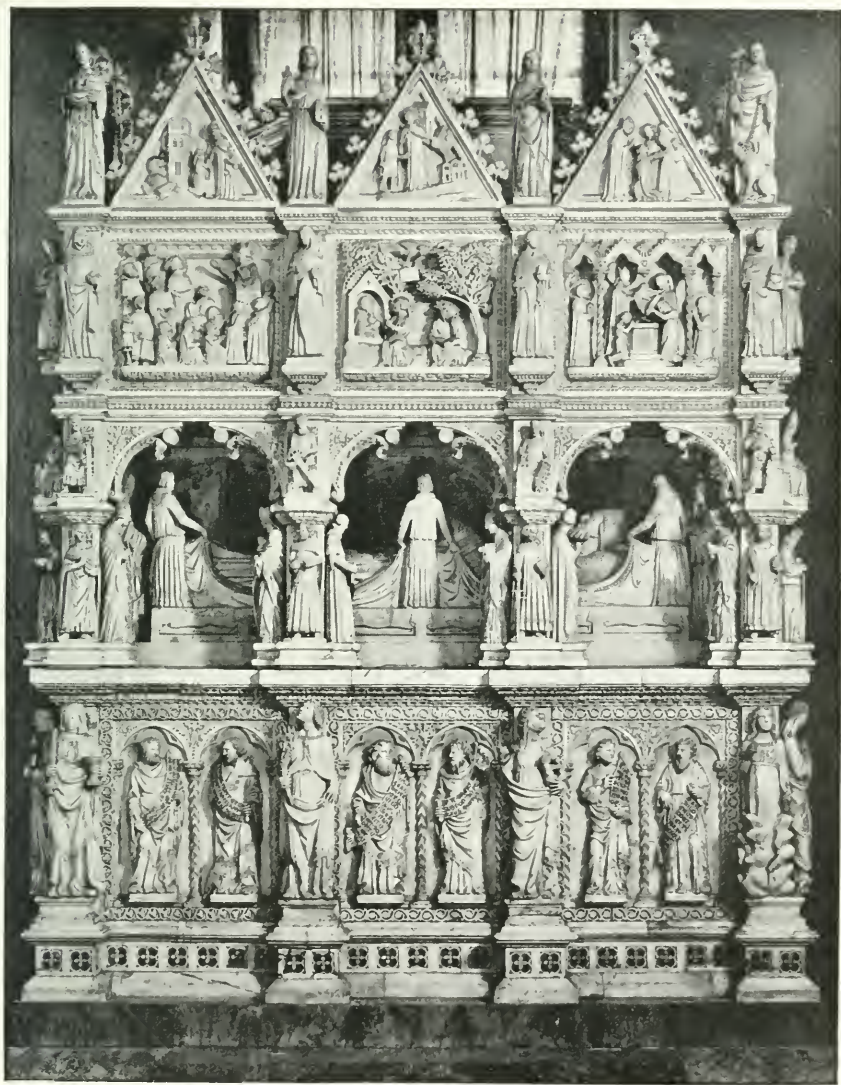
and it remained closed with masonry until it was opened some centuries later. In 1350<sup>1</sup> or soon afterwards the Eremitani began the work of erecting a worthy tomb over the relics of the Saint. The partnership, which as co-guardians they had shared with the Lateran canons, had not been altogether harmonious. Constant disputes arose as to the rights and duties of each body, and the canons seemed to have succeeded in establishing the belief that the inception of the tomb was their work; but in 1578 Antonia di Tortona, the Prior of the Eremitani, made an exhaustive search among the archives of S. Pietro and digested his discoveries in a manuscript document which settles the point in favour of the Eremitani. After the base of the monument was erected there seems to have been considerable delay in the work. Various minute details are given in Antonio's narrative as to the wages paid and the food supplied to the workmen; as to the censures of the Bishop over the way the Eremitani were spending their money, and at the

<sup>1</sup> Signor P. Majocchi, in his recent work on the *Arca di Sant' Agostino* (Pavia, 1900), quotes from the record of Antonio di Tortona: "Sempre facevano (gli agostiniani di San Pietro) del mangiare alli lavoratori per tutto quel tempo, come appare al giornale incominciando nel 1350 a fol: 10 dove ancora sono molte spese in essa arca."

location of the monument in the sacristy of S. Pietro and not in some public place. But not a word is said as to the name of the designer, so the authorship of this noble work is still one of the disputed points in the history of art. It is certain that the Eremitani soon found themselves short of money, whereupon they applied for aid to Gian Galeazzo Visconti, who was probably at that time resident at Pavia. He did not go to Milan till after the murder of his uncle Bernabo in 1385. Whether he helped them during his life or not is doubtful, but he certainly remembered the Eremitani and their work when he was making his will; for, after commending his soul to God and his children to the care of "Carlo Re di Franza, a Sigismondo Re d' Inghilterra, e al Re d' Ungaria," he directed his heirs to complete the tomb in the church of S. Pietro in Ciel d' Oro at Pavia.

The offerings of the faithful had probably been on a liberal scale: one citizen, Signor Antonio di Preontonibus, left by will fifty gold florins for the work, and it is almost certain that the monument must have been near completion when the fathers applied to Gian Galeazzo. The text of his will





TOMB OF S. AUGUSTINE (West Side)  
S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia



runs: "Item quod arca marmorea quæ est in Ecclesia S. Augustini sita in citadella Papiæ compleatur et corpus Sancti Augustini quod esse dicitur in ipsa ecclesia reponatur in arca predicta."<sup>1</sup> It is scarcely likely that such terms as the above would have been used unless the tomb had advanced far enough towards completion to justify the use of the word "arca," a word which would never have been applied to a mere substructure. In *Muratori, Rerum Italic*<sup>2</sup> is given the funeral oration, pronounced by Fra Piero di Castelletto, in which he says that the late Duke had willed to finish "Arcam Sancti Augustini Papiæ opus egregium et pluries dixerat perficere disponebat." Here, again, the expression "opus egregium" plainly implies a work nearly completed.

The building accounts of the church of S. Pietro from 1380 to 1420 are extant, and Signor D. Sacchi, in his interesting monograph on *L' Arca di S. Agostino*, endeavours to prove by copious extracts from these accounts that the tomb was

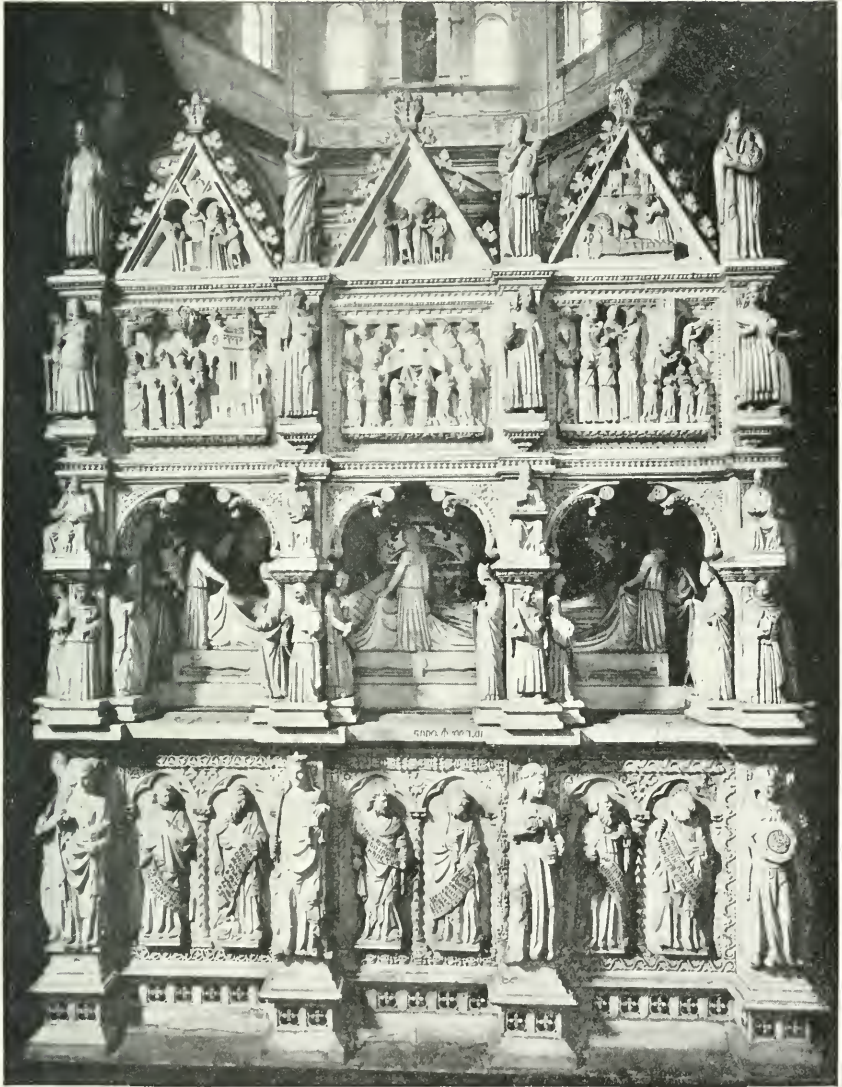
<sup>1</sup> This extract is taken from a manuscript copy of a reputed will of Gian Galeazzo in the archives of S. Pietro, dated 1401. Nothing is known of the original. The authentic will of the Duke is dated 1397.

<sup>2</sup> Tom: xvi. p. 1044.

well-nigh finished by 1380, and he certainly makes out a very good case. In these accounts he finds but slight mention of work done to the Arca. It is only named in reference to cleaning, and to the iron railing which was put round it in 1383, a fact which seems to show that it must have been practically finished at the date aforesaid. There are sundry items relating to sums paid to the painters who were decorating the church, and to stonemasons who were engaged on the marble pulpit, the windows, and the doorway.

In 1392 a dispute arose between the Eremitani and the Lateran canons with regard to the money which had been expended on the monument. The first-named claimed to be repaid by the others one-half of the sum of four thousand gold florins they had laid out, and the matter was settled by freeing the canons from all liability, and confirming the Eremitani in possession of the tomb.

Here is conclusive evidence that four thousand gold florins had been expended on the monument ten years before Gian Galeazzo's death in 1402, by the Eremitani alone. Of the offerings from other sources there is no record, but probably they amounted to a sum which would have been



TOMB OF S. AUGUSTINE (East Side)  
S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia



sufficient to bring it near completion. It is not likely that the Eremitani got anything afterwards from Gian Galeazzo's heirs.

There is no further public mention of the Arca till 1695, when, in digging in the sacristy of S. Pietro in Ciel d' Oro, the workmen came upon a marble tomb which bore the inscription "Augustinus," and contained a silver casket in which were found bones and ashes. The Eremitani were naturally elated at this discovery, and at once proclaimed their recent spoil to be the undoubted relics of S. Augustine, but their contention was not admitted universally; indeed, a widespread antagonistic movement sprang up, prompted quite as much by religious jealousy as by secular scepticism, and a hot controversy arose which was ultimately settled in favour of the genuine character of the relics by a bull of Pope Benedict XIII., a decision which candid observers will admit was supported by high probability.

The prolonged and desolating wars at the end of the seventeenth century did not spare Pavia. S. Pietro became for a time a military hospital, and the relics were taken for safety to the cathedral. The policy of the Eremitani at this period, as

gathered from Signor Sacchi's narrative, is somewhat hard to understand on account of their apparent readiness to give up the charge which they had so long held. A proposal was made to transport the tomb likewise to the cathedral, and a deputation of the fathers, headed by a certain Bellegente, was sent to Rome to confer with the Principal of the Order concerning this matter. Further suggestions were considered: the widening of the choir of S. Pietro, the alteration of the cupola, and the addition of columns to the front. The only result of the embassy seems to have been the construction of a new altar, in the worst taste of the period, upon which the monument was erected; its fine proportions being greatly marred by its elevation on what was practically a pedestal some three metres higher than its original base. The relics were brought back from the cathedral and replaced, the work being completed in 1743.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the Eremitani were transferred from Pavia to Milan. After a year's absence they returned and were settled in the church of the Jesu, the Arca and the relics having remained meantime in S. Pietro. The Eremitani after their return recovered the





TOMB OF S. AUGUSTINE (South Side)  
S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia



relics, and the Arca was taken down and lay in pieces for the next thirty years in a shed adjoining the Jesu. In 1799 the Order of the Eremitani was abolished ; the church of S. Pietro, with the exception of the tower and the west front, was demolished, and the tomb and the new altar as well were offered for sale by the secular authorities. This action raised a general outcry and opposition, and ultimately the relics and the fragments of the Arca were removed to the cathedral, where Cicognara saw them in 1820. In 1787, while the relics were at the Jesu, by the permission of Pope Pius VI., the chest in which they were enclosed was opened and a bone of the heel given to the Duke of Parma.

In 1828 a further movement was made as to the disposition of the remains. It was at first proposed to rebuild the Arca in S. Pietro, but this church was quasi-ruinous, and had become private property ; moreover, many difficulties and disputes as to the ownership of the relics arose, and after these were settled Don Luigi Tosi, the Bishop of Pavia, Signor Carlo Mazzoleni, and other public-spirited benefactors were able to carry out their plan of erecting the Arca in the cathedral as a shrine for the relics. Testagalli, the architect employed, set it

on a marble base in perfect proportion to its height and dimensions, and placed the silver casket in a cella, where it could be seen from outside. In 1902 it was again moved and set up in the restored church of S. Pietro in Ciel d' Oro, where it will probably remain till the end of time. The present writer has seen it in both churches, and cannot help regretting that it was not left as Testagalli placed it in the cathedral. The tomb is oblong in form and richly adorned with statuettes, bas-reliefs, and architectural accessories; and, as the last-named are in the pointed style, it seems probable that the designer had studied Niccola Pisano's work in his great pulpits. Through the open arcades which support the second grade of the monument the figure of the Saint may be seen lying upon a couch and covered with a sheet, the corners and sides of which are held up by six angels. Four chief mourners stand by his head, S. Monica (his mother), S. Ambrose, S. Jerome, and S. Gregory.

Statuettes of the apostles, placed two by two in compartments enriched with columns and cusped arches, stand around the lower portion of the monument, the compartments being separated from each other by statuettes of the Virtues.



TOMB OF S. AUGUSTINE (North Side)  
S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia



Above these, smaller statuettes of the saints and prophets stand against the pilasters of the second storey, from which project brackets bearing seated figures of the saints and martyrs. The upper storey is decorated with a set of bas-reliefs representing episodes in the life of S. Augustine, separated from each other by twenty statuettes. The whole is crowned by a row of pointed gables, decorated with sculpture and floral crockets and finials.

In unity and beauty of design, and in the grace and delicacy of the carving of the reliefs, the Arca of Pavia is superior to the no less famous one of S. Dominic, the work of Fra Guglielmo at Bologna. Many of the statuettes at Pavia are close imitations of those by Balduccio on the tomb of S. Peter Martyr in S. Eustorgio at Milan. Their surfaces are highly polished, and the borders of the robes are elaborately worked in ornamental designs. Vasari gives the names of Agostino and Agnolo da Siena as the producers of this beautiful monument; but this ascription must be an erroneous one, as both these sculptors died before 1350, and the tomb bears the date of 1362. Cicognara assigns it to Pietro Paulo and Jacobello delle Masegne, but

the earliest known work of these, a tablet in S. Francesco at Bologna, is recorded to have been executed in 1388. Perkins gives it to Matteo and Bonino di Campione, pupils of Balduccio da Pisa, and this is almost certainly the correct ascription. Balduccio had many Lombard pupils at work for him while he was engaged upon the tomb of Peter Martyr in S. Eustorgio, and the resemblance of divers of the statuettes at Pavia to those at Milan goes far to confirm the view that the monument was wrought by some one or other of Balduccio's pupils. Matteo reconstructed the cathedral at Monza, and Bonino was the sculptor of the tomb of Can Grande at Verona. A more recent ascription, that of Signor P. Majocchi in his work on the Arca already referred to, gives the authorship to Giovanni di Balduccio himself, and by a somewhat fanciful process of induction suggests that the date 1362 carved on the tomb relates not to its inception or completion, but to the year when the work was interrupted by the death of the original designer. The relief panels of the monument to Salvarino Aliprandi in S. Marco at Milan (cir: 1344) and the sculpture of the ancona to the altar in S. Eustorgio, the



Adoration of the Magi, strongly resemble those on the Arca at Pavia. Balduccio completed his great tomb of Peter Martyr in 1339—the year of Aliprandi's death. His life is almost a blank; but there is a legend that he was offered the post of *capo maestro* of the cathedral of Pisa; and, if there is any truth in this, it is not likely that he would have lingered in Milan. The unity of style visible in these separate monuments confirms the assumption that, during his sojourn in Milan, he trained divers pupils in his own manner. It is true that these later works lack the delicacy and force and symmetry of Balduccio's *capo lavoro*, but Venturi goes a little too far when he writes of them as “il riflesso dell' arte di Giovanni di Balduccio, come di luce che abbia perduto intensità e calore.”<sup>1</sup>

The numerous reliefs of the monument are worth careful study. To begin with those in the crocketed gables of the topmost row of the side on which the date is carved, and starting from the left, No. 1 and No. 2 show the Saint arguing with figures with the legs and feet of birds: these are probably meant to represent the chief heresies

<sup>1</sup> *Storia dell' Arte italiana*, iv. 606.

he fought against—Manichæism, Arianism, and Donatism. No. 3 is the Saint's deathbed, with a city on a hill beyond. At the end, over the head of the effigy, No. 1 shows him blessing a crowd of cripples and paralytics, and No. 2 the church of S. Pietro in Ciel d' Oro, with a crowd of people around it. At the end, over the feet, No. 1 shows a sick man in bed being blessed by the Saint, and No. 2 another view of the church of S. Pietro. On the remaining side, in No. 1 the Saint releases a prisoner, in No. 2 takes the prisoner home, and in No. 3 casts out devils.

Below these are larger reliefs, divided by statues clad in the garb of the Order, and flanking the reliefs at the end are figures of four warriors. Beginning as in the upper row, No. 1 is a scene of burial, probably of S. Monica. No. 2, S. Monica sits surrounded by members of the Order, with a scroll outspread on her knees. No. 3 is the institution of the Augustinian Order. The relief at the end over the feet is all in one. It represents the Saint as a pedagogue at a desk, with pupils before him. On each side is a city, the left-hand one probably Rome and the right-hand Milan. On the other side, in No. 1 the Saint is preaching. In





*Flourens 1860.*

*Faith*

*detail from the tomb of St. Augustine*

No. 2 an angel is teaching him, and another one hands down to him a book from heaven. In No. 3 he presents himself and his son for baptism, and S. Ambrose clothes him with the dress of a catechumen. At the end over the head, in No. 1 the body of the Saint is borne by eight brethren into Pavia, and a crowned king, Luitprand no doubt, supports the head; No. 2 represents the transport by sea of the body from Sardinia.

On the lowest grade the Virtue at the left-hand angle is Prudence, represented with three heads; then come Philip and Matthew; then Justice, crowned and with sword and balance; then James the Less and Simon; then Temperance, with a vessel of water; then Thaddeus and Matthias; then Fortitude, clad in a lion's skin. At the end stand figures of Chastity and Obedience, and between them Stephen, Paul the hermit, and Lawrence. On the other side Faith stands first, with a cross in one hand and a cup in the other, and next come Peter and John. Hope carries a sheaf of flowers, and then come James and Andrew. Charity holds two children in her arms, and at the end stand Thomas and Bartholomew, flanked by a statue of Religion, who rises from

out of a rocky mass. Meekness and Poverty occupy the other end, and between them are statues of Mark, Luke, and Paul, the first two with figures of the lion and the bull. Each apostle bears in his hand a scroll, on which is written in Gothic letters a passage from the Creed.





FRA GUGLIELMO, NICOLO BOLOGNESE, AND ALFONSO LOMBARDO  
Tomb of S. Dominic. S. Domenico, Bologna



## S. DOMINIC AND HIS MONUMENT AT BOLOGNA

DURING the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries the Catholic Church underwent a supreme crisis of its existence. For several hundred years hidden forces had been working towards a position of affairs which could only end in effervescence and conflict, the most sinister anomaly in the Christian commonwealth being the fact that the clergy had become a caste apart from the people. The fiery enthusiasm which had possessed Monachism, after the wonderful career of S. Benedict, had long since spent itself, and the secular priesthood, as a ministering corporation, was inert and voiceless at a period when the humble and the helpless were writhing under the scourges of rapine, violence, and oppression. Never was there a clearer call for some ghostly defender to stand forth and restrain the hand of the brutal overlord by threats of spiritual penalties, and to comfort the

suffering victims by promises of a lighter burden on earth and an eternity of bliss in the world to come. Men listened eagerly for the accents of religious consolation, but the pulpits of the Church were dumb ; the leaders of the spirituality during the long struggle between the Popes and the Hohenstaufen spent all their energies in political and dynastic intrigue ; and the lower grades of the priesthood were sunk in lethargy and indifference. The condition of the Anglican Church at the coming of Wesley is a fair parallel to that of the Roman when Innocent III. ascended the Papal throne.

Seven hundred years before this era, at the close of the fifth century, S. Benedict began his great work which welded into a complete and efficient instrument the scattered forces of Western monasticism, and, this attempt having been crowned with success, it may be said that the Church, with the regular priesthood as its most helpful agency, was for a long period a living and active organisation working zealously for the welfare of mankind ; but the evil fate which awaits all institutions uncontrolled by criticism and only loosely responsible to the higher powers, fell upon Monachism by the slow and insidious process of moral disintegration.

The close of the twelfth century found the Benedictines gone very far from the days of "Laborare est Orare," when each member of the Order was required to spend long hours of arduous toil in bringing the swamp and the hillside into cultivation; this discipline of labour having been devised quite as much with the view of subjugating the dangerous sensual energies of the white-robed workers, as of increasing the fruits of the earth.

The strength of Monachism was vitiated by its selfish outlook; it aimed only at the perfection of the individual. From the beginning the Benedictine monk had been secluded from the world, vowed to work out his own salvation and to limit his energies to this task, thus excluding from his activity those wider and nobler maxims of altruism and benevolence which proved the most potent factor in the mission of S. Francis. At the time we are considering the monk still lived apart, but in place of the austere learning, the plain fare, the humble lodging, and the hard manual labour, we find a general relaxation of the pristine rule produced by the influx of wealth from the offerings of the faithful. The Benedictines were now housed in palaces; the cultivated ground which had spread

round the original monastery—generally a mean dwelling of rubble or wood—was transformed into a park, and the monks, now that there was no need of toil to win the daily meal, preferred to live at ease on the money and gifts they received, and found no difficulty in exhibiting to the world a valid excuse for this change of habit. In the same fashion the secular priesthood had almost abandoned direct ministration to the spiritual needs of the people and popular preaching. Only in the spectacle of a stately and gorgeous ritual could the worshipper find opportunity for communion with God, and this avenue, while it might serve for the instructed and intelligent, was barred to the rude unlettered peasantry who formed so large a proportion of the Church's following. The seculars and regulars as well bore themselves towards the laity with an arrogance quite antagonistic to apostolic humility: an arrogance which, in conjunction with innumerable minor abuses and oppressions, roused a profound discontent at the existing spiritual state and a violent hatred against the ministers of religion, who, rightly or wrongly, were regarded as a crew of corrupt and slothful worldlings.

This movement rapidly gathered strength amongst the better instructed of the laity after the tragic failure of Abelard and the death of Arnold of Brescia. The contemporary satires on the clergy were exceedingly virulent, and were spread abroad with an impunity which seems to show that, ugly as was the picture they suggested, they did not outrage public opinion. As it often happens in such cases, the ecclesiastical leaders, terrified by the threatening storm, turned against one another with charges as opprobrious as those delivered by their adversaries, and this internecine war naturally tended to persuade the more moderate spirits—who justly distrusted the ribald abuse of the violent anti-sacerdotal sectaries—that something must be wrong. The leaven of revolt worked rapidly, and in 1200 Europe from one end to the other was in a ferment of heretical disorder, the most virulent centre being the South-east of France. The Shepherds of the Church had failed in their duty, and the people had gone in search of others. The wildest and most extravagant tenets—so long as they were promulgated by unauthorised teachers—found ready acceptance. Heresy ran along the whole range of religious creed, from the excesses

of the Cathari and the Paulicians, echoes of the recent revival of Manichæism in the North of Italy, to the sedate and Quaker-like piety of the Poor Men of Lyons, the disciples of the learned and zealous Peter Waldo, whose chief offence was that they persisted in preaching without authority. If Waldo had been able to come to an agreement with Alexander III. when he appealed for the papal authorisation to preach, he would probably have died as great a saint as Dominic or Francis. But after Waldo's death his followers are said to have become infected with the more dangerous and subversive tenets of the age. In any case, the cardinal points of their position—denial of the duty of obedience to the Pope; the right of laymen and women to preach; that God was to be obeyed rather than man; that masses and offerings for the dead were useless; and that prayer is efficient wherever offered—were offensive enough to procure them the hostility and persecution of the sacerdotalists.

It was in the dominions of Raymond, Count of Toulouse, that the anti-sacerdotal movement developed its greatest energy. Raymond, having shown himself a disobedient son of the Church

and a protector of heretics of every sort, naturally drew upon himself the first onslaught of the offended Pope. Raymond was a weak, vain man of profligate life who looked not unfavourably upon the removal of the restraints enforced by Christianity against the laxity of faith and morals which, under the strange quasi-Oriental ethics of the *gai saber*, had largely become the rule of life and conduct in Provence and the surrounding districts. Catholicism seemed almost extinct in Raymond's dominions when Innocent III., weary of warning and exhortation, called upon the King of France and other Christian monarchs to extirpate this hateful brood with fire and sword, and occupy the fair land as the reward of their piety.

It happened that in 1203 Avezado, the Spanish Bishop of Osma, was sent from the Court of Castile to negotiate a marriage between King Alfonso VIII. and a Danish princess, and he took with him a certain canon of Osma named Dominic de Guzman. As soon as they crossed the Pyrenees they found themselves in a land seething with heresy; and, having been trained in the rigorous orthodoxy of Spain, they were shocked and impressed

at the manifest danger to the Church. Dominic, inflamed with zeal, was much more disposed to tarry in Languedoc and overthrow these enemies of God and man, than to chaffer over nuptial contracts in Denmark, and the Bishop was equally fired with the same ambition ; but their northern journey was a State necessity, and, having fulfilled their mission and returned to Spain, they were despatched once more to Denmark with a stately train to bring home the bride. But the princess died a few days after their arrival, so they turned back at once, and, instead of going direct to Spain, repaired to Rome in order to get the Pope's leave to preach either against heresy in Languedoc, or heathenism in the east of Europe ; but Innocent refused Avezado's prayer, and commanded him to return to his diocese. On their way through Languedoc the Bishop and the young canon happened to meet certain of the Papal legates, who loudly lamented their want of success against the heretics, whereupon Dominic, grasping the situation at once, defined it in words which are worthy of quotation : " It is not by the display of pomp and power, cavalcades of retainers and richly houseled palfreys, or by gorgeous apparel, that the



heretics win proselytes ; it is by zealous preaching, by apostolic humility, by austerity, by seeming, it is true, but yet seeming holiness. Zeal must be met with zeal ; humility by humility ; false sanctity by real sanctity ; preaching falsehood by preaching truth." Dominic in a moment had realised the past failure of the Church, and had formulated a remedy in his own breast. The heretic leaders had gone to the people, who were crying for spiritual food, while the Church had sat haughtily apart in her shrines and monasteries. Dominic learned his lesson from the enemy, and henceforth preached, whenever he could find an audience to listen, the strict doctrine of Catholicism illuminated by the fire of genius and the force of a rare and cultivated intellect. The Papal legates were soon convinced of the value of their new champion : they dismissed their sumptuous equipages and retinues, and, like Dominic, went forth barefoot to combat the heretics, but history is silent as to their conquests.

In 1208, about three years after Dominic had taken up his new vocation, an acute crisis was created by the murder of Peter of Castelnau, a Cistercian monk and an ardent sacerdotalist,

by an adherent of Count Raymond. Peter had published the ban of excommunication against Raymond, and had assailed him with furious violence from the pulpit, the principal charge against Raymond being that while he allowed the Catholic authorities free course in converting the heretics by argument, he refused to second their efforts by the sword. As Raymond, with all his failings, had enlisted the affection of his subjects, the assassination of this bitter assailant found many apologists. But, as the future showed, no event could have been more fatal to his cause. It is true that it roused Innocent to the highest pitch of indignation : it was the tragedy of Becket newly enacted ; but at the same time, in spite of the death of this faithful servant of the Church, and the fulminations against his murderer which issued from the Vatican, it is quite possible that the death of Peter of Castelnau may not have been entirely unacceptable to the Pope, inasmuch as it gave him a pretext for proclaiming a war of extermination against Raymond and the swarm of heretics around him. Argument and menace were now laid aside in favour of the sword, an instrument much more to the taste of the cunning

and remorseless Innocent. The conquest and devastation of Languedoc by Simon de Montfort, and the excommunication and ruin of Count Raymond and his house, cannot be dealt with here in due detail—a regrettable necessity, inasmuch as these episodes certainly rank amongst the most interesting and dramatic of the thirteenth century.

In the subsequent chronicle of intrigue, bloodshed and devastation, the name of Dominic rarely occurs ; but a century after his death—the ecclesiastical sentiment of the time being sympathetic—a legend appears that he showed himself a vigorous soldier of the Church during the Provençal Crusade by marching at the head of the hosts of Catholicism and exhorting the warriors to be thorough in their bloody task ; and later on, in the tribunals, as the sternest of persecutors, demanding that the recusants should be delivered by hundreds to torture and the stake. Subsequently, when the public conscience was swayed towards milder counsels, this last legend was slurred over or suppressed, only to let Dominic reappear in his original truculent mood in the record of the Bollandists, who approve his severities

by quotations from S. Thomas Aquinas and other illustrious writers. Another change of view may be noticed in the pages of Butler, who writes that the only weapons used by Dominic against the heretics were instruction, patience, penance, fasting, watching, tears and prayer. It is probable that these legends, as well as the detailed account of his action during the war, are mere conjectures; but a man of Dominic's temper, thrown into the midst of a conflict where the Church was fighting *à l'outrance* against what he held to be the powers of evil, would naturally endorse to the full the action and policy of de Montfort. It is manifest that the two were on good terms from the fact that he assisted at the marriage of de Montfort's son, and at the baptism of his daughter. Again, when he was leaving Languedoc after de Montfort's death, he addressed the people: "For many years I have spoken to you with tenderness, with prayers and tears, but according to the proverb of my country, 'When the benediction has no effect the sword may have much.' Behold me now rouse up against you princes and prelates and nations and kingdoms, and many shall preach with the sword."

The Latin Church certainly reverences Dominic amongst the greatest of its champions, and Dante, who was often a severe critic of Churchmen, places him in Paradise, and writes :

Dentro vi nacque l' amoroso drudo  
 Della fede cristiana, il santo atleta,  
 Benigno ai suoi, ed ai nemici crudo ;  
 Sole e come fu creata, fu repleta  
 Sì la sua mente di viva virtute,  
 Che nella madre lei fece profeta.

\* \* \* \*

Dominico fu detto ; ed io ne parlo  
 Sì come dell' agricola, che Cristo  
 Ellesse all' orto suo per aiutarlo.

*Paradiso* xii. 55 : 70.

Just before the battle of Muret in 1213, when the forces of Raymond were completely defeated by de Montfort, Dominic obtained Papal authority for the establishment of the famous Order of Friars Preachers, or, as they were afterwards called, the Dominicans. Legend, again, enriches his story with wondrous events which marked his career. These begin even before his birth. His mother dreamt that she bore a dog with a torch in his mouth, whose destiny was to set the world on fire. Travellers to Florence will recall the fresco by Simone Martini in the Spanish chapel of S. Maria

Novella, where the black and white dogs, *Domini canes*, are harrying the heretics, while the Saint stands by, pointing out the way to heaven and proclaiming the true faith to the heresiarchs, who cower abjectly under the assaults of his triumphant rhetoric. Another story is that, as with Virgil, the bees settled on his infant lips, foreshadowing his future eloquence. He exorcised the Devil on various occasions ; once in the form of a black cat, which vanished by running up a bell-rope after having been driven out of the body of a noble matron. A comely nun insisted on leaving the cloister in spite of his remonstrances, and, on blowing her nose, found that it had parted from her face and remained in the handkerchief, but it was replaced on the Saint's intercession, the nun having bowed to his will. On many occasions he is said to have raised the dead.

The first Dominican monastery was established at S. Romain, near Toulouse ; before this he had founded a convent for women at Prouille, and soon after its foundation Dominic called together his associates and formulated the rules of the Order which was afterwards known as that of the Friars Preachers. The unit of the organisation

was the Province, with a Prior at the head, each one being subject to the Master. Dominic spent several years travelling about Europe, and established his Order in every land. Then, having sown the seed, he settled himself in Rome to await the harvest: a remarkable instance of foresight. From the holy city the fame of his eloquence and mighty works was spread into every corner of the earth by the crowds of returning pilgrims: by no other means could he have secured such bold advertisement. Recruits flocked by swarms to join the Order, and seven years after its foundation the Black Friars were at work all over Europe.

The wide and rapid success achieved by the Dominicans gives a clear proof how real was the need felt by the masses for something more stimulating than the lifeless and esoteric services—stately and imposing as they might be—which had hitherto been their sole spiritual sustenance. They flocked eagerly to hear the teaching and exhortation which were poured from the pulpit whenever a Black Friar might occupy it. After he had seen his great enterprise firmly established, and settled himself to direct its course from Rome,

it seems that Dominic confined his energies to organisation, and rarely appeared as a preacher. As in the case of the Franciscans, who had been authorised about the same time, the Dominicans were subjected to the vow of absolute poverty, and this vow proved to be as easy to make and as difficult to enforce with the Black as with the Grey Friars. Neither Dominic nor Francis seems to have realised that provisions enacted under the rush of the primal wave of enthusiasm will almost certainly fail to operate when the wave shall have spent its force and the pressure of daily life shall make itself felt in all those minor details in which the medium of exchange plays a leading part. Dominic showed the strongest side of his character, his profound and intimate knowledge of man's nature, as a trainer of followers who should act as the future instruments of his policy, and preach Catholic doctrine, pure and undefiled, in the four corners of the world. He could diagnose with certainty the capabilities of a neophyte, and determine at once in which field he could labour to the greatest profit. Those who once came within the attraction of his personality were rarely able to withstand his influence; and in certain cases,



where undue obstinacy was manifested by the younger brethren, the laws of nature had to give way, and allow a miraculous demonstration to accomplish what the words of the preacher could not. A vast number of those who had lapsed into heresy were brought back to the true fold under the spell of Dominic's thaumaturgic exhibitions, and crowds of neophytes rushed to join the Order, their ambition and desire of power having been stimulated by the promise that similar virtue should also descend upon them. Before many years had passed the preaching friars had penetrated as far as Hungary, Poland, Scotland, Turkey, Arabia, and even Abyssinia.

The institution of a Tertiary Order—akin to that authorised by the Franciscans—was perhaps the most far-seeing and efficient enactment of Dominic in the completion of the Association. To this sub-Order men and women were admitted on equal terms. There was a formal association, but beyond this its members were only bound generally by the call of reverence and obedience to support at every point the teaching and action of their superiors. They observed all the rites, and obeyed all the commands of the Church with

the closest fidelity. If a miracle happened to be wrought by a Dominican, they were the persistent and picturesque narrators of the wondrous deed; and they were the hosts and entertainers of the wandering friars on their evangelising round. By this method Dominic raised up a permanent and sympathetic body of supporters throughout the Christian world. For all this service and devotion the Tertiaries looked for no material or earthly reward. Enthusiasm for the cause was the sole motive of their action, and the extraordinary vitality which characterised the Order in all its grades, in its growth and maturity, may be taken as a true index of the inspiring genius of its founder; nothing less than this fiery genius could have called into being the hosts of devoted friars who proved themselves to be absolutely wedded to the interests of the Order, and burning with fanatic zeal to advance them. Dominic's spirit was as a keen sword which soon wears out its sheath; his frame was probably a weak one from the beginning, and a career like his would have put a heavy strain upon the most robust. He died worn out at Bologna in 1221, but he was only canonised in 1234, a circumstance

which suggests that perhaps the importance of his work was less apparent to his contemporaries than it is to ourselves. Francis was canonised in 1228, two years after his death; Antony of Padua died in 1231 and was canonised in 1233; and Peter Martyr was killed in 1252 and became a saint in less than a year from the date of his martyrdom.

In due time there was raised to the memory of Dominic the magnificent tomb which still stands in the church called after his name at Bologna.

In writing of this monument Vasari has shown something more than his customary inaccuracy. He gives us to believe that at the time of Dominic's death Niccola Pisano—then about eighteen years of age—had proved himself to be the leading sculptor of Tuscany; that Arnolfo di Cambio, instead of being a pupil of Niccola, was his predecessor; that Niccola was summoned to Bologna to undertake the tomb of S. Dominic seven years before the canonisation; and that he finished this work in 1231, or some thirty-four years before it was begun.

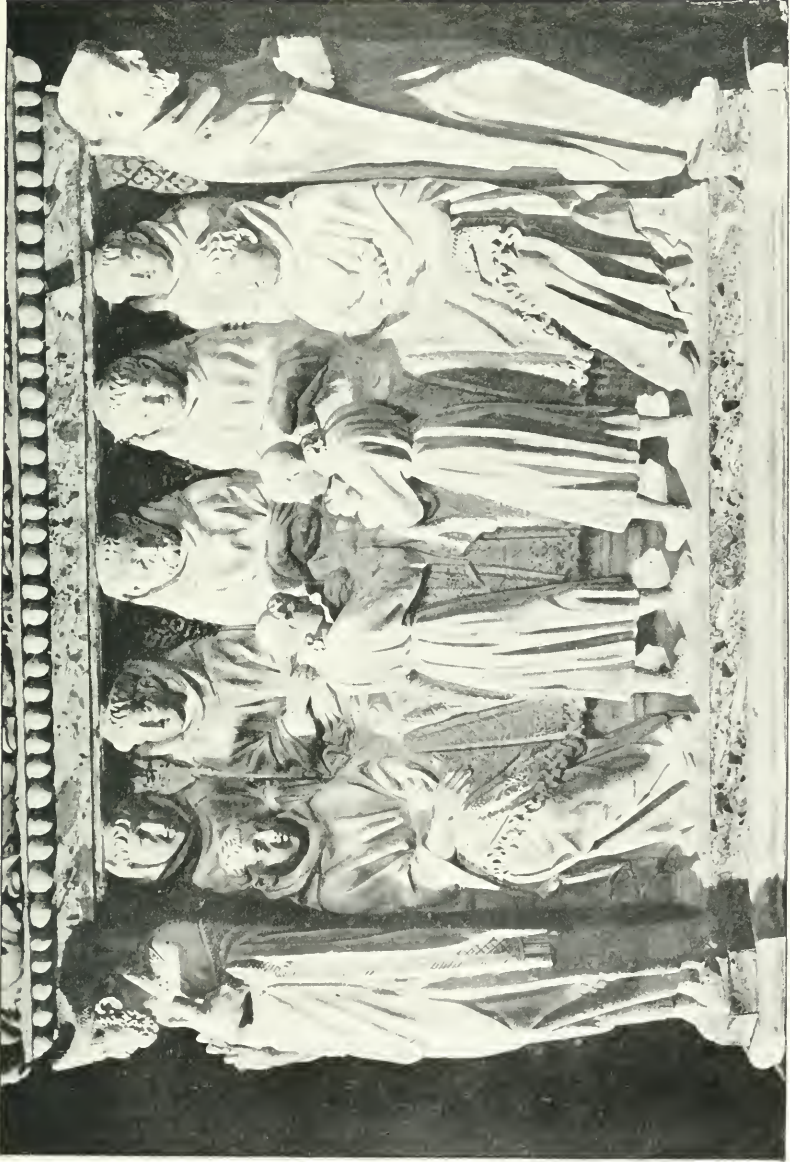
It is now universally recognised that the sculp-

tured monument which contains the Saint's body is the work of Fra Guglielmo, a Dominican friar and a pupil of Niccola, the same who executed the pulpit in the church of S. Giovanni *fuori civitas* at Pistoia. He joined the Order about 1257, and passed his novitiate at the monastery of S. Caterina at Pisa. Long after Vasari's details had been shown to be entirely incorrect, the belief remained that Niccola at some time or other had executed the monument. Cicognara, *Storia della Scultura*,<sup>1</sup> quotes Lanzi as writing of him, "Che fino dal 1231 scolpi in Bologna l'urna di S. Dominico da cui come da cosa insigne fu denominata Niccolo dell' Urna."

It is not unlikely that the commission was given to Niccola in the first instance, and he probably drew the designs for the lower part and for the several bas-reliefs. Padre Marchese, in his *Memoire degli Artisti Domenicani*,<sup>2</sup> goes farther and credits Niccola with the execution of the bas-reliefs on the front and at the two ends, and assigns to Fra Guglielmo only those at the back, the workmanship of which he declares to be

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. lib. i. cap. 5 and 6.



FRA GUGLIELMO

Tomb of S. Dominic. Angels bringing Bread



distinctly inferior. The association of Fra Guglielmo with Niccola in the execution of S. Dominic's tomb is suggested by the publication of an extract from the archives of the Convent of S. Caterina at Pisa given in the *Archivio Storico Italiano*:<sup>1</sup> "Hic (Fratr Gulielmus) cum Beati Dominici corpus sanctissimum sollempniori tumulo levaretur, quem sculps'erant magistri Nicole de Pisis, Policretior manu, sociatus dicto architectori." Beyond this there is another extract from the MS. annals of S. Caterina quoted by Padre Marchese which fixes the date of the completion of the monument: "Fratr Gulielmus, conversus, sculptor egregius, cum Nicholaus Pisanus, Patris nostri Dominici sacras reliquias in marmoreo, vel potius in alabastrino, sepulcro a se facto collocaret; præsens erat et ipse adjuvabat A.D. 1267."<sup>2</sup>

After Dominic's death in 1221 his remains were deposited in an enclosed wooden bier till 1233,

<sup>1</sup> Vol. vi. pp. 467-474.

<sup>2</sup> Signor Venturi (*Storia dell' Arte italiana*, iv. 51) holds that too much weight has been given to the evidence from the archives of Santa Caterina, seeing that the author of the *Cronaca*, Domenico de' Peccioli, wrote long after the event and died in 1407. Venturi further suggests that the association of Niccola Pisano with Fra Guglielmo in the work rests merely on local tradition.

when, after solemn identification by the Bishop of Ravenna, they were moved and placed in a plain stone coffin, in which they remained till Fra Guglielmo's tomb was completed in 1267.

The question whether Niccola Pisano ever worked at the sculptured bas-reliefs is one still under discussion. During the two years which preceded its completion it is certain that he was busily engaged on the pulpit at Siena, and if he gave any time to the monument at Bologna it must have been fragmentary and infrequent. Indeed, in the contract made between Niccola and Fra Milano, the Operaio del Duomo at Siena, with regard to the pulpit, Niccola reserves for himself liberty to absent himself whenever his services might be needed in the works then going on at the Duomo and Baptistery at Pisa, but makes no such stipulation with regard to Bologna. A careful examination of the whole of the bas-reliefs shows that they are fairly uniform in merit, that the type of head is the same throughout, and that the alleged inferiority of those in the rear—the view taken by Marchese—is imaginary. There would be no difficulty, without the evidence of the archives of S. Caterina, in assigning the monu-





FRA GUGLIELMO

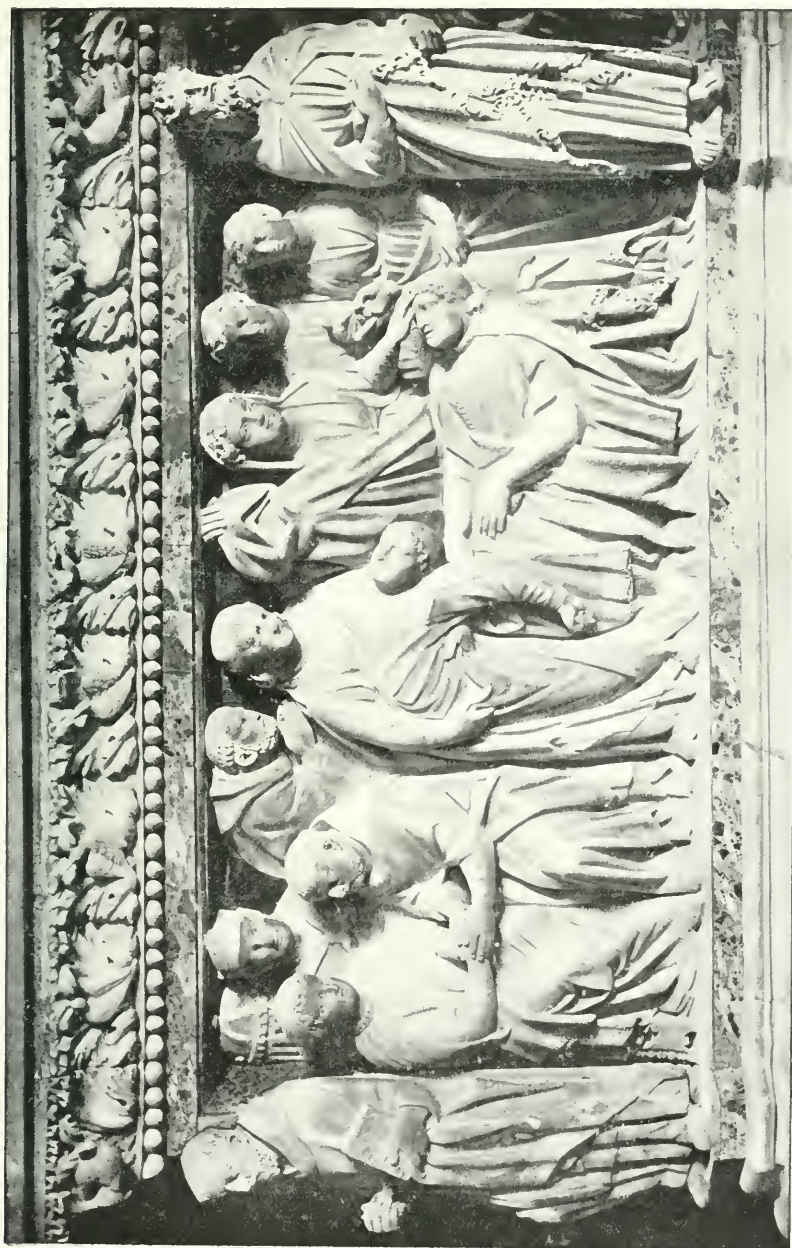
Tomb of S. Dominic. Trial by Fire of Orthodox and Heretical Books



ment in its entirety to a pupil or follower of Niccola, or in refusing to admit that the master himself had any part in it as a sculptor. The virility of Niccola's art, begotten by his early devotion to the study of classic models, is quite wanting here; we are conscious rather of a spirit of softness and meek piety, a forerunner in a way of the inspiration which soon after was to guide the hand of another Dominican artist, the blessed Angelico himself. In this question the evidence in favour of Fra Guglielmo is practically conclusive. A comparison of the reliefs at Bologna with those of the pulpit in S. Giovanni *fuori civitas* at Pistoia—undoubtedly from his hand—will give ample confirmation. In both places Fra Guglielmo shows himself at his best in the composition of his subject, the grouping of the figures being harmonious and unconventional. Though he undoubtedly was possessed with a sense of beauty he lacked the power to express it adequately, and as a carver his technique is imperfect. On the whole his work at Pistoia is superior to that on the Arca of S. Dominic.

As a complete work the monument is not equal to that of S. Augustine at Pavia or of S. Peter

Martyr at Milan in symmetry or in stately effect, and this falling off in artistic merit is largely due to the fact that as it now stands it is the product of several different hands, executed at different periods, and not carried out continuously from one original design. At the same time it must be admitted that, working as he did under somewhat untoward conditions, the constructor of the monument as we see it has achieved a fine result. The constructor referred to is Niccolo Bolognese, a pupil of Jacopo della Quercia (he is known also as Niccolo dell' Arca and Niccolo di Puglia, and is the one alluded to by Lanzi as Niccolo dell' Urna), who in 1469 undertook to execute a canopy for the monument. He practically made Fra Guglielmo's sarcophagus the centre of a design of his own. The canopy is enriched with scale-pattern carving, and surmounted by a frieze on which reliefs of angels are sculptured. A bold volute springs from each angle of the canopy, the junction of the four being terminated by a vase-shaped pedestal, ornamented with flowers and figures of angels and sea-monsters and crowned by a figure of God the Father. On the volutes and on the canopy stand statues of S. Francis, S. Dominic, S. Florian,



FRA GUGLIELMO

Tomb of S. Dominic. Incidents in the History of the Order



S. Proculus, S. John Baptist, and S. Petronius. In 1521 Michael Angelo, who was then an exile in Bologna, is said to have worked at the drapery of the statue of S. Petronius, and to have executed the right-hand one of the kneeling angels below, the one on the left having been done by Niccolò Bolognese himself.

In 1533 a contract was made with Alfonso Lombardo to carve a series of reliefs which now form the *gradino* of the monument. These are five in number, and represent (1) the birth of S. Dominic, (2) his abandonment of his soft bed to lie on the hard ground when he was a child, (3) his selling his books and giving the proceeds to the poor during a famine, (4) the Adoration of the Magi—this relief bears the sculptor's signature, (5) the spirit of S. Dominic received in heaven by Christ and the Virgin.

Fra Guglielmo's work on the Arca itself is cut in much deeper relief than Lombardo's on the *gradino*. The character of the figures, the treatment of facial expression, which is of the feeblest, and the folds of the draperies are entirely different from anything to be found in any recognised work of Niccolò Pisano. The round, chubby faces and

the squat forms of the friars and holy women recall the pictorial rendering by Filippo Lippi of similar figures in his "Coronation of the Virgin" in Florence, and in his frescoes in the Duomo at Prato. The left-hand panel on the front shows the recall to life by the agency of S. Dominic of a noble youth, Napoleone, the nephew of the Cardinal of Torre Nuova, who had been killed by the fall of his horse. Within the limits of the panel the various episodes of the misadventure are depicted. The mourning friends of the youth, the fallen horse, the youth himself, lying dead, and then restored to life by the aid of the Saint. It should be remarked that in this and in the adjoining panel the figures are ranged in two rows, after the model of the classic sarcophagus. Between this panel and the next is a statue of the Virgin, a dignified figure executed with something of the spirit of Giovanni Pisano's Madonnas at Pisa. The next panel shows the controversy between S. Dominic and the Manichæans. Both disputants throw their books into the fire, and those of Dominic fly out uninjured, while the tomes of heresy are consumed. On the adjoining end SS. Peter and Paul give books to S. Dominic,





FRA GUGLIELMO

Tomb of S. Dominic. Death and Restoration to Life of Prince Napoleone



which he hands on to members of the Order. On the back is represented the death of S. Reginald of Orleans, and his restoration to health by S. Dominic, while the Virgin offers him the Dominican habit for assumption. On the left Dominic is holding Reginald's hand in his own and praying, probably to neutralise the influence of an heresiarch standing behind. Next comes a statue of Christ, and beyond this is a relief of the vision of Pope Honorius III. as to the future of the Order. S. Dominic is represented as supporting the tottering fabric of the Church, and Honorius is granting the authorisation of the Friars Preachers. At the other end two angels—small, wingless figures—distribute bread to members of the Order during a famine. Four statues—vigorous and stately figures—of the doctors of the Church stand one at each corner of the Arca, and give a character of graceful solidity to the monument as a whole.

Fynes Moryson, a traveller of practical humour, and one more prompt to search for curious diversities of national custom or to speculate on the political and social characteristics of foreign lands than to spend time over works of art, did not quit Bologna in 1594 without recording his impressions

of S. Dominic and his monument : “ And the rich, stately monastery of Saint Dominicke, in which is the sepulcher of the said Saint curiously engraven, and of white marble ; and under a rich skreene lies the body which they superstitiously worship, and they shew the place where the Saint gave up his last breath. Their refectory or place where the Monkes eat is faire and large, and the cellars of wine, and their store thereof is so great as would better become the Temple of Bacchus than a Cloyster of Monkes.”

## S. PETER MARTYR AND HIS MONUMENT AT MILAN

THE life and career of Peter Martyr will serve as a fitting supplement to the memoir of S. Dominic. The movement for the suppression of heresy, begun by the founder of the Order of Friar Preachers, found no more ardent supporter than Peter of Verona. He is indeed reckoned amongst the preaching friars, but the energy he spent in proclaiming the good tidings of the gospel from the pulpit was very small compared with what he devoted to rousing the public conscience against heresy and destroying the bodies of heretics in this world, and in consigning their souls to everlasting torment in the world to come. The date of his birth lies somewhere between 1203 and 1206, and his father, a Veronese citizen of the middle class, is said to have held heretical opinions. Like Samuel, Peter gave proof of his piety in early childhood, and of his learning as well; for once,

when an uncle of his—also infected with heresy—tried to indoctrinate him with heterodox views, he repelled the attack with so much skill and erudition that he converted his would-be seducer, who thereupon begged the boy's father to let him leave his school and enter the priesthood. Ultimately he joined the Dominican Order in 1221.

The Dominican Order had not yet been constituted the executive power of the Inquisition, wherefore Peter's early efforts were confined to general exhortations to the faithful and denunciations of the heretic. According to the Bollandist account, his earliest efforts were seconded by the grant of supernatural powers. His campaign against heresy provoked violent opposition, but the retaliation of the wicked proved fruitless, and the war was carried into the enemies' country by the signs and wonders he wrought, which, indeed, were so abundant and efficacious that it seems strange that his foes, contending with weapons merely mundane, were not worsted even more completely than is reported. At what period this legend grew up, and at whose instigation, it is very difficult to determine. No mention of his supernatural power appears in any contemporary

record, and it is not impossible that the legend thereof may have been the fruit of an afterthought designed to cover with additional glory the name of a valiant defender of orthodoxy.

The beginning of the Inquisition may be traced to the Court of Enquiry sent into Languedoc about 1212 by Innocent III., but it was not distinguished from the ordinary "Court of the Bishop" till 1248. As early as 1231, on the occasion of an outbreak of heresy in Rome, Gregory IX. issued a decretal upon which all subsequent inquisitorial procedure was based, and he followed up this step by adding the suppression of heresy to the regular duties of the Dominican Order. In his early days Peter was an active agent of divers of the occasional courts of enquiry. He is first heard of in Milan in 1233, when the authorities had become so lukewarm or sympathetic to heresy that true religion seemed in danger of extinction. In 1228 Cardinal Goffredo had enacted salutary laws in defence of orthodoxy, but these were dormant, and it needed the fiery zeal of Peter to make them operative. Settala the Archbishop and Oldrado the Podesta were won over by him, and a number of heretics

were burned; the zeal of Oldrado being commemorated by the monument with the inscription: "Qui solium struxit, Catharos ut debuit uxit," which may still be seen on the walls of the Archivio Publico at Milan. Peter also founded an association for the suppression of heresy, and then probably left Milan to carry on the work in other cities, as he is not heard of as being there again till 1342, when his zeal seems to have been so violent that it aroused a tumult in the course of which a good part of the city was destroyed, an event which shows that his earlier campaign against the sectaries had not been altogether successful.

It is difficult to make clear the policy and action of many of the leaders in States and municipalities—professing Catholics—without some reference to the struggle between Pope and Emperor which was at this time in full blast: how it came about that these leaders so often gave to heretics of all shades both moral and active support. Guelf and Ghibelin were at death-grips, and as the head of the Ghibelins was then the Emperor Frederic II., who was openly charged by the Pope with something more sinister even than heresy, *i.e.* sympathy and association with the infidel Saracen, it followed



that the *odium theologicum* was stirred to its depths, and the Ghibelins of Florence and elsewhere were quick to take advantage of the prevalent doctrinal troubles and favour the heretics wherever they could in political questions, whether they had any sympathy with their religious views or not. In Florence a large number of the leading families followed this course, the Baroni, the Pulci, the Cipriani, the Saraceni, the Cavalcanti, and the Malfreni being strongly anti-papal in secular politics. Heresy had spread rapidly from Languedoc into Lombardy and thence overflowed into the central provinces, where for a considerable time it was allowed free course; but in 1235 Gregory IX issued a brief by which absolution was allowed to any heretics who might accuse themselves and abjure their errors. This gentle policy was soon superseded by something more stringent; and, though the Ghibelin sympathies of the leading Florentines may have helped to modify the severity of the new departure, it was still truculent enough to provoke a violent outbreak in Florence about 1240.

Under the Legate Ruggieri Calcagni the Court of Inquisition in Florence had become very active. His perquisitions were so thorough and intimate

that a third of the citizens were found to be involved, and he struck at once at the leaders ; but the Baroni and others of the Ghibelin faction organised a resistance, and, having broken open the prisons, they released the captives and sent them out of the city. The struggle was long and bitter, and in 1244 the Pope directed Peter of Verona to repair to Florence and lend his aid in bringing it to an end. His first appearance seems to have been highly successful. Tradition runs that his fame and eloquence drew so vast a crowd that it was found necessary to enlarge the limits of the Piazza S. Maria Novella, where he preached, by removing some of the adjacent buildings. His past experience had taught him that, in combating heresy, the arm of the flesh is a necessary auxiliary to that of the spirit, wherefore, as in Milan, he organised a sort of bodyguard, the "Compagnia della Fede," to enforce his commands ; but this step, however serviceable it might have been to the cause of orthodoxy, did not conduce to the preservation of peace. Baroni and the Ghibelin leaders saw that their personal safety was in jeopardy, and at once raised a similar band under the Ghibelin

flag. Peter's denunciations grew fiercer every day; the rival bands met, and the streets of Florence ran with blood; and the confusion of the times was made to serve the purposes of private vengeance in quarrels which had nothing to do with religion. With the Legate Ruggieri on one side, and Pesannola, the Podesta recently appointed by Frederic II., on the other, the city was given up to civil war, during which Peter took the command of the Compagnia della Fede and, carrying a standard, marched at the head of its forces. He defeated the heretics in two battles, one at the Croce al Trebbio, and the other in the Piazza di S. Felicita, and the standard he bore on those days is still preserved amongst the relics of S. Maria Novella, and is exhibited to the people on the day of his festa.

In 1245 Peter succeeded Ruggieri as the head of the Florentine Inquisition, and after a few months of his vigorous policy heresy seemed extinct. For several years the records make no mention of his movements, and his name next appears in a brief written by Pope Innocent IV. in 1251 after the death of Frederic II. Peter was ordered to go at once to Cremona, a hot-bed

of Ghibelin heretics, and to strike with his usual vigour ; and in the following year was issued the bull of Innocent IV., which confirmed the power of the Inquisition in judicial matters, and imposed upon the State the duty of exterminating heresy. In 1250 Peter had been made Prior of S. Giovanni in Piacenza. Ever since he had entered the Dominican Order his life had been one of ceaseless physical strain and mental exaltation, and these conditions must, long before this juncture, have begun to affect his reason. Campana, in his *Life*, gives a picture of his daily practice, after he became Prior of S. Giovanni, and if this is anywhere near the truth it is a wonder that he kept his wits so long as he did. He ate scarcely anything, and slept as little as possible, while he gave no respite to his labours of travel, preaching, and study. His friends besought him to moderate his vigour, fearing a catastrophe, but he kept to his own way, and there is little doubt that when he set out on his last journey he was practically insane.

Under the increased powers conferred by the recent bull, *Ad extirpanda*, the Inquisition held all heretics at its mercy, and Peter no doubt

rendered a good account of multitudes in Cremona and the other Lombard cities, and struck terror wherever he went. Stirred up either by hatred of Peter as *malleus hæreticorum*, or, more likely, by a desire to put an end to a state of things under which the life and goods of any man might be reft from him by private vengeance masked as religious zeal, certain men banded themselves together to stop the career of one whom they regarded as a public danger. Peter was above the law and not to be reached by it, so his case fell exactly into the category of those who provoke the wild justice of the dagger. There is no direct proof that Stephano Confaloniero, Guido Sachella, Manfredo Cliroro or Carino da Balsamo, the confederates against Peter, held heretical opinions. They probably regarded themselves as men at war with a terrible adversary of a character hitherto unknown, who would infallibly destroy them unless they could manage to get in the first blow. Before Easter, 1252, they had laid their plans, the necessary money, twenty-five lire, having been supplied by Sachella. Peter, who was at this time Prior of Como, had gone thither for the festival. Cliroro and Sachella

went to S. Eustorgio to ascertain the probable date of his return, whereupon Confaloniero, Cliroro, and Carino followed him, and awaited his departure from Como, which he could not well delay, seeing that he was bound to be back in Milan by the following Sunday in order to deal with a contumacious heretic whose term of grace would expire on that day. Early in the morning Peter, though weak and suffering from fever, set forth on foot, accompanied by a friar, Domenico by name. The executioners were on their track, and overtook them at Farga in the wood of Barlassina, a lonely spot about half way on the journey. Peter was struck down by Carino, and afterwards despatched by a dagger-thrust, while Domenico was left mortally wounded on the road. Peter's body was found and conveyed by some wayfarers to the convent of S. Simpliciano at Milan, and Domenico they took to Meda, where he died after lingering five days.

Whether or not any miraculous legend had attached to Peter's personality during his lifetime, it is certain that the fame of his supernatural powers now waxed rapidly, and spread wherever his name was known. The greater

part of the space devoted to him by Jacopo da Voragine in the *Legenda Aurea* is taken up by an account of the miracles he wrought during his life and of those which supervened on his martyrdom, the effect of the last-named on the religious conscience of the people having been so marked that from this time heresy became practically extinct in Milan. Three of these miracles, the stilling of a storm at sea, the cloud called up by Peter while preaching to shade his hearers from the sun, and the healing of the dumb man, are represented in the reliefs on the tomb in S. Eustorgio. He delivered countless sufferers from noxious diseases, his most noteworthy cure having been worked upon a nobleman who suffered from violent convulsions. He placed his cloak on the breast of the patient, who forthwith rid himself of his trouble by vomiting a huge worm with two heads and a body covered with hair.

It will be noticed that the ecclesiastical authorities found it politic to devote their energies to the publication of the fame of the martyr rather than to the punishment of his murderers, who seem to have escaped scot-free ;

what happened to them is involved in mystery. There is a legend that certain of them, after due penance and humiliation, were received into the Dominican Order, and that Carino, the actual assassin, was afterwards canonised as S. Acerinus. According to Corio,<sup>1</sup> Carino was arrested at once, and remained for ten days in the custody of the Podesta of Milan, but escaped by bribing the officers who had him in charge. The people of Milan were so furiously enraged at this treachery that they seized the podesta, imprisoned him in the archbishop's palace, and sacked his house. Confaloniero was sentenced to death, but there is no record of his execution. It is more than probable that all the conspirators escaped by the secret aid of sympathisers, and found a safe retreat amongst the Waldenses in the Alpine valleys. Innocent IV. celebrated the virtues of the martyred *frate* in glowing terms in a letter addressed to the Dominican Order, and before a year had passed a new saint, S. Peter Martyr, had been added to the Calendar. Jacopo da Voragine places him as a martyr almost on a level with Christ himself; and in 1291

<sup>1</sup> *Historia Milanese*, vol. i. pp. 485-6.



a Neapolitan friar, who claimed honour for the wounds of S. Peter Martyr equal to that accorded to the stigmata of S. Francis, raised a burning question which produced much fervid eloquence in the pulpit and occasionally tumults and bloodshed in the streets. In 1373 an oratory was founded at Barlassina, the scene of the murder, which grew rapidly rich from the offerings of the crowds of pilgrims; and even in Spain, the fatherland of Dominic, the fame of S. Peter Martyr equalled, if it did not exceed, that of the founder of his Order.

The Church of S. Eustorgio in Milan, close to the Porta Ticinese, is one of the most ancient of the city, having been founded at the beginning of the fourth century on a site outside the walls which had been built by the Emperor Maximian. A few years after the foundation of the Dominican Order in 1206, twelve friars of the Order were assigned for the service of the church, which in 1227, together with its belongings, was made over by Archbishop Settala to the Dominicans, who at once set to work to build their monastery on an adjacent site; and shortly after its completion Peter of Verona, whose last resting-place

is now the chief glory of the church, came to Milan to wage spiritual war against the heretics who swarmed there.

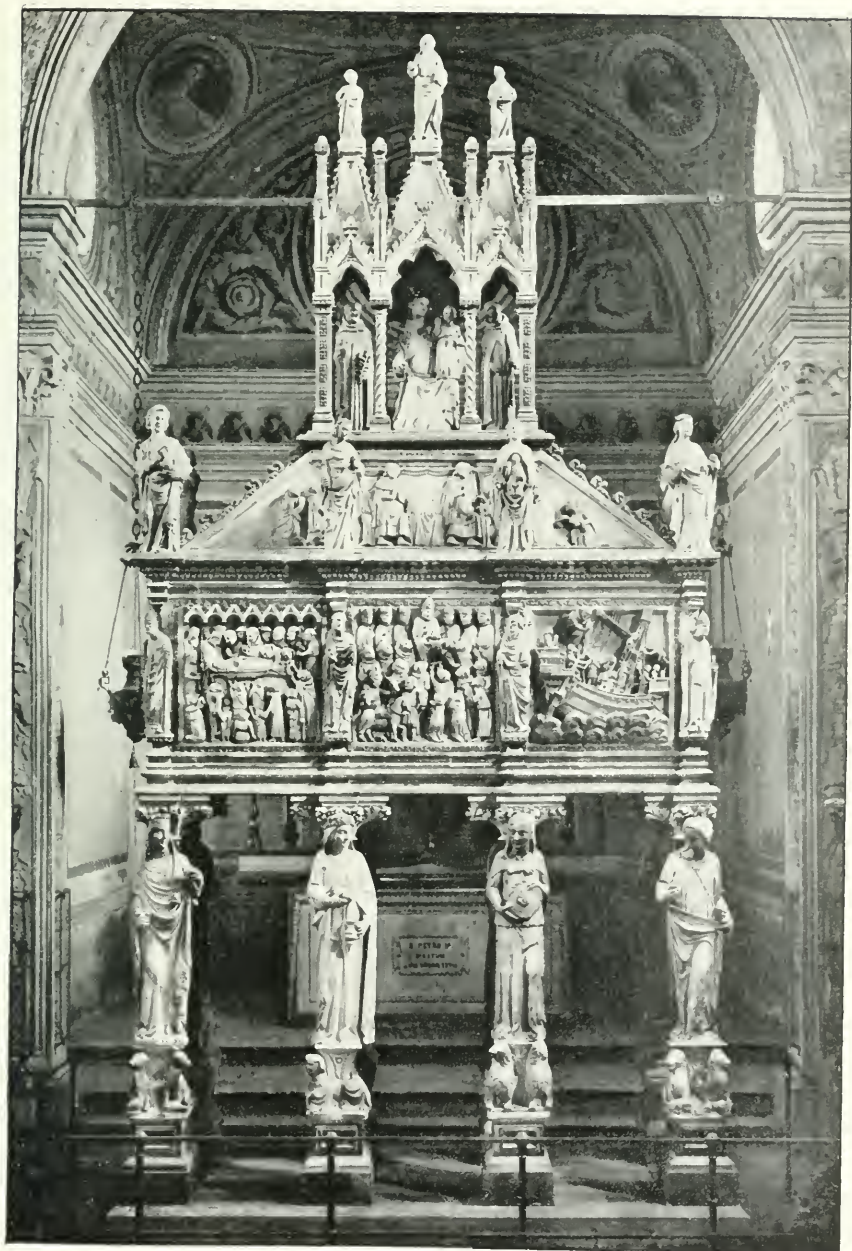
The body of Peter after the assassination remained at the convent of S. Simpliciano until the solemn obsequies could be organised. On the actual scene of the martyrdom a hospital was built, which in course of time grew into the stately Dominican monastery which remains to this day, the chief relic in which is the dagger used by the assassin. Gottofredo da Bussero, a chronicler of the seventeenth century, writes that in the diocese of Milan no less than twenty churches were dedicated to S. Peter Martyr, seven of which were in Milan itself.

When it was first brought to the church the body of the Saint was interred in the chapel of S. Eugenio to the left of the high altar. In 1253, when the canonisation took place, the body was exhumed and exposed for a whole day upon the stone pulpit which still overlooks the Piazza di S. Eustorgio—the same one from which Peter had so often thundered against the heretics and their works. Afterwards it was enclosed in a marble sarcophagus given by the Abbot of

S. Simpliciano, who declared that in his lifetime the Saint had seen this sarcophagus, and had remarked that it would be a fitting resting-place for a martyred saint.

In 1300, by way of providing still greater attractions for the pious worshippers who flocked to the church, it was decided to remove the altar of S. Dominic, which stood in the left aisle, and put in its place the sarcophagus of S. Peter Martyr, with an altar in front of the same. The crowd of pilgrims increased from year to year, so much so that it became necessary to surround the altar and sarcophagus with an iron grille, and with this ever-waxing vogue of the Saint a confraternity of religious persons was formed in 1265 with the object of collecting money for a more sumptuous tomb. In 1327 a beginning was made by laying a pavement of black and white marble, the emblematic colours of the Saint; and in 1336 it was resolved to set about the erection of the new monument. Many handsome oblations were made: the King and Queen of Cyprus gave three hundred ducats; and Azzo Visconti Lord of Milan, and Giovanni his brother the Bishop of Novara, were generous patrons.

The work was entrusted to Giovanni di Balduccio, a sculptor trained in the school of Niccola Pisano. According to the record of Pietro Verri, a Milanese chronicler, the Bishop of Novara seems to have brought him to Milan, but at what date he arrived is uncertain. His master was probably Andrea Pisano; and, if all the works attributed to him are genuine, he must have been a prolific artist. The following examples are signed with his name, and are unquestionably his: a monument to Guarniero degli Interminelli, the son of Castruccio Castracane Lord of Lucca, who died in 1322, in the church of S. Francesco outside the walls of Sarzana: this was probably carried out in 1329; the pulpit in the church of S. Maria del Prato at S. Casciano near Florence; and the principal doorway of S. Maria in Brera in Milan, a church which was dismantled to make way for the present art galleries. Some fragments of this doorway are now in the Castello Museum at Milan. In addition to these works Signor Mozzona, in *Pisa illustrata*, 1812, attributes to Balduccio the tomb of Azzo Visconti, formerly in the church of S. Gottardo and now in the collection of Prince Trivulzio at Milan.



BALDUCCIO DA PISA  
Tomb of S. Peter Martyr. S. Eustorgio, Milan



The altar shrine in S. Eustorgio was completed by Balduccio in 1339, and on June 4th, 1340, the body of the Saint was transferred to it from the old marble sarcophagus in which it had lain for eighty-seven years. The body was quite sound, and the hair and beard fresh as in life. The inscription on Balduccio's masterpiece runs as follows: "Magister Johannes Balducci de Pisis . . . sculpsit hanc archam . . . anno domini MCCCXXXVIII." It is in the form of a sarcophagus, elevated on eight statues of caryatid type emblematic of the Virtues. The first of these is Justice, a figure in rich robes and wearing a crown with lily-shaped ornament; next Temperance, crowned with ivy and pouring water from one vessel into another—the most beautiful of the statues; next Fortitude, with a somewhat forbidding face and clad in a lion's skin: she holds in her hands a sphere which represents the universe; next Prudence, gazing into a mirror which she holds in her hand: this statue has three heads—one of a girl, one of a matron, and one of an old woman. On the other side comes Obedience, with a yoke on her shoulders; next Hope, crowned with a cornucopia of flowers, while

at her feet dragons attack apes and swine; next Faith, crowned with lilies of the valley and bearing a cup in her hands; and last of all Charity, also crowned with lilies, with her heart on fire with love. The figures of Fortitude, Temperance, and Charity bear a certain resemblance to those on the arca of S. Augustine at Pavia, but they are certainly inferior in execution, a judgment which must be repeated in comparing the bas-reliefs of the two monuments. Balduccio's monument certainly holds the first place amongst the great sepulchral shrines in grace and symmetry of design, and in artistic balance of proportion, though, in the excellence of the carver's work, it is surpassed by the shrine of S. Augustine.

Beginning on the left-hand side of the front the reliefs run as follows: (1) the deposition of S. Peter's body in S. Eustorgio; (2) the announcement of his canonisation; (3) the stilling of a storm at sea by the spirit of S. Peter on the invocation of the faithful master of the ship; (4) the transport of the Saint's body to the new tomb in S. Eustorgio; (5) the Saint cures a dumb man; (6) the Saint is preaching, and miraculously calls up a cloud to shade the listening crowd from



the heat of the sun; (7) he heals the sick by the touch of his garments; (8) the murder of S. Peter.

Above the figures of the Virtues, and dividing the bas-reliefs, stand statues of S. Ambrose, S. Peter, S. Paul, S. Gregory, S. Jerome, S. Thomas Aquinas, S. Eustorgio, and S. Augustine. Over the central bas-relief on the front is an inscription, evidently referring to the scene of the Saint's canonisation: "*Sanctorum martyrum cathologo duximus adscribendum.*" On the cornice of the sarcophagus, immediately over the statues of the doctors and saints, stand other statues, those on the front representing Angels, Cherubim, Thrones and Dominations, and those at the back Virtues, Powers, Principalities, and Archangels. One of those on the front—over Fortitude—is holding a little figure typical of the soul of the Saint, and a scroll on which are the words "*Super omnia autem vincit Virtus.*" In the centre compartment of the cover to the front are two seated figures of S. John and S. Paul, and at the back are those of S. Nicolas and S. Catherine. On either side of S. Paul and S. John are groups of figures; that on the

right representing the Cardinal Matteo Orsini receiving the cardinal's hat from a Dominican friar, and that on the left the kneeling figures of the King and Queen of Cyprus, generous donors to the monument. On the top of the cover under a canopy stands a figure of the Virgin with the Child in her arms, and S. Dominic and S. Peter Martyr on either side. The whole is crowned by a figure of Christ on the centre pinnacle of the canopy, with angels right and left.

After it was finished Balduccio's monument was erected in the fourth bay of the left aisle. Here it stood exactly opposite to the side door of the right aisle, which gave egress to the Via di Santa Croce, and the bay adjacent to it was added to the space enclosed round it so as to give room for the celebration of mass at the altar in front. It must be remembered that only the body of the Saint lay within, for during the removal of the corpse to S. Eustorgio the head was separated from the trunk and, by leave of the General of the Dominican Order, was presented to the Archbishop of Milan, the same Giovanni Visconti who, as Bishop of Novara, had been instrumental in

securing Balduccio to carry out the work. The legend goes that, after this transfer, the Archbishop suffered continually from violent pains in his own head, which did not cease till the Saint's head had been restored to S. Eustorgio. After it had been taken back it was kept in the sacristy, enclosed in a richly worked reliquary, the gift of the Archbishop; but its presence there often gave rise to great inconvenience, and even riot and disturbance of public worship, on account of the assemblage of crowds of devout people who came from all parts to see it. In 1424 Duke Filippo Maria Visconti attempted to mitigate the inconvenience by erecting round the monument a sumptuous enclosure of marble columns, but apparently without much success. In any case it was found necessary to construct a special chapel for the reception of S. Peter Martyr's head, and a convenient site for this was selected beyond the apse of the church, which was built in the form of a Greek cross. It was in the middle of the fifteenth century that the work was begun at the instigation of Pigello Portinari, a Florentine banker and Milanese agent for Cosmo dei Medici, and the adornment of the same was committed to Michelozzo

of Florence, whose beautiful angels around the dome are still its chief glory.<sup>1</sup> But Portinari died before the work was completed, and things remained as they were till 1499, when Ludovico Moro, threatened by the army of Louis XII., made a requisition on the sacred ornaments of the Milanese churches, and amongst the items of his catalogue was the silver shrine of the head of S. Peter Martyr. The seizure of this relic provoked great discontent amongst the Milanese, whereupon Ludovico substituted for the weighty silver shrine a beautiful lantern, a present to him from Venice, wrought in silver and rock crystal—given to him, no doubt, as a work of art, and now found less amenable than the confiscated shrine for conversion into broad pieces—and in this improvised reliquary the head remained located in the sacristy until 1650, when Padre Cuccino secured the erection of a sumptuous altar in the Cappella Portinari for its reception. The number of worshippers went on increasing, and the interruption to the ordinary services of the church was aggravated by the fact that the body and the head of the Saint, though in the same

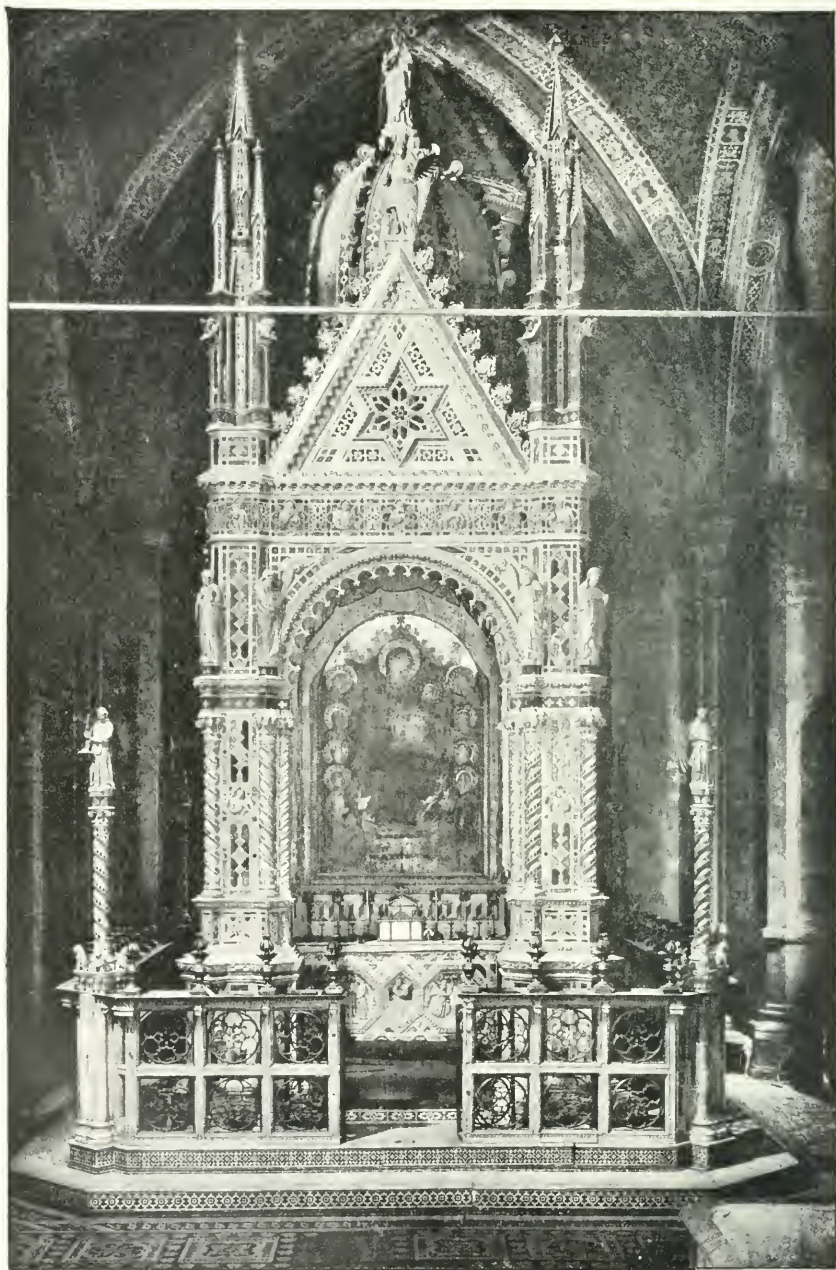
<sup>1</sup> It was called originally *Capella di S. Pietro ad caput*.

church, were still in different places. At one time there had been started a project to allocate both the head and the body of the Saint to the Chapel of S. Anna in the right-hand transept, but this was abandoned, and in 1736, in order to concentrate both the relics and the worshippers in one place, the authorities determined to remove Balduccio's monument to the Cappella Portinari; and, this having been done, a florid altar in the taste of the age was erected in front of it for the reception of the head of the Saint, which was now enclosed in a casket of silver and crystal instead of in the old lantern of Ludovico Moro. In 1874 the altar was removed and the monument brought a little more forward for the sake of better light, and on this site it still remains.

Although the light in this part of the church is insufficient to allow this beautiful monument to be properly seen, the present site has advantages not to be overlooked. Exquisite as is the work of Balduccio's masterpiece, its surroundings are no less lovely. The Cappella Portinari is a growth of the finest flowering of Florentine art, and reveals itself as a work which could only have come from the hand of one of those

marvellous men who rode on the crest of the wave of the Revival. Michelozzo has here repeated his triumphs of the Cappella del Noviziato in Santa Croce, and of the domestic chapel in the Riccardi palace, and we have the superadded charm of the beautiful circle of angels disposed at the base of the dome. These were done by Michelozzo in his later years, long after he had ceased to collaborate with Donatello, and the delicate, playful loveliness which is here portrayed marks a deflection from the high severity of Donatello's style, and an approach to the gentler, less robust spirit of Luca della Robbia. Any one who visits S. Eustorgio to see the tomb of S. Peter Martyr must stand amazed at the feast of beauty before him as he turns into the Cappella Portinari ; and, though he may have come to admire Balduccio's sculpture, it will be strange if he is not forced to admit that Michelozzo's work, around and above, has charmed him as powerfully as the central object of his quest.





ANDREA ORCAGNA  
The Tabernacolo. Or. S. Michele, Florence



## THE TABERNACOLO IN OR. S. MICHELE AT FLORENCE

ON the spot where now stands the church of Or. S. Michele in the Via Calzaioli in Florence there stood, up to the middle of the thirteenth century, a parish church dedicated to S. Michael the Archangel. The Commune of the city asserted a right to the patronage of this benefice, but this claim was contested by the Cistercians of the Abbey of S. Silvestro in Nonantola. Whether the right lay on their side or not, the city fathers, about 1260, took the law into their own hands, and, having decided that public interest demanded the demolition of the church, pulled it down and levelled the site so as to adapt it to serve as a corn market.

About 1280 there was erected on this spot a loggia consisting of a plain roof supported on brick piers, which, according to Vasari, was constructed after the design of Arnolfo di Lapi. This building

was meant to serve as a shelter for the country folk who came in to sell their corn, and for the merchants in times of hot sun or heavy rain. Vasari goes on to say that on one of the brick pilasters of this loggia Ugolino da Siena painted a picture of the Virgin. From the expression, "in un pilastro," used both by Vasari and Giovanni Villani, there was at one time a belief that this picture must have been a fresco; but this view is contradicted by the testimony of a contemporary record,<sup>1</sup> which speaks of it as a "tavola." There is, however, some ambiguity in the phrase "in un pilastro": it might mean either that the picture was a fresco on the pilaster itself, or painted on a panel (tavola) and hung against the wall. Upon another of the piers was represented S. Michele, the patron saint of the church which had been pulled down, the work of some unknown artist.

For some reason which does not appear, the picture of the Virgin aroused at once considerable enthusiasm amongst the frequenters of the corn

<sup>1</sup> *Capitoli della Compagnia di San Michele*, rubric 14. These records give many details of the early history of Or. S. Michele. There is an edition of them published at Lucca in 1859.

market. In a very short time the cult of this particular picture produced an outbreak of ecstatic, religious devotion throughout the whole body of the citizens of Florence, and in 1291 this access of spiritual exaltation was further marked by the establishment of a new religious Order, La Compagnia di S. Michele, commonly known as the Laudesi, or singers of the Virgin's honour, a Society of which Messer Giovanni Boccaccio became a member in later times. This special adoration of the Virgin received its supreme mark of divine approval in 1292, when, according to Giovanni Villani, numerous miracles were worked by the agency of the Virgin's picture; devils were cast out, the sick and crooked were made whole and straight; but for some cause or other the Dominicans and Franciscans did not find themselves able to accept these manifestations as genuine, though they believed readily other miracles of a similar nature which were said to have been worked by members of their own Orders. Villani lets fall some hard words over their incredulity, and Guido Cavalcanti, in one of his sonnets, sets it down to envy, stirred up by the success of the Laudesi:

Una figura della donna mia  
 S' adora, Guido, a San Michele in Orto  
 Che di bella sembianza onesta e pia  
 De' peccatori è refugio e conforto ;  
 E quale a lui devota s'umilia  
 Chi più languisce, più a' ha di conforto ;  
 Gli infermi sana, i demon caccia via,  
 E gli occhi orbatì fa vedere scorto :  
 Sana in publico loco gran languori ;  
 Con reverenza la gente l' inchina ;  
 Due luminara l' adornan di fuori ;  
 La voce va per lontane cammina ;  
 Ma dicon ch' è idolatra i Fra Minori  
 Per invidia, che non è lor vicina.

The Florentines, however, would listen to nothing in disparagement of their new Virgin or of the Laudesi, who seem to have spent more time in works of charity and less in ecstatic and dogmatic preaching and in the burning of heretics than did their mendicant contemporaries ; and the Compagnia grew rapidly rich from the generous offerings which came in. But in 1304 occurred the great fire, the sequel of one of the most violent faction fights which had ever ravaged the city. While a battle between the Bianchi and the Neri was going on in the streets a certain Neri degli Abati, the Prior of S. Pietro Scherazzio, set fire to some of the houses round about the loggia and

the Mercato Vecchio ; and, as a strong north wind was blowing at the time, the flames spread rapidly and doubled in intensity when they began to feed upon the rich store of waxen offerings which were hung around the wonder-working picture of the Virgin in Or. S. Michele. The loggia, many churches and palaces and towers, and a large portion of the centre of the city, lay in ruins.

The loggia must have suffered great damage, if not total ruin ; but a reference to the *Capitoli* of the Compagnia di S. Michele shows that the members of the Order continued their functions amongst the fragments of the Oratorio, a title which was given to the space in front of the pier on which was painted the image of S. Michele, a certain amount of temporary repair having been done in woodwork. The record of this continued ministration has helped to raise the question whether the wonder-working image, ascribed to Ugolino da Siena, was destroyed in the fire or not. On one part it is held that, if the picture had indeed perished, the cult would not have gone on as if nothing had happened ; and on the other that, if the picture had passed scathless through such a terrible ordeal, the Laudesi, who were evidently not

wanting in worldly wisdom, would never have let slip so fine an opportunity of asserting miraculous intervention ; and there is no rumour of any special miracle at this particular juncture.

The loggia lay for years in a ruinous state, but there was good reason for this. Florence, besides having to rebuild a large portion of the city, was at war now with Pistoia, now with Lucca, and now with the Emperor Henry, and it was not till 1336 that the Signoria took in hand the business of rebuilding the loggia, an undertaking which it committed to the guild of the silk-weavers, certain of the State revenues having been assigned for the cost of the same. Villani records the laying of the first stone of the new fabric on July 29, 1337, and notes specially how the old brick piers were removed and replaced by others of solid stone, a statement which is with difficulty to be reconciled with that of Franceschini in his work on the Oratorio,<sup>1</sup> which asserts that the Tabernacolo of Orcagna was built round the original brick pilaster on which the miraculous picture was painted. It is not clear whether the reconstructed loggia was intended to be used as a grain market

<sup>1</sup> *L' Oratorio di San Michele in Orto*. Florence, 1892.

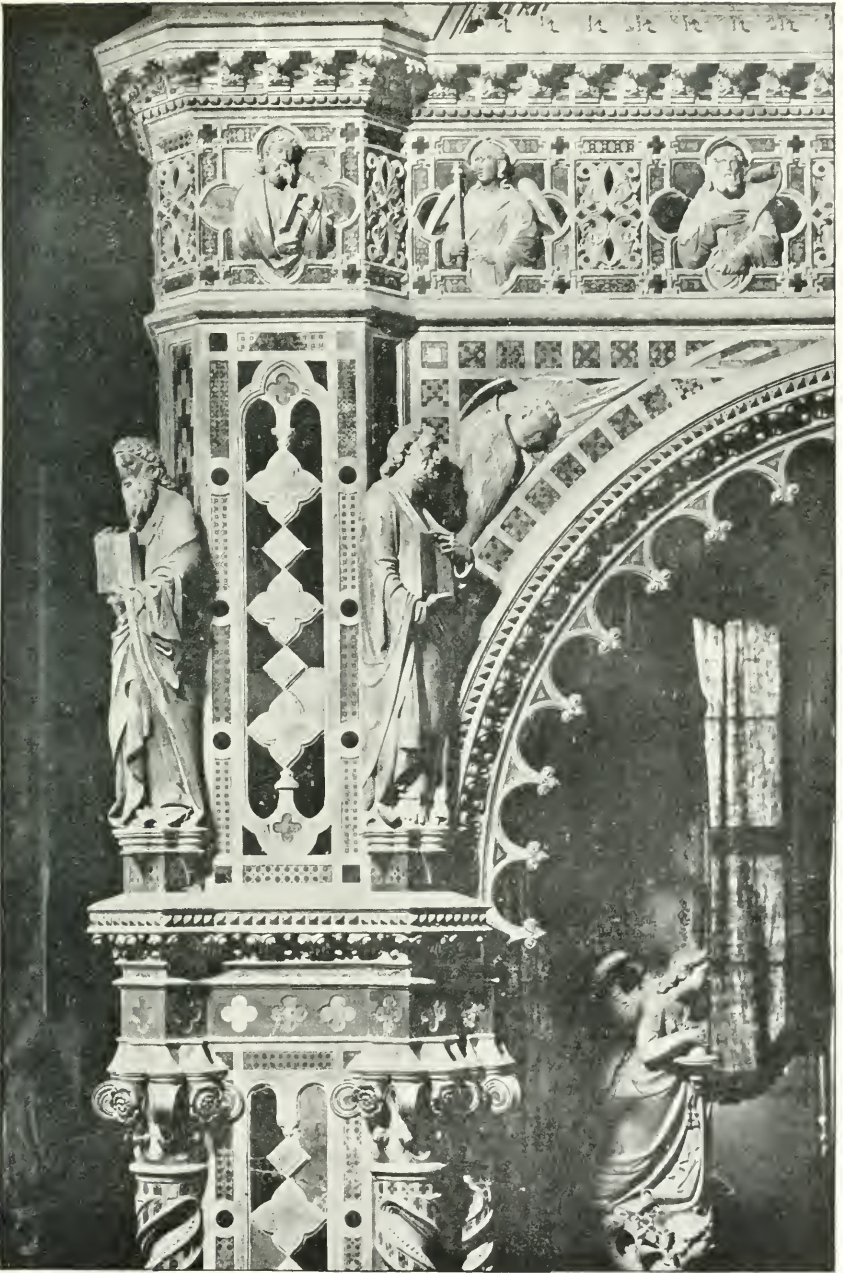
as heretofore; it was certainly destined, in the first instance, to serve as a stately and fitting site for the worship of S. Maria di Or. S. Michele; but, remembering how intimately the social life of the Florentines was bound up with their religion, there is nothing incongruous in the notion of the sale of hay and corn in one corner while the Laudesi might be singing hymns of praise and collecting offerings in another. In 1339, when the twelve stone piers were almost completed, the officials in charge of the work gained the consent of the Signoria to enrich each one of these piers with a niche or tabernacle in which might be placed hereafter statues particularly honoured by the divers guilds of the city: a forethought to which we owe the noble series of sculptured forms which no visitor to Florence ever forgets. Over the loggia was constructed a store for grain and provisions and a residence for the officials who regulated the market. Vasari names Taddeo Gaddi as the architect employed, but for this statement there is no valid authority.

In 1348, while the workmen were still engaged on the new loggia, a calamity graver even than the great fire before named fell upon Florence—

the outbreak of the plague, which, in partial compensation for the horror and devastation it wrought, brought about that famous meeting on a certain Tuesday morning of seven lovesome ladies and three gallant gentlemen in the church of S. Maria Novella and their withdrawal to that delightful villa and garden, just two miles outside the city, where they essayed to mitigate the gloom and sadness of the times by telling a succession of merry tales which somehow seem to have been overheard by Messer Giovanni Boccaccio, who presumably had not then joined the pious band of the Laudesi. The outbreak of plague, while laying a heavy burden of tending the sick and almsgiving upon this Society, brought a rich harvest of offerings made by way of enlisting the good offices of the Virgin of Or. S. Michele in these perilous times, and in 1349 the Laudesi resolved to devote a part of their wealth to the construction of a stately setting for the miraculous picture, which had certainly brought consolation to the devout amongst the Florentines, and a golden harvest to the coffers of the Compagnia.

The execution of this Tabernacolo was entrusted to Andrea Orcagna. He was appointed *capo*





ANDREA ORCAGNA

The Tabernacolo. Details of Sculpture, etc.



*maestro* of Or. S. Michele in 1355, and a happier choice could not have been made. Orcagna was one of those men of universal gifts of whom Italy has ever been the nursing-mother. He was goldsmith, architect, painter, sculptor, and poet, and an accomplished artist throughout. The Compagnia di S. Michele wisely determined to rear around their treasure a monument the finest that could be fashioned, and to give the maker thereof a free hand as far as money was concerned. A tabernacle richly carved in marble of all colours and adorned with mosaic and bronze, the whole so skilfully combined by art as to make it surpass anything of the same character that had hitherto been achieved, was the prime object of the benefactors. They seem to have spent much time and care in choosing the final design, Orcagna having been required to furnish several different ones; and when once the choice was made the execution was left entirely in his hands.

Although the historic visitation of the plague, by working on the hopes and fears of the people, had increased the wealth of the Compagnia di S. Michele, the economic havoc it had wrought by sweeping away three-fifths of the population

lessened enormously the product of the taxes, so much so that the guild of silk-weavers found themselves unable to carry on the work of rebuilding which they had undertaken on the sum yielded by the city dues which had been assigned to them for this purpose. They therefore approached the Signoria and explained their position: how the pictures in the oratory must needs suffer through the non-completion of the vaulted roof, and how necessary it was that they themselves should be provided with funds so as to safeguard the works of art completed or in progress on the ground floor; but as to the answer returned by the Signoria to this petition, history is silent. There is no reason for believing that the Compagnia di S. Michele came to the aid of the silk-weavers, as under the circumstances they were morally bound to do. Matteo Villani, who took up the office of chronicler in Florence after the death of his brother Giovanni by plague in 1350, records that the leaders of the Laudesi, the "Capitani della Societa di Maria Vergine di S. Michele in Orto," as they styled themselves, had fallen into evil ways through the enjoyment of the vast wealth

which had come into their possession during the years of pestilence. Over and above the offerings they received at the oratory, they inherited the estates of numerous rich men who had lost all their kith and kin by plague; and while their revenues were thus increased, their outlay was diminished by reason of the clearance made of the poor and needy who had hitherto consumed the major part of their benefactions. The charge of corruption which Villani brings against the Capitani is not confirmed; his indignation seems to have been produced by their niggardly behaviour in refusing to contribute towards the rebuilding of the loggia, but his charge gains some probability from the fact that at this period rich donations were made to the Hospital of S. Maria Nuova and to the Compagnia della Misericordia, donations which in the ordinary course of things would have gone to the Capitani. Perhaps in waxing fat they may have lost some of their popularity.

While taking no part in the reconstruction of the fabric of the loggia, the Capitani did not spare expenditure on the sumptuous tabernacle destined to enshrine the wonder-working

picture; but here again Villani hints at conduct unworthy of so rich a corporation. According to him they demanded that the guild of the silk-weavers should bear half the charges of maintaining the oratory or shrine at the foot of the column where the picture of S. Michael originally was painted—the spot where their collectors were continually rattling their money-boxes. There may have been many reasons for this rancour which are now hidden. The quarrel has no longer any interest for us, who can only be thankful that the Compagnia spent their windfalls of money in such royal fashion, impressing upon Orcagna that the work must be the finest that the world had yet seen. He was engaged over the Tabernacolo until 1359, but he must have gone away occasionally to Orvieto, as in 1358 he was appointed *capo maestro* of the work there being carried out at the Duomo at a salary of three hundred gold florins a year. The total cost of the Tabernacolo is given as eighty-six and ninety-six thousand gold florins, the first-named sum being probably the correct one. During its progress the Signoria, in recognition of the sumptuous nature of the work undertaken by the

Compagnia in what was practically the field of public interest, notified to the Capitani that they proposed to find space elsewhere for the corn market, which was then removed to the site still occupied by the Loggia del Grano in the Via Castellani.

According to Franceschini the prime object of the Capitani was the inclusion of the remains of the original brick pilasters in the new monument. It has been already noted that this statement can hardly be reconciled with that of Giovanni Villani, which records that, when the first stone was laid in 1337, the brick pilasters were removed, and in their place pillars of stone "conce e ben fondate" were erected.

Of all the monumental shrines of Italy, Orcagna's Tabernacolo is by far the finest in majesty, richness, and grace: it should be carefully studied in every part of its exquisite design and carving and inlay, for in no extant work of similar magnitude has such marvellous delicacy of finish been achieved without in any way detracting from the breadth and harmony of the general design. To describe it minutely would be superfluous: it will be enough to point out the most

noteworthy and beautiful of the reliefs. In front of the altar are the Marriage of the Virgin and the Annunciation, with the beautiful figure of Hope between them. In the Marriage the Virgin gives her right hand to the High Priest, who reaches it out to meet the clasp of Joseph. The treatment of the scene is the conventional one. Joseph bears in his hand the flowering bough, and the rejected suitor for the Virgin's hand breaks a wand in the background. In the Annunciation the Virgin listens with a look of devout awe upon her face to the message of the Archangel. Her hands are crossed over her breast, and an open book lies upon her knees. The messenger bears in his hand a branch of half-opened lilies, an emblem borrowed from Byzantine iconography, and a sign of imperial dominion.

On the south side are the Nativity and the Offerings of the Wise Men. The treatment of the Nativity is somewhat unusual. The Virgin, a woman advanced in years, sits by a bed in which is sleeping a youth, apparently ten or twelve years of age. At the foot of the couch sits Joseph, an old man overcome with weariness, and above is a somewhat confused group of the cattle in the





*Alc. 100. 100. 100. 100.*

*The Tabernacolo - Marriage of the Virgin  
Andrea Orcagna*

*Alc. 100. 100. 100. 100.*



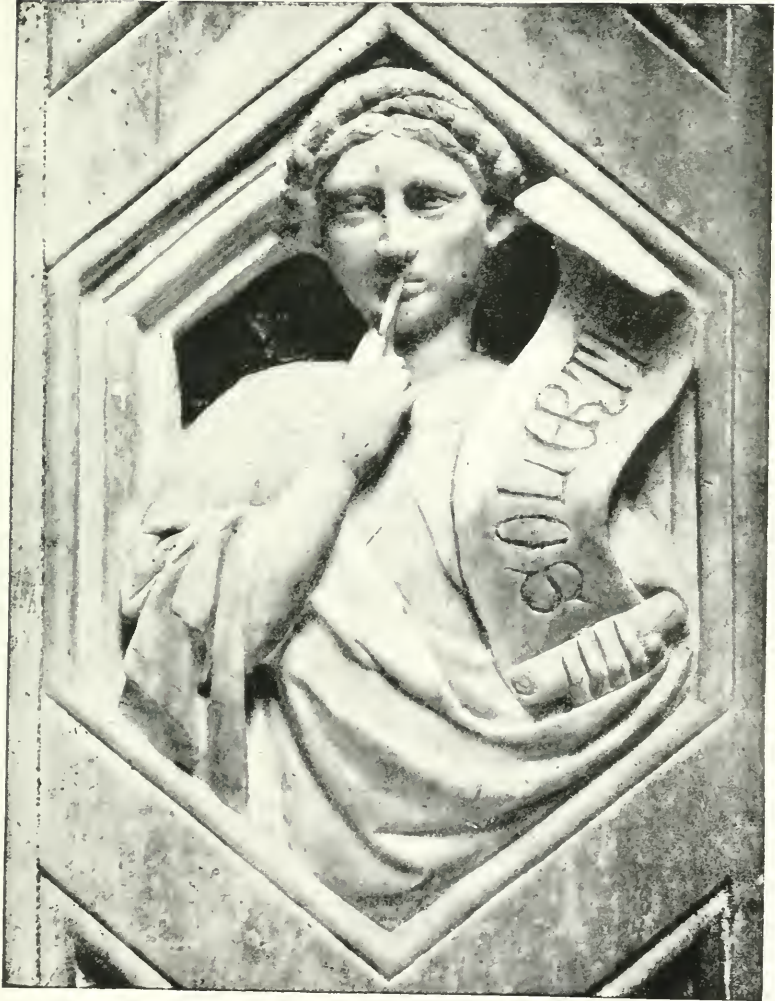
stable, the shepherds, the angel, and the star of Bethlehem. The visit of the Magi is a fine and dramatic group. The figures of the Virgin and Child are graceful and full of life and dignity, as also are those of the wise men, who are clad not in Eastern dress, but in the costume of contemporary Florentines.

On the east side, beneath the great sculptured relief, are panels representing the Purification and the appearance to the Virgin of the angel who announces to her the approach of death. In the first-named the figures standing round the altar, on which is burning the lustral fire, are dignified and majestic. The head of Simeon, who takes the Child from the Virgin, in a measure heralds the art of Michael Angelo in its dramatic power and in the noble treatment of the hair and beard. There are no signs of youth in the Virgin's face, and Joseph is age-stricken. He carries in his hand a pair of turtle doves, and Anna, who stands beside him, gazes upward as if rapt in prophetic inspiration. The announcement to the Virgin of her approaching death is the most original and dramatic of all the sculptured subjects. The figure of the Virgin

is conceived and executed with the most consummate skill and judgment. The dignity, the pathos of old age are on her countenance, without any accompanying deformity. She listens gladly to the angel's message, and a smile of relief lights up her beautiful face. The proffered palm, the symbol of victory over death and the grave, will soon be in her clasp.

On the north side are the Presentation in the Temple and the Birth of the Virgin. The Presentation is conceived on the line of treatment subsequently adopted by many painters and sculptors. The Virgin ascends the steps of the Temple, at the top of which the High Priest awaits her, while her parents stand below, one on each side of the staircase. She is turning towards them, and pointing to the Temple she is about to enter. In the relief of the Birth of the Virgin classic influences are apparent; the three women standing round the bed might have been modelled from the figures of the Parcæ in some Græco-Roman relief illustrating the birth of a child.

The great relief, the entombment and ascension of the Virgin, is a *capo lavoro* of Italian sculpture.



ANDREA ORCAGNA  
The Tabernacolo. "Sagacity"



It is certainly one of the earliest, and quite the most important,<sup>1</sup> of the Italian renderings in sculpture of the legend, founded on a poem attributed to S. John the Evangelist, which tells how the Virgin had been promised by Christ that all the Apostles should assemble round her deathbed, and that He himself would descend from heaven to receive her soul. Forty days after the Apostles had buried her in the Valley of Jehoshaphat she was summoned from the tomb, and, attended by angels, ascended into heaven, where she was crowned by her son as Regina Cœli. The subject has always been a favourite one with Italian painters, and was treated by many workers in mosaic, miniaturists, and ivory-carvers before Orcagna's time. It attracted the attention of the sculptors who worked at Laon, Amiens, and Chartres long before the Italians seized upon it; but Orcagna, in his later presentment of the legend, has soared far above all his predecessors. His conception of it marks a new departure. The entombment, with an encircling border of rocks and trees, is sharply divided from the

<sup>1</sup> The relief in S. Francesco at Bologna, dated 1329 by Vasari, is now known to have been done by Jacobello and Pietro Paolo in 1388.

Assumption. The favourite incident in the ordinary treatment of the story, the fall of the Virgin's girdle,<sup>1</sup> which was picked up by S. Thomas and served to dissipate finally his doubts, is here omitted; the repentance of S. Thomas being expressed by the figure who bends reverently over the deathbed and kisses the Virgin's hand. In the centre of the composition stands the figure of Christ, without any symbol of divinity, and bearing in His arms the figure of a little child, which is emblematic of the Virgin's soul.<sup>2</sup>

In the upper part of the composition the Virgin is surrounded by angels and cherubs. She is seated on a throne, but the act of coronation is omitted. This legend, which first appears as a feature of Christian iconography in the twelfth century, and which subsequently became the most important detail of the Virgin's glorification, had not yet gathered sufficient strength to induce Orcagna to include it in his design, though he

<sup>1</sup> Nanni de Banco's relief over the side-door of the Duomo at Florence is a sculptured rendering of this incident.

<sup>2</sup> This feature is also given in a mosaic in the Church of the Martòrana in Palermo; in a mosaic in S. Maria in Trastevere in Rome, and on Fra Guglielmo's pulpit in S. Giovanni in Pisa.



must naturally have been acquainted with Giotto's version of it in Santa Croce. The story had its origin in the East, where the Greek artists chiefly busied themselves in portraying the death of the Virgin; in the West her restoration to life and her entrance into her Son's Kingdom are the dominant motives. In every part of the sculptured work of the Tabernacolo—in the minor reliefs as well as in this great one, it is easy to perceive the full flowering of Orcagna's art. As a sculptor he here reaches a point higher than any he ever attained as a painter, though in his paintings—especially in the "Paradise" of S. Maria Novella—Orcagna sought after and mastered the turn of hand which enabled him to produce the fairest examples of pictured physical beauty the world had yet looked upon. His master Giotto, either because the end seemed unessential or because he was too strongly obsessed by the passion for displaying the thought veiled behind the mask of flesh, never gave us anything like the beauty of Orcagna's painted forms and faces. The gracious figures of the "Paradise" seem to be instinct with the same subtle forces which cause the grass to spring and the birds to mate; the

genial glow of sunshine ; the perfume of the earth after rain ; the promise of spring and the bounty of harvest. In Giotto, and in a greater degree in Fra Angelico, the life suggested is cloistral and contemplative ; what of joy is in it is the prefigured joy of heaven, not the sensible warm motion of the circumjacent world. But with Orcagna not only may we rejoice in the radiant beauty of the individual forms, we are conscious likewise of a dignity of pose and a grace of arrangement such as Giotto never attained. All this apprehended beauty Orcagna has reproduced in his maturer work as a sculptor in Or. S. Michele, and he has combined them with a higher touch of intellectuality. The ripe beauty of the figures in the relief of the Marriage of the Virgin is enriched with the thoughtfulness which comes from a deeper insight of the problems of life, a quality absent in the Paradise. As with many of the great men of his era, advancing years brought to Orcagna a mood of deeper seriousness which found expression in his work. The workers in sculpture from the beginning had attained excellence in the expression of natural beauty much earlier than the painters,



ANDREA ORCAGNA  
The Tabernacolo. Death and Assumption of the Virgin



and in his own person Orcagna, as has already been noted, is a remarkable example of this tendency. Great as was the forward step he took when he gave the last touch with the brush to the "Paradiso," the advance signalled by the completion of his sculpture of the Tabernacolo was far greater. This exhibits all the dignity, all the sweetness of his painting, illustrated by a greater breadth of treatment: there is less stiffness to arrest our admiration of the individual figures, the grouping is more balanced and symmetrical, and the details of drapery and hair are rendered with greater vigour and truth.

On the face of the marble step, on which rests the bier of the Virgin, is the inscription :

ANDREAS CIONIS PICTOR FLORENTIN ORATORII  
ARCHIMAGISTER EXTITIT HUI' MCCCLIX.

The painting of the Virgin which now forms the altar-piece of the Tabernacolo is generally attributed to Bernardo Daddi, a Florentine painter who died in 1350. Some critics give it to Orcagna himself, though it lacks the most marked characteristics of his acknowledged work. As to its authorship there will always remain a question

for debate, but there is little or no doubt that it is not the original work which made the fortune of the Compagnia di S. Michele. The evidence in favour of Daddi rests on two extracts from an account book in the archives of the Compagnia, one of which, of the date of May 1, 1346, records a payment on account of four golden florins made to Bernardo Daddi "che dipinge la tavola di Nostra Donna," and the other, dated June 16, 1347, records the payment of a like sum "per parte di pagamento de la dipintura de la tavola nuova di Nostra Donna."

This is good as far as it goes, but there is nothing in it to identify the "tavola" referred to with the picture in the Tabernacolo, and no more evidence in confirmation is forthcoming. Still, if there had been on record nothing in opposition, the inference in favour of Daddi's authorship would have been one of high probability. There is, however, another document, dated April 17, 1352, which is quoted by Signor Luigi Passerini in his *Curiosità storico-artistiche fiorentine*, and this notes the final payment to Andrea Orcagna for a painting of Our Lady carried out for the Compagnia di Or. San Michele.

The date of this, it must be admitted, argues more strongly for Orcagna's authorship than for Daddi's. In 1346, when Daddi is recorded to have received his first payment, the plague had not yet appeared and the Tabernacolo had not been thought of, while in 1352 it had ravaged the city, and by this time had almost spent itself; and, though the Tabernacolo was still far from completion, the Compagnia might well have set Orcagna to work upon the picture for which his sculptured memorial was destined to be the setting. On the other hand, the picture may have been painted by Daddi at the earlier date and transferred to the Tabernacolo when it was completed. This is the view of Signor Milanesi, who, in addition, declares<sup>1</sup>—but gives no authority for his statement—that Orcagna's picture was destined for the Hall of Audience of the Compagnia, and not for Or. S. Michele. The document, which specifies forty-two golden florins as the price of the picture, gives no hint as to its destination. Franceschini<sup>2</sup> strongly opposes Milanesi's view, and maintains that it is in the highest degree improbable that

<sup>1</sup> *Vasari*, vol. i. p. 462. Florence, 1878.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 55.

the picture could have been intended for the Hall of Audience; if this had been the case, he says, the Compagnia would hardly have ordered another one, illustrating the same subject, from Orcagna, as — according to Franceschini — they seem to have done in 1366.<sup>1</sup>

There are other documents which bear indirectly on the history of the picture; one is in the Museo Laurenziana — a MS. account book kept by Domenico Lenzi, a corn chandler, with entries dating from 1300 to 1335—and another a codex formerly in S. Michele, and now No. 470 in the State archives. In the account book—known as *Il Biadaiuolo*—is a beautiful illuminated drawing representing a tumult which occurred in the Piazza S. Michele in 1329. Introduced into the scene is a representation of the picture enshrined in a niche richly adorned with Gothic ornament. Underneath is a sort of recess, in which sits one of the Laudesi selling candles and collecting offerings. Here the Virgin is attended by six angels; in the miniature on the first page of Codex No. 470 she has only four, and in the existing picture she has

<sup>1</sup> In support of this statement Franceschini quotes from *Miscellanea fiorentina di eruditione e storia*. Anno i. p. 175.



eight. The composition is practically the same in every one. It is asserted by Franceschini that the Codex 470 version represents the original picture by Ugolino da Siena, and the Biadaiuolo the one painted by Bernardo Daddi ; but the data on which he rests his argument are insufficient and unconvincing. The authorship of the picture is, however, a question mainly interesting to archæologists. It is scarcely worth notice apart from its historic associations ; but, standing in the midst of a setting of such marvellous richness and beauty, a painting of far higher technical merit might easily fail to arouse much interest in the mind of the art pilgrim to this, the most lovely of all the great Italian shrines.

## S. DONATO AND HIS MONUMENT AT AREZZO

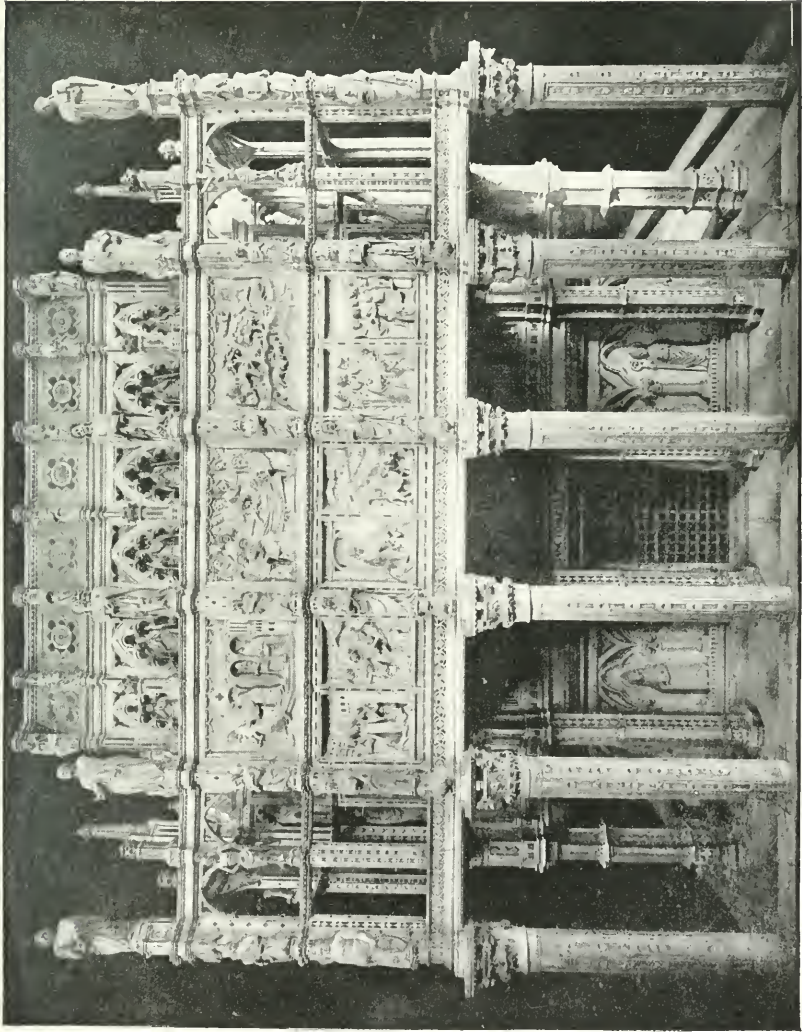
A STORY set forth in the *Legenda aurea* runs that S. Donato was the foster-brother and fellow student of the Emperor Julian before fortune made one a sub-deacon and the other the ruler of the world. According to the same authority Julian began his career as emperor by putting to death the father and the mother of Donato, who forthwith fled to Arezzo, where he found shelter in the cell of a certain monk, Hilarinus by name. His miraculous powers were manifested at an early age by the comparatively simple feat of casting out evil spirits; but he was soon enabled to give more noteworthy proofs of his virtue. One Stefano, a tax-gatherer of the city, when he was starting on a journey of collection, confided to the care of his wife a large sum of money he had already gathered in. The wife, on account of the prevalent violence and

insecurity of the times, buried the money in the earth, and died before the return of her husband, who, being unable to account for his quota of the revenue when called upon by the authorities, was condemned to death. When he was being led out to execution, Donato intervened, and, having gone with Stefano to his wife's tomb, he called upon her in the name of the Holy Ghost to reveal the spot where the money was concealed, whereupon a voice from the grave informed them that it was buried before the door of the house. Thus Stefano escaped his doom.

On the death of Satyrus, Bishop of Arezzo, Donato was chosen to fill the vacant see. S. Gregory in the *Dialogues* relates how one day when Donato was celebrating mass a band of pagan invaders burst into the church and terrified the deacon so much that he fell and broke the chalice, but Donato by his prayers prevented the spilling of a single drop of the sacred element and made the cup whole again, save that one small piece, which the devil stole, was missing. The pagan violators, when they saw this miracle, became Christians on the spot. Near to Arezzo was a spring of poisonous water,

and this plague Donato determined to remedy. One day he rode thither on an ass and offered up prayers for the purification of the spring, whereupon a terrible dragon came out of the water and began to entwine the legs of the ass with its fearsome tail. Donato smote the dragon with his whip and spat in its mouth, and immediately the monster fell down dead, and the spring was purified. He wrought other miracles by bringing a dead man back to life to prove the falsity of a claim which had been made on his widow, and by causing rain to fall when the land was devastated with drought.

At the time when the Goths descended upon Italy many Christians forsook their faith, and the attitude of the chief magistrate of Arezzo seems to have aroused in Donato a suspicion that he was meditating apostasy. The Bishop's remonstrance was conveyed in terms which aroused the governor's anger, and by way of revenge he caused Donato and Hilarinus to be brought before him, and commanded them to sacrifice to Jupiter. This they indignantly refused to do, and shortly after Quadratinus, the Imperial Prefect of Tusculum, laid them in hold. The



GIOVANNI DI FRANCESCO D' AREZZO AND BIETTO DI FRANCESCO DA FIRENZE  
Tomb of S. Donato (East Side), Cathedral, Arezzo



brutal soldiers stripped Hilarinus and beat him to death, and cast Donato into prison, where he was decapitated in 380.

The altar-tomb which was subsequently erected over the grave of S. Donato in the cathedral of Arezzo is justly classed amongst the famous monumental shrines of Italy. Up to times comparatively recent it was rated as an unquestioned work of Giovanni Pisano. Cicognara takes this view, and in addition records his judgment that it is Giovanni's best work.<sup>1</sup> Perkins writes to the same effect in his *Tuscan Sculptors*, both of these historians having given too easy credence to Vasari's statements, and failed to detect certain gross inaccuracies in other parts of his notice which might have put them on their guard. In assigning it to Giovanni, Vasari writes: "In the year 1286, while the bishop's palace was being built from the design of Margheritone, a Sienese architect, Giovanni was brought from Siena to Arezzo by Guglielmo Ubertini, the bishop, where he wrought in marble the superstructure of the high altar, covered everywhere with an inlay of

<sup>1</sup> *Storia della scultura* (Prato, 1823), vol. iii. p. 215; *Vasari* (Florence, 1878), vol. i. p. 311.

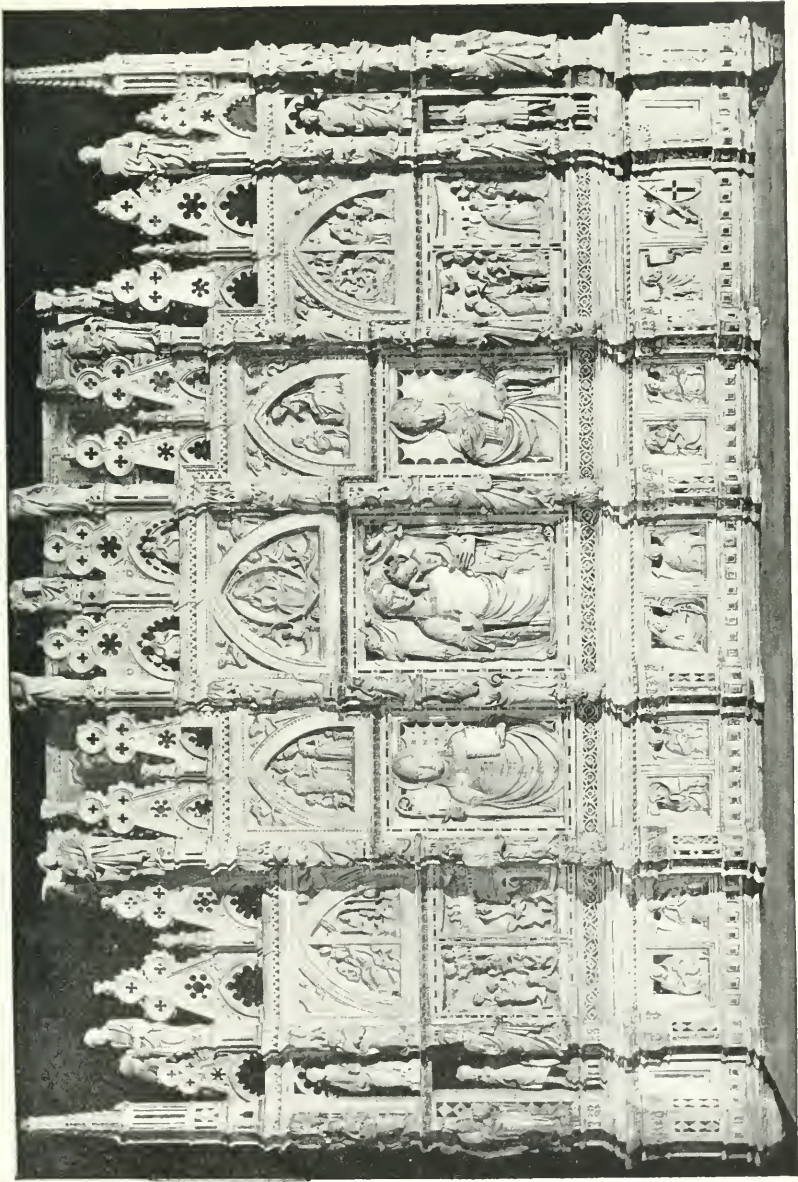
designs of figures, of foliage, and of other ornaments. The whole of this he divided into compartments filled with delicately wrought mosaic and enamels upon silver, carefully let into the marble. In the centre is Our Lady with the Child in her arms ; on one side of this is S. Gregory the Pope (whose face is a representation of that of Pope Honorius IV.), and on the other S. Donato, the bishop of Arezzo and its protector, whose body, together with that of S. Antilla and other saints, is laid under the altar. And because the altar stands isolated it has been sculptured on all sides with bas-reliefs, representing scenes in S. Donato's life ; the structure being finished off by divers recesses filled with marble figures, finely carved in the round. On the breast of the Virgin is a boss of gold in which, according to report, there were once gems of great value, which it is believed were carried off by soldiers in the time of war, for soldiers have little respect for the Holy Sacraments ; and besides the jewels they carried away divers of the carved statues, which stood on the top of the monument and around it—works upon which the Aretines had spent, according to what is



written in the archives, thirty thousand gold florins. It was a great work; one esteemed at that time to be the finest and most exquisite possible: wherefore Frederick Barbarossa, who on his way back from his coronation at Rome, passed through Arezzo, many years after it had been completed, praised and admired it exceedingly. And this was quite reasonable, because, beyond everything else, the skill with which the numerous and minute portions thereof are joined together is in itself a marvel; so clever is this handiwork that any one, without training as an artist, might well believe that it was all made in one piece." Vasari here gives 1286 as the year of the execution of the tomb—its real date is some eighty years later—and Barbarossa died in 1190, some two centuries before the monument was really begun. He was probably just as careless when he wrote down the name of Giovanni Pisano as the maker of S. Donato's tomb, basing his ascription on some contemporary legend handed down by local sentiment, which readily believed and eagerly claimed Giovanni, after he had become a famous sculptor, as the creator of the great shrine of Arezzo.

A very cursory examination of the sculpture on the tomb—without any appeal to documentary evidence—ought to raise doubts as to any participation of Giovanni in its production. The plan of the monument is sumptuous and not unsymmetrical, but it lacks the strength and unity which are the leading characteristics of Giovanni's creations. Viewed from the back, the design of which is much purer than that of the front, the great mass of the structure, poised upon the well-proportioned columns, gives a grandiose and at the same time a graceful impression; the six panels, carved with scenes illustrating the life of S. Donato, and divided by finely executed figures of saints, are harmoniously grouped; the four statues above—two on either side—are simple and dignified, and the arched wings, right and left, give the requisite touch of lightness. The upper part, with its pointed arches and statuettes, is less satisfactory.

At the back, the centre panel in the upper series of reliefs represents the death of the Virgin. The apostles stand round the couch on which she is lying, and one of them—Cicognara identifies him as S. John—is blowing into a censer to kindle



TOMB OF S. DONATO (West Side)  
Cathedral, Arezzo



the incense. Another, who is probably meant for S. Thomas, bends over the bed and kisses the Virgin's hand—as in Orcagna's version of the scene in Or. S. Michele. Right and left of this panel are other reliefs, one of the expulsion of S. Joachim from the Temple, and the other of the appearance of the angel to the shepherds. Below are six panels of smaller size, in one of which the Saint raises a certain Eufrosina from the dead, in the second is consecrated bishop by Pope Julius, in the third restores by a miracle the broken chalice, in the fourth expels the dragon from the poisonous spring, in the fifth casts out a devil from the daughter of the Emperor Theodosius, and in the last restores a dead man to life.

On the west front of the shrine the work is more elaborate, but the composition is faulty and the effect of the whole is far from pleasing. The Gothic finials at the top are over-decorated and clumsy in form and grouping. The pointed panels on three different levels are jarring to the eye, and the execution of the individual figures falls far short of Giovanni Pisano's standard of excellence—indeed the statuary of S. Donato's shrine is greatly inferior to that of any of the others

already described. In the centre space is represented the Virgin holding the Christ-child in her arms, standing in front of a curtain held up by two very lovely and graceful angels; and above this is the Assumption, the act of coronation, as in Orcagna's masterpiece in Or. S. Michele in Florence, being omitted. To the right of the Assumption is the Annunciation, and to the left the Marriage of the Virgin. In the small half-lunettes adjacent will be found the Nativity, the reception of the Virgin in the Temple, the Presepio, and the Adoration of the Magi. Beneath these, in small panels, on the right the Saint is baptizing Epimenio, and seeking shelter with the monk Hilarinus; and on the left is addressing the faithful from his prison window, and bending his neck to receive the blow of the executioner's sword. To the right of the large relief of the Virgin and Child is an effigy of S. Gregory,<sup>1</sup> whose features—according to Vasari—are taken from those of Pope Honorius IV.; and on the left, one of S. Donato himself.

At the ends of the monument are represented

<sup>1</sup> Venturi (*Storia dell'Arte italiana*, vol. iv. p. 691) describes this statue as representing Gregory X.

Siranna, a blind woman who brings her son to S. Donato, the baptism of Siranna herself, the seizure of S. Donato by the emissaries of the imperial prefect, the murder of Hilarinus, the building of the original church, S. Donato causing the rain to fall, an *Ecce Homo*, the Resurrection, the symbols of the Passion, Hell, and the Last Judgment.

The marble inlaid work on the pillars and transoms of the monument is very beautiful, both in execution and design. The smaller statues and figures of angels—of which there is a large number—show the poorest workmanship. Many of them are clumsy and ill-proportioned, and even in some of the figures of the larger relief panels there may be detected traces of a belated archaism, such as appears in none of the undisputed work of Giovanni Pisano. It is safe to say that the hands which created these—even though they may have come under the influence, direct or indirect, of Giovanni at some period or other—had been already trained past correction in some vastly inferior school.

More modern criticism has pronounced definitely against Giovanni's direct share in the creation of

this monument. Crowe and Cavalcaselle are disposed to admit that he was responsible for the design, which was carried out by his pupils, but it is somewhat difficult to reconcile the spirit of this ascription with the remarks which they subjoin to the effect that the work corresponds neither with his genius nor his method ; that the design is heavy and wanting in grace, the composition confused, the modelling of the figures foreign to his manner and vulgar, and the attitudes strained and carelessly arranged.<sup>1</sup> If this is all that could be said in its favour it was hardly worth while to hint that Giovanni Pisano had any share in the work at all.

Signor Milanese, in his notes to Vasari's *Niccola e Giovanni Pisano*,<sup>2</sup> gives two extracts from the deeds of a certain Ser Adatto Cungi, a notary of Arezzo, dated February 22, 1369, and March 9, 1375, which seem to settle the question as precisely as can be expected. The first of these extracts runs as follows: "Essendo presenti Magistro Johanne Francisci de Aretis et Magistro Betto Francisci de Florentia magistris lapidum et

<sup>1</sup> *History of Painting in Italy* (1864), vol. i. p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 311.



intalli laborerii quod fit super altare beati Donati in dicta ecclesia"; and the second, "Magistro Johanne magistro intalli marmorei quod constructur super altare beati Donati in ecclesia aretina, filio olim . . . cive aretino." The preamble to each of these deeds sets forth that they were executed "sotto il portico della Cathedrale di Arezzo."

The evidence here given seems to show authoritatively that Giovanni di Francesco d' Arezzo and Betto di Francesco da Firenze have a perfectly legitimate claim to be recognised as the creators of the shrine of S. Donato. No record of any sort exists to show that Giovanni Pisano ever worked in Arezzo, and it is difficult to see why Vasari should have attributed to him so positively the authorship of the work in question, save that, as an Aretine, he would be anxious to secure all the credit and glory possible for the monuments of his native city. Again, there is a possibility that the Christian name of the first-named artist, Giovanni, may have misled writers who had already handled the subject, and set going a tradition which Vasari was all too ready to endorse. Another view worthy of consideration

is that probably the sculptors of the tomb of S. Donato were influenced, if not individually taught, by the Sieneſe artists Agostino di Giovanni and Agnolo di Ventura, who completed in 1330 the famous tomb of Guido Tarlati, one of the chief glories of the cathedral of Arezzo.

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