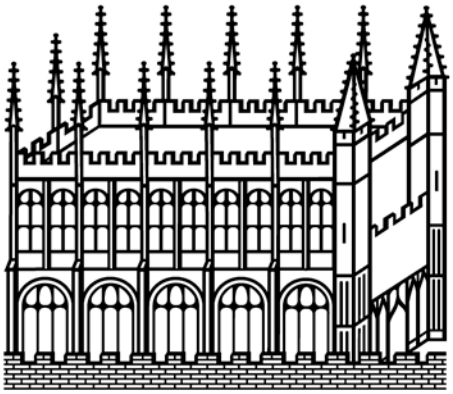

AN INQUIRY

INTO

THE ORIGIN AND INFLUENCE

OF

Gothic Architecture.

By WILLIAM GUNN, B.D.

RECTOR OF IRSTEAD, NORFOLK

ILLUSTRATED WITH SIX PLATES.

Κυλίω κἀγω τὸν πίθον ὡς μὴ μόνος ἀργεῖν
Δοκοίην ἐν τοσούτοις ἐργαζομένοις.

LUCIAN.

LONDON

PRINTED BY RICHARD AND ARTHUR TAYLOR, SHOE-LANE;

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1819.

PREFACE.

Not having derived conviction from any endeavour I have met with to account for the origin of Gothic Architecture, I am induced to offer the following opinion suggested by an attentive observation of ancient edifices, and of those more recently constructed, both on the continent and in our own island.

To attempt the elucidation of a subject which has unsuccessfully engaged the pens of men of talents, education, and professional skill, will, I fear, be deemed presumptuous; the field however is still open, and if I fail, it will be among respectable competitors.

In the avowal of my sentiments I may oppose the tide of popular persuasion, yet if I deceive not myself, they are founded on principles not to be subverted, although the

style of building whose merit and tendency they oppugn is sanctioned by long acquiescence, and in our days pursued with ardour and applied without discrimination.

From materials in my possession I could have swelled this volume to a larger size; but my aim has been to compose one of easy attainment, to which brevity will secure a chance of being read.

A work so concise*, could it have obtained admission, might perhaps have been more consistently inserted in the collection of one of our learned societies,—but if it possess not sufficient importance to rest upon its own foundation, I would rather it were consigned to merited oblivion, than be indebted for its preservation to borrowed influence.

Smallburgh, Norfolk,
Oct. 23d, 1813.

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* Circumstances have long retarded the publication of this Inquiry, which when consigned to the press was entitled to this epithet. Had the author at this time conceived an extension of his plan, he would have blended with the text the later augmentations of the Appendix and Additional Notes.

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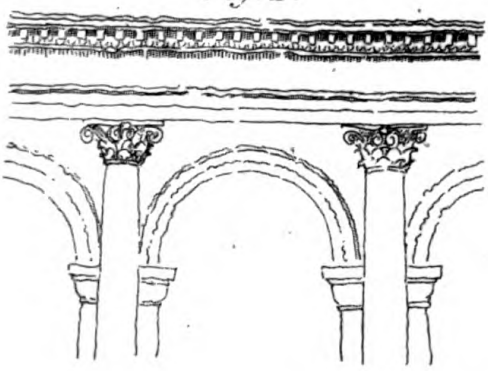

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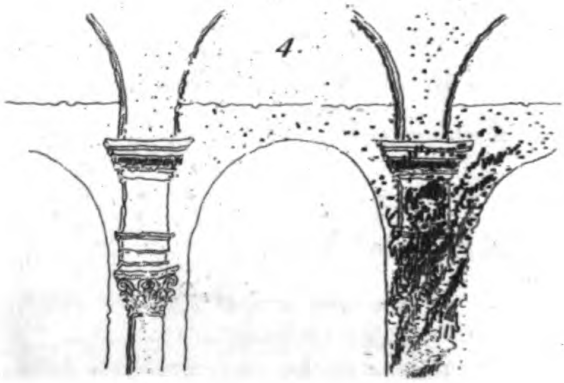

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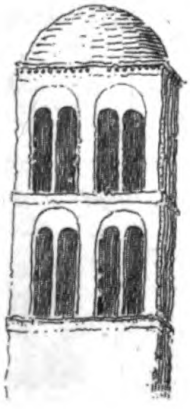

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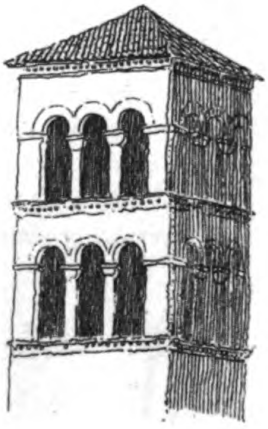

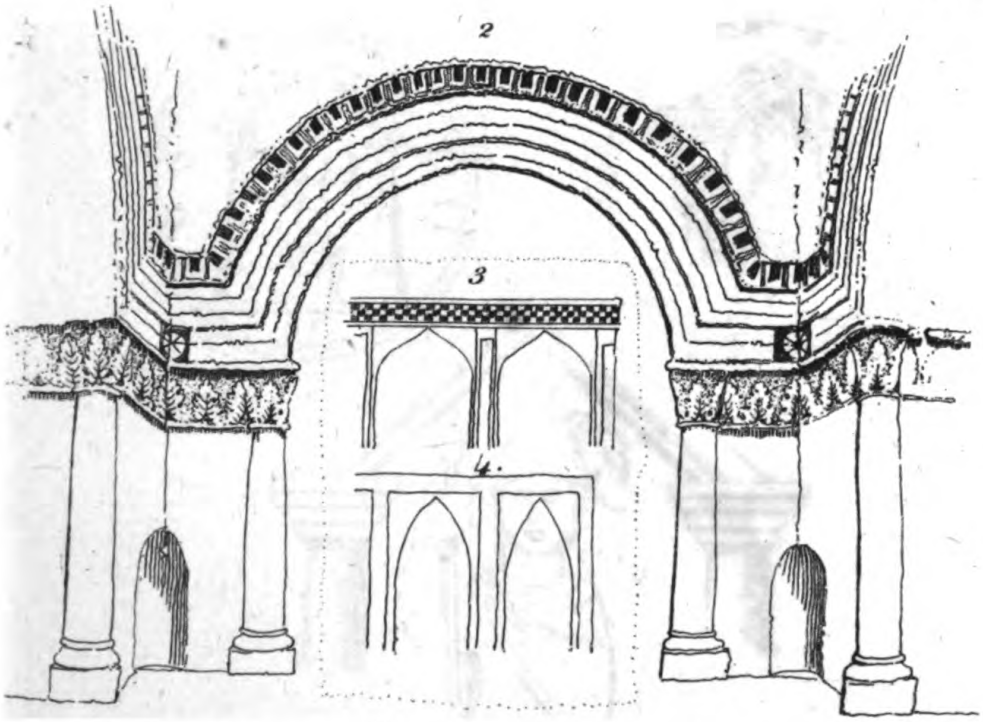

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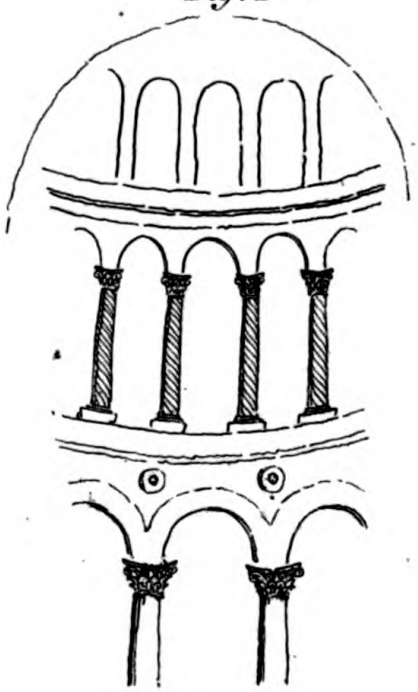

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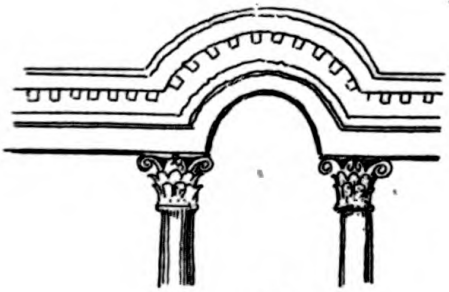

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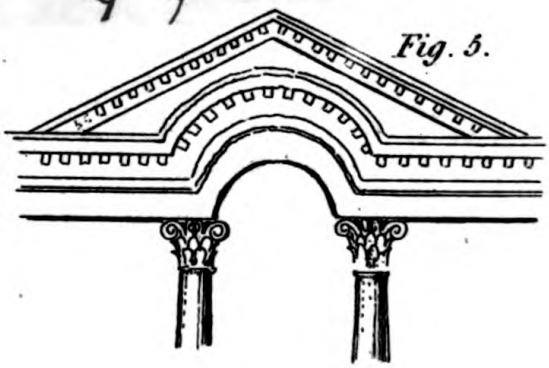

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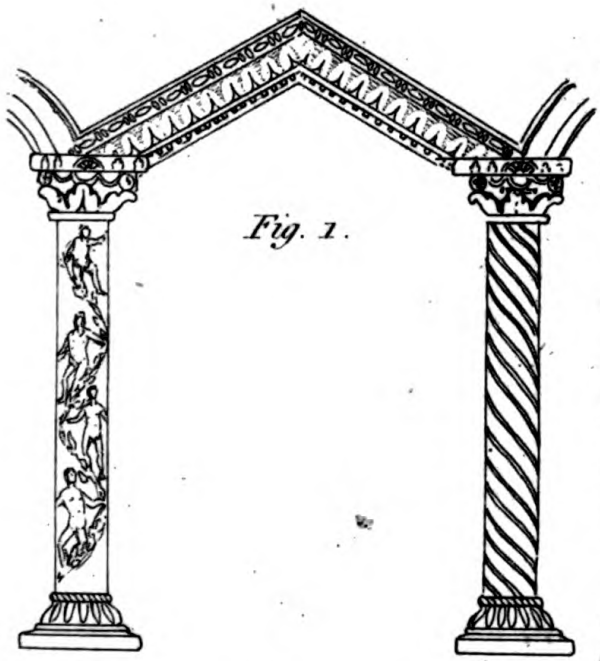

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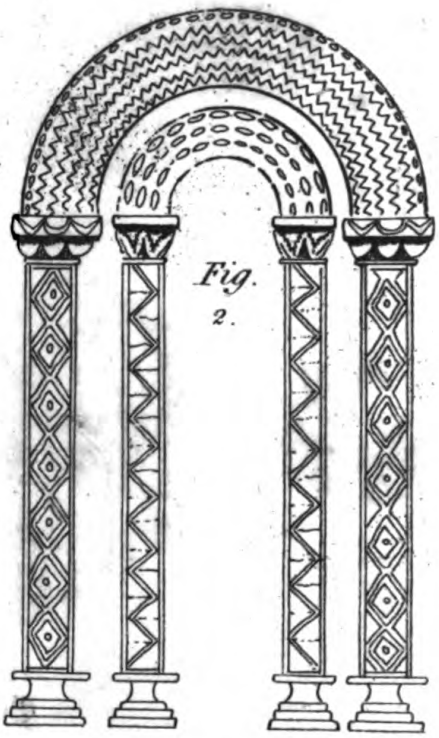

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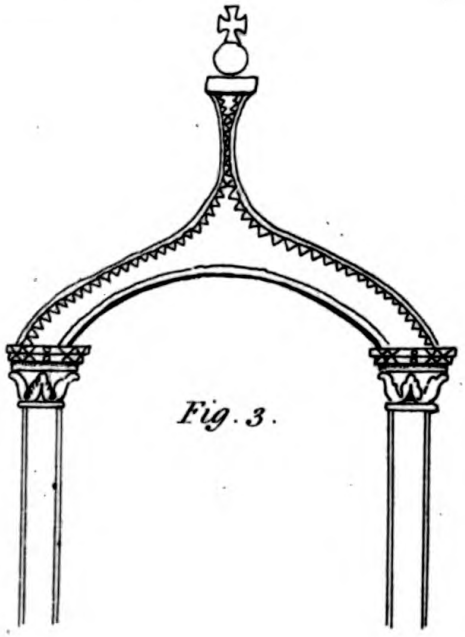

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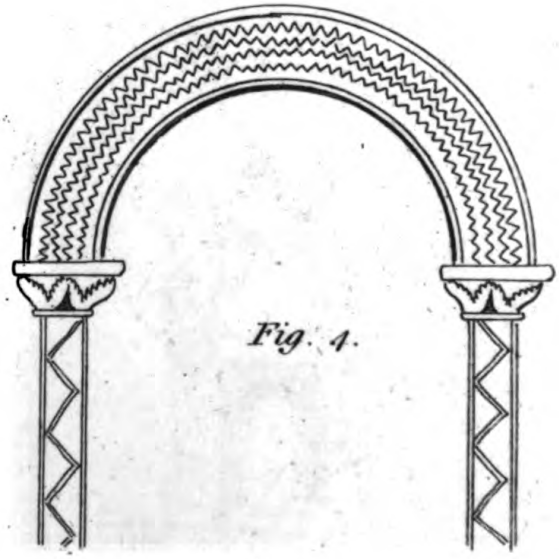

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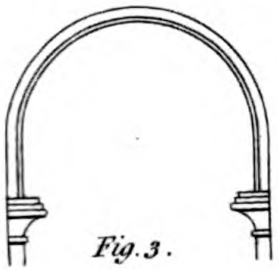

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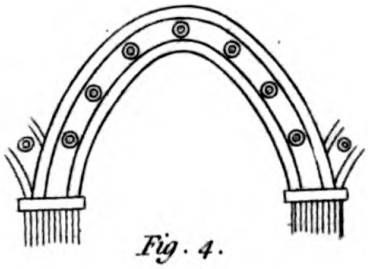

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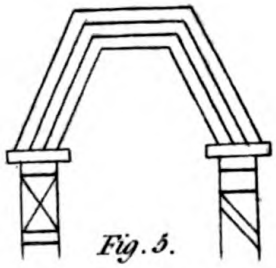

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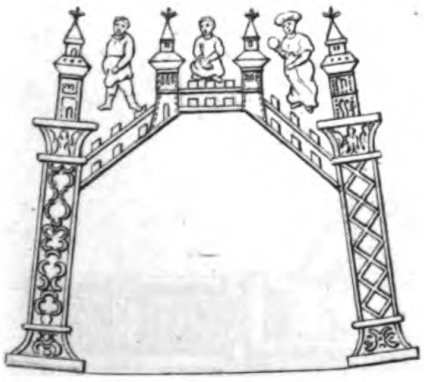

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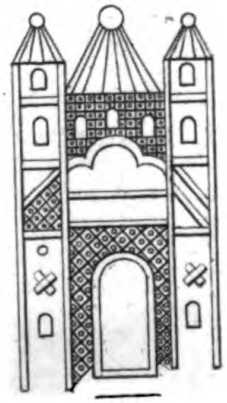

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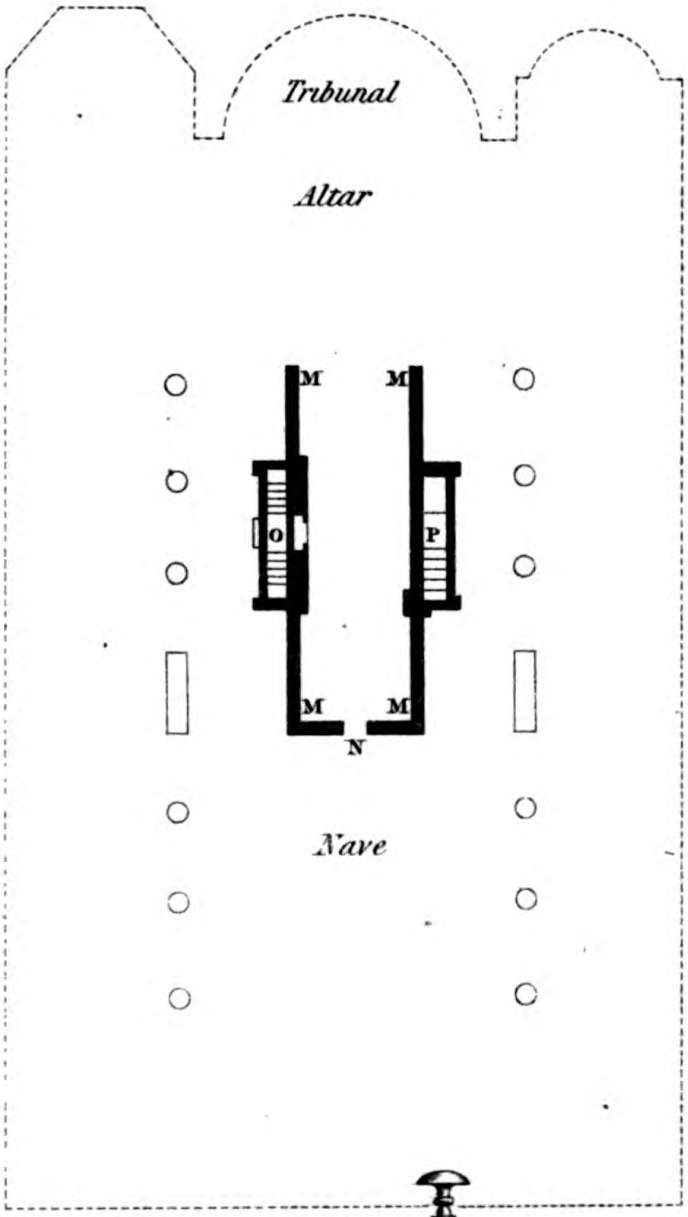

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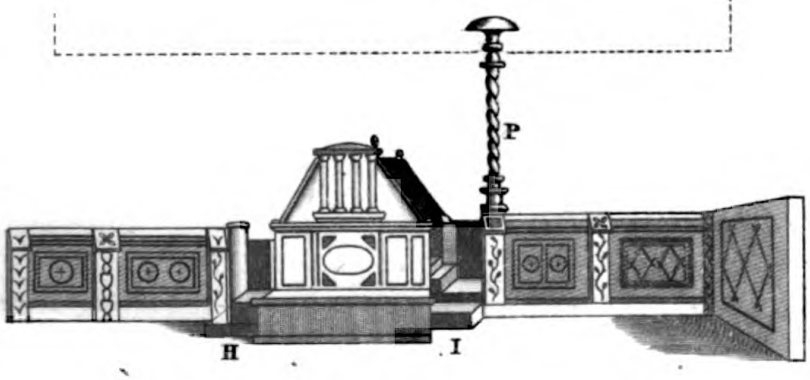

AN INQUIRY

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SECTION I.

Decline of the arts in ancient Rome. Capricious taste in architecture. Entablatures interrupted or entirely removed. Arches placed on the tops of columns.

THE characteristic mark by which Gothic architecture is recognised and ascertained consists in the location of pointed arches upon the capital of the column; an essential which, independently of the particular or occasional inflexion

of the arch, or of accessorial decoration, maintains its ground from the unadorned neatness of the Temple church to the florid tracery of the chapel of St. George at Windsor.

I consider this style as *having originated* in ancient Rome, where the first symptoms are to be traced in a vitious deviation from legitimate architecture.

It is not my intention in this inquiry to engage in a detail of the rise and progress of the fine arts in that metropolis as exemplified in works of elegance or of science, or even to pursue them through the bright æra of Augustus, the period of imitation under Adrian and the Antonines, or in their gradual decline from Severus to Constantine. Sufficient will be the remark that in the space of the last interval, and during the reign of Caracalla and Diocletian in particular, arose edifices more vast and sumptuous than had usually been seen in Italy, or even in Greece in its most prosperous days. But although constructed at a time when uncontrolled authority enforced the

execution of every design, and a fund of wealth indemnified the expenditure, they prove how inadequate is the power of the greatest monarchs, alone, to preserve the taste of a declining age. Buildings, as to their general plan, then indeed exhibited only remains of the great and magnificent ideas which pervaded those of a previous date. They were gigantic as to proportions (1), yet in detail we discover, amidst cost and ornament (2), poverty of design and meanness of execution. As if cloyed by indulgence, the public sickened for novelty; while the artist, without the pain of laborious application (3), found a certain recommendation to the favour of his employers in following the caprice of his own imagination, instead of forming his taste by those pure and genuine models from which he professed to derive his skill.

It is hardly necessary to premise that in all regular architecture, the entablature, or that assemblage of members which is supported by a column over the capital, consists of three parts, the architrave, the frieze, and the cornice; and

that the architrave rests upon the capital of the columns; by which means they are united, and the superincumbent weight is regularly and equally borne. If arches were introduced, they were placed between the columns, below the line of the architrave, and the strength of the fabric was not impaired (*Pl.* I. *fig* 1.); but in the age of fanciful innovation (4) to which I have just alluded, a remarkable deviation from every prescribed rule gained admission. It consisted in the *removal of the arch from its native position between the columns*, in order *to raise it upon them;* sometimes it sprang from the *abacus of the capital* (*Pl.* I. *fig.* 3), sometimes from the *cornice of the entablature* (*Pl.* I. *fig.* 2).

In the *former* case, the *entablature* was *abolished;* in the *latter*, it was *broken through;* in *both*, the *columns* became *insulated*, and the whole edifice was of course deprived of the requisites essential to durability,—compactness and solidity. Could we rely on the genuineness of the Temple of Peace (5) as it now appears, or as it did in a less imperfect condition in the

sixteenth century, the earliest instances of this licentious change would be evident from the reign of Vespasian ; the most unequivocal proofs of its existence, however, are to be found in the baths of Diocletian at Rome, and in his palace at Spalatro in Dalmatia (6). In the great hall (or Sphæristerium) of the former, as delineated by Guamucci in his Antiquities of Rome, published in the year 1580, and in other old engravings executed before that part of the building was repaired and converted into a church, the *arches were placed above the cornice of the entablature* (*Pl.* I. *fig.* 4).

In the circular church built at Rome by Constantia, the daughter of the first Christian Emperor, (all of whose family were partial to churches of this form, the internal arrangement of which was commonly that of the Greek cross,) the *arches* that support the cupola arise also from the *cornice of the entablature* ; but in the basilic church of St. Paul, begun by Constantine and completed by Theodosius or Honorius, the *arches spring from the abacus of the*

capital (*Pl.* I. *fig.* 3). This innovation once sanctioned was never afterwards abandoned. It is not however assumed that this departure from sound architecture was universally and on a sudden adopted, since many instances prove the contrary; but *I assert* that *whether the span of the arch was bold or diminutive, whether elegant or clumsy, whether round or pointed, for use or for ornament, it by degrees obtained the general preference, so that in edifices constructed subsequently to the reign of Constantine, it became their prevailing character, and which, as expressive of the architecture from which it is a vitious deviation, I shall denominate* ROMANESQUE (7).

The small rounded arches united in lines, similar to those of our Norman Saxon cathedrals, with which that at Norwich (which was begun late in the eleventh century) is covered, frequently meet the stranger's eye on the outside of the basilic (8) and other churches of an early date in Rome. The old bell-towers (9) in that metropolis are uniformly in this style. The

arches which decorate them are either double or treble; most commonly the latter (*Pl.* I. *fig.* 5 and 6).

SECTION II.

On the style of building beyond the limits of Italy, during and subsequently to the reign of Constantine.

EXAMPLES of civil architecture in Rome during those periods were few; for as men became intent on the great work of establishing Christianity, the munificence of the higher ranks and the exertions of artists were directed to a new channel, the building and embellishment of ecclesiastical structures. So abundant were the materials remaining from falling edifices, or from the destruction (10) of those in a more perfect state, that little was required of the architect beyond the collection and arrangement of those dislocated spoils: but, however we may regret

this demolition, and the loss of those admirable efforts of human skill evinced in the works of painting and sculpture with which they were adorned, we have no room to complain where, in return for a heathen temple, we gain a Christian church.

The prevailing character of the churches constructed by Constantine and his family has been already mentioned. Reverence for the name of this Emperor sanctioned every undertaking in which Christianity was interested; and the plan of his churches, as far as ability allowed, was commensurate only with the Christian name.

Euseb. E. Hist. lib. 10. c. 2. "Wherever places of worship had been abolished by the iniquity of tyrants, they were once more erected from their foundations and raised to an immeasurable height." Evagrius, who has left a description of the celebrated church of his native Antioch, says, "*the arches being annexed to pillars gave a great elevation to the roof;*"—a circumstance only reconcileable to the *Romanesque architecture.* "In the church of St. Euphemia at Chalcedon, the columns have

Lib. 1. c. 14.

Ibid. l. 2. c. 3.

semicircular arches." In addition to the imperial rescripts that were issued throughout the empire for the building of churches, Constantine, by personal interference, evinced much zeal and anxiety for their execution. While those of Jerusalem and Bethlehem were building under the patronage of his mother, he wrote to Macarius bishop of the former to hasten the construction of them; and offered such materials as were necessary for their completion.

Socrates, lib. 1. c. 13 & 14.

Among the Constantinopolitan churches of which he was the founder, those of the Twelve Apostles and the St. Sophia were the first objects of his munificence. The latter was destroyed by fire in the time of Anacletus, but rose from its ruins with renewed splendour under the auspices of Justinian, whose name may be dwelt upon with gratitude and pleasure, and whose zeal in the cause of Christianity was surpassed by that only of the first Christian Emperor (11). His reign was blest by a constellation of eminent men, not only Greeks but Orientals and Latins, who coincided in his views; and the in-

fluence of religion was now felt and acknowledged in regions more obscure and more remote than those into which it had hitherto penetrated. Besides the reedification of the St. Sophia, Justinian built in his capital and its suburbs no less than twenty-four churches. As far as it can be investigated, the plan (12) of the first governed that of the following, though with enlarged proportions. The cupolas were lofty, and supported by circular colonnades of costly marbles; *all the arches were Romanesque*—(*Pl.* II. *fig.* 1): and Mr. Knight allows that the church of St. Sophia is one of those that contains the germ of that Monastic *Gothic architecture* which afterwards extended itself over most of the kingdoms of Europe.

Procop. de Edif. Just.

Ducange, Constant. Christ.

Enquiry into the Principles of Taste, p. 162.

Sayers's Disquisitions, p. 233.

Drummond, in a tour from Aleppo to the Euphrates, visited and has described the ruins of the edifices constructed in honour of St. Simeon (Stylites) in Arabia Petræa. This saint lived in the reign of Theodosius (395—451), and the remains now delineated (*Pl.* II. *fig.* 2.) most probably had their origin near the time of

Travels, Lond. 1754, fol.

the enthusiast. I am more inclined to adopt this opinion from the great mixture of Roman architecture visible in them, and from the celebrity of St. Simeon, which attracted to his shrine so great a concourse of pilgrims that his memory could not long pass without distinguished honours. From the engravings in Drummond and the description of Evagrius, by whom it was also visited, the church must have possessed considerable magnificence. The specimen referred to exhibits one of the arches of what is called the pillar, and will bring to the reader's recollection those which we call Norman-Saxon. The moulding which surrounds it resembles that which has been called the embattled fret, and which may be seen in Sandwich church, Kent: and the foliage of the capitals, that on the west door-way, called the Prior's entrance, of Ely cathedral.

Eccl. Hist. l. 1. c. 14.

Essays on Go. Archit. p. 137.

Bentham.

SECTION III.

Examination of the opinions of those antiquarians who assert that the Gothic style had not its commencement in Europe.

THE pointed arch, of whatever description or however placed, has been the common rule for deciding the existence of Gothic architecture; and on this account Persia has been repeatedly cited. But after an attentive examination of the engravings of the most antient buildings and of the ruins of edifices in that country, particularly at Persepolis, I have not found one genuine instance. The great Caravansara in Cashan, the Tombs of the Kings (*Pl.* II. *fig.* 3), the Caravansara Majaer (*Pl.* II. *fig.* 4), have indeed pointed arches, but all placed *between the columns*, or rather stone bands, which are *continued over them*, and serve all the purposes of an architrave.

Chardin, p. 412.

Ibid. p. 391.

Le Bruyn, v. 2. 491.

Besides, to remove perplexity, these are mo-

dern; having been executed by Abbas the Great, who died so late as the seventeenth century.

The arches of the portico that incloses the temple at Mecca are *Romanesque*, and spring from the capitals of the columns. Plate in Sale's Transl. of the Korân.

As to the antient buildings in Hindostan, it becomes necessary to discriminate between those of the early and genuine Hindoo architecture and those erected in subsequent times by Mahometans. Lord Valentia, in characterizing the first, observes that they in general possess an imposing and massive dignity, forming an entire contrast with those which were raised by the followers of Mahomet; and which, as at Lucknow, are light, airy, and elegant. His Lordship says that the pagoda in Ramiseram (an island undisturbed by the incursions of Mussulmen) is in this heavy style, and recalled to him the ruins of Ægyptian architecture. Voyages and Travels to India, &c. V. 3. 432.

"The doorway is about forty feet in height, and consists of single stones placed perpendicularly, and of others crossing over." The interior of the Hindoo buildings is in general cha- Ibid. p. 340. Ibid. passim.

racterized by having no arches either between or above the columns;—architraves, though frequently singular and fantastic, *unbroken*; and ceilings most commonly flat. It was not till near the year 1000 of our æra that the Mahometans became formidable in India. The cities of Benares, Akbar-Abâd, and Lucknow, have been often cited as containing the germ of Gothic architecture. In 1194, Mahommed Gori *first* penetrated as far as Benares; and *not till long after* did his followers become a polished people. There are in the edifices of this capital many pointed arches; but, like those lately described in Persia, they are placed between columns, or rather massive stone bands, which are continued above them: and indeed so evident is the resemblance, that an engraving of them would be only a needless repetition. Akbar-Abâd (or the city of Akbar) was an obscure village, till the Great Mogul Akbar, pleased with its situation, made it, so late as the year 1566, his occasional residence; it is now an opulent city, abounding in magnificent and of

course *Mahometan edifices*: the same observations will also apply to Lucknow.

Others have asserted that Gothic architecture was first introduced into Europe from Syria by crusaders on their return from the holy wars (13). From the æra of its construction, crowds of pilgrims had repaired incessantly, though more sedulously at the public festivals, to visit the church of Helena erected over the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and the sanctuaries adjacent. In the year 637 the holy city was taken by the Saracens; the repairs of the church were neglected till 813, when Charlemagne, by permission of the Calif Harun al Rashid, rebuilt it under the inspection of Thomas, patriarch of Jerusalem. Being again injured and defaced by the Saracens in the tenth century, it was restored in 1049. In 1187 Jerusalem was finally lost to the crusaders: the great maritime cities, the castles of the Hospitalers and Templars, fell in succession. Acra at length became the metropolis and *sole possession* of

Eginhard. de Vit. Car. Mag. c. 16. p. 79.

the Latin Christians, by whom it was *retained till the year* 1291.

It is evident from this review that, *from the reign of Constantine till late in the twelfth century*, the Christians *predominated over the architecture of Jerusalem*, and they of course, as far as their power extended, exerted the same influence in *other parts of Syria*. It will presently appear how little capable the Saracens, on their capture of Jerusalem in the seventh century, were of prescribing architectural rules to a civilized people. Acra, when it was wrested from its knights by the Moslems, was adorned with strong and stately buildings, calculated both for use and ornament. The church of St. John, now august in ruins, is decidedly Gothic; the windows are tall and narrow with lancet-shaped arches, and bear great resemblance to those of Newark Priory, in Surrey, which was built late in the twelfth century.

Grose, v. 5. p. 113.

From this survey of the subject, we may infer, that the mode of building in the Holy Land was transported by the crusaders *from the*

west to the east, rather than the contrary: and the same may be also said of the Gothic edifices in the island of Cyprus.

Others have conjectured that Gothic architecture was brought by the Saracens into Spain; and thence introduced into Gaul and Britain.

Before the Arabians became the proselytes of Mahomet (A. D. 622) their mode of life was unfavourable to the progress of science. Unsettled and roving, this people were chiefly occupied by the care of their flocks and herds, and had little opportunity or inducement to apply to any description of learning. Brucker, l. 5. c. 1 & 2.

Wholly illiterate himself, the prophet inculcated among his disciples, whose understandings were feeble and passions gross, the opinion that the Korân, which was sent down from heaven, was a complete summary of all necessary knowledge. A blind assent to the doctrines which it contained was exacted. The violent means that he employed in the propagation of his religion, and the edicts by which he prohibited

among his followers the study of letters and philosophy, are sufficiently notorious. From these causes, science during the first ages of Mahometanism found no protection in Arabia, and it was not till after the accession of the Abbasides (A.D. 749) that the dawn of philosophy appears. Almanzor, the second prince of this dynasty, was of a gentle temper, which he employed in subduing the ferocity of the times: his natural good sense taught him the value of learning, and qualified him to detect the erroneous maxims upon which the Mahometan system of policy was founded; while his liberal and candid spirit rendered him easily accessible to learned men of every country and profession. Of all the different branches of knowledge the healing art was in the highest estimation. Many enlightened Christians at this period resided at Bagdat, the seat of empire, as well as in other parts of the Mahometan dominions; and it was the department of many among these to regulate the practice of medicine. Almanzor had in his court two Christian physicians who enjoyed his

esteem, who, independently of their professional attainments, possessed deep knowledge, and who inspired their sovereign with the love of literature and philosophy. He besides offered liberal rewards to those linguists who would undertake translations of the Greek writers on philosophy and other departments of science. These exertions on the part of the prince produced their natural consequences on his subjects; and the Saracens finally became polite and elegant.

In the year 647, 107 years before the reign of Almanzor (A.D. 754), the conquest of Africa from the Nile to the Atlantic was attempted, by the arms of the Calif Othman, and completed in little more than half a century (14).

Consistently with the spirit of the Korân, the barbarians unsparingly extinguished the remains of former learning. Thus, strangers to all that ministers to the comfort, to all that embellishes the mind, or that exalts the understanding of man, the Arabians had every thing to learn; and the Greek and Latin Christians were their

only preceptors. They first undertook the invasion of Spain in the year 710, consequently, before ferocious manners had yielded to civilization. "In the space of two centuries the gifts of nature were improved by the agriculture, the manufacture, and the commerce of an industrious people, and the effects of their diligence have been magnified by the idleness of fancy."

Gibbon, c. 51. p. 488.

In the mosque at Corduba, the arches are Romanesque; they vary as to form; are circular, horse-shoe, and pointed. There are pointed arches also in the Moorish palace at Grenada called Alhambra. The date of the latter is 1273; and of course was not constructed till Gothic arches were in common use in our own island.

SECTION IV.

Early instances of arches, whether round or pointed, which spring from the capitals of columns. Proofs of their existence in the contemplation of artists before they were used in buildings.

IN ROME.

On a medal of Marcus Agrippa is represented a circular temple designed for his Pantheon, the upper part of which is surrounded by a line of Romanesque arches, issuing from the capitals of the columns (*Pl.* II. *fig.* 6). Du Choul, De la Religion des Anciens Romains, p. 7.

On a medal of Aurelia Quirina is the figure of Jupiter Capitolinus sitting in the portico of a temple (*Pl.* II. *fig.* 5). Ibid. 38.

On one of Antoninus Pius is a figure standing under an arch upon an altar, the mark of deification (*Pl.* III. *fig.* 1). Ibid. 64.

On one of the same emperor, and on another of Marcus Aurelius, and also on one of Septimius Vaillant, p. 166. Du Choul, 176. 214.

Du Choul, p. 214. Severus, we discover a figure, under the portico of a tetrastyle temple, the *entablature of the middle intercolumniation* of which is *elevated, and an arch thereby formed, to give room for it to stand in*, as represented in *Pl.* III. *fig.* 2.

Ibid, p. 72. On two medals, one of Marcus Aurelius, and the other of Antoninus Pius, are represented the piles ornamentally constructed for the ceremony of their apotheosis. They are highly decorated; the first has a line of round arches surmounted by another of pointed (*Pl.* III. *fig.* 6), the last, by those only of a round form.

Roma Sotterranea di Bosio, p. 116. The sarcophagus of Junius Bassus from the crypt of the basilica of St. Peter, which was sculptured in the twenty-third year of Constantius (A.D. 359), is covered on one side with scriptural subjects, in architectural compartments. These are twelve in number and in two tiers; in the lower, the arches *spring from the capitals*, and are *alternately round and pointed* (*Pl.* IV. *fig.* 1.)

Ibid. p. 121. The architectural compartments on the sarcophagus of Probus (A.D. 371), have Roma-

nesque arches; all the columns are covered with *spiral flutes*, and are highly decorated.

IN SYRIA.

"In the Medico-Laurentian library at Florence is a Syrian manuscript of the Evangelists, written A.D. 586, full of pictures and miniatures on twenty-six leaves. The second shows the Virgin Mary with the infant Jesus in her arms, under a ciborium, supported by four pillars which are dressed with chevrons, lozenges, and eggs." The pillars are generally spiral or fluted, and covered with different ornaments, which were afterwards transferred to stone buildings, and seem to be the true origin of what is denominated the Saxon style (*Pl.* IV. *fig.* 2, 3, 4). One of these gives the form of the *contrasted* Gothic arch.

Ledwich's Observat. on Ancient Churches, Archæologia, v. 8.

IN BRITAIN.

The antiquities in our island applicable to the present subject may be divided into *Roman* and *Christian*. As to the former, diligent re-

search would, I doubt not, supply more examples than I offer to the observation of the reader. Those now referred to are from the Britannia Romana of Horsely, Pl. 192, No. 57, fig. 1; No. 67, fig. 4; No. 5, fig. 14; and are probably of the fourth century; an engraving of the last is given in *Pl.* III. *fig.* 3, which from its tendency to connect the *Romanesque* with the *incipient Gothic*, the reader may compare with *fig.* 1, 2, and 5, of *Pl.* III. Upon an altar in Gibson's Camden, there are two elegant spiral columns, with other consistent decorations.

Cumberland, p. 626.

Respecting *Christian Britain* an event happened in the sixth century, which, if not conducive to the independence of its ecclesiastical establishment, was favourable to the promotion of its exterior decoration. The Anglo-Saxon monarch Ethelbert espoused Bertha (15) the daughter of Cherebert king of Paris, a princess who by her own influence, seconded by the efforts of the clergy, formed in the mind of her royal consort a disposition to adopt the

Christian religion. Availing himself of this revolution, Gregory the Great sent over St. Augustine, attended by certain Benedictine monks, who at length perfected the change which the queen had begun, and eventually subjugated the church of Britain to the hierarchy of Rome. By these means the intercourse between this country and the capital of the Christian world was facilitated; and, whether from motives of devotion, curiosity, or information, became unremitting (16). The head to conceive and the hand to execute were imported thence, and we read of various descriptions of artists from Italy of whom it was the employment to plan and to decorate (17) our early ecclesiastical structures; and to imitate in their designs those of their own metropolis (18). "All the ancient stone churches, built in consequence of the conversions made by the Roman missionaries, were therefore built with simple circular arches, *more et opere Romano.*" "It is, as repeatedly as mention is made of the saints and bishops building churches in the earliest times in this island,

so constantly said, that their buildings were the *opus Romanum.*"

Richard. Prior Hagulst. de Stat. Eccles. lib. 1. c. 3.

It is expressly said of St. Wilfrid (A. D. 720) that he learnt his architecture at Rome, and built his church at Hagulsted (Hexham) after that model.

Eadmer, describing the difference of the old church at Canterbury, and the new one built after the destruction of the former, says, "*veterem ecclesiam Romanorum opere factam.*" Bede also "*testatur hanc Romanorum opere factam, et ex quadam parte* ad imitationem *ecclesiæ beati apostolorum principis Petri.*"

Pownal on Gothic Architecture. Archæologia, v. 9. p. 110.

"The churches built in the time of Alfred, who brought both the arts and artists from Rome, particularly that at Oxford, were built with circular arches, *more Romano.*"

Beda, Hist. Ec. lib. 5. c. 21.

Naitan king of the Picts (A.D. 714) applied to Ceolfred abbot of St. Peter's (Weremuth) for some experienced architects, to build him a church of stone, "*more Romanorum.*"

Relative to the earlier parts of the Anglo-Saxon æra architectural remains are extremely

rare. Among these I comprehend the buildings constructed between the conversion of Ethelbert and the reign of Alfred (873), of which interval there are partial remains, though it may be doubted if there is any entire structure: from that period to the middle of the eleventh century there are many. Mr. King would reduce Saxon buildings to five classes, by which such parts as "remain may be identified.—Now and then they were somewhat imitated by the Normans; but in such a manner, as they may easily be distinguished by a discerning eye, both by the larger proportion of the several parts, and by an evident introduction of *corresponding ornaments* on each side, instead of the *Saxon diversity.*" Whatever success may have attended this arrangement, it is certain that in the essentials of building the changes during the interval now mentioned were of slight importance. Paris and Malmsbury indeed speak of a new mode of building introduced by the Normans, which the former applies to the abbey church of Westminster, built by Edward the Confessor. No plan of this struc-

Munim. Ant. vol. 4. p. 78.

Hist. p. 1.

ture by which this new mode of building is to be verified has been hitherto pointed out. An elevation of it, however, is to be seen in the Bayeux tapestry. It is like the architecture that we know prevailed at this time in England, and which differs not from the Saxon, except in the loftiness of the tower and extension of proportions.

Pl. 1. Ducarel.

Mr. Strutt's Illustrations from the MS. lives of the two Offas in the British Museum, though of a more recent date than that to which they refer, are nevertheless extremely curious. Plate 64 gives the procession of St. Alban's shrine (19); Pl. 65, Offa does homage to the pope (20); and in Pl. 66, he constitutes Willegoda the first abbot of St. Alban's (21). "*Gravure* sert quelquefois à la falsification de l'histoire," is the remark of Bayle:—but having examined the original drawings, I can vouch for the correctness of these now cited;—a rare merit in engravings, but which those of Mr. Strutt always possess.

Horda Angelcynnan, vol. 1.

In Gibson's Camden Pl. VIII. fig. 20 is given a coin of Edward the Confessor (A.D. 1041—1065); on the reverse is a building, perhaps

the great church at St. Edmund's Bury, which he either rebuilt or founded. It shows the gable of the edifice, on which are two tiers of Romanesque arches, with one above that is pointed: there is on each side a pinnacle. In plates 36 and 45, the throne of Offa is decorated with quaterfoils (22), each having *five small apertures*; intended I conceive for the sacred *stigmata.*

I make one general observation on the designs in Strutt; the *pointed* arches are *doorways*; the *round, thrones, porticos,* &c.

SECTION V.

Remarks on the foregoing illustrations tending to develop the rudiments, and to trace the progress and gradual expansion of the Romanesque, till finally lost in the Gothic style.

THE circular temple on the medal of Marcus Agrippa the son-in-law of Augustus, represents, even in that remote period, a line of Romanesque arches surrounding the upper part of the edifice (*Pl.* II. *fig.* 6). It is a well-known fact that ancient buildings are seldom faithfully given on coins; the present was intended for the Pantheon, and must have always been extremely incorrect. The circular aperture in the roof is omitted; the pillars of the portico are *six* instead of *eight*; and, notwithstanding the acknowledged mutations this edifice has undergone since its foundation, it is incredible that arches similar to these constituted a part of the original structure: yet such must have been

familiar to the artist who designed the medal, or he never would have ventured to insert them.

In *Pl.* II. *fig.* 5 Jupiter Capitolinus is shown sitting under a pediment.—In *Pl.* III. *fig.* 3 the figure rests upon its feet; greater height being therefore required, the architrave is removed; *thereby a pointed arch is formed*, which springs from the *capitals* of the columns.

From Horsely, Brit. Rom. No. 5, fig. 14.

Now it is obvious that in the two last instances the *designer* acted upon rules prescribed by his art; for, if he had *removed* the architrave above the head of the *first figure*, there would have been *too much space* for a *correct* composition: but from the erect position of the figure in the other, more height was required; the architrave was necessarily abolished, and the consequence was to every intent and purpose a Gothic arch, (as will presently appear from the definition of Grose, and from note 23), and greatly resembling those that were in use during the latter part of our Henry the Third's reign, and in that of his successor Edward the First.

In *Pl.* III. *fig.* 1 the figure is standing, and

is besides raised upon an altar; the architrave for the reason above stated is removed, and a *Romanesque* arch is formed above it.

In *Pl.* III. *fig.* 2 the figure stands under a portico, and to see the *whole* of it was essential; but *four* columns instead *of two* as in the last rendered it impossible to dispense with the *whole* of the architrave, and suggested the expedient of absurdly (in an architectural sense) elevating the entablature of the *middle* intercolumniation into an *arch*; furnishing another example of the sacrifice of propriety to the *laws of composition*,—and it will soon be observed that this singular licence was copied in edifices of great magnificence.

On the Bassian sarcophagus (*Pl.*IV. *fig.* 1), the *pointed arch* (the earliest instance, unless that lately noticed from Horsely be coeval, which I have met with of its use *in stone*) *above* the columns is complete; and of that simple construction described by Grose,—"*two flat stones with their tops inclined to each other, and touching, form the rudiments of the Gothic arch.*" (23)

Antiq. vol. i. p. 195. Preface.

Specimens of arches thus formed are not common; they harmonize with point, and we accordingly sometimes find them on spires, as on that of the cathedral of Norwich erected 1321. Its use in the middle ages was extensive. From the splendid description of Ægypt, printed at Paris, I learn that the arches of the aqueduct of old Cairo, of Saracenic construction, and perhaps of the fourteenth century, are precisely of this form. In the hitherto unnoticed arches on the ruins of Bromholm Priory, Norfolk, it is curious to observe those that are Romanesque (now soon to be abandoned), mixt with others that are sharply pointed, and whose sides have *a very slight inflexion.*

Tom. 1. pl. 20.

Nor indeed is it to be ascertained how early IN THE CHRISTIAN ÆRA pointed arches were *conceived* and *occasionally employed.* In one instance I find them in the reign of *Severus*, not *above* the columns, but in their native position *between* them. They are upon a colonial medal of Julia Domna, the wife of that emperor,

Vaillant, pt. 2. pl. 20.

of course nearly a century *before* the reign of Diocletian (*Pl.* III. *fig.* 7).

If we refer to the engravings from the Medico-Laurentian manuscript, we shall find that in the sixth century the same style prevailed in Syria, with embellishments which, in buildings of a subsequent age in Britain, have been denominated Saxon, or Norman-Saxon.

SECTION VI.

Recapitulatory observations. Influence of composition.

From the above instances it is evident that the deviation from regular architecture, under consideration, *had existence in the minds of artists*, and was displayed on medals, in funeral and scenical decorations, and in light and airy subjects, as early as the æra of *Au-*

gustus; that in process of time it was introduced in buildings; when the *arch, of whatever description, always sprang from the cornice of the entablature*, or from the *capital of the column*.

The *first* of these innovations, however, was apparently of short duration; probably, from the instability it communicated to the structure in which it was employed;—the second became *permanent*; and, by the time of *Justinian*, was almost universally adopted.

Neither was its use confined to Italy; since it guided the taste of edifices as far as the influence of Rome and of Constantinople was acknowledged.

From the existence of pointed arches in various parts of the globe, and in the eastern more particularly, conjectures have been formed that Gothic architecture was derived thence; yet from the facts now adduced, it appears to have had its origin in early deviations from legitimate architecture in the metropolis of the Christian world. Still the opinion finds its advocates —that the Gothic was produced by the Christian

Greeks of Constantinople, between the reign of Justinian and the first crusade. In adopting the opposite opinion, I trust I am justified by an investigation of the character, pursuits, and prepossessions of the Byzantines; and whose intercourse with men of learning and artists in Rome, during that interval, together with the causes which by turns promoted or impeded mutual and beneficial communication, will be discussed in a subsequent note.

P. 190.

If we direct our research to Britain, we find instances of the *Romanesque* in *very early times;* but, in consequence of a revolution in the British church during the sixth century, the same description of architecture, under the denomination of "*opus Romanum*," became prevalent throughout the island. Long after the introduction of it, the Romanesque and the pointed arch were both employed and occasionally mixt in the same edifice. In the course of time *the latter prevailed* to the *total exclusion* of the former, and then *every part* of the building *harmonized* with the *angular tendency* of

the arch; we accordingly find gables, steeples, pinnacles, and sometimes even buttresses, shooting upwards in a pyramidal form.

Even the human figure was so designed as to be adapted only to the pointed niche (24) in which it was placed.

Our curiosity is excited to trace this deviation from genuine architecture to its source, and to develop its subsequent mutations. But as well may we seek to account for, and to follow, on any other occasion, the aberrations of capricious fancy from truth through all the intricacies of error.

The deterioration of letters (and the various branches of science (25) will ever sympathize with them) in the third century, arose from beginnings almost imperceptible, and which, with little exception, had been continued without intermission from the reign of Augustus (26).

We fix the æra of Diocletian indeed for the *admission* of the *Romanesque*, because it is first *decidedly* visible in the *edifices* of his reign; but it was established, as the foregoing illustrations

prove, by a slow and gradual process, since men do not on a sudden adopt, neither can they with unresisting acquiescence approve, an innovation, tending to the subversion of a splendid and a noble science, which they have so long venerated, and so ostentatiously employed to perpetuate the glory of their nation. A truth that will *to a certain degree* apply to the Gothic also, whose progressive growth and expansion the annexed illustrations have a tendency to develop; and which will make us hesitate to admit a modern assumption, the "*invention of the Gothic arch*" in the twelfth century, and to doubt the hypothesis that it was the "*discovery of this country.*"

Should it appear that the designs of artists were first employed on ornamental subjects, and that these from elegance and propriety of adaptation eventually influenced the architect in the form and disposition of his buildings, a wide field will be presented to our investigation.

Harmonious arrangement whether in painting or in sculpture is analogous to euphony in lan-

guage, an embellishment to whose imperious dictates the first masters in literary composition obsequiously bend.

In adjusting the frame to the picture the artist must always attend to consistent adaptation. But it sometimes happens that the frame is already made, and he has then no controul over situation: still however the rules of composition must not be disregarded; the forms which he sketches, whether on the irregular onyx, or on the roof-stones of a Gothic cathedral, must assume a relative inflexion, and they may assume it without violation of either beauty or propriety. Besides, the great professors in ancient days well knew, and, when required, *acted* upon it as *a fixt principle*, that partial incorrectness was occasionally necessary to produce *general accuracy* of effect (27). Instances of this compliance incessantly occur in the highest branches of the arts. The narrow and lengthened line of dying figures on the well known sarcophagus of the Niobe family, so supremely beautiful in its *native* situation, would lose much

Fabroni, Statue appartenenti alla Favola di Niobe, pl. 18. Firenze, 1779.

of its effect by transfer to any other. The figures on engraven gems, particularly those *called* Etruscan and early Greek, whose limbs, elegantly inflected, obey the shape of the stone, will not allow of removal from a round to a square border. (From the name on the specimen now engraven (*Pl.* VI. *fig.* 6) we learn it to be Tydeus (28). The gem is a cornelian, the shape that of a scarab.) For the same reason, the engravings from the Greek vases fail to afford a scientific beholder the gratification which he derives from a view of the originals. In their native situations these designs have relation to the *rotund* and, I might say, the *architectural tendency* of the vase; and, if faithfully delineated, will not without *diminished* effect bear change to a flat surface. To place a *graceful figure* under a semicircular arch was very frequent in ancient times. In the Arabesques in Cabott, which date with the Antonines, are several; and they derive singular elegance from their suitableness to that visual boundary; but no artist would hazard his reputation by placing one of them

Stucchi Figurati, &c. Fol. Roma, 1795.

within a pointed arch. And, as a more familiar exposition of this principle, and which may become obvious to the common observer, let him but enter a Gothic church, and mark the lofty, slight, and clustered columns, the various niches and enriched tabernacles,—and tell me whether the substitution of semicircular for pointed arches could be endured. Neither are the diversified forms of Gothic arches more the result of architectural caprice than of symmetrical arrangement with the plan of the edifice in which they are admitted.

In reverting to the examples before us, whether Roman or Saxon, we shall find many instances, where for the sake of composition the artist sets *architectural consistency at defiance. In Plate* III. *fig.* 2, *we see one of this description, where a Romanesque arch is formed in the middle of the entablature of a tetrastyle portico, merely to give head-room to the figure that stands underneath; an irregularity not however too absurd to be soon admitted in masonry, as I have the satisfaction of proving*

Spalatro, pl.20. *in two important instances; one in what Adams calls the Crypto-porticus of Diocletian's Palace at Spalatro, and the other in the vestibule of the same structure* (*Pl.* III. *fig.* 4 and 5).

SECTION VII.

Causes favourable to the admission of the Romanesque. Arabesques. Passage from Cassiodorus.

THERE is, besides the reasons already adduced, one which, in the age of declining taste, tended to render the *Romanesque* arch permanent. A great part of the *columns* in ancient Rome were the spoils of foreign cities. In the removal of these trophies, the victors, either regardless or ignorant of the use and importance of the *architraves*, and generally of the *capitals*, left them behind.

This loss it would at all times be difficult for

Italy to restore, and when Thebaic granites, porphyries, and oriental marbles were required, impossible.

In bringing together the "*scattered limbs of the giant*," therefore, necessity taught the Romans to supply the deficiency, and to unite the columns, *not by architraves*, as in the happier days of liberal science, but by *arches formed over them;* an expedient that required little skill or expense, since small stones only were necessary, and such were always at command. Another circumstance which might in some degree dispose the general taste to the admission of the architectural caprices of those times, and which proves also the wayward restlessness of the public mind at the moment the arts were attaining the highest perfection ever known in ancient Rome, was the use of Arabesque or Grotesque ornaments in finishing the interior of edifices, which prevailed during the reign of Augustus. Here we find every description of arch and pillar, which by imagination could be invented. Vitruvius, who venerated the science Lib. 7. c. 5.

he professed, and who was a declared enemy to every departure from classical excellence, censures this species of decoration in which are employed figures and subjects totally at variance with nature. Among these, are columns formed of the stems of shrubs twisted in various shapes, —supporting chandeliers and houses,—flowers with demi-figures issuing from them, some with human heads, others with those of animals ;— " novel fancies that mislead the public judgement, so that we can scarce meet with any one capable of discovering what is excellent in the arts, or able to appretiate their value." (29)

I have cited the *reign of Justinian* as a period when the *Romanesque* style was greatly extended. Buildings of that æra, now remaining, are in general composed of the spoils of earlier edifices, and owe much of their preservation to the massive columns by which they are sustained ; whilst those of *more light and airy construction* have long since yielded to the ravages of time. *That such did anciently exist,* (and the architectural engravings in the Antiqui-

ties of Herculaneum, in this particular, merit examination,) and that there was then an increasing partiality for edifices of the latter character, is unquestionable; and in support of this opinion, I wish to direct the attention of the inquisitive reader to a passage in Cassiodorus, which, had it been written with reference to the Gothic of the fifteenth century, instead of the architecture of Italy during the age in which this author lived, might have been perused *without interest*; though, as it applies to the *sixth century, it merits particular investigation.*

Edit. Piroli, tom. 1. pl. 39 to 44.

"Quid dicamus columnarum junceam proceritatem? Moles illas sublimissimas fabricarum, quasi quibusdam erectis hastilibus contineri, et substantiæ qualitate concavis canalibus excavatas, ut magis ipsas æstimes fuisse transfusas: ceris judices factum, quod metallis durissimis videas expolitum: marmorum juncturas, venas dicas genitales: ubi dum falluntur oculi laus probatur crevisse miraculis."

Cassiodori Var. lib. 7.—Ad Præfect. Urb. de Archit. public. Formul. 15.

Another source may be explored that may have prepared the public mind for the admission

of the Romanesque style. The prevailing characteristic of the Græcian architecture is unity of design, a principle which forbade the introduction of mixt orders in the same edifice. That of the Romans, on the contrary, was more complex. In the construction of many of their edifices, and of their theatres and amphitheatres in particular, where greater elevation was required than could be obtained by a single order, they piled one above another till they gained a proper height; as we find in the theatre of Marcellus, and in the Coliseum of Vespasian.

When columns were admitted within buildings, as in their basilicæ, or in such immense halls as the Sphæristerium of Diocletian's baths, where orders placed above each other might be deemed inconsistent, the expedient of raising arches over them might be resorted to, to give the roof a bolder elevation (30).

SECTION VIII.

Opinions of eminent men relative to Gothic architecture. Conclusion.

THE author has now to the best of his abilities accounted for the origin of Gothic architecture, and in so doing has acquitted himself of his engagement.

But as the reader must have already conceived that this style of building is not the first object of his preference; he considers it a duty to enable him to judge, whether this predilection arise from weakness or prejudice, by stating briefly the *basis* on which it rests, and the *effect* which its use has a tendency to produce on liberal science and on cultivated feeling.

He might have reposed less confidence in his own opinion if unsanctioned by the suffrage of eminent moderns indubitably qualified for the discussion; and he subjoins their sentiments, (31) which from their pens will convey a more

forcible impression than from his own: so that he hesitates not to assert that *where the love of architecture has been excited by an attentive view of the happy productions of elevated and comprehensive minds as displayed in the pure remains of antiquity, a man will be as little inclined to prefer their spurious offspring, as the Eton scholar to reject his Homer for the wild though fascinating vagaries of Ariosto.*

He venerates the motives to which our early ecclesiastical edifices owe their rise (32); for they were constructed *in a period when men built temples to their God, and hovels for themselves.* But when it becomes a question to which style the preference is now, or shall in future be given, he asks, Can any one on a review of St. Paul's cathedral in London, or St. Peter's at Rome, regret that they are not Gothic piles? Can any reflecting and serious Christian ever pretend that they are not equally capable with the latter of exciting devotional feeling? I mean not merely that sterile and transient rapture, in which the body

alone is prostrate, but that fervent and edifying piety where the soul bows itself down in reverence to its Maker.

Considering Gothic structures exclusively *as the productions of art*, he must ever deplore the misapplication of talent they evince; the waste of time, rewarded by no adequate progression of science;—and of wealth, which, directed into a purer channel, would have advanced among us the art of building to a pitch unrivalled by any age or country.

The merit of works of science will ever be estimated by the expansion of mind, the correctness of judgement they display, and the utility to which they are subservient. Where these marks of distinction occur, we shall invariably find that simplicity (33) which is the parent of greatness. Intricacy and sophistication can never engage the affections nor enlarge the understanding. Thus in a Gothic structure (34) the eye wanders with fruitless inquiry for dignity without pomp;—generally, for unity of design; vainly and incessantly, for the suppression of

all that is little.—These are reasons that justify the parallel with the inferior schools of painting, and with the mistaken taste in poetry, which are equally the objects of the author's reprehension. On the contrary, though not disdainful of ornament, the prevailing feature of a Græcian temple is simplicity, which renders the plan at once conspicuous and intelligible;—it wears an honest openness of character (*dove "nella fronte il cor si legge,"*) similar to that which in our intercourse with common life attaches one human being to another, and forms one of the greatest charms of social existence.

Petrarca, pt. 1. son. 185.

Longinus.

A celebrated critic of antiquity has defined sublimity—"an *image reflected from the inward greatness of the soul:*" and we are compelled to acknowledge that grandeur and perfection can never result from minute combination.

APPENDIX.

MR. SMIRKE, in his "Account of some remains of Gothic architecture in Italy and Sicily," has adduced instances of that style, which he has illustrated with engravings of singular elegance, of an earlier date than has been usually assigned for its commencement. Archæologia, v. 15. p. 363.

In his *first* drawing is represented a window from the cathedral church of Messina, which was built in the eleventh century;—where we observe some peculiarities which characterize the style generally supposed to have been introduced into this country more than two centuries afterwards. These are stone tracery, clustered pillars, and the remains of enriched pinnacles.

In the *second* is delineated part of the Baptistery of Pisa, which was built from the plans of Diotisalvi in the year 1152. The arches are *Romanesque*, pediments highly pointed, pin-

nacles lofty, of delicate execution, and both ornamented with crockets. The general plan is formed upon that of the cathedral of the same city, built by Boschetto A.D. 1016.

The *third* exhibits some windows of the west side of the Campo Santo or cemetery of Pisa. This is simply a portico with open *semicircular* arches decorated with tracery, inclosing a quadrangular area. It was executed after the designs of Giovanni da Pisa; was begun A.D. 1275, and completed in the eighth year afterwards.

Sir H. C. Englefield, in the following paper, expresses some doubt as to the genuineness of these Gothic ornaments, on the ground that they are posterior to the original buildings. He is also of opinion that those of the Baptistery and the Campo Santo, as the pediments, pinnacles, crockets, and tracery, are accessories which were not in use *when these buildings were erected*, and are therefore the *additions* of some *later period*. In support of his hypothesis the Baronet further observes that on the celebrated Leaning Tower of Pisa, built

only fourteen years after, and highly decorated with tiers of columns in a style precisely similar to those which adorn the outside of the Baptistery, there is no trace of any Gothic ornaments like those which appear over the smaller colonnade of the latter, though the high finish and elegance of the Campanile would in all probability have induced the architect to adopt embellishments of that character had they been then in use. He also remarks on the supposed inconsistency of elaborate and pointed tracery in the windows of the Campo Santo placed within semicircular arches; and, from a passage in the "Theatrum Basilicæ Pisanæ," conjectures that they were added in the year 1464.

Mr. Smirke, in reply, disallows the validity of these objections. He states that the Gothic enrichments of the Baptistery are *not* of subsequent insertion, and that the same city affords an instance of crockets in a building of earlier construction, where they undoubtedly form a part of the original design. These are to be seen in the cathedral, where upon the upper

Pl. 24. part of the west front, and elsewhere in the edifice, a fringe of crockets prevails.

In the Campo Santo, *pointed arches* with Gothic tracery are placed under those that are *circular*, and which occur also in the tower of the No. 2, Pl. 25. church De' Frari at Venice, which was designed and erected by Niccolo da Pisa in 1234. This tower has undergone no change since it was first constructed. " The interior of the church is grand ; columns of massy proportion divide the nave from the side isles, and support a range of *pointed* arches: the east end is more enriched." Mr. Smirke then quotes a passage from Vasari, who was employed as an architect in Pisa, and at so short a time after the year 1464 that we cannot suppose him to have been ignorant of any such subsequent alterations in the design of a building which he so much ad-
T. 1. p. 280. mired. On the contrary, in his Life of Giovanni da Pisa, he expressly says of this edifice, " Egli con buon disegno e con molto giudizio lo fece, in quella maniera, e con quelli ornamenti di marmo, e di quella grandezza *che si vede*."

An instance of the *pointed* under the *circular arch* occurs even in Mr. Smirke's plate of the Baptistery, now under consideration, where two spiral lines springing from the munnion of the middle upper window to the right and left form two pointed arches. The fragments of these are beset with small protuberances, probably the remains of tracery which has fallen out. In the two others even the munnions are gone.

Respecting the admission of Gothic enrichments in the Campanile, which Vasari defines by the epithets "*bella, ingegnosa, capricciosa,*" I cannot persuade myself that this building required them. The lower range of pillars by which it is surrounded is of a debased Corinthian; the six tiers of circular colonnades above are composed of small Romanesque arches, resembling those of the ancient bell-towers in Rome, and those which occasionally decorate our Norman cathedrals, a description of which has been already given (page 6, *Pl.* I. *fig.* 6). The bases of each tier of columns rest upon the cornices of those below, and so completely

Vit. Niccolo e Gio. Pisani, t. 1. p. 273.

cover the exterior, as to leave no vacancy for any further decoration; neither does the eye of the spectator require it, as in the Baptistery where the deep space above the columns of the second order is skilfully varied by the insertion of pediments, niches, crockets, and pinnacles. Nor, indeed, is the testimony of Vasari, who on all occasions is accurate in defining the character of the buildings he describes, to be slightly regarded. I once for a considerable time had daily opportunities of viewing these structures, but my mind never received an impression that the accessories were at variance with the original building; nor was this opinion ever suggested, although I associated with persons who were well versed in the antiquities of their native city: and I further hope to make it appear that there is no instance of Gothic architecture in *Tuscany*, that dates so late as the year 1464 (35).

The reasoning of Mr. Smirke will be enforced by stating the cause to which the Campo Santo owes its rise. *Giovanni* the son of the

abovementioned *Niccolo da Pisa*, was employed to build the small church of St. Maria della Spina, in Pisa. It is Gothic, highly ornamented, and wrought to such perfection that it seemed a miracle, ("*in que' tempi tenuta miracolosa.*") It is still greatly admired, and is defined by Mr. Kerrich as a light and elegant Gothic structure; and is an eminent proof that Gothic architecture was then in use, and that *Giovanni* was skilful in the execution of it. His success in this undertaking gave such satisfaction to his employers that they engaged him (A. D. 1275) to build the Campo Santo. Another instance of Gothic workmanship executed by this master was at Arezzo, where he constructed an insulated altar, (apparently like those already described in the basilic churches at Rome,) and of which his biographer says—"il finimento di tutta l' opera sono alcuni *tabernacoli pieni di figure tonde* (insulated figures) *di marmo lavorate molto sottilmente.*"

Vasari, Vit. t. 1. p. 280.

Archæologia, vol. 16. p. 301.

Vasari, Vit. t. 1. p. 281.

Ibid. p. 282.

This subject, which is of some importance in

the history of the architecture of the middle ages, may derive illustration from examining the state of that science in Italy, but more particularly in Tuscany, during and subsequently to the period when the edifices in question were erected.

At the dawn of the tenth century Venice and Genoa were become conspicuous. Stimulated by the preference they had obtained, Pisa so far improved the commercial advantages of her situation, as to be deemed the emporium of Tuscany; a distinction she maintained for three succeeding centuries; in arts and learning superior, and in civilized manners not yielding to either of those cities.

This æra, though comparatively obscure, was yet not so entirely enveloped in darkness as has been pretended. Rome, where the arts were never extinct, contained practitioners of every description, either such as were born and educated there, or strangers who had settled for the sake of studying the numerous sacred and profane antiquities which abounded in the ca-

pital of the Christian world. Yet that impartial mother, affording equal encouragement both to foreigners and natives, made no effort for the establishment of a national academy. The cities of Tuscany adopted a different plan, and Pisa set the example. Her seminaries of learning were early conspicuous, and from a bull issued by Benedict the Fourth, dated 903, we learn that masters were there appointed in theology. As she emerged from obscurity, schools were established for the sister arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture. These were instituted and promoted with such opulence and flourished so successfully as to obtain the celebrity of presenting Italy herself with some of her early and most eminent masters. Among those of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Bruschetto, the architect of the cathedral begun A.D. 1063, and completed 1092, (he has been supposed both by Vasari and Martini to have been a Greek and a native of Dulichium;—a more recent discovery proves him an Italian), Diotisalvi (or Allievi), who constructed the Baptis-

Vasari, t. 6. Pref. San. p. 7.

Flaminio dal Borgo, Diss. sull. Origine Univ. Pisana, p. 79.

Vasari, t. 1. pref. lxii.

T. 1. Proem. p. 226.

Theat. Basil. Pisan., c. 3.

Flaminio dal Borgo, ut supra, p. 55.

tery (A. D. 1152), *Niccolo da Pisa* and his son *Giovanni*, (who long presided over the schools of their native city, and who were probably the masters of Cimabue, Raimondo, and Bonanno,) the two friends and fellow students Di Lapo and D'Arnolfo, were all Italians, and, excepting the last who was a Florentine, most probably Pisans. The twelfth century was also a remarkable æra for buildings *and masonry*, both for secular and religious purposes. The towers which are a striking feature in the older cities in Italy were constructed some for ornament others for defence, of which that of St. Mark in Venice A. D. 1151 and the Assinelli at Bologna A. D. 1109 are among the most conspicuous; while to maintain independence, or to secure from sudden attack, the more populous cities were surrounded with massive walls,—as Milan A. D. 1167, Cremona 1169, Pisa 1155, Ferrara 1140, Genoa 1159. These exertions produced a host of artificers, out of whom, in imitation of the confraternities which for various purposes had existed from ancient times, com-

Tiraboschi, t. 7. p. 161. Muratori Script. Rer. Ital., t. 6, p. 272.

panies were formed, academies, schools (35), and lodges were established (36). An oath of secrecy was administered to the noviciates, a veil of mystery pervaded their meetings, which in an age where many were ignorant conferred importance. Such institutions in the infancy of science were singularly beneficial. By their effects new lights were elicited, and valuable discoveries extensively diffused. Muratori, Dis. 75.

The first masters in whose works remarkable proficiency appears were, next to those of Pisa, of the school of Siena, and thirdly that of Florence.

Among the Sienese was Lorenzo Maitani, the architect of the cathedral at Orvieto, a work which assigns him the first place among the artists of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. He not only planned but for forty years (1290—1330) superintended the progress of that astonishing structure. The early builders (or *magistri lapidum* as they were called) were commonly skilled in all the sister arts; and he directed the execution of the sculptures, Storia del Duomo di Orvieto, Document. 19. p. 269.

bronzes, and mosaics, with which it was embellished.

Rome was then, and for centuries later, the common or rather the only quarry for the more curious and costly marbles (37), granites, and porphyries, which, for their beauty and durability, were in the greatest request for decorating the interior of churches and public buildings founded under the auspices of the Popes both within and beyond the boundaries of their own dominions (38). And we have unquestionable proof that the capital of the Pontiffs at this time contained artists of distinguished merit, since Maitani repeatedly went to inspect the ornaments carved there for the sacred temple which was to perpetuate his fame.

Ibid. passim.

It were to little purpose to enumerate the architects of decided talents, his contemporaries and fellow citizens. The names of Agostino and Agnolo, however, should not be silently passed over. These men had the merit of improving on the manner of Giovanni and Niccolo da Pisa, and of them Vasari justly

remarks " E nel vero si vede che i semi della virtù molte volte nelle case, dove sono stati, per alcun tempo germogliano e fanno rampolli, che poi producono maggiori e migliori frutti che le prime piante fatto non avevano." It is but justice further to particularize Andrea Orcagna (1329—1389), by whose means his countrymen began to abandon Gothic architecture; and the scientific Filippo Brunelleschi, who first brought back the minds of the Italians to the love of the Græcian.

Vit. t. 2. p. 118.

Mengs, Opere, t. 2. p. 133.

These seem to have been among the first of the Tuscan artists who were impressed with the important truth that they must learn to imitate, before they could hope to equal, the works of their predecessors. They studied the ancient structures, and, so far as ability and proficiency allowed, they investigated the rules and proportions on which they were constructed, in preference to the existing styles, by antiquarians called *la maniera vecchia non antica, Greca-Goffa, Goffa, Tedesca, Gotica.* But as they proceeded without the aid of scien-

tific masters, or the guidance of ancient writers, and in particular of Vitruvius (an author who, from the limited knowledge of the Latin tongue and ignorance of technical terms, was little intelligible), they deviated from the true path, and adopted a mixt style which partook both of ancient and modern. And it was not till the fifteenth century that artists, availing themselves of the labours of men of letters, became well acquainted with the architect of the Augustan age. Vitruvius was first effectually elucidated by Fra Giocondo, a Franciscan, a native of Verona, and the preceptor of Julius Scaliger. In Cimabue and Giotto,—the first, the Michael Angelo, the second, the Raphael of his day,—we find men who anticipated the season of maturity. This extraordinary character, on the contrary, formed for the age in which he appeared, possessed a mind ardent, penetrating, and indefatigable. He is supposed to have been born near the middle of the fifteenth century; was skilled in all the attainments and possessed all the science of his day, while the bent of his inclination

tended principally to classical learning and architecture. He gave the world an edition of Vitruvius (the result, he says, of many years' labour,) enriched with a vocabulary of terms used by his author, their signification and etymology; at that period an invaluable treasure. The avidity with which it was received is evident, from the demand of repeated impressions in the course of a few years; the first was printed in 1511, and dedicated to Pope Julius the Second. Fra Giocondo may be deemed the earliest systematic writer whose literary exertions had a tendency to banish from the more cultivated regions of Europe those "*tritumi ed arzigogoli*" which the "*Tedeschi o i Goti*" had introduced into buildings ever since the tenth century. The principles of ancient art, and their application to the venerable remains of antiquity, so abundant in Italy, being now explored and rendered familiar to artists, had the effect of producing an assemblage of contemporary genius which has never since been equalled.

Vasari ediz. Sanes. t. 7. Prefaz. p. 10.

It is not however to be assumed that, as the immediate consequence of these discoveries, the arch was brought down from the tops of columns and placed between them, or that Gothic architecture was totally and on a sudden abandoned throughout Italy. On the contrary, both the pointed and the Romanesque were continued locally. In many cities to the north of the Appennines, in Bologna in particular, and I may add in the kingdom of Naples also, the dereliction was more tardy; for we there find instances in buildings both ecclesiastical and civil, not only of a mixt but of an uniformly Gothic character of a much later period. In western Europe, however, no Fra Giocondo appeared, who, like a skilful physician in a case of *mental deviation*, could bring on a crisis that should check the caprices of distempered fancy, and restore sanity to his patient. In these regions habit became inveterate. And when, aided by the recal of the arts and literature of Greece and Rome, science brightened and the human mind expanded, we are here pre-

sented with an instance in which an invention of the middle ages has not yielded to the superior intelligence of ancient times.

Though the pointed arch raised on the tops of columns is the distinguishing mark of Gothic architecture; yet pinnacles, tabernacles, crockets, and quaterfoils, are attributes so appropriate, that wherever they occur we no more hesitate to assign them to that order, than to refer the triglyph and the metope to the Doric. Had it been conceived that such decorations were in use when the Baptistery of Pisa was erected, they might not have been deemed incongruous, nor have implied subsequent insertion.

I cannot conclude this appendix to my Inquiry, already too long, without noticing symptoms of the Gothic on a celebrated edifice, of a date prior to any of those adduced by Mr. Smirke.

The church of St. Mark at Venice is the first *Duomo* in Italy built after the commencement of the tenth century. The Venetians, having established commercial intercourse with

Huet, Commerce des Anciens, p. 311. Platina, Vit. Greg. IV. p. 200.

the Mahometans on the coasts of Syria and Ægypt, and having obtained leave of the Pope to trade with these infidels, trafficked with the Alexandrians for the body of St. Mark. In the year 976, the Doge Pietro Orseolo laid the foundation of this edifice as the depository of the sacred relic: it was finished and consecrated A.D. 1085, and is believed to have been planned and executed by Greek artists. The first view of this stupendous fabric is imposing, but on examination it fails to gratify the experienced eye. The following remarks upon it are those of an anonymous French traveller, whose descriptions I have always found both accurate and deserving of attention. "Il est sensible qu'on a pris à tâche d'entasser dans celle-ci richesse sur richesse, ornemens sur ornemens: mais cette prodigalité nuit à l'ensemble général, et ne donne à aucune des parties le dégré de mérite dont elles seroient susceptibles." In running over the details of this edifice, we are particularly struck with that tendency to POINT in the terminations, and with that prevalence of

Voyage d'un Amateur des Arts, t. 3. p. 222.

accessories which mark incipient Gothic, united to a Græcian style of a debased character; and which in some degree call to mind the mixture of Romanesque and pointed arches in several of our own churches of the thirteenth century; and which is further defined by the author just mentioned,—" un mélange dont toutes les parties se heurtent réciproquement." Of the five entrances in the western front the central arch is semicircular; the other four are of the contrasted form. The five arches which spring from the roof, and from which the effect of the elevation is principally derived, are also contrasted. On them the Abbé Richard observes,—" tiennent beaucoup du Gotique." Between each of these, and down the north and south sides, arise very tall slender tabernacles. They are *open* and of three tiers; the two upper perforations contain each a statue, and over the head of the highest is uniformly a *semi-quaterfoil* or *Greek cross*;—while the termination of each is a *small spire* or *pinnacle*.

Ibid. p. 224.

t. 2. p. 269.

The complexity of incongruous architecture

in this building is also exposed by a late scientific artist. "I Veneziani, cred' io, furono i primi che in onore di San Marco edificarono un tempio magnifico servendosi d'un architetto Greco, il quale, non ostante che conservasse lo stile *barbaro* del *suo secolo*, non *è si stravagante nelle proporzioni come quelli che diconsi puri Gotici*. Gli archi e le cupole hanno anche del grandioso nelle loro curve, benchè *molto lungi dalla vera bellezza*."

Mengs, Opere, t. 2. p. 133.

If the reader compare the examples last given, and confront them with the illustrations from the Saxon manuscripts, no doubt will be entertained, that in the tenth century decided symptoms of Gothic architecture are to be recognised. And when he regards those much earlier in date, and less decided in character, he will, if I do not deceive myself, be equally convinced that this style of building derived its commencement, and was gradually unfolded, from very ancient times. Could Gothic architecture be contemplated merely as an insulated science, a detailed and elaborate investigation of its rise and

progress might be deemed of subordinate value. But since the arts which embellish life are closely allied to literature and philosophy, and from them may be deduced an estimate of the state of mind and manners during the æras to which this inquiry refers, the research assumes decided importance. Regarding the subject in this extended view, it is to be lamented that their mutual progress and occasional fluctuations through the waste of ages have not hitherto been satisfactorily explored. The discussion has indeed been undertaken by many respectable writers, but their surveys are limited and partial, and their success of course imperfect. Their exertions are commonly marked with two defects:— They are too apt to adduce instances of *local* ignorance, as proofs of *general* insufficiency; and too deeply impressed with the belief that, at the period *called* the *revival* of letters, men emerged suddenly from darkness into the brightness of open day. But few opinions were ever more erroneous. The polite arts and literature have indeed from external circumstances been

occasionally lowered, but were never extinguished. One powerful cause of depression in a principal branch of the arts of design is to be traced to necessity. We have heard that artists were formerly *chained to their work* at Moscow, and that their labours *announced* the restraint they endured. The *Gothic* sculptor also was *confined* to his *niche*, and his figures were "bound in ribs of stone." Action was of course suppressed: but the countenance, the only part of the body the artist could control, frequently bespoke in mute eloquence the elevation of his mind, with an expression (39) which calls forth the sigh of regret that his genius was not allowed to display its powers freely and unconstrainedly. Nor is the successful development of their history ever to be hoped for, but from the united exertions of the scholar and the artist; and it is earnestly to be wished that the scientific sculptor of our own country would in his lectures at the Royal Academy undertake the elucidation of a subject which he has long and sedulously cultivated.

The following is a list of some of the most eminent churches in Italy and the most varied in character, founded between the tenth and the sixteenth centuries. From engravings of them, which are not uncommon, may be marked the changes in the manners of the different schools and masters that produced them.

VENICE - - - - - - -	A.D. 976
PISA - - - - - - - - -	1063
Baptistery - - - - - - -	1157
Church of Maria della Spina (*Gothic*) - - - - - - -	1274
ASSISI - - - - - - - - -	1228
SIENA - - - - - - - - -	1250
FLORENCE, St. Maria Novella (*Gothic*) - - - - - - -	1279
Santa Croce (*Gothic*) the architect Arnolfo Fiorentino - -	1285
Cathedral, (*mixt* architecture) Arnolfo architect also - - -	1629

ORVIETO, architect Lorenzo Maitani Sanese - - - - - - - 1290

MILAN (*Gothic*) begun - - - 1386

PARMA

PLACENTIA

NOTES.

(1) I APPLY this epithet to buildings of this date, which, though consistent, yet, like all expressions of rapture or of wonder, imparts no information, compared to that derived from statements of actual measurement. But, when I say that the columns of the Sphæristerium of Diocletian's baths are one entire piece of syenitic granite, and 23½ palms in circumference, the mind receives an impression, whereby to estimate their general proportion and costliness of materials, which no epithet is of itself able to convey. I shall, therefore, in the progress of this inquiry, substitute as far as I am able mechanical details for expressions of admiration. Page 3.

(2) "Les entablemens des colonnes sont écrasés par les fleurons et les ornemens d'architecture, de même que les spectateurs dans les jeux publics de cet empereur (Diocletian) étoient étouffés, pour ainsi dire, par les fleurs qu'il faisoit jetter en profusion sur eux." Winkelman, Hist. de l'Art, &c. t. 3. p. 360. Edit. Hubert.

(3) "Genius may anticipate the season of maturity, *but the artist cannot hope to equal or surpass, till he has learned to imitate, the works of his predecessors.*" Gibbon, v. 12. c. 66. p. 140.

"Dii omnia laboribus vendunt" is an ancient aphorism, which, in the cultivation of liberal science, should never be absent from the mind of the student.

Page 4.

(4) The learned Maffei has justly observed that, in ancient Rome, the fall of the arts kept pace with that of the empire; and that, from the time of Trajan, signs are visible of the progressive decline of architecture; that in the third century of the Christian æra great corruption appeared, greater in the fourth, and more indubitable in the fifth. The radical cause of this evil is that which prevents perfection from being stationary, for any length of time, in the works of man,—the love of change and novelty. Architects became at length disdainful of imitation. They seem to have been weary of making columns by prescribed proportions, and of decorating them with only leaves and volutes. They wished to become original authors, and to invent new fashions. An opinion seemed to prevail that merit consisted only in variety and invention; therefore, if twenty columns are seen in an edifice of the middle ages, as many different forms and designs often appear on the capitals.

Verona Illustrata, t. 3. l. 4. p. 72.

(5) I express myself with caution, from a *doubt* whether the lapse from sound architecture now under discussion was known *so early* as the reign of Ves-

pasian. There are many contemporary edifices remaining, none of which exhibit any such instances of degradation; nor do I believe that the taste of that age was so debased as to tolerate its reception in public buildings. That the instance under review is assignable to a subsequent period, appears most probable, and for the following reasons. The Temple of Peace was built by Vespasian (A.D. 71) in commemoration of his capture of Jerusalem and reduction of Judæa to a Roman province. It was the largest of the Roman temples, and the magnificence of its ruins proves that it justified the eulogium of Pliny: N. H. l. 3. c. 15. "Templum Pacis Vespasiani imperatoris Augusti, pulcherrimum operum quæ unquam." Suspicions have been entertained that the vestiges now under consideration are not those of the temple whose name it bears; and the arguments on which these conjectures are founded are collected by Venuti. But on the proofs adduced by Nardini, together with the discovery of the dedicatory inscription found among the ruins, purporting it to be, "Paci æternæ domus," consecrated by Vespasian,—they completely vanish. During the reign of Commodus (perhaps A. D. 187) this edifice suffered from conflagration; to what extent we know not; but that it rose again to magnificence is certain, since in the cursory visit Constantine made to Rome (A.D. 357) it so far excited his admiration as to be classed among the most sumptuous

Antichità di Roma, t. 1. p. 30. L. 3. c. 12. p. 128.

Montfaucon Diar. Ital. c. 13.

Herodian. l. 1. c. 46.

Ammian. Marcel. l. 16. c. 8.

buildings that then embellished the metropolis of the western empire. I therefore conclude that the arch in question *was not a part* of the original temple as constructed by Vespasian (A. D. 71); but of its *restoration* after the fire recorded by Herodian (A.D. 181), *between the latter date* and the year 357 (an interval during which the *Romanesque commenced*), when it was admired by Constantine.

I cannot dismiss this topic without adding a few circumstances relative to this memorable fabric, and the important occasion to which it is indebted for its origin. This temple, like some of the most celebrated in ancient Greece, was used as a depository for the moveable property of the more opulent citizens. It however became more distinguished for containing the sacred instruments of Jewish worship, which Vespasian had brought from the temple of Jerusalem, with the exception of the book of the law and the purple veils of the sanctuary, both of which were preserved in the imperial palace. These spoils were carried into Africa by Genseric (A. D. 455) when he sacked Rome; but were taken thence by Justinian on his reduction of that country (A. D. 534). A singular fate attended the veils; for after they had graced the triumph of the last mentioned emperor at Constantinople, they were sent by him to the churches of Jerusalem.

Joseph. l. 7. c. 8. Procop. l. 2. Nardini, lib. 3. c. 12. p. 129.

The great event above specified, which was the

completion of a prophecy foretelling the overthrow and consequent dispersion of the Jewish people, is verified by the sculpture on the arch of Titus (built after his decease, as the term *Divo* in the inscription, and the apotheosis of that emperor on the upper part of it, imply); whereon were carved the holy furniture of the Temple, and of which the table of shewbread, the branched candlesticks (thence once named "*Arcus septem Lucernarum*"), and the silver trumpets, are now distinctly visible. The pertinacious temper of the Jews, respecting this monument, to this day keeps alive the memorial of a calamity they would wish to forget; for it is said that no one of them ever voluntarily passes under it; but, if obliged to go that way, he turns aside through a neighbouring aperture. This steady resolution renders him obnoxious to another species of suffering which has been continued, most likely from the construction of the arch. When one of these miserable creatures (for if wretchedness of habitation, neglect of person and marked contempt can fix that epithet, a Roman Jew has an unqualified claim to it) has offended the populace, the incensed mob inflict the mortifying punishment of dragging him through it.

Montfauc. Diar. Italic. c. 11. p. 182.

So late as the seventeenth century, a solitary column of the temple of Peace was standing. It was removed by Paul V. (A.D. 1616) to decorate the place of St. Maria Maggiore, where it now remains.

It is of the Corinthian order, and its proportions testify the immensity of the edifice to which it be-
Guida, p. 202. longed. Vasi says, it measures twenty-four feet in circumference and seventy-two in height, without the capital.

Page 5.

Fol. 1764. (6) As delineated by Adams. Wheler, in describing the architraves of one of the pediments of that
Travels, p. 18. palace, says, "were they upon Salisbury Plain, I doubt not they would pass for such stones as we there wonder at so much."

Page 6.

(7) From the utter inability to adopt a term sufficiently expressive, I feel myself under the necessity of modifying one for my purpose. The Italian termination *esco*, the English and French *esque*, is occasionally allowable; thus we say *pittoresco*, *picturesque*, and *pictoresque*, as partaking of the quality to which it refers. A modern Roman, for instance, of whatever degree, calls himself *Romano*, a distinction he disallows to an *inhabitant* of his native city, whom, though long domiciliated, yet from dubious origin, foreign extraction or alliance, he stigmatizes by the term ROMANESCO. I consider the architecture under discussion in the same point of view.

Isidor. Orig. l. 5. (8) "Basilicæ prius vocabantur '*regum habitacula*' nunc autem a Deo basilicæ divina templa no-

minantur, quia ibi regi omnium cultus et sacrificia offeruntur." The first Basilica in Rome dates between the years 533 and 564 A.U.C. Victor enumerates nineteen; many of which became places of Christian worship, and says that from the commodiousness of their shape, the early churches were imitations of them.

Nardini, l. 5. c. 4. p. 230.

(9) These towers are among the curious and most perfect remains of the ecclesiastical buildings now in Rome. They are a common appendage to the earliest churches, are not detached from them, as in many parts of Italy, but commonly touch the edifice to which they belong (though not always at the same point), and to which they are later additions. The most remarkable was formerly that of the old church of St. Peter: at present that of St. Lawrence without the walls, the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, of the two brothers Saints John and Paul, St. Clement, and St. George in Velabro. That of St. Peter (*Pl.* I. *fig.* 5) was built by the munificent Adrian I. who reigned from 774 to 795. Du Cange (*v. Campana*) attributes it to his predecessor Stephen, who placed in it three bells. That of St. George in Velabro (the two upper tiers of which are engraven, *Pl.* I. *fig.* 6) is supposed to have been added by Zachary, who was pontiff from 741 to 751, periods that correspond with the acknowledged use of bells

Page 6.

Ciampini, t. 3. p. 84. and the plate n° 12. lit. A. p. 37.

in churches. They were introduced into Constantinople in 865, when Orso Participazio, duke of Venice, made a present of some to the Emperor Michael, who first added a tower for them in the church of St. Sophia. "Ingulphus (Hist. fol. 51-3) speaks of bells as being well known in his time, and tells us that Turketul, the first abbot of Croyland (who died in 875) gave six to that monastery."

Baronius An. 865.

Sayers's Hints on Engl. Arch: —Disquisitions, p. 189.

Page 7. Vit. Constant. l. 1. cap. 8.

(10) "The porches of the temples," says Eusebius, "were laid open, their doors taken down, and their roofs torn off. In one place Apollo Pythius lay exposed to view; in another Smintheus; in the circus the Delphic tripods, &c."

Traces of the same zeal are visible in the early churches in Rome, which are almost entirely composed of the spoils of former edifices, as columns of porphyry, of Ægyptian granites, and all the varieties of antique marbles without the least regard to fitness or propriety. Columns too lofty for their new destination are let into the pavements; while those too short are lengthened by additional bases: capitals of different orders and magnitudes, surmounted with *Romanesque arches*, all arranged together in the same building.

The most remarkable instances of this secondary adaptation are to be seen in the churches of St. Agnes without the walls; of St. Mary in Cosmedin, of St.

Stephano Rotundo, of St. Paul in viâ Ostiense, of St. Constance, of St. Lawrence, &c.; on the sides of the septum in the latter are sculptured sacrificial instruments, a proof that they once belonged to a heathen temple. We know not when this rage for spoliation would have ended, had not the expedient been adopted of consecrating Gentile edifices as places of Christian worship. Cassiod. l. 3. epist. 31.

The *Goth* Theodoric, ever attentive to the preservation of the fine remains of antiquity, in one of his letters to the Roman senators, exhorts them to be careful of the noble monuments of their ancestors. In his directions respecting repairs of the royal palace, he is anxious that the architect should preserve the ancient part of the building in its pristine beauty, and that the new should imitate the old. The better to enable the artist to perform this, he recommends him to read frequently Euclid's Geometry; and to have Archimedes and Metrobius for his constant companions. Every thing was to be so executed that the works should be unlike antiquity only in their newness. Theodoric however was not the first emperor who interested himself in the preservation of the falling edifices in Rome, nor was the want of marbles for erecting churches the only pretext for their forcible subversion. Seventy years before his elevation, Majorian, in whose reign the monuments of imperial magnificence were considered as no other Ibid. var. 217.

than a mine of stones and marbles adapted to the general purposes of building, applied the severe remedies of an enormous fine on the magistrates who permitted, and corporal punishment on the subordinate officers who obeyed, the criminal license of spoliation. The edict is valuable and curious: "Antiquarum ædium dissipatur speciosa constructio; et ut aliquid reparetur magna diruuntur. Hinc jam occasio nascitur, ut etiam unusquisque privatum ædificium construens, per gratiam judicum sic præsumere de publicis locis necessaria, et transferre non dubitet," &c. These restrictions however did not counteract the propensity of the Roman people to this kind of pillage, nor even of the papal families; the Coliseum for instance became a free and common quarry; and Poggius lamented that the greater part of the stones had been burnt for lime. To check this abuse, Eugenius IV. surrounded it with a wall, which after his death was overthrown in some popular commotion. In 1534 the nephews of Paul III. and in 1623 those of Urban VIII. further hastened its dissolution, in order to provide materials for their respective palaces, the Farnese and the Barberini. So late as the year 1741 it was placed under the safeguard of religion by Benedict XIV. who hallowed the spot, and thereby gave permanence to the present august ruin. The Pantheon was not consecrated till the reign of Boniface IV. (A.D. 609). The question, to what favour-

Majorian. tit. 6. p. 35.

Gibbon, v. 5. p. 107. 8vo. edit.

able circumstances this fine work of antiquity owed its preservation above two hundred years after the reign of Theodosius, is difficult of solution. The inquisitive reader may find much satisfactory information relative to the ancient and present state of this fabric in " Lazeri, della Consecrazione del Panteon," 1749, 8vo. Roma, and " Hirt, Osservazioni Istorico-architettoniche sopra il Panteon," 1791, 4to. Roma.

The deliberate act of picking out the bronze cramps which bound together the stones of the ancient buildings was practised in the time of Theodoric, who alludes to this nefarious practice in the letter above cited. The outside of the Coliseum and of the Arco di Giano Quadrifronte are covered with perforations made for the purpose of extracting them.

(11) The architects were Anthemius of Tralles, and Isidore of Miletus; the first was deemed the greatest mechanist of his time.

Page 9. Procop. de Ædif. l. 2, c. 3.

(12) That to which the family of Constantine was partial has been already mentioned. Witness their churches at Rome, that of the Twelve Apostles at Constantinople, of St. John at Ephesus, &c. These are generally circular or octagonal; forms which allowed of an interior arrangement after the figure of the Greek cross. When the shape of the Latin cross became more prevalent, it was not unusual to extend the

Page 10.

fust, and to lengthen the sides into transepts. The church of St. Peter was originally planned by Bramante after the Latin cross; but he died before much was done. Michael Angelo, and Baldassar Peruzzi da Siena, who followed him, were desirous of taking an ancient temple for their model, and their designs are engraved in Bonanni. These architects made considerable advances in it, after the Greek manner. However, in the pontificates of Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V. the termination was confided to Giacomo della Porta, who preferred, and completed it in, the form prescribed by Bramante; and who, having by that means rendered it inconsistent in many important particulars, has incurred the censure of succeeding critics. "Questa eccellentissima fabrica è stata travagliata in guisa che tornando al mondo Michelangelo non la riconoscerebbe più. Basti solo il dire che avendola egli ordinata di *croce Greca*, è stata ridotta a *croce Latina*, cio è stata *mutata affatto la sua forma essenziale*, dal che si può far ragione di quello che sarà seguito nelle sue parti speciali."

Templ. Vaticanum. tab. 13. p. 71 and tab. 17. p. 76.

Vasari. Vit. Mich. Angel. t. 10. p. 179. Not. edit. Sanes. 1793.

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(13) "Sir Christopher Wren first dissented from the general opinion" (that the Goths were the inventors of the order that goes by their name), "and ascribed these works to the Saracens, from whom, as he conceived, they were adopted by the western Croissees. His hypothesis is ingenious and learned, and has

Ledwich on Ancient Churches. Archæologia, v. 8. p. 191.

found admirers and followers in Bishop Warburton, Mr. Warton, and others. Time has revealed its errors; no such Saracenic works exist in Spain or Sicily, or in any other place to which the Arabian power extended." The correlative opinion of Maffei has been already stated.

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(14) Some opinion of the extent and importance of the dioceses of Africa will appear from the computation of Procopius, who says that they were, in the time of St. Austin, about four hundred and sixty-six in number, that they occupied a space of two thousand three hundred and sixty miles in length, and from two to five hundred in breadth. Victor asserts that five hundred clergy belonged to the church of Carthage alone.

Procop. Vandalic. l. 1. c. 2.

Bibl. Patr. tom. 7. p. 613. Bingham, b. 9. c. 2. s. 5.

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(15) In a letter from Gregory the Great to this princess, he exhorts her to instil into the mind of her royal consort the principles of the Christian faith, "*mentem gloriosi conjugis vestri in dilectione Christianæ fidei adhortatione assiduâ roborate.*" And in one to Ethelbert, in he urges him to employ every means for the conversion of his subjects: "*exhortando terrendo blandiendo corrigendo.*"

Epist. Greg. Mag. l. 9. epist. 19.

Ibid. l. 9. epist. 60.

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(16) Ceadwalla travelled to Rome (A. D. 688), when he was baptized by the reigning pope (Sergius I.),

Asserius Menev. edit. Gale, p. 151.

and expired soon after. In the year 709, Kenred king of the Mercians, accompanied by Offa king of the east Saxons, went to Rome, became monks, and there ended their days. (It was this Offa, I conceive, who has been deemed the founder of the English church of St. Thomas, to which, in later times, was added a college.) The martial and enterprising Ina, after a prosperous reign of near forty years, followed their example; he continued to live in retirement, and never returned. Bede, who describes this event, says that it was very common for nobles and plebeians, laics and ecclesiastics, of both sexes, from motives of devotion to resort from Britain to that metropolis. The last-mentioned sovereign founded there an English school for the education of the English youth. Offa king of the Mercians (A.D. 755—794) went to Rome, and his principal motive was the endowment of his abbey of St. Alban's. He visited Ina's school, and, for its better maintenance, settled upon it the tax (so odious to the English in after times) known by the name of *Rome-scot*.

L. 5. c. 8.

Matth. Paris Vit. Offæ, p. 29. Collier Eccl. Hist. v. 1. p. 142.

Connected with the early history of the above-mentioned church of St. Thomas at Rome, is the national tradition of the application of *our* King Lucius (Levermaur, *i. e.* magni splendoris,) to Eleutherius, A.D. 180, for missionaries to convert his subjects to the Christian faith, when that pontiff de-

Nennius, c. 18.

legated Faganus and Damianus, who baptized them and established a hierarchy. And in gratitude the monarch erected this church, which Offa may be supposed to have reconstructed. Vasi, in his large work, has spoken of its privileges, immunities, and subsequent benefactors. Bertha was buried in Rome. Montfaucon saw in the church of St. Ambrogio this inscription: "Hic Bertæ Reginæ ossa."

Tesoro Sagro, pt. 2. p. 128.

pt. 9. p. 13.

Diar. Ital. c. 2, p. 30.

(17) The Saxon monk Benedict, who was greatly favoured by the pontiffs his contemporaries, and by Agatho in particular, made repeated visits to Rome, expressly for the promotion of religion and the decoration of churches. About the year 669 he came thence with Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, and brought with him several ingenious artists, as glaziers and painters; books, relics, robes, and pictures, are also enumerated. Of the latter were portraits of the Virgin, of the Apostles; subjects from the Apocalypse; likewise from the Pentateuch; as Isaac carrying wood for his sacrifice, the lifting up of the serpent in the wilderness; the first emblematical of our Lord's bearing the cross, the second of his exaltation upon it. Some of the metropolitan churches of this and of an earlier period were vast and rudely magnificent; on this subject the curious reader is referred to Richard the Prior of Hagulsted, lib. 1. c. 3; Eddius, Vit. S. Wilfridi, c. 2. 16. 17. 22;

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Beda, H. E. l. 4, c. 18.—Vit. Sanct. p. 298.

Ibid.—Tertullian. de Ligno Crucis, c. 13.

Gul. Malmsbur. lib. 3; Beda, Hist. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 20 et seq.

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(18) With one exception—the height and proportion of the columns, for I am aware of the question which will present itself to the most inattentive reader:—If Roman artists planned our early churches, why did they introduce those short and disproportioned pillars denominated Saxon, of which they had no prototype in their own country? I reply, it was not the effect of choice but of necessity; and is to be thus explained. We are told by his secretary and biographer Eginhardus, that Charlemagne, when he founded his celebrated cathedral at Aix la Chapelle, obtained from Pope Adrian I. (A.D.774-795) a grant, to take from Rome and Ravenna such marbles and such columns as were requisite for its construction; and for this reason, that he *could not elsewhere obtain them:* "cum columnas et marmora *aliunde habere non posset*, Româ atque Ravennâ devehenda curavit;" a fact also confirmed by Adrian himself, in a letter of that pontiff preserved by Baronius. I do not remember to have ever met with any similar transport of materials to this island. For, had the transalpine architects who superintended our Saxon buildings possessed the same advantages, we should have had churches rivalling in point of elevation and proportion that of Aix la Chapelle; whereas we now

An. 795. nº 2.

find the pillars in ours, short, thick, clumsy, and not reducible to any rules previously known. We must however remember that the shafts of all the pillars used in the early churches at Rome are *entire* (I have met with but one exception, and that in the fluted pavonazzo columns in the nave of the Basilica of St. Paul in viâ Ostiense, all but six of which are joined at the termination of the cablings), and by skilful arrangement are capable of supporting any weight placed upon them. On the contrary, the pillars of our Saxon and Norman-Saxon ancestors are composed of small squared stones, and only serve as cases, whose interior is filled with loose and miscellaneous materials bedded in mortar. I suppose this to have been the general practice. It occurs in the cathedral at Norwich, and, I am informed, in that of Gloucester also, which was constructed by Bishop Aldred (A. D. 1046—1060). The two immense circular pillars covered with spiral flutes, in the former, which are known to have been built by the original founder Lozinga (A.D. 1096), are of this description; these probably terminated his plan to the west, and the fust of the cross was lengthened by his successor Eborard. (It may be remarked that a similar extension took place in the abbey church of St. Alban's. Malmesbury says that the addition was the work of Lanfranc:—"Lanfrancus *provexit*, &c." is the expres-

Blomfield's Norf. vol. 2. p. 486.

sion.) These pillars are formed of alternate layers, the stones of which are about ten inches long by seven inches thick. There was some years ago an aperture in that on the south side, from which it appeared that within a casing of eighteen inches the interior was rubble. Now it is an obvious truth, that these infirm masses were incapable of sustaining any great weight, and as columns, therefore, could not be extended to any architectural scale then in existence. The workmen gave them all the importance of which they were susceptible, which is little more than one diameter and a half: for their circumference is twenty-one feet and their height twelve. It is probable, and might be illustrated by more general research, that these short and clumsy columns were not confined to this country or period; but were often the consequence of the local difficulty. In the engravings in Drummond's
P. 196. Pl. 185. Travels, in which much apparent accuracy is observed, columns of that character (one of which is given in this work, *Plate* II. *fig.* 2.) may be seen; and the author makes this general observation on the remains of ancient edifices in Arabia Petræa, that all over that country "the meanest buildings have been of solid architecture, some in the Gothic style (a term he applies to these rude structures indiscriminately), and others in a kind of composite of that and the Roman:" and indeed in the masonry of re-

mote times the integrity of the columns usually implies a vicinity to some great quarry.—Athens was within a few miles of Pentele and Hymettus.

(19) Lest it should be objected that this engraving (No. 65), and also that of No. 58 in the same volume, are not uniformly faithful, from the circumstance of the pope's officiating in his crown (*regnum*,) which, though it once was, is at present never worn but on his day of coronation, I feel an incumbency to absolve the Saxon artist from the imputation of incorrectness. The early popes wore the tiara simply; the addition of the first crown is asserted to be the gift of Constantine or Clovis; the second, of Boniface VIII. (A. D. 1295), and the third, either of John XXII. (A.D. 1314) or of Benedict XII. (A. D. 1334). The popes formerly wore their crown on days of great solemnity, which were for that reason called *festa coronæ:* a custom afterwards omitted, and at times again resumed. They have now long since ceased to wear it but on the day above mentioned. In his public functions the pontiff puts on the tiara only; and when he officiates at St. Peter's, his triple crowns (for there are several) are carried before him in procession, and placed upon the great altar. This regal ornament is allowed to denote the pope's threefold authority, as high priest, supreme judge, and Christian legislator. It is also asserted to be a symbol of the

Page 28.

Descrizione de' tre Pontificali, &c. p. 115. Roma 1788. Lo Stato presente della Corte di Roma, t. 1. p. 80.

Trinity. But it is rather a mark of the civil rank of the reigning pontiff, as the keys are of his spiritual jurisdiction; for, on his demise, his family armorial bearings are represented with the triple crown alone, without the keys. "Romanus pontifex in signum imperii utitur regno, et in signum pontificis utitur mitrâ; sed mitrâ semper utitur et ubique, regno vero, nec ubique nec semper." "Primus inter pontifices usus est mitrâ quam alii deinde pontifices exornaverunt; hinc in antiquis pontificum imaginibus prior mitratus pingitur; sub ipso habitum est primum concilium œcumenicum Nicænum dictum." Raphael, in his picture of the dispute respecting the sacrament of the Eucharist, has fallen into an anachronism, having placed the triple crown on the head of St. Gregory, who lived many centuries before it was known. It may be observed, as a singular instance of *etiquette* in those days, that while Offa is receiving the papal benediction (Pl. 65) he takes off the crown, which he holds in his left hand; when (in Pl. 66) he is seen praying at the high altar, he wears it. The details in these drawings are in general accurate: the pope, in that before us, No. 65 (and also in the Christ in No. 28 of the same work), is bestowing his benediction in the Latin manner; the thumb, fore and middle fingers of the right hand being extended, while the two others are half contracted. In the Greek manner the ring finger only is brought forward

Descriz. de' tre Pontific. p. 80.

Burio in Pit. S. Silvest. p. 48.

so as nearly to touch the point of the thumb. One or other of these positions is to be seen in the ancient figures of our Saviour, and particularly in the apsides of the basilic churches in Rome, which are mostly ornamented with mosaic painting. The symbolical meaning of these modes of benediction is to be found in the work of Raynaudus, "de Attributis Christi." Sec. 4. c. 9. n° 733.

(20) "In Montfaucon, Charlemagne is represented holding a church; it has a round tower and a spire rising from it." On referring to the work here quoted, I detect an anachronism in this author's statement: there are indeed two figures of that emperor, each of them holding a presentation church, and both with a spire and steeple. They are painted on "les vitres du chevet de St. Denis faites par l'ordre de l'Abbé Suger." Now Suger, who was thirty years abbot, lived from 1082 to 1152; a period when spires to churches were not uncommon. Page 28. Monumens de la Monarchie Franc. p. 276. Ledwich, Archæologia, vol. 8. p. 175. Pl. 23. p. 5.

(21) This, and several of the Saxon churches have the appearance of being of framed timber. Bede informs us that there was a time when they were constructed of wood and covered with reed. We however read of a stone church much earlier, and perhaps the first on record. William of Malmesbury says, that the blessed confessor Ninias, or Ninian, Page 28. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 25.

whom chronology places about the year 432, built a church of white stone on the confines of England and Scotland, which seemed at that time a miracle to the Britons; and that it had the name of Candida Casa. It stood in a place called White Hern, which is in Galway, in the southern part of Scotland.

Camden, p. 110. Ducarel, p. 101.

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(22) It is rather in compliance with custom than from conviction that this ornament is thus denominated. In the earliest ages of Christianity it is a fact well known to those who are conversant in ancient ceremonials, that no object of accessorial decoration, however trivial, was admitted, unless symbolically, or enveloping some mystical allusion. That now under discussion variously modified occurs incessantly. We find it on buildings, on coins, on dresses; and it may indeed be deemed one of the principal sources of Gothic embellishment. I believe, however, that it had never any reference to a vegetable, or to any unhallowed production; but was intended to represent the cross according to the form appropriated to the *Greek church* with the *terminating angles rounded off*. It has been already stated that some of the early churches, as also many in more recent times are, as to interior arrangement, fashioned after the *Greek cross*, of which the plans of Baldassar da Sienna and Michael Angelo for the Basilica of St. Peter, already alluded to, are perfect examples. I

will produce a further instance in favour of this conjecture. Round the head of Christ crucified, we frequently see a circle (the *corona lucida* of the early ecclesiastical writers) and sometimes within it a small *Greek cross*; on which the head rests (*Pl.* V. *fig.* 1). There is one in the diptychs of Gori (*Pl.* V. *fig.* 2) and another in Ciampini. I cannot quit this part of my subject, without hazarding a further opinion arising from it. Crowns of different descriptions were used as decorations in the early Christian churches, as they had previously been in heathen temples. The crown of thorns was appropriated to the cross. When the body was attached, it was placed upon the head, or else encircled the inscription above; but when the cross was vacant, the thorns were suspended from the intersection. Small stone crosses, with this crown thus affixt, occasionally terminate the pointed gables of our ancient churches, and the union gives to both a circular tendency. The quaterfoil, or Greek cross, when inserted in Gothic windows, is commonly plain in its contour on the outside; but within we find a greater attention to decoration. It is then usually encompassed with sharp indentations; originally designed, I conceive, to imitate the crown of thorns round the cross. It may be objected, that in this ornament the cusps are not always limited to four, but that we have the *trefoil* and

V. 2. tab. 23. p. 217.
T. 2. tab. 12.

the *cinquefoil*, and that they are further multiplied till we come to the marigold window (as in York Minster and the cathedral at Rheims).—But it is probable, that in process of time the mystical allusion of the quaterfoil was lost; when the builders, regarding it merely as a decoration, introduced as many points as were adapted to situation.

I do not remember to have seen it observed by any of our antiquaries, that the English in the reign of Benedict III. (A.D. 855—858) presented a silver table (perhaps an altar) to the oratory of St. Gregory in the basilica of St. Peter. The Saxon Ethelwolf went to Rome in 854, and returned the year following. "Nell' oratorio che era in chiesa al tempo di Benedetto III. venuti molti da Inghilterra à Roma, offerirono una *tavola d'argento*, come scrive Anastasio in tal maniera. 'Quidam de Anglorum gente Romam venerunt qui in oratorio B. Gregorii Papæ et confessoris Christi, in principis apostolorum æde Frascatæ (così era chiamato all'hora tal sito) constructa unam *tabulam argenteam* posuerunt."

Torrigio Sacre Grotte Vaticane, pt. 2. c. 4. p. 188.

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(23) The two following specimens, the oldest perhaps the world possesses, are very important; since they exhibit the pointed arch, or rather the most simple beginning of it, as defined by Grose. The first is in the great pyramid at Memphis. This was

Denon, pl. 20.

h dden within the building, as others doubtless are in these "eternal mansions," (for thus the learned Zoega derives the word pyramid) so as not to interfere with its visible character; and would have remained in concealment, had not the exterior been forcibly violated: it obviously serves as a lintel to lessen the superincumbent weight over the portal.

De Origine et Usu Obeliscorum, sec. 3. l. 1. p. 131.

For the other, examine the construction of the Cyclopian gallery in Mr. Gell's Itinerary.

p. 116.

To assert that the Ægyptians were ignorant of the theory of the arch would be to deny their known proficiency in geometry; but the fact is, the style of their architecture *did not require the practical application of it.* In all their works of art they appear to have studiously suppressed every *salient* contour; even in their mode of designing the human form, the outlines were, as far as possible, straight and parallel with each other.

The *pyramidal* arch to which Grose adverts was generally used in England in the time of Edward the First, as it had been during the reign preceding; ("Architecture under Edward the First was so nearly the same as in his father Henry the Third's time, that it is no easy matter to distinguish it.") a fact to be ascertained in the *archi di prospetto,* and in the *archi chiusi* of many buildings of that æra:—of the latter, instances occur on the outside of the chapel of

Bentham's Ely.

St. John the Evangelist (A. D. 1316) at Norwich, now the Free School; but with more distinction on the crosses raised by Edward in honour of his consort Eleanor of Castile; one of these was erected wherever her remains rested in their transport to Westminster from Herdby, Lincolnshire, where she died (A.D.1291).

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(24) The cathedral church of Milan, (after St. Peter's at Rome, the largest in Italy) a Gothic structure, was begun 1386, and till the late subjugation of the duchy by the French, was *annually* approaching towards completion. To the later statues on the outside the artists have undertaken to give some degree of action. Apparently weary of their durance, they seem to be stepping from the niches: the effect is just what might be apprehended from such incongruity.

Page 37.
Cicero de Orat. l. 3. s. 6.

(25) "Omnem doctrinam harum ingenuarum et humanarum artium *uno* quodam societatis *vinculo* contineri."

Page 37.
Tiraboschi, t. 2. l. 3. c. 10.

(26) "Così quel difetto medesimo, che cominciò sotto Augusto à introdursi nell' eloquenza—cominciò pure à introdursi nelle arti *di cui parliamo;* e come quella colle altre scienze, così queste ancora ne' secoli

susseguenti, vennero a stato sempre peggiore." The bright æra of Roman literature embraces a space of little more than the 150 years that succeeded the fall of Carthage. The term of eminent distinction allotted for the imitative arts in modern Italy was not much more extended. I would anticipate the period usually assigned for their commencement, the reign of Julius the Second, were it only to comprehend the finest works of Fra Bartolomeo and Da Vinci. Late in the 16th century arose men eminently gifted by nature in their respective departments, but whose mistaken taste had its share in perverting that of their country. These were Marini (1569—1625) in poetry; Borromini (1599—1647) in architecture; Bernini (1598—1680) in sculpture; Pietro da Cortona (1596—1669) in painting, and to whom may be added Carlo Maratti, in whose performances few traces of the great masters are visible, except in the art of putting figures together.

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(27) In the application of this rule, which equally involves architecture, sculpture, and painting, and which demands the most skilful exercise of judgement, the artists of antiquity were eminently successful. They were well assured of the important truth, that to the powers of genius the union of *artifice* is often necessary to the completion of a perfect composition. From Vitruvius we learn that "Nulla architecto

See Hurd's concluding note on Horace's Art of Poetry.

l. 6. c. 2.

major cura debet, nisi uti proportionibus rata partis habeant ædificia nationum exactiones. Cum ergo constituta symmetriarum ratio fuerit, commensus rationibus explicati, tunc etiam acuminis est proprium providere ad *naturam loci*, aut *usum*, aut *speciem*, et *detractionibus* vel *adjectionibus* temperaturas efficere uti cum de *symmetria* sit detractum, aut adjectum, id videatur recte esse formatum, sic ut in aspectu nihil desideretur.—Alia enim ad *manum* species esse videtur ; alia in *excelso*, non eadem in *concluso*, dissimilis in *aperto*, in quibus magni judicii faciendum sit :—Non enim veros videtur habere visûs effectus, sed fallitur sæpe ejus judicio mens."

On this important passage it may be observed, in the words of his translator and annotator (Newton) that "in all common situations to which the eye is accustomed, no deviation can be requisite ; for, in such cases, people, having acquired by habit a power of allowing for appearances, perceive the real proportion of objects ; and even see *ideally* the whole of the members partly hidden from their view ;—but in all *unusual* situations, where the eye is inexperienced, some deviation *may* be proper, as for instance in extraordinary heights and distances, the natural powers of the mind, improved by observation and practice, can alone succeed ;—and this taste or perception of beauty or propriety of character will be evident in the composer." This theory merits further

elucidation. Perspective may be divided into linear and aërial; the first simply reflects the image from a given point; the second (and to which Vitruvius alludes) prescribes the degree of light and shadow which should meet the eye, so that greater force is thereby given to the object represented. The one is reducible to fixt and mechanical laws;—the other depends on the *nicest exertions of judgement*, and is not to be instilled by precept; though on this *intelligence* greatly depends perfection in the works of imitative art; and in the attainment of it, anatomical incorrectness (if sculpture or painting be the object) may be occasionally necessary to produce apparent precision and general accuracy of effect. It was this principle which influenced the hand of Lysippus, who communicated the last refinement of elegance to the art of sculpture. He observed that the old statuaries formed men as they were, but he as they would seem to be—"ab illis factos quales essent homines; a se quales viderentur esse." The lower limbs of the Belvedere Apollo are neither of equal nor accurate extension; the head is placed much nearer the left than the right shoulder; a singularity which meets us also in one of the colossal figures before the pontifical palace (it is that on the right hand as you enter) on the Esquiline hill. The bearded Bacchus No. 3 in the gallery of statues, and the colossal bust of Antinous No. 8 in the cir-

Plin. N. H. l. 34. c. 8.

cular hall of the Clementine musæum have each one side of the face greatly disproportioned to the other. The right ear of the dying son of Niobe is exquisitely finished, the left is neglected. Fabroni, who observes this singularity, accounts for it from contingent circumstances. Now, if the artist who designed the Apollo, and who was of course consummately skilled in his profession, could, without these alleged inaccuracies, have produced in that wonderful performance the expression of lightness, movement, and animation, by which it is characterized and (if the phrase be allowable) in which these visible signs of internal life conveyed to the spectator, impress him with the persuasion that the God actually existed as we now see him, the moment he was converted to marble, he certainly would have done so. And in the Elgin marbles also, whether we regard the bold projections of the Centaurs and the Lapithæ on the metops; the graceful figures that fill the tympanum of the pediment of the western front of the Parthenon; or the singular flatness of those which compose the procession of the panathenaic festival, in the frieze surrounding the cell (in imitation perhaps of light tracery)—we cannot help noticing that the under sides of all the figures and draperies are not rounded off as in nature so as to sink into the back grounds in elegant contours, but are cut off abruptly, and almost angularly to meet the eye with a bold and deep shadow.

Fam. di Niobe, p. 15.

The bas reliefs on the temple of Theseus are terminated in the same manner.

Page 40.

(28) Various are the opinions as to this subject; the most natural explication seems, that the hero is here represented as a pugilist, and that he is rubbing himself with a strigil after a contest.

Gab. Stosch. p. 334. Ined. Mon. tav. 106. Visconti Mus. Pio. Clem. t. 1. tav. 55. Lanzi Sag. Etrus. t. 2. p. 151.

Page 44.

(29) Had not Horace these novel fancies in view, and which Vasari calls "*i griccioli e ghiribizzi degli artefici,*" when he wrote the introduction to the Art of Poetry?—"*Humano capiti,*" &c. and again, "*Delphinum silvis appingit fluctibus aprum?*"

T. 1. p. 186.

Page 46.

(30) At this period columns were sometimes further elevated by the addition of a double plinth; as in the temple of Jupiter at Spalatro: and Vasari points out the same expedient in those of the baths of Constantine.

Adams, p. 27. pl. 29.

Proemio delle Vite, p. 214.

Page 47.

(31) Vasari, (A.D. 1512—1574) after treating of the regular orders of architecture, observes, that "there is another kind called Gothic, (*Tedesca*) which differs materially, both as to ornament and proportion, from that of ancient and modern date. So deficient is it in systematic rules that it may be deemed the order of confusion and inconsistency. The portals of this description of buildings, which has so much infected

Vite de' Pittori, &c. t. 1. c. 3. p. 128.

the world, (*ammorbato il mondo*) are adorned with slender columns entwined like vine branches, and unequal to sustain the weight, however light, which is placed above them. Indeed the whole exterior, with its other decorations, its profusion of canopied niches (*maledizione di tabernacoli*) raised above one another, with so many pyramids, leaves, and points, renders it apparently impossible, not only that they should be durable, but that it should support itself—giving the whole an air of being made of pasteboard rather than of stone and marble. This style was invented by the Goths, who spread the contagion through Italy. May God deliver (*Iddio scampi*) every country in future, from the adoption of plans that, substituting deformity for beauty, are unworthy of further attention!"

Remains, Theorem 5. p. 32.

Sir Henry Wotton, in his theorems respecting the relative strength of differently shaped arches, remarks; that, "as for those arches which our artizans call of the third and fourth point, and the Tuscan writers *di terzo*, and *di quarto accuto*,—because they alwayes concurre in an acute angle, and do spring from division of the diameter into three, four, or more parts at pleasure; I say such as these, both for the natural imbecility of the sharp angle it self, and likewise for their very *uncomeliness*, ought to bee exiled from judicious eyes, and left to their first inventors the Gothes or Lumbards, amonst other reliques of that barbarous age."

"The ancient Greek and Roman architecture answer all the perfections required in a faultless and accomplished building, such as for many ages were renowned and reputed by the universal suffrages of the civilized world; and would doubtless still have subsisted and made good their claim, had not the Goths, Vandals, and other barbarous nations, subverted and demolished them, introducing in their stead a certain fantastical and licentious manner of building, which we have since called Modern or Gothic. Congestions of heavy, dark, melancholy, and monkish piles, without any just proportion, use, or beauty, compared with the truly ancient; so as when we meet with the greatest industry, and expensive carving full of fret and lamentable imagery, sparing of neither pains nor cost, a judicious spectator is rather distracted, or quite confounded, than touched with that admiration which results from the true and just symmetry, regular proportion, union, and disposition; and from the great and noble manner in which the august and glorious fabrics of the ancients are executed." Evelyn's Account of Architecture, p. 9.

"Instead of those beautiful orders so majestical and proper for their stations, becoming variety, and other ornamental accessories, they (the authors of the Gothic architecture) set up those slender and unshapen pillars, or rather bundles of staves, and other incongruous props, to support incumbent weights and pon- Wren's Parentalia.

derous arched roofs, without entablature; and though not without great industry (as M. D'Aviler well observes), not altogether naked of gaudy sculpture, trite and busy carvings, it is such as gluts the eye, rather than gratifies and pleases with any reasonable satisfaction. For proof of this, without travelling far abroad, I dare report myself to any man of judgement, and that has the least taste of order and magnificence, if, after he has looked awhile upon king Henry the Seventh's chapel at Westminster, gazed upon its sharp angles, jetties, narrow lights, lame statues, lace, and other out-work and crinkle crankle, and shall then turn his eyes on the Banqueting-house, built at Whitehall by Inigo Jones, after the ancient manner, or on what His Majesty's surveyor has done at *St. Paul's;* and consider what a glorious object the cupola, porticoes, colonnades, and other parts present to the beholder,—let him well consider and compare them *judicially* without partiality and prejudice, and then pronounce which of the two manners strikes the understanding as well as the eye, with more majestic and solemn greatness; though they in so much a plainer and more simple dress conform to the respective orders and entablature; and accordingly determine to whom the preference is due; not as we said there is not something solid and oddly artificial too after a sort. But the universal and unreasonable thickness of the walls, clumsy buttresses, towers, sharp-pointed arches,

doors, and other apertures without proportion; nonsensical insertions of various kinds of marbles impertinently placed; turrets and pinnacles thick set with monkies and chimeras, and abundance of busy work and other incongruities, *dissipate and break the angles* of the sight, *and so confound it*, that one cannot consider it with any steadiness where to begin or end; taking off that noble air and grandeur, bold and graceful manner which the ancients had so well and judiciously established." " Nothing was thought magnificent that was not high beyond measure, with the flutter of arch buttresses, so we call the sloping arches that poise the higher vaulting of the nave. The *Romans* always *concealed* their butments, whereas the *Normans* thought them ornamental. These, I have observed, are the first things that occasion the ruin of cathedrals, being so much exposed to the air and weather; the coping, which cannot defend them, first failing, and if they give way, the vault must spread. Pinnacles are of no use and as little ornament. The pride of a very high roof raised above a reasonable pitch, is not for duration." Ibid.

" It was after the irruptions of swarms of those truculent people from the north, the Moors and Arabs from the south and east overrunning the civilized world, that wherever they fixed themselves they began to debauch this noble and useful art, when, instead of those beautiful orders so majestical and Ibid.

proper for their stations, becoming variety, and other ornamental accessories, they set up those slender and misshapen pillars, or rather bundles of staves and other incongruous props, to support incumbent weights and ponderous arched roofs without entablature."

This admirable architect, and such he truly was, has however degenerated from classical excellence. And it may be demanded who can bear to look at his Romanesque cloisters in the Royal Exchange, after having seen the colonnades at Greenwich?

I subjoin the following extract from the popular work of an elegant modern writer, who is eminently qualified for the discussion. "The noble simplicity of the Græcian temples, the elegance of their proportion, the harmony of the parts, and the majesty of the whole, give an impression of awe and satisfaction, which no modern building affords. I have never yet been able to comprehend how the taste of any architect should be so strangely depraved as to permit him to view unmoved those stately fabricks, and vainly imagine he could by mean plans, disproportionate combinations, and glittering deformity, give delight to rational spectators; yet such artists have been found, and they have not wanted protectors. He who built the mosque of St. Sophia undoubtedly supposed he had raised an edifice that would show how far the elegance of the golden age

Dinarbas, c. 32. p. 221.

in which he lived, was superior to the barbarism of that which saw the elevation of the temple of Theseus. It has ever been the irremediable error of weak minds and degenerate notions, to substitute *ornament* for *proportion*, *curious minuteness* for *majestic beauty*, and *heterogeneous variety* for *harmony and grace*."

Page 48.

(32) There are among them "works to wonder at;" and much will the magic of King's College chapel atone for; yet though the author never hopes to see a *new Gothic* building either public or private, he is so far from wishing for the destruction of those in existence, that he trusts they will be supported in their actual form, as long as one stone will remain upon another. Proud as we are of the vaulting of our cathedrals, I cannot help remarking an error in the location of the organ, by which the view is greatly impeded. In the churches of France and Italy this instrument is placed at the opening of one of the transepts, so that the perspective of the nave is not severed. This was perhaps once practised with us; for Chalmers, in his description of the chapel of New College, Oxford, says that "in 1663 the organ made by Dolham, and since improved by Green and Byfield, was placed *over the screen*. The former organ, which was first set up in 1458, *stood in a loft on the north side of the upper end*." The architect in the late restorations of this chapel has, I perceive, made

a compromise with the organ, by inventing an aperture, through which, when the verger leads strangers to the eastern extremity, they are gratified with a sight of the centre group of Reynolds's beautiful window.

Page 49.
Dinarbas, c.47. (33) "If I were to form a new system, it would be that of *simplicity*; it should pervade all works of imagination, all enquiries of science, all performances of the chizel and pencil, all behaviour, and all dress. Carry this idea even to the most awful height, what is simplicity, but *truth*, the great basis of virtue and religion? When I call this a system, it is only to comply with the common mode of speech, which would make the most natural ideas a philosophical discovery. Simplicity is the child of nature: the love of it seems implanted in us by providence; yet all the labour of erring mortals is to depart from this great and open road, and to return to it when they have seen the fallacy of winding paths and doubtful mazes."

Page 49.

(34) It is a well known fact that Milton had long intended to write an epic poem, and to fix on Prince Arthur as his hero; but I cannot subscribe to the opinion on his preference of the classic to the Gothic
p. 263. model suggested by Dr. Hurd in his letters on chivalry and romance. It seems to me, that had he

not travelled, he never would have written the Paradise Lost; and that his tour had so far expanded and aggrandized his vast abilities and lofty mind, so deeply impressed him with religious fervour, with the most awful and exalted notions of the Deity, that his final election was almost a natural consequence. Throughout his sublime poem there are allusions of which he would have been unconscious, had he never attentively studied the works of ancient and modern art, so abundantly dispersed over the capitals of Italy. These, by their consummate excellence and unparalleled beauty, invite the attention of the common observer; but Milton went beyond the surface. He traced in these performances the ideas as they emanated from the minds of their authors, and qualified himself to hold intercourse with intellectual nature. Among numberless instances of happy appropriation, are his description of the formation of Eve, her first view of Adam, delineated from the vault of the Sistine chapel in Rome, executed by the hand of Michael Angelo himself (the assiduous application of twenty months, in which the sublime and beautiful unite in so high a degree, as to give the figures there expressed a decided preference above all the works which ever issued from his pencil; and which unhappily are so far injured by the lapse of time as to be distinctly visible only in the lurid glare of a July sun); Satan and the infernal regions from the Last Judgement;

Paradise Lost, B. 4. v. 445. B. 8. v. 470.

the creation; the Deity forming the earth,—calling the sun and the other heavenly luminaries into existence,—dividing the light from darkness; our first parents; Eve in her native purity, by Raphael, (in the loggia in the Vatican palace known by his name) and also his description of the Redeemer, as repeatedly delineated by those divine artists; where he

B. 3. v. 708.
B. 7. v. 215—340.
B. 7. v. 195.

"appear'd
Girt with omnipotence, with radiance crown'd
Of majesty divine; sapience and love
Immense, and all his father in him shone!"

Macrobius, Sat. l. 5. c. 13. p. 340.

When Phidias had formed his statue of the Olympian Jupiter, he was asked whence he borrowed the idea; his reply was from three lines of the Iliad,

Η, *και κυανεησιν, κ.τ.λ.* A. 528.

It is impossible to contemplate the performances of these great men who have dedicated their talents to the honour of humanity, without sensations of gratitude and respect, and to suppress regret that poets, painters, and sculptors have not always, by preserving the alliance inviolate, consulted their mutual reputation and the advancement of their respective pursuits. This judicious system was once almost invariably adopted; as sisters they had grown up together from infancy; and though we are too little acquainted with the state of these arts in the time of Homer to specify the influence of their union on his

Plin. l. 7. c. 56. l. 35. c. 8.

works, it doubtless aided the ideas and the imagination of the father of poetry: besides, that the Greek and Roman poets and artists, by an uniform perseverance in the same plan, communicated and derived illustration and embellishment from this mutual co-operation. Thus was the youthful and pliant mind bent by insensible and gradual advances to the delineation of the sublime and beautiful,—where nature exalted by idea was contemplated in the abstract not as a species but as a genus,—and of course to the abandonment of the opposite extreme of local configuration and low subjects, with trifling and unessential accessories. Aristotle teaches us that Polygnotus (the Homer of painting) employed his pencil in the expression of ideal beauty;—and Pausonos in the lower scenes of common life;—that young men should not be permitted to contemplate the works of the latter, but only those of the former, and of that class of artists who excelled in moral expression.

De Art. Poet. l. 1. s. 3; l. 4. s. 3.

De Rep. l. 8. c. 5.

The merit and the demerit of these opposite extremes will best appear from the effect they are calculated to produce on the cultivated understanding. The works of Pausonos, as to general character, approximate to those of the German, Dutch, and Flemish schools; productions which would not have been deemed worth the reader's notice, had they not been sought for in this country with avidity, to the detriment of the

more worthy branches of the profession. The pretence that they are natural is no authentic passport to their reception;—the descriptive poems of Swift have an equal claim to the same epithet: but what nature is it? —not that whose contemplation is calculated to form the mind to virtuous habits and to inspire dignity of sentiment and conduct, nor such as any poet of judgement, sensibility, or principle, would ever suffer to contaminate his paper, nor painter his canvass; though it is admitted that scenes taken from private life, particularly where the human countenance appears expanded by education, and conscious independency, by addressing themselves to the social affections are singularly captivating and beneficial when treated with consistent dignity and elevation.

In the German school, the heads of Denner for instance are obnoxious to censure. I remember two at Manheim, male and female, in which mechanical excellence absorbs every other consideration; for they are void of all personal grace, are elaborately finished, and every defect of age on the skin and in the features is so faithfully marked, that you almost instinctively turn from them with disgust. Yet so little sensibility or reverence have the *practitioners* in these schools evinced in their representation of departed life, that they have not pretended to soften the horrors of that awful state. There is for instance in the Town-house at Basle a dead Christ by Holbein (the

contemporary of Raphael!) it is preserved with all possible care, and exhibited as a miracle of art ("certainly one of the best pictures in the world"); but being void of elevation, its straight and meagre limbs, bloody *stigmata*, and cadaverous aspect, seem no other than a subject stretcht out for the knife of the anatomist. What a contrast to the conceptions of a noble mind! Homer sedulously impresses on his reader an idea of the beauty of the departed Hector. "His soul leaving his graceful limbs descended to the regions below.—The Argives pressing round the body, with wonder surveyed the form and awful beauty of the divine Hector." And when the body was attached to the car of Achilles, Apollo covered it with his golden shield lest "its fine form should be injured."

Burnet's Travels, l. 5. p. 265.

Iliad 22. v. 370.

Ibid. 24. v. 19.

"Ut *sculptura* poesis."—Those who have viewed the statues of the family of Niobe in the Florentine gallery (reputedly by Scopas), must have called to mind the hero of Troy in one of the *stricken* sons of that devoted house. The following description is extracted from Fabroni, from which the respective merits of Scopas and Holbein may be appreciated. "Next in excellence to the statue of Niobe, is that of her deceased or rather expiring son;—the exact proportion of its parts, the truth, the gracefulness of the outlines, the selection of forms, cannot be sufficiently admired, and prove that with the sculptors of antiquity beauty was the unvarying object of pursuit; the bones and

Famiglia di Niobe, pl. 3. p. 14.

the muscles of the thorax are strongly exprest, and identify a youth accustomed to athletic exercises;—the sculptor has perhaps given them this elevation to express the sufferings that immediately precede dissolution;—the head sympathizes with the expression of the rest of the body,—the eyes, although they pourtray the languor of death, are of singular grace and softness. The mouth, partly open and apparently still breathing, displays the most natural image of departing life. The left hand, which rests upon the bosom near the wound inflicted by the arrow of Apollo, is of rare and uncommon beauty, and proves how erroneously Plutarch has affirmed "that the Greeks, regardless of the other parts, attended merely to the delineation of the countenance."

Vit. Alexand in princip.

"*Sunt quæ refugiunt Musæ horrore perculsæ*," is the observation of Quintilian. Much however must depend on the manner in which subjects are conceived. The dying son of Niobe, treated like the Holbein at Basle, would have put the horror-struck muses to flight, as they once were even from their beloved Greece by the cruelties of the tyrant Pyreneus. While on the contrary, Homer, Scopas, and the great professors of antiquity, Michael Angelo, Raphael, and Milton, in more recent times, courted their alliance and obtained their favour.

Ovid. Metam. l. 5. v. 288.

If the schools now censured have failed in the conception of the dead Christ, so have they equally

in their representation of our living Redeemer. So far from elevating the character, they give him an ordinary countenance, and frequently suffused with tears. Now, though it is to be hoped that in similar attempts, no artist in this arduous enterprise will ever ground his hopes of success, in presuming to take the statue of a heathen deity for his prototype,—yet in the aspect of the author of our redemption, let me not constantly view a mortal sinking under infirmities like those to which I feel myself exposed; but a being who animates me with hope, and inspires me with confidence, that I may exult in the consciousness "that my Redeemer liveth."

The imagination tolerates that which the eye will not uniformly bear. Homer has drawn his heroes weeping; and we know that the greatest characters are the first to yield to the softer emotions of humanity: yet who could bear a crying Achilles either in marble or on canvass? though they are not always inadmissible in scenic representation. Shakespear reaches the true sublime when he makes Lear exclaim —"touch me with noble anger! Oh! let not woman's weapons, water drops, stain my man's cheeks." Act 2. s. 4. And the actor lapses into a vulgar error by personating the aged monarch with a vacillating step aided by a walking-stick. The cane is a common, if not a burlesque adjunct.—It is consistent with a Don Jerom or a Mother Shipton, and under various

Ficoroni, de Larv. scenicis, passim.

shapes was introduced in the ancient satyric comedy, as the attribute of fauns and other imaginary sylvan beings, but never where respect was implied. If Lear really needed bodily support, which there is no reason to imagine the author meant, attendants were near; and in the Œdipus at Colona the interest of that affecting tragedy is greatly augmented by a circumstance which comes home to the feelings and claims the sympathy of the spectator—a blind father led by an affectionate daughter. In the Rainham Belisarius, one of the finest pictures in Britain, the author has shown more skill; and if the use of the accessory now censured ever was justifiable, it must be where decrepitude and blindness united. Conscious however of its impropriety, the painter has placed by his side a staff as a sign or emblem of infirmity, but he does not rest upon it.

Plut. de aud. poet.

The observation of Gorgias the Leontine, respecting tragedy, is not very remote from *the general principle* of this note; that "it is a species of fiction by which he that deceives is more just than he who deceives not; and he that is deceived, more wise than another who is not deceived." Nor is this acquiescence perhaps very distantly allied to the "*splendide mendax*" of Horace, or the "*magnanima menzogna*" of Tasso.

Besides the proficiency attained, and the benefits imparted to the arts of design by the mutual coopera-

tion now stated, two others applicable to deified beings, and which are not the least important sources of grandeur and elevation, remain to be mentioned; these were derived from the influence of religion and the opinions of philosophers. In the early days of sculpture, the statues of *deities* were not identified by appropriate configuration. One was so like another, as to be distinguished only by the addition of a name, symbol, or attribute. Neither opinion nor idea, for instance, had yet concurred in assigning the elegant form and finely turned limbs to Apollo, by which he has since been recognised. There exists in several of the museums and private collections in Rome a statue of this deity, called the *Dodonean*; the limbs are thick set, the shoulders broad, and the whole air athletic. We know the tenacity superstition inspires. The people of Dodona boasted the earliest oracle of the son of Latona, and this is the form in which he was there immemorially worshipped. But as science dawned, the tenets of the sages were expanded and confirmed. Statues now began to *feel* the sacred flame that Prometheus had stolen from heaven, and which imparted life and energy. They became ætherial, and no longer partook of earthly imbecility. To every deity was assigned an appropriate character, and a firm and temperate dignity pervaded them altogether. "Itaque neque ira neque gratia teneri, quod, quæ talia essent, imbecilla essent omnia." He was clad in a human form

Cicero de N. D. l. 1. s. 17.

indeed, yet exalted above the wants of mortals, and not in any degree partaking of their imperfections. As blood is the great fountain of terrestrial existence the veins were suppressed, as were also the tendons.

Ibid. s. 18. Thus Epicurus, (as quoted by Cicero, to whom the passage appeared obscure, as did many of the early mystical allusions, and those of the Pythagoreans in particular when he wrote)—*Nec tamen ea speciem, corpus est, sed* quasi corpus: *nec habet sanguinem, sed quasi sanguinem.*" An opinion which existed in the age of Homer, for when Diomed inflicted

Iliad 5. v. 336. a wound on the hand of Venus, ichor, not blood, followed the spear, "for the gods, who neither eat bread nor drink deep tinted wine, are bloodless, and therefore called immortal." Consistently with this theory the heathen deities are sculptured without the channels that convey this essential to mortal life. The torso has no veins, and we therefore conclude it celestial. Facts decide this fine relique to have been part of a groupe of Hercules with Hebe by his side, after he had "put off this mortal *coil.*" In this

Odyss. l. 11. v. 600 et seq. state he is mentioned by Homer only once. Ulysses meets his ειδωλον in the shades; but the hero quaffs the sacred beverage in Olympus, which has conferred the gift of immortality, and he is united to the goddess of eternal youth. Time has left no duplicate of this wonderful performance in marble; though there are gems on which the same subject is

treated, and whose composition was perhaps copied from the torso when perfect.

It is remarkable, that among the various repetitions of the statues of ancient deities and heroes hitherto discovered, those of the greatest importance do not generally predominate. It is impossible to conjecture how many are yet to be *brought to light*, and till more are known, the question cannot be fully discussed. But taking the subject as it is at present, I will particularize a few that occur to me. There is no *replica* of the whole statue (or rather groupe) of which the torso is a part, of the Laocoon none, nor of the Apollo Belvedere. Of the Medicean Venus, of the Apollo Musagetes, of the Apollo Sauroctonon (from the bronze of Praxiteles, and to which Martial alludes), and of the Jupiter Serapis, several. Of the Olympian Jupiter there are very few, and those of inferior execution; a *scarcity* perhaps arising from the influx of alien gods (a subject presently to be further noticed), which was so indiscriminate, that by the reign of Adrian (the date of most of the ideal statues now remaining) the great deities of Rome were almost forgotten.

Plin. l. 34. c. 8.

L. 14. s. 172.

Page 56.

(35) The deplorable condition of Pisa, when it was subdued by the Florentines and torn by internal factions, opposed obstacles to the public embellishments of that city. In the expressive language of

Storia Pittorica, t. 1. p.54.

Lanzi, it was, "avvilita e priva non pur di artefici, ma pressochè di cittadini, giacquè gran tempo nella solitudine e nello squallore; e saziò largamente gli antichi odj delle città nimiche.

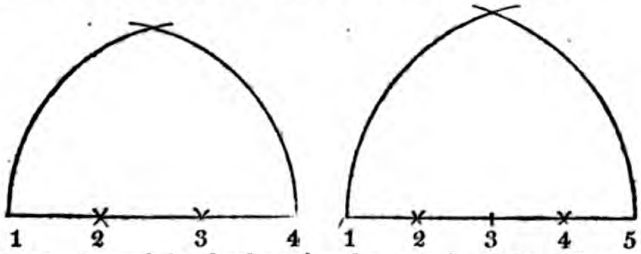
The decline, if not the total dereliction, of Gothic architecture in Tuscany at the period assigned by Sir H. Englefield for the Gothic ornaments in the Campo Santo, (A.D. 1464) may be conceived from the facts now presented to the reader; and there is further proof that it was given up even more than a century before, by one of the most eminent architects then existing. Andrea Orcagna, (A.D. 1329—1389) scholar of Niccolo da Pisa, in the construction of the Loggia de' Lanzi (A.D. 1355) in his native Florence, abandoned the pointed for the semicircular arch;—"E noto fra gli architetti per aver tolto dagli archi, il quarto acuto, e sostituito il mezzo tondo; siccome vedesi, nella loggia de' Lanzi fabbricata da lui, e ornata anche di scultura." The substitution of semicircular arches in the Loggia de' Lanzi for those of the fourth point (il quarto acuto) was in those days an innovation—("fu *cosa nova* in que' tempi"). "La Loggia de' Lanzi di Firenze, da esso immaginata con tanta magnificenza, supera di molto la meschinità del secolo xiv°." This edifice (which is still perfect) was esteemed the most beautiful and magnificent of all the works of Andrea Orcagna; and in a subsequent age, when the art had arrived at unrivalled

grandeur, was panegyrized by Michael Angelo. I also meet with a partial disentanglement of the Roman from the Gothic about this time, (A.D. 1352) in a chapel dedicated to the Virgin at Siena, "L'architettura di essa è mezzo Gotica, e mezzo Romana, composta tutti di marmi; l'invenzione della quale è di Duccio, e il fregio e l'arco di Francesco di Giorgio da Siena." In speaking of an ancient model of this building preserved in the chapel, the author says, "egli è di marmo, e termina in *sesti acuti*, e piramide secche, e rifiorite secondo il gusto e la maniera di quei tempi."

Vasari Proem, Vit. And. Orcagna, t. 2. p. 245-7.

Lettere Sanesi, t. 2. p. 74.

I cannot conclude this note without observing that it was usual among the old Italian architects, of which an instance is just supplied, to define Gothic arches by the point they formed on a certain division of the diameter. The third and fourth (*terzo e quarto acuto*) were those which they most usually admitted, though the fourth, from its greater utility, seems to have been generally preferred. The *radius* of the former is taken at two-thirds, and of the latter at three-fourths of the division of the diameter.



It were to be wished, that in describing Gothic arches,

some mode equally precise were adopted among us, instead of the vague and unsatisfactory terms of lancet-shaped, acute, or obtuse. Such a statement would bring together a number of simple facts, and lead to a more accurate investigation of the principles on which they are formed, and draughtsmen, who are too apt to trust more to the eye than to actual measurement, would become exact in their delineations.

Page 61.

(35*) The halls belonging to the confraternities in Venice are to this day called *schools*.

Page 61.

(36) In that singularly curious and most important work, the history of the Duomo of Orvieto, published (at Rome 1791, 4to.) from authentic documents collected by Cardinal Antamori, then bishop, and to which I have had occasion to refer, I find the following enumeration of incorporated trades and professions. They are here called upon (A.D. 1337) to furnish their quota of wax for the procession on the day of Corpus Christi.—" Judicum, notariorum, mercatorum, lanajolorum cabrolariorum, mercantium seu spetiariorum, macellariorum, fabrorum, pelliparіorum, sartorum seu sutorum, muratorum, et pettialorum, procacciantium, tabernariorum, pizzicajolorum seu ..... magistrorum lignaminis, molendinariorum seu mugnojorum, salajorum, et oliariorum; furnariorum, albergatorum, seu ospitatorum, camengiatorum, bar-

Document. 9. p. 262.

baliorum, calcinariorum, vascellariorum, tegulariorum, macinariorum, vectigalium seu vecturalium."

The confraternities in Rome, both lay and ecclesiastic, are 139 in number.

(37) While this cathedral was building we read of workmen whose employment it was to search for marbles in the vicinity of Rome ("ad inveniendum marmora in districtu urbis"). Page 62. Storia, p. 268, 269.

(38) The principal uses to which these materials were applied, were for tessellated pavements; for mosaics (in the *opus vermiculatum*), for the *septa ambonum*, the *ciboria* of Gothic altars, and sepulchral monuments. The most magnificent columns have been cut down into squares and lozenges for these purposes. Richard de Ware, abbot of Westminster (A.D. 1260), is said to have "brought with him from Rome workmen and rich *porphyry* stones for Edward the Confessor's *feretory*, (shrine) and for the pavement of the chapel." Page 62. Walpole's Anecdotes, v. 1. p. 30.

(39) Consistently with the place and occasion for which they were destined, devotional feeling is here alluded to. Not to particularize the painters and sculptors of an earlier date, nor others their contemporaries of less established fame, Cimabue (1240—1300) with his pupil Giotto (1276—1336) whom Page 72.

"he took from the sheep folds."—The former admired for force and truth, the latter for grace and simplicity, made the delineation of that feeling their invariable aim, at a time when, though great labour was employed, little effect was produced by hands, feet, or draperies. The same research was continued down to the days of Pietro Perugino (1446—1524), when, in the Madonnas of his pupil the divine Raphael, (1483—1520) this sentiment was exalted to a sublimity and grace unattained by any of his successors.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Page 2, *line* 19.

"MARTIAL tells us that if Jupiter were to sell all Olympus by auction, the profits of the sale would be insufficient to pay for the public buildings of Domitian." Viaggiana, p. 50.

" Quantùm jam superis, Cæsar, cœloque dedisti, L. 9. Epig. 4.
Si repetas, et si creditor esse velis;
Grandis in æthereo licet auctio fiat Olympo,
Coganturque Dei vendere quidquid habent;
Conturbabit Atlas, et non erit uncia tota,
Decîdat tecum qua pater ipse deûm.
Pro Capitolinis quid enim tibi solvere templis,
Quid pro Tarpeiæ frondis honore potest?
Quid pro culminibus geminis matrona Tonantis?
Pallada prætereo: res agit illa tuas.
Quid loquar Alciden, Phœbumque, piosque Laconas?
Addita quid Latio Flavia templa polo?
Exspectes, et sustineas, Auguste, necesse est;
Nam tibi quod solvat non habet arca Jovis."

Page 28, *line* 12.

In allusion to their form, shrines were once called *basiliculæ;* a diminutive, applied also to an oratory and a cenotaph. "Vox autem hæc Basiliculæ ne alicui abstrusa novaque videatur, en sæpe laudatus Du Cange, qui eruditionem ex lege Salica, tit. 58, s. 3, 4, 5, Ciampini, t. 1. c. 19. p. 183.

depromit, ibi: *si quis Basilicam super hominem mortuum expoliaverit, triginta solidis culpabilis judicatur.*" "*Basiliculæ* vocem mihi porrexit S^t^ Paulinus in Epist. 12, ad *Severum*, ac legi apud Avitum Viennensem, in Epist. 6; ubi pro sacello seu oratorio Basiliculam posuit."—Of these basiliculæ there are engravings in the author last quoted, which as to form and character must be regarded as correct specimens of the buildings and decorations of the ages to which they are referable. There is another source by which the early Christian architecture may be illustrated, and which has not yet been sufficiently explored: I mean the designs dispersed in ancient MSS.; and in addition to these, the mosaic apsides, and arcus triumphales of the early basilicæ in Rome and Ravenna. Among the latter, the prevailing subject is the presentation of a model of the edifice by the founder to our Saviour, or to the Virgin, one of these personages being usually the principal figure in the composition of the picture. A name or an inscription frequently announces the date of the building, and when these are wanting, we are often assisted by another circumstance. Wherever the head of the patron is bare, he was himself the builder; but when covered or encircled with the *corona lucida*, a posthumous edifice is implied. Several of these mosaic paintings are given in the second volume of Ciampini, and date from the sixth to the ninth century or later. The models they exhibit, in outward appearance, differ

Ciampini, t. 1. tab. 45.

greatly from those churches of royal foundation: their prevailing character is plainness and *simplicity*. The forms are oblong, with high gables; and where the ends are visible, one is terminated by a semicircular tribunal, the other by a small porch. That of St. Agnes (623) from the inequality of the roofs appears to have had side aisles. The hangings that veiled the entrance are here visible. But though the exterior of these edifices was plain, the interior was decorated with costliness imitative of the pomp and mystery that pervaded the imperial palace, and such as the modesty of our establishment will not suffer us to imagine. Two of them, the church of St. Mark (pope) reconstructed by Gregory IV. (828), and that of St. Cecilia by Paschal I. (820), have been described by a contemporary writer, the celebrated Anastasius, who was one of the apostolic librarians. He was the biographer of the popes from Damasus I. (367) to Nicholas I. (858), a period, of course, including the reigns of those above mentioned; and from his work the following very curious extracts are taken.

Biblioth. Patrum, tom. 12.

"His igitur perfectis operibus ad alia repente venerabilis Pontifex (Gregorius Quartus) animum et mentem convertit. Nam ecclesiam tunc Beati Marci confessoris atque pontificis, quam tempore sacerdotii sui regendam susceperat, et usque quo ad pontificatus pervenit gratiam in suo jure et ditione permansit,

quæ ob nimiam vetustatem crebro casura esse videbatur, cum omnipotentis Dei opitulatione a fundamentis prius ejecit, et postmodum novis fabricis totam ad meliorem cultum atque decorem perduxit, absidamque ipsius prænominatæ basilicæ musivo aureis superinducto coloribus cum summa gratulatione depinxit. Fecit vero sarta tecta ejus omnia nova, et quidquid in ea ante vile cognoverat, pretiosum postea esse maluit. Igitur consummatis omnibus his pro remedio et futura retributione animæ suæ, obtulit in jam sæpe nominata ecclesia futuris temporibus permanenda hæc, regnum* aureum unum, quod usque hodie super altare dependet cum gemmis valde opimis, habens in medio auream crucem † cum

* The *regnum*, properly speaking, is a golden circlet or crown in its most simple form. Regna were suspensory in various parts of the early churches; crosses and lamps were frequently attached to them: they were by the Greeks called στεφανώματα. (Ciampini, t. 1. c. 14. de Coronis, &c. Ibid. t. 2. p. 90.) Du Cange records a singular fact respecting this crown. "Imperatores Græcos in æde Sophiana coronari consuevisse ex illis corollis, quæ supra sacram mensam pendebant, quæ peractâ solemnitate in suum remittebantur locum, cujus ritûs origo Constantino Magno tribuitur." (Constantinop. Christiana, l. 3. num. 43.)

"Canute . . . offered his crown of gold at this church, which till the Reformation was preserved there in the head of the great cross in the nave." (Dart's Cathed. of Canterbury, p. 7.)

† The origin of the *gemmata crux* is thus accounted for: "Gemmata crux, quæ cum supplicium esset apud gentes, ac rei et latrones in ea criminum pœnas luerent, antiqui Christifideles maxime circumspecti, noluerunt in ea imaginem Christi patientis affigere, sed potius gemmis margaritisque ornatam exposuerunt, ut facilius inspicientium oculos absque horrore ad se alliceret, qui earundem gemmarum aurique fulgore

gemmis pariter pretiosis. Item gabathas* ex auro purissimo tres pendentes ante prænominatum altare. Et gabathas interrasiles† de argento duodecim angelorum opere constructas. Et alias gabathas interrasiles quinque cum pedibus‡ suis. Item ubi supra obtulit thymia-materia aureo colore perfusa tria, canistra §

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perculsi illam venerarentur." (Bosio Rom. Sotteran. c. xxvi. p. 612. Ciampini, t. 1. p. 201.)

* "*Gabatæ*, lances, seu disci, in ecclesiis a laquearibus pendentes, cereis vel lampadibus instructi.—Anastasius, p. 131. 'fecit gabatas sex cum cruce, ex argento purissimo, quæ pendent ante arcum majorem.'—Guillelmus Bibliothecarius in Vit. Steph. II. p. 236. 'gabatas argenteas cum lampadibus obtulit, et continuatim vigiliis ardere præcepit.'" (Du Cange, v. *Gabata*.)

† "Quod nunc sculpturis, quod nunc planitia variatur,
Hoc et non aliud opus *interrasile* dicas."
Alexander. (apud Du Cange.)

‡ Apparently candelabra.

§ "*Canistrum*, vas ecclesiasticum in quo distribuebantur *eulogiæ*, seu panes benedicti.—Id etiam appellant scriptores ecclesiastici discos, qui lampadibus substrati sunt." (Du Cange.)

By the *eulogia*, or panis benedictus, was meant that part of the bread which was left after the celebration of the eucharist from the oblations of the people; and which, having received benediction, was distributed among such as were not prepared to communicate.—Conc. Nannetens. can. 9. "Partes incisas habeat in vase nitido et convenienti, ut post missarum solennia, qui communicare non fuerint parati, eulogias omni die Dominico et in diebus festis exinde accipiant, quæ cum benedictione prius faciat." (Bingham, b. 15. c. 4. sec. 3.)

Bingham, (ibid. c. 2.) speaking of the forms of the eucharistical bread, quotes from Durandus the expression of "oblationum coronæ," crowns of bread; which he says may imply that they were round loaves.

I hazard conjecture in elucidation of this term. There is at Rome during Lent a delicate kind of bread, called from the shape in which it is made, "ciambella," an obsolete name of a crown, a figure which was considered as an emblem of the Redeemer in his exalted state. May

de argento duodecim, coronas argenteas majores et minores novem, cruces de argento tres, et unaquæque habet lib. unam: cerostatas* desuper argenteas quatuor. Fecit et cyborium ad laudem atque decorem confessoris jam sæpius dicti ex argento purissimo pens. libras mille. Altare quoque ejusdem argenteis similiter tabulis exornavit, cupiens per rerum temporalium exercitia æterna cœlo præmia adipisci. Prædictus etiam venerabilis pontifex obtulit ubi supra vestem de fundato† unam habentem mucrones‡ per circuitum. Fecit et aliam vestem de olovero§ unam habentem in medio gemmas, et mala aurea, et per circuitum zonam de chrysoclavo‖. Imo vero obtulit

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we not see the "oblationum coronæ" in the modern ciambelle, and which might have been offered previously to the introduction of the wafer, when the elements were taken out of the oblations of the people?

* "*Candelabra* quæ per se stant, vel in quibus cerei stant aut manibus deferuntur."—They are to be seen in Ciampini, t. 3. pl. 33.

† "*Fundatus.*" This word when applied to vestments is defined,—"auro textus, acu pictus: qui idem esse opinatur quod nos 'estoffe à fond d'or,' vulgo dicimus: 'drappo di fundo d'oro.'" (Du Cange.)

‡ Du Cange (v. *Mucro*) cites two passages from Anastasius where this word occurs, but of which no explication is attempted. "Mucrones per circuitum" may signify a border with a pointed pattern.

§ "*Holoverus*, purpureus: vestes holoveræ, quæ totæ vero colore, (i. e. ἁλικβίνῳ,) seu purpureo tinctæ sunt absque ullius alterius coloris permistione: quomodo fuisse indicantur in l. 3 Cod. Theod. de Vestibus holoveris. Vox hybrida ex Latino et Græco composita.—Procopius (in Hist. Arcana, p. 112. 1 edit.) ὁλόβηρον tincturam et colorem fuisse qui regum proprius erat indicat." (Du Cange v. *Holoverus.*)

See also Ferrarius De re vestiaria, l. 2. c. 10. De vestibus holoveris.

‖ Opinions are various respecting this word.—"Chrysoclavus idem denotat ac aureus clavus." (Ciampini, t. 2. p. 94.)—"picturæ potius speciem esse chrysoclavum, quam clavum aureum antiquorum, apud

sanctissimus præsul vestem de olovero cum gryphis et unicornibus*. Vestem quoque aliam cum chrysoclavo per circuitum habentem in medio Resurrectionem domini nostri Jesu Christi. Sæpe jam dictus venerabilis papa obtulit in prænominata ecclesia vestem cum gryphis et chrysoclavo per circuitum habentem in medio Nativitatem domini nostri Jesu Christi. Item vestem aliam cum chrysoclavo habentem per medium rotas† de chrysoclavo quatuor, et Nativitatem atque Baptismum domini nostri Jesu Christi. Obtulit vero prænominatus pontifex vestem aliam cum leonibus, habentem Resurrectionem Domini de chrysoclavo. Vestes de fundato minores octo, quæ altaribus superponuntur, quæ per circuitum ejusdem ecclesiæ esse noscuntur. Vela alba serica quatuor, unum habens undique Tyrium‡, et in medio crucem, et gammadias§ de chrysoclavo. Aliud de

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quos vestes pictæ a clavatis diversæ." (Ferrarius De re vestiaria. Analecta, c. 28. p. 99.)

* The fullest information respecting figured veils and vestments is to be met with in Ciampini, t. 1. c. 13. t. 3. 154.

† "*Pallii ecclesiastici* species in formam rotæ efficti, vel pallium rotarum figuris distinctum.—Anast. v. Leon. III. p. 143. 'et rotam de chrysoclavo ornatam in circuitu de Tyrio.'—Le Roman de Garin MS. 'Bues i offre un vert paille *roé*.'—Le Roman de Parise la Duchesse: 'Li Dus Renart offert quatre pailes *roez*.'" (Du Cange v. *Rota*.)

‡ "*Tyrium*, purpura Tyria vel pannus purpureus." (Du Cange.)

§ *Gammadiæ* are supposed to denote the figure of the Greek cross composed of four gammas $\frac{\Gamma\Gamma}{\Gamma\Gamma}$ which were either woven or embroidered on veils and dresses used for sacred purposes. They are to this day

stauraci*, habens in medio crucem de olovero, et gammadias de olovero Tyrio. Tertium et quartum similiter. Vela de rodino† quatuor, quæ *sacrum altare circundant*, ex quibus unum habet crucem de chrysoclavo. Vela de fundato viginti sex, et linea similiter, quæ pendent per arcus ecclesiæ‡. Vela Alexandrina tria ante portas majores pendentia§ habentia homines et caballos. Cortinam Alexandrinam unam; vela alia habentia mucrones de fundato quatuor. Velum de octapulo‖ unum. Vela alia de fundato

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seen on the casulæ in the Greek church. (Ciampini, t. 1. p. 98.) A pallium covered with gammadiæ is engraven in Ciampini, t. 3. tab. 4.

* "*Stauracium*, genus palliorum depictorum ex storace, quæ guttæ similis est mali cydonii." (Du Cange.)

† "*Rhodinus* color, ῥόδινος, Græcis roseus." (Du Cange.)

‡ That is, for veiling the openings of the arches. In the Life of Pope Zacharias, by Anastasius, it is said—"Fecit vela pendentia inter columnas; ex palliis sericis." They are to be seen in Ciampini, t. 2. pl. 26.

§ And in the church of St. Cecilia we find—"*Cortinam in ingressu* ejusdem ecclesiæ." These veils, like those of the interior, are fallen into disuse; yet we still find the rings that supported them in the porticos of St. Mary in Cosmedin, St. Alexis, St. Praxis, and some few others, as in that of St. Agnes above mentioned. (p. 131.)

Those belonging to the church of St. Mark were decorated with men and horses. Embellishments of this character were not always allowed.

Epiphanius, in the fourth century, speaking of the church of Anabletha in Palestine, says he found a veil hanging before the doors, which he tore in pieces, not because it was a veil, but because it had the figure of Christ or some saint upon it, which was contrary to the rules of the Christian church. He sent another plain one in its stead. (Epiphan. Ep. ad. Johan. Hierosolym. Bingham, b. 8. c. 6. s. 8.)

‖ "*Velum de octapulo*"—and "*de quadrapulo*," occur repeatedly in these extracts. Both these words are noticed by Du Cange, who cannot satisfy himself as to their meaning; neither is the conjecture of Ciam-

octo habentia per circuitum periclysin de blattin*. Et alia vela sex, cum aquilis, habentia per circuitum periclysin de Tyrio. Vela simulque alia de fundato quinque habentia leones, et periclysin de Tyrio. Vela alia Alexandrina, ex quibus unum habens rotas et rosas in medio, et aliud arbores et rotas, pendentia ante valvas ipsius ecclesiæ. Item velum modicum de olovero, habens in medio hominem cum caballo. Vela cum argento spanisco† quatuordecim. Vela modica ubi supra de olovero, decem habens unumquodque eorum anates. Hic, divinâ inspiratione protectus, obtulit jam dictæ basilicæ aquæ manile de argento unum."

"Qui sanctissimus Præsul (Paschal Primus) amore venerandorum sanctorum, fecit in ornamentis ipsius ecclesiæ (Stæ Ceciliæ) absidam musivo opere decoratam, et cyborium miræ magnitudinis ex argento pens. libras quingentas et semis, et uncias octo. Propitiatorium‡ denique sacri altaris, seu confessionem

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pini, t. 2. p. 94. more convincing.—I am favoured with the following definition by a friend, on whose opinion I have great reliance.—Octaplus (barbarous Latin) signifies eight-fold. Was not the velum de octapulo formed of a staple or warp of eight threads twisted together, de quadrapulo of four?

* "*Periclysis*, ora, extremitas, circumtextum vestis vel veli." (Du Cange.)—"Blatta vermiculus qui chermes Arabes vocant, et e cocco sanguinei coloris erumpit." (Ibid.)

† *Hispanico*—"nam Spaniam pro Hispania usurpârunt scriptores ævi medii." (Du Cange.)

‡ "*Propitiatorium* quod super altare locatur, est divinitas Christi, quæ humano generi propitiatur.—Videtur idem quod ciborium, quod confessionem et totum altare contegit quemadmodum arcam Veteris

interius exteriusque cum rugulis suis ex laminis argenteis, mirum in modum perficiens compsit. Quæ simul pens. libras sexaginta quatuor et uncias 5. Ad sacrum vero ejusdem Virginis corpus obtulit imaginem ex argenteis laminis, pens. libras nonaginta quinque. Fecit etiam ante vestibulum altaris regularem* investitum ex laminis argenteis, et columnis duabus, ubi et posuit arcum unum, et gammadias duas pens. insimul libras centum, et semis. Obtulit ibi ipse imagines argenteas deauratas tres, pens. insimul libras quadraginta et octo, semis. Sæpefatus quoque præsul fecit per arcus ejusdem ecclesiæ, calices majores ex argento viginti et sex, pens. insimul libras centum novem et semis. Item ubi supra, obtulit canistra ex argento duo, pens. libras duas et uncias octo. Gabatham ex auro purissimo, pens. libras tres. Fecit jam prædictus pontifex canistra enafoti† ex argento duo, pens. libras decem. Gabathas ex argento tres, pens. libras quinque. Thuribulum ex argento deauratum, pensan. libram unam. Hic benignissimus

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Testamenti texit.—Propitiatorium, sive oraculum, quod et tegmen sive operculum arcæ dicitur. Exod. 25, 26, &c. Gr. ἱλαστήριον." (Du Cange.)

* "*Regulares.*"—Du Cange, after adducing many authorities for the use of this word, says—"Id constat regulares versus presbyterium fuisse, quo fere loco rugæ erant (per rugam videri intelligi viam ante presbyterium: ibid. v. *Ruga*, as our author expresses ante vestibulum altaris) ita ut ferme eo concesserim ut regulares fuisse putem quod Græci κιόνια vocant—"*cancellos fusiles.*"

† "*Enaphoti*—ubi canistra videntur esse ἐνὸς φωτὸς, vel ἑνὸς φωτῶν, unius, vel novem luminum instructa." (Du Cange.)

præsul obtulit in sacro altari vestem de blattin Byzantea, habentem in medio tabulam de chrysoclavo cum historia, qualiter angelus beatam Cæciliam, seu Valerianum et Tyburtium coronavit cum periclysi de chrysoclavo miræ pulchritudinis exornatam. Item ibi fecit vestem de fundato alythino habentem in circuitu periclysin de olovero.

"Ob amorem ejusdem Virginis fecit aliam vestem de fundato porphyretico habentem in medio crucem ex auro texto compte decoratam. Enimvero in jam dicto altari obtulit vestem albam sigillatam* cum rosulis, habentem in medio crucem de blattin cum psilliis, et periclysin de blattin Byzantea pulcherrime exornatam. Obtulit et in prænominato altari vestem de quadrapulo.

"Venerabilis pontifex fecit vela alythina† penden.‡

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* "*Sigillatus*, sigillis seu figuris ornatus.—Sigillatæ sericæ, vestes nempe, quas mimæ ferre vetantur in leg. 11. Cod. Theod. de Scenicis.—Pictæ vestes—quibus intextæ erant figuræ variæ." (Du Cange.)

† Alethina. See note §. p. 134, "De Olovero."

‡ "*Velum* in ecclesia triplex suspenditur, *primum* quod sacra operit—*alterum* quod sacrarium a clero dividit—*tertium* quod clerum a populo secernit." (Durandus, lib. 1. Ration. c. 3. n. 35.) This may serve as a general enumeration of the veils anciently used in churches, but will not comprehend many of those alluded to in the above extract. I lay it down as a position, that whatever was sacred associated the idea of mystery, and whatever was mysterious was veiled. In order to make myself intelligible, however, it will be necessary to treat this article somewhat in detail.

The interior distribution of the basilic and more conspicuous churches was that of nave and sanctuary; the former comprehended the middle

in circuitu altaris quatuor habentes cruces, et gammadias de fundato, et quadrapulo. In arcella vero, ubi

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area, from the great entrance to the steps whose rise (βῆμα) dignified the latter. The eastern termination was semicircular; here was the "consessus presbyteriorum," the centre of which was occupied by the bishop, while the presbyters (Bingham, c. 19. sec. 5, 6) filled secondary thrones on his right and left.

In front of the *presbyterium* was the high altar, which (like the altar of incense in the Jewish temple) was insulated. This was frequently built over the body of the saint or martyr to whom the church was dedicated, a tribute of gratitude of very early date.—"And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held." (Revelations c. 6. v. 9.) The graves of St. Peter and St. Paul have reputedly given rise to the stupendous basilicæ that were built over their respective remains. And in our own island, we find that Canute (1030) erected a basilica at Bury over the body of the martyr St. Edmund: "Basilicam super corpus construxit, monachos instituit, prædia multa donavit." (Higden, l. 6. p. 273. edit. Gale.)

In the upper part of the nave was placed the oblong inclosure, denominated the *ambo*, or chorus canonicorum. On each side, and generally attached to it, was a marble pulpit, one for reading the Gospel, the other for the Epistle. Near the former was the pillar for supporting the paschal candle, (fulcimentum cerei paschalis) which, in the churches of St. Clement and St. Pancras at Rome, are still remaining in their ancient situation.

It was once the rule both to preserve consistency within sacred edifices, and to admit no visual impediment detrimental to the perspective, so that the decorations and the architecture reflected beauty on each other. The columns stood confest from the base to the capital, by which means the greatest possible effect of light and shadow was produced, and every step gratified the spectator with a new and varying picture.

Consistently with this rule, interior arrangements were governed by the rituals; but as there was no uniformity of these in the western churches, and there being few early authors who have professedly written on the subject, they are not in all cases to be satisfactorily ascertained, though sufficient yet remains to mark a general character.

The ambo is accurately described, and the use of it in part explained,

venerabile caput ejusdem Virginis condidit, fecit vestem parvam de Tyrio cum periclysi de blattin.

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by the ritualist Durandus (A.D. 1286). "In primitivâ ecclesiâ peribolum, seu parietem qui circuit chorum, non elevatum fuisse nisi usque ad appoditionem, idque sua ætate adhuc in quibusdam ecclesiis observatum, quod ideo fiebat, ut populus videns clerum psallentem inde sumeret bonum exemplum." (Ration. l. 1. c. 3. num. 35.)

The mass of the catechumeni and the penitents was, in the earlier periods of Christian worship, principally restricted to the service of the ambo, and consisted of singing, reading the scriptures, praying, and occasionally preaching. The *cleri* officiated within its limits, as did the *presbyteri* in the more sacred functions of the altar. It differed in one particular from the modern cathedral choir, since the people were excluded. "In choro clerus, extra chorum populus." (Isidorus De divin. offic. l. 1. c. 3.) Veils were sometimes interposed between them. "Hoc tempore quasi communiter suspenditur sive interponitur velum aut murum inter clerum et populum, ne mutuo se conspicere possint." (Durandus ut supra)—and this explains the meaning of the expression above cited—"*tertium* quod clerum a populo secernit." During the office of the ambo, the veil—"quod sacra operit"—and which was suspended across the sanctuary, "quod clerum a populo secernit," was closed. This mass being over, the catechumeni retired, and the missa fidelium or the service of the altar succeeded. "The sacrifice is brought forth; and when Christ the Lamb of God is offered, when you hear this signal given, let us all join in common prayer; when you see the veils withdrawn, then think you see Heaven opened, and angels descending from above." (Chrysostom. Homil. 3. in Ephes. Bingham, b. 8. c. 6. sec. 8.)

This interior form and arrangement of ancient churches was not restricted to those in Italy. The choir and the sanctuary of the old cathedral of Canterbury, which was built by Roman artificers, and was doubtless the parent of many others in our own country, has been described by a contemporary. In the reign of Stephen (1135) this edifice was burnt down. Aided by the testimony of Eadmer, Gervase, one of the monks who beheld the conflagration, composed details relative to that cathedral, which have furnished the following extract:

"Ad bases pilariorum murus erat tabulis marmoreis compositus, qui chorum cingens et presbiterium, corpus ecclesiæ a suis lateribus quæ alæ vocantur dividebat. Continebat hic murus monachorum chorum,

Obtulit, ubi supra, vestem de fundato prasino. Imo et aliam vestem de stauraci cum periclysi de olovero et vestem de blattin cum periclysi de fundato. Fecit

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presbyterium, altare magnum in nomine Jesu Christi dedicatum, altare Sancti Dunstani, et altare Sancti Elfegi cum sanctis eorum corporibus. Supra prædictum murum in circinatione illa retro altare et ex opposito ejus cathedra erat patriarchatus ex uno lapide facta, in qua sedere solebant archiepiscopi de more ecclesiæ in festis præcipuis inter missarum solennia usque ad sacramenti consecrationem, tunc enim ad altare Christi per gradus octo descendebant. De choro ad presbiterium tres erant gradus. De pavimento presbiterii usque ad altare gradus tres. Ad sedem vero patriarchatus gradus octo. Ad cornua altaris orientalia erant duæ columpnæ ligneæ auro et argento decenter ornatæ, quæ trabem magnam sustentabant, cujus trabis capita duorum pilariorum capitellis insidebant. Quæ per transversum ecclesiæ desuper altare trajecta auro decorata majestatem Domini, imaginem Sancti Dunstani, et Sancti Elfegi, septem quoque scrinia auro et argento cooperta et multorum sanctorum reliquiis referta sustentabat. Inter columpnas crux stabat deaurata, in cujus patibulo per circuitum sexaginta cristalli erant perlucidi: sub hoc altari Christi altare erat in cripta sanctæ virginis Mariæ, in cujus honorem tota fuit cripta dedicata. Quæ cripta eisdem fere spatiis et anfractibus per longum et latum dilatata erat inferius sicut chorus superius. In medio chori dependebat corona deaurata, viginti quatuor sustinens cereos. Hic erat chori status et presbiterii." (Gervasius Dorobor. de combustione et reparatione Doroborensis Ecclesiæ, p. 1294.—X. Scrip. Gale.)

The cathedral of Norwich, also (founded 1096) preserves the ancient basilic form. In common with most other sacred edifices, changes intended for utility or ornament have from time to time been introduced, in which uniformity of style has not always been consulted. These however do not so far obscure the original design as to prevent its being made out by a careful observer. We have here the semicircular tribunal; in the centre of which was the bishop's throne, and the arches (now, though at no distant period, inclosed with masonry) on each side probably for those of the presbyters: the high altar was insulated. (See the plate in Blomfield.) The principal Gothic additions on the outside are the great spire and pinnacles, built perhaps by Bishop Middleton (1273). The western front also, has undergone successive

etiam in arcella ad corpus jam dictæ Virginis vestem de quadrapulo, cum periclysi.

"Porro et aliam vestem de staurace cum periclysi

changes. It appears from three engravings of this church, which date probably early in the seventeenth century, that the angular towers were terminated with pinnacles. These towers were then extremely plain, and furnished with loopholes, some few of which still remain. The great window may be of the reign of Henry VI. Previously to the middle of the fifteenth century the original plan of the interior does not appear to have been disturbed. The first Gothic addition is visible in the screen of the anti-choir by Bishop Hart (1445—1453). Next to this is the choir by Bishop Goldwell (1472—1480), to which may be added the tomb of that prelate.

Should it be asked if the ambo in its ancient form existed in the British churches,—as we have no direct evidence of it, the question must be decided by considering the purpose it was intended to answer, and the rite by which it was prescribed. The first mention of the ambo is in the Council of Laodicea, A.D. 361. can. 59. (Bingham, b. 3. c. 7. s. 2.) John VI. (702—705), we are told, reconstructed an ambo in St. Peter's church at Rome. (Ciamp. 3. p. 93.) As to the duration of the ambo, if the missa catechumenorum first influenced the form and situation of it, the removal might argue a change of ritual. (Ciampini, t. 1—24.) Cave observes, that in process of time, as the discipline of the catechumeni wore out, so the title which belonged to the first part of the service was forgotten, and the name Missa was appropriated to the service of the Lord's supper. (Primit. Christ. pt. 1. c. 9. p. 283.) I have not been able precisely to ascertain when this change occurred: the abolition of the ambo, however, was neither entire nor uniform at any one period, but it seems to have been taken away gradually, as churches were repaired or refitted; as in that of St. Paul's in viâ Ostiense, so late as Sixtus V.; and the plea for removal has uniformly been, for the sake of giving room in the area of the church, except where restrained from custom or the memory of an obsolete service. Of this partiality the basilica of the Saints Nereo and Achilleo is an instance. "Cardinal Baronius being rector (1595), and finding it in decay, he restored it, with the presbytery, confessional, and ambones for reading the Epistle and Gospel; and his anxiety to have the whole church preserved in its original form is evinced by an inscription, purporting

de olovero. In jam dicta ecclesia fecit vela Tyria cum periclysi de blattis Byzantea num. vigintiquinque. Item vela prassina cum periclysi de olovero, numero qua-

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'that as the glory of God is valued, nothing may be removed, changed, or diminished.'" (Vasi, t. 3. tav. 58. p. 43.)

The last erected ambo in Rome is believed to be that of St. Pancras, and on which the date 1249 is visible. Ciampini, (t. 1. p. 24.) whose opinion is not to be disregarded, asserts that the ambo fell into disuse during the removal of the pontifical chair to Avignon (1309, Clement V., to 1377, Gregory XI). In that interval the state of the city was truly deplorable. "Non era cosa in Roma, che della venuta del pontefice non havesse bisogno. Perchè la muraglia della città, e le chiese, e tutti gl' altri edificii privati e publici minacciavano per tutto rovina." (Platina Vit. Greg. XI.) To remedy this evil was one of the first objects of solicitude in the succeeding pontiffs. Such parts of the churches as were considered obsolete may then have been taken away. The removal of the ambos, however, was not general, since they remain either entirely or in part in St. Clement, St. Pancras, St. Praxis, St. George in Velabro, St. Mary in Cosmedin, and some others.

In or adjoining to the larger churches in Rome there is a capella del choro for the daily service; and in high masses, as in St. John Lateran or St. Peter's, where the pope officiates, the chant is sung from a moveable lattice work (*coretto*) put up for the occasion.

Alternate singing, a practice derived from very high antiquity, (Exod. c. 15. Isaiah, c. 6. with Bishop Lowth's note, and his preliminary dissertation, p. lxvi.) made a principal part in the service of the ambo.

Sensible of the attraction of singing, and the perfection to which the art was advanced at Rome, the pontiffs assiduously promoted the introduction of it, wherever their influence extended. Johannes Diaconus, in his Life of St. Gregory, informs us that singers accompanied Augustine into Britain, and that they were thence dispersed throughout the West to teach the Roman mode. In the year 628 we have James the deacon—"virum utique industrium ac nobilem in Christo et ecclesiâ." (Beda, l. 2. c. 16.)—"cantandi in ecclesiâ erat peritissimus, recuperata postmodum pace in provinciâ et crescente numero fidelium, etiam magister ecclesiasticæ cantionis juxta morem Romanorum seu Cantuariorum multis cœpit existere." (Ibid. l. 2. c. 20.)—"Sed et sonos cantandi

tuor. Obtulit ubi supra vela alythina cum periclysi de blattin num. tria. Simulque vela de fundato parva cum periclysi num. duo; pariter vela Tyria cum peri-

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in ecclesia, quos eatenus in Cantia tantum noverant, ab hoc tempore (669) per omnes Anglorum ecclesias discere cœperunt: primusque excepto Jacobo de quo supra diximus, cantandi magister Nordanhymbrorum ecclesiis, Æddi cognomento Stephanus fuit, invitatus de Cantiâ a reverendissimo viro Vilfrido, qui primus inter episcopos qui de Anglorum gente essent, Catholicum vivendi morem ecclesiis Anglorum tradere didicit." (Ibid. l. 4. c. 2.) But the most eminent of these masters was sent by Agatho (679): this was the celebrated John the precentor—"Tertio quod ordinem cantandi, psallendi, atque in ecclesia ministrandi juxta morem Romæ institutionis suo monasterio contradidit, postulato videlicet atque accepto ab Agathone Papâ archicantore ecclesiæ beati apostoli Petri et abbate monasterii beati Martini, Johanne, quem sui futurum magistrum monasterii Brittanias, Romanum Anglis adduceret. Qui illo perveniens, non solum vivâ voce quæ Romæ didicit ecclesiastica discentibus," &c. (Ibid. Hist. Abbatum Vuiremuth. &c. p. 295.)

Not only the exterior form was Roman, but the interior arrangement of our more distinguished churches was placed under the direction of transalpine missionaries, and of course adapted to the innovations they introduced, as will appear from the monasterial church of Weremouth (676.) "Nec plusquam unius anni spatio post fundatum monasterium interjecto, benedictus oceano transmisso Gallias petens, cæmentarios qui lapideam sibi ecclesiam *juxta* Romanorum quem semper amabat *morem* facerent, postulavit, accepit, attulit. Et tantum in operando studii præ amore beati Petri in cujus honorem faciebat, exhibuit, ut intra unius anni circulum ex quo fundamenta sunt jacta, culminibus superpositis, missarum inibi solennia celebrari videres. Proximante autem ad perfectum opere, misit legatarios Galliam, qui vitri factores, artifices videlicet Brittaniis eatenus incognitos, ad cancellandas ecclesiæ porticuumque et cœnaculorum ejus fenestras adducerent. Factumque est, et venerunt: nec solum opus postulatum compleverunt, sed et Anglorum ex eo gentem hujusmodi artificium nosse ac discere fecerunt; artificium nimirum vel lampadis ecclesiæ claustris vel vasorum multifariis usibus non ignobiliter aptum. Sed et cuncta quæ ad altaris et ecclesiæ ministerium competebant, vasa sancta, vel vestimenta, quia domi invenire non potuit, *de transmarinis regionibus advectare religiosus emptor curabat.*" (Bedæ Hist. Abb. Vuiremuth. &c. p. 295.)

clysi de fundato duo. Hic venerabilis et præclarus pontifex fecit per arcus jam dictæ ecclesiæ* vela de fundato num. duodecim, et de quadrapulo quatuor-

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It can scarce be doubted that the ambo, or chorus canonicorum, in the British churches, when under the direction of Italian singers, was of the same form, and subject to the same restrictions as those prescribed by the rituals at this time introduced. The exclusion of the people, however, from its limits, is expressed by Isidorus, and Du Cange (v. *Cancellus*) from an ancient poet,

"Infra Cancellum Laicos compelle morari
Ne videant vinum cum sacro pane sacrari."

The occasional veiling of the cleri from the public view, as stated by Durandus, is a circumstance which implies that it was not of the extended proportion of the modern cathedral choir. None of our early churches have come down to us in their original state. I am however inclined to think that the circuit of the choir of Canterbury and of other churches founded at that time was of the same dimensions as at present; and about this period we sometimes hear that persons of distinction were permitted to sit in them. This seems clearly expressed by Gervase—"Murus erat tabulis marmoreis compositus, qui chorum cingens et presbyterium, corpus ecclesiæ a suis lateribus quæ alæ vocantur, dividebat." The word "Murus" occurs also, as a division between the officiating cleri and the people, in the quotation from Isidorus—"interponitur velum aut murus inter clerum et populum ne mutuo se conspicere possint:"—(this reference, however, is made to the ambo in its original and circumscribed state.) As defined by Durandus, the sides of the inclosure were low—"non elevatum fuisse nisi usque ad *appoditionem*"—the seats were of wood; for Gervase, describing the conflagration above mentioned, says—"ligna semiusta in chorum deorsum super monachorum sedilia," &c. (p. 1289.) They resembled, I conceive, the seats of the chantries in some of our churches; were frequently surmounted with lattice-work, and occasionally covered with veils, and it is these, or those of the sanctuary, of which Gervase speaks, when he describes the depredations committed during the fire.—"Accurrunt plurimi ad ornamenta ecclesiæ, pallia et cortinas deiciunt, alii ut rapiant alii ut eripiant." (Ibid.) The *entire* inclosure of our modern choirs is most likely the effect of refinement, which has rendered congregations more susceptible of inclement seasons.

Neither were the principal churches in Britain, during an æra prior

decim. Fecit et in arcu presbyterii* vela parva cum periclysi de blattin byzantea num. duodecim. Hic a Deo protectus venerabilis præsul fecit in *ingressu*

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to that now described, wanting in decoration. "Omnis gloria filiæ regis ab intus"—was the motive which influenced our early ancestors.—"Beatissimus Wilfridus episcopus—(A.D. 634—709) in conspectu populorum corde credentium et fide confitentium, auro et argento, purpuraque varia mirifice decoravit: nam in Hrypis (Rippon) basilicam polito lapide a fundamentis in terra usque ad summum ædificatam variis columnis et porticibus suffultam in altum erexit et consummavit.—Addens quoque Sanctus Pontifex noster (Vitalianus) inter alia bona ad decorem domus Dei, inauditum ante seculis nostris quoddam miraculum. Nam quatuor Evangelia, de auro purissimo in membranis depurpuratis, coloratis, pro animæ suæ remedio scribere jussit; necnon et bibliothecam librorum eorum omnem de auro purissimo, et gemmis pretiosissimis fabrefactum, compaginare inclusores gemmarum præcepit; quæ omnia et alia nonnulla in testimonium beatæ memoriæ ejus in ecclesia nostra usque hodie reconduntur."—(Eddius (the chaplain of Wilfrid) Vit. S. Wilfridi, c. 17. De ædificatione Basilicæ in Hrypis et Dedicatione ejus. Scrip. XV. Gale.)

* Two arches are here mentioned, "arcus ecclesiæ" and "arcus presbyterii." The *latter* marked the recess of the tribunal, and is thus accurately described by Ciampini (t. 1. p. 199.) "In ea templi parte quæ maxime conspicua est, *supra tribunam*, pariete ipso hemicycli formam apte excipiente, arcum locarunt triumphis insiguem." The *former* refers to that arch by which the nave of the church is divided from the choir or chancel. This arch is distinguished by the epithet *triumphalis*; and as the triumphal arches in Heathen Rome were adorned with military trophies, and the deeds of the emperor to whom they were raised, so were both this and the arcus presbyterii with Christian triumphs. "Sicut igitur in illis *victoris effigies*, et instrumenta victoriæ exponebantur; ita Christiani in suorum arcuum fastigio *crucem* vel *redemptorem* locabant trophæo crucis insignem, ac martyres, aliosque sanctos hinc inde habentem, tanquam regem triumphantem de victa morte, et de inferorum prostratis potestatibus, eique credentibus cœli januas aperientem. In *antiquis* ac præcipuis ecclesiis illud constanter servatum est, ut arcus iste triumphalis musivo præsertim opere pingeretur; quod aperte cernimus in basilicis vetustissimis S. Pauli, S. Lau-

ejusdem ecclesiæ cortinam majorem de quadrapulo et staurace pulcherrime exornatam."

Page 43, *line* 3.

The introduction of these spoils, their rarity, magnificence, and beauty; the period of their admission from countries whose capitals they had for ages adorned, and to what extent their use was superseded by the discovery of marbles indigenous to Italy, are objects that must ever arrest the attention of the inquisitive traveller.

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rentii, et S. Praxedis; atque in aliis urbis ecclesiis similes arcus fuisse facillime deduci potest, sed tempore injuria dirutos." (Ciampini ut supra.) Both these arches are to be seen in the engraving of the inside of the basilica of St. Paul by Piranesi. I find no allusion to the *arcus triumphalis* in our churches in the writings of any of our antiquaries, though I do occasionally to the *trabs*, which, with the ornaments that accompanied it, its use and situation, may in some measure be regarded as having usurped the office of the former, and finally terminated in the *statuarium* or rood loft (the *jubé* of the French churches) in our sacred edifices before the Reformation. The beams, in common with every part of the building, associated ideas of sanctity, and, like the temple of Solomon (2 Chron. c. 7. v. 7.) and the antient church of Canterbury ("de cujus ecclesiæ *una trabe* v. mille marcas argenti corrosit," Brompton. Chron. p. 979. X. Scrip.), admitted of costly decoration. Yet the *trabs* now referred to, was unessential to the fabric, though immediately connected with one of the arches specified, the *triumphalis* more particularly. In the ichnographic plate of the old church of St. Peter, in Bonanni's history of that basilica, (tab. 8. p. 30. n. 40-60. tab. XV. lit. B. and tab. XI. lit. E.), the *trabs* which spans the *arcus triumphalis* is thus described: "Utramque parastatam sub arcu maximo conjungebat immodicæ longitudinis ac crassitiei *trabs* quædam in speciem pontis; superiusque *crux magna extabat*, et hinc inde pendebant geminæ claves affabre cancellatæ, multis lampadibus fulgidæ.—Eadem etiam e trabe,

If an artist, he admires in the antique columns and obelisks, symmetry, magnitude, proportion, and skill employed in execution. The naturalist, while he surveys the inestimable assemblage originally supplied by the caves of Africa, of Asia, of Greece and its dependent islands, regrets not only that their native beds no longer administer to the splendid luxury of modern times, but that they are all nearly closed to scientific investigation. The antiquary retraces ideas allied to their history, and the victories they announ-

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statis per singulos annos diebus suspendebatur culcita quæ sanctorum martyrum corpora cooperiebat," &c. In the quotation from Gervase of Canterbury, in the last note, the decorations of the *trabs* are described; it was also a situation for the relics, as stated by Bonanni. The former, in commemorating the conflagration of the church (p. 1289), says,—"*Scrinia reliquiarum* de sublimi *trabe*, deorsum in pavimentum dejecta confracta sunt, et *reliquiæ* dispersæ."

If it be asked, of what use was the *trabs* in this situation? I suppose that when the choir was enlarged to the dimensions now assigned to it, and surrounded with high skreen-work with arches (instead of low seats with veils over them, as previously used), the trabs supported the lattice, and, being formed into a cornice, aided the architectural appearance of the inclosure. In this manner the whole *surrounding cornice*, if I may so call it, was denominated *trabes*, and admitted of great decoration. Thus we are told by Hariulphus (Chron. Centulensis, l. 3. c. 3.) "Ante altare ejusdem sancti stant columnæ sex magnæ ex cupro, argento et auro paratæ, sustentantes trabem unam similiter cupream argento et auro paratam *in circuitu altaris vel chori, sustentantes* arcus 17 ex cupro, argento auroque fabricatos; inter quos stant imagines bestiarum, avium, hominumque."

The materials and fashion of chancel inclosures in the eleventh century (of course before Gothic skreen-work was in use) are also given by Papias—"Cancelli, ligna subtilia in *traversum* facta, vel de ferro in *modum retis*, nunc vero et de lapidibus fiunt." (Vocab. Latinum, v. *Cancellus.*)

ced; to their consequent adaptation, and subsequent changes. And all these, in imagination, witness the exultation of the Roman populace on their approach to the *immortal* city!—and join in the animated effusion of a contemporary poet:

Tibullus, l. 2. eleg. 3. 43.

"*Quid lapis externus curæ est?—urbique tumultus*
Portatur validis mille columna jugis."

For magnificence, variety, and grandeur, there is no Christian building in Rome more calculated to produce these varied associations than the basilica of St. Paul, which was begun by Constantine, forwarded by Theodosius, and completed by Honorius. Consistently with the basilic form, this church is an oblong square of 355 by 203 palms, exclusively of the tribune. It contains 118 columns, and the ill assorted proportions, capitals, and bases, which prevail among them, testify that they once belonged to other edifices. Of the most conspicuous, eighty distributed in four ranges form the nave and side aisles; those of the former are a species of pavonazzo of uncommon rarity and beauty. They are of the Corinthian order, and the capitals of white Greek marble announce a fine æra of sculpture; united they have an elevation of fifty-two palms. Those of the aisles are Parian. A line of eight columns, of proportions more extended, divides the sanctuary; one of these is Cipolino, and seven are of granite from the deserts of the Thebaïs. Two Ionic columns of the Saline Parian, twenty-two

palms in circumference, are placed on the rise of the *Bema*, and support the *Arcus triumphalis*. The *Ciborium* of the great altar rests on four columns of porphyry twenty-nine palms in height, while immense slabs of the same material cover the others throughout the basilica.

Previously to the use of marble in ancient Rome, Piperino (and latterly Travertine) was the common substitute. Luna, the modern Carrara, was one of the twelve cities of the Etrurians. Yet among the antiquities of that people I am not aware of marble, though terracotta, bronze, and Piperino, are frequent: hence we may conjecture that the quarries of Luna were not yet explored.

Piperino, the varieties of which are innumerable, is a ferruginated volcanic tufo, ponderous, durable, porous, and often interspersed with shorl vitrifications*. It abounds in many districts of Italy, and

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* Fragments of it are seen in and near Rome, where the upper soil is with few exceptions volcanic, and consists of loose puzzolane ashes, whose petrifying quality, so valuable in masonry, is in request in every part of Europe. ("Puteolanus pulvis si aquam attigit saxum est." Seneca Nat. Quæst.) These ashes rest chiefly on calcareous and lime-stone beds (which are locally visible, as on the high grounds in the vicinity of the Porta del Popolo, and on the Monte Mario), and these are superincumbent on argillaceous slate through which the eruptive fires, by which they were deposited, have forced themselves to the surface. L. 3. sec. 20. Ferber's Travels, letter 14. p. 201.

Numerous are the traces of ancient puzzolane excavations still remaining. Among the most extraordinary are the Catacombs of St. Calistus, out of the gate of St. Sebastian; these are formed into subterraneous passages three feet wide by six and a half high. The ramifica-

derives its name from Privernum (now Piperno), where, and at Marino more particularly, it is regularly excavated in great plenty. Squared into large

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tions are irregular and winding, and at full length would measure six miles.

Composed of the exuviæ of volcanic fires, I have often contemplated the valley between the Capitoline and the Palatine hills as an extinguished crater; and some signs of this convulsion of nature may be presumed from the gulf in the centre of it, into which Curtius precipitated himself. The heroism however of that exploit is reduced to the level of sober reason by Plutarch, who relates that "the river having overflowed the plain where the forum now stands, left a deep mud and slime, which did not appear much to the eye, nor was easily avoided, and at the bottom was very deceitful and dangerous: upon which the Sabines would unwarily have entered, had not good luck befallen them; for Curtius, a gallant man eager of honour and of aspiring thoughts, being mounted on horseback, galloped at a distance before the rest; but his horse was mired; and finding it impossible to disentangle him, he quitted the animal and saved himself. The place from him to this very time is called the Curtian Lake."

Vit. Romuli.

"Hoc, ubi nunc fora sunt, udæ tenuêre paludes;
Amne redundatis fossa madebat aquis.
Curtius ille lacus, siccas qui sustinet aras,
Nunc solida est tellus, sed lacus ante fuit.
Qua Velabra solent in Circum ducere pompas;
Nil præter salices cassaque canna fuit."

OVID. FAST.

L. 6. v. 401.

The construction of the Cloaca Maxima through the valley, by draining the Curtian Lake, gave place for the Forum, and those magnificent and interesting buildings with which it was once adorned and surrounded. The vast plain called the Campagna of Rome is volcanic. "La presenza di antichi volcani è manifesta in tutti i monti adjacenti al Lazio. La lava forma la base della pianura chiamata oggi Campagna di Roma, la quale era verisimilmente in origine un golfo di mare, ripieno poscia dai getti volcanici, e dalle deposizioni dei fiumi." ("*Micali, l' Italia avanti il Dominio dei Romani*," t. 1. p. 147.) It is to be regretted that this admirable work is not known in an English translation.

masses, it was in common use among the Etruscans. The walls of their cities were constructed of it, as is evident from the remains of those of Volterra and Fiesole, and the stupendous monuments they built in Rome were constructed of it.

Piperino, when of a compact texture, was occasionally applied to the more general purposes of marble, and admitted of inscriptions and architectural decorations, as appears from the funeral cippi in the Florentine gallery, and from the drapery of the well-known colossal bust in the gardens of the Villa Lodovisi. But the most curious and valuable memorials are the monuments of the Scipio family, discovered in the year 1780 in the Vigna Sassi, near the church of St. Cæsareo, whence they were removed to the Pio-clementine musæum, and are as perfect as when they issued from the hand of the sculptor. We here find the laurelled bust of a young man, various inscriptions, but above all the sarcophagus of C. L. Scipio Barbatus (A.U.C. 455), in which the meanness of the stone is compensated by the elegance of the ornaments, which are architectural, and by the importance of the inscription, the oldest in Rome: (since that on the rostrated pillar of Duillius, originally of Piperino, exists only in a marble copy.) The enrichments are of the Doric order, and the admission of dentals in the cornice at so early a period, I believe the earliest known, and which, by Vitruvius above two hundred L. 4. c. 2.

years after, were appropriated to the Ionic, opens a source of curious investigation. In the columns, frieze, and cornice of the temple of Manly Fortune, the rudeness of this cinder is concealed by a covering of stucco (prepared in all probability as described by Pliny), to this day in part remaining.

L. 37. c. 23.

As the Romans advanced in refinement it is not to be conceived that this material should maintain a preference over marble. A.U.C. 537, they achieved the conquest of Liguria, and Luna fell into their hands; though a considerable period elapsed before uninterrupted possession was secured. In this age the statues of the gods in the Roman temples were of wood or clay, and the public buildings were of corresponding rudeness.

Plin. l. 34. c. 7.
Liv. l. 40. c. 3.

In consequence of the victory over Antiochus by Lucius Scipio, the Romans (A. U. C. 564) became masters of Asia, as far as the limits of Mount Taurus; and the influx of plundered treasures brought to their capital was incalculable*. At the conclusion of the

Liv. i. 37.

* One of the Roman ports where these treasures were disembarked is still known. All the plain between the Monte Testaccio and the Tiber is called Marmorata, from the broken marbles, serpentines, granites, &c. which still remain scattered over the surface. Much regularity seems to have attended their transport; for a little higher up the stream, opposite the Aventine hill and in the garden of the Duke di Cesarini, were discovered about sixty years ago several columns and fragments from Greece and Asia; and upon them were engraven the name of the agent by whom they were shipped, the day of exportation, and, to mark the year, the names of the consuls.

Macedonian war (586) the most celebrated works of art were removed from the captured cities; and in a triumph decreed to M. Fulvius, no less than two hundred and eighty statues of bronze and two hundred and thirty of marble were exhibited. Foreign luxuries and voluptuous manners were now becoming familiar to the Romans;—"jam in Græciam Asiamque transcendimus, omnibus libidinum illecebris repletas, et regias etiam attrectamus gazas." The deities of Greece were recognised, and priests of that country introduced to officiate in their sacred edifices. The demand for sumptuous buildings under the superintendance of Græcian artists was boundless. Liv. l. 34. c. 1.

During these innovations the bas reliefs in terracotta, preserved in the ancient temples, and which had hitherto attracted veneration, became objects of ridicule with the Romans themselves—"antefixa fictilia Deorum Romanorum ridenteis." In private life the acquirement of the elegant arts constituted a part of polite education: Paulus Æmilius employed Græcian masters to instruct his children in painting and sculpture. Fulvius Flaccus, the censor, robbed the temple of Juno Lacinia in Crotona* of its marble tiles† ("Tem- Liv. l. 34. c. 1. Plutarch. in Vit. Liv. l. 42. c. 4.

* "Di questo tempio famoso sussiste tuttora sul luogo una sola colonna d' ordine *Dorico antico senza base*, molto simile a quello dei tempi di Pesto e di Metaponto." (Micali, t. 3. p. 232.)

† This ponderous integument was not unusual in the temples in Greece, as that of Jupiter in Elis. Some of it is still to be seen among the ruins of that of Serapis at Puzzuolo. The houses in Rome are Pausanias, l. 5. c. 10.

plum augustissimum—quod non Pyrrhus non Annibal violassent"), to cover one at Rome, which he had vowed to Fortune: a proof that marble was rising in the public estimation. The introduction of marble in private houses is assigned by Pliny to Sylla, who removed columns from the temple of the Olympian Jupiter in Athens to his palace in the Capitol. L. Crassus had given public offence by placing in the portico of his mansion six columns of Hymettian marble. "Cn. Domitius L. Crasso collegæ suo altercatione orta objecit, quod columnas Hymettias in porticu domus haberet." And Pliny, in censuring this change of manners, remarks, on Scaurus having placed three hundred and sixty columns of marble in his theatre, "that there was a time when Rome without reproof could not endure six columns of marble in the dwelling of an honourable personage." The æra when the marble of Luna was brought to Rome is ascertained with tolerable accuracy. Mamurra, in the reign of Julius, is believed to have first employed it in casing a mansion which he erected on the Celian mount.

L. 36. c. 6.

Valerius Maximus, l. 9. c. 1. sect. 4.

L. 36. c. 15.

Plin. l. 36. c. 6.

The marble of Paros had always been preferred for

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covered with tiles of baked earth of the same form, which is that of an oblong square, the sides inclining upwards. Down the joints half cylinders of the same material are placed. I some years ago attended some digging at St. Bennet's abbey, in Norfolk, when the labourers turned up several fragments of tiles of the same shape; a proof that they were once in use in this country.

statuary: but some time before Pliny wrote, a species was discovered in the quarries of Luna, which yielded to it neither in beauty nor utility. "Omnes autem tantum candido marmore usi sunt e Paro insulâ, quem lapidem cœpere lychnitem appellare, quoniam ad lucernas in cuniculis cæderetur, ut auctor est Varro: *multis postea candidioribus repertis, nuper* etiam in *Lunensium lapidicinis.*" The exact period to which the word *nuper* refers is not to be ascertained; it must however have been comprehended between the time of Mamurra and the middle of the first century of the Christian æra, when Pliny was employed in his Natural History. And it may be assumed, that, when the quarries of Luna were found to contain marbles which rivalled those of Greece, and which could by a more easy transport be brought from the shores of Liguria to the mouth of the Tiber, they would obtain the preference; and we are informed by Strabo that large slabs and entire columns of marble were, in his time, brought from the quarries of Luna. It was the boast of Augustus that he found his capital of bricks, but should leave it of marble. The magnificent temple built by this emperor on the Palatine hill, to which Virgil alludes, is asserted by his commentator Servius to have been imported from Liguria: ("candentis limine Phœbi.")—"In templo de solido marmore effecto, quod allatum fuerat de portu Lunæ qui est in Liguria." It is not however to be inferred that

Ibid. c. 5.

L. 5. p. 314. Ed. Oxon.

Suet. Vit. c. 29.

Æneid. 8. 720.

the discovery of the marbles of Luna entirely put an end to more distant importation, since we have instances to the contrary. Plutarch saw six columns of the Pentelic at Athens; these were afterwards brought to Rome for the temple of Jupiter, which was reconstructed by Domitian in the Capitol. That they had been used before, is evident, from the necessity of working them over again; a circumstance by which their proportions were injured.

Vit. Poplic.

Of the white Græcian marbles, the Pentelic and the Parian were in the greatest request. The first was extracted from the quarries of Pentele, which, from their vicinity to Athens, principally furnished the demands of that city. Among the variety of marbles supplied by the mountains of Luna, the opposite quarries of Seravezza and Carrara abound in two which resemble those just mentioned.

Paus. l. 1. c. 3. —l. 8. c. 28. Chandler's Greece, v. 2. c. 37.—Wheler's Travels, p. 451.

The Pentelic marble was also used in statuary. Cicero, who had commissioned Atticus to send him works of sculpture, mentions *Hermæ* of it with bronze heads. The Italian which resembles it is denominated *Bigio* di Carrara, and is accurately described by Strabo, who says it contains shades of a grayish hue; while the other possesses all the characteristics of the Parian: and though the crystalline grains of both (hence denominated the saline) sometimes render them refractory to the chisel, yet by favouring the admission of light into their semi-pel-

Epist. ad Attic. l. 1. nº 4, 6, 8, 9.

L. 5. p. 314.

lucid surface, the outlines of figures are softened, and a degree of animation and expression produced superior to that which results from a more opaque substance. Pliny in ancient, and Tournefort in recent times, unite in the opinions of experienced moderns, that the statuary marble of Luna excels in beauty and whiteness the native Parian. The difference between this and that which resembles the Pentelic is however known to the artist, who recognises in some of the finest antique statues the marbles of Italy: and even the Belvedere Apollo is not free from this imputation.

L. 36. c. 5.
Travels, v. 1. p. 157.

Mengs, Opere, t. 2. p. 9-21.

Returning to the basilica of St. Paul, the Cipolino column of stupendous magnitude above mentioned is derived from Carystus in Eubœa*. This substance, so deservedly esteemed by the Romans, is traversed by micaceous stripes of a vivid green (and therefore compared by Statius to the colour of the sea) conglutinated with clay, and further cemented by various substances. This is also found at Carrara, though in small masses, where it rests upon an argillaceous slate, and under strata of marbles which have the sulphate of lime for their base. It is of quality inferior to the former, and is therefore by the Italians denominated Cipolinaccio. When formed into co-

Sylv. l. 1. c. 5. v. 34. and l. 2. c. 2. v. 39.

* Among the inscriptions in this church I find Himeneus Thamyrianus, a lapicidinis *Caristiis*. (Inscrip. antiq. Basil. S. Pauli Rom. 1654. fol. p. 60. n° 651.)

lumns and exposed to the open air its schistous laminæ, from being placed perpendicularly as they always are, are liable to be decomposed, as in the portico of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, in the Campo Vaccino. For the same reason the Purbeck stone pillars, in many of our cathedrals built during the thirteenth century, whose strata were also placed upright, are now mouldering away.

Bentham. See Grose Antiq. Pref. p. 121.

The pavonazzo columns of the nave are erroneously called *breccia* pavonazzo, a term too often applied to variegated and spotted marbles, but which belongs only to those composed of miscellaneous fragments irregularly disposed and cemented. These columns (six only excepted) are joined where the cabling terminates. According to tradition they once adorned the Mausoleum of Adrian, now the Castel' St. Angelo; though *it appears from Procopius that this monument was entire two centuries after the time of Constantine.* Should I differ from the received opinion that *all* the columns of St. Paul are not indigenous to Italy, it would be to the exception of those of the side aisles, the execution of which partakes of a debased age, and may be the produce of Carrara. Several species of pavonazzo, though in small masses, are found at Seravezza.

De Bell. Goth. l. 1. c. 22.

The porphyries are Ægyptian, and correspond with the description given by Pliny. "Porphyrites ex Ægypto est, rubens candidis intervenientibus punctis.

L. 36. c. 7.

Nominis ejus causa, quod rubeat ut purpura." It was long after the introduction of porphyry for buildings that statues of it were known at Rome. Triarius Pollio, in the reign of Claudius, first brought some from Ægypt, but they were not approved ;—"non admodum probata novitate: nemo certe *postea* imitatus est." It is obvious that *postea* refers to the interval between Claudius and Pliny; statues of porphyry were afterwards numerous, and inferiority of execution proves their late admission. Mountains of porphyries both red and green, though of inferior beauty when compared with the Ægyptian, exist in many districts of the Tyrol; particularly in the neighbourhood of Brixen.

Plin. ibid.

The granite columns above described are said to be the largest in Rome. The spots are distinct, and strongly coloured, the feldspath clear; marks by which the oriental is known from the European. The Ægyptian obelisks and the statues are mostly of the same Thebaic origin.

The reparation and the raising of two obelisks from the site on which they had for centuries been prostrate; one from the circus of Nero, the place of St. Peter's, by Sixtus V.; the other called the Solar of Augustus, in the Campus Martius, by Pius VI.; are boasted as conspicuous efforts in the reigns of these pontiffs. But how trifling the labour, how puerile the exertions, compared with those which attend-

Plin. l. 36. c. 9, 10, 11.

Pococke's Travels. Fontana's Narrative.

ed their extraction from their native beds, their workmanship, removal, and transport to the Queen of cities! Of the hieroglyphics which cover the sides of these monuments of human patience and ingenuity, those upon that last mentioned are allowed to be the most genuine; while many of these characters on several others, as on that in the Piazza del Popolo, are but in part original; a censure which will attach equally to much of the sculpture now extant in Rome denominated Ægyptian. The commencement of these imitations is to be assigned to the period when the worship of the gods of Ægypt had insinuated itself into that metropolis; a subject which has been treated with great ability by Bynckershoek, and with more immediate reference to the admission of the Ægyptian superstitions in Rome, by my late inestimable friend Zoega. After many changes of intolerance and connivance, so prevalent were these superstitions, that in the reign of Adrian, the great national deities of Italy were in a manner forgotten. Rome was filled with those of Ægypt, and their multifarious rites and ceremonies. The demand for Ægyptian works of art, whether for the purposes of religion or of decoration, was so general, that a lucrative traffic was established in the manufacture of clumsy imitations. This is proved by the mosaics at Palestrine, the paintings in Pompeia and Resina, and many statues now remaining. The principal store-house for counterfeits of this latter de-

Diss. de Cultu peregrinæ Religionis apud Romanos. Opusc. Leyd. 1719, 4to.

Numi Ægyptii imperatorii prostantes in Museo Borgiano Veletris. Romæ, 4to. 1787, p. 254.

scription has been the temple of Canopus in Adrian's villa at Tivoli*. Many of these are to be seen in the Capitoline Museum, in the Villa Albani, and in private collections in Rome; others are distributed throughout the continent of Europe, and Winckelman dryly observes,—"*Altre poi sono ite in Inghilterra.*"

I subjoin the inscription on the sarcophagus of C. L. Scipio Barbatus, above mentioned, as copied from that monument, and as reduced to more recent orthography by Visconti. Hence will appear the state of the Latin tongue near three hundred years before Cicero.

CORNELIVS · LVCIVS · SCIPIO · BARBATVS · GNAIVOD · PATRE · PROGNATVS · FORTIS · VIR · SAPIENSQUE — QUOIUS · FORMA · VIRTUTEI · PARISUMA FUIT — CONSOL · CENSOR · AEDILIS · QUEI · FUIT APUD · VOS—TAURASIA · CISAUNA · SAMNIO · CEPIT — SUBIGIT · OMNE · LOUCANA · OBSIDESQUE · ABDOUCIT. Ined. Mon. Trat. Prelim. p. xxiii.

Cornelius Lucius Scipio barbatus Gnæo patre prognatus, fortis vir sapiensque, cujus forma virtuti parissima fuit, Consul, Censor, Ædilis, qui fuit apud vos:

* In several of these we recognise the well known lineaments of Antinous, and among the finest is one in the Capitoline Museum habited as an Ægyptian priest. The favourite of Adrian was initiated in the Ægyptian mysteries; and to such a degree was servile adulation carried toward this emperor, that his minion was regarded as a deity.

Taurasiam, Cisaunam, Samnium cepit, subigit omnem Lucaniam, obsidesque abducit.

Page 58, *Line* 19.

Pulteney's Life, p. 13. 8vo ed.

The panegyric which Linnæus once bestowed on the metropolis of this country,—that it was "*punctum saliens in vitello orbis*,"—will, with little exception, apply to Rome, during the æra between the subversion of the ancient empire and the dawn of the Reformation. It was there that the "*punctum saliens*" never ceased to beat; its pulsations were strong or weak, as influenced by circumstances, and unremittingly communicated vitality to the remotest ramifications.

Page 66, *Line* 14.

It may at first sight appear singular, that though the Gothic is common in Italy from the northern to the southern extremities, it never flourished in the capital to which its rudiments are traced. *There is no Gothic edifice within the walls of Rome.* To account for this exception, since it falls into the leading principle of this inquiry, might be easy, but would involve discussion not compressible within the compass of a note. Research has discovered only the following *symptoms* of it:—two pointed arches in the convent of the Annunziata, which was refitted out of the ruins of the Forum of Nerva by Pius V. so late as the year 1571, and the ciboria of the insulated altars in several of the basilic churches.

Page 81, *Line* 19.

Further examination has put in my power to correct an error in the date of the bell-tower of the old church of St. Peter, as given in *Pl.* I. *fig.* 5. The first bell-tower we hear of belonging to this basilica was built either by Adrian I. or by Stephen III. (752—757): Anastasius (*in Vit.*) assigns it to the latter. "Idem beatissimus Papa fecit super basilicam B. Petri Apost. turrem, quam ex parte inauravit, et ex parte argento vestivit, in qua tres posuit campanas, quæ clerum et populum ad officium Dei convocarent." In his Life of Leo IV. (847—855) it is said, "Fecit ibi (in B. S. Petri) ipsum campanile et posuit campanam cum malleo aureo." The date of this tower is, however, by Pompeius Sarnellus placed higher, and perhaps justly. From a coin of Heraclius, found in the ruins of the latter in the seventeenth century, he conjectures that it was constructed about the year 610, and from the circumstance of a single bell, some subordinate tower or turret is here alluded to; perhaps one of those which terminated the angles of the principal fronts, as in many of the ancient churches (as appears from some of the papal medals), and was continued in the generality of those of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and particularly in Normandy. In favour of this opinion also Costagutus thus expresses himself: "Duas turres campanarias hinc inde ad basilicæ januas extitisse collocatas;"—and he also

Basiliographia, p. 50.

De Templo Vaticano. p. 10. A. 1167. apud Bonan. p. 148.

Ciamp. c. 4. De Sacris Ædif. p. 84. Ciacconius in Vit. Clement. VI.

points out a chapel annexed dedicated "S. Mariæ ad Turres." In December 1352 the great tower of St. Peter's was thrown down by lightning, and the bells melted from the effect of the element: that therefore of which an engraving is given must be of subsequent date.

The research to which the rectification of this date refers, has produced with greater accuracy than hitherto some facts relative to the origin of Bells in the sacred buildings of the western churches. Much embarrassment seems to have arisen from a misconception of the terms nola*, tintinnabulum, and campana; words which are not convertible. Properly speaking, the two first belong to the small tinkling bell, the last to those which are suspended in towers.

Durandus Ration. Div. Offic. l. 1. c. 4. s. 11.

The campana is commonly said to have been invented at Nola (it should rather be assigned to Campania in general), a province from remote times celebrated for founding bronzes, and that our word to

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* *Squilla*, probably from its shape, was another term for the *nola*. It is mentioned by Fabricius (Biblioth. Antiq. c. 11. s. 17.); and in the singularly interesting opening of the eighth canto of Il Purgatorio of Dante, which Gray in his Elegy has so happily imitated. The various kinds of bells belonging to sacred edifices and their respective uses are thus enumerated by Durandus (l. 1. c. 4. s. 10.): "Et nota sex esse genera tintinnabulorum, quibus in ecclesia pulsantur, scilicet *squilla*, *cymbalum*, *nola*, *nolula* seu *duplex campana*, *campana*, et *signum*. *Squilla* pulsatur in *triclinio*, id est, in *refectorio*; *cymbalum* in *claustro*; *nola* in *choro*; *nolula*, seu *duplex campana*, in *horologio*; *campana* in *campanili*; *signum* in *turri*," &c.

knoll is hence derived, though more probably from the Saxon cnýllan. Strabo, allowing the people of Campania the merit of the invention, says, "*Vasa majora* quidem *campanæ* dicuntur: *minora* vero, quæ et a sono *tintinnabula* vocantur, *nolas* appellant, a Nola ubi eadem vasa primo sunt commentata." From another authority, cited by Du Cange (v. *Nola*): "Nola civitas Campaniæ; et hinc nola, illud tintinnabulum quod appenditur collis canum, vel pedibus avium, vel aliud, quod appenditur frænis et pectoribus equorum, et dicitur a Nola civitate, quia ibi primum inventum et factum fuit tale instrumentum; et ampliato nomine invenitur nola pro qualibet parva campana, vel pro *campanella refectorii**."

De Reb. Eccles. c. 5.

The use of these campanellæ† was denied to the early Christians. Nor do I find any satisfactory au-

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* From the same authority it appears that the line of the nola or campanella was brought down by the abbot's seat in the refectory, by means of which he signified the termination of the reading or the repast.

† Before these were received or permitted, the hours of assembling were marked by instruments of wood of the clapper kind. These at one season of the year are still used in Rome. They are fixed to a sort of barrow, and are wheeled round the cloisters of certain if not all the convents. From Good Friday to Easter Sunday a mournful silence prevails throughout the city. Bells are mute, clocks are stopped, and watches are laid aside. "Omnis salutatio deest in istis tribus diebus, sive noctibus, ad vitandam salutationem pestiferam qualem Diabolus Judas exercuit. Necnon etiam altitudo signorum, quæ fiebat per vasa ærea, deponitur, et lignorum sonus usquequaque humilior æris sono, necessario pulsatur ut conveniat populus ad ecclesiam."—(Amalarius Fortun. De Eccles. Off. l. 4. c. 21.)

thority for assigning to the campana (or campanum* as occasionally called) a higher date than the early part of the seventh century, when Sarnellus (ut supra) says they were ordered in churches by pope Sabinianus in the year 605. St. Audovenus, archbishop of Rouen, who in the year 650 wrote the life of St. Eligius, speaks of campanæ, and a single one is also mentioned by Bede (672—735): "audivit subito in aëre —notum campanæ sonum," &c. The first account I meet with of more than one in the same tower, is in the quotation from Anastasius above cited.

L. 4. c. 23.

Page 99, *Line* 8.

"The advocates for the early origin of the 'pointed style' in Gothic architecture will have cause enough for triumph in the Cyclopéan Gallery at Tiryns, exhibiting 'lancet arches' almost as ancient as the time of Abraham," &c. "Near" Argos "we saw the remains of an aqueduct: and to this there seems also an allu-

Clarke's Travels, vol. 3. c. 16. p. 654.

Id. ib. p. 680.

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* Du Cange (v. *Campanum*), from the Life of Charlemagne, written by the monk of San Gallo (l. 1. c. 31.), quotes a curious passage on the art of bell-founding in the reign of that emperor: "Erat autem alius opifex in omni opere æris et vitri cunctis excellentior. Cumque Tancho monachus S. Galli campanum optimum conflaret, et ejus sonitum Imperator non mediocriter miraretur, dixit ille præstantissimus in ære magister: Domine Imperator, jube mihi cuprum multum adferri, et excoquam illud ad purum, et in vicem stanni mihi opus est de argento dari saltem centum libras, et fundo tibi tale campanum ut istud in comparatione sit mutum."

sion by Pausanias, in the obscure account he gives of a channel conducting the water of the Cephissus beneath a temple dedicated to that river. But there are other appearances of subterraneous structures requiring considerable attention; some of these are upon the hill: they are covered, like the Cyclopéan gallery of Tiryns, with large approaching stones, meeting so as to form an arched way, which is only visible where these stones are open." "This style of architecture, characterizing all the buildings of Mycenæ and of Tiryns, is worthy of particular attention; for without dwelling upon any nugatory distinctions as to the manner wherein such arches were constructed; whether by projecting horizontal courses of stone, or by the later invention of the curvature exemplified in all the older Saracenic buildings, it is evident that the acute or lancet arch is in fact the oldest form of arch known in the world, and that examples of it may be referred to in buildings erected before the war of Troy." "It is not merely the opening of the greater pyramid which is angular, but the whole of the horizontal passage leading to a chamber in the interior also."

In Corinth. c. 20. p. 156. ed. Kuhnii.

Clarke's Travels, vol. 3. c. 16. p. 696.

Ibid.

Page 99, *Line* 12.

Without any wish to engage in the controversy whether the arch scientifically formed was known before the times of Alexander or even of Augustus, the following particulars, involving the use and history of

Munimenta Antiqua, vol. 4.

the Cloaca Maxima in Rome, as one of very high antiquity, with certain deductions resulting from the examination, are now offered.

Liv. l. 1. Plin. l. 36. c. 15. Dion. Halic. l. 4. c. 49.

From the express testimony of ancient writers we learn that this monument was constructed by Tarquinius Priscus (A.U.C. 136—174), and perhaps completed by Tarquinius Superbus (218—244). I find no allusion to the C. M. subsequently to its construction, till after the Gauls were expelled from the city (A.U.C. 365), when Rome was reduced to a condition ruinous and deplorable. That it might be speedily rebuilt, materials were gratuitously provided for the people. Rome suddenly rose again; but since in reconstructing the dwellings of individuals each chose his own spot without reference to a uniform plan, the houses were crowded together in streets and lanes narrow and winding. During the time of Cato the Censor, the Cloacæ are again noticed. In the course of the improvements made in Rome by this "*rigidi servator honesti*," they were cleansed and repaired by the state. Some were formed in the Aventine and in other places where none had ever been before. Those between the Capitoline and the Aventine never were, nor could they be, connected with the Cloaca Maxima. They entered the Tiber somewhat lower down the stream than the former by two arches, which are still existing. One is now useless; the other receives the Aqua Crabra, which it conveys to the river.

Plut. V. Camill. Liv. l. 5 ad fin.

Liv. l. 39.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, alluding to the changes last mentioned, on the authority of Caius Acilius the contemporary of Cato, asserts that the Cloacæ having been neglected, and thereby rendered impassable for water, were repaired by the public at the charge of a thousand talents. L. 3. c. 68.

From hence to the reign of Augustus, a period to which the most distinguished works in Rome, whether of utility or magnificence, are referable, we hear no more of the Cloacæ. M. Agrippa was (A.U.C. 716) one of the Ædiles; and it became part of his office to inspect and to take care of the public structures, in which were included the aqueducts and the Cloacæ; though, from a passage in Frontinus, he had most likely been previously instituted "*perpetuus curator operum publicorum.*" Connected also with the use of the common sewers was the appointment of officers by Augustus to prevent the inundations of the Tiber, and to clear the bed of extraneous rubbish. Finally, M. Agrippa not only cleansed and repaired the old Cloacæ and constructed others, but connected them by means of lateral pipes which he laid into the houses of individuals from the aqueducts, for the purpose of taking off the waste water. Thus we are told that when Ædile he caused seven* rivers by guiding pas- L. 2. p. 249. Suet. Vit. Aug. c. 30 & 37. Strabo, l. 5. p. 360. ed. Casaub. Plin. l. 36. c. 15. Dion Cass. 49.

* This passage has occasioned a variety of conjectures. Lipsius (Mag. Rom. l. 3. c. 12) says that the rivers here mentioned were the streams from each of the seven hills, conducted into *one* Cloaca: a

sages to run through the Cloacæ into the Tiber, so that Rome was said to be *pensile* and *navigable** *underneath*†.

The importance of the C. M. is evinced by the
L. 36. c. 15. astonishment it excited. Pliny, speaking of the "*substructiones insanæ*" of the capital, says—"*præterea* cloacas operum *omnium dictu* maximum." The uses

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contrivance which, from the situation of them, could not be accomplished. They were the streams from the principal aqueducts in the time of Pliny. (Fabretti de Aquæd. Diss. 3. p. 140.)

* This circumstance has given rise to a singular application:—"Stupor —concepirebbono di Roma gli animi in vedere le gran volte, sù le quali sollevata una sì vasta città s' ergesse. Onde il Vaticinio dell' Apocalisse (c. 17. v. 1.) descrivente Roma Etnica, adoratrice d' ogni falsa Deità e insanguinata d' innumerabili migliaia di Martiri sotto specie di meretrice: *Meretricis magnæ quæ sedet super aquas multas, &c.* con tutto che nel senso mistico l' acque fossero i popoli, a' quali comandava. *Aquæ populi sunt, et gentes et linguæ* (v. 15) nulladimeno letteralmente ancora, e pianamente, le tante acque, che haveva ella sotto, ci rappresenta. Vaticinio nelle invasioni, che Roma patì poi da' barbari, pur troppo avverato; dalle quali ogn' antica grandezza Romana hebbe fine." (Nardini, Roma Antica, l. 8. c. v. p. 522.)

† After an examination of ancient authorities, this passage appears to comprehend all that Agrippa did respecting the C. M. This eminent personage is supposed to have directed most of the public works carried on in his time. But the great object that engaged his attention was the embellishment of the Campus Martius. Here were his baths, his zystum; here is his Pantheon, the perpetual monument of his taste and munificence. Here too was his duct of the Aqua Virgo, which entered this plain by the Pincian hill, and whose principal use was for the supply of his baths; for from the *singularly fine description* of Strabo (l. 5.) it does not appear that the Campus Martius was yet profaned by the dwellings of individuals. The Cloaca of this aqueduct is supposed to be in use in modern Rome; one of the branches was led under the pavement of the Pantheon, over which the water is now apt to flow after heavy rains: united in one common channel, it discharges itself into the Tiber near the Ripetta.

of it are accurately given by Livy. "*Infima urbis* L. 1.
loca circa Forum aliasque interjectas collibus convalles, quia ex planis locis haud facile evehebant aquas, cloacis e fastigio in Tiberim ductis siccat."

The extent of the city at the time to which this quotation points, was restricted to narrow boundaries. The Capitoline and the Palatine were the only hills completely invested; those of the Celian and Aventine were but partially inclosed; and a further period was requisite, before the term "*Civitas septicollis*" could be assigned to ancient Rome.

The actual commencement, the course and termination of the C. M. correspond with the extent of the city as now defined. It had its origin very near the arch of Severus, which stood on the limits of the Forum Romanum. It proceeded thence under the Via Sacra to the temple of Julius, where it turned to the right, under or parallel to the Via Nova, by the side of the Palatine hill to the Forum Boarium, which it crossed, and, proceeding in a straight line, reached the Tiber nearly opposite the temple of Vesta: in length, as far as can be ascertained from the large map of Rome, 2550 palms. The arch is chiefly composed of Piperino; the masses which compose the duct are each seven palms three inches by four palms two inches, and three courses of these above each other are formed into a semicircular arch, whose interior is eighteen palms in diameter. The district thus compre-

hended was from the Porta Carmentale to the Aventine, and bounded by the Tiber. The valley between the Capitoline and the Palatine (of necessity taking in the Forum Romanum and Boarium), the sweep round the latter by the western termination of the Circus Maximus to the acclivity of the Aventine, was once morass and inundation; and over "which, as the river was frequently overflowed, men passed in boats to the Forum:" and the appellation by which it was anciently known is still recognised in the modern term "Velabro*."

Plut. V. Romul.

The draining this marsh, and the keeping the river within due bounds by a massive quay of stone, through which the mouth of the C. M. was conducted, was the plan originally conceived and executed by the Tarquins. This duct served not merely the purpose of a sewer to carry away the silt of the city, but to collect and cut off the springs which percolated from the interior of the Palatine hill †, and the equally important office also of conveying the rain from the heights,

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* "Qua velabra suo stagnabant flumine quoque
Nauta per urbana velificabant aquas."
(See also p. 151. note.) (Propert. 4. el. 10.)

† Piranesi (Antich. di Roma, t. 1. p. 21. nº 168) discovered several of the reservoirs communicating with this Cloaca in the interior of the Palatine hill, which on the authority of Frontinus he supposes to have served as one of the means of furnishing the city with water *before the invention of aqueducts.* "Ab urbe condita per annos 441 contenti fuerunt Romani usu aquarum, quas aut ex Tiberi, aut ex puteis, aut ex fontibus hauriebant." (De Aquæduct. Urbis Romæ, l. 1. p. 1.)

which in that part of Italy frequently for days together falls in torrents, and which would otherwise have flooded the plain below, and perpetuated the morass.

It appears from the authorities above cited, that till after the expulsion of the Gauls from Rome the Cloaca Maxima was led through *public places;* but that subsequently it was built over with houses irregularly disposed in streets and lanes narrow and winding, an inconvenience which continued to the reign of Nero, who being disgusted—"deformitate veterum ædificiorum, et angustiis flexuisque vicorum," made it a pretence for setting fire to the city. Mr. King seems forced to allow that this Cloaca might be *locally covered,*—"artificially constructed of rows of stones projecting a little more inward as they were carried up higher, till at last they met so near as to be covered with flat stones." Supposing it to have been so,—for which however I find no authority,—is it to be conceived that M. Agrippa could uncover this ancient channel, and close it with arched masonry 43 palms in width, an undertaking which implies the removal of all the houses over it, through one of the most populous districts of the city?

Suet. Vit. c. 38.

Munim. Ant. v. 4. p. 11.

Livy resided at Rome for many years in the reign of Augustus. He was then employed in the composition of his History, which he occasionally read to the Emperor, by whom he was highly distinguished.

Considering the anxiety evinced by his sovereign for the embellishment of the seat of empire, the value he attached to his own and contemporary improve-
Suet. Vit. s. 30. ments, together with the well-known jealousy of his character, Livy durst not have assigned a work like the Cloaca Maxima to Tarquin, which he declared
L. 1. s. 55. yielded not in point of magnificence to any of recent construction, could he have given the merit of it to the son-in-law of his patron. Nor would Pliny, when contemplating the wonders of the city, the Agger of Tarquin, the "*insanæ substructiones*" of the Capitol, have pronounced that the Cloacæ had continued 800 years "*prope inexpugnabiles*," had they been formed within a century of the time he wrote*. It is also said by
Munim. Antiq. ut supra. Mr. King that the Cloaca Maxima was formed of "excavations of rock or of deep trenching covered with tim-

* The antiquities both within and surrounding the Roman Forum, and of necessity in that district under which the duct of the Cloaca Maxima passes, have of late years excited particular attention. Conceiving that this monument could not in this research escape investigation, I wrote to Rome for information. A reply to my letter is just arrived. It hence appears that by the removal of rubbish only, the accumulation of ages,—an Herculean labour!—discoveries have been made in this part of the city beyond expectation gratifying and important. These operations have been conducted under the superintendance of Signor Pietro Bianchi, an architect of great eminence. My friend made application to this gentleman, who informs him "that he had examined the Cloaca Maxima with great attention, and found it all constructed with arched piperino; nor could it well be otherwise, as the part now remaining is built through a swampy ground, and of course could not be formed in the tufo." After testimony so respectable, the hypothesis of Mr. King respecting "excavation through rock," &c. rests on no foundation.

ber*." Before the first of these suggestions be admitted, it should be ascertained if there was rock to excavate. The marshy soil of the Velabro, in which vessels once rode, consisted of volcanic ashes and alluvion; and before it was raised by extraneous rubbish, the accumulation of ages, must have met the brink of the Tiber; and if deeper, could not have answered the purpose of drainage. That the interior of the Palatine hill, like the Capitoline on the opposite side of the valley, is composed of tufo and other indurated volcanic substances, I allow. The duct of the Cloaca passes in a straight line through part of the rise of the former. I am not prepared to affirm or to deny that there is excavation through it; but it will presently appear both in its progress hence towards the arch of Severus and over the Velabro to be of masonry. The massive stone quay, the "*pulchrum littus*" of

P. 151. n.

* The masonry of ancient Rome was so compact, that it might be sometimes mistaken for an uniform substance. Ficoroni (Vest. di Roma, l. 1. c. 4. p. 12.) says of the Cloaca Maxima, that the stones of it are "cosi ben congiunti, che non *appajono* le loro commissure." Cassiodorus (Var. l. 7. form. 6. p. 113. Rotomagi 1679, fol.) speaking of the channels of the aqueducts makes this observation:—"Quod enim illuc flumina, quasi constructis montibus perducuntur, *naturales* credas alveos soliditates saxorum, quando tantus impetus fluminis tot sæculis firmiter potuit sustineri." The neatness with which ancient buildings were executed has favoured the opinion that the stones were laid without mortar. I do not say that many of them were not so, but that I have never witnessed an instance. Even in that beautiful specimen of art, the sepulchre of Cecilia Metella, reputedly constructed "*senza calce*," a layer of cement is to be traced in every joint.

Nardini, l. 8. c. 2.

ancient Rome, by which the Tiber was kept within bounds, in workmanship and materials corresponds with the mouth of the Cloaca Maxima, by which it is pierced. If in opposition to the testimony of Livy as above stated there had been no covered arch, there must at least have been a strong dyke of earth or stone on each side the channel, till the rise of the ground had equalled that of the river in its highest inundation; a deformity a Roman could not have tolerated, particularly through the most important part of the city, and which was the first that received decoration, and was surrounded by a colonnade*. But here were the "*trenches covered with timber*," a contrivance which must have been washed away by the torrents which occasionally rushed through them, as expressively described by Pliny: "*Cursu præcipiti torrentium, modo rapere atque auferre omnia coacti*, insuper mole imbrium concitati, vada ac latera quatiunt; aliquando Tiberis retro infusi recipiunt fluctus, pugnantque diversi aquarum impetus intus; et tamen obnixa firmitas resistit. Trahuntur moles internæ tantæ non succumbentibus causis operis†: *pulsant ruinæ sponte præcipites, aut impactæ*

Munim. Antiq. v. 4. p. 11.

Plin. l. 36. c. 15.

* "I fori delle città Italiche, che servivano talora anco per gli spettacoli pubblici, erano communemente circondati *da portici*, dietro a' quali stavano distribuite molte sale e cubicoli. Così Tarquinio Prisco, che si valse d' artefici Toscani, disegnò quel di Roma." (Micali, t. 3. p. 102. Dion. Halic. l. 3 c. 1. Visconti Mohum. Gabini, p. 24. Vitruv. l. 4. c. 1.)

† This passage, which I consider as implying a covered channel to the Cloaca Maxima, Mr. King (Munim. Antiq. v. 4. p. 11.) by giving the following version to that part of it in italics—"ruins falling of them-

incendiis: quatitur solum terræ motibus: durant tamen a Tarquinio Prisco annis 800 *prope inexpugnabiles.*"

Arguments unfavourable to the assigned origin of the Cloaca Maxima have been deduced from the magnitude of the channel, as not requisite in the infancy of Rome; and in the wildness of conjecture it has been surmised to be the remain of a more ancient city, "on the ruins of which the followers of Romulus settled." The character of Etruscan architectural works is that of massive greatness often surpassing apparent necessity. I am not however convinced that the dimensions of the Cloaca were too capacious to answer the purposes for which it was constructed; nor do I conceive that a channel 18 palms wide was not as requisite in the days of Tarquin as in those of Augustus, since I regard the torrents of rain which "cursu præcipiti" occasionally rushed from the lofty* sides of the hills, as the Capitoline, the Palatine, the Viminal, and the Esquiline, into the valley of the Forum Romanum, as far surpassing the *daily drainage* of the city, even after the invention of aqueducts†,

Ferguson's Rom. Repub. v. 1. p. 14. n.

selves or driven (into the sewers) by fire beat their way,"—has, in my opinion, departed from the meaning of the original text. The author having described the strength of the interior, would now express that of the exterior, in its power of resisting the shock of houses or ruins falling upon it, by the word *pulsant*.

* The Capitoline at present rises 118, the Palatine 133, the Viminal 141, the Esquiline 154 feet above the level of the Tiber. (Philosoph. Transactions, v. 47. pt. 2d. 1777.)

† Quod si quis diligentius æstimaverit aquarum abundantiam in publico,

when the streams were augmented by the waste water, which through lateral pipes was led into that channel. After all, we may rest assured, that the inventors of the Cloaca Maxima were best acquainted with the requisites of their own plans; and that these in their effect were great and powerful is obvious from the passage from Pliny just adduced.

Having collected whatever appears of importance in the ancient history of the Cloaca Maxima, it remains to add some particulars belonging to its actual appearance, and to the discoveries which have resulted from modern observation.

The date of an antique building is commonly to be determined by a view of its exterior. No such information is to be collected from this Cloaca, since it possesses no character exclusively assignable to any one period of the Roman empire. Venuti in his description of the masonry of it says the interior may be penetrated 300 yards; a length which will carry us through the Velabro, and a part of Rome where in ancient times we find density of population. The Cloaca, which is still partially subservient to its original office, was on a sudden in the year 1742 observed to discharge no water. This circumstance occasioned much alarm, lest some of the inside falling in, the buildings over it should follow

Antich. di Roma, t. 2. p. 53.

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balneis, piscinis, domibus, euripis, hortis, suburbanis, villis, spatioque advenientis extructos arcus, montes perfossos, convalles æquatas, fatebitur, nihil magis mirandum fuisse in toto orbe terrarum." (Plin. l. 36. c. 15.)

the excavation. Under the inspection of Ficorini an opening was consequently made in the ancient Forum Romanum; and at a considerable depth, through an accumulation of rubbish and fragments of marble, the master channel appeared. Two other openings were made; the last traversed the Via Sacra near the church of St. Adrian (supposed to occupy the site of the ancient temple of Saturn), and immense labour and expense was incurred before the repair was made. It appeared that the original vault was composed of *Piperine* with a mixture of *Travertine**. Piranesi, who from early life had been conversant with the Cloaca Maxima, and who had minutely examined its construction, never alludes to excavation, though he repeatedly does to its formation and the materials made use of; while he invariably contends for the high antiquity of its origin.

Ficorini Vest.di Roma Ant. l.1. c. 4. p. 12.— c. 11. p. 75.— Carlo Fea Miscel. Filolog. Crit. p. 160. n.

Carlo Fea ut supra. Piranesi Ant. di Rom. t. 1. p. 12. n. 168. p. 22. n. 171.

It has been questioned whether in times so early as the elder Tarquin there was in Rome science sufficient to produce the monument under consideration. To the Romans in the Augustan age the events of that æra were not, I believe, more obscure than are to us those which passed in our own country during the period equally remote from the nineteenth

* The Etruscans, notwithstanding the common opinion to the contrary, occasionally used Travertine in building. The ancient monument near Perugia, styled the tower of St. Manno, is constructed of that material; the masses are sixteen feet long by about ten feet high. There is an inscription upon it in Etruscan letters. (Micali, t. 2. p. 152.)

century. The liberal arts were received at Rome through the Græcian colonists in Italy; and it is only by referring to the contemporary acquirements of the parent stock, that an estimate is to be formed of that of the offspring.

The settling of a new colony was by the Greeks considered an act of great solemnity, and engagements were mutually entered into. Those bonds which unite children to the authors of their being were supposed to exist between the colonized and the parent state*. A new colony systematically arranged invariably moved under the guidance of a conductor, who was generally of hallowed lineage, and under the sanction of an oracle†. The emigrants, of course, carried with them their native customs, religion, prejudices, attachments, and all the useful arts and sciences which they possessed previously to expatriation. History has recorded a fact applicable to the present subject. When
Plin. l. 35. c. 12. the Corinthian Demaratus, the father of the elder Tarquin, left his native shores to colonize, or rather to unite with his countrymen who had previously settled in Etruria, he was attended by a number of artificers,

* This connexion subsisted for ages. The colonies of Asia minor, when sinking under the power of Crœsus, implored the assistance of their parent Athens and Sparta, at the distance of 500 years from their establishment.

† That once attempted by Dorieus, the brother of Cleomenes, for instance, did not succeed, because he omitted to observe the enjoined ceremonies. (Herod. l. 5. c. 42.)

who embellished his new settlement (εκοσμησε την Τυρρηνιαν). Demaratus was the contemporary of Periander the tyrant of Corinth, one of the seven sages of Greece, who at the age of eighty, and after a reign of forty-four years, died 580 years before Christ. Corinth, as to Greece, was then the centre of inland communication, and the most opulent and civilized of all the Hellenic states. The arts in Greece were so inseparably allied to religion, that wherever we discover civilization, we may rely on finding a combination of them. Strabo announces the early progress of painting, statuary, and the correlative arts in Corinth and Sicyon; and though a late authority, Orosius, says of the former,—"per multa retro sæcula velut officina omnium artificum atque artificiarum fuit." Pliny has preserved the names of two modellers, Euchir and Eugrammus, and of one painter, the Corinthian Cleophantes. He also enumerates certain works in painting, extant in temples when he wrote, which he pronounces of higher date than the reign of the elder Tarquin. The Corinthian origin of that sovereign, and his early initiation in the arts of Greece, naturally led him to the contemplation of works of grandeur and utility, similar to those with which he adorned and benefited the city in which he presided. It will perhaps be too much to make him the author of all those constructed in that æra*. Dionysius of Halicarnassus ex-

Strabo, l. 5.

L. 8.

L. 5. c. 3.

L. 35. c. 12.

Ibid. c. 3.

Dion. Halic. l. 3.

L. 4. c. 44.

* This testimony has the appearance of being derived from a more

pressly asserts that the Cloaca Maxima was finished by Tarquin the Proud; and it is farther said by Plutarch, that the latter completed the public monuments which had been undertaken or projected by his ancestor. From Livy we also learn that the Etruscans had made such progress in arts and learning during the regal government and great part of the commonwealth, that they presided over the dawn of liberal science in Rome. "Vulgo tum Romanos pueros sicut *nunc Græcis*, ita *Etruscis* inde literis erudiri solitos."

Vit. Poplic.

1. 9.

If we admit these authorities, which are by no means inconsistent, we are introduced to a period within half a century of Phidias. But Phidias was not the *inventor* of his art: materials, the result of ages of experience, were prepared for him, which the transcendant powers of his mind taught him to select, combine, and aggrandize beyond any of his predecessors. Independently of the advantages imparted by the Greeks to their colonies in Italy, architecture had long before made great progress in regions far distant from the Hellenic coasts. In the temple of Solomon, built many centuries prior to the reign of Pericles and the date of the Parthenon, we shall find all the

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detailed original. The great works commenced by Tarquinius Priscus are first quoted (l. 3. c. 69.) It is afterwards (l. 4. c. 44.) said that Tarquinius Superbus, who was desirous of perfecting the plans undertaken by his ancestor, carried on the common sewers to the river, and surrounded the Circus with a portico, which till then had been built only up to the plinth.

essentials of building, whether mechanical or scientifical; and when we consider certain of the proportions and decorations of it as recorded in the sacred volume, we shall be compelled to acknowledge that the Græcian improvements in architecture consisted principally in adding grace to the columns, variety to the bases, and lightness to the capitals. The proficiency possessed by the favoured people of heaven was neither lost nor stationary; it obeyed the calls of civilization and opulence in distant countries—for what human power can prevent the diffusion of intellect? I hence infer that the early Romans could not be destitute of a portion of contemporary science. 1 Kings, c. 6 and 7.

I have ventured to assert that the ancient Ægyptians were too well versed in geometry to be ignorant of the power and properties of the arch scientifically formed, and I have also hazarded an opinion why they rejected it. Doubts have been entertained whether the Greeks in the age of Tarquin had made much progress in that branch of liberal science. About 600 years before Christ, several philosophers, of whom Thales (who died in the 58th Olympiad, or 548 before our æra) was most distinguished, applied themselves to mathematical studies. Brucker has given a detail of the geometrical theorems ascribed to Pythagoras* Page 99. L. 2. c. 12. s. 1.

* Cicero (Tuscul. l. 4. c. 1 & 2.) not only acknowleges the benefits imparted by the sage of Crotona to ancient Rome, but admits that the influence of them was felt in his time.

(who died 497 years B. C.); but it may be questioned if that philosopher did more than collect the scattered rays of science which existed in his time, whether in Greece or Ægypt.

In common life practical wisdom is not less the work of good sense directed by sound and virtuous principle, than the result of profound speculation: so, without the aid of philosophical deduction, inventions of unknown origin have through successive ages benefited untaught nations, to the astonishment of the modern experimentalist. In the range of human ingenuity, whether we regard the most elevated or the most humble objects of research, we shall perceive that a degree of practice always precedes theory. Aristotle had studied the Iliad before he prescribed laws to epic poetry; and, unassisted by geometry, the rustic mason, in building an oven*, has from immemorial time been employed in constructing an elliptical dome, without ever dreaming there was any philosophy in the performance.

Thus the discovery of the arch may have been ori-

* In building an oven the bricks are laid heading, the sides of each are cut wedging, and by somewhat elevating the outside of every course, either by additional mortar or by tile sherds, a vaulted tendency is produced; the crown necessarily forms, and as the aperture contracts, the sides become too perpendicular to overcome resistance; the bricks are then reversed, and serve as keys to bind the whole together. Thus, without the aid of centres or other mechanism, an *elliptical dome* somewhat contracted at one of the terminations is the consequence.

ginally the result of chance, and continued without notice; used at first perhaps in sewers, drains, and the substructions of buildings. Bridges excepted (in which alone modern architecture is greater than the ancient, and in none more than those of England,) where arches are justified by necessity, I do not consider the adoption of them as conferring either beauty or stability on architecture. The classic temples of ancient Greece, those wonders of human ability, so completely arrest and absorb the mental powers of the spectator, that no scope is left for the allurements of the imagination, nor the intrusion of the idea that they might have been improved by the admission of arches. That the treasury of Atreus, still existing at Mycæne, has not the principle of the arch, is strictly true. Yet is it not to be inferred from that and other rude specimens in several parts of Greece, that architecture had its rise in that country, or that it was unaided in its advancement by alien proficiency. The beginnings of art, whether in the delineations of human beings or in the first essays of building for their accommodation, are in every country the same; and antiquity has frequently conferred on these early attempts an opinion of sanctity, to which they owe their preservation. Among these were the early and rude specimens in the Areopagus at Athens, the thatched cabin of Romulus on the Capitoline hill, which was venerated in the days of Vitruvius; the tribe of early statues, L. 2. c. 1. falsely assigned to the Ægyptian school, while those by

Suidas v. Δαίδαλος. Page 99.

unknown sculptors were often said to have fallen from heaven. I cannot however but allow that in the Cyclopéan gallery is exhibited the arch under its most simple form, obviously, and in the opinion of Grose, the parent of the Gothic. It may indeed be urged in opposition that the word *arch* is to be learned from its literal meaning, which, as defined by Johnson, denotes "a building in form of a segment of a circle." Yet, if we hereon found our objection, we may refine till we deny the existence of an arch throughout the whole range of Gothic architecture. But independently of the term, and tracing the arch to its incipient state, and referring to its mechanism, use, and property, I should define it an aperture formed of bricks or stones of a wedge-like tendency, by which it is adapted to resist perpendicular and lateral pressure, so as to support the edifice built over it. Performing this office, I contend not for the term as it affects the intermediate inflexions between the semicircle and the pyramid; or, if the latter, whether formed of two sloping stones which at the extreme points terminate in wedges, as in the great pyramid at Memphis, and in the Cyclopéan gallery; or whether the sides are composed of many, as in those during the reigns of our Edward I. or Henry III.

Page 98—99.

Page 100, *Line* 12.

From the Gothic or *Tedesque* style of the cathedral church of Milan, a tradition has prevailed, that it was

originally planned and executed by German workmen. Count Giuliani has however, in his researches into the history of its rise, proved the contrary. It was founded by the great and munificent Giangaleazzo Visconti. The construction of this cathedral naturally brought together a number of builders, painters, engineers, sculptors, &c. out of whom this prince formed an academy, and took pleasure in hearing them discuss topics relative to this immense edifice.

Tiraboschi, t. 13. p. 276. l. 3. c. 5. s. 2.

Page 128, *Line* 4.

I have often suspected that the figures on many of our church screens were executed or at least aided by a mechanical process. The following extract is taken from Clarke's Travels:

Pt. 2. c. 13. p. 520.

"The silversmiths (of Athens) were occupied in making coarse rings for the Albanian women; and the poor remains of Grecian painters in fabricating rather than delineating pictures of saints and virgins. Their mode of doing this may serve to show how exactly the image of any set of features or the subject of any representation may be preserved unaltered among different artists for many ages. The prototype is always kept by them, and transmitted with great care from father to son (for in Greece, as in China, the professions are often hereditary, and remain in the same family for a number of generations): it consists of a piece of paper, upon which the outline and all the

different parts of the design, even to the minutest circumstance, have been marked by a number of small holes pricked with the point of a pin or a needle. This pattern is laid on any surface prepared for painting, and rubbed over with finely powdered charcoal; the dust falling through the holes leaves a dotted outline for the painter, who then proceeds to apply the colours much after the same manner, by a series of other papers having the places cut out where any particular colour is to be applied. Very little skill is requisite in the finishing; for, in fact, one of these manufacturers of effigies might with just as much ease give a rule to make a picture as a tailor to cut out a suit of clothes: the only essential requisite is a good set of patterns, and these are handed from father to son. Hence we learn the cause of that remarkable stiffness and angular outline which characterize all the pictures in the Greek churches," &c.

Page 36, *Line* 4.

Of the degree of intercourse between men of learning and artists in Rome and Constantinople from the reign of Justinian to the period of the first Crusade, I find no regular narrative. The communication was, however, neither uniform nor amicable. The causes by which it was impeded are principally to be attributed to the neglect of the Greek language in Rome, and to the jealousies which early arose between the

heads of the Eastern and Western churches, and which in the ninth century produced the schism by which they were finally separated.

In the sixth century the extinction of the sectarian philosophy and Pagan superstitions in Greece was virtually completed. The hostility which Justinian bore to the philosophers, and his aversion from those who still continued to profess Heathenism, induced him to shut up the schools of philosophy still remaining at Athens, and to deprive the professors of the salaries which former princes had conferred. While some of the supplies of learning were thus cut off, the prevalence of barbarous manners, and the growing calamities of the times, rendered it unsafe to travel in search of knowledge. The intercourse between the East and the West becoming on this account less frequent, the Greek language was neglected in Italy, so that in a short time few in that part of the world were capable of reading the works of Aristotle or Plato, but were obliged to content themselves with imperfect Latin translations. This want of an accurate knowledge of that tongue was the reason why the Dialectics were not studied in the public schools, but through the wretched manual of Augustin. The original works of Aristotle, notwithstanding the pains which Nannus Hermannus (who lived so late as the eleventh century) had taken to translate select parts, were deplorably neglected till the beginning of the twelfth cen-

Bruck. Hist. Crit. Philos. l. 7. c. 2.

tury, when his logical and metaphysical writings, lately brought from Constantinople, were rendered into Latin, and read in the university of Paris. This representation of Brucker, in his estimate of the knowlege of Greek in Rome during the interval before us, can however only apply to it as a scientific tongue; for, notwithstanding religious animosities, a degree of intercourse must have always prevailed between Rome and Constantinople sufficient to keep alive a certain proficiency in that language in Italy*. The Greeks, too, possessed very considerable territories in that country till late in the eleventh century; and the changes and revolutions which happened are precisely ascertained by Muratori. In the churches of Naples, in Calabria, and in the neighbouring provinces, the Greek and Latin liturgies were both used till within the last three centuries. "In Calabria the first impression of the Doric and Ionic colonies has never been completely erased; and in the fourteenth century the Greek existed as the popular or at least as the ecclesiastical dialect." Amalfi, long renowned for opulence, population, and commercial enterprise, main-

Antiq. Med. Æv. Diss. 1—2.

Tiraboschi, t. 5. l. 2. c. 3. and t. 6. l. 1. c. 3.

Gibbon, v. 12. p. 120.

* The ecclesiastical intercourse is treated of, and an enumeration of the Greek monasteries in Rome in which the divine offices are performed in that language is to be met with in Tiraboschi (t. 6. l. 3. c. 3).

From ancient usage, when the pope at the great festivals celebrates high mass, the Gospel is read in Greek by a subdeacon of that church, "in segno dell' unione fra la chiesa Greca e Latina" (Stato Presente di Roma, pt. 1. p. 129), though he does not communicate with the *Azymites* of the Latin.

tained a degree of respectability even after its subjugation by the Norman, Robert Guiscard (1070), whose Italian conquests correspond with the kingdom of Naples.

Gibbon, adverting to the Byzantine Greeks, thus fills up the period under discussion: "Of this space of eight hundred years,—which preceded the capture of Constantinople by the Turks,—during the first four, on the throne, in the camp, and in the schools, we search with fruitless diligence for names and characters that may deserve to be rescued from oblivion. Nor are the defects of the subject compensated by the skill and varieties of the painters." v. 9. c. 48. p. 4.

Such is the alliance between the different branches of science, that the fine arts and literature generally sympathize; so that, to learn the character of one, we must refer to that of the other. Yielding to the bent of the times, which was that of pomp and gaudiness, the Greek artists had departed from the dignified simplicity of their ancestors, and were become more celebrated for works of mechanical skill than for those which mark intellectual exertion. Unlimited were the demands for the decorations of temples, for the splendour of the imperial palace, and for domestic luxury. Till the twelfth century the Greeks, of all Europeans, possessed the monopoly of the silkworm. They excelled in the manufacture of the produce, which was enhanced by beautiful dyes and by curious and costly

See note on page 128, at p. 189.

embroidery. Besides the supply for home consumption, in veils, hangings, and dresses, the call for foreign exportation was incalculable. They were also eminent for their skill in mosaic work and building; in copying and illuminating MSS. on religious subjects; these were gorgeously bound in covers enriched by inlays of the precious metals, and embossed with gems and pearls*. Sculpture in the churches was proscribed by the Iconoclasts, a restriction fatal to the advancement of painting. To mention no other advantages derivable from the cultivation of sculpture, the aid which the latter is capable of imparting to the former, were it only to teach the sweet gradations, or the bold and abrupt transitions of light and shadow, was unknown to the Greeks of the middle ages. The substitute was "an ill-favoured sort

Ricaut's Greek Church, p.330.

* This love of ostentation was inherited by their descendants the Christian Greeks in the seventeenth century. "Most of the monasteries on mount Athos can represent the history of its foundation, not in paints or colours, but in embroideries of gold and pearl and other precious stones intermixed with singular art and curiosity. They have also variety of rich vestments for the priest, especially in the four chief monasteries, where are many chests filled with such robes as are used at the celebration of divine service: their basons, ewers, dishes, plates, candlesticks, and incense-pots of silver, are not to be reckoned, many of which are of pure gold or silver gilt. They have crosses of a vast bigness, edged with plates of gold and studded with precious stones, from whence hang strings of oriental pearl. The covers of their books of the gospel, epistles, psalters, and missals, are often embossed with beaten gold, or curiously bound up with cases of gold, or silver gilt, or plain silver." (Ricaut, Present State of the Greek Church, c. 11. p. 225.)

of flat painting," which, like the performances on the screens in our churches, does not rise above the ground on which they are delineated. Time has never softened the severity of this injunction : " Your scandalous figures stand quite out of the canvass ; they are as bad as a group of statues!—It was thus the ignorance and bigotry of a Greek priest applauded the pictures of Titian which he had ordered, and refused to accept."

Gibbon, v. 9. p. 121. n.

It does not appear, that throughout the dark ages Rome or even Italy was unprovided with *native* artists. We have nevertheless repeated instances of Greek artists being applied to, and their superiority may be hence inferred. Twice we know they attended on architectural occasions ; first for St. Mark's church at Venice, begun 976 and completed 1085 ; again for the sumptuous basilica at Monte Cassino, which was erected (1066) by Desiderius, who was afterwards Pope Victor the Third. These artists, however, were not *Constantinopolitan*, but *Italian Greeks* who resided in Lombardy and Amalfi—" conductis protinus peritissimis artificibus tam *Amalphitanis* quam et *Lambardis*, et jactis in Christi nomine fundamentis, cœpit ejusdem basilicæ fabricam." But the department in which the Greeks mostly excelled, was in mosaic work (in Italy denominated *Opus Græcanicum*) : some of these were accordingly sent for from Constantinople to finish the structures now mentioned :—" Le-

Muratori Antiq. Med. Æv. Diss. 24. Furietti de Musivis, passim.

Leo Ostiens. l. 3. c. 28. Chron. Casin. ap. Muratori, supra.

Leo Ostiens. l. 3. c. 29.

gatos interea Constantinopolim, ad locandos artifices destinat, peritos utique in arte musiaria et quadrataria, ex quibus videlicet alii absidem et arcum atque vestibulum majoris basilicæ musivo comerent, alii vero totius ecclesiæ pavimentum diversorum lapidum varietate consternerent." But the most distinguished monuments of the *Opus Græcanicum* now remaining, are to be seen in the mosaic apsides of the ancient basilicæ of Rome and at Ravenna. These are both of the Greek and Latin schools. The former are ascertained by a certain air of grandeur in the figures, though bordering on pompous ostentation; by the Dalmatic habit (*vestis manicata*), which is often gorgeously enriched; by the benediction bestowed after the Greek rite*; by Greek letters and inscriptions; by the names of saints occasionally placed in perpendicular lines on each side, on one in Greek, on the other in Latin; a custom of which there are instances in Gori and Ciampini, and which is still continued in Russia.

Ciampini, passim.

King's Russian Greek Church, p. 8.

In estimating the proficiency of the Byzantines in the arts of design, my first reference is to the imperial Greek coins as given in Du Cange. These present a series down to Nicephorus Botaniates (1078—1081), and in workmanship and conception every plate has

Constan. Christian.

* The modes of bestowing benediction peculiar to the Greek and Latin churches I have already explained (p. 94). Variations have been introduced by different popes (Gori, t. 3. p. 48.); nor are artists always accurate in representing the inflection of the fingers.

marks of progressive deterioration. The most important discriminations of style, however, are to be found in the diptychs of Gori*. The subjects of his first two volumes are secular: the original use of the diptychs is described by Gibbon. "In the epistles which the emperor addressed to the two consuls elect, it was declared that they were created by his sole authority. Their names and portraits, engraven on gilt tablets of ivory, were dispersed over the empire, as presents to the provinces, the cities, the magistrates, the senate, and the people." v. 3. p. 35.

The third volume is ecclesiastical; and besides diptychs, contains designs copied from sacred utensils and dresses of an early date. They inclosed the registers of the churches to which they belonged, the names of eminent and holy persons and their benefactions. They were often placed upon the altar† as devotional ornaments, and were the precur-

* Thesaurus Veterum Diptychorum, 3 vol. Florent. 1758. folio.

† "Uso antichissimo del Cristianesimo fu tenere sopra gli altari nel sacrificio della messa i dittici d' argento, o d'avorio, che finita la sacra funzione si ripiegavano, come un libro, e si recavano altrove. Ritennesi la stessa figura anche introdotte le tavole più grandi che similmente erano due e movibili; e questa usanza, di cui poche reliquie ho vedute in Italia, si è conservata lungamente nella *chiesa Greca*. Finalmente a poco a poco si cominciò a depingere in una sola tavola unita." (V. Buonarrotti Vetri Antichi, p. 258. e seg. Lanzi Storia Pittorica, t. 1. p. 35.)

"Les fureurs des Iconoclastes en excitant un nouvel enthousiasme pour les images, avoient donné de l'activité à l'industrie. En effet, tandis que ses sectaires détruisoient les peintures empreintes sur les murs, brisoient les mosaïques, les bustes, et les statues, les productions des arts que

sors of *permanent pictures*. Others served for covers of the evangelical and devotional MSS. Some from having a third valve were triptychs; they were of silver, ivory, or hard wood, and elaborately carved. The subjects are taken from the Old and New Testament; I remark only one which is legendary. They are both of the Greek and Latin church; the composition of each is usually connected with architectural decoration, to which, as specimens of contemporary art, we may refer with as much confidence as to the great seals of our kings for the Gothic of their respective reigns.

Gori, t. 3. tab. 30. p. 254.

The *Greek* diptychs engraved in Gori's work are unequal both in conception and design; some rise to beauty, others are of inconsiderable merit; they in general announce the national character, which is that of lavish

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leurs dimensions permettoient de recueillir dans les oratoires et les bibliothèques, devinrent chez les Grecs, et bientôt chez les Latins, l'objet d'une dévotion plus fervente. Les tableaux portatifs se multiplièrent; les anciens diptiques d'ivoire, déjà consacrés à la décoration des autels, furent encore plus recherchés qu'auparavant: on en sculpta aussi de nouveaux. A défaut d'ivoire, l'art de *nieller* fut employé à couvrir d'ornemens délicats des planches en or et en argent, qu'on offrit à la vénération des fidèles dans les processions et au baisser de paix. Par une extension d'un usage antique, le pélerin le plus pauvre renferma des peintures et des sculptures dans des diptiques et des triptiques en bois, qu'ils transportoient dévotement dans ses voyages. Cet usage subsiste encore; les Grecs portent fréquemment dans leurs voyages d'antiques peintures dans les triptiques, et se les transmettent de père en fils." (*Emeric David sur la peinture du moyen age*; *Magasin Encyclopédique, Juillet* 1812, *p.* 36.)

decoration, and of which *tab.* 4* exhibits the most finished example. The arches are Romanesque; the inferior architectural members are debasements of a happier age. The dates of the subjects in all the plates are not ascertained: however, two of much importance in this research are known, *tab.* 29, *p.* 250, which is of the reign of Constantinus Ducas (1059); the other is *tab.* 1, *p.* 14, which exhibits the marriage of Diogenes and Eudocia (1067). Each of these has a line of small round-headed arches below the figures. In *p.* 10 and 12 of the Appendix are diminutive elevations of *entire* buildings, evidently imitations of the S^ta^ Sophia. Gori, tom. 3. Ibid.

The Latin designs are not confined to Rome nor even to Italy; several are from Germany and other countries under the influence of the holy pontiff. As to subject, they are more varied† than those of the

* The Christ is here *imberbis.* In the earlier ages of Christianity the Redeemer was on most occasions delineated without a beard. Under the emblem of the good shepherd (ovem perditam omnes peccatores dixit—qui per pœnitentiam reconcilietur Deo; quam humeris suis portat, &c. (Bosio, (from St. Augustine,) lib. 4. c. 28. p. 622.) he is always so. Effigies of the emperors, in votive orbicular shields supported by winged Victories, were common in the Roman temples and in the Curia. Supported by winged genii or angels, with a monogram, or the immaculate lamb, as emblems of Christ, they were transferred to Christian sepulchral monuments; in churches the *clypeus crucigerus* was continued in pediments over portals and the *arcus triumphalis.* (Ciampini passim.) These bear so great a resemblance to the marigold window in many of our cathedrals, that it *may,* as the shield of faith, have been thence borrowed.

† Three are completely Gothic, tom. 1. tab. 1. p. 85;—tom. 3. tab. 23; and tab. 36. p. 278. The arguments of the author (tom. 1. p. 85.), tend-

Greek church, are inferior to them in grandeur, and are nearer on a level with common nature. Together with the Greek, round-headed arches are most prevalent.

From a retrospective view, it appears that as *works of art* the Greek diptychs are not without dignity, nor are they all deficient in simplicity. The symmetry is monotonous, the accessories few, but not ignoble. The pencils of the artist, from defect of science, mark neither the proportions, the swell, nor the articulation of the muscles. The air of grandeur they may possess is the effect of habit, which an inferior practitioner might acquire by servile imitation. The draperies are flowing, the forms are full, the heads are not void of expression, and in the outlines we recognise traces of the antique;—the whole character is most hostile to the formality of the lank Gothic.

The Latin diptychs exhibit a style which differs from the Greek: the subjects of the latter have frequently an alliance to civil history, those of the former are rarely other than religious; a difference of itself sufficient to account for a dissimilarity in taste. Many of these are extremely interesting. Among others, there is one which particularly arrests the

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ing to establish the existence of complete Gothic structures so early as Lothaire the First, are disproved by later researches, and by the costume and attributes of these designs.

attention. It represents the Redeemer sitting, is of simple and unadorned grace and majesty; the eyes are partly closed in meditation, the right hand gives the benediction after the Latin manner, the left supports a copy of the Evangelists. The head is encircled with the *nimbus crucigerus*; the body is covered with the *tunica talaris*, which is gracefully spread over the feet; the *paludamentum*, more than usually ample, is spread almost over the figure, and confined on the breast with the *bulla*. This is one of those designs the result of purity of thought; and which, like the conceptions of Raphael, imparts the power of uniting pleasure with truth, elevates the mind above sublunary cares, and, while it renders man attentive to the dignity of his nature, unavoidably directs his thoughts to the importance of the arts, and disposes him to meditate on the gracious purpose in which they originated. In the early ages of the world, when men were instructed by conscientious impulse or heavenly revelation, before a written law was given, their arts were few, and such only as the simplest habits of rural life required. In after-times, however, in a lower declination from former integrity, when a written law became needful, the Father of mercies likewise gave the ingenious arts, and a knowledge of principles which we call science, to turn the mind from those gross pursuits towards which it was verging, and to present the means of returning to its Creator, by gradual in-

quiry and contemplation concerning his works and attributes.

Among the Latins the rudiments of ancient art are not so visible as among the Greeks: there is less tendency to pomposity; accessories are multiplied. The figures are shortened; the heads are enlarged; the limbs void of proportion; insertions of the muscles are not indicated; the draperies are stiff and not well cast; the profiles straight; the outlines dry, announcing a forgetfulness of beautiful nature:—the finest religious subjects are of course lessened in dignity. In no instance will these observations be more faithfully proved than in the representations of the suffering Redeemer. It was not till the sixth century that the body of Christ was exhibited on the cross. Previously to that period this was signified by allegory, commonly by a gemmed cross, or by a hand above issuing from the clouds holding a gemmed or laurel crown with A and Ω. In the council Quinisextum* (692) it was

* So called from being considered by the Greeks as a supplement to the fifth and sixth œcumenical councils. The popes had no legate present; and, though they respected a great part of its decrees, refused to reckon it among those called œcumenical. This council was more commonly styled *in Trullo*, from the form of the hall in which it was held at the imperial palace in Constantinople. I subjoin the Latin translation of the canon from M. David (Mag. Encycl. Juin 1812, p. 283). "Ut ergo quod perfectum est vel colorum expressionibus omnium oculis subjiciatur, ejus qui tollit peccata mundi, Christi Dei nostri *humana forma* characterem etiam in *imaginibus* deinceps, pro *veteri agno*, erigi ac depingi jubemus." (Can. 82. Act. Concil. Paris. 1714, t. 3. col. 1691 & 1692.)

The effigy of Christ on the Byzantine coins (Constan. Christ.) is first

first enjoined that allegory should be superseded by actual representation*. The Greeks reluctantly yielded to this innovation, which they deemed degrading to the divine character, and rarely if ever exposed the Redeemer (and how barbarous the exposure!) to open view, nailed to the cross, crowned† with thorns, pierced with the lance, exhausted by suffering, and devoid of grace and majesty. To the Latins, whose ideas were more on a level with common life, this mournful character of the Man of sorrows was more

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seen on one of Justinian II. (685—695): before that reign we see only crosses and anagrams.

* "Ce fut—après ce concile, désavoué d'abord et ensuite reconnu tacitement par les papes, que les images de Jesus-Christ sur la croix commencèrent à se multiplier. Il y a lieu de croire que les Grecs peignirent alors le crucifix pour la première fois. Il semble qu'on en puisse citer des exemples dans les tableaux portatifs qui se vendoient à Rome, sous Jean V., vers l'an 686 (Beda, Hist. Abbat. Wiremut., lib. 1, ed. 1664, p.36.); mais ces exemples, si toutefois ils paroissent convainquans, devoient être très-rares en Italie, même à cette époque. C'est Jean VII., Grec de naissance, élu pape en l'an 705, qui parôit avoir le premier consacré le crucifix dans l'église de Saint Pierre. Deux fois en 706 il fit représenter ce sujet dans les mosaïques dont il couvrit une chapelle de ce temple dédiée à la Vierge: au dessus de l'arc qui en formoit l'entrée, et sur les murs intérieurs. Dans la première de ces peintures on voyoit Jésus vêtu d'une tunique qui descendoit jusqu'aux talons; au pied de la croix étoient deux bourreaux, dont l'un perçoit le corps du Sauveur d'un coup de lance, et l'autre lui présentoit une éponge imbibée de vinaigre; à sa droite étoit S. Jean, à sa gauche la Vierge, tous deux debaut; le soleil et la lune se montroient dans les airs, comme pour être témoins du sacrifice de l'homme Dieu. Mais cet être divin ne paroissoit souffrir; sa tête etoit droite; ses yeux ouverts offroient en quelque sorte un emblème de son immortalité." (David, Mag. Encycl. Juin 1812, p.286.)

† In the Greek diptychs, the head on the cross is commonly erect; in the Latin it is bowed downward. (Gori, passim.)

congenial. Anxious to render this subject in the highest degree affecting, artists ("évidemment conduits par leurs opinions religieuses") attempting to be pathetic became trivial; and a system of worship was inculcated, which addressed itself rather to the passions than to the understandings of its votaries.

David, Mag. Encycl. Mai 1812, p. 64.

Though pointed arches, as prescribed by situation, are to be occasionally met with in successive periods of the Roman empire, yet the style of building which dictated the admission of them, to the *exclusion* of every other form, could not be on a sudden adopted. The revolution, on the contrary, insinuated itself by advances as slow and gradual as the change of mind and manners to which its introduction must be ultimately attributed. Conducively to this change, the Latin diptychs exhibit *architectural* anomalies, apparently forming a *connecting medium* of the Romanesque with the Gothic. An instance will be found in an arch from the abbey church at Caen (*Pl.* V. *fig.* 3) whose lengthened sides form a medium between the semicircular and the pointed. In another diptych from the Museum Cospianum in Bologna—the subject of which relates to the birth of Christ—the shepherds at Bethlehem are each of them placed under, or rather before, one of these irregular arches*.

Gori, tom. 3. t. 35. p. 272.

* The small circlets which surround the arch above referred to are said by Gori to be intended for *nimbi*; they accompany another figure in this plate, and are seen again in tab. 7. of the Appendix to his third volume.

(*Pl.* V. *fig.* 4.) The master, imperfectly skilled in composition, a defect obvious in the whole design, has so ill adapted the figures to situation, that he has not even confined them within the visual boundary prescribed for their reception. As the Gothic had not yet received its consummation, it is not pretended that forms subdued by abstinence and devotional exercise, congenial to that style, should be admitted; he should at least have kept the limbs from *sprawling* beyond the limits of the periphery. We have another instance where a deviation occurs, Gori, tab. 23. p. 67, and again in tab. 24. p. 73. Append., both on artophoria, the former from Pesaro, the other from Milan; these are mixed in a line of round-headed arches. (*Pl.* V. *fig* 5.) We know not when they were executed; but, as a presumptive proof that this variety was not uncommon, it is seen again (*Pl.* V. *fig.* 7.), where the date is expressed. This is on a vestment called the casula of St. Stephen king of Hungary. (Gori, tom. 3. tab. 18. p. 53.) We are here presented with a line of twelve of these arches, and under each is placed an apostle. This most curious relic is profuse in its minute details, and abounds in small picked turrets, the harbingers of the Gothic. If designed by the artists of the country, they must have been assisted; for it is scarcely to be supposed that on conversion the Pagans could have been acquainted with so many particulars allusive to a new

religion *. This curious relic, as the embroidered inscription testifies, was worked for St. Stephen king of Hungary, by his consort St. Gisla, in the year 1031, for the conventual church † of Alba Regis (St. Lueisselburgh), where it was preserved with religious care till 1543, when it was removed to Vienna, where t now remains.

Gori, t. 3. tab. 18. p. 53. Append.

From the authorities above cited we learn that,

* Wherever the pontiffs established their supremacy, they were to the last degree sedulous in consolidating their power. Embellishment was with them allied to instruction. This conduct has been noticed in the reduction of our own island (p. 25.) When the people of Saxony became Christians, it was the aim of the popes to efface by extreme magnificence the ancient heathen altars,—"ut honorem habeant majorem et excellentiorem quam fana idolorum." (Capit. de Part. Saxon. An. 789. cap. 1. col. 251.) The same observation will apply also to the Hungarians. "The Germans alledge that the Christian religion was introduced into Hungary by Gizela, sister to their emperor Henry II., who being given in marriage to Stephen king of that nation, persuaded him to embrace the Gospel; and that prince was afterwards canonized." (Mosheim, Cent. 10. pt. 1. c. 1.) "In the year 1000, the embassadors of St. Stephen received from Pope Sylvester the title of king of Hungary, with a *diadem of Greek workmanship*. It had been designed for the duke of Poland; but the Poles by their own confession were yet too barbarous to deserve an *angelical* and *apostolical* crown."—"The change of religion in Stephen, and the reduction of his territories to Christianity, were of the utmost importance to the Roman see. In the sea voyage of Palestine the dangers were frequent, and the opportunities rare: but the conversion of Hungary opened a safe communication between Germany and Greece. The charity of St. Stephen, the apostle of his kingdom, relieved and conducted his itinerant brethren; and from Belgrade to Antioch they traversed 1500 miles of a Christian country." (Gibbon, v. 10. c. 54. p. 243. n. c. 57. p. 382.)

† Such pious donations were frequently given by this queen—"Vestes auro contextas *insano sumptu factas per collegia sacerdotum* (B. Gisla) *sæpe distribuit.*" (Gori, p. 54. Append.)

notwithstanding the schism by which the Latin and Greek churches were separated, there was always intercourse between the artists of Rome and Constantinople, though it is not clear that the latter, by that intercourse, ever fixed a national style or conferred visible improvement on the former. In the Latin designs, no instance of the *complete* Gothic is observable; in the Greek much less tendency appears. The Latin extend to provinces remote from Rome, and are more varied both as to character and subject than the former. It is not improbable, in the immense scope of territory which from time to time acknowledged the supremacy of the holy pontiff, that in the states situated remotely from Rome, the proselytes may have respectively retained a partiality for their *national style* in design, (and that they adhered to it as pertinaciously as they did to certain local immunities, rites, and ceremonies, that the popes never could reduce to uniformity, but in which they thought it prudent to acquiesce,) and which was not changed when employed in Christian subjects. Previously to the admission of the new faith, the temples of the uncultivated Pagans, even far to the north of Europe, were decorated with sculpture and painting. The architectural form of the buildings, among a people long left to themselves, and the means they had of improvement, can not perhaps be satisfactorily ascertained. I am indebted to M. David for the following curious ex-

Fra. Paolo Con. Trident. l. 6. Jul. 1562. Mosheim, v. 2. c. 4. s. 2, 3.

Mag. Encycl. Juillet 1812, p. 85.

tract, taken from the Life of St. Otho, the apostle of Pomerania and bishop of Bamberg. He was born in Suabia 1069. "Dans l'onzième siècle, les habitans *encore* idolâtres de la ville de Stetin ornoient de sculptures et de peintures l'intérieur et l'extérieur de leurs temples. L'historien dit, en parlant des peintures, 'Quodque rarum dixerim, colores imaginum extrinsecus nulla tempestate nivium vel imbrium fuscari vel deleri poterant, id agente industria pictorum.'"

Vita Otton. Episc. Bamberg. cap. 21. apud Canis. loc. cit. t. 3. part. 2. p. 70.

The Greek designs, to which allusion has been made, are brought down *to the dawn of the first crusade. From thence to the capture of Constantinople we have no remains of Gothic structures raised by the Christian Greeks*, though, had any ever existed, we might as reasonably expect to find vestiges of them as we now do of those built in Palestine by the crusaders of the West. The plan of the S^ta^ Sophia on the contrary, which Procopius, availing himself of the popular opinion, says was supplied by angels, became the model of every subsequent church*; and since this stately monument has been converted to a mosque, the architecture has been imitated by the Turkish sultans. *I therefore think myself justified in asserting, that we are not to look for the archetype of the Gothic in the buildings of the Christian Greeks.*

De Ædif. l. 1. c. 1. & 23. l. 2. c. 3. l. 5. c. 6.

* "The Russian princes engaged in their service the most skilful of the Greeks to decorate the cities and instruct the inhabitants: the dome and the paintings of St. Sophia were rudely copied in the churches of Kiow and Novogorod." (Gibbon, v. 10. c. 54. p. 244.)

Adhering to the definition of the Gothic, given in the first page of this Inquiry, I regard that style to be as perfect in the unadorned neatness of the Temple church, as in the florid tracery of a later date. I conceive, too, that the measure of esteem and admiration should be adjusted by the conceptive powers of the artist, as displayed in boldness of design, symmetry and skill in execution, rather than by the embellishments which are apt to catch the eye and divert the attention of the spectator. Yet, as these embellishments are inseparable from the Gothic in the higher stages of advancement, and tend to decide the æra of construction, I will again advert to a conjecture before hazarded (p. 96) as to the origin of one of much importance. I believe that in religious structures no ornament was ever employed which on its first adoption was not of mystical interpretation. The seeds of mystical theology uniting with a tendency too prevalent in mankind to visionary doctrines (which promise to conciliate the favour of the Deity upon easier terms than "by patient continuance in well-doing"), and combining the subtleties of the Stoic reasoning with the mysteries of the Platonic doctrines, rendered the eleventh and twelfth centuries particularly favourable to symbolic allusion. The cross was the great symbol of Christianity. "Hoc ergo (crucis) signo se armat ecclesia, in pectore, et in fronte: significans crucis mysterium esse corde credendum; et manifeste

Durandus Ration. Divin. Offic. lib. 5. c. 2. s. 9 & 11.

ore confitendum. Per hoc enim *signum* confunditur civitas diaboli, et triumphat ecclesia: *terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata.* Ubicunque dæmones signum crucis viderent, fugiunt, timentes baculum quo plagam acceperunt." "Si regenerari oportet, *crux accedit.* Propter hoc in *domo*, et in *muris*, et in *januis*, et in *fronte*, et in *mente*, cum multo inscribimus studio—et in *penetralibus* et in *fenestris*—omnes de ea soliciti sunt, et *ubique fulget* et *sparsa est**. Valuit signaculum—cedunt dæmones, pelluntur timores." This tendency to enthusiastic feeling for every object allied to the cross was, towards the close of the eleventh century, in the adventurous spirit of the crusaders, excited almost to insanity†. Throughout Christendom was preached the merit and glory of delivering the holy land from the possession of infidels; every heart

Durantus De Ritib. Eccles. l. 1. c. 6. s. 7. l. 2. c. 45. s. 4.

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* The figure of the cross was no where forbidden, excepting in inlaid floors—"ne incedentium conculcatione victoriæ nobis trophæum injuria afficiatur." (Durantus, l. 1. s. 9.)

† The Roman pontiffs from Sylvester II. (998—1003) had been forming plans for extending the limits of the church in Asia, and for expelling the Mahometans from Palestine; and the twenty-eighth letter of that pope (Duchesne Script. Rer. Franc.) is remarkable for containing *the earliest exhortation to the crusade.* The resort of zealots to the tomb of the Redeemer had been incessant from the earliest ages of Christianity. But in the eleventh century, and previously to the capture of Jerusalem by the Turks, the zeal of pilgrimage prevailed beyond the example of former times. About thirty years before the first crusade, Ingulphus, secretary to William the Conqueror and abbot of Croyland, was a companion in a pilgrimage of 7000 persons, over which presided the archbishop of Mentz and several German bishops.

was melted with compassion, every breast glowed with indignation on listening to the rude and energetic eloquence which was universally uttered, while the innumerable hosts which overwhelmed Asia tumultuously pressed on towards the confines of Palestine. The venerated sign, so interesting to the imagination, was attached to the habit, or indelibly impressed on the bodies, of the crusaders, while these *crucesignati* were stimulated to the enterprise by the concession of various immunities, and, if delinquents, by protection from the arm of secular justice. Thus not only churches were cruciform, but the walls, the windows, together with the utensils and dresses, the limbs and bodies of every true penitent were armed with the sign at which dæmons were dismayed and *put to flight*. With impressions so prevalent, is it not natural to suppose that architectural ornaments in *general* should correspond with a tendency so uniform and powerful? The *quaterfoil*, that inexhaustible source of Gothic decoration, is, I believe, no other than the *Greek cross* with the corners rounded; and if with an attentive eye we examine the bold ramifications, or the laborious and minute leafy traceries of a Gothic window, we shall, under some modification, almost invariably find them originating in this object of veneration.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries* we also re-

* A motive not expressed in the text must also be allowed its importance. The eleventh age is celebrated for the construction of ec-

cognise an epocha, which from increasing opulence and civilization, and a more general perception of know-

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clesiastical buildings. The universal belief that the world was to terminate one thousand years after Christ spread such a panic throughout Christendom, that churches were suffered to fall into decay or deliberately pulled down. Almost all the donations made to the church during this century, bear evident marks of this groundless consternation which had seized the European nations; for the motives for these donations are generally expressed in the following words: "*Appropinquante mundi termino*," *&c.* as we learn from Abbas de Fleury, who died 1004. Glab. Rodulph. Hist. sui Temp. lib. 3. cap. 4. apud Duchesne, Pithou, et Bouquet. (Mosheim, v. 2. c. 3. s. 3. p. 218.) "Quand le retour de l'année (1000) eut rassuré les esprits, un nouveau zèle animant les princes et les prélats, ils brûlèrent de se signaler par de pieuses entreprises. L'ardeur de bâtir devint une passion. Partout furent abattus les anciens temples, même sans nécessité; partout s'élevèrent des basiliques plus vastes et plus riches que les anciennes, et qui, suivant l'expression d'un auteur contemporain, sembloient donner au monde rajeuni une nouvelle parure. Alors furent fondés ou reconstruits, à Dijon en l'an 1001, l'église de Saint-Benigne, et la rotonde conservée jusqu'aujourd'hui, à Rheims en 1005, à Tours en 1012, à Cambrai en 1020, à Orleans, à Limoges, à Autun, à Avalon, à Nantes, à Poitiers, à Perpignan, et dans une foule d'autres villes, des édifices qui subsistent encore: à l'abbaye de Cluny en 1088, un des temples les plus curieux de cette grande époque de l'histoire de l'architecture." (David, Août 1812, p. 243.)

The great and general improvements that were made in the construction of houses and churches in the first years of the twelfth century are thus described by a contemporary writer: "The new cathedrals and innumerable churches that were built in all parts, together with the many magnificent cloisters and monasteries, and other apartments of monks that were then erected, afford a sufficient proof of the great felicity of England in the reign of Henry I. The religious of every order, enjoying peace and prosperity, displayed the most astonishing ardour in every thing that might increase the splendour of divine worship. The fervent zeal of the faithful prompted them to pull down houses and churches every where, and rebuild them in a better manner. By this means the ancient edifices that had been raised in the days of Edgar, Edward, and

edge* than had hitherto prevailed in many of the European cities†, was favourable to the erection of churches. In this period, "*l'influence des styles antiques étoit devenue presque nulle*;" and the Gothic, of which the symptoms had long been visible, was now rapidly advancing.

M. Paillot de Montalbert sur la Peinture *Gothique* du Moyen Age; Magasin Encyclop. Mars 1812.

Before that æra, the decorations of churches were of a debased Roman architecture. Nor were arches *uniformly* pointed in England‡ until late in the twelfth century. Until then, they were frequently mixed with

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other Christian kings, were demolished, and others of greater magnitude and magnificence, and of more elegant workmanship, were erected in their room to the glory of God." (Orderic. Vital. Hist. Eccles. l. 10. p. 788. Henry's Hist. England, v. 6. b. 3. c. 5. p. 181.)

* The perusal of the first, second, and third chapters of the fourth book of the sixth volume of Tiraboschi on the State of Learning and the Arts during the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries will amply gratify the inquisitive reader.

† Consult Anderson's Commerce, centuries 11 and 12.

‡ Symptoms of Gothic architecture in Normandy in the eleventh century appear in the following notices:—"In a chapel of the abbey-church of St. Stephen at Caen, built by the Conqueror 1064, of the date of which no doubt can be entertained, (Hist. Lit. de la France, t. 8. p. 266,) are four portraits of the founder and his family, with Gothic attributes, which are contemporary in the opinion of Montfaucon. (De la Monarch. Franc. t. 1. pl. 55. p. 402.) Upon the tower of this church are quaterfoil crosses, some pointed arches and spires: the latter are plain, the slopes of the gables are *not* crocketed. (Ducarel, pl. 8.) The palace of this monarch presents the style in a more advanced state; the Gothic here is uniform; still however the pinnacles are plain, though the gables *are crocketed.* I speak as they are exhibited in Ducarel, though I confess I am not satisfied either as to the correctness or genuineness of his engravings. In his plates of the Bayeux tapestry there is no complete Gothic building, though a tendency to the style appears throughout. The first figure of the first plate exhibits a trefoil

those which are circular, as in the upper range within-inside the Temple church. Yet *before* the pointed style was confirmed, we find the gradual admission of the quaterfoil, and early instances of this ornament are to be seen in Mr. Carter's Architecture of England;
Pl. 31. p. 26. D. one is in Rumsey church, where the points are sharpened into the *croix étoilée* (a form prevalent on the Greek ecclesiastical vestments in Ciampini and Gori):
Pl. 35. p. 30. G. in the galilee of Durham cathedral; and another in
Pl. 36. p. 31. G. the chapel of Joseph of Arimathea at Glastonbury: in all these buildings there is a mixture of Romanesque and pointed arches. As the *latter* predominated, the venerated symbol was multiplied till at length the exterior of the church was defended from the basement to the summit of the tower (*terribilis—ut castrorum acies ordinata*) from the approach of the malignant foe to Christianity. I find the quaterfoil cross most perfect in the *earlier* periods of its admission, and where the pointed arches, between which it is often inserted, are formed of two segments of a circle: but when the sides of the arches are inflected, as in those of the contrasted form, and of course prominent, the space between them could not be regularly filled; the

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portal (see *Pl.* V. *fig.* 8. of this work), and many turrets with picked terminations. In Ducarel's sixteenth plate is given the funeral procession of Edward the Confessor to Westminster Abbey. The bier is much ornamented. The elevation of the church, *perhaps the only one in existence,* imperfect as it is, resembles as to form of the arches, which are round-headed, those of contemporary edifices in England.

lower termination of the quaterfoil instead of being rounded is somewhat elongated, and appears like the stalk of a leaf. In niches, in panes of windows, and in situations where much extension was required, one of the leaves is further lengthened, and the trefoil (*croix treflée**), resembling altogether one of the limbs of the *croix boutonnée*, produced the form of the Latin cross. In process of time, when the superintendance of church building was confided rather to lay, than to churchmen, allusion to the cross may have been forgotten, or at least weakened. As refinement, and its concomitant the love of novelty, increased, ornaments became more intricate†; vacant spaces were unavoidably left between the ramifications which could not be regularly, though the rules of composition required they should be symmetrically, filled: these, occupied by one, two, or three points of one of the crosses above mentioned, were

* The *fleur-de-lis* cross is frequently seen upon the vestments in the Greek diptychs. "La croix *fleurdelysée*, celle dont les branches sont terminées par *les fleurs-de-lys*, comme sur l'ancien *écu* de France." (Millin Diction. des Beaux Arts, m. *Croix*.) A fringe of trefoil crosses is elegantly disposed round the Gothic monuments of some of the kings of France. (Montfaucon, Monarchie Françoise, t. 1. pl. xii. &c. p. 158.)

† Among the most interesting and most useful ornaments on the outside of Gothic cathedrals are the carvings of divine subjects from the Old and New Testament. They are *Bibles in stone*, for the edification of the poor and unlettered Christian. Of these it may be observed, as it was of paintings at the synod held at Arras, 1025,—"*Illiterati*, quod *per Scripturam* non *possunt intueri*, hoc per quædam *picturæ* lineamenta contemplantur." (Synod. Attrab. c. 3; apud Achery Spicileg. t. 1. p. 62.)

inserted in windows, and often promiscuously spread over the surface of the structure, apparently after the fancy of the builder. Still, however, in instances of laboured intricacy, a semblance of this symbol is always visible. In the mazy roof of Westminster Hall the *croix treflée* is the commencement of the most complex ornaments.

On the antient Rituals, with additional Remarks on the Interior Arrangement of Churches.

SINCE the foregoing pages were sent to the press I have met with a paper in the Gentleman's Magazine (under the signature of Indagator) on certain appendages to sacred edifices. As the conjectures there offered respecting *the ancient place and manner of reading the Gospel*, together with some of the interior arrangements of ancient churches, differ from the opinions I have already given, the author will excuse me if in my own justification I point out those passages which to me appear erroneous in this very curious and learned disquisition.

Vol. lvii. p. 661.

"I shall now beg your attention towards the chancel, at the entrance of which, placed on the *gradus chori* (where many things were read in the jejune seasons of the year), stands the skreen dividing it from the *aula*. This is frequently of excellent work, but too well known to need any description, though it will

not be impertinent to remark, that in the above will of Henry VI. there is mention of a *reredosse* (skreen), bearing the rood-loft departing the choir and the body of the church. At the north end of the skreen, in many old churches, the entrance of a small staircase seems worthy of attention. This leads up to a door, at a moderate height from the pavement. At this door was the place of the pulpit, probably the rood-loft, as appears from the following rubrics: '*Incepta vero ultima oratione* ante epistolam subdiaconus per *medium* chori ad legendum epistolam in pulpitum accedat.' 'Quando *epistola* legitur duo pueri in superpelliciis, facta inclinatione ad altare ante gradum chori, *in pulpitum per medium chori* ad graduale incipiendum se preparent et suum versum cantandum.' There is also another for reading the Gospel towards the north in the same place by the deacon, attended by the subdeacon, who holds the book, as also by two clerks, bearing candles, with a third having the *thuribulum*. As it would be impossible for so many to perform their duty with propriety, circumscribed in the narrow limits of the present pulpit, it is natural to conclude, the pulpit to which these stairs led might be the rood-loft, particularly as it appears to have been placed over the skreen, as is manifest from the will of Henry VI., and that the upper stair usually ascends nearly even with the top of the skreen. From this place also the sermon was made, the curate being obliged to

Royal Wills, 302.

Missale, 1515.

preach four times in the year, by an ecclesiastical constitution of Archbishop Peckham, in which this injunction is worth remarking: 'Exponat populo vulgariter absque cujuslibet subtilitatis textura fantastica.' From which reading and preaching to the people assembled in the nave, 'ubi insident ipsi parochiani laici,' it may be concluded the body of the church received the name of *auditorium*."

Gibson's Codex.

Ibid.

The author has here confused two rubrics of different periods together. The first one, by which the epistle and gospel were read from the *ambones* as prescribed in the antient *Missa Catechumeni:* the other, as directed in the *early stages of the Reformation*, when they were read from the *pulpit in the body of the church.*

Indagator says, "Incepta vero *ultima oratione*," the subdeacon having ascended the pulpit *(per medium chori)* from hence reads the epistle. This coincides with the *ancient form* as given by the ritualist of the *thirteenth century*. "*Oratione finita*, subdiaconum *epistolam* lecturum unus tantum comitatur acolytus." The superior veneration conceived of the gospel (for when that is heard "it is the shepherd himself that speaks") demanded a ceremony of greater solemnity. "This," as is properly stated, "was read by the deacon, attended by the subdeacon, who held the book, as also by two clerks *bearing candles*, with a third carrying the *thuribulum*." This form agrees also with that of the

Durandus Ration. Divin. Offic. l. 4. c. 15. n. 4. p. 117.

ritualist just mentioned. "*Diaconum evangelium lecturum tam subdiaconi quam acolyti et cæteri comitantur**;" and Stephanus Durantus adds, "*Acolytos, portantes cereos et incensum.*" The author, supposing that the pulpit was built upon the *skreen or rood-loft*, finds some difficulty in disposing of this procession, "*circumscribed in such narrow limits*" (a circumstance hereafter to be accounted for). To render this opinion in any degree consistent, he must refer to a period long before the Reformation, for *afterwards*, lights (excepting two upon the high altar before the sacrament by the injunction of Edward VI.) and incense, were expressly forbidden.

Durandus, ut supra.

De Ritibus Eccl. Cathol. l. 2. c. 22. n. 10.

Con. Mag. Brit. t. 4. p. 4.

Our ecclesiastical writers in translating the word *ambo* have sometimes rendered it *reading-desk*, at

* The author explains this rite mystically, but at too great a length for insertion. Indeed, the love of going beyond the literal meaning is common to most of the ancient ritualists, and is very irksome to the reader who does not enter into the feelings of the writer. I will however venture to quote one;—it relates to the vestiary or sacristy, which I do not remember to have seen thus defined. "*Sacrarium*, sive locus in quo sacra reponuntur, sive in quo sacerdos sacras vestes induit, *uterum sacratissimæ Mariæ significat: in quo Christus se sacra veste carnis induit.* Sacerdos a loco in quo vestes induit ad publicum procedit: quia Christus ex utero virginis procedens in mundum venit." (Durand. Ration. Divin. Officiorum, l. 1. c. 1. n. 38. p. 8.) Might not this mystical allusion have given rise to the placing of our Lady's Chapel behind or near the high altar? I am not aware of any chapel of this name attached to our cathedrals of higher date than the institution of the feast of the immaculate conception, which was either late in the eleventh or early in the twelfth century; a period when the veneration for the Virgin rose to a degree previously unknown, and of course favourable to the mystical allusion here expressed.

others *pulpit*; and this want of uniformity has occasioned many errors. It may, however, be noticed that *pulpitum* is one of the ancient terms for *ambo** ("Ambo, *pulpitum* fuit etiam nuncupatum, quia in publico statutum ut qui ibi stant ab omnibus videantur;") and sermons were in early times frequently delivered from thence, under one of the names now cited. But whether the pulpit was attached to the *peribolum* in its primitive and contracted form (as presently to be delineated), or whether the latter was amplified to the dimensions of the modern choir, and surrounded by lattice-works or skreens, the people were equally excluded from the inclosure. "Nec laici stent† in cancellis, dum celebrantur divina; salva tamen reverentia patronum et sublimium personarum;"—a preference which gave great offence to the Reformers. The reasons of Indagator for placing the *pulpit upon the skreen* or connected with it do not appear. Nor, till the fact is ascertained, can I persuade myself that such interference could ever be allowed in a part of the

Macri Hierolexicon. v. *Ambo* et *Pulpitum*. Ciampini, t. 1. p. 18.

Bingham, vol. 3. b. 8. s. 5. Socrat. l. 6. c. 5. Sozomen. l. 8. c. 5. Bona Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 6. n. 3.

Constit. Hen. III. A.D. 1240. Concil. Mag. Brit. t. 1. p. 666.

* It was also otherwise denominated:—"St. Cyprianus (De Eccles. Offic. c. 17.) *ambonem tribunum* ecclesiæ vocavit." (Ciamp. t. 1. p. 18.) Analogium etiam dicitur (pulpitum); "quia in eo verbum Dei legitur et enunciatur." (Durand. Ration. Div. Offic. l. 1. c. 1. n. 34.)

† Neither in the African churches in the time of St. Austin, nor in the Gallican in that of Sidonius Apollinaris, and we may hence suppose the practice universal, were the people, except in cases of bodily infirmity, allowed to sit during the sermon. (Bingham, v. 6. b. 14. c. 25.) The preacher himself for the most part delivered his discourses sitting. (Ibid. s. 24.)

church filled with figures*, carvings, and ornaments of the most sacred character. From this place, however (the top of the skreen), he says the sermon was made, the curate being obliged to preach four times in the year, by an ecclesiastical constitution of Archbishop Peckham, &c. On referring to his authority, I find no situation for the pulpit mentioned, only that "a comely and honest pulpit be provided, and set in a convenient place;" and that there shall be preaching "quater in anno, hoc est, semel in qualibet quarta anni omni die uno solenni†." That the epistle and gospel, to which I add "the Paternoster, the Credo, and the Ten Commandments in English," *were once read from the pulpit, is true*, as prescribed by the injunctions of Edward VI. and repeated in almost the same words in the second of Elizabeth's reign. This use of the pulpit was in consequence of its removal from the choir to the body of the church; the reading-desk being then unknown. The introduction of the latter was first suggested by Calvin. It was urged that it was a most anti-Christian practice for the priest to say prayers only in the *choir* as a place *peculiar* to the clergy, and not in the body of the church among the people, who had as much right to divine worship

Con. Mag. Brit. t. 2. p. 54.

Ibid. p. 54.

Ibid. t. 4. p. 4.

Ibid. p. 182.

Bucer. Censura, c. 1. p. 457.

* The rood-loft was hence sometimes denominated *statuarium*.

† The four Sundays here referred to, were the third in Advent, Midlent, and those before the feasts of John the Baptist and St. Michael the Archangel.

as the clergy themselves; that the divine service in the chancel was an insufferable abuse, and ought immediately to be amended, if the whole nation would not be guilty of high treason against God. The reading-desk subsequently to the above period came in by degrees, till the convocation in the beginning of the reign of James I. ordered that in every church there should be "a convenient seat made for the minister to read service in."

Canon 82.

Ciampini, t. 1. p. 18. pl. 11.

In further illustration of this subject I add a description of the *peribolum* with the *ambones* from the ancient church of St. Clement in Rome, and to which allusion is also repeatedly made in the foregoing pages.

Pl. VI. *fig.* 1. exhibits the plan and situation of the *peribolum*, with the *ambones*, &c.—*Fig.* 2. the elevation of the Gospel side of it.

M (*fig.* 1.)—*Chorus marmoreus, peribolo septus, ubi subdiaconi clericique minores et cantores consistebant.*

N (*fig.* 1.)—*Ostium chori.*

O (*fig.* 1.)—*Ambo marmoreus ad lectionem evangelii in parte australi**. The steps here are double,

* "*Versus aquilonem evangelium legitur;* juxta illud, quod legitur in Cantic. 4. v. 16. Aquilo surgat, id est, diabolus fugiat, et auster veniat; id est spiritus sanctus accedat. Recte enim contra diabolum evangelium legitur, ut illum sua virtute expellat, quoniam diabolus nihil tantum quantum evangelium odit." (Durand. l. 4. c. 24. n. 21. p. 129.)

"ita ut *una* ex parte pateret *ascensus*, ex *alia* vero *descensus*."

I, H (*fig.* 2.)—By the latter the procession descended; which Indagator supposes must have encumbered "the narrow limits of the pulpit."

P (*fig.* 1.)—*Ambo marmoreus ad lectionem epistolæ in parte aquilonari.* The steps here are single; for as the epistle associated ideas of veneration inferior to the gospel, it was read by the subdeacon attended by a single acolyte only.

P (*fig.* 2.)—Exhibits the *fulcimentum cerei paschalis* referred to in page 140.

I also subjoin the ancient and reverential manner of reading the gospel, from the *Ordo Romanus* (composed *perhaps* in the eighth century.) Ciampini, t. 1. c. 16. p. 129.

"Primi, præcipuique subdiaconorum (qui archisubdiaconus dicebatur) munus erat, evangeliorum volumen obvolutum, obsignatumque e secretario* deferre, quod non nisi annuente subdiacono resignabatur super planetam unius acolyti, vel duorum, si grandius esset, qui porro planetis induti ipsum sustentabant: nec enim

* *Secretarium*, a term by which the sacristy is frequently known. "Secretarium idem quod sacrarium et sanctuarium." (Burio Onomasticon Etymologicum, p. 586.) "Secretarium, ubi olim Romani pontifices—vestes pontificias ad divina peragenda assumere solebant." (Ciampini, t. 3. s. 14. De exterioribus partibus ad Basil. Vaticanam spectantibus; —also s. 10. p. 82.)

laboriosum hoc erat, cum casulæ, sive planetæ antiquitus a lateribus clauderentur, ut nunc apud Græcos: quare acolyti brachia elevando, scabelli, seu parvæ mensæ vicem præbebant. Resignatum inde volumen ad altare deferebatur, atque ibi eo superposito, subdiacono progrediebantur, seseque ante altare, et evangelium inclinabant: quo deinde etiam episcopus accedebat, et evangelium osculabatur; diaconus vero, qui lecturus erat, episcopi pedes exosculatus*, petitaque benedictione, ad altare se conferebat, osculatumque volumen elevabat, ac humero dextero superimponens, ad ambonem ecclesiæ pergebat, *duobus subdiaconis cum thuribulis, ac thymiamaterio præcedentibus. Duo autem acolyti cum cereostatis antecedentes*, ante ambonem hinc inde dividebantur, ut per medium transirent subdiaconi, et diaconus cum evangelio. Porro subdiaconi cum thuribulis in ambonem ex uno latere ascendentes, ex altero protinus descendebant, redi-

* An ancient plea for kissing the feet of dignitaries on particular occasions, a custom long since restricted to the pontiff, was because the cross was embroidered on their sandals. An instance, the only one I ever met with, occurs upon those of St. Lawrence and his attendant the subdeacon Juvenianus (Gori, t. 3. p. 28. Sup.); and on which is made the following remark: "Notandæ heic nobis se offerunt cruciculæ in sandaliis tam B. Laurentii, quam subdiaconi Juveniani, illarum quidem usum in pedibus summi pontificis multis erudite defendit Macrius (Hierolexicon) in *Sandalia*, unde usum osculandorum pedum nulla ætate intermissum ostendit. At in inferioris ordinis ministris, vix, aut vix alio, quam præsenti hoc testimonio, comprobari potest, quod potissime hujus monumenti pretium facessit."

bantque ante gradum ascensionis ambonis, ut ibi starent. Subdiaconus autem absque thymiamaterio se vertens ad diaconum, lævum ei brachium porrigebat, ubi poneret evangelium, inventoque lectionis loco per alium subdiaconum, ac digito interposito, in gradum superiorem ascendebat; ubi clara voce dicto *Dominus vobiscum*, populus respondebat, *Et cum spiritu tuo;* et episcopus, omnisque gradus presbyterorum, ac populus ad orientem ora vertebant; diaconus vero ad meridiem, in quam partem viri confluere solebant, alias autem ad septentrionem; ibique postquam pronunciaverat *Sequentia sancti evangelii, &c.* signabant se omnes signo crucis in fronte, deponebantque coronas*, aut si quod aliud in capite operimentum habuis-

* Crowns or chaplets were frequently worn by the early Christians as emblems of sanctity. By the use of the *baculus*, human support is implied; and when the priest prays, or celebrates the divine offices, the faithful keep it in their hands. But when the Gospel is read, "Christum in promptu habemus," &c. it is laid aside. (Ciampini, t. 1. c. 15, p. 118. from Baluze in Append. Act. Veterum, t. 2. capitul. p. 1358.) "Dum evangelium legitur, baculi de manibus deponuntur;—tunc etiam velamina capitis auferuntur," &c. (Gemma Animæ de Antiq. Ritu Missarum, apud Hittorpium, c. 18. De Baculis.) "Non est prætereundum, quod *cantores tenent baculos* in choro, ad repræsentandum illud quod in lege præcipiebatur; ut videlicet edentes agnum, baculos in manibus haberent; significantes, quod qui ad patriam festinant, esu cælestis agni, baculis, id est scripturarum sententiis, indigent contra dæmones. Per *baculos enim cantorum*, sententias scripturarum, vel doctrinas prædicatorum intelligimus. Unde, quum legitur evangelium deponuntur; quia per evangelicam prædicationem legales deponimus observantias." (Durandus, Ration. Divin. Offic. l. 2. c. 2.) In the sacristies of the more ancient basilicæ, some of the *baculi eburnei cantorum* are still preserved. (Gori, t. 3. p. 117.)

sent, quin et e manibus baculos, ut acolyti cereostata dimittebant usque dum evangelium legeretur; quo lecto, iterum se crucis signo presbyteri populusque muniebant. Diacono autem descendente, qui stabat subdiaconus evangelium accipiens, et admovens pectori super planetam*, episcopo primum, deinde clero gradatim, ac populo osculandum præbebat."

* In public the sacred volume of the evangelists was never profaned by the naked touch, but the hand which held it was veiled by the *planeta*. (Ciampini, t. 1. c. 16. De Evangeliorum volumine, et quanta apud Christi fideles fuerit Evangelii veneratio.) It is thus we observe it in the ancient mosaic *apsides*, the diptychs, and in the sainted figures upon our church skreens.

THE END.

In withholding my assent to the opinion which denies the genuineness of the Gothic appendages of the Baptistery and the Campo Santo of Pisa, as referred to in the Appendix to this performance, I have experienced all that diffidence which arises when the suggestions of talent and respectability are opposed. A mistrust of my own opinion made me desirous of more extensive information than that by which it was formed; and I in consequence applied to a friend who has passed the greater part of his life within fourteen miles of Pisa, and whose researches have been directed to the higher branches of liberal science. In explaining the object of my solicitude, I requested that he would collect every fact within his reach, which might tend to elucidate the subject in question. I commissioned him to engage experienced workmen carefully to examine the construction of these edifices, and pronounce if apparently to them those parts styled Gothic were comparatively recent: and, further, if they had been previously finished in another form, whether it were even possible to insert them without irreparable injury to the fabricks.

My application excited considerable interest, not only in my friend, but in those of his connexions who are engaged in pursuits similar to his own. They unanimously disallowed all posterior introduction; and

agreed to refer the question to the Pisan architects, and particularly to the eminent Signore Antonio Toscanelli.—The result of their decisions reached me but yesterday, and the details are too long for insertion. The essentials of them are subjoined in the words of a Pisan gentleman who undertook to attend to the examination. The discovery of the original plans and sketches of the Baptistery and the Campo Santo in the archives of Pisa, will of themselves, I trust, be allowed their due importance.

"Informatomi da diversi architetti, e sequatamente dal Signore Antonio Toscanelli come il più istruito in questa città, tutti, ed in spece quest' ultimo, mi dicono che, senza principio di dubbio, il Batistero e il Campo Santo di Pisa sono stati fino dal loro principio fabbricati come si trovano attualmente, e tutti i frontoni e gli ornamenti si lavoravano nel tempo medesimo che si faceva la fabbrica. Il detto Toscanelli, che ha più volte disegnate con precisione le mentovate fabbriche, ha riscontrato nel pubblico archivio l' abbozzo e il completo disegno di ciascuna di dette fabbriche; e l' esecuzione delle medesime corrispond' esattamente; il che prova sempre più, che tutto fu fatto nel tempo medesimo, ciò è fabbriche e ornamenti, come di presente esistono, senza verun' aggiunta posteriore."

June 9th, 1818.

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A

D

ERRATA.

Page 52, line 4, *for* Boschetto *read* Buschetto; and *for* 1016 *read* 1063.
59, line 7 from the bottom, *for* Bruschetto *read* Buschetto.
87, 5th line from bottom, *for* "in he urges" *read* "in which he urges."
94, in marginal reference, *for* "Pit." *read* "Vit."
97, Ditto, *for* V. 2. *read* V. 3.
102, line 2, *for* nationum *read* rationum.
120, line 6, *for* Colona *read* Colonus.
207, 7th line from bottom, *for* debaut *read* debout.

N. B. that in page 40, line 7, Plate VI. is erroneously referred to, instead of Plate V.

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