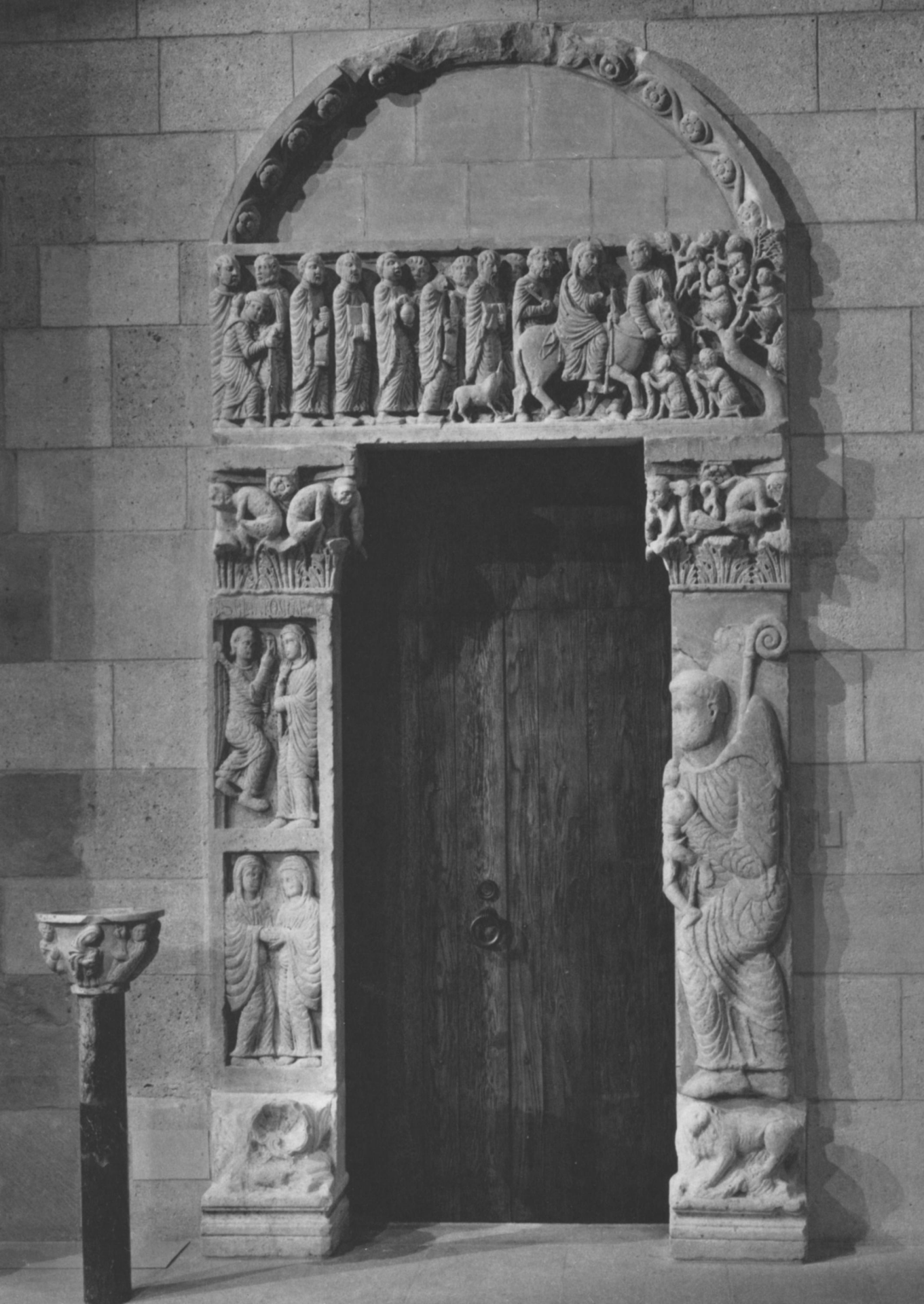


JUNE 1965

The Metropolitan Museum
of Art BULLETIN





Italian Romanesque Sculpture

THOMAS P. F. HOVING

Acting Curator of Medieval Art and The Cloisters

Four new acquisitions of Italian Romanesque and early Gothic sculpture are published in this issue of the *Bulletin*: two monumental carved marble doorways, a holy-water font, and a capital marvelously rich in figural and foliated decoration. These sculptures have many associations – in style, date, region, and history – not only among themselves but with the small but excellent collection already in The Cloisters and the Main Building. It might thus seem that all had been gathered together according to a master plan, or chosen specifically from a wide range of available material to illustrate the most vital currents of twelfth and early thirteenth century sculpture in Italy. But there was never any great availability of monuments and no master plan. Romanesque sculpture of any country, particularly of Italy, is exceedingly rare these days, when private and public collectors seem to be searching for even the smallest fragment of this strong and beautiful style. Furthermore, collections seldom are formed from a pre-ordained plan. They grow in proportion to the enthusiasm and the perception of the individuals charged with building them, and are also affected, to a considerable measure, by luck.

The fortuitous is the rule in coming across Romanesque sculpture of large scale. The portal now installed in the Fuentidueña Chapel at The Cloisters (Frontispiece), analyzed in the following article by Carmen Gómez-Moreno, was discovered *par hasard* during research on another object at The Cloisters: the twelfth century Annunciation relief from San Piero Scheraggio in Florence. An old photograph of the door was encountered in a book on architecture. The brief published information recounted that it had once been in the church of San Leonardo al Frigido, had been removed in the mid-nineteenth century, and had been installed somewhere near Nice in a private villa. The search for the doorway began under the assumption that, even if the villa had been destroyed, monumental architectural sculpture simply does not vanish forever. After months of work it was eventually found lying abandoned and almost forgotten within the plot of a modern housing development. When its excellence was revealed, it was acquired. Soon afterward a marble holy-water font (see page 362) was discovered on the New York art market that appeared to have stylistic relationships with the door. It, too, was added to the collections. In time, convincing evidence, published in these pages by Bonnie Young, was found that it comes from the workshop of the most renowned sculptor of mid-twelfth century Tuscany, who exerted considerable influence on the development of the master of the San Leonardo portal.

Not too many years ago an entire *Bulletin* devoted to Italian Romanesque sculpture

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FRONTISPIECE: *Marble doorway from San Leonardo al Frigido (see page 349) and holy-water font (see page 362) as installed at The Cloisters*

ON THE COVER: *The Entry of Christ into Jerusalem. Detail of the San Leonardo doorway*



1. *Fragment of a figure carrying a water cask, Italian, late XII century. Marble, height 32 inches. The Cloisters Collection, 57.63*

would have been impossible. Appreciation of the style is still a relatively recent phenomenon, having established itself only in the decades between the two world wars. Today we no longer employ exclusively such terms as “brutal and crude” to describe the general characteristics of Romanesque art, nor are we accustomed to read such descriptions as “the carvings of the Roman medieval manner possess a modicum of interest despite their inelegance, their awkwardness and their rustic and coarse behavior.” Today we accept the style more readily within its own historical and artistic boundaries.

Contemporary taste has developed a liking for primitive phases of art – whether that of Mesopotamia, Africa, or America. Perhaps this is the reason why the uncompromising austerity and unsentimental primitivism of Romanesque art has a growing appeal. But one must be cautious in believing that one fully understands the nature of Romanesque. It was made, after all, primarily “to serve God” and we should take care not to negate its deeper character by an all-too-modern tendency to look upon it purely aesthetically. The admonition of Joseph Heer might well be taken to heart: “In the twentieth century it takes a stout heart, strong nerves, and an alert and unprejudiced mind to derive any benefit from an encounter with this great art. The monuments of Romanesque art are no mere curios, quaint objects to be given a cursory glance and then dismissed with a slick judgment, (judgment, in fact is entirely out of place); they elude the trigger-happy photographer, whose efforts are all too aptly described as snapshots. What they demand is fear, awe, distance and detachment, patience and silent perseverance, until at last the beholder is brought to a genuine confrontation with the objects of his contemplation.”

The Romanesque style flourished in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; its crowning achievements were created from the beginning to the middle of the twelfth. Its primary characteristics in architecture are round arches and walls, built thick to support the great barrel vaults reminiscent of the structures of the Roman Empire. Perhaps even more important is that the Romanesque signals the reappearance of monumental figural sculpture after a hiatus of centuries and the achievement of an indissoluble unity of sculpture and architecture.

As the architectural style was born and developed, the vast expanses of stone sculpture, those carved encyclopedias of Biblical history, did not emerge full-blown. Confronted with the task of creating a profusion of monumental sculpture, artists looked to a variety of models for inspiration – actual remnants of pre-Christian and early Christian

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antiquity. This phenomenon is usually described as a “proto-Renaissance” in order to contrast it to the Carolingian *renovatio*, the Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon revivals of the early eleventh century, and the High Renaissance itself. The “proto-Renaissance” is rooted in those regions where the classical element was a fundamental part of the civilization and where monuments of antique art were readily to be found.

In Italy this movement is especially striking; for ancient monuments are ever present. The architrave of the San Leonardo doorway is an outstanding example of the direct influence of an early model, as Miss Gómez-Moreno emphasizes. Not only is its iconography (the form in which an established subject is cast) Early Christian, but the manner of delineating draperies by a network of strongly incised lines is a reflection of the late antique style predominant from the third to the fifth century. On the font, the large heads in deep relief that practically dwarf the bodies and the oversized, expressive hands parallel sarcophagi and even frescoes of the Early Christian period. Master Guglielmo of Pisa, from whose workshop the font emanates, must have been aware of and interested in the remains of Christian and antique sculptures that abound in Pisa.

The use of earlier models, so necessary to the formation of monumental sculpture in central Italy, does not mean that the sculptors copied the sources slavishly. Indeed it seems apparent that they were not interested in making precise facsimiles. They adapted them, choosing what they wanted, expanding or contracting the prototypes. In the Romanesque epoch artists subjected everything to a process of medievalization. Romanesque forms cast antique shadows.

Although the use of an antique source may well explain the clarity and freshness of the head of a young man (Figure 2), made probably in a workshop associated with the court of Frederick II, the classical aura is more general than specific. The two marble figures said to have come from Lucca (Figures 1, 3), exhibited in the St. Guilhem cloister, are related to monuments of antiquity in a very vague way. The fragmentary figure (either Joseph from a Flight into Egypt or a disciple from the Way to Emmaus) reminds one of an antique philosopher type. But both sculptures are clearly a later development in the formation of twelfth century Tuscan sculpture than the San Leonardo door to which they are associated in style. The complicated draperies, which appear to cover the inert bodies like great strands of twisted rope, lack the directness of the earlier style; decorative modulation has taken the place of simplicity.

Several sources could be used for the same work of art. The architectural moldings of the pulpit in which the Florentine Annunciation relief was originally installed are frank derivations from ancient Roman motifs, but the figures themselves are related to contemporary Byzantine representations as are the wooden figures of Mary and John on exhibit in the Romanesque Hall at The Cloisters.

The desire and need for monumental sculpture in profusion is the very essence of Romanesque style. The development would have been near-impossible without the mute yet powerful teachings of antiquity. The imposing lions guarding portals, such as those from Quattro Castella in Emilia now flanking the entrance to the Cuxa cloister (Figure 4), cannot really be traced to specific Roman or Etruscan origins as some have tried to suggest. Yet the concept of size and mass so beautifully brought to fruition in



2. *Bust of a young prince, Italian, early XII century. Marble with traces of lapis lazuli, height 20 inches. Fletcher Fund, 47.100.53*

3. *Seated prophet, Italian, late XII century. Marble, height 25 inches. The Cloisters Collection, 47.101.19*





4. Column support in the form of a half-length lion, from Quattro Castella (Reggio nell' Emilia), XII century. Red marble, height 26 inches. The Cloisters Collection, 53.64

these “young lions that roar after their prey and seek their meat from God” is surely based upon the understanding of the antique.

Much of the nature of the “proto-Renaissance,” or twelfth century revival in art, can be explained by the use of models ignored for centuries, but one should not assign every trace of classical reminiscence in this period of Italian sculpture to a retrospective point of view. In some regions, such as Venice, Campania, and Umbria, the classical heritage was carried from late antique times into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries without cessation, as the decoration of the newly installed Sangemini doorway attests (see page 373). Whether examples of the revival or the survival, the monuments of Italian Romanesque and early Gothic sculpture in the collections, from the font to the superbly carved capital from Troia (see page 367), illustrate differing facets of this complex “proto-Renaissance.” All are products of that awesome style, which, as Ruskin observed, is the only Western art that never suffered degeneration, but changed gradually into a manner of carving as noble as itself – the Gothic.



The stars on this map indicate where the objects featured in the five articles in this Bulletin come from

The Doorway of San Leonardo al Frigido and the Problem of Master Biduino

CARMEN GÓMEZ-MORENO *Assistant Curator of Medieval Art*

Like many of its brothers and sisters already at The Cloisters, the new doorway (Frontispiece) installed in the Fuentidueña Chapel is an uprooted vagabond; but its origin is perfectly clear, and it even has a paternity. This is certainly much more than what we can say about many works of art of the same period.

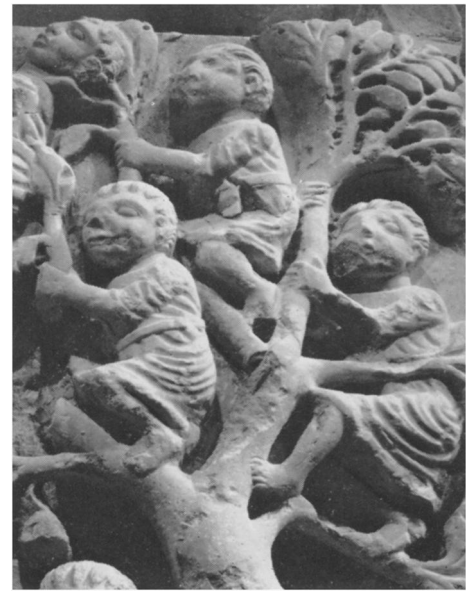
The existence of this doorway was not unknown, but for almost forty years it was forgotten. During the twenties the Italian art historian Mario Salmi published it three times in the space of as many years. It appeared first in an article of 1926. With his invaluable gift for finding what others have missed, Salmi had found in the archive of the Brera Gallery in Milan a letter from Countess Benkendorff-Schouvaloff, dated 1893, reporting to the Italian authorities that the marble doorway from San Leonardo al Frigido near Massa Carrara was in her villa Monticello at Nice. Together with the letter were some photographs. Salmi published one of them, showing the architrave, in his article, and another, showing the complete doorway, in his book on Romanesque architecture from Tuscany, one year later. He also made references to the doorway in 1928 in his book on Tuscan Romanesque sculpture. There was no further trace of this monument until a few years ago, when it turned up dismantled and abandoned in a field in the south of France.

Although Salmi's proof of provenance is strong enough, we have been able to identify

the doorway in another document that is even more valuable. In his *Guida delle Chiese di Massa Lunese* of 1879, Giovanni Antonio Matteoni described the doorway as he saw it, still *in situ*, forming part of the ruins of the small church of San Leonardo al Frigido, located near Massa Carrara in northwest Tuscany in a region called Lunigiana. "La Lunigiana," as it is known to the Italians, is in fact a valley that is partly in Tuscany and partly in Liguria: the river Frigido forms part of its orographic system.

The church of San Leonardo, together with a hospice named after the same saint, was situated near a bridge over which went, during the Middle Ages, the main road to the coast. This road must have been traveled extensively by pilgrims, who stopped to rest at the hospice. There are a considerable number of discrepancies in the documents that deal with the hospice, and no document at all concerning the church. It is more than probable that the buildings had nothing in common but the name. At any rate, the hospice had already disappeared when Matteoni visited the site.

The ruins of San Leonardo were described in detail by Umberto Giampaoli in 1923 as those of a small church, no bigger than fifty feet long by twenty-five feet wide, with one window opening on either side wall, narrowing to a near slit within. He gave one detail of its construction that will be shown to have



1. *Children cutting boughs. Detail of the architrave*



2. Architrave of the doorway from San Leonardo al Frigido, near Massa Carrara (Tuscany). Probably by Master Biduino, about 1175. Marble, 2 feet $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches x 6 feet $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The Cloisters Collection, 62.189

3. Early Christian sarcophagus, IV century. Museo delle Terme, Rome

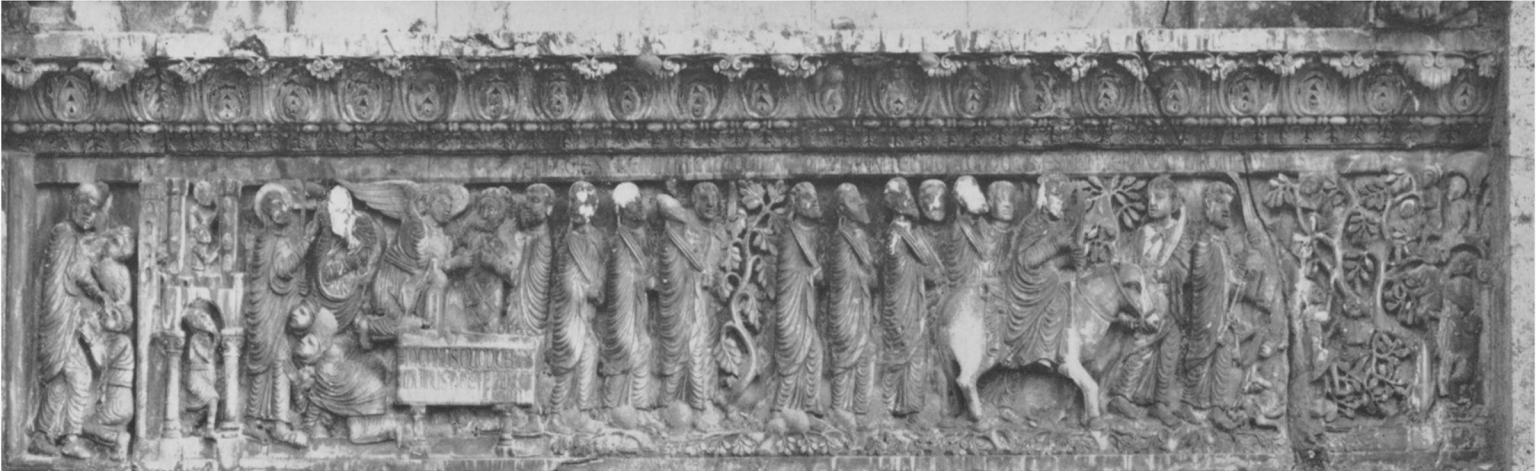




considerable bearing on the origin of the workmen who built it: the outside walls, reinforced at the corners with square blocks, were built with stones from the riverbed in a herringbone pattern that is characteristic of the region of Como in Lombardy. What was left of the church, after the portal was removed, remained roofless and covered with wild vines until a few years ago, when the building was transformed into a shrine in honor of patriots murdered by the Nazis.

There was, according to the documents, another church, also near Carrara, called San Leonardo del Padule; and one wonders why three buildings, so close together, should be dedicated to a saint who is now so obscure. Even if it sounds irreverent when speaking of the cult of a saint, I can only explain by saying that it was a matter of fashion. St. Leonard

was of Frankish origin and noble birth and lived in the first half of the sixth century. He was very close to Clovis I, the first Frankish king to embrace the Catholic faith, and used the latter's affection for him to intercede on behalf of prisoners. He renounced all the honors bestowed upon him—even a bishopric—left the court, and became a hermit near Limoges. Later on he founded a monastery, and so is customarily represented in the garb of a monk. Many miracles were attributed to him both during and after his life, most of them having to do with the liberation of prisoners unjustly punished. Apparently no representations of him were made before the eleventh century, but during the twelfth this saint became extremely popular all over western Europe. After the Middle Ages he sank into almost complete obscurity. He is the



4. *Architrave of the main doorway at San Cassiano a Settimo, Pisa, by Master Biduino, signed and dated 1180. Photograph: Alinari*

patron saint of the sick, peasants, and, especially, of prisoners.

The eleventh and twelfth centuries were also the time of a remarkable artistic revival in the region where the church of San Leonardo al Frigido was built. The western area of Tuscany, with Pisa and Carrara on the coast and Lucca to the interior, was very important in Roman times, and many monuments of this period survived. The region had very little artistic activity, however, during the centuries following the fall of the Roman Empire. This state of affairs lasted until the middle of the eleventh century, when, after winning an important battle against the Arabs, Pisa became the strongest seafaring town on the Mediterranean coast, while Lucca flourished in trade. This economic growth brought with it an artistic bloom, beginning with the construction of the cathedral and campanile of Pisa, begun in 1063, and the reconstruction and enlargement of the cathedral of Lucca, from 1060 to 1070.

All this activity in an area without a school of architecture or sculpture naturally attracted many builders and artists from other parts of Italy. This is one of the reasons why the master builders from Como, called *comacini*, emigrated to Tuscany. The herringbone pattern of the walls of San Leonardo indicates that it was built by these itinerant workmen. Sculptors, mainly from the Lombard-Emilian region, also came to Tuscany. Emilia reached the peak of its importance as a sculptural center, with Wiligelmo of Modena and his school, during the first half of the twelfth century, but by 1150 its activity had lessened and its sculptors were ready to emigrate to more exciting grounds.

The first recorded sculptor working in Pisa

is Master Guglielmo, who according to Vasari worked in the construction of the cathedral. He is best known for a pulpit (see page 365) he carved for that cathedral between 1159 and 1162. This pulpit, replaced in 1310 by Giovanni Pisano's and taken to Cagliari, must have been a crucial monument in its time. It shows clearly the attraction that Guglielmo felt for the reliefs on Roman and Early Christian sarcophagi. This influence of the antique is revealed not only in his own works but also in those of his contemporaries and followers working around Pisa and Lucca during the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth. One might, perhaps, call this artistic outburst a "proto-Renaissance," because it precedes the Renaissance by almost three centuries and has several aspects in common with it.

The relationship between the San Leonardo doorway and the sculpture of the Pisa-Lucca proto-Renaissance is best clarified by examining both its iconography and style. Over carved bases, the right one representing a lion that clutches his prey, and the left a scallop shell and a small furry animal, stand the two asymmetrical jambs (Figures 8, 9). The right shows a large and powerful figure of St. Leonard, holding a small prisoner bound in chains (Figure 15). On the left are two heavily framed rectangles; in the top one is represented the Annunciation (Figure 16), and in the one below the Visitation. Over the jambs are capitals (Figures 11, 12) decorated with acanthus leaves and monkeys crouching under the architrave.

Over six feet long and two feet high, this architrave (Figure 2) constitutes the climax of the entire doorway. Its subject is the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem. On the right is a



5. *Capital of the main doorway of Sant' Andrea, Pistoia, signed by Master Enrico, about 1166. Photograph: Alinari*

tree, with children in its branches cutting boughs to throw in Christ's path (Figure 1). In the procession, which moves from left to right, comes Christ, seated astride an ass led by a young Apostle, and blessing the crowd with his right hand while holding the reins and a palm in his left. Two boys spread cloaks on the ground before him. A foal follows its mother, and the other Apostles troop along behind, bearing books, scrolls, and palms. Some of them are singing, with parted lips and ecstatic expressions. At the end of the procession (Figure 13) is a monk, bending over his staff like a tired pilgrim. It is again St. Leonard, but now as a participant in an event that took place six centuries before he was born.

Above this powerful architrave the slender arch, carved with a floral motif, hardly breaks the strong rectangularity of the doorway as a whole. The overall impression is much more Roman than Romanesque, when compared with most French or Spanish portals of the same period. In the latter, predominance was always given to the curves of the archivolt and tympanum, and the lintel was completely subordinated.

The bases, lintel, and arch are all carved in fine-grained white marble from the nearby quarries of Carrara. The jambs, on the contrary, are of a grayish marble that at first looks rather like ordinary stone, as Matteoni thought when he saw them. Why should a coarser kind of marble be used for the jambs, in a region so rich in the finer material? The reason is obvious when the door is disassembled: the sculptor reused for the jambs an antique sarcophagus, cut lengthwise (Figure 10) – the use of antique spoils was not un-

usual in Romanesque times. The hollow sides of the jambs were undoubtedly concealed in the wall of the church, as they are in the present installation, or by flanking pilasters of the kind to be seen in many churches throughout the area.

The entry of Christ into Jerusalem already had a long artistic tradition behind it by the twelfth century. It appears depicted in a number of manuscripts, Oriental and Occidental, as early as the fifth and sixth centuries; on Byzantine ivories; and, perhaps most important in this case, on Early Christian sarcophagi of the second to fifth centuries, not only in Italy but also in such countries as France and Spain. As represented on this architrave, the scene is clearly taken from the Western Hellenistic tradition. It essentially follows the Gospel of St. Matthew (21:1 ff.), in which Christ instructs two of his disciples: "Go into the village opposite you, and immediately you will find an ass tied, and a colt with her; loose them and bring them to me. . . . Now this was done that what was spoken through the prophet might be fulfilled, 'Tell the daughters of Sion: Behold, thy king comes to thee meek and seated upon an ass, and upon a colt, the foal of a beast of burden' [Zacharias 9:9]."

On the sarcophagi (Figure 3), the scene is usually part of a longer composition, always moving from left to right, in which it is represented together with several miracles, such as the Healing of the Blind and the Resurrection of Lazarus. In several instances two blind men are being healed rather than one. This is also taken from St. Matthew's Gospel (20:30) and is a further demonstration that Matthew was the source most frequently used.

In the San Leonardo architrave the scene

6. *Detail of an architrave at San Salvatore, Lucca, signed by Master Biduino. Photograph: Alinari*



7. *Architrave said to come from Sant' Angelo in Campo, near Lucca. Signed by Master Biduino. Palazzo Mazzarosa, Lucca*





8. *The Annunciation and Visitation. Left jamb and base of the San Leonardo doorway*

has been limited to the procession, without depicting on the right the city of Jerusalem, which appears on some sarcophagi and, particularly, in Eastern manuscripts. Instead of the two or three Apostles shown on the sarcophagi, the artist represented all twelve. The tree has been given special importance, and the number of children upon it has been increased to no less than four; two more children spread their cloaks under the Saviour's mount. The representation of children, instead of the men that usually appear in the Early Christian prototypes, may have been taken from the apocryphal Acts of Pilate, 1:3, in which a witness to the scene testifies: "I saw Jesus sitting upon an ass, and the children of the Hebrews held branches in their hands and cried out, and others spread their garments beneath him." Christ is shown riding astride, and not seated side-saddle as was the predominant tradition in the East and in Egypt. In the Early Christian examples Christ is usually represented like a young, beardless hero entering a city in the ceremony of the *adventus* (arrival), or after a victory. In Romanesque art, however, the Saviour is almost always represented as a more mature, bearded man, even in an example such as this that otherwise closely follow the earlier tradition. Another departure from the Early Christian models is the manner in which the head of Christ and the tree break the strong horizontality of the frame. This liberty is completely unclassical and very Romanesque.

On the sarcophagi, all the figures of the Apostles look like repetitions of the same standard image. Here, however, an attempt to convey individuality is shown, not only in symbolic attributes, carried or worn, but also in details of face and gesture. Behind Christ, for example, walks Peter (Figure 14), with his characteristic short, curly beard, holding a palm in his left hand and the keys in his right, his mouth open as if leading the song of adulation: "Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord! Hosanna in the highest!" (Matthew 21:8).

The foal follows its mother instead of walking under her as it appears on the sarcophagi. After Peter come the other ten Apostles, some singing, some not; some with a beard, some without. Those in the front row, shown in profile, carry books, scrolls, and palms, and sing. The ones in the background are represented frontally, and their mouths are closed. One of those in front, young and intent on his singing, carries a pyx and a key hanging from his belt. I cannot find an explanation or prototype for this key, but if the vessel in his hands symbolizes the Eucharist, I believe we can interpret him as St. John the Evangelist, who is frequently represented holding the chalice. Just ahead of him is an Apostle wearing an elaborate mantle, carved with rosettes like embroidered ornaments. He is the only one with such rich apparel, and it has been suggested to me by Meyer Schapiro that he could be St. Matthew, who, apart from being a rich man, sometimes appears as a bishop. All the Apostles wear tunics and togas and open sandals very much like those on the Early Christian sarcophagi, but St. Leonard wears closed shoes and the garment and tonsure of a medieval monk.

The bodies of all the figures have been treated almost as columns, with little attempt to convey anatomical articulation or a sense of motion. The folds form a linear pattern, with the same parallel curves and the same straight lines recurring through the whole procession. In contrast with the rigidity of the bodies, the heads, treated in the round, have great expressiveness. Although the figures in the background all look rather alike, with their hair coming down over their foreheads in sharp points, the six Apostles in the foreground have different hair styles and also different facial structures, as if the sculptor had conceived them as individuals. One has the impression that the background figures, who do not sing or carry any attributes, are rather like bystanders who watch the procession without taking an active part in it.

The scene depicted on this architrave is not unique in Tuscan Romanesque sculpture. There are in fact two other architraves representing the Entry into Jerusalem. These three

appear to be the only Romanesque examples with the subject in all of Tuscany – or, as far as I know, in all of Italy. One of them (Figure 4) is still *in situ* in the church of San Cassiano a Settimo, near Pisa. The other (Figure 7) is supposed to come from the church of Sant' Angelo in Campo, near Lucca, and has been for many years in the Palazzo Mazzarosa in the same city.

Of the three, the architrave of San Cassiano is the largest and most elaborate. The main part is taken up by the Entry into Jerusalem, but on the left are two other scenes, the Healing of Two Blind Men and the Raising of Lazarus, both derived, as mentioned above, from Early Christian sarcophagi. A further difference from the San Leonardo architrave is the enrichment of the background by vegetable motifs. Moreover, while the eyes of the figures in the San Leonardo architrave are blank, here they have been given greater expressiveness by drilling in the pupils. Peter precedes the Saviour and the young Apostle, and leads the procession. There is no foal following the ass. The rosettes on the mantle of the Apostle identified tentatively as Matthew look identical to those on our lintel, but there is no pyx in the hands of any of the Apostles. The figures are better articulated, but in a way the intensity of purpose is diffused and has been replaced by a stronger decorative feeling that diminishes the spiritual impact.

Perhaps the most important detail of the San Cassiano lintel is its inscription, which gives it an author and a date. This inscription appears on the sarcophagus of Lazarus, and continues on the upper frame: *HOC OPUS QUOD CERNIS BIDUINUS DOCTE PEREGIT UNDECIES CENTUM ET OCTOGINA POST ANNI TEMPORE QUO DEUS EST FLUXERUNT DE VIRGINE NATUS* ("The work which you see here was skillfully executed by Biduino after eleven hundred and eighty years had elapsed since the time in which God was born from a Virgin").

The architrave now in the Palazzo Mazzarosa in Lucca is smaller and simpler than the San Cassiano one and closer to our architrave in size and composition. The tree is now

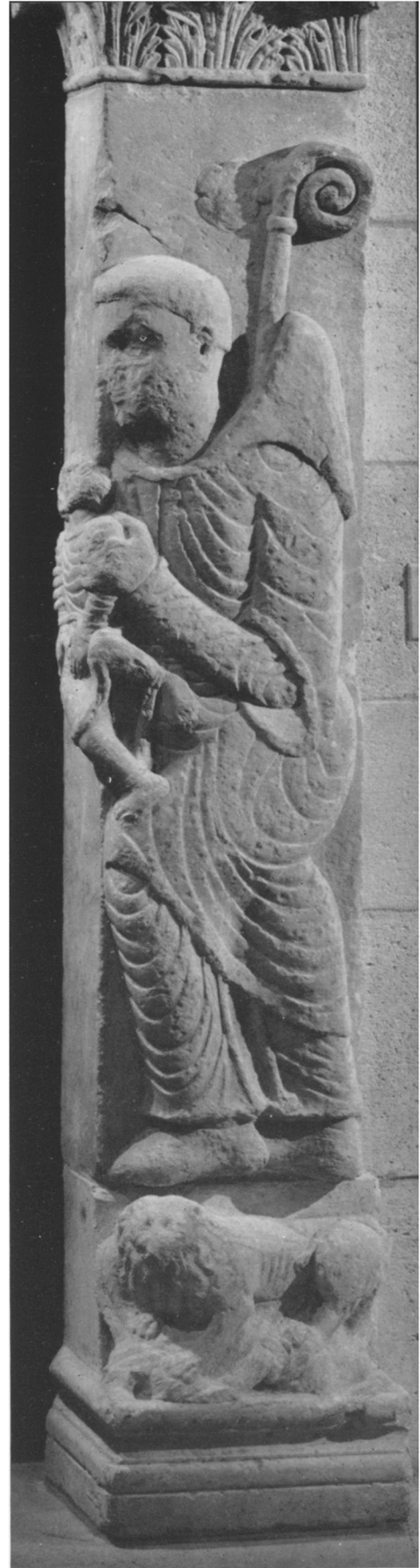
9. *St. Leonard holding a prisoner in chains.*
Right jamb and base

smaller and holds only three children. The young man leading the ass is now behind Christ, holding book and palm, and Peter walks next to him. None of the Apostles has a decorated mantel, but the pyx appears again, in the hands of a beardless Apostle. At the end of the procession is represented the Archangel Michael. Again, the patron saint of the church is shown, but in this instance the archangel is not taking part in the scene as St. Leonard does. He is not even looking in the right direction. This rather decorative figure breaks the strong left to right movement of the San Leonardo example, and balances the active pattern of the tree.

A much greater sense of movement appears in the figures themselves. Unlike either those of San Leonardo or San Cassiano, their bodies have a real structure, and their garments cling to them in rounded folds that no longer form an abstract pattern but have a meaning – even an exaggerated one. The postures are also very different, and the overall impression even more diffuse. Here the Apostles are not intent on any single purpose; they look up; they turn around to talk to one another; they seem almost to be dancing. Christ himself no longer has the strong dignity of his representations in the other two lintels. The expressions on all the faces are generally vague, in spite of the fact that here, as at San Cassiano, the pupils of the eyes are deeply carved.

On the border under the figures is an inscription, rather damaged now, that according to earlier transcriptions read: *HOC OPUS PEREGIT MAGISTER BIDUINUS* ("Master Biduino executed this work"). Here again is a signed work by this master, but, unfortunately, this time undated.

In the light of their inscriptions, nobody has doubted that the sculptor Biduino carved the San Cassiano and Mazzarosa architraves. The date on the former is the only one we have for this otherwise elusive artist. There are two more works bearing his name. One is a sarcophagus in the Campo Santo at Pisa, done as an imitation of the antique, and so





10. *Side view of the right jamb, recarved from half of an antique sarcophagus*

damaged that it cannot be used in the study of the sculptor's style. The other (Figure 6) is an architrave on the right side door of the church of San Salvatore in Lucca, which represents the newborn St. Nicholas standing up by himself in a bathtub to the amazement of the midwives who were bathing him. The inscription on the bathtub says: *BIDUINOS FECIT HOC OP[US]* ("Biduino made this work"). This architrave is the most advanced in style of Biduino's identified work. The bodies are perfectly articulated; the garments cling to them revealing their form; the composition is essentially symmetrical and well balanced, but static. It cannot, however, be dated; one can only say that it was done some time after 1180, the date of the San Cassiano doorway, and probably before the end of the century.

All we know about Biduino's existence is the testimony provided by these inscriptions. Through them we know that he was active in the Pisa-Lucca area around the 1180s. Piero Sanpaolesi has claimed that he worked with Master Guglielmo and his assistants on the cathedral and campanile of Pisa. There is no documentary evidence of this fact, however, and the theory cannot be accepted until more convincing proof is given. The San Cassiano doorway shows clear evidence of Biduino's awareness of the work of Master Guglielmo and, above all, of that of some of his assistants or followers, such as the brothers Gruamonte and Adeodato, who carved the architrave of the main door of the church of Sant' Andrea in Pistoia in 1166, and of Master Enrico, who signed the capitals (Figure 5) for the same door. Biduino could have been attracted by the rich backgrounds both of the architrave and capitals, which are covered with vegetable motifs very much like those on the San Cassiano lintel. In all the works by Guglielmo and his school, moreover, the eyes have deeply incised pupils, as do all the works by or attributed to Biduino—with the exception of the architrave from San Leonardo.

As mentioned before, many workmen and artists from the region of Como went to other

regions of Italy, including Tuscany. Emilian and Lombard artists also went west and south and influenced to a large extent the Pisa-Lucca school of sculpture. It has been said that Guglielmo, who actually created this school, was himself from Lombardy. (It has also been said that he came from Provence, because there are always scholars who cannot admit the existence of a Romanesque creative genius that was not formed in France.) With Biduino there is a similar problem. It has been said that he came from the region of Como and, more specifically, from Bidogno in the valley of Tessere above Lugano. This has not been proved, but it could be true. If so, he would have naturally passed south through Lombardy and Emilia before reaching Pisa, where he executed the San Cassiano lintel in 1180. Massa Carrara is on the way, and we know that *comacini* masters were there in the twelfth century, and that they executed the San Leonardo church.

Some scholars have suggested an influence from the south of France upon the sculptors in Tuscany in the twelfth century. The main argument, as regards Biduino, is based upon an architrave in the church of St. Gilles in Provence. The subject is also the Entry into Jerusalem, and it is also clearly derived from Early Christian sarcophagi (there is one with this subject in Arles, very near St. Gilles). There the similarity ends. The interpretation of the antique model by the anonymous French master is very different from Biduino's, and the only relationship between them comes from common prototypes, easily available to both artists.

There are other indications, moreover, that the San Leonardo doorway was carved by an artist who emigrated from elsewhere in Italy, and brought outside influences with him. I have been purposely neglecting the rest of the San Leonardo doorway because the architrave is what actually links it to the Pisa-Lucca school. Indeed, looking only at this part, one would have no reason to believe the sculptor was born far from Pisa. The capitals, jambs and bases, however, make this doorway unique; they reflect the knowledge of outside sources and relationships, elaborated by the artist into an original creation.

Capitals with figures, for example, are very rare in the Pisa-Lucca school of the twelfth century. Of all the doorways that have been discussed, only that of the church of Sant' Andrea in Pistoia has figured capitals, and they have nothing in common with those in the San Leonardo doorway. The latter represent crouching monkeys with bulging eyes, some of them with two bodies and one head. Such double-bodied monsters are clearly of a Lombard-Emilian origin. There is only one, isolated capital similar to these in the Pisa-Lucca area: it is on one of the window arches in the campanile at Pisa. It is unlike any other in that building or in the cathedral near it, and may support Sanpaolesi's theory that Biduino worked in Pisa as Guglielmo's assistant. The capitals of the other churches connected either with Guglielmo or with Biduino are clearly borrowed from antique models, and not a single one, with the exceptions mentioned above, represents anything but foliage.

The jambs in all the doorways in the other churches from the same region are simple pilasters without any decoration, whereas both jambs of the San Leonardo doorway are fully carved, and one is entirely different from the other. No other example exists, to my knowledge, in Tuscany. Figures on a plain background, squeezed within a frame, are very closely related to works by Wiligelmo of Modena and his school. As in the architrave, the four figures in this jamb have eyes without incised pupils and the same type of draperies. The angel of the Annunciation wears the same open sandals as the Apostles, while both Mary and Elizabeth wear closed shoes like St. Leonard's. The two figures in the Visitation show a rather timid attempt to indicate pregnancy by means of curving folds. Above the Annunciation is the inscription *H[IC] E[ST] SALUTATIO MAR[IAE]* ("This is the salutation to Mary"), in characters very much like those in the San Cassiano and Mazzarosa architraves.

Equally unique in Tuscany is the use of a full-size figure covering the jamb. Large figures placed asymmetrically are not, however, unusual in the school of Wiligelmo, starting in Cremona, and going as far as Verona with Niccolò and his followers. Although the style of St. Leonard is not quite the same as that



11, 12. *Capitals, with monkeys amid foliage*





of the Emilian examples, the idea of using a large figure is identical. As on the left jamb, the style of this figure is the same as that of the figures in the architrave. There is no indication of a different hand. Architrave and jambs seem consistent in every respect as the work of a single artist – probably quite young – putting together in his own way ideas he had taken from other regions. To these he added what he had found in Tuscany: the example of the late antique, as seen in Early Christian sarcophagi.

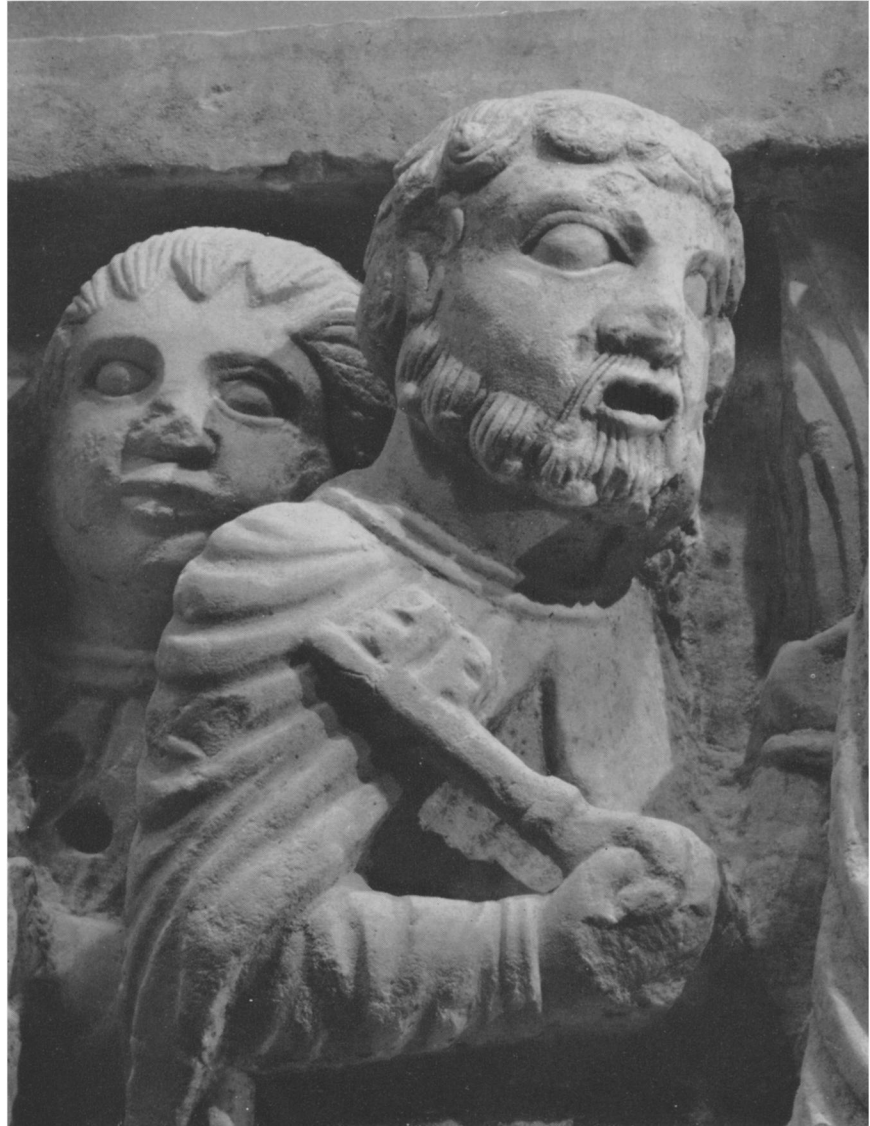
The two bases, on the contrary, are rather puzzling. They look experimental, even unfinished – not for lack of time but for lack of ideas. The lion on the right, though not very skillfully done, is clearer than the subject on the other base. This shows a scallop shell, more decorative than realistic, and under it a small animal that Matteoni described as a wild boar but that looks considerably milder. The empty spaces in both bases have been partially filled with badly defined branches or leaves. There exists the possibility that the bases suffered more damage than the rest of the doorway and were recarved at a later date. Now, however, both give the impression that the sculptor was not sure of what he wanted to do and was improvising rather than following a model. The shell could have been inspired by antique examples. I cannot find any other shells either in Lombard-Emilian or Pisa-Lucca art. Somewhat similar animals appear in the architrave of a side door in San Cassiano a Settimo and at the cathedral of Pisa, but they are much more lifelike. This architrave from San Cassiano could be also by Biduino, but since it is not signed, and since the subject matter is so different from that of the main door, it is difficult to be sure.

Umberto Giampaoli attributed the San Leonardo doorway to Biduino merely on the basis of Matteoni's description of the subject of the architrave. Mario Salmi also attributed the doorway to this master, but, being able to study it only through photographs, he thought that it might be a later work than the Mazzarosa lintel. The closeness of the San Cassiano and Mazzarosa architraves is obvious, but there is no greater difference

OPPOSITE:

13. *St. Leonard and three Apostles. Detail of the architrave*

14. *St. Peter. Detail of the architrave*



between the San Leonardo and San Cassiano lintels than there is between the latter and the Mazzarosa one. The style of the three lintels shows a gradual but evident improvement in the study of the human figure in motion. On this basis the San Leonardo architrave could not be later than the Mazzarosa one because no artist is likely to go back to an earlier formula once he has advanced beyond it. Although it is true that the general composition is closer in the Mazzarosa and San Leonardo examples and that the San Cassiano lintel is by far the most complicated, the treatment of the San Cassiano figures seems to lie between the rigidity of San Leonardo's and the rather excessive mobility of Mazzarosa's.

The whole San Leonardo doorway gives the feeling of an unspoiled creation, not a repetition of themes already interpreted either by this sculptor or by someone else. If one accepts the Cloisters' doorway as a work by Biduino, it should, I believe, be considered his earliest known work, before he confronted the Pisa-Lucca school, and while he was still under strong Lombard-Emilian influence and the spell of the antique that never left him. In the San Cassiano lintel, probably a few years later, this freshness of approach is diminished, and he shows the influence of his new surroundings. He had forgotten his Lombard roots but not his interest in Early Christian sculpture. (He must have been especially fascinated with sarcophagi; he studied them closely, and reused one of them for the jambs at San Leonardo; his signed sarcophagus in the Campo Santo, moreover, was done as an imitation of a late antique type, strigilated on the front and carved with figures on the

sides.) In the Mazzarosa architrave he returned to the simplicity of his earlier approach, even to the placement of the patron saint on the left, but became involved with a new interest in form and movement. The honesty, power, and innocent simplicity of the San Leonardo lintel are gone.

The dating of the San Leonardo doorway has to be tentative, since we do not have any documents concerning the construction of the church. Comparison with the San Cassiano lintel indicates that the San Leonardo doorway must be earlier than 1180. It would be hazardous, however, to state unequivocally how much earlier, although a date around 1175 seems reasonable, to allow for a few years of artistic development between San Leonardo al Frigido and San Cassiano in Pisa.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS AND REFERENCES

I wish to express my gratitude for their invaluable assistance and advice to Meyer Schapiro and Ulrich Middeldorf. I am also indebted to the Soprintendenza ai Monumenti e Gallerie per le Provincie di Pisa, Livorno, Lucca e Massa Carrara for some valuable information.

Giovanni Antonio Matteoni, *Guida alle Chiese di Massa Lunese*, Massa, 1879, pp. 94-96.

Giuseppe Merzario, *I Maestri Comacini. Storia Artistica di Mille Duecento Anni (600-1800)*, I, Milan, 1893, p. 197.

U. Mazzini, "Per i Confini della Lunigiana," *Giornale Storico della Lunigiana*, I (1909), pp. 35-36.



15. Prisoner in chains. Detail of the right jamb

Umberto Giampaoli, "Una Scultura di Maestro Biduino nella Chiesa di S. Leonardo al Frigido," *Giornale Storico della Lunigiana*, XIII (1923), pp. 113-121.

Mario Salmi, "Sant' Jacopo all'Altopascio e il Duomo di Pisa," *Dedalo*, VI (1925-1926), pp. 499, 502, 512.

Mario Salmi, *L'Architettura Romanica in Toscana*, Milan - Rome, 1927, pl. 216.

Mario Salmi, *Romanesque Sculpture in Tuscany*, Florence, 1928, pp. 91-92.

Piero Sanpaulesi, "La Facciata della Cattedrale di Pisa," *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, V-VI (1956-1957), pp. 248-294.

The dating of this doorway has been complicated by controversy over documents that were believed to concern the church of San Leonardo. Matteoni believed that the church and hospice of San Leonardo were a donation made by Gottifredo, bishop of Luni, in 1151 to the monks of San Frediano, Lucca. The documents published first by Mazzini and revised later by Giampaoli establish, however, 1211 as the date of the foundation of the hospice. Moreover, the church mentioned by Matteoni seems to be San Leonardo del Padule, also near Carrara, instead of San Leonardo al Frigido. Until 1213 the hospice was not called by the name of San Leonardo; it could very well be that the name was given to it after a church already there. There is in fact no documentary evidence that church and hospice were part of the same foundation, or that any relationship existed between them other than name and location.





A Saint on a Holy-Water Font

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In the Fuentidueña Chapel at The Cloisters, next to the doorway from San Leonardo al Frigido, is a cream-colored marble holy-water font that also comes from Tuscany (see Frontispiece). Vessels made to contain holy water could, in the Middle Ages, be almost any shape or size, stationary or portable, and could be made from a variety of materials. Stationary fonts were probably most frequently made of stone; some, like ours, were designed to be freestanding, while others, like corbels, were partially embedded into a wall. Portable containers were sometimes simple metal pails, but they could be works of art as elaborate as the small tenth to eleventh century ivory bucket, carved with scenes from the Life of Christ, that is on exhibition in the medieval galleries in the Main Building. A font of some sort was usually located near the entrance to a church, so that those who entered could be purified by blessing themselves with holy water.

By the later Middle Ages, water was usually blessed as part of the liturgy preceding the Sunday Mass. Salt was first exorcized and blessed, then water; the salt was cast into the water in the form of a cross, and the mixture was blessed again. The holy water was then scattered on the altar, the church, and the people, and some evidently was reserved for refilling the fonts. Just how early in the Middle Ages this ceremony entered the liturgy is not known, but it does seem to date at least from the ninth century. The use of miraculous water, however—that is, water blessed for a certain reason or in a special way and not connected with the liturgy—is re-

corded in the Acts of Peter, an apocryphal book written not later than A.D. 200. In this story, St. Peter's old adversary, Simon the Magician, had been sheltered in the house of Marcellus, a senator, and Peter went to drive Simon out. In the excitement that ensued, a statue of the emperor was broken, and Marcellus, who professed to be converted, said to Peter: "A great crime hath been committed; for if this be made known unto Caesar by some busybody, he will afflict us with sore punishments." Peter then told him that if he truly believed in Christ, he should take water and "pray to the Lord, and in his name sprinkle it upon the broken pieces of the statue," and Marcellus "sprinkled the stones and the statue became whole." From this time on, the saints wrought numerous miracles with specially blessed water: a sea storm was calmed, for instance, or an epidemic ended; a serpent bite was rendered harmless, blindness and broken bones cured, and many demons driven away.

Carved in high relief around the Cloisters' font are seven figures. A man in a hair shirt blesses a woman on one side of the font (Figure 1); on the other, he blesses a cleric (Figure 2). Three other men appear: one holding a vase-shaped object to his lips (Figure 3), another with one hand raised and the other grasping a round object (Figure 3), and a third holding to his shoulder a rod that ends in a fleuron (to the far left in Figure 1). Both the sculptural style of these figures and the subject matter of the scenes depicted point to an origin in Pisa, about 1160.

The man in the hair shirt, who appears

twice, is obviously the most important figure. At first he was believed to be either John the Baptist or Elisha, the Old Testament prophet who purified water by the addition of salt – a custom that, as we have seen, was carried over into the blessing of holy water in the Christian liturgy. However, Virginia W. Egbert of the Index of Christian Art at Princeton University has provided a far more convincing theory – that the figure in fact represents a saint named Raynerius who actually lived and performed miracles in Pisa in the twelfth century. This saint, patron of Pisa, who died in 1160, was often depicted wearing a hair shirt, and furthermore was renowned for his miracles performed with water. The holy water he used was miraculous: he blessed it by his own special rite and used it to cure numerous ailments. Raynerius was evidently so famous for these miracles that even before his death he was known as Raynerius de Aqua and is still referred to as San Ranieri dell'Acqua.

The saint's life was written, probably not too long after his death, by one Benincasa, a contemporary of Raynerius and apparently a canon of the cathedral of Pisa. Benincasa writes: "And thus there was the venerable Raynerius of the city of Pisa, of illustrious parentage . . . who spurned everything worldly," and to whom "vases of glass and . . . other materials, filled with water, were carried by many so that he might bless them." "Endless crowds . . . from all of Tuscany, from Lombardy and diverse parts of the world" came to him, and many miracles were performed in his presence. The saint's death is recorded by Bernardo Margarone (about 1110-1190), another contemporary of Raynerius and citizen of Pisa, in his *Annales Pisani*: "Rainerius Sciacca died . . . and was buried in the major church of the Blessed Virgin Mary [the cathedral of Pisa] with great honor and veneration in the world. . . ."

As a youth, Raynerius liked to play the lyre, to sing and make merry, wasting his life with the vanities of the world. But when, one day, a certain holy man, Albertus from Corsica, was pointed out to him, he put aside his lyre and followed the holy man, who con-

verted him to the way of God. Raynerius then set out on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. There he had a vision of the Virgin, who told him that he would eventually rest in her great church at Pisa. Also, in a dream, God told him to rid himself of everything worldly; he gave all he owned to the poor, and, finally, naked as Christ had been, he ascended Mount Calvary, where he placed his hair shirt as an offering on the altar in a church, and it was returned to him as "alms to the poor." His pilgrimage culminated on the mount of Tabor, with a vision of Christ between Moses and Elijah, the same vision witnessed by the apostles Peter, James, and John in the Transfiguration. The rest of Benincasa's history is mainly concerned with the miracles performed by Raynerius. Among these, Benincasa describes the numerous holy-water cures the saint achieved after he came home from the Holy Land. Raynerius, who lived and performed many of his miracles at the monastery of San Vito, remained in Pisa for the rest of his life.

St. Raynerius is not represented too often in art and is very rarely depicted outside his native city. The best-known and most extensive pictorial story of his life is contained in a series of frescoes painted in the Campo Santo

1. *Holy-water font from the workshop of Master Guglielmo of Pisa, about 1160, showing St. Raynerius blessing a woman. Carrara marble. Height 9½ inches. The Cloisters Collection, 64.96*





2. *St. Raynerius blessing a cleric*

3. *Man with a round object in his hand and man holding a vase to his mouth*



in Pisa in the late fourteenth century. These frescoes, done two hundred years after his death, dwell on the more spectacular events of his history and pay no attention to the rather routine and repetitious holy-water cures recited by Benincasa.

In contrast, the Cloisters' font seems to be primarily concerned with these particular miraculous cures. The figure holding the vase-shaped object (Figure 3) could certainly be drinking the specially blessed water. Benincasa also tells of a special benediction used by the saint for the blessing of bread, and the round object held by one of the other men (Figure 2) could represent the specially blessed bread. This man stretches out his right hand as though he were pointing to Raynerius, immediately in front of him on the font, but this gesture could also be an illustration of Raynerius's instructions for the use of the bread. Anyone wanting to give the bread to a sick person should take three slices in the left hand and "making a sign with the right hand say '... The Father with the Son and with the Holy Ghost, bless this bread.'"

Benincasa records one miracle that the scene in which Raynerius blesses a cleric could illustrate: Presbyter Rolandus de Cafaggio-regio was greatly bothered by the "falling disease." He went to Raynerius at San Vito and was told, "If you believe that God sent me for your health, you will be well." The priest affirmed his faith, and Raynerius made the sign of the cross over him and gave him the blessed water and bread, and he was healed.

In the scene in Figure 1, Raynerius blesses a woman who holds an object resembling the one the man holds to his lips. Another miracle reported by Benincasa might be what is shown here: when Adaleta, wife of Urseolus, came to San Vito, carrying with her a pitcher full of water to be blessed by Raynerius, she saw that he put spit in the water, "indeed many people asked him to do this, and because charity hopes all things and believes all things, he considered that everyone would want this..." But Adaleta said to herself "Never shall he bless water for me," and put her pitcher aside on an altar. Miraculously, the water all flowed from her pitcher. Raynerius, seeing this, smiled, for he knew that this was

done by the Holy Spirit. He told the woman to lift up her pitcher, and when she found it empty, she was amazed, because her vase was very strong indeed, almost like stone. Then Raynerius said, "Hasten and refill it, because your lack of faith has done this." He blessed the water in the same vase, and now not a drop spilled from it.

In both this scene and the one previously described Raynerius holds a disk that may represent bread; it may be, therefore, that no specific miracles are intended, but that the scenes on the font merely represent the people of Pisa as they come for the miraculous water and bread. The figure of the man holding the rod is puzzling; the rod might be an asperge, used for sprinkling holy water, or it might possibly be a scepter. Could this rather elegant young man with carefully curled hair be the young Raynerius of "most illustrious parentage" before his conversion to the way of God, or could he represent the donor who ordered the font?

The word "donor" naturally leads to speculation about the place for which the font was originally intended. The font shows traces of plaster, more on one side than the other. There is also evidence of greater wear over the surface of one half of the font. Both these factors indicate that the font was removed from its original location at some point and reinstalled, no longer freestanding, but with one side embedded in a plaster wall. Without written records or an early description of the font in place, it is impossible to pinpoint its original location. It is intriguing, though, to consider some of the possibilities, for there are three places in Pisa, actually mentioned in Benincasa's account, that were closely connected with Raynerius – the Monastery of San Vito, destroyed in the eighteenth century; the church of San Andreas in Chinzica where his mother was buried, described in 1925 as "a very simple and ruined church"; and the cathedral, where, according to Benincasa, his body was taken in a great procession immediately after his death. It was then placed in the chapel known today as the chapel of San Ranieri. This chapel was probably redecorated around 1300, and completely remodeled in the sixteenth century. Raynerius's body still



4. *Detail of pulpit carved by Master Guglielmo for the cathedral of Pisa, 1159-1162. Cagliari Cathedral, Sardinia. Photograph: Alinari*

rests there, now in an elaborate sarcophagus of the seventeenth century. It is tempting to imagine that the font was once in the cathedral, possibly in this very chapel, ordered perhaps by some grateful person cured by the saint, and removed during an alteration or because of a change in artistic taste.

The font, which was formerly in the collection of Arthur Sambon in Paris, was attributed by him to "Guglielmo of Pisa and Modena, after 1159." Mr. Sambon seemed to have combined two artists into a single man; the Guglielmo connected with our font must be the master who carved a pulpit (Figure 4) for the cathedral of Pisa between 1159 and 1162, rather than the Wiligelmo who worked at Modena in the early twelfth century. Styles in art did seem to change quickly in Pisa in the late Middle Ages; the pulpit of Master Guglielmo had already been replaced in the early fourteenth century by Giovanni Pisano's famous pulpit. Significantly, Guglielmo's pulpit was not destroyed but shipped to the cathedral of Cagliari in Sardinia, where it stands today. This pulpit must have been just as much admired and as well known as Pisano's was later, for Guglielmo's style dominates much of the sculpture done in the region of Pisa during the second half of the twelfth century.

One cannot help feeling that Mr. Sambon's attribution of the font to Guglielmo was not far wrong. There is a general resemblance between the font and the pulpit in the vitality of the carving and in some of the facial types. The similarity is particularly striking in such details as the huge, awkward, yet powerful hands and the regular, deeply cut tubular folds in the garment of the woman on the font. Her figure, seen as it is in profile, resembles the representation of the Virgin in the Presentation in the Temple scene in Guglielmo's pulpit, and it is also similar to one of the Marys at the Tomb and to the figure of the Virgin in the Visitation scene. The woman on the font can also be compared with figures on works by followers of Guglielmo. She is close in style to the Virgin on the baptismal font in the church at Calci, a

town near Pisa, and also rather like a woman on a capital (see page 352) carved by Master Enrico for the church of Sant' Andrea at Pistoia around 1166. Compared to both these figures, however, the woman on the Cloisters' font seems more vigorous, and the folds of her garments are more deeply carved.

In summing up, the font seems closer in style to the pulpit than it does to the works of Guglielmo's followers. It also seems logical to believe that it was carved around 1160, the year of St. Raynerius's death, while his holy-water cures were fresh in the minds of the people of Pisa. The artist who made the font was surely very familiar with the work of Guglielmo, and whether this artist was Guglielmo himself or a skilled associate, his carving of the font, bold, simple, and done with great assurance, is the work of a master.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS AND REFERENCES

I wish to thank Piero Sanpaolesi for examining photographs of the font and for analyzing a sample of the marble. A letter received from him as this article went to press lends credence to the theory that Guglielmo himself made the font, as Professor Sanpaolesi believes that it was definitely carved by Guglielmo, probably before 1156. I want also to express my thanks to Sabrina Longland for help in the translation of sections of Benincasa's Latin text.

Benincasa's life of St. Raynerius is in the *Acta Sanctorum*, XXIV, Paris, 1863-1931.

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“To Represent What Is as It Is”

VERA K. OSTOIA *Associate Research Curator of Medieval Art*

The above phrase, *Manifestare ea quae sunt sicut sunt*, is taken from the book *De Arte Venandi cum Avibus* (*The Art of Falconry*) by Frederick II of Hohenstaufen. Even if this statement does not refer to art directly, it expresses perfectly the philosophy of life of this emperor, a close observer of nature who inspired artists working in his surroundings in the new “true-to-nature” approach to art, and who, at the same time, caused a rebirth of classical ideals.

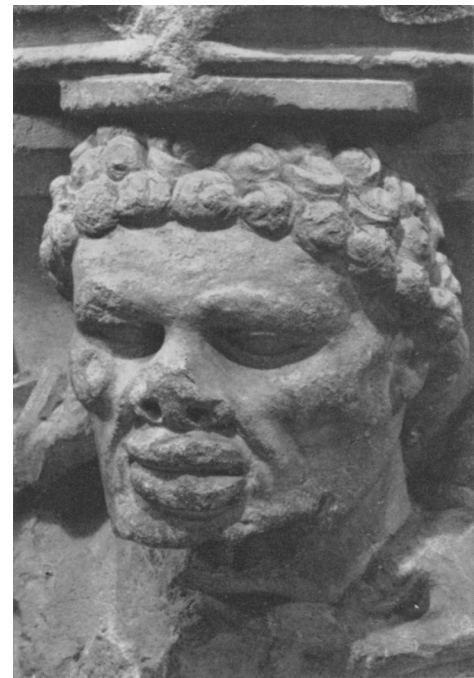
Frederick II of Hohenstaufen was born and raised in southern Italy. After having been crowned Holy Roman Emperor in Rome, he returned and spent most of his life there. Of all his lands, he loved Apulia, in southeastern Italy (see map on page 348), best, and spoke of himself as “the boy from Apulia.” It was here, in the town of Foggia, that, leading the life of an Oriental potentate, he spent most of his time, held his court, and practiced his favorite sport of falconry. From Apulia, supported by his partisans, the Ghibellines, he fought against the Guelphs, the party headed by the Pope. The tastes and interests of the Emperor, whose manifold talents led him to be called “the marvel of the world,” left an indelible imprint on all the monuments in this part of Italy dating from the years of his reign—the first half of the thirteenth century. The Emperor was very responsive to the beauty of ancient art and, at the same time, was very much aware of the new developments of Gothic architecture in western Europe, especially in France.

Some twelve miles west of Foggia and some twenty-eight miles northeast of Benevento

lies Troia (the name does not derive from its homonymous predecessor in Asia Minor). At present, it is a rather small town clustering around its ancient and famous cathedral, on top of a hill in the northern part of the Capitanata plateau. Founded around 1019 by the Byzantine Catapan Basilio Bojoannes to replace the more ancient town of Aecae, on the well-traveled Roman Via Trajana, which was destroyed in 663 during the war between the Byzantines and the Langobards, Troia was fortified to serve as a military stronghold. And, indeed, in 1022, it withstood a long siege by the Emperor Henry II.

In the struggle for power between the emperors and the popes, Troia stood on the side of the latter. After surviving many assaults and sieges, it was finally, in 1229, “razed almost to the ground . . . by plunder and fire” by Frederick II, who felt that he could no longer put up with Troia’s independent spirit and its allegiance to Rome, which persisted even after Frederick II had tried either to subdue it, or to win it over by favors. Troia never recovered from this blow, and, although rebuilt later, was unable to revive its former greatness under the Neapolitan Angevins, who came to replace the Hohenstaufens some ten years after Frederick’s death in 1254.

The bishopric of Troia is one of the oldest and most illustrious in southern Italy, having been granted certain special privileges and gifts by the popes, to whom it was directly responsible, such as the archbishop’s mantle for the bishops, and the pontifical flabelli, to be carried in sacred processions. Even today the cathedral still possesses many treasures, among them some rare manuscripts of the



1. *Head of a Moor. Detail of the capital shown in Figures 2 and 3*



2, 3. *Capital from Apulia, about 1212-1220.*
Limestone, height 14¼ inches. The Cloisters
Collection, gift of James Hazen Hyde, 55.66

twelfth and thirteenth centuries, possibly produced in a local scriptorium.

The Cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta in Troia, founded in 1093, is an imposing building. Its west façade, rather severe in its lower story, has an extremely rich and beautiful decoration with a rose window on the upper level. The cathedral has two famous bronze doors made by Oderisio da Benevento, in 1119 and 1127 respectively, in the manner of bronze doors imported from Constantinople. The building of the cathedral continued over a century, and was not finished until the time of Frederick II, when the apse and part of the upper façade were completed.

In 1955, James Hazen Hyde gave to The Cloisters an early Gothic capital (Figures 2, 3), which is of great importance for the appreciation of the still insufficiently documented early Gothic sculpture of Apulia, from where it comes. It probably was made in Troia in the period of the town's prosperity, 1212-1220, and before Troia was reduced to ruins in 1229.

On the limestone capital, of Corinthian derivation, leaves are arranged around a basket in the shape of an inverted bell. The volutes usually present at the corners of the Corinthian capital have been replaced by four large human heads. Emerging from the leaves, as if straining their necks, they serve as supports for a chamfered abacus with a rather elaborately cut out outline in its lower part.

The leaves are neither the classical nor the usual Gothic acanthus leaves, but large and fleshy, with crisp spirals along their margins, forming small decorative whorls and "pelta" shapes. In an exhibition catalogue of 1928, these leaves were, quite understandably, referred to as "cabbage leaves." But they are, rather, a modification of acanthus leaves, treated with the characteristically Apulian fondness for enrichment of decorative elements. Comparable, but somewhat simpler whorls at the edges of leaves can be seen elsewhere in Apulia, for example on the portal



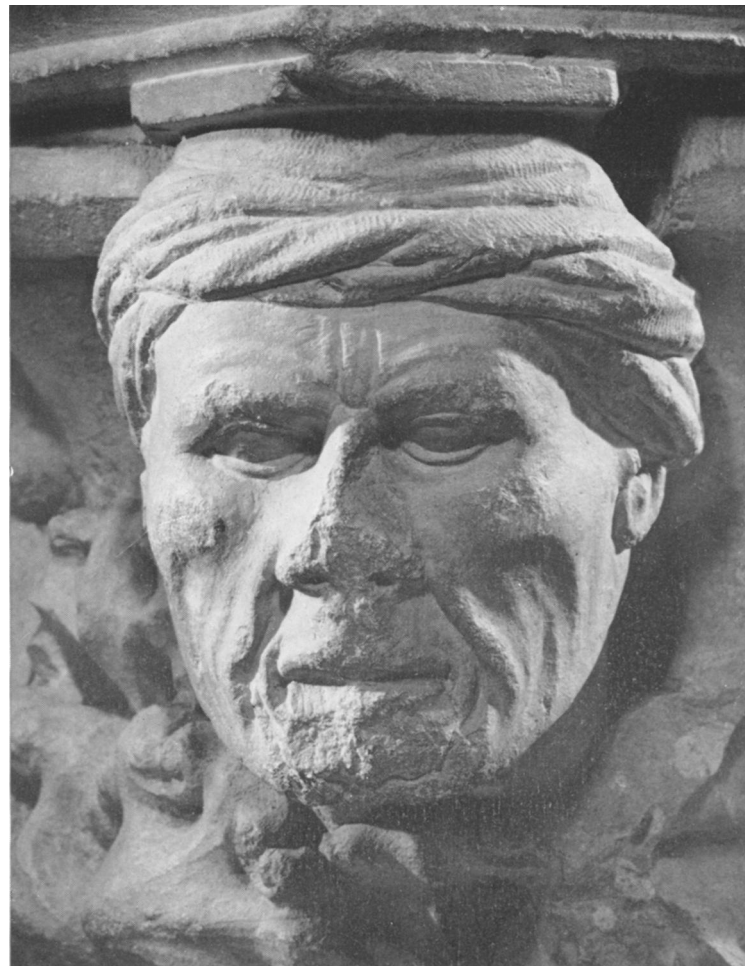
of the church of Santo Stefano at Monopoli (1236), further south on the Adriatic coast, where human heads also emerge from the leaves. The “pelta”-shaped whorls, of a stiffer and more ornamental design, appear on a pilaster capital from the fortified gate tower in Capua (Campania), built by Frederick II in 1234-1240 at the head of the bridge over the Volturno River. Campania and Apulia are close neighbors, and their architecture and sculpture are often related. The ultimate source of inspiration for the leaves on these Apulian capitals might be the acanthus leaves with frilly margins found on capitals of the Hellenistic period in southern Italy. The frills might have stiffened into spirals under the influence of the so-called Lombard style, which, in the period from the eighth to the twelfth century, spread from Lombardy not only over Italy but over all of Europe.

The arrangement of the leaves around the basket is also not the classical one usually taken over by the Gothic carvers, in which the acanthus leaves, their tips bent downward, stand in vertical alignment. On each side of the Cloisters’ capital, from behind a rather flat lower row of leaves above the astragal, surges a bunch of three swirling leaves, two of which roll away from each other symmetrically. The third leaf is shorter than these two, so that the basket of the capital remains uncovered above it. Such symmetrical separation of the leaves is unusual for a Gothic capital, but it is not unique. A certain tendency to a symmetrical arrangement can be found, only a little earlier, far away in France in the region of Rheims and even further north at Dommartin (Pas-de-Calais). In Apulia, the source for such an arrangement of leaves might have been a certain rare type of Byzantine capital of the sixth century, found in Sant’ Apollinare in Classe, in Ravenna (Figure 6) and in some other parts of the Byzantine Empire. This type of Byzantine capital is a variant of the so-called “wind-blown” acanthus, grouped by Rudolph Kautzsch under the heading of “butterfly-type.” It is said that some architectural elements from Ravenna had been brought to Bari (in Apulia) in the twelfth century, to

4. *Head of a woman*



5. *Man in a turban*





6. Capital from Sant' Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna, VI century.
Photograph: Alinari

be used in a church under construction in Bari at that time.

The heads at the corners of the capital are treated in a most expressive and realistic manner. They represent a man (Figure 2), a woman (Figure 4), a Moor (Figure 1), and a Moslem wearing a turban (Figure 5). The racial distinctions are strongly accentuated. The man's face has firm and regular features; his hair, carved in flock-like strands with curling ends, fits his head like a cap. The head of the woman, despite a certain Junoesque quality, has a soft feminine roundness. Her hair, parted in the center, is rolled in loose waves and forms a distinct tuft, like a small knot, above the forehead. The Moor has a lean face with high prominent cheekbones, deep-set, bulging eyes, a broad flat nose, tightly curled hair, and heavy protruding lips above a square chin. The man in the turban, who could be an Arab, also has a lean face, but it is the leanness of an older man, with deep lines and sagging skin. His nose, now chipped off, was probably narrow and slightly aquiline.

Every detail of the exotic heads has been closely observed and reproduced. There was, in Apulia, ample opportunity for the study of the appearance of the Asian and African Saracens, because they had invaded southern Italy at various times, and, furthermore, a great number of Saracens had been brought over from Sicily by Frederick II to serve as his personal guard.

Although one finds representations of Negroid faces in much earlier periods, it was in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries that the contact of the Crusaders with the Saracens in the Holy Land began to be reflected more frequently in art: the Queen of Sheba and, later, one of the Three Magi, began to be represented as dark-skinned Ethiopians, and Africans became part of the artistic vocabulary at Chartres, Rouen, Magdeburg, and elsewhere.

All four heads on the capital have certain characteristics in common: they all have closely set eyes, with convex eyeballs and with a distinct modeling of both the upper and lower lids; they have full lips; and their hair covers only the upper part of their ears.

Certain of these details derive from classical traditions, and have parallels in other Apulian contemporary sculpture.

Although it was known that the capital came from Italy, its actual provenance remained to some extent a puzzle, and the exact monument for which it was made is as yet unknown. But it has been established now that it must have come from Troia, or its immediate vicinity. In this town there still exists another capital (Figure 7), which, beyond any doubt, forms a pair with that at The Cloisters. This second capital was discovered some forty years ago during the restoration work on the bell tower of Troia Cathedral. It had been used there, in the eighteenth century, simply as construction material, according to the information supplied by Mgr. don Mario De Santis, author of a recently published book on the history of the cathedral of Troia. There is no record of any other capital having been found at any time except for the one now preserved in the bishop's palace. Thus, when Hans Wentzel saw it in Troia and published this capital in 1954, he had no knowledge of the existence of its counterpart in New York. The two capitals are identical almost in all details. They have the same measurements, the same style, workmanship, and iconography, and are carved of the same local limestone (Apulian "tufo"), a warm yellowish-gray in color.

The leaves on the capital still in Troia also separate symmetrically on each of the four sides, with the only difference that they are more deeply undercut, so that an open space



7. Capital from Apulia. Limestone, height 14 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Bishop's Palace, Troia

is created behind them. The four heads on this capital are those of two women (or of a woman and a youth) closely related to two heads on the Cloisters' capital. There is also another Moor (Figure 7) and a man wearing a hood (Figure 8). Each of the eight heads on the two capitals possesses its own personality. Even in the representations of the Moors, there is evident a desire to record diversity, by changing facial characteristics: the Moor on the capital in Troia has a wavy moustache, uncovered ears, and a more pointed chin, accentuated by the addition of a short curly beard. Only the hair of both Moors is twisted into the same kind of snail-like curls. Although the head of the man in the hood is badly chipped, one can see that the wrinkled face of an older person is represented. The pointed tip of the hood is brought forward and neatly folded on the top of the rounded skull. Professor Wentzel has suggested in his article the possibility of this being a self-portrait of the master who carved the capital.

The components of Apulian art of this period are manifold, and reflect the various phases of the region's troubled history. Part of Apulia was settled by the Greeks (who, according to tradition landed on its coast after the Trojan War) and was known as Magna Graecia. Later, Apulia came under the rule of the Romans, the Byzantines, the Langobards, and the Sicilian Normans, from whom Frederick II of Hohenstaufen inherited it. Also, it had been overrun by the Saracens several times. Charles R. Morey has very aptly defined the art of the time of Frederick II: "Nowhere in the whole history of art can so confusing a mixture of styles be found as that which was exhibited by the art of South Italy and Sicily during his reign. On an underlying stratum of Latinity, was overlaid the Byzantine influence . . . the Lombard stone carvers have left everywhere the traces of their passage . . . antique tradition . . . shows itself in details of ornament and in handling of figures." But nothing in Apulia is a blind copy; all its inheritances are used with local individuality. One should keep this in mind when one adds to all the above the French influence filtering through to southern Italy. The possible inroads of French artistic in-

ventions into the Gothic architecture of southern Italy have been traced, and several buildings here show the French architectural innovations. But as far as the sculpture is concerned, much has still to be done. At the same time, it is known that architecture and sculpture in the Middle Ages were closely connected, and also, that workers from one part of Europe often went to work in distant places. There they made use of the mastery they had acquired earlier and, returning home, brought with them the new knowledge gathered abroad. Therefore, it is not astonishing to find certain relations in the style of the heads on the Apulian capital at The Cloisters to that of the heads by the so-called Master of the Kings' Heads on the porch of the northern transept at Chartres, of the beginning of the thirteenth century, or even to that of the later ones on the vaulting bosses of the chapel of the Vieux Château at St. Germain-en-Laye, near Paris, carved in the thirties of the thirteenth century. These French sculptures belong to the Île-de-France school, in turn interconnected with that of Champagne. In spite of this relationship to France in style, the heads on the capitals keep their Apulian character and are also quite close to a fragment of a head, believed by some to be a portrait of Frederick II, from Castel del Monte, built by Frederick in 1240, now in the Provincial Museum at Bari, as well as to the "Capua Imperiale" head (personification of Capua), from Capua's bridge tower mentioned earlier. Thus, the much debated question of French influence remains open, as does the question of whether the Apulian sculpture of this period was actually the forerunner of the Italian Gothic and Renaissance sculpture, which rose to such greatness later in Tuscany.

There is still one more interesting problem raised during the study of the capitals from Troia. In their general iconographical conception they seem to be quite close to capitals with large human heads represented in the illuminations in two Ottonian manuscripts of about 1000, known as the "Gospels of Otto III" (Figure 9) and the "Book of Pericopes of Henry II." Both come from the scriptorium of the Benedictine abbey of



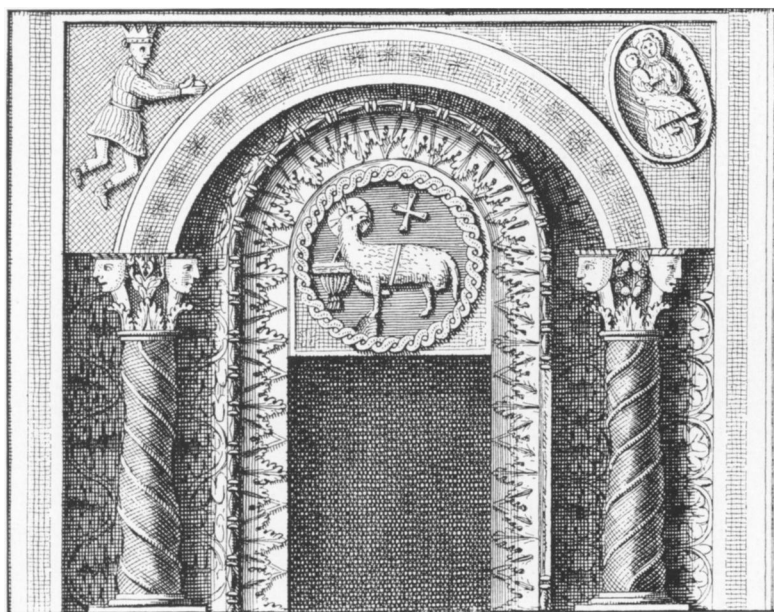
8. *Head of a hooded man. Detail of the capital in Troia*

9. *Emperor Otto III Enthroned, from the "Gospels of Otto III." German, about 1000. Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Cod. Lat. 4432*



Reichenau in southern Germany, and were later given to Bamberg Cathedral. What inspired the Benedictine illuminator to picture such capitals is not known. But practically the same capitals appear again (Figure 10), carved on a marble altar frontal in the subterranean chapel at Santa Maria in Aracoeli in Rome. This altar frontal is the work of one of the Roman marble carvers who worked, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, primarily in Rome, but also in Campania, Tuscany, Sicily, and Apulia.

Knowing of the close interconnections of the Benedictine abbeys in general, one is led to think of the abbey of Montecassino, roughly halfway between Rome and Foggia.



10. Altar frontal from Santa Maria in Aracoeli. Engraving from P. F. Casimiro Romano's *Memorie Istoriche della Chiesa e Convento di S. Maria in Araceli di Roma*, Rome, 1736. Gift of James Hazen Hyde, Library

Both Reichenau and Montecassino had important scriptoria, both were under the patronage of the emperors of the Ottonian period, and both had experienced the influence of Byzantine art. There might have been sources shared by both abbeys, while Montecassino had close relations with Benevento, Capua, and Troia. In fact, the manuscripts in Troia are written in the Beneventan script used in Montecassino. There are iconographical motifs for which parallels are found either in the surroundings of both Reichenau and Montecassino or in works of art produced in Reichenau, Rome, and Apulia. For exam-

ple, there is the detail of fishes swimming in the river in the composition of the Baptism of Christ found in the spheres of influence of the two abbeys; and there are in Apulia the rows of angels' heads on the architrave of the portal of the church of SS. Nicola e Cataldo in Lecce (1180) and on the archivolt from the portal of the old cathedral in Monopoli (1107), which are quite close to the rows of angels on the cover of the sarcophagus of St. Bernward in Hildesheim (about 1022).

Finally, there arises the question of how the capitals were used originally. The capitals in the Ottonian manuscripts carry architraves, and the capitals from Troia must have been used in a similar manner. On the upper surfaces of their abaci, deep grooves are cut in, meeting at right angles near the center, which suggest that these capitals were used as corner supports. The structure itself could have been either a ciborium, a wall tabernacle, or a wall tomb with an arch (*arcosolium*) above it, or it could have been a shallow canopy over a portal or over a balcony, carried on free-standing columns. In Monza, there still stands a Palazzo Communale of the thirteenth century with such a balcony, a *parlera*, from which officials could address the citizens of the town.

One possibility must be excluded – the capitals could not come from an ambo in the cathedral of Troia, because the original one, replaced a few decades ago by a marble ambo brought over from another church, is said to have been made of wood. There seems to be no record of a second ambo in the cathedral.

Despite the fact that so many questions in connection with the two capitals must remain unanswered, the capitals are of the greatest interest for the reconstruction of the history of Apulian art at the time of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, which reached such heights during his lifetime and of which only fragments have come down to us.

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The Sangemini Doorway

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Many recent visitors to the Museum have noticed a marble doorway from Sangemini, Italy, which stands at the far end of the Early Medieval Gallery between the Vélez Blanco patio and the main staircase. The erection of this courtyard, completed toward the end of last year, offered an opportunity to install the doorway, acquired in 1947 as part of an important purchase of works of art from the estate of Joseph Brummer.

More than three centuries earlier than the patio, the Sangemini doorway is carved with a barbaric vigor that offers a piquant contrast to the svelte and elegantly sophisticated style of the Renaissance patio. Both courtyard and doorway are derived from Greco-Roman architecture and ornament, and nothing could better illustrate the great variety of interpretation in western Europe of its classical heritage than these divergent monuments.

The doorway once served as the main entrance to the ruined abbey church of San Nicolò, just outside one of the city gates of Sangemini. This hill town, known for its waters, is a summer resort of southern Umbria on the Flaminian Way about sixty miles north of Rome (see map on page 348).

In antiquity the present site of Sangemini was known as Casventum, and it was a *borgo* or suburb of Carsulæ, which was destroyed by Totila, king of the Ostrogoths, in 547. A few years later the Langobards, another Germanic people, invaded Umbria, and Casventum, by then also known as Casventino, became part of the powerful Lango-

bardic duchy of Spoleto. About 790 a Syrian monk, the holy confessor Gemine, came to a monastery at Casventino, and when the inhabitants rebuilt the town after its sack by the Saracens in 882, they dedicated the principal church with its adjacent monastery to San Gemine. (This monastery, as well as the earlier one, was probably within the city gates and not on the site of the present abbey of San Nicolò.) As the fame of the saint's miracles grew, Casventino came to be called the town of San Gemine, and hence Sangemini. When Otto the Great became emperor in 962, he gave the town to a certain Count Arnolfo, whose successors became known as the counts of Sangemini.

The origin of the abbey and church of San Nicolò goes back to the eleventh century. A document of August 18, 1037, recorded in the Register of the abbey of Farfa, states, "we, the lord Dodone bishop [of Narni] and Giovenale [count of Sangemini], sons of Nonvolia, and Donna Nonvolia, donate, cede, and establish our church of S. Nicolò which is built on the hill of Arenariolo at Sangemini to you lord Vitale, priest and monk, that you be abbot and prior of the aforesaid church and of all which belongs to it." The monastery was founded for the monks to give "unceasing prayers for the salvation of the souls" of the donors' forefathers, and Vitale, its first abbot, a brother of the founders, was not to be the only one of the family to bear rule in the monastery. The patronage of the counts of Sangemini continued in the donation of "many goods" and numerous gifts of additional lands and properties.

Although the abbey submitted in 1119 to the discipline and protection of the powerful abbey of Farfa, whose abbot was a principal counselor of the Emperor Henry IV, it appears to have continued to receive support of the local counts and to have maintained relations with the bishoprics of Narni and Terni. Throughout the medieval period the abbey must have been affected by the continual disputes and changing alliances of the town of Sangemini with Terni, Narni, Todi, and Spoleto as well as with emperor and pope.

The ruined church from which the doorway came can hardly have been that mentioned in the 1037 document, since the façade

and door follow the general type of the twelfth century (Figure 1). The architecture is simple and austere, with a circular window, now partly filled in, between two horizontal stringcourses above the doorway. Like some other Umbrian rose windows of the twelfth century, it is decorated with cosmati work, a kind of variegated mosaic inlay in geometric patterns.

The vertical crack in the façade may be the result of poor subsoil. The document of 1037 calls the hill on which the church is built "de Arenariolo," probably in reference to its sandy nature. The loss of the outer wall on the south side, nearest the edge of the hill,

1. *The façade of the church of San Nicolò, Sangemini (Umbria), before the doorway was removed*



could also be explained by the same weakness. Indeed, the original church might have collapsed and had to be rebuilt for the same reason, or it might have been destroyed in one of the frequent wars in which Sangemini became involved.

Rebuilding is implied also in the different kinds of stonework of which the façade is composed. The first, consisting of large, smooth-faced travertine blocks, extends to the lintel of the door and is therefore contemporary with it. (There must have been steps leading to the doorway extending most of the width of the façade, which would have hidden the rough foundation work now visible.)

At least three other varieties of stonework are to be seen in the façade, suggesting later rebuilding and repairs, which the turbulent times must have occasioned. The poorest of all is that above the entrance door of the abbey, to the left of the church. This must have been done in the fifteenth century or after, when the abbey entered a long period of decline. The coats of arms on the lintel of this door are said to be those of Pope Innocent VIII (1484-1492) and Cardinal Miccieli (1468-1503), probably the first commendatory abbot. A commendatory abbot usually had the defects of an absentee landlord, who takes the rent and makes few repairs. Some restoration was done in the seventeenth century, and the church may even still have been in use in the early nineteenth century, but by the 1890s the roof had fallen in, and everything was overgrown. Photographs taken before 1910 show the doorway walled up. Sometime before the Second World War, with the official permission of the Italian government, the doorway was removed from the church and exported to this country.

The doorway consists of two bases with half-length crouching lions on them, two jambs, and a lintel in two pieces, topped by a sustaining arch (Figure 2). As is often the case with Italian medieval architecture, its stones had all been used in earlier structures. The two bases and the left-hand lintel block have Latin inscriptions of the first and second centuries on their back sides, and one of the

voussoirs of the arch has an inscription on its front face. In a preliminary study, J. F. Gilliam has identified several names occurring in these inscriptions as also appearing on other inscriptions from Carsulae and Casventum, and one can safely assume that all of the stones came from nearby Roman ruins. The inscription on the left-hand base indicates that it was originally the base of a statue. Both door jambs have the same curving profile to their back faces, the marble becoming thicker in the middle. The back of the right-hand lintel block is carved with a segment of architectural molding that follows a curve similar to that on the two jambs. Probably the three curved stones were originally part of the same structure of circular shape. Because the two jambs are so dissimilar, one might be inclined to believe that they were carved as parts of different doorways. Such asymmetry, however, is occasionally found in Romanesque Italian doorways, for instance at San Costanzo in Perugia, at Sant' Antimo, near Siena, and on the cathedral of Foligno.

Some awkwardness is apparent in the adjustment of the patterns on the different stones to each other. The two jambs had to be unequal in length because their base stones were of different sizes. This difference may account for the fact that the tip of the diamond pattern at the top of the right jamb is missing, as if the stone had been cut off at this point (Figure 3). The missing tip has been incised, somewhat unevenly, onto the lintel above the jamb, perhaps as a later adjustment. Curiously, the stylized grapevine growing up next to the diamond pattern on the same jamb continues without interruption onto the lintel. The plain vertical molding on the center of the jamb between these two designs suddenly becomes a bead-and-reel ornament when it reaches the lintel. In fact, none of the designs going from one stone to another, except the grapevine, has a smooth transition. There are also differences in style, between the deeply cut acanthus vine growing up the left side and the flatter relief on the right, and between the two types of acanthus leaves carved on the stones of the lintel.

It is not possible to say exactly how the

OPPOSITE:

2. *The doorway from the church of San Nicolò as it is now installed in the Museum. XII century. Marble, height, including lintel, 11 feet 9 inches. Fletcher Fund, 47.100.45*



3. *The upper right corner of the doorway, showing the joining of the right jamb and the lintel*

door was designed, but one can conclude, because of their differing styles, that the stones were carved by several hands and, because of the somewhat awkward transitions, that most if not all of the carving was done while the stones were on the ground, and that the different masons had to reconcile the patterns to each other as they neared the edges of the stones.

The ornament of the doorway was drawn from many sources. The most spectacular section is the left jamb, with its sprawling vigorous acanthus vine interspersed with human and animal figures. Many hunting scenes such as the one at the bottom of the jamb (Figure 4) derive from Langobardic sculpture and are also to be found on other Romanesque churches. Three dogs are cornering a boar, and above them is a half-squatting figure of a man, probably a hunter, blowing a horn and holding a rod in his other hand. He seems to be stirring liquid in a basin, which action may be related to the practice of collecting the blood of a pig that has just been killed and stirring it to prevent clotting. One finds long pear-shaped faces and features similar to those of the hunter and of the angel in the upper part of the jamb (Figure 7) on eighth century Langobardic sculpture in Cividale in northeastern Italy. To the left of the huntsman, a bird sits looking at her nestlings, which are threatened by a snake. This same subject is also carved on a lunette from a lost doorway in the Museo Civico of Viterbo west of Sangemini.

The acanthus vine has always been popular as a decorative motif on Italian doorways. One finds it used on Roman imperial architecture, for instance, on the frieze of a first century temple at Pola. At least three Roman temples of the second century, all in southern Syria, use the same type of acanthus vine. On one of them, at Kanawat, the vine grows in large open spirals right around a doorway, and its form and the rosettelike flowers and leafy calyxlike buds are remarkably similar to those carved a thousand years later on Romanesque doorways of Umbria. One finds the same general type of acanthus vine on door lintels of the church of San Salvatore in

Spoletto, probably dating from the fourth or early fifth century, and on the twelfth century doorways of Spoleto Cathedral. In southern Umbria, as in Syria, the vine sometimes is also shown on the jambs of doors, for instance on churches at Narni, Spoleto, Bevagna, and Tuscania, as well as on the Sangemini doorway.

The form the vine takes here is often seen in southern Umbria, with its unusually large scale, its flattened-out form, and its dry foliage, very different from the smaller, fuller, and more succulent leafy acanthus vines portrayed on doorways of the Lombard and Pisan Romanesque schools. An additional characteristic feature, seen on San Salvatore and on the cathedral of Spoleto and a few related monuments, is the projection of the central part of the acanthus bud. This projection is tremendously exaggerated on the Sangemini door in the large bud growing just above the middle of the left jamb (Figure 5). Yet another peculiarity of these vine carvings at Spoleto, Tuscania, and Sangemini is the prominence of the seed pods that hang from their own stems on the vine. The bead-and-reel and the egg-and-dart moldings around the Sangemini jamb are also used around the acanthus vine reliefs of San Salvatore and Spoleto Cathedral.

Like much of the other decoration of the Sangemini doorway, the row of acanthus leaves carved across the lintel is derived from classical sources. One finds such vertical rows of these leaves on capitals of the classical Corinthian order. In Syria, they were placed, as on our door, in a row across the lintel in the fourth century; by the sixth century the leaves had become somewhat stylized and crisp, in the manner of Byzantine and Italo-Byzantine work of this period. Some of this crispness is still seen on the Sangemini lintel, and the leaves are given a sharply defined silhouette, as in Byzantine carving. In one respect, however, the Sangemini lintel is distinctive. Like most lintels of southern Umbria, it is perfectly flat—except for the projection of the leaves, which curl forward at their tips, looking almost like hooded cobras of the Orient—whereas lintels of Syria or of Ro-





manesque Tuscany decorated with rows of acanthus leaves curve outward on cyma recta or cavetto moldings.

The resemblances between Roman and Early Christian Syria on the one hand and southern Umbria on the other may not only reflect the generally similar development of art forms in the Mediterranean world, but may indicate Syrian influence on Umbria. This influence is also suggested by the tradition that Christianity was introduced into parts of Umbria by Syrians. About 790 San Gemine himself went to Italy from Syria, and about 800 St. Isaac of Antioch went to Spoleto and founded a hermitage there. Such Syrian influence is, however, somewhat conjectural, and of course there were direct local inheritances from classical Italy in Umbria; nor can one overlook the Early Christian and Langobardic influences already mentioned.

The two stags carved in identical postures and back to back on the left lintel (Figure 6) derive from Early Christian sources, resembling, for instance, in style and hieratic stance, fifth and sixth century sculpture of Ravenna. An eagle has been placed between the stags instead of the tree of life or the cross usually found there; the religious symbolism was apparently lost, and the animals were used here as a space-filling decoration.

In contrast to the sprawling irregularity of the acanthus vine on the left jamb, the two smaller designs of the right-hand jamb repeat themselves with a tightly controlled regularity. The inner design does show a slight variation, however, in the rosettes within the quatrefoils and the leafy sprays in the triangles; their surprising naturalism foretells Gothic style. One wonders whether the double pattern of this jamb might not be the result of a condensation of a pattern on a columnar shaft with another on an adjacent door jamb. Similar quatrefoil designs are found, for instance, on a column of Verona Cathedral and on another on the façade of Santa Maria della Pieve at Arezzo. The outer grapevine is a common enough decoration for door jambs. The left jamb might also be

4. Bottom of the left jamb

the result of such a conflation. The vertical boar hunt might have been inspired by a columnar shaft with vertical rows of animals, such as on the central portal of the church of San Rufino in Assisi (where one also finds an outer decoration of acanthus vines), or on San Michele at Pavia or Sant' Ambrogio, Milan.

The two lions carved on the bases are earlier in style than the rest of the doorway. After the base stones were taken from Roman ruins, they must have been carved with these lions for some pre-Romanesque structure or structures, which may in turn have been among those destroyed by the Saracens. The lions probably were used to flank doorways, but they must have come from different doorways since they are different in size and style.

Since no documents for the dating of the present church are known to survive, one must depend upon stylistic comparisons. The façade of which the doorway was an integral part and a chief ornament clearly belongs, stylistically, with those of Umbria erected in the twelfth century. Most of the dated Umbrian doorways and church façades to which Sangemini bears some similarity are in the second half of the twelfth century. None of them, however, has as early a type of figure and animal sculpture. The earliest dated rose window on an Umbrian church façade is one from the church at Castel Ritaldi, near Spoleto, made in 1141. Perhaps our doorway can be placed toward the end of the first half of the twelfth century.

The Sangemini doorway furnishes an almost ideal example of the variety of influences that fed Umbrian art in the Romanesque period: imperial Roman, Early Christian (possibly including Syrian), Italo-Byzantine, and Lombardic. Lacking the rhythmic regularity of most Italian Romanesque portals, and in striking contrast to the later Gothic style, the doorway refreshes the eye by its exuberant free manner. The liveliness of the carving has an appealing vim and a winning gusto far removed from the pallid archaism of most backward-looking styles.

5. *Top of the left jamb and part of the lintel*



6. Two stags and eagle. Detail of the left half of the lintel



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS AND REFERENCES

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of Florence, for microfilm of E. A. Milj, *Caroli Rediviva*, Macerata, 1800.

Luigi Lanzi, *Terni*, Bergamo, 1910, pp. 148, 149; ill. pp. 141, 145.

Mario Salmi, *La Basilica di San Salvatore di Spoleto*, Florence, 1951, p. 61 and note 15, sees no direct connection between the San Salvatore and Sangemini doorways, and distinguishes the Spoleto school from much other Umbrian work.

Ugo Tarchi, *L'Arte nell'Umbria*, II, Milan, 1937, pl. CCXVI.

7. Angel holding a star. Detail of the left jamb



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