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**THE DECORATION
OF THE COLLEGIATA
SANTA MARIA ASSUNTA
AT SAN GIMIGNANO
and related problems
of medieval
iconology**

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THE DECORATION OF THE COLLEGIATA AT SAN GIMIGNANO
and related problems of medieval iconology

The frescoes of the Collegiata at San Gimignano are famous, and passing references to them will be found in most histories of Tuscan painting. The purpose of the new study has been to treat them in such a way that their unity as a scheme of decoration should be made apparent, and that their position as a unit might be recognised within the context of Trecento painting whether in fresco or on panel. All previous studies have concentrated on a different aspect of the problem - that of identifying the hands of the various painters.

In the course of the study the unity of the scheme, which had been recognised on archaeological grounds by Faison, has now been proved not only for the mid-trecento work but also for the subsequent parts; these include late fifteenth century paintings of prophets which complete the scheme. The correct interpretation of the whole is indicated by the inscriptions on their scrolls. Changes in emphasis in the religious art of the period 1350-1500 are very briefly considered, and an indication is given of the place of the Collegiata in Gothic Europe.

Particular emphasis is placed on the recognition of the factors which help to explain the uniqueness of the Collegiata frescoes: chief among them are the architectural form of the building and the techniques of fresco rather than tempera painting. In this context, an analysis is made of the ways in which iconography derived from Duccio's Maesta is transformed, under Giottesque influence, into monumental forms. Comparison is also made with other fresco-cycles, particularly with the Job series in the Camposanto, Pisa.

The study of the Collegiata is part of a much longer project, a study of the practice of decorating churches with typological schemes. The study of the Collegiata frescoes involved consideration of the place of hagiographical cycles in similar contexts, and as a demonstration of this practice, a particular study has been made of the frescoes of the crypt at Anagni. These

date from c.1255, a century earlier than the Collegiata frescoes, and provide an important example of the use of a scheme carried out during the intervening period at Assisi.

The content of the schemes in the Collegiata and at Anagni are described, and suitable evidence from such authorities as S. Augustine and S. Gregory the Great, from sermons, commentaries and from service books is produced.

Consideration of the artists concerned allowed a suggestion to be made concerning the inter-relationship of a rare Sienese drawing and a fresco of the same subject in the Collegiata; connexions between manuscript illuminations and the Anagni frescoes had already been discovered by Garrison. The consideration of the place of the Collegiata frescoes in the history of Trecento painting necessitated a reconsideration of the oeuvre of the major figure, Barna, an artist whose personality has been obscured by a number of false attributions. In an Interim Catalogue (many of his works are inaccessible in the United States) an attempt has been made to clarify the situation.

During the preparation of this work, a Sienese panel was encountered at Stalybridge, Manchester, and at its exhibition in London a short article on its iconography (together with another on a panel at Birmingham) was published in the Burlington Magazine (Feb.-March, 1962). The work on Anagni has been published in the Papers of the British School at Rome, 1966.

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History of European Art,
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1 June, 1966.

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NOTE With the agreement of my supervisors,
part of the material prepared in conjunction
with this study has been published
separately : Anagni: An Example of
Medieval Typological Decoration; Papers
of the British School at Rome (1965-6).

An off-print of this article will be found
in the accompanying box, with a group of
supplementary plates. Illustrations in
the text are referred to by page, the
supplementary plates by Roman numerals.

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Diagrams indicating the positions of the main frescoes will be found inside the back cover.

PREFACE

I owe a very great debt to the British School at Rome where I began this work as Rivoira Scholar; furthermore, when I moved to Manchester University and almost immediately to Glasgow University, I was still allowed to continue in Italy as Rome Scholar. Glasgow University, and Bristol University when I moved there, gave me further valuable support; and during this time Andrew McLaren Young and John Steer have both been amazingly patient with me during the slow and interrupted progress of my work.

Pembroke College, Cambridge, the Gilchrist Trust, and the Trust founded by my ancestor, Alderman John Norman gave me help at vital moments.

A host of friends gave me encouragement. In particular I must acknowledge the advice so freely given by Professor Sir Anthony Blunt, Professor John White, Professor Krautheimer, Professor Carli, Mr John Pope-Hennessy and the late Fr Guy Ferrari, O.S.B.

A full study of the frescoes of the Collegiata seemed to be needed, for they had never been published fully. In the course of preparing this study, it became clear that the church was not ideal as an example of a typological scheme with hagiographic references; since the art-historical problems of Assisi and the literary-historical problems of S. Francis are so complex, Anagni suggested itself as a suitable alternative.

INTRODUCTION

A : THE POSITION OF SAN GIMIGNANO

S. Gimignano is a small town seven miles from Poggibonsi, which is sixteen miles from Siena on the road towards Florence about forty miles distant. Perched on a hill-top, commanding some of the richest farming land in Italy, S. Gimignano is a beautiful example of a fourteenth century Tuscan town; its walls, many towers and several small palaces, its churches, narrow streets and tiny piazzas reflect the prosperity of the town not only in the middle ages but also at the present time.

Artistically S. Gimignano was entirely under Sienese influence during the fourteenth century, and although the Plague of 1348 finally made certain of the final submission to Florence, the early fifteenth century saw the influence of the artists of Siena and S. Gimignano strong in Florence itself. The frescoes of the Collegiata are thus an important link between the early fourteenth century traditions of such Sienese artists as Duccio and Simone Martini and the Florentine painters as Lorenzo Monaco, Domenico Ghirlandaio, Benozzo Gozzoli and Lorenzo Ghiberti.

After Siena's victory over Florence in the battle of Mont' Aperto in 1260, gained through the assistance of the Virgin, the city's devotion and debt to their protectress was shown in two very influential paintings, the "Maesta" painted in 1311 by Duccio for the High Altar of the Cathedral, and the fresco of the Madonna in the Palazzo Pubblico painted by Simone Martini in 1315. And although S. Gimignano had fought at Mont' Aperto with many other Guelph cities of Tuscany on the side of Florence, it was not long before the influence of these two paintings was to be seen in San Gimignano, first in the closely derivative fresco by Memmo di Filipuccio and Lippo Memmi in the town's own Palazzo Pubblico, and then in the scenes of the life of Christ in the frescoes of the Collegiata.

Although Dante came on an embassy in 1299, artistic influence from Florence was not yet strong. In 1353 S. Gimignano finally submitted to Florence; yet throughout the fourteenth century the Sienese were still rich, independent and powerful enough to overshadow their small neighbour. We have very clear evidence of the ideas and ideals of the Sienese in religion and politics, not so much by their books and other written documents as by the official art of the period. The frescoes in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena, painted by Simone Martini, Ambrogio Lorenzetti and by Taddeo di Bartolo (who also worked in S. Gimignano) are greatly concerned with expressing a moral, driving home the point with any number of explanatory and exhortatory inscriptions.¹ The artist was pressed into the service of the state to demonstrate visually a message of ideals of government and of warning. We ought not then to be surprised to find that the Church in the fourteenth century, like the state, employed artists of so high a calibre as Barna to paint pictures with a pre-determined "message"; for it was not the business of the artist to fulfil his personality, but to fulfil a very precisely designed commission.

The key to the history of later thirteenth and fourteenth century painting in Italy lies not in Tuscany but in the capital of Christendom, in Rome.² Here we meet a major difficulty, for so much of the evidence has been lost - one need mention only the rebuilding of S. Peter's and the burning of S. Paul's. Cavallini's work in the basilicas often contained echoes of fifth century work; to try to trace the subtle changes in this Early Christian tradition is most fascinating but almost impossibly difficult, and the task is no easier when we come to try and evaluate the debt owed to the Roman basilicas by such derivatives of the basilican tradition as the basilica at Assisi, the Baptistery mosaics at Florence, the frescoes at S. Piero at Grado, or in the Collegiata in S. Gimignano.

Although Rome was politically of minor importance to Italy until after the termination of the Great Schism in 1418, there were events of great importance for the dissemination of Roman ideas and practices: the great Jubilee proclaimed by Boniface VIII in 1300; and the second Jubilee, proclaimed by Clement VI in 1350. During these years Rome was the artistic centre of Italy, remaining so until the influence of Florence for a while eclipsed the old traditions.³

Visiting S. Gimignano today it is very easy to fall into the mistake of thinking that such a place must have been very isolated in the late middle ages. There were however many important factors that led to the complete break-down of any parochialism either in politics or in art. One has only to look at the list of wars and alliances in which S. Gimignano was engaged in the two centuries after Mont' Aperto: siding with Genoa as well as Florence, and fighting against both Milan and Naples and to read of submissions to the Angevins, to the Duke of Calabria, to Florence. International and inter-city movements too broke down parochialism - this was a period when the eighty or so city-states of Italy grouped themselves into about a tenth as many confederations and states, to the advantage of merchants and pilgrims and friars. And this age too was the age of German, French and English mercenary bands.

Artists too travelled widely, not only through Italy but, following the Popes, to Avignon. A study of the travels of artists working in or visiting S. Gimignano shows that, whatever might have been the considerable political and physical difficulties, there is no reason at all to think of the Collegiata as a mere curiosity, a stray relic, a fully-decorated late medieval church which in its time was less important than it seems to be now. Even in the fourteenth and fifteenth century the Collegiata had its tourists, among them Ghiberti; the city was then, as now, a prosperous town, controlling rich agricultural land. If the town was never of the first importance, the commissioning of a large number of first class works of art reflects the ambitious minds of its people and their rulers.

Many paintings of the period to be considered show the influence of the Black Death. The frescoes of the Collegiata show in a positive way the reactions of the theologian and the artist. The impact of the plague on the people in this part of Tuscany is shown most vividly by a piece of negative evidence - the uncompleted great nave planned for Siena Cathedral. The Collegiata frescoes are one of the most important major cycles painted immediately after this catastrophe, and seem to contain, in a variety of details, seeds of many later developments in the art of the later middle ages. At no other period after the Disintegration of the Roman Empire was there such unity of imagery,

founded on a common faith, as there was when the "International Gothic style" became as universal as the Church. It over-rode nearly every barrier of city, state and distance, and as we shall see, many elements that appear first in the art of trecento Siena re-appear, often subtly altered and sometimes many decades later, throughout the Christian world.⁴

B : TYPOLOGICAL DECORATION

Much has been written on the complex subject of typology,⁵ and many scholars have devoted time and energy to the decipherment of the typological significance of OT scenes and figures. In the study of the Collegiata it is necessary to appreciate not only the historic significance of the artist's work, but also the factors which controlled the commission of the work. A study must be made of the theological temper of the period in so far as it finds its expression in the visual arts; only rarely will an artist be so influential that his works will influence the religious experience of subsequent generations.

In making comparisons with other buildings and in quoting typological literature of different periods, the aim is to show how the Collegiata - now one of the few buildings with a complete scheme of typological decoration - is but one of a great succession,⁶ beginning in the early basilicas at Rome, such as S. Maria Maggiore,⁷ and continuing until the Sistine Chapel. In attempting to interpret such schemes, one must be careful to choose literary authorities whose works were available or in some way influential at the time of the planning of the programme. Far more important in their influence than any specific patristic texts have been the books of the Bible; particularly important for their typological content are the Gospel of S. Matthew⁸ and the Pauline Epistles. Of other books whose imagery is based on the historic books especial emphasis must be placed on the Psalms. The way in which these and other parts of the Bible are used, in the daily service books of the church, in a manner shaped by the thoughts and writings of the Fathers, will be very briefly considered in a later chapter.

In the north of Europe the popularity of the Biblia Pauperum and Speculum stimulated the use of types and anti-types in a scheme

based on the chronological representation of the NT narrative, flanked in whatever order was needed by the appropriate types, and explained by "messengers" with scrolls.⁹ This method of arranging scenes is not found in Italy where the Speculum was not popular.¹⁰ Only at S. Giovanni a Porta Latina are Old and New Testament scenes shown on the same wall, but there seems to be no attempt to relate the individual scenes typologically in this manner. The more usual method in Italy, following the precedent of the important cycles in old S. Peter's and old S. Paul's, was to place the Old and New Testament scenes on opposite walls, contrasting and linking the series, not as single pictures but in series as complete units in themselves. Each series appears in chronological order, and the links between individual scenes, although less obvious, become enriched by their positions in consecutive and developing narratives.

Within the literal form of the narrative, the typological (considered by S. Gregory as allegorical) and moral interpretations are of vital importance. Noah's Flood, for example, may be considered in four ways, each of them valid and none of them unimportant:¹¹

- i literally, as the historic event;
- ii allegorically, as a type of the Baptism of Christ, with the ark as a type of the "navicella" of the Church;
- iii anagogically, as a symbol of the sacrament of Baptism;
- iv tropologically, in the moral sense, contrasting the destruction of the wicked and the salvation of the faithful.

Clearly no attempt should be made to try and find at the Collegiata one single clear antitype for each type, nor an antitypical scene for each OT subject. The literal scheme of the OT series is typological as a unit, and suggests moral doctrines. These purposes in the Collegiata scheme are, we shall demonstrate, made clear by the choice of inscriptions on the scrolls held by the prophets.

In the study of medieval religious art no greater mistake could be made than to take a narrative picture at face value. Once the habit is established of seeing NT meanings in OT subjects and of appreciating the spiritual and moral significance of these scenes, then the whole complex system of meanings follows naturally. When the decision was taken to decorate the Collegiata, liturgy, homily and iconography had made this way of thought habitual even among the laity.

NOTES

- 1 N. Rubinstein: "Political Ideas in Sienese Art; The Frescoes ... of the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena"; Warburg Journal xxi, (1958) p. 179-, esp. p. 190, and pls. 17 a-e.
- 2 J. White: "Cavallini and the lost frescoes of S. Paolo"; Warburg xix, (1956).
See also H. Schrader: "Biblical Subjects", in Encyclopedia of World Art, cols 496-, and to col 505.
- 3 There was no conclave in Rome 1303-1378. See ^LE. Binns: Decline of the M. Papacy, ¹⁹³⁴e.g. p.110, 153; and also Gregorovius: History of Rome in the M. Ages. Rome becomes the artistic centre again under the humanist popes, Nicholas V being the first to summon artists from Florence. L. Venturi, in 'La Navicella di Giotto, L'Arte xxv, 1922 pp.49 ff, provides a full study of drawings after and derivatives of this famous remnant of the decoration of old S. Peters, and indicates the prestige of the old church and its wide influence. It is improbable that any similar study could be satisfactorily completed in tracing the copies and derivatives based on the major typological frescoes.
- 4 On the period as a whole, see ¹⁹³¹M. Meiss: Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death; F. Antal: Florentine Painting and its Social Background; ¹⁹⁴⁸P. Toesca: Il Trecento; ¹⁹⁵⁷E. Borsook: The Mural Painters of Tuscany is most useful. These will be referred to in notes as Meiss, Antal &c.
The term "International Gothic" is generally used as a stylistic term, with the Melchior Broedelsh wings at Dijon being taken as the first major monument. Yet International Gothic in iconographic terms can be dated perhaps at least thirty years before this, to about 1360, if not to 1349.
- 5 In the use of the words "typology" and "typological" I have often exceeded the meaning as strictly applicable in the works of Philo and the Alexandrian Fathers. Following S. Ambrose medieval theologians seem to have drawn no line between strict typological exegesis and the wider realm of philosophic allegorising; I have continued to use the terms widely, even to the extent of applying them to non-Biblical hagiography. This has seemed preferable to coining a new term, as ugly as "hagiotypology", which would be equally open to criticism.

5 (continued)

- A fundamental study is J. Danielou: *Sacramenta Futuri*, translated as *From Shadows to Reality*, London, (1961) which is mainly concerned with the ante-*legem* typology of the earlier Fathers. For a useful introduction to the subject as a whole, see *Essays in Typology*, S.C.M. Studies in Biblical Theology no. 22, containing G.W.H. Lampe: *The Reasonableness of Typology*, and K.J. Woolcombe: *The Biblical Origins and Patristic Development of Typology*. See also Index XLVIII of Migne: *Patrologiae Latinae*, in vol. cccix.
- 6 Richter and Taylor: *The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art*.¹⁹⁰⁴
- 7 E. Wind and F. Hartt: papers on the Sistine Ceiling and the Stanze, in *Art Bulletin* (1950 and 1951).
- 8 A useful edition with commentary on the typological material is that by F.W. Green in the *Clarendon Bible* (1922-24).
- 9 H.G. Wayment: *The Use of Engravings in the Design of the Windows of King's College Chapel*; *Burl. Mag.* (1958) p.378. See also Lutz and Pedrizet: *Biblia Pauperum* (1907)
- 10 M.R. James: *Speculum Riches*,⁽¹⁹²⁶⁾ p.10.
- 11 A basic text is Hrabanus Maurus: *Allegoriae in universam sacram scripturam*, M.P.L. CIX, cols. 849-1088, especially the Preface.

APPENDIX ONE : A CHRONOLOGY

1148	Collegiata consecrated	
1253	Death of S. Pina	
1300		Jubilee of Boniface VIII
1305		Clement V - transfer to Avignon
1305-6		Giotto: Arena Chapel.
1308-11		Duccio: Maesta
1315		Simone: Maesta
1317	Lippo Memmi: Maesta	
1321		Dante d.
1330		Bartolo di Fredi d.
1336		Giotto d.
1344		Simone d.
1347		Cola di Rienzi.
1348	Black Death	
1350		Jubilee of Clement VI
? ?	NT FRESCOES begun	
1353	Submission to Florentine control.	Decameran finished.
1362		Taddeo di Bartolo b.
1363	Plague	
1367	OT FRESCOES signed by Bartolo di Fredi	
1366-8		Spanish Chapel frescoes

1374	Plague	Petrarch d.
1374		della Quercia b.
1375		Boccaccio d.
1377		Gregory XI returns to Rome;
1378		Great Schism
1378		Ghiberti b.
1380		S. Catharine of Siena d.
1387?		Fra Angelico b.
1388		Bartolo di Fredi's Montaleone polyptych
1390		Jubilee of Boniface IX
1393	LAST JUDGEMENT, &c.	
1400		Jubilee of Boniface IX.
1407-11		Taddeo di Bartolo's decoration in Pal. Pubblico, Siena
1410		Bartolo di Fredi d.
1411	Plague	
1410		Benozzo Gozzoli b.
1421	Annunciation statues	
1422		Taddeo di Bartolo d.
1425		Doors of Paradise commissioned.
1438		della Quercia d.
1449-50	Plague	
1449		Don. Ghirlandaio b.
1450		Jubilee of Nicholas V.
1455		Fra Angelico d. Ghiberti d.



Frescoes of entry wall (compare p.17)

1456 &c.	Giuliano di Maiano in Collegiata.
1463	Cozzoli's Life of S. Augustine
1464	Plague
1466	S. SEBASTIAN and surrounding decorations
1467-84	Cozzoli at Pisa
1475	S. FINA CHAPEL FRESCOES, ANNUCIATION FRESCO Pier Francesco Fiorentino's decorations
1478	Plague
1481-2	First Sistine frescoes
1485	Plague
1503	Giovanni di Cambi: decorations of transepts



Entry wall, with door to OT aisle

ONE

THE COLLEGIATA AND ITS FRESCOES

Thou son of man, show the house to the house of Israel, that they may be ashamed of their iniquities; and let them measure the pattern. And if they be ashamed of all that they have done, show them the form of the house, and the fashion thereof, and the goings out thereof, and the comings in thereof, and all the ordinances thereof, and all the forms thereof, and all the laws thereof: and write it in their sight...
Ezekiel xliii. 10-11:

The basic evidence for the history of the Collegiata is to be found in the "Storia della Terra di San Gimignano" by Luigi Pecori, published in Florence in 1853;¹ this work is supplemented by the recent "San Gimignano, storia economica e sociale" by Enrico Fiume, published in 1961, and by Enzo Carli's book on San Gimignano of 1962.

The church was consecrated in 1148, while the now altered facade dates from 1239. In its original form the church was basilican, but the altar end of the building has been considerably altered by the addition of a large choir and transepts with many small chapels.

A THE EARLIER FRESCOES

In 1305 and 1307 Memmo di Filipuccio, the father-in-law and probably master of Simone Martini, worked in S. Gimignano. In 1317 with his son Lippe, he painted the Maesta in the Palazzo del Podesta. Although the identification of the Last Judgement in the Collegiata as being Memmo di Filipuccio's work of about 1305 cannot be accepted,² it is to about this date that we may reasonably safely assign other frescoes on the entrance wall. These represent part of the decoration of the building before the execution about half a century later of the scheme with which we shall be most concerned. The earliest frescoes are arranged as follows:



Frescoes by door to OT aisle

On the return of the pilaster of the first bay of the nave, next to the entrance to the right aisle, is a figure of S. Pina; in a complimentary position in the other aisle is S. Catharine of Alexandria; both saints are accompanied by a diminutive kneeling donor.

Above the round window in the entry wall of the right aisle are two peacocks painted in red. These birds could be even earlier than 1303.

17, 18

In the tympanum of the door to the left aisle is a Madonna and Child between two saints; above are the busts of two adoring angels. Round the window are the remains of a scene of an interior, and below this another interior with a major figure; it has been suggested that these are dedication scenes but this seems a mistake, for below, on a level with the door, is the scene of S. Nicholas giving dowries to three poor girls;³ the upper scenes probably represent the other usual episodes from the legend of this most popular saint including S. Nicholas in pontificals resuscitating the boys from the sea. The lower part of the wall is covered with a decorative design.

Of about the same date, or perhaps a little later, is the huge S. Christopher now only partly visible below the Red Sea fresco; the significance of this figure will be discussed below.

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At this point attention must be drawn to the magnificent crucifixes now preserved in the Pinacoteca, the grandest of which has side panels with scenes of the Passion. This is attributed to Coppe di Marcovaldo and was perhaps originally in the Collegiata. The iconographical links of the scenes on the "apron" with Barna's frescoes have been discussed by E. Sandberg-Vavala.⁴

B THE FRESCOES OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT

In the second half of the fourteenth century a major scheme of decoration was planned for the church and it is with the execution and content of this scheme, its antecedents and derivatives, its theological and social background that we shall mainly be concerned. The period we shall consider is one in which Sienese influence in S. Gimignano was superseded by that of Florence; but during this time Florentine art itself becomes indebted to the paintings of S. Gimignano.

Before the walls of the aisles were painted, the lancet windows were blocked - for this reason the church is dark even by Italian standards - the outer walls were raised and the aisles cross-ri-vaulted. The extent of the alterations and additions can be seen on the outside of the right wall and on the facade. The basilica was subsequently decorated with Old and New Testament scenes facing each other, not above the nave arcades as in old S. Peter's, but on the aisle walls.

21

On entering the church the congregation sees on the outer wall of the left aisle a series of frescoes illustrating the OT, and opposite them in the right aisle scenes from the NT.

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I

The basic evidence for the Old and NT scenes is to be found in Vasari's Life of Barna, and in his life of Taddeo di Bartolo;⁵ more evidence appears in Ghiberti's Commentaries.⁶ Recent scholars have disputed or disproved many of the facts provided. Bartolo di Fredi's inscription, quoted by Vasari to include the date 1356, has been rediscovered, and the date corrected:⁷

ANNO DNI MCCCLXVII BARTHOLUS

MAGRI FREDI DE SENIS ME PINXIT

Berenson suggested that the date of Barna's death as given by Vasari, 1381, is a misprint for 1351.⁸ Faison, by a convincing analysis of details of heraldry, armour, costume, hair styles and other minor details has suggested that the both walls were painted at one time and that the date of the inscription is acceptable. He suggested that the two series were thought of at the same time, and were parts of a single commission given to Barna, but interrupted by his death.⁹ This suggestion has also been put forward by Edgell, but has been rejected by Pope-Hennessy.¹⁰

The arrangement of the scenes must briefly be indicated: this is a subject discussed at fuller length in Chapter VII below. The scenes of the aisles are divided from each other by an optically-flat painted framework in a cosmatesque pattern; there is no attempt

to create by various tricks of perspective the appearance of deep ledges, corbel-tables or columns. Baldoria has pointed out that the coats of arms in the lower corners of the borders are respectively the device of the Arte della Lana, a white lamb with a banner on a dark ground, and that of the Opera of the Collegiata, a circle divided horizontally, deep red above and light orange below with the abbreviation OP'A. These devices appear on both series, and the OT series is differentiated from the NT only by having inscriptions. We may draw the conclusion that the frescoes were paid for by the two organizations whose arms are represented on them.

The lower part of the wall below the NT scenes is frescoed to represent marble panelling. The bare masonry on the opposite side of the building is partly covered by the intarsia stalls of the officials of the Commune, which with the pulpit in the same style reflect the supremacy of Florentine influences in the latter part of the fifteenth century. In the previous century all the work had been done by Sienese artists.

C LATER FRESCOES AND ALTERATIONS TO THE STRUCTURE

On the entrance wall is the Last Judgement flanked over the first arch of either arcade by Heaven and Hell; these frescoes are identified by the inscription, as the earliest work of Taddeo di Bartolo.

THADEUS BARTHOLI DE SENIS PINXIT HANC
CAPELLAM MCCCXCIII

Below the Last Judgement is a fine work by Benozzo Gozzoli; it is signed and dated 1465. Flanking the central scene of the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian are the Assumption of the Virgin, S. Anthony Abbot, and minor figures, in painted niches, of Ss. Augustine and Bernard, and Ss. Jerome and Bernardine. In the framework are busts of other saints. At the same time were painted the ornamental hangings behind the coloured wooden statues of the Annunciation by Jacopo della Quercia.

Unfortunately the church has never been thoroughly studied from an architectural standpoint, and it is difficult to deduce the exact sequence of the alterations and rebuildings which have taken place at the altar end of the church and in the two side



Exterior of S. Fina Chapel in angle of
transept; blocked lancet of NT aisle

chapels in the angles between the aisles and the arms of the transepts.

Above the last arch of the arcade of the right aisle is a small fresco of the Vision of S. Fina, attributed to Niccolo di Segna di Bonaventura who is mentioned 1331-45; it bears the following inscription

APPARET FINE DOG
GREGORIUS AL
ME RELEVANS OBI
TUM PROMICTENS
MUNERA DEL ME 11

Opposite this fresco is the entry to the chapel of S. Fina decorated by Bastiano Mainardi, and with two frescoes of the vision and funeral of the saint by Domenico Ghirlandaio. Structurally, part of this chapel appears to antedate the adjoining transept as it now exists. Since total of six bays of scenes seems sufficient for both series, then the side chapels, whose entrances are through the walls of the aisles in the seventh bays, would seem as structures to antedate the frescoes of the typological series. The decoration of the chapels is however later, as is indicated below.

Confusing evidence is provided by the figure of a prophet, attributed to Barna,¹³ which seems to antedate the wall now dividing the Baptistery and the chapel on the opposite side of the church. Considerable alterations may have taken place while painting was in progress in the church, or our difficulties may reflect the confusion caused by the death of Barna or by the disruptive forces of the plague of 1348. In the last few years further alterations have been made to the structures outside the left aisle.

It would seem probable that the original plan of the Collegiata was the typical one, based on the Constantinian basilicas of Rome, consisting of three aisles, a transept or bema and an apse. This supposition could be tested only by excavation.

It was in 1457 that the Council proposed a "bella ed onorevole" chapel to the honour of S. Fina; this proposal may refer to a completely new chapel, or to the refurbishing of an already existing structure. The presence of the shrine of S. Fina in this part of the church over a century before this date is suggested by the spandrel fresco, described above. The present tomb of S. Fina by Giuliano di Maiano bears the date 1475, and the fresco of the Annunciation on the wall between the Baptistry and the chapel on the other side of the church is dated by the inscription:

HOC OPUS FIERI FECIT IULIANUS QUONDAM
 MARTINI CETTI DE SCO GEMINIANO MCCCCLXXII.

XVII

It should be noted how long is the interval between these dates and the proposal of 1457, and the subsequent rebuilding of the whole of the altar area in 1466-68 to the design of Giuliano diardo di Maiano. The rectangular choir and rectangular chapels recall the design of Florentine churches.

There were twenty-one altars in the basilica, several at the foot of columns, but these were removed in 1466. Of the altarpieces and crucifixes now in the Pinacoteca, several can probably be assigned to the Collegiata. The S. Bartolommeo altarpiece by Lorenzo di Niccolo Gerini (dated 1401) was probably painted for the altar of S. Bartolommeo ad Columnam. To the same painter are attributed the interesting panels - perhaps shrine doors - of S. Fina, which with Taddeo di Bartolo's S. Gimignano altarpiece, probably came from the Collegiata. A fine S. Julian enthroned with Ss Anthony Abbot and Martin might also have been painted for the Collegiata.¹²

In 1474-5 the priest-painter, Pier Francesco Fiorentino decorated the nave with mock-marbling, (somewhat in the manner of S. Miniato ~~di~~ Monte), with putti and garlands reminiscent of classical reliefs, with busts of apostles in conches over the triumphal arch he painted the Man of Sorrows. He also repainted one scene of the OT series and seven figures in the spandrels of the aisle. The transepts were decorated in the style of the nave by Giovanni Cambi, but not until 1503. I

In the following chapters an attempt is made to demonstrate how the Old and New Testament frescoes and all these other paintings.

although not exactly contemporaneous, illustrate the religious thought of the city through years of recurrent plague, providing an indication of the intellectual thought of the period as expressed in the decoration of the most important church of a prosperous community. The evidence will support the thesis that the majority of the decoration, although attributable to different painters, is the outcome of a single commission, unified by its iconology.

The following inscriptions appear on the building:

(1) on fourth pier of left arcade

A:D:M:CC:LVII
TEPORE:DNI:LOTTI
POTESTATIS:SATI:GEMI
NIANI:ABRACIABENE:& RIGOCII:
OPERARIORV:DICTI:COMV
NIS:MAGITER:
NICOLETVS:DEPODII:
BONECI:FECIT:HOC OPVS

...TEPORE:XII:CAPITANEO (??)
DNI:BERNADINE:SASI:DNI CVCJAR
DFARDINGELLORV:DNI.RICOVERI
NICOLAI:RANVCCV PATALEI:COR
SV:BATEGRANI:CACIACOTE:RICA
RDINI:GHIERLANBERTI:NERO SINI
BALDI:GVIDO ALBITI:GAMO GVIDI:
NENTVPI BACINELLI:MORITI
NORICOMMANE

(2) on the painted decoration of the inner chapel of the right transept:

MDIII

(3) set in centre of facade:

EVGENIVS III PONT MAX TEMPLV HOC
ASSISTEN CORDO NAVARRO GERADO
ETAZONE EPIS ET GVIDONE IOANNE
OCTAVIANO GREGORIO IACVTHO
ODDONE IORDANO VBALDO IVLIO
ARRISBERTO PRBRIS GIDONE GISBERTO
ET CLEMENTE DIACON CARD MINISTRANTE

CLERO PPLOQ EX MORE SUBSEQVEN
DEDICAVIT
AN AB INCARN D MCXLVIII
XI CAL DECEMBER.
NE VETVSTATIS ERGO HVIVS SCEREI
MEMORIA EVANESCERET
AEDITVI MARMORE INCIDEN CVRAVER
AN.MDXXIX CAL IAN
SEDENTE LEONE X PONT MAX

NOTES : THE COLLEGIATA AND ITS FRESCOS

- 1 PECORI, pp. 506-529. (Later references will be given in this form.)
- 2 J. CARLYLE GRAHAM: Una Scuole d'Arte a S. Gimignano del Trecento; Rassegna d'Arte Senese, (1909). VAN MARLE II. p.163.
- 3 Compare Bartolo di Fredi's S. Nicholas and three girls at S. Incchese, Poggibonsi; VAN MARLE II, p. 488.
- 4 E. SANDBERG-VAVALA: La Croce Dipinta Italiana, (1929) p. 755.
- 5 VASARI (ed. Milanese, p. 650)
Berna "... In San Gimignano di Valdessa lavoro a fresco nelle Pieve, alcune istorie del Testamento nouvo, le quali avendo gia assai presso alla fine condotte stramente dal pente a terra cadendo, si pesto di maniera dentro e si sconciamente m'infranse, che a miglior luogo se m'ando, passo di questa vita. ...Giovanni d'Asciano, che fu creato del Berna, condusse a perfezione il rimanente di quell'opera ... Furono l'opera del Berna senese nel 1381.
(op. cit., II, p. 33)
Taddeo di Bartolo: "...Taddeo, dunque, nacque di Bartolo di Maestro Fredi, il quale fu dipintore nell'eta sua mediocre, e dipinse in San Gimignano nella pieve, entrando a man sinistra, tutta la facciata d'istorie del Testamento vecchio, nella quale opera, che in vero non fu molto buona, si legge ancoranel messo questo epitaffio: Ann.Dom. 1365 Bartolus magistri Fredi di Senis me pinxit. Nel quale tempe bisogna che Bartolo fusse giovane..."
- 6 GHIRIBERTI: Commentari, ed. Morisani, p. 39:
"Un maestro, il quale fu chiamato Barna: costui fu eccellentissimo fra gli altri; ... A San Gimignano molte istorie del testamento vecchio, e ne a Cortona assai lavoro; fu dettissimo."
- 7 E. CARLI: Critica d'Arte VIII (1949), pp. 75-6.
- 8 BERENSON: Italian Pictures of the Renaissance (1932) p.41.
(Henceforth referred to as "Lists".)

- 9 S.L. FAISON: Barna and Bartolo di Fredi, Art Bulletin, XIV, 1932, pp. 285-315. (Henceforth referred to as FAISON.)
- 10 For further discussion see below.
- 11 G. KAPTAL: Iconography of Saints in Tuscan Painting (1953) no. 113, fig. 422. (Henceforth referred to as KAPTAL.)
- 12 VAN MARLE: III, p. 634, 643; II, p. 564; IX, p. 65; and KAPTAL: nos. 40e, II3c, 129 and 175g. B. BERENSON: Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: Florentine School (1963) plates 388 and 551 (Henceforth referred to as BERENSON: Florentine School (1963).)
- 13 F. MASON PERKINS: Dipinti sconosciuti della Scuola Senese; Rassegna d'Arte Senese, (1917).
- 14 BERENSON: Florentine School (1963), p. 170. VAN MARLE: XIII, pp. 428-429 and 450.
- 15 T.C.I., Toscana, p. 514; not in BERENSON's Lists.

TWO

THE ANTE-LEGEM SERIES

A. THE CREATION SERIES

For as in Adam all die,
Even so in Christ shall all be made alive.

I.Cor.xv.21.

The OT scenes fall into two main divisions: the first twenty three are all "ante legem", and to these are added six panels of the life of Job. The early section, to the Death of Abel, seems best considered as a unit; subsequently we can deal with the type-figures in order: Noah, Abraham, Joseph, Moses, and then Job.

The Pauline position is central: for death "reigned from Adam until Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the likeness of Adam's transgression" (Romans v.14). In this chapter and the following, S. Paul explains the sequence and significance of the divisions "ante legem", "sub lege" and "sub gratia", referring to Adam as "the figure of him that was to come - 'forma futuri'". "Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to everyone that believeth. For Moses describeth the righteousness which is of the law..." (Romans x.4)¹ but Christ "hath redeemed us from the curse of the law" (see Gal.iii). The contrast had already been stated by S. John the Baptist (John 1.17) "For the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ."²

The place of the Pentateuch, the Torah, in the Old Testament is that of the Gospels in the New: the cycle of events, whether described in words of paint, of Creation to the Death of Moses finds its fulfilment in the cycle of the Life and death of Christ.

The sequence of events from the Creation of the world to the death of Abel was extremely popular in the art of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and it would be an immense task to attempt an analysis of all the relationships of the scenes shown in the



OT 7 1 8
19 20

Collegiate. In the fourteenth century the interest in these subjects is, in a way, a revival of the subjects as used in the early Christian period.³

The usual typological connotations - Eva and Ave, the creation of Eve and the piercing of the side of Christ, the Trees of Knowledge and of the Cross; the list could be indefinitely extended⁴ - ought to be kept in mind. The liturgical use of typology will be considered in a later chapter. The major citation in the present context is

"O certe necessarium Adae peccatum,
quod Christi deletum est! O felix culpa ..."

8 THE SCENES

OT 1 COME DIO CREO EL / MONDO

Genesis 1.

(Pecconi has COME DIO CREO IL CIELO E LA TERRA)

His readings may represent either his own interpretations of the remains of inscriptions, his reading of repainted inscriptions, or merely descriptions of the subjects. His readings are given when these are useful.

The first six scenes of the sequence fill the lunettes, reading from the entrance of the aisle towards the high altar; the second and third rows of scenes read in the same direction.

In this first scene the Almighty is seated, his hand outstretched towards a roundel of seven concentric circles of the heavens sprinkled with stars; the central roundel shows a bird's eye view of islands set in a sea. Around the outer wheel are the twelve signs of the zodiac. Repainting has almost obliterated the cherubim which surround the Almighty.

OT 2 COME DIO CREO EL / PRIMO HOMO

Genesis 1.27 (or 11.7)

(Pecconi has FORGO for CREO)

The Almighty encourages Adam to rise from his prone position in the dust; Adam is outstretched on his back in the Garden as the Almighty in red and blue moves towards him and visibly breathes life into him.

OT 3 COME DIO DA AD ADAMO IL DO/MINIO DEL
PARADISO TERRES (tre)

Genesis 11.15.

117

This is not a common scene. The Almighty is seated to the left, dressed as before; he points, as does Adam who stands before Him naked, at the animals (elephants, camels, dogs and others) and birds in the right hand corner. This is perhaps the most attractive of the OT lunette scenes; the figure drawing, as in the other episodes of this sequence, is competent, recalling the manner of the same episodes at Ferentillo, and the poses are elegant. The animals are entertainingly varied, as in the Noah scenes - a point which will be referred to later.

OT 4 COME DIO FECE LA P/RIMA DONNA

Genesis 11.21.

116

The Almighty blesses with His right hand the figure of Eve whom with His left hand He pulls from the side of Adam. Adam lies on his left side, resting his head on his left hand.

OT 5 COME DIO DA COMAND/AMENTO DEL POMO
VETATO

Genesis 111.

Adam and Eve stand in their nakedness before the seated Almighty; the scene is badly preserved.

OT 6 This scene has been destroyed; it would have shown the Tree, the Serpent and the taking of the apple.

OT 7 COME ADAMO ED EVA FURONO
SCACCIATA DAL PARADISO TERRESTRE

Genesis 111.23.

27

This scene is the first in the middle row, next to the entrance wall. It has been repainted, probably by Pier Francesco Fiorentino. Adam and Eve flee from the seraph at the gate of Paradise; over their head is a flying skeleton in black with a sword. The open scroll that he holds is unfortunately illegible. This figure recalls the Death in the Pisan "Triumph", and in the "Allegory of Sin" in the Pinacoteca at Siena.

Instead of being in the rich and fertile surroundings of the Garden of Paradise as depicted in the previous scenes, Adam and Eve are shown entering a desert country of stones and thistles, as described in Genesis; this is both symbolic of man's destiny of having to live a life of difficulty, and in the manner of the fantastic rocks of the Tbeald is symbolic of the World without the Garden.⁵

OT 8 COME CAINO UCCI/SE ABEL

Genesis iv.8.

27

In the background are shown the two brothers at the altar; to left is the first murder, and to the right the appearance of the Almighty (?) to Cain. The scene is badly preserved, and the colouring now muddy. In its relation of more than one event within the same frame, it is not unlike the same section of the large scene with many scenes at Pisa.

B. NOAH

"But as the days of Noe were, so shall
also the coming of the Son of Man be..."
Matt. xxiv. 37.

Noah and the Flood are commonly represented as types, though the correct interpretation of the typology is far from straightforward.⁶ Our series has three episodes in the Flood sequence, followed by the First Vintage with Noah's Drunkenness, a scene rarely portrayed in Italian art.⁷

An important liturgical reference was to be found in the old rite for the Blessing of Palms on Palm Sunday:

et sicut in figura Ecclesiae multiplicasti
Noe egredientem de arca, et Moysen exeuntem
de Aegypto cum filiis Israel: ita nos port-
antes palmas et ramos olivarum, bonis actibus
occuramus obviam Christo; et per ipsum in
gaudium introemus aeternam.

8 THE SCENES

OT 9 COME NOE FECCE / FARE L'ARCA

Genesis vi-vii.

30

The scene of the building of the ark is in many ways similar to the fresco in the Upper Church at Assisi, a scene



2
 9 10
 OT 21 22

of hammering and sawing, vividly portrayed. The ark is rectangular with a gabled roof, in the manner of a garden shed, showing, as will be explained later, dependence on S. Augustine rather than on Origen.

OT 10 COME NOE NISE GLI AN/IMAGLI NELL ARCA
Genesis vii.9

30

To the left stand Noah and his family, while from the right enter an assorted multitude of horses, dogs, pigs, and other animals, and assorted birds flying. These are all beautifully drawn, and arranged along diagonals from the top and bottom corners to the right of the frame, centred on the door of the ark, so that the movement from the nearer figures into the ark is entirely convincing. The scene displays none of the comicality so often found in medieval treatments of this complicated subject, but is the work of a highly competent designer.⁸

OT 11 COME NOE USCI DELL'AR/CA E FECE
EL SACRIFICIO

Genesis viii-ix

38

There is no scene of the Flood with the ark floating on the water, a usual type for the sacrament of Baptism, nor of the sending out of the birds. On the left the animals and birds come joyfully out of the ark, while on the right, Noah and his family sacrifice at a rectangular altar beneath the curve of the rainbow. As in the previous scene, the animals and birds are drawn very competently and with obvious enjoyment, and the different groups arranged in a pleasing design.⁹

OT 12 COME NOE FACENDO IN PRI/MA EL VINO INEBRO
Genesis ix. 21.

38

In the background is the wine-pressing, in the foreground the figures of Japhet and Shem are standing, counter-posed, on either side of the uncovered Noah; to the right is the third brother, Ham, looking on. The scene is a type of the stripping or of the mocking of Christ; there may perhaps be a moral reference in a wine producing area.¹⁰ The scene, although uncommon in Italian art, is more widely known in the north of Europe entirely

for its typological interpretation, particularly within the schemes of the "Biblia Pauperum" and the "Speculum Humanae Salvationis".¹¹

The preparation of the ark and salvation within it are symbolic of salvation in Christ, in the sacrament of Baptism, and in the Church; here we find ourselves with another aspect of the familiar image of the ship in the storm, the Navicella of the Church. "But after Noah emerged from the Ark he offered no sacrifice to God save from the animals that were clean. From which we are to understand that though in this ark there are clean and unclean, after this flood God accepts those only who have made themselves clean".¹²

C. ABRAHAM

"... he promised to our forefathers, Abraham, and his seed for ever."

The Magnificat.

The scheme has only two scenes of the story of Abraham; there is no meeting with Melchisedec (the common Eucharistic type), no entertainment of the three angels (the OT Trinity, as it is often called), and more surprisingly, no Sacrifice of Isaac.¹³ Instead we have the forced wandering of Abraham, a theme found in the Expulsion from Eden, in Noah's separation from the world in the Flood, in Joseph's sojourn in Egypt, in the Israelites passage of the Red Sea: the comparison is clearly with the Flight into Egypt, and the two Passion episodes which are shown so prominently, the Entry into Jerusalem and the Via Dolorosa.

8 THE SCENES

OT 13 COME ABRAM E LOth SI PART
 ROMO DELA TERRA DE CALDEI
 Genesis xii. 6.

A party on camel back leave a city gate, their black sheep guarded by a villainous white dog. The large group is fitted comfortably into the relatively small space of a single panel.

OT 14

COME ABRAAM SI DIVISE DA LOT
h NELA TERRA DI CANAAN

Genesis xiii.7

This is another multiple scene, executed with great charm and attention to detail. In the background is shown the decision to part, while in the foreground Abraham's family and flock move off. The landscape in the background is of towered cities on hill-tops.

The scene appears at S. Maria Maggiore, and Richter and Taylor have discussed the typological implications.¹⁴

D. JOSEPH

**"and sold Joseph to the Ishmeelites
for twenty pieces of silver."**

Genesis xxxvii. 28.

Of the full series of six scenes illustrating the story of Joseph, the third and fourth have been lost; their place is now filled by the organ. Joseph is one of the most popular figures of the Old Testament; major works with which we need not attempt to prove distant relationships include the ivory chair at Ravenna, the mosaics of the narthex of S. Marco at Venice,¹⁵ and among manuscripts the Vienna Genesis and the Homilies of S. Gregory Nazienzen. In Rome there remain part of a cycle in S. Maria Antiqua, and a single scene in S. Giovanni a Porta Latina; but as we so often lament, the important frescoes of the old basilicas of S. Peter and S. Paul no longer exist.¹⁶

Of antecedent cycles by far the most important is the mosaic in the dome of the Baptistery at Florence, dating from the last quarter of the thirteenth century. The story of Joseph is fully illustrated in fifteen scenes in the second tier, and the parallels between this series and those above and below (the Creation, the history of Christ and the history of the Baptist) are multitudinous. For instance, Joseph in prison appears above the Baptist in the same predicament.¹⁷

Joseph appears also on Ghiberti's Doors of Paradise, and Krautheimer has explored the relationships with Ambrosian typological thought. But we must not be drawn into making anachronistic links between our frescoes and these doors, for the programme of the latter includes Isaac, Joshua, David and Solomon who are unrepresented at S. Gimignano.¹⁸

The basic validity of interpreting Joseph as a type is indisputable. The *Biblia Pauperum* states that "whatever is done against Joseph applies to Christ."¹⁹ The conspiracy of Judas and the conspiracy of the brothers provide a clear parallel; the well of Joseph is the grave of Christ and signifies both the descent into hell and the resurrection. At Assisi the recognition

of the brothers is paralleled with the Incredulity of S. Thomas. Our scenes are not chosen to illustrate invented parallels, but to illustrate commonplaces.²⁰

8 THE SCENES

OT 15 COME IOSEP CONGNO CHE
 DODEVA ESSERE ADORATO
 (VT) Genesis xxxvii.5.

116

This is one of the most pleasing of the OT scenes, having the quality of the intimate scenes so often shown in Sienese predellas. The colouring is simple, and the design similarly attractive in its straightforwardness. Within a "loggia", Joseph lies asleep in his bed, rather in the manner of S. Martin at Assisi. In the field to the right are seen the eleven sheaves bowing to the twelfth, and the moon and eleven stars, much as in the same scene in the Baptistery mosaic at Florence.²¹

OT 16 COME I FRATEGLI METTENO IOS/EP NELA
 CITERNA INVIDIA
 Genesis xxvii. 24.

116

The scene is also at S. Maria Antiqua;²² it is perhaps the commonest of the Joseph episodes entirely because of its typological interpretation. Very much like our scene in its basic iconography is the fresco at Assisi.²³

The scene is a good piece of dramatic painting, with the characters of the brothers clearly shown. The young boy, Joseph, is right in the well, not in the fine pose used by Gossoli at Pisa. The brother in the foreground killing the goat is a pose echoed in the Arrest of Christ by the figure of Peter cutting off the ear of Malchus.

OT 17 and OT 18

These two scenes have been lost; they would have illustrated the story of Joseph from the time of his being sold to Potiphar until his advancement in Egypt after the interpretation of the dreams of the servants and of Pharaoh himself.

OT 19

COME YOSEP ... Pecori has "Come i FRATELLI
DI GIUSEPPE PER ORDINE DEL MEDESIMO FURONO
ARRESTATI"

27
II

Genesis xlii-xliii

Joseph stands as ruler; before him kneels his brother, Judah, and the other brothers can be seen crowded together behind the opened sacks. We may note the uncertainties in the spatial organisation of the scene, and the inelegancies of the figures who stand with Joseph "inside" the porch of the building. Rising above a wall parallel to the picture plane can be seen the spire and roofs of simple buildings. The similarity in aspect noticeable between the figures of Joseph as ruler and Pilate in Duccio's "Maesta" may not be entirely coincidental.²⁴

OT 20

COME I FRATELLI DI YOSEP CHIEDONO PERDONO
Pecori has "COME GIUSEPPE E RECONOSCIUTO
DA SUDI FRATELLI"

27
III

Genesis xliv

Joseph is seated, looking very much like Pilate when Christ is led before him as depicted in a panel of the "Maesta".²⁵ Soldiers with spears stand around the group of kneeling brothers. As in the previous scene, the figures are neither elegant individually nor in groups; neither the servant behind the pillar of the porch in the previous scene nor the soldier behind the pillar of the court of Joseph in the present scene is very satisfactorily represented, either from a linear point of view or as standing in pictorial space.

This scene and the previous one are near the door and within a few yards of the aisle window; consequently neither is well preserved. Both have been restored; but in view of the arguments to be considered later, it may not be merely coincidental that there is a difference of orthography in the inscriptions: in scenes OT 15 and 16 in the second row, we read clearly "IOSEP", while in OT 19 and 20 of the bottom row, the name is spelt "YOSEP".

E MOSES

"Christ's Gospel is not a Ceremonial Law (as much of Moses' Law was) but it is a Religion to serve God, not in bondage of the figure or shadow, but in the freedom of the Spirit."

Of Ceremonies; Book of Common Prayer.

The iconography of Moses was already developed by the third century,²⁶ and there is no need here to go into the many subsequent variations of the favourite themes. The three scenes in the Collegiata series are well-known, appearing in important and much studied monuments in Rome; this popularity indicates the continual interest of the church in the figure of Moses, whose name is so frequently recalled in its services.²⁷

Collegiata

Moses' rod

S. Sabina doors²⁸

Red Sea

"

"

S.M. Maggiore²⁹

Sistine³⁰

Law-giving

"

"

?

"

Of the three scenes, two of them are so commonly chosen as types that it is almost impossible to deal with them except very briefly. We may note at this point that neither Moses and the Burning Bush,³¹ nor the Lifting up of the Serpent, both common types, is shown. In the New Testament are several important references to Moses, which form the basis for most later developments.³²

8 THE SCENES

OT 21 COME MOYSE FECE DELA VERGA SE/(RP)ENT...
DINANSI ARE FARAONE

Ex.vii.10.

30
IV

Pharaoh, seated on a throne, and his courtiers show surprise at Moses' monstrous serpent. The scene takes place in a building of which the architectural form is somewhat difficult to distinguish spatially; but the faces and poses of the onlookers are interestingly drawn, giving us an idea of the capabilities of the artist, and making

us regret the damage and restorations of the previous two scenes.

In "Pictor in Carmine" this scene is given as a type of the Annunciation.³³ S. Ambrose in his very popular "Duties of the Clergy" combines this episode with another, and this sort of muddle is characteristic of much unsystematic medieval typology:

Moses "cast down his rod and it became a serpent which devoured the serpents of Egypt; this signifying that the word should become flesh to destroy the poison of the dread serpent by the forgiveness and pardon of sins. For the rod stands for the Word that is true, royal, filled with power, and glorious in ruling. The rod became a serpent; so He Who was the Son of God begotten of the Father became like the Son of man, born of a woman, and lifted, like the serpent, on the cross, poured His healing medicine on the wounds of man."³⁴

OT 22 COME MOYSE FECE PASSARE LO POPULO
 DÍ DIO PER LO MER ROSSO E APOCHO / ELRE
 FARAONE E TUTTO LE EXERCITO

Ex. xiv.

30
117
V

This is an ugly scene, divided into two parts. To the left the army is drowning, while in the background fishermen pull at a net and rod; Moses with his rod stands on dry land watching. While the women and children of Israel on camels and donkey move off safely towards the right, guarded in the rear by soldiers. Although the grouping of the figures is uncomfortable, and the drowned soldiers disproportionately large, there is a certain charm in the decorative qualities of the wealth of attention to detail, a quality finely exemplified in Bartolo di Fredi's "Adoration of the Magi" in the Pinacoteca at Siena.

This scene, like the Entry into Jerusalem, fills two panels, but the framework that divides the sections is dispensed with; we must note for future reference how this spreading of the scene through two sections spoils the bay-by-bay rhythm emphasised by the columns of the nave.

To the full discussions of the typology of this favourite scene which are to be found in the standard works on the nave mosaics in S. Maria Maggiore and the frescoes of the Sistine Chapel,



3
 11 12
 22 23

I would add, because of its classic definition, only S. Basil on the Crossing of the Red Sea:

"The nature of the divine is very frequently represented by the rough and shadowy outlines of the types...

The type is an exhibition of things expected, and gives an imitative expectation of the future." 35

OT 23 COME MOYSE ANDO SUL MONTE SINAY
 ET MENO SECO YOSUE ET LASSO
 SUO VICARIO AARON

38

VI

Ex. xix-xx

In the foreground two groups point and look up towards Moses kneeling on Mt. Sinai. The figures are tastefully drawn; the group of women to the right recall the scenes of the Birth of the Virgin, both by Ambrogio Lorenzetti and, in the fresco in S. Agostino, by Bartolo di Fredi.

Of the several antitypes, the most familiar is that of the Traditio Legis; but the intention of the scene is adequately indicated by the inscription. This is the final scene of the sequence "ante legem."³⁶

The "message" of the ante-legem series may be deduced from the symbolic representation of the sacraments and function of the Church: the righteous Abel, Noah, Abraham and Joseph suffer tribulations from their own families; but Israel is saved at the Flood, and only by Joseph's captivity is his family saved in time of famine. In all this is seen the hand of God (Gen. xlv. 7).

Finally to preserve Israel from the afflictions in Egypt (Ex. iii. 7-8), God provides Moses to lead his people through the Red Sea to receive the Law on Sinai, echoing the covenant of the rainbow after the Flood. This sequence is lovingly remembered by the Psalmist.

As a final example of the salvation of Israel after suffering, the OT series is concluded by a vivid type, sub lege, foreshadowing the antitype, sub gratia.

NOTES : THE CREATION SERIES

- 1 For commentary, see S. Augustine on Psalm xlvii; Library of the Fathers, vol 2, p.261 and many other references.
- 2 See S. Augustine on Ps. lxxiv; op. cit., vol. 3, p.492 ff. Further references to the importance of Augustinian interpretations of the ante legem series will be found in chapter 3.
- 3 See for instance S. Maria Antiqua, S. Giovanni a Porta Latina and Ferentille. For the Norman-Benedictine cycles, see O. DEMUS: Mosaics of Norman Sicily, under "Longitudinal programmes". A basis for many Roman and Umbrian Creation and OT cycles would seem to be the monumental illuminations of the XII c. Atlas Bibles; and in some cases the same artists no doubt worked both as illuminators and as fresco painters.
- 4 For a multiplicity of parallels see DIDRON: Christian Iconography, ⁽¹⁸⁴⁴⁾ I, under Biblia Pauperum; REAU: Iconographie de l'Art Chretien, ⁽¹⁹⁵⁶⁾ vol. I, pp. 201 ff.
- 5 K. CLARK: Landscape into Art (1949) chapter I.
- 6 J. DANIELOU: From Shadows to Reality, book II; see also M.R. JAMES: Pictor in Carmine, Archaeologia 94 (1951), p. 150; L. REAU: Iconographie de l'Art Chretien, vol. I, pp. 201-203.
- 7 See R. KRAUTHEIMER: Ghiberti, (1956) p. 176. See also the typological bronze doors of S. Zeno, Verona, with typological marble panels.
- 8 Compare the scenes at S. Maria Antiqua, S. Giovanni a Porta Latina; and at S. Marco, Venice.
- 9 Contrast Uccello's fresco in the Chiostro Verde. The same subject is found both in the Sistine ceiling and in Raphael's Loggia.

- 10 See KRAUTHEIMER, as above, n.8.
- 11 For instance, see HARRISON: The Use of Engravings for the Windows of King's College Chapel; Burlington Mag. (1958) p. 378.
- 12 S. AUGUSTINE: Fourth Sermon for Ascension Day; Sermo 264 MPL, 38. See also Chapter 3, below.
- 13 For the typology of Abraham and Isaac, as in the competition reliefs for the Baptistery at Florence, see R. KRAUTHEIMER: Ghiberti, pp. 38-39. The figure of Abraham, Isaac and Melchisedec appear in the XVI century decoration of the transepts, perhaps reflecting earlier frescoes; see below, p. 100, n.7.
- 14 RICHTER and TAYLOR: The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art, ⁽¹⁹⁰⁴⁾ p.81. For S. Augustine on Abraham, see below, chapter 3.
- 15 O. DEMUS: Die Mosaiken von S. Marco in Venedig; plan on p.6; figs 31, 46-49. The series fills three cupolas in the left of the narthex and three lunettes (about 36 scenes). It is related to the Vienna Genesis. The whole of the narthex, as in the tradition founded by Desiderius who put OT scenes in the atrium, must be considered as typological in its implications.
- 16 See L. BEAU: Iconographie de l'Art Chretien, vol. II, p. 158 for full lists, and VAN MARLE, VI, p.7. See also O. DEMUS: Mosaics of Norman Sicily, p. 331, note 17.
- 17 Full bibliography in O. PAATZ: Die Kirchen von Florenz (1955). See also FALK and LANYI: The Genesis of Andrea Pisano's Bronze Doors; Art Bulletin XXV (1943). The Baptist was the last of the types of Christ, a point stressed in the work of Pseudo-Bonaventura (Giovanni di Caulibus of San Gimignano?): he was also patron of Florence (see coinage); compare ANTAL pp. 139-140.
- 18 R. KRAUTHEIMER: Ghiberti, p. 169.
- 19 Quoted DIDRON: Christian Iconography, vol. II, p. 413.

- 20 See R. TUVE: A reading of George Herbert, ⁽¹⁹⁵²⁾ pp. 176 ff.
- 21 The scene also appears at S. Maria Antiqua; see W. GRUNERSON: S. Maria Antiqua, ⁽¹⁹¹¹⁾ pl. Io. xxii.
- 22 W. GRUNERSON: same plate.
- 23 G. COLETTI: Gli Affreschi della Basilica di Assisi ⁽¹⁹⁴⁹⁾ figs. 47 ff.
- 24 E. CARLI: Duccio (1959), pl. 92.
- 25 op. cit., pl. 91.
- 26 See DOURA EUROPAE, Final Reports, VI ⁽¹⁹³⁶⁾
L. REAU: Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien, vol. II,
p. 175 ff.
- 27 See also chapter below. "No single event in their history made a deeper impression on the Israelites than the crossing of the Red Sea; Deuteronomy or the Psalms repeatedly refer to the deliverance from Egypt" R.H. PFEIFFER: Introduction to the OT (New York, 1948) p. 145.
- 28 See Art Bulletin, XXXIV (1952).
- 29 RICHTER and TAYLOR: Golden Age of Classic Christian Art; see p. 182 for the possible identification of Moses on Sinai. The source is Justin Martyr.
- 30 TOLNAY: Michelangelo, vol. II; and WIND and HART in Art Bulletin, 1950 and 1951.
- 31 For a full survey, see E. HARRIS: Mary in the Burning Bush; Warburg Journal I, (1937-8) and my article in the forthcoming Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie.
- 32 For instance: the Transfiguration; John iii.4; Acts vii. 20-24; I Cor. x. 1 - 2.
- 33 M.R. JAMES: Pieter in Carmine, Archaeologia 94, (1951), p. 151.
- 34 Duties of the Clergy, chap. xv. The Serpent is, of course, also a plague portent, as in the episodes of Moses' Golden Serpent.

- 35 On the Spirit, chap. xiv; compare S. Ambrose: On the Holy Spirit, chap. iv.
- 36 For Ghiberti's indebtedness to this series, see R. KRAUTHEIMER: Ghiberti, p. 222, and for his programme as a whole, pp. 169 ff.
For a general commentary, see the Glossa Ordinaria of WALAFRID STRABO: MPL CXIII, col. 539.

THREE

THE INFLUENCE OF SAINT AUGUSTINE

And Paul, as his manner was, went in unto them and three sabbath days reasoned with them out of the scriptures, opening and alleging that Christ must needs have suffered, and risen again from the dead.

Acts xvii. 2-3

There is no doubt that S. Augustine, one of the four Doctors of the Western Church - another was S. Gregory the Great, - was extremely popular in Tuscany.¹ His importance in S. Gimignano, of which city he was one of the patrons, is very evident. Not only did Benozzo Gozzoli include him as a subsidiary figure next to his S. Sebastian on the entry wall of the Collegiata, but also painted the very fine sequence of the full life of the Saint in the church of the Augustiniane dedicated to him. This series dates from 1465.²

The church of S. Agostino, with its monastery, is still an important factor in the life of the city.³ In 1366, the settlement of a feud between an Augustinian and an Olivetan was commemorated in a fresco painted by Bartolo di Fredi in the main square.⁴ He also painted an altar-piece of the Adoration of the Shepherds, flanked by S. Augustine and (we may note for later reference,) S. Anthony Abbot. Towards the end of his life he worked for the Augustinians, painting a chapel with the Life of the Virgin, most of which has unfortunately been lost.⁵ It was an Augustinian theologian who ordered the S. Sebastian on the entry wall of the Collegiata in 1465/6; it seems not unlikely that Augustiniane may have helped plan the scheme of decoration of a century earlier, or that there was Augustinian influence.

Going then straight to S. Augustine's writings, passages from his "Reply to Faustus the Manichean" seem relevant to our frescoes, as exemplifying Augustinian typological thought.

It would be most unwise to try and suggest that it was these particular passages which influenced the choice of scenes. But it must be noted that neither the Collegiata nor S. Augustine in the work under consideration includes Abraham and Melchisedec nor Abraham and the Three Angels; but both include the subject, very rare in Italian art, of Noah's Drunkenness.

As has been acknowledged, "For all the Middle Ages the master in theology was Augustine. Either he was studied directly in his own writings, or his views descended through the more turbid channels of the works of men he influenced. Medieval theology was overwhelmingly Augustinian until the middle of the thirteenth century..." and much Franciscan thought continued to be Augustinian until much later. Where Augustinians remained (as they still do) a powerful body in a town as small as S. Gimignano, the influence of S. Augustine's thought could not but be strong.

In the "Reply to Faustus the Manichean", a book in defence of Christian doctrine, S. Augustine propounds the Church's belief in the Gospels, in the Incarnation and in the Old Testament. From the start his defence is typological, and typology itself is defended.

"No one doubts that the promises of temporal things are contained in the Old Testament, for which reason it is called the Old Testament; or that the kingdom of heaven and the promise of eternal life belong to the New Testament. But that in these temporal things were figures of future things which should be fulfilled in us upon whom the ends of the world should come, is not my fancy, but the judgement of the apostle, when he says of such things, 'these things were our examples'; and again 'these things happened to them for an example, and they are written for us on whom the

ends of the world are come.' (I Cor.x.6,II)
We receive the Old Testament, therefore, not in
order to obtain fulfilment of these promises,
but to see in them predictions of the New
Testament; for the Old bears witness to the
New."

We need not quote from any of the next eight books
which continue to develop this argument, and link the
apostles with the prophets, emphasising the authority
of scripture and the passing of the old things and their
replacement by the new.

Book XII concerns us more closely. In section 8
we find

"The whole narrative of Genesis, in the most minute
details, is a prophecy of Christ and of the Church,
with reference either to good Christians or to the
bad. There is significance in the words of the
apostle when he calls Adam 'the figure of Him that
was to come' ..." (Rom.v.14)⁸

Section 9 deals with Cain and Abel (OT 8):

"Abel the younger brother is killed by the elder
brother; Christ the head of the younger people is
killed by the elder people of the Jews.⁹ Abel dies
in the field; Christ dies on Calvary."

S. Augustine then develops the Jewish-Christian argument.
Section 14 begins

"Omitting therefore many passages in these books
where Christ may be found, but which require longer
explanation and proof..."

and then goes on with the typological explanation of Noah,
whose story is shown in the next scenes, OT 9-12. Neither
S. Augustine nor our series has the non-Biblical but popular
scene of Lamech killing Cain. On the Flood, OT 9, he writes

"That Noah with his family is saved by water and
wood as the family of Christ is saved by baptism,
as representing the suffering of the cross..."¹⁰

After a passage of numerical symbolism, some of which might be related to the scene of Building the Ark, OT9, and that of the Animals Entering, OT10, the comparisons in section 15 are between the ark and the church, the flood and baptism. Then follow more numerical explanations. The raven and dove, and the rainbow are symbols, types of the New Testament and examples to his readers.

"Again the sufferings of Christ from his own nation are evidently denoted by Noah's being drunk with the wine of the vineyard he planted, and his being uncovered in his tent."¹¹ This is the rare scene shown in OT 12.

Then S. Augustine returns to Jew-Christian arguments based on the two sons, Japhet and Shem; and as the third son, Ham, who saw his father's nakedness, rebukes the Manichees:

"Go on, then, with your objections to the Old Testament scriptures! Go on, ye servants of Ham! You have despised the flesh from which you were born, when uncovered. For you could not have called yourselves Christians unless Christ had come into the world, as foretold by the prophets, and had drunk of His own vine that cup which could not pass from Him, and had slept in His passion, as in the excess of the folly which is wiser than men; and so, in the hidden counsel of God, the disclosure had been made of that infirmity of mortal flesh which is stronger than men."¹²

This passage is an example of the development of typological thought through the NT to the present day, relating the two Testaments, the type and antitype with the church today, the congregation listening to S. Augustine or looking at our frescoes. To this way of thinking we shall have to return later.

In section 25, S. Augustine comes to his next type, Abraham. As a commentary on OT 13 we find

"Who in Abraham leaves his country and kindred that he may become rich and prosperous among strangers, but He who, leaving the land and country of the Jews, of whom He was born in the flesh, is now extending His power among the Gentiles?"¹³

It is interesting that S. Augustine does not mention here the meeting with Melchisedec nor the entertainment of the three angels, the Old Testament Trinity; we have already seen that, surprisingly, they are omitted also from our OT series. But in the next sentences we find evidence that the planners of the series did not use this source exclusively or did not follow it closely. Instead of mentioning the Parting of Abraham and Lot, shown in OT 14, S. Augustine goes on to write about the very common and usual Sacrifice of Isaac, a clear Crucifixion type, which is omitted from our scheme. Nor have we any scenes of Jacob, popular in the Sicilian mosaics, whose story is explained in section 26. But this does not invalidate the thesis that the relationship between our series and this work of S. Augustine, if not an exact one, is one of spirit.

"The man who does not find pleasure in these views of sacred Scripture is turned away to fables, because he cannot bear sound doctrine. The fables have an attraction for childish minds in people in all ages; but we who are of the body of Christ should say with the Psalmist: 'O Lord, the wicked have spoken to me pleasing things, but they are not after Thy law.' In every page of these Scriptures, while I pursue my search as a son of Adam in the sweat of my brow, Christ either openly or covertly meets and refreshes me. Where the discovery is laborious my ardour is increased, and the spoil is eagerly devoured, and is hidden in my heart for nourishment."¹⁴

Immediately following this passage from section 28 is yet another with which our frescoes bear a close relationship.

"Christ appears to me in Joseph, who was persecuted and sold by his brethren, and after his troubles obtained honour in Egypt. We have seen the troubles of Christ in the world, of which Egypt was a figure, in the sufferings of the martyrs. And now we see the honour of Christ in the same world which He bestows."

The Joseph story filled OT 15-20.

"Christ appears to me in the rod of Moses, which became a serpent when cast on the earth, as a figure of His death, which came from a serpent. Again, when caught by the tail it became a rod, as a figure of His return after the accomplishment of His work in His resurrection to what He was before, destroying death by His new life, so as to leave no trace of the serpent."

This episode (Exod.iv) is not the one represented in our series, which is the rod of Aaron (Exod.vii). But the inscription reads as if there was some confusion in the minds of the planners; a similar confusion occurs in S.Ambrose (see p.³⁷). S.Augustine develops the typology to include ourselves, before quoting I.Cor.x.1-4 on the Crossing of the Red Sea, shown in OT 22:

"I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were baptised into Moses in the cloud and in the sea, and did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink of the same spiritual drink. For they drank of the spiritual rock which followed them, and that rock was Christ."

The subsequent explanation is carried out fully, with another section of numerical typology and references to the passover and the brazen serpent. The giving of the Law (OT 23) is seen as a prefigurement of Pentecost (not in the NT series). Then, from section 37 onwards, S.Augustine deals very briefly with other types of Christ, doing no more than list them. He says

"It is impossible, in a digression like this, to refer however briefly, to all the figurative predictions of Christ which are to be found in the Law and the prophets."¹⁵

Then, briefly he returns to some of the types already mentioned.

S. Augustine is next concerned with prophets and prophecy which need not here concern us; except that we must recall the prophets with scrolls who are painted in the spandrels of the aisles, and their antitypes, the Apostles with scrolls of their creed, in the nave. In the way that S. Augustine sees the Prophets as part of the same ordered scheme in which the types are placed, the medieval church regarded type and antitype, prophet and apostle together representing a basis for the belief of the Church. As 'messengers' they stand with scrolls commenting on the typological scenes of the Speculum and Biblia Pauperum, and of the glass of King's College Chapel.¹⁶

THE COMMENTARIES ON PSALMS

'The Reply to Faustus the Manichaean' may seem too obscure a book to have been known at S. Gimignano. My major purpose in quoting from it was not so much to claim that this work was the only, or even the major, source for the planners; it was to indicate, from a basic source, Augustinian typological thought. This is not restricted to this one work, and there are passages from his most important 'Commentaries on Psalms' which may help to shed light on obscurities in the OT scheme. In these most popular commentaries on what is perhaps the most popular of all the books of the Bible, S. Augustine is not restricted to the interpretation of a narrative; the psalms give him a chance to treat in a discursive manner events and figures from all parts of the Old and New Testaments; some of the comparisons he makes emphasise the unity of our scheme.

A central passage in Augustine typology occurs in the exposition of PS.cxiv.4-6 (v,p.276-8):

For what was ... once prefigured, the same is fulfilled in every faithful one in the daily travailings of the Church ... surely then it is clear by so great a testimony (that of S. Paul, in I. Cor. x.16) that all these things which were done in figure are now fulfilled in our salvation; because then the future was predicted, now the past is read and the present observed ...

... by the declarations of the prophets, seeing and believing, sure and fearless, from the treasury of God we may bring forth both new and old things, agreeing harmoniously with each other.

The parallels are by now familiar to us: the saving of Israel (the Church) from Egypt (sin) by the Passage of the Red Sea (Baptism) through the intercession of Christ in His Passion:

According to the days of the coming out of Egypt ... he will turn again, He will have compassion upon us; he will drown our iniquities; and thou wilt cast all our sins into the depths of the sea. (Micah vii.15-19)

There are the usual typological parallels: (Eve's creation is ~~the~~^{Christ's} piercing, the birth of the sacraments) Adam's fall and the second Adam, Christ;¹⁸ Abel sacrificed in testimony of the blood of the Mediator,¹⁹ and Cain is the type of the Jews;²⁰ Abel also prefigures the Church,²¹ as does the Ark;²² the Flood itself is a type of persecution.

In the explanation of the Flood, S. Augustine comments particularly on the shape of the ark as being squared;²⁴ this is in distinction to the pyramidal form used by Ghiberti on his door, derived from Origen.²⁵

These are commonplaces of typological thought, and there is no need to list every example. More to the point are the passages in the Commentaries which indicate how the OT scheme has an internal unity. The intentions of the planners are clearly expressed in the Commentaries; they saw not only unity between Old and New Testament scenes as a whole, but also between the various episodes of the OT cycle - as for example Adam and Eve with Job.

Adam and Eve believed the serpent; they found true what God threatened, false what the devil had promised. So now also, brethren, set before your eyes the Church, after the example and similitude of Paradise: the serpent ceaseth not to suggest what he then suggested. But the fall of the first man ought to avail with us for experience of caution, not for imitation of his sin. Therefore he fell

that we may rise. Let us answer to such suggestions what Job answered. For him also he was tempted by a woman, as by Eve, and on the dung hill he conquered, that was conquered in Paradise.²⁶

Similarly S. Augustine saw and stated the link between Joseph and Moses,²⁷ between the tribulations of Joseph and Job.²⁸ By combining these elements we gain some idea of the multiplicity of interpretations intended by our seemingly straightforward chronological OT series. Adam with Joseph and with Job is a type both of Christ and of the Church, ourselves; Abel is the type of Christ and the Church; Cain of the Jews and of persecutors.

The Commentaries were immensely popular and influential, and we may here anticipate by noting that the OT series, particularly in the Job section, undoubtedly has a reference to the ravages of the plague. Of major importance - they ought to be read in their entirety - are the two expositions of Psalm xc (xci): this psalm is a major element in the Mass for Lent I, with 1. Cor. vi. 1-10, Paul's exposition of human suffering, as the Epistle, and Matt. iv. 1-11, the Temptations of Christ as the Gospel.

Thou shalt not be afraid for any terror by night,
nor for the arrow that flieth by day; for the
pestilence that walketh in darkness, nor for the
sickness that destroyeth in the noon-day. A
thousand shall fall beside thee, and ten thousand
at thy right hand, but it shall not come nigh
thee. There shall no evil happen unto thee,
neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling.²⁹

Any preacher at time of pestilence, when S. Sebastian was invoked and his image painted, with his cloak protecting the people from the arrows of the Almighty, would be hard put to it not to use this psalm, one known to every Christian and quoted even by Satan at the temptation of Christ (Matt. iv. 6); any fourteenth century preacher who wished to preach on this psalm would almost certainly know S. Augustine:

How could he He otherwise have died, been crucified,
been humbled? Thus then do thou when thou sufferest

the troubles of this world, which the devil,
openly by men, or secretly, as in Job's case,
inflicts; be courageous, be of long-suffering;
thou shalt dwell under the defence of the most
high, as this psalm expresses it; for if thou
depart from the help of the Most High, without
strength to aid thyself, thou wilt fall.

Such is an indication of the thought of S. Augustine;
his influence was not restricted either to the fourteenth
century or to Tuscany; wherever the influence of S. Augustine
spread, which means throughout the western church, we must
be prepared to 'read' derivative iconography within his terms;
for within those terms it was planned.

NOTES ON AUGUSTINE

1. KAFTAL 100
2. VAN MARLE XI, p.174
3. The church is but five minutes' walk away - the other main religious centre.
4. PECORI, p.189; Van Marle II, p.484.
5. VAN MARLE II, p.499
6. MIQUE: Patrologiae Latinae: vol. xlii, col.209
English version: The Works of Augustine,
ed. DOBS: Edinburgh 1872. Vol. V.
6. H. Taylor, Medieval Mind, II, p.403.
7. DOBS: Bk.iv, p.157
8. op.cit. p.209
9. op.cit. p.210-11
10. op.cit. p.215
11. op.cit. p.219 of Hart's criticism of Tolnay's non-typological interpretation of drunkenness of Noah in Sistine Chapel:
Art Bulletin 1950, p.246.
12. op.cit. p.221
13. op.cit. p.222
14. op.cit. p.223
15. op.cit. p.229
16. The quotations given are only the most obviously relevant ones; of the twenty three books, at least Book Twelve ought to be read in its entirety. S. Augustine returns to typology in other places, e.g. in Book 22, where among other events he explains the typological meaning of such happenings as Judah's incest. Typological thought produces here the parallel with Judas; with Onan, the parallel is with the unworthy of the world. There is in Augustinian thought no clear distinction between typology prefiguring the New Testament, and typology prefiguring the present situation; each is but part of the same whole.

A useful key to medieval numerical symbolism can be found in S. Isidore: Liber Numerorum, MPL LXXXIII, cols. 179-200; and in the same volume, cols. 99-116 is Allegoriae Quaedam Scripturae Sacrae: Ex Veteri Testamento.

NOTES

17. Ps.cxxviii, VI, pp.24 and 43; Ps.cxxxix, VI, p.192.
All references give the psalm number, and the volume and page number from 'Expositions on the Book of Psalms by S.Augustine', Library of the Fathers, Oxford, 1847-vols. MPL 36-38. In vol. 46 is an index to the works of S.Augustine.
18. Ps.cxx, V, p.460
19. Ps.cxix, V, p.447
20. Ps.xl, II, p.145; and Ps.lix, II, p.147
21. Ps.viii, I, p.70
22. Ps.xl, II, p.145; Ps.lxxxvii, IV, p.216
23. Ps.civ, V, 192
24. Ps.lxxxvii, IV, p.216
25. Krautheimer, Ghiberti, pp.176-7
26. Ps.xlviii, II, p.296
27. Ps.lxxxi, V. p.118-9
28. Ps.ov, V. p.167-8
29. Ps.xci, IV pp.281-313

FOUR
JOB AND S. GREGORY

"Et nos inducas in tentationem:
sed libera nos a malo." (a)

Following the scenes of the ante legem types, the final part of the OT wall illustrates the sufferings of Job as related in the first and second chapters of the book of Job; a sixth and final scene probably showed the encouraging episode, based on Job xlii.10, of Job receiving his goods two-fold.

The typological basis for the choice of the sufferings of Job is straightforward: there is in fact so much complementary evidence that it is difficult to organize. In the Apocalypse of Paul¹ which had an immense vogue in the west and was known to Dante (Inf. ii. 32), Paul meets "Job which suffered much for the season of thirty years by the issue of a plague". Among the Fathers, Hieronymus' commentary on Job is almost entirely typological, explaining the book as an allegorical foreshadowing both of the person of Christ and of the Church.² S. Jerome wrote two commentaries, and Job is mentioned as an example of patience by Tertullian, St. Ambrose and Augustine, following the example of the Epistle of St. James, chapter v, verse ii. But throughout the Middle Ages, the book of Job was thought of in the terms of the "Moralia" of S. Gregory the Great, which was copied in Benedictine scriptoria throughout the medieval period all over Europe.³

That this work was well-known in Italy in the later Middle Ages is shown firstly by the fresco of Job crouching at the feet of S. Gregory, at S. Speco, Subiaco;⁴ and by the altarpiece of 1365, attributed to a follower of Nardo di Cione, which shows the Madonna and Child flanked by S. Gregory with his book, and by Job whose tribulations are shown in three panels in the predella.⁵

The familiarity of the Sangimignese with the person of S. Gregory is clearly evidenced by the story of S. Fina, to whom the pope appeared in a vision - a scene represented both on the panels in the Pinacoteca and by the two frescoes,

one antedating the typological series, in the Collegiata.⁶ S. Fina died a week after the vision, on March 12, the feast day of S. Gregory and now also of S. Fina herself.

S. Gregory's exposition emphasises the typology of Job's sufferings: "And therefore it behoved that blessed Job also, who uttered those high mysteries of His Incarnation, should by his life be a sign of Him, whom by voice he should show forth what were to be His sufferings; and should so much the more truly foretell the mysteries of His Passion, as he prophesied them not merely with his lips but by his suffering ... Accordingly the blessed Job conveys a type of the Redeemer, who is come together with His own Body".⁷

The Preface and the whole of the first three books of the Morals are relevant to our subject; in these the first two chapters of Job are treated under three heads: historical, allegorical (mainly typological), and moral. Such are the ways in which a fourteenth century theologian would have thought of Job, and in these ways we must consider the frescoes.

Of the most obvious Christological parallels to be found in medieval art, Réau lists Job mocked with the mocking of Christ, and Job seated with sores with Christ patient before the Crucifixion;⁸ this link with the Man of Sorrows painted over the triumphal arch will be further considered in chapter "Pictor in Carmine" pairs Job's three comforters with the Magi, and Job with sores with the Flagellation.⁹ There is no need to quote the innumerable examples, for the story was never neglected.¹⁰ In the same tradition, the Flagellation in the Florentine "Speculum Richee" of about 1400 is shown with Job being beaten by his wife.¹¹ There seems no doubt that there was an intention on the part of the planners of our programme to treat Job as a type, prefiguring the Passion which is so finely represented on the other side of the church.

But the importance of Job in this series is not only that he is a type of Christ; S. Gregory considers his sufferings also in a moral sense as an example to those suffering at the present time. This is the way in which Meiss would interpret the whole OT series, but his arguments are not developed.¹²



S. Christopher

JOB AND PLAGUE INTERCESSORS

Job is the major OT figure connected with the plague; his counterpart among the saints is Sebastian. This saint appears in the scene of his martyrdom on the entrance wall painted by Benozzo Gozzoli. The inscription below the scene is as follows:

AD LAUDEM GLORIOSSIMI ATHLETE SANCTI
SEBASTIANI HOC OPUS CONSTRUCTUM /
FUIT DIE XVIII IANUARIJ M CCCC LXV
BENOZIUS FLORENTINUS PINXIT. 13

January 20th is the feast day of S. Sebastian, and we know that this fresco in some way commemorates the plague of 1348 when an altar was erected to Ss. Sebastian and Fabian, and more particularly the plague of 1464 when the theologian of S. Gimignano, Domenico Strambi, an Augustinian, ordered the painting.¹⁴ In the previous year Gozzoli had painted in S. Agostino another, most beautiful, S. Sebastian as a plague protector, showing the plague arrows of the Almighty caught in the outspread cloak of the saint, while the Virgin intercedes bare-breasted.¹⁵ The authorities having S. Sebastian painted as a protector from plague were clearly aware of the didactic value of Job in this context. As S. Sebastian might have cried, he complained (Job vi. 4): "for the arrows of the Almighty are within me, the poison whereof drinketh up my spirit". Remains of an earlier fresco of another plague intercessor S. Christopher, can be seen to the left of the Job frescoes: the figure when complete must have been, like that still at Montepiano,¹⁶ suitably large as the image of a giant. The purpose of this fresco is indicated by the remains of the inscription:

BARFIVV... ...FE... ...TENET ISTE
GIGANTIS XPOFORI SCI YMAGINEM CVQVE
TVETVR EA PPE DIE ENVILO LA
CORE (T)ENETVR

This is clearly related to the usual S. Christopher slogans, such as "Christophori sancti speciem quicumque tuetur ille namque die null languore tenetur" to be found on the mid-fourteenth century panel by Niccolo di Tommase.¹⁷ S. Christopher as patron against sudden death and accredited in his legend (as illustrated

XVII
16
17

57

57

by Mantegna) with being shot at by archers, was also invoked as a protector against plague. So too was S. Anthony Abbot,¹⁸ (who pairs with S. Christopher in Niccolò di Tommaseo's panels) and is represented among the 'decorations' to left of Gozzoli's S. Sebastian.

The following elements then need to be remembered when looking at the scenes of the trials of Job: the literal interpretation, Job as himself; the typological interpretation, Job as a type of Christ in His sufferings; and the moral interpretation, Job (and Christ) exemplifying patience in times of plague and unrest when the Virgin and the other saints act as intercessors. Felsen¹⁹ has commented on Barna's "strange dark state of mind" influenced by the Black Death and made apparent in the NT scenes; the same influences affected the scheme as a whole, and are nowhere more evident than in the representation of the story of Job.

8 THE JOB FRESCOES IN CAMPO SANTO, PISA

The sequence of scenes of the tribulations of Job is very closely related to the cycle in the Campo Santo at Pisa. Here the scheme originally consisted of perhaps fourteen episodes, arranged with more than one episode to each section. They have been recently studied since their restoration, and I follow the numbering of the sections as given in Bucci's publication,²⁰ adding Roman numerals to identify the separate episodes.

N22	i	Job distributing alms
	ii	The distribution of bread and wine
	iii	Job feasting
	iv	Job's flocks
N23	v	Satan asking permission to test Job
	vi	The army destroyed, and flocks stolen
	vii	Other flocks destroyed by fire
N24	viii	The camels driven off
	ix	Job patiently prays at the Temple
N25	x	Lost
N26	xi	Job with plague sores comforted
	xii	The comforters instructed by the Almighty
	xiii	They offer sacrifice
N27	xiv	Job repaid twofold - lost

Bucchi summarises the various opinions of earlier writers and finally ascribes these paintings to Taddeo Gaddi with the exception of iii which he considers to be by 'Artista pisano interno al 1380'. Taddeo Gaddi died not later than 1366,²¹ a year before the date of Bartolo di Fredi's series; Van Marle²² dates the Pisan frescoes to 1342, with a repainting of one scene in about 1380. We can note the very close relationship between the two series without entering into the problems of dating, and accept as probable Bartolo di Fredi's indebtedness to the Pisan series.

Instead of fourteen episodes in six scenes, Bartolo di Fredi's work is compressed into six sections of which at least three contain more than one episode. The Pisan series are almost in monochrome as they now exist; the Collegiata series are still full of lively colour, crowded with detail and very compact.²³

8 THE SCENES

OT 24 COME EL DEMONIO CHIESE A DIO DI TENT/
ARE IOB QUANDO ERA IN PROSPERITA
Job 1.1-5.
Pecchi reads "Ottenne da" for "Chiese A"

VII

The feasting of Job is closely related to the Pisan scene, although the architecture is simpler and less satisfactory structurally. Some figures are almost identical: Job's wife, the figure distributing bread, and the drummer. The servant at Pisa offers Job a cup, at S. Gimignano a plate. At Pisa several onlookers gaze down at the feast through windows and from a balcony; the Collegiata shows three dwarfed children on an insecure ledge. But Bartolo di Fredi shows us a fine example of secular music-making: behind the drummer is a girl with a small portable organ, and two trumpeters with banners hanging from their instruments sound a fanfare at the ceremonious entry of a dish, held high and covered with a napkin. The whole is reminiscent of the feast of Herod and dance of Salome. In the top left hand corner the Almighty and Satan point towards the prosperous Job.

The scene illustrates the text with good dramatic effect, with the emphasis on the prosperity of Job rather than on the figures of Satan and the Almighty. Unfortunately the comparable part of M22 at Pisa which showed Satan has been lost.

In the lower border, and beneath the border dividing this scene from the next, is Bartolo di Fredi's signature and the date of the completion of this part of the scheme.

OT 25

COME EL DEMONIO FA UCCIDERE ESERCITO /
DI IOB E RUBARI EL BESTIAME

VIII

Job 1.14 - 15.

The destruction of Job's flocks bears a remarkably close resemblance in every part to the Pisan scenes v and vi of N23; scene vii, the destruction of the sheep by fire (Job 1. 16), is not shown at the Collegiata. The scenery at Pisa is extremely beautiful with islands looking like clouds in a sunset sky;²⁴ charitably one must blame not Bartolo di Fredi but restorers for much of the hardness of painting in these all too accessible lower scenes of the Collegiata series.

OT 26

COME EL DEMONIO MARISSE I CASAMENT I NE QUAL /
ERANO E FIGLIOLI E LE FIGLIOLE ET
TELEBERI DI IOB / ABR ...

116
IX

Job 1. 18 - 19.

Pecori, for the last line, reads "Che
MANGIACANO E BEVANO COL LORO FRATELLO
PRIMOGENITO"

This scene although potentially dramatic is omitted from the Pisan scheme; perhaps it appeared as N25. The scene is reminiscent of the perennially popular episodes in the miracles of saints, such as that showing a man saved by S. Fina when falling from a house.²⁵ The most interesting figure is that of the messenger: "and I only am escaped alone to tell thee." The flock on the left, in the middle distance seems almost a continuation of that in the same position in the previous scene; in the flock on the hill at the back, the direction is reversed, but one is still suspicious that this reflects a borrowing from a continuous narrative as used at Pisa. In the sky in both scenes is the bad angel.

Visually there is a parallel between the soldiers of the Arrest and the armies of the Chaldeans and Sabeans in these two scenes, which is not only of typological interest but also provides archaeological evidence to support the thesis that the

two series are contemporaneous. The Chaldeans according to S. Gregory are those who cried "Crucify Him!" and the "camels which ruminate yet do not cleave to the hoof are likewise a representation of those in Judea, who had admitted the historic fact after the letter, but could not spiritually discern the proper force thereof".²⁶

OT 27

COME IOB RINGRATIO DIO QUANDI ES .../
CI .. ? IPO ...

Job 11.1.

Picori reads "COME IOB RINGRAZIO DIO QUANDO
SEPPE LE PROPHE DISGRAZIE

116

In this scene Bartole di Fredi is successful both in his grouping of the side figures and in their characterisation, while at the same time all attention is concentrated on the figure of Job. The kneeling figure recalls the pose of Christ in the Agony, with the three apostles. The architecture, the altar reredos and the three comforters (particularly the one with the forked beard) are closely related to scene ix of N24 at Pisa; but Job does not have a halo at S. Gimignano.

This is perhaps the most reflective of the scenes of this series; the colours are attractive and the robes and characters of the onlookers finely drawn. In particular attention ought to be drawn to the hands of the third figure standing to the left; the white bearded face to his left recalls the head of the central figure, the High Priest, in the Judas Bribe. Very close to this in all essentials are the heads of the standing figure at the extreme right of the Deposition (attributed to Giotto and many others) in the Uffizi, and of the damned person third from the left in the third row up in the Last Judgement at Pisa.

OT 28

...OSO FUORE DE(L)IA CITTA
...GENTE ET TIRE SUOI AMI
...T E SOPRA ...

Job 11. 7 - 13.

Pecori has only COME IOB E CONFORTATO DAGLI
AMICI

Most of the scene has been lost, and most of what remains repainted. As far as it is possible to tell, the iconography would seem to be based on scene xi in N26 of the Pisan sequence.

Job, repainted (perhaps by Benozzo Gozzoli) is shown with a halo and plague spots.

OT 29 The final scene of the sequence and of the OT series has unfortunately been entirely lost; but we may deduce from the Pisan series that it was the encouraging scene of Job, after his tribulations, being repaid two-fold.

In final confirmation of the interpretation of Job as a type of Christ's sufferings, another quotation from S. Gregory ought to be made. The whole of sections 39-62 of Book II and sections 25-55 of Book III are given over to allegory, and it is difficult to choose a short passage to illustrate our theme. The following interprets Job ii.7, "So went Satan forth from the presence of the Lord, and smote Job with sore boils from the soles of his foot unto his crown".

"No one entereth into this life of the Elect, that has not undergone the contradiction of the enemy. And they all have proved themselves the members of our Redeemer, who, from the first beginnings of the world, whilst living righteously have suffered wrongs. Did not Abel prove himself His member, who not only in propitiating God by his sacrifice, but also by dying without a word, was a figure of Him, of whom it is written, "He is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so He openeth not His mouth." Thus from the very beginning of the world he strove to vanquish the Body of our Redeemer; and thus he inflicted wounds "from the sole of the foot to His crown", in that beginning with the first man, he came to the very Head of the Church in his raging efforts".²⁷

This passage, linking Abel and Job with Christ, and their sufferings with the Church, shows the unified interpretation with which the medieval church viewed, in its writings and in its art, the Old and New Testaments and the present time. This is the way in which we must at some time look at medieval frescoes, not always in the literal way of connoisseurs and aesthetes.

That the sufferings of Job were often in men's thoughts is clear: S. Bonaventure wrote of S. Francis in his sufferings before death:

"Thus he seemed unto the Brethren like another Job, whose powers of mind increased even as his bodily weakness increased".²⁸

We are fortunate, too, in having a record of the impact on a less saintly person of a sermon preached at a time of plague and penitence; Francesco di Marco Datini, the famous merchant of Prato, wrote to his wife:

"I have sinned in my life as much as a man can sin, for I have ruled myself ill and have not known how to moderate my desires ... and I pay the penalty gladly. But I would I could be like Job, who gave thanks to God for every affliction, for that I cannot yet do".²⁹

NOTES ON JOB

- a For an important and influential commentary on this, see the contemporary Dominican handbook, (which quotes S. Augustine): Book of Vices and Virtues, EETS, pp. 115-116.
- 1 M.R. JAMES: The Apocryphal New Testament, p. 525.
- 2 G. QUASTEN: Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature, p. 491.
- 3 H.O. TAYLOR: The Medieval Mind, II, p. 57.
"The Morals on the Book of Job", Library of the Fathers, Oxford 1844; to which subsequent references will be given. MPL/76, col. 782, and an index to S. Gregory's works, col. 1343.
- 4 VANMARLE: I, p. 428.
- 5 R. OFFNER: A Corpus of Florentine Painting, section IV, vol. 2, p. 94 and pls. xxvii-xxviii.
BERENSON: Florentine School (1963) pl. 225.
- 6 KAPTAL: p. 370, BERENSON: Florentine School (1963) pl. 388.
- 7 Morals I, pp. 26-27: The Preface to the First Part.
- 8 L. REAU: Iconographie de l'Art Chretien, I, pp. 201-205; II, pp. 311-318.
- 9 M.R. JAMES: Pictor in Carmine, Archaeologia ⁽¹⁹⁵¹⁾ 94, pp. 152 and 161.
- 10 The two interpretations of Job, as a testifier of the Resurrection and as a Patient Sufferer (a type) are both relevant in the XIV and XVc.
- 11 Speculum Riches; edited by M.R. JAMES: scene II.
- 12 MEISS: pp. 54 and 68.
- 13 VAN MARLE XI, p. 182.

- 14 PECORI, pp. 166 and 511.
- 15 VAN MARLE XI, p. 175. For Madonna of Humility, see MEISS. For S. Sebastian shown interceding in time of plague, see RING: A Century of French Painting, ⁽¹⁴⁾ pl. 147.
- 16 Reproduced in BORIG-BANDINELLI: Die Toscana, 1940, pl. 167. Montepiano is on the Prato-Bologna road. Among many others, that in S. Miniato al Monte may be mentioned. Another is in S. Zeno at Verona. It is when one finds in such churches as these a large number of devotional frescoes of no particular aesthetic merit but of considerable historical-iconographical interest that a traveller faces defeat. Such subjects as S. Sebastian, Christ of Pity, Madonna della Misericordia are scattered not only through the churches of Florence, Siena, Verona, Orvieto and other major centres but also in villages like Maggiore (Trasimene), Cascina (Pisa) or Tuscania. Few have been photographed, and many must have been destroyed.
- 17 KAFTAL: 267.
- 18 There was a chapel of S. Anthony in S. Agostino: PECORI, p. 529. For the variety of plague protectors, see E. MALE: L'Art Religieux du Fin de l'XV^e Age ⁽¹⁹⁴⁹⁾, pp. 195 ff. See also R. CRAWFORD: Plague and Pestilence in Literature and Art (1914) especially chapter VI and VII.
- 19 MEISS: pp. 68 - 75.
- 20 P. BUCCI: Campo Santo Monumentale, (Pisa 1960) esp. pp. 93 ff. Other relationships between the Collegiata and the Pisan frescoes are discussed below.
- 21 BERENSON: Lists, p. 214.
- 22 VAN MARLE V, p. 264.
- 23 Other frescoes in the Campo Santo are discussed below.
- 24 BUCCI, op. cit., colour plates xxix and xxx, and pls; 87 - 89.

- 25 e.g., Lorenzo di Niccolo, 1402 in the Pinacoteca;
reproduced KAPITAL, fig. 427, and many other examples
into the present century.
- 26 Merals II, p. 52.
- 27 Merals III, sect. 32 .
- 28 Life of S. Francis; Everyman edition, p. 391.
- 29 I. ORICO: The Merchant of Prato, ⁽¹⁹⁵⁷⁾ p. 310.

APPENDIX TWO

TIPOLOGY, OTHER THAN CHRISTOLOGICAL

Abel novum Cayn malitia
Novum Jacob Seir saevitia
Novum Joseph fratrum invidia
His diebus.

Sed occumbit Abel in gloria
Jacob servit Mesopotamia
Joseph regnat in aula regia
Thomas noster in coeli curia
Coronatur.

Sequence for S. Thomas of Canterbury
Adam of S. Victor.¹

The link suggested between the typological Biblical series and the images of saints - in this case between Job and the plague saints - is far from being a unique example in Italian art.

At no time can it be said that typology was exclusively Christocentric, and as with legends of saints and with folk material, it has regularly been the case that an apparently unimportant part of the story has been developed in derivative versions.² Any attempt to deal typologically with the earlier events of the Gospel narrative involves the consideration of episodes in the life of the Virgin - the Annunciation and the Visitation, for example, and the other episodes derived from the Apocryphal Gospels. The parallels between these events and similar ones in the stories of both Anna and Elizabeth were keenly seized on. It was indeed but a development of normal typology to parallel the life of Christ with that of the Baptist, the last and greatest of the forerunners of Christ, sub lege. The post-commentators, among whom one of the most influential was the "Pseudo-Bonaventura", soon developed a full and complex equipment of types, linking Christ, the Baptist and the Old Testament.³

A particularly important illustration of this development of typology is the mosaic decoration of the dome of the BAPTISTERY at FLORENCE.⁴ Basically the organisation of the scheme derives

from a Roman model; appreciating the respect with which the Baptistery was revered by the Florantines, it is difficult to underestimate the influence exerted both aesthetically and iconographically by the mosaics and other decorations of the building.

The mosaic consists of a Last Judgement filling three sectors of the dome, with five sectors of typological scenes. These are arranged in four tiers - a Creation series, the Life of Joseph, the Life of Christ and the Life of the Baptist, - each series reading round the dome. The appropriateness of illustrating the life of the Baptist in the Baptistery of a city which honoured him as patron even on its coinage, is obvious. Throughout the four tiers of scenes are many cross-references. Some reflect normal typological thought (Noah's ark for Baptism); others are essentially visual parallels (imprisonments, nativities, baptisms and annunciations); sometimes it is possible to read the scenes from top to bottom, through the four tiers (Expulsion from Eden, Jacob sending for food to Egypt, the three magi in a boat, and the Baptist directing his hearers towards Christ). Some parallels are as clear as these, and as obvious to the uninitiated. A closer study of the subjects reveals a great richness of types and anti-types, some excellent, some forced, and no doubt there are many disguised, obscure and tortuous parallels, all of which combine to give great unity to the scheme of decoration.

In FLORENCE also, perhaps following an earlier scheme by Orcagna, is the interesting frescoed scheme by Ghirlandaio in the choir of S. MARIA NOVELLA, where the lives of Christ and of the Baptist are shown on opposite walls.⁵

From among the many other examples which might be instanced, we must remember Giotto's Arena Chapel which uses parallelism within the framework of the Christological narrative,⁶ and the same sort of typological thought is to be seen in the important full series of the Life of the Virgin in the choir of Orvieto Cathedral;⁷ the chapel of the Miracle of Bolsena is, as might be expected, decorated with a scheme including the usual Eucharistic types. At the basis of so much of this way of relating the narrative is the Golden Legend, which provided the scheme for Piero della Francesca's Holy Cross frescoes at Arezzo,⁸ and for the several

other Franciscan churches including that at Volterra, which do similar honour to the legend of the Cross.

These schemes indicate how well-known was typological thought in the later middle ages, not surprisingly so, considering that typology was almost a way of thought to churchmen who saw the whole of history in cyclic form, and went beyond this by searching the scriptures for authoritative precedents. In this way Pope Stephen in 754 had anointed Pepin as King of the Franks and Patrician of the Romans in conscious imitation of the anointing of Samuel by Saul as King rather than Judge of Israel (I Sam. xi.9).⁹ Papal policy was strengthened by this sort of argument: the (restored) mosaics from the triclinium of the Lateran, dating from the end of the eighth century, point a parallel between the upper figure of Christ sending out the disciples, and Christ delivering the keys to Sylvester and the banner to Constantine, and the contemporary episode, portrayed symbolically. S. Peter presenting the papal pallium to Leo III and the banner to Charlemagne.

Perhaps the most impressive monument of typological decoration still remaining near Rome is the crypt of Anagni,¹⁰ almost an official document of papal thought and the finest surviving example of the Benedictine-Roman "school" deriving from Desiderius' Monte Cassino.

The typology involves and relates scenes and figures of the OT, the NT and the legends of the local patron saints within a framework which commences with an encyclopaedist's reference to the four humours and concludes with the vision of the Apocalypse. At Anagni as in the Collegiata the thought of the Church on Christian conduct and hopes in a plague stricken world are expressed visually in a series of frescoes. The scheme at Anagni is even more intellectual than that of the Collegiata; it is both more complex and more learned, and throughout the inscriptions are not in the vernacular but in Latin. But this very complexity of subject matter and the scholarly inscriptions are of advantage to us, for it is clear that the official thought of the Church was commonly expressed not only in the written word but also in frescoes, using at every turn the evidence of typology. The Old and New Testaments are linked typologically, and with them the lives and merits of the saints: in this 'reciprocating' form, within the framework of typological thought, the Christian congregation is given hope of relief from its sufferings.

The central image is always that of Christ. At Anagni the visual, theological, typological centre is at the "Foderis Arca", the altar which is at once the tomb, the arca, of the saint and at the same time the altar of the offering of the Eucharist. No other authority for this way of thought need be sought for than S. Paul in Hebrews IX.¹¹ In the decoration of the Collegiata the scheme is basically a simple one, linking the two Testaments; but this framework of thought had become so normal, so much a commonplace, that within it we must be prepared to link in the manner of Anagni the lives and merits of the saints and the purpose of this all, the redemption of mankind from sin and suffering. The "key" to the whole figure is not a simple Eucharistic reference, but the figure high before the altar, the Dead Christ, the Man of Sorrows which seems to sum up the whole scheme of decoration.

NOTES

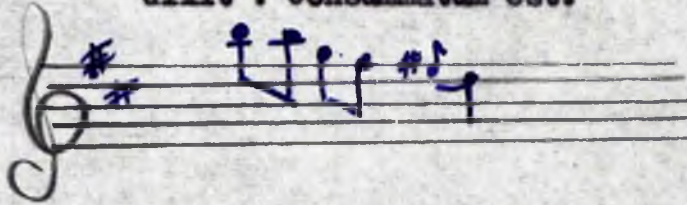
- 1 The Liturgical Poetry of Adam of S. Victor; 1. p.222.
- 2 For the many episodes of boys falling from houses, &c., compare Ss. Paul, Francis, Fina and many others. (See also xix century watercolours in S. Agostino, Rome.) For folk material, see for instance, the Constance Saga (as in roof bosses of Baughun Chapel, Norwich Cathedral); for full bibliography, see Robinson: Chaucer, notes on MLT.
- 3 See "Pictor in Carmine" for a full series of types for Mariological scenes.
- 4 Borscock, p. 12.
- 5 Van Marle xiii, p. 6 and p. 67; also iv, p. 437. Vasari's Life of Orcagna has been criticised, but the tradition retold by Vasari, Ghiberti and Billi, is perhaps based on fact. There are parallels between Zachariah and Joachim, and in scenes of the Nativities and in the Temple; the general intention of emphasising a sort of typological link is clear - why otherwise paint the two stories on walls facing each other? Compare also the Life of the Virgin in S. Croce with the lives of Ss Nicholas and the Baptist.
- 6 A. Alpatoff; Art Bulletin^{xxxix} (1947)^{pp. 149-157} The argument, which at first seems not entirely convincing, depends greatly on the moving from its chronological position of the bargaining of Judas on to the triumphal arch; if this scene were in its "proper place", there would be no parallels. See especially Alpatoff's note 27.
- 7 Van Marle V, p. 98 has a discussion of the typology of the Holy Corporal chapel.
- 8 Borscock, p. 154. S. Croce, Florence, is another most important example. See Mazzoni: La Legenda della Croce nell'Arte Italiana (1914) For the iconology of the Cross, see too ROFFNER: Corpus III. vi. (Paciino in Bonaguida).

- 9 GREGOROVIVS: History of Rome in the Middle Ages; Compare the pageant at the succession of Elizabeth I, showing "Deborah, Judge and Restorer of Israel ... one of many allusions to religion for London was overwhelmingly Protestant": BLACK: Oxford History of England, ^{viii} p.5.
- 10 See for fuller discussion my article in the Papers of the British School at Rome (1965).
- 11 Part of which is the epistle for Lent I.

FIVE

THE NEW TESTAMENT FRESCOES

dixit : Consummatum est.



Bach : S.
John Passion.

Although the NT frescoes have often been described and discussed, this has usually been done as if each scene were a separate work of art, unrelated either to the neighbouring scenes of the same series or to the decoration of the church as a whole.

As it stands, the NT cycle presents no obvious peculiarities; the major emphasis is on the two most popular parts of the Gospel narrative, the Infancy and Passion cycles. The latter part may be taken as the illustration of Christ's own words (Luke xviii.31-33):

"Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and all things that are written by the prophets concerning the Son of Man shall be accomplished. For he shall be delivered unto the Gentiles, and shall be mocked and spitefully entreated, and spitted on; and they shall scourge him, and put him to death; and the third day he shall rise again."

As shown in a later chapter, the prophecies here referred to are to be found in the OF aisle of the Collegiata, together with the type-figures of the Passion.

8 DESCRIPTIONS OF THE NT SCENES

NT I THE ANNUNCIATION

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The Annunciation is a usual first scene in an NT cycle; the Collegiata does not include the Marian cycle, as does the Arena Chapel, of Ss. Joachim and Anna and the Childhood of the Virgin.

But Barna's indebtedness to Giotto's work at Padua is indicated by the presence of the spinning maid to the right of the scene: she appears originally in a similar porch in the Arena scene of the Annunciation of S. Anna.¹ Strangely, Barna has moved the maid to the right of the scene, although retaining the usual left-to-right movement of the angel towards the Virgin. This means that the scene does not "read" in the sequence of scenes in the lunettes, which tell the story in a series of episodes arranged along the length of the wall towards the altar, from right to left.

The angel has come through the door and knelt, hands on breast, before the frontally seated Virgin, who recoils slightly. She holds an open book on her knees, and raises her right hand towards her throat. The figure is strongly reminiscent of Simone's Virgin in his diptych now at Antwerp.

The scene takes place in an open square room, bare of vases, lilies or other still-life elements. Beyond opened curtains (with mock kufic decorations) is a bed with its surrounding cassone. Above the architecture is the Almighty in an aureole of Cherubim; He points towards the Virgin.

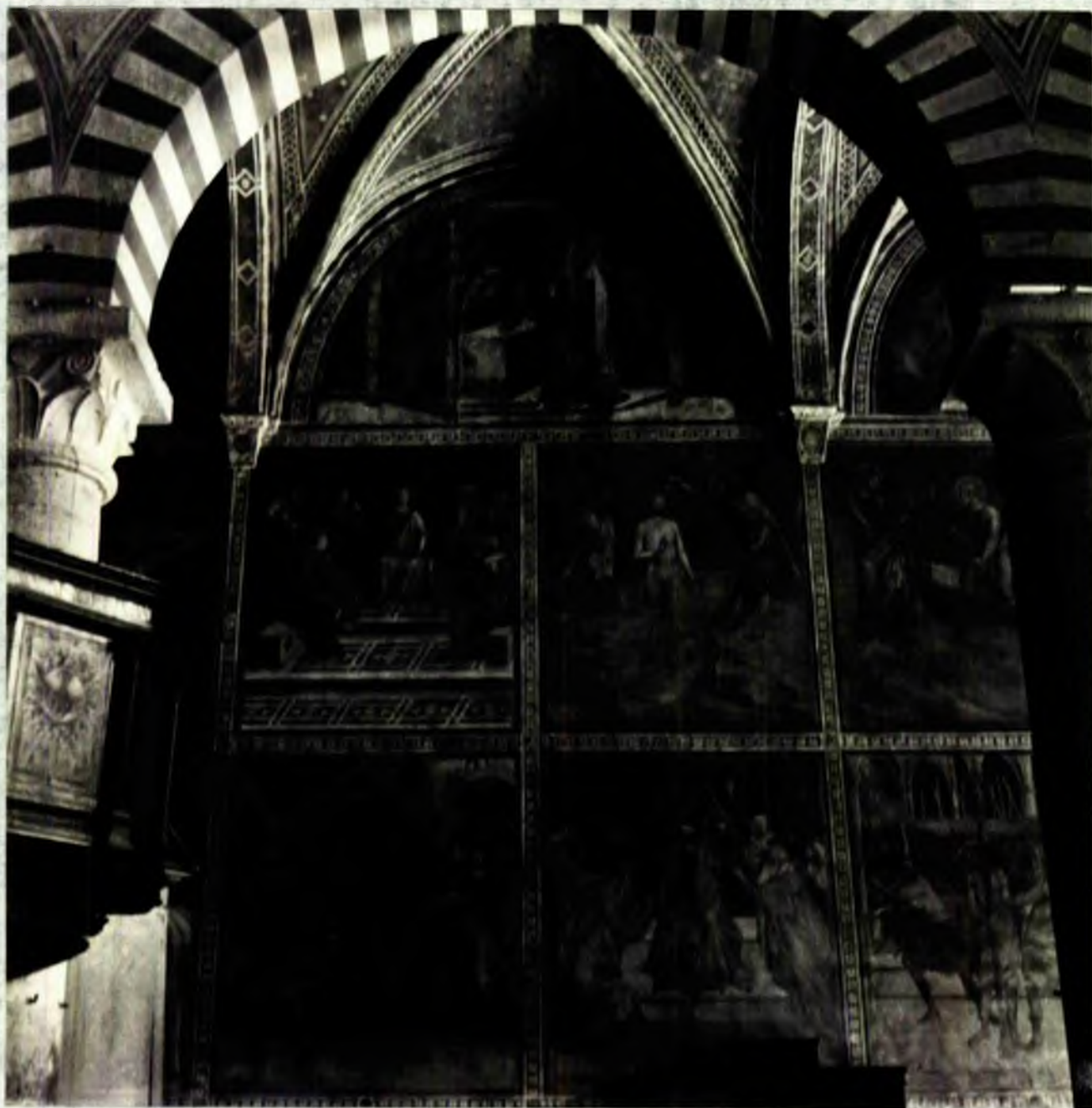
In the Padua fresco, the architecture contains classical elements, particularly the pair of putti holding the conch with the bust; this, and other trecento works with 'renaissance' elements such as those in Pietro Lorenzetti's frescoes in the Lower Church at Assisi, have been discussed by Panofsky in his book "Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art." There seem to be no obvious classical echoes in the trecento frescoes of the Collegiata, although attempts are made to portray the Roman soldiery in 'antique' armour.

NT 2

THE ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS

79

The scene reads from left to right, in the direction of the sequence of lunettes of the Nativity cycle. Once again there is an echo from the Arena chapel: the figure of Joseph sleeping, in the left hand corner, is in all essentials a reversal of Joachim in the Vision in the Wilderness. In the Paduan Nativity,



4
NT 7 8
21 20

the simple wooden open shelter is seen from the side but Barna has used the spatially more interesting view from the end. In the Adoration of the Magi (in the vault of the north arm of the altar transept of the lower church) at Assisi, a similar structure appears, while the Madonna and Child sit in a gothic folly to the right. But the derivation from Padua is made clear, for although Barna has altered the scene by showing the arrival rather than the annunciation of the shepherds, he has retained Giotto's single annunciatory angel who at Padua fulfils the task of flying down towards the shepherds still guarding their flocks. Barna has altered the shepherds, so that in his scene they approach the Virgin; a later part of the story is thus represented, the adoration rather than the nativity and annunciation to the shepherds. Instead of showing the Virgin reclining, Barna shows her sitting up, with the Child asleep in the manger, next to which kneel the ox and ass as described in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*. Barna has omitted the midwife.

NT 3 THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI

Within the same setting as that of the previous scene and with movement again from right to left, the Magi come towards the Child on His mother's knee. The scene is more closely related to the Arena chapel than to Duccio's *Maesta*,² both of which show the scene reading from left to right.²

Bartolo di Fredi's more opulent treatment of the same subject in his panel in the Pinacoteca at Siena, of about 1370-80, was very influential. Many of the details of these more florid interpretations seem to be based, directly or indirectly, on the expanded narrative of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, though it is unlikely that such works reflect any strong devotion to the "vita contemplativa".

NT 4 THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE

75

The subject represents the acceptance by Christ of the regulations of the Law. Reversing the positions, as shown on the *Maesta*, of Simeon, the Virgin and the attendant Joseph and Anna, Barna has also emphasised the giving of the Child to the High Priest rather than the return of the baby to His mother. Barna shows the scene taking place within an hexagonal building, and across the altar:

Duccio had shown the passing of the Child along the picture plane, and entirely in front of the baldachin within which the altar stands.

In the Sienese panels by Bartolo di Fredi and by his model, Ambrogio Lorenzetti (Uffizi), as well as in later versions by Giovanni di Paolo, the important links of this scene with the OT are emphasised by the use of prophets holding scrolls and appropriate inscriptions.

MT 5 THE MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS

84

In manner the scene recalls the killing of Job's army (OT 25). The subject seems to have held a peculiar fascination with Sienese artists until at least the time of Matteo di Giovanni; even Fra Angelico's treatment of the theme is in the same tradition. But the sort of reasons once suspected as influencing Bruegel's treatment of the episode should perhaps be treated with suspicion.³

The elements of the iconography derive rather from Giotto than Duccio, with Herod shown not on a judge's bench (like Pilate in a Passion scene) but gesticulating from a high pulpit which fits into the shape of the lunette.

This scene precedes the Flight into Egypt, reversing the chronological order of the Gospel narrative (Matt 11. 13-15 : the Flight, and vv. 16-18, the Massacre). The uncertainty may reflect the liturgical "curiosity" that the Innocents are celebrated before the Epiphany. Giotto at the Arena showed the Flight before the Massacre; Barna's arrangement may be intended to point a parallel between the lunette of the Innocents with the major scene filling the rest of the bay, the Crucifixion.

A more complex version of the same subject, but probably influenced by the Collegiata fresco, was painted by Bartolo di Fredi - a panel with five arches like a polyptych, and Herod in his pulpit usurping the central position usually accorded to the Madonna and Child.⁴



NT 6: Flight, Detail.

BT 6 THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT

XVI

The scene is barely distinguishable; the movement is reversed from that usually employed, as on the Maesta.

77

The six scenes of the Infancy cycle fill the arched spaces at the top of the aisle wall, formed by the succeeding bays of the aisle vaulting. In each case the composition of the scene is necessarily altered from that used in earlier versions: at Assisi, Padua and in the panels of the Maesta the compositions are arranged to suit a rectangular space, while the spaces which had to be filled at the Collegiata are almost triangular.

BT 7 THE DISPUTE WITH THE DOCTORS

75

This scene appears in the middle order of bay IV, and the following seven sections read back down the church towards the entrance.

Although closely related to Duccio's treatment of the scene, Barna has omitted entirely the architecture of the Temple, showing only a large expanse of inlaid floor leading off towards the centre of the bay. The iconography, with a central, elevated Child and His Parents beyond the doctors is not infrequent. The human element is stressed in the MVC and in Simone's panel at Liverpool. In the mosaics of Monreale the Dispute in the Temple and the Presentation are placed on the west arch of the crossing, forming a link with the OT scenes of the nave; this point is emphasised by the choice of the adjoining prophet, Malachi with a scroll. The same prophecy is similarly linked with the scene in the Collegiata (see below, chap. VI.)

A further contrast is probably intended by the juxtaposition of the Mocking of Christ (BT 20) in the lowest order of the series: this scene also shows Christ seated high above the crowd of High Priests and gesticulating Jews.

BT 8 THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST

75

The Baptism was apparently not represented on the Maesta; the Temptations of Christ which figure prominently are omitted from the Collegiata cycle.

Barna shows only the essentials of the scene: centrally placed, the nude figure of Christ is standing in Jordan up to His waist; the Baptist, closely echoing Giotto's figure at Padua, leans forward in the action of Baptism, pouring water from a globular jug and holding back his gown with his left hand. Barna shows only two angels and these flying with the cloak. Barna has omitted the foreshortened figure of the Almighty shown in the Arena fresco; nor is there the Dove.

Bartolo di Fredi's derivative panel of the same subject (Montalcino, 1388) is closely based on Barna's fresco. Instead of hovering, the angels are shown standing on the far bank of fish-filled Jordan. The paintings are alike in every respect other than qualities of perceptive artistry.

NT 9 THE CALLING OF PETER

There seems to be no particular ^{iconographic} reason why this scene should have been preferred to one of the Temptation of Christ. The iconography is derived from the panel of the Maesta (Washington, N.C.) with St. Peter and Andrew in the small boat and Christ calling them from the shore.

NT 10 THE WEDDING AT CANA

This scene is well-known in the Giottoesque versions at Padua and Assisi, but Barna's version is not closely connected with either of these. It does not appear among the panels of the Maesta. In spirit the scene is related to the OT scene, on the opposite wall, of the Feast in Job's House.

Part of the left centre of the scene has been lost.

NT 11 THE TRANSFIGURATION

Where Duccio achieved his effect by the Byzantine use of gold-lined drapery (Maesta panel, London N.C.), Barna, foreshadowing the marvellous treatment of the same subject by Fra Angelico in the cell at S. Marco, depicts Christ as a luminous figure between Moses and Elias; below are the three astonished apostles. Moses does not appear to have the traditional "horns".



NT 11 12
 17 16

The importance of the Transfiguration within a typological scheme is abundantly clear.

NT 12 THE RAISING OF LAZARUS

79

By omitting mountains and trees, Barna has emphasised the dramatic qualities of the scene as treated on the Maesta; both the tomb and Lazarus are shown as vertical elements in the composition. The outstretched arm of Christ and the kneeling Mary at His feet combine with the lines of the tomb and cover to lead all attention towards the right, in the direction of Lazarus and the next scene.

The subject has since Early Christian times had important and obvious Resurrection implications; it is frequently complemented with the figure of Job.

NT 13 THE ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM

113

This popular narrative scene fills the two remaining sections of the middle row of scenes; beneath the Annunciation (NT 1), the coming of Christ into the Holy City completes the middle section of the NT narrative, leaving the rest of the wall for the events of the Passion up to the Ascension. The scene takes place as if the composites border dividing the sections did not exist; the implications of this are discussed below (chap. VII). In the left hand panel, Christ is shown on the ass, with the foal beside it; around Him are the band of apostles. A small boy spreading a robe on the ground is shown stretched out behind the border which divides the two sections. In the right-hand section is shown the crowd before the receding walls of Jerusalem. Bearing in mind that the composition is organised to suit a long rather than a tall rectangle, it is clear that the fresco is in the tradition of the Maesta panel; a comparable fresco is that by Pietro Lorenzetti in the Lower Church at Assisi.

NT 14 THE LAST SUPPER

113
X

This is the first of eight Passion scenes in the lowest register which reads consecutively down the church from right to left towards the Crucifixion.

Basically the scene is indebted to the Maesta, although Barna has moved the apostles so that there is one at each end of the table. The scene takes place not so much in a building as under a canopy; this practice is familiar in the work of Ghiberti's first door and may reflect his indebtedness to Barna.

NT 15 THE JUDAS BRIBE

113

Van Marle fig 191
Muss fig 77-78

Once again Barna has based his scene on the panel of the Maesta, altering the architecture and centralising the perspective so that the group of conspirators is more closely knit and stands securely within the building. The characters of the priests and of Judas are finely expressed both by gesture and facial expression. This is one of the several scenes by Barna which demonstrate how masterly is his handling of figures on a larger scale than that available to Duccio within the confines of the panels of the Maesta; the impact of the scene to visitors to the Collegiata is immediate and vivid. The psychological interest of the subject is conveyed with the simplicity achieved only by a great artist.

Beneath the feet of the left-most figure is the discredited scratched inscription : Lippe da Siena pinxit.⁵

NT 16 THE AGONY IN THE GARDEN

79
XI

Duccio's long panel shows two episodes, but Barna is content to depict only the prayer of Christ, the angel (with crossed arms) and the two groups of sleeping apostles. The three intimates, higher on the Mount, are of a monumental quality reminiscent of Giotto. S. John has gone to sleep with his arm round one of the olive trees.

NT 17 THE BETRAYAL

~~78~~, 79
XII

This scene is one of the most impressive and dramatic of the whole series; the impact is made not only by the force of the lines of the composition (which are discussed in chap. VI below), but also in the great boldness of colour, especially in the contrasts between the swirls of drapery and the hard light reflected by the helmets and arms of the soldiers.

The relationship of the iconography of the Passion scenes as a whole and the similar subjects found on such crucifixes as that by Coppo di Marcovaldo now preserved in the Museo have been discussed by Sandberg-Vavala.⁶

Trial scenes in the Collegiata include Moses before Pharaoh; in Sienese art as a whole the several representations of trials, whether before Herod, Pharaoh or at the Passion, or in legends of saints, seem to be closely interrelated.

Caiaphas, rending his garments as in the Maesta, is seated on a high throne while to the right Christ stands guarded by a group of helmeted soldiers; an attendant veiling a hood raises his hand to strike Christ. Barna has thus combined in one scene elements from two panels by Duccio, since the group of angry high priests, to the left, also appeared in a panel of the Maesta. But Barna omits any reference to S. Peter, who plays so important a part in Duccio's treatment of the narrative; this is unexpected since the Calling of Peter is shown in the same bay, in the middle register.

Once again the full narrative of the Maesta panels has been condensed into a single scene; in contrast to small panels and manuscript illuminations, the effect of monumental painting is best achieved by the reduction of the narrative to a minimum number of moments, each of which may achieve its effect by concentrating on the episode rather than by a diffuseness of detail or subsidiary episodes. As examples of the failure as didactic art, the decoration of Dečani with a multiplicity of scenes and of the Sistine chapel in the 1480s with a multiplicity of detail are well-known examples.

Barna has condensed the narrative as displayed on the Maesta to a minimum. To the right, at the back, Pilate gesticulates with the Jews; near him, and hidden by the throne so as to be no distraction, are the armed soldiers. In the very foreground as the central group are the two figures vigorously engaged in scourging Christ; He is tied to a column of the palace, and stares forward directly at the onlooker in the congregation. In impact the effect is echoed by Giovanni di Paolo in his early double panel at Siena of Christus Patiens et Triumphans (Pinacoteca, Siena).

In Duccio's panel, the movement had been across the scene; a lesser artist than Barna might have echoed this and used this movement as part of the scheme of a series of scenes following one another down the church. Instead, using the larger scale of

fresco painting, he has simplified the scene and re-directed it, so that all attention is focussed on the suffering of Christ.

Ghiberti's indebtedness to certain elements of the Collegiate OT cycle have long been recognised. His indebtedness to the NT cycle has already been suggested with reference to the form of canopy used by Barna for the Last Supper. The preparatory drawings by Ghiberti made for the Flagellation on his First Doors are preserved in the Albertina, Vienna. Krautheimer has related these to the Reliquary of the Sa. Corporale at Orvieto, but this seems a far less likely source than this fresco of Barna. The correspondences are exact.

NT 20 THE MOCKING

75

The crown of soldiers behind the throne form a dramatic frieze behind the central, raised figure of Christ. Around Him are the Jews, previously encountered in the Trial before Caiaphas and in the Flagellation.

NT 21 THE WAY TO CALVARY

75
XV

Barna reverses the movement of the group as shown in the antecedent panels by Duccio and Simone (Louvre) so that the eye is led towards the next scene, the Crucifixion. Not only does Christ with the cross move towards the left, but there is also a tangle of lances, a ladder and a second cross all arranged to give the impression that the crown of soldiers is surging forward towards the hill of Calvary, beyond the confines of the border of the scene. The effect foreshadows similar achievements in Uccello's Battlepieces.

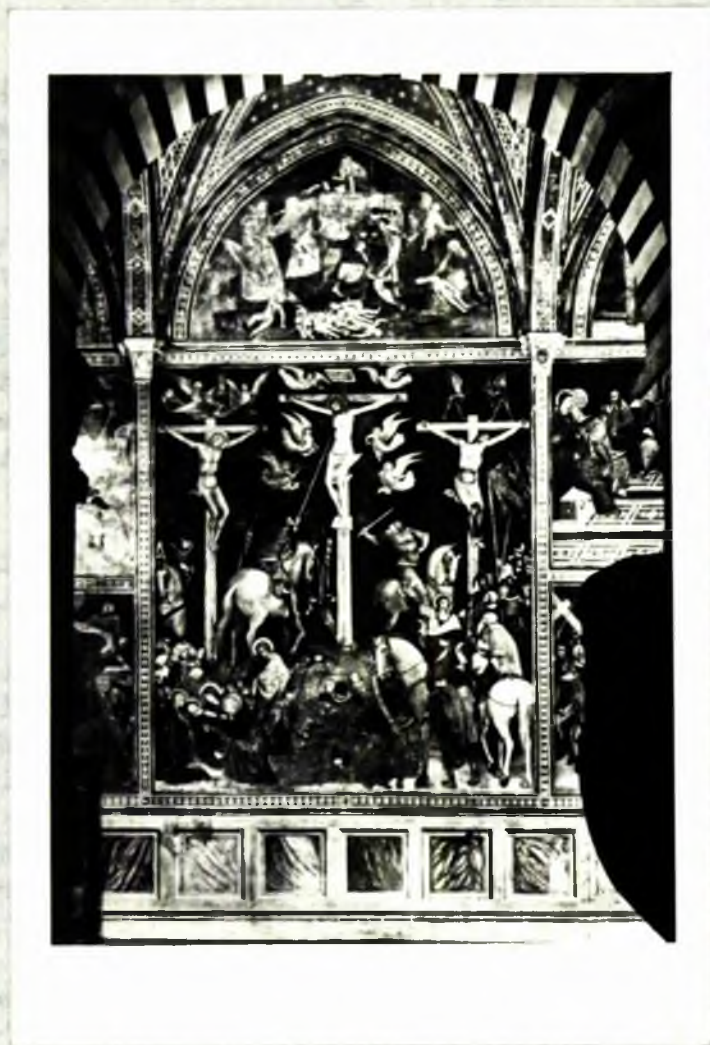
As in earlier scenes, Barna places all emphasis on the main characters of the action; he has reduced Simone's complex setting with a view of Jerusalem and is content to show only a simple wall to represent the city. Like Duccio, he sees the scene not from above, but as if on a level with the action. The impact of large scale figures is tremendous. The important rope round the neck of Christ appears not only in Simone's panel, but also on one by Ugolino (London N.C.): Duccio's scene is of a later part of the story, when Christ is being dragged along by a person with an arm around His neck, while the cross is carried by Simon of Cyrene.

In this panel, as in so many of the Maesta, Christ is a quiet figure among an agitated crowd; in Barna's frescoes, Christ is always the most involved figure, the centre of the action and of our interest.

The figure of a soldier in fancy "antique" armour is not uncommon in exactly the same pose in several other paintings of the period, for instance in Simone's panel (Louvre), in Pietro Lorenzetti's fresco (Lower Church, Assisi) and in the later fresco in the sacristy of S. Croce at Florence. This last fresco, which is attributed to Spinello Aretino and Lorenzo di Niccola, and a tempera painting on vellum (Louvre⁷) from Avignon dated about 1390 both contain the episode of Judas hanging himself; clearly the Avignon painting is based on Simone, whose panel shows also the children of Jerusalem. It is in the multiplication of incident that so many artists failed to benefit from works of earlier masters. The tracing of echoes of seminal works, such as those by Giotto, Simone or Barna, is often productive only of a melancholy list of agglomerations of iconography, completely regardless of artistic or psychological interest. Such works as Andrea da Firenze's in the Spanish Chapel - based in many details on Barna's work - seem to lack artistic unity and insight.

The influence of Barna's frescoes does not seem however to be limited to the work of relatively minor artists. Krautheimer⁸ has noted how the scenes of Ghiberti's First Doors are integrated and balanced; this effect had earlier been achieved by Barna, and besides the echoes of the Last Supper and Flagellation, there seems to be an interesting relationship between Barna's Way to Calvary and the same subject as portrayed in Ghiberti's relief.⁸

Among the persons working on this first door was Masolino; the possibility of influence from the Collegiata frescoes on the work of this artist will be mentioned again when the Crucifixion is considered. Straightforward influence can be suspected when we compare Barna's fresco, or the panel of Christ bearing the Cross (now in the Frick Collection), with Masolino's fresco of the same subject in his cycle of the Holy Cross, not many miles away in S. Agostino at Empoli.⁹ Very similar is the panel attributed to Paolo Uccello,¹⁰ which shows Christ bearing His cross and looking back; the scroll bears the quotation from S. Matthew:



NT 5
22

after Bosch

si quis vult venire post me abingat
semetipsum et tollat crucem suam et
sequatur me.

This seems an appropriate inscription for Barna's panel also. His fresco is not however intended to convey quite the same message; Christ looks not only at the congregation, but backwards at His mother who is being threatened by a soldier's spear. It is the bristle of spears, and the clashing lines of the ladder, of the city wall and of the crosses which fill the whole panel with unresolved tensions. By contrast, Giotto's treatment of the subject at the Arena Chapel seems - in its battered state - much quicker, and less brutal in its impact.

NT 22

THE CRUCIFIXION

84
123

The central episode of the NT narrative fills the space of four normal sections, sharing the wall of the fifth bay with the Massacre of the Innocents (NT 5). This emphasis on the Crucifixion echoes a practice dating back to the repainted cycle in Old St. Peter's at Rome. The lower part of Barna's scene, notably the dying soldiers at the foot of the cross, has been lost; the whole composition has fortunately been recorded in pre-war photographs. The scene as a whole is the most complex as well as the largest and the most important of the series. The Crucifixion is the central episode not only of the NT series but of the whole scheme of decoration, reflecting the emphasis to be found in contemporary religious thought and devotion.

The scene combines the Biblical episodes of Christ on the cross; the dying, the women and St. John, the breaking of the legs and the piercing, the recognition by the halved centurion, the watching Jews. Many elements which recur in later portrayals of this subject can first be seen in this fresco. An iconographic innovation, later found in Florentine and transalpine art, is the presence of angels and devils who take away the souls of the Good and Bad Thieves. The eight angels, six around Christ and two above the Good Thief, have lively "Gothic" draperies and their poses are varied and expressive.

Of far greater interest are the innovations made by Barna in the organisation of the several groups around the Hill of Golgatha; antecedent pictures show only a hump of ground, perhaps with a skull, at the foot of the Cross only. But Barna shows all the figures arranged on the slopes of a considerable protuberance. Of particular interest is the way in which the hill is shown to slope away towards the distance; behind the cross are soldiers, visible only from the waist up, and to the left, a soldier on horseback is clearly shown coming round and up the hill. Thus Barna has a space created in which to arrange his several groups: the hill slopes upwards from the lower border of the scene, to the crest of the hill where the cross is set. Beyond this, the ground falls away rapidly to limitless and undefined space beyond.

It is then not only in iconographic details that Barna is an innovator; in both iconographic minutiae and in spatial concepts, Barna's influence can be traced in the equally complex Crucifixion by Masolino in S. Clemente, Rome, which dates from about 1428. The innovation in the form and spatial conception of this subject can be further traced in the Van Eyckian Crucifixions at the Metropolitan, New York, at Padua, in the Ca d'oro, Venice, and in the Milan Hours at Turin. Later still the same form can be seen in a variety of works, including the Crucifixions by Mantegna (Louvre), by Cosimo Tura (Fitzwilliam, Cambridge) and in that by Antonello (Antwerp) dated 1475.¹⁰

NT 23 THE ENTOMBMENT

XVI

The five scenes of the last bay - NT 6, the Flight into Egypt, and the last four scenes of the cycle - are badly damaged. Suggestions towards the restoration of details of their iconography are made below (chap. X, c). Of the Entombment only a small part remains, sufficient to distinguish a figure to the right struggling with the lid of a horizontal tomb-chest.

NT 24 ANASTASIS

XVI

This scene is to the left of the previous scene, in the lower register, as appropriate to the subject matter. Although gravely damaged, it is still possible to distinguish the figure of Christ to the right, with His foot on the broken Gate of Hell and the Devil, pulling Abraham up from the left hand part of the scene.

NT 25

THE RESURRECTION

XVI

Appropriately enough the Resurrection is shown above the Entombment, in the middle register of scenes. Although badly damaged and faded, the upright figure of Christ with a banner is just distinguishable; there are sleeping soldiers in the lower corners of the scene.¹²

NT 26

THE ASCENSION

XVI

In the centre is the Madonna, surrounded by apostles, of whom the two nearer ones have their backs toward the onlooker. They look up towards the small figure of Christ to the top of the scene; to either side of Him is an angel. A large part of the scene is missing altogether.

These New Testament scenes give rise to many questions, some of which are discussed after the other constituent parts of the scheme have been described.

NOTES : THE NEW TESTAMENT FRESCOS

- 1 A similar figure of a spinning maid appears frequently in the Sienese illustrations to the Meditations of the Life of Christ (Princeton, 1961) and may also be the subject of the Sienese wooden statue in the Museo Nazionale, Florence (Inv. 4), which was exhibited in the Vienna '400 Exhibition, 1962, catalogue no. 417. See too L. de Schegol: L'Annunziata di Berna, L'Arte (1909), p. 209, and D.M. Robb: Iconography of the Annunciation in XIV and XV c.: Art Bulletin XVIII (1936) pp 480-526.
- 2 The several general echoes of the Maesta are further discussed below. The iconography and style of such subjects as the Magi and Presentation will be found discussed in MENI and ANTAL.
- 3 Cf. F. GROSSMAN : The Paintings of Bruegel (1955), p. 199.
- 4 Reproduced in ANTAL, pl. 50.
- 5 See P. BACCI : Il Barna o Berna ... e mai esistito?; La Balzana, (1927), p. 249; and FAISON, p. 16. The entire Ducciesque iconography should be contrasted with that used by Giotto at Padua.
- 6 E. SANDBERG VAVALA: La Croce Dipinta Italiana (1929), p. 755 etc. A very important parallel is to be found in the fresco at the Pentileptos, S. Clement, *schind* dating from the XIIIc (see A. Procopius: The Macedonian Question in the Byzantine Painting (Athens, 1952) pl. 53.
- 7 G. RING : A Century of French Painting (1949), pl.9, cat.no. 33.
- 8 R. KRAUTHEIMER : Lorenzo Ghiberti (1956), p. 128; and pages 129 and 217.
- 9 See U. PROCACCI : Sinopie e Affreschi, Milano (1961), pl.62. It is perhaps relevant to note that Masolino's Christ entombed (Empoli) also seems to be based on earlier examples by Sinopie, Barna and Bartolo di Fredi (which are discussed below) and that the S. S. Julian altarpiece in the Pinacoteca at San Gimignano is attributed to Masolino's circle: see BERENSON: Florentine pictures (1963), pp. 217-8 and pl. 551.

- 10 See MOSTRA di Quattro Maestri del Primo Rinascimento, Firenze (1954), no. 23, pl. xxxvii. For a minor example by a follower of Giovanni di Nicola at Pisa, see E. CARLI: Pittura Pisana del Trecento, vol. I, Milano (1961), pl. 94.
- 11 The "plateau composition" is discussed by M. MEISS: Jan van Eyck and the Italian Renaissance, in Venezia e Europa: Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale dell'Arte, Venezia (1956), pp. 58 ff. Vasari is not reliable on trecento attributions; but in his life of Simone he mentions a very similar crucifixion in the Chapter House of S. Spirito, the most important Augustinian church in Florence; and in his life of Barna, quotes Ghiberti's report that Barna painted a story of S. James in the same church. All are destroyed.
- 12 As far as can be seen — and by comparison with panels related to Barna's Passion scenes — it would seem that Christ is shown stepping, not rising, out of the tomb.

CHAPTER SIX

THE CONTINUATION AND COMPLETION OF THE SCHEME

"... secundum scripturas ... qui locutus
est per prophetas ..."

The Nicene Creed

"... if perchance the faithful soul observes
the representation of the Lord's Passion
expressed in art, it is stung with compassion.
If it sees how many torments the saints
endured in their bodies and what rewards of
eternal life they have received, it eagerly
embraces the observance of a better life.
If it beholds how great are the joys of heaven
and how great the torments in the eternal flames,
it is animated by the hope of its good deeds
and is shaken with fear by reflection on its
sins."

Theophilus: De Diversibus Artibus, preface
to the Third Book, translated by C.R. Dodwell.

It was several years after 1367, when Bartolo di Fredi
signed the Old Testament scenes, before the scheme of decoration
for the Collegiata was completed. The Collegiata has, as part
of its cycle of frescoes, not only the typological scenes
from the Old and New Testaments, but also - in a tradition
followed in such examples as Old S. Peter's at Rome, S. Angelo
in Formis at Capua and in the Sistine Chapel - representations
of selected prophets, of the twelve apostles, and of the Last
Judgement flanked by depictions of Heaven and Hell.

A: PROPHETS

One of the largest groups of prophets and other standing
figures was that in Old S. Peter's, where forty-four were shown
standing between the clerestory windows. Figures with a similar
function can still be seen, in stucco, as part of the scheme
of decoration of the Neon Baptistery at Ravenna. Another example
showing the importance of such figures in a typological scheme,
is to be seen in the glass of King's College Chapel at Cambridge, where
there is a "Messenger" holding a scroll with an inscription of
prophecy or explanation for each scene.

We may begin by listing the prophets and their inscriptions as they appear in the Collegiata, and then discuss their significance both to the correct interpretation of the scheme and then to the attribution of the artist responsible for the scheme as a whole. The prophets are shown seated, holding scrolls, and are painted in the lunettes of the nave arcade, facing across the aisle towards the Biblical scenes.

Those opposite the NT series in the right aisle have been attributed by Faison to Giovanni d'Asciano. Reading from the entrance these are:

- 1 YSA/IAS : ECCE VGO COCPIET IVTEO ET PA
(Ecce, virgo concipiet et pariet filium ...
Is.vii.14.)
- 2 AGE/US : VENIET DESIDEAT CUTI GTI
(Veniet desideratur cunctis gentibus.
Hag.ii.8 (A.V.ii.7)).
- 3 DAV/IT : REGE TASI ISULE MUNA OFET
(Reges Tharsi et insulae munera offerunt.
Ps. lxxi (lxxii).10).
- 4 MALA/CHIA
....1
(Et statim veniet ad templum suum Dominator
quem vos quaeritis. Mal. iii.1.)
- 5 OSEE/PPHETA
Decorative inscription only.
- 6 No name; decorative inscription.
- 7 The scene of S. Fina, referred to above (p. 21)

* On the OT side of the building, ~~half~~ ^{remains} half a prophet, in the vault of the cloister (now baptistery) ~~half~~: this has been attributed to Barna.² Many alterations have been made to this side of the church, and it is likely that Pier Francesco Fiorentino, when he repainted the scene of the Expulsion, was also but replacing earlier work when he painted the prophets of this aisle.

- 1 ABRAHAM/PROPHETA : no scroll.
- 2 IONAS/PROPHETA : EGO AUT IN VOCE LAUDIS IMOLABO
(Ego autem in voce laudis immolabo tibi;
Jo.ii.10(A.V., ii.9))
- 3 DANIEL/PROPHETA : PECCATA TUA HELEMSINUS
(Peccata tua elemosynis redime; Dan.iv.24
(A.V., iv.27)).



Prophets - see pp. 90 and 96

- 4 IERIMIAS/PROPHETA : MALEDICTUS HOMO Q CONFI
(Maledictus homo qui confidit in homine
Jer. xvii. 5.)
- 5 NAUM/PROPHETA : REVELABO PUDENDA TUA IN
(Revelabo pudenda tua in facie tua;
Na. iii. 5.)
- 6 ABACUC/PROPHETA : LACERATA EST LEX ET NON PV
(Lacerata est lex, et non pervenit usque
ad finem iudicium; Ha.i.4.)
- 7 EZECHIEL/PROPHETA : HEC FUIT INIQUITAS SODOME SOR
(Haec fuit iniquitas Sodomis sororis tuae:
superbiassaturatis panis et abundantia; Ex. xvi. 49.)

The figures in the dark shadows of the aisle arcades are very hard to see, and it is only with binoculars that one can attempt to read the inscriptions. Unlike those below the OT scenes, they are in abbreviated Latin. Although the figures are not of great artistic value, their importance in the scheme of decoration is very clear. The prophets act, in the manner of the BP or SHS, as messengers, pointing the moral. Those opposite the NT scenes hold the well-known Christological prophecies.³

Isaiah's "Behold a virgin shall conceive" is perhaps the most familiar of all the prophetic utterances, used many times in the Propers of the Mass during Advent, while the whole passage is used as the epistle for the Annunciation, the scene immediately opposite the painting of Isaiah. The quotation is the first of many in S. Matthew's Gospel; its use here in a work of the Jewish Christian Church is strongly fatalistic - everything that happens, even the death of Messiah, has been purposed by God, and His purpose is revealed in the Scriptures. This is a very different point of view from that of the Fathers, who held that the prophecy of an event was a miraculous guarantee of its truth. These alternative ways of interpreting prophecies ought to be borne in mind.⁴

Haggai too is a great prophet of the Messiah; opposite him is shown the manifestation of the long-awaited Saviour to the shepherds, the representatives of the nations. For the Epiphany, David sits with the Offertory of the Mass of the day: "The kings of Tharsis and of the isles shall give presents." The Epistle for the feast day of the Purification uses Malachi's "The Lord whom ye seek

shall suddenly come to his temple", and opposite Malachi is depicted the Presentation. Hosea is quoted in the second chapter of Matthew, "Arise, and flee into Egypt ... that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Out of Egypt have I called my son." The whole passage is the gospel for the mass for Holy Innocents, whose massacre is shown opposite.

The more fatalistic manner of interpreting the prophets is followed in the OT aisle; where the prophecies opposite the NT were directly related to the scenes opposite them, ~~the prophecies on the other side of the church are chosen so that they speak in metaphor. In a most poetic way, the prophets not only act as a commentary for the OT scenes opposite them, but, using the imagery of the OT type-figures, relate their sufferings to Christ.~~ the prophecies on the other side of the church are chosen so that they speak in metaphor. In a most poetic way, the prophets not only act as a commentary for the OT scenes opposite them, but, using the imagery of the OT type-figures, relate their sufferings to Christ.

Jonah cries from the whale that he will sacrifice with a voice of thanksgiving and pay what he has vowed.⁵ Opposite him are the sacrifices of Abel and of Noah - and the anti-typical scenes are the Agony in the Garden and the Passion. Daniel's cry to Nebuchadnezzar, to break off his sins and show mercy to the poor, is the cry of Christ as indicated in Joseph feeding his brethren, Pharaoh listening to Israel, and Job distributing alms.

Jeremiah - opposite the trials of Job, the parting of Abraham from Lot - says that a man cannot trust in man, only in God. "The Lord will show the nations thy nakedness, and make thee vile and will set thee as a gazing stock", Nahum's prophecy, refers forward, through Noah and Job on the dung heap, to the Passion of Christ. Opposite the giving of the Old Law, Habakkuk cries "the law is slackened and judgement doth go forth, for the wicked compass about the righteous"; Joseph is imprisoned, Job smitten, and the Passion of Christ again foretold. Ezekiel's warning to Sodom, to Job feasting, to the unsettled times, to suffering, is abundantly clear.

The prophecies chosen to accompany the OT series are unpleasant ones; they have none of the jubilant air of hope expressed in the prophecies of the coming of Christ. The parallels that the painter saw in the OT series and emphasised in the quotations chosen,

perhaps by himself or by the original planner of the scheme, are all to do with suffering, the suffering of the type-figures, the sufferings of Christ, and the sufferings of the people of San Gimignano. These ideas, I have suggested, are clear in the choice of scenes, and by studying the scenes as a typological series of the sufferings of Christ and, by implication, of the sufferings of the people of Tuscany in a period of plague and inter-city strife, show the unity of the scheme of decoration as a whole. The scrolls of the prophets in the OT aisle prove as clearly as could be desired that this interpretation is the correct one.

As Danielou points out, "the OT is both a memory and a prophecy.. the Prophets foretell events to come as the recovery of what has passed ... The organic relation between typology and prophecy, 'types' and 'logos', is quite clear, for so far from being distinct categories, prophecy is the typological interpretation of history."⁶ It is in this context that we realise that the scheme of the decoration has unity, if not in its historic form, being the work of many painters, it has none the less a unity of purpose and theological content.⁷

B HEAVEN, HELL, JUDGEMENT

The prophets in the right aisle, attributable to Barna's assistant, Giovanni d'Asciano, date from the decade 1350-60 in which the Old and New Testament frescoes were painted; the prophets in the left aisle, although painted over a century later, almost certainly replace figures intended for the original scheme. The death of Barna, the artist in charge of the work disrupted the work considerably. After Bartolo di Fredi had signed the Old Testament scenes, it was twenty six years (during which time Bartolo di Fredi painted the Montalcino altarpiece and many other works) that one of his followers came to work in the Collegiata. The Last Judgement, in its traditional position on the entrance wall, and flanked to left and right by representations of Heaven and Hell is the first dated work of Taddeo di Bartolo, an artist not born until after Barna's death.

The inscription

THADEUS BARTHOLI DE SENIS PINXIT
HANC CAPELLAM MCCCCXCIII

appears on the soffit of the first arch of the left arcade of the nave, immediately above the capital.

27

Although now much faded, the inscription is generally accepted: this group of frescoes, on this evidence, represent the first dated works of Taddeo di Bartolo. Certainly they seem of slight aesthetic merit, though they look better by artificial light after dark, when the unfortunate glass of the round window in the entrance wall is mercifully darkened.

The arrangement of the scenes is that of the Giottesque frescoes, now so sadly damaged, in the Bargello in Florence.⁸ On the entrance wall is the Last Judgement; above the first arches of the nave arcade are the related scenes: to the right hand of Christ are the Blessed in Paradise, and to His left are the Damned in Hell.

LAST JUDGEMENT

High on the entry wall, in its traditional place, is shown the Last Judgement itself, shown in the form so frequently adopted - as in the Baptistery mosaics - of a vision of Christ with angels, with the Instruments of the Passion, with the apostles seated like a bench of jurymen, and with ENOC and ELIAS.

The complex relationship between these scenes of Judgement, Heaven and Hell, and the typological series ought to be appreciated, for the ideas of sin, penitence, judgement and reward are intimately connected in Christian thought. In the way that Chaucer's Parson preached to the text of the Seven Deadly Sins to lead men to penitence, so these frescoes must be read in their context with the Biblical scenes. The orthodox belief of the Church is clearly expressed in S. Gregory the Great's sermon on the Ascension, where we find the reason for the inclusion of Enoch and Elias in the representation of Judgement:

"As Joseph sold into captivity by his brethren was the figure of the selling of our Redeemer, so Enoch who was translated, and Elias who was wrapt up to the aerial heaven, were figures of the Lord's Ascension. The Lord therefore had both heralds as well as witnesses of His Ascension; one ante legem, and one sub lege: that at some time He would come who could Himself enter truly into heaven."⁹



HEM

after Alinari

HEAVEN

When we look at photographs of Taddeo di Bartolo's Heaven - the fresco now has a large hole in the centre - we can see that it is related closely neither to that at Pisa, nor to Nardo da Cione's in S. Maria Novella. Perhaps because of the shape of wall available, there is little attempt to organise the Redeemed into hierarchies. But in the upper part of the fresco some attempt has been made to indicate this truly medieval view of an ordered universe. Within a series of eight concentric circles are seated Christ, who raises His right hand in blessing and holds with the left hand and open book on His knee, and the Virgin, who turns towards Her Son holding Her hand to Her breast. Between these figures hovers the Dove. The concentric pattern is continued by two rows of angels (not the nine orders of a fuller scheme). Those in the upper row fly with arms crossed in adoration or hands joined in prayer, while in the lower row, the angels make music on viol, dulcimer, organ, pipes, harp and lute. In the lower part of the scene is a crowd of the Redeemed, including S. Paul, a pope (S. Gregory the Great?), a cardinal (S. Ambrose?), bishops, friars, deacons (S. Stephen), nuns and many women. At the bottom left of the scene kneels a diminutive (Augustinian?) nun as a donor.

HELL

95

The fresco is divided (and was painted) in eight sections: at the peak of the arch in the central position is the Devil, who presides over compartments, one for each of the Deadly Sins.¹⁰

On the belly of the Devil is written GUIDA; to the left of his clawed feet are NERO, SIMON MAGO; to the right, EROD, FARAO; between them, ERODE? (coming head-first from the Devil's belly), MASENTIO, ?, and at the bottom of the section is NABUCCO DNE. The names of the two figures on the Devil's knees have been lost.

To the left of the Devil is

- (1) La SUPERBIA, with (a), on the border, ?
(b), centre, ?
(c) bottom left, BASTEMAT DI DIO.

To the right of the Devil is

- (2) LA . VIDIA, with (a) top left, ?
(b) top right, ?
(c) bottom, RAUSO TESTIMONIO.

- In the second row, at the left,
 (3) GLUTTONY, untitled and with no names.
 In the centre,
 (4) L AVARITIA, with (a) right centre, TMA .. BI?
 (b) left centre, AVARO
 (c) right, MUNETA?
 (d) bottom left, USURIO.

- To the left in the second row,
 (5) LA LUS. RIA, with (a) at the top, ADULTERA
 (b) in the middle, ?
 (c) at the bottom, SOTOMUTTO

In the bottom row are sections (6) and (7), neither with a title, nor are the victims named. The "Mouth" of Hell appears, quite small, in the left hand of the bottom sections, immediately over the arch of the arcade.

In its organization into sections corresponding to the Seven Deadly Sins, the fresco reflects the usual medieval categories, but the influence of Dantean thought might be deduced from the naming of individuals. A close similarity in manner is to be noted with the Campo Santo Hell of about the same date. For further comparison, two further examples, related to each other, may be mentioned. In the Bolognini chapel in the left aisle of S. Petronio, Bologna, is a fresco of c.1410, showing a Paradise (with the Coronation of the Virgin) and below this, Hell, very similar in its manner to that in the Collegiata. An anonymous panel in the Pinacoteca of the same city illustrates Hell in the same non-Dantean iconographic tradition. Probably the most important "source", if one is required, is to be found in the Baptistery mosaic at Florence.11

On the soffit of the arch below Hell are painted the busts of four prophets: this further indicates the OT side of the building. The prophets shown are:

ISAIAS PROPHETAS (nearest the entrancewall)
 OSEAS
 MOSES

JEREMIAS, below whom is Taddeo di Bartolo's inscription.

In the complementary position on the opposite side of the building, the Virtues are represented beneath Heaven.

TEMPERANTIA, with an hour glass;
 JUSTITIA, with scales and a sword;
 FORTITUDO, with a flaming torch and shield;
 PRUDENTIA, with a book and bag. 12

Taddeo di Bartolo's work also included the painting in the quarters of the first bay of the nave vault, above the representations

of the Judgement, Heaven and Hell, of the frequently encountered Four Evangelists.

THE COMPLETION OF THE NAVE DECORATION & THE APOSTLES

The remodelling of the choir and transepts means that we have lost any frescoes of the fourteenth century scheme that may originally have filled the wall-space of these parts of the church. But the nave has not been altered, and the work executed by Pier Francesco Fiorentino in 1474-5 is to be regarded as the completion (or renewal) of the final part of the scheme of decoration for the main congregational part of the church, the nave and its aisles. With his work of decorating the upper part of the nave walls with busts of the apostles and the Man of Sorrows over the triumphal arch, the scheme of decoration became, and remains, complete.

The twelve apostles had already once been shown enthroned at the Last Judgement; their function in the nave, where they appear as busts holding scrolls with sentences from their Apostles Creed, is explained by S. Augustine:

"Her foundations are upon the holy hills;
the Lord loveth the gates of Sion" (Ps.lxxxvii):
"...and the twelve gates of Jerusalem are spoken
of, and the one gate is Christ; and the twelve gates
are Christ; for Christ dwells in the twelve gates,
hence twelve was the number of the apostles.

There is a deep mystery in this number twelve..." 13

which S. Augustine proceeds to explain at considerable length, to the enjoyment of medieval theologians. The apostles are "the pillars of the Church", he says, and this is the role they play in the Collegiata, the bust of each one being painted in the spandrel above each pillar of the nave arcade.

Reading from the altar, we see:

NT side: 1 S. IOHANNES
PASSUS SUB PONTE (o Pilato)
2 S.) MATHE(us)
CREDO IN SPIRITU (m santum)
3 S. PHILLIPUS. A
ASCENDIT AD CELO / SED / E / T A
4 S. THADDEUS
SANCTO RUM COMMUNIO
5 S. IACOBUS. A.
TERTIA DIE / RE(surrexit)

I

	6	naked bust
OT sides:	1	S. IACOBUS QUI CONCEPTUS (est de Spiritu Sancto)
	2	S. THOMAS DESCENDIT AD INFER ^o
	3	S. BARTHOLOME(ue) INDE VENTURUS E(st) IUDICAR(e)
	4	S. SIMON SCAM ECCLIAM CATHOLICK(am)
	5	...TH... (Matthias) ?.....
	6	bust.

There seems to have been more than one way of distributing the sentences among the apostles, and it might be possible to find a source-book for the scheme used in the Collegiata. S. Peter appears, with S. Paul, in the decoration of the transept; S. Andrew does not appear. The naked busts are much smaller than those of the apostles, as half of each spandrel above the first pillars of the nave is filled by Taddeo di Bartolo's Heaven and Hell. It is possible that the original intention might have been to show one apostle above each pillar. 14 Above the painted cornice, winged putti hold up wreathed garlands. 15

So the scheme was completed by Pier Francesco Fiorentino; at the head of the nave, over the triumphal arch is the final figure, which acts as the central statement of the temper of religious thought for the whole period. It is not Christ triumphant, not Christ as a child in the arms of His Mother, not Christ in the Holy Sacrament, but Christ as a Man of Sorrows, the suffering Christ, the Christ dead in the Tomb. In their vision of the world, the Christian outlook of the fourteenth century and even of the fifteenth, was one of suffering, and of redemption by suffering. This is the message of the typological scheme, of man, through and in Christ, as foreshown in the types and foretold by the prophets, redeemed through suffering, and almost, it seems, not to be redeemed except by suffering.

And he spake unto them, These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled, which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets and in the psalms concerning me. Then he opened their understanding, that they might understand the scriptures. And said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in my name among all nations ... For unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake. 16

NOTES : THE CONTINUATION AND COMPLETION OF THE SCHEME

- 1 This inscription I have been unable to read, and accept the expanded version given in the Princeton Index of Christian Art.
- 2 F. MASON PERKINS : *Dipinti sconosciuti della Scuola Senese; Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1907.
- 3 Compare the prophecies on the scenes from the Life of Christ by Fra Angelico and others (J. POPE-HENNESSY: *Fra Angelico*, pp. 28 and 190-3). Fra Angelico shows as his main authorities Ezechiel and S. Gregory. Relationships with the choice of Prophets on the Maesta of Duccio are discussed below.
- 4 See F.W. GREEN: *S. Matthew*, pp. 105, 127-138 (Clarendon Bible). cf. S. Jerome on this passage of Isaiah: *Breviary Advent II nocturnes*.
- 5 On Jonah, see Michaelangelo's figure; STEINMANN: *Die Sixtinische Kapelle II*, p. 375, note 2.
- 6 See J. DANIELOU: *From Shadows to Reality*, pp. 154 and 157 &c.
- 7 The series of prophets was continued into the transepts, with the busts of ELYAS, (missing), MELCHISEDEC, S. John Baptist with a long scroll, Peter, Paul, ISAAC and HABRAA. In these fifteenth century paintings we find the eucharistic reference which was missing from the nave series. Peter and Paul do not have to be explained; to the close relationship between Elias and the Baptist we have already referred. It has been suggested that one of these figures has the quality of the work of Barna; while this seems to me an overstatement, it is clear that these figures might represent a collection of the earlier decoration of the altar area.
- 8 VAN MARLE: III, p.224-227. Compare MEISS, pp. 76-78 with references to arrows of the Almighty and S. Sebastian. A useful discussion of Tuscan Last Judgements will be found in R. OFFNER: *A Corpus of Florentine Painting*, section III, vol. v. p.251. and of. E. ROTHSCHILD and E. WILKINS: *Hell in the Florentine Baptistery Mosaic and in Giotto's Paduan Fresco: Art Studies VI*, 1928 (Harvard) pp. 31-36.

- 9 Homily xxix; Sunday Sermons of the Great Fathers, II, p.429.
- 10 For particular penalties for particular sins, see especially Dante, and also M.W.BLOOMFIELD: The Seven Deadly Sins, Michigan (1952), pp.22iff.
- 11 See OFFNER: Corpus IV.11, p.50.
- 12 See MEISS:chap.2. For Dominican explanations, see the Book of Vices and Virtues (e.g. E.E.T.S. (1942)p.123ff); for a late XIIIc illuminated ms. see E.MILLAR: The Parisian Miniaturist, Honore: An Illuminated Ms. of La Somme le Roy (1953). For the Vices and Virtues in Italy and France, see E.MALE: L'Art Religieux du Fin du Moyen Age (1908); and compare the subsidiary figures in the Arena Chapel.
A. K. Thompson's edition of the Vices and Virtues (London 1919) covers the earlier period.
- 13 Commentaries on Psalms IV, p.217.
- 14 For the Articles of Faith as established by the Apostles, see the Book of Vices and Virtues (n.12, above) pp.6ff.; on the choice of Apostles, see further discussion below.
- 15 Compare the use of such figures on e.g. Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Temple, in the Uffizi Presentation. For a discussion, and the relationship between classical sarcophagi at Pisa and the tomb of Ilaria del Carretto by Jacopo della Quercia (Duomo, Lucca), see J. POPE HENNESSY: Italian Gothic Sculpture (1955), pp.212ff and fig.92; the tomb is dated c.1406.
- 16 Luke xxiv.44-48, and Phil.1.29.

APPENDIX THREE

THE MAN OF SORROWS

The whole scheme of the Collegiata frescoes is summarised by the image of The Man of Sorrows over the triumphal arch: Is it nothing to you, all ye who pass by? behold and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow? Although the work was not painted until a century after Barna's death, the image is one which he himself could have used: the full-scale treatment of the subject dates indeed from his time.

The representation of The Man of Sorrows in Tuscan art can be traced to the carved tombs of the Baroncelli monument in S.Croce, and to the panel (now in Berlin) from Giovanni Pisano's Pisa pulpit of 1310. But in painting the subject was always shown to a small scale, as on the diptych attributable to Barna in the Horne Museum. The subject is shown in a similarly small scale as the central subject of the predella on a number of early trecento polyptychs, including Simone Martini's Pisa polyptych of 1320, on the Giotto polyptych at Bologna and on the Baroncelli Coronation polyptych in S.Croce. The subject is never common among the Giottoesques, and whenever it is portrayed, it is only in a minor position, and to a very small scale.

The first examples of the treatment of the theme life-size are, as far as I know, to be found in two frescoes by followers of Barna - that is to say, in the period of 1350-70. In the grievously battered S.Francesco at Asciano is a fresco, perhaps by Giovanni d'Asciano or the Pseudo-Barna, of the life-size Man of Sorrows between Ss. Peter and Paul. The other example is in S.Agostino at S.Gimignano and is attributable to Bartolo di Fredi; the image includes the instruments of the Passion, the heads of the tormentors etc. The depiction of a subject full-scale, life-size is rather to be expected in fresco, in an architectural setting in which people move, rather than on a panel.

After Bartolo di Fredi's fresco, the next is that in the Oblates at Florence attributed to Lorenzo Monaco; another fragmentary fresco of the same subject by the same painter survives in the refectory of Ognissanti.

The earliest dated full-size panel of the subject is that by Lorenzo Monaco in the Accademia at Florence (no.467) with the date 1403. After this date, the full-size subject is not uncommon, and the iconography is gradually enriched by such painters as Bellini and Mantegna.

One painting upsets the hypothesis that the full-scale treatment of the subject was evolved as a wall-painting by a painter associated with Barna. This is the polyptych exhibited as no.1 in the Exhibition of Painting in Florence and Siena at Messrs. Wildenstein in April 1965. Sig. Zeri has proposed (Burl. Mag. May 1965) that this work may be by Taddeo Gaddi: on iconographic-and-stylistic grounds, a date as early as 1320 seems quite unacceptable.

The decision to depict The Man of Sorrows as the full-scale subject of the central panel of a polyptych is a matter both of iconography and of style; iconography has, indeed, its own stylistic development. Half length figures had since Duccio's time and even earlier been used in a row to form a polyptych, but the central subject was never The Man of Sorrows.

The early period of Lorenzo Monaco is still uncertain, not a little of the difficulty is to distinguish how far this painter at the end of the century consciously revived the manner of the Giottoesques and was influenced by such Sienese as Simone Martini. Many will prefer to retain Sig. Zeri's attribution. But I do not. The view that Lorenzo Monaco was a Gothic revivalist seems nonsensical: Gothic was lively still in Florence to the time of Gentile da Fabriano. There can be no doubt that there was certainly a living tradition at the beginning of the quattrocento: Ghiberti's works prove this.

It seems possible to suggest a parallel with the 1403 panel in the Accademia; a parallel between the S.Paul and another S.Paul proposed as being by Lorenzo Monaco (B.M., January 1965: see the modelling of the skull and of the foreshortened sword-hand); while the tonality of the coloration and the elegance of the modelling (especially of the mourning angels, of the prophets, and of S.Philip's gown) seem to me uncharacteristic of 1320.

It is indeed possible that the polyptych is the earliest and most important 'source' for all later treatments of the subject. But the subject did not become popular until the first half of the quattrocento: if the polyptych is of so early a date as 1320, why is the subject nonetheless so rarely found in Florence full-size until about 1400?

APPENDIX \overline{N} : NOTES

1. Catalogue : A Loan Exhibition ..., 24 Feb. - 10 April 1965 no.1, pl.1; B. BERENSON: Florentine School (1963) I p.83, pl.78. The panel is not in KAFTAL. F.ZERI : articles in Burl. Mag. January and May 1965.

For Lorenzo Monaco, see H.D. GRONAU : The Earliest Works of Lorenzo Monaco : Burl. Mag. XCII (1950) pp.183 ff & 217 ff, esp. p.187 for colour schemes; also H.V. EISENBERG: An Early Altarpiece of Lorenzo Monaco : Art Bulletin XXXIX (1957) pp. 49-52, pls. 1-10; VAN MARLE IX and O.SIREN: Lorenzo Monaco (1905) are both outdated in early works.

For iconography see E.PANOVSKY : Imago Pietatis, in Festschrift für Max Friedländer (Leipzig 1927) pp.206-308 with figs: for the prayer of S.Gregory on a panel with the subject, see A. PUERARI : La Pinacoteca di Cremona (Cremona, 1951) no 26, pp.40-41; for a significant change in iconography in a fresco by Niccolo di Tommaso (a contemporary of Burna) see MEISS pl.125 and pp.124-5.

For later iconographical developments see F.HARTT : Carpaccio's Meditation on the Passion: Art Bulletin XXII (1940) pp.25 ff; for Donatello, Mantegna, Bellini, and Rogier van der Weyden, see P.HENDY & L.GOLDSCHIEDER : Giovanni Bellini (1945) p.20 and figs. 11-13, 67 and plates.

The later medieval treatment of the subject may be studied in G.RING : A Century of French Painting (1949) and in E.MALE : L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age (1925) pp.91-144.

SEVEN

BARNA AND THE COLLEGIATA FRESCOS

... they rendered the appropriate reward of Barna's conscientious labours, celebrating him with their pens who had done them honour by his pictures.

Vasari's Life of Barna

The descriptions in a previous chapter of the New Testament scenes include references to the iconographical echoes from earlier works by Giotto and Duccio. But the extent of Barna's indebtedness to the work of these two artists, the one working in fresco and the other on small panels, must be considered in wider terms, for his indebtedness is not limited to iconographical borrowings. This consideration will involve an analysis of the fresco-cycle as a whole, firstly to distinguish the parts completed by Barna, and then to discover how far his influence can be distinguished in the work of the artists who completed the commission after his death.¹

RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE MAESTA

The front of Duccio's altarpiece is a Maesta, the Madonna and Child surrounded by saints and angels; below in the predella were seven scenes of the Infancy Cycle. With these seven predella panels the first seven scenes of Barna's cycle correspond exactly.

Van Marle² put forward the suggestion that the Collegiata cycle originally filled seven bays; this seems quite impossible since the seventh scene of the Maesta sequence appears in Barna's frescoes, in the second row. It is improbable that Barna interpolated an extra Nativity scene to fill the seventh lunette when he had for reasons of space to omit so many of the Passion and Ministry scenes shown on the Maesta. Furthermore, if there had been seven bays of frescoes it would seem likely that the Crucifixion would have been a bay further towards the altar; Van Marle made no suggestion as to what scenes could have been chosen to fill the lower four panels in bay seven. We may be certain that

the cycle ended in bay six with the Ascension.

Between the seven predella panels of Duccio's Infancy scenes were six prophets with inscribed scrolls; each prophet looks towards his right at the preceding scene to which his prophecy refers. These figures are, like the scenes between which they stand, echoed in the Collegiata frescoes. As described above, the prophets are shown in the spandrels above the aisle arcade opposite the scenes of the happenings which they prophecy. As in the Maesta there are six prophets, not seven as would be required if Van Marle's suggestion were correct. Instead, in the seventh spandrel is an older fresco which could easily have been replaced, the Apparition to S. Fina, opposite her shrine.

In three cases there is an exact correspondence between the Maesta and the Collegiata not only in the choice of prophets but also of their texts. Isaiah is opposite the Annunciation in Bay One; in Bay Three, David is opposite the Adoration of the Magi, and in the next bay Malachi predicts the Presentation of Christ.

But the other prophecies are not the same; the Collegiata has chosen Hagai instead of Ezechiel for the Nativity. Hosea appears in the Collegiata without an inscription, as if he had not been put in the correct place, for on the Maesta he appears with the scene shown in the previous bay, the Flight into Egypt; he bears the inscription "Ex Egypte Vocavi Filium Meum." Perhaps Giovanni d'Asciano had lost his notebook, for he was not able to give the sixth prophet a name or a prophecy: the sixth prophet on the Maesta is Jeremiah, and it is interesting that although he and Ezechiel appear as prophets in the Old Testament aisle, they hold scrolls with inscriptions appropriate to their position in the scheme, not the prophecies relevant to a Nativity cycle.

There is perhaps another faint echo of the Maesta in the busts of the Apostles arranged above the main part of the front. Since St. Peter and John the Evangelist appear with the Virgin and Child, there are but ten busts, but none of the apostles is displaying an inscription, though some hold books and others furled scrolls.

The Collegiata frescoes are not designed to celebrate, in the way that the Maesta was, the glory of the Virgin. There is therefore no echo from the final scenes of the Life of the Virgin which appear in the pinnacles of the front of the Maesta to complete an iconologically-related programme to honour the Virgin as Patron of the Sienese, particularly at the battle of Mont'Aperto. This would not have been appropriate for the Sanguignese, who had fought with Florence on the losing side.

The back of the Maesta consisted of at least 44 scenes of the Life of Christ. There remain ten scenes of the Ministry, twenty-two of the Passion, and twelve scenes after the Resurrection including Pentecost. There is now no scene of the Resurrection, an unlikely omission; Barna shows the subject in his cycle. On the other hand, Barna was forced for reasons of space, to omit as many as twenty six scenes shown by Duccio. These are the three temptations, the Woman of Samaria and the Healing of the Blind Man (of which trecento drawings remain), the Washing of S. Peter's feet, Christ's farewell to the Apostles, Peter's denial, seven scenes from the trials of Christ, the Descent from the Cross, the Maries at the Tomb, and eight Appearances of Christ after His resurrection.

The links with the Maesta, on stylistic evidence alone, are very strong; the influence of Duccio is to be found in the work of Barna no less than in that of the work of any of his contemporaries in Siena, who would have been young men when the Maesta was first carried to the Cathedral. As indicated in the descriptions of the individual frescoes, there are many iconographical borrowings. But however close these relationships, they exist only in so far as some of the subject matter is the same. Iconographically and stylistically the decoration of the Collegiata must be

considered not only in relation with this admittedly influential painting on panel, but also with the equally influential schemes of mural decoration, based ultimately on the traditions of the Constantinian basilicas at Rome, and exemplified by the frescoes at Assisi and in the Arena Chapel. With regard to the latter, we must note that, like the Maesta, Giotto's scheme is concerned primarily with a New Testament cycle; neither Duccio's nor Giotto's scheme includes a full set of types from the Old Testament.

The changes necessitated in the use of iconography derived from the study of a small panel as the basis of a large wall-painting are considerable. The danger of an art historian's set of photographs is that they make predella panels and large frescoes look too much alike. Similarly links between different schemes of typological frescoes are difficult to assess fairly, for while it is easy to acknowledge family relationships, the differences between the various architectural settings must also be taken into account. Theology cannot be the only influence on the planning of a programme.

Any comparisons with the Arena Chapel or S. Francesco at Assisi, then, must be made with the recognition that the former was built for a cycle containing twelve scenes of the Life of the Virgin, nine of the Infancy, three of the Ministry, and fourteen of the Passion; and that the latter building was in the end to contain six cycles in an Upper Church and as many again in the Lower, not to begin counting the windows. Clearly it would be a mistake to hope to find exact parallels between schemes designed to fit buildings as diverse as the basilican S. Peter's at Rome, the two-storied Gothic church at Assisi, the simple Arena chapel, or the Collegiata. The planning of the Collegiata cycle was from the first limited by the form and scale of the church, and the only alteration possible in the structure was the filling-in of the aisle windows. It was left to a later generation to remodel the choir and transepts, and what frescoes might have been lost in the process none can say.

SPATIAL CONSIDERATIONS

"Now if you'll only attend, Kitty, and not talk so much, I'll tell you all my ideas about Looking-Glass House. First, there's the room you can see through the glass..."

Alice.

The fresco painter works within the tangible and architectural forms of a building, using the spaces of the nave and aisles and vaults as a framework for his paintings. In these he can if he wishes create by the two-dimensional representation of three-dimensional space the appearance of extensions beyond and through the masonry and vaults of the building. An intelligent painter related the illusions which he wishes to create to the concrete forms of the building he is decorating.

In the choice of what subjects should be represented and in their positions there were certain traditions which influenced Barna and the other painters, but the way in which Barna arranged his work indicates that he was more conscious of the problems involved than were any of his successors in the Collegiata.

As Wittkower writes, in his consideration of Tiepolo "Nobody has ever been misled by the fictitious reality of the painted world. But just as in the theatre, the Baroque spectator craved for the maximum of illusion and was prepared to surrender to it". In similar terms, medieval artists painted the vaulting blue and sprinkled it with stars, so that it became the sky. But at the same time, the ribs of the vaults of the Collegiata were emphasised with bold colouring. The bay-by-bay form of the vaults above the regular openings of the arcades, and the continuation of this rhythm from the nave into the aisles provided a setting which was to a great extent disregarded by the artists who completed the work that Barna had begun.

There is symbolism in the starry-vaults of the church and traditional symbolism too in the placing of the Last Judgement over the entrance (though this is, geographically speaking, not the occidental end of the building). But no symbolic reasons need be drawn from the placing of the New Testament scenes on the right of the church rather than on the Gospel side. The most important

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reason is that the lighting is better, though it seems typologically appropriate, however unfortunate, that the Old Testament figures are left in shadow.

The typological scenes are arranged in chronological order with the movement within the individual scene emphasising the development of the narrative. Each cycle consists of a number of scenes arranged on a wall-space which in its upper parts reflects the bay-forms of the aisle vaulting; each bay has a lunette above a rectangular piece of wall usually divided into quarters with a scene in each. The scenes are separated from each other by an optically flat border in a compositesque pattern.

The Old Testament scenes are arranged in a straightforward manner, in three rows reading down the church. But in the New Testament series, after the six lunettes, Barna reversed the direction towards the altar for the next seven scenes. This re-arrangement makes it possible to have in the bottom row a sequence of eight scenes leading down the church from the entrance to the large Crucifixion filling the space of four panels in bay five. In bay six the cycle is completed with the Resurrection and Ascension set above the Entombment and Descent into Hell.

It is most important to note that, although much influenced in the iconography of Duccio, Barna shows in these frescoes that he was fully conscious of the developments in the representation of pictorial space made by Giotto and Simone Martini.³ Iconographical clues, such as the spinning maid in the Annunciation, show that Barna knew Giotto's work, but the evidence is not restricted to such minor details. When we compare the manner of representing architecture, and of placing figures within architectural space, we find that Barna has both looked intently at Duccio's Maesta, and then transformed the scenes as shown on these small panels by treating them in fresco in a manner explored by Giotto. Barna paints in a way that is logical, and aims at clarity in the manner of so many Florentines after Giotto. Barna has more feeling for the logical placing of figures in space than to commit the sort of crime as is to be seen for instance in Duccio's Flagellation, where Pilate stands

on a set of steps behind a pillar and yet manages to have the arm and shoulder farther away from the spectator in front of the same pillar.

A good example of the combination of Ducciesque iconography with a Giottesque spatial arrangement is provided by the Judas Bribe (NT 15). In Barna's scene the figures of the group are closely derived from Duccio, but are arranged with great sensitivity to apparent space, not in an almost flat group. They stand firmly within a well-defined building, much like that of Simone Martini's predella panel of S. Louis feeding the Poor (Naples, 1317). The same adaptations can be seen by comparing the fresco of Christ among the Doctors with its iconographical source. Here Barna has omitted Duccio's architectural setting, but has still managed to create the impression of a space filled with people.⁴ Occasionally shapes are unresolved, as in the form of the stone removed from the entrance of Lazarus' tomb. But the great advance made by Barna in his adaptation of Duccio's iconography is to be seen in his ability to organise large groups, even crowds of people. Notable examples are those of the soldiers at the Arrest, and of the many figures - mourners, dice-players, mounted troops and the three crosses - in the large and crowded panel of the Crucifixion. It was this scene which was to be so influential on later painters.

Several of the scenes on the Maesta, as noted above, are not shown in Barna's series. When we consider the implications of the changes made in the representation of the Judas Bribe, some of the reasons for these omissions become clear. The representation of the Temptation on the Temple, for instance, would have become totally unavittable if drawn in Barna's ^{style} for the architectural mass of the Temple would have become an embarrassment in the second row of the scenes, and have been unbalanced above an outdoor scene of the Passion series. It is this sort of reason which led Barna to omit the architectural setting from his adaptation of Duccio's Christ in the Temple. Another of the Temptations, that on the mountain (Frick Coll., New York) is also omitted by Barna; this scene with miniature mountains and cities beneath the large figures of Satan, Christ and attendant angels would perhaps have appealed to Bartolo di Fredi, but is totally unlike anything displayed by Barna in the other New Testament scenes.



NT
-13-
15 14

after Borsook

Barna's work in the Collegiata is in a monumental manner, admirably suited to the technique and scale he uses, and to the terms of his commission, not to paint an altarpiece but to decorate a church. Although so many of Barna's scenes are iconographically derived from panel-paintings, it is clear that the designs were conceived of in terms of wall-paintings. Although the narrative of the scenes is developed horizontally along the three rows, the individual subjects are yet to some extent organised bay by bay in relation to the architecture of the Collegiata. If this were not so the scenes could easily be as dull as a page of postage stamps, with no artistic reason why they should happen to be in their present order. Although the narrative can be read down the length of the wall of the aisle, it is not of major importance that this movement is disrupted in order to accommodate the large Crucifixion. The congregation is forced, by the form of the nave arcade, to see the scenes within the framework of the openings of the nave into the aisle. (Such had been the innovation of Giotto in the ordering of the space in his Legend of S. Francis at Assisi.)

That Barna appreciated this necessity can be demonstrated by the ease with which a satisfying photograph can be made of a single bay of frescoes. In the first bay of the right wall, the Annunciation has its axis in the centre of the lunette, at the peak of which appears the figure of the Almighty. In the next order, the wall of Jerusalem recedes to form an imaginary centre for the pair of panels of the Entry, so that the greatest depth is behind the flat border running down the centre of the bay. The boy stretching out his robe is not a flat silhouetted figure, but three-dimensional with one foot further away from the spectator than the other, and he leans forwards from the distance towards the nearer figure of Christ. At the left, the procession winds in from a distance. The border seems like a window-frame between the spectator and the scene, making him conscious that the scenes have a frame beyond which they ~~unlike~~ take place.

In the relationship of the lunette to the scene below there is another important refinement. In the Annunciation the ceiling of the room is visible, but the floor does not slope up to an horizon above the level of the lower border of the scene. The horizon in this scene at the top of the wall is not drawn, in a fixed formula, at the same height above the lower border as in the lower scenes of the Entry or the Last Supper and Judas Bribe. The effect is not achieved with mathematical precision, for several of the lines of the ceiling in the Annunciation will, if prolonged, converge several inches above the

level of the floor. But in this scene, as in the Crucifixion, the effect is of the distant side of a slope, of the ground falling away and hidden from the spectator. This effect is not again attempted in the lunettes in so far as they are viable, though the treatment would have been appropriate not only for the Presentation in the Temple, but also perhaps even for outdoor scenes.

In the way in which the Annunciation is shown as if taking place in some "upper room", Barna anticipates the practices of such artists as Andrea dal Castagno and Leonardo in their frescoes of the Last Supper. Furthermore, Barna was clearly conscious of the problems of trying to paint one scene above another. In the organization of the first bay with its four subjects on three levels, Barna provides one solution to the problem of painting one three-dimensional scene above another. The optically flat "picture frame" is hardly a strong enough structure on which to pile the Entry into Jerusalem. For this reason Barna set the Last Supper and Judas Bribe, in the lowest tier, each in its separately defined building, each with its own central axis, and each quite independent of the flat border which separate the scenes.⁵ It is easy to see that if Barna had used the whole of the wall available to him within the framework of the patterned borders, and drawn the outer converging lines of a flat ceiling and the floor directly from the corners of the frame, and created a straightforward cubical room, then the flat, checkered border would take on a new and unwelcome function, becoming the patterned fore-edge of the floor and walls and ceiling of the room. And on this same ceiling would be massed the crowds of the Entry into Jerusalem. 113

None of the other bays of the series (in so far as it is possible to distinguish all their features) is so finely integrated as this first one - the one before which each visitor stops on entering the church.

Each of the other bays has an individual pattern, partly decided by the subject matter of the individual scenes. In Bay Two the spatial urge of the Nativity is towards the right, although the shepherds come in from that side and move towards the left. In the next register, the Raising of Lazarus "reads" towards the right, but space recedes towards the centre of the bay as a whole, so that the greatest apparent depth is behind the central border, as in the double scene of the Entry into Jerusalem in Bay One. 79

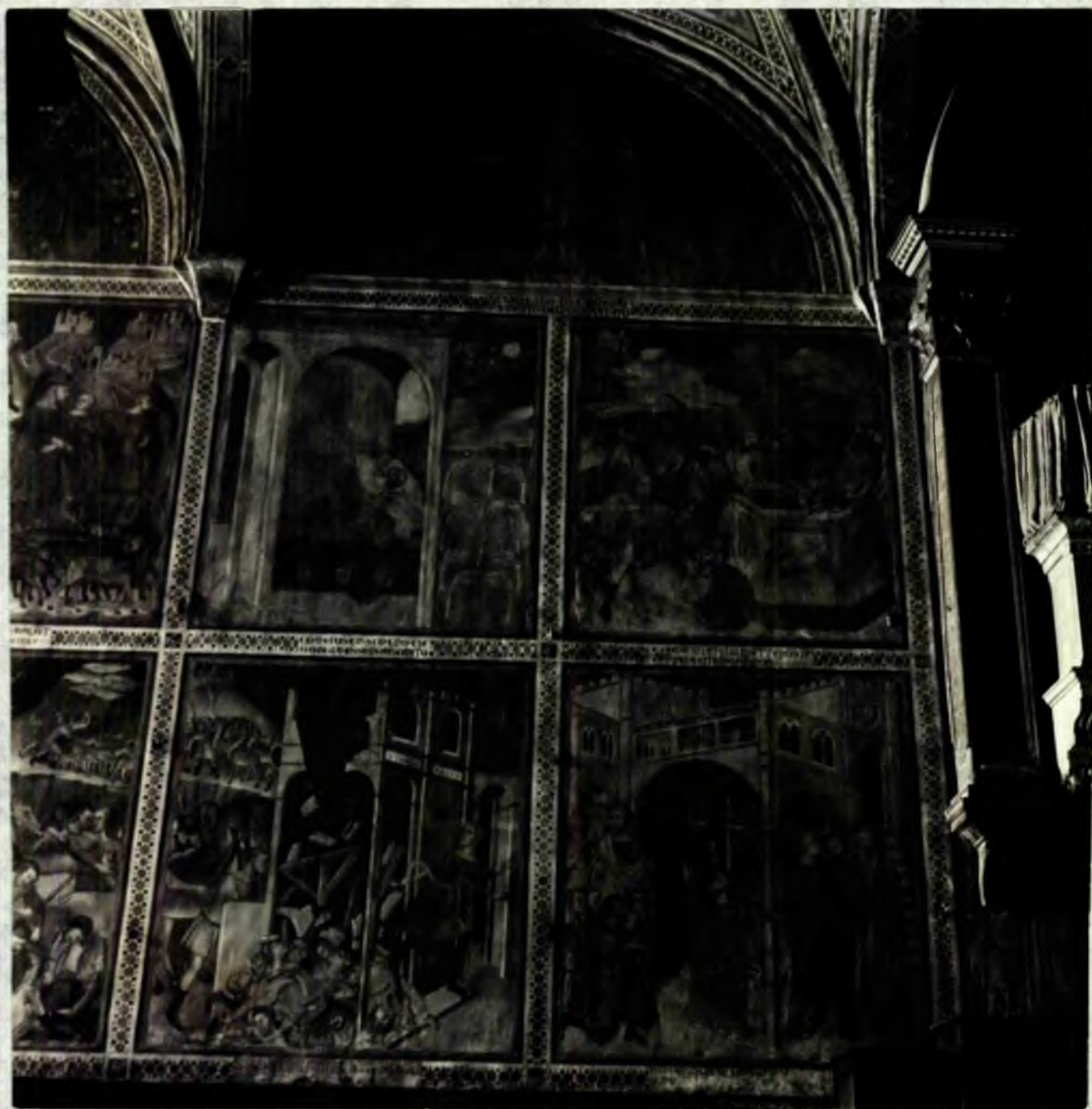
Below the Transfiguration, and diagonally opposite the Raising of Lazarus, whose spatial organization it counters, is the Arrest of Christ; the figures of the crowd are arranged in a mass which is at its deepest to the right of the scene, so that once more the greatest apparent depth is once more "behind" the vertical central border. The greatest apparent depth for the bay of frescoes thus echoes the opening of the bay of the arcade from the nave into the aisle.

The building within which the conspirators stand in the Judas Bribe is drawn so that the whole structure is "behind" the picture plane; in the Resurrection of Lazarus, similarly, the side of the tomb nearest the spectator is also kept well "behind" the surface of the wall of the Collegiata. The receding wall of Jerusalem in the Entry recalls that of Giotto's Raising of Drusiana in S. Croce. But where Giotto's wall seems to continue out into the real space of the chapel itself, Barna restricted himself by turning back his wall, so that it runs parallel to the line of the picture plane, and firmly within the space apparently created for the scene. In the Road to Calvary, however, the intention is different. This scene in Bay Four is not set above another scene, but in the lowest register. Barna seems to have wanted the spectator to feel involved, as Christ turns back to His Mother and His eyes seem to follow the congregation as they move down the church. In this case, Barna does not keep the wall behind the picture plane, does not turn it back, but draws it so that the wall seems to continue up and out and beyond the frame to bring the spectator into the space created by the form of the bay and into that created by the fresco, into the very crowd watching Christ.

* * * * *

This sort of evidence provides support to enable a distinction to be made between the upper scenes of the Old Testament series from those in the lowest row, the only ones securely attributed to the unaided hand of Bartolo di Fredi.

When one considers these lower scenes individually in terms of spatial conceptions, it becomes evident that Bartolo di Fredi, although often elegant in line and sometimes attractive in narrative,



OT 15⁵ 16
26 27

had not understood the considerable developments which had taken place not only in Florentine art, but also in that of Simone and his pupil, Barna. Or if he had known, he "consciously rejected one of the most easily imitable aspects of his models ... linear perspective".⁶ The personal style of Bartolo di Fredi is clearly indicated by the frescoes of the lowest row; in the two higher registers there are elements which seem to indicate the influence of Barna, either directly, or indirectly through the continuation of parts of his plan after his death. But in the later continuation of the work, there are elements characteristic of Bartolo di Fredi. That this artist, still a young man, was ready to benefit from the works of his great predecessor is indicated by several of his later works on panel, which show not only the dependence of one artist on another, but also illustrate the differences of personality and style of the master and his follower.⁷

Perhaps the most attractive of the Old Testament bays is the fifth. In its lower scenes, of the Fall of the House of Job and of Job in Prayer, the architecture is not drawn with any sense of pictorial space, though the lines of the buildings, of the steps and entablatures and balconies, seem to cry out for vanishing points or some other form of inter-relationship which would help bind the two scenes together into the form of the bay.

Looking higher, the lunettes of the Creation cycle in bays two, three four and five, all seem to be based on a much more ³⁰ competent design, competent that is, in spatial terms. In bay five, Adam stands exactly on the centre line of the bay, with a nice balance between the seated Almighty and the standing figure of Eve. In bay four, with the same seated figure of the Almighty echoing the curve of the border of the lunette is balanced by the diagonal of Eve being drawn from Adam's side. ~~But~~ This evidence must be treated with care, for there has been a lot of repainting. But such repainting may reflect original designs for the scenes.

In the second row of scenes, those in bay one have been ²⁷ repainted and offer no useful evidence: they are in a sorry state. But in the next bay the scenes of Noah building the Ark and Supervising the Entry of the Animals have a common "urge" towards the centre of the form of the bay. Similarly, in the next scene, ³⁸ the Sacrifice of Noah, is arranged so that the deepest picture



OT 7¹ 8 9² 10 11³ 12
 19 20 21 — 22 — 23

space is towards the centre of the bay. In the next scene, the figures in the foreground are arranged with Noah on a diagonal, so that the emphasis of this group (disregarding the background) is towards the centre of the bay. The young man at the left seems to be basically in the tradition of the young boy stretching a cloak before Christ entering Jerusalem; but the three-dimensional impact of the figure is reduced by the curious position and drawing of the boot on his left foot.

The organization of these four scenes of Noah into the architectural form of two bays of the aisle is most unfortunately not continued in the frescoes of the lowest row. The bay-by-bay rhythm of the series is totally disrupted by the sprawling masses of the Crossing of the Red Sea. This fills, without division, the space of two panels, one of them in bay two and the other in bay three. Not only is the scene lamentably badly drawn; - perhaps this part of the cycle was too easily accessible to the hand of the restorer, - but, of more importance to the enjoyment of the scheme as a whole, by having this two part subject straggle between two bays instead of in one, the relationship of the cycle to the wall-space is totally disrupted. The omission of the dividing border in order to create the double-sized panel brings attention to the fact that the optically flat cosmatesque borders of the scenes have an architectural function. Horizontally their most important functions are at the line of the springing of the vaults, and secondarily, at the division between the scenes and the lower part of the wall. Vertically, these flat borders fulfil the functions of pilasters, supporting the corners of the vaults and thus defining the forms of the bays of the aisles.

There seems no question, then, that by the time Bartolo di Fredi painted the Crossing of the Red Sea, Barna was no longer alive to supervise the work. The analysis of Barna's work in the Collegiata, the acknowledgement of his mastery of the task in hand, and comparisons with the work of his successors and followers in the completion of the scheme provoke the question: how much of the work had been completed or fully prepared before Barna died? Previous studies of the Collegiata have devoted most attention to the identification of the unadulterated "hand" of Barna, generally involving discussions restricted to the lower scenes of the Passion, each accessible in single, often mutilated photographs. Only incidental references have been made to Barna's part in designing all the scenes;

no writer seems to have considered the part played by Barna in designing the series as a whole in relationship with the wall-space available and to the architecture of the building. Consideration ought to be given to these problems, and to that of Barna's responsibility for the complete typological programme including the Old Testament cycle. No useful purpose would be served by repeating the complete sequence of misapprehensions about Barna's general responsibilities, but some major ones ought to be disposed of.

Van Marle, for instance, seems to have thought (though his text is somewhat obscure) that Giovanni d'Asciano completed the work in the New Testament aisle after Barna's death. This assumption is applicable only to the prophets, which are generally attributed to Giovanni. But these could have been painted from scaffolding put up to paint the lunettes of the Infancy cycle. These lunettes must, for practical reasons, have been painted before the lower scenes of the Ministry and Passion, and therefore necessarily while Barna was still alive, and thus under his supervision. It is highly improbable that the work of starting the New Testament series at the top of the wall, involving the erection of scaffolding and the setting out of the framework of borders (to go no further) of the complete cycle would have been left entirely to a very minor painter, even if he were Barna's nephew. That Barna himself worked at the top of the scaffolding is indicated by his fresco of the Annunciation.

Faison wrote that "both walls were probably thought of at the same time", and put forward a tentative suggestion that Barna was given the complete commission, was aided by other painters, but died before completing the work. In his attributions of the various scenes of the New Testament cycle, Faison is, I believe, too generous to Giovanni d'Asciano. Rather than attribute four scenes entirely to the unaided hand of Giovanni, I would rather increase the total of works of joint authorship, perhaps to a total of eight scenes; but in the choice of which scenes to specify as being partly by Giovanni, my opinions do not correspond with those of Faison. Edgell put forward the suggestion that the upper scenes of the New Testament series, other than the Annunciation, were executed by a third hand; this analysis was not

accepted by Pope Hennesay. The lunettes are in any case not in good enough condition to allow the clear distinction of the work of any Master of the Flat Feet, even if such a task seemed necessary or worthwhile.

The hand of Bartolo di Fredi is more securely documented than that of Barna, for there remain from a long working life a number of signed and dated works. There is documentary evidence that Bartolo di Fredi was in San Gimignano in 1362, and in 1366 he painted a commemorative fresco in the piazza.⁶ In these years he was probably working in the Collegiata. His signature and the date 1367 are to be deciphered under the lowest scenes in the penultimate bay of the Old Testament cycle. Berenson limited Bartolo di Fredi's work to this lowest line of scenes in which the inscription appears; this seems acceptable, for the interruption of the bay-by-bay organisation of the lower row indicates that by then Bartolo di Fredi was working on his own. But it is probably incorrect to state that the brush of Bartolo di Fredi painted only the bottom row of Old Testament scenes: it was perhaps his hand which painted others of the Old Testament scenes, of which at least some part of the designing had been prepared by Barna. There has been, in any case, so much repainting that only by a most ruthless programme of cleaning could we expect to find trustworthy evidence. *The architectural settings of OT 15, 19, 20, 21, 24, 26, 27 are consistent, and typical of Bartolo di Fredi.*

In 1550 Vasari's first edition of his Lives contained the statement that Barna had painted the Old Testament scenes of the Collegiata; in 1568 this statement was revised to read New Testament. Later writers have thought that Vasari had merely corrected a slip of the pen. Yet Ghiberti, who knew the paintings intimately and "borrowed" not only from the Passion scenes but also from the story of Noah, wrote that Barna had painted "molte istorie del testamento vecchie". The "Anonimo Gaddiano" is one of the few writers who have accepted Ghiberti's statement; most of the others have dismissed it with unwarranted haste. Ghiberti had the advantage over his successors in being able to judge the frescoes of the Old Testament while they were still fresh and had never been restored.

Eighty years after Bartolo di Fredi signed his work were painted the prophets of the Old Testament aisle. They hold scrolls with disturbing prophecies, a fact to which alternative interpretations may be offered. Either Pier Francesco Fiorentino in 1474 saw the implications of the Old Testament series and he (or his patron) chose quotations to state this theme in words; or he

merely repainted the prophets, as a replacement to earlier figures. In either case, it is no longer open to dispute that the scheme of the decoration - the typological series on either wall with their accompanying prophets - was conceived of as a whole, and that its unity was still appreciated in 1474. We may perhaps wish to compare the growing complexity of the typology of the Collegiata frescoes with the gradually enriched allegory of "Piers Plowman".

In the frescoes painted by Barna's immediate followers to complete the scheme, many refinements of drawing, of psychological insight, of the relationship of individual scenes to the whole building were ignored. The unity of the scheme is thus less evident when considered in terms of artistic quality and of attributions than in the terms within which it was first conceived, as the visible expression of a theological truth.

At a minimum, we can say that the scheme has an iconological unity, whoever painted the parts of it. In attributions Barna is to be given credit for the design of nearly all, and execution of the major parts of the New Testament cycle. On the opposite wall, the lower scenes were, on his own admission, the work of Bartolo di Fredi. But in the upper scenes, we may be able to detect the influence of Barna in the designing of the scenes in relation to the architectural setting and in the organisation of groups within each episode. Perhaps for these works Barna had prepared drawings or cartoons or sinopie. We may bear in mind, when we look at the scenes of the Naming of the Animals and of the animals entering and leaving the ark, this last paragraph of Vasari's Life of Barna:

"In addition to what I have said of him, he deserves to be lauded and held in honour by all artists, as having been the first who began to depict animals well. A specimen of his talents in this way may be seen in a sketch filled with wild beasts from different regions, and preserved in our book, His drawings, generally, are of considerable merit."

BARNA AND THE COLLEGIATA FREScoes : NOTES

- 1 Compare with FAISON'S analysis, that of R. VAN MARLE : Simone Martini, pp. 116 ff., and repeated in his Italian Schools, vol. II. A full list of works, including those referred to in the present chapter, will be found in the Bibliography. BOSCOEK has the last scenes in the wrong order, so her analysis of the movements from scene to scene needs revising.
- 2 VAN MARLE II, p. 486; his total of OT scenes is demonstrably incorrect. To fill a seventh bay would require a rare scene for the lunette (either the reproof of Adam and Eve, or the effect of eating the apple); in the second row, two more scenes would be needed for Joseph (not that the choice would be limited), but it is quite improbable that the story of Job would similarly be lengthened by two more scenes after the return of his good twofold. The series as it exists reads satisfactorily with the replacement of a final scene of Job, and two scenes in the Joseph sequence.
- 3 G. MILLET: Iconographie de l'Evangile, many references; R. VAN MARLE: Simone Martini, p. 132; VAN MARLE II, pp. 290-292.
- 4 Duccio used gold backgrounds, Barna used colour (blue), a change necessitated by the change from panel painting to the technique of fresco.
- 5 Barna's usage is a logical development from that apparent in the Maesta panels, e.g., Last Supper, Christ's Farewell, and the Washing of the Feet, which take place in a room extending to the edge of the panel, except for a gold strip of sky. In the Arena Chapel too, in Christ before Caiaphas and in the Mocking, the building is separated from the borders of the scene only at the top. And contrast Bartolo di Fredi's Recognition of Joseph's Brethren (OT 20). It is almost certain that the borders of the scenes would have been the last parts to be painted, for it was on the bare walls between the scenes that scaffolding could have been fixed. This was the practice of Giotto at the Arena Chapel (though the significance of the fact of the borders here being the last completed is not generally recognised: see C. GHUCCI GIOTTO (1959) p. 171-172).

- 6 MEISS, p. 20; pp. 19-20 are important in this context, providing analysis of Bartolo di Fredi's style as evidenced by his Presentation in the Louvre and the painting on which it is based, Ambrogio Lorenzetti's panel in the Uffizi. Miss Porsook's thesis provides analysis of several trecento painted frameworks for cycles of frescoes.
- 7 Some derivatives of the Collegiata frescoes are discussed in chapter 10 .
- 8 References in VAN MARLE II, p. 484.



EIGHT

THE TECHNIQUE AND CONDITION OF THE FRESCOS

"Having practiced drawing for a while as I have taught you above, that is, on a little panel, take pains and pleasure in constantly copying the best things which you can find by the hand of great masters. And if you are in a place where many good masters have been, so much the better for you. But I give you this advice: take care to select the best one every time, and the one who has the best reputation. And as you go on from day to day, it will be against nature if you do not get some grasp of his style and of his spirit."

Cennini: *Il Libro dell'Arte*, xxvii.

The account by Cennini of the methods of the fresco painter is clearly relevant to the study of the Collegiata; he came from the Val d'Elsa, and his book dates from about 1390.¹ The joints in the wet plaster show that Barna must have worked quite quickly, and to do this would have had to make preparatory studies on paper and then sketch out the main lines of the composition as sinopia on the walls themselves before beginning to paint the fresco patch by patch. The technique is notably different from that of Simone Martini in the S. Martin Chapel at Assisi, which is described by Miss Bovsack in the words "whether on panel or on wall, Simone hardly seems to have altered his brushwork at all," and used in fact a method hardly to be described as buon fresco.

The practice is well-known. From Simone Martini's hand there remains, for instance, the sinopia in the porch of the cathedral at Avignon are painted directly on to the stonework. Vasari reports that

"In the lower church of San Francesco in Assisi, Lippo Memmi likewise finished some figures which Simone had begun for the altar of S. Elizabeth ... In the great refectory of the convent of San Francesco, moreover, and on the upper part

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"of the walls, Simone had commenced several small pictures, as also a crucifix in the manner of a tree of a Cross, but all were left unfinished, or rather merely designed, being traced with the pencil in a red colour on the wall, as may still be seen..."

But Simone's work at Assisi was interrupted by his move to Avignon and his death there. It is likely that Barna worked in the same manner, and left, when he died, similar preparatory lines to serve as a basis for the frescoes of the Old Testament cycle. He fell, Vasari tells us, from the scaffold and died from his injuries; since the New Testament cycle is complete to its latest and lowest parts, one may suspect that it was from the top of the scaffolding on the other side of the church that he fell.

Vasari goes on as follows:

"... this mode of proceeding was the only cartoon which our old masters (for the greater rapidity in the execution of their frescoes) were wont to make. They first distributed the different portions of the work over the wall, tracing all they desired to do with the pencil, after a small design which served them as a guide, and enlarging each part to the proportions required as they proceeded."

It is a fortunate chance that two sheets of such preliminary designs have survived, one in the British Museum and the other at Chatsworth. Each sheet has a drawing on either side, and all four drawings are by the same mid-fourteenth century Sienese artist.²

The sheet in the British Museum shows Christ healing the Blind Man, and the Woman of Samaria; both drawings are closely related to the same subjects on Duccio's Maesta. Pouncey has suggested that a feature of an outstretched arm in the latter drawing is echoed in Barna's fresco of the Last Supper; certainly an outstretched arm is a feature beloved by Barna to indicate tensions and emphasise the drama of a scene. On the sheet at Chatsworth is shown the scene of Christ before Caiaphas; it includes an element from the Maesta not taken over by Barna in his frescoes, the figure of S. Peter in the foreground. On the other side of the Chatsworth sheet is shown the Arrest, and this has several elements which are to be found in Barna's



after Curtin photo.

fresco of the scene. We see the fleeing disciples and the pushing soldiers. The cutting-off of Malchus' ear, as shown in the drawing is however not at all in the manner of the Maesta, but with St. Peter in his rage falling forward over Malchus, a position found, reversed, in the Collegiata fresco. Another feature common to both the drawing and the fresco, but not found in the Maesta, is the way in which Christ stands held both by a soldier and by the full embrace of Judas. The soldier in the foreground of the drawing is in the pose of the one at the right in the fresco.

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XII

If we view the drawing in reverse, and interchange the position of Malchus and Peter with that of the soldier, we have almost the composition of Barna's fresco. Since three of the drawings are derived immediately from the Maesta, and include two scenes not included in the fresco cycle, it is most unlikely that the drawing of the Arrest can be taken as a drawing after Barna's fresco.³ The British Museum sheet is known to have come from Vasari's own famous collection, which, he tells us, included drawings by Barna. Pouncey attributed the drawings to a close follower of Simone Martini, and Weiss has suggested Lippo Vanni.⁴ One must be strong-willed not to hope that these drawings have more than a fortuitous relationship with Barna's frescoes. Whatever our decision, we cannot but be thankful for the chance preservation of these fragile scraps of paper, for they give a vivid indication of the way in which the iconography of the Maesta was disseminated through the sketches of artists who flocked to Siena to see the painting when it was still newly in the cathedral; they indicate the way one painting can influence later treatments of the same subject.⁵

The passing of six centuries has left its mark on the frescoes of the Collegiata, and they remain now only in a battered form. The work of an "espurgatore" in 1745 is recorded; further restoration took place in the late nineteenth century, and cleaning and necessary repairs were needed again in 1946-7. The Old Testament wall is still quite heavily repainted, and was mutilated by the insertion of an organ-left in its last bay. In the two days' shelling of San Gimignano in 1944, the Collegiata was badly hit. There are shell holes through the dying soldiers of the Crucifixion, and in the centre of the Paradise. Furthermore, the concussion of the falling shells shook the flimsy filling of the old windows of the right aisle; during the winter, one of these fell into the church, and the other two began to bulge inwards endangering eight scenes. The Wedding at Cana now lacks a central portion. But the work of conservation carried out since the war is of a high standard,

and the frescoes as a whole are now in a better condition, it seems, than before the war.⁶

The frescoes of the first bay of the Old Testament series have lost much of their repainted detail, probably due to dampness. A thorough cleaning of the whole wall, such as was given to Giotto's Bardi Chapel, would be of great benefit, if one were fully prepared for the removal of a great deal of later painting. A major restoration might even reveal sinopie, perhaps by Barna himself, as preparatory drawings for the work interrupted by his death. It has been reasonably enough suggested that Giotto provided preliminary indications, either in small-scale or on the walls themselves for the completion of the S. Francis cycle in the Upper Church at Assisi, and that he worked in a similar manner in the Arena Chapel in the Magdalen Chapel at Assisi, at the Lateran and at S. Croce. The practice must have been common enough in the trecento: this made Michelangelo's personal execution of the Sistine Ceiling so extraordinary.⁷

Ideally, one would wish to be able to test one's theories by carrying out this work, hoping to find certain evidence, in sinopia, to prove that the drawing described above was prepared as a study for the fresco in the Collegiata, and to test the suggestion that Barna's hand can still be detected, faintly, in some of the Old Testament scenes. Such evidence for the moment remains hidden, and even with over-painting, one cannot regret that the frescoes still remain undisturbed on the walls of the collegiata.

The benefits to be gained from removing the frescoes from their walls, and the dangers inherent in such proceedings can be well appreciated by visiting the Pinacoteca Nazionale at Bologna. Here, well-displayed (like museum specimens) are the frescoes and, in the adjoining room, the sinopie of a typological set of scenes from S. Appollonia, Messaratta. These frescoes and sinopie are of major importance for the history of Bolognese painting.⁸

The sinopie of these frescoes are of varying interest; that of Joseph put into the Well in particular is a fine piece of drawing, which forms technically and aesthetically the basis for the finished fresco. Such displays as this at Bologna, or of Masolino's work at Rome, provide a welcome opportunity of studying the artist "at work". Furthermore, as

at the Camposanto, Pisa, and perhaps at S.Gimignano, the discovery of the sinopia may reveal the original design of the fresco later lost through overpainting or surface decay.

While admiring at Bologna both the practical skill of those responsible for removing and separating the frescoes and their sinopia, and acknowledging the elegance with which the paintings are exhibited, a student of typological decoration realises how much of the intended impact of the frescoes has been lost. To see how the Collegiata frescoes were painted, one ought to go to Bologna or to some similar display of affreschi staccati. More important, to appreciate these Bolognese frescoes properly, one needs to visit a still-existent frescoed church, such as the Collegiata. It will be a sad day if ever the frescoes from here, and from S.Angelo in Formis and the crypt at Aquileia and the hill-top at Civate are all removed to air-conditioned museum rooms.⁹

NOTES : CONDITION AND TECHNIQUE

- 1 Very useful editions by D. V. Thompson, Yale (1933); the methods of fresco appear in Section III, lxxvii-lxxviii. See too Appendix to this chapter.
- 2 A. E. Popham and P. Pouncey: Italian Drawings in the British Museum, XIV and XV centuries; p.168 and pls. cccxxiii and cccxxiii. For the Chatsworth drawings, see P. Pouncey in Burlington Mag., 88 (1946), p.168 and pl.II. The Chatsworth drawings were ~~drawn~~ pencilled, and altered in inking, as noted by M. Meiss and L. Tintori: Additional Notes on Italian Mural Technique: Art Bulletin XLVI (September 1964), p.380.
- 3 A drawing by Ghiberti after a Collegiata fresco, is further discussed below, along with other derivatives.
- 4 See M. Meiss and L. Tintori: The Paintings of the Life of S.Francis in Assisi, New York (1962), esp. p.28.
- 5 The iconography of the scene is that of e.g. Assisi Upper Church, not of the Arena Chapel. For some other variations of the Arrest and Malchus' Ear, see K. E. Maison: Themes and Variations (1950), p.98.
- 6 Borsook, p.138; and F. Hartt: Florentine Art Under Fire, Princeton (1949), pp.11-14 and 140. The repainting in 1745 by Lupinari was in many places removed in 1891, according to Van Marle II, p.286.
- 7 See C. Gnudi: Giotto (1959, translated R. H. Boothroyd) pp.74, 98-100, 160-169, 188, 218.
- 8 In such works as these frescoes, and in other frescoes and panels by Bolognese, Riminese and Paduan artists now scattered around the world, one feels that there may be echoes of Barna's work; there are certainly interesting echoes of Giotto. But even on insufficient evidence, one suspects that in Emilia and the Romagna as elsewhere, development was often along parallel lines rather than from any one source; religious imagery develops in Tuscany and elsewhere within the context of a common religious setting.

The Bologna Frescoes are as follows:

On the end wall are the Annunciation, the Nativity with the Annunciation to the Shepherds, the Dream of the Virgin, and a miracle of the Virgin; these are works by Vitale da Bologna, of about 1350. Vitale also painted on the right wall a Baptism of Christ and a Virgin and Child; the other frescoes bear signatures of Vitale's followers and pupils. The scenes are of the Circumcision, the Adoration of the Magi, and remains of a group of miracles of Christ including the Healing of the Paralytic (signed by Simone de' Crocefissi) and the Healing at the Temple, with the angel troubling the water (signed by Jacopo da Bologna). Now shown on the entrance wall is a fragment of the Massacre of the Innocents, and the Flight into Egypt (?) attributed to Simone.

On the other side wall are shown the remains of the OT cycle. The story of Joseph is shown in nine scenes, of which the last has been displaced in its new arrangement; these scenes are signed by Jacopo, and are

- 1 mostly missing
- 2 Joseph sent out by his father, and put in well;
- 3 The selling of Joseph;
- 4 The return with the coat of many colours;
- 5 Potiphar's wife; Joseph jailed;
- 6 Joseph before Pharaoh;
- 7 The brothers come to Joseph;
- 8 The sacks filled;
- 9 The discovery of the cups and the recognition.

The next four scenes are not attributed; the fifth is attributed to Jacopo Aranzi and the last two, of the end of the century, are by Jacopo di Paolo. The type is Moses:

- 1 mostly missing; Exodus?
- 2 the fall of manna;
- 3 the striking of the rock;
- 4 the Law, and the Golden Calf;
- 5 Killing of blasphemers?
- 6 Moses, horned, brings down the Law;
- 7 Moses cursing?

The motif of this typological series relating two types, Moses and Joseph with two anti-types, Christ and the Virgin, would seem to be based in the various miracles in each of these narratives.

^{four}
APPENDIX III (CHAPTER VIII)

At San Gimignano (as in the Upper Church at Assisi - see E. G. C. Gnudi: *Giotto* (1959) p.43) not a little hinges on the speed at which fresco painters worked. But evidence so far available is far from satisfactory. For example, Gnudi (op.cit., pp.61-73) suggests that the Isaac scenes were completed within two years, and some twenty scenes of S. Francis, within another five to seven years. Similarly (op.cit. pp.111-112) it is suggested that the Arena Chapel took up to five years. The scheme for the complete Upper Church is generally agreed to have reached completion only after about forty years. Part of the explanation for this is to be found in the various changes of artistic control, and the absence of senior painters fulfilling commissions in Rome. (The full sequence of paintings from those of the Master of S. Francis in the Lower Church to those by the Sienese and such artists as Andrea da Bologna and Ottanairo Nelli spans a longer period, with drastic changes to the architecture of the basilica).

The Allegories by Ambrogio Lorenzetti perhaps took two years and three months to complete (Borsook p.136: "within two years (sic)" April 29, 1338 and June 20, 1340); the Spanish Chapel about two years (op.cit. p.140: promise to complete within two years); Taddeo di Bartolo's chapel in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena took less than sixteen months (contract and payments, op.cit. p.142); Uccello's Hawkwood took four months, including a completely revised version completed in eight weeks. Ghirlandaio's Sassetti Chapel in S. Trinita in Florence took less than four years (op.cit. p.159).

The study of the sutures in the S. Francis legend cycle at Assisi (L. Tintori and M. Meiss: *The Paintings of the Life of S. Francis in Assisi* (New York, 1962) has indicated that Giotto could complete a scene on less than a dozen patches, while his followers sometimes used up to fifty. There seems to be no certainty whether each patch represents a day's work, or a single session (perhaps a half day). But no conclusions as to the length of the task can be drawn: the total number of patches does not approach the total of days allotted by various authors to the completion of the scheme; no assessment could be made based only on the visible signs in the painted surface of the fresco, for this does not take into account time spent on preparatory work - whether in the development of a design or in the grinding of pigments and plaster-mixing.

When all these preliminaries - so exemplarily enumerated by Cennini - are taken into account, it is clear that it would be foolish to attempt any discussion of Barna's frescoes in terms developed in the study of post-Renaissance and modern art. Barna, like Giotto, was employed as the master of a firm of decorators. The painting in a fresco technique was necessarily fast in execution; the lengthier tasks were preparatory, and it was these that explain the slowness of progress - the master's preparatory drawings and the transferral of the design to the walls, and the pupils' and apprentices' slow preparation of all the materials. The actual finished fresco too must regularly be taken as the joint product of master and assistants. Similar workshop practice is regularly encountered in trecento polyptych painting, and since a polyptych is essentially a series of panels carpentered together, pupils must regularly have been entrusted with subsidiary parts. Since many polyptychs have survived only in parts, attributions must necessarily remain vague. (The entry of M. Davies: Earlier Italian Schools (1961) for the Giotto Pentecost is an example of scholarly and extreme hesitancy over the attribution of a work: there would seem to be no need to apologise for a firm attribution to Giotto's studio).

On such evidence as is available few conclusions can be drawn from our knowledge of the termini post and ante quem for the completion of a cycle and of the signs on the fresco of the speed of the execution of each part. But since the major outlines of any of the trecento cycles such as Collegiata must have been planned before any start could have been made to any individual scene, it seems quite probable that preliminary plastering and sinoper work could proceed before any fresco work began. Such seems implicit in Cennini's instructions.

- chapter xxxi : How you should draw ...
 xxxiii : How to make ... coals for drawing
 xxxv : ... the working up of colours
 lxiii - lxi ... how to make brushes
 lxvii The method of working on a wall, that is in fresco. ... first get some lime and some sand, each of them well sifted ... and wet up enough to last you two or three weeks. And let it stand for a day or so ... when you are ready to plaster ... then when you want to work, remember first to make this plaster rough. Then when the plaster is dry, take the charcoal, and draw and compose according to the scene or figures which

10

you have to do ... then take a little sinoper without tempera ... Then consider in you own mind how much work you can do in a day; for whatever you plaster you ought to finish up ... the plaster will occasionally keep fresh until the next day ... And let us suppose that in a day you have just one head to do ... follow this method in everything which I shall teach you about painting: for Giotto, the great master, followed it ...

When you have finished your figure or scene let it dry until the mortar and the colours have dried out well all over. And if you have any drapery to do in secce, you will follow this method ...

(D. V. Thompson: The Craftsmans Handbook (1933)
pp.42-50)

Such evidence ought to warn anyone trying to date a fresco cycle to any precise year of an artist's life.

NINE

THE IMPACT OF THE FRESCOES

"... the most notable figures of the Old and New Testaments and a large selection of saints. It is customary to refer to these facades as the poor man's bible, - a custom which prompts the reflection that the poor man of the Middle Ages must have enjoyed quite exceptional eyesight."

Osbert Lancaster : Pillar to Post.

When Barna was commissioned to paint the Collegiata frescoes, the church authorities were not primarily concerned with "art" any more than is a firm engaging an artist to advertise its goods. In each case the artistic effect is incidental to the intentions of propaganda. This overstatement expresses the purpose of the Church and of the advertiser clearly; the Church however is interested not only in propaganda but also in beautifying the House of God. The way in which the scenes have an artistic unity and are arranged within the architectural setting has already been considered. We must now consider the effectiveness of the frescoes in conveying and expressing the ideas of the religious teaching of the Church.

The intention of the planners of the scheme was that the congregation should be able to identify the scenes and characters correctly, and for this reason the inscriptions under the Old Testament scenes are in the vernacular, not in Latin as in Giotto's frescoes at Assisi. The inscriptions, as in the Triumph of Death at Pisa play an essential part in the scheme. It was intended that the congregation should be able to understand the literal meaning of the scenes. There are no inscriptions in the New Testament series, but it is through the medium of painting that the message of Christ's Passion could be most effectively brought to the attention of even the illiterate and of the young. The deeper meanings and interpretations of the scheme are indicated in Latin inscriptions held by the prophets, hidden in shadow. But the literate in Tuscany had books which taught the same message as was preached from every pulpit, in sermons in the vernacular which even the illiterate could understand.¹

Before attempting an answer to the historical problem of indicating the main sources of evidence of sermons and popular books of devotion available in the decades during which the Collegiata was painted, a personal evaluation must be made of the way in which the scheme fulfils the purposes of its planners.

It seems that the effectiveness of the scheme was severely limited from the very beginning, by the blocking of the old aisle windows which made the church dark even by Italian standards. The lighting is, except early in the morning, uninteresting and dull. The Old Testament shadows are generally in shadow and it is partly for this reason, I suspect, that few writers have looked at them in detail. The New Testament frescoes are better lit. But it is not easy to see the prophets in the shadowy aisles, and on the entrance wall of the nave the round window lets in a light which blinds the eye trying to look at the Last Judgement. 21

The most exciting time to see the frescoes is after dark, by artificial light; the electrical installation is competent and unobtrusive, and the general effect amazingly colourful. (As with Benozzo Gozzoli's Medici Chapel, one wonders how the artists managed without good artificial lighting.) The impression is of being involved with the pictures, for unlike separate framed canvases in a gallery, the frescoes cover the walls and vaults entirely. There is no need to crane one's neck to contemplate the most important scenes, those of the Passion. Binoculars are not needed to appreciate the roughness of the soldiers and the brutality of their expressions, nor to be attracted by the face of Christ, so often turned towards the congregation. It is impossible to ignore the frescoes: they are an integral part of the building. They achieve their effect partly by their scale, by the illusions of perspective, but particularly by the vigour of the colour and movements in the Passion scenes. The effectiveness of the scheme is caused by the cumulative impact of one scene after another, of Adam and Noah, Abraham, Joseph, Moses and Job on one side, Christ on the other, the Last Judgement with Heaven and Hell behind one. The procession of scenes round the church provides an effect that is rich, decorative and highly dramatic. The figures of the Old Testament and the sufferings of Christ are shown as part of the architectural form of the building, so that the congregation prays within a structure which is alive with the Biblical narrative.

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I

The scale of the figures is important, a fact lost in photography which reduces the frescoes on the wall of the church to the same format as that used to photograph a predella panel. The scenes are not small, like the roundels of the typological windows at Canterbury; nor are they set high above the arcade of the nave. The figures of Christ and his tormentors are set only slightly above eye level, and are approximately life size. The combination of having the scenes life size, and set at slightly above eye level proves most effective. Barna's frescoes ought not to be thought of in terms of biocherna covers and illuminated initials, or of predella panels or distant frescoes (like those on the walls of the Sistine). His life sized Christ suffers on a level with, beside, next to the Congregation. It is no exaggeration to say that one can stand on the slope of Calvary, to look up and see the piercing of the side of Christ.²

16
17
XVII

The nave itself is tall and narrow, and has an unobtrusive, repetitive decoration which does not distract attention from the aisle walls. On the entrance wall the Last Judgement with Heaven and Hell appears, above the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian and the Annunciation statues, like a great open triptych. The effect is reminiscent of the Byzantine practice, using the space of the first bay of the vault, with its symbols of the evangelists, to unite the three parts of the Judgement group. The rest of the vault is sprinkled like the sky with golden stars. The effect of movement up the nave towards the altar is, of course, primarily felt because one has got used to going into churches and looking that way. But the composition of the individual scenes reinforces this urge. In all the Old Testament panels, the movement is like that in reading a book, from left to right, from the entrance of the church towards the altar, the focal point of the building.

And here, in the end, we must admit disappointment. After the charming chapel of Santa Fina, after the crowded effect of being "compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses", we come out of the old part of the church into the altered transept and choir, an open, airy, colourless space, with a series of dark chapels opening from it, none of them of much interest at all. Standing in the nave, to imagine what must have been the effect of the frescoes when they were first painted, we ought to visualise small altars with polyptychs at the foot of the columns of the nave arcade, and another altar to S. Sebastian at the entrance wall of the nave, and on the high altar, standing in its apse, the great impressive painted crucifix.

The Collegiata is not planned on a grand scale, but its smallness ensures that the frescoes cannot be ignored: they are an essential part of the building, and integrated with it. The Collegiata is with the basilica at Assisi, the Arena Chapel and the Spanish Chapel one of the most impressive monuments of church decoration of this period in the whole of western Europe.

The great impression is made by Barna's frescoes. Time, and critics, have not treated the Old Testament series well. Yet Bartolo di Fredi was a competent and occasionally attractive narrative artist. The scenes of Job Feasting and Job Praying still have some of the qualities which are found in his panel paintings, and the scenes of Joseph's Dream and of him being put into the well are in the Sienese narrative tradition of predella panels and account covers, in which colour plays so large a part.

The impact of the frescoes is above all one of colour: this can hardly be appreciated from photographs, for the cumulative effect of being completely surrounded by walls and ceilings of coloured patterns and scenes is achieved by the way in which blues and reds, greens and ochres, dark shades and light supplement and complement each other, darker colours emphasising the brighter ones, the flesh colours of the faces reflecting the light, and the strange pinks and greens of the architectural settings standing out from the darker backgrounds, of blue or deep red or a mixture of the two.

Lapides pretiosi omnes muri tui;
et turres Jerusalem gemmis aedificabuntur;
Alleluia.

BOOKS AND SERMONS

No better example of what was available to the illiterate of fourteenth century Tuscany could be expected than that of a fully decorated church. Meiss, in his chapter "Guilt, Penance and Religious Rapture", implies that the original scheme for the decoration of the Collegiata was envisaged in the face of plague, the recurrent calamity which influenced so greatly the sensibilities of the people of Europe not only in 1348-9 but throughout the middle ages. An indication must now be given

of the ways in which a medieval congregation would learn enough typology to understand the "message" of the decoration of the Collegiata. Evidence is to be found in the books available to a literate Tuscan of the period, in the sermons preached in the vernacular, and in the services of the Church which the clergy would perform and doubtless on occasion explain.

One book above all others which seems to summarise so much of the religious thought and experience of the period is the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, which was soon available in the vernacular. It was so popular, and often so influential, that it is important to note that the Collegiata frescoes do not appear to derive any of their iconography from this book, though the spirit which inspires both is so very similar. This book was in any case only one of several available to a literate person in later fourteenth century Tuscany. Typical evidence is provided by the letters of Francesco de Marco Datini, the "Merchant of Prato", whom we have already quoted.³ In his second chest, Francesco kept the following:

I big book of the Life of the Saints, bound in red leather (the *Legenda Aurea*?).

I chronicles of Matteo Villani, ...

I book of the Gospels ...

I little book of the Epistles of S. James ...

I similar book by Boethius (*The Consolations*) and a little book by Fra Jacopo da Todi (*The Laudi*?)

I similar book ... the letters of Don Giovanni dalle Celle (a Vallombrosan) ...

I Children's Psalter.

He also owned a *Divina Commedia*, a Life of Christ (the *Mediationes*?), Italian versions of S. Gregory's and S. Jerome's Letters, and of the Epistles of S. Paul. Like so many other people, he had the *Fioretti* of S. Francis; but the book from which he derived most spiritual sustenance was the Revelations of S. Brigid of Sweden. And when Francesco attempted to be but slightly unorthodox, we find his great friend, Ser Lapo, reproving him for setting up his poor judgement against that of so great a preacher as S. Augustine.

The Merchant of Prato, and many others including the illiterate, were also greatly influenced by sermons. Much of this material has not been recorded. But as an indication

of the contents of popular sermons of the period, those of S. Bernardino of Siena (1380-1444) stand second to none. His life is well documented, and there remains a considerable corpus of his sermon material on which to draw; but there is no need in the present context to quote extensively.⁴

The sermons as a whole give a vivid record of Franciscan thought as propounded with great success to a large public. The two greatest series, *De Christiane Religione* and *De Evangelio Aeterno*, are securely based on the writings of the Fathers and Doctors, and include allegorising and typological references of a familiar sort. Everyone of the thousands who heard the Saint was thus accustomed to the sort of idea which he put forward in Sermon XLII of the series *De Pugna Spirituali*.

"This stripping of Christ was represented in Noah, who when drunk lay naked in his tent; for Christ, drunk with love, lay naked on the Cross, and Ham (the Jews) mocked him. "

Saint Bernardino, then, stands as an important example of the way in which a mendicant preacher acted as a transmitter of patristic tradition. By the time of Savonarola the tradition is perhaps not so strong, for his sermons - and the statues of such figures as David - show how in Florence the OT was being used as a commentary, a warning and an exhortation on contemporary affairs; the moral interpretation of the OT had become of greater importance than the typological.

TYPOLOGICAL THOUGHT IN LITURGY

In trying to demonstrate the unity of the scheme of decoration of the Collegiata, we have quoted briefly from the Fathers, and indicated that typological thought was a considerable element in the thought of the influential mendicant orders. It is not satisfactory, however, merely to go to the original sources - the Bible, S. Augustine and S. Gregory - and hope that in such a way we should have provided proof that this interpretation of the scheme was correct. The task might seem as simple in principle as this - though more difficult in practice - to prove that the Bible, and the appropriate books by Ss. Augustine and Gregory, had been available in San Gimignano:

our difficulties begin when we attempt to prove that the planners of the scheme (who remain anonymous) actually read the same books as the iconologist, or went to their work with similar solemnity. The situation is rather more complex: what we can say is that the influence of patristic thought was strong in Tuscany during our period, but the thought was regularly derived not from the original writings of the Fathers themselves, but through one or more of the several agents of transmission, through the pulpit, for instance, and through the various manuals available to preachers. It cannot be said for certain how many of the preachers read the Fathers in their original form, but their ideas were transmitted faithfully in the service books of the Church, and it is here and in commentaries on the services that we must look now.

As an example, we may consider the frescoes of the Passions: these are the most important of the NT series, the most dramatic, the most easily seen; the largest panel of the whole typological series is that of the Crucifixion, filling a space large enough for four normal-sized scenes. In all over half the NT sequence deals with the episodes of Holy Week, from the double scene of the Entry into Jerusalem (Palm Sunday) to the Resurrection (Easter Day). To see what was the official thought of the Church on these episodes, we can do no better than to turn to the service books, and to the commentaries on the services as used at the time of the painting of the frescoes.

The most important books are the missal, which took its present form in the tenth century, and the breviary. Apart from collects and hymns - many of them removed since the counter-reformation - the missal is entirely scriptural, but the breviary includes many quotations both from the Fathers (particularly S. Ambrose, one of its early reformers) and from the lives of the saints. Typological thought then is to be found frequently in both of the major service books of the Church, the influence of which cannot be doubted since missal and breviary are used daily by all religious under pain of sin.

In order not to get embroiled in the problems of comparative liturgy, reference will be made only to services not likely to have been much altered to suit the needs of a particular order or place. In the following paragraphs I have attempted little more than to indicate for the benefit of non-Catholics some obvious elements in the service books of the Roman Church, often little altered since the middle ages until quite recently.⁵

5

The link between the breviary and the missal is not always an obvious one. But remembering the subjects of our OT series, it is important to note that the lessons in the breviary for the weeks of preparation before Passiontide deal with the types illustrated on the wall of the left aisle; and more than this, often quotations from the Fathers which form part of the breviary services point the parallel. The breviary then provides the type figure, with a commentary. Looking next to the missal, we find that the mass of the Sunday deals with some aspect of the anti-type, Christ, seen as the new and fulfilling figure prefigured in the person from the OT who is the subject of the offices of the week.

For the week following Septuagesima, the breviary deals with the episodes of the creation narrative up to the death of Abel, and the mass for the Sunday is on the theme of Christ, the new Adam, come for the redemption of fallen man. Similarly, in Sexagesima and Quinquagesima, Noah and Abraham are dealt with.⁶ In the first week of Lent, the attention is more directly concerned with the episodes of the Passion, when the epistle for the Sunday is on the theme of the new priest-king, Christ as the fulfilment of the figure of Melchisedek. Lent II resumes the parallel between type and anti-type, Jacob (in the breviary) and the Transfiguration, of which Jacob's blessing is the type. The next two weeks with their Sundays, relate the stories and point the interpretation intended, of Joseph and Moses.

This sequence of readings is obviously of central importance in any study of a church decorated with these ante legem types. The service books might seem to provide an obvious enough source, especially as at many periods it has been customary to "preach to the Gospel" of the Sunday. The sort of commentary on the Gospel of the Sunday available in the late middle ages is the Catena Aurea of S. Thomas Aquinas, a Dominican compilation of quotations from the Fathers. More widespread in its influence was the Legenda Aurea, the form of which is based on the Church's calendar, Sundays, festivals and saints days receiving notice in due order. The major quotations reflect (and disseminated) the theological experience of the compiler and of his times: Ss. Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory and Jerome, with S. Bernard, are the most frequently quoted. In the opening sections of the commentary on the Church's year, the Sundays and types as listed above are dealt with in order, as they appear in our frescoes. In the section on Moses, for instance, the Ten Commandments, the Old Law, is dealt with in terms of the Christian New Law.

To illustrate the method of the Legenda Aurea, quotations from the commentary on the Passion will prove a sufficient illustration of the way a series of types is united with the central theme. "The third cause is because he was despised and forsaken by his friends, which seemed a thing more tolerable to be suffered of his enemies than of them he held to be his friends. And always he suffered death for his friends and his neighbours, that is of them of whose lineage he was born. This said he by the mouth of David: *Amici mei et proximi etc.* My friends and my neighbours have approached against me, and so have continued. Whereof said Job, capitulo xix: *Noti mei quasi alieni recesserunt a me: My neighbours that knew me as strangers have left me.*"

"For thus as saith S. Austin in the book, *De doctrina christianas*: By a woman he was deceived, and by a woman he was born a man, and the man delivered the men. One mortal delivered the mortal, and the death by his death. And S. Ambrose saith: Adam was born of the earth a virgin; Jesus Christ was born of the Virgin; Adam was made to the image of God; Jesus was the image of God; by a woman folly was showed; by a woman wisdom was born. Adam was naked; Jesus Christ naked. The death came by the tree; the life by the cross. Adam in desert, and Jesus in desert; but by the contrary. For after S. Gregory: Adam sinned by pride, by disobedience and by gluttony, for he coveted the highness of God. For the serpent said to them, ye shall be semblable to God, he brake the covenant of God, and desired and coveted the sweetness of the fruit by gluttony ..." The passage continues with a quotation from S. Paul.

"Job xxvi: His wisdom hath smitten the proud man, and after, may ye not take the fiend with the hook? Jesus Christ hath hid the hook of his divinity under the meat of our humanity, and the fiend would take the meat of the flesh, and was taken with the hook of the Godhead ..." ?

These passages are a commentary not so much related to the plain narrative of the Bible as to the services of the Church; they state fully for a wide audience the ideas to be found in the missal, and breviary. But we do not need to hunt for a commentary on the great services of Holy Week, for these state clearly enough the typological thought which surrounds the events of the Passion. Of the many services proper to Holy Week two have exerted a great influence on Christian thought, the Adoration of the Cross on Good Friday, and the Lighting of the Paschal fire on Easter Even - the most solemn and the most joyful services of the year.

Amongst the lessons on Good Friday (since the revision of the liturgy, the second) is Exodus xii, I-II, the first passover: Christ is our New Passover, sacrificed for us. Then during the Veneration, the Reproaches are sung. This marvellous tenth-century lament consists almost entirely of references to the OT, as prefigured contrasts to the Passion, with Jehovah as the saviour of Israel now sacrificed by His own people. This is the manner of the most highly developed typological thought, which not only discovers types and antetypes, but poetically sees opposites and contrasts as well as straightforward parallels.

Popule meus, quid feci tibi? aut in quo
contristavi te? responde mihi.

Y. Quia eduxi te de terra Aegypti:
parasti Crucem Salvatori tuo.

Y. Ego eduxi te de Aegypto, demerso
Pharaone in Mare Rubrum: et tu me
tradisti principibus sacerdotum.

Y. Ego ante te aperui mare, et tu
aperuisti lancea latus meum.

On Holy Saturday, the great preface - that illustrated on the Exultet Rolls - at the lighting of the new fire is sung as a great jubilant signal of the Resurrection.

"Haec nox est, in qua primum patres nostros
filios Israel eductos de Aegypto, mare
Rubrum sicco vestigio transire fecisti ...
O certe necessarium Adae peccatum, quod
Christi morte deletum est! O felix culpa..."

These references to the types of the OT are outstanding elements in the most dramatic of the services of the Christian year. Among the many documents that illustrate the thought of the middle ages, the most important are the bible and the service books; the Fathers regularly interpreted in a discursive manner the scriptural text; these interpretations were often themselves incorporated into the servicebooks, sometimes directly, but more often in an indirect manner. Subsequently commentaries, such as the *Catenae* and the *Legenda Aurea*, restated the ideas that had influenced the arrangement and compilation of the services. Through all these steps, the thought of continuity and relationship between the Old and New Testaments remained unmistakably clear.

The service for Holy Saturday has recently been altered; it used to include a wonderful series of twelve lessons; some were of familiar types: Adam, Noah, Abraham, the Red Sea, and (out of order) the first Passover. The remaining lessons were from the prophecies relating to Christ - many of which have become so familiar to us that we cannot think of them, although they come from the OT, in terms other than of Christ.

"Then said he, O fools and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken: ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory? And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself."

(Lu. xxiv. 25-27)

NOTES : THE IMPACT OF THE FRESCOES.

- 1 The iconographical, theological and artistic role of inscriptions deserves a full study, to cover their uses in such works as The Triumph of Death at Pisa (see Berenson's outburst), Islamic and Oriental art, or in the work of modern artists such as Ben Shahn. Vasari comments on the introduction of inscriptions into Tuscan art in his Life of Cimabue, and many art historians have echoed his opinions. The vernacular inscriptions under the OT scenes serve the sort of purpose of labels with titles on picture frames in galleries. It is difficult to believe that many of the congregation have ever been able to understand the abbreviated prophecies in Latin.
- 2 I know of few works which make a more vivid, personal impact: the scale and position of the lowest scenes in combination produce the sort of effect experienced again with Masaccio's Trinity, Mantegna's Camera degli Sposi or the three great Madonnas in the Uffizi.
- 3 I. Origo: The Merchant of Prato, pp.217-18 and p.271.
- 4 A. G. Howell: S.Bernardine, pp.107, 223-247 etc., with a full bibliography of sermons preserved. See also I. Origo: The World of S.Bernardino (1963).
- 5 Compare the many links in the Ambrosian rite.
- 6 And thanne mette I with a man . a myd-lenten sondaye
As hore as a hawethorne . and Abraham he highte.
Langland: Piers Plowman, B pass xvi.172. Abraham or Mid-Lent Sunday is seeking one whose blazon is the Trinity whom he saw and entertained; the epistle for Midlent (Laetare) is Gal.iv.21, all about Abraham.
- 7 The Golden Legend, Temple Classics Ed., I, pp. 77-79; and see also pp.169-296. Compare with the Missal, Offices in the Breviary devoted to the Passion as used on the Fridays of Lent; these are full of typological thought, both in scriptural references (e.g. Joseph's coat) and in quotations from S.Augustine and the other fathers. Of guides to the study of medieval preaching may be mentioned the two books on the English pulpit by G. R. Owst, and R. F. Bennett: The Early Dominicans. (1956).

THE COLLEGIATA IN ITS CONTEXT

"... if more ... paintings, which are closely related not only to each other, but to a whole series of works by different masters, could be left without the seemingly precise and 'personified' attributions which do not find general support, ... something might be gained. The works are clearly related to this, that, and the other. Just as patently their authorship is uncertain."

John White, in a review of
Offner's Corpus; Burlington
Magazine, CIII (1961) pp. 109-110

A Typological Elements

The comparison which would be most useful would be between the Collegiata series and the frescoes of OT Scenes which Vasari tells us Barna painted in S. Bartolomeo in Arezzo. That these no longer exist is all the more disappointing since other references to the OT are extremely limited in the remaining works by painters of the group.¹ Occasionally prophets, with or without inscribed scrolls, are found in minor positions in altarpieces, in spandrels or in the niches of pilasters. Otherwise OT scenes seem to have been entirely neglected by the immediate followers of Barna. (~~There are no other OT scenes in the group.~~).
The major exception is a cycle at Cascina (see Appendix Five).

One small group of paintings by these artists does however include a typological element - the figure of Eve, identified sometimes by an inscription, by the apple or by the serpent in the tree. She is shown reclining in a diaphanous shift at the feet of the enthroned Virgin who is suckling the Child. Of the pictures known to me, at least five seem to be by painters of this group.²

B "Typological" references to Saints

The most vivid illustration of the close relationship of a saint's life with that of Christ is in the visual representation of the philosophic idea of a mystic marriage.

There is no need to repeat here parts of Meiss's fine chapter on this subject, "Texts and Images", which traces the development of the idea, from the Marriage of Christ and the Ecclesia to the Mystic Marriage of the second S. Catharine, the Sienese Dominican.³ Offner has discussed the sources and types of this scene in Florentine painting of the same period.⁴

The Marriage of S. Catharine of Alexandria is shown on at least four panels by painters of our group. The finest is a commemorative, occasional panel which shows the Marriage to an adult Christ; this is now at Boston.⁵ Of a similarly high quality is a Marriage to an Infant Christ, in the Gallery at Siena (No. 108).⁶ Both these paintings are listed by Berenson as being by Barna.

Two other representations of the Marriage to the Child, at Perugia (No. 58),⁷ and in London,⁸ are in the manner of Bartolo di Fredi or Paolo di Giovanni Pei. The latter example includes a full scale figure of a saint (Bartholemew?) and a diminutive kneeling donor.

The idea of a Mystic Marriage is indicative of the literalness of religious imagery of the age. It is interesting to note in the last example the further personalisation of the scene by the introduction of a kneeling donor - almost an echo of the original version of the story of S. Catharine's vision. Even more noteworthy is the introduction of the episodes on the predella of the Boston panel. There is clearly an intention that the two knights shown in the centre throwing down their swords and embracing within the shadow of the wings of the archangel should emulate the deeds of the saints shown to either side: to the left S. Margaret and to the right S. Michael are vigorously overcoming the Devil. Furthermore, the two men making an end to their quarrel have now an example, (as shown above in the main panel) of a true pact, the Marriage Vow of a Saint with Christ Himself. In a minor position and smaller in scale in the main panel are shown Mary, the Infant Christ and S. Anne, probably best interpreted as intercessors. The inscription Aricio di Mori Arighetti fece fare questa tavola, is not as interesting as one would have hoped.

Unfortunately a fresco painted for a similar purpose, at the conclusion of a feud between the Augustinians and Olivetans has been lost, and the subject is unrecorded. All that is known is the date of the commission, 1366, the name of the artist, Bartolo di Fredi, and that the fresco was in the main square of San Gimignano.⁹

The paintings considered above, of Eve with the Virgin and of the Mystic Marriage used in parallel with a contemporary past are the only examples (other than the Collegiata frescoes) within the considerable number of paintings still existing in this group which can in any way be considered as having a 'typological' element.

There are, of course, several paintings which include donors within a scene or an anachronistic saint. The relationship of the donor, whether represented or not on the panel, is clearly emphasised in the several Madonnas who hold the Child, both looking "out of" the panel, and sometimes including a simple inscription, such as "Ego sum via, veritas, vita". In the same tradition are the two panels of the Redeemer, by Simone (in the Vatican) and by a follower (at Naples). These should perhaps be thought of as being the upper parts of polyptychs rather than as separate devotional images in the Van Eyck tradition. For instance, in the Madonna of the Magnificat by an assistant of Bernardo Daddi in the Opera del Duomo at Florence we see the Redeemer in the gable. He is shown blessing, and holding a book. At Naples the book is shown open, with that same popular inscription "Ego sum via ...". The "Daddi" panel at Florence shows (as does the closely related panel of the same subject in the Vatican) the Madonna stretching out her hand, as if from the frame of the panel on which she is painted, towards the miniature figures of the donors: it is probable that a similar idea is the explanation of the figure of the Redeemer in the cusp of a panel of the Madonna and Child by Lippo Memmi at Siena. The Redeemer is shown stretching out His hand (not as Van Marle suggested as a Saviour of the Last Judgement) and blessing the people before the picture. The Vatican Redeemer by Simone himself is a wonderful monument to the way in which the Sienese artists took over and transformed the stern Byzantine image of the Pantocrator, a process which can be noticed frequently at this period and in the works of these artists, when traditional iconography was altered, developed and humanised as a reflection of the changing modes of religious thought.

C Series and Cycles

Nowhere is the link between the religious revival of Franciscanism and Sienese art more clearly seen than in Simone's frescoes at Assisi and in his altarpiece of S. Louis crowning Robert of Anjou. The life of S. John the Evangelist by Barna, which Vasari reports as being

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in the church of S. Spirito at Arezzo has disappeared; and it is clear that our evidence for the study of fresco cycles is but fragmentary. There remains however sufficient evidence to gain an impression of the repertoire of the artists, and an indication of the popularity of various saints and events.

Bartolo di Fredi painted the life of S. Francis at Pienza, and at Lucignano (Val di Chiana). With the former is a Madonna of Mercy, and with the latter, the Triumph of Death. By an artist closely related to him in manner are the frescoes of the Story of the Holy Cross in S. Croce in Volterra, based on the frescoes of the choir of S. Croce at Florence. There is also the evidence of altarpieces which have a programme suited to the needs of a place or of an order: Franciscan saints appear together in one of Taddeo di Bartolo's best works, his so-called "Franciscan polyptych" at Perugia. Local saints are represented by the same artist's S. Gimignano altarpiece; and local devotions by the altarpieces with scenes of S. Fina and of S. Bartolommeo.

A fortunate survival - and a welcome change from a surfeit of sanctity - are the extremely important secular decorations of the Palazzo del Podesta at S. Gimignano, both in the Council Hall where the Maesta is flanked by secular scenes of hunting and chivalry beneath a border of heraldry, and in a private chamber decorated with what is sometimes called a "marriage cycle".

Before dealing with the Life of Christ, one major group of narrative scenes must be considered, those cycles both in frescoes and in panels, and individual scenes of the Life of the Virgin.

Of Barna's representations of scenes of this series, only the Dormition and Assumption remain, at Saint-Lo, and these have been completely repainted by Benozzo Gozzoli or his assistants.¹⁰ The "many stories of the life of the Virgin" which Vasari says Barna painted in the chapel of the Pagnelli in the pieve at Arezzo have disappeared; and as a representative of his treatment of the narrative we are left with only a single panel, and that but tentatively attributable to Barna's school. It shows the rare scene of "Woman, behold thy son", with St Peter and James the Less;¹¹ this may be compared with the Return of Christ from the Temple, Simone Martini's panel at Liverpool.

Although, as described above, Barna borrowed extensively from Duccio's Maesta, when preparing the Collegiata NT series, he did not include the scenes of the final episodes of the Life of the Virgin. In the context of the Maesta, the Life of the Virgin is closely inter-related with the Life of Christ, particularly in episodes of the Nativity of Our Lord. The full cycle of the Life of the Virgin includes, however, not only scenes such as the Dormition and Assumption but also events which precede the first of the scenes on the Maesta, the Annunciation. By far the most important and influential monument illustrating these events, to be found in the Apocryphal Gospels, are Giotto's frescoes in the Arena Chapel, which are arranged "typologically" within the Marian narrative.

As an example of the iconography (and artistic quality) of the representation by artists of our group, of the early events of the cycle there is the small predella panel of the Annunciation to Joachim in the Vatican by Bartolo di Fredi or his son Andrea.¹² The use of the cycle in monumental form is represented by Bartolo di Fredi's frescoes of about 1380 in the chapel to the right of S. Agostino. Although these are sadly damaged, it is still possible to identify scenes of the Birth of the Virgin, the Presentation and Marriage (on the left wall, one above the other) and the Death of the Virgin (on the right wall). Above the last was probably the Funeral or Assumption, and at the top of the wall either the Assumption or Coronation. Only fragments remain on the altar wall. But fortunately there still exists - although now split up between Siena and Montalcino - a polyptych of the Life of the Virgin of 1388, a work which, even more than his Siena Adoration of the Magi, shows Bartolo di Fredi at his most attractive. The central panel, now at Montalcino, shows the Coronation of the Virgin; the smaller scenes, now at Siena, show the Virgin returning to her paternal home, the Marriage of the Virgin which is very closely related to the fresco in S. Agostino, the Virgin taking leave of the Apostles and her Death. In the predella, also at Siena, are S. Joachim expelled from the Temple, the Deposition and the Birth of the Virgin.

Not much would be gained by listing all the panels by artists of this group which show Mariological scenes; particularly common are the Assumption and Coronation. It is sufficient to realize that although the Life of the Virgin is not prominent in the Collegiata, it had none the less an important place within the "repertoire" of the artists. Although Barna's cycle has been lost, two by

Bartolo di Fredi remain, and as well as Taddeo di Bartolo's frescoes of the Life of the Virgin at Pisa (1397), there are also his famous scenes in the chapel of the Palazzo Pubblico painted in 1406-7 of which Vasari spoke so highly.¹³

The influence of the Mariological and Passion scenes of Barna and Bartolo di Fredi on such painters as Giovanni di Paolo, Sassetta and the Osservanza Master has been studied by Pope-Hennessy. It is important to note that this influence seems to have been restricted to minor points of iconography within the individual scene. I have not found evidence to suggest that artists borrowed complete cycles. For the Life of the Virgin the basic source-book is the Golden Legend for the Feast of the Assumption; and it seems probable that each separate cycle used this as a basis, but had individuality both in the choice of scenes and in the iconography of each separate episode. This suggests that the programmes were drawn up by the authority commissioning the work, leaving the artist to interpret the individual scenes, using elements derived, consciously or unconsciously, from the works of his predecessors, Giotto, Duccio, Barna, Bartolo di Fredi or Taddeo di Bartolo.

As with Mariological cycles, so there is no evidence to suggest that a typological scheme was ever taken over exactly. Individual elements in the Collegiata scheme reflect Roman models, as exemplified at Rome, at Assisi and at Florence. But in the same way that the Collegiata frescoes cannot be said to have any single source, it is probable that the Collegiata itself had no immediate "descendants". These statements cannot be proved because too much evidence has been lost. But a study of other frescoes and altarpieces with cyclical programmes, although now often preserved in fragments or as individual panels of polyptychs, suggests that it is true to say that the influence of the Collegiata was not as a unified scheme but in its details.

The influence of details has been most closely studied with reference to Barna's frescoes of the Passion, and these must be considered within the context of the very large numbers of Crucifixions and other passion scenes by other artists of the period.

One way of dealing with this vast amount of material would be to provide a statistical analysis of the panels of the Crucifixion, to show which include or omit such elements as the

fainting Virgin, the soldiers dicing, a mounted or a halood centurion, devils over the bad thief or any other of the many iconographic details of this most complex and important scene. Without doing this in any detail, one major point emerges: that in none of the Passion paintings of this group do we find indisputable evidence that the painters of the group used as a basic source the Meditations on the Life of Christ. Such elements as the Virgin using her veil to cover Christ's nakedness, or His climbing one of three ladders to be nailed to the Cross, appear in Florentine frescoes (cell 36 at S. Marco), in Riminese? panels (Vatican 222) and in the frescoes of S. Maria Donna Regina at Naples which show Sienese influence. But we do not find such peculiarities of iconography in the paintings of Barna and his followers.¹⁴

A further advantage of considering the Passion panels by this group of painters as a unit is that it becomes possible to compare the scenes of the Collegiata within the context of the complete range of subjects. For instance, we find that the Deposition which is so closely related to ideas of the Pieta and Man of Sorrows, although not shown in the Collegiata series is none the less not uncommon: it was painted not only by Duccio (Maesta), Simone (Antwerp) and Bartolo di Fredi (Montalcino) but is found also on a panel attributed to Barna now in the Ashmolean.

Comparisons of this sort, and of paintings which are derivatives of Barna's frescoes suggest the possibility of working in the opposite direction; and by a comparison with existing paintings by artists of his circle, suggest appropriate reconstructions for the four much damaged scenes of the last bay of the Collegiata series.

For instance, both Andrea Vanni's Passion Triptych¹⁵ and Andrea di Firenze's frescoes in the Spanish Chapel¹⁶ show the influence of Barna: each, like so many of Barna's frescoes, shows a basic indebtedness to Duccio's Maesta; and with these examples in mind, it is no difficult task to make a useful guess at a mental reconstruction of Barna's Descent into Hell (MT 24). Similarly, after noting how Ugolino da Siena has altered Duccio's Via Dolorosa by the introduction of a rope around the neck of Christ - an

iconographic innovation followed by Barna - we can use Ugolino da Siena's panel of the Resurrection as a visual stimulus in the reconstruction of the damaged fresco of Barna (WT 25) in which it is now possible to see but faintly the upright figure of Christ with a banner, ~~rising~~ ^{emerging} from a rectangular tomb before which are sleeping soldiers. "

XVI

XVIA

D Conclusion

This group of artists, the followers and "descendents" of Simone, Duccio and the Lorenzetti and including the artists who worked in the Collegiata, worked for so long over such a wide area that their art was widely influential. Among the several examples which show the close links - however interpreted - between Sienese and French painting of the fourteenth century through the works of followers of Simone are three panels of the Infancy cycles: the Annunciation and Nativity at Aix, and the Magi in the Lehman Collection.¹⁷ Whether these - or any other of the many panels and frescoes of this group - were painted by a close follower of Barna, by Lippo Memmi or by Bartolo di Fredi seems relatively unimportant; such works as these constitute together an interesting unit of material, evidence to be used in the study of the history of artistic production in later fourteenth century Tuscany, in the study of religious sentiment and iconography, in the study of the development of "schools of painting", or in a study like the present one, of a specialized problem. By using such evidence as remains in this manner, as a unit, it is hoped that the importance of the Collegiata frescoes becomes even clearer, for they are within their context a unique survival. Executed to a unified plan the frescoes are the work of artists, who however different in ability yet lived and worked together in a closely-knit artistic community.

NOTES: The Collegiata in its Context

- I** See now S. SYMEONIDES: Taddeo di Bartolo (Siena, 1965) esp. p. 92 for tiny OT quatrefoils on the Montepulciano polyptych: they are not related to the Collegiata.

The ill. mss. and biccherna are considered in context in D. DIRINGER: The Illuminated Book, chap. VI with plates. See especially B. BERENSON: Studies in Medieval Painting; the essay "An antiphony with miniatures by Lippe Vanni" discusses also the Collegiata frescoes. The list of followers could be indefinitely lengthened e.g. Lorenzo Monaca was perhaps a pupil of Bartolo di Fredi, and Barna himself is recorded as working in Florence.

- 2** For a discussion of these and other examples see M.Q. Smith in Burlington Magazine, February 1962, pp. 60-62.
- 3** MEISS, chapter V, pp. 105-116.
- 4** OFFNER: Corpus III.V, p. 228.
- 5** MEISS, fig 107 and P. 110.
- 6** BERENSON, p. 41.
- 7** BERENSON, p. 184.
- 8** Exhibited Wildenstein: Religious Themes in Painting, 1962; Catalogue No. 7., Plate 7. See also No. 6 and Pl. 6 by same artist: A Madonna of Humility.
- 9** PECORI, p. 189.
- 10** BERENSON p. 41. It is possible that Gossoli's Life of S. Augustine replaced an earlier cycle; it seems strange that the Lady Chapel has older frescoes than the main choir.
- 11** KATPAL, fig. A, p. xiv; see also p. xxii, note 4. Attribution: VAN MARLE II, p. 301.
- 12** In the use of this scene for secular purposes, see Burlington Magazine, March 1962, pp. .

- 13 BORNHOOK, pp. 142-3 and pls. 41-43.
- 14 Metropolitan Museum, New York: Catalogue of Italian ...
 Paintings, 1940; no. 12.6, p. 78. Compare S.L. FAISON:
 A note on a Sienese Resurrection, in Walkers Art Gallery Journal,
 1941, p. 97; and op. cit. 1956-7; p. 19, G. COOR: A new link in
 the reconstruction of an altar-piece by Andrea di Bartolo;
 this article includes discussions of relevance to Barna's
 fresco cycle. XVI A
- For the influence of Barna's frescoes and Bartolo di Fredi's
 Mariological cycle on predella panels, see J. POPE HENNESSY:
 Giovanni di Paolo, pp. 29-30 (panels in Vatican and Doria
 Galleries); and the same author's Sassetta, p. 64-5, 78-87
 and 197.
- For a similar indebtedness by Gonnoli to Giotto, compare
 Gonnoli's Life of S. Francis at S. Francesco, Montefalco.
 Naturally Benozzo knew the series at Assisi where Giotto narrates
 the same legend; he even refers to Giotto as an authority
 on the question of S. Francis because in the centre of the
 frieze below the frescoes he depicts his great predecessor along
 with Dante and Petrarch, and the portrait is accompanied by
 the words: *Pictorum eximus Jottus fundamentum et lux.*"
 (VAN MARLE XI, p. 133) Compare Gonnoli's Death of S. Augustine
 and Ghirlandaio's Funeral of S. Fina with the Francis episodes
 by Giotto; and see also Gonnoli's Joachim and Anna fresco
 at Castelflorentino and the Arena chapel scene (VAN MARLE XI,
 fig. 137).
- Few artists are so influential as to impose their own
 versions of well-known scenes - and changes in iconography often
 imply changes in thought - not only on other painters but also
 on the thoughts of those who saw their works. Two such
 artists were Giotto and Barna.
- 15 Compare MEISS, figs 118 and 122, the latter a Sienese example
 though wrongly explained in the text.
- 16 VAN MARLE II, fig. 190.
- 17 BORNHOOK, pls.
- 18 VAN MARLE II, fig. 203; BERENSON, p. 528.
- 19 Not rising in mid-air in the Florentine manner.

APPENDIX FOUR (CHAPTER X)

The small chapel of S.Giovanni in Cascina near Pisa has one of the few surviving OT cycles of the period in the region of San Gimignano; the frescoes are signed by Martino di Bartolommeo and dated 1398. The career of this unoriginal painter spans the period c1387-1434; he was influenced by Andrea Vanni and Taddeo di Bartolo, and thus indirectly by Barna (BERENSON Lists (1932)p.333).

The chapel consists of two square bays, cross-rib vaulted with a transverse arch on pilasters between the bays. Above the altar is a complex large-scale Crucifixion, reminiscent in a few details of the Collegiata fresco. Below were 8 (6 survive) scenes of the patron, S.John Baptist. The cycle of 32 OT scenes is arranged in three rows around the south, west and north walls. The scenes of the Creation of the World, of Adam and of Eve, the Building of the Ark and the Entry of the Animals may perhaps be considered as derivatives of the Collegiata. But the other 27 scenes use basically different iconography even though the literary subject matter is the same. The type-figures have haloes. Like the frescoes of the Green Clpister the coloration of the scenes is greenish, with red skies. The (repainted) inscriptions are in the vernacular.

Above the OT cycle at the top of each section of wall are the figures of Virtues, six in all. Below the OT cycles are various saints, a donor, and the Annunciation. In the ~~eastern~~ eastern vault are the Four Evangelists, the Four Latin Fathers in the western. At the angles of the vaults are prophets holding scrolls with their names - not prophecies.

See P.STEFANINI: La Chiesa e i beni dei Cavalieri di Malta in Cascina; in Archivio Storico di Malta, Fasc.I-A.IX (Roma 1938)ppxvi ff.
G.MILANESI :Documenti per la Storia dell'Arte Senese (1854)

S.BORGHESE and L.BIANCHI :Nuovi Documenti per la
storia dell'arte senese (1898)

I must acknowledge the great kindness with which
I was welcomed and helped at this convent.

ELEVEN

OTHER RELATED FRESCOES IN FLORENCE AND IN CAMPO SANTO. PISA

Now in the eighteenth year of his reign,
when he had purged the land and the house,
he sent Shaphan the son of Azariah, and
Maaseiah the governor of the city, and
Joah the son of Joahas the recorder, to
repair the house of the Lord his God ...
And the men did the work faithfully.

II. Chron. xxxiv. 8-12.

The exhibition of the restored frescoes of Campo Santo, and of the sinopie, has once more drawn attention to their great beauty and historical importance. In the present chapter I want to attempt no more than draw attention to some links between the frescoes, some in Florence, and those in the Collegiata. The most convenient way to deal with such a vast amount of material will be to consider the frescoes in order as they appear in the publication of the Opera della Primaziale, Pisa, whose numbering, together with the page reference will be given.¹

Inscriptions play an important part in the frescoes at Pisa, and these are nearly all in Italian. Although Vasari's attribution of the Father of Creation and other scenes is not now accepted, his comments on the explanatory verses show that he read them carefully. As he says of the scene of Christ saving Peter : "when it was completed, it must have seemed wonderful to all Tuscany."² Clearly many painters looked with great attention at the frescoes of Campo Santo and of the Collegiata and were influenced by what they saw, not only matters of strictly artistic interest, but also in the use of inscriptions. Where inscriptions remain, or have been recorded, as at Pisa and San Gimignano, we are often fortunate in having an indication of the official purpose of the painting; contrary to much contemporary taste, the middle ages considered

the subject matter of a picture to be of supreme importance. In the Triumph of Death (N5, p.46), the pointed contrast between the "way of the world" and the Vita Contemplativa is made clear by the Italian inscriptions on the scrolls held out by the hermit, by the beggars and by the angel. No one who reads the inscriptions could have doubted the message, that the ascetic life triumphs even over death. This great picture, with the scenes of Judgement and Hell must be read as a visual penitential sermon. Inscriptions below and in the other scenes at Pisa and in the Collegiata fulfil a similar office in explaining "what the pictures are all about".³

A major difference between the Collegiata and the Pisan frescoes is the way in which the scenes are shown. At Pisa there is no regular framework within which episodes are shown; instead the walls are divided into large sections, each containing several episodes. The Pisan OT series is very much fuller in treatment than that of the comparatively small Collegiata, but this does not mean that the series has only its literal meaning; no doubt many of the scenes must be interpreted typologically.

N I, p.35. The Crucifixion

Although much damaged two iconographical points may be noticed. A minor similarity with Barna's Crucifixion is the polygonal nimbus of the Centurion. Of wider interest are the devils taking the soul of the Bad Thief, an element also to be seen in Andrea da Firenze's Crucifixion in the Spanish Chapel.

If, as Antal claims,⁴ Andrea da Firenze copied this detail from Barna, we then have 1368 as the latest possible date for the Collegiata scene. If Barna copied Andrea da Firenze's devils - an unlikely possibility although Barna is said to have worked in Florence - the Collegiata Crucifixion must be dated after 1366 at the very earliest. There is always the possibility that Barna and Andrea da Firenze had a common model: Bucci puts the Pisan fresco at about 1360, and it is nearer this date that one would wish to date Barna's work, recalling Bartolo di Fredi's date of 1367.⁵

The Spanish Chapel is iconographically based on ~~the~~ the Specchio della Vera Penitensa, a compendium of sermons by the Dominican, Passavanti, the influence of which can be traced in Nardo da Cione's Hell inside S. Maria Novella.⁶ The similarities between the scenes of this chapel, the same subjects at Pisa and the work of Taddeo di Bartolo are most striking, reflecting a common outlook on these matters.

It is not then surprising that in 1392 Niccolo di Pietro Gerini painted the same devils over the Bad Thief in the Chapter House of S. Francesco, Pisa;⁷ and in the Chapter House of S. Croce at Florence, his Passion scenes recall those of Simone Martini and Barna. Barnaba da Modena's Crucifixion in the National Gallery (dating from 1374) also shows the Devils, and the soldiers dicing; and in the same gallery, Nardo da Cione's panel, besides showing the breaking of the legs of the thieves, draws our attention to the influence of S. Bernard, who is shown with a quotation from his Liber de Passione Christi.

N 6, p.52. Last Judgement and Hell.

Initially we may note the basic similarity in the arrangement of these scenes and those of Taddeo di Bartolo, with the Judgement flanked on the right by Hell. This reflects the usual imagery of judgment:

Inter oves locum praesta,
Et ab hoedis me sequestra,
Statuens in parte dextra.

Amongst those being threatened with the pains of hell, one (the third from the left in the second row from the top) is of particular interest.⁸ The face should be compared with that of the right hand standing figure in the moving Pieta with donors and their patrons, now in the Uffizi (for which many attributions have been made).⁹ Vasari in his Life of Orcagna claimed that the Pisan fresco was full of portraits (a tradition deriving strongly from Dante, and of consuming interest to men of the renaissance). But this seems unlikely. We might suggest that the face was a traditional one, a type; it is found as the eighth face from the left in the lower part of Raphael's Disputa. But a close comparison of the Pisan face and that, in the same

medium, in Barna's Judas Bribe prove how closely these paintings are related.

Before dealing with the OT scenes at Pisa, we must refer briefly to those of the Green Cloister of S. Maria Novella. This series is by several painters, the work of the minor artists being overshadowed by that of Uccello. The inscriptions are in Italian. Like Campo Santo, the Green Cloister was a place of burial, and both series have a strong flavour of implied exhortation to penitence, contrasting the saved and the lost, in a manner suitable to a funerary monument.¹⁰ Further evidence of this sort of thought is provided by the tombs of the Bardi Chapel in S. Croce, where the inscriptions - such as "O Death, how bitter is the remembrance of thee to a man that liveth at peace in his possessions"¹¹ - point the moral. And as in the Last Judgement scene at San Gimignano, the Instruments of the Passion attract attention, as they do too in the Deposition in the Uffizi.¹²

The OT series at Pisa is a work of many hands; of the several sections, we have already dealt with the story of Job.

N 28, p.104. The PREFACE to the whole series is represented by a theological representation of the created Universe. The clue to the whole of the subsequent series is provided by the figures at the bottom of the fresco, St. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, who hold open books.

N 29-30, P.105. The CREATION series from the opening chapters of Genesis by Piero di Puccio, although only slightly later in date (1389-91) than our series, are of interest to us as examples of a nearby monument with an almost entirely different iconography. The same scenes as at S. Gimignano are shown, with the addition of the killing of Lamech. But the organisation of the scenes and the attitudes of the figures are completely different.

N 31, p.108. In the NOAH scenes, the engraving by Rossi shows clear similarities in the iconography with the episodes in the Collegiata - in the shape of the ark and in the arrangement of the scene of the sacrifice.

Next in the series at Campo Santo we have to consider Benozzo Gozzoli's frescoes. He had been in S.Gimignano several times between 1464 and 1467, and worked in the Collegiata itself in 1465; his continuation of the Noah series at Pisa was commenced in 1468.¹³ Allowing for the considerable changes in style, iconographic elements suggest that Gozzoli was probably influenced by what he had seen in the Collegiata. His series is a much fuller one than that of the earlier OT series; it is treated with great charm and grandeur.

N 32, P.119. The first of his scenes is that rare one found in OT 12, the DRUNKENNESS OF NOAH. In the DEPARTURE OF ABRAHAM AND LOT FROM CHALDAEA (N 38, p.121), the basic form reflects that of OT 13.

N 49-50. By comparing the subjects of Gozzoli's full sequence of the life of JOSEPH - in which there is perhaps some slight Sangimignese influence - we can make the suggestion that the lost scenes in the Collegiata would probably have been of Joseph's Imprisonment and his appearance before Pharaoh; the former scene could easily have included a reference to Potiphar's wife. The idea of an appearance of the type-figure before a ruler was certainly important to the S.Gimignano series, as a type for the trials of Christ.

We can read in this way the appearance of MOSES BEFORE PHARAOH. In this case the indebtedness of Gozzoli (N 51, p.137) is indicated by the form of the olawed serpent - a dragon, rather than a snake.¹⁴ It is in the next two sections which illustrate the RED SEA (N 52, p.138) and the GIVING OF THE LAW (N 53, p.139) that we see clearly the changes of style and the differences in ability between the young Bartolo di Fredi and the mature Benozzo Gozzoli. But the pose of Moses kneeling before the Deity appearing in a circle of cloud, and the basic organisation of the scene, show how closely Benozzo Gozzoli had looked at the Collegiata scenes.

To conclude this cursory survey of a very large subject, we need mention Krautheimer's analysis of Ghiberti's indebtedness to his predecessor's work at the Collegiata. A common relationship between the Joseph scenes and the Judgements and Hells at Pisa and in the Collegiata is probably best thought of in relation to the Baptistery mosaics at Florence. Amongst the many losses, one of the most tantalising is that of the frescoes on the entrance wall of the chapel in the Bargello, attributed to Giotto.

NOTES

- 1 M. Bucci. Campo Santo Monumentale, Pisa; 1960.
- 2 Life of Buffalmacco, Life of Stefano (and of Ugolino) da Siena; Bohn edition, I, pp.167 and 134.
- 3 E. CARLI: Pittura Pisana del Trecento, pp.66-70.
Compare J. B. SUPINO: Arte Pisana, 1904, where the influence of the Dominican "Vita dei Santi Padri", in praise of La Vita Contemplativa is discussed.
VASARI's: Life of Orcagna, Bohn I, p.205-9.
- 4 ANTAL, p.196-, and 201.
Compare Vasari's Simon and Lippo Memmi, Bohn I, p.184-.
- 5 That Bartolo di Fredi had learnt from Barna's Crucifixion is indicated by his recollection of Longinus' white horse, both in the Baptism of a prisoner (Siena, no.98) and in the more famous Adoration of the Magi (no.35). Meiss, taking into account the correct reading of Bartolo di Fredi's inscription (previous authorities had used Vasari's 1356) still preferred a date 1350-55; this supports Antal's claim that Andrea da Firenze copied Barna's work; and, accepting Bucci's "about 1360" for the Pisan Crucifixion, Barna's stands, in so far as we have evidence, as the original for a series of derivatives.
- 6 ANTAL, p.189.
- 7 BERENSON: Lists, p.396.
- 8 BUCCI op.cit., tav xvii.
- 9 VAN MARLE III, pl.viii. Among the attributions are Giotto, Maso, Nardo da Cione. It was painted for the church of S.Remigio, Florence. Compare A.Lorenzetti's polyptych, VAN MARLE II, fig.283.
- 10 J. POPE-HENNESSY: Uccello, pp.141-.
G. PUKELKO: Minor Masters of the Chiostro Verde; Art Bulletin XVIII, 1935.

- 11 Ecclesiastical xli.I; held by the top left prophet.
- 12 Compare too Crucifixion, Last Judgement and Hell, attributed to Chief Master of the Hours of Turin: L. BALDASS: Van Eyck, pls 163-5, and p.287 for inscriptions. See also the Ghent Altarpiece, op.cit., pls. 14, 85-89 and p.272.
- 13 BERENSON; Lists, p. 264.
- 14 The winged serpent, like the scorpion, was a symbol of evil; and in this way used heraldically on the banner of Maxentius in Piero della Francesca's scene at Arezzo, and similarly in a panel of the Road to Calvary by Giovanni Boccati at Perugia (150-151) and in a trecento panel of the Arrest (65).

TWELVE

THE END OF ANONYMITY

"One of the towers, rough as any other, was topped by a cross - the tower of the Collegiate Church of Santa Deodata. She was the holy maiden of the Dark Ages, the city's patron saint, and sweetness and barbarity mingle strangely in her story. So holy was she that all her life she lay upon her back in the house of her mother, refusing to eat, refusing to play, refusing to work. The devil, envious of such sanctity, tempted her in various ways. He dangled grapes above her, he showed her fascinating toys, he pushed soft pillows beneath her aching head. When all proved vain, he tripped up the mother and flung her downstairs before her very eyes. But so holy was the saint that she never picked her mother up, but lay on her back through all, and thus assured her throne in Paradise. She was only fifteen when she died, which shows how much is within the reach of any schoolgirl. Those who think her life was unpractical need only think of the victories upon Poggibonsi, San Gimignano, Volterra, Siena itself - all gained through the invocation of her name; they need only look at the church which rose over her grave. The grand schemes for a marble facade were never carried out, and it is brown unfinished stone until this day. But for the inside Giotto was summoned to decorate the walls of the nave. Giotto came - that is to say, he did not come, German research decisively having proved - but at all events the nave is covered with frescoes, and so are two chapels in the left transept, and the arch into the choir, and there are scraps in the choir itself. There the decoration stopped, till in the full spring of the Renaissance, a great painter came to pay a few weeks' visit to his friend, the Lord of Monteriano. In the intervals between the banquets and discussions on Latin etymology and the dancing, he would stroll over

to the church, and there in the fifth chapel to the right he has painted two frescoes of the death and burial of Santa Deodata. That is why Baedeker gives the place a star."

E.M. Forster: Where Angels Fear to Tread.

All summer, coachloads of tourists visit the Collegiata to be shown the frescoes in the chapel of Santa Fina, and then rush across the church to glance at the fresco of the Annunciation and buy postcards. Although a recent statement¹ on the relationship of Domenico Ghirlandaio and his studio has reduced the stature of his brother-in-law, Mainardi, we may be content to assign the two scenes of the Vision and Funeral of Santa Fina to Ghirlandaio, and to Mainardi the remainder of the decoration of the chapel (dated 1475) and the Annunciation of 1482. It seems probable that Ghirlandaio provided cartoons or designs for his pupil. Vasari describes the situation as follows:

"Among those who studied their art under Domenico was Bastiano Mainardi of S.Gimignano, who became a very able master in fresco; wherefore, proceeding together to S.Gimignano, Domenico and Bastiano painted the chapel of S.Fina in company, and produced a work of much beauty."²

The scene of the Vision of S.Gregory to S.Fina is painted with grave charm, and with no show of the unpleasantness of her sufferings - she is shown with a small mouse instead of the rats which gnawed at her body - for by 1475 the taste is no longer that of the Trecento, which had delighted in the representations of skeletons and the corruption of the body. The fifteenth century did not try to extol the "vita contemplativa" by dwelling on the temptations and pains endured by such saints as Fina, but ignored the ugliness of suffering and emphasised the beauty of the final rewards, the vision of the saint and the healing of the sick. From Ghirlandaio's fresco alone one gets the impression that S.Fina's sufferings might have been those of a young person confined to a bed; in the legend the torments she endured were horrific - but none of this appears in the fresco. The Funeral of Santa Fina is shown with a great attention to detail, in a most attractive manner. At

XVII

XIX

XX

the touch of the saint's body, the nurse's arm is healed, and the blind child receives his sight. (The last event is surely a literary interpretation, based on a painter's portrayal of a mourner weeping at the foot of the bier.) A beautiful detached apse in the latest Florentine style represents the church; behind is seen an angel flying among the towers of the town to start the bells ringing. Van Marle sees in this work of the young Ghirlandaio a recollection of Gossoli's Death of S. Augustine in the Agostino; but a nearer and more important source is clear. Ghirlandaio repeated the formula of the Funeral of S. Fina in the Obsequies of S. Francis (1482-6) in Santa Trinita in Florence. There is here the same architectural background of a detached apse, the kissing of the saint's feet, acolytes and crucifer, and a group of clerics. The scene is but a transformation of that by Giotto in his series of the Life of S. Francis in S. Croce.

The Funeral of S. Fina is the first of many frescoes by Ghirlandaio to contain portraits of contemporaries. The choir boys have been flattered, Van Marle says, if not idealised, but their elders are considered to have enough character and ugliness to be acceptable as likenesses of contemporary townsmen. We have here something hardly thought of when the major scheme of decorating the Collegiata was inaugurated. It is as if the people of San Gimignano are at the funeral of their patron saint, although they are alive in 1475 and the funeral took place in 1253. It is not as if they are seeking protection, sheltering for instance under the cloak of S. Sebastian as in the Agostino fresco, but actually taking an intimate part in an historic event. It will be useful to mention a few examples of paintings to show the changing role of the patron between 1350 and 1475.

Although the typological frescoes do not include portraits of donors, nor the inscriptions beneath the scenes any reference to the persons responsible for their commission, there yet remains a considerable volume of evidence - not including that in wills and other documents - to indicate the increasing importance during our period of the visual representation of donor-figures. The only reference to the donors of the Collegiata scenes seems to be in the arms of the Calimala.

in the framework. Limiting ourselves to examples of painting closely related to works at San Gimignano, we can show how artists more and more closely integrated the figures of donors within the context of the iconography of the scenes commissioned by those same donors.

The ancestry of paintings showing a donor involved in the action of the scene depicted is a long one: we may recall the Coronation mosaics at Palermo, and the lovely "S. Louis crowning Robert of Anjou", painted by Simone Martini in 1317. In the "portraits" of Franciscan saints at Assisi, by the same master and by his pupils, we can sense a new interest in the personality of the individual. But such images as these, and later ones of such saints as Bernardino, Catharine of Siena and other Dominicans, served a well-defined, educative purpose; it is to some extent coincidental that it is in such works as these that we can discover the development of portraiture as an art in itself.

The Crucifix in S. Chiara at Assisi, attributed to the Master of S. Francis, is an important early example of the linking of a donor and anachronistic saints with an historic event.³ At the foot of the cross, in the position and pose more appropriate, on historic grounds, to the Magdalen, is shown S. Francis. With him kneel not only S. Clare, but also the Abbess of S. Chiara with an inscription explaining that she had the crucifix painted. We can 'read' this crucifix in two ways: either it represents the Donor kneeling with the saints at the foot of a painted crucifix, as if recalling the crucifix which spoke; or it can be interpreted as representing the three figures anachronistically present at the historic event of the Crucifixion. It is the latter interpretation which was to become so influential. Symbolic representations provided a stimulus for other works in which, it seems, the symbolic intent took secondary place. The symbolic presence of an anachronistic saint or donor in the representation of an historic event stimulated the commission of further paintings in which anachronism was apparently entirely disregarded, and the living and recently dead were shown as if historically present at and intimately involved in events long passed. This apparent illogicality is explained partly by the medieval four-fold scheme of interpretation, in which the literal interpretation is not the most important; and partly by ideas of Christ's sacrifice on the cross being for all time, through all time, and the motherhood of the Virgin being an eternal rather than a temporal event.

At San Gimignano, the Maesta of 1317 by Memmo di Filipuccio (Simone Martini's master) and Lippo Memmi, in the Palazzo del Podesta, is an early example of the close integration of the living donor with the symbolic vision of a Virgin and Child in majesty surrounded by saints.⁴ Basically the design is derived from Simone Martini's Maesta of 1315 at Siena - which is related to the donors by the use of inscriptions - but the San Gimignano Maesta introduces a full scale figure of the Podesta, showing him being introduced to the Virgin and Child by his patron, S. Nicholas who holds a scroll with an explanatory inscription:

Salve regina / mundi, Mater Dei /
 Quae sine pena p/eperisti Christum /
 Vobis commendo / devotum infra scriptum
 Nellum Domini / Mini Tolomei /
 In ulnis vestris / rogo amore mei /
 Ut placeat vobis / suscipere istum /
 Et inter sanctos / vestros esses mixtum /
 Angelos, pa/triarchas vivi / Dei.

Below the Virgin are the more usual inscriptions

LIPPUS MEMMI DE SENIS ME PINSIT MCCCXVII
 (of which SIT MCCCXVII have been restored), and lower still:

AL TEMPO DI MESSER NELLO DI MESSER MINO
 DE' TOLOMEI DI SIENA, ONOREVOLE POTESTA
 E CHAPITANO DEL COMUNE E DEL POPOLO
 DELLA TERRA DI SAN GIMIGNANO.

In the corner to the right is the signature of the restorer:

Benozius Florentinus pictor restauravit AD 1467.

The child holds a scroll, with the inscription:

Clearly this is an important example of the full integration of a full-scale donor in a devotional and didactic picture; the but recently evolved form of the Maesta, a representation of a "Court of Heaven" has become more than a vision and represents the wish of the living individual to enter, and be numbered with the saints.

In Barna's works outside San Gimignano, we see only a tiny donor, squashed into the corner and related only by juxtaposition, rather than closely involved with the pathetic figure of Christ bearing His cross.⁵ Similarly at the bottom corner of Taddeo di Bartolo's Paradiso, the tiny donor is very clearly not in the company of saints, nor does her humble form conform to the scale of the figures of the elect: this is in contrast to the position and size of the Podesta. The same diminutive scale 'donor' is seen in the early frescoes of Ss Fina and Catharine by the entrances. At Arezzo, the Crucifixion fresco in the cathedral attributed to Barna shows the small donor kneeling to the right at the foot of the cross; but standing with the Virgin and the Evangelist, and to the same scale stand two figures, anachronistically, Ss Michael and Francis.⁶

Although the donor in this fresco is small in scale, the idea of combining donor and his patron saints is clearly in the manner of the San Gimignano Maesta. A variation on this method of iconography is illustrated by the scheme of the Spanish Chapel, which shows - and it could do this most effectively by the use of portraits - the involvement of the individual within the pattern of redemption, to be achieved through the sacrifice of Christ and with the help of the full resources of the Dominican Order, including the patronage of the Dominican saints. The chapel summarises the human situation, relating the individual within the Church both militant and triumphal. The present is seen in terms of the eternal - in terms both of Calvary and of Doomsday - so that the living individual is thus logically represented in company with the dead.

Similar Dominican theology is illustrated in the frescoes of the convent of S. Marco. The individual, regularly represented by the donor-saint, Dominic, is shown as if immediately involved in the historic events of the Gospel narrative, often to the exclusion of those figures who, on historic grounds, one would expect to see represented. In the Mystic Crucifixion in the

Chapter House an unhistorical group of saints of interest peculiar to Florentine Dominicans displace the usual crowds of Jews and Romans, and are shown sharing in grief with the Evangelist and the Maries. When we recall the Crucifixes with S. Francis - some, like that by "Giotto" at Munich, including donors - there can be no doubting the great influence exerted by the mendicant orders on the development of these representations imaginative devotional thought.

At S. Marco we can see the device which Bartolo di Fredi had used so clumsily exploited by Fra Angelico in a most poetical way, particularly in the Mystic Mocking of Christ, where S. Dominic is shown in meditation with the Virgin, and the mocking soldiers are represented only by their faces and hands. The devotional purpose of such a scene is made clear: the Man of Sorrows with the symbols of the events of the Passion, is to be a stimulus to meditation, a reminder of the whole sequence of the events which otherwise could be illustrated only in a long sequence of separate scenes, like the panels of the back of Duccio's Maesta. In Fra Angelico's fresco, it is as if we see a vision of the meditations of S. Dominic which are so clear to the saint as to be visible to the inhabitant of the cell.

Fra Angelico's interpretation of the scene of the lamentation at the foot of the cross can be compared with the "Giotto" treatment of the same subject. In this panel, the donors are smaller in scale than their patron saints, and the Instruments of the Passion are held by two saints included in the Gospel narrative. But Fra Angelico tightened up the iconography of this subject by showing the donors themselves holding the Nails and Thorns. A possible interpretation of the contrast implied by the group of mourners and the philosophising humanists might be between practical and philosophic piety. The donors are shown as if intimately involved in the scene, and the basic ideas of devotion to the Man of Sorrows and to the Instruments of the Passion are expressed with clarity, vividness and considerable beauty.

It is difficult to believe that similar ideals inspired the frescoes of the Medici-Riccardi Chapel, painted by Fra Angelico's pupil and assistant, Benozzo Gozzoli; yet we must note that the idea of using portraiture extends not only to the inclusion of identifiable individuals, but also of

identifiable place. The Medici and Palaeologue, as traditionally identified, move through a Tuscan landscape, and angels sing in meadows of paradise behind which rise the towers of San Gimignano. The S. Sebastian by the same artist, in the Agostino at San Gimignano, is iconographically derived from the traditional figure of the Madonna della Misericordia, exemplified by the panel at Orvieto by Lippo Memi.⁷ But Gossoli is a competent portrait painter, and it seems probable that we can identify among the men the figure of the theologian-donor, Domenico Strambi, "Frater Dominicus Magister Parisienus", whose initials F.D.M.P. appear below. In Gossoli's journey of Augustine, we can still read the grand inscription
 ELOQUII SACRI DECTOR PARISIUS ET INGENS GENIGNANIACI FAMA
 DECUSQUE SOLI HOL PROPRIO SUMPTU DOMINICUS ILLE SACELLUM
 INSIGNEM IUSIT ANGERE BERNOTUM MCCCCLIV
 Another fresco with a similar devotional purpose is above the tomb of Strambi, where there are depicted Mattia Lupi, Nello Nelli di Citti and Domenico Mainardi kneeling for a blessing before the enthroned figure of S. Gimignano.⁸

In these frescoes of the people of San Gimignano seeking the protection of their patrons, there is not anachronism, for the patron saints are still alive and protecting their suppliants. The latter painting is attributed to Bastiano Mainardi, the brother-in-law and assistant of Domenico Ghirlandaio, the artist responsible for the fresco of the Funeral of S. Fina. In another of his works, the Expulsion of Joachim, he was (Vasari tells us) to portray not only himself as an onlooker but also his brother David and his brother-in-law, Mainardi.

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The developments in iconography in the growing interest in the individual as exemplified by the great advances in portraiture seem suddenly to alter the medieval, anonymous traditions of medieval art and medieval patronage. But these changes are but reflections of the changes in religious thought dating back to personal and individualised devotions of such saints as Bernard who died in 1153 and Francis who died in 1226. It is not until artists represented their ideas in a visual form that the boldness and originality of their innovations becomes clear. After centuries of teaching, through the

medium of the written and spoken word, which identified the medieval Christian with Israel and with the disciples, with Job and with Christ, the Church did nothing to prevent, and indeed, encouraged artists as they identified the living congregations with the mourners at the foot of the Cross, or assisting at the funeral of their own patron saint.

If we follow step by step, considering the literary and theological purposes of the works, the development seems logical enough: small donors, donors with their patrons; anachronistic saints in biblical scenes, and donors joining those saints or even displacing them. These innovations in iconography owe less to the individual artist than to the changes in emphasis in the devotional thought of the preceding decades. Ultimately, the donor can be shown assisting in the historic event, not only, like a Borgia kneeling at the tomb of the Risen Christ, but perhaps masquerading as a courtier, or even, as Luterzi does, appearing as the saint herself. Once we begin to try to identify for ourselves the portraits in such pictures as these - some painted for devotional purposes and others for less praise-worthy ends - we show how clearly we are children of the Florentine renaissance. How difficult, correspondingly, becomes our task in training our minds to the ways of the preceding age.

NOTES

- 1 N. DAVIES: National Gallery Catalogue, Earlier Italian Schools, p.326.
- 2 VASARI Bohn edition: II, p.219. VAN MARLE XIII, p.14; he sees, p.192, the influence of Verrocchio in the Annunciation. For the relationship with Pollainolo-Baldwinetti-etc. in Cardinal of Portugal's chapel of a decade earlier, see R. W. KENNEDY: Alesso Baldwinetti (Yale OUP, 1938) pp.138-160, and p.227, note 313.
- 3 SINIBALDI and BRUNETTI: Mostra Giottesca, no.43. For the scale of figures, compare no.39.
- 4 VAN MARLE II, p.162. KAFTAL col 765, n.2, gives an unexpanded reading of the inscription.
- 5 Frick Collection; VAN MARLE II, fig.197. of Simone Martini: Crucifixion with Mother, child and Carmelite Nun; probably 1340s. See Borenius: Bull. Mag. LVI, (1930) p.255 (reproduced).
- 6 VAN MARLE II, fig. 198, dated before 1343.
- 7 VAN MARLE II, fig. 165; XI, p.
- 8 KAFTAL, fig.517. The full inscription is given by PECORI, p.540, which also lists a similar painting of S.Peter Martyr between an Augustinian, F.Giunta and a Dominican, F.G. COPPI. Compare Bartolo di Fredi's peace-memorial painting: PECORI, p.189.
- 9 VASARI; Bohn II, p.210.

CONCLUSION

BARNA IN HIS CONTEXT

Then Tobit wrote a prayer of rejoicing, and said: Blessed be the God that liveth for ever, and blessed be his Kingdom. For he doth scourge, and hath mercy: he leadeth down to hell, and bringeth up again: neither is there any that can avoid his hand. Tobit XIII. 1-2.

The homogeneity of the styles and iconography of Gothic art in the period 1350-1425 is such that any discussion of influences and interrelationships becomes possible and valuable only when an exact date and precise provenance can be proved. The influence of the Arena Chapel and Duccio's Maesta has been demonstrated already in a masterly manner by Pächt. By 1327 such influences are seen in France in the Bible of Robert de Billings; in Austria by 1324-9 in the Klooskenburg altarpiece, and in the Spanish Privileges of Mallorca of 1324.¹ Giottoesque and other Tuscan elements were easily assimilated in Catalonia, the link being with Pisa rather than directly with Florence or Siena, even to the extent of knowledge of Simone Martini's Pisa polyptych rather than any of his other works. In the S. Michael Chapel of the Convent of Pedralbes are New Testament frescoes by Ferrer Bassa, painted between April and November 1346; they are in many details strikingly related to Barna's work of the next decade, and suggest that there may have been precedents in Tuscany for Barna's work which are now lost, for the links do not seem to be directly with the Arena.²

There is no need to attempt here a full study of Italianate influences in late Gothic painting. The influence of painters who worked in the Collegiata can be exemplified by Pol de Limbourg who in 1414 saw Taddeo de Bartolo's recent fresco of the plan of Rome in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena, and copied it almost directly for the Tres Riches Heures. At the same time he could have seen Bartolo di Fredi's Adoration of the Magi (Gentile da Fabriano's version was not painted until 1423, nine years after Pol's visit.)³

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The influence of Italian art in England has been studied in some detail; the Wilton Diptych is a supreme example of the interpretation and assimilation of Simone's art by a northern painter. The great scheme of frescoes of the chapel of S.Stephen at Westminster were painted contemporaneously with those of the Collegiata; in each case a typological scheme was chosen. On one wall of S.Stephen's was the story of the righteous Tobit, his trials and tribulations. This cycle was complemented by another on the opposite wall, a series of the trials and tribulations of Job.

Our knowledge of the Westminster scheme is severely limited; there are Topham's Descriptions of 1795, and reconstructions by Tristram. Fragments of the frescoes are now preserved in the British Museum, which confirm how closely these frescoes and those of Bartolo di Fredi in the Collegiata were related in both style and iconography. One of the Westminster fragments shows the fall of the house on the feasting children of Job. The spatial setting is quite Lorensettian; the scale is smaller than that used in the Collegiata, but the impact is identical. As Pächt wrote of the Westminster cycle as a whole " ... but for their provenance, they might easily have passed as the work of some provincial follower of Simone Martini."

It is in this European context of 'followers of Simone' that the small stature of Bartolo di Fredi becomes apparent. When we recall that the frescoes of Pedralbes are a decade before those of Barna, the conservatism of Bartolo di Fredi (working near the centres where Giotto and Simone had developed their art) becomes apparent. We might have expected Bartolo di Fredi to have had a more developed style than Ferrer Bassa, his predecessor by twenty years.

In his Collegiata frescoes and in his panel paintings of the next decades, Bartolo di Fredi is seen to have been an artist of an entirely different temper from Barna. It is indeed true to say that Bartolo di Fredi is not primarily a wall-painter, but uses on walls a manner better suited to the smaller, more intimate scale of panels.

There are in Europe few wall paintings in a fully Gothic style. The finest of Gothic wall-decorations are tapestries, not paintings, and it is a tapestry-style which proves so effective in the Avignon garden frescoes. The Gothic painter, of whom Simone Martini is the greatest, uses gold with an elegance of punched details unknown to the Byzantines. The characteristic flowing line is that of calligraphy for the page or panel rather than to the scale of a great wall. Lorenzo Monaco and Fra Angelico, as well as Simone, are at their most elegant, most poised, most impressively Gothic in small works like predella panels. Simone's S. Martin chapel and his Maesta are both seductive works, but still essentially works of a miniaturist or panel painter. When Fra Angelico paints a fresco rather than a panel, his style changes completely: on a tiny panel, or even on a full-size altarpiece, his style is tightly-woven, the gilding polished and the paint applied with minute precision. But his style as a fresco-artist is more open, no less controlled, but entirely monumental. Fra Angelico consistently adapts his style to the scale of the work, exploiting the peculiar qualities of his medium and pigments. He was a great artist in two worlds, that of panel painter and that of frescoist.

But not Bartolo di Fredi. In many of his panels - for it is impossible to neglect them - he is an entertaining narrative painter, and not without some importance in the history of the development of a number of themes, among them the Adoration of the Magi and the Life of the Virgin.⁴ The use of tightly-interwoven line and colour and of plentiful punched gold is seductive enough to those who still have the courage to admit enjoying such things. The origins of his style are to be traced back ultimately to the narrative panels of Duccio's Maesta; the conclusions of the sequence are in the glorious predella panels of Sassetta, Giovanni di Paolo and even Benozzo Gozzoli.

The Old Testament frescoes are the works of a still-immature artist; they exert much charm, even in their battered state. But one is always conscious of the failure of the artist to appreciate fully the peculiar requirements, the peculiar potentialities of a series of six huge bays of wall-space. Lines which ought to be strong are, even if elegant, too weak. Colour is pretty rather than useful in strengthening the composition. But the faults are easily seen.

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Bartolo di Fredi's Old Testament frescoes were not, it seems, very influential. This is partly due to the relative rarity of complete Old Testament cycles (though more existed than now survive) and to their rarity on panel, Ghiberti is, however, a major exception, and his borrowings from Trecento art are well-known.

It is most interesting to note that the influence of the Collegiata frescoes is to be found in a number of panels by Bartolo di Fredi's followers and pupils. But these panels are all derivatives of the New Testament cycle. Barna's style can be seen completely transformed. Similar transformations are basic to Bartolo di Fredi's art: he is, in the Ducciesque tradition, primarily a panel-painter, a Gothic artist a little in the tradition of Simone. Bartolo di Fredi is not, as Barna is, a fresco-painter in the tradition of Giotto.

The problem of sorting out which panel paintings ought to be attributed to Barna is, in relation to the importance of his frescoes, a minor one. For like Giotto, Barna is essentially an artist to whom scale is all important. The size of a wall provides the opportunity for an impressive illusion of monumental reality. The creation of the illusion of living people moving in pictorial space is achieved by creating an extension of architectural space. In this Giotto and Barna must be recognised as artists not only of the Gothic but also of the Renaissance, for this process is one carried to its fulfilment in the art of Raphael.

In Barna there are however important elements of the Gothic - the poignancy and even occasionally the elegance. But the quality which distinguishes the art of Barna from that of Bartolo di Fredi - making him a great artist, not just one of many Gothic painters - is his new expression of humanity and of psychological tension. Barna is at basis a follower of Giotto in that he can model figures and group them in space, that he can use space for dramatic and emotional purposes. He is able to delineate character so as to make his narrative lively and full of character. Yet he maintains an air of timelessness; without rejecting the particular entirely or the Giottesque realism. His narrative

remains on an ideal plane, never descending (as does that of Andrea da Firenze) in to sensational reportage.

In what ways then can Barna be called a follower of Simone Martini? Barna is rarely Gothic, if Gothic is taken to mean elegant in line or consciously harmonious in colour. He is however Gothic in the sense of being fully aware of the pain and suffering, of the emotions of the Passion narrative. But Gothic is perhaps not the only adjective to use, for the depiction of emotions by expression and colour and composition is a feature too of works by renaissance artists. Simone in his Passion panels does provide some precedent for Barna's art; but a better comparison is with Nicola Pisano's Siena pulpit - something more monumental and weightier. On panel Barna may be a follower of Simone - but that is another problem altogether.

One of the most amazing features of the fresco cycle is its consistency of purpose. Barna is not an artist self consciously picking up details from the antique; there is no architecture all pinnacled and carved. The vision is completely unified. The crowds are grouped without fanciful robes to distract the attention, without minor characters individualised as portraits to the detriment of the particularised effect. As the number of persons in the scenes is increased gradually to the climax of the Crucifixion, the danger of swamping the central narrative by a mass of detail is completely avoided. This is achieved partly by allowing extra space for the two great crowd scenes, the Entry into Jerusalem and the Crucifixion itself. But the effect is less one of surface area than of artistic discipline.

The individuality of the separate figures is not for purely iconographic grounds (like the saints in a Lorenzo Monaco Coronation or the portraits in a Ghirlandajo fresco) but for the essential purposes of the narrative, as in the Judas Bribe, the Arrest or Crucifixion. This is not at all the manner of Simone, as comparison with the S. Martin cycle proves. The individuals are treated with realism, not with gilded elegance; they remain always coherently in place within the scene and within the cycle. No bending squire, no glorious shot-gold cloak is allowed to distract the eye. One figure alone achieves prominence throughout, the

figure of Christ. How easy it is to swamp the major figure in a complex series of episodes or to lose the narrative thread can be seen by comparison with the Spanish Chapel. But then Andrea da Firenze is an artist of the calibre of Bartolo di Fredi, not of Barna.

Working some years after Giotto's death, Barna in some ways increases the artistic vocabulary. In his handling of space, in his arrangement of groups in depth, in his strength of characterisation, and in his new dramatic power can be seen his originality. Where Bartolo di Fredi is derivative and backwards-looking, essentially no more than an artist representative of his age, Barna is forward-looking. The work of Bartolo di Fredi can be paralleled throughout Europe during 1345-1395. But the art of Barna was that of a great artist, brought up in the traditions of the Sienese followers of Giotto, and continuing to develop his art. The full originality of Barna's vision, in its unity rather than in its detail, in its solemnity rather than its horror, was not to be equalled until the next century.

It is perhaps only by chance that the works of the Florentine followers of Giotto - Orcagna, Maso, Bernardo Daddi, Taddeo Gaddi, fill the gap between Giotto and Masaccio - are nearly all on panel. (5) Yet panel paintings were but a minor part of the output of Giotto and Masaccio. Italian painting is essentially the art of mural painting from the time of S. Maria Antigua to Tiepolo, and however many may be the panels in the galleries of the world, it is wall paintings which provide the only proper history of Italian painting. If we wish them to illustrate the development of Italian painting between Giotto at the Arena Chapel and Masaccio in the Brancacci, the fullest, most important example we can suggest is the fresco cycle by Barna in the Collegiata in San Gimignano.

CONCLUSION : NOTES

1. O. Pächt : A Giottesque Episode in English Medieval Art : Warburg VI (1943)
2. For Pedralbes, see F.P. Verrie: Pedralbes y Sus Pinturas (Barcelona, 1962, with bibliography). The XIVo frescoes of the church were unfortunately destroyed, unrecorded, in the XIXo.
3. See e.g. M. Scherer: Marvels of Ancient Rome (1955) fig 2 and pl.8. To trace possible derivatives of e.g. the Collegiata Crucifixion would take a double lifetime of study.
4. For particular study, the Magi, the Montaliano polyptych and the Presentation (Siena Gallery, Montalbano and Louvre).
5. The sequence of works by the followers of Giotto in S. Croce, Florence, can be taken chronologically; and very depressing the sequence is only Maso excepted. The study of Bartolo di Fredi in the context of the change of style in eq. Taddeo Gaddi would prove valuable.

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APPENDIX SIX

BARNA AND HIS CIRCLE : AN INTERIM CATALOGUE

"Barna, although he died young yet left so many works that we might easily believe his life to have been a long one." Vasari.

The following catalogue must remain in an interim state for some works are proving difficult to trace and others remain inaccessible under present circumstances. This interim catalogue is then rather evidence of work in progress rather than anything like definitive. The attempt to list paintings published, attributed or vaguely connected with the name of Barna, or linked to his name in connexion with such figures as the Master of the Palazzo Venezia Madonna or the Master of the Straus Madonna, enables one to accept some paintings and reject others; in this way the artistic personality of Barna, and of his immediate associates, should become clearer.

It is hoped that in the course of the next few years a complete critical apparatus will be assembled, and (more important) that there will be an opportunity to see in the original some of the more important panels now in America.

INTRODUCTION

The prevalence of workshop production in fourteenthcentury Tuscany means that it was usual for several painters to work on a single polyptych. More than one hand is discernable in, for instance, Simone Martini's Pisa polyptych, which has forty-three panels. Pietro Lorenzetti's Arezzo polyptych has twenty nine panels. The following catalogue includes several single panels, and although it is possible sometimes to suggest that a small group may come from a single poyptych, this does not necessarily mean that the same hand painted each separate part.

On the evidence available it seems that Barna's style was not closely linked to that of Simone, but was much more Lorenzettian.

Several works which have been attributed to Barna are however clearly those of a close "follower" of Simone, and these works I would prefer to re-attribute to Lippo Memmi.

I SIMONE AND LIPPO MEMMI

No attempt can be made here to provide a catalogue of works which can be attributed to these two painters; only works occasionally attributed to Barna have been included here.

The identification of the work of Simone before 1315 is extremely problematic. Several authorities see the hand of Lippo Memmi in the various polyptychs of about 1320. Ghiberti (Commentaries, Courtauld edn.) p.20) wrote

"Master Filippo was his collaborator and is said to have been his brother; they wereworthy masters who painted a great quantity of panels, diligently wrought and most exquisitely finished."

This impression that there was firm of painters, Simone and Lippo, is strengthened by Mojmir Frinti's discovery that Simone and Lippo used the same punches to pattern haloes (Art Bull.XLVII.?, June 1965,p.261).

Lippo Memmi is first recorded with his father, Memmo di Filipuccio, in San Gimignano in 1317 when they signed the Maesta; this is a derivative of Simone's fresco at Siena. There are three signed works - a Madonna of Misericordia (Orvieto), a Madonna and Child from a diptych (Berlin 1081 A), the Madonna del Popolo (Siena, Servi) and a Madonna(at Altenburg). (Van Marle II fig 110, 165, 168, and opp.p.260; no plate of last-mentioned.)

In 1324 Simone married Lippo Memmi's sister.

The Uffizi Annunciation bears the inscription
SIMON MARTINI ET LIPPUS MEMMI DE SENIS ME PINXERVNT
ANNO DOMINI MCCCXXXII

Documentary evidence tells that Lippo Memmi was paid for the gilding and decoration of the lateral

panel with S. Ansanus.

Lippo Memmi did not go with Simone to Avignon.
He died in 1357.

It is proposed that a group of works sometimes attributed to Barna ought properly to be attributed to Lippo Memmi. The character of these works is distinctive in flowing line and in the open colour harmonies. The works would seem to have been influential in the formation of the style of the mature Lorenzo Monaco.

ALTENBURG	Baptist enthroned	}
PALERMO	S. Peter enthroned	
	S. Paul enthroned	
PISA	S. Andrew enthroned	}
SIENA 72	S. Peter seated)	
74	S. Paul seated)	
LONDON 4492	S. Peter }	
4491	Magdalen }	
NEW YORK		
Metropolitan	S. Paul	
	(With PARIS Louvre	S. Peter)}

II BARNÀ

Only two of the many works which Vasari attributed to Barna survive, the Collegiata frescoes and a frescoed Crucifixion in Arezzo Duomo. Many of the lost works were in Arezzo, and others in Cortona, Florence and Siena.

But many unsigned and undocumented works survive, now grouped under various names. Among these works may be some by Barna or his immediate associates.

(a) "Ugolino-Lorenzetti"

Berenson in 1932 attributed over thirty works to this artist (for whose genesis, see P. TOESCA : *Il Trecento* (1951) p.573-4, n.93). Meiss (in *Rivista d'Arte* XVII (1936) pp.113-135) attempted to identify this painter with Bartolommeo Bulgarini. Carli (Guide to the Siena Pinacoteca (1958) p.42) seems to relate this Master closely to work by a follower of Lippo Memmi.

(b) "The Oville Master"

E.de Wald (in *Art Studies* (1932) pp.45-54) invented this Master, including within his list a number of works which also appear elsewhere as being by Ugolino-Lorenzetti.

The identity of these two masters is very uncertain, as is the exact dating of their works. (Compare for instance E. CARLI : *Guide* (1958) with range c.1335-1360 and E. SANDBERG-VAVALA: *Sienese Studies* (1953) p.174, "from the thirties to at least 1360".)

The possibility that among this group are works - especially of c.1330 - by Barna cannot be entirely dismissed if one is prepared to consider Barna rather more closely related to Pietro Lorenzetti than to Simone.

(c) "The Master of the Palazzo Venezia Madonna"

This Master was proposed by C. Weigelt (*La Pittura Senese dell' ~~1300~~ Trecento* (1930), centring round a panel which is now attributed to Simone. This panel, and others in the group, have been linked with Barna in terms of "followers of Simone". Of the group the most problematic seems to be the *Siena Mystic Marriage of S. Catharine*.

(d) Giovanni d'Asciano and the "Pseudo-Barna"

Several authors, following Vasari, have attributed parts of the Collegiata cycle to Giovanni d'Asciano, the sole-named assistant of Barna.

Mr John Pope-Hennessy (Burl.Mag.Feb.1946) has identified a group of works under the title of "Pseudo-Barna", including under this title works attributable to Giovanni d'Asciano.

Works of this group would probably have been sold as being products of Barna's workshop, studio or firm. I am unwilling to accept that Giovanni d'Asciano was ever more than a minor artist.

(e) "The Master of the Straus Madonna"

Mr Pope-Hennessy has furthermore identified the head of his Pseudo-Barna in the Madonna and Child known as the Straus Madonna, and after which a Master has been named. Since Weigelt's creation of the Master of the Straus Madonna in 1931, several other works have been attributed to him (as in R.OFFNER: Burl.Mag.LXIII(1933)p.173). But in the process of increasing this Master's oeuvre, the distinctive character has become less easily recognisable. Even if it were proper to transfer to the circle of Barna the Straus Madonna itself, it would nonetheless be quite incorrect to transfer all the works attributed to this "Master". The Madonna at Stalybridge, for example, must be rejected outright.

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As a preliminary to further investigation, it has seemed useful to try and bring together a group of works which can on some good grounds be attributed to Barna and his immediate circle, or which are relevant to the definition of his oeuvre. Several works are retained in the catalogue even though re-attributed or left without attribution, for it seems useful to define by negatives and by positives. Many of the works are of good quality, and suffer relative oblivion for the lack of a definitive label.

III CHARACTERISTICS OF WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO BARNA

Documentation of Barna's life and work is so meagre that little can be attempted except on purely stylistic grounds. His date of birth is unknown, the date of his death not certain. Questions of apprenticeship must therefore remain questions.

(a) Early works

AREZZO	Crucifixion, before 1343
ASCIANO	Madonna and Child with Donor
BOSTON	Mystic Marriage (?early)
FLORENCE:	Horne Diptych
STOCKHOLM	Ss Ansanus and Catharine

These works have characteristics in common with others in the Ugolino-Lorenzetti and Ostile Master groups, particularly the Asciano Madonna. An angularity of line creates the impression of a weighty and characterful painter, with influence from Pietro Lorenzetti rather than Simone (eg. the Arezzo Polyptych rather than that at Pisa).

Yet if the Beato Agostino Novella triptych in S. Agostino, Siena is indeed by Simone, then perhaps Barna sometimes painted in a style more like that of the Palazzo Venezia Madonna.

(b) Mature works

Van Marle (II, pp. 287ff) was hard on Barna's New Testament frescoes; many of his points of criticism seem to be based on a desire to find in Barna's work a supple rhythm and elegance such as found also in the works of Simone and Lippo Memmi. But one can regard the "incoherent", the "exaggerated", the "not very graceful" elements in pose, drapery and composition in a more positive light, as a continuation and development of the less elegant but powerful traditions of Giotto, a continuation in Sienese terms, from the art of Ugolino and the Lorenzetti rather than from Duccio and Simone.

In Barna's frescoes there is tension in pose and expression, and this may be taken as characteristic. In the Call of S. Peter none of the three figures is at all elegant; the poses are tense, full of surprise, not in repose but representing interrupted actions. The Apostles in the Transfiguration are not elegantly set out, but are full of strain, tense in surprise. The Raising of Lazarus is full of drama - outstretched hands, pushing, pleading, bidding. The same characteristics appear in the Last Supper, in the highly-charged Arrest and Way of the Cross, and in the Crucifixion itself.

The tautness of composition and the indissoluble groupings prompted Meiss (p155) to make his comparison with the late works of Botticelli.

The style is quite unlike that of Simone's Liverpool panel, rejecting the elegance of Lippe Memmi's side figures on the Uffizi Annunciation, following rather Pietro Lorenzetti's Deposition at Assisi than Simone's S. Martin frescoes.

In the Boston Marriage of ~~the~~ S. Catharine, the whole composition relies on the tension between the saint, with her not-over-elegant outstretched arm, and the off-balance Christ, leaning forward on one foot with draperies falling almost anyhow.

A similar tension permeates the Siena panel of the same subject. Neither the Virgin nor the Child nor the saint leans forwards; there is no elegant arabesque of drapery. The Virgin draws forward the outstretched hand of the saint towards the outstretched hand of the Child. The conscious rejection of sweeping folds of drapery and the rectangularity of the poses recalls the same manner in the Call of S. Peter.

The same spirit inspires - if what remains can be interpreted definitely - in the Fogg "Woman, behold Thy Son", and can be recognised too in the Amsterdam Madonna of Humility. This leads us into the problem of Pietro Lorenzetti and the Dijon Master...

The coloration of Barna's frescoes has been described by Miss Borsook as "sinister". In part the effect is due to the abrasion of the blue pigment, leaving the sky a deep and slightly brownish red. The coloration of the Last Supper and the Judas Bribe and of the Transfiguration is certainly distinctive, and would seem to constitute an element of personal style. It is not only that Barna uses on panel the subtle quieter colours appropriate to true fresco rather than pigments of a much brighter tonality, but that Barna has a personal manner of using quite characteristic combinations of colour. Again the comparison is with the colour-range of Pietro Lorenzetti, of Ugolino-Lorenzetti and the Ostile Master rather than with Simone and Lippo Memmi. The Pisa S. Andrew and the Louvre S. Peter both have bright, clear colour harmonies - an orange-yellow, apple green, a soft clear red; but Barna is apt to use a creamy yellow, a blueish-green and a purple-red. It is perhaps not entirely due to varnish that the general tonality often inclines to bronze, for on panel Barna, like the Lorenzetti, and like Daddi, often uses a gold base for robes, punched and painted over in elaborate patterns.

IV INTERIM CATALOGUE

The following forms of attribution are used:

BARNA

BARNA?

near BARNA i.e. by "Pseudo~~z~~-Barna", by
Giovanni d'Asciano or a close
assistant

near BARNA?

Apart from a group here tentatively attributed to Lippo Memmi, other works have not been attributed, but are included for comparison.

Since the catalogue is still in an interim state, the bibliographical notes are reduced to a minimum, though it is hoped that the many deficiencies in documentation and description will be remedied subsequently.

It is hoped that even in a summary state the catalogue may be of some use as an indication of the scope of the problem; it has seemed wiser to say too little than too much. It will also be noticed that few works by Barna remain in Tuscany, and that the majority are scattered not only across Europe but have also proved popular with American collectors; this fact has persuaded me to wait until I can cross the Atlantic before presenting a fully documented catalogue with rather more definite attributions.

Annunciation^{to St. Stephen} and Nativity

Berenson (1932, p.528) attributed this to a "close follower of Barna", but Van Marle (II, p.307, n.3) mentions other ascriptions by Berenson first to Lippe Memmi and then to Bartolo di Fredi.

The work is perhaps related to NEW YORK : Lehman Coll: Adoration of the Magi, q.v.

ALTENBURG Museo Lindenau

S. John Baptist Enthroned

Paccagnini fig 40

XXI

Paccagnini, Van Marle (II, p.199) and Berenson (1932) attributed this to Simone.

But compare the following:

PALERMO

Chiamante Coll.

83 S. Peter Enthroned

Van Marle II, fig. 170

XXII

84 S. Paul Enthroned

Van Marle (II, fig 170) and Kaftal (col 801, 239k) attributes these to Lippo Memmi; Berenson (1932) attributed them to Barna, as early works.

PISA

28 S. Andrew Enthroned

Van Marle II, fig. 171

XXIII

On the footstool SCS AND ..(?AS) APOSTOLUS
Wood; arched top, no frame. About 36" tall.
Wrongly identified (except by Kaftal) as S. James.

Berenson (1932) as Barna, early; Van Marle (II, fig. 171 and Kaftal (Col 37, 15c) as by Lippo Memmi.

The four saints sit on identical thrones with lion-masked arm-rests on hexagonal plinths; Ss. John and Peter would be to the dexter of the central panel, S. Andrew to the sinister.

In the Collegiata at Empoli is a Madonna and Child on a similar throne, described as School of Lorenzo (Alinari 45563). The National Gallery of Scotland has recently acquired another Madonna, on a similar throne; this is by Lorenzo Monaco.

See too Sinna 72 and 74.

It is suggested that these four enthroned saints are by LIPPO MEMMI; all are characterised by a flowing, elegant line, finely modelled and painted with an open, clear colour harmony such as Lorenzo Monaco was later to use. 196

Rijksmuseum I483 - KI

MADONNA OF HUMILITY

Wood, 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$, pointed top. Perhaps left wing of a diptych.

Berenson (1932) as Barna; Van Marle (II, p.370) as early Pietro Lorenzetti; R. Offner: (*Art. Mag.* LXIII (1933)p.170) as Master of Straus Madonna; Museum Catalogue as School of Pietro Lorenzetti.

The Madonna in a blue cape over a bronze-gold gown; a book in her left hand "Deus in adjutorium..."; the Child in a pinkish smock climbing on her knee. In the background a bench in front of a brownish ~~marbled~~ enclosing fence. Above, the quatrefoil ed arch has in the centre six blue cherubim ~~per~~ pale; in the octofoil is what looks like a bust of the Almighty, though the pose is that of the Angel of the Annunciation.

The coloration and the strange line from Christ's hand raising the veil, down the Virgin's robe and to her knee - these would seem characteristic of ~~Barna~~. *Pietro Lorenzetti rather than Barna. Comparison should be made with the diptych at Dijon (especially with the Virgin of the Annunciation) attributed by de Wald and Sinibaldi to the Master of the Dijon Diptych.*

AREZZO
Cathedral, south aisle

BARNÀ, early

CRUCIFIXION with S.Michael, the Virgin and SS.John
and Francis, and the donor, Guccio di
Vanni Talati da Pietramala

Van Marle II fig 198

XXV

Life-size fresco, in poor condition, probably much
retouched.

In the soffit of the arch around the tomb are
painted minor saints and putti; angels carry scrolls
with partly eroded inscriptions which seem to refer
to the sculptures of the gable rather than to the
subject of the fresco.

The portrait of the donor was damaged in 1343 when
the Tarlati were exiled from Arezzo (A.del Viti:
Il Duomo di Arezzo (N.d.) p.58).

The fresco is rather gaunt, dramatic, bleak and
although open in composition still a tense work.

The attribution is found in Vasari, though he reports
it in a chapel of the bishop's palace. The work
is omitted by Berenson (1932) but is discussed and
illustrated by Van Marle (II, fig.198) as by
Barnà.

Vasari dates Barnà's move from Cortona to Arezzo as
being in 1369, which is inconvenient, though probably
only a mistake for Vasari also records that it was
in the time of the Tarlati. The church of S.Agostino
is now an elegant cool rococo church restored since
the war; there seems to be no trace of Barnà's cycle
of the legend of S.James.

ASCIANO
Museo, from S.Francesco

BARNA

XXVI

MADONNA AND CHILD with donor

Panel, 36 x 20½ (arched top, cut)

Crowe and Cavalcaselle attributed this to Giovanni d'Asciano; Perkins (Rassegna d'Arte Senese (1920)), Berenson (1932), Van Marle (II, fig.196) Meiss (P.54) and Carli (Sienese Painting (1956) p.36 and pl.46) all agree that it is a work of Barna, and the consensus of opinion is that it is early.

The throne with a square back and cut-out semi-circles in the arms, the verticality of the Child, the lack of discipline in the draperies recall no.76 at Siena, attributed to Ugolino-Lorenzetti. Comparison may also be made with the much fuller drawing of the Madonna at Lucca (4I, P.Toesca: Il Trecento (1951) fig. 507) also attributed to Ugolino Lorenzetti.

Van Marle used this panel as a key work, with the Boston Mystic Marriage and the Stockhom panels. Comparison should also be made with the Madonna and Child in the Collaggiata Flight into Egypt.

There still survive in S.Francesco, Asciano several frescoes, including an Imago Pietatis and an Agony in the Garden (with the Arrest) which can be attributed to a painter near Barna. The church is semi-derelict and would repay a full survey.

XXVI a

Van Marle II fig 199

There are in two private houses in Asciano Lorenzettian secular wall-paintings.

BALTIMORE

XXVII

Walters Gallery

729 MADONNA WITH SAINTS AND ANGELS

R. Offner (Burl. Mag. LXIII (1933,) p. 170) as Master of Straus Madonna.

The Museum attributes the panel to a follower of A. Gaddi.

BALTIMORE

near BARN? XXVIII

Walters Gallery

737 CRUCIFIXION

25 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{1}{4}$

A derivative work; not by Barna.

Berenson (1932) attributes this panel to Barna.

Museum (1966) follows Berenson.

BERLIN
Kaiser Friedrich Museum

IOI7A MMDONNA WITH FOUR SAINTS, Pieta in roundel.

Berenson (1932) as Barna (?); removed from Van Marle's list of works by followers of Simone (II, p.607).

The work is not included in the 1959 Museum Dahlem Catalogue.

III8 MADONNA AND ANGELS

R.Offner (Burl.Mag.LXIII (1933) p.170) as Master of Straus Madonna.

Not in 1959 Museum Dahlem Catalogue.

II42 ANNUNCIATION AND SIX SAINTS

Berenson (1932) as Barna; Offner attributed it to the Master of the Straus Madonna, but the 1959 Catalogue of the Museum Dahlem accepts Siren's attribution - Sienese, c.1360 (Bartolo di Fredi?)

Compare MUNICH :ASSUMPTION, below.

Weigelt (Apollo XIV (1931) p.12) quoted Offner's opinion that this is one wing of a diptych, the wing being the Crucifixion at Oxford, c.v.

BERLIN

1012 MADONNA OF HUMILITY

LIPPO MEMMI

XXIX

Panel, 28 x 19

Van Marle (II, fig.153) attributed the work to Donato?; B.Kurth (in Belvedere (1922)34) to Simone. But all other authorities (including Meiss, Offner, Weigelt, Berenson, 1959 Catalogue) agree in attributing the work to (or close to) Lippo Memmi. The full modelling and elegant draperies provide an important comparison and contrast to Barna's work.

BERLIN

1511 MADONNA AND CHILD

XXV

Panel 18 x 10

Linked by Weigelt (Apollo XIV (1931) p.13 with VIENNA: Lederer Madonna and WORCESTER: S.Agnes c.v. All display a lining patterned like a tartan: "The Scottish tartan goes back to Simone himself. See the lining of the Angel Gabriel's mantle..."

BERLIN

late von Kauffmann Coll.

SMALL CRUCIFIXION

Van Marle (II, p.297) quoting Berenson. Not traced.

BOLOGNA
Museo di S.Stefano

BARNA?

MADONNA OF HUMILITY

Panel, c.27 x 15, semi-circular top.

Madonna in a punched gold-and-purple dress, Child in red; all other colours darkened and most gilding lost. Probably much retouched. At base a good quality work, but in its present condition an attribution must be very tentative.

Berenson (1932) as Barna; labelled Andrea di Bartolo - an improbable attribution. The work is not included in Meiss' discussion of Bolognese Madonnas of Humility (Painting in Florence and Siena, p.135).

BOSTON
Museum of Fine Arts

BARNA, early?

XXXI

34 MARRIAGE OF S.CATHARINE and three scenes

Berenson, Van Marle and Edgell accept this as a work of Barna, and probably early. Pope-Hennessy wished to attribute the Collegiata Raising of Lazarus to Giovanni d'Asciano, and in consequence this panel too.

BOSTON
Linden Smith Collection
MADONNA WITH SS.PETER AND PAUL

Van Marle (II p.297) quoting Berenson.
Not traced.

CAMBRIDGE
Fogg

BARNA?

XXXII

18B "WOMAN, BEHOLD THY SON"

Kaftal (fig.A) accepts attribution to a follower of Pietro Lorenzetti. The Fogg Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Paintings (1919) p.107 made the tentative attribution to Barna. Meiss (p.61, n.6) suggests a Sienese painter influenced by Barna. Berenson's Andrea di Bartolo is not satisfactory.

The curious subject may be compared with Taddeo Gaddi's 1334 altar at Berlin (Van Marle III fig. 181) or with the Simone Martini at Liverpool, signed and dated 1342.

COPENHAGEN

BARNA?, early?

XXIII

S.VICTOR

Kaftal (col.1012, 310b, fig.1137) as Lippo
Memmi.

The saint wrongly identified in Van Manle II fig 194

Perhaps to be put with STOCKHOLM Ss CATHARINE
and ANSANUS.

CORTONA

Vasari reported that there were many works by Barna in this city.

In the Etruscan Museum, room 5 is a small Madonna and Child with two saints and four angels (c.14 x 8) which is nearest in style to Barna among the few trecento works in the city.

In the Diocesan Museum are relevant frescoes, fragments of a Via Crucis from S.Margareta; they are dated 133., and are probably to be identified with those described in Vasari's Life of Ambrogio Lorenzetti, dating them to 1355. It is clear that Barna was influenced by these frescoes.

For a note on the collection in the Etruscan Museum, see Accademia Etrusca di Cortona: Nono Annuario, new series II (1953).

DIJON

79 S.BLAISE and another bishop

R.Offner (Burl.Mag.LXIII(1933)p.170) as
Master of Straus Madonna.

EASTNOR CASTLE, Herefordshire
Lord Somers

MADONNA

R.Offner as Master of Strauss Madonna.

FLORENCE
Accademia

476 S.Catharine
477 S.Francis

R.Offner as Master of Straus Madonna; Antal, p.
334 and pls 134a-b; Berenson (Florentine School,
1963) as Master of Bambino Vispo; U.Procacci:
Gallery of Accademia (1951) fig.82 and p.36 as
Master of Bambino Vispo.

3146 ANNUNCIATION

R.Offner as Master of Straus Madonna; Antal p.334;
U.Procacci (op.cit.) as Master of Academy Annunciation;
Berenson (Florentine School, 1963) as yearly work of
Rossello di Jacopo.

FLORENCE

**Angeli Collection
(ex-Fairfax Murray)**

CRUCIFIXION WITH VIRGIN AND S.JOHN

**Van Marle II, p.²⁹⁷, quoting F.M.Perkins: Rassegna
d'Arte Senese (1920), p.II5.**

FLORENCE

Berenson Collection

Madonna of Humility

Berenson 1932 as Barna.

**VIRGIN AND CHILD with
archangels and angels**

LIPPO MEMMI

**Based on Simone's Maesta Madonna; scroll with
Beati pauperes...**

**Weigelt (Apollo XIV (1931)p.6) attributed
panel to Master of Palazzo Venezia Madonna.**

FLORENCE

Compagnia della Croce al Tempio

MADONNA AND TWO SAINTS

R.Offner (Burl.Mag.LXIII(1933)p.170 as
Master of Straus Madonna.

FLORENCE
Horne Foundation

BARNA (early?)

XXXV

55-6 MADONNA AND CHILD
IMAGO PIETATIS (Diptych)

Each leaf II x 9 $\frac{3}{4}$

About the size of the Imago Pietatis of Simone's
Pisa polyptych.

Madonna in red gown under a blue cloak lined with
orange-red; the Child in bluish-red.

Van Marle (II, p.297) attributed the diptych to
Barna, very pertinently making a comparison with
the Asciano Madonna c.v. Berenson (1932) as
Barna (?), and C.Gamba : Catalogue (1961) as
possibly by Simone.

FLORENCE
Museo Nazionale, Bargello
(Carrand Collection)

42 MADONNA OF HUMILITY

R.Offner (Burl.Mag.LXIII(1933) p.170) as by Master
of Straus Madonna.

FLORENCE
Ospedale degli Innocenti: Galleria

94 CORONATION AND SAINTS

See O.Siren: Art In America (1914-15) p.36, pl.3;
R.Offner (Burl.Mag.LXIII (1933)p.70) as Master of
StraussMadonna.

FLORENCE
private collection

MADONNA AND FOUR SAINTS

R.Offner (Burl.Mag.LXIII (1933)p.170) as Master
of Straus Madonna.

GALIGA, S.Lorenzo

Polyptych: MADONNA AND FOUR SAINTS

**Mostra del Tesoro di Firenze Sacra, no.396;
R.Offner: (Burl.Mag.LXIII(1933)p.170) as Master
of Straus Madonna.**

German Market (1933)

MADONNA DEL LATTE, holding flower, with Ss John

Margaret

to

XXXVI

GLOUCESTER

Parry Collection

S PETER AS POPE

) as

**Related by Weigelt (Apollo XIV (1931) p.8)
to the S.Paul, now SIENA 93, under title of
Master of S.Paul**

ie

HOUSTON

MADONNA

**See R.Offner: Art News XLIV (1945) p.17.
Compare Munich:Assumption.**

LEGHORN

Palazzo Larderel

MADONNA

**See R.Offner: (Burl.Mag.LXIII (1933)p.170) as
by Master of Straus Madonna.**

LONDON
National Gallery

near LIPPO MEMMI

XXVIIa
XXVII b

4492 S. PETER
4491 S. MARY MAGDALEN

23½ x 13½

M. Davies: Earlier Italian Schools (1961) with full bibliography. Sandberg-Vavala (Burl. Mag. LXXI (1937) p. 177 suggested that the panels were part of a polyptych of which the centre was the Palazzo Venezia Madonna q.v.; her attribution was to Lippo Memmi.

It seems probable that the two panels are not by the same hand; the S. Peter is of better quality, and the head should be compared with that of the Palermo S. Peter (See Altenburg).

M. Davies follows P. Pouncey: "It seems best to class them as anonymous".

LONDON
Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.

FOUR STORIES OF S. THOMAS

Exhibited Italian Art in Britain (1960) no. 270; past attributions include Barna, but now attributed to Luca di Tome. See Kaftal (Cols. 970-78, no. 296, figs 1095-8).

MONTEPULCIANO
Gallery

CRUCIFIXION SCENE

c. 1400 2'6" x 3'3"

Labelled and Alinari 55138 as Barna; but Berenson (1932) attribution to Luca di Tome seems more appropriate. Influenced by the Collegiata fresco.

MUNICH
Alte Pinakothek

XXXVIII

HG 67I ASSUMPTION OF VIRGIN

Berenson (1932) as Lippo Memmi (?); Meiss pl.22, p.21 and n.21 "The style of this panel is very close to that of the follower of Simone and Barna whose work including a Madonna in the Houston Museum, a S. John the Evangelist from the same polyptych at Yale, an Annunciation in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum and a Crucifixion in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford has been identified by R. Offner (Art News XLIV (1945) p.17)."

This panel does not seem to me to be very close to Barna.

NEW YORK
Frick Collection

BARNA

XXXIX

CHRIST BEARING CROSS, WITH DONOR
14 x 10

Berenson (1932), Van Marle (II, fig.197) and
Carli (Sienese Painting (1956)p.36, pl.47) all
attribute this panel to Barna.

NEW YORK
Lehman Collection

ADORATION OF THE MAGI

By same hand as Aix: Annunciation and Nativity; c.v.
Berenson (1932) as Siennese unknown Trecento.

S.PETER
S.MARY MAGDALEN

Berenson (1932) as Borna; Van Marle (II pp.27566
and p.607), under Simone's influence.

MADONNA OF HUMILITY

R.Offner (Burl.Mag.LXIII (1933)p.170) as Master
of Straus Madonna.

NEW YORK
Metropolitan

BARNA?

MADONNA AND CHILD AND NINE CHOIRS OF ANGELS

Previously attributed by the Museum to Lippo Memmi, but now to Barna. See Encyclopedia of World Art: article on Barna by E. Callman, and M. Saling: An early Sienese panel in the Griggs Collection : Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin (1944) pp.181-3.

NEW YORK
Metropolitan

LIPPO MEMMI

XL

88.3.99 S. PAUL

Concise Catalogue (1954) as Lippo Memmi; van Marle (II, p.269, fig.178) linked this panel with the S. Peter in the Louvre (Fig.179) and with the Ss. Peter and Paul at Siena (nos.72 74, c.v.),

and S. Paul (no.93)

XXXVIII

NEW YORK

APOSTLES

each about II x 8½, from a predella?

Lehman Coll:	S. Philip
Kress	S. James
	S. Matthew
	S. Simon
	S. Jude
Metropolitan	S. Thomas
	S. Bartholemew
	S. Andrew
(Sotheby's 30.vi.1965)	S. James Less)

Concise Catalogue: "Workshop of Simone".
None of these seems to me to be by Barna, but rather
in the Simone-Lippo Memmi group.

NEW YORK
ex-Percy Straus Collection

near BARNA

XLI

MADONNA AND CHILD
("The Straus Madonna")

17 x 14½

Mr. John Pope-Hennessy has suggested that this
is the work of Giovanni d'Asciano, and connected
with the Yale S. John Evangelist (Burl. Mag. LXXXVIII
Feb. 1946).

OXFORD
Ashmolean

near BARNA

XLII

47 ^UCRCIFIXION AND DEPOSITION

20½ x 15

Concise Catalogue as Barna?; Mr. John Pope-Hennessy
(Burl. Mag. LXXXVIII (1946) p. 35-7) as Giovanni
d'Asciano.

cf Berlin 1142?

PALERMO
Chiaramonte Collection

83 S. PETER
84 S. PAUL

See ALTENBURG

PARIS
dealer: Atri

MADONNA WITH S.ANTHONY ABBOT AND A BISHOP

Van Marle (VIII, p.264, fig.159); R.Offner
(Burl.Mag.LXIII (1933)p.170) as Master of Straus
Madonna.

PARIS
Louvre
II52 S.PETER
c.30x15

LIPPO MEMMI

XLIII

A fine painting illustrative of Lippo Memmi's
style.

cf NEW YORK: Metropolitan: S. Paul XXXVI

PHILADELPHIA
John G. Johnson Collection

93 CRUCIFIXION SCENE

Berenson (1932) as Barna, and in his 1913
Catalogue of the Collection; Van Marle (II, p.297)
"less obviously a work of Barna's".

95 PREDELLA: DEAD CHRIST WITH SAINTS

As above.

PHILADELPHIA
Pennsylvania Museum

MADONNA AND SAINTS WITH ANGELS

O.SIREN: (Burl.Mag. 1926, p.II7, pl.Ib) as
Parri Spinelli; R.Offner (Burl.Mag.LXIII (1933)
p.170) as Master of Straus Madonna.

PISA

28 S.ANDREW ENTHRONED

See ALTENBURG.

QUINTO
S. Maria

ANNUNCIATION

R. Offner (Burl. Mag. LXIII (1933) p. 170) as Master
of Straus Madonna.

MADONNA AND CHILD
(The Palazzo Venezia Madonna)

26 x 16

Full catalogue entry by N.di Carpegna (1957).
A most probable attribution is to Simone himself;
this view is held by Carli (Gothic Painting (1965)
pl.)

The work has been variously linked with the
Florence: Berenson Madonna and Saints, the Siena
Mystic Marriage, the London SS Peter and Mary
Magdalen, and Mojmir Frinta has recognised the
same punch -marks on the halo of a Virgin at
Cleveland attributed to Lippo Memmi (Art Bulletin
XLVII (June 1965)p.261, figs 22-23).

ROME
Vatican

25 S.EUSTACIA
26 S.PAULA

38 x 14½

Two side panels of a polyptych?
R.Offner (Burl.Mag.LXIII (1933)p.170) as Master of
Straus Madonna. Perhaps rather more Florentine
than Sienese.

ROME
Vatican

BARNA

XLV

28 (I56) CRUCIFIXION SCENE, with six saints
in predella.

23 x II; centre of a triptych

Berenson (1932) as Barna, though P.d'Achiardi,
Siren, Mason Perkins and Van Marle (II fig I79)
prefer Lippe Memmi.

The work is related to the Collegiata fresco.

SAINT-LO

78 DORMITION AND ASSUMPTION

**Berenson (1932) as Barna, completely repainted
by Benozzo Gozzoli or assistants.**

SAN GIMIGNANO
Collegiata

BARNA

NEW TESTAMENT CYCLE

Barna responsible for the whole cycle, but the hand of an assistant to be found in various parts, and in the prophets opposite.

The Old Testament cycle lower row signed by Bartolo di Fredi; this painter or another may have been influenced by Barna's preliminary designs for the upper part of the cycle.

Collegiata: Oratorio di S. Giovanni

Fresco: A PROPHET

See main text.

S. Pietro, right wall

near **BARNA**

XLVI

MADONNA WITH BAPTIST AND S. PAUL

Frescoed altarpiece.

Professor Carli (San Gimignano (1962) colour plate 91) rightly reflects the traditional attribution to Barna himself; though clearly in his manner, it is not of his quality.

CRUCIFIXION

Perhaps by the same hand.

(The chapel has been closed for some time due to the collapse of its roof.)

SIENA

LIPPO MEMMI

72 S.PETER SEATED
74 S.PAUL SEATED

Tops of a polyptych

Addendum

SARASOTA : Ringling Museum .

Mystic Marriage of S.Catharine

Meiss, p.II0 and n.24, fig.105 in a discussion which includes the Boston Mystic Marriage c.v., rejects the attribution to "Sienese, close to Borna" (W.SUIDA: Catalogue, 1949,p.8), and prefers "Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti (the Dijon Master)" - and dates the work c.1350 rather than any earlier in Pietro's career.

- 85 S. John Baptist
- 86 S. Catharine of Alexandria
- 93 S. Paul
- 94 S. John the Evangelist

XLVII a
XLVII b

Half-length figures; in the sexfoils, busts of prophets.

Each 23 x 11, gabled tops

Berenson (1932) as Barna; Sandberg-Vavala (Sienese Studies (1953) fig. 62) as follower of Simone near Barna. Carli (Guide (1958) as follower of Lippo Memmi.

Van Marle (II pp. 249-50) relates them, as "inspired by Lippo Memmi" and by the same hand as the Marriage of S. Catharine (no. 108, q.v.) to the Florence: Horne diptych, which (p. 297) he ascribes to Barna.

The S. Catharine is somewhat reminiscent of Simone's workshop style, but the male figures are more characterful, more Lorenzettian. The panels do not seem elegant enough for Lippo Memmi, and have a different tonality. They could be by the Master of the Palazzo Venezia Madonna (if such a painter need still survive, and if we accept Carli's description of this artist as "stylistically between Lippo Memmi and Barna" (Guide (1958) p. 40).

The S. Paul is to be compared with New York Metropolitan S. Paul.

SIENA

near BARNA?

108 MARRIAGE OF S.CATHARINE

XLVIII

31 x 23½, arched top

Berenson (1932) as Barna.
Sandberg-Vavala (Burl.Mag. (1937)p.177, and
Sienese Studies (1953)p.185) as by Master of
Palazzo Venezia Madonna, an attribution accepted
by Carli (Guide (1958)p.40) with the sentence
"he is an unusual and delicate painter, stylistically
between Lippo Memmi and Barna".

Van Marle (II, p.249-50) says by the same hand
are the Four Saints (85,85, 93,94 - here attributed
to near Barna?), and the Florence: Horne diptych
(Barna).

A personal opinion is that the work is by a hand
very close to Barna. It is perhaps the work
in which Barna's style most closely approaches
that of Simone. But the coloration is quite
unlike that of Lippo Memmi.

II2 MAGDALEN AT THE FOOT OF CHRIST

Fragment, 15 x 12

Sandberg-Vavala (Sienese Studies (1958)p.183) as Barna; Carli (Guide(1958) p.36) says "one of the very few panel-paintings attributable with good grounds to this master".

In 1963 bore label of Master of Straus Madonna.

One of the few panels of a similar sort and scale (c.12 x 18 entire) is a Last Supper in the Gallery at Bologna, attributed to Andrea di Bartolo.

A much more important parallel, and one which suggests that Barna may have painted a fresco of the subject, is the fresco by Giovanni da Milano in S.Croce, Florence (Berenson:Florentine School (1963) pl.275).

In this fragment can be seen the inimitable style of Barna as found in the Collegiata frescoes - essentially dramatic, physically quiet but full of tension. One of the difficulties of sorting out the panels paintings is that the frescoes are narrative paintings, yet the panels are nearly all of single figures or of the Madonna and Child.

I54 Small triptych: MADONNA AND CHILD with
Ss.Catharine and Dominic; on wings
S.Bartholemew and Christopher; the
Annunciation in upper parts of wings.

20 x20

Sandberg-Vavala (Sienese Studies (1953) fig.77)
placed it near the Master of the Palazzo Venezia
Madonna. Carli (Guide (1958) p.42) attributes it
to an anonymous follower of Lippo Memmi, dating it
c.1350-60.

Van Marle (II, p.531) acknowledged inspiration
of Simone, but attributed to Paolo di Giovanni Fei -
this seems incorrect.

A very finely, accurately finished painting, though
curiously inconsistent in scale. The Child near
the face of the Madonna, the S.Catharine, and the
lively S.Christopher should be noted: these may
indicate Barna's influence - but at a distance.

(SIENA

S.Domenico cloister, "sw" corner.

Fresco fragment: MADONNA AND CHILD, with angel
(another lost), Ss Peter and Paul.

Life size figures of which no more than half of
any survives.

This very battered work - once of very high
quality - survives with only the face of the
Virgin and the face of S.Peter (the only part of
the figure surviving) in a reasonably legible
condition.

There are other fragments, including the head of
the Virgin, and the head of S. ?Dominic.

These may be identical with Berenson's (1932, p
589) fragments attributed to Lippo Vanni, and
dated 1372.)

SIENA
S.Pellegrino
S.PETER
S.PAUL

Berenson (1932) as Barna; Van Marle (II, p.250)
reported three saints, of Simone's school,
attributed to Lippe Memmi by Gielly: Revue de
l'art ancien et moderne (1913).

STALYBRIDGE (near Manchester)

MADONNA AND SAINTS with Eve

See Burl.Mag.CIV (1962)pp.62-6. Certainly not
by Barna, and probably not by Master of Straus
Madonna. A variant on German Market (1933) q.v.

STOCKHOLM

BARNA, early?

S.CATHARINE

S.ANSANUS

Van Marle (II, p.292, ~~fig. 114~~; and p.608 note) as
Barna.

Compare Copenhagen: S.Victor.

TOURS
Octave Livet Legacy I & 2

BARNA?

Diptych: ADORATION OF THE MAGI

each leaf c 18 x 9

I a
I b

See
Revue du Louvre (1964).

The works are in the Palazzo Venezia group; the coloration and the tenseness seems characteristic.

The form of an enthroned Madonna and Child with a kneeling bareheaded king kissing his foot, and two kings, one pointing to the star - the scene arranged in two distinct parts - is usual in French Gothic (e.g. XIIIc glass of east chapel of Tours cathedral) but also appears in Siena e.g. in XIIIc Graduale (Museo dell'Opera 22, initial E). This in contrast to the integrated, not two-part scene with horses, as in Duccio's Maesta.

VACLAVA
S.Cresci

MADONNA AND TWO ANGELS

Mostra del Tesoro di Firenze Sacra (1933), no.75;
R.Offner (Eurl.Mag.LXIII (1933)p.170) asMaster
of Straus Madonna.

VALIANO
S.Romolo

MAN OF SORROWS WITH INSTRUMENTS OF PASSION

VIENNA

Lederer Collection
Madonna and Child

Panel, 25 x 14

C.Weigelt (Apollo XIV (1931) p.12)
Linked with BERLIN 1511

WASHINGTON
National Gallery

SS.JAMES? MATTHEW? SIMON, JUDE

See NEW YORK Metropolitan

WORCESTER, USA

near BARNA

LII

S. AGNES

29 x 18

R. Henniker-Heaton: Bull. of Worcester Art Museum XV (1924), pp. 10-12 as Lippo Memmi; Weigelt (Minor Simonesque Masters, Apollo XIV (1931) pp. 11-12) as Master of Straus Madonna.

J. Pope-Hennessy (Burl. Mag. LXXXVIII (Feb. 1946)) as Giovanni d'Asciano.

Kaftal 4c (col 98)

YALE

near BARNA

LIII

Institute of Fine Arts

S. JOHN EVANGELIST

28½ x 14

J. Pope-Hennessy (as above) to Giovanni d'Asciano; and as panel to dexter of New York: Straus Madonna. Compare R. Offner: Art News XLIV (1945) p. 17; and for Meiss' opinion, see Munich: Assumption.

ZURICH, Ehelenbach

Coray-Stoop Gallery (formerly)

MADONNA

R. Offner (Burl. Mag. LXIII (1933) p. 170) as Master of Straus Madonna. For plate, see Zeitschrift für Bildenkunst (March/April 1923).

Supplement to : The Decoration of the Collegiata
S Maria Assunta at San Gimignano
and related problems of medieval
iconology.

ANAGNI: AN EXAMPLE OF MEDIEVAL
TYPOLOGICAL DECORATION

BY

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ANAGNI: AN EXAMPLE OF MEDIEVAL TYPOLOGICAL DECORATION

(Plates I—IX)

*... where the walls
Of Magnus Martyr hold
Inexplicable splendour ...*

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NOTE: The following article was begun while I held the Rivoira and Rome Scholarships, and work on it was continued at Glasgow and Bristol Universities in connexion with study of the typological frescoes in the Collegiata at San Gimignano.¹ Toesca's long study of the frescoes at Anagni was published as long ago as 1902, and is not readily available.² For this reason the opportunity of giving a general description was not to be neglected. This description is not the primary object of the present article and reference should therefore be made to Toesca's article for a full discussion of a number of points not considered here.

I. Introduction

THE practice of depicting the life of a locally celebrated saint within a typological scheme of decoration is of great antiquity. The old basilicas of S. Peter and S. Paul at Rome and other influential churches like Desiderius' Monte Cassino have been destroyed and their decoration with them, but derivative schemes may still be studied at S. Piero a Grado, at S. Angelo in Formis, or in the frescoes and tapestries of the Sistine Chapel.

A variation of the Petrine-Pauline schemes can be seen at Florence where the patron of the city and of the church is celebrated in the mosaics of the dome of the Baptistery. Here four cycles are arranged in parallel—a Creation series, the story of Joseph, the life of Christ, and the life of the Baptist himself. Similarly the windows and walls of the basilica at Assisi show how the story of S. Francis is related to the familiar scenes from the Old and New Testaments; these Biblical scenes are arranged in the traditional Roman manner. Assisi has problems of its own too complex and controversial to attempt in this article but indications for such a study may be outlined by reference to Anagni. As at the Collegiata at San Gimignano and in so many other examples, typological thought is basic to the interpretation of the scheme as a whole.³

Anagni, where the relics of S. Magnus rest within the central altar of the main crypt, is a key monument: nearly all the frescoes of the crypt survive. They illustrate a scheme based on the traditional typological method, but having several peculiarities necessitated by local architectural and theological requirements. We may however be certain that the decoration of the crypt represents orthodox theological thought as approved in the very highest circles, for of the cities near Rome connected with the Papacy and the Papal Court none was more important at this period than Anagni.⁴

¹ *Acknowledgments.*—I am particularly indebted to Professor Wormald; also to Dr. C. R. Dodwell; to the late Fr. Guy Ferrari; to the Librarians of the Warburg Institute, of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and at Amiens. At Anagni Dom Aurelio Prosperi was both tolerant and helpful. G. D. B. Jones took the photographs and Adrian Cooley drew the plan.

² P. Toesca: 'Gli affreschi della Cattedrale di Anagni', *Le Gallerie Nazionali Italiane* V (Roma, 1902). Compare P. Toesca: *Storia dell'Arte Italiana* (Turin, 1927), pp. 972 ff; R. Van Marle: *La Peinture Romaine au Moyen Age* (Strasbourg, 1931), pp. 165 ff. and 182–3; and E. W. Anthony: *Romanesque Frescoes* (Princeton, 1951), pp. 78–80. A full bibliography for Anagni is to be found in M. Baudrillart: *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclesiastique* (Paris, 1914), vol. II, cols. 1421–1429.

³ A full study of the Collegiata is being prepared

for presentation elsewhere. An important study which includes manuscript relationships is J. Wettstein: *S. Angelo in Formis* (Geneva, 1960). See too B. Smalley: *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (2nd ed., 1952) for the literary context.

⁴ At Anagni Alexander III canonised Edward the Confessor, received the submission of Henry II after the death of Becket (who appears in the paintings of the inner crypt—see Appendix 2), and excommunicated Frederick II. For secularised use of typological methods at this period, see G. Kantorowicz: *Frederick II* (1958), p. 5, 45, 60. The

II. *S. Magnus, Patron of Anagni*

The patron saint of Anagni, like so many another local saint in Italy, is neither well-known nor well-authenticated. In outline his legend is as follows: S. Magnus was a Roman martyr whose body was originally venerated at Fondi, a city in Campania, not far from Terracina and the sea. When the Saracens invaded the Italian mainland the body was transferred to Veroli, north of Frosinone and further from the coast. But these precautions proved insufficient as the Saracens after destroying Fondi soon managed to capture Veroli. Indecorously the Saracens stabled their horses around the 'arca' containing the body of the saint: in the morning the horses were found dead. The Saracen commander sensing something wrong sent emissaries who managed to sell the 'arca' to the citizens of Anagni, a hill-top town about twenty kilometres further west. The citizens of Anagni went out to receive the relics and returned rejoicing, witnessing miracles on the way.⁵

This legend provided a basis for part of the scheme of decoration for the crypt where the 'arca' still remains. The story of the saint and his 'arca' is shown within the context of a specially devised typological scheme which is both novel and highly complex, although in its component parts quite orthodox. The proper appreciation of the scheme, as will be explained below, depends upon the five inter-related ways in which medieval theologians used and interpreted the word 'arca'.

III. *The Architectural Setting*

The cathedral at Anagni was built during the episcopacy of S. Peter, Bishop of Anagni, who died on 3 August 1105. It is interesting to note that it is reported in the Life of the saint⁶ that he went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and returned to Anagni by way of Constantinople, Palermo and Salerno, the last place particularly

notorious treatment of Boniface VIII at Anagni is commemorated in a 'typological' manner by Dante:

Perche men in paia il futuro e il fatto,
veggio in Alagna entrar le fiordaliso,
e nel vicario suo Cristo esser catto.
Veggio un'altra volta esser deriso,
veggio rinnovellar l'aceto e il fele,
e tra vivi ladroni esser anciso.

Purg. xx, 85.

When Boniface was captured he quoted the opening of Job: T. Boase: *Boniface VIII* (1933), p. 348.

⁵ *Acta Sanctorum*, 19 August, tom. II, pp. 701 ff., esp. p. 709; Anon (Marangoni?): *Acta Passionis atque Translationum S. Magni* . . . (Jesi, 1743).

Compare S. Baring Gould: *Lives of the Saints* (1895), August 19.

S. Magnus appears in the mosaics of the Cappella Palatina; see O. Demus: *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (1945), p. 45.

For relics of S. Magnus in Rome, see M. Armel-

lini: *Le Chiese di Roma* (Rome, 1912-20), vol. II, p. 950, under SS. Michele e Magno in Sassia; and P. Huelsen: *Le Chiese di Roma del Medio Evo* (Florence, 1927), p. 388; and A. J. C. Hare: *Walks in Rome* (1893), vol. II, p. 177. On the complexities of the legends of S. Magnus and his relics, see M. P. van Buitenen: *De grondslag van de Friese Vrijheid* (Assen, 1953), reviewed in *Analecta Bollandiana* LXXII (1954), pp. 466-477.

For the Saracens who managed to raid even Rome, see Toynbee and Ward-Perkins: *The Shrine of S. Peter* (1956), pp. 227-9; SS. Michele e Magno was built to commemorate the victims of this attack. Another removal of relics at the approach of the Saracens was that of the Magdalen from S. Maximin to Vézelay: *Acta Sanctorum*, July, tom. V, pp. 207-9; this legend was invented in the XI c. See Duchesne: *Annales du Midi* V, and *Fastes épiscopaux* I, pp. 310 ff., quoted by E. Mâle: *La Fin du Paganisme en Gaule* (1950), p. 21.

⁶ *Acta Sanctorum* August tom. I, pp. 230 ff., esp. p. 237, paragraphs 21 and 22; and Eubel: *Regesta Pontificum Romanum*, vol. II: Latium, p. 137.

famous for its medical school.⁷ Alterations were made to the church by Bishop Pandulph in about 1250, and it is to this date that the frescoes belong.

The church stands on a plinth of heavy masonry on the sloping top of the hill. Beyond the left aisle are a chapel, a balcony and the baptistery supported by vaults, corbelling and arches high above a fine piazza. At the entrance to the church (ecclesiastically 'the west end' though geographically the east) is another fine piazza, the highest point of the hill. Here rises a bold free-standing stone campanile.

The church has a Romanesque nave with a wooden roof and groin-vaulted aisles; the choir or bema has three apses and has been rib-vaulted. The choir with the high altar under a baldacchino is slightly raised; beneath this part of the church is the crypt or lower church.

The crypt is reached by flights of steps down from either aisle. Due to the slope of the hill the crypt is entirely above ground level, and to the left is several feet above the level of the piazza. The three apses of the crypt and the upper choir provide continuous features on the exterior of the church. The main body of the crypt is vaulted with twelve columns supporting rather flat domes, slightly groined, over semi-circular arches. The spatial arrangement is of three aisles across the width of the church. On the back wall of the crypt are two strong pilasters; these and two more on the opposite wall at either side of the main altar support the weight of the major piers of the vault above the high altar of the upper church.⁸

The floor of the crypt, together with the Bishop's cathedra, the Paschal candlestick and other choir furniture of the upper church, is of Cosmati work with dated inscriptions.⁹

IV. *The Date of the Paintings*

The dating of the frescoes to about 1250–1255, as proposed by Toesca, seems to be generally acceptable. The whole cathedral was thoroughly restored under Bishop Pandulph, as recorded by the inscription carved in a panel on the third pillar of the right arcade of the nave:

+PĀDULF' - EPS FIERI - FECIT HOC - OPVS

ANN DNI·M·CC·L · PONT · DNI - INNOC·III·PP·ANN·VIII

⁷ Although Salerno was sacked and destroyed in 1193, the reputation of Salernitan medicine was not eclipsed until long after the completion of the frescoes at Anagni. Of the several Salernitan medical manuscripts, mention may be made of the 'De quattuor humoribus ex quibus constat humanum corpus' (ed. S. Rienzi: *Collectio Salernitana*, vol. II, 1853) and the immensely popular 'Regimen sanitas salernitanum,' a compendium of Salernitan medicine and hygiene in Leonine verse, of which over 250 versions are known, in increasing size from the twelfth to the early seventeenth centuries (see G. Sarton: *Introduction to the History of Science*, vol. II, part I (Washington, 1931), p. 424).

⁸ For plans, measured drawings and photographs, see *Architettura* VI 5, September 1960, pp. 342 ff;

and G. Matthiae: 'Fasi costruttive della Cattedrale di Anagni' (*Palladio* 1942, pp. 41–48). See also L. Mortari: *Il tesoro della cattedrale di Anagni* (Rome, 1963). The original iconographers could have chosen to illustrate the crossing of the Ark into the Promised Land, for the crypt has twelve stone pillars: 'And Joshua set up twelve stones in the midst of Jordan, in the place where the feet of the priests which bare the ark of the covenant stood: and they are there till this day' (Josh. iv. 19). For these stones as relics in churches in the Holy Land and in France, see E. Mâle: *La Fin du Paganisme en Gaul* (1950), pp. 84 and 204.

⁹ E. Hutton: *The Cosmati* (1950), pp. 51–2, and plates. See below, Section IV.

On the pilaster to the right of the main conch in the crypt, Toesca could make out the remains of an inscription, PA . . . , which might have been P*Andulphus*. Work of an architectural character in the crypt certainly dates from well before 1250; the Cosmatesque pavement had been laid in the time of Bishop Albertus, c. 1224, and bears the inscription, on the top step to the left of the main altar:

MAGR·COSMAS CIVIS ROMANVS CŪ FILIIS SVIS LVCA
ET IACOBO HOC OPVS FECIT

The old altar of S. Magnus (now in the Cathedral Museum) has the inscription:

ANNO DOMINI MCCXXXI PER MANVS MAGISTER COSME
CIVIS ROMANVS FVIT AMOTVM ALTARE

On the wall of bay IV is a tablet with a long inscription:

+ANNO DNĪ M·CC·XXX·I·XI·DIE EXEVNTE APLIS
PONT DNĪ GG VIII PP·ANN EI·V·VEN ALBERTO
EPO RESIDENTE Ī ECC ANAG P MAN' MAGRĪ COS
ME CIVIS ROMANI FVIT AMOTV ALTARE
GLORIOSISSIMI MART PRESVLIS MAGNI IN
FRA QVOD FVIT Ī VETVM IQDAM PILO
MARMOREO RVDI PRETIOSV CORP' ĪPI MART
Q KL MAII SEQNTI' TOTI PP PVBLICE OS
TENSO·EODE DIE CŪ YMPNI' ET LAVDIB' ĪEO
DE PILO SVB ALTARI Ī HOC ORATORIO Ī
ĪPI' HONORE CDITO PFVNDIT Ē RECON
DITVM CVM HONORE

I am indebted to Miss Joyce Reynolds for the following expansion and translation:

Anno d(omi)ni m(illesim)o (ducentessim)o (tricesim)o
(uno) (undecimo) die exeunte Ap(ri)lis
Pont(ificis) d(omi)ni G(re)g(orii) (noni) P(a)p(ae) ann(o) ei(us)
(quinto) ven(erabili) Alberto
ep(iscop)o residente i(n) ecc(lesia) Anag(nensi) p(er) man(us)
Mag(ist)ri Cos
m(a)e civis Romani fuit amotu(m) altare

- 5 *gloriosissimi mart(yris) pr(a)esulis Magni in
fra quod fuit i(n)ve(n)tum i(n) q(u)odam pilo
marmoreo rudi pretiosu(m) corp(us) Ip(olit)i mart(yris)
q(u)o k(a)l(endis) Maii(s) seq(ue)nti(bus) toti pop(ulo) publice os
tenso eode(m) die cu(m) ympni(s) et laudib(us) i(n) eo*
10 *de(m) pilo sub altari i(n) hoc oratorio i(n)
Ip(olit)i honore c(on)dito pfundito est recon
ditum cum honore*

In the year of our Lord 1231, on the 20th day of April, in the fifth year of the papacy of the Lord Pontifex Gregory IX, when the venerable Albert, bishop, was resident (officiating) in the church of Anagni, the altar of the glorious martyr, bishop Magnus, was moved by the hands of Master Cosmas, citizen of Rome, and below it was found, in a certain rough marble sarcophagus, the precious body of the martyr Ipolitus. On May 1st following, this was displayed publicly to the whole people and on the same day, with hymns and praises, was completely (?) and honourably reburied in the same sarcophagus below the altar in this oratory which was established in honour of Ipolitus.

A fuller discussion of the artists responsible for the scheme is to be found in Appendix I. Toesca attempted to identify one of them with the 'Frater Romanus' who worked at Subiaco in 1228; this exact identification has not always been accepted although the stylistic links are not in dispute. The work of another artist, the 'Master of the Translations', has been identified in manuscript illuminations dateable to the same period. It is generally agreed that the frescoes had been completed *before* the dedication of the crypt in 1255.

V. *The Iconography of the Scheme*

In the following sections an indication is given of the content of the scheme as a whole. There are many inscriptions, indicated by the use of CAPITAL LETTERS, so that there is little difficulty in identifying the subject matter of the scenes.¹⁰

The interpretation of the individual parts of the scheme does not consist only in the literal identification of the subject matter, although Toesca does little more than this. While indications of typological and other interpretations will be given with the descriptions of the scenes *individually*, the interpretation of the *scheme as a whole* will be considered in the following section.

The scheme can be considered in six groups, (a) two bays of introductory material, (b) various symbols of the Old and New Testaments, (c) Old Testament scenes, constituting a series of types, (d) the Apocalypse, (e) hagiographical cycles, devoted in particular to S. Magnus, and (f) various standing saints. In the present

¹⁰ Toesca's numbering of the bays has been retained, as this should prevent confusion when reference is made to the paper by Garrison quoted below; it would be better if the middle aisle were

numbered like the outer ones, from left to right.

I must acknowledge the constant help of Professor Wormald in suggesting several emendations in the recording of the inscriptions.

section some references will be made to the stylistic characters of the work of the three main artists working in the crypt; further attention is given to this aspect of the paintings in an appendix. For the location of the individual paintings, see fig. 1.

(a) *Introductory Scenes: Man's Place in Nature*

The paintings of the first two bays at the entrance to the crypt are most important visual statements of the traditional theories of man's place in the created world. As shown in these paintings man's constitution and health are affected by the influence of the Zodiac and by the proportions of the Four Elements in his body. Such ideas were gradually developed through the Middle Ages, and can be traced back to the works attributed to Hippocrates the Father of Medicine (V-IVth century B.C.) and to Galen (IInd century A.D.). The latter based much of his pathological reasoning on the humoral theories of Hippocrates, according to which certain diseases were caused by the excess of one or more of the Four Humours, blood, phlegm, black bile or yellow bile. The theory was known in the Latin West particularly through its treatment in Plato's *Timaeus* in which the idea of the Microcosm and Macrocosm is propounded. The *Timaeus* had been made known through the commentary of Poseidonios, and especially through the translation and commentary by Chalcidius (IVth century A.D.). Of the several medieval transmitters of this material quite the most important were Isidore of Seville and Honorius of Autun.¹¹

Bay I. *The Zodiac.* A great part of the plaster of the first vault has fallen away, and the walls also have suffered very badly; sufficient remains to enable us to distinguish only the outlines of the iconography.

The vault has a diagram of several concentric circles, divided radially into twelve sectors. In the outer zone are gold stars on a white ground: of the zodiacal signs there remains a nude figure with a pitcher: *AQVARIVS*, and it is still possible

¹¹ A useful summary of the early history of the Humours will be found in vol. I of the Loeb edition of *Hippocrates*, translated by W. H. S. Jones; see the General Introduction, section 8, pp. xlvii-li. The numerical and proportional values of the Four Elements are discussed in the *Timaeus* (Loeb edition, trans. R. G. Bury, pp. 59-61); it is in the *Timaeus* that the idea of Macrocosm and Microcosm is propounded (Loeb ed., pp. 51 ff.). For the Empedoclean theory of the relation of hot, cold, moist and dry, and the Platonic musical harmonies of the Four Elements, see E. Wellesz: *Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (2nd ed., 1961), chap. II. See too R. Klibansky, E. Panofsky and F. Saxl: *Saturn and Melancholy* (1964), Chap. I.i, and II.ii and iii.

For the intellectual climate, see C. H. Haskins: *Studies in the History of Medieval Science* (Harvard, 1924), esp. Chapter V.

See also, e.g. Isidore: *Etymologiarum*, MPL 82, esp. Lib. IV: *De medicina*, cols. 183 ff.; compare the same author's *Quaestiones in vet. test. In Regum Primum*, MPL 83, cols. 393-7; and *Liber numerorum qui in sanctis scripturis occurrunt*, MPL 83, cols. 179 ff.

See too Honorius: *De Philosophia Mundi*, MPL 172, Bk. I, chap. xxi: *De Elementis*, and Bk. II, chap. xi: *De Zodiaco* (cols. 48 and 60). Also *De Imagine Mundi*, Bk. I, chap. iii: *De Quattuor Elementis*; chap. iv: *De Septem Nominibus Terrae*; and chap. lxxxii: *De Homine Microcosmo* (Cols. 121 and 140). In Bk. II, chap. lviii of the same work (col. 154) *De Elementis*: 'Quattuor quoque elementa qualitatibus quattuor temporum connectuntur. Terra namque sicca et frigida autumnus; aqua frigida et humida hiemi; aer humidus et calidus veri; ignis calidus et siccus aestati colligatur'. Chap. lxxv: *De homine microcosmo*: 'Isdem qualitatibus est humanum corpus temperatum, unde est microcosmus, id est minor mundus appellatur. Sanguis namque qui vere crescit est humidus et calidus et hic viget in infantibus. Cholera rubra crescens in aestate est calida et sicca et haec abundat in juvenibus. Melancholia a cholera nigra crescens autumnus in profectionibus. Phlegmata quae hieme dominantur in senibus'. Similar material appears in the work of Guillelmus: *De Natura Corporis et Animae*, MPL 180, cols. 695 ff.

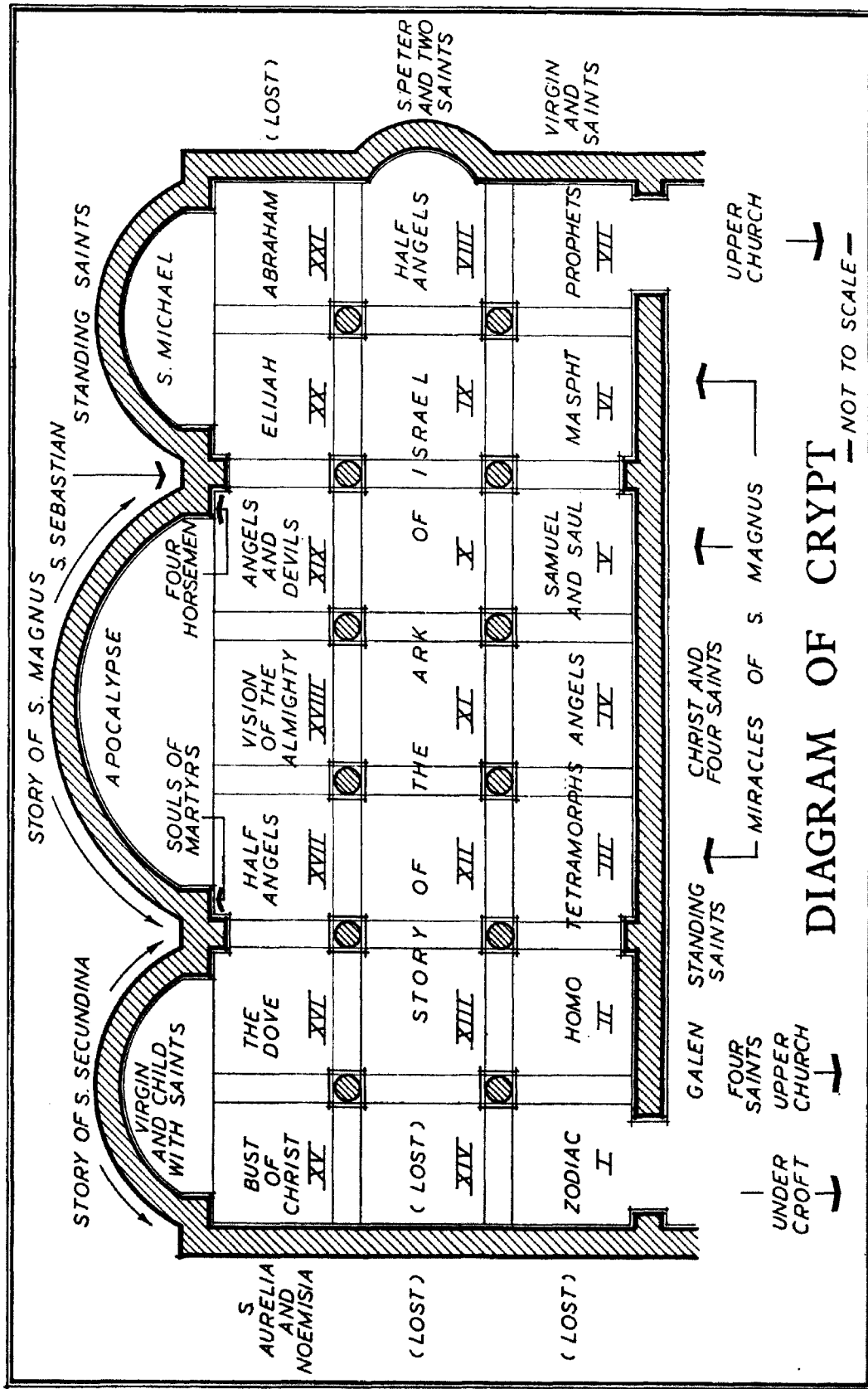


FIG. 1.—SCHEMATIC DIAGRAM OF THE CRYPT, SHOWING THE POSITIONS OF THE MAIN PAINTINGS

to distinguish parts of the figures representing the signs of Pisces, Leo, Cancer and Virgo.

In the lunette over the doorway in this first bay are traces of various figures: two old men seated; in the centre another figure, perhaps haloed, and to the left two sages or philosophers on bejewelled thrones, wearing tall headgear. One of these holds a scroll, and the other a book with the word . . .MENS-VS. . . On the red border above was discernable . . .omNIA PARANT. . ., and beneath the scene . . .evenTA FVTVRI.

Professor Wormald has published¹² a drawing which shows the mathematicians Euclid and Herman, wearing conical hats, enthroned and engaged in dialogue as they observe the stars in the heavens: the figures in this first bay at Anagni are likely to have been mathematician-astrologers, or philosophers, fulfilling a role similar to that played in the next bay by Galen and Hippocrates.

Lower on the wall, immediately by the sides of the entrance are two standing figures, which should probably be counted among the number of standing saints: these are described below.

It seems possible that the frescoes of this opening bay of the scheme were of subjects similar to those traditionally found at the opening of a cycle of church decoration: they represent material that could otherwise appear in terms of the Creation cycle as in the mosaics of Monreale or in the frescoes of Campo Santo at Pisa, where the Universe is shown as a great disk of concentric circles.¹³

The soffit of the arch to the right, leading into bay II, is painted with a frieze of the sea with fishes, a dolphin, fishermen and a figure with a trident. As at Galliano this marine frieze constitutes the boundary of the visible firmament and separates it from the heavens above.¹⁴

Bay II. Man's Situation. Man's place in nature is shown diagrammatically on the vault of the second bay; the complex doctrines of man's physical nature are further illustrated on the adjoining wall at the back of the crypt.

The vault is marked out into seven concentric circles which are subdivided into quadrants. In the centre of the vault and of the concentric circles is the naked figure of a man named H.O.M.O. Around this figure, along the rim of the innermost circle can be read

MIKROCOSMVS ID EST MINOR MVNDVS.

¹² F. Wormald: 'More Matthew Paris Drawings', *Walpole Soc.* XXXI (1942-3), p. 110 and pl. XXVII.

¹³ For a discussion of the treatment of the themes of these opening bays, see F. Saxl: 'Macrocosm and Microcosm in Medieval Pictures'; and 'Illustrated Medieval Encyclopedias', in *Lectures* (1957), vol. I, pp. 58-72, and pp. 228-254, with vol. II, pls. 34-42 and 155-174.

The Pisan frescoes are discussed in P. Bucci: *Campo Santo Monumentale di Pisa* (Pisa, 1960); at the

bottom of the fresco are S. Augustine and S. Thomas Aquinas, the divine philosophers.

For the representation of the Four Elements and the Universe in a Cosmatesque pavement, see *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, I: Westminster Abbey* (1924), p. 25; and M. F. S. Hervey: *Holbein's Ambassadors* (1900), p. 228.

¹⁴ Grabar and Nordenfalk: *Romanesque Painting* (1958), p. 42; and Honorius: *De Philosophia Mundi* (MPL 172, col. 141), cap. lxxxvii: *De Firmamento*, to cap. cxxxviii: *Aqueum coelum*; cap. cxxxix: *Spirituale coelum*.

In the next zone the division into quadrants is clearly indicated. In each quadrant is shown one of the Four Ages of Man with the appropriate Humour indicated both by its name and by its colour:

- | | | |
|-----|--------------|---------------------|
| i | PVERITIA | the head of a child |
| | SANGVIS | coloured red |
| ii | ADOLESCENTIA | the head of a youth |
| | COLERA RVBRA | orange |
| iii | IVVENTVS | the head of a man |
| | MELANCHOLIA | red |
| iv | SENECTVS | a bearded head |
| | phlegMA | dark |

These sections are to be read in a clockwise direction beginning at the right shoulder of the central figure of the man; the heads representing the Ages are in circles and face outwards from the centre of the diagram but the inscriptions are all to be read from the centre of the vault. This is the practice followed in all the vaults. The inscription which encircles the fourth of the seven zones is now far from legible:

...VM... SIC... DEM FORMANT... ELEMENTA.

The fifth concentric zone is blank and coloured blue. The quadrants of the sixth circle have inscriptions which relate the Four Seasons of the Year to the Four Ages of Man. These are in succession:

childhood: VER HVMIDVM ET CALIDVM
 youth : ESTAS CALIDA ET SICCA
 manhood : AVTVMNVS FRIGIDVS ET SICCVS
 old age : HIEMS FRIGIDA ET HVMIDA

In the seventh and outermost zone the Seasons of the Year and the Ages of Man are related to the appropriate elements:

Childhood and Spring:
 AER CALIDVS ET HVMIDVS
 Youth and Summer:
 IGNIS CALIDVS ET SICCVS
 Manhood and Autumn:
 TERRA FRIGIDA ET SICCA
 Old Age and Winter:
 AQVA FRIGIDA ET HVMIDA

Around the arches which support the vault is a final inscription:

MATERIES RERVVM SVNT QVATVOR ELEMENTA

DESE . . . EO . . . EN . . .

DE QVO PLVS ET INEST COMPLEXIO DICITVR HVIVS

ETAS VVLTVS HVMOR MVTANTVR TEMPORE CVIVS.

The thoughts expressed visually in this diagram reappear frequently in the art of the Middle Ages.¹⁵ They are further amplified in a complex diagram painted below the vault on the face of the bold pilaster on the back wall of the bay. In this diagram are shown the numerical values of the Four Humours, the way in which they can be interrelated by their sympathies and contrarities, and the different types of person produced by the mixture of the Humours (pl. I).

IGNIS has the value XXVII

AER XVIII

AqVA XII

TERRA VIII

The Four Elements are arranged with their numerical values in four large circles one above the other; to the right are six smaller circles with the titles, reading from the top,

ACTVS, SVBTILIS, MOBILIS, OBtusa, CORPVLENTA, IMMOBILIS.

The four larger circles are linked by straight lines to the smaller ones when apposite; for instance Ignis is linked to Actus, Subtilis and Mobilis. Curved lines marked CONTRARIA indicate the contrasts.

A full explanation of this strange piece of church decoration is to be found in Chalcidius' Commentary on the Timaeus:

'Sunt igitur tam ignis quam terrae multae quidem et aliae proprietates, sed quae vel maxime vim earum proprietatemque declarent, nimirum hae: ignis quidam acumen, quod est acutus et penetrans, deinde quod est tener et delicata quadam subtilitate, tum quod est mobilis et semper in motu, terrae vero (obtunsitas), quod est retunsa, quod corpulenta, quod semper immobilis. Hae vero naturae licet sint contrariae, habent tamen aliquam ex ipsa contrarietate parilitatem—tam enim similia similibus quam dissimilia dissimilibus comparantur—et haec est analogia, id est ratio continui competentis: quod enim est acumen adversum obtunsitatem, hoc subtilitas iuxta corpulentiam, et quod subtilitas iuxta corpulentiam hoc mobilitas adversum immobilitatem et si verteris, ut id quod medium est extremum fiat, quae vero sunt extrema singillatim in medio locentur, servabitur analogiae norma.

Quatenus igitur inter haec duo solida corpora, quorum est talis similitudo qualem demonstravimus, alia duo solida interiecta faciant continuationem iuxta rationem continui competentis, docet arithmetica disciplina. Si enim vicinum igni elementum quod sit et ex quibus conflatum voluerimus inquirere, sumemus ignis

¹⁵ The whole scheme of this vault can be compared with the table set out in J. Seznec: *The Survival of the Pagan Gods* (1953), p. 47; at Anagni the Four Humours are coloured red, orange, red

and dark, instead of red, yellow, black and white. Seznec discusses the Microcosm and Macrocosm on p. 49.

quidem de proximo duas virtutes, subtilitatem et mobilitatem, unam vero terrae idest obtusitatem, et invenietur genitura secundi elementi, quod est subter ignem, id est aeris; est enim aer obtusis, subtilis, mobilis. Rursumque si eius elementi quod est vicinum terrae, id est aquae, genituram consideremus, sumemus duas quidem terrae virtutes, id est obtusitatem et corpulentiam, unam vero ignis, id est motum, et exorietur aquae substantia, quae est corpus obtusam corpulentum mobile. Atque ita inter ignem et terram aer et aqua de extimorum concretione nascentur, ex quibus constat mundi continuatio. Conservatur autem hoc pacto analogia quoque geometrica iuxta rationem continui competentis; ut enim ignis adversum aera, sic aer adversum aquam et demum aqua iuxta terra, retrorsumque ut terra adversum aquam, sic aqua adversum aera et aer adversus ignem'.¹⁶

The way in which such material might be disseminated in manuscript form is indicated by the survival of a small manuscript, now Ms 482 in the library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. This is a copy with many diagrams of a Tractarius Quaternario, dating from about 1100. Although the relationship with the Anagni frescoes of these opening bays is general rather than particular the following principles are common to both: the interaction of the Zodiac with the Four Ages of Man and with the Four Humours, which have numerical values; and the presentation of these ideas in diagrammatic form. Many of the diagrams are in circular form, with descriptive inscriptions and encircled by explanatory verses. There is, however, no exact correspondence in the form or content of the diagrams. At Anagni a mass of material is presented very compactly in two bays: in the manuscript similar material is treated at greater length and expounded stage by stage. Perhaps the most interesting comparison is with the diagram on f.22 of the volume, which shows a pair of gesticulating philosophers at their books, seated below a circular disc showing the four points of the compass.¹⁷ At Anagni in bay I the fragmentary remains of philosophers have already been described; in bay II the philosophers have fortunately been preserved and are perhaps the best known part of the whole fresco cycle.

On the wall below the vault of Man as a Microcosm and to the right of the pilaster which provides a diagram of the inter-action of the Four Elements are shown the two great masters of ancient medicine, Galen and Hippocrates (pl. I). On the left seated at his desk is GALIENVVS; pen in hand he points at his open book on which is written

MVNDI PRESENTIS SERIES MANET EX ELEMENTIS.

Opposite Galen is the gesticulating IPOCRAS seated at his desk with medicine jars behind him. On his book is written

EX HIS FORMANTVR QVAE SVNT QVAECVMQVE CHREANTVR.

¹⁶ Plato Latinus: *Timaeus a Calcidio Translatu Commentarioque Instructus* (ed. J. Waszink, Warburg, 1962), pp. 72-73.

¹⁷ M. R. James: *Gonville and Caius College, Catalogue of Manuscripts* (1908), vol. II, no. 428; and F. Saxl and H. Meier: *Catalogue of Astrological and Mythological Manuscripts of the Latin Middle Ages III*:

Manuscripts in English Libraries (1953), I, p. 422; and II, pl. LXXXVII. The manuscript receives further attention in R. Klibansky, E. Panofsky and F. Saxl: *Saturn and Melancholy* (1964), p. 292 and pl. 75. Toesca suggested a comparison with Ms. Greco 2460 at the Bibl. Nat., Paris. See note 22 below.

On the red border below the scene is a final inscription:

...ATRVIS MAGNIS DANT DOGMA SALVTIS.

This fresco has frequently been photographed and published and the boldness of the colour is well-known. But it has been published out of context as a lone painting on a flat wall. As one stands in the crypt the visual unity between the subjects of the vault and the adjoining walls is complete and satisfying.

This scene, more than any other in the crypt, offers some of the pleasures of genre painting. Hippocrates wears a gown of vair, fashionable at this period in the court at Westminster, and sits in a chair made of turned wood, a more elegant version of the same sort of chair as is still preserved in Hereford Cathedral. Galen's stool is of the sort constructed on the scissors principle with the outer struts ending in lions' masks. Both figures rest their feet on footstools of inlaid wood. Spare pens are stuck upright on their desks. The two figures are set on a green ground, on which also are set their medicine jars. A feeling of space is created, not by perspective, but by an inner 'lunette' of blue. At the left the lion mask of Galen's stool overlaps from the blue to the green, and at the top of the scene a semi-circle of reddish-brown hangs down from the upper border, over the green and into the blue area. This half disc may perhaps signify the sky; a similar feature, a blue disc sprinkled with stars, is set in the gold ground of the mosaic of the Miracle of the Quails in the north narthex of S. Marco at Venice.¹⁸

The artist responsible for this scene has been identified by the name of the Master of the Translations. The characteristic ways in which he outlines his faces, particularly at the ears, and the modelling of the folds at the knees will be encountered again in other parts of the cycle.

The zodiacal and allied scenes at Anagni are positioned at the entrance to the crypt; this is a practice frequently encountered at the sculptured entrances of North Italian and Burgundian Romanesque churches.¹⁹

(b) *Symbols of the Old and New Testaments*

The opening of the scheme of decoration in bays I and II may be considered as filling the function of a Creation cycle in a more normal typological scheme. At Anagni the next bays to be dealt with contain symbols of the Old and New

¹⁸ Clearly the gold background of a mosaic is not intended to represent the heavens; see for example the starry centre of the Ascension cupola at S. Marco, Venice, and the Joseph domes in the narthex. The reddish half-disc at Anagni may represent the decorative use of a misunderstood feature or may prove to be only the underpainting for a brighter blue. In any case, blue is not used by the Anagni painters to represent the sky, for regularly the green 'ground' encircles, surrounds and encloses it. For this reason the Hand of God and the bust of Christ in vault IX are shown encircled by clouds. (Photos of the Venetian mosaics may be found in O. Demus: *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (1947), p. 10a, with other examples of the same practice including some in Norman Sicily. Compare too the starred mandorla

around Christ in the Anastasis against a blue background in the parecclesion at Kariye Camii.)

¹⁹ Compare, for instance, Piacenza of c. 1125; see D. M. Robb: 'Niccolo, a North Italian Sculptor of the XII century', *Art Bulletin* II (1930), p. 374 ff.; and D. Grivot and G. Zarnecki: *Gislebertus of Autun: the Zodiac and Labours of the Month surround the Apocalypse*, and a similar arrangement appears at Vézelay, which is also based on the now destroyed tympanum of Cluny. But compare Grivot and Zarnecki, note 3, p. 149: 'there is no reason to suppose that Honorius of Autun had ever been to Autun'. For a discussion of the identity of Honorius 'of Autun', see R. W. Southern: *S. Anselm and his Biographer* (1963), pp. 209-17, where it is suggested that Honorius was probably an Irishman.

Testaments; these are not very consistently arranged and little logic is discernible in the positioning of these relatively minor, non-cyclical subjects.

Bay III. *Tetramorphs.* The vault of bay III is divided by a bold floreate cross with a roundel in the centre; in each of the four quarters of the vault is an extremely decorative tetramorph—the winged hybrid covered with eyes, having the face of a man, the heads of an ox and a lion, and the complete eagle—symbolic of the four Evangelists and their Gospels. This vault may be symbolic of the Evangelists either solely in distinction and contrast to the Prophets in vault VII, or there may be an extension of the imagery of the Four Evangelists shown symbolically one by one around the vision of the Lamb in the Apocalyptic series described below.²⁰

Not the least effective feature of the design of the vault is the way in which the four Tetramorphs fill the four-square division of the vault, at the same time spreading their wings and hands beyond the whole series of borders.

Bay VII. (pl. II) *The Prophets.* Four Prophets, symbolic of the Old Testament and perhaps complementary to the Tetramorphs symbolising the New Testament, are shown in the vault of bay VII, the last in the back row of the crypt and at the alternative entrance.

The vault is divided by a large floreate cross; in the centre and emphasising the message of the prophets is a disk or medallion with the representation of the Agnus Dei holding a cross. In each of the four quarters of the vault is the bust of one of the greater prophets of Christ, each holding a scroll. Contractions in the inscriptions have been expanded:

ISAIA	ECCE VIRGO IN VTERO CONCIPIET ET PARIET FILIVM	(Is. vi. 14)
-------	---	--------------

DAVIT	MATER SION DICET HOMO FACTVS EST IN EA ET IPSE FVNDAVIT EAM IN ALTISSIMVS	(Ps. lxxxvii. 5)
-------	--	------------------

SALOMONIS	ECCE ISTE VENIT SALIENS IN MONTIBVS TRANSILIENS COLLES	(Song ii. 8)
-----------	---	--------------

DANIEL	CVM VENERIT SANCTVS SANCTORVM	
--------	-------------------------------	--

The last prophecy attributed to Daniel does not appear in the text of the Vulgate but comes from a Pseudo-Augustine Sermon, *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos*. . . . In full the quotation reads 'Dic Sanctus Daniel, dic de Christo quod nostri. Cum venerit, Sanctus Sanctorum, cessabit unctio'. It appears quite frequently in Romanesque art, for instance on Lombard *portal* sculpture at Cremona and Ferrara; the position of the prophets at Anagni is by the right-hand *entrance*, balancing

²⁰ Tetramorphs from Rev. iv, 6–8.

the zodiacal signs at the left door.²¹ On the wall below the prophecies is a fresco of the Virgin and Child which is described below, p. 31.

Bays IV, VIII, XV, XVI. *The Person of Christ.* The Person of Christ is referred to in three vaults of the crypt, and the Holy Ghost in another. In vault IV next to that with the Tetramorphs are shown Four Angels supporting a central medallion enclosing a decorated Latin cross. This vault is the central one in the back row of the crypt and is best considered as a continuation of the subject of the fresco on the back wall. This shows the Pantocrator enthroned with standing saints (described below); wall and vault together form an emphatic feature at the back of the crypt, immediately opposite the bishop as he sits in his cathedra behind the main altar of the crypt. The frescoes of the vaults over the altar showing the Apocalypse similarly provide an east-to-west emphasis in a scheme in which the main typological series reads across the width of the crypt.

Vault VIII, next to that of the Prophets, is divided by a diagonal cross; in each of the triangles of the vault is a bust of an angel with outstretched hands. In the centre of the cross is a medallion with the sacred monogram Chi-Rho and the letters A and W. This vault may have been related to the original fresco in the adjoining apse in the way that vault and wall are related in bay IV. But the conch above the altar in bay VIII now contains a later fresco of S. Peter of Anagni (described below); on the opposite side of the crypt in bay XIV all the frescoes have been lost.

Vault XV shows a bust of Christ blessing, a book in His hand; around the central circular mandorla are four square panels, each with a symbol of an Evangelist. In general design this is one of the least satisfying vaults though the individual elements, particularly the faces of Christ and of the angel of S. Matthew, are finely executed.

In the adjoining vault XVI is shown the symbol of the Holy Ghost, a haloed Dove on an altar or *arca*, in a roundel supported by four angels. This has previously been wrongly described as the Agnus Dei.²²

²¹ MPL 42, cols. 1123-7; on the quotation, see A. Watson: *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse* (1934), chap. II, esp. pp. 10-11, and Appendix II, and note I, p. 163-4.

For Cremona see G. H. Crichton: *Romanesque Sculpture in Italy* (1954), pp. 18 and 23; the other prophets at Cremona besides Daniel are Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Isaiah; for Ferrara, see D. M. Robb: 'Niccolo . . .', *Art Bulletin* II (1930), p. 394.

²² The Dove on an altar or throne is symbolic of the Holy Ghost in dome mosaics of Pentecost; see Hosios Lukas (E. Diez and O. Demus: *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece* (Harvard, 1931), pls. V and XV, and fig. 7; and for a detail of the Dove, see A. Procopiou: *The Macedonian Question in Byzantine Painting* (Athens, 1962), pl. 28. Compare the Pentecost dome of S. Marco, Venice; see O. Demus: *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (1947-8), pl. 8. The iconography of these domes is probably to be traced back to the IX-Xc. Pentecost dome in the south

gallery of S. Sophia, Istanbul; see C. Mango: *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics in S. Sophia* (Dumbarton Oaks, 1962), p. 35. The Old Testament Ark of the Covenant is a type of the New Testament Throne: both Ark and Throne are the place of God's presence.

Comparison should also be made with the Dove on the Altar and the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit in Amiens: Ms. Escalopier 2, f. 19 bis. (V. Leroquais: *Les Psautiers manuscrits latins* (1940-1941), vol. I, pp. 16-19). After the Calendar (which includes S. Magnus) are instructions for the Fixing of Easter and Concerning Embolism; on f. XVIII are two circular diagrams, one relating the Four Winds to the Points of the Compass, and the other relating the Four Elements to their qualities e.g. Terra: sicca frigida, Ignis: calidus siccus. There seems to have been manuscript influence on this part of the Anagni frescoes. For the Master of the Translations as a manuscript artist, see Appendix I, below.

(c) *The Old Testament Series*

A major series of continuous narrative, the story of the loss and recovery of the Ark of the Israelites, was chosen as the main Old Testament element of the scheme. As will be explained below the story is to be interpreted typologically with reference in particular to the legend of the loss and recovery of the *arca* containing the relics of S. Magnus.

The complete story of the Ark of the Israelites is uncommon in medieval art as a whole although the narrative is well-known through the use of single episodes in conjunction with a continuous Gospel narrative, as in such works as the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* or the *Biblia Pauperum*. The complete narrative is to be found in I Samuel ii–x; it is full of dramatic incidents the moral of which is straightforward and of particular relevance to the citizens of Anagni who now guard the relics of S. Magnus in their cathedral.

The Biblical narrative falls neatly into separate episodes which are fitted into the vaults of the crypt. Sometimes a continuous episode such as a procession or battle is shown encircling the vault. Or related parts of the same sequence can be shown in four sections either per saltire or quarterly, often separated by a floreate cross with a central medallion containing a visual reference to the typological meaning of the episode. The greater part of the story is fitted into the vaults of the middle aisle across the width of the crypt, but two parts at the very end of the story are fitted into the back aisle. There are a further pair of Old Testament scenes in the front aisle. These irregularities provoke again the suspicion that the preliminary planning of the cycle was not very precise.

The frescoes of bay XIV have not survived; if the vault was not decorated with a subject related to the adjoining conch an alternative suggestion would be that it might have contained any of the following episodes: the birth of Samuel, his ministry before the Lord or the sacrilegious behaviour of Hophni and Phinehas.

The narrative now begins in vault XIII; in this vault and in others where appropriate the separate episodes are distinguished in order: i, ii, iii, iv.

Vault XIII. *The Capture of the Ark* (pl. III). The narrative is taken from I Sam. iv.–v. 2. It shows the events which followed the defeat of the Israelites at the first battle of Aphek and the fulfilment of the prophecy of fate awaiting the unworthy priests, Hophni and Phinehas (I Sam. ii. 34). There are four episodes shown in a circle round the vault, with a star-feature at the centre. The inscriptions for the second and fourth episodes have been lost.

(i) After their first defeat the Israelites sent to Silo for the Ark of Covenant, *arca foederis Dei*; but as shown in the vault, once again the Philistines were victorious and captured the ARCA DEI. The main inscription on the side of the supporting arch is damaged:

PERDITVR ARCA DEI . . . TIMOR . . .

I Sam. iv. 10–11: 'And the Philistines fought and Israel was smitten . . . and the ark of God was taken, and the two sons of Eli, Hophni and Phinehas were slain.'

(ii) The Philistines are here shown beheading OBNI and FINEES in front of the captured Ark (pl. III).

I Sam. iv. 12-18: 'And there ran a man of Benjamin out of the army and came to Shiloh . . . and the man said to Eli . . . Israel is fled before the Philistines and there hath been also a great slaughter among the people, and thy two sons also, Hophni and Phinehas are dead, and the ark of God is taken. And it came to pass, when he made mention of the ark of God that he fell from off the seat backward by the side of the gate, and his neck brake, and he died; for he was an old man and heavy.'

(iii) A man of Benjamin is shown running to tell ELI SACERDOS, who is at the gate of SILO: at the news he falls and breaks his neck:

ISTVD VT AVDIVIT TVNC ELI SIC ET OBIVIT.

(iv) In the final episode of this part of the story, the Philistines are shown taking the Ark back to AZOTVM (Ashdod) where they place it in their temple next to the statue of their god, +DAGON DEVS (I Sam. v. 2.).

This vault was painted by the same artist as worked in the adjoining bay with Man as a Microcosm and with Galen, and in the bay adjoining with the Zodiac. He has been called the Master of the Translations, a name taken from frescoes described below.

Vault XII. *The Ark causes Plague* (pl. IX). The narrative is continued across the width of the crypt with the present vault showing the four cities of the Philistines, one in each quarter of the vault, separated by a floreate cross with a central medallion. The painter of this vault is known as the Ornate Master: the effect of this vault is aesthetically very different from that of the one just described.

I Sam. v. 3-9: 'And when they of Ashdod arose early on the morrow, behold, Dagon was fallen upon his face to the earth before the ark of the Lord. And they took Dagon and set him on his place again. And when they arose early on the morrow morning, behold, Dagon was fallen upon his face to the ground, before the ark of the Lord; and the head of Dagon and both the palms of his hands were cut off upon the threshold; only the stump of Dagon was left to him. Therefore neither the priest of Dagon, nor any that come into Dagon's house tread on the threshold of Dagon in Ashdod unto this day. But the hand of the Lord was heavy upon them of Ashdod, and he destroyed them, and smote them with emerods, even Ashdod and the coasts thereof.'

(i) At AZOTVM the idol of Dagon is shown falling from its pedestal and breaking into pieces while the citizens lament the first deaths from plague. This episode is the most familiar of the whole narrative being regularly used as a type of the fall of the idols of Aphrodisias (Pseudo-Matt. xxiii) when the Holy Family rested in their temple. That the painters at Anagni intended a Mariological interpretation of this scene is not left in any doubt: in the centre of the vault in the large medallion is the crowned bust of the Madonna Orante; this, with other Mariological references in the scheme, is further discussed below, pp. 35-6 (pl. IX).

- (ii) I Sam. v. 8: '(The men of Ashdod) sent therefore and gathered all the lords of the Philistines unto them, and said, What shall we do with the ark of the God of Israel? And they answered, Let the ark of the God of Israel be carried about unto Gath. And they carried the ark of the God of Israel about thither.'

The removal of the ark from Ashdod is not illustrated; but the men of GAZA (Gath) are shown in their sufferings,—a droll piece of painting.

I Sam. v. 9: 'And it was so, that, after they had carried it about, the hand of the Lord was against the city with a very great destruction: and he smote the men of the city, both small and great, and they had emerods in their secret parts.'

- (iii) In the third quarter, diagonally opposite the second, is shown the city of ACCARON (Ekron), where the plague has spread with the removal of the ark into that city, as the citizens had feared would happen (I Sam. v. 10–12).

In despair the Philistines sought the advice of priests and diviners who advised that it would be necessary to make trespass offerings to return with the ark of the God of Israel. The painter has depicted a priest standing in Ekron holding a scroll with the instructions

FACITE V MVRES AVREOS ET CE.²³

I Sam. vi. 4: 'Then said they, What shall be the trespass offering which we shall return to Him? They answered, Five golden emerods and five golden mice, according to the number of the lords of the Philistines: for one plague was on you all and on your lords.'

In the foreground of the scene a smith is seen working at his anvil.

- (iv) In the last quarter of the vault are depicted the citizens of ASCALON peering over the walls of the city, watching the smiths at work. Two are at the anvil, the third holds up for admiration a model of a golden mouse of unnatural size, meanwhile soothing with his hand the plague in his hinder parts.

Vault XI. *The Return of the Ark.* The Ark was returned by the Philistines to the Israelites, being placed on a cart drawn by two milch kine which 'took the straight way to the way of Beth-shemesh, and went along the highway, lowing as they went, and turned not aside to the right hand or to the left'. With the Ark were sent the coffer with the golden mice and the images of the emerods (I Sam. vi. 10–18). This episode is shown in a continuous movement encircling the vault without any subdivisions, from the city of AZOTVM towards the Israelites at BESAMIS where the cattle are offered in sacrifice. In the centre of the vault is a foliate feature; although the vault is not otherwise divided the general style is that of the previous vault. The Ornate Master was also responsible for the Tetramorphs and Angels

²³ The last word might be CEphrastes.

For a recent discussion of the symptoms and causes of the plague, see J. F. D. Shrewsbury: *The Plague of the Philistines* (1964). Compare the painting in the Louvre of the Plague of Ashdod by

Poussin, for which a bibliography can be found in the Catalogue of the Poussin Exhibition (1960), no. 23; and see also O. Neustatter: 'Mice in Plague Pictures', *Jnl. of the Walker Art Gallery*, IV (1941), p. 105.

in the adjoining bays (III and IV) and for the frescoes, yet to be described, on the walls below them. The architectural style of his cities is distinctive, and the appropriateness of his 'name' can be judged from the wealth of flowers sprinkled over the ground.

Vault X. *The Ark at Beth-Shemesh.* The narrative in the next vault falls into four linked episodes divided one from the other by a fine floreate cross with recurved sides and pointed ends; the centre of the cross is of the 'dome of heaven' pattern.

- (i) In the first quarter the Ark is shown at the CIVITAS BETHANIENTIVN. I Sam. vi. 19-20: 'And he smote the men of Beth-shemesh, because they had looked into the ark of the Lord, even he smote of the people fifty thousand and three score and ten men: and the people lamented, because the Lord had smitten many of the people with a great slaughter. And the men of Beth-shemesh said, Who is able to stand before this holy Lord God? and to whom shall he go up from us?'

To the right is depicted a group of five sufferers of the plague and to the left one man stretching up to the Ark and another with a scroll:

QVIS POTERIS STARE Ī CONSPECTV DNI.

- (ii) I Sam. vi. 21: 'And they sent messengers to the inhabitants of Kirjath-jearim, saying, The Philistines have brought again the ark of the Lord; come ye down, and fetch it up to you.'

The messengers are shown, in the next quarter, outside the walls of CIVITAS CARIATHERIM; a young man leading the group from Beth-shemesh holds up his scroll, pointing at the inscription:

ARCA DNI DESCĒDITE 7 DVCITE EA AD VOS.

- (iii) I Sam. vii. 1: 'And the men of Kirjath-Jearim came, and fetched up the ark of the Lord, and brought it into the house of Abinadab in the hill, and sanctified Eleazar his son to keep the ark of the Lord.'

On the border of the central cross above the scene is written

ARCA DOMINI DESCENDITE.

The scene shows four young men helping to transport the Ark; the one in the rear is at a lower level as if to suggest movement up a hill. In front of the Ark a young man, perhaps Eleazar, and a bearded man, Abinadab with a scroll:

REDVCAM' EA Ī DOMV ABANAB.

- (iv) In the last part of this vault the Ark is shown resting in the DOMVS AMNADAB, adored by a woman and by Abinadab.

The genealogy at the opening of S. Matthew indicated that Abinadab is one of the ancestors of the Virgin and in these episodes is to be considered as her type-figure.

The design of this vault is particularly attractive: while the central cross provides a strong unifying feature the grace and elegance with which the architectural

settings and various groups of figures and individuals is the work of a considerable artist. He has invented designs which fill with animated narrative the rather extraordinary spaces available. One is reminded of the elegance of figures poised within the interlocking frameworks found in *Opus Anglicanum*. The artist has been titled the Anagni Master.

Vault IX. *Israel Returns to the Lord* (pl. IV). The final return of Israel to the Lord and their deliverance from the Philistines is shown in three vaults of which the hero is Samuel, the faithful son of Eli—a contrast to Hophni and Phinehas.

The surface of vault IX is divided quarterly by a fine floreate cross with a quatrefoil at the centre. The four episodes show the destruction of the idols and the return of Israel to the Lord, to be followed by the expulsion of the Philistines shown in the next vault. Vault IX is the second of the four vaults by the Anagni Master.

- (i) I Sam. vii. 2–3: ‘And it came to pass, while the ark abode in Kirjath-jearim, that the time was long; for it was twenty years; and all the house of Israel lamented after the Lord.

And Samuel spake unto all the house of Israel, saying, If ye do return unto the Lord with all your hearts, then put away the strange gods and Ashtaroth from among you, and prepare your hearts unto the Lord, and serve him only: and he will deliver you out of the hand of the Philistines.’

In the painting SAMUEL is shown with a scroll ordering the destruction of the strange gods:

AVFERTE DEOS ALIENOS DE MEDIO VESTRVM ET ASTAROT.

- (ii) I Sam. vii. 4: ‘Then the children of Israel did put away Baalim and Ash-taroht, and served the Lord only.’

This text is illustrated by a painting of the destruction of the idols of the false gods: IDOLVM ASTAROT, . . . BAALI. (pl. IV).

- (iii) I Sam. vii. 5–6: ‘And Samuel said, Gather all Israel to Mizpeh, and I will pray for you unto the Lord. And they gathered together to Mizpeh, and drew water, and poured it out before the Lord, and fasted on that day, and said there, We have sinned against the Lord. And Samuel judged the children of Israel in Mizpeh.’

This text is not one to offer great scope for dramatic painting: Samuel is shown purifying the people.

- (iv) I Sam. vii. 7–9: ‘And when the Philistines heard that the children of Israel were gathered together to Mizpeh, the Lords of the Philistines went up against Israel. And when the children of Israel heard it, they were afraid of the Philistines. And the children of Israel said to Samuel, Cease not to cry unto the Lord our God for us, that he will save us out of the hand of the Philistines. And Samuel took a sucking lamb, and offered it for a burnt offering wholly unto the Lord: and Samuel cried unto the Lord for Israel: and the Lord heard him.’

Samuel is shown offering the lamb to the Almighty while the Israelites make their plea:

NE CESSSES CLAMARE P̄ NOBIS AD DOMINV̄.

In the upper part of the last two scenes where Samuel is shown purifying the people and making offering for them the Hand of God is shown protruding from a circle of cloud. It is of considerable importance for the acceptance of a typological interpretation of this series to note that in the second episode, the Destruction of the Idols, the Hand of God is replaced by the bust of Christ Himself with an inscription which makes clear the reference to the New Testament, IC XC. More was intended by the painters than merely a literal identification of the scenes.

Vault VI. *The Battle of Mizpeh.* The two final parts of the story are depicted in the vaults of bays VI and V in the back aisle of the crypt.

I Sam. vii. 10-12: 'And as Samuel was offering up the burnt offering, the Philistines drew near to battle against Israel: but the Lord thundered with a great thunder on that day upon the Philistines, and discomfited them; and they were smitten before Israel. And the men of Israel went out of Mizpeh, and pursued the Philistines, and smote them, until they came under Beth-car. Then Samuel took a stone, and set it between Mizpeh and Shen, and called the name of it Eben-ezer, saying, Hitherto hath the Lord helped us.'

In the representation of these events the artist has not split up the surface of the vault by using a cross, but has arranged the events in a continuous action circling the vault around a large central disc decorated with outspread leaves. The vault can be attributed perhaps to the Anagni Master or a follower. In style, as in subject, it is rather strange.

Beginning near the pilaster on the back wall is shown a hill named MASPHT (Mizpeh), and from here the battle is shown with great vigour, moving clockwise round the circular field. With about a dozen vigorous armed knights, brandishing spears and swords, or getting to close quarters with a dagger the artist has well caught the fury of battle, for under these fighting men are seen a rather larger number of dead Philistines.

Two naked men, their hands behind their backs, may represent prisoners. These are shown sitting below a hill marked BETHAR. Beyond the hill is SAMVEL with his left hand setting in place the LAPIS AIVTORII. In his right hand is a scroll with the inscription:

DIXIT QVE HVCVSQVE AVXILIATVS.

Vault V. *Samuel Anoints Saul as King.* The vault is divided diagonally into four triangular sections by a floreate cross. In the quatrefoil in the centre is depicted a large bust of Christ, IC XC, blessing the Old Testament figures whose actions here as elsewhere in the cycle are to be interpreted typologically.

- (i) I Sam. viii. 19–20: ‘Nevertheless, the people refused to obey the voice of Samuel; and they said, Nay; but we will have a king over us; that we also may be like all the nations; and that our king may judge us, and go out before us, and fight our battles.’

SAMVEL with a halo is shown beside the Ark, being asked by the people for a king. The leader of the delegation holds up a scroll but there is now no inscription on it.

- (ii) The Lord tells Samuel to await the arrival of Saul, who comes to the gate of the city while searching for his father’s asses. Here Samuel awaits him. Toesca quotes the inscriptions as

VBI...VIDISTIS... and ...SOLVM VIDES.

These readings might represent ‘Accessit autem Saul ad Samuelem in medio portae, et ait, Iudica, oro mihi VBI EST DOMVS VIDENTIS. Et respondit Samuel Sauli, dicens EGO SVM VIDENS?’

I Sam. ix. 18–19: ‘Then Saul drew near to Samuel in the gate, and said, Tell me I pray thee, where the seer’s house is. And Samuel answered Saul, and said, I am the seer: go up before me unto the high place; for ye shall eat with me today, and tomorrow I will let thee go, and will tell thee all that is in thine heart.’

To the left SAMVEL and to the right SAVL greet each other outside the gate, stretching out their hands and holding scrolls now without inscriptions.

- (iii) In the next section is shown the feast that SAMVEL had prepared for SAVL. Space prevents the inclusion of the thirty or so guests invited, but the painter shows Samuel encouraging his cook to place food before Saul and his servant (I Sam. viii. 22–24).

- (iv) The last episode of the main typological series is the anointing of SAVL by SAMVEL.

I Sam. ix. 27–x. 1: ‘And as they were going down to the end of the city, Samuel said to Saul, Bid thy servant pass on before us (and he passed on,) but stand thou still a while, that I may show thee the word of God. Then Samuel took a vial of oil, and poured it upon his head, and kissed him, and said, Is it not because the Lord hath anointed thee to be captain over his inheritance?’

SAMVEL is shown with the vial anointing SAVL, with a servant behind Samuel and the inquisitive servant of Saul turning back to see what is happening.

This vault is arranged with all the liveliness of pose that was noticed in vault X. Once more the painter has used architectural settings and dramatically composed groups which fill the triangular spaces available with dramatic tension. Saul leans forward, half kneeling, to be anointed; and Samuel and his cook lean, arms outstretched towards the table, in poses that echo the framework of the scene. When Samuel and Saul greet each other at the gate they face each other in a triangular group, but a more dramatic formula is used in the episode which shows the

Israelites asking for a king. Here Samuel turns to look over his shoulder at the suppliants, his head thrown back in his anxiety to see what is going on behind him.

The position of the two vaults last described indicates a lack of exact planning in the arrangement of the scenes; instead of the cycle of scenes of the story of the Ark being left complete in the central aisle of the crypt two additional parts of the continuation of the narrative have been placed in the back aisle. Similar lack of foresight is to be suspected as the reason for the position of two further typological subjects, which appear in adjoining bays XX and XXI in the front aisle, next to the small apse to the right of the main altar.

Vault XX. *The Ascension of Elijah.* The main subject of the vault is that often found in the initial of the opening of the Fourth Book of Kings (II Kings) in illuminated Romanesque bibles: the Ascension of Elijah in the fiery chariot, with the dropping of his cloak to Elisha; the artist is the Master of the Translations whose hand has been recognised in the illuminations of a Sacramentary from Anagni (see below).

Elisha is shown stretching upwards arms out-spread in astonishment as he cries to ELIAS:

(Pater mi, pater mi, currus Isr)AEL ET AVRIGA EIVS

(II Kings ii. 12).

Both Elijah and Elisha are haloed. Elijah in the chariot drawn by four prancing horses is set within a central circle while Elisha stands below in the corner of the vault. In another corner is a second representation of ELIAS. He is being fed by a raven (I Kings xviii. 5).

The major episode is a regular type of the Ascension of Christ. As is further explained below, this is the necessary prelude to the Second Coming of Christ, the subject of the adjoining bay to the left. In the bay to the right is a typological reference to the Eucharist and this may be the purpose of the episode of the feeding of Elias.

The placing of the ascending Elijah in a central circle coloured white and the asymmetrical design of the subsidiary parts gives the vault a poetic quality all of its own, though the drawing of the central subject is a little clumsy.

Vault XXI. *Abraham and Melchisedec.* The Eucharistic reference is made clear in the adjoining vault where MELCHISEDEC is shown in priestly robes offering bread and wine to ABRAHAM wearing armour. Both figures have haloes and stand at either side of the *altar* set beneath a domed ciborium. The subject is taken from Gen. xiv. 18, and the typological interpretation is traditional, being based on S. Paul's important discussion of the Priesthood of Christ in Hebrews v.

The drawing of the draperies and of the faces show that this vault and the previous one are by the same master, the Master of the Translations. The faces of Melchisedec and Elijah (and of Galen and Hippocrates) are very much alike. Although in the scene of Abraham and Melchisedec only two characters are required the painter has retained the same figure scale as used for more complex scenes. He

has not shown onlookers or servants. The two figures and the altar are arranged economically within a square frame set in the centre of the vault; the shield of Abraham just overlaps the frame as do the hooves of the galloping horses and the tip of the cloak of Elijah. But for the Communion of Abraham the rest of the vault is given a firmer and more architectural structure; instead of using a circle and ellipses the painter prefers a square set within a square, diamond-wise. In the corners of the outer square are pairs of birds at fountains, and in the very corners of the vault, providing a contrast of circular lines, are peacocks with their tails outspread.

Birds at fountains are frequently encountered in Early Christian art and peacocks are often interpreted as symbols of the immortality of the flesh. In many other parts of the decoration of the crypt are many other such traditional features, perhaps to be interpreted symbolically, although no precise definitions need be offered.

(d) *The Apocalypse*

The several episodes of the Apocalyptic sequence are arranged in the main conch and the adjoining vaults and walls over and around the altar containing the relics of S. Magnus. The position is strange judged by the practices of later centuries, when in the terms of a Last Judgement similar scenes are frequently shown on the back wall of a church. In many Roman examples, however, and also at S. Angelo in Formis the apse contains a vision of the Almighty in Majesty. Often the Adoration of the Lamb is included too, as at Castel S. Elia where the Apocalyptic scenes are in the adjoining transept. A study of the typological links between the various parts of the scheme at Anagni make it clear that the choice of a position over the altar rather than on the entrance wall was a considered, not a chance, occurrence.²⁴

Vault XVIII. *The Vision of the Almighty* (pl. V). The vault immediately above the main altar is filled with the great vision of the opening chapter of Revelation. In the lower left-hand corner is the figure of S. John looking up to see the Almighty, Alpha and Omega.

'I saw *seven golden candlesticks*, and in the midst of the seven candlesticks one like unto the *Son of Man*, clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a *golden girdle*. His head and his hairs were *white* like wool, as white as snow; and his eyes were as a flame of fire. And his feet like unto fine brass, as if they burned in a furnace; and his voice as the sound of many waters. And he had *in his right hand seven stars*; and *out of his mouth went a two-edged sword*';

In His left hand, he holds the keys of hell and death; beyond the mandorla are the seven angels of the seven churches. The churches are shown at the bottom of the scene as seven towered buildings (Rev. i. 10–end).

²⁴ A detailed discussion of these paintings is to be found in E. Van de Meer: *Maiestas Domini*, *Studi di Antichità Cristiana* (Rome, 1938). The other important Apocalyptic cycle in the area is at Castel S. Elia, although there are many precedents for

parts of the Anagni scheme in the mosaics and paintings of medieval Rome. The fresco of S. John in Oil, perhaps part of this Apocalyptic sequence, is described below.

The way these buildings are drawn, the figure of S. John (rather like Elias waiting to catch the cloak), and the drapery of the Almighty (particularly over his stomach like that worn by Elijah) are indications that this vault was painted by the same Master of the Translations. His hand and perhaps that of an assistant is responsible for all the Apocalyptic scenes and for the decoration of the side apses, and for the walls below with the hagiographic scenes from which he takes his title.

The Main Conch. *The Vision of the Lamb.* The conch of the main apse shows the vision of the Lamb, holding open the book with its inscription

ECCE VICIT LEO DE TRIBV IVDA RADEX DD

APERIRE LIBRVM. (Rev. v. 5).

Rev. v. 6-8: '... in the midst of the throne and of the *four beasts* and in the midst of the elders stood a *lamb* as it had been slain, having *seven horns* and *seven eyes*. And when he had taken the *book*, the *four and twenty elders*, having everyone of them *harps* and *golden vials*, full of odours which are the prayers of saints. . . '

The last phrase is full of significance for the local saint rests in the altar beneath this scene. He is surrounded by paintings which depict his legend.

In the lower portion of the vault are standing the twenty four Elders stretching upwards. They hold stringed instruments in their hands, and offer up their vials. Around the lower border is a boldly lettered inscription:

QVI LAVDANT AGNVM SENIORES BIS DVODENI HOS VETVS
ET NOVA LEX DOCTORES CONTVLIT EVI.

The human face of the symbol of S. Matthew is clearly by the Master of the Translations: the drawing is almost identical with that of the Seven Angels in the adjoining vault of the Vision of the Almighty. Equally characteristic is the modelling of the draperies at the knees of the Elders, which is in the same manner as that at the knees of Galen and Hippocrates. A white highlight and an intermediate shade are used over the basic colour which when left uncovered provides the 'shadows' or deep folds of the robes. The faces and hands are outlined firmly in brown with the flesh tones modelled—though to a lesser extent than in the Galen and Hippocrates—in red and green.

The Adoration of the Lamb is the most formal part of the decoration of the crypt; the poses of the Elders are repetitive and variety is achieved only by colour changes and varieties of folds in their robes. The Adoration of a Lamb with Seven Horns and Seven Eyes by winged Symbols of the Evangelists is not, in any case, a subject suitably portrayed in a naturalistic manner.

The natural break caused by a window opening at the rear of the apse allowed the painter to divide the Elders into two groups of twelve facing each other. All are shown looking forwards and upwards towards the Agnus Dei, thus avoiding the problem, encountered in some Ascension vaults, of having to show some figures looking upwards over their shoulder. The Elders stand firmly on solid ground; this is 'supported' by an extremely firm, broad border of great architectural quality.

Unlike the border around the arch of the apse, which is covered with a relatively flat floral pattern, the lower border around the apse has a three-dimensional effect like a carved frieze. This is of great importance in distinguishing the mundane story of S. Magnus from the Heavenly Vision, both for iconographic reasons and for aesthetic effect. Similarly strong frames appear in the Upper Church at Assisi.

Vaults XVII and XIX. *Cherubim and the Rebel Angels.* Vaults XVII and XIX are to either side of the Vision of the Almighty. To the left are four cherubim about a central monogram with Alpha and Omega. To the right is shown the Defeat of the Rebel Angels: the vault is divided diagonally by a small medallion with a jewelled Greek cross and in each of the quarters of the vault is shown a haloed angel overpowering an ugly nude rebel angel. The poses of the victorious angels are energetic with the force of their movements fluttering a loose drapery behind them. The wings of the angels, like the shield of Abraham, slightly overlap the framework of the section. The artist has used the space available to give the maximum dramatic impact to the figures, posing them without great distortion to echo the shape of the framework: the upper arms of the angels are raised and turned outwards to provide a line which echoes the line of the border above. Yet there is no mechanical copying from one quarter to another; although the faces are clearly alike, the poses and draperies are slightly altered in each quarter. Behind the angels, like arabesques, there are small bushes with birds, fitted into the corners of the vault. The use of a white background as in parts of the vaults XX and XXI around Elijah and Melchisedec is very effective.²⁵

Right Wall. *The Four Horsemen* (pl. VIII). At the opening of the first four seals of the seven on the book held by the Lamb the four horsemen are sent out: these are shown on the upper part of the wall immediately to the right of the conch and immediately beneath the vault showing the Defeat of the Rebel Angels. On the border below the scene is written

PIAS PERPICTRAS BIS BINAS DISCE FIGVRAS.

Rev. vi. 1-3: 'And I saw when the Lamb opened one of the seals, and I heard as it were a noise of thunder, and one of the four beasts saying, Come and see. And I saw, and behold a *white horse*; and he that sat on him had a *bow*, and a *crown* was given unto him; and he went forth conquering and to conquer.'

At the opening of the second, third and fourth seals S. John sees the rider on the *red horse* with a *great sword*, a *black horse* and his rider holding a pair of *balances*, and Death and Hell on a *pale horse* (Rev. vi. 4-8). The artist has not managed to catch any of the grandeur or awfulness of the vision. The shape available to the artist is not a convenient one: it may seem presumptuous to suggest that if the Anagni Master had painted this scene, he would have used the arrow-like angle of the framework to positive advantage.

²⁵ The frescoes in the conch to the right are perhaps part of this sequence; they show S. Michael overcoming Satan (?), and are discussed below.

Left Wall. *The Souls of the Martyrs* (pl. VI). The narrative is continued in a complementary position on the wall to the left of the conch.

Rev. vi. 9–10: 'And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw *under the altar* (sub altare) *the souls of them that were slain* for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held; and they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge, and *avenge our blood* on them that dwell on the earth?'

The episode depicted is very clearly linked with the scene shown immediately lower on the wall, the martyrdom of S. Magnus whose relics lie in the *altar* beneath the Vision of the Apocalypse. The souls of the martyrs, amongst whom is to be numbered S. Magnus, are shown as naked figures pleading from the altar. In the middle of the scene is written

VINDICA DOMINE SANGVINE NOSTRVM

and below the scene

XPE DEVS PRESTO VINDE TV NOBIS ADESTO.

Behind the Agnus Dei on the altar rises the half-length figure of Christ, *IHS XPS*, in a mandorla. He clutches in each hand seals from the Book, four of them in all though there should be five.

This scene of the souls of the martyrs is immediately and directly joined (rather than divided) by the red border above the scene of the martyrdom of S. Magnus. It is difficult to imagine how the intimate iconological relationship between the Apocalyptic and hagiographical cycles could have been presented more vividly: both scenes were painted by the same artist.

Side Arches. *Trumpeting Angels.* On the face of the arch rising from the pilaster to the right of the altar next to the Four Horsemen is shown a single trumpeting angel. There is another in a comparable position to the left of the Apocalyptic scenes above the Souls of the Martyrs. These angels seem to lean out over scenes which will be described below, the legend of S. Magnus and the martyrdom of S. Sebastian.²⁶

(e) *The Hagiographical Cycles*

i: *S. Magnus* (pls. VI–VIII). The major hagiographical cycle is devoted to the story of S. Magnus²⁷ and is arranged around the wall of the main apse and on the flanking walls to either side. The cycle thus encircles the altar within which are placed the remains of the saint; above all is the Apocalyptic cycle. The Master

²⁶ The trumpeting angels at Anagni are not easy to see; the subject of the arch to the right of the altar may include the heavens departing 'as a scroll when it is rolled together' (Rev. vi, 12–17). This takes place after the vision of the souls of the martyrs. The subject appears in the frescoes of SS. Quattro Coronati; the whole cycle of scenes may be compared with the frescoes of S. Piero above Civate. Both these churches are discussed below.

²⁷ The narrative sources for the first two scenes are given in various versions in *Acta Sanctorum*: August 19, tom. III, pp. 706–8; the literary sources

for the scenes of the Translation of the Relics are to be found on pp. 708–710, and the whole legend in one of its fuller forms is printed on pp. 713–717.

Comparison should also be made with the anonymous *Acta Passionis aique Translationum S. Magni* (Jesi, 1743): this contains texts and sources for the scenes to be described, proper lessons &c. for the feasts of S. Magnus, and seven plates after the frescoes of the apse and of the miracle of Andreas (pp. 27–88). As indicated in note 5, the legends of S. Magnus are extremely complex.

of the Translations takes his name from these works for reasons of scale, not quality. These are not his best works, and have even been attributed to a follower.

The narrative is arranged in seven episodes which follow one another from the wall to the left of the apse around the wall of the apse and on to the wall at the right.

(i) On the face of the pilaster to the left of the altar is shown the refusal of S. Magnus to sacrifice to pagan gods; this subject may imply that a contrast was intended with the long acceptance of the Philistines' gods by the Israelites.

Only part of the inscription is legible: of this the last five letters are indistinct:

VILIA MONSTRANTVR . . . IC CIRCO CREMANTVR.

(ii) Immediately to the right on the return of the apse wall is painted the martyrdom; S. Magnus is at the altar being cut down by the soldiers (pl. VI). The significance of the position of this scene immediately below the Apocalyptic vision of the Souls of the Martyrs crying to the Lord for vengeance has already been mentioned and will be further discussed below. The inscription may include a reference to the Ascension of Elias:

POSTQVAM MIGRAVIT IVGVLATVS AD ASTRA VOLAVIT.

The next four scenes are painted in a continuous narrative band around the wall of the apse (pl. VII).

(iii) The *transfer* of the relics of MAGNVS at the approach of the Saracens is shown as a procession from FVNDI towards BERula (Veroli) where the bishop and his attendants are standing at the gates to receive the body on its bier. On the lower border is

. . . PLATO DEDIT NVNC BERVLANVS

and there is above the tall figure of Plato the remains of the word tribvNVS.

(iv) Inside the walls of bervLE CIVITAS is shown the body of the saint as if in a church. To the right are seen the Saracens, surprised to discover that the horses which they had stabled by the relics are dead on the ground. Along the lower border is the inscription

QUID IVS SANCTORVM VALEAT MORS DICTAT EQVORVM.

(v) To the right of the apse window is shown the return of the relics with the Saracen commander, MVCA, enthroned. Emissaries bring him gifts. The lower part of the scene and of the inscription is much damaged.

(Pretium) EXQVIRIT et dant ANAgini libenTIVS EMITAGNANINI (?)

(vi) The continuation of the story shows the second translation of S. MAGNVS with the bishop and his assistants with crosses, candles and holy water waiting at the gate of ANAGNIA. Once again the inscriptions are damaged, and must be partly taken from the Acta of 1743:

EMptum aquiruNT IVLiue deferuNT ANAGNIAm

EXTRAHITVR VERVLIIS ACQVIRIT ANAGNIA NVMMIS.

(vii) On the return wall beneath the Four Horsemen is shown the Bishop of Anagni surrounded by his clergy (pl. VIII). One holds holy water and another a thurible. The bishop is blessing incense at the ceremony of placing the body of S. Magnus in its new resting place. Only fragments of the lettering on the book held by the bishop still survive. This sort of scene was popular both with painters and sculptors in Rome at this period. Below is the inscription

sarcoPHAGO TRVDVNT STVDIO SACTVMQ REPOnvnt

Further events from the legends of S. Magnus, of an episodic nature rather than from a continuous narrative are shown on the back wall of the crypt. The first of these is depicted in a double scene in the lunette of the wall below vault III, the Tetramorphs. To the left is a scene loosely related to the Apocalyptic sequence, the torture of S. John the Evangelist,²⁸ who is shown immersed in a cauldron of boiling oil. This all takes place inside the Porta Latina, with the emperor DOMIT- IANVS and various citizens watching.

The right-hand part of the lunette depicts a miracle of S. MAGNVS who in his episcopal robes and with a crozier in his hand pulls a child by his hair from a well. The mother watches from the branches of a tree—a precarious position but one useful for the composition. The event seems to be taking place in a garden, as if just inside the Latin Gate. The inscription is not very legible:

? I E PVTEO PROLEM SCS LEVAT ADQVE DOLOREM
MATRIS . . . FACIEM LACERANTIS.

On the wall of bay V are two more of the miracles of S. Magnus. In the upper scene is shown the healing of a man with a crippled hand. He is being led by a bishop to an altar where he is healed. The man then goes off to show his healed hand to a group of friends. The lower scene shows the resuscitation of a woman drowned in a well. Once again the *arca* of S. Magnus is shown with the priest at the tomb of the saint praying:

PER MORTEM DOMINI NOSTRI IESV CHRISTI ET PER MERITA.

Two more miracles of S. Magnus are shown on the wall of the adjoining bay VI. Above is shown the healing of Lisa the paralytic. To the left she is shown being carried in from the outside—represented by a few small plants—into an extravagantly depicted interior, with spiral columns and a draped curtain. Here she is shown being raised up by S. Magnus, as he stands by her bed, arrayed in his pontifical robes and haloed. In the scene depicted beneath this the crippled Andrea is shown at the *arca* of the saint, where he is healed. The inscription reads:

ANDREAS CLAVS.

²⁸ For the inclusion of the martyrdom of S. John in illustrated Apocalypse mss. of the thirteenth century, see P. Brieger: *Oxford History of English Art*, vol. IV (1957), p. 165; Brieger, *op. cit.*, p. 210 suggests that the Anagni cope and chasuble may be contemporary in date with the Anagni frescoes (though this does not necessarily imply that the

Opus Anglicanum was in Anagni as early as 1255).

For the story of the torture at the Latin Gate, see *Acta Sanctorum*, May 6.

As indicated in note 19, the Tetramorphs in the vault above are derived from the Apocalyptic narrative.

The character of the scenes in bays V and VI indicates the hand of the Anagni Master who worked in the vaults above. Similarly the hand of the Ornate Master was responsible not only for the vault of bay III but also for the double scene below with S. John in Oil and S. Magnus at the Well.

ii. *S. Secundina*. The wall of the apse to the left of the main altar is decorated with scenes of the legend of S. Secundina encircling the altar dedicated to her.²⁹

(i) To the left of the apse on the return wall is shown the arrest of S. SECVNDINA, who stands between two groups of men. The scene is damaged, like the inscription:

? ANE DVM CEPERVNT HIS CVSTODIIS DEDERVNT

(ii) It is particularly unfortunate that the four episodes of the trial and martyrdom of the saint are very badly damaged; all the lower part of the frescoes around the wall of the apse has been lost or so damaged as to be indecipherable. The architectural settings in the upper parts of the scenes are very fine, excelled only by similar work preserved in better condition in vault V.

(iii) On the wall to the right of the apse is shown the translation: S. Secundina is shown on her bier carried by four youths and watched by a crowd of women. The procession moves towards the citizens of Anagni who are depicted on the return face of the pilaster. On the front of the pilaster the placing of the body of the saint into her *arca* is shown with the full ceremonial, clergy, lamps hanging from a baldacchino, thurible and crosses. The inscriptions below these scenes have been almost entirely obliterated.

Although the scenes described above in sections (i) and (iii) are somewhat pedestrian in quality and those in the apse very badly damaged, the narrative quality of the whole group of scenes is notable. The sequence of events in the legend of S. Secundina, continued into the next section of the church with the legend of S. Magnus, is depicted with an emphasis on movement and with a delight in story-telling that proves extremely effective. On the wider spaces of the apse walls the traditional borders between separate events are omitted; instead episodes are divided by less emphatic means, by architecture, which unites rather than separates the succeeding parts of the narrative. Red borders are used only at the angles of the architecture, as at the corners of the pilaster; but the pace of the story-telling is maintained uninterruptedly.

iii. *Standing Figures* (pl. I). Vacant spaces on the walls of the crypt are filled in the traditional manner with representations of saints. At Anagni the range is limited and there are many repetitions. The figures are, however, often of considerable artistic merit and some groups are as beautiful as they are historically important. Stylistic analysis and discussions of the importance of at least some of the groups are to be found in the standard general histories of Italian thirteenth century painting.

²⁹ For the legend of S. Secundina, see *Acta Sanctorum*, under S. Magnus (August, tom. III, p. 701 ff.) where the links with Anagni are dis-

cussed; and under her own name, at January, tom. I, pp. 996-7.

In bay II below the figures of Galen and Hippocrates painted by the Master of the Translations another painter, the Anagni Master, has shown four fine standing saints. S. Paul, with his sword and book, turns towards S. Peter who has his keys hanging from his raised right hand and a book in his left. Next there stands a bishop, perhaps S. Magnus, book in hand and blessing his neighbour as he glances towards him from the corner of his eye. The last figure of the four is S. John the Evangelist who inclines his head towards the bishop and points to the scroll in his hand, *IN PRINCIPIO ERAT VERBV*. Of this group SS. Paul, Peter and John are especially fine; they stand out boldly, before a background of four mock-marble panels, in well-modelled draperies which overlap even the dentils of the inner order of the framework. To the left of this group and as a continuation of it is another haloed bishop on the return of the pilaster; on the front of the pilaster is S. John the Evangelist, once again with the opening of his gospel, and S. Onuphrius of Egypt clothed only in his hair.

The central figure on the wall of bay IV is that of Christ, shown enthroned and holding an open book with an abbreviated inscription (John. viii. 12):

EGO SVM LVX mundi Qui SEQVitur ME NON AmBuLAT
in tenebris sed habebit lumen vitae.

To the left is S. Peter and an apostle (Paul?); to the right are a tonsured saint in a cope and S. IHOannes once more with his scroll:

IN PRINCIPIO ERAT VERBŪ.

The frescoes on the wall of this bay are no doubt connected with the four angels shown overhead in the vault: both wall and vault were painted by the Ornate Master. The fine figure of the Almighty, flanked by saints and watched over by angels, gives both iconographic and aesthetic emphasis to the centre bay of the back aisle of the crypt. Contrasting with the movement of the main typological series across the width of the crypt, the angels in the vault and the gaze of the five figures on the wall provide an emphatic feature immediately opposite the main altar. The mosaic on the back wall of the Capella Palatina at Palermo is a comparable example.

On the face of the pilaster between bays V and VI are shown again SS. Onuphrius and Peter, with a standing apostle on the return wall to the right.

In bay VII to the side of the entrance is a beautiful representation of the Madonna suckling the Child (pl. II); the vault above is that of the Four Prophets of Christ's Coming; the wall and vault of this bay are thus iconographically linked, like the second bay with Galen and the Microcosm and the fourth bay with Christ and the Angels. In the same way the Apocalyptic material spreads from the vault and conch on to the surrounding walls. Of the four male saints shown standing around the Madonna and Child only one can be certainly identified—S. John the Evangelist, once more with the opening words of his gospel on a scroll.

In the conch of the left apse is another fine representation of the Madonna and Child enthroned. This is immediately above the story of S. Secundina and was painted by the same Master of the Translations. The flanking saints are the local Saints Aurelia and Noemisla. An inscription around the lower border reads:

TE NIMIS IMPLORANT VIRGO IVBILANT ET ADORANT DVM
TIBI SVBDVNTVR NATVM MORIENDO SECVNTVR.

The Madonna has great grandeur and to some eyes has a quality not exceeded in more famous works by Guido da Siena. On the wall above the apse opening are grand figures of the two S. Johns. To the left is the Evangelist; below him on the border is written:

DANS POLICOS AMNES VERBO PETIT ASTRA IOHANNES.

To the right is the Baptist with ECCE (Agnus Dei), and the inscription below

DAT SALVBRIS AMNES POPVLIS BAPTISTA IOANNES.

To either side of the small window of the side wall in the same bay (XV) are standing figures of SCA AVRELIA and SCA NOEMISIA.

On the other side of the crypt in the apse to the right of the altar are frescoes which have suffered badly during the last seven hundred years. On the wall were a set of saints of whom S. Nemisius of Rome was recognisable from an inscription. The subject of the conch was perhaps originally designed as a continuation of the Apocalyptic cycle: there remain S. Michael standing over the dragon, and a flying angel. On the wall higher up to either side is an angel with draped hands outstretched.

Between the right apse and the main altar is a damaged, but important, small fresco of the martyrdom of S. SEBASTIANVS.³⁰ The invocation reads:

SVSTINET AFFIXAS DOMINO SERVANTE
SAGITTAS RESPICIET MENTES
MARTIR SVA FESTA DOLENTES.

Over the altar against the right wall of the crypt is a later medieval fresco of S. Peter, the bishop of Anagni, shown enthroned between two female saints. A fresco to the left is later still and does not blend with the rest of the painting.³¹

The lower parts of the walls of the crypt were covered with painted draperies, while the wall around the synthronus behind the main altar is painted to represent marble inlays. Even though some of the decoration of the crypt, especially on the walls, has been lost or damaged, the general effect is still rich, complete and full of colour. Anagni provides a rare chance to walk in a Romanesque building still completely covered on ceilings, walls and even on the floor, with rich, bright, fragmented colours. It is not until later, looking more closely, that one notices that iconographically the scenes are not ordered with scholastic clarity, and that there are considerable stylistic differences between different parts of the scheme; these differences are, however, mainly restricted to details of quality in line; since unities of scale and colour are maintained the general effect is one of a crypt uniformly decorated.

³⁰ This image is an early example of the saint naked except for a loin-cloth: compare G. Kaftal: *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting* (1952), col. 917, p. 281. Compare too the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian, a fresco of the first quarter of the

eleventh century, in the old Lateran Palace chapel, which is reproduced and discussed in E. B. Garrison: *Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting*, vol. II (1955-6), p. 185, fig. 200.

VI. *The Interpretation of the Scheme*

The subject matter of the frescoes of the crypt is very varied and the way in which the various scenes are arranged is not entirely logical. There is, however, strong internal evidence which suggests that the scheme of decoration has a unified typological basis. The paintings are arranged so as to include the legend of the local patron S. Magnus and his relics within a typological scheme of some complexity. The key to the proper appreciation of the Anagni paintings is to be found in the five inter-related ways in which medieval theologians used and understood the word 'arca'.

In the following sections these meanings are discussed one by one; parts of the material already presented in the literal identifications of the various parts of the scheme will be repeated and the typological meanings briefly demonstrated. Evidence will be produced to show how the word *arca* is used with reference to the Eucharist, to the Apocalypse, to the Virgin Mary, in a literal sense in the story of the Israelites, and with direct reference to Anagni and its citizens in connexion with the *arca* of S. Magnus himself.

(a) *The Eucharistic Arca Foederis*

That the *arca* with the relics of the saint forms the altar of a place of worship, the *arca foederis*, is a tradition familiar to students of the architectural history of the confessio or martyrrium. Similarly the identification of the *arca*, that is to say the chest containing the bones of the martyr, with the *arca*, the table bearing the Eucharistic Flesh and Blood, is important in the early history of the altar as the symbolic Sepulchrum Christi.³² There is thus a primary link between the *arca* containing the body of the martyr S. Magnus and the Sacrifice of the Eucharist

³¹ The anonymous *Acta Passionis atque Translationum S. Magni* (1743) shows in pl. VII a standing figure of S. Olive, from above her altar in bay XIV; this fresco is recorded as already lost at this date.

³² See A. Grabar: *Martyrium* (Paris, 1943-6). For the altar as *arca*, see Durandus: *Rationale* I, chap. 2, vi-vii, in which the claim is advanced that the original Ark of the Covenant, which Titus had brought from Jerusalem, was preserved with the Seven-branched Candlestick in S. John Lateran. See also chap. 7, xxiii ff., 'The Dedication of the Altar', for the importance of relics, with reference to the Ark of the Covenant. Durandus died in 1296, and is buried in S. Maria Sopra Minerva in Rome. The use of similar ideas in early liturgical drama in Italy is discussed in K. Young: *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (1933), vol. I, pp. 218-220.

Compare also the *arca* of S. Dominic in Bologna; the cover for the *arca* containing the body of the saint has a carving of the dead Christ in the tomb—the tomb of the saint and of Christ are united at the *arca* of the altar where Mass is celebrated. Similarly, compare the relief by Donatello at the tomb-altar-*arca* of S. Anthony at Padua; S. Anthony was himself known colloquially as 'L'Arca del Testamento'. A further colloquial use of *arca foederis* for altar will be found in Skelton's 'Ware the Hawk'.

Perhaps the most important parallel is to be seen in Suger's window at S. Denis, with the *arca* of Abinadab including not only Aaron's rod and the tablets of the Law but also a great Cross, with the inscription:

Foederis ex arca Christi cruce sistitur ara
Foedere majori vult ibi vita mori

(On the ark of the Covenant is established the altar with the cross of Christ; here life wishes to die under a greater covenant). See E. Mâle: *Religious Art of the Thirteenth Century* (1913), p. 171; and E. Panofsky: *Abbot Suger on . . . S. Denis and its Treasures* (Princeton, 1946), pp. 72-5.

For the *arca* as a type of the Eucharist, see for example, Rhabanus Maurus: *Allegoriae in Sacram Scripturam*, MPL 112, col. 864: *Arca est Corpus Domini*. See also Rhabanus Maurus: *Commentaria in Genesim* II, xvi; MPL 107, col. 540. These ideas are well-known, appearing in the Canon of the Mass.

For the use of the word *arca*, see *Mittelateinisches Wörterbuch* (Munich, 1963), cols. 872-873: e.g. I.4 *arca: foederis Dei* e.g. *ecclesia et Christi arca Dei legitur* (Rhabanus Carm. 16.54); *Christus qui est arca testamenti* (Albert min: apoc 12 p. 256); *arca significat eucharistiam* (Albert M. sacram. 73 p. 52); I.5: *mortuorum, reliquarium i.q. sarcophagus* e.g. *duo presbiteri tollant arcam cum reliquiis* (Rituale Flor. p. 36-26), &c.

on the *arca*, the altar. At Anagni, as so often elsewhere, the *arca* containing the relics is itself the *arca* at which Mass is offered.

The painters at Anagni have depicted the story of the relics of S. Magnus around the altar which is the *arca* containing those same relics. The reception of these relics and their placing in the cathedral are shown in the last scenes of the hagiographical cycle. The typological precedent is in the fresco of vault VI where Samuel is shown after the victory of Mizpeh consecrating the stone—‘and he called the name of it Eben-ezer, saying, Hitherto the Lord hath helped us.’ A further typological reference is implied in the safe resting of the Ark of the Covenant in the house of Abinadab (X).

The clearest typological reference to the Eucharist is to be found in vault XXI, where Melchisedec is shown as a priest at the altar, offering Bread and Wine to Abraham returning from the slaughter of the kings (Gen. xiv and Heb. vii). The link between this first interpretation, the Eucharistic, and the second, the Apocalyptic, is implicit in the words of the Institution: ‘For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord’s death *until he come*’ (I Cor. xi. 26; and compare Lu. xxii. 18). The Sacrament is given only *until* the time of the Second Coming; the *arca* of the Eucharist and of the Judgement are the two places at which the same Person is made apparent, the Sacramental and the Apocalyptic Christ.

(b) *The Apocalyptic Arca Testamenti*

The *arca* of the martyr is also clearly linked with the *arca testamenti* of the Apocalypse; scenes in the vaults provide suitable typological references.

The necessary prelude to the opening of the Ark of the Testament at the time of the Apocalypse is the return of Christ to heaven at the Ascension.³³ Of this event two typological scenes are depicted. These have at the same time reference to the return of the *arca* with the relics of S. Magnus from the hands of the Saracens.

First, in vault X the painters have depicted the return of the Ark of the Israelites and its reception by the men of Kirjath-Jearim with the inscription ‘Who is able to stand before this holy Lord God, and to whom will he go up from us?’ The second type is shown in vault XX. That the Ascension is the necessary prelude to the Last Judgement is obvious; as indicated by the two men in white apparel (Acts i. 11), Christ must ascend before He can come again. Of the various types of the Ascension, none is more straightforward than that of the Ascension of Elijah. The inscription in this scene, Elisha’s exclamation with its mention of ‘the chariot (*currus*) of Israel’ may refer to the *arca*.

In representations of the Last Judgement Christ is sometimes shown between Elijah and Enoch who were both believed to have been taken up into heaven (Gen. v. 24). Each was thus a type of Christ’s Ascension. The two types are frequently quoted in the services of the Church particularly in Advent, when typological links between Elias and the Apocalypse are interwoven with references to the last and greatest type of Christ, S. John the Baptist. Not only did the priests

³³ ‘... there was seen in his Temple the Ark of the Covenant, Arca Testamenti ...’, Rev. xi. 19. For the *arca* as a type of the Ascension, see e.g.

S. Hilary: *Tractatus in CXXXI Psalmum*, MPL 9, col. 757. On the importance of this psalm, see below, note 35.

and Levites go out to ask him 'Art thou Elias?' (Jo. i. 21), but Christ also emphatically used this parallel (Mat. xi. 14). Such thoughts are implicit in many parts of the services for Advent, the season of preparation not only for the Nativity but also for the Second Coming. These ideas are complex but familiar. They appear frequently, as for instance in the well-known sixth century hymn, 'Vox clara ecce intonat'. The planners of the Anagni scheme intended these interpretations, taking them for granted.

A further link is to be suspected between the Ascension of Elias and the scene of the martyrdom of S. Magnus with its inscription 'Postquam migravit iugulatus ad astra volavit'. Immediately above this scene is the Apocalyptic Vision of the Souls of the Martyrs with the Lamb of God standing on the *arca*. The Agnus Dei is symbolic both in the context of the Passion and Eucharist (as in the Ghent Altarpiece), and of the Apocalyptic narrative with the plea 'How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?'

The whole sequence of events is summed up in the idea of the coming of the Holy One whether at the First or Second Coming, and is prophesied in the words on the scrolls held by David, Solomon, Daniel and Isaiah in vault VII. The intention of this part of the scheme is made absolutely clear; the painter has shown in the central medallion of the vault the Agnus Dei of the Eucharist and of the Apocalypse, haloed and holding the Cross. On the adjoining wall are the Madonna and Child.

(c) *The Mariological Arca Dei*

Consideration of the Ark of the Covenant as a type of Christ led the Fathers, for example, Hippolytus, to associate the incorruptible timber of the Ark (Exodus xv. 10) not only with the incorruptible body of Christ but also with the body of His Mother. The Virgin Mary is given the title *Arca* in that she enclosed within herself the Holy One of Israel. In the popular Loretan Litany the title appears in the form 'Foederis Arca'. Honorius in his *Speculum Ecclesiae* uses the form 'Arca Dei', and again in his Commentary on the Song of Songs. In speaking of the Ark of Abinadab (Song. iii. 9; MPL 72, col. 461) his whole explanation is typological, and such an interpretation is clearly relevant to the fresco in the fourth section of vault X where the Ark is shown resting in the House of Abinadab.

As indicated above in the discussion of the Apocalyptic *arca*, the Ascension of Elijah is a type of the Ascension of Christ; it is also a type of the Assumption of the Virgin with the dropping of the cloak of Elijah being echoed by the dropping of the Virgin's girdle. In the continuation of such parallels the Virgin also appears in an Apocalyptic context. As the Woman clothed with the Sun (Rev. xii. I), the Virgin was known by the title of Ark of the Covenant. This was the form used, for instance, by S. Anthony of Padua in his Commentary on Psalm cxxxi (132), 'Arise, O Lord, into thy resting place, thou and the ark which thou hast sanctified'. (See below, and note 35 for further use of this psalm).

The clearest pictorial reference to the Virgin within the typological frescoes is to be found in vault XII where the bust of the Virgin is shown above the cities of the Philistines, smitten with plague (pl. IX). In the way that the idol of Dagon

fell and the Saracens' horses died next the *arca* of S. Magnus, so too the idols of Aphrodisias had fallen when Mary came with the Holy One into Egypt.³⁴

(d) *The Israelites' Arca Dei*

The Ark of the Israelites is described in great detail in Exodus xxv–xxvii; its lid is called the mercy-seat. The Ark is the place where God is present among His people: when the Ark was in the hand of the Philistines Israel had been deserted by God (I Sam. iv. and Ps. lxxviii. 60). The *arca* is the 'appointed' place where God and His people meet, it is the throne and footstool (I Sam. iv, I Chron. xxviii. 2.). As indicated by the story depicted in the vaults across the width of the crypt the *arca* is the instrument of God's power, bringing down the idols of the Philistines, causing plague, until finally bringing about the defeat of the enemies of Israel. In these events the power of the Almighty is everywhere apparent. Even the cows willingly leave their calves and need no one to guide them as they pull the *arca* towards Bethshemesh. In the same way the *arca* had moved at the will of God as a guide through the wilderness: '... when the ark set forward, Moses said, Rise up Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate thee flee before thee. And when it rested, he said, Return O Lord unto the many thousands of Israel' (Num. x.). Similarly it was the *arca* which led Israel into the promised land (Josh. iii, iv.). The resting of the *arca* in the safety of the house of Abinadab is to be compared with and is a type prefiguring the *arca* of S. Magnus, now safe at Anagni after its recovery from the Saracens.

The prophetic function of the *arca* of the Israelites is indicated by what it contains, the tables of the old Mosaic Law. These prefigure the New Law of Christ. Such prefigurations of Christ in this context are frequently encountered in a tradition based on Hebrews ix. Of the many Biblical references to the *arca* one of the most extensive and most popular is Psalm cxxxi. (132). This is related to David's removal of the *arca* (II Sam. vi.) from Kirjath-jearim to Sion. The psalm is still used with particular relevance at Christmas.³⁵

(e) *The Arca of S. Magnus*

The importance of the *arca* of S. Magnus to the people of Anagni should by now be very evident: the *arca* is not to be thought of only in the literal sense of being the chest within which are preserved the bones of the saint. It is also as the *arca* of the Old Law, of the Virgin, and of Christ both in the Eucharist and in the Second

³⁴ See P. Palmer: *Mary in the Documents of the Church* (1953), pp. 15, 56 ff and 108 ff. S. Ambrose called the Virgin the Lady who enclosed the heir of the Law as the ark enclosed the Law; compare S. Ambrose: *Sermo XLII*, MPL 16, col. 712.

E. Mâle: *Religious Art of the Thirteenth Century* (1913), pp. 147–8, describes and discusses the important Mariological scheme of the left portal at Laon, with its reference to *Archa Dei*. The anti-type of the Fall of the Idol of Dagon appears on the early mosaics of the triumphal arch of S. Maria Maggiore, and the subject with its types was later popularised in block books. For the representation of the Virgin and the Ark on the left

tympanum of Notre Dame, Paris, on the right tympanum at Amiens, and on the outer part of the north porch at Chartres, see A. Katzenellenbogen: *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres* (1959 and 1964), pp. 61 and 75, and pl. 48.

³⁵ See J. R. Porter: 'The interpretation of II Sam. vi and Ps. cxxxii', in *Journal of Theological Studies*, N.S., V (1954), pp. 161–173. For a modern introduction to the narrative, see R. H. Pfeiffer: *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York, 1948), II and III esp. pp. 342–3. See also W. R. Arnold: *Ark and Ephod* (*Harvard Theological Studies* 3, 1917).

Coming. Dramatic episodes from the history of the *arca* of the First Law are illustrated as prefigurations of the story of the *arca* of S. Magnus. The Old Testament narrative is always used typologically.³⁶ It tells of the plagues that fell on both Philistines and Israelites who dishonoured the *arca*. Lack of proper respect for the *arca* on the part of the people of Anagni can lead only to punishment similar to that suffered by the Philistines, the Israelites at Beth-shemesh and by the Saracens at Veroli. The importance of the *arca* to the people of Anagni and the necessity of treating it with respect is emphasised by several references to plague and sudden death.

The most obvious references to sickness and health are in the first and second bays of the crypt. Here man is shown under the influence of the Zodiac; diagrams relate the Four Humours and the Four Seasons and the Four Ages of Man. Hippocrates and Galen are the masters of medicine who try to keep man in good health. Yet the only sure help comes from God through the intercession of His saints. For this reason, to the right of the altar is painted the greatest 'plague-protector', S. Sebastian with an inscription which indicates his 'function':

SVSTINET AFFIXAS DOMINO SERVANTE
SAGITTAS RESPICIAT MENTES
MARTIR SVA FESTA DOLENTES.

On the wall a little higher up is the vision of the Four Horsemen including the rider on the white horse with the usual symbols of pestilence, the Bow and Arrow. With him ride the man on the red horse with a sword; on a pale horse is the rider who is Death and Hell.

This positional link between S. Sebastian the plague-protector and a scene from the Apocalypse is balanced by other scenes on the other side of the *arca*. Here there are linked scenes of the martyrdom of S. Magnus with the inscription XPE DEVS PRESTO VINDEXTV NOSTER ADEST and of the Souls of the Martyrs pleading before the Lamb. Similarly the inscription in the apse further to the left reads

TE NIMIS IMPLORANT VIRGO IVBILANT
ET ADORANT DVM TIBI SVBDVNTVR
NATVM MORIENDO SECVNTVR.

The methods of typological thought are well-illustrated in vault IX where the type of the interceding saints is shown, Samuel offering a sacrificial lamb. '... And the children of Israel said to Samuel, cease not to cry unto the Lord our God for us' (I Sam. vii. 8). In the centre of the vault (as in vault V) the offering of the lamb and the prayer are received, as the painter has shown, by Christ Himself.

³⁶ For an important commentary, see S. Gregory the Great: *In Libros Regum*, MPL 219, cols. 105 ff. A shorter commentary appears in S. Isidore: *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum*, in Regum I, iii; MPL 83, cols. 305-6; and compare Walafrid Strabo: *Glossa Ordinaria*, MPL 113, cols. 539 ff. The Ark of the Covenant (Exod. xxv) is discussed as a type by S. Paul (Heb. ix).

For the invocation 'May it please God and S. Magnus that you should dance for a whole year!' (i.e. suffer from dancing plague) in a parish of S. Magnus in Saxony in the early XI century, see J. Nohl: *The Black Death* (1926), p. 253. L. Réau: *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien*, vol. III, ii, p. 861 includes a S. Magnus, feast day Oct. 6, among the Fourteen Auxiliary Saints of Italy.

Throughout any typological scheme the impression is of circular argument in which the narratives of the Old and New Testaments and of the locally-celebrated saint are used literally, and then re-used and inter-related in a variety of interlocking interpretations. The congregation and citizens of Anagni are thus given clear examples and stern warnings. S. Magnus is one of the martyrs who pleads before the Lord. The people of Anagni know what happened to the Philistines and Saracens, to the unworthy Hophni and Phinehas and to the citizens of Beth-shemesh who did not respect the holiness of the *arca*. The altar of the crypt, the *arca* of S. Magnus, is to Anagni as the *arca* to the Israelites, as the Virgin to Her Son; it serves as the *arca* at the sacrifice of the Mass and is the instrument of God's will in their midst until the time of the vision of the *arca* at the Apocalypse.³⁷

The frescoes are arranged in an order which indicates the inter-relationship of the various cycles. The main typological cycle, the story of the Ark, is placed in five vaults running across the width of the crypt. The central vault is of the Return of the Ark and is typologically related to the adjoining bay at the back of the crypt, the Pantocrator with saints and angels. The way in which this bay is set immediately opposite the altar has already been commented on. It is linked to the Apocalyptic cycle, the *arca* in heaven, by the typological subject of the Return of the Ark. In the vaults to the right of the Apocalyptic cycle are two prefigurations of the Person of Christ, Elias or the Apocalyptic Christ and Melchisedek, the Sacramental. These are balanced to the left of the altar by the representations of Christ with His Evangelists and of the Second Person of the Trinity. Around the *arca*, the altar of Christ which is also the *arca* of S. Magnus, is shown the main hagiographical cycle.

The formal organisation of the back aisle of the crypt is disrupted by the Samuel scenes in bays V and VI. Otherwise the Zodiacal and related scenes at one entrance are complemented by the Prophets at the other. The subjects of the walls and vaults in bays I, II, IV and VII are interrelated; the same may have been the case in the less well-preserved bays VIII and XIV.

As one moves from these farther parts of the crypt, the iconography becomes gradually more complex. Its greatest richness of meaning is achieved on the walls and vaults immediately around the *arca* of S. Magnus, the altar, *arca foederis*.

VII. Comparisons

The decoration of the crypt at Anagni is a major monument of a 'clerkly' scheme of typological decoration. Although the inscriptions with which it was so liberally furnished explain only the *literal* sense, other interpretations including the typological are made visually clear by the juxtaposition of the Apocalyptic and

³⁷ For the tomb of a saint as *arca*, see again A. Grabar: *Martyrium* (Paris, 1943-6).

The frequently repeated suggestion that the iconography of the Anagni frescoes is based on the Rite of Consecration of a Church seems incorrect; the representation of the Translation of relics is not solely occasional, but has wider implications. The most important type mentioned in the Rite is

Jacob's stone (Gen. xxxviii) which does not appear in the frescoes; conversely, the loss and recovery of the *arca* are not mentioned in the service. For the Dedication Rite see J. Andrieu: *Le Pontifical romain au XII siècle*. Rev. XXI 2-5, the Celestial City, is the subject of the Epistle—and the subject of the fresco at the entry at Civitate: see below.

hagiographic cycles and by the presence of representations of Christ, the Virgin and the Agnus Dei in the middle of vaults devoted to Old Testament subjects. Other scenes such as those of Melchisedec and Elijah are likewise typological in intent. They are regularly used for this special purpose. Typological thought figures so largely in the works of the Fathers and in the services of the church that everyone appreciated the implications of a typological scheme of decoration. The explanation of such a scheme as that at Anagni is necessarily slow; although in the systematic elucidation of the scheme some details may seem to require evidence of excessive ingenuity on the part of the painters the general conclusions appear indisputable. It was within the framework of typological thought as generally accepted throughout the medieval Church that the scheme at Anagni was conceived and executed.

Although relatively little Romanesque wall-painting survives, there are still in Italy various schemes which help us in different ways to see the Anagni frescoes in some perspective. There are first of all other works near Rome and in the city itself which have stylistic and iconographic links with Anagni—evidence to suggest that there were in the city other works of similar date, style and intention now unfortunately lost. A few of the more relevant examples of those that survive may be listed briefly.

Precedents for the decoration of a vault with a central feature surrounded by angels or symbols of the Evangelists are to be found in mosaics. In Rome there is a vault in the chapel of S. Zeno in Sta. Prassede, which is like that in the chapel of the Archbishop's Palace at Ravenna. It is in Early Christian Rome and in Ravenna that the most obvious precedents can be found for the rich, inventive decoration of ribs and for the great variety of decorative detail in subsidiary parts of the vaults. In so far as is possible the Anagni painters achieved in paint a richness more usual in the very different technique of mosaic.

The frescoes of CASTEL S. ELIA have recently been studied by E. B. Garrison,³⁸ who proposes a date of about 1115. In the ornamental work of the borders and friezes there are links with Anagni; there are also stylistic links between the standing Virgins and the manner of the Ornate Master. The Apocalyptic scenes in the transepts with the Elders in procession raising chalices are supplemented in the apse by three hagiographic scenes of the story of the local S. Anastasius. The cycle includes a representation of the church of Castel S. Elia itself. There was perhaps originally a cycle also of the life of S. Elia. The general dependence on Roman models is indicated by the subject of the conch: Christ between saints with the Twelve Apostles as sheep, and, lower, the Virgin and Child enthroned between archangels and adored by a procession of Virgins. Castel S. Elia thus has the life of its patron saint shown in relation to Apocalyptic cycles.

In Rome itself there are features in the decoration of S. CLEMENTE relevant in a study of Anagni. In the Lower Church the scene of the Reception of the Relics of S. Clemente and the rich floral framework are an indication of the manner of painting in the city. The mosaic of the Upper Church, perhaps dated 1128, is

³⁸ E. B. Garrison: *Studies in the History of Medieval Painting* III, i (1957), pp. 5 and plates. E. Mâle: *The Early Churches of Rome* (1960), p. 114, retains the

date 1030–60 proposed in the original edition of this work in 1942. Grabar and Nordenfalk: *Romanesque Painting* (1958), plate on p. 31.

like so much work at Anagni full of echoes of late antique and Early Christian art.³⁹ Not far from S. Clemente the rather harsh frescoes of the chapel of SS. QUATTRO CORONATI⁴⁰ include a cycle of scenes devoted to the legend of S. Sylvester. In these the crowds of onlookers and the architectural settings are not unlike those painted by the Ornate Master, but the general effect is much drier and less lively. On the back wall of the chapel above the continuation of the hagiographical scenes is shown Christ in Judgement enthroned with the Instruments of the Passion, between the Virgin, the Baptist and the Twelve Apostles. To either side above the Apostles is an angel, one with a trumpet and the other rolling up the heavens like a scroll; these may provide parallels to the angels in the Apocalyptic Vision at Anagni (see above, note 25). The frescoes of SS. Quattro Coronati have been dated to c. 1246, about a decade before those at Anagni. They provide an example of an Apocalyptic scene being represented in connexion with a hagiographic cycle. The cycle is clearly 'typological', referring to the claims of the Papacy.

Further afield, two churches near Como must be mentioned. The frescoes in S. PIERO at CIVATE⁴¹ are in their lower parts much damaged and it is for this reason difficult to make any very precise interpretation of the overall iconographic scheme. It includes the remaining part of a Nativity cycle, a cycle devoted to S. Gregory, the nine Orders of Angels, standing saints and other fragments on the walls. The great tympanum and four small groin vaults are better preserved. The central vault shows the Almighty within the Heavenly City, from which flow the Four Rivers. This is a scene of great grandeur even though only about the same size as the vaults of Anagni. The three vaults to north, south and west are divided diagonally as are some at Anagni by decorative crosses with central medallions containing the sacred monogram. The subject of the central vault is continued into the surrounding ones: the subjects are the Four Evangelists in symbolic form, the Four Rivers shown as small men with large vases,⁴² and four Trumpeting Angels. The tympanum above the openings of the entrance and side apses shows a large composite scene with the Vision of the Almighty, the Woman in Travail, and the Red Dragon which Michael and his angels are casting out into the earth (Rev. xii.). The parallels with Anagni are in the relation of a series of small vaults, some divided diagonally by floral bands with central medallions, an Apocalyptic cycle and New Testament and hagiographic cycles. The last are now sadly damaged but were probably directly linked to each other by typological thought.

³⁹ For suggestions of stylistic links between the Master of the Translations and the work of the second cycle of S. Clemente and the Tivoli triptych, see P. Toesca: 'Miniature Romane dei Secoli XI e XII: Bibbie Miniata', in *Rivista del R. Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* (1929). It is suggested that there is an evolution towards the style of the typological frescoes of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina, which are variously dated, sometimes to c. 1190. It is of interest to note that the border above the Elders (on the wall by the apse) at S. Giovanni a Porta Latina is not unlike that used beneath the Elders in the conch at Anagni.

⁴⁰ A. Munoz: *Il Restauro della Chiesa e del Chiostro dei S. Quattro Coronati* (Rome, 1914). Grabar and

Nordenfalk: *Romanesque Painting* (1958) p. 57 and colour plate, suggest the date c. 1246.

⁴¹ G. Bognetti and C. Marcora: *L'Abazia Benedittina di Civate* (Civate, 1957); Grabar and Nordenfalk: *Romanesque Painting* (1958) including plate on p. 48; and many references in F. Van Der Meer: *Maiestas Domini* (Roma, 1938); and E. W. Anthony: *Romanesque Frescoes* (Princeton, 1951), p. 101, and figs. 161-166. As at Anagni there are many signs of Byzantine influence.

⁴² The Four Evangelists as the Four Rivers play an important role on the Pisa cathedral pulpit; authorities for the interpretation are cited in P. Bacci: *La Ricostruzione del Pergamo del Duomo di Pisa* (Milan, 1926). I am indebted to Mr. John Pope-Hennessy for this reference.

The early eleventh century paintings at GALLIANO⁴³ are well-known only in details, for the general ensemble is very battered. On the side walls of the church are shown Old Testament cycles of the Creation and of the story of Samson related typologically to series of the legends of SS. Margaret and Christopher. The legend of the patron saint, S. Vincent, appears as at Anagni round the walls of the apse. As at Anagni the cycle in the apse is particularly relevant to the place in which it appears: the last scene, to the right of the altar, includes the transferal of the relics of the patron saint, and a donor-portrait (part of which has been transferred to the Ambrosiana, Milan). The role of the patron saint is related to the subject in the conch where the Almighty is shown as the Pastor Ovium Bonus with SS. Michael and Gabriel and adored by Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Related to this vision, but separated from it by a frieze of marine creatures such as appears at Anagni and denotes the division between the visible firmament and the heavens, is the Ascension of Elias. This is shown in the left spandrel over the conch. The Ascension of Elias appears at Anagni, it will be remembered, to the right of the Vision of the Almighty. Galliano, then, has like Anagni inter-related Old Testament, hagiographic and Apocalyptic cycles of particular relevance to its own allegiances.

Comparisons with such churches as Castel S. Elia and Galliano can have only a limited validity since they are open-roofed, not vaulted; of the two vaulted buildings, the chapel at SS. Quattro Coronati has a tunnel vault sprinkled with stars; it is *not* covered with scenes as is the vault of the inner crypt at Anagni (described in Appendix 2 below). The comparison between Anagni and the hill chapel at Civate is then of some importance, and it is frustrating that in this case the walls have suffered so drastically. With these comparisons in mind, the importance of Anagni is emphatic; it retains on a great part of its walls, in most of its vaults, in its conches and apses, even on the floor, the imagery and colour of the last decades of Romanesque art. In each of the examples briefly mentioned above and in several other fragments of cycles there are not only points of archaeological or stylistic relevance to Anagni, but also evidence to suggest that there was in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a strong tradition of typological church decoration. This tradition included the adaptation of the old Roman typological schema by enlivening it with reference to local matters.⁴⁴ The paintings of S. Piero a Grado provide a simple example of the local use of a Roman scheme. The subject matter of the schemes at Galliano, Civate and Anagni has a topicality, so to speak, which at Anagni is emphasised by the use of specially prepared inscriptions. These are in all essentials in the manner of occasional verse.

It may be surmised that, as at Castel S. Elia, the painters came to Anagni from Rome. Early Christian, Byzantine and Romanesque elements are not entirely

⁴³ G. R. Ansaldi: *Gli Affreschi della Basilica di San Vincenzo a Galliano* (Milan, 1949); R. Salvini: 'La Pittura dal Secolo XI al XIII', in *Storia di Milano*, vol. III (Milan, 1954); E. W. Anthony: *Romanesque Frescoes* (Princeton, 1951), p. 98 and pls. 149-154.

⁴⁴ There remains in the west front of S. Marco at Venice the well-known mosaic of the Translation of the Relics.

For a French example, compare Berzé-la-Ville (Saône-et-Loire) which has hagiographic scenes in the apse below the Majesty in the conch; on the side walls remain fragments only, including one New Testament scene; see Grabar and Nordenfalk: *Romanesque Painting* (1958), pp. 103-9, with plates, and E. W. Anthony: *Romanesque Frescoes* (Princeton, 1951), pp. 135-7, and pls. 271-4.

assimilated, and it would be idle to generalise when variety and richness of invention are so important features of the work of the three very different artists working in the crypt. The importance of some parts of the scheme—rather neglected in the present paper—ought not to be forgotten. The Madonna in the left conch, the Madonna in bay VII and the Pantocrator with Saints in bay IV are of outstanding quality: one thinks of the Madonnas on panels by Guido da Siena and the other artists of the 1260s, and of Cavallini and Cimabue. The great schemes of church decoration completed just after the frescoes at Anagni were those in Rome, in the great basilicas. But these have been lost. The next considerable monument of typological decoration uniting cycles from the Old and New Testaments, from the Apocalypse, the Life of the Virgin, of SS. Peter and Paul, is that at Assisi; it includes in its scheme cycles of its own local saint, S. Francis.

One further comparison must be made, with the frescoes of the Parecclesion of KARIYE CAMII at Istanbul.⁴⁵ Here as at Anagni an Apocalyptic series and narrative scenes from the Old Testament are related typologically with reference not only to the function of the building (a mortuary chapel) but also in honour of the Virgin. Scrolls have quotations from the works of Joseph the Poet and from *funerary* works by Theophanes and S. John Damascene. These indicate the interpretation of the typological scenes. Furthermore, the scenes of Jacob's Ladder, Moses and the Burning Bush and of the Assyrians destroyed outside the *portam clausam* of Jerusalem include visual representations of the Virgin which emphasise the typological intent.

Underwood in his Second Report⁴⁶ discusses the relationship between the iconographic programme at Kariye Camii and the later and less elaborate programme at Lesnovo which includes the Burning Bush and the Portam Clausam of Ezekiel. But no close parallel is offered to explain the Mariological intention of the four scenes of the Ark of the Covenant.⁴⁷ The use at Anagni of an earlier part of the story provides at least a parallel in intention.

The frescoes of Kariye Camii and Anagni both include, as well as inter-related Apocalyptic and Marian-typological scenes, extremely rich decoration on the architectural members—on the arches at Anagni and on the ribs of the dome at Kariye Camii. Comparison too may be made between the ways in which the architectural forms of the two buildings are used. At Kariye Camii the spectator's eye is led easily from the Anastasis, past the Second Coming, up past the pendentives and supporting scenes to the Virgin in the high dome. In contrast the crypt at Anagni lacks clarity. But the more complex, honey-comb forms of the crypt are used to advantage, showing a complex set of scenes so that each hollow and moulding is enriched with movement and colour.

⁴⁵ P. A. Underwood: First-Fourth Preliminary Reports, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* IX–XIII (1955–60).

⁴⁶ P. A. Underwood: 'Second Preliminary Report', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* XI (1956), p. 188, figs. 20–26.

⁴⁷ At Gracanica (erected in 1321) a fresco shows the tabernacle, with an altar covered with a cloth, the two Tables of the Law, the vase of Manna, the candlestick, the roll, the *arca* of the alliance;

behind the altar is a seraphim, and to either side Moses and Aaron. On the vase of Manna and on the Ark is a medallion with a bust of the Virgin (for a photograph, see the *Catalogue of copies: Les Fresques Yougoslaves du Moyen Age* (Belgrade, 1958), no. 119, pl. 20. The fresco is in the fourth register above ground on the north wall of the bema (V. Petrovic: *Revue des monuments religieux dans l'histoire du peuple serbe* (Belgrade, 1950—in Serbian), p. 79).

Anagni can be thought of in terms of Romanesque art, but reference must also be made to Byzantium; conversely the frescoes of Kariye Camii may be considered in relation to Italian painting.⁴⁸ It is certain that there are several points of comparison—decorative, stylistic and iconological.

Mosaics in Sicily and the second and third domes of the story of Joseph with the dome and half dome of Moses in the north narthex of S. Marco at Venice have been quoted by Demus⁴⁹ as being representative of steps in the developments in the art of the thirteenth century which culminate in the art of Kariye Camii. Similarly the work at Anagni is important both in the context of Byzantine and of Italian painting in the decades when, to use Vasari's term, the old Greek manner was superseded by the art of the Palaeologue revival, with which the art of Duccio has so much in common, and by the art of Giotto. The geographical and historic settings of Anagni remain, however, the most important indications of the context in which matters of style and iconography must be considered: Anagni is a Papal city but fifty miles from Rome.

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APPENDIX I

The Painters of the Scheme

The identification of at least three, if not four hands is generally accepted: these identifications are suggested by stylistic evidence. The major painters have been named the Anagni Master, the Ornate Master and the Master of the Translations. It has been suggested that a fourth painter can be identified, an assistant perhaps or follower of the Master of the Translations.

(i) THE ANAGNI MASTER

The characteristic work of this fine painter has been noted in the descriptions of the sub-divided vaults of Abinadab (X) and Samuel and Saul (V), and to the same Master may be attributed the two vaults adjoining these, the Return of Israel to the Lord (IX) and the Battle of Mizpeh (VI). The Four Standing Saints below Galen and Hippocrates in Bay II and the Virgin and Child with Saints on the wall of Bay VII have also been attributed to this artist.

Toesca attempted to identify the Anagni Master with the 'Frater Romanus' who signed the S. Gregory celebrating Mass at Subiaco. This identification has not been accepted by later writers, though some of the work at Subiaco, not many miles away, is stylistically close to the Anagni fresco of the Virgin in Bay VII.

Anthony says of the Samuel scenes: 'These vaults are among the finest decorative works of the century. In his feeling for form this painter is almost a precursor of Cavallini, and his brilliant, vibrating colour is unsurpassed.' Cavallini is recorded after 1273, less than twenty years after the Anagni frescoes. The Anagni Master's work is full of amazing vitality and inventiveness; even his architectural settings are full of lively elegance in a manner found again, and excelled, in the later mosaics and frescoes of Kariye Camii. The practice of subdividing the vault or cupola and arranging the scenes around a central feature is found earlier in mosaics at Ravenna and Rome, as described above. It is interesting that the Anagni painters not only seized upon the aesthetic potentialities of this practice, but also managed to use the central feature for iconographic purposes. The problem is peculiarly an architectural one, for the problem of fitting scenes into a concave surface like a cupola or vault is not encountered in the illumination of the page of a manuscript. Later examples include the mosaics of the north narthex of S. Marco at Venice, and of the narthex of Kariye Camii. For the richness of decorative painting on the ribs and arches at Anagni, the best parallel is to be found in the ribs of the dome in the Parecclesion of Kariye Camii.

⁴⁸ See the discussion by A. Grabar: 'La décoration des cupoles à Kariye Camii et les peintures italiennes du Dugento', in *Jahrb. d. Österr. Byzant.*

Gesellschaft VI (1957), pp. III ff.

⁴⁹ O. Demus: *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (1947-8) pp. 67-73 and p. 80.

(ii) THE ORNATE MASTER

Toesca's 'Pittore Ornatista' worked in a rather conservative style reminiscent of that of the eleventh-century frescoes of the apse of Castel S. Elia, and related to that of the frescoes in Rome, in the chapel of Ss. Quattro Coronati, which are roughly contemporary with the Anagni frescoes. To the Ornate Master, whose style is so clearly differentiated from that of the other painters, can be attributed the Four Cities of the Philistines (XII), and the adjoining vaults with the Return of the Ark (XI), the Tetramorphs and the scene of S. John in Oil with a Miracle of S. Magnus (III), the Angels with Christ and Four Saints (IV) and the two adjoining bays near the secondary entrance, with Half-Angels (VIII) and the Four Prophets (VII).

When telling a story the Ornate Master delights in representing onlooking crowds, which the Anagni Master, whose art is less naïve, treats more elegantly or omits altogether. The Ornate Master fills every square inch of the available space, perhaps a little haphazardly. He squeezes in faces and architecture, disregarding consistency of scale, to cover all the surface of the vault. His scenes are a little unruly, crowded and episodic, where those by the Anagni Master are clearer, more dramatic and unified. Yet the Ornate Master was a considerable artist, as can be seen from the impressive fresco of Christ with Four Saints. The figure of the Evangelist in this group may be compared with the Anagni Master's Evangelist in the group of Four Saints in Bay II, or with his other representation of the same saint standing beside the Virgin (Bay VII). In this larger, more formal scale the Ornate Master seems more confident and the facial modelling is more effective than when used in small scale work. In the handling of draperies, particularly that of S. John, the tendency to hardness remains but is not obtrusive. The characteristically firm and clear facial modelling can be exemplified by the bust of the Virgin Orante (XI) or by the fine head of Christ on the wall of Bay IV.

(iii) THE MASTER OF THE TRANSLATIONS

Although Toesca gave this painter the title of the Master of the Translations, the quality of the main story of S. Magnus has led some critics to suggest the identification of a Follower of the Master of the Translations. This may not be necessary; but since the Master of the Translations seems to have been responsible for over half the painting of the crypt, he may have had an assistant.

The Master of the Translations is more economical as a story-teller than the Ornate Master, but never quite achieves the vivacity of the Anagni Master. The use of architectural backgrounds of Byzantine derivation is common both to the Anagni Master and the Master of the Translations; it would, however, be dangerous to suggest that any one of the artists was influenced by the style of another of the three working in the crypt. In Bay II the Anagni Master is found working on frescoes below, and therefore after, ones painted by the Master of the Translations; and in Bay VII, the Madonna by the Anagni Master was painted below and after the Prophets in the vault, the work of the Ornate Master. The evidence is insufficient to allow us to be certain that the Anagni and the Ornate Masters worked *only* after the Master of the Translations had completed his work. Probably all three worked together.

E. B. Garrison has recently demonstrated in a closely reasoned paper¹ that the Master of the Translations not only worked in fresco, but also as an illustrator, painting the illuminations for a Sacramentary now in the Vatican Library (S. Pietro F.13). The illustrations show (fol. 12 and 12v) the Nativity and S. Matthew writing his Gospel, placed appropriately opposite the Proper for the Vigil of the Nativity of Our Lord (fol. IIv). Garrison has made a detailed comparison between the illuminations and figural and architectural details of the Apocalyptic and S. Magnus scenes of the main conch and in the S. Secundina cycle in the left apse. The round faces, round, short-

¹ E. B. Garrison: 'Two Illustrations by the Anagni Translations Master', in *Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting*, II, i (1955). The script of the main part of the codex, the Sacramentary, is to be dated to about 1225. To the front of the Sacramentary was added later a Calendar. In its original form this included a large number of Benedictine saints, but since none of these is rubricated, the original provenance was probably clerical rather than Benedictine. Also among the original entries are S. Francis, canonised in 1228, S. Anthony of Padua of four years later, and S. Clare who did not die until 1253, but was accepted as a saint immediately. Ss. Magnus and Secundina were both included in the original form of the Calendar, and their feasts were *rubricated*, clear

evidence of the original Anagni provenance of the Calendar. Later other saints were added by another hand to the Calendar, including feasts peculiar to the cathedral itself—S. Peter of Anagni, who rebuilt the cathedral, on August 3; his biographer, S. Bruno of Segni, on July 18; and on April 20 is added the feast of the *Inventio corporis sancti Magni*.

The alterations to the Calendar prove that the codex came to the Cathedral; the Sacramentary with its illustrations had, however, always been intended for use in Anagni, for it includes in its text Masses both for S. Magnus and S. Secundina, feasts celebrated in Anagni but apparently nowhere else at this period.

sighted eyes, identically shaped noses and ears, the linear, unshaded lights and darks of the draperies, the 'tear-drop' folds at the knees, as well as architectural features which appear in these two illuminations are found again in the frescoes, drawn more competently. Garrison suggests that the frescoes are the work of a more mature artist.

The firm dark outline to the white hair of such figures as Galen is quite distinct from the method used by the Ornate Master for the head of David (VII), and the drapery form at the stomachs of Elijah (XIX) and of the Almighty (XVIII) is also distinctive. The work of the Anagni Master and of the Master of the Translations may be compared in their representations of the Virgin and Child enthroned, in Bay VII and in the left-hand conch respectively. The narrative style of the Master of the Translations has been described above: the treatment of the stories of SS. Magnus and Secundina around the walls of the apses is such that the continuity of the narrative is expressed by the continuation of the story, episode by episode, along the wall. In the vaults by the Master of the Translations, different problems are involved, for only in vault XIII is the painter telling a story, that of the Capture of the Ark and the Death of Eli. In the opening pair of bays with the Zodiac and the Microcosm, and in the vaults of the front aisle with such subjects as the Vision of the Almighty, Melchisedec or the Dove on the Altar, the painter has static, formal subjects to portray. But the painter displays himself a master of formal invention, perhaps even equalling the Anagni Master's Abinadab vault (X), when he shows the Ascension of Elijah (XX) or Abraham and Melchisedec (XXI).

Toesca in 1902 compared the frescoes of the Master of the Translations with manuscript work of the same period, making comparisons between the subject matter of the opening bays and similar subjects in scientific manuscripts; the Microcosm, for instance, was compared with Ms. Greco 2460 in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and another scientific manuscript, at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge has also been referred to. Garrison's publication of the illustrations in the Sacramentary not only proves that a thirteenth-century fresco painter might know contemporary manuscript illuminations: he might even illustrate the manuscript himself. In the case of the Master of the Translations, this evidence is made the more relevant by the fact that Garrison has proved by calligraphic and hagiographic evidence that the codex was altered and adapted for use in the very building in which the Master of the Translations worked as a fresco painter.

The strength of connexions between Anagni and Roman art is confirmed by comparison with the frescoes of the apse at S. Silvestro at Tivoli, where the scheme is based on the usual Roman models. In the conch the Almighty is shown giving scrolls to SS. Peter and Paul; below, the twelve Lambs represent the Apostles adoring the Agnus Dei; in the middle order, the Virgin and Child enthroned are flanked by prophets, and below are four scenes of the legend of S. Sylvester. (Further subjects, lower still, are later additions.) The scheme represents a variation on the usual Roman decoration, with the scenes of the local patron saint taking the place of the more-frequently encountered scenes of the Virgin (as in mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore and S. Maria in Trastevere). As at Anagni, the paintings at Tivoli are not by one hand only; the middle order, showing the Virgin and Prophets, seems to be the work of the Master of the Translations.*

The Madonna and Child Enthroned is closely related to the similar representation in the left-hand conch at Anagni—in the disposition of the figures, the drawing of the hands, the inclination of the Child and of the head of the Virgin, in the details of the delineation of noses and ears and eyes, in the lines of the sleeves of the Child, and in the jagged line of drapery below the raised hand of the Virgin. The two works are identical in intention and impact.

Similar comparisons may be made with other of the figures at Tivoli. Beyond the figure of the Baptist at the Virgin's right hand is a figure in military uniform; the drapery at his stomach, in so far as it is visible, is in the form used in vaults XVIII, XX and XXI. The drawing of eyes, nose, beard and ears is characteristic of the Master of the Translations, and the comparison with such figures as Elijah or Galen is even more relevant when considering the next prophet, with a white beard, or his opposite number on the other side of the Virgin. These figures are of a scale something like that of the Elders in the conch at Anagni: at Tivoli the Elders appear in the more usual Roman position, outside the conch, below the adoration of Christ with the Seven Candlesticks and the Four Evangelists symbols on the Triumphal Arch.

Although Toesca's identification, of the Anagni Master and the Frater Romanus working at Subiaco has not been accepted, the stylistic comparison remains valid. Geographically, Subiaco is not twenty miles from Anagni, and Tivoli is down the valley from Subiaco towards Rome. The

* For a full view of the apse, see E. W. Anthony: *Romanesque Frescoes* (Princeton, 1951), fig. 68; fig. 69 is of one of the hagiographic cycle; a bibliography is given on p. 71; for a photo of the Virgin enthroned, see R. Van Marle: *Italian Schools*, I

(1923), fig. 70; the date suggested is not acceptable. Contemporary frescoes in the crypt of S. Silvestro are unfortunately badly preserved. The cathedral at Anagni has now post-medieval frescoes in the main apse of the (upper) church.

comparisons with the paintings at Subiaco and the indication that the Master of the Translations worked at Tivoli provide evidence, as does the inscription at Castel S. Elia, that the painters came, as did the Cosmati, from Rome to work in the church at Anagni.

Written descriptions of colours are not very satisfactory, and there has been no opportunity to make a full technical analysis of the methods and materials of the Anagni painters. Much of the work was executed *a secco*. All three painters seem to have used the same small range of colours—blue, green, red, yellow and a flesh tone, though this is not restricted to faces and hands. Purple is used only occasionally, which with white and an almost black paint provides a total of eight colours. All these are kept remarkably distinct and unmixed, with the details and drapery folds added over the main colour with firm, strong, distinct brushstrokes. Only on the large figures of the Elders in the conch is an intermediate tone used, either the flesh tone (used over both red and green) or diluted white. The Ornate Master has a distinct mannerism in the use of harsh round spots of colour on cheeks. The Master of the Translations outlines his faces boldly. Only the Anagni Master, in the bust of the Pantocrator in Vault V particularly, uses paint as if it were a liquid with which facial modelling could be achieved.

One feature common to the work of all three artists deserves notice. Each individual scene is painted within a red border, on the inside of which is usually a narrow dentil pattern in black and white, or, in a more complex form, of black, white and red. Inside this, dividing the border from the blue of the background, is a narrow stripe of green, generally outlined with white. Although the green serves the visual function of a mount, the subject of the scene is not restricted by it. Examples have already been quoted—the stool of Galen, for instance, and the shield of Abraham, both painted by the Master of the Translations. The same practice was followed by the Ornate Master, as for instance in Vault XII where the tops of the towers of Ekron and the heads of the citizens ignore the apparent inner border of green, and in Vault VII, where the four-square placing of the prophets is interrupted by allowing the halo of David and the outstretched hand of Daniel to pass the white line between the blue background and the green 'mount': in the centre of the vault the halo, tail and weight-bearing feet of the Agnus Dei are allowed to break even the border of dentils. Similar freedom can be seen in the carrying of the Ark to the House of Abinadab, the Anagni Master's work in Vault X, where the poles on which the Ark is borne overlap the dentil border, and in Vault V, where, as Saul sits at the table, Samuel's gown just overlaps the border. In the central quatrefoil the inner border of green and white is interrupted entirely by the shoulders and chest of the Pantocrator, so that His face is nearer to the centre of the vault.

The same practice can be seen in the paintings of standing figures, in the Pantocrator with Saints, for instance, and to particular effect in the Four Standing Saints by the Anagni Master, painted beneath the Galen and Hippocrates by the Master of the Translations. The consistency with which all three artists made use of the device of overlapping the framework supports the suggestion that all were working at the same time.

APPENDIX II

Other Frescoes

Full descriptions of the other frescoes of the cathedral are given in Toesca's paper; a short list of these is given here. All are of the thirteenth century.

- (i) On the face of the left pillar of the triumphal arch in the upper church: Madonna and Child enthroned; S. Peter (head only).
- (ii) In the lunette over the main entrance, inside the church; Madonna and Child between SS. Magnus and Secundina.
- (iii) In a portico outside the right-hand apse of the church: Christ enthroned, between SS. Luke and Cataldo.
- (The conch and apse around the high altar have modern paintings).
- (iv) Under the south side of the cathedral is an under-croft or crypt which contains badly faded paintings which have been attributed to a follower of the Master of the Translations. Iconographically the scheme is less original than that of the main crypt; it includes a sequence of types from the Creation to Abraham which are linked in a general manner to a short set of anti-types. The Last Judgement is on the wall next to the entrance, and along the right wall are seven Benedictine saints. The apse has Christ, the twelve apostles and S. Thomas à Becket and the scene of his martyrdom (see n. 4 above). The arrangement of Biblical subjects in strips along the length of the barrel vault of the chapel is unusual: it recalls to mind a similar vault in the Cappadocian cave church of Tokale Kilisse.
- (v) In the vestibule between the entrances to the main crypt and the under-croft are more formal groups of standing figures.

G. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in South and Central Italian Painting* (1965), became available after this paper had gone to press. It should be consulted for S. Magnus, cols. 717-726 (the miracles illustrated in figs. 853-4 from the walls of bays V and VI have been described above, p.29, in the wrong order); see too especially S. Secundina, cols. 1003-1008 with figs. 1172-1178.

M. Q. S.

APPENDIX III

References in Text to Bays and Vaults of Crypt

BAY	Page	VAULT	Page
I ..	7	I ..	7, 37
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Wall, right ..	26, 29, 37		
.. ..		XX ..	23, 34, 55
XXI ..	32	XXI ..	23-24, 45
Right apse and conch 32			



(Photo; G. D. B. Jones)

ANAGNI. GALEN AND HIPPOCRATES (*above*) AND FOUR SAINTS (*below*) ON THE WALL OF BAY II; and (*left*) ON THE PLASTER BETWEEN BAYS II AND III, DIAGRAM OF THE FOUR HUMOURS AND (*below*) SS. JOHN THE EVANGELIST AND ONUPHIUS OF EGYPT (pp. 9-13, 31)



(Photo: G. D. B. Jones)

ANAGNI. PART OF VAULT VII, SHOWING THE AGNUS DEI AND THE PROPHETS ISAIAH (*left*) AND DAVID (*right*); AND (*below*) VIRGIN AND CHILD, WITH SAINTS (pp. 14, 31, 45)



(Photo: G. D. B. Jones)

ANAGNI. THE CAPTURE OF THE ARK BY THE PHILISTINES AND THE KILLING OF HOPHNI AND PHINEHAS: VAULT XIII (p. 17)



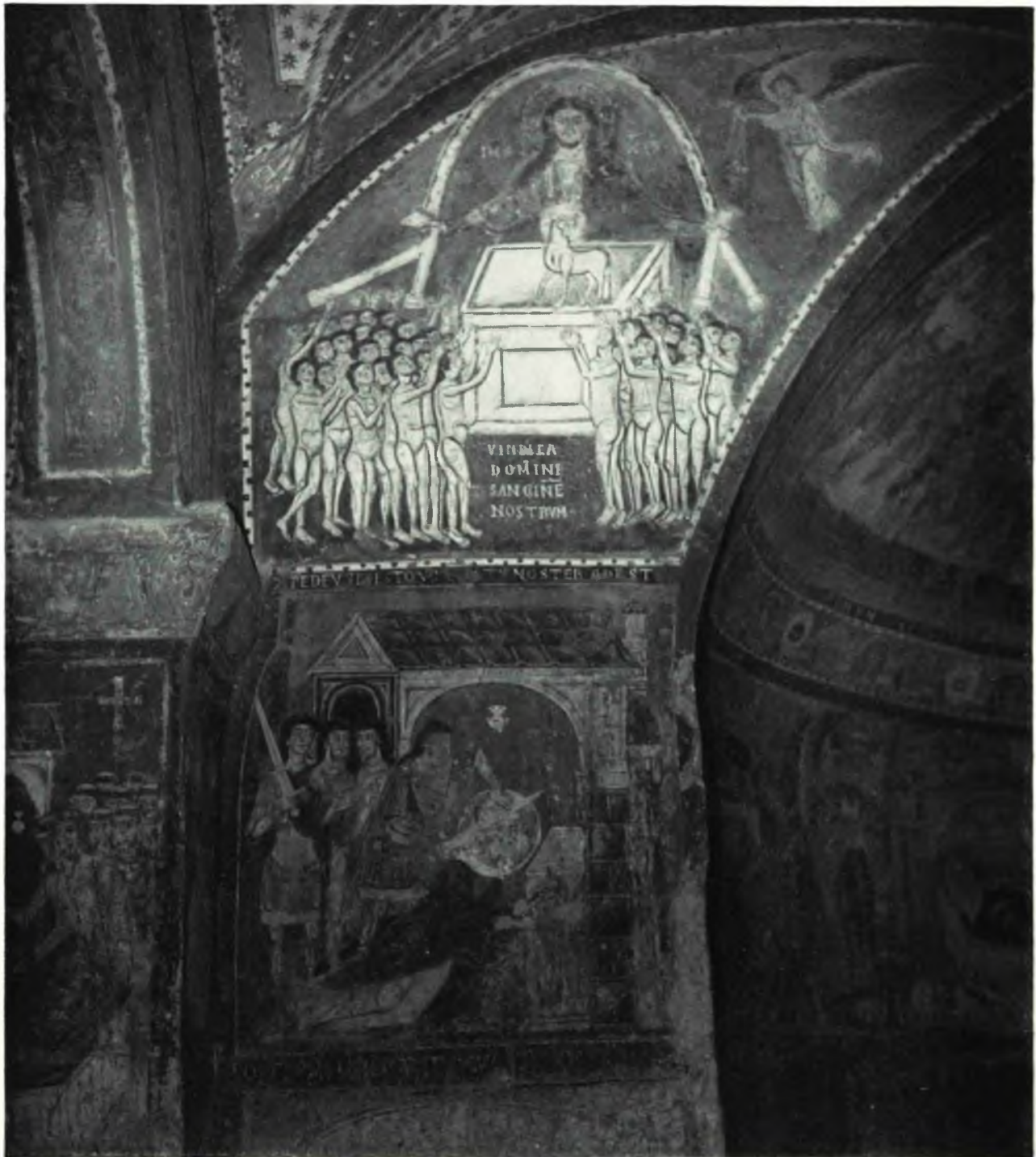
(Photo: G. D. B. Jones)

ANAGNI. THE DESTRUCTION OF THE FALSE GODS: PART OF VAULT IX (pp. 20-21)



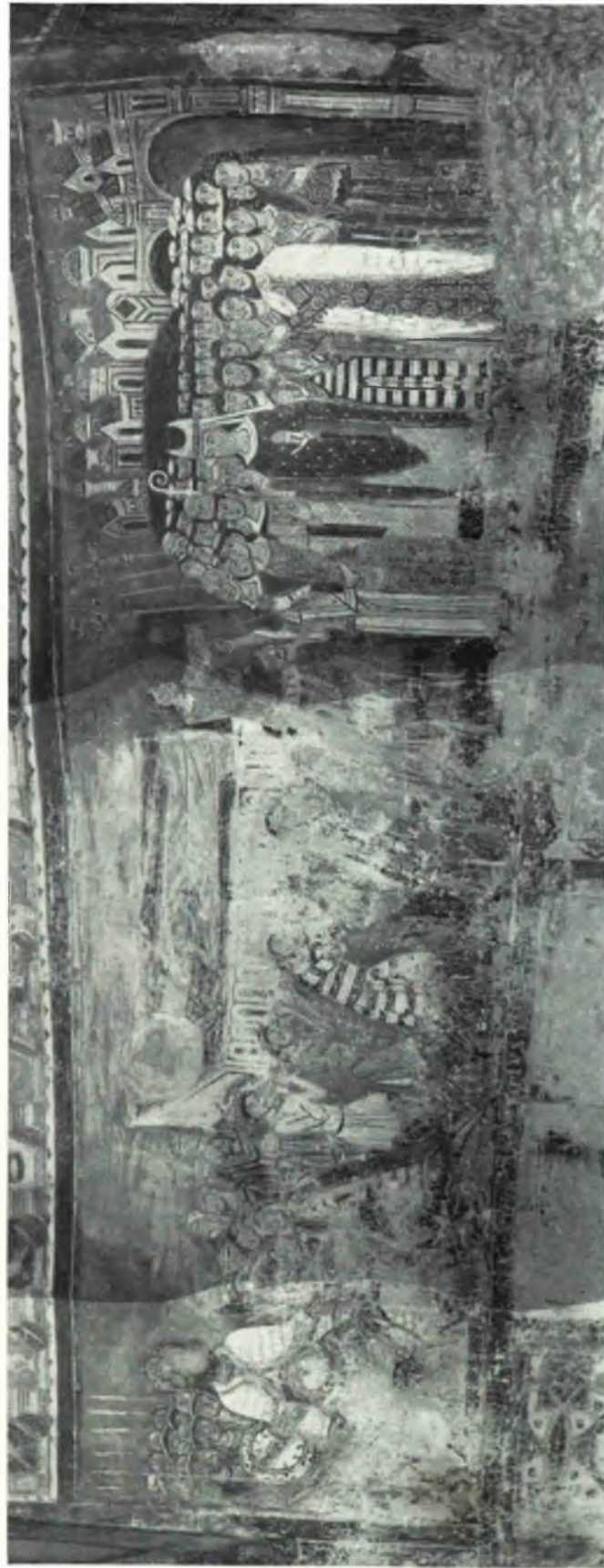
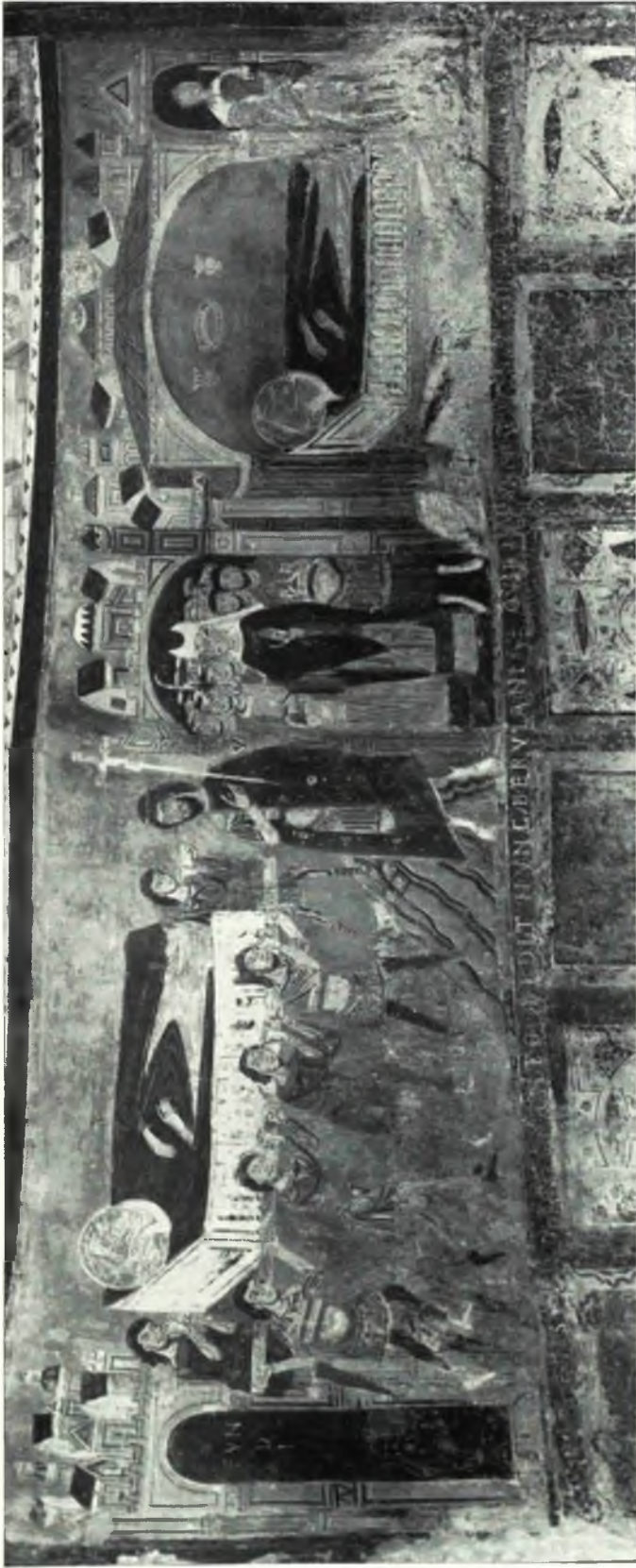
(Photo: G. D. B. Jones)

ANAGNI. THE VISION OF THE ALMIGHTY: VAULT XVIII, ABOVE THE MAIN ALTAR (pp. 24-25)

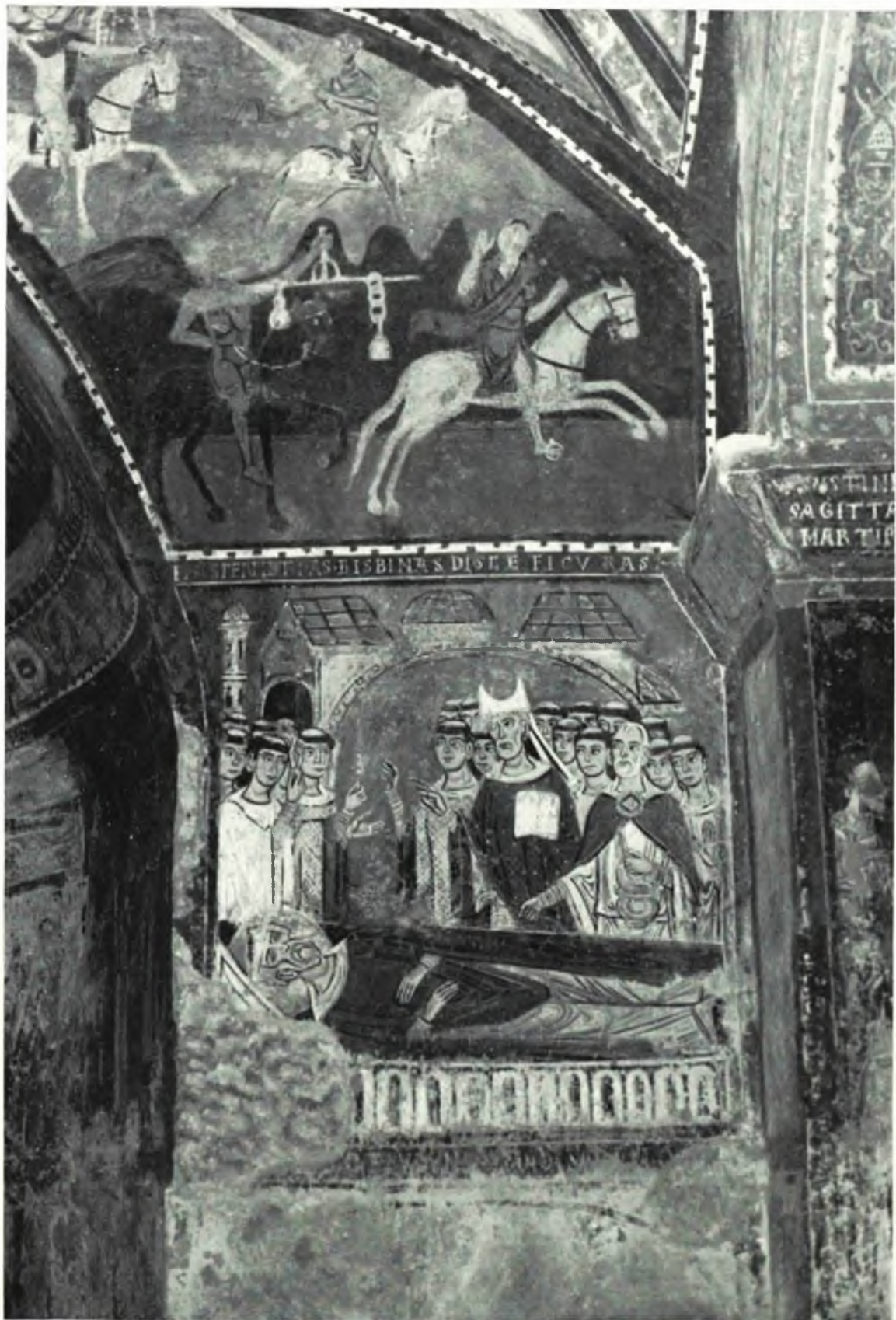


(Photo: G. D. B. Jones)

ANAGNI. THE SOULS OF THE MARTYRS AND THE MARTYRDOM OF S. MAGNUS: BAY XVII, ON THE WALL IMMEDIATELY TO THE LEFT OF THE APSE (pp. 27, 28, 37)



ANAGNI. THE TRANSLATION OF THE RELICS OF S. MAGNUS FROM FUNDI TO VEROLI (*above*) AND FROM VEROLI TO ANAGNI (*below*) AROUND THE WALLS OF THE APSE (p. 28)
(Photos: G. D. B. Jones)



(Photo: G. D. B. Jones)

ANAGNI. THE FOUR HORSEMEN AND THE ENTOMBMENT OF S. MAGNUS: BAY XIX, ON THE WALL IMMEDIATELY TO THE RIGHT OF THE APSE (pp. 26, 29, 37)



(Photo: G. D. B. Jones)

ANAGNI. THE FALL OF THE IDOL OF DAGON AT ASHDOD AND, IN THE CENTRAL MEDALLION, THE MADONNA ORANTE : PART OF VAULT XII (pp. 17, 35, 36)

COLLEGATA : Interior

99B1-S-



S. Gimignano - Collegiata (Interno)

79A2-5

OT 19 : Joseph's brothers arrested



79B2-6

III

OT 20 : Joseph's brothers ask pardon



COME I FRATELLI DI YOSAP
CHIE DOPO PERDORO

OT 21: Mores before Pharaoh

IV

79B3-1



OT 22 : Red Sea

5803-1

V



OT 23: Moses on Sinai

VI

1955-6

VII

79 BG-1

OT 24: John's heart



COMEDIO DENTRO. QUESSE FIDO. OUT C
ARE IOB. QUANTO. ENADPROSPERIT

OT 25: John's Plots

VIII

7986-2



S. Gimignano - Collegiata - Il Demonio fa distruggere
l'esercito di Giobbe (Bartolo di Fredi, 1336)

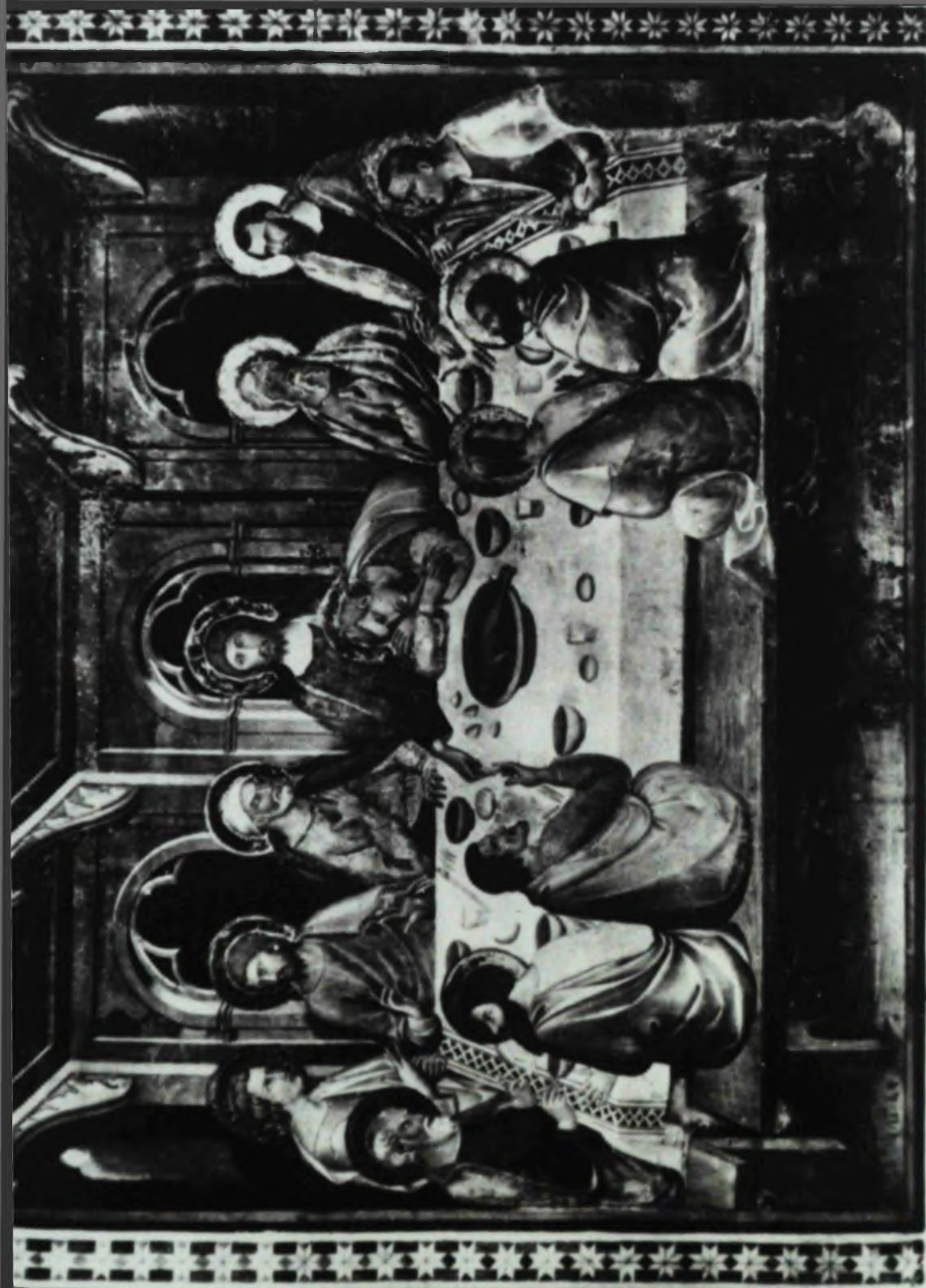
OT 26: Job's family



7983-4

2114: Last Supper

X



NT 16: Agency

XI

MISS-2



NT 17: Betrayal

XII

17 VS 2-3



1784-5

XII

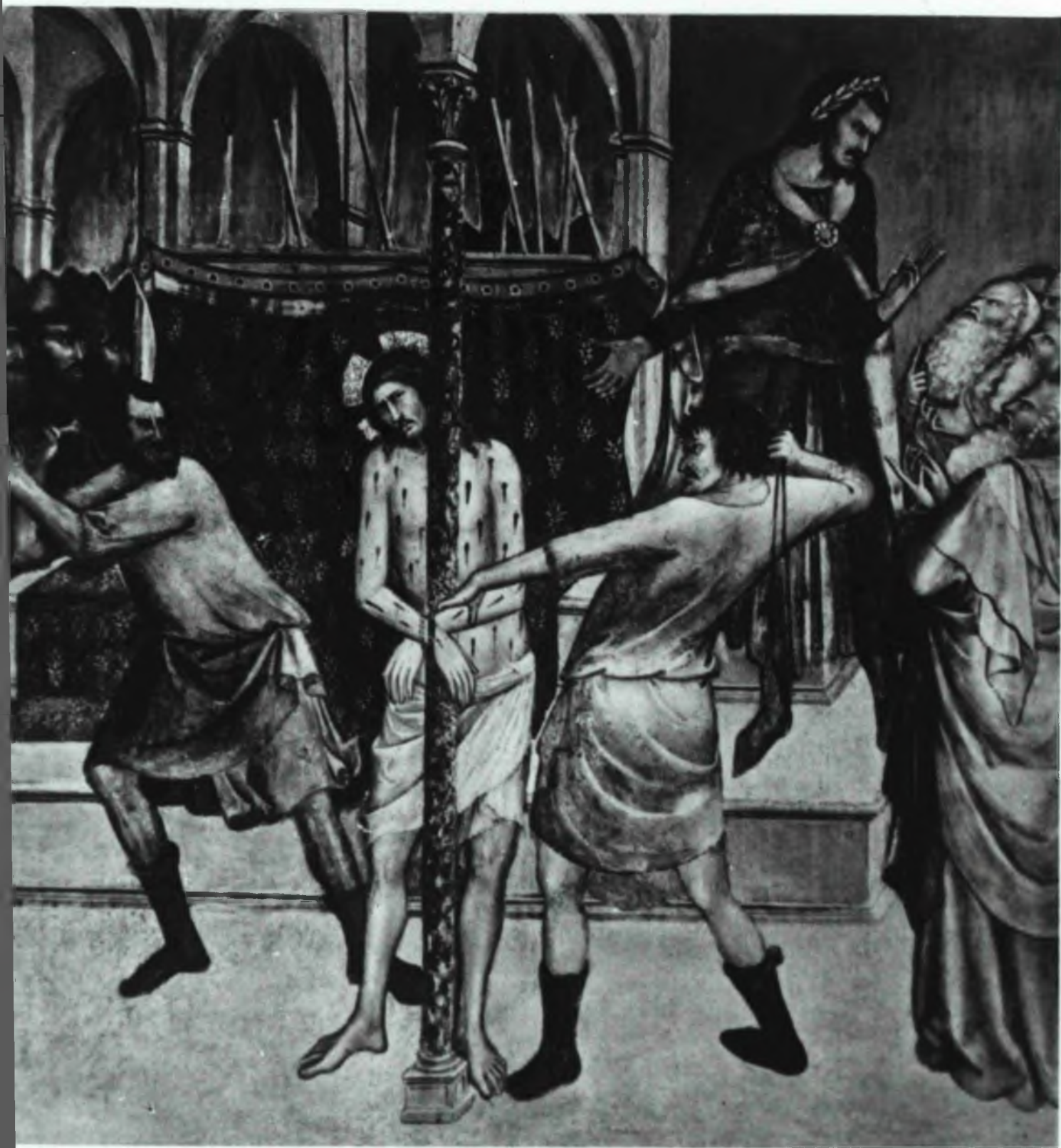
NT 18 : Christ before Caiaphas



NT 19: Flagellation

XIV

57C4-2



NT 21: Way to Calvary

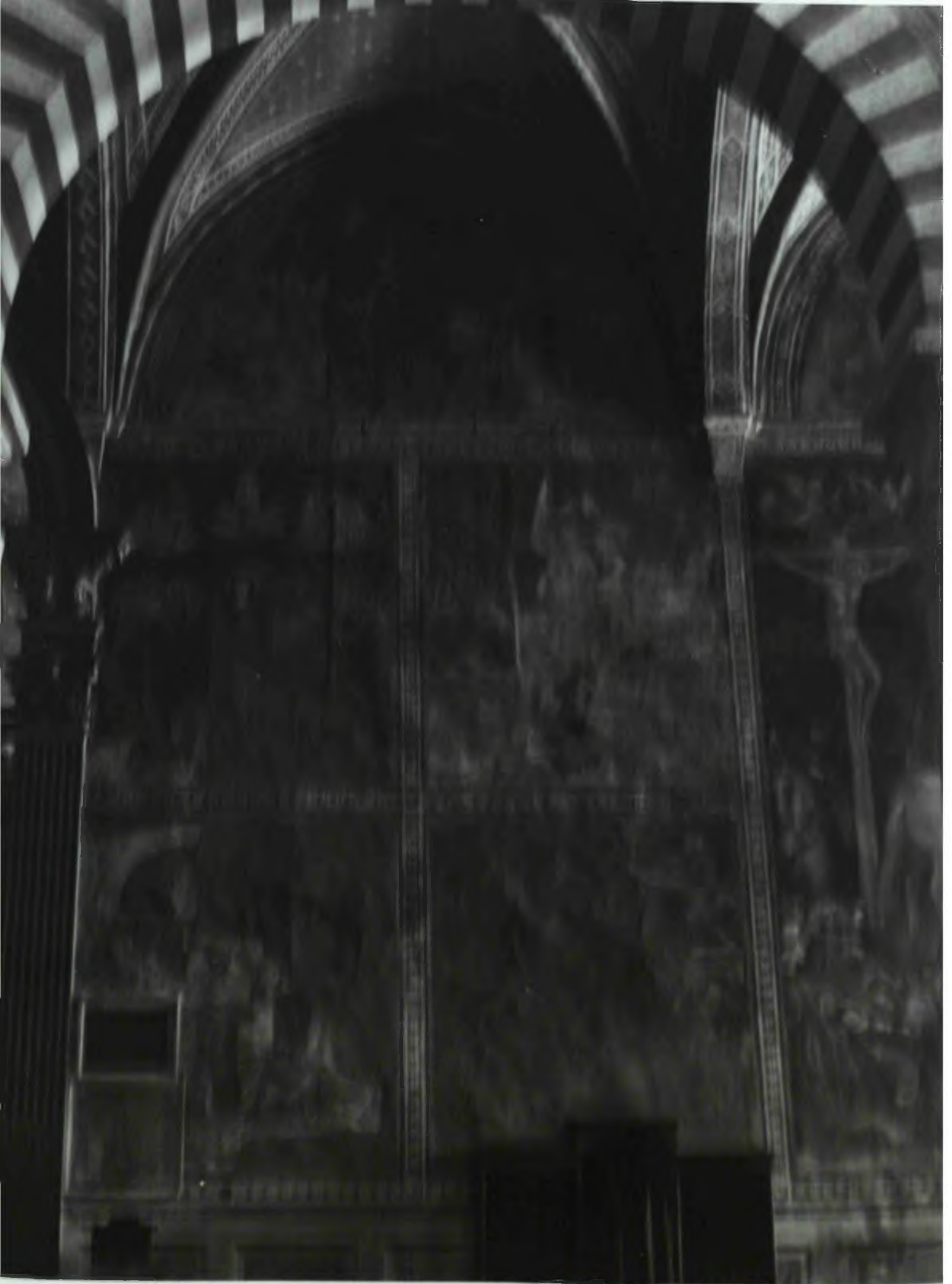
XV

79B4-4



NT 6, 23, 24, 25, 26

XVI



Last Supper — apostles seated at ends of table, round arches in back wall; of Barma
no rod and curtain, as in Duccio

Betrayal — of Barma; not Duccio.

Way to Calvary — Christ carrying Cross. of Barma, not Duccio

Descent from Cross — or Maester, not in Collegiata

Entombment — of Duccio; not Barma.

Resurrection — of Collegiata fresco: damaged
NT 25

See G. COOR Walker Art Gallery Ind (1956-7) p19



S. Sebastian
(Entry wall)

XVII

7182-4



Annunciation
(Baptism)

79C1-3



S. Gimignano - Collegiata - L'Annunciazione (D. Ghirlandaio 1482)

Vision of S. Fina
(Chapel of S. Fina)

79C1-2

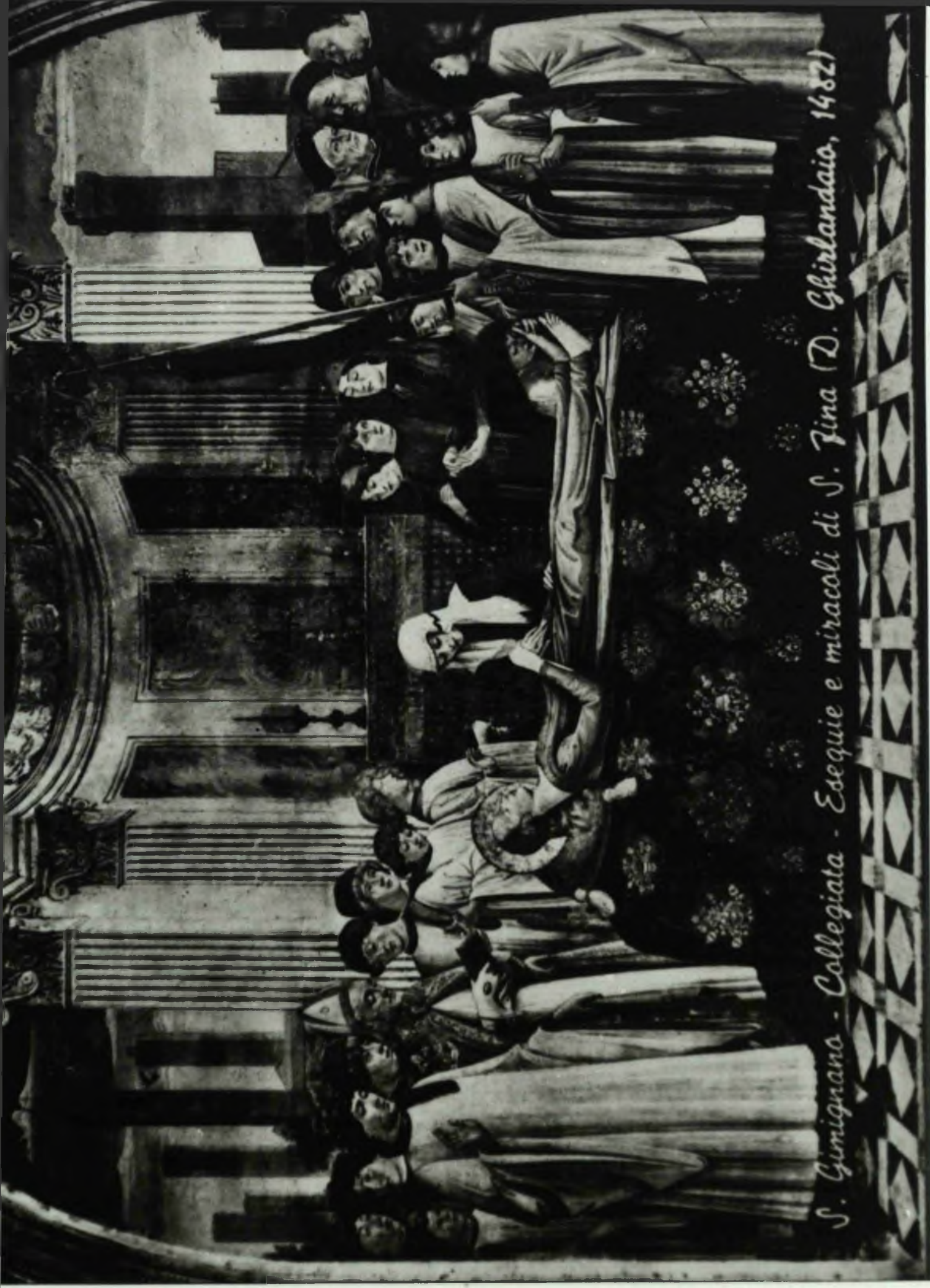


Gimignano - Collegiata - Visione (D. Ghirlandaio, 1482)

Funeral of S. Finia
(Chapel of S. Finia)

XX

1705-4



S. Gimignano - Collegiata - Esequie e miracoli di S. Zina (D. Ghirlandaio, 1482)

ALTENBURG : S. John Baptist

XXI

18C5-6

ex PACCAGNINI



PALERMO

Chiaravalle Coll.: S. Peter

XXII

77c3-1

ex ALINARI



PISA : "S. James"
(S. Andrew)

XXIII

77C3-3

ex Van MARLE

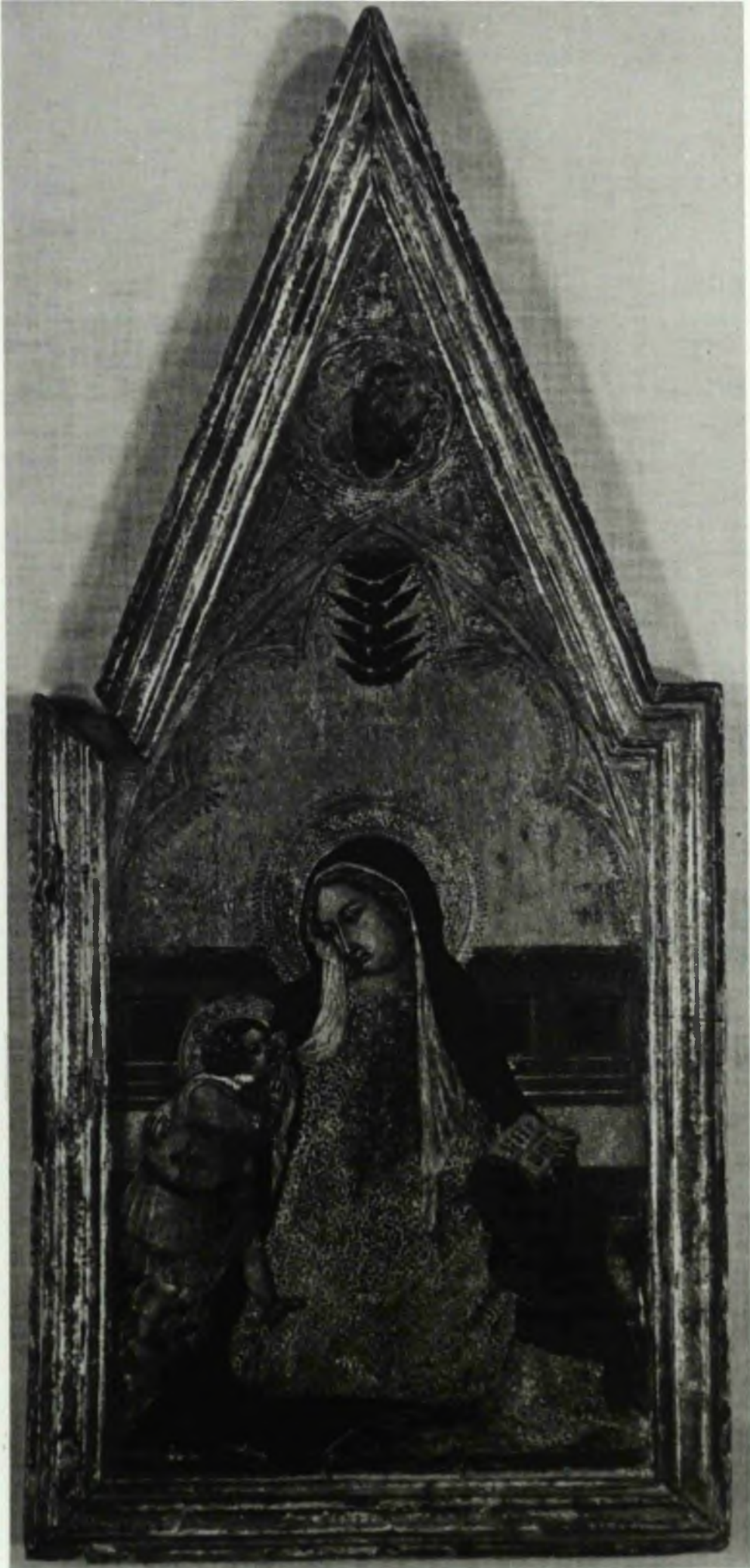


AMSTERDAM: Madonna of Humility

XXIV

7946-1

ex-Gallery



XXV

99B1-4

ARE220 : Curifixion
Cathedral

ex 121221



Ascutno : Madonna

XXVI

79C6-2

ex GRASSI



ASCIANO

aging and arrest

S. Francisco

XXVI a

ex GRASSI

8036-2



BALTIMORE : Madonna

XXVII

99 B1 -1

ex-Gallery

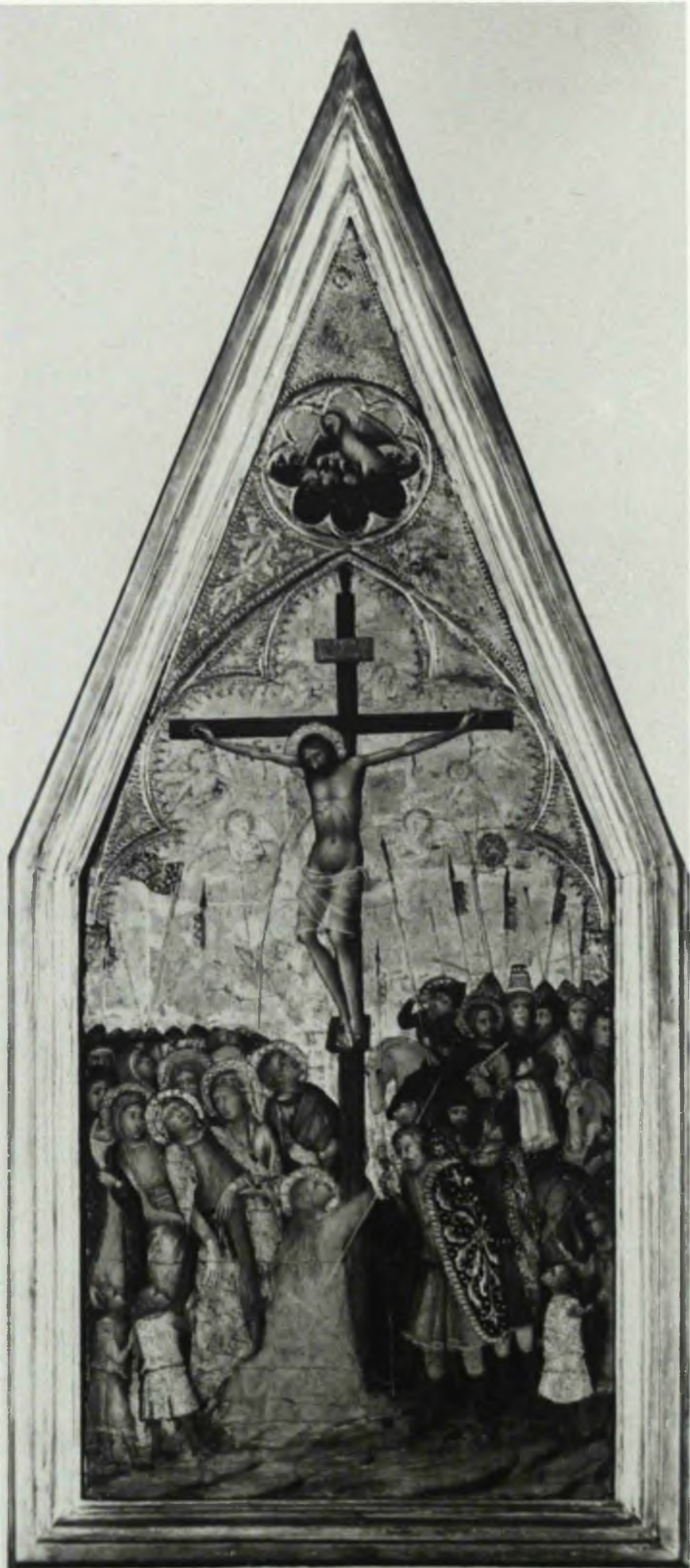


BALTIMORE: Cuvifixon

XXVIII

99B1-2

ex Gallery



BERLIN: Madonna of Humility

XXIX

5804-4

ex MEISS



99B6-4

ex WERT

Madura

BERLIN

1511

XXX



Boston: Mystic Marriage

XXXI

58C4-3

ex-Gallery



82A6-6

XXXXII

CAMBRIDGE : 'Woman, behold thy son',
Fogg

ex KATTA



COPENHAGEN: S. Victor

XXXIII

ex KATTAL



Florence: Virgin with Archangels and Angels
Bereun

XXXIV

ex Maria



Florence : Diptych
Hane

9981-3

XXXXV

ex ALINARI



GLOUCESTER
Penny

'S. Gregory)
(S. Peter as Pope)

XXXXVI

1725-4



London : S. Peter
N. Gall.

XXXVII a

79C6-4



LONDON : S. Mary Magdalen
N. Gall.

XXXXVII b

1906 3

S. Mary



Musket: Assumption

XXXVIII

ex Maus



NEW YORK: Christ with Cross
frick

XXXXIX

58c2-2



NEW YORK : S. Paul
Metropolitan

XL

77c4-4



NEW YORK
Strauss
'The Strauss Matrimonia'

XL1

99 B6-1

Lx WERT

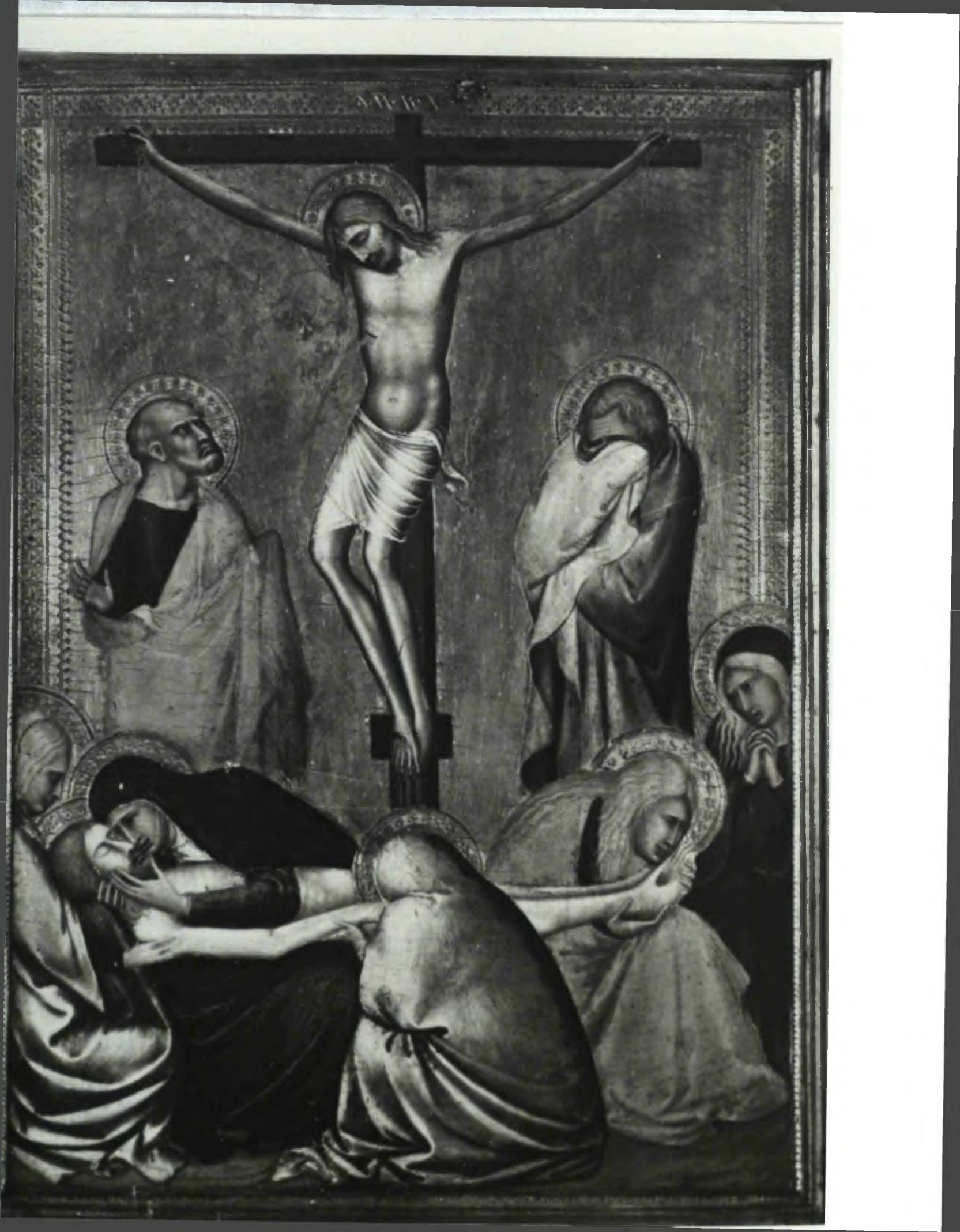


oxford : Cnirixia and Deposition
Khandan

XLII

803 6-4

on Gallery



XLIII

PARIS : S. Peter
Louise



77C1-6

XLIV

Romē : Madonna
N. G. G. G.



77C4-5

XLV

ROME : Crucifixion

Vatican



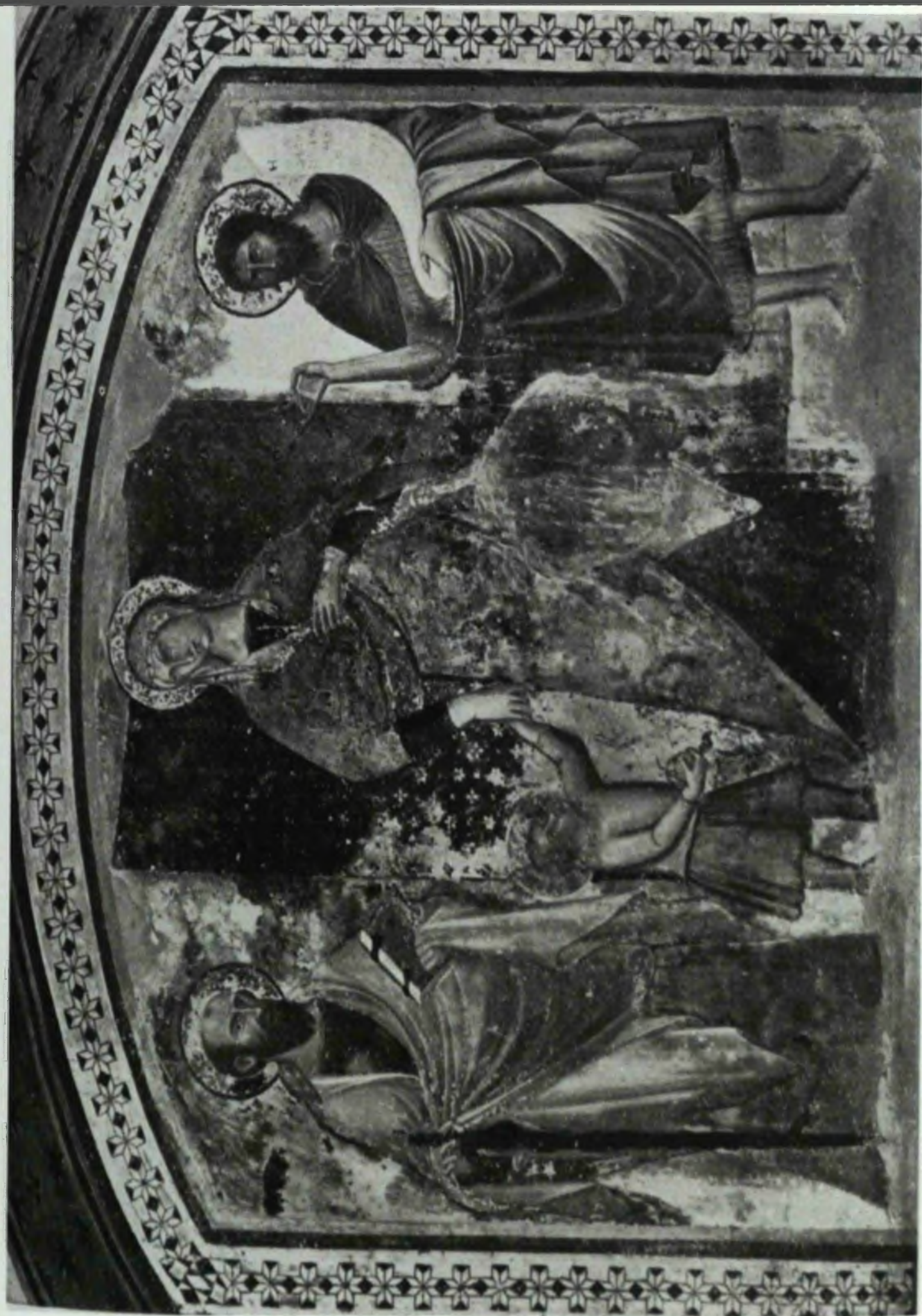
S. GIMIGNANO
S. Pietro

Madonna and Saints

XLVI

77C5-5

ex ALINARI



SIENA : SS. Catharine and John E.

XLVIIa

80A1-5

ex ALINAR 1



8041-6

SiENA : ss. John B. and Paul

XLVII b



SIENA : Mystic Marriage

XLVIII

99B1-6



SIENA: Magdalen at foot of Christ

XLIX

8086-3

Courtesy Prof. Carli



80A1-3

1-1
0

TOURS: Diptych: Right Wing



Tours: Diptych: Left Wing

L b

Ro AI -4



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9986-5

VIENNA Madonna
Lederer



99B6-3

LII

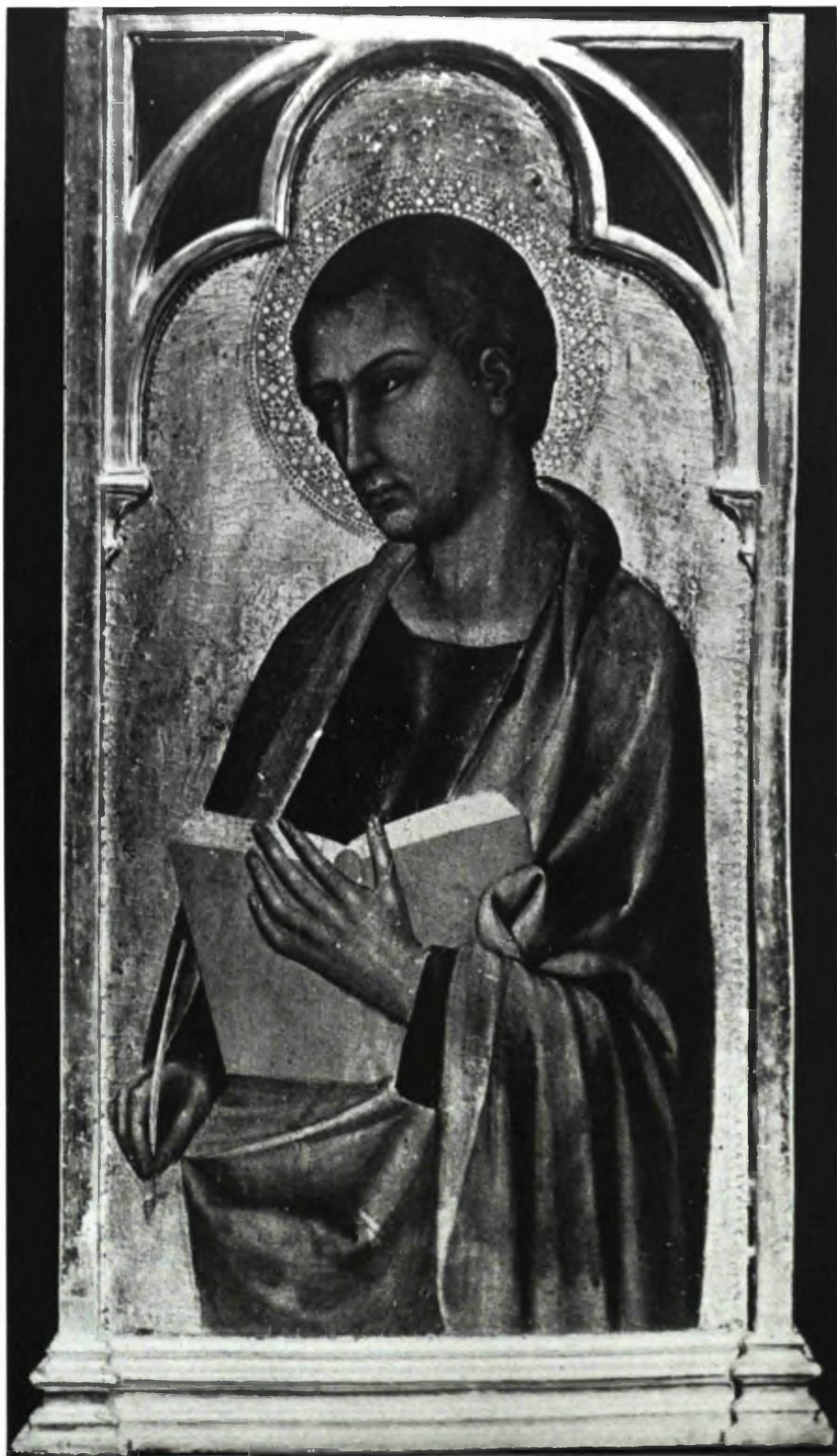
WORCESTER S. Agnes
USA



Yre s. June

LIII

9986-2



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SUPPLEMENTARY PLATES

NUMBERED I - LIII