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Early Medieval Artistic Styles in the Romanesque: 'Archaic' Architectural Sculpture in 11th - 13th Century Tuscany

Volume 1

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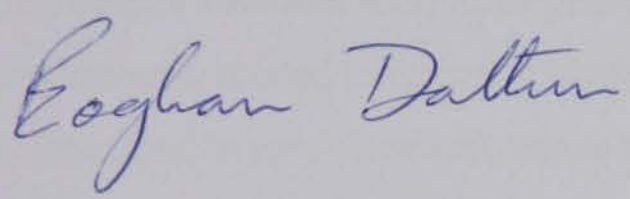

Eoghan Daltun

Summary

This dissertation deals with a type of sculpture that occurs in many Romanesque churches in Tuscany, whose most essential characteristic is the recreation of styles prevalent in early medieval metalwork and marble relief carving.

Several established theories usually employed to explain the phenomenon, such as the belief that migrant sculptors from Lombardy were responsible, are shown to be generally unsatisfactory. Parallels and differences with early medieval art are explored, finding that the aim of 'archaic' Romanesque sculpture was to provide an easily comprehensible reference to the Langobardic era, rather than to faithfully recreate its forms. While the evidence is not conclusive, it favours the possibility that 'archaic' sculpture constituted a revival, rather than a seamless continuation, of early medieval sculptural style and technique.

The present study investigates the role of reused material – *spolia* – in the transmission of, and predilection for, earlier styles. Contemporary practices regarding the reuse of classical sculptural elements and their style in Pisa and other communal city-states is related to issues of ideology and identity. An almost analogous situation is described in rural Tuscany, where the feudal elite overwhelmingly professed a 'Langobardic' identity. The roots and rise to power of this group are studied. The latter is shown to have been almost wholly a result of the ability to gain control and ownership of Church property, particularly rural *pievi* (parish churches), exactly the type of monuments in which 'archaic' sculpture chiefly occurs.

The advent of the communes – who invariably emphasised illusory classical origins and culture – and the serious challenge they presented to the position of the feudal class are shown to have encouraged claims to an alternative, Langobardic, 'nationality'. Such a strategy, designed to reinforce class legitimacy and solidarity, is related to similar patterns in the south of the peninsula, where rump elements of the Langobardic state sought to resist their decline in fortunes through appeals to Langobardic nationalism. Such prevailing ideological circumstances are found to have been reflected in sculpture and other artistic media in these areas, just as in Pisa and the other city-states. On this basis, it is posited that Tuscan 'archaic' sculpture is similarly the artistic manifestation of a widespread sense of Langobardic identity on the part of the seigneurial class.

Finally, the expression of ethnic identity, whether real or invented, through the use of early medieval models in Romanesque sculpture is demonstrated to have been common in several other areas of western Europe.

Acknowledgements

I would firstly like to thank the innumerable individuals who in some way facilitated my field research. To certain of these I am particularly grateful for assistance and goodwill that went even beyond the normally high levels of courtesy and helpfulness I encountered in Italy.

The directress of the Museo 'Ubaldo Formentini' (La Spezia), Rossana Piccioli, was extremely kind in not only giving full access to the museum collection under difficult circumstances, as the museum was currently in the midst of moving to a new location, but also in giving up much of her time on several occasions to do so. Likewise, Maria Teresa Filieri of the Museo nazionale di Villa Guinigi (Lucca), Annamaria Ippolito of the Museo d'Arte Medievale e Moderno (Arezzo) and Gabriele Cateni of Palazzo Guarnacci (Volterra) all showed great generosity in allowing me to study and photograph their museums' collections of medieval sculpture.

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For my desk research, I am indebted to the librarians of the Scuola Normale Superiore, the Biblioteca Universitaria and the various departmental libraries of Pisa University, especially Sandra Brani at History of Art. A thank you also to the staff of the libraries of the University of Florence – again, History of Art in particular – and, in the same city, the library of the Dutch University Institute of Art History and the

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To my supervisor, Rachel Moss, I would like to express a very real gratitude, not only for her always-pertinent advice and exceptionally incisive constructive criticism, but equally for her trust in allowing an initial period in which to research my subject with minimal pressure for immediate results, thereby permitting full exploitation of my time in Italy.

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1. Introduction

In Lunigiana, the northwestern finger of Tuscany, there are three small churches not too distant from each other whose sculptural ornament, confined to the nave capitals, displays such iconographic and morphological similarities as to betray an identical artistic culture. The *pievi* at Codiponte and at Vendaso,[1] and the chapel at Pognana, have been dated to the 12th and early 13th centuries,[2] and their architectural characteristics – aside from a few minor post-medieval alterations – are Romanesque in every sense of the word (Figs. 1-2). But the style of the carving in their capitals is a world apart from that of the largely classically and orientally inspired sculpture held to be representative of the plastic arts in Tuscany at that time.

Instead, these cubic capitals show striking affinities with a much earlier conception of sculpture, prevalent in the 7th and 8th centuries, and associated with the period of Langobardic dominion in Italy. This holds as much for technical and volumetric considerations as for iconographic and decorative choices and approach to figural representation. Carved in local sandstone, there is a notable absence of protruding forms or undercutting, each capital retaining an essentially block-like mass. The decoration is all worked in very flat relief, and demonstrates a greater interest in effects of *chiaroscuro* than plasticity. It consists of zoomorphs, interlace, spirals, concentric circles and vegetal, chip-carved and other geometric motifs, as well as less decipherable designs. Compositionally, there is a strong sense of *horror vacui* throughout (Figs. 3-5).

But perhaps it is the human figures and masks which evidence best that this stylistic current represents, in many respects, the antithesis of contemporary developments, for example, in Pisa and Florence. They exhibit a complete disregard for any attempt at naturalism, and are all represented singly in a frontal position, and in a severely linear style. There are megaphallics and sirens with twin fishtails held open in an explicit pose (Fig. 5), while other figures are depicted as what may to be telamones or, more probably, praying *orants* (Fig. 6). One female is inexplicably

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[1] The Italian word '*pieve*', which derives from the Latin '*plebs*', can be roughly translated as 'parish church'. *Pievi* usually had anything up to thirty or more dependant *cappelle* (chapels), but in the Middle Ages only the *pievi* had baptismal and burial rights. The Italian word is generally used in modern English texts dealing with medieval Tuscan society because of its specific connotations. See, for example, WICKHAM, Chris J., 'Note to the English Edition', in *Community and Clientele in Twelfth-Century Tuscany: The origins of the rural commune in the plain of Lucca* (Oxford, 1998), vii.

[2] MAGNI, Maria Clotilde, 'Note su alcuni caratteri dell'arte romanica in Lunigiana', *Archivio storico per le provincie parmensi*, vol. 26 (1974), 79-84.

flying through the air, with outstretched arms holding what appear to be branches (Fig. 7).

The abstract manner of their portrayal, with facial features limited to long, cheese-slice noses, dots or circles for eyes and a slit for a grimacing mouth, all set into an oversized inverted pear-shaped head (Fig. 8), has almost nothing whatever in common with the work of mainstream Tuscan sculptors active in that period (Fig. 9). But such 'archaic' sculpture is not at all confined to Lunigiana: similar styles can be found throughout Tuscany, though distribution is uneven.

This study will seek to focus attention on, and explore the many facets of, a complex and problematic phenomenon: the presence of early medieval sculptural styles in Romanesque churches in Tuscany. While more in-depth contextual analysis will be concentrated on the Northwest of the region, the more significant examples of 'archaic' sculpture existing in other provinces and even beyond Tuscany will also be examined.

Before proceeding further, some terminological clarification is necessary. Terms referring to chronological periods are defined according to their use in Italian, the language in which the vast bulk of pertinent literature has been written. Hence, 'early medieval' runs roughly from the late 5th up to the mid-9th century, that is, the periods of Ostrogothic, Langobardic and Carolingian domination. 'Pre-Romanesque' extends from there to *circa* the mid-11th century, though obviously there are no precise watersheds.

In the absence of any accepted term for the type of sculpture treated in this thesis, the adjective 'archaic' – as used in the title – will be generally employed rather than the unwieldy 'early-medieval-styled'. Though the word can carry negative connotations, meaning retrograde or even backward, it is the most immediately understood and therefore most convenient. Nonetheless, it is difficult to feel comfortable using the term without inverted commas; it is hoped that this will not be seen as distracting or superfluous. It is essential to stress that the term should not be understood to imply a uniform style; on the contrary, there are a great many variants. But they all share certain qualities, which are immediately recognisable as being closely related to sculpture or other artistic media dating to the early medieval period.

Though it would be misleading to infer that the question of 'archaic' sculpture in Tuscany has been ignored, investigation of the dynamics, meaning, and motives behind such styles has been almost unexceptionally incidental and superficial.

Furthermore, what has been written has been specific to a particular monument or group of monuments.

Only one study has sought to examine the phenomenon as a distinct subject, with a search for answers that are applicable in a more overall sense.[3] However, this work cannot in any way be taken seriously, as it is based substantially on fanciful surmising with a complete lack of concrete backup or background research. For example, there are several pages of text relating to Ss. Ansano e Tommaso di Castelvecchio di Valleriana, one of seven churches that the author, Bernardini, focuses on in particular. But nowhere does he show any awareness of the fact that most of the architectural sculpture is not original, but a late 19th century copy.[4] S. Cassiano di Controne in the Val di Lima (Lucchesia) is repeatedly referred to as a *pieve*, despite the documented fact that the church had no baptismal rights, one of the principle definitions of the term.[5]

As an ethnologist, Bernardini devotes much space to the discussion of such matters as Shamanic cultures in the high Himalayas or the art of the Yoruba tribe in Nigeria, the relevance of which is not always easy to grasp. The kernel of his confused argument rests on the conviction that the churches in question are not Romanesque at all, but date to the 8th, 9th or 10th centuries – though one has to delve to discover this – and that the carvings they contain are expressions of a 'prehistoric peasant culture'.

Annamaria Ducci's doctoral thesis stands practically alone in its attempt to engage and answer in a well researched and thought out way some of the problems related to the subject.[6] Despite the fact that the existence of early medieval styles in the Romanesque is far from the central concern of her dissertation, it undoubtedly constitutes one of the firmest foundations for the present study.

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[3] BERNARDINI, Silvio, *Pievi toscane: arte e religiosità del mondo contadino* (Turin, 1985), a revised version of which appeared more recently as '*Il serpente e la sirena: il sacro e l'enigma nelle pievi toscane: nuovi saggi sulla religiosità contadina nell'alto medioevo*' (Siena, 2000).

[4] BERNARDINI, *Il serpente e la sirena*, 101-4. A brief account of the history of the heavy-handed restoration works incurred by this monument can be found in FILIERI, Maria Teresa, 'Indicazioni per un catalogo dell'architettura religiosa medievale in Valdinievole', in *Allucio da Pescia (1070 c.a - 1134). Un santo laico dell'età postgregoriana. Religione e società nei territori di Lucca e della Valdinievole. Atti del Convegno, Pescia, 1988* (Rome, 1991), 315-6, including n. 51.

[5] BERNARDINI, *Il serpente e la sirena*, 78, 105. For S. Cassiano's chapel status, see MUCCI COLÒ, Paola, *La chiesa di San Cassiano di Controne nel territorio lucchese*, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia, undergraduate degree thesis (2002, published: Florence, 2004), 26-7.

[6] DUCCI, Annamaria, 'Altomedioevo e preromanico: problemi critici e storicoartistici', Università degli Studi di Pisa, Ph.D. thesis (1993).

That this question has yet to be seriously addressed as a subject in its own right may seem astonishing to a non-Italian, given that 'archaic' sculpture is in no sense rare. Such an oversight will be more easily understood by those who have experienced at first hand the sheer scale of Italy's artistic patrimony, ranging in equally vertiginous dimensions from the prehistoric to the modern eras. However, an overabundance of potential subjects for study cannot be held to account alone. The blame must also lie with the existence of a partial blind spot on the part many of those – both Italians and *stranieri* alike – who have engaged in the study of medieval art history in Italy.

The historiography of Romanesque sculpture in Tuscany has long suffered from the disadvantage of being tacitly considered no more than a prelude or background to the achievements of Nicola Pisano.[7] The latter's role in paving the way for the Giottesque revolution largely explains such a scenario, in the context of a broad tendency to see Tuscany in art historical terms solely as a crucible for the Italian Renaissance, with all that went before or came after cast into the shade.

This neglect has been further compounded by the construction of false hierarchies that divided medieval sculptural production into categories of 'high' and 'low' art. The ideology which conditioned such a view was largely based on the fundamental precept that considered all that is linked to the Greco-Roman classical tradition to be in some way more noble or evolved.

By way of contrast, opposing, or rather alternative, artistic languages were designated 'barbaric' or even 'degenerate'. Thus, between the Late Antique period and the 15th/16th century Renaissance, intermittent 'renascences' occurred: rebirths in the face of 'anti-artistic' art.[8] Though a resurgence of classical forms was considered a 'renascence', a resurgence of anything else was merely a decline in cultural, artistic and technical standards (it is illuminating to reflect that it would cause considerable surprise to refer to any art resulting from a classical revival as 'archaic').

The tidal wave of church construction in the Romanesque style which occurred in 11th-12th century Europe (and well into second half of the 13th century in Italy) was – at least in terms of scale and diffusion – by far the most significant of

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[7] For this, see SHEPPARD, Carl D., 'Classicism in Romanesque sculpture in Tuscany', *Gesta*, no. 15, 1-2 (1976), 185.

[8] See PANOFSKY, Erwin, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (1960; London, 1972), chapter II.

these so-called 'renascences'. The style was christened 'Romanesque' in the early 19th century precisely because it was seen as reviving the Roman architectural tradition.[9]

The classical inspiration behind Tuscan Romanesque sculpture has always been especially emphasised. In fact, one could say that classicism has traditionally been identified not just as its one defining characteristic, but almost as the single redeeming feature. To quote Zarnecki: "Of numerous other local schools of sculpture, Tuscany deserves a special mention. At first it was not very distinguished, but by the middle of the twelfth century it produced works of great beauty and importance. In common with the Provençal school, it developed a style so deeply indebted to classical art that it is sometimes described as proto-Renaissance."[10]

Zarnecki's description was almost certainly based on the more famed Florentine monuments, S. Miniato al Monte and the Battistero di S. Giovanni, in addition to other heavily classical Romanesque sculpture in Pisa, Pistoia, and elsewhere. While Zarnecki was of necessity limited to such a brief appraisal due to the fact that he was writing of Romanesque throughout Europe, his words hint at the type of prejudice noted above. The study of Tuscan sculpture deemed to be outside the classical 'pale' has been dogged by derogatory attitudes, permitting analysis to rarely extend beyond a perfunctory dismissal of such work as 'primitive' or 'inexpert'.

Early perceptions of 'archaic' sculpture

The first Tuscan churches containing sculptural decoration of an 'archaic' stamp to attract critical attention were in the provinces of Lucca and Siena. Initially, sculpture played a decidedly minor role to architecture in any assessments.

Enrico Ridolfi, in his role as inspector attached to the commission responsible for the artistic patrimony of the Lucchesia in the late 19th century, wrote reports on several Lucchese monuments with 'archaic' sculpture. At times he mistook work of this type for early medieval *spolia*, as with that of the first order of the façade of S. Cassiano di Controne (Fig. 10), which was "…of absolutely identical character to that

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[9] In his introduction to the English translation of Émile Mâle's *L'Art religieux du XII^e siècle en France*... (Paris, 1922), Harry BOBER gave a brief history of the early study of Romanesque, including the coining of the term by the French archaeologist Gerville in 1818; *Religious art in France: the twelfth century. A study of the origins of medieval iconography* (Princeton, 1978), vi.

[10] ZARNECKI, George, *Romanesque Art* (London, 1971), 93-4. The term 'proto-Renaissance' was probably first adopted by Jacob Burckhardt in describing north Italian Romanesque; BORG, Alan, *Architectural sculpture in Romanesque Provence* (Oxford, 1972), 30 n. 30.

of sculptures of the 8th century."[11] Elsewhere, as in an 1883 account of the nave capitals of Castelvecchio, he identified "…not only characteristics pertaining to the art of a very remote period, but characteristics belonging to the Lombard style".[12]

Some decades later, in treating a group of rural churches in the Senese, most of which contain 'archaic' sculpture, Canestrelli stated that "…local artists were generally employed."[13] Though here he was specifically referring to architectural aspects, it can be presumed that this judgement also applied to the ornament. Yet he too on occasion described sculpture in an early medieval or pre-Romanesque style as "Lombardesque", as with the northern portal of the Duomo di Sovana (Grosseto).[14]

To the Aretine art historian, Mario Salmi, is without doubt owed the most outstanding contribution to the historiography and comprehension of Romanesque in Tuscany. The longevity of his writing career was extraordinary, ranging from before the First World War to the late 1970s. However, he was also the first to adopt a demeaning descriptive style that may have been at least partly responsible for the relative lack of interest subsequently displayed in 'archaic' sculpture.

In a thirteen-page article dedicated to a group of ecclesiastic monuments in the Casentino and upper Valdarno areas, published in 1912, Salmi devoted only a few lines to sculpture.[15] Attributing these churches to 'local craftsmen' (*maestranze locali*),[16] the highly decorated capitals are described thus: "The capitals have an infantile character, at times barely roughed out, and executed with an uncertain technique, and [are] very inferior to contemporaries of other places."[17]

Writing in 1914 of a lintel decorated with interlace above the main portal of the Pieve di S. Agata di Mugello (Fig. 11),[18] he demonstrated more acumen: "…sculptures which at first sight could seem pre-Romanesque but that a more

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[11] Manuscript 3675, undated, at Lucca State Library; RIDOLFI, Enrico, *Basiliche medioevali della provincia lucchese. La guida inedita di Enrico Ridolfi (1828-1909)*, edited by Bertoncini Sabatini, Paolo (Lucca, 2003), 189.
[12] RIDOLFI, *Basiliche medioevali*, 271.
[13] CANESTRELLI, Antonio, *L'Architettura medievale a Siena e nel suo antico territorio* (Siena, 1904), 19.
[14] CANESTRELLI, *L'Architettura medievale*, 38.
[15] SALMI, Mario, 'Chiese romaniche in Casentino e in Valdarno superiore', *L'arte*, XV (1912). The article discusses the *pievi* of Gropina, Romena, Stia, Vado, etc…
[16] SALMI, 'Chiese romaniche in Casentino', 164.
[17] SALMI, 'Chiese romaniche in Casentino', 167.
[18] Near Scarperia, to the north of Florence.

attentive examination shows to be sure Romanesque imitations of the art of a more antique period."[19]

After an interlude of a decade, the first of two foundation stones for the study of medieval sculpture in Tuscany was published. Walther Biehl, in '*Toscanische Plastik des frühen und hohen Mittelalters*' (Leipzig, 1926), was probably the first to individuate the phenomenon of 'archaic' styles, which he named '*toskanischer Provinzstil*'. He attributed the decoration of S. Maria Assunta a Cellole, Badia a Conèo and Ponte allo Spino to simple artisans (*handwerkermäßige*) as opposed to sculptors.[20] However, a Lombard influence was repeatedly referred to, in addition to Emilian and French sources.[21]

Biehl identified the Aretino as containing the "purest" expressions of '*Provinzstil*', in particular the Casentino and upper Valdarno areas treated in Salmi's 1912 article.[22] He also pointed to examples of "late Langobardic resonances" in the ornament of several architectural elements in Lucchese Romanesque churches and in the lintel referred to by Salmi at S. Agata di Mugello.[23] The subsequent year saw further recognition of the existence of an 'archaic' style or styles by Toesca, with an adherence to Biehl's reading on most counts, alternately employing the terms 'rustic' or 'Lombard'. Toesca's principal contribution was the addition of a variety of further examples of 'rustic' sculpture to those highlighted by Biehl.[24]

In '*L'architettura romanica in Toscana*' (Milan, 1927),[25] and the second of the two milestones referred to above – '*Romanesque Sculpture in Tuscany*' (Florence, 1928) – Salmi continued to use similar language to that of his pre-war articles.[26] However, the terms 'Lombard' and 'Lombardesque' (*lombardeggiante*) had become common currency where treating 'archaic' sculpture. The façade of the church of S.

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[19] SALMI, Mario, 'L'architettura romanica in Mugello', *Bollettino d'arte*, no. 4 (1914).
[20] BIEHL, *Toscanische Plastik*, 28.
[21] BIEHL, *Toscanische Plastik*, 28-9.
[22] BIEHL, *Toscanische Plastik*, 29.
[23] BIEHL, *Toscanische Plastik*, 18-20; he dated the architrave over the western portal of S. Agata to the 10th or early 11th century.
[24] TOESCA, Pietro, *Storia dell'arte italiana* (Turin, 1927), vol. II, 850-1, also n. 51. Not all of the examples included are relevant to this study.
[25] This work is undated, and is variously cited in bibliographies as having appeared in 1926, 1927, 1928 and 1930. However, Salmi himself indicated the true date in *Romanesque Sculpture in Tuscany*, 33, n. 1. The precise date has some relevance in considering a possible influence from Biehl's *Toscanische Plastik*, published in 1926.
[26] For example, those who worked on S. Maria Assunta a Cellole, near San Gimignano, were "unprogressive workers"; or referring to S. Maria di Lamulas: "miserable efforts"; while the figures on a capital in the pieve di Cascia "…recall certain much admired fetiches of the Malubas, they are, that is, the product of quite primitive workers." SALMI, *Romanesque Sculpture*, 29, 42, 40.

Cassiano di Controne is a "laborious glomeration with which are associated a few elements of Pisano-Luccan origin [...], interpreted with that imagination which we are accustomed to call Lombard, because it was in Lombardy [...] that that decorative medley which we have noted in Pre-Romanesque sculpture, continues in our period...".[27]

It would appear that Salmi's opinion had undergone something of a metamorphosis prior to the publication of *L'architettura romanica*, given that the word 'Lombard' is barely mentioned in the pre-war articles. Gandolfo attributed this propensity for seeking sources in Lombardy and elsewhere to the probable impact of such scholars as Rivoira, Kingsley Porter and Puig i Cadafalch.[28] As has been shown, 'archaic' style in Tuscany was already being related to a Lombard influence in the 19th century. But it may well be that the international acclaim that the theories of these last had received was more decisive.

This was, of course, an era in which one of the principle interests of students of Romanesque lay in determining the geographic heartlands from which Romanesque architectural and sculptural styles and technologies had supposedly spread across Europe.[29] The routes used by pilgrims were identified by Kingsley Porter as the principal arteries for the diffusion of the various currents, among which probably the most prominent was that of the so-called '*Magestri Comacini*', highly mobile artisans from the lake region of Lombardy.[30]

Whatever the background may have been, Salmi's association of 'archaic' sculpture with Lombard itinerant stone carvers was to be of enormous consequence for the later study of Tuscan Romanesque. As will be shown, this interpretation was from that point on hardly questioned, and certainly never openly. For generations of art historians, continuing right up to the present, 'Lombard' became a convenient label permitting the circumvention of a whole series of complexities in a safe and tidy manner.

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[27] SALMI, *Romanesque Sculpture*, 70.
[28] GANDOLFO, Francesco, 'Scultori Lombardi in Toscana?', in Quintavalle, Arturo Carlo (ed.), *Medioevo: arte lombarda. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Parma, 26-29 settembre 2001* (Milan, 2004), 397.
[29] See MANN, Janice, 'Romantic identity, Nationalism, and the Understanding of the Advent of Romanesque Art in Christian Spain', *Gesta*, no. 36, 2 (1997), 156-64.
[30] An early work on the subject which is still cited is MERZARIO, Giuseppe, *I maestri comacìni: storia artistica di mille duecento anni (600-1800)*, vol. I (Milan, 1893).

Chronological problems

It was not until the publication of the first in a series of corpora of early medieval sculpture in Italy that there was any further significant mention of the subject. Approaching the problem from an alternative standpoint (the study of early medieval sculpture), Belli Barsali remarked on what she called a "fluctuation", both motival and technical, between the "language" of early medieval and Romanesque sculpture in Tuscany.[31]

Patently, the issues arising from the presence of early medieval styles and techniques in 11th-13th century sculpture do not solely concern the study of Romanesque, but of the sculpture of preceding periods also. Extremely contentious problems of chronology spanning not just decades or even centuries, but eras, are common, and it is not unheard of for estimated dates of sculpture to vary by as much as five centuries or more.

A good illustration is a limestone slab decorated with two figures, possibly the cover of a sarcophagus, discovered beneath the bell tower of S. Pietro di Careggine, Garfagnana, in 1923 (Fig. 12). Ambrosi thought the slab's decoration to be 15th century at the earliest, whereas Baracchini dated it to the 10th-11th centuries, with a derivation from Langobardic art.[32] Both Peroni and Ducci placed the carving in an 8th century fully Langobardic context.[33] This type of art is sometimes described in Italian as '*esostorica*' meaning 'outside history', or rather, of a style that is extremely problematic to pinpoint chronologically.

While these difficulties are especially acute where sculptural fragments have been de-contextualised – as is usually the case with early medieval material – they are not infrequent even where preserved *in situ*. Several authors of later corpora of early medieval Italian sculpture have pointed to the phenomenon of 'archaic' styles as one of the principal obstacles facing those engaged in the compilation of such a corpus, not only in Tuscany.[34] Fatucchi, writing in the only other corpus of early medieval

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[31] BELLI BARSALI, Isa, *La diocesi di Lucca. Corpus della scultura altomedioevale*, I (Spoleto, 1959), 9.
[32] AMBROSI, Augusto C., 'Su alcuni elementi architettonici romanici e preromanici nella valle superiore del Serchio', *Giornale Storico della Lunigiana*, XI (1960), 172-3. BARACCHINI, Clara, 'Per un Catalogo critico delle chiese medievali in diocesi di Lucca: la zona di Val di Serchio e Val di Lima', Università degli Studi di Pisa, undergraduate degree thesis (1968), 375.
[33] PERONI, Adriano, 'L'arte nell'età longobarda. Una traccia', in Pugliese Carratelli, Giovanni (ed.), *Magistra Barbaritas: i barbari in Italia* (Milan, 1984), in text which accompanies Fig. 264. DUCCI, 'Altomedioevo e preromanico', 195.
[34] For discussion of similar problems outside Tuscany, see ARSLAN, Edoardo, introduction to Dufour Bozzo, Colette, *La diocesi di Genova*, *Corpus della scultura altomedievale*, IV (Spoleto, 1966), 7, and

sculpture relating to a Tuscan diocese published to date (Arezzo), made mention of the problem on more than one occasion.[35]

Jean Hubert went so far as to propose the inclusion of Tuscan Romanesque sculpture exhibiting early medieval characteristics in the corpora: "I believe that it would be worthwhile to incorporate in this body those sculptures which probably date to the 11th or 12th century, but which imitate or continue very faithfully the sculpture of the early Middle Ages. These works have, in effect, the value of an indirect testimony to the sculptures they copied and which have long since disappeared."[36]

The suggestion that 'archaic' material serves as a useful instrument for the study of early medieval material no longer extant is an interesting, but methodologically erroneous, avenue of thought. It overlooks essential differences of interpretation, function and context – historical, social, liturgical and so on – between similar artistic styles in the early Middle Ages and the Romanesque era. Moreover, to assume that the presence of a certain motif, iconographic theme or technical method in 'archaic' Romanesque sculpture indicates a similar presence in a preceding period ignores the highly creative element which rarely ceased to play an essential role in the phenomenon.

The legacy of Salmi

For practically the entire course of the 20th century, critical analysis of the subject – where it occurred at all – continued to tread the path laid out by Salmi. The Lombard source for these styles in Tuscany as championed by Salmi and Biehl was perfectly adapted to de Francovich's landmark treatise on the origin and diffusion of Comascan sculptural styles throughout Europe.[37] In his view, the Tuscan sculptures were comprehensible as "peasant deformations" of the Lombard.[38] Decades later, Salvini, in an article on S. Pietro a Gropina, near Loro Cuffienna in the upper Valdarno,

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TROVABENE BUSSI, Giordana, 'Sculture architettonico-decorative dell'antica abbazia di Frassinoro', in *Studi Matildici. Atti e memorie del III convegno di Studi Matildici, Reggio E., 1977* (Modena, 1978), 125.

[35] FATUCCHI, Alberto, *La diocesi di Arezzo. Corpus della scultura altomedioevale*, IX (Spoleto, 1977), 26, 154 (n. 1).

[36] HUBERT, Jean, 'La crypte de Sain-Jean-de-Maurienne et l'expansion de l'art lombard en France', in *Il romanico pistoiese nei suoi rapporti con l'arte romanica dell'Occidente. Atti del I convegno internazionale di studi medioevali di storia e d'arte, Pistoia-Montecatini Terme, 1964* (Pistoia, 1965), 183-4.

[37] DE FRANCOVICH, Géza, 'La corrente comasca nella scultura romanica europea' (2 parts), in *Rivista del Reale Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, part I: 'Gli inizi' (1936), part II: 'La diffusione' (1937-8).

[38] DE FRANCOVICH, 'La corrente comasca', part II: 'La diffusione', 77-8.

reaffirmed the concept that early medieval or pre-Romanesque sculptural styles in the 12th century can be ascribed solely to Lombard migrant carvers.[39]

Moretti and Stopani can be taken as representative of mainstream thinking on Tuscan Romanesque over the last several decades. Their combined efforts represent the most consistent body of work on the subject, with the sole exception of that of Salmi. In most respects, Moretti and Stopani can quite safely be categorised as unquestioning disciples of the older scholar. That said, they must be credited with having done much extremely valuable groundwork, bringing to light many little-known rural monuments. Certainly, their work has proved indispensable to the present study.

Another scholar of Tuscan Romanesque who adopted Salmi's line with little variation was Negri.[40] The Casentino/Valdarno superiore group of monuments are attributed to "Lombard workers" diffusing their own and French decorative styles,[41] and pre-Romanesque sculptural style is again equated with Lombard.[42] With regard to the capitals of S. Paolo a Vendaso and the western portal of S. Cassiano di Controne, he believed their 'archaic' appearance to be the result of geographic and cultural isolation.[43] While this last theory merits further scrutiny, the inherent contradiction with the idea that the 'archaic' style was brought into Tuscany by migrant carvers travelling the main thoroughfares is immediately obvious.

Ragghianti and Pisa University

In 1966, Carlo Ludovico Ragghianti examined the fortunes of abstract geometric sculpture in Italy, including – briefly – its continuity into the Romanesque.[44] Here, the prevailing association of these styles with a poverty of culture – artistic, technical or otherwise – is demolished most effectively. Taking a novel approach to the problem, Ragghianti used a methodology based on comparisons with medieval poetry, literature and music in order to establish the existence of a sculptural syntax or grammar.[45]

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[39] SALVINI, Roberto, 'Precisazioni sulla pieve romanica di Gropina', in *Arte in Europa. Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Edoardo Arslan* (Milan, 1966), 288.
[40] NEGRI, Daniele, *Chiese romaniche in Toscana* (Pistoia, 1978).
[41] NEGRI, *Chiese romaniche*, 30, 34.
[42] NEGRI, *Chiese romaniche*, 19-20, 38, 173.
[43] NEGRI, *Chiese romaniche*, 173, 144.
[44] RAGGHIANTI, Carlo Ludovico, *L'arte in Italia*, vols. II & III (Rome, 1966-7).
[45] RAGGHIANTI, *L'arte in Italia*, vol. II, cols. 456-75.

In such manner he contended that aniconic geometric art cannot in any way be defined as 'popular', but was in all likelihood a highly esoteric language complete with a hierarchy of values comprehensible only to a very select few, even at the time.[46] However, up to this point Ragghianti was still discussing geometric abstract plastic art in its early medieval/pre-Romanesque contexts; to what extent these considerations can be extended to 'archaic' sculpture is not made clear. The question of whether the 'language' of such sculpture still had meaning in its 'archaic' phase, or was merely an uncomprehending imitation, was also raised, but left largely unanswered.[47]

In the mid-1960s, as Professor of Art History at Pisa University, Ragghianti initiated a programme among his students to systematically catalogue the religious monuments of the medieval diocese of Lucca.[48] Several undergraduate degree theses, most of which have proved useful to the present study, were the outcome.[49] Clara Baracchini's thesis stands out for the quality of research and for the richness of the material included, some of which had previously never been brought to light.[50] The results were published two years later in a summarised form in collaboration with Caleca.[51] These articles were in accord with and developed the theories of Luporini, but were more balanced in favour of sculpture.[52] The architectural roots of several Romanesque monuments with 'archaic' sculpture in rural Lucchesia were held by

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[46] RAGGHIANTI, *L'arte in Italia*, vol. II, cols. 448-50, 467-8. The use of the term 'popular' can be traced back at least to Biehl ('*Volkskunst*'); *Toscanische Plastik*, 30.

[47] RAGGHIANTI, *L'arte in Italia*, vol. II, cols. 735-6.

[48] In the early Middle Ages, the diocese of Lucca swelled to well beyond its natural boundaries, most probably due to the political primacy of Lucca as Langobardic capital of *Tuscia* (the modern diocese is only roughly half the size of its medieval equivalent); NANNI, Luigi, *La Parrocchia studiata nei documenti lucchesi dei secoli VIII-XIII*, Analecta Gregoriana, XLVII (Rome, 1948), 4-7.

[49] BARACCHINI, 'Per un Catalogo critico'; LA SELVA, Flora, 'Catalogo delle chiese medievali della diocesi di Lucca: la zona dei Monti Pisani' (1968); MARCHI, Ave, 'Edifici preromanici nei due pivieri di Marlia e di Brancoli' (1968); PUNTONI, Gabriella (with assistance of MANNELLI, Maria Francesca), *Catalogo critico delle chiese medievali della Versilia* (1971, published: Pisa, 2000).

[50] Most notably sixteen sculptural fragments reused in the fabric of S. Maria in Pianizza, Gallicano (Garfagnana); BARACCHINI, Clara and CALECA, Antonino, 'Architettura "medievale" in Lucchesia' (2 parts), *Critica d'Arte*, nos. 113 and 114 (1970), part 1, 4-7. For a far more in-depth analysis, see BARACCHINI, 'Per un Catalogo critico', 263-76, 348-9.

[51] BARACCHINI and CALECA, 'Architettura "medievale" in Lucchesia'.

[52] LUPORINI, Eugenio, 'Nota introduttiva all'architettura romanica lucchese', *Belle Arti*, no. I (Florence, 1948); 'Nuovi studi sull'architettura medievale lucchese: la Pieve di Arliano', in *Studi di storia dell'arte*, vol. I (Florence, 1953); 'Problemi dell'architettura medievale lucchese. La chiesa di S. Martino di Coreglia', in *Atti del Seminario di storia dell'arte, Pisa-Viareggio, 1953* (Florence, 1953; 'Un edificio e molti problemi dal IX all'XI secolo. Prospettiva storica e ricostruzione linguistica', *Critica d'arte*, no. IV/8 (1956). These articles are primarily concerned with architecture, and interest in sculpture tends to be largely as an aid to the chronological collocation of the buildings in which it is found. They are, nonetheless, essential reading for the study of Lucchese pre-Romanesque and Romanesque architectural sculpture.

Luporini to be essentially local, lying in the pre-Romanesque churches of Arliano and Coreglia.

Baracchini's articles highlighted a number of extremely problematic cases, some of which will figure in the present study. An important aspect of her reading, as expressed both here and in later contributions, is an undeclared refusal to adhere to the 'Lombard theory', no doubt due in part to the influence of Luporini and Ragghianti. Rather, allusions to early medieval Langobardic art – both metalwork and stone sculpture – are frequent, while in one case a possible link with Coptic Egypt is noted.[53]

The impact of Church reform and other theories

The idea that Church reform may have been behind the later presence of early medieval styles was raised by Silva in relation to the church of S. Cassiano di Controne.[54] Arguing that the pre-Gregorian reform movement was drawn both to early Christian and local traditions, Silva concluded that the church must have been constructed 1010-30.[55] This estimation has since been proved to be almost a century too early.[56] However, there has been a fairly steady current of opinion linking 'archaic' sculptural forms to ecclesiastic reform. Unaware of, or disregarding the recent evidence, Redi continued to refer S. Cassiano and other even later monuments to the late 10th/early 11th century. For him, the introduction of bishops from the Paduan plain – along with their Lombard tastes – into Tuscan episcopates during the pre-Gregorian reform of the early 11th century was responsible for the phenomenon of 'archaic' sculpture.[57]

Other supporters of the Church reform theory have been more inclined towards the period of reform generically termed 'Gregorian' (i.e. second half 11th, early 12th century). Baroni placed the 'archaic' style of the capitals of the group of

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[53] In relation to the capitals of S. Gennaro di Asilatta, Capannori; BARACCHINI and CALECA, 'Architettura "medievale" in Lucchesia', part 1, 26-7.
[54] SILVA, Romano, 'Architettura del secolo XI nel tempo della riforma pregregoriana in Toscana', *Critica d'arte*, no. 163-165 (Jan.-June, 1979).
[55] SILVA, 'Architettura del secolo XI', 78-9. Several years previously, Silva had been in agreement with the 9th/10th century date proposed by Baracchini and Caleca: SILVA, Romano, 'Il problema delle proporzioni armoniche nell'architettura medievale lucchese', *La Provincia di Lucca*, XX, no. 4 (1972), 76.
[56] The late 11th/early 12th century chronology of S. Cassiano has been established through the conclusive dating of a ceramic bowl in the façade. This will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3.
[57] REDI, Fabio, *Chiese medievali del Pistoiese* (Pistoia, 1991), 149-50. Redi continues to refer S. Cassiano and other even later monuments to the late 10th/early 11th century.

three Lunigianense churches mentioned above in such a context.[58] However, he also identified a possible source for the style in an 8th/9th century fragment of sculpture preserved in one of the churches, S. Maria Assunta di Pognana. The iconography of the piece, affronted birds drinking from the sacred chalice, is repeated on one of the Romanesque capitals of the same church, as is interlace decoration. Baroni reflected that other such material, since dispersed, may explain the stylistic traits in the capitals of all three monuments.[59]

Dissenting voices

Baroni employed the verb '*riutilizzare*' (to reutilise) vis-à-vis early medieval styles in the Romanesque; as a choice of words, this is not without significance.[60] Ducci, in examining the much-understudied use of early medieval (as opposed to classical) *spolia*, also made this association. Ducci extended Brilliant's concept '*spolia in se, spolia in re*' from the reuse of classical *spolia* – defined in its twin components: material (*in se*) and stylistic elements (*in re*) – to its early medieval equivalent.[61]

Through attentive fieldwork, Ducci established the role of early medieval *spolia* in transmitting stylistic elements into the Romanesque at Ss. Vito e Modesto a Corsignano (Pienza).[62] Attention was also once again brought to bear on some of the more complex sculpture, both pre-Romanesque and Romanesque, highlighted by Baracchini and Caleca in 1970, in particular the capital from Gello di Camaiore.[63] Many other aspects of Ducci's dissertation are highly relevant to the present study. Her explorations of the relationships between the early Middle Ages and later periods on such levels as memory and culture are especially pertinent. Though not all of the conclusions will find unwavering concurrence here, her work is fundamental, and will be cited frequently throughout the course of the present study.

Recently, the theory which attributes all 'archaic' sculpture in Tuscany to Lombard itinerant carvers or their influence received its most direct challenge yet.

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[58] BARONI, Fabio (et al.), *Massa, Carrara e la Lunigiana. La storia, l'architettura, l'arte delle città e del territorio. Itinerari nel patrimonio storico-religioso* (Milan, 1999), 150.
[59] BARONI, *Massa, Carrara e la Lunigiana*, 136-7.
[60] BARONI, *Massa, Carrara e la Lunigiana*, 136.
[61] DUCCI, 'Altomedioevo e preromanico', 130-1. This idea was first set out in BRILLIANT, Richard, 'I piedistalli del giardino di Boboli: spolia in se, spolia in re', *Prospettiva*, no. 31 (1982).
[62] DUCCI, 'Altomedioevo e preromanico', 163-4.
[63] DUCCI, 'Altomedioevo e preromanico', chapter IV. This chapter was subsequently published in an edited form as ''Problemicità di un manufatto preromanico: l'acquasantiera di Gello di Camaiore'', *Critica d'arte*, vol. 62, no. 4 (1999).

Published in 2004, a paper read by Gandolfo at an international conference on medieval Lombard art was dedicated to the subject.[64] Focusing on the capitals of the Casentino/upper Valdarno group of churches, Gandolfo conducted an in-depth study based on careful observation and comparison. In place of vaguely defined Lombard or other distant influences, only exceptionally cited with specific references, probable local sources were discovered. Close analogies were identified between the form of the capitals in Romena (very likely the models for many of the other *pievi* of this group) and a Roman *spolia* composite piece reused in the pieve di Arezzo, indicating a possible derivation (Figs. 13-4).[65] Other characteristics of the capitals, such as iconographic elements, were demonstrated to have been passed from one *pieve* to another, rather than introduced from afar.[66]

Additional weight is lent to Gandolfo's arguments by his thorough knowledge of Lombard and Emilian Romanesque sculpture. In reality, it seems that the scholar used this group of *pievi* to some extent as a vehicle with which to sow doubt in the face of a concept which has been firmly entrenched for the best part of a century. This is a denunciation, or at the least a serious questioning, not only of the largely unfounded and outdated 'archaic' equals Lombard theory, but of the uncritical acceptance of the very concepts on which that theory is based.

However, were demonstration needed of how complex and divisive these problems remain, it can be found in another article that appeared in the same volume.[67] Here, Taddei follows in the tradition of Silva in seeking to link the 'archaic' sculptural decoration of S. Cassiano di Controne to ecclesiastic reform, though in Taddei's case the reference is to the later Gregorian reform and the role played by the house of Canossa.[68]

She built what must be admitted as a weak case, relating the sculpture of S. Cassiano to the surviving fragments of the Abbey of Frassinoro (in the Modenese Apennines).[69] In a similar vein is an earlier piece by Branchi, in which the sculpture of S. Cassiano is placed in a Lombard context through comparison with the capitals of

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[64] GANDOLFO, 'Scultori Lombardi in Toscana?'.
[65] GANDOLFO, 'Scultori Lombardi in Toscana?', 400.
[66] For example, the placing of ibices' heads at the corners, the horns of which are spiralled volutes, visible at S. Antimo, the pieve di Arezzo and S. Martino a Vado. GANDOLFO, 'Scultori Lombardi in Toscana?', 403.
[67] TADDEI, Carlotta, 'Le sculture della chiesa di San Cassiano di Controne a Lucca', in Quintavalle (ed.), *Medioevo: arte lombarda.*
[68] TADDEI, 'Le sculture', 395.
[69] TADDEI, 'Le sculture', 395.

S. Ambrogio in Milan. Echoing Redi, this wholly unsustainable analogy is backed with the 'historical evidence' that in the late 11th century the bishops of Lucca were of Lombard origin.[70]

According to Peroni, unwilling builders being forced to turn their hands to sculpture was the "easiest and most persuasive explanation" for 'archaic' Tuscan sculpture's "regressive early medieval repertoire".[71]

In 1988, Montorsi dedicated an article to the phenomenon of 'archaic' Romanesque sculpture in Italy.[72] In comparison with the sculpture that will figure in the present study, the material discussed is decidedly 'progressive', and is almost all north of the Apennines, bar a relief slab in the Cathedral of Massa Marittima (Grosseto). In addition to a variety of general considerations relevant to the present study, Montorsi remarked on the potential benefits that could accrue from a study of 'archaic' sculpture in Tuscany.[73] As far as the present writer has been able to ascertain, neither he nor any other scholar has since attempted to carry out such a study.

Recapitulation

The mistaken impression may have been created that the existence of 'archaic' sculptural styles in Romanesque Tuscany is an area of art history which has been heatedly contested for decades. On the contrary, as mentioned at the outset, meaningful analysis of these art forms is rare. The important question of why sculptural styles dating back up to half a millennium or more were widely produced contemporaneously to – and long after – the construction of such monuments as Pisa Cathedral has not received anything like the attention it deserves. The rich potential of such anachronistic styles to cast light on how some sections of Tuscan society perceived themselves in the Romanesque era has not been acknowledged, let alone tapped.

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[70] BRANCHI, Mariapia, 'Il romanico in Garfagnana tra esperienze padane e toscane', in *La Garfagnana dai Longobardi alla fine della marca canossana (secc. VI/XII). Atti del convegno tenuto a Castelnuovo Garfagnana, 1995* (Modena, 1996), 263-4.
[71] PERONI, Adriano, 'Problemi di studio della scultura altomedievale alla luce della catalogazione dei materiali aretini: la lunetta del portale meridionale della Pieve di S. Maria di Arezzo', in *Arezzo e i suoi territori nell'Alto Medioevo. Atti del Convegno, Arezzo, 1983* (Cortona, 1985), 186.
[72] MONTORSI, Paolo, 'Romanico arcaico: sculture italiane dal 1100 al 1200', *Bollettino d'arte*, vol. 50/51 (July-Oct., 1988).
[73] MONTORSI, 'Romanico arcaico', 97 n. 52.

Where views have been expressed, it is also eminently clear from their wide disparity that a consensus is a long way off. 'Archaic' sculpture has been variously related to cultural and artistic impoverishment or backwardness, regional isolation, Lombard influence, Church reform, or else a confused amalgam of these and other factors. Almost inevitably, the support provided for such ideas is weak, non-existent, or based on the *a priori* acceptance of long-established but unproven theories, and generally betrays a complete unwillingness to engage in anything but cursory investigation.

At the same time, some of the more recent contributions have shown that there are the beginnings of an awareness of the need to challenge this state of affairs, and to seek more satisfactory answers, however much the results may resist convenient, but perfunctory, pigeonholing. These more cogitative approaches combine sound methodologies with an appreciation of the very real artistic and expressive qualities imbued in much 'archaic' sculpture, with a consequently heightened respect and inquisitiveness.

However, the subject cannot be dealt with in a short article or as an aside to other issues: there is evidently a strong need for a fully dedicated study of the phenomenon and its contexts. This dissertation will attempt to understand the subject from a more comprehensive perspective, rather than grappling in an isolated manner with the sculpture of a single monument or cluster of monuments. Therefore, given the limited space available here, it will obviously be impossible to include every relevant work or fact. Instead, based on a good knowledge of 'archaic' sculpture in Tuscany, as well as relevant material in other regions, the present writer will seek to sift out those examples with the highest potential to give an insight into the origins, processes, significances and driving forces behind such styles.

Traditional explanations for 'archaic' sculpture, such as the most commonly accepted of them, the 'Lombard theory', will be looked at in the next chapter. Establishing relationships – and divergences – with the early medieval material of which it is so reminiscent will constitute an essential element of this thesis. The possibility that there was a continuous tradition extending from early medieval times through to the Romanesque in some areas, or that there may have been a revival following a hiatus, will also be examined, as will the role of *spolia*. Ducci and, to a lesser extent, Gandolfo have identified in this a key to deciphering the inspiration and meaning of 'archaic' sculpture; this relationship will be further explored. These

aspects will all be approached taking into account, and building on, the work of previous scholars of Tuscan Romanesque and the many other fields relevant to the present study. The most trust, however, will be placed in careful scrutiny of the most important document relating to any work of art: the work itself and its material context.

Findings will be related to other, literary, evidence regarding developments within both the Church and society at large. In such manner the present dissertation will attempt to understand why 'archaic' sculpture, stylistically rooted in the abstract art of the so-called 'Dark Ages', was predominant in certain areas. That this coincided with a time when sculptural expression elsewhere – especially in the cities – was steeped in classicism, and had moved towards heightened three-dimensionality and representationalism, will form the essential backdrop to this study. 'Archaic' sculpture is not unique to Tuscany. As far as available space permits, comparisons will be made with 'archaic' forms of Romanesque sculpture in other areas of Italy and Europe, and studies which have touched on them will be referred to.

2. Orthodox explanations for 'archaic' sculpture

Location

'Archaic' Tuscan Romanesque sculpture has frequently been rationalised on the basis that it was the result of a lack of cultural development due to isolation. This view holds that those responsible were incapable of producing other than mediocre anachronisms, as they were no more than "rude mountain craftsmen", to quote Salmi, referring to the two decorated capitals of S. Agostino in Vagli di Sotto, in the Garfagnana (Figs. 15-6).[1]

A variation of this idea can be found in Peroni's belief that 'archaic' carving can be accounted for as the primitive efforts of simple wall builders compelled to sculpt in the absence of trained artists. Peroni claimed this to be the "easiest and most persuasive explanation". However, while it may be easy, it is anything but persuasive. Extraordinarily, the writer at once undermined his own argument by citing as an example the Pieve di Gropina, whose 'archaic' sculptured pulpit and southern capitals form a veritable artistic and technical masterpiece (Fig. 17).[2]

Such interpretations are symptomatic of residual attitudes that still cannot come to terms with the fact that it is an error to define certain artistic traditions as somehow more elevated than others, rather than simply different.

Nonetheless, it is plain that 'archaic' sculpture does not occur evenly in Tuscany. It is, for example, rare in the cities, though notable exceptions include Volterra, where the cornice, blind arcades and lunettes from S. Giusto, now in Palazzo Guarnacci, together with cornice on the southern flank of the cathedral, are decidedly 'archaic' (Figs. 18-9). In view of this scarcity outside certain environments, it is logical to further explore the relationship between 'archaic' sculpture and location, paying particular attention to the distance from urban centres and major arteries.

The most important road in medieval Tuscany was undoubtedly the via Francigena. This served as the main route for pilgrims making their way from northern Europe to visit the sacred sites not only of Rome, but the Holy Land, for which the usual embarkation points were the ports of Apulia and Sicily. The principle sources on which modern knowledge of the route of the Francigena is based are

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[1] SALMI, Mario, *Romanesque Sculpture in Tuscany* (Florence, 1928), 69.

[2] PERONI, Adriano, 'Problemi di studio della scultura altomedievale alla luce della catalogazione dei materiali aretini: la lunetta del portale meridionale della Pieve di S. Maria di Arezzo', in *Arezzo e i suoi territori nell'Alto Medioevo. Atti del Convegno, Arezzo, 1983* (Cortona, 1985), 186, n. 13.

surviving records written by those who travelled the road. The most detailed medieval accounts describe the journeys of Sigeric the Serious, Archbishop of Canterbury, who returned from Rome between 990 and 994, and Phillip II of France, returning from the third crusade in 1191.[3] The route entered Tuscany to the north through the Reggian Apennines via the Cisa Pass, known in the Middle Ages as the 'Monte Bardone' road, passing into Lunigiana.[4] From the ever more abandoned city of Luni, it headed south east in a relatively straight line by way of Lucca, Siena, San Quirico d'Orcia, and on towards Lazio.

Stopani, a leading authority on the history of the via Francigena, believes it to have served as a conduit for what he sees as Lombard, Provençal and other northern artistic influences into Tuscany.[5] Such a thesis is not without validity. An examination of the route shows that Romanesque monuments containing sculpture which can be linked to Lombardy or beyond do often occur on or near the via Francigena. The best-known example of the Lombard style in Tuscany, the western portal of the collegiate church of Ss. Quirico e Giulitta, in San Quirico d'Orcia (Siena), lies directly in its path (Fig. 20).[6] The difficulty, however, lies in the extension of such influences to styles – namely 'archaic' – which have little or no demonstrable affinity with those found in the purported source areas.

Remnants of capitals and other elements bearing sculpture, many of which have come to light only very recently, at the Abbey of S. Caprasio in Aulla (Lunigiana) leave no room for doubt regarding the Lombard provenance of their executors. One piece in particular bears a horned mask spewing symmetrically disposed foliate motifs (Fig. 21). The design does not depart in any significant aspect from Comascan examples. In Como they occur on an engaged capital high up on the southern side of the interior of the apse of S. Abbondio, and at the highest point of the inner arch of the portal from S. Margherita, now in the Civic museum in Palazzo

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[3] DEL NERO, Domenico, 'La via francigena in Toscana', in *Via francigena. Atti della giornata di studi: la via francigena dalla Toscana a Sarzana, attraverso il territorio di Massa e Carrara: luoghi, figure e fatti* (Modena, 1997), 12-3.

[4] Derived from '*mons longobardorum*'; the pass was first utilised in the early Middle Ages by the Langobards to link their two principle kingdoms in northern Italy, Padania and Tuscia.

[5] STOPANI, Renato, 'La via Francigena strumento della *Koinè* culturale europea dei secoli XI-XIII', in *La via Francigena: Storia di una strada medievale* (Florence, 1998), 155.

[6] BOSCHI, Barbara, 'Il portale della Collegiata dei Ss. Quirico e Giulitta a S. Quirico d'Orcia: correlazioni stilistiche e cronologiche', *Antichità viva*, vol. XXVII, no. 3-4, July-Sept. (1988), 31-4.

Volpi (Fig. 22). The same image is also found on a large sandstone baptismal font in the museum at Canossa, in the Emilian Apennines.[7]

In Versilia, to the south of Lunigiana, religious edifices along or close to the pilgrim route show similar evidence of the impact of northern sculptors. These include the Duomo di Carrara, S. Maria Assunta a Stazzema, and Ss. Giovanni Battista e Felicita in Valdicastello (Figs. 23-4). In sharp contrast, all of the locations where 'archaic' sculpture occurs in Lunigiana and the neighbouring Garfagnana are in mountainous areas relatively removed from the via Francigena.

Proceeding south, the route passed into the Lucchesia. Strikingly evident is the degree to which it fails to coincide with those zones with a heavy concentration of 'archaic' sculpture: the Val di Lima and the lower Val di Serchio to the north, and, to a lesser extent, Monte Pisano to the south. On the contrary, the countryside on either side of the city of Lucca through which the road ran is, at least in the present day, entirely bereft of work in the style.

Such a situation persists until south of the Arno. From San Gervasio to Siena there were several itineraries to the Francigena, with varying parallel paths adopted according to circumstances. In Sigeric's time, the road traversed the hills to the west of the Val d'Elsa, passing through the city of San Gimignano. In the mid-12th century, it shifted towards the east, and began to follow the right bank of the river Elsa.[8] Along or in proximity to the earlier route lie a series of *pievi* and abbeys, many of which contain 'archaic' sculpture. These are: Ss. Pietro e Paolo a Coiano, S. Maria Assunta a Chianni, S. Maria Assunta a Cellole, the Spedale di S. Giovanni and the collegiate church in San Gimignano, the Badia di S. Maria a Conèo, and the Abbadia a Isola.

The title '*spedale*' (hospital) attached to S. Giovanni more than hints at its original function and relationship to the Francigena. Though the sculptural ensembles of these buildings could not be described as uniform in style, they hold much in common, and can also be compared to S. Giovanni Battista a Corsano and S. Ilario a Isola d'Arbia to the south of Siena. But the extent to which they betray a Lombard influence is a moot point. It is the view of the present writer that they do not.

The influence of Lombard sculptors

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[7] See GARUTI, Alfonso, 'Il tempo di Matilde: lo sviluppo del romanico', in *Nel segno di Matilde* (Modena, 1991), 38 (Fig. 92).

[8] DEL NERO, 'La via francigena in Toscana', 17. See also STOPANI, Renato, *Guida ai percorsi della via Francigena in Toscana* (Florence, 1995), 63-81.

The above group of Romanesque monuments are unusual in that they contain 'archaic' sculpture but are not located in peripheral or remote areas. Those who argue 'archaic' sculpture to be the fruit of migrant sculptors from Lombardy, or more generally, the Paduan plain, believe they carried their style south along the main thoroughfares. These churches therefore appear to be good subjects with which to attempt a stylistic analysis based on actual comparison with northern sculpture.

Perhaps the greatest obstacle to an assessment of this question is the extremely vague manner in which 'archaic' sculpture has ever been compared to that of Lombardy. Only very rarely have writers alluded to a specific Lombard monument, and even on such occasions no reference is made to particular elements of sculpture contained therein. Instead, the need for more serious scrutiny is merely brushed aside with a generalised statement. The assumption will here be made, therefore, that 'Lombard' refers to those areas generally considered as the heartlands in which the style developed: Como, Milan and Pavia. Other northern examples will also be taken into account, such the crypt capitals of the Cathedral of Modena in Emilia, which were executed by Lombard artists.[9]

Other than on a superficial level, it is difficult to discern anything Lombard at all about the sculpture of those monuments which line the earlier route of the Francigena around San Gimignano. Capitals may be cubic and in a divided format, based on an abacus decorated with vegetal or geometric motifs, and a lower register, often containing more figurative images and with lower corners indented in a the form of a leaf (Fig. 25). While these are somewhat reminiscent of Lombard types (Fig. 26), there is little to suggest that they are in any way related.

What is common to both Lombard and 'archaic' sculpture is that they are both heavily indebted to the early medieval style and forms of the Langobardic period.[10] They are equally usually worked in flat relief, are reliant to a high degree on geometric decoration, and draw on a figurative repertoire dominated by fearsome beasts and rudimentary human figures (Fig. 27). Hence, at first glance one may appear to be closely related or a regional variety of the other. Yet, on further inquiry, it becomes apparent that the differences far outweigh the commonalities.

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[9] SALVINI, Roberto, 'I capitelli della cripta', in *Il Duomo di Modena e il romanico nel modenese* (Modena, 1966), 126-9.

[10] For the Langobardic origins of the Lombard or Comascan current, see DE FRANCOVICH, Géza, 'La corrente comasca nella scultura romanica europea' (part 1), 'Gli inizi', *Rivista del Reale Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* (1936), 279 and, more particularly, 286-7. See also part 2 'La diffusione' (1937-8), 51-2.

In no case do any of the churches in the hills west of the Elsa contain portals in the form of the famous Lombard '*protiro*', a porch portico carried by lateral columns, often in turn supported by crouched lions, as in the façade of the Collegiata di S. Quirico d'Orcia (Fig. 20).[11] The other common Lombard portal arrangement has splayed jambs in several orders of projecting engaged sections, often alternately square and cylindrical, as at Pavia. Above these are corresponding multi-ordered arches, all highly decorated (Fig. 28). This type is also absent from the Tuscan churches in question. So too are such signature motifs as the spewing mask found in Aulla, and the blocky heads with a pronounced square-cut fringe so distinctive of the figurative style of Lombardy and Emilia (Fig. 29). These, and many other traits which identify Lombard work do not occur in conjunction with 'archaic' sculpture, either in the Senese, nor indeed anywhere else in Tuscany.

Conversely, the range of motival and stylistic variants found in Tuscan 'archaic' sculpture, but which do not occur in Lombardy, is so wide as to make any attempt at an inventory futile. To take S. Maria Assunta a Cellole as an example, many of the designs that make up its wealth of carvings cannot be found anywhere else in Italy, as will be demonstrated. Such a situation is not unusual with 'archaic' sculpture. Other decorative motifs at Cellole cannot be differentiated from those in the façade of S. Giovanni in nearby San Gimignano (Figs. 30-1), but are limited to these two churches only, suggesting the activity of an *atelier* working on a strictly local level.

The manner in which sculpture has been applied to architecture at Cellole finds a powerful echo in the decorated cornices, blind mini-arches and lunettes taken from S. Giusto, Volterra, now conserved in Palazzo Guarnacci (Figs. 32-3). Such a finding tallies with the fact that the area around San Gimignano was officially under the jurisdiction of the diocese of Volterra in the Middle Ages, though lay control of much of the parish of Cellole was only relinquished by Guglielmo of the Cadolingi in 1059.[12]

However, while it is apparent that the 'archaic' sculpture in this area was produced by local artists, the influence of migrant sculptors from the north cannot be

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[11] See GANDOLFO, Francesco, 'Il «Protiro lombardo»: una ipotesi di formazione', *Storia dell'arte*, no. 34 Sept.-Dec. (1978), 211-20.

[12] FRATI, Marco, 'Santa Maria Assunta a Cellole', in Lastraioli, Giuliano (ed.), *Chiese medievali della Valdelsa. I territori della via Francigena. Aspetti architettonici e decorativi degli edifici romanici religiosi lungo le strade nei piveri valdelsani tra XI e XIII secolo*. Vol. 1: *Tra Firenze, Lucca e Volterra* (Empoli, 1995), 141, n. 3.

excluded in all cases. For example, at S. Pietro a Cedda, to the east of Poggibonsi, while the most part of the sculpture is 'archaic', there are several instances that do somewhat recall the Lombard style. At times, the two types appear very distinct, as on a segment of cornice with two beasts, a human head, and alternated palmettes and rosettes in the exterior east wall, to the left above the roof of the apse (Fig. 34). The quadrupeds are stylistically analogous to those in other Tuscan monuments that were executed by sculptors from north of the Apennines, such as the exterior friezes around the returns of the Duomo di Carrara (Fig. 35).[13]

The manner in which they have been carved is in net contrast to the rest of the cornice: they are both more volumetric and modelled, demonstrating an alternative technical tradition. The human head appears to have been reduced to make way for the rump of one of the animals. Were it not for the slightly raised level of the latter, respective to the surrounding relief, one could almost believe them to have been superimposed over earlier, more 'archaic' work.

Elsewhere at Cedda, it is less clear that there are two separate styles at play, with evidence that there was some crossover between them. There must inevitably have been some interaction between local sculptors and the Lombard artists who, for example, apparently executed the western portal of the Collegiata at S. Quirico d'Orcia. Even in the latter monument, reputedly the purest example of Lombard style in Tuscany, the work of local 'archaic' artists may possibly be identified in the arched band of rosettes that encloses the portal *ensemble*, differentiated from the rest of the sculpture by way of its flat relief (Fig. 36).

Returning to the abbey of S. Caprasio in Aulla, Lunigiana, there is one relief that contrasts with those of clear northern origin in so far as it is indistinguishable from others in the three principle Lunigianense churches containing 'archaic' sculpture. This relief shows a raging beast with extended tongue; the rear end and tail are raised for compositional purposes, thereby filling all available space (Fig. 37). It is especially close to the animal on the left hand side of an engaged capital at Pognana, where the northern colonnade meets the inner face of the façade (Fig. 38). The abaci above both capitals are, perhaps coincidentally, decorated with varying forms of interlace.

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[13] PAOLETTI, Giancarlo, *Una bibbia di pietra: il bestiario del duomo di Carrara* (Carrara, 2000), 126-207.

No doubt proponents of the theory which views all 'archaic' Tuscan sculpture as northern influenced would find here evidence to sustain their opinion. Why, then, are none of the other, more typically northern, Aulla motifs found in the three Lunigianense churches or in any other example of 'archaic' sculpture? And conversely, why does only one of many Lunigianense designs appear at Aulla? There can be no definite answers, but it is probable that at Aulla too there was collaboration between local artists and others from further afield, or that some other form of cross-fertilisation occurred.

Despite the blurred confines that exist in such infrequent cases, there are too many aspects of 'archaic' sculpture that cannot be reconciled with the art of Lombardy or the Emilia. Many examples are unique, and cannot easily be related to any other existing sculpture at all. Such works as the capitals of the northern colonnade of S. Gennaro in Asilatta, near Pescia in the Lucchesia, defy any facile categorisation (Figs. 39-41). Together with the two corbels in the western portal (Figs. 42-3), they point instead to the presence of a spirit of boundless creative originality, the results of which never extended beyond the confines of a relatively limited area.

The S. Gennaro capitals appear to be based on a Corinthian prototype, which has been rendered almost unrecognisable through a process of extreme abstraction. The rows of acanthus leaves at the base have been reduced to blocked cubes with incised geometric decoration, often fronded in hints at leaf forms. The caulicoles that would have supported the now non-existent volutes still remain as a further indication of ancestry.

A tentative link can be made between the massive, angular forms of these singular works and the capitals at S. Tommaso di Arriana, near Castelvecchio di Valleriana, high up in the hills north of Pescia. Here too, a Corinthian model has become little more than a semi-cylindrical block, and many of the leaves have also mutated into geometric shapes (Figs. 44-6).[14] The capitals at S. Gennaro and S.

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[14] As has already been remarked upon in the introduction, most, but not all, of the sculptural decoration at S. Tommaso was replaced by copies in the late 19th/early 20th century. However, belying Filieri's opinion that they were probably not executed faithfully, comparisons between photographs of some of the original capitals, which now lie in the courtyard of the bishopric at Pescia, and their imitations reveal them to be fairly accurate.
This applies not only to the decoration itself, but to the relative positions of the faces (with regard to other faces of the same capital: whether the latter were replaced in the same nave positions cannot be ascertained). It is presumable that the corbels and other sculpture can be considered similarly.
The recarved elements can therefore cautiously be used as second-hand documents of the originals, while not placing too much faith in their detailing or arrangement.

Tommaso may also have been partially inspired by early medieval or pre-Romanesque capitals such as the marble piece from Gello di Camaiore (Figs. 47-9).[15] It is noteworthy that at both Romanesque churches in the Pescia area, alongside the more unusual work are numerous examples of other more familiar 'archaic' types. These include 'extended figure of eight' interlace around windows and doors (Figs. 50-1) and the same format of capital as in the Lunigianense churches mentioned in the previous chapter (Fig. 52).

It is clear that Lombard sculptors did work on several churches along the via Francigena, and that, in one or two instances, there was some mutual influence or collaboration with local sculptors whose style was 'archaic'. However, in the majority of monuments with 'archaic' sculpture there is nothing to indicate any contact whatsoever with the artistic traditions of Lombardy or other northern areas. It could not be seriously argued that such fantastic creations as the capitals of S. Gennaro are remotely connected with Lombard or Emilian sculpture.

Like the ornament at Cellole, they can only have been the product of a local workshop following in an age-old tradition, the traces of which have since disappeared. Alternatively, they may have been the plastic expression of an extraordinary creativity ignited, perhaps, by the catalyst of other, earlier, artworks to which the sculptors would have had access. Similar deliberations may be applied to 'archaic' sculpture in general; more attention will be devoted to these issues in the following chapter.

Church reform and Matilda of Canossa

It has been asserted that Church reform lay behind 'archaic' sculpture in Tuscany. In most cases, the theory has been linked to the reform movement's staunchest advocate in northern Italy, Matilda, Marchioness of Tuscany. Despite her title, Matilda's power base was in Emilia, and was centred on Canossa, situated in the foothills of the Apennines. According to this theory, the house of Canossa, inspired by ideological and religious motives related to ecclesiastic reform, oversaw a church building campaign that extended throughout those regions of greatest influence: Emilia and Tuscany. Such a programme brought about a promulgation of northern styles in

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[15] Incredibly, no attention has ever been directed specifically at the sculpture of either S. Gennaro or S. Tommaso di Arriana in the form of a dedicated publication in article or book form.

Tuscany via the mountain pilgrimage routes such as San Pellegrino in Alpe, along which the Abbey of Frassinoro is situated.

The aim of '*la Riforma*' was essentially to liberate the Church from secular interference, which was rife in the 10th and early 11th centuries. This was to have been achieved by means of a combination of political muscle flexing by the Papacy, and anticorruption and restructuring measures within the Church itself. The latter aspect was a multifaceted one, involving changes in liturgy, architecture and, above all, an expectation of a more exalted conduct from the priesthood, aided by the imposition of communal living on the monastic model.[16] As a consequence, both clergy and laity were deeply divided on the issue. Tensions reached their climax in the years 1078-80 with what is known as the 'Investiture Contest', when the German Emperor, Henry IV, and Pope Gregory VII clashed over who should have the power to appoint a new archbishop of Milan.[17] Matilda, an unrelenting ally of the reforming Popes, played a crucial role in this dispute in every sense, including military.[18]

In popular myth, Matilda is still credited with the construction of '*cento pievi*' (one hundred parish churches) in the Modenese Apennines alone.[19] However, it is accepted that far more churches have been attributed to the legendary figure than is realistic.[20] Nevertheless, she undoubtedly was an important patron of religious architecture and associated arts, including sculpture. Her activities in this respect lasted from 1071, when she and her mother, Beatrice, founded the Abbey of Frassinoro, up until her death in 1115.[21]

A significant body of work has been dedicated to the art of the reform movement in Italy, and there is a general consensus that artists and architects were encouraged or even instructed to look to Constantinian, or more generally, early Christian, models.[22] Such a return to iconographic and stylistic roots is consonant with the reform's call for a retrieval of the purity that was nostalgically (and mistakenly, to a great degree) associated with the early Church.

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[16] MERLO, Grado Giovanni, 'Le riforme monastiche e la «vita apostolica»', in Vauchez, André (ed.), *Storia dell'Italia religiosa*, I, *l'antichità e il Medioevo* (Rome-Bari, 1993), 271-309.
[17] BARONE, Giulia, 'La riforma gregoriana', in Vauchez (ed.), *Storia dell'Italia religiosa*, 253.
[18] COLLI, Dante, 'Il tempo e le idee', in *Nel segno di Matilde* (Modena, 1991), 52.
[19] MONTORSI, Paolo (ed.), *Tempo sospeso. L'arte romanica delle montagne modenesi* (Modena, 1987), 16.
[20] GARUTI, 'Il tempo di Matilde', 139.
[21] BASSAN, Enrico, 'L'Abbazia di Frassinoro', in Montorsi (ed.), *Tempo sospeso*, 25.
[22] See KITZINGER, Ernst, 'The Gregorian Reform and the Visual Arts: A Problem of Method', *Transactions of The Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, vol. 22 (1972), 87-102. TOUBERT, Hélène, *Un'arte orientata. Riforma gregoriana e iconografia* (1990; Ital. edn., Milan, 2001), 13-7.

The effects of this policy were most evident in Rome. But in those northern cities where bishops gave their allegiance to the Pope rather than to the emperor, Matilda sought to promote the artistic traditions of classical Rome. At Modena this was manifested not only in the reuse of antique *spolia* in the reconstruction of the cathedral,[23] but in the copying of antique models. Verzár Bornstein has shown that the sources for the sculptural decoration of the three early 12th century portals, carried out by the school of Wiligelmo, can be found in Rome.[24] Likewise, Gandolfo has argued that Wiligelmo's Genesis cycle of reliefs on the façade of the cathedral were, in their classicism, a conscious departure from the capitals of the crypt, executed only several years previously by Comascan-Lombard sculptors. In his view, the impulse for such a change in artistic direction lay in the need to reaffirm the anti-schismatic status of the city, following a period of turmoil.[25]

Further insight into Matilda's attitude towards the antique can be gleaned from the practice of interring family members in Roman sarcophagi (*deduci arcas iussit marmoreas ad tumulandum dignius eorum corpora*).[26] The sarcophagus 'of Fedra', displayed in a raised position adjacent to the porta di San Ranieri of Pisa Cathedral until the early 19th century, was used as a tomb for her mother, Beatrice of Lorraine († 1076),[27] also a great supporter of Church reform. At least four other similar cases are directly related to the volition of Matilda in Donizone's '*Vita Mathildis*'.[28]

In Tuscany, most of the bishops of the twelve dioceses did not openly side with either party to the investiture conflict, choosing instead to follow a path of politic neutrality. Only Constantine, bishop of Arezzo from 1063 to 1095, was consistently loyal to the emperor.[29] However, Lucca, as capital of the March of Tuscany and probable origin of the founder of the Canossan dynasty, Sigifred (*de comitatu*

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[23] PARRA, Maria Cecilia, 'Pisa e Modena: spunti di ricerca sul reimpiego «intorno» al Duomo', in *Lanfranco e Wiligelmo. Il Duomo di Modena* (Modena, 1984), 355-60.
[24] VERZÁR BORNSTEIN, Christine, 'Matilda of Canossa, Papal Rome and the Earliest Italian Porch Portals', in Quintavalle, Arturo Carlo (ed.), *Romanico padano, Romanico europeo. Convegno internazionale di studi. Modena-Parma, 1977* (Parma, 1982), 143-58, esp. 146-8.
[25] GANDOLFO, Francesco, 'Note per una interpretazione iconologica delle Storie del Genesi di Wiligelmo', in Quintavalle (ed.), *Romanico padano, Romanico europeo*, 323-37, esp. 331-3.
[26] PARRA, 'Pisa e Modena', 360.
[27] DONATI, Fulvia and PARRA, Maria Cecilia, 'Pisa e il reimpiego 'laico': La nobiltà di sangue e d'ingegno, e la potenza economica', in Andreae, Bernard and Settis, Salvatore (eds.), *Colloquio sul reimpiego di sarcofagi romani nel Medioevo. Pisa, Scuola Normale Superiore, 1982* (Marburg-am-Lahn, 1984), 107-8, incl. Fig. 10. The sarcophagus is now in the Camposanto.
[28] PARRA, 'Pisa e Modena', 360.
[29] GOEZ, Werner, 'Le diocesi toscane e la riforma gregoriana', in *S. Anselmo vescovo di Lucca (1073-1086) nel quadro delle trasformazioni sociali e della riforma ecclesiastica* (Rome, 1992), 125-7.

Lucensi),[30] was politically strongly tied to the reform until 1080, when the reformist bishop Anselm II was compelled to flee the city.[31] Anselm I of Baggio, who was bishop of the city from 1056, became pope as Alexander II in 1061 without renouncing his previous office, retaining both until his death in 1073.[32] An important proponent of reform, one of Anselm's most significant acts was the translation in 1060 of the remains of Saint Alexander, a martyred pope of the early 2nd century, from S. Prassede in Rome to S. Alessandro Maggiore in Lucca.[33]

The occasion saw a reconstruction of the Lucchese church, no doubt to provide a more fitting setting for the relics of a venerated symbol of early Christian virtue. Architecturally and sculpturally, S. Alessandro Maggiore conveys the reformist message in a most unequivocal manner.

The exterior is composed of enormous blocks of pale *Monte Pisano* limestone ashlar, some of which in the façade measure over two metres in length by almost a metre in height, alternated by thinner horizontal bands of slightly darker limestone (Figs. 53-4). The block arrises are notable for their precision, with minimal joints visible, as is the smoothness of the finish to the faces, in contrast to the usually rough semi dressed presentation of ashlar in Italian Romanesque monuments. Such an *opus murario* is a clear reference to the more opulent marble walling techniques of ancient Rome.[34]

The insertion in the tympanum above the main portal of a square section of the prestigious Egyptian red porphyry, a material that would have been available in the 11th century solely as *spolia*, reinforces the reference (Fig. 54). Likewise, the Tuscan serpentine, *verde di Prato*, used around both portals was likely deemed to be acceptably similar to Greek green porphyry. The latter stone, commonly found in

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[30] FUMAGALLI, Vito, 'I Canossiani. Ipotesi di lavoro sui loro antecedenti in Toscana', in *I ceti dirigenti in età precomunale. Atti del I Convegno di studi sulla storia dei ceti dirigenti in Toscana, Firenze, 1978* (Pisa, 1981), 107-8. SAVIGNI, Raffaele, 'La diocesi lucchese e i Canossa tra XI e XII secolo', in Golinelli, Paolo (ed.), *I poteri dei Canossa da Reggio Emilia all'Europa. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Reggio Emilia-Carpineti, 1992* (Bologna, 1994), 163-87.

[31] BUCHANAN, Charles, 'Spiritual and spatial authority in Medieval Lucca: illuminated manuscripts, stational liturgy and the Gregorian reform', *Art History*, vol. 27, no. 5 (2004), 729.

[32] GRÉGOIRE, Reginaldo, 'Liturgia ed agiografia a Lucca durante gli episcopati di Giovanni II (1023-1056), Anselmo I (1056-1073) e Anselmo II (1073-1086)', in *S. Anselmo vescovo di Lucca*, 276-7.

[33] SILVA, Romano, *La chiesa di Sant'Alessandro Maggiore in Lucca* (Lucca, 1987), 23-5.

[34] This idea has already been elaborated in BARACCHINI, Clara, 'I caratteri dell'architettura a Lucca tra il vescovato di Anselmo I e quello di Rangerio', in *S. Anselmo vescovo di Lucca*, 315-6.

Roman churches in conjunction with the red porphyritic variety and white marble, must have proved impossible to obtain for those who built the Lucchese church.[35]

Most of the sculpture at S. Alessandro is heavily classical, as in the pediment above the main portal (Fig. 54), though the decoration of the cornices and blind arches in the apse exterior differs slightly in style to the rest of the building (Fig. 55). Internally, much use has been made of Roman *spolia*, particularly in the columns that line the nave. The capitals are a combination of antique classical pieces, the provenance of one of which has been demonstrated as the city of Rome itself, and *ex novo* imitations.[36]

Curiously, the type of walling at S. Alessandro finds an echo in the church of S. Cassiano di Controne in the Val di Lima. Though the dimensions of the blocks used to construct S. Cassiano are much reduced, the smooth finish, tight joints and the use of a pale, almost white, limestone alternated with a darker variety of the same material is comparable. However, the 'archaic' architectural sculpture at S. Cassiano is the antithesis of that at S. Alessandro. The restrained and ordered style of the latter is replaced by abstract beasts, geometric patterns and praying *orants* (Figs. 56-7).

The presence of such a walling technique in conjunction with 'archaic' sculpture is rare in Tuscany. There is no reason to believe that the sculptural style at S. Cassiano can in any way be associated with the same conditions that gave rise to the heavy classicism at S. Alessandro and elsewhere. The relatively remote location, and the status of simple *cappella* – as opposed to parish church – render it an unlikely candidate for flag bearer for the reformist message. Nevertheless, there is a sprinkling of classical motifs among those of early medieval inspiration, such as dentils, stylised leaves and heavily corrupted egg-and-dart (Fig. 58). At S. Cassiano there is therefore an unusual cocktail of building and sculptural styles, which may be explained as the result of a sourcing of craftsmen of contrasting traditions.

It is likely that to celebrate and imitate the relatively recent past (i.e. the early Middle Ages and pre-Romanesque period) – characterised as it was by corruption and lay control of Church property and prerogatives – was alien to the ideological, and thus artistic, agenda of the Church reform movement. Rather, the chief objective was

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[35] In medieval symbolism, the three colours red, green and white were the visible representation of the three theological virtues: charity (love), hope, and faith. MINGUZZI, Simonetta, 'Aspetti della decorazione marmorea e architettonica della basilica di San Marco', in *Marmi della basilica di San Marco* (Milan, 2000), 35, n. 15.

[36] BARACCHINI, 'I caratteri dell'architettura', 323, incl. n. 34.

to make a statement regarding the desirability of a spiritually and politically pre-eminent Rome. The most effective way to do so was by alluding to the authority of the city on the basis of its historic role as seat of the Christian *Ecclesia*. As Merlo put it: "The *new* justified and legitimised itself through the *antique*."[37]

Yet in the heart of the Canossan territories, there does not appear to have always been so strict an adherence to such an idealised stance in art. The Abbey of Frassinoro in the Modenese Apennines, of which remains only a collection of sculptural fragments, is illustrative in this regard. Though many of the capitals are clearly based on the Corinthian model, the sculpture as a whole is decidedly Lombard. Bassan was able to find analogies between these capitals and those of S. Stefano at Bologna and the crypt at Nonantola (Figs. 59-60).[38]

Stylistically, there is nothing to support Trovabene Bussi's contention that the carvings demonstrate "the importance of Frassinoro as a geographic link between the culture of the Paduan plain and Tuscany".[39] Nor is there any foundation to Taddei's attempts to relate them to S. Cassiano di Controne.[40] The zoomorphs that surround the western portal of S. Cassiano are, in their abstraction and linearity, a world apart from the highly volumetric examples at Frassinoro, belying the primary example given by Taddei to demonstrate a relationship (Figs. 61-2). The mistaken belief that the Frassinoro sculpture was carved from Apuan marble has also been used to bolster the case for a Tuscan connection.[41] The material is, however, a large crystalled non-Italian marble, either Proconnessian or Imettan, suggesting that they were carved from fragments of Roman architectural elements.[42]

Also on the pilgrimage route that winds its way towards Tuscany via the mountain pass of San Pellegrino in Alpe is S. Maria a Rubbiano near Montefiorino. This church has been cited as a rare example of the influence of Cluniac architecture

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[37] MERLO, 'Le riforme monastiche', 271.
[38] BASSAN, 'L'Abbazia di Frassinoro', 34 and Figs. 22-3, 31-2.
[39] TROVABENE BUSSI, Giordana, 'Sculture architettonico-decorative dell'antica abbazia di Frassinoro', in *Studi Matildici. Atti e memorie del III convegno di Studi Matildici, Reggio E., 1977* (Modena, 1978), 123.
[40] TADDEI, Carlotta, 'Le sculture della chiesa di San Cassiano di Controne a Lucca', in Quintavalle, Arturo Carlo (ed.), *Medioevo: arte lombarda. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Parma, 2001* (Milan, 2004), 392-5.
[41] CALZONA, Arturo, in *Romanico mediopadano. Strada, città, ecclesia* (Parma, 1983), 118; related in Bassan, 'L'Abbazia di Frassinoro', 29 and n. 31.
[42] Proconnessian marble came from the island of Marmara (present day Turkey), while Imettan marble was quarried near Mount Hymettos in Greece. For photographic and textual descriptions, GNOLI, Raniero, 'Repertorio', in Borghini, Gabriele (ed.), *Marmi antichi* (Rome, 1989), 252, 249.

in Emilia, perhaps transmitted through the Benedictine monastery at Polirone.[43] However, as Rossi correctly pointed out, those features identifiable as possibly 'Burgundian', such as the transepts and groin vaulted crossing, were also common to the Lombard-Comascan tradition.[44] As at Frassinoro, the sculpture, which again combines a Lombard style with strong neoclassicism, finds no resonance with 'archaic' Tuscan material. While the capitals are Corinthianesque, the bicorporate lions are closest to those on other Lombard style capitals, as in the crypt of Modena Cathedral, the church of S. Apollonio in Canossa, and on the façade of the Benedictine Abbey of S. Antimo in the Senese (Figs. 63-6).[45] Significantly, bicorporate lions do not occur in Tuscan 'archaic' sculpture.

At the Abbey of S. Antimo, the impact of the reform is clear in the spatial arrangement. The ambulatory with radiating chapels that surrounds the chancel, which would have permitted pilgrims to accede to the more sacred parts of the building, is directly modelled on Cluny III (Fig. 67).[46] Aside from the copious quantities of early medieval *spolia* present at S. Antimo, the sculpture divides into two quite distinct types: Lombard and French, the latter possibly Languedoc in style.[47]

Instances can be found of an apparent influence from S. Antimo on churches in the surrounding area and beyond, many of which contain 'archaic' sculpture. For example, Gandolfo found that details such as unusual cylindrical forms on the corners of the capitals of churches in the Casentino and Valdarno Superiore were probably copied from those at S. Antimo (Figs. 68-9). Their progenitor was in turn a late 8th or 9th century marble mini-capital in the abbey cloister (Fig. 70).[48] Moretti was able to identify further possible resonance in the sculpture of churches in more immediate proximity to the abbey, such as in a chessboard pattern on the chancel arch at S. Maria

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[43] MUSSINI, Massimo, 'Pievi e vita canonicale nei territori matildici. Architettura e riforma gregoriana nelle campagne', in Quintavalle (ed.), *Romanico padano, Romanico europeo*, 36-8.
[44] ROSSI, Paola, 'La Pieve di Rubbiano', in Montorsi (ed.), *Tempo sospeso*, 138. These same characteristics are present, for example, in the Pavian church of S. Michele. Though the existing roof is a 15th century replacement, remaining original masonry shows it to have been previously vaulted; CHIERICI, Sandro, *La Lombardia*, Italia romanica, vol. 1 (Milan, 1978), 94-5.
[45] S. Apollonio in Canossa no longer exists; several dozen fragmentary elements of architectural sculpture discovered at the site are now preserved in the adjacent museum.
[46] For the ground plan of Cluny III, LAULE, Bernhard and Ulrike, 'Romanesque architecture in France', in Toman, Rolf (ed.), *Romanesque: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting* (Cologne, 1997), 128.
[47] RASPI SERRA, Joselita, 'Contributo allo studio di alcune sculture dell'abbazia di Sant'Antimo', *Commentari*, no. 15 (1964), 135-65, esp. 154-7.
[48] GANDOLFO, Francesco, 'Scultori Lombardi in Toscana?', in Quintavalle (ed.), *Medioevo: arte lombarda*, 403. For the cloister capital, see FATUCCHI, Alberto, *La diocesi di Arezzo. Corpus della scultura altomedioevale*, IX (Spoleto, 1977), no. 161.

ad Lamulas, similar to that on capitals in the nave and ambulatory at S. Antimo (Figs. 71-2).[49]

S. Antimo undoubtedly constitutes a source for isolated elements found in 'archaic' sculpture in the Senese and Aretino. However, it must be noted that these elements are atypical of 'archaic' sculpture, as they do not occur outside certain monuments, or cluster of monuments in the case of the Casentino/Valdarno Superiore. That most 'archaic' sculpture in the local area cannot be related to S. Antimo shows the abbey to have been but one of a much greater number of fonts of inspiration. Most importantly, the mutation of the original forms, either in format or through application to an alternative architectural position, denotes a creative autonomy, as opposed to simple replication.

The Church reform movement, where there was a choice, was naturally inclined to favour artistic expression that reflected the primacy of Rome and the early Church. Hence, in most instances where sculpture has been demonstrated to have been commissioned by a reformist patronage the theme is one of heavy classicism. Elsewhere, northern sculptors were used, but this would appear to have been simply because they were more readily available. In no case is there any evidence to support the idea that the reform may have been behind 'archaic' styles. On the contrary, the period that 'archaic' styles represent – the early Middle Ages – were a period in which the Church began the downward slide to corruption and lay interference. 'Archaic' styles would therefore have been wholly unsuitable as a visible manifestation of the reform.

The influence of other media on 'archaic' sculpture

The possibility that 'archaic' sculpture may be related to other artistic media has also – once – been hinted at. Dalli Regoli compared the interlace in illuminated initials of certain Lucchese manuscripts to that found on both an early medieval pilaster reused as a lintel in the southern flank of S. Margherita di Antraccoli and at S. Cassiano di Controne (Figs. 73-5).[50] In this way the scholar appeared to imply that illuminated

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[49] MORETTI, Italo, 'Il riflesso di Sant'Antimo nell'architettura romanica della Valdorcia', in *Val d'Orcia nel medioevo e nei primi secoli dell'età moderna. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi storici, Pienza, 1988* (Rome, 1990), 307-16.

[50] DALLI REGOLI, Gigetta, *Dai maestri senza nome all'impresa dei Guidi. Contributi per lo studio della scultura medievale a Lucca* (Lucca, 1986), 13-4, 16 (n. 3). For the Antraccoli slab, see BELLI BARSALI, Isa, *La diocesi di Lucca. Corpus della scultura altomedioevale*, I (Spoleto, 1959), 48.

manuscripts may have served here as a conduit between early medieval and 'archaic' relief sculpture.

But in reality there is little in common between the decoration at S. Cassiano and that of contemporary manuscripts, either the Lucchese examples that Dalli Regoli presented or others from elsewhere in Tuscany. The 'extended figure of eight' interlace pattern that she pointed to is too common a motif to hold as demonstrative of a relationship. Other than this and the occasional – probably coincidental – detail, Romanesque illumination does not in any sense recall 'archaic' sculpture, particularly as regards figurative style, which is generally strongly Byzantine.[51] Nor can any connection be made iconographically. The frequent depictions of Christ in majesty, of the crucifixion, of the four evangelists and other staple images of manuscript decoration are practically non-existent in 'archaic' art. The *orants* and other iconography so ubiquitous to the latter do not occur in any examples of Tuscan illumination familiar to the present writer.

That illuminated manuscripts may have served as a source for 'archaic' sculpture, or as a link with early medieval art, can therefore be judged as unlikely. On the other hand, there is abundant evidence for a relationship between 'archaic' sculpture and the art of such portable media as metal jewellery and bone carvings. However, these artefacts are not contemporary with the Romanesque era, but are instead exclusively of an earlier period, specifically that of the Germanic migrations. In the following chapters a number of parallels will be highlighted.

Summary

The predominant theories explaining 'archaic' sculpture in Tuscany are generally unfounded, in the opinion of the present writer.

While 'archaic' work occurs chiefly in isolated areas, even where it is found near the principal road through Tuscany, the via Francigena, there is little stylistic relationship with Lombard sculpture. Nor does the notion that 'archaic' sculpture in Tuscany can be attributed to a Canossan-induced reformist construction programme that brought northern styles south of the Apennines have any apparent factual basis. Rather, the sculpture of those monuments that are most closely associated with the

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[51] See BERG, Knut, *Studies in Tuscan Twelfth-Century Illumination* (Oslo-Bergen-Tromsö, 1968), and AVRIL, François and ZALUSKA, Yolanta, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine Italienne*, vol. 1: *VI^e-XII^e siècles* (Paris, 1980).

reform in Emilia sought a classical aesthetic that would provide a clear break with the more recent past and establish a visible link with Rome, rather than looking to early medieval precedents. In other instances, Lombard styles are also present in a reformist context, sometimes in combination with a classical inspiration. However, rather than representing the ideals of the reform movement, the latter most likely occur simply because there was often no alternative to using sculptors who were unfamiliar with anything else.

In the light of the shortcomings of these more established explanations, it is apparent that fresh tacks are required in attempting to comprehend the phenomenon of 'archaic' sculptural styles in Tuscany.

3. Defining 'archaic' sculpture

Before exploring potential new approaches in the analysis of Tuscan 'archaic' sculpture, it is important to establish some parameters by which the style can actually be defined. The difficulties which can arise in distinguishing 'archaic' sculpture from early medieval material have already been touched on in chapter one; some attention will be devoted to establishing means by which differentiation can be made. In the preceding chapter, the nebulous way in which comparisons have been made between 'archaic' and, for example, Lombard sculpture highlight the need for a more concrete characterisation of the motifs most common to the Tuscan phenomenon.

Outline of methodologies for dating sculpture

Due to the stylistic similarities between sculpture produced centuries apart, chronology represents the primary and recurrent difficulty in evaluating much sculpture from the early medieval through to 'archaic' Romanesque. The common re-utilisation of earlier material as *spolia* in the Romanesque period, a phenomenon of major relevance to the present study, further complicates attempts at dating. Very often, deciding whether a sculptural piece was created for, and employed in, another setting prior to the present placement is the most critical – and rarely simple – assessment to be made.

Despite the persistence of many elements of sculptural style from early medieval sculpture to 'archaic' Romanesque, the situation was far from static. A general evolutionary process was present throughout, providing a means by which material can often be dated. One of the most important aspects of this gradual transformation was the heightened interest in three-dimensionality, as with all Romanesque sculpture. Though most 'archaic' carving is in flat relief, in some instances it is more volumetric, with modelled masses undercut to the point of slight detachment from the background.

On occasion, these conflicting approaches to volume occur within the same environment, as at Gropina, where the mostly very flat decoration of the pulpit contrasts strongly with the high relief of many of the southern nave capitals (Figs. 76-

9).[1] Indeed, this, and other factors, has led some scholars to assert that the pulpit is early medieval – three or four centuries older than the 12th century capitals.[2] This theory has been given sustenance by the recent claim that a largely erased inscription found on the lectern dates the pulpit to the year 825.[3] The present writer is extremely sceptical of the 9th century claim, not only because of the volumetric depiction of three of the evangelists – or their symbols – on the lectern (Fig. 17), but because stylistic analysis shows the pulpit and capitals to be not only coeval, but carved by the same hand. This stands out particularly in the unusual manner of rendering facial features, which is identical throughout.

But, more often than not, 'archaic' carving lacks such clear indications of its Romanesque chronology. Other, style-based, evidence is often offset by the remarkably wide variety of stylistic dialects. Paradoxically, despite the 'early medieval' qualities of much pre-Romanesque and 'archaic' Romanesque sculpture, examples are often at the same time quite unique, and cannot therefore easily be compared to other sculpture elsewhere. Conversely, instances of sculpture which, stylistically, could just as easily be 8th as 13th century are not uncommon. Thus, a reliance on style alone to date sculpture is extremely hazardous and can easily lead to mistaken judgements. Other methodologies, then, are required to aid the correct chronological placement of sculpture.

Documentary sources

Medieval literary sources are of little assistance. Even for the Lucchesia, furnished as it is with one of the best surviving medieval archives in Europe,[4] records relating to church erections, reconstructions or restoration programmes are practically non-existent. Documents tend to record such acts as the sale, lease or donation of churches or lands rather than details relevant to construction or improving works. Inscriptions

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[1] Most of the capitals of the northern colonnade, aside from the semi-capital against the west end of the nave, were produced by a different, non-'archaic', workshop to those on the southern side and the pulpit.

[2] MORETTI, Valente, *Il pulpito longobardo (sec. VIII) e i capitelli romanici (sec. XII) della pieve di Gropina. Le immagini scolpite nella pietra e i loro messaggi* (Cortona, 2004).

[3] FABBRI, Carlo, 'Il pulpito della pieve di Gropina', in *Le Balze: una storia lunga centomila anni nella valle dell'Arno* (Florence, 1996), 30-1, and FABBRI, Carlo and FORNASARI, Liletta, *La Pieve di Gropina. Arte e storia* (Fiesole, 2005), 24-39.

[4] The Lucca Archdiocesan Archives, the medieval sections of which were published in BARSOCCHINI, Domenico (ed.), *Memorie e documenti per servire all'istoria della città e allo stato di Lucca*, vol. V, parts 2 & 3 (1837-41; Lucca, 1991).

on the buildings or the sculpture itself are also quite rare, although where examples occur in an integral state, they can prove useful.

Tool marks

Recourse must typically be sought in technical aspects of the carving or construction that evidence a particular chronology. Yet in both early medieval and 'archaic' Romanesque sculpture, the technique is largely dictated by the style, and vice versa: it is often the carving in flat or low relief that does much to define the style.

To date, insufficient research has been carried out on the chronology of the use of particular tool types to allow dating on the basis of the marks they leave behind. What study there has been in this field is generally unsatisfactory. For example, it has been claimed that the claw chisel was not employed in Tuscany until the 14th century,[5] despite the fact that traces of this tool can be commonly found in Romanesque and even in early medieval carving. For example, an 8th century slab conserved in the Museo nazionale di Villa Guinigi, Lucca, shows clearly the distinctive tracks left by the serrations of the claw chisel (Fig. 80). These cannot be confused with the marks of the clawed axe, which, due to the swinging action of the arm, bites into the stone with a short, circular, choppy cut, rather than creating the more even and prolonged parallel grooves of the chisel version. The axe would, in any event, be unsuitable for sculpture due to its lack of control and precision.

However, tool marks can furnish invaluable evidence in other respects. For example, sometimes the 'signature' a particular tool leaves is identical on the common ashlar masonry or other architectural members and on an undecorated area of an element bearing sculpture. This may be taken as proof that the sculpture does not predate the masonry blocks, and is an especially useful means of determining whether the piece is *spolia*. The obvious proviso here is that there must be certainty that the entire body of masonry has not been reused. Where the latter occurs, it will generally be betrayed by such details as the poor condition of the arrises of the ashlar blocks and the lack of precision with which they have been laid. The method outlined above has been employed to distinguish *spolia* in several instances below.

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[5] BIANCHI, Giovanna and PARENTI, Roberto, 'Gli strumenti degli scalpellini toscani. Osservazioni preliminari', in *Le pietre nell'Architettura: Struttura e Superfici. Atti del convegno di Bressanone, luglio 1991* (Padua, 1991), 141.

The identification of *spolia*

Spolia may, at times, also be distinguished when a piece bearing sculpture is ill-adapted to its setting. For example, where a relief slab has been inserted into a wall with no apparent respect for the course heights of the surrounding masonry. This does not signify that, to be coeval, the dimensions of the slab must be equivalent to the other blocks, but that it and the neighbouring pieces form a level bed for the course above. Such an arrangement may indicate that the slab was made *ex novo* to size, with the average course heights in mind. Of course, at the same time, it may be that the surrounding blocks were themselves cut to come to the same height as a *spolia* slab. Nevertheless, with pieces that have clearly been reused, there is very frequently such a discrepancy in course height (Fig. 81). Alternatively, either the upper or the lower arris of the *spolia* element will have been chopped away to achieve a uniform level with the adjacent blocks, allowing the crossing of vertical joints by the masonry above.

Very often, *spolia* pieces will have been cut down to size in order to accommodate their new position in some way, or to remove an uneven edge resulting from a breakage or other damage. Consequently, surface decoration will terminate abruptly rather than running its natural course, and the border, if it exists on the remaining sides, will be lacking where material has been removed (Fig. 82).

Another clue to the identification of reutilised relief slabs where they have been incorporated into later walling lies in the occurrence of excessive breakages, particularly to edges now protected by surrounding masonry (Fig. 81). Such damage may have been incurred while in a previous, more exposed, position such as a corner, or during a phase of ruin or destruction of, or removal from, a pre-existing building.

Materials

An important, though far from infallible, indication of chronology lies in the type of material chosen for sculpture. The bulk of early medieval carving in Italy was executed in white marble. In Tuscany, this was most frequently the variety quarried in the Apuan Alps, near the present day Carrara. Early on in the course of the pre-Romanesque period, local stone, generally sedimentary limestones or sandstones, gradually replaced marble as the material of choice.

The most likely reason for this shift was the change which took place in the way sculpture was used. Until the 10th century, decorative carving in Italy was overwhelmingly confined to non-architectural elements, mostly internal church fixtures such as chancel screens, altars, ciboria, ambos and so on.[6] The centrality of this 'furniture' to the liturgical functions of a church, as well as its visibility, would clearly have required a more prestigious material. Tomb slabs for important figures were also often finely carved with decoration, and marble would have permitted a higher definition of detail, both in the lettering of the dedicatory inscription and in the ornament. More importantly, it would have best underlined the privileged position of the deceased.

The preponderant use of marble in the early Middle Ages may well also have been partially dictated by the Roman legacy. Early medieval techniques in carving and tool production, as well as the tool types themselves, would have been essentially an impoverished version of Roman equivalents, which were mostly developed with the characteristics of marble in mind.[7]

In the pre-Romanesque period, sculpture was increasingly frequently applied to architecture: capitals, corbels, lintels and other components. In this context, there would not have been the same necessity to employ such a prized, and no doubt, relatively scarce, material as marble. Quarrying in the Apuan Alps, abandoned since the mid-5th century,[8] did not recommence until the late 12th century, and for more than a century at least, extraction would not have been on any significant scale.[9]

However, it is important to note that, while the use of a local stone in place of marble generally denotes a later chronology and vice versa, it is by no means a strict rule, and can only be used as a supplementary aid in dating sculpture. Even in such

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[6] For an analysis of the structure and presentation of these furnishings in an early medieval Italian church, see LUSUARDI SIENA, Silvia, 'L'arredo liturgico altomedievale', in Lusuardi Siena, Silvia (ed.), *San Martino a Rive d'Arcano: archeologia e storia di una pieve friuliana* (Pasian di Prato-Udine, 1997), 145-98.

[7] For this subject, see WARD-PERKINS, John Bryan, 'Quarries and Stoneworking in the Early Middle Ages: The Heritage of the Ancient World', in *Artigianato e tecnica nella società dell'Alto Medioevo occidentale. XVIII settimana di studi del CISAM*, vol. II (Spoleto, 1970), 525-44. The Romans were also adept at carving far harder stones such as granites and porphyries, which would have required different tool types to those used for marble. However, the technologies necessary to work such materials had been lost by the 5th/6th century.

[8] BLANCO, Giorgio, *Dizionario dell'Architettura di Pietra* (Rome, 1999), 125.

[9] AMES-LEWIS, Francis, *Tuscan Marble Carving 1250-1350* (Aldershot, 1997), 22. A document from the year 1185, in which Emperor Frederick I donated the Carrara area to the bishops of Luni, makes a specific reference to the quarries as an economic entity. All previous medieval literature regarding the district neglects to mention them, including a letter dated 963 from Otto I to bishop Adalbert of Luni. DOLCI, Enrico, *Carrara: cave antiche* (Carrara, 1980), 38.

zones as northwest Tuscany, where the changeover to stone at times appears to mark a veritable watershed, there are plenty of exceptions. Nonetheless, employed as one of several criteria, it can be particularly useful in assessing the age of elements that have been removed from any context whatsoever or in identifying *spolia*.

For example, in addition to their distinctive stylistic traits, six relief slabs in the eastern exterior of the Duomo di Pisa are set apart from the *ex novo* blocks, and their early medieval chronology is evidenced, by a difference in material, despite appearances. At a distance the six *spolia* slabs, in statuary white Apuan marble, perfectly match the walls of the cathedral in San Giuliano limestone, also white, but slightly less brilliant (Fig. 83). But a closer inspection reveals the crystalline structure of the six slabs, in contrast to the granular composition of the limestone from the nearby Monti Pisani.[10]

Function

Where an element bearing sculpture clearly served or continues to serve a tectonic function, this can provide further evidence of a later date. Again, this method must be used with caution as, clearly, liturgical fixtures did not cease to be used, and therefore produced, in the pre-Romanesque and Romanesque periods; nor was sculpture entirely absent from architectural members prior to that time. Nonetheless, a sandstone capital of monumental dimensions, removed from its original position and thereby deprived of contextual indications of chronology, is unlikely to be early medieval. It may be pre-Romanesque, but there is a much stronger possibility of a Romanesque date of production.

Architecture

The architectural characteristics of a building are, evidently, one of the most essential means for evaluating the chronology of the sculpture it contains. For example, the type of masonry and the manner of its employment can be a reasonably accurate instrument for dating a building, especially up to and including the pre-Romanesque,

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[10] For a more detailed description of the materials – both freshly quarried and reused – employed in the construction of Pisa Cathedral, see RODOLICO, Francesco, *Le pietre delle città d'Italia* (Florence, 1953), 280-1.

as the use of ashlar became standardised in Romanesque construction. Quirós Castillo has done valuable work in this field for the Lucchesia.[11]

Associative material

Other technical factors unrelated to stonework can be instrumental in dating a building. For example, the glazed ceramic bowls known as '*bacini*', usually highly colourful and of Islamic production, which were commonly used to embellish church exteriors in the Pisano and the Lucchesia, can serve a crucial role. Many characteristics of ceramics – types of clay, glaze, colour, as well as decorative styles and form – lend themselves perfectly to a relatively precise establishment of chronology. Where it can be determined that the hollow created as a receptacle for the *bacino* is contemporary with that construction, as at S. Cassiano di Controne, *bacini* can serve as a means of furnishing a *terminus post quem* for a building.

The debate regarding the chronology of S. Cassiano and its sculptural decoration would undoubtedly still be raging were it not for the dating of a *bacino* taken from the façade to the second half of the 11th century (Fig. 84). The conclusive dating of the piece, of Tunisian or Sicilian origin and mounted near the façade apex in a specially prepared receptacle prior to its replacement by a copy, came from the medieval ceramics specialist Graziella Berti.[12] Crucially, the hollow in which it was housed could not have been executed subsequent to the construction of the façade.[13] S. Cassiano is now generally accepted as dating to the late 11th/early 12th century.

Adaptation and redevelopment

All of the various methodologies above can assist in discriminating between early medieval and 'archaic' Romanesque sculpture. The manner in which certain motifs were used and developed between the two periods is a further means by which chronological distinction can be achieved. But such changes also have a valuable capacity to throw light on the dynamics of the 'archaic' phenomenon, in turn aiding a deciphering of questions relating to how and why 'archaic' Romanesque ornament

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[11] QUIRÓS CASTILLO, Juan Antonio, *Modi di costruire a Lucca nell'altomedioevo: una lettura attraverso l'archeologia dell'architettura* (Florence, 2002).
[12] BERTI, Graziella and CAPPELLI, Laura, *Ceramiche restaurate; Secoli XI-XVI. Dalle collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Villa Guinigi di Lucca e del Museo di S. Matteo di Pisa* (Lucca, 1985), 16.
[13] BARACCHINI, Clara, 'La chiesa di San Cassiano di Controne: "reiterate domande"', in *Un capolavoro del medioevo: le sculture della facciata della chiesa di San Cassiano di Controne* (Lucca, 2000), 15.

and style came to resemble so closely that of early medieval sculpture. Therefore, it will be necessary to explore the manner in which elements common to the two periods were respectively used. The more salient aspects of 'archaic' sculpture will now be identified and examined, probing possible relationships with sculpture and other artistic media of the surrounding area and further afield, both coeval and precedent.

One of the most striking ways in which 'archaic' sculpture differs from early medieval precedents lies in the increased presence of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic imagery. This shift is in accordance with the tendency towards representationalism common to most Romanesque art. The human form does occur in 7th-9th century sculpture, but infrequently. However, 'archaic' Romanesque figural work would seem to be modelled on, or to at least share many characteristics with, these early medieval examples.

The *tête coupée*

A notable feature of early medieval figural sculpture in Italy is the common rendering of the head in the '*a pera rovesciata*' (inverted pear) style. This type predominates in the Langobardic period, and, misguidedly, has even been claimed to somehow portray Langobardic ethnic characteristics.[14]

In 'archaic'sculpture, the head *a pera rovesciata* frequently appears both on figures and disconnectedly, as a mask, or '*tête coupée*'. The latter image is not uncommon in the pre-Romanesque period, but has little precedence in early medieval stone sculpture, though an isolated example occurs on a fragmentary *spolia* slab set into the built fabric of S. Maria Maggiore in Lomello, Lombardy.[15] The mask does, however, frequently appear on 6th-7th century Langobardic gold and other metalwork. It is especially common in, but by no means limited to, the Bresciano area of Lombardy on *crocette auree*: small crosses with arms of equal length, in slivered gold

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[14] BROZZI, Mario and TAGLIAFERRI, Amelio, *Arte longobarda. La scultura figurativa su marmo e su metallo* (Cividale, 1961), 36, n. 70.

[15] For an image of the slab, see ROMANINI, Angiola Maria, 'Problemi di scultura e plastica altomedievali', in *Artigianato e tecnica nella società dell'Alto Medioevo occidentale. XVIII Settimana di studi del CISAM, Spoleto 1970*, vol. II (Spoleto, 1971), pl. VII, Fig. 7.

with stamped or impressed decoration.[16] In Tuscany, there is a notable example on a silver fibula found at the necropolis of Arcisa, near Chiusi in the Senese (Fig. 127).[17]

Yet by way of its very elementalism, it cannot be limited to any distinct artistic style, occuring as it does in Celtic, Etruscan and other arts. Among the Celts, there is evidence that this iconography was bound to ritual head severence of enemies. For example, around 125 B.C. at Entremont (near Marseille), the Romans discovered the sanctuary of a Celto-Ligurian cult of the severed head. Here, the dried heads of men, women and children had been fixed to wooden posts, while on a fragmentary stele and other stones, now conserved in the Musée Garnet, Aix-en-Provence, a profusion of heads *a pera rovesciata* were carved in relief.[18] The Ligurian culture was dominant in the mountainous zones of north-western Tuscany, and appears to have survived the Romanisation of the lowlands relatively intact.[19] In the Romanesque period, these areas saw a heavy concentration of 'archaic' sculpture, including the *tête coupée*.

Nonetheless, some of the heads on the Langobardic *crocette auree* are strikingly similar to 'archaic' Romanesque *têtes coupées*. For example, the five identical impressed heads of the 6th-7th century cross found at Calvisano in the Bresciano and those decorating the concave angles of the capitals at Vendaso (Figs. 85-6).[20] Removed from their respective media and chronologies, they could very easily be the work of the same artist, with their disproportionately long chins, elongated triangular noses and bulging eyes.

The principle feature that sets them apart, the treatment of the mouth, with drooping corners in the Calvisano heads in contrast to the uplifted 'smiling' or 'laughing' Romanesque version at Vendaso, is a recurrent difference between early medieval and 'archaic' facial representation. For example, the figures that populate

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[16] VON HESSEN, Otto, 'Il processo d'acculturazione', in Menis, Gian Carlo (ed.), *I Longobardi* (Milan, 1992), 227, V.9. For illustrated examples in the same volume, see Figs. IV.102, V.8, V.11, X.81a, X.99, X.191b.

[17] MELUCCO VACCARO, Alessandra (ed.), *Mostra dei materiali della Tuscia Longobarda nelle raccolte pubbliche toscane* (Lucca, 1971), 34.

[18] EBANI, Ardea, 'Elementi celtici in alcuni documenti della Cremona altomedioevale', *Storia dell'arte*, 34 (1978), 195 (incl. n. 21) and Fig. 15; DELANEY, Frank, *The Celts* (London, 1986), 96.

[19] PIEROTTI, Piero, 'Chiese private, pievi, territorio nella Valdiserchio (secoli VIII-XI)', in Quintavalle, Arturo Carlo (ed.), *Romanico padano, Romanico europeo. Convegno internazionale di studi. Modena-Parma, 1977* (Parma, 1982), 260. For a more general discourse on the Celto-Ligurians in ancient times, see DE MARINIS, Raffaele, 'Liguri e Celto-Liguri', in Pugliese Carratelli, Giovanni (ed.), *Italia: omnium terrarum alumna. La civiltà dei Veneti, Reti, Liguri, Celti, Piceni, Umbri, Latini, Campani, e Iapigi* (Milan, 1988), 248-59.

[20] MENIS (ed.), *I Longobardi*, 210-2, IV.102.

the front and lateral panels of the 8th century Altar of Ratchis, in Cividale's Museo Cristiano (Figs. 87-8), exhibit exactly the same oral characteristics as the Brescian *crocetta aurea*. The same can be said of the eight remaining masks on a fragmentary pre-Romanesque capital in travertine from the crypt of the Abbey of S. Maria Assunta, Farneta (Fig. 89),[21] which have been compared to Etruscan masks conserved in the museum at Chiusi.[22]

Rather than giving an air of melancholia, heads in this style seem to have been studiously calculated to avoid any facial expression whatsoever, giving a ghostly, hollow, countenance. Such an attitude is typical of the negation of corporeality that, though obviously with quite different results, underlies both early Christian and Migration era art.

The Romanesque masks display more variety. Though some continue in the same vein as the earlier heads, as at Pognana (Fig. 90), many are set apart by their profound animation, a characteristic often derived from the more vivid portrayal of the eyes and mouth (Fig. 91). This new vitality can again be inserted into a wider context of heightened Romanesque concern with the material world and its realistic rendering.

The *orant*

The praying figure in the *orans* position constitutes one of the most predominant iconographic images in Romanesque monuments with 'archaic' sculpture. For example, at S. Cassiano di Controne alone there are a total of eighteen examples (Figs. 92-3).

Orants are a relatively common element in early medieval art. Well known 7th century examples include the sarcophagus of bishop Agilbert in the crypt of the Abbey at Jouarre, France, with a multitude of such figures,[23] and a capital depicting

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[21] The capital is now in the Museo Statale d'Arte Medievale e Moderna, Arezzo. See FATUCCHI, Alberto, *La diocesi di Arezzo. Corpus della scultura altomedioevale*, IX (Spoleto, 1977), no. 122, and, for Farneta in general, SCARTONI, Rita, 'La chiesa abbaziale di Farneta: contributo all'interpretazione di alcuni aspetti dell'architettura dell'XI secolo in Italia centrale', *Arte medievale*, II, no. 5 (1991), 49-65.

[22] SALMI, Mario, 'L'architettura romanica nel territorio aretino' (part I), *Rassegna d'arte antica e moderna*, February (1915), 35.

[23] See ATROSHENKO, Vasilii Ivanovich and COLLINS, Judith, *The Origins of the Romanesque: Near Eastern Influences on European Art, 4th-12th centuries* (London, 1985), 131-2 and Fig. 82.

Daniel in the lions' den in S. Pedro della Nave, Zamora, Spain.[24] The origin is, of course, more antique: *orants* were one of the most frequently employed early Christian iconographies. Many of them appear in the catacombs of Rome, usually as mural paintings, but at times also in carved form, as on the front panel of a sarcophagus in the catacombs of Via Anapo.[25]

In Tuscany, the *orant* is not unknown in early medieval and pre-Romanesque sculpture, though occurrences are rare. It is found on a crypt capital in the Badia di S. Baronto in the Pistoiese (Fig. 94),[26] and a lintel over a recess, probably an aumbry, in the left-hand side of the east wall of the crypt of Badia a Prataglia in the Casentino (Fig. 95).[27] The tiny figure under the jaws of a devouring beast on the pluteus slab, judged 8th century by Fatucchi,[28] at S. Maria alla Chiassa near Arezzo may well also be an *orant*, and the scene has even been interpreted as a depiction of Daniel in the lions' den (Figs. 96-7).[29]

The inspiration for these examples may have stemmed from local early Christian precedents, or from further afield. *Orants* were particularly common on Coptic stelae,[30] and refugee artists and monks fleeing the Arab invasion of Egypt in 642 may have brought a fresh infusion of such iconography into Europe.[31] Germanic metalwork, for instance the 7th century Merovingian '*orant* buckles' from Burgundy, may also have been inspirational (Fig. 98).[32]

Correspondingly, it could be argued that 'archaic' *orants* are related to these earlier Tuscan examples or to other, contemporary, sources elsewhere. The iconography remained popular in oriental Christian art into the Romanesque period,

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[24] CORONEO, Roberto, 'I capitelli di San Pedro de la Nave', in Quintavalle, Arturo Carlo (ed.), *Medioevo: immagine e racconto. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Parma, 27-30 settembre, 2000* (Parma, 2003), 130-41.
[25] MULHERN, Alice, 'L'orante: vie et mort d'une image', *Les Dossiers de l'Archéologie*, 18 (1976), 43 (Fig. 4).
[26] Dated to the Carolingian era by RAUTY, Natale, *Storia di Pistoia*, I, *Dall'Alto Medioevo all'età precomunale (406-1105)* (Florence, 1988), 195, based on an 11th century hagiography of Saint Baronto. This estimate is shared by REDI, Fabio, *Chiese medievali del Pistoiese* (Pistoia, 1991), 41.
[27] Late 10th century, according to GABBRIELLI, Fabio, *Romanico aretino: L'architettura protoromanica e romanica religiosa nella diocesi medievale di Arezzo* (Florence, 1990), 97.
[28] FATUCCHI, *La diocesi di Arezzo*, no. 52.
[29] L'ORANGE, Hans Peter, 'Nota metodologica sullo studio della scultura altomedioevale' (1967), now in *Likeness and Icon. Selected studies in Classical and Early Medieval Art* (Odense, 1973), 217. This theory is somewhat compromised by the fact that the beast appears to be in the act of devouring the figure, as opposed to licking water at his feet.
[30] See BADAWY, Alexander, *Coptic Art and Archaeology: The Art of the Christian Egyptians from the Late Antique to the Middle Ages* (Cambridge Mass., 1978), Figs. 3.193-5, 3.197-8.
[31] ATROSHENKO and COLLINS, *The Origins of the Romanesque*, 131.
[32] HUBERT, Jean, PORCHER, Jean and VOLBACH, Wolfgang Friedrich, *Europe in the Dark Ages* (London, 1969), 362, note to Fig. 292.

the influence of which can be seen in mosaics in S. Mark's basilica, Venice, and, in a Tuscan ambit, in a mosaic from the destroyed church S. Andrea a Cortona.[33] The eastern inspiration behind the Cortona mosaic, which dates to the late 12th, early 13th century, is evidenced by the typically Byzantine pictorial style and by the accompanying Greek script: MHTHP ΘEOY (Mother of God).

It is noteworthy that in both cases, it is the Virgin Mary who is in the *orans* position. In the cupola dell'Emmanuele in S. Marco, though she appears together with Christ and the thirteen prophets, only she is portrayed as an *orante*. This is not coincidental: in the Byzantine art of this period, the iconography had its greatest success where depicting the Virgin.[34] In no case do any of the 'archaic' Tuscan *orants* exhibit characteristics suggesting that their identity may be that of the Virgin Mary. On the contrary, they are generally either genderless or male, in some cases graphically so. An eastern source is therefore unlikely.

There are several instances of phallic figures in an apparent *orans* position, as at S. Pietro a Gropina, Ss. Vito e Modesto a Corsignano and S. Pietro di Offiano (Figs. 99-102). The intended symbolism of such an apparently contradictory iconographic combination is unclear; perhaps it was intended as an exhortation to those guilty of the sin of lust to pray for salvation. Nor can it be ruled out that these examples may not be *orants* at all, but telamones, or that they hold another, unknown, identity.

Comparisons have already been justifiably made between the S. Cassiano *orants* and the two figures on a slab now mounted beneath the bell tower of S. Pietro di Careggine, in nearby Garfagnana (Fig. 12).[35] Both the male and the female have raised arms in precisely the manner of the *orans* position. But their joined hands and the clasped objects in their free hands (the male holds a spear, the female an object which is unidentifiable, due to erosion) exclude the possibility that they may actually be *orants*.

The analogy with the two figures to the left of the central north clerestory window in the exterior of S. Cassiano is particularly close (Fig. 103). In addition to

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[33] DONATI, Angela and GENTILI, Giovanni (eds.), *Deomene. L'immagine dell'orante fra Oriente e Occidente* (Milan, 2001), 31, 140. The Cortona mosaic is now in the Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca.
[34] PASI, Silvia, 'Deomene. La vergine orante nella cultura artistica bizantina', in Donati and Gentili (eds.), *Deomene. L'immagine dell'orante*, 26-7.
[35] BARACCHINI, Clara, 'Per un Catalogo critico delle chiese medievali in diocesi di Lucca: la zona di Val di Serchio e Val di Lima', Università degli Studi di Pisa, undergraduate degree thesis (1968), 107-8, 374.

the raised arms, they share the frontal position, splayed feet, circular faces and rounded protruding ears. The arrangement of the female to the left and the male to the right in both cases may be coincidental, but is remarkable nonetheless. Moreover, the displayed genitals of the male figure at Careggine may explain the exhibitionist *orants* at Offiano and elsewhere.

As outlined in the introduction, estimates of the age of the Careggine slab differ wildly, despite its having been the object of very limited study. Though the foundation of the church at the beginning of the 8th century by the Langobard, Pertuald,[36] allows for an early medieval date of execution, it is more plausibly pre-Romanesque. The piece was unmistakeably produced with a non-architectural function in mind, probably either as a sarcophagus lid or as a pluteus for a chancel screen, altar or pulpit. The subject matter and the rough manner in which the slab has been worked would support the former possibility. While three separate tool types were used (a simple pointed chisel, an axe with a curved cutting edge and a flat chisel), the lack of finish is evident.

There are no other instances of the use of such a style for the decoration of sarcophagi among the more abundant sculpture surviving from the Romanesque or later periods. On the other hand, the use of a pale local limestone, in place of marble, points towards a pre-Romanesque, rather than early medieval, chronology. Though none of this amounts to conclusive evidence, it can reasonably be assumed to predate the present church of S. Cassiano. Given the lack of a more precise means by which to gauge its chronology, judgements on the relevance of such a carved relief as the Careggine slab to the abundant *orants* of 'archaic' sculpture can only be tentative. But the closely affinitive stylistic traits and other shared features suggest that material of this type, together with early medieval and pre-Romanesque *orants*, such as those noted above, acted as a source in the Romanesque period.

A noteworthy aspect of the S. Cassiano *orants* lies in the corresponding reliefs on either side of the lintel over the façade portal. On each there is a figure, almost indistinguishable but for the position of the arms; the left-hand figure holds them by his side in a relaxed manner, whereas those of his right-hand counterpart are raised (Figs. 104-5). Perhaps the intention of the sculptor was to use what would have been,

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[36] Lucca Archdiocesan Archives, +G 51, from ANGELINI, Lorenzo, *Problemi di storia longobarda in Garfagnana* (Lucca, 1985), 23.

at the time, a highly original technique, evoking the act of prayer through the creation of an idea of movement.

Exhibitionist figures

Other figures that display their sexual organs and which cannot be identified as *orants* also occur in 'archaic' art. As elsewhere, in Tuscany this genre of sculpture has suffered gravely in intermediate eras from prudish vandalism: at Codiponte, Vado, and Cascia di Reggello, genitals or even the whole body have been deliberately hacked away with the punch.

Different interpretations can be placed on 'archaic' exhibitionists, and it is probable that they were not all conceived to carry the same message. In some cases, they were obviously intended as warnings against the sins of the flesh, as on the panel immediately to the left of the lectern on the pulpit at Gropina (Fig. 106). Here, the head of a figure, holding his legs apart to expose a phallus surrounded by a mass of pubic hair, is placed symmetrically between the fearsome open jaws of two enormous serpents.[37] At Corsignano, a fishtailed musician and dancers on each side of a bifid siren are similarly assailed by a pair of sea monsters with protruding tongues (Fig. 107).

Other exhibitionist carvings may have had an apotropaic quality. Megaphallic males in a frontal standing position with hands on hips at Codiponte and at Gropina[38] are remarkably similar to three exhibitionist figures, two males and one female, on a Merovingian buckle-plate from Picardy in France (Figs. 108-10).[39] Weir and Jerman believed the latter to have been apotropaic or erotic in nature, rather than having had Christian associations, and identified in such early medieval and other, classical, imagery the roots of Romanesque exhibitionism.[40]

In an Italian ambit, an affinitive phallic figure appears on a 6th/early 7th century Langobardic gold cross from Dueville, near Vicenza, though the upper body

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[37] The male figure has also been described as an "acrobat"; LECLERCQ-MARX, Jacqueline, *La Sirène dans la pensée et dans l'art de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Âge. Du mythe païen au symbole chrétien* (Brussels, 1997), 147, n. 243.

[38] The remaining corners also exhibit priapic figures, but with arms by their sides, in one case extending down to allow the hands to join below the feet.

[39] See WEIR, Anthony and JERMAN, James, *Images of Lust. Sexual Carvings on Medieval Churches* (London, 1986), Fig. 38.

[40] WEIR and JERMAN, *Images of Lust*, 92-3.

is more abstract (Fig. 111).[41] It can be posited that some aspects of earlier, non-Christian, symbolism may have filtered into 'archaic' Romanesque sculpture. The forceful, unapologetic, air of the Codiponte and Gropina males certainly appears to emphasise their sexual prowess, rather than to imply an underlying message of sin.

On the semi-capital to the right of the apse at S. Martino a Vado in the Casentino, two kneeling figures of unspecified gender appear to be performing an act of supplication to a third, standing, figure in their midst (Fig. 112). The central figure looks out towards the viewer, while the other two are facing him. Unfortunately, the left-hand and central figures have been partially cut away, but between the legs of the latter, the traces of an oversized downward-pointing phallus are still evident. He holds an unidentified object resembling an axe in his hands and wears unusual cone-shaped headgear. Due to the mutilated condition and unusual iconography of this small scene, its significance cannot easily be discerned, but the megaphallic figure evidently holds a strong power over the others.

In the same church, another phallus, in this case erect and unattached, has survived intact (Fig. 113). The slim abacus above the first southern capital is decorated with a frieze composed of a recurrent motif resembling horseshoes with inward-curling tips. These are not dissimilar to a frieze of classical inspiration on an Etruscan sarcophagus in Palazzo Guarnacci, Volterra (Fig. 114), though at Vado the palmettes have all disappeared but for one frond. On three sides of the abacus, the left hand corner is occupied by a symbol: a Maltese cross (west), an ithyphallic member with testicles (north), and a third, unrecognised, form, shaped like a jug handle (east).

Again, the relationship between these signs is difficult to decipher. But it is altogether possible that the phallus was perceived in a positive light, as with the cross, and that it functioned as an apotropaic symbol. Weir and Jerman, commenting on the mid-20th century discovery that an estimated ninety per cent of English altars constructed prior to the Black Death contained hidden phallic carvings, and other similar manifestations from as late as the 17th century, state that "It would seem reasonable to suppose, therefore, that there has survived from ancient times a belief in the apotropaic power of phallic symbols…".[42] Antonucci found a similar tradition of

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[41] ROTH, Helmut, 'Aspekte Langobardischer fernbeziehungen nach England und Skandinavien', in *Longobardi e Lombardia: aspetti di civiltà longobarda. Atti del 6° Congresso Internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo, Milano, 1978,* vol. 2 (Spoleto, 1980), 605-6.
[42] WEIR and JERMAN, *Images of Lust*, 147-8.

the use of the phallus for apotropaic purposes in medieval Abruzzo and elsewhere in Italy.[43]

The ancient origins of sirens need not concern this study;[44] suffice to say that a pre-Romanesque example on the left jamb of the northern portal of the Duomo di Sovana (Grosseto) may have been influenced by a similar image on the front of the local Etruscan 'Tomba della Sirena' (Fig. 115).[45] Sirens are as frequent in 'archaic' sculpture as they are ubiquitous in most Romanesque art, and they therefore, in an iconographic sense, represent a notable element of common ground.[46] There is no reason to doubt that their age-old significance, as relatively unambiguous symbols of the sins of the vices of lust and vanity, is any different in 'archaic' art.[47] The placement of a siren on the same panel as, and hence in association with, the phallic figure afflicted by serpents at Gropina, and the depiction at Corsignano of a single-tailed variety playing the fiddle while beset by a sea monster is proof enough.

An unusual element at Codiponte is the graphic manner in which the unmutilated siren's genitals are rendered (Fig. 117). In order to fully display them, the sculptor has adopted a pictorial device that may not have been entirely unfamiliar to an Egyptian artist four millennia previously. They are portrayed at their most characteristic – but wholly unrealistic – angle, having been carved into the plane of the ground as though they were an appendage. Romanesque sirens are generally more discreet, with such details left to the imagination.[48]

A similarly explicit example can be found in an early medieval carved slab in the Museo archeologico nazionale, Cividale del Friuli.[49] At Codiponte this feature can be closely related to the decoration on a short column whose provenance is very near:

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[43] ANTONUCCI, Giovanni, 'Temi fallici nell'iconografia medievale', *Il Folklore italiano* (1933), 63-7.
[44] See LECLERCQ-MARX, *La Sirène*, chapter I.
[45] The generally held view is that the elements which comprise the portal at Sovana are Romanesque in chronology. Salviati and Ducci even raised this possibility with regard to the pieces which fill the lunette (Fig. 116); SALVIATI, Filippo, 'La scultura ornamentale', in Salviati, Filippo (ed.), *Il Duomo di Sovana* (Rome, 1992), 77, n. 10, DUCCI, Annamaria, 'Altomedioevo e preromanico: problemi critici e storicoartistici', Università degli Studi di Pisa, Ph.D. thesis (1993), 153. The present writer does not share this analysis, there being compelling evidence to suggest that the entire portal *ensemble* is an amalgam of *spolia*, mostly from the original late 10th, or more probably, early 11th, century western portal. Unfortunately, however, space does not permit a discussion of this material here.
[46] See, for example, BALTRUŠAITIS, Jurgis, *La stylistique ornamentale dans la sculpture romane* (Paris, 1931), Figs. 252-6, 376.
[47] For the incorporation of this iconography into Christian symbolism and its early medieval history, see VIEILLARD-TROÏEKOUROFF, May, 'Sirènes-poissons carolingiennes', *Cahiers Archéologiques*, vol. XIX (1969), 61-7, and LECLERCQ-MARX, *La Sirène*, chapters II-III.
[48] WEIR and JERMAN, *Images of Lust*, 51. The authors do, however, note an exception who displays her vulva at Zamora, northern Spain (Fig. 18a).
[49] BROZZI and TAGLIAFERRI, *Arte longobarda*, 40-1 and pl. XI.

the site of the ruined cathedral of Luni. The most interesting and enigmatic of the artefacts recovered there, it is in statuary white marble and shows a number of exhibitionist figures, both male and female, which are barely raised above the surface. They are represented in an identical manner to exhibitionist figures at Codiponte (Figs. 118-20).

Providing a context or a date for this piece is problematic. The Luni fragments were almost all found during the Gropallo excavations, which took place in the late 19th century. These works were carried out in a largely unscientific manner, creating difficulties for the study of such a less easily categorised artefact. No records were kept of positions, strata, relationships with other finds or other contextual evidence for any of the discovered objects.[50]

The '*esostorico*' style of the figures gives few clues to the age of the piece, and the use of white marble is not as indicative of an early medieval date as elsewhere, as the nearby mountains are largely composed of the material. However, Mazzini was able to establish that it had been found within the ruined walls of the cathedral.[51] Given that no sculptural production later than the 8th or 9th century has come to light at the site, it is probable that the piece is also early medieval, despite the evident stylistic divergences between it and the other, more standard, sculpture. The limited dimensions suggest a non-architectural use, further sustaining such a judgement. It is therefore possible that such pieces may have inspired the exhibitionist images at Codiponte.

Zoomorphic forms: quadrupeds

Representations of stylised animals are a recurrent theme in 'archaic' sculpture. They are only exceptionally identifiable, generally appearing instead as generic 'wild beasts'. This contrasts sharply with early medieval sculpture, in which animals are usually those of the early Christian and oriental mythological repertoires, endowed with token characteristic features, such as the unicorn's horn or the lion's mane, to allow recognition. In place of the animals of early medieval art, comprehensible as allegories of Christian morality, as found in and largely inspired by the 'Physiologus',

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[50] LUSUARDI SIENA, Silvia, 'Luni paleocristiana e altomedievale nelle vicende della sua cattedrale', in *Quaderni Centro Studi Lunensi*, nos. 10-12 (1985-7), 289.
[51] MAZZINI, Ubaldo, 'Di un arcaico bassorilievo lunense', *Giornale Storico della Lunigiana*, III (1912), 169-70.

an anonymous Greek text of the 2nd century,[52] the beasts in 'archaic' sculpture seem to hold more simplistic, predominantly negative, associations.

But they share the fantastic element. For example, the tail tips of some 'archaic' beasts terminate in vegetal motifs and facial masks, a feature that also appears in south central Italy, in the early 13th century lunette over the north portal of S. Giorgio Martire, Petrella Tifernina, Molise (Figs. 121-3).[53] Such hybrids occur in early medieval art, as on the sarcophagus of Theodote, Pavia, where affronted monsters with vegetal tail tips surround a foliate motif with sprouting animal heads (Fig. 124).[54] But while the latter motif – identified by the bunches of grapes as a vine – can be taken to symbolise the vitality and regenerative power of the Christian doctrine, there is a more freakish aspect to the transfigurations of the 'archaic' beasts, suggesting a demonic quality.

Where 'archaic' quadrupeds interact with human figures, they are generally cast in a negative role, as in a slab in the façade of S. Maria a Piazza di Brancoli (Fig. 125). This piece, though reused in the uppermost section of walling, which has evidently been rebuilt, is of identical style and workmanship to the rest of the Romanesque carving of the church. It therefore seems probable that it and its four companion reliefs were slabs from a chancel screen, a pulpit or an altar, and were inserted into the façade during later restoration works. The relief in question, the second from the left, shows a beast holding the left hand of an *orant* who emerges in a horizontally inclined position from a mass of interwoven vegetal scrolls. Iconographically, it can be likened to the pre-Romanesque slab at La Chiassa Superiore, mentioned above.

Such explicitly negative symbolism is also assumed in Lunigiana, as at Pognana, where a beast with a huge tongue licks a human figure that clasps his two hands across his groin in a gesture of self-protection (Fig. 38). There is a similar scene at Vendaso, but in this case a mask is the object of such attention (Fig. 126). Two raised discs with central buttons immediately underneath the mask may be breasts. A comparable image – minus the tongued beast – occurs on the 6th-7th century Langobardic fibula from Arcisa, discussed earlier (Fig. 127). In light of the myriad

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[52] MURATOVA, Xenia, 'L'arte longobarda e il « Physiologus »', in *Atti del 6° Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo, Milano, 1978* (Spoleto, 1980), 547-9.
[53] INCOLLINGO, Bernardino, *La scultura romanica nel Molise* (Rome, 1991), 133, 139-40.
[54] CECCHI, Enrichetta, 'Su taluni marmi altomedioevali nel lapidario del Duomo di Modena: Ipotesi preliminare e saggio di analisi', in *Pavia capitale di regno. Atti del 4° Congresso Internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo, Pavia, Scaldasole, Monza, Bobbio, 1967* (Spoleto, 1969), 363.

sexual references in this group of churches, there may be an element of innuendo in the two Lunigianense carvings, as the tongue is known to have often been employed as a phallic substitute.[55]

Likewise, the multi-ridged leaf at the opposite corner of the same capital at Vendaso has become detached underneath to form a *mandorla*, and is flanked on each side by a beast performing the same licking action (Fig. 128). It is not inconceivable that one of the most distinctive elements of the early medieval cubic capital *à angles abattus* – its concave corner leaf – may have been developed here into a depiction of the female genitals.

As the entire multitude of quadrupeds at Vendaso and Codiponte, and many elsewhere, are shown with unnaturally long, extended tongues,[56] these factors, if true, would appear to place all of them in an immoral and corrupting light. Identical iconography is common in early medieval reliefs, but denotes reverence, as on the 8th century 'slab 405' in Villa Guinigi, Lucca, where a unicorn and a lion lick the cross that separates them (Fig. 129). Their purity and virtue is further reinforced through the three *fleurs-de-lys* attached above.

Unless the Vendaso capital has been over- or misinterpreted here (as it may well have been), it is possible that it represents an 'archaic' reinterpretation of early medieval iconographic symbolism, in which a sign of devotion has become one of shamelessness. The alternative, that the reverent significance remained unaltered, but was applied to a sexual, rather than Christian, symbol, would have far-reaching implications regarding the nature of the culture behind the image. The complete absence of the cross, *chrismon*, or any other overtly Christian iconography, aside from the *orants*, in the sculpture at Vendaso, Codiponte and Pognana is remarkable in itself.

But it is most probable that the beasts in these churches were primarily representative of the perils and temptations encountered on the path to purity. For example, the eleven beasts around the western portal of S. Cassiano di Controne, nine in the inner archivolt and one on each corbel under the lintel, contrast with – and

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[55] WEIR and JERMAN, *Images of Lust*, 103.

[56] For example at Pognana (capitals); S. Cassiano di Controne ('erratic' reliefs in both interior and exterior of northern clerestory); Stia (capitals); S. Giorgio Martire, Petrella Tifernina (lunette over the north portal).

appear to form a dangerous and threatening perimeter above and around – the *orants* on each side of the lintel and in the lunette (Fig. 57).[57]

The quadrupeds of the portal of S. Cassiano demonstrate the direct descent of 'archaic' beasts from the zoomorphs of early medieval art particularly well. The treatment of the fur, with multiple rhythmically undulating parallel lines and spirals, recalls the vibratory linear decoration of 6th-7th century Langobardic metalwork, as on a section of a fibula '*a staffa*' from Nocera Umbra, Umbria (Figs. 130-1).[58] The same abstract manner of rendering animals can be found in 8th century marble relief carving, as on a pluteus reused as an architrave over the left-hand door in the façade of S. Gregorio Maggiore, Spoleto, and the lions on a fragmentary tympanum of a ciborium in S. Maria in Valle, Cividale.[59] In the latter example, the smaller lion bites the tail of the one in front, just as the second and third beasts from the right on the S. Cassiano archivolt.

Zoomorphic forms: serpents

Of the other zoomorphs that appear in 'archaic' sculpture, one of the most recurrent is the snake or serpentine form. It appears on corbels, mini-lunettes under blind arches, capitals, and on mural reliefs. Though often considered to represent evil in Christian iconography, in reality the serpent carries a more ambiguous significance. While it could be a manifestation of Satan as a crafty tempter (Genesis, III, 1-5), Christ nevertheless urged his followers to "be wise as the snake and harmless as the dove" (Matthew, X, 16).[60] The snake's tendency to shed its skin was also seen as a metaphor for rebirth, i.e. the Resurrection.

The serpent was also an extremely potent symbol for the Germanic tribes of the Migration era, including the Langobards, who are "recorded as having worshipped a golden serpent".[61] Though such practices would have become scarce with the mass conversion of the Langobards to Christianity in its Arian form soon after the invasion of Italy in 568, the snake occurs frequently in marble sculpture of the Langobardic

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[57] According to Silva, the three *orants* in the lunette represent Moses, Aron and Hur. SILVA, Romano, 'Aspetti e problemi iconografici della scultura « romanica » lucchese', *Actum Luce*, no. 2 (1973), 94-6.
[58] MENIS (ed.), *I Longobardi*, 225, V.3.
[59] SERRA, Joselita, *La diocesi di Spoleto. Corpus della scultura altomedievale*, II (Spoleto, 1961), 65-7, pl. XXXIII, and HASELOFF, Arthur, *Pre-Romanesque Sculpture in Italy* (1930; New York, 1971), pl. 51.
[60] BEIGBEDER, Olivier, *Lessico dei simboli medievali* (Milan, 1994), 251.
[61] SPEAKE, George, *Anglo-Saxon Animal Art and its Germanic Background* (Oxford, 1980), 86.

era. In Tuscany, it can be found at the apex of the gabled arch from Saltocchio near Lucca, and on the rim of a monolithic marble baptismal font in the pieve di S. Marco di Rigoli in the Pisano, both 8th century works (Figs. 132-3). A further example appears on a marble element from Gello di Camaiore, Versilia, (Fig. 134).

The age of the Gello piece is not clear, due to its quite unique style and loss of context. Though it has generally always been referred to as a holy water stoup,[62] on examination it is evident that it was originally carved as a capital. The channel on one side of the top surface is typical of ducts cut for the introduction of molten lead to a central vertically bored shaft, which would have held an iron pin fixing the piece solidly to the member or masonry above. Moreover, the collar underneath was obviously created with the intention of accommodating a small supporting column.

Hence, the hollowing out to serve as a stoup took place subsequently, and has no relevance to the identity of the piece. The modest dimensions may indicate that it came from a liturgical furnishing such as a ciborium, or a small church.[63] This, together with the use of statuary white Apuan marble, and, more importantly, the extreme abstraction of the ornament, indicates a late 9th or early 10th century date of production.

The regularly sized and spaced coils of the Saltocchio snake have become a geometrical sequence. They closely resemble the interlace within and below the cross, especially the rounded twisting loops of the segment to the lower right, of which they are practically a continuation. Indeed, at first sight the serpent appears to be actual interlace. Similarly, the vegetal scroll with serpents' heads at Rigoli grows directly out of a section of interlace. Such ambiguity between interlace and zoomorphic forms is a common feature of Germanic, Insular, and other northern ornament.[64]

The early medieval association of, and perhaps transposable magic symbolism between, interlace and the serpent – both were capable of containing apotropaic properties, as will be discussed below – recurs in 'archaic' sculpture. High up on the southern pier dividing the chancel and nave of the Romanesque pieve ad Lamulas, near Arcidosso, Grosseto, there are two adjacent reliefs that exemplify this point (Fig.

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[62] For example, BELLI BARSALI, Isa, *La diocesi di Lucca. Corpus della scultura altomedievale*, I (Spoleto, 1959), 25, DUCCI, Annamaria, 'Problemicità di un manufatto preromanico: l'acquasantiera di Gello di Camaiore', *Critica d'arte*, vol. 62, no. 4 (1999).

[63] 35 X 35 X 35 cm. BELLI BARSALI, *La diocesi di Lucca*, 25.

[64] KITZINGER, Ernst, 'Interlace and Icons: Form and Function in Early Insular art', in Spearman, R. Micheal and Higgit, John (eds.), *The Age of Migrating Ideas: early medieval art in northern Britain and Ireland* (Edinburgh, 1993), 3.

135). Both of them carry variations of a horizontally extended 'recurrent figure of eight' type of interlace, but the lower of them can hardy be distinguished from at least one, possibly three, serpents, one of which, on the left, may have a head at each end. Likewise, two serpents on a corbel at S. Giulia a Caprona, near Vicopisano (Pisa), devour each other's tails, their bodies thereby becoming a single continuous interwoven loop to form a symmetrical geometric pattern (Fig. 136). An apotropaic significance has been proposed for similarly interwoven snakes on the steps leading down to the Merovingian-era funerary chapel at Poitiers, the 'Hypogée des Dunes'.[65]

It is likely that the snake constitutes an example of the Christian assimilation of a pre-Christian iconography, a process that would have been facilitated by its common appearance in biblical texts. However, it is unlikely that any pre-Christian meanings survived this fusion, as where serpents occur together with human images, the symbolism is always negative.

For example, on the pulpit at Gropina, the serpents fulfil the role of tormentors of the sinner, while at Pognana, a snake accompanies licking beasts in surrounding the human figure. Two reliefs flanking the façade window at S. Giovanni Battista a Ponte allo Spino, near Sovicille (Siena), offer further such evidence. To the right of the window, a figure, possibly female, holds a ferocious beast on a long leash; in the corresponding left-hand position, a winged serpent with two short legs is surmounted by a dove (Figs. 137-8). The symmetrical placement of the quadruped and the serpent, and their shared features – protruding tongue, sharp fangs and claws – make their equivalence as symbols of corruption evident. They would appear to be references to the need to keep sinful impulses in check, the mortal assisted in this task by the dove, manifestation of the Holy Spirit (Mark, I, 10).[66]

Interlace

Interlace is perhaps the principle *leitmotif* of 'archaic' decoration, and is one of the elements which does most to create an early medieval appearance. Yet it should be noted that the more simple 'recurrent figure of eight' varieties of interlace have a much more ancient history in Italy, occurring frequently in the pre-Roman art of the

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[65] KITZINGER, 'Interlace and Icons', 4-5.
[66] THOUMIEU, Marc, *Dizionario d'iconografia romanica* (Milan, 1997), 131.

Etruscans and Latins.[67] In some cultures, such as in Japan and the pre-Columbian Andes, interlaced patterns are known to have fulfilled protective, mnemonic and magical functions.[68] In antique and medieval Europe, knots were used as amulets,[69] a tradition that survived into relatively recent times in Tuscany, where '*lavori intrecciati*' (interlaced works), were believed to keep witches at bay until at least the late 19th century.[70]

However, the degree to which such direct meanings or uses may have been attached to all of the many permutations of interlace in medieval sculpture is difficult to establish. Both Gombrich and Kitzinger cautioned against the tendency to seek a deeper significance, where the underlying motivation may have been nothing more than the simple pleasure gained from beautiful patterns, both by the artist and his client.[71] Nevertheless, Kitzinger did allow that, where interlace occurs on door lintels of churches, as is common in Tuscan 'archaic' Romanesque (Fig. 139), it is likely to have served an apotropaic function. As this part of a church – the literal 'portal' between sacred space and worldly evil – was deemed to be in particular need of protection, apotropaic devices, including interlace, were commonly included.[72]

Generally, early medieval types are replicated in a faithful manner in 'archaic' sculpture. But in some instances, 'archaic' interlace departs in some way from early medieval models, providing more elucidation on the spirit with which such work was carried out. At Codiponte, many of the abaci of the capitals are adorned with relatively simple interlaced designs. Nevertheless, in at least six instances the artist evidently experienced serious difficulty in setting them out.

Ribbons weave under others where they should pass above, at times barely perceptibly (Figs. 140-1 & 188), but in other instances creating considerable visual confusion (Fig. 142). Elsewhere they end unnaturally, either disappearing from view under a mass of knotwork without resurfacing, or they simply terminate, thereby

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[67] For example, the 6th century B. C. terracotta panels that decorated the palace of Murlo (province of Siena), now housed in the Depositi della Superintendenza Archeologica per l'Etruria, Florence; PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, Giovanni (ed.), *Rasenna. Storia e civiltà degli Etruschi* (Milan, 1986), Figs. 160, 297-8, 507. See also COLONNA, Giovanni, 'I Latini e gli altri popoli del Lazio', in Pugliese Carratelli (ed.), *Italia: omnium terrarum alumna*, Figs. 403, 506, 515.

[68] BUDNY, Mildred, 'Deciphering the Art of Interlace', in Hourihane, Colum (ed.), *From Ireland coming: Irish art from the early Christian to the late Gothic period and its European context* (Index of Christian Art, Occasional Papers, 4) (Princeton, 2001), 197.

[69] KITZINGER, 'Interlace and Icons', 3.

[70] GOMBRICH, Ernst H., *The Sense of Order. A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art* (London, 1979), 263

[71] GOMBRICH, *The Sense of Order*, 262-4, KITZINGER, 'Interlace and Icons', 3-4.

[72] KITZINGER, 'Interlace and Icons', 4-5.

breaking what is, in these simple varieties, generally intended as an unending cycle (Fig. 143). In some cases, the sculptor has sought to rectify his error by chasing the strands of an under-weaving cord through those of the overlying one, in an attempt to reverse the order of passage (Figs. 143-4).

These and other examples, such as on the lintel over the façade portal at S. Agata di Mugello (Fig. 11), demonstrate an incomplete grasp of the complex geometrical procedures required to produce such designs successfully.[73] They may have been the endeavours of an apprentice, but the prominent position of the latter piece, the sole instance of carved ornament in the façade, suggests otherwise. At Codiponte, the botched designs may have been the first attempts of a sculptor unfamiliar with interlaced patterns, as the remaining abaci were executed correctly. But such an occurrence would be unlikely in early medieval carving, and sculpture with such obvious faults would almost certainly have been either rejected or properly righted by carving back a shallow dip and recreating the design in that area.

Elsewhere, forms of interlace occur which cannot be found in earlier periods, suggesting an element of experimentalism on the part of some 'archaic' sculptors, as on the band of ornament running across the façade of S. Giovanni Battista a Ponte allo Spino (Fig. 145).

No other monument, however, can rival S. Maria Assunta a Cellole, near San Gimignano in the Senese, for inventiveness in the construction of interlace and other decorative motifs (Fig. 146). Despite technical and stylistic similarities with early medieval sculpture, many of them are either original or very liberally interpreted, becoming almost unrecognisable reinterpretations of earlier forms. The devotion to a purely architectural function identifies the sculptural ornament as Romanesque, as do other details. For example, the tiny human heads at the upper and lower extremes of some of the corner leafs of the nave capitals show that at least some of the sculptors had a reasonable knowledge of facial anatomy, and were probably capable of carving in the round (Fig. 147). Elsewhere, the technique is overwhelmingly one of very flat relief, and other examples of figurative work would appear to been produced by other artists (Fig. 148).

The major concentration of sculpture at Cellole occurs in the apse, both internally and externally. This portion of the building has uniformly been assigned to

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[73] See BUDNY, 'Deciphering the Art', 183-96.

a precedent structure from the early 12th century. The rest of the sculptural elements are also held to belong to this earlier phase and to have been reused as *spolia*, with the exception of the nave capitals, coeval with a late 12th century reconstruction.[74]

However, the homogenous nature of the carving, decorative style, and motival repertoire in the entire body of sculpture in the church – including the capitals – demonstrate it all to be the result of a single phase of production, carried out by the same *atelier*. Furthermore, the sculpture would appear to be dated by the inscription carved into one of the façade blocks, which testifies that a reconstruction of the church concluded in 1238: † A.D.M.CC.XXXVIII consumatio plebis (Fig. 149).[75] The style and cut of the rosettes set into a lunette above the inscription cannot be distinguished from other examples of the same motif that occur throughout the rest of the sculpture (Figs. 150-1). Though it could be argued that the inscription was added to a decorated block at a later date, there are no other examples present of simple ashlar bearing ornament in this fashion, suggesting that the rosettes were carved coevally with – and with the intention of enhancing – the inscription.

Nevertheless, the arrangement of the sculptural ornament at Cellole presents a great number of incongruities throughout. These are most clearly observed in – but are by no means limited to – the interior of the apse. Here, many of the units that make up the cornice above the blind arcade, as well as the archivolts surrounding the mini-lunettes and other material, do not correlate with their neighbours and have evidently been rearranged. Decoration is often unnaturally truncated or disappears without termination into a wall (Fig. 152), while small capitals have been used as bases, though only one carries a column. Such anomalies make it probable that the elements with sculpture were reorganised at a later date. The condition of the internally positioned material, while not wholly uniform, is generally good, suggesting that the original structure was systematically dismantled for reutilisation with relative care.

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[74] MORETTI, Mario, *L'architettura romanica religiosa nel territorio dell'antica Repubblica Senese* (Parma, 1962), 135; MORETTI, Italo and STOPANI, Renato, *Chiese romaniche in Valdelsa* (Florence, 1968), 203; FRATI, Marco, 'Santa Maria Assunta a Cellole', in Lastraioli, Giuliano (ed.), *Chiese medievali della Valdelsa. I territori della via Francigena. Aspetti architettonici e decorativi degli edifici romanici religiosi lungo le strade nei piveri valdelsani tra XI e XIII secolo*. Vol. 1: *Tra Firenze, Lucca e Volterra* (Empoli, 1995), 140-1.

[75] Most of the façade was rebuilt in a 19th century restoration, leaving only the area around the portal original (the inscription is to the immediate left of the portal), though several Romanesque sculptural pieces were reinserted into the façade during these works. FRATI, 'Santa Maria Assunta a Cellole', 139.

In several instances, interlaced designs at Cellole do not follow any set order, with ribbons that randomly weave in and out leaving no two segments alike, as on a mini-lunette in the apse exterior (Fig. 153). However, the results cannot be compared to Codiponte, where interlace was based on a standard repetitive pattern but inexpertly executed. More regularly structured interlace types have the inherent potential to fill a space of any dimensions according to how many times a set recurrent pattern is replicated. In contrast, at Cellole it must have required considerable patience and skill to plan such free forms without encountering serious difficulties. On the façade of S. Cassiano di Controne, an attempt to carry off a similar display of freedom from constraints in a tight mass of knotwork ended in the same problems – though less glaringly so – as at Codiponte, with strands that vanish without reappearing (Fig. 154).

In fact, in other instances of this type on the internal apse cornice at Cellole, the sculptor has resorted to attaching tendrils to the main strands as interstitial void fillers, lest the design take on a patchy appearance (Figs. 155-8). In one case, the single interlaced ribbon that decorates a section of cornice divides at each end into a pair of such tendrils (Fig. 155). These examples can be compared to similar work on one of the nave capitals of S. Donato a Polenta (Fig. 159) and, in several instances, to contemporary Tuscan manuscript illumination.[76]

Such unregimented forms of interlace do not occur in Italian early medieval stone sculpture: basic patterns that can be extended through replication are preferred. But they find precedence, yet again, in 6th-7th century Langobardic jewellery.[77] There is no means by which a connection can be determined or discounted, but at Cellole, given the highly innovative designs that appear throughout the church, there is a greater likelihood that they are the product of spontaneous individual creativity.

Other types of geometric decoration

There is a further form of relief ornament at Cellole that, to the knowledge of the present writer, cannot be related to any other medieval Italian examples. Only five examples of this decoration remain at Cellole: three mini-lunettes in the apse exterior, the right-hand corbel under the lintel of the western portal, and a further fragmentary

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[76] For example, see BERG, Knut, *Studies in Tuscan Twelfth-Century Illumination* (Oslo-Bergen-Tromsö, 1968), Figs. 51-2.
[77] See RAGGHIANTI, Carlo Ludovico, *L'arte in Italia*, vol. II (Rome, 1966), col. 292.

section on an abacus (Figs. 160-3).[78] It consists of raised, flat, ribbons that ceaselessly loop and curl, sometimes ending in spirals (Fig. 160). Where ribbons cross, they simply momentarily merge, rather than one weaving under the other. In one of the apse lunettes, the decoration is based on four overlapping circles, from which a variety of curls branch off (Fig. 162).

The most strikingly unusual example of this type is the corbel in the façade (Fig. 163). Here, the ornament is exceptionally unrestrained, particularly on the upper register, where at one point it detaches in concentric circles. The large bulbs that form at the corners are very likely volutes that have undergone a process of extreme abstraction. Frati saw in this piece "stylised symmetrically placed animals",[79] probably based on the outer face of the upper register, where a form which could perhaps be interpreted as a bifid siren can be seen. It is, however, more probable that these designs are vegetal in conception; whether by coincidence or not, the inner face of the top register is extraordinarily similar to a type found in Anglo-Saxon carving, which Cramp termed "exploded scroll" (Fig. 164).[80] A stringent and less distant comparison can also be made with the wave-like motifs that frequently border Etruscan stelae in the Bologna area.[81]

The possible relationship with Anglo-Saxon art is especially intriguing. Another common motif at Cellole, consisting of a row of overlapping circles skewered by a line running from the outermost curve of the terminating circle at each end, is identical to an Anglo-Saxon pattern (Figs. 165-6).[82] Again, the present writer is unaware of any other instance of this type in medieval Tuscan art or that of anywhere else in Italy. The sole exceptions appear in nearby San Gimignano, on several blocks of a frieze on what remains of the façade of the Spedale di S. Giovanni (Fig. 30), where the remaining sculpture betrays the same workshop as that of Cellole.

It is not easy to advance any explanation as to how any of the above forms may have arrived in the very localised Cellole/San Gimignano district without leaving traces in the surrounding area or anywhere else. The Saxon contingent was the most

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[78] At the north-eastern corner of the northern nave pier. The relief has mostly been cut away to facilitate what is obviously an altered usage.
[79] FRATI, 'Santa Maria Assunta a Cellole', 140.
[80] CRAMP, Rosemary, *Anglo-Saxon Ornament: A General Introduction to the Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture* (Oxford, 1984), xxv, Fig. 10.
[81] For example, two pieces in the Museo Civico Archeologico, Bologna. See PUGLIESE CARRATELLI (ed.), *Rasenna*, Figs. 151 & 570. The latter stele is dated is to the second half of the 5th century B.C.
[82] CRAMP, *Anglo-Saxon Ornament*, xiv, Fig. C (v).

substantial and distinct of the various ethnic groups that accompanied the Langobards on their invasion of Italy.[83] It can be assumed that they would have brought with them portable objects bearing artwork, some of which may have survived to inspire the Romanesque sculptors. Saxons maintained a separate identity in Italy until at least the second half of the 10th century, as will be shown in chapter six. It cannot be excluded that some elements of their art were kept alive for transmission into the 12th century by these descendants of the 6th century immigrants.

One of the most frequently employed patterns at Cellole consists of four pairs of spirals disposed symmetrically in the segments resulting from a central X shape, to which they are usually attached by a leaf with a wide v-cut down the middle (Fig. 167). These appear to occur solely in Visigothic art, both metalwork and architectural stone sculpture (Fig. 168), though Puig i Cadafalch did mention that they are present in some Iberian Roman mosaics, and presumably, therefore, also in Italy.[84]

Also curious is another design on one of the mini-lunettes reused along with other sculptural fragments, ashlar blocks and fieldstone to reconstruct the upper section of exterior walling of the apse (Fig. 169). The layout and ornament follow the scheme most predominantly employed in the lunettes under the internal and external apsidal blind arcades: a half-circular field at the centre, in this case with a pair of quadri-lobed rosettes, surrounded by a wide border. This contains what initially appears to be a slightly confused, or inaccurately executed, row of overlapping or interlinked circles.

However, on the semi-circular section of border, these circles are divided down the middle into two orders by a slightly raised, thin, ridge. The half circles in the two separate bands thus created do not, and could not, correspond, as those on the outside have a larger diameter. Furthermore, the latter are double-fluted, in contrast to the single furrow of those of both the inner ring and the chain of complete circles running along the lower band of the lunette. These last two areas are clearly united, as the decoration is unbroken where they meet on the right.

On each side of the central ridge lie two closely related, but separate, dimensions of ornament. No technical or functional explanation exists for this

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[83] WICKHAM, Chris J., *Early Medieval Italy. Central Power and Local Society, 400-1200* (London, 1981), 32.

[84] PUIG I CADAFALCH, Josep, *L'art Wisigothique et ses survivances. Recherches sur les origines et le développement de l'art en France et en Espagne du IVe au XIIe siècle* (1944; Paris, 1961), 52-3 and pl. XIIa-c.

singular arrangement, and it must therefore be attributed to an intentional decorative choice. It is worth reflecting on what drove the artist to create a design that must have been significantly more complex to set out than a border of integral circles, especially given that the result would have been much easier to read. As the lunette can be presumed to have been positioned in the arcade of the apse exterior, hence at a height of about five metres, it seriously risked misinterpretation as bad workmanship. The present writer can find no plausible alternative motivation to the desire to experiment on the part of the sculptor. This piece, perhaps more than any other, demonstrates the artistic creativity and ingenuity inherent in the sculpture at Cellole; this is a constant factor in most 'archaic' art, although it is rarely as manifestly expressed.

Conclusion

Following the discussion of some of the more prominent aspects of 'archaic' iconography and decoration, several general deductions can be made.

The origins of 'archaic' style, technique, and iconography lie mostly in early medieval metalwork and stone carving, though lesser influences from the more ancient arts of the Etruscans and Celts cannot be excluded. In some instances, the original symbolism related to certain images, such as apotropaic phallic figures, may also have survived. Yet it is also clear that, where necessary, these 'reutilised' elements were subject to a process whereby their significance was altered, so as to conform to the prerequisites of a new era. Thus, the unicorn and lion which lick the cross in an act of devotion on the 8th century Lucchese 'slab 405' have become unidentifiable beasts symbolising corruption, perhaps sexual, on a 12th century capital at Vendaso.

Much 'archaic' imagery demonstrates that, despite the adoption of many elements of early medieval style and technique, most sculpture of this type was nevertheless inherently 'Romanesque' in outlook and conception. Hence, one of its principle *raisons d'être* was to serve as a pedagogic and moralising force. For example, the placement of a scene showing musicians, a siren, and dancers surrounded by hostile sea serpents on the lintel above the façade portal of Corsignano would have been calculated for maximum effect on the faithful as they were about to pass over the threshold. The central position of the siren is akin to the lintel of the western portal at S. Michele in Foro, Lucca, whose sculptural style is not in the least

'archaic'.[85] These types of clear references to the sinful nature of not only sexuality, but of activities that were perceived as encouraging libidinousness, abound in Romanesque sculpture throughout Europe.

The Romanesque identity of 'archaic'sculpture is hinted at in the increased frequency with which human and animal images occur, and in small, but significant, details in the carving, such as heightened animation in the '*têtes coupées*'. The three-dimensionality of the miniscule human heads on capitals at Cellole, and the modest awareness of anatomical proportions that they display, betray an enormously revealing aspect of the sculptors who executed such work. That is, in all probability many of them were perfectly capable of carving in high relief.

It is true that the differing approaches to technique at Cellole may be explained by the presence of sculptors from another workshop, working alongside others more used to flat relief. But the former hypothesis finds confirmation in other instances, where different works exhibiting hugely contrasting attitude to volume can unmistakably be attributed to the same hand. The most illustrative example of this is Gropina, where the facial characteristics of the figures on the pulpit, barely raised above the surface, cannot be distinguished from those on the capitals, many of which are so undercut as to be almost in the round (Figs. 76-9).

Therefore, the sculptors who created 'archaic' sculpture were not constricted to working in flat relief through technical limitations or the constraints of tradition. The implications are that not only the technique, but other aspects of 'archaic' sculpture, especially style, were the result of a considered choice on the part of either the stone carvers or their patrons.

It can be inferred from the errors on some of the abaci at Codiponte that the art of setting out intricate geometrical patterns such as interlace had to be self-taught, perhaps by referring to the designs on a *spolia* slab as models. But the mutated forms at Cellole, and the adaptations to Romanesque taste and requirements elsewhere, demonstrate that the aim was not to reproduce identical replicas of early medieval relief sculpture, either in meaning or form. Instead, it was sufficient to achieve an early medieval appearance or 'effect'. This theme will be elaborated upon in the next chapter.

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[85] See DALLI REGOLI, Gigetta, '«Sirene animalia sunt mortifera»: animali e mostri in un architrave lucchese del XII secolo', *Arte cristiana*, LXXXVII (1999).

4. 'Archaic' sculpture: continuity or revival?

As the previous chapter showed, 'archaic' sculpture demonstrates some characteristics of marked continuity with early medieval relief carving but also some departures. One of the most crucial aspects of 'archaic' sculpture is the extent to which it can be uninterruptedly linked in a diachronic manner to the early medieval forms it so often resembles. The alternative possibility, that it represents a resurgence following a period of abandonment, must also be explored. In both these scenarios, but more especially the latter, the issue of motivation is highly relevant. However, it is proposed to leave examination of the latter to later chapters, allowing here a concentration on the material evidence.

An assessment of this question is hampered by the relative scarcity of Tuscan sculpture which can definitely be ascribed to the post-Carolingian, pre-Romanesque period. Hence, while there are a significant number of churches dating from the 11th-13th centuries containing 'archaic' sculpture, and a much lesser but reasonably substantial amount of material, almost all fragmentary liturgical fittings, from the 8th-early 9th centuries, there is not so much in between. This situation is compounded by the common chronological uncertainties surrounding what does appear to exist from the intermediary period, with few undisputed benchmarks with which to judge more obstinately undated material.

Very occasionally, there would seem to be a stylistic link between non-coeval sculptural elements situated either within the same location or near each other, suggesting either a continuity of local tradition or the imitation of material from an earlier period. Instances of this nature are of special value to this study, as transmission can more reliably be established where distance between the seeming object of inspiration and its subject is not a factor. Critically, this allows firmer conclusions to be drawn regarding all aspects of the manner in which elements of early medieval style may have made their way into the Romanesque. Particular attention will therefore be paid to these examples in attempting to determine whether 'archaic' sculpture can be related to a continuous artistic tradition or to a rehabilitation of stylistic elements of a preceding era.

Lunigiana: Codiponte, Vendaso and Pognana

Formentini was the first to draw attention to the rich sculpture at Ss. Cornelio e Cipriano a Codiponte, mostly adorning the nave capitals.[1] He noted tight formal similarities between the sandstone capitals, which are the cubic type *à angles abattus*, and marble pieces from the ruined 8th-9th century Cathedral of S. Maria at Luni (Figs. 170-1). This led Formentini to mistakenly believe that a 9th century school of stone carvers based in Luni but working throughout the surrounding area executed the capitals of the three churches,[2] which in fact date to the 12th-13th centuries.[3] This, and other errors, gave rise to a tendency on the part of subsequent studies to disregard the many more accurate observations made by Formentini regarding the influence of Luni on Lunigianense Romanesque.

Most of the Luni fragments are fairly typical of early medieval liturgical fittings, and are closely related to sculpture from the Langobardic capital Pavia, as well as the capital of *Tuscia*, Lucca.[4] Further noteworthy correspondences between the Luni material and Lunigianense 'archaic' sculpture can be added to those found by Formentini (and those noted in the previous chapter). The presence of chip-carving on one of the fragments is repeated at the *pieve* of S. Paolo di Vendaso (Figs. 172-3). Crucially, at Vendaso it has been modified through incorporation into a more varied format and the strict regularity has been lost. The genesis of this type of ornament, designed to create a *chiaroscuro* effect, lies in the *Kerbschnitt* of Ostrogothic and Langobardic metalwork (Fig. 174).

Recurrent leaf whirls on another Luni fragment are not dissimilar to the leafed scrolls that also appear on many of the abaci of the Lunigianense capitals, though the vortical element has been lost (Figs. 175-6). Less altered are the three-stranded interlace and rosettes. An even closer likeness to the Lunigianense capitals in terms of overall form can be seen in a small capital in the crypt of S. Pietro in Villore, in the town of S. Giovanni d'Asso, Arezzo (Fig. 177). This sandstone piece, carved with its column in monolithic form, was cautiously dated to the 10th century or earlier by

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[1] FORMENTINI, Ubaldo, 'La pieve di Codiponte e l'arte paleoromanica della Lunigiana', *La Spezia. Rassegna Municipale* (1951).
[2] FORMENTINI, 'La pieve di Codiponte', 46, 49.
[3] MAGNI, Maria Clotilde, 'Note su alcuni caratteri dell'arte romanica in Lunigiana', *Archivio storico per le provincie parmensi*, vol. 26 (1974), 79-84 and VECCHI, Eliana M., 'Immaginario e simbolismo nella scultura romanica', in Ambrosi, Augusto C. (ed.), *Lunigiana: Segni nel tempo* (Pisa, 1988).
[4] For a catalogue of the early medieval sculptural fragments recovered at Luni, see VERZONE, Paolo, *L'arte preromanica in Liguria ed i rilievi decorativi dei "secoli barbari"*, (Turin, 1945), 59-85. They were conserved in the Fabbricotti museum, Carrara, until the 1930s, when they were moved to the Museo Ubaldo Formentini, La Spezia.

Fatucchi.[5] In addition to the concave leafed angles with multiple borders, interlace adorns the abacus. It cannot be ruled out that comparable capitals at Luni, now lost, were catalytic to the development of 'archaic' sculpture in Lunigiana.

Formentini's thesis that 'archaic' sculpture in Lunigiana was inspired by Luni Cathedral has more validity than has been admitted, though the means by which that inspiration occurred would obviously need to be revised. The proximity of all sites concerned certainly adds weight to this argument.

In one of the three Romanesque churches in question, S. Maria Assunta di Pognana, there is an early medieval marble fragment mounted on the wall to the right of the chancel barrier. Again probably from a liturgical fixture such as a chancel screen, it carries the same iconographic theme, affronted birds drinking from the *kantharos*, as one of the nave capitals (Figs. 178-9). Despite obvious superficial variances between the two relief images, it may well be an example of early medieval sculpture providing a still-verifiable model for 'archaic' Romanesque.

It cannot be entirely excluded that the Romanesque carving may have been inspired by another medium such as decorated textiles or illuminated manuscripts. But Pognana's status as a relatively remote *cappella* (a simple chapel without the right to perform such ceremonies as baptism or burial), under the jurisdiction of the *pieve* at Vendaso,[6] limits the probability that there would have been access to such rich objects. By contrast, the marble fragment was very likely part of an earlier church at Pognana, in which case it would have been to hand to the sculptor and his patrons, and could easily have provided the stimulus for the later version. Such a possibility has already been remarked by Baroni, as mentioned in the introduction, but had also previously been refuted by Vecchi on the grounds of stylistic divergences.[7]

Vecchi's analysis must be challenged. The capitals at Pognana have quite clearly been reworked, though the original decoration was evidently retained in a transformed state. These restoration works took place following the earthquake of 1920.[8] Vecchi's contention that the capital with the affronted birds was one of those

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[5] FATUCCHI, Alberto, *La diocesi di Arezzo. Corpus della scultura altomedioevale*, IX (Spoleto, 1977), 188.

[6] AMBROSI, Augusto C., 'Santa Maria Assunta di Pognana', *Giornale Storico della Lunigiana*, VI (1955), 5-6.

[7] BARONI, Fabio (and others), *Massa, Carrara e la Lunigiana. La storia, l'architettura, l'arte delle città e del territorio. Itinerari nel patrimonio storico-religioso* (Milan, 1999), 137. VECCHI, 'Immaginario e simbolismo', 237-8.

[8] MAGNI, 'Note su alcuni caratteri', 79.

relatively unaffected cannot be supported.[9] It exhibits, if anything, more signs of having been freshly cut than some of the other, supposedly more altered, capitals (Fig. 180). Therefore, while there is little doubt about the capital's iconography, less attention should be paid to the details of the rendition, which are untrustworthy. Baroni's interpretation, which he extended by extrapolation to Codiponte and Vendaso, is consequently the more reliable.

The small segment of interlace cut off by the break in the marble fragment may also account for the heavy use of the design in the abaci of the later capitals (Figs. 181 & 38). Were one to accept Ambrosi's assertion that the truncated figure on the fragment is an *orant* (Fig. 182), it would allow conjecture that it may have provided the iconographic stimulus for those at Codiponte. But the lowered position of the right arm belies this idea.[10]

Of further interest in Lunigiana are several surviving sculptural remnants from the *pieve* of S. Pietro di Offiano, not far from Codiponte. Some are now in the closed-order convent adjacent to the church, while others are in the museum in nearby Casola. The most noteworthy of the pieces, all in sandstone, are two capitals whose form is somewhere between an inverted truncated pyramid and a cone, surmounted by a low abacus. Each bears a number of human figures in very flat relief (Figs. 102 & 183-6).

Though undoubtedly Romanesque, the schematic differences between these and the capitals of the three Lunigianense churches make it unlikely that they are coeval. It is reasonable to assume that the Offiano capitals are earlier given their small size, which led Manfredi to consider that they may have been part of a ciborium or porch.[11] Were they nave capitals, the building must have been of very modest dimensions.[12] Uncertainty surrounds the foundation of S. Pietro, as it is unrecorded

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[9] VECCHI, 'Immaginario e simbolismo', 236.
[10] AMBROSI, 'Santa Maria Assunta di Pognana', 9-10. Ambrosi commented that the figure was "probably an *orant* or a *crucifero*" (cross bearer). The latter suggestion seems more plausible, given that the cross above is attached to the head of the figure.
[11] MANFREDI, Giovanni, 'Pieve di Offiano', in Ambrosi, Augusto C., Bertozzi, Massimo and Manfredi, Giovanni, *Massa Carrara: Pievi e territorio della Provincia* (Pisa, 1989), 117.
[12] The capitals measure approximately 14 X 14 inches on their upper surface, with a height of 20 inches and would have rested atop a column with a radius of 8.5 inches.

prior to a papal bull of 1148.[13] Recent excavations revealed a successive series of structures dating back to the early Middle Ages.[14]

The squared abacus at the top of the capitals, the placement of a human head on each corner, as well as the appearance of exhibitionism (Fig. 102) and seeming *orants* are in some way reminiscent of the capitals of the *pievi* of Vendaso and Codiponte. The lack of concave corners or spatial division between the figures, which in many cases interact, in addition to a complete absence of any aniconic motifs differentiates them. It is nevertheless conceivable that the Offiano capitals may be precursors to the 12th-13th century Lunigianense 'archaic' sculpture. The presence of separate abaci decorated with interlace dictated by the borders in a similar manner to the later capitals, particularly those of Codiponte, would support this view (Figs. 187-8). Feeding birds are another feature held in common with the latter *pieve* (Figs. 189-90). However, as before, the lack of anything approaching a definitive date for the Offiano sculpture makes such considerations speculative.

Siena and Arezzo: the Pieve di Corsignano and S. Maria della Pieve

As outlined in the introduction, Ducci found probable motival transmission from reutilised early medieval sculpture to Romanesque carvings in Ss. Vito e Modesto a Corsignano, just outside Pienza (Siena).[15] On the outer face of the left jamb of the southern portal, interlaced rhombi and circles in flat relief replicate a similar design on 9th century fragmentary slabs which have been incorporated into a modern chancel barrier (Figs. 191-2).[16]

Ducci accurately observed that in the Romanesque reinterpretation, the geometric design has become a lattice within which a variety of human, zoomorphic and vegetal images can be placed. The lines of the design itself are adorned with chevron in place of the simple three-stranded original (Fig. 193). It is also immediately apparent that, in the Romanesque version, the execution is far more accomplished. The two strata, circles and rhombi, have also become interwoven rather than merely overlapping, as on the earlier slabs, thereby rendering the result more intricate. This may indicate that the Romanesque jamb was inspired by another early

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[13] PISTARINO, Geo, 'I privilegi papali dal 1148 al 1203', in *Le pievi della Diocesi di Luni*, vol. I (La Spezia, 1961), 12. The '*plebem de Offlano*' was referred to in the 1148 papal bull of Eugenius III.
[14] BARONI, *Massa, Carrara e la Lunigiana*, 147.
[15] DUCCI, Annamaria, 'Altomedioevo e preromanico: problemi critici e storicoartistici', Università degli Studi di Pisa, Ph.D. thesis (1993), 163-4.
[16] FATUCCHI, *La diocesi di Arezzo*, nos. 168-9.

medieval relief, now lost, as the interwoven variety was more common in the early Middle Ages.[17]

Further possible introductions from the still-extant early medieval material, such as vortices (Figs. 194-5), can be noted. Here, the later version differs in that it is no longer contained by an enclosing circle with sprouting spirals. Instead, though it is surrounded laterally by rams' heads and by a vegetal motif below, it exists freely in space. Its position at the centre of the abacus of the left-hand pilaster of the western portal is reciprocated on the other side by a *tête coupée* (Fig. 196). As the rams' heads and vegetal motif are identical on the two abaci, it would appear that an aniconic element, i.e. the vortex, was perceived as equivalent to a figurative representation. The *têtes coupées*, which occur throughout the Romanesque phase of decoration at Corsignano (Fig. 197), may also have been influenced by the sculpture of the pre-existing church. Two comparable heads are present on the corners of a sandstone capital, in monolithic form with its column (Fig. 198), currently placed in the southern presbytery. The piece was tentatively ascribed by Fatucchi to the 10th century.[18]

There is no doubt, however, that the most instructive crossover into the Romanesque at Corsignano is that highlighted by Ducci, as the heightened complexity of the result allows far more insight into the nature of the process concerned. It presents a rare opportunity to glimpse what was of interest in an earlier carving to the Romanesque sculptors and how they utilised and modified what had been selected.

Perhaps most valuable is the graphic way it demonstrates the fundamentally creative element involved. Though the introduction of numerous figurative images was not, in fact, a novelty, there is a markedly diminished respect for the geometric frame. This is most clearly seen in the top circle, where a quadruped utilises two separate spaces. In early medieval examples of the same pattern, these spaces are generally left unfilled. But comparison with other examples of the various Carolingian interlaced grid designs, where such a transgression would be inconceivable, demonstrates the divergence in attitude. As Ducci pointed out, the strict rules governing a geometric composition have been relaxed.

An interesting comparison can here be made with the lunette, carved in relief, above the south door of S. Maria della Pieve ad Arezzo (Fig. 199). Salmi and Peroni

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[17] See, for example, the sarcophagus cover 'of Senatore' in the Museo Civico di Pavia: KAUTZSCH, Rudolf, 'Die langobardische Schmuckkunst in Oberitalien', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgescichte*, V (1941), Fig. 42.
[18] FATUCCHI, *La diocesi di Arezzo*, no. 172.

hypothesised the semicircular ensemble of three slabs to be *spolia* remnants from a pre-existing church on the same site.[19] The entire work is adorned with the type of interlace that Stückelberg defined "*gesäumte Viereckknetz*": a mesh of twisting ribbons which produce a grid of quadrangular fields.[20] At Arezzo, each of these is inhabited by one of a limited repertoire of motifs: crosses, bunches of grapes and several stylised leaf types. The framing and content are, on almost all counts, practically indistinguishable from such Carolingian era relief decoration as can be seen, for example, in the Duomo di Orbetello, S. Maria in Trastevere in Rome, and S. Pietro in Tuscania.[21]

Yet the central space of the uppermost register contains a human head that is conspicuous in its (non-'archaic') Romanesque style and three-dimensionality (Fig. 200). For Salmi, Fatucchi and Ducci, this incongruence was accounted for by the recarving of this section during a Romanesque makeover, concurrent with the placement of the slabs in their present position.[22] Several aspects of the lunette make this interpretation questionable.

Though the surface decoration is married with moderate accuracy, the three slabs are spliced together in an unusual fashion, as the joints cut diagonally across the plane with little regard for the ornament. Where early medieval reliefs were composed of one or more joined slabs, the norm was to run a raised border along each side of the joint. This characteristic appears, for example, on two reliefs in the Museo nazionale di Villa Guinigi, Lucca: the so-called 'slab 405' and the gabled arch of a ciborium from S. Andrea a Saltocchio (Figs. 129 & 132). Curiously, on both these pieces the borders are broken solely by a cross, which bridges the divide; all other decorative elements are restricted to just one side. Belli Barsali believed the incorporation of such raised borders to be an inheritance from 5th-7th century gold working practices.[23]

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[19] SALMI, Mario 'L'architettura romanica nel territorio aretino' (part III), *Rassegna d'arte antica e moderna*, June (1915), 137. PERONI, Adriano, 'Problemi di studio della scultura altomedievale alla luce della catalogazione dei materiali aretini: la lunetta del portale meridionale della Pieve di S. Maria di Arezzo', in *Arezzo e i suoi territori nell'Alto Medioevo. Atti del Convegno, Arezzo, 1983* (Cortona, 1985), 184.

[20] STÜCKELBERG, Ernst Alfred, *Longobardische Plastik* (Zurich, 1896), 51.

[21] For an illustration of the Orbetello slab, see: *Guida alla Maremma medievale: itinerari di archeologia nella provincia di Grossetto* (Siena, 2000), 211. For Rome and Tuscania see KAUTZSCH, Rudolf, 'Die römische Schmuckkunst in Stein vom 6. bis zum 10. Jahrhundert', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgescichte*, III (1939), Figs. 45 & 68.

[22] SALMI, Mario, *Romanesque Sculpture in Tuscany* (Florence, 1928), 20, n. 7. FATUCCHI, *La diocesi di Arezzo*, 39. DUCCI, 'Altomedioevo e preromanico', 131-2.

[23] BELLI BARSALI, Isa, 'Problemi altomedievali: Rapporti tra la morfologia dell'incorniciatura

If this point is not reason enough in itself to doubt the authenticity of the Aretine work, the head gives the entire lunette away as Romanesque mock *spolia*. Two hands, clearly belonging to the head, can be seen outside the field in which the latter is contained: one resting on the outline of the quadrangular unit below, the other inside it, apparently plucking the bunch of grapes therein. At the base of the next spatial unit down, containing an upright leaf, on each side of the stalk there are what resemble five toes, as though the whole standing figure were concealed behind the latticed frame (Fig. 201). Confirmation of this hypothesis is in the carving, as the addition of raised hands and toes at a later date could only have been achieved through a lowering of the plane in these areas; signs of such tampering are wholly lacking. Were further proof of the Romanesque chronology of the lunette necessary, it can be found in stylistic similarities with the head on a projecting corbel above the northern door of the façade (Fig. 202).

In genuine early medieval examples of the same pattern, such as those mentioned above, the integrity of the separate decorative fields was never broken. A smaller, broken, fragment in the sacristy with the same pattern can be more securely judged to have been a portion of a slab from the original church, and the lunette may well have been modelled on such material.[24]

Umbria: Massa Martana

In the church of Ss. Fidenzio e Terenzio, near Massa Martana in Umbria, there are two groups of relief sculpture of interest. The first comprises an ambo made up of two large *spolia* slabs in white marble, and a smaller piece set above the south stairwell leading to the crypt (Figs. 203-4). The second is an *ensemble* of nearly seventy blocks set into the masonry of the eastern wall and a short section (roughly four feet on each side) of the adjoining lateral walls. They are mostly positioned internally (Fig. 205), but a smaller number are in the corresponding external walling. All are in the same soft pale local limestone as the surrounding ashlar.

As elsewhere, the crucial difficulty lies in determining what has been reutilised or not, and the related question of correct chronology. The three marble pieces are indisputably early medieval, and, based on comparison with similar work

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scultoria e la tecnica dell'oreficeria', *Arte Lombarda*, no. 10 (1965), 25-8. She gave two further examples of this technique, on a marble cross from Budrio (Bologna), Fig. 12, and on a sarcophagus cover in the Museo civico di Gubbio, Fig. 17.

[24] For an image and description of the piece, see FATUCCHI, *La diocesi di Arezzo*, 40 and pl. VII.

elsewhere can be dated to the Carolingian period, specifically from the late 8th to the mid-9th century.[25] But the larger group of architectural sculpture has been interpreted variously. Bertelli was of the belief that the early medieval characteristics of many of the reliefs betray them as *spolia*, as with the marble elements.[26] By contrast, d'Ettorre claimed them to be later, dating them to the end of the 10th – or more likely, the 11th – century, that is, coeval with the probable date of construction.[27]

In this case, the matter can be settled with relative ease and certainty. The identical manner in which the common blocks and those with ornament are worked clearly indicates that they were created *ex novo*. The tracks of a claw chisel are to be seen throughout, not only on the plain mural surfaces, but on the lower carved out planes which define the ornament and figurative images. D'Ettorre's analysis is beyond doubt the correct one. The very use of local stone rather than marble is in some way indicative of a post-early medieval date of execution.

Having established the chronological relationship between the two sculptural groupings, it becomes immediately apparent that much of the later ornament has been directly copied from that of the marble slabs. D'Ettorre made mention of the fact that the decorative themes of the latter "seem to recall those of a multitude of fragments in the presbyterial area", though there was no further investigation of the question.[28]

Three of the blocks (Figs. 206-8) were evidently modelled on the inverted western slab of the ambo (Fig. 209). It is noteworthy that the amphibolous character of the original (that which Gombrich called "counterchange") is absent in the imitative pieces.[29] Though the first optical impression given by the ambo design is of a grid of circles that twist into one another and the border, it can equally be seen as a network of concave-sided rhombi, linked at the corners. The later sculptor was not aware of this aspect and was content to create a loose resemblance of the earlier pattern. In one case, he has merely linked four circles together without troubling to do any preparatory marking out (Fig. 208). In the other two examples, the geometry is

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[25] For example, S, Maria in Cosmedin and S. Maria in Trastevere in Rome, and a piece in Orvieto museum. See KAUTZSCH, 'Die römische Schmuckkunst', Figs. 32-3, 37.
[26] BERTELLI, Gioia, 'La produzione scultorea altomedievale lungo la via Flaminia al confine col ducato di Spoleto', in *Il ducato di Spoleto. Atti del 9° Congresso Internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo, Spoleto, 1982*, vol. II (Spoleto, 1983), 791.
[27] D'ETTORRE, Francesca, *La diocesi di Todi. Corpus della scultura altomedievale*, XIII (Spoleto, 1993), 119, 125.
[28] D'ETTORRE, *La diocesi di Todi*, 118.
[29] GOMBRICH, Ernst H., *The Sense of Order. A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art* (London, 1979), 89.

neater and the circles are united horizontally in the same manner as the model. But they are again simply linked through their vertical counterparts, thereby demonstrating a failure to perceive the ambiguous facets of the original. The entire dimension represented by the rhombi appears to have been overlooked by the imitating artist; not only are they themselves lacking in his copies, but also the spaces they produce. In the original, these interstices are utilised for motival containment and display to the same extent as the circles.

As for the motifs themselves, only the rosette, both with and without a background disc, has been selected from the wider range on the marble slab. This includes vortices, birds, a double spiral, a star-shaped knot and an enclosed grape cluster. In addition to the rosette, the cross, again sometimes on a raised disc, also appears in the later work.

The recurrent masses of knotwork of the southern slab of the ambo (Fig. 210) have been replicated to a much greater extent; the decoration of sixteen blocks, placed internally and externally, are based on the same underlying pattern. The design in this case comprises two overlapping diagonal oblongs at right angles interwoven by straight strands, also running diagonally. These diagonals in turn twist around each other and the border to create as many units of pattern as are required to fill the space. Only at the corners of the composition do these strands join with two others.

Contrary to the western slab and its derivations, in this case it is the original that is more liberated in its geometry than the later work, appearing to have been drawn freehand. However, the aesthetic effect is one of organic fluidity rather than clumsiness, largely due to the relative care with which the outlines have been carved. Again, due to the smaller surface of the limestone blocks as compared to the marble slabs, the imitations are limited to a lesser number of knots, the most on one piece being seven, as opposed to the original twelve. In only one instance are they arranged on more than one level (Fig. 211).

The basic pattern of the imitations remains more faithful to the model, which is simpler than that of the western slab. However, in some of the copies the diagonals do not go on to make up a border, ending instead just outside the knot, sometimes in points (Fig. 212). One of these, with squared rather than curved interlace (Fig. 213), is similar to the marble fragment above the crypt entrance, and is related to the lower, minor, decorative panel of the western ambo slab.

Other forms of interlace which do not appear in the early medieval slabs are present in the copies: a more angular type, formed from a continuous line (Fig. 214), and two others based on the circle (Figs. 215-6). It can reasonably be assumed that these were inspired by other earlier material which has since disappeared. Conversely, of four pattern types on the marble slabs only three have been selected for replication. There is no obvious reason for the apparent decision to ignore the less prominent design of the southern ambo slab, composed of two long and three short twisting and intersecting loops.

Yet it should be remembered that only a small portion of the building which contained the relief-carved blocks is still standing; the rest was demolished and rebuilt, probably in the 13th century.[30] Therefore, it is possible that the absent design once featured elsewhere, though the east wall, given its liturgical pre-eminence, may have been especially richly endowed with sculpture.

A noteworthy feature of the later decoration is the extent to which diverse decorative forms – various interlace types as well as other forms of ornament – share the same block. This, and the mostly random arrangement of blocks of varying ornament (in relation to one another), would suggest that there was little differentiation made between seemingly opposing styles, either by the sculptors or by those who positioned the pieces. While the ambo slabs too bear more than one pattern, they are unequivocally confined to separate fields of ornament.

This is not the case with the decorated blocks, where different designs or images are made to sit somewhat incongruously side by side (Figs. 217-8). In one relief, the divine hand is extending down towards a human head, crucially, across the intersecting strands of interlace (Fig. 219). As at Corsignano and the Pieve di Arezzo, this unmistakably demonstrates an altered philosophy concerning the once inviolable integrity of the geometric pattern.

The Lucchesia: Coreglia, Arliano and Vico Pancellorum

In this chapter, the few existing instances of apparent stylistic transmission within one monument have been examined, in addition to others where geographical distance is minor between affinitive sculpture of differing periods. The balance of evidence weighs in favour of a later adoption of elements of early medieval style in the

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[30] BERTELLI, 'La produzione scultorea', 791.

Romanesque period, rather than an unbroken tradition spanning several centuries. It is true that, even were the latter sometimes the case, its verification would be more difficult. Be that as it may, in every single case discussed above, at least a century divides the apparent source and recipient of style.

Baracchini and her collaborators claimed 'archaic' sculpture to be the product of an unbroken tradition stretching back to Langobardic times. The conduit was to be found in the form of such pre-Romanesque churches represented by those still extant at Coreglia and Arliano.[31] In no other instance has the issue of continuity or revivalism ever been raised in literary form. In discussing this matter with the present writer, Baracchini was very definitely of the opinion that the likelihood of a revival is slim. She believed the primary obstacle to a hypothesis of *renovatio* to lie in the absence of any identifiable motive or stimulus for the exhumation of styles several centuries old.[32]

The architecture at Coreglia and Arliano was studied thoroughly by Luporini in the early 1950s, though the sculpture was of decidedly lesser interest to the scholar.[33] He dated S. Martino (now S. Giovanni Battista) ad Arliano, about seven km west of Lucca, to the first decades of the 10th century.[34] The more complex S. Martino di Coreglia Antelminelli, in the Garfagnana, was judged to be the result of three major constructive phases in the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries, with a 10th century nucleus.[35]

While certain aspects of Luporini's architectural analysis of the two buildings are questionable, it is beyond dispute that these two churches predate the Romanesque period, though Rivoira's estimated 8th century date for Arliano is too early.[36] Such characteristics as the stepped surround and lintel, as opposed to arched head, of one of the apse windows at Coreglia (Fig. 220) can only be found in the Lucchesia in early medieval or pre-Romanesque buildings, as on the north side of S. Giusto di Marlia

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[31] BARACCHINI, Clara, CALECA, Antonino and FILIERI, Maria Teresa, 'Architettura e scultura medievali nella diocesi di Lucca: criteri e metodi', in Quintavalle, Arturo Carlo (ed.), *Romanico padano, Romanico europeo. Convegno internazionale di studi. Modena-Parma, 1977* (Parma, 1982), 291-2, see also BARACCHINI, Clara and CALECA, Antonino, 'Architettura "medievale" in Lucchesia' (2 parts), *Critica d'Arte*, nos. 113 and 114, (1970).

[32] During our meeting in the Sovraintendenza di Pisa in July, 2005, Dr. Baracchini shared her views on many of the difficulties surrounding the subject of the present thesis, for which I am most grateful.

[33] LUPORINI, Eugenio, 'Nuovi studi sull'architettura medievale lucchese: la Pieve di Arliano', in *Studi di storia dell'arte*, vol. I (Florence, 1953), and 'Problemi dell'architettura medievale lucchese. La chiesa di S. Martino di Coreglia', in *Atti del Seminario di storia dell'arte, Pisa-Viareggio, 1953* (Florence, 1953).

[34] LUPORINI, 'La Pieve di Arliano', 175.

[35] LUPORINI, 'S. Martino di Coreglia', 102-4.

[36] RIVOIRA, Giovanni Teresio, *Lombardic Architecture. Its Origin, Development and Derivatives* (1901-7; Eng. edn., New York, 1975), 132-7.

(Fig. 221). Quirós Castillo was unable to give a precise chronological context to the lateral walls of S. Giusto. But the variety of masonry types and the manner in which they are used are comparable to other Lucchese edifices which range from the late Langobardic period (mid-8th century) to the 10th and even the beginning of the 11th centuries.[37]

Baracchini further explored the common architectural characteristics between Arliano, Coreglia and Romanesque buildings with 'archaic' sculpture such as S. Paolo di Vico Pancellorum in the Val di Lima. These consisted primarily of affinities in spatial arrangement, despite a lengthened nave, and other details such as the presence of short, stout, columns made up of coursed blocks. The latter trait was alien to the urban Lucchese churches of the second half of the 11th century. These are best exemplified by S. Alessandro, as described in chapter two. Baracchini mistakenly construed the architectural analogies with Arliano and Coreglia – in addition to the 'archaic' sculpture of the Romanesque churches concerned – to indicate a 9th-10th century chronology for S. Cassiano di Controne and other rural Lucchese monuments.[38]

At Arliano, little sculpture remains. The protruding faces of the four capitals were cut away in the 19th century,[39] as the recent exploratory removal of the overlying plaster on two sides has confirmed. Sustaining the blind arcades of the exterior, there are a number of simply decorated corbels, all heavily weathered. The most notable of these are six jutting human heads with features cut in relief, four at the east end and two on the north flank (Figs. 222-3).

The sculpture at Coreglia is of more interest. The structure bears internally on four pillars, all constructed of somewhat roughly squared coursed blocks of limestone. The northeastern square-sectioned pillar lacks a capital, while the other three are round and carry very flat capitals in a pale, fine-grained, sandstone. The northwestern capital corresponds to the dimensions of the base of the arches above, but the larger southern two protrude to form a substantial ledge on all sides. The former is further differentiated from the others on stylistic grounds: only the *angles abattus* are decorated, with an exhibitionist figure on three corners and a fern-like motif on the fourth (Figs. 224-6).

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[37] QUIRÓS CASTILLO, Juan Antonio, *Modi di costruire a Lucca nell'altomedioevo: una lettura attraverso l'archeologia dell'architettura* (Florence, 2002), 70.
[38] BARACCHINI and CALECA, 'Architettura "medievale"', part 1, 13.
[39] LUPORINI, 'La Pieve di Arliano', 203, n. 9.

The southern capitals are marked by their roughly interpreted classicism, with dentils, in some cases triangular, and barely etched egg-and-dart (Figs. 227-8). To a lesser degree, other decoration of apparent early medieval inspiration is also present, such as circles with large centre points, triangles and ferns similar to the northern capital. Their most unusual aspect is the non-uniform thickness. This is original, as the decoration expands or contracts according to the space available (Fig. 229). The top projecting surfaces bear the characteristics of a natural cleft, rather than exhibiting any signs of having been worked. This suggests that the irregular shape was dictated by the natural contours of what may well have been fieldstone. Luporini dated these two capitals to the mid-10th century, comparing them to Byzantine pulvins.[40] Belli Barsali put them later, between the 10th and 11th centuries, and dismissed the oriental connection, classing them generically as *à angles abattus*.[41]

The only other decoratively carved element at Coreglia is a lintel in *pietra serena* over the exterior of the blocked up north doorway (Fig. 230). Here, sandstone's tendency to shear off along the bedding planes has resulted in a serious loss of surface decoration. All that remains are three fairly large concentric circles and a bird, apparently in the act of feeding, with a chessboard-like design to its right. Luporini used what he believed to be the early 9th century style of the ornament to date the entire north flank of the building to the mid-9th century.[42] This represents a dangerous methodology, given that this style of carving persisted for several centuries. Belli Barsali was more inclined to see it as reused, and was rightly more cautious in her assessment of the age of the piece, dating it to "perhaps" between the 10th and 11th centuries.[43]

Despite the uncertainties, a generalised 'pre-Romanesque' chronology can be assigned to the sculpture at Arliano and Coreglia. An evaluation of Baracchini's claim that it constitutes an intermediary between Langobardic and Lucchese 'archaic' sculpture is rendered more difficult, however, by the limited number of pieces involved. Importantly, it does demonstrate the pre-Romanesque introduction of certain elements of early medieval sculptural style, previously almost exclusively confined to liturgical fixtures in marble, into a tectonic context.

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[40] LUPORINI, 'S. Martino di Coreglia', 112-3.
[41] BELLI BARSALI, Isa, *La diocesi di Lucca. Corpus della scultura altomedievale*, I (Spoleto, 1959), nos. 9-11.
[42] LUPORINI, 'S. Martino di Coreglia', 109, including n. 2.
[43] BELLI BARSALI, *La diocesi di Lucca*, no. 8.

Comparisons can be made between the projecting heads on the corbels at Arliano and some relatively local examples of 'archaic' Romanesque. For example, jutting heads of both humans and beasts appear at the eastern end of the south wall of the pieve di S. Giovanni Battista di Controne (Fig. 231) and on the façade and east wall of the pieve di S. Tommaso di Arriana outside Castelvecchio di Valleriana.[44]

For the capitals at Coreglia, Baracchini found affinities with those at Vico Pancellorum.[45] Evaluation of the latter is hindered by a restoration in which missing sections were reconstructed in cement. But their *angles abattus*, rough carving and, in some cases, flattish shape, can be compared to Coreglia, though the capitals at Vico often have curved undersides in the manner of the cushion capital. The rope-mould astragals at Coreglia, matched directly above by the same motif in reverse almost everywhere except under the corners, creating a 'herringbone' effect, are indeed similar to some of the capitals at Vico.

However, the classicism of the southern capitals at Coreglia is entirely absent at Vico Pancellorum. Here, the decoration, based principally on series of concentric rhombi and other geometric forms, is extremely abstract. Rope-like motifs and radiating circles also appear, as well as two figurative images: a human being and a probable snake (Figs. 232-6), not unlike that of the only remaining decorated capital face at nearby S. Pietro di Corsena (Fig. 237).[46]

The sculptural decoration at Coreglia is not convincing as a model for Vico Pancellorum. A far more probable relationship exists between the capitals at Vico and the concentric rhombi, representative of precious stones, which were a common feature of Lucchese marble sculpture in the Langobardic period.[47] Ciampoltrini called them the "signature motif" of, "if not a workshop, then a carving tradition which dominates Lucchese production of the first half of the 8th century."[48]

Examples occur on a fragmentary slab conserved in Villa Guinigi, on one of the pilasters re-employed in the north wall of S. Micheletto, both in the city of Lucca,

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[44] The pieces in question at S. Tommaso di Arriana are of course copies of the originals, which are no longer extant; however, it is assumed that they are fairly accurate renditions.
[45] BARACCHINI and CALECA, 'Architettura "medievale"', part 1, 25.
[46] The west face of the fourth northern capital. Most of the remaining nine capitals have been covered with cement; what lies beneath is unknown. The similarity lies particularly in the straight section of tail to the left.
[47] Identical concentric rhombi adorn many depictions of jewel-encrusted crosses in diverse media: painting, mosaic, and relief sculpture, as with the rear panel of the Altar of Ratchis in the Museo cristiano at Cividale.
[48] CIAMPOLTRINI, Giulio, 'Marmorari lucchesi d'età longobarda', *Prospettiva*, no. 61 (1991), 43.

and on a pilaster reused in the lectern at the nearby Badia di Cantignano (Figs. 238-40). On all six of the S. Micheletto slabs, triangles, sometimes concentric, are utilised in precisely the same way as at Vico Pancellorum, with the function of gap-fillers to the more predominant ornament. However, contrary to Vico, the 8th century rhombi also serve as secondary space occupiers, and in none of the instances are they contiguous, occurring instead isolated from one another.

For Ducci, the distant progenitors to the rhomboid motifs were the chip-carved capitals, probably early medieval, of the 11th century crypt of S. Eusebio at Pavia (Figs. 241-2).[49] Romanini carried out extensive analysis of these pieces, and believed eight out of ten of them to be late 6th/early 7th century *spolia*, whereas the remaining easternmost two were Romanesque.[50] She interpreted the earlier group as a monumental translation into stone of elements of Ostrogothic jewellery, under a Langobardic patronage.[51]

Ducci was also able to find a stringent analogy in the rows of horizontally attached lozenges – sometimes with a small central disc, as in Vico – in the capitals of the *pieve* of S. Donato a Polenta, near Forlì, Romagna (Figs. 232 & 243).[52] To this may be added 'archaic' Tuscan examples at Romena, the Abbey of S. Maria a Conèo, and S. Giovanni Battista a Corsano (Figs. 244-6). It is perhaps not insignificant that similar coursed rows of rhombi set on edge are also the most common type of stamped ornament on 6th-7th century Langobardic earthenware (Fig. 247).

In a further instance, multiple triangles were used as the basic element for constructing decoration, ground and even the human form (Figs. 248-9). In the remaining walls of S. Maria in Salteano (near Isola d'Arbia, Siena), a single block is decorated with a relief that includes a small anthropomorph. The composition is so abstract that the body can barely be distinguished from the rest of the ornament. The Romanesque chronology of the piece is apparent in the block itself, on which there are identical tool marks to the rest of the perfectly executed ashlar that makes up the

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[49] DUCCI, 'Altomedioevo e preromanico', 256.
[50] ROMANINI, Angiola Maria, 'Committenza regia e pluralismo culturale nella « Langobardia Major »', in *Committenti e produzione artistico-letteraria nell'alto medioevo occidentale. Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studio sull'alto medioevo, XXXIX, Spoleto 4-10 aprile 1991* (Spoleto, 1992), 75-9.
[51] ROMANINI, Angiola Maria, 'Scultura nella *Langobardia Major*: questioni storiografiche', *Arte Medievale*, V (1990), 5-8.
[52] DUCCI, 'Altomedioevo e preromanico', 257. She was undoubtedly referring to the third northern nave capital shown here.

opus murario. To the knowledge of the present writer, this unusual work has never come to the attention of any art historian or been published.

A 10th century estimate for Vico is plausible, though an extension into the early 11th century could also be proposed. This is suggested by the rudimental simplicity of the capitals, in addition to the irregular dimensions and shapes of the blocks that comprise the columns. The exterior corbels, in *pietra serena* sandstone as opposed to the paler stone of the capitals, are Romanesque, as shown by the large, perfectly squared, blocks of ashlar that make up the clerestory below.

Hence, the capitals of both Coreglia and Vico Pancellorum are of an indeterminate pre-Romanesque chronology, disallowing their use as an example in support of a Baracchini's hypothesised uninterrupted sculptural tradition. Nevertheless, nor can it easily be established how motival elements common to Langobardic marble carving, metalwork or earthenware may have passed into pre-Romanesque sculpture. But other examples of pre-Romanesque sculpture in the immediate area testify that such a passage did indeed occur. Several of the crypt capitals at the pieve di S. Maria Assunta di Villabasilica show exactly the same decoration – concentric circles set tangentially at the outside angles – as 6th-7th century Langobardic *Ärmchenfibeln* (bronze fibulae with horizontal arms), crosses, and other metalwork (Figs. 250-1).[53]

Conclusion

The question of whether 'archaic' sculpture constitutes a continuity or revival of early medieval style cannot be answered with absolute certitude. There are several isolated examples of apparently pre-Romanesque sculpture, such as the *capitellino* in the crypt of S. Pietro in Villore, which could be seen as providing a bridge between the two periods. However, the difficulties involved in assessing the chronology of such material complicate the picture. No instances were found of a series of sculptural artefacts bearing similar stylistic traits and ranging from the early Middle Ages up to the Romanesque period within a particular – even extended – area. Had there been a continuity of sculptural traditions throughout the period, it would seem natural to suppose that some such evidence would still exist.

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[53] See, for example, MENIS, Gian Carlo (ed.), *I Longobardi* (Milan, 1992), Figs. II.22, II.25-9, II.37. The same motif can be seen on the eight outer angles of a Langobardic bronze cross in the Museo Amadeo Lia, La Spezia.

On the other hand, several examples in which early medieval sculpture verifiably served as a model after a hiatus of centuries have been presented above. Therefore, while there is little or no concrete evidence to suggest an artistic tradition stretching from the early Middle Ages up to the Romanesque, revivalism was definitely at the very least an important factor, and may well account for all 'archaic' sculpture.

Such a conclusion is corroborated by such technical details as the fact that, at Codiponte and elsewhere, sculptors were apparently unversed in the art of setting out geometrical patterns, an unlikely scenario had they been part of a secular tradition. Even more revealingly, 'archaic' sculptors can be seen in many cases to have been perfectly capable of carving almost in the round, yet chose – or were requested – to work in flat relief, as at Cellole, Gropina, Arezzo and elsewhere. Where this occurs, it constitutes an emphatic demonstration of the fact that the employment of a flat relief technique in 'archaic' sculpture was not driven by the limitations of tradition, and suggests that similar assumptions may be made regarding style.

As will be shown in the following chapter, revivalist tendencies were common in non-'archaic' Tuscan Romanesque sculpture, thereby adding further weight to the argument for revivalism in an 'archaic' context. It is, nonetheless, important not to entirely discount the possibility that there may have been elements of continuity, the evidence for which has since disappeared or eluded this study.

It is a fundamental point that, where 'archaic' sculpture constitutes a revival, sculptors were not drawing on a fossilised repertoire that had been handed down from one generation to the next since the Langobardic era. They were not locked into a cycle of artistic inertia, conservatism or introspection of several centuries duration. Nor does their work represent a mysterious case of artistic atavism: those responsible simply sought inspiration in the work of previous epochs.

It seems that in so doing they had more than a limited autonomy to learn from, select and reject elements of style contained in earlier sculpture, which must have been much more abundant than what remains today. In considering the 'archaic' sculpture at Corsignano, the Pieve ad Arezzo and Massa Martana, it was apparent that the imitating carvers were not content to merely ape the designs of their predecessors. Rather, there was a reinterpretation, with the creation of Romanesque 'versions' of early medieval sculpture that upset many of its most basic codes.

However, it is also clear that, at times, this occurred because 'archaic' sculptors were simply ignorant of the essential characteristics of early medieval carving, as at Massa Martana, where one of the sculptors failed to perceive the fundamentally equivocal character of the western ambo slab. Repeating the findings of the previous chapter, it is evident that the object of 'archaic' sculpture was not to reproduce indistinguishable copies of early medieval sculpture, but to create works with superficial resemblances to early medieval sculpture – quite a different scenario.

Up to this point, there has been no attempt to explore the possible reasons why sculptors in the Romanesque period may have wanted to produce this early medieval 'effect'. These issues will begin to be addressed in the next chapter by looking at possible perceptions of the role of 'archaic' sculpture, with comparisons to the way sculpture was used in contemporary societies, particularly urban, both in Tuscany and further afield.

5. *Spolia in se, spolia in re*

As will have been gathered from the previous two chapters, early medieval *spolia* constitutes an inescapably fundamental factor in considering 'archaic' sculpture. It has been shown that, not only did it often act as the *exemplum* for 'archaic' sculpture, but that separation of the two in the present day presents a consistent problem. Occasionally, *spolia* has been wrongly designated Romanesque, as in the north portal of the Duomo di Sovana. However, the reverse error – the belief that elements of 'archaic' sculpture are early medieval or pre-Romanesque – is conspicuously more frequent. It is pertinent to ask why such an imbalance exists.

The *pievi* of Vicopisano and Calci (province of Pisa)

Three recent studies which have touched on a relief in the Romanesque façade of Ss. Maria e Giovanni Battista, in Vicopisano, were unanimous in claiming the piece to be *spolia* (Figs. 252-3).[1] Salmi, on the other hand, was certain that it was 12th century, and therefore not reused.[2] The iconography has been variously interpreted as Jesus' arrest in the garden of Gethsemane,[3] and, more commonly, as the decapitation of St. John the Baptist, partly due to the dedication of the church. Stylistically and technically, the treatment of the three figures and the very flat relief carving has much in common with such works as the front and lateral panels of the 8th century Altar of Ratchis (Figs. 87-8).

Yet any observer who looks beyond these superficial aspects will be left in no doubt whatsoever that the piece is coeval with the church, which is mature Romanesque. Once again, the picked lateral edges and the background of the relief are indistinguishable from the finish given to the other construction blocks, as is the material, local *verrucano* sandstone.[4] Moreover, the position at the top of the pilaster that runs up the left edge of the façade allows a side view of the piece, showing that it is not a slab – as it has generally been described – but a block. The dimensions of this block, including the depth, are no different to the other quoins below (Fig. 254).

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[1] BADALASSI, Letizia, *Pisa: guida alle chiese romaniche del territorio* (Pisa, 2000), 43; BURRESI, Mariagiulia (ed.), *Vicopisano. Il patrimonio culturale* (Ospedaletto-Pisa, 2000), 41; CECCARELLI LEMUT, Maria Luisa; RENZONI, Stefano and SODI, Stefano (eds.), *Chiese di Pisa* (2). *Chiese suburbane vicariati del Piano di Pisa I e II, del Lungomonte I e di Pontedera* (Pisa, 2001), 117. While the first volume ascribes the relief to the 10th or 11th centuries, the latter two place it in the 8th-9th centuries.
[2] SALMI, Mario, *Romanesque Sculpture in Tuscany* (Florence, 1928), 79, n. 6.
[3] NEGRI, Daniele, *Chiese romaniche in Toscana* (Pistoia, 1978), 78.
[4] RODOLICO, Francesco, *Le pietre delle città d'Italia* (Florence, 1953), 270-1.

Why, then, have so many scholars been deceived into believing it to be *spolia*? In addition to the stylistic affinities with early medieval sculpture, the most probable reason is the isolated, almost random, placement: the same circumstances that led Mucci Colò to wrongly conclude that the reliefs she called "erratic" at S. Cassiano di Controne were reused (Fig. 93).[5] Not far from Vicopisano, at the Pieve dei Ss. Giovanni ed Ermolao, Calci, one finds exactly the same situation at the southeast corner of the church. Two blocks, each with interlace set into a bordered panel, are positioned at varying heights on each side of the return (Fig. 255).

The analogy between the reliefs at Calci and Vicopisano becomes especially meaningful when it is considered that their position is, despite appearances, very similar. Unusually, the façade of the *pieve* at Vicopisano faces east, a circumstance which is most likely accounted for by the dictates of its position on the western outskirts of the medieval town. The Pieve di Calci, on the other hand, is 'oriented', i.e. the apse faces towards the east, and, in this case, the town centre. In both instances, therefore, these reliefs were positioned facing the town, where they would have been most visible to the populace on a daily basis, and from whence would have arrived most of the congregation.

A close parallel to this situation exists in the Cathedral of nearby Pisa. Here, the principle entrance is not the portal in the western façade, but the porta di San Ranieri on the east side of the south transept, again because it is the point of arrival when coming from the town centre. In the area around and to the east of this door there is a concentration of *spolia* marble fragments, both Roman and early medieval. They have been reused as simple walling, a window jamb, and a section of the door lintel (Fig. 256). The rationale in placing this material in the most heavily trafficked area outside the Cathedral was patently to place it on display. In this respect, it would therefore appear that an identical calculation was made with regard to the two *pievi*, with the obvious difference that in their case, instead of using genuine *spolia*, blocks were carved with reliefs in the style of a preceding period, the early Middle Ages.

This suggests that 'archaic' sculpture in the form of "random reliefs", to borrow Schmitt's expression,[6] has been constantly confused with *spolia* precisely because that was the deliberate intention of those who conceived and built the

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[5] MUCCI COLÒ, Paola, *La chiesa di San Cassiano di Controne nel territorio Lucchese*, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia, undergraduate degree thesis, (2002, published: Florence, 2004), 177.
[6] SCHMITT, Marilyn, '"Random" Reliefs and "Primitive" Friezes: Reused Sources of Romanesque Sculpture?', *Viator*, no. 11 (1980).

monuments in which they are contained. It would seem that, lacking early medieval material with which to replicate the scenario at Pisa and elsewhere, the patrons or architects at Vicopisano and Calci requested that the faces of some of the blocks be carved in that style, and set as though they were *spolia*.

The same would also appear to have taken place in several Romanesque churches in the city of Lucca. On the northwest return of S. Maria foris Portam there are two blocks with reliefs in the form of interlace, while on the west side of the northern transept is a further piece with vine-scroll (Figs. 257-8). The identical material and finish to the other non-decorated blocks, in addition to the smooth passage of the interlace from one block to another and the suspiciously convenient dimensions of the reliefs, betray these elements as 'mock' *spolia*. At S. Michele in Foro, the eastern exterior contains a similarly randomly set relief, again with interlace (Fig. 259), with four genuine early medieval fragments nearby (Fig. 260).

But at Calci, interlace identical to that on the two corner reliefs occurs together with zoomorphs, birds, rosettes, and plant-scroll on four arcuated lintels at the east end of the church (Figs. 261-4).[7] Similarly, at Vicopisano the same 'archaic' style appears in the recessed lozenges of the façade, on the corbels, an arcuated lintel in the southern flank and, internally, on several surviving fragments of the coeval altar (Figs. 265-7). The connection between early medieval *spolia* and 'random reliefs' can therefore logically be extended to the other elements bearing 'archaic' sculpture. Thus, the reuse of early medieval sculpture must be considered an essential key to the understanding of the function of 'archaic' sculpture in a more general sense.

Spolia in se, spolia in re

The present writer is not the first to make this link. As outlined in the introduction, Ducci appropriated the perfectly adapted phrase '*spolia in se, spolia in re*' for the reuse of early medieval *spolia* and imitation of early medieval style. "Richard Brilliant's Latin Aphorism", as described by Dale Kinney,[8] was born to extend the concept of *spolia* from the reuse of material elements (*in se*) to the 'reuse' of an

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[7] Two of these lintels were reused as common building blocks along with ashlar, also Romanesque, in a post-medieval reconstruction of the apse, but their original usage must have been over the apsidal windows, given the curvature present in the faces.

[8] In an electronic correspondence with the present writer in May 2005. Kinney also informed me of her forthcoming publication of a paper with the title '*spolia in se, spolia in re*', which was read in February 2005 at the College Art Association (presumably of Bryn Mawr College) at a session in Brilliant's honour.

earlier style (*in re*). Brilliant argued that reliefs now on pedestals in the Boboli gardens in Florence came originally from a monument dedicated to Gallienus, erected prior to 260 A.D., and that they were reused a half century later in the Arcus Novus of Diocletian on the Via Lata. But, for propagandistic motives, their style was consciously imitative of reliefs from the time of Marcus Aurelius.[9] The potential of the idea behind *spolia in se, spolia in re* was greatly developed by Settis, who applied it to the use of classical elements as models in medieval times.[10]

Just as the study of Romanesque sculpture in Tuscany has been biased towards more classically inspired work, so, with regard to the *spolia* phenomenon, has attention focused virtually exclusively on the reuse of Roman elements. With regard to the latter, there is abundant evidence to show that, where original material was unobtainable, there were no qualms in recreating copies.

Coincidentally, Settis took an unfinished late 12th century baptismal font in the same *pieve* at Calci to exemplify *spolia in re* in medieval Italy (Fig. 268). This marble piece, which stylistically bears no relation at all to the eastern exterior reliefs, was carved by the sculptor Biduinus, and the form was directly modelled on a 3rd century Afrodisias sarcophagus reutilised in the Camposanto at Pisa.[11] This represents an interesting precedent to the inspiration that Nicola Pisano famously drew from the 'sarcophagus of Fedra', for the 'Birth of Christ' panel of the Pisan baptistery pulpit, executed in 1260.[12] In another case, Biduinus created an actual sarcophagus that reproduced to scale an antique equivalent, also 3rd century, in almost every detail, from the strigils to the corner lions and prey. What is especially revealing in the latter instance is the fact that Biduinus was proud enough of his work to sign it: *Biduinus maister fecit hanc tumbam.*[13]

Though to modern eyes, Biduinus' duplication of the form and iconography of the original sarcophagus would appear as flagrant plagiarism, the sculptor's signature demonstrates that he was far from ashamed. This raises an important issue concerning the imitation of older material in the Middle Ages. It cannot in any way be assumed

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[9] BRILLIANT, Richard, 'I piedistalli del giardino di Boboli: spolia in se, spolia in re', *Prospettiva*, no. 31 (1982), 2-3, 12-3.
[10] SETTIS, Salvatore, 'Continuità, distanza, conoscenza. Tre usi dell'antico', in Settis, Salvatore (ed.), *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, III. *Dalla tradizione all'archeologia* (Turin, 1986).
[11] SETTIS, 'Continuità', 399-400.
[12] GREENHALGH, Micheal, '«*Ipsa ruina docet*»: l'uso dell'antico nel Medioevo', in Settis, Salvatore (ed.), *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, I. *L'uso dei classici* (Turin, 1984), 135.
[13] SETTIS, 'Continuità', 400-1, see also DUCCI, Annamaria, 'Culture et art figurative à Pise au XII[e] siècle: les fonts baptismaux de Calci', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, Oct.-Dec. (1999), 383-95.

that such concepts as 'original' and 'copy' were so clearly defined as they are today. In a pre-medieval context, it is well known that Roman copies of classical Greek statuary were not regarded as 'fakes': on the contrary, were highly prized. As for the Middle Ages, the fact that there was no specific word for *spolia* in Italian texts written prior to the Renaissance is significant. Kinney believes that this "…suggests that 'reused marble artifacts' was an indirect concept in those cultures, rather like the products of recycling (as opposed to the process or its matter, recyclables) in English."[14]

Cutler has proposed this idea even more forcefully, arguing that "Historicism, whether medieval or modern, is a learned posture and, as such, not the attitude toward an object projected by the majority of its medieval or modern spectators. Both of these will rather treat it as something *actual* that they see, something that exists for their consumption, something that they use rather than reuse."[15]

Cutler undoubtedly pushed such suppositions to an unreasonable extreme in practically ruling out the possibility that there was often, as can be reliably established in many cases, an awareness, albeit not necessarily accurate, of the previous history and ownership of reused material. Nevertheless, it is probable that Beduinus' sarcophagus was not deemed a second best alternative to the real thing. On the contrary, it may have been perceived by some as having a heightened value, with an iconography that did not necessitate 'Christianisation', as did many of the Roman sarcophagi, the majority of which were pre-Christian. Equally, while it was recognisably 'classical' in style, and thus imbued with all that was required to make it just as much of a status symbol as the genuine article, it held the advantage of being new, and therefore lacked the breakages, defacements, and other defects of a thousand year old original.[16]

A rare textual insight into medieval thinking regarding the reuse of actual building elements comes from the written accounts left by Suger, the abbot of St.-

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[14] KINNEY, Dale, 'Spolia. Damnatio and renovatio memoriae', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 42 (1997), 119-20.

[15] CUTLER, Anthony, 'Reuse or use? Theoretical and practical attitudes toward objects in the Early Middle Ages', in *Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego nell'alto medioevo, 1998*, vol. II (Spoleto, 1999), 1062.

[16] For the considerable prestige that accrued from burial in a Roman sarcophagus in medieval Pisa, see DONATI, Fulvia and PARRA, Maria Cecilia, 'Pisa e il reimpiego 'laico': La nobiltà di sangue e d'ingegno, e la potenza economica', in Andreae, Bernard and Settis, Salvatore (eds.), *Colloquio sul reimpiego di sarcofagi romani nel Medioevo. Pisa, Scuola Normale Superiore, 1982* (Marburg-am-Lahn, 1984), 112-3.

Denis near Paris, who oversaw the reconstruction, beginning in 1137, of much of the abbey. "Deliberating under God's inspiration", Suger instructed that the "sacred stones" of the old abbey be respected "…as though they were relics" (*ipsis sacratis lapidibus tanquam reliquiis deferremus*).[17] This would appear to imply that the stones were preserved for reuse in the new building. According to Cutler however, despite exhaustive and detailed lists of these fragments, Suger did not "differentiate between what was old and reused and what was newly done."[18]

However, Cutler again probably went too far, for such an interpretation of Suger's attitude is open to question. Panofsky wrote that "Certain it is, however, that the abbot was acutely conscious of the stylistic difference that existed between his own, 'modern' structures (*opus novum* or even *opus modernum*) and the old Carolingian basilica (*opus antiquum*)."[19] Panofsky's view finds corroboration in Suger's unsuccessful attempts to procure columns situated "*in palatio Diocletiani*" and elsewhere in Rome.[20]

In medieval Italy, it is clear that in at least some instances much significance was attached to the provenance of reused elements. For example, in S. Maria in Aracoeli in Rome, on one of the *spolia* columns a rough inscription, presumably coeval with the 13th century construction, reads 'A CVBICVLO AVGVSTORVM' ('from the private quarters of the emperor').[21]

Where classical *spolia* was required for construction outside Rome, references to an explicitly expressed preference for material taken from the ruins of the latter city over that from Roman sites in the immediate vicinity have also been recorded.[22] Evidence of such an attitude occurs in Pisa, where in Buschetus' Cathedral (as opposed to Rainaldus' later extension of the nave and aisles) *spolia* which had been brought specially from Rome and its port, Ostia, was treated with great respect.[23] In

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[17] PANOFSKY, Erwin, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis and its Art Treasures* (1946; Princeton, 1979), 100-1.
[18] CUTLER, 'Reuse or use?', 1060.
[19] PANOFSKY, *Abbot Suger* (introduction), 37.
[20] PANOFSKY, *Abbot Suger*, 90-1.
[21] On the ninth northern nave column in Aswan red granite. The present writer had occasion to study the *spolia* elements reused at S. Maria in Aracoeli and other medieval monuments throughout Italy while researching an undergraduate degree thesis 'L'utilizzo dei marmi di spoglio nell'Italia medioevale (300-1300)', Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara, academic year 2003-4. See also ESCH, Arnold, 'Spolien. Zur Wiederverwendung antiker Baustücke und Skulpturen im mittelalterlichen Italien', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 51, 1 (1969), 19-20.
[22] ESCH, Arnold, 'Reimpiego', in Romanini, Angiola Maria (dir.), *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale*, vol. IX (Rome, 2002), 880.
[23] SETTIS, 'Continuità', 395-7.

strong contrast is the manner in which Roman material from local sources was employed, as with the two slabs carrying decrees of the *Colonia Iulia Pisana*, which were both set with the inscribed face hidden.[24]

To some extent, generalised assumptions cannot be made based on what are isolated glimpses into the medieval culture of reuse. Traditionally, the study of *spolia* has tended to separate the phenomenon into two strands.[25] The more interesting, and thus that which has been subject to the deepest analysis, regards reuse that was ideologically motivated, sometimes by what amounted to outright reverence for a particular period of the past. The second, less meaningful, type is that in which mere utilitarianism was the driving force. However, the contradictory nature of much of the evidence points to a more complex relationship with the past, which went beyond such simplistic extremes. Similarly, the degree to which medieval perceptions of *spolia in se* differed to *spolia in re* is unlikely to have been constant.

In any case, there is certainly much to indicate that the reuse of classical architectural elements and their stylistic imitation went hand in hand in medieval Italy. Peroni, for example, found segments of Roman acanthus frieze running uninterruptedly into medieval copies at Pisa and Ferrara, while at Modena, some of the *ex novo* Corinthian capitals are so convincing that one unnamed scholar opined that they represent an authentic antique *oeuvre*.[26]

In Pisa Cathedral, reused sculptural elements are mostly of lesser dimensions, while the enormous nave capitals were for the most part executed *ex novo*, but in such a strongly classical style that some could be mistaken for *spolia*.[27] Instances of the imitation of classical elements are also often encountered in the more modest Romanesque churches of the city of Pisa. For example, at S. Sisto in Cortevecchia, the *ex novo* westernmost northern capital of the nave is modelled on its transverse counterpart, a reused Roman composite piece in marble.

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[24] PARRA, Maria Cecilia, 'Rimeditando sul reimpiego: Modena e Pisa viste in parallelo', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, series III, XIII, 2 (1983), 466.

[25] For many years research into the subject suffered due to the fact that it constituted a type of 'no man's land' between archaeology, history of art/architecture and other disciplines. See ESCH, Arnold, 'Reimpiego dell'antico nel Medioevo: la prospettiva dell'archeologo, la prospettiva dello storico', in *Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego nell'alto medioevo, 1998*, vol. I (Spoleto, 1999), 73-108.

[26] PERONI, Adriano, 'Acanthe remployée et acanthe imitée dans les cathédrales de Modène, Ferrare et Pise', in *L'acanthe dans la sculpture monumentale de l'Antiquité à la Renaissance. Actes du colloque tenu du I^er^ au 5 octobre 1990 à La Sorbonne* (Paris, 1993), 313-26.

[27] PERONI, Adriano, '*Spolia* e architettura nel Duomo di Pisa', in Poeschke, Joachim (ed.), *Antike Spolien in der Architektur des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Munich, 1996), 211.

Pisa Cathedral

It is evident that there are strong ties between *spolia* and Romanesque sculpture in Tuscany with regard to both 'archaic' and more classically inclined work. Consequently, perhaps the most crucial question that follows is whether classical and early medieval *spolia* were perceived as equivalent in their 'antiquity', or whether discrimination was made between them. The answer or answers quite obviously have an essential bearing on determining why early medieval styles reappeared in the form of 'archaic' sculpture.

The co-existence of Roman and early medieval material – reliefs and fragmentary inscriptions – at the southeastern exterior sector of Pisa Cathedral has been noted above. For Ducci, this was demonstrative of a medieval "assimilation of the two epochs" into a more generic "*antiquitas*", an opinion shared by Tedeschi Grisanti, for whom "medieval man made no distinctions between Carolingian and Etruscan".[28] There is, however, one insurmountable difficulty that stands in the way of such a thesis. Why, if they were held to be equally representative not only of *antiquitas* but, more importantly, of the same kind of *antiquitas*, was only the classical material chosen for emulation in the newly carved sculpture?

There is only one tiny contender (relative to the enormous quantities of sculpture present) to exemplify possible early medieval influence in the Romanesque sculpture of the Cathedral. This consists of a rectangular panel showing, in the centre, a figure who holds a cross in his right hand, and who is affronted on each side by a horned quadruped, all surrounded by dense stylised vegetation (Fig. 269). But the perfectly right-angled cuts which define the image show it to have been a *tarsia*, rather than the flat relief it now appears to be, having since lost the inlay of coloured stones which would have set off the raised areas in white marble.

The word '*tarsia*' shares the same Arabic origins as the technique it describes, as attested by the Islamic geometric patterns that appear in conjunction with much of this type of work at Pisa Cathedral. It consists of carving recessed sections *en creux* into a white marble slab, which then accommodate with an imperceptible margin polychromatic inserts of stone and, in Arab work, glass or ceramics. The result is wholly pictorial, rather than sculptural, being devoid of any volumes capable of

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[28] DUCCI, Annamaria, 'Altomedioevo e preromanico: problemi critici e storicoartistici', Università degli Studi di Pisa, Ph.D. thesis (1993), 144; TEDESCHI GRISANTI, Giovanna, 'Il reimpiego di marmi antichi a Pisa nell'XI secolo', in Castelnuovo, Enrico (ed.), *Niveo de marmore. L'uso artistico del marmo di Carrara dall'XI al XV secolo* (Genoa, 1992), 76.

creating light and shade. Therefore, its intended effect has little in common with that of early medieval relief carving. Moreover, prior to being removed for conservation to the adjacent Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, the piece was set into the western façade, which belongs to a later phase of construction activity to the apsidal area where the early medieval reliefs occur.

There are further indications that the sole form of *antiquitas* aspired to by the Pisans was Roman classicism. Only classical *spolia* was intentionally imported from afar, given that it is likely that the early medieval pieces were part of the internal fittings of the precedent cathedral.[29] These elements therefore occupy a decidedly secondary position, though it must be agreed with Ducci that they probably played a role in emphasising a religious continuity at the site.[30]

Material of Islamic origin was also used in the cathedral, such as the 10th century marble capital in Cordoban style (Fig. 270), originally located in the north transept, and a bronze griffin, thought to have been brought back as booty from one of the Pisan naval expeditions against the Arabs.[31] Though the griffin was placed in the most sacred part of the cathedral, the easternmost corner of the apse, this obviously cannot be understood to constitute a reverence for Arab culture. Rather, it must have been looked upon as a trophy, and, in a more general sense, prized for its exoticism.

It is a crucial point that, while *spolia* of varying origin – Roman, early medieval, Islamic and even Etruscan[32] – was incorporated into the construction, as regards the sculptural carving carried out specifically for Buschetus' cathedral, the models were entirely classical. The same principle applies to other more modest Romanesque churches in Pisa, such as S. Frediano. Here, in addition to the antique capitals and columns reused in the two colonnades of the nave, a Roman architrave, the upper face of which was recarved with interlace and an eagle in the Carolingian era, was used as a lintel over the façade portal (Fig. 271). Yet the *ex novo* sculpture of the church is, without exception, classical in style.

Pisan '*romanitas*'

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[29] REDI, Fabio, 'le sculture alto-medievali della Cattedrale', in *Pisa com'era: archeologia, urbanistica e strutture materiali (secoli V-XIV)* (Naples, 1991), 77.
[30] DUCCI, 'Altomedioevo e preromanico', 144.
[31] CARLI, Enzo, *Il duomo di Pisa* (Florence, 1989), 21. Both pieces are now housed in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo.
[32] One of the bases under the columns of the *matroneum*, decorated with rams' heads at the corners, was originally the base of a 5th century B.C. Etruscan cippus; TEDESCHI GRISANTI, 'Il reimpiego', 76.

The inclusion of classical *spolia* – both *in se* and and *in re* – in these buildings is far from coincidental. Scalia convincingly linked the fragmentary Roman inscriptions in the exterior of the cathedral to the Pisan sense of "*romanitas*" (best translated as 'Roman-ness'), citing an anonymous ode, written in 1088, to the victories over the powerful North African Saracen cities, al-Mahdīya and Zawīla:

Inclitorum Pisanorum *scripturus istoriam,*
antiquorum Romanorum *renovo memoriam:*
nam extendit modo Pisa *laudem admirabilem,*
quam recepit olim Roma *vincendo Cartaginem.*[33]

In this and other 11th and 12th century texts, the Pisans constantly compared their triumphs against the Arabs to the Roman struggles with Carthage and other adversaries, as in a verse from the *Liber Maiorichinus* (second quarter 12th century):

« *Ego Roma altera iam solebam dici,*
« *que sum privilegiis dives*
« *propter gentes barbaras quas ubique vici*».[34]

Pisa is given the appellative "*Roma altera*", second Rome, while there is no doubt that "*gentes barbaras*" refers to the Saracens, as "*barbarus*" and "*barbaricus*" are used with this sense throughout the book.[35]

Such expressions were a reflection of the heightened awareness of, and interest in, history and identity that arose in Pisa from the late 11th century and for most of the first half of the 12th century. Though primarily instigated by clergy attached to the cathedral, the context was a period in which Pisan ecclesiastic and lay interests were closely intertwined. Both stood to gain mutually from each other's expansionist strategies in the Mediterranean, which were in turn promoted through propagandist glorification of the city. Pisa's successes against the Saracens led to the granting by Pope Gelasius II of archbishopric status for the city and the inclusion of Corsica within its ecclesiastic jurisdiction, a development which gave a great boost to Pisa in its struggles with rival Genoa. Gelasius proclaimed these changes on the 26th of September 1118, the same day that he consecrated the new cathedral.[36]

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[33] SCALIA, Giuseppe, '«Romanitas» pisana tra XI e XII secolo. Le iscrizioni romane del duomo e la statua del console Rodolfo', *Studi Medievali*, XIII, II (1972), from 801-2.
[34] SCALIA, '«Romanitas» pisana', 805.
[35] SCALIA, '«Romanitas» pisana', 806, n. 70.
[36] FISHER, Craig B., 'The Pisan Clergy and an Awakening of Historical Interest in a Medieval Commune', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, III (1966), 141-50.

The identification with Rome was manifested in other ways. Pisa was precocious in its adoption of Roman law, and was the first medieval city to resuscitate the official title of *consul* for communal magistrates, during the term of bishop Gerardus (1080-5).[37] The calligraphic style of the epitaphic slabs to consuls Henricus and Rodulfus clearly recalls Roman monumental script, especially in the latter case.[38] The head of a larger than life statue, which Scalia believed to have been of Rodulfus,[39] could be mistaken for a Roman portrait, with its faithful and penetrative rendition of human anatomy and character.[40] The erection of the statue near the porta Aurea in the city walls further emulated Roman custom.[41] Indeed the very naming of the 'porta Aurea' was in direct imitation of gates of the same name at the cities of Rome and Constantinople, the twin capitals of the Roman Empire.[42]

It is indisputable that the Pisan republic saw itself as a modern Rome, and that one of the primary means of expression of this identity was through sculpture, both new and reused. Rather than perceiving the early medieval and Roman *spolia* as equivalent in their *antiquitas*, it is evident that the Pisans were highly aware of the inherent symbolism of antique forms. If they were so well elucidated regarding a culture a thousand years old, it is reasonable to deduce that they were not ignorant of the age and meaning behind Carolingian material, dating back a mere two and a half centuries. And though they were not averse to placing several pieces of chancel screen or altar dating from this period in the walls of their cathedral, the associated significance of this material did not correspond to their sense of self to a degree sufficient to bring about its imitation as *spolia in re*.

But the Pisans were not alone in 11th-12th century Tuscany in wanting to present their city as a '*Roma nova*' or '*Roma secunda*'; a similar scenario can be found in most of the communal city-states: Florence, Siena, Arezzo, Pistoia and Lucca.[43] In Siena, the wolf and twins adorned the city crest, and their consuls, in treating with the Florentines in 1176, professed "*lege romana cum tota civitate*

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[37] SCALIA, '«Romanitas» pisana', 814, 819-22.
[38] Respectively walled into the exterior western side of the north transept of the cathedral, and the western corridor of the Camposanto.
[39] SCALIA, '«Romanitas» pisana', pls. VII-X.
[40] In fact, Greenhalgh concluded that it actually is an antique head of Hercules; GREENHALGH, Micheal, *The Survival of Roman Antiquities in the Middle Ages* (London, 1989), 76.
[41] SCALIA, '«Romanitas» pisana', 839.
[42] FISHER, 'The Pisan Clergy', 168-9.
[43] VOLPE, Gioacchino, 'Lambardi e Romani nelle campagne e nelle città. Per la storia delle classi sociali, della nazione e del rinascimento italiano (secoli XI-XV)' (1904), now in *Origine e primo svolgimento dei Comuni nell'Italia Longobarda. Studi preparatori* (Rome, 1976), 140.

vivere".[44] Beyond Tuscany the same ideas were common in many cities, particularly those of the north. An example with analogies to the Pisan cathedral can be seen in the destruction of the town of Laus Pompeia (Lombardy) by the Milanesi in the mid-12th century. The first thing the inhabitants transported to their new town, Lodi, were antique Roman inscriptions that they then used to face the communal palace, the cathedral and the gates of the city.[45]

In the light of the appeal that the legacy of Rome evidently held for the urban communes, what motivated society in other areas of Tuscany to choose an alternative source of *antiquitas*, leading to a reproduction of early medieval style? This question will be considered in the following chapter. Before moving on, it may be worthwhile to briefly consider in passing one of the possible consequences of the *spolia* connection.

A significant feature of the sculpture at S. Maria Assunta a Cellole is the manner in which almost every individual tectonic unit is treated as a distinct field for ornament (Fig. 272). On cornices, archivolts and in any other positions in which a running motif is employed, the confines of each carved element are the confines of the decoration it bears. Significantly, these confines are often emphasised by a raised border at the arrises. Much 'archaic' sculpture has been subjected to this practice, though exceptions do exist, with the design flowing uninterruptedly from one block of stone to another ignoring the joints between.[46]

It may be asked whether this characteristic can be associated with the early medieval tendency to surround a relief with a raised border. As previously mentioned, this practice was even customary on each side of the joint where more that one slab was required for a composition.

Sacred stones

It is unlikely that ideological factors alone were behind the use of *spolia* and, correspondingly, the creation of 'imitation' *spolia*. An important motivation must have been – at least in some instances – the desire to manifest in concrete form the continuity of worship at the site in question. Suger's reference to "sacred stones" has

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[44] VOLPE, 'Lambardi e Romani', 124, 126.
[45] VOLPE, 'Lambardi e Romani', 124.
[46] For example, at the Abbey of Conèo, not far from Cellole, though motival arrangement on the frieze under the eaves is in most cases dictated by the limits of a block, even figurative images are at times divided between two pieces of stone, as with the serpent on the north side of the nave (Fig. 273).

already been mentioned in this regard, as have early medieval fragments of liturgical fittings from the Duomo di Pisa included as *spolia* in the cathedral walls.

Many Italian churches are but the latest construction on ground that has been hallowed as sacred since as early as the 3rd, 2nd or even the 1st century. For example, as with the other titular churches of Rome, there is evidence of the practice of Christianity at the site of the basilica of S. Clemente dating back to the time of Nero (54-68 A.D.).[47] Following a period in the 2nd century in which at least part of the area was in use as a Mithraeum, or shrine to the bull-god Mithras, it was reclaimed by the Christians, and from then on their presence was uninterrupted.[48] The most remarkable remainder from the early period is a slab of marble reutilised as a backrest for the cathedra that sits at the rear of the chancel. Towards the right hand side of the slab the word 'MARTYR' is boldly inscribed, running vertically down the backrest (Fig. 274).

The slab was in origin part of a 4th century monumental epigraph placed in memory of the consecration of the first basilica during the pontificate of Siricius (384-99).[49] Other fragments of the inscription are found in the ambo (ECCL) and the ciborium (PRAESBYTER), while fragmentary words of less import are to be seen in various areas of the floor paving. The fragment of epitaph that bore the word 'MARTYR', which would have referred to Saint Clement, was a highly significant choice for the cathedra, being the most imbued with meaning. That there was the clear intention to put the word on display is beyond argument, as simply reversing the visible face would have sufficed to hide it. Such a conclusion is reinforced by the manner in which the slab has been cut so as to spare the integrity of the letters of the antique inscription, which are barely enclosed by the outline of the backrest.

Gandolfo placed the commission of the throne by the so-called 'antipope' Anacletus II in the context of his struggle for control of the Church with Innocent II, i.e. the papal schism of 1130-8.[50] However, it is certain that the use of part of an inscription from the actual site with such explicit and early associations also served to enhance the prestige of the church itself through highlighting its religious continuity.[51]

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[47] The *tituli* were private houses used as meeting places by Christians in the centuries that preceded legalisation of the religion with the edict of Milan (313).
[48] SORGES, Jürgen, 'Sacrificial Bull and Starry Skies – the Cult of Mithras' and 'Early Christianity', in *Rome and the Vatican City. Art & Architecture* (Cologne, 2000), 331-2, 401.
[49] GANDOLFO, Francesco, 'Reimpiego di sculture antiche nei troni papali del XII secolo', *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, vol. 47 (1974-5), 208.
[50] GANDOLFO, 'Reimpiego di sculture antiche', 211.
[51] GREENHALGH, '«*Ipsa ruina docet*»', 159.

In Tuscany, the basilica di S. Piero a Grado, near Pisa, is believed to mark the spot where Saint Peter disembarked from the ship that brought him from Palestine (*grado*=step).[52] The west end of the church still contains a rudimentary altar that is said to have been used by the saint. Excavations in the vicinity of the altar, which remain open to public view, revealed many layers of construction dating back to Roman times, thereby at least confirming the antiquity of the site.

A substantial quantity of *spolia* elements were incorporated into the late 10th/early 11th century building which now stands, almost all of them classical and mostly confined to the columns and capitals that line the nave. The most notable exception is a marble pilaster dating from the Carolingian period beside the original northern door (Figs. 275-6). As the western façade portal opened onto the sanctuary surrounding the altar of Saint Peter, the congregation would have used the north door when accessing the building for normal liturgical functions. Hence, here too early medieval *spolia* was positioned at a point of maximum passage, where it would have been most readily observed by visitors.

It can be assumed that, were not all of the sculpture at S. Piero reused, it would have been carried out based on classical models, given the overwhelming preponderance of classical *spolia*, some of which is known to have been brought from Rome itself.[53] However, it is likely that the Carolingian fragment was a remnant from the preceding church and that, as with the early medieval material at Pisa Cathedral discussed above, it was used to reaffirm the unbroken religious history of the place.

It is important not to confuse such practices with the Church reform movement's need to recall styles and iconographies symbolic of early Christianity. As demonstrated in chapter two, these were heavily imbued with classicism, Rome having been the principle base within which early Christians were able to organise and propagate their religion. Further, in accentuating the spiritual and temporal pre-eminence of the Popes over their adversaries, there was a clear strategy on the part of the reform movement to seek to elevate the city of Rome by evoking its period of greatest power. The last phase of the early Middle Ages, around the turn of the

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[52] Though S. Piero a Grado is now several miles from the coast, in the 1st century it was by the sea.
[53] A capital at the western end of the southern colonnade decorated with sphinxes and palmettes has an identical twin in the auditorium of Mecenate on the Esquiline in Rome. TEDESCHI GRISANTI, Giovanna, 'I marmi romani di Pisa: problemi di provenienza e di commercio', in Dolci, Enrico (ed.), *Il marmo nella civiltà romana: la produzione e il commercio* (Lucca, 1989), 118-9.

millennium, had seen the Church lose control of much of its property, wealth and authority, and was not therefore looked to for inspiration.

By way of contrast, the period of Langobardic power (568-774), particularly from around the mid-7th century, was one in which there were extensive foundations of monasteries and churches. Although the latter were frequently originally private, with time most of them became available for ordinary usage.

In many cases therefore, early medieval *spolia* would have been a remnant of the first church to be constructed on a site. As such, its inclusion in the walls of a Romanesque structure would have stood as testimony to the foundation of the church, which may have taken place four centuries prior to the reconstruction. It can be deduced that where sculptures in an early medieval style were set randomly in an attempt to pass them off as actual *spolia*, the perpetrators wished to gain the same type of kudos for their church as that conferred by the genuine article. The same extrapolation can be extended to other such 'fake' *spolia* as the lunette above the south door of S. Maria della Pieve ad Arezzo, and indeed, 'archaic' sculpture in general.

Conclusion

Ducci's connection of the reuse of early medieval material and style, *spolia in se, spolia in re*, opens the door to a deeper understanding of the function of 'archaic' sculpture. However, her assertion that medieval man did not differentiate between material of disparate epochs is unfounded, in the opinion of the present writer.
The clear link that exists between the Pisans' sense of '*romanitas*' and the adoption of purely classical models for all of the Romanesque sculpture executed for the cathedral appears especially significant in this respect.

If perceptions of identity had such direct consequences in sculptural expression in Pisa, it seems valid to inquire whether this has any relevance to the appearance of styles that hark back to another historical period in other areas. How did other medieval Tuscans see themselves? To whom or what did they owe their allegiances? An inhabitant of England or France in the 11th-12th centuries would undoubtedly have defined him or herself in many terms: according to family, profession, status, village, perhaps even as an adherent of some semi-heretical religious sect. But somewhere in the consciousness of most there would probably also have been an identification with a particular '*natio*'. This may not necessarily have

been conceived of in such modern terms as English or Frenchness, but on some other level, such as ethnic background (*gens*) or as an inhabitant of a certain region or city.[54]

In discussing the above-mentioned Pisan *Liber Maiorichinus* – probably written by a certain Henricus between 1125 and his death in 1135 – Fisher noted the use of the classical name '*Latini*' for inhabitants of what is now known as Italy.[55] However, it was also apparent that "…the author's attitude toward other cities of the Italian peninsula would not seem to indicate any strong feelings of a common Italian identity…". Rather, a Catalonian document which concerns the same expedition undertaken against the Saracen-held Balearic islands in 1113 describes those who took part as coming from Pisa, Rome, Lucca, Florence, Siena, Volterra, Pistoia, Lombardy, Sardinia, Corsica "and other innumerable nations."[56]

Was sense of identity limited to these levels in Romanesque Tuscany, or did any other sentiments of 'nationality' exist, particularly beyond the confines of the city-states in more isolated rural contexts, where 'archaic' sculpture was most common?

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[54] See ALEXANDER, Jonathon J. G., 'Medieval art and modern nationalism', in Owen-Crocker, Gale R. and Graham, Timothy (eds.), *Medieval art: recent perspectives: a memorial tribute to C. R. Dodwell* (Manchester, 1998), 211-3.
[55] FISHER, 'The Pisan Clergy', 193-8.
[56] FISHER, 'The Pisan Clergy', 203.

6. 'National' identity in medieval Tuscany

Law in medieval Tuscany

In the previous chapter it was observed that the implementation of Roman law played an important part in the manifestation of a sense of '*romanitas*' in Pisa, Siena and other communal city-states. Law was a prime indicator of identity in the Middle Ages; the chronicler Reginon of Prüm wrote in around 900: "*diversae nationes populorum inter se discrepant genere, moribus, lingua, legibus*" ("The various nations differ in descent, customs, language and law").[1] It may be asked what the alternatives to Roman law were in 11th-13th century Tuscany, and whether these matters may have had a similar bearing on the question of identity in those areas beyond the communal confines. In order to understand the issue, it will be useful to briefly examine the history of law in Italy from the early medieval period.

In the early Middle Ages, there was no single code of law followed by all of the inhabitants of the Italian area. Instead, there were a variety of forms: Roman, Langobardic, Salic (Frankish), Alamannic and others. The profession of one particular form of law over another was primarily a reflection of family history.

Following the Langobardic invasion in 568, there was no attempt to impose the customs or laws of the new arrivals on the indigenous population, who were generically described as 'Romans' (interestingly, in a Pistoiese charter of 767, the term '*romani*' was employed synonymously with 'tenants', as opposed to their Langobardic overlords).[2] Rather, Langobardic kings legislated only for Langobards, whereas the rest of the population continued to use Roman law.[3]

With the overthrow of the *Regnum Langobardorum* by Charlemagne in 774, Salic and Alamannic law codes were introduced. But again, they were only for those of that nationality, i.e. the Franks and their allies such as the Alemans. In Tuscany and most other areas these groups settled in very small numbers. Hence, lest the Franks be culturally swamped, Charlemagne's son and king of Italy, Pippin (781-810), passed a

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[1] BARTLETT, Robert, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350* (Princeton, 1993), 197.
[2] WICKHAM, Chris J., *Early Medieval Italy. Central Power and Local Society, 400-1200* (London, 1981), 71.
[3] CAVANNA, Adriano, 'Diritto e società nei regni ostrogoto e longobardo', in Pugliese Carratelli, Giovanni (ed.), *Magistra Barbaritas: i barbari in Italia* (Milan, 1984), 364.

decree instructing that Franks and Langobards be judged solely according to their own respective laws.[4]

By the 10th-11th centuries, the practice of *Lex Salica* had practically died out in most areas. The use of Langobardic law, on the other hand, was increasingly widespread, especially among the new emerging class of signorial families.[5] These families were almost solidly Langobardic in origin and, in Tuscany, many of them can be traced back to the 8th century Langobardic state through the Lucchese archives.[6] It is evident that a declaration of the profession of Langobardic law was, to all intents and purposes, a declaration of 'nationality'. For example, a certain Odelberga, who appears in a Veronese document from 973, described herself as "of Langobardic law, but living according to the Alamannic law of her husband, Rozo".[7] It is obvious here that Odelberga saw herself and her family as Langobardic, though her husband and in-laws were Alamans. From as far back as the period when the Langobards settled in Italy in the 6th century, it is clear that an adhesion to Langobardic law (*secundum legem et ritum gentis nostre Langobardorum*) was perceived as one of the most powerful expressions of being Langobardic,[8] more so even than language or dress.[9]

Within the context of the communes, explicit references to Langobardic law had become rare by the close of the 12th century. There, the practice of the separate law codes was replaced by a synthesis in which the Roman component was overwhelmingly dominant.[10] However, while little research has been carried out into the subject, there is evidence that in many rural areas there was a perpetuation of Langobardic law into, and well beyond, the communal period. For example, one of the more consequential aspects of Langobardic law (consequential because it led to the fragmentation of estates) was the division of property equally among sons following the death of the father, while primogeniture was the rule under Roman and

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[4] TABACCO, Giovanni, 'L'avvento dei Carolingi nel regno dei Longobardi', in Gasparri, Stefano and Cammarosano, Paolo (eds.), *Langobardia* (Udine, 1990), 398.
[5] CASTAGNETTI, Andrea, *Minoranze etniche dominanti e rapporti vassallatico-beneficiari: Alamanni e Franchi a Verona e nel Veneto in età carolingia e postcarolingia* (Verona, 1990), 159, 163. The term 'signorial' comes from the Italian word '*signoria*', the feudal nobility, and is similar to 'seigneurial'. However, 'signorial' is more appropriate to an Italian context because of its more specific connotations. See WICKHAM, Chris J., 'Note to the English Edition', in *Community and Clientele in Twelfth-Century Tuscany: The origins of the rural commune in the plain of Lucca* (Oxford, 1998), 2.
[6] WICKHAM, *Early Medieval Italy*, 74.
[7] CASTAGNETTI, *Minoranze etniche*, 165, n. 34.
[8] CAVANNA, 'Diritto e società', 364.
[9] By the time Paul the Deacon wrote his *Historia Langobardorum* in the last decade of the 8th century, the Langobards had lost their language and traditional dress. WICKHAM, *Early Medieval Italy*, 68.
[10] CALISSE, Carlo, *A History of Italian Law* (1891; Eng. edn., London, 1928), 127.

Salic law.[11] In Lunigiana, this practice – which stemmed directly from the medieval '*diritto longobardico*' – was still in place in the 17th century.[12]

In any case, the continued separate presence of the two chief codes of law for well over four centuries after the military defeat of the Langobardic kingdom is highly significant. Just as Pisa identified itself with the ancient city of Rome, a proportion of Italian medieval society still defined itself as Langobardic. On the eve of the communal period, attestations of Langobardic law were numerically greater than Roman law in the notarial charters of many parts of what had once been *Langobardia*.[13] This implies that more than just a small number of people felt a Langobardic identity. Who were these people? Were they the same '*nefandissima gens Langobardorum*' referred to by Pope Gregory the Great in the late 6th century?[14] And what was their relationship with the rest of society?

The meaning of 'Langobard' in the 10th-13th centuries

Not only the Langobards, but many of the various minor ethnic groups that had accompanied them into the Italian Peninsula in the 6th century, still perceived themselves as having separate identities up to at least the second half of the 10th century. Such is attested by an exchange recorded as having taken place in 968 between Liutprand, the bishop of Cremona, and his host, the *basileus* Nicephorus, during a stay in Constantinople. Liutprand, who was acting as ambassador for Emperor Otto I (who was interested in the possibility of a political marriage between his son and Nicephorus' daughter), was insulted by the *basileus*, who crowned an abusive tirade with the words "*Vos non Romani sed Longobardi estis*". Luitprand is said to have replied "We, that is Langobards [Liutprand was himself a Langobard from Pavia], Saxons, Franks, Lotharingians, Bavarians, Sueves, Burgundians, hold them in such disdain, that, when we are in a rage and must say something offensive to an enemy, we shout 'you are a Roman', signifying with the word 'Roman' all that

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[11] BOYD, Catherine E., *Tithes and Parishes in Medieval Italy: The Historical roots of a Modern Problem* (New York, 1952), 96-7.
[12] CACIAGLI, Giuseppe, 'Primo feudalesimo: Dall'VIII al XIII secolo', in *Storia della Lunigiana* (Pontedera, 1992), 63.
[13] TABACCO, Giovanni, *The struggle for power in medieval Italy: Structures of political rule* (1979; Eng. edn., Cambridge, 1989), 118.
[14] WICKHAM, *Early Medieval Italy*, 64-5.

there is in the world that is most ignoble, vile, greedy, corrupt, false and, in a word, all the vices in existence…".[15]

Yet, although most of those who professed Langobardic law were probably ethnic Langobards (at least in part), it is crucial to emphasise that such considerations are to a large extent quite irrelevant. The Langobards were already to some extent a polyethnic group when they invaded Italy. In addition, there must inevitably have been intermarriage with other ethnic groups – 'Romans', Franks and so on – down through the five or six centuries leading up to the Romanesque period, as with Odelberga. What seems more probable is that the appellative 'Langobard' or 'one who professes Langobardic law' rather denoted, especially by the 10th-11th centuries and beyond, a sense of identity, a consciousness of belonging to a certain group or order within society.

Rossetti gave the following precise definition: "The only collective social term that one finds in Tuscany before the advent of the Commune to describe the class that shared with the marquis the exercise of power at the highest levels, held the landed wealth, enjoyed signorial jurisdictions of both ecclesiastic and lay origins, had access to the highest charges in the clergy of the cathedral and in the episcopate, is that of *Longubardi*."[16]

Several permutations of the word 'Longubardi' were used in medieval records, such as Langobardi, Lambardi, Lumbardi, etc, but the meaning is – at least in the majority of contexts – always the same.[17] Wickham noted among such nobility "…a developing sense that family members had of the coherence and identity of their lineage. Surnames began to appear in the last decade of the tenth century in Tuscany, and by the mid-eleventh century they were common there, though in the North [of Italy] they were still unusual."[18]

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[15] CILENTO, Nicola, 'La storiografia nell'età barbarica. Fonti occidentali sui barbari in Italia', in Pugliese Carratelli (ed.), *Magistra Barbaritas*, 347. 'Romans' was probably a reference to Byzantines on that particular occasion, but at home in Italy it no doubt usually regarded 'Latin' Romans, i.e. the non-Germanic population.

[16] ROSSETTI, Gabriella, 'Definizione dei ceti dirigenti e metodo della ricerca di storia famigliare', in *I ceti dirigenti in età precomunale. Atti del I Convegno di studi sulla storia dei ceti dirigenti in Toscana, Firenze, 1978* (Pisa, 1981), 61-2.

[17] In some circumstances, the latter two terms can be confusing however, as they also described the inhabitants of Lombardy. This ambiguity is of course a result of the fact that the name 'Lombardy' derived from *Langobardia*, the Langobardic kingdom from 568 to 774.

[18] WICKHAM, *Early Medieval Italy*, 181-6. Wickham is not referring specifically to Langobardic families here, but to the landed nobility, or *signoria*, in general. However, as he and others have made clear, this class was composed mostly of families of Langobardic origin, particularly in Tuscany.

As mentioned above, in Tuscany many of these families can be traced back to the period prior to the Carolingian invasion of 774, when they would have comprised the ascendancy. Again, a comparison can be made between the Langobards' heightened concern with their past and the historical interest so manifest in Pisa in the 11th-12th centuries. The question arises whether such a development was merely due to curiosity, or if there was some ulterior motive, as with the Pisans' desire to present themselves in as positive a light as possible in order to curry favour with the Papacy, all in the context of an ongoing power struggle with Genoa.

The possibility that the Langobards' wealth, power and ethnic self-awareness may be relevant to the subject of 'archaic' sculpture becomes more apparent when one considers Wickham's subsequent lines: "This conceptual focus was strengthened by the new tendency for family nuclei to form, around proprietary monasteries, *pievi* (baptismal churches), and *castelli*. These were fixed points, in a way that estates were not. A proprietary monastery or *pieve* could be controlled by a grouping of kin as large as the whole lineage, if necessary."[19]

There was evidently a strong connection between these noble families' position and the ownership of ecclesiastic property, including the *pievi* in which most 'archaic' sculpture occurs. Such a scenario merits deeper investigation, and there are several obvious questions that need answering in this regard. How did it come about that, two or three centuries after the collapse of the Langobardic state at the hands of Charlemage, the word '*Longubardi*' was synonymous with ruling class in Tuscany? What exactly was the nature of the relationship between this class and the Church and its property? How did the mutated political landscape that saw the rise of the communes impact on this class? And, most importantly, how might any of this relate to artistic expression?

The relationship between Langobards and the Church post-774

Charlemagne did not radically alter the status quo in the immediate aftermath of his conquest of *Langobardia major* (which included most of northern Italy, Tuscany and Spoleto) and its capital *Ticinum* (Pavia). Langobardic families were not dispossessed of their titles or lands unless they rebelled, as did Rodogald, duke of Friuli, in 776.[20] Most of the Langobardic nobility chose the more politic path of collaboration with the

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[19] WICKHAM, *Early Medieval Italy*, 186.
[20] BRÜHL, Carlrichard, 'Storia dei Longobardi', in Pugliese Carratelli (ed.), *Magistra Barbaritas*, 126.

new regime, and those who held positions of power in local government or in the Church were not replaced – at least not within the first few decades of Carolingian domination.[21] For example, following several years as a hostage at Charlemagne's court after the conquest, Peredeus, the bishop of Lucca – capital of Langobardic *Tuscia* – was allowed to return to his office. All of his successors were members of the local Langobardic aristocracy until 834, while a Frankish count (the Langobards customarily used the title of duke), Wichram, was only installed in the city in 796.[22]

With time, however, the top posts within the Church and state began to be handed to Franks, albeit generally upon the natural death or retirement of the previous incumbent. The period was one of extreme anxiety for the Langobardic ruling elite, who initially had no way of knowing what the outcome would be, and who must have been highly aware of their vulnerability. Tabacco described their reaction to this situation: "…the spontaneous grouping around religious bodies by the clans that felt threatened by the imminent or already effected military defeat of the kingdom." And: "…to the uneasy Langobardic aristocracy the bishops and abbots held open the door to individual and family promotion. This grafted itself to a process already underway for over a century in the Langobardic world, catholicised in its upper echelons and successively in the rest of society."[23]

The Langobards had long been generous benefactors of religious institutions. An early and famous example was the establishment of the monastery at Bobbio, south of Pavia, around 613 by the Irish missionary Colombanus and other fellow countrymen on lands provided by King Agilulf and his Queen, Theodelinda.[24] Tuscany was no exception to this pattern, with the foundation of churches, particularly '*Eigenkirchen*' (private churches), and monasteries such as S. Salvatore near Monte Amiata.[25] The motivations behind these acts are the subject of some debate, but the most likely explanation is a combination of genuine religious zeal and

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[21] TABACCO, *The struggle for power*, 117.
[22] ANDREOLLI, Bruno, *Uomini nel medioevo. Studi sulla società lucchese dei secoli VIII-XI* (Bologna, 1983), 68.
[23] TABACCO, 'L'avvento dei Carolingi', 382-3.
[24] DESTEFANIS, Eleonora, *Il monastero di Bobbio in età altomedievale* (Florence, 2002), 33, n. 1.
[25] For details of the establishment of the monastery at Amiata in 762, see SCHNEIDER, Fedor, *L'ordinamento pubblico nella Toscana medievale. I fondamenti dell'amministrazione regia in Toscana dalla fondazione del regno longobardo alla estinzione degli Svevi (568-1268)* (1914; Florence, 1975), 336-7.

astute political strategy.[26] In any event, these links no doubt played an important part in creating a situation whereby the Church became the classic means by which the Langobardic families managed to avoid marginalisation under the Carolingians.

An excellent case in point is the Aldobrandeschi family, who were initially based in Lucca. Schwarzmaier linked this family group to the duke Alpert, an important figure in pre-Carolingian *Tuscia*, although his evidence for this has been disputed.[27] The first definite mention of this Langobardic family comes from a *cartula offertionis* made on the 25th of January in the year 800, in which Ilprand donated the monastery of S. Pietro Somaldi, of which he was abbot and owner, to the Lucchese church of S. Martino. One of the conditions stipulated in the document was that Ilprand have the right to stay on as abbot for the remainder of his days (he lived until 808) and that his son, the cleric Alpert, have the option of assuming his position upon his death.[28]

Over the next decade, the Lucchese bishop Jacob ceded to Ilprand's sons Alpert and Ildebrand an astounding quantity of properties belonging to the Lucchese Church. Some of these were in the Lucchesia, but by far the most substantial holdings, again in the form of churches, lands, and 'free men' ("*una cum hominibus de ipsa curtem*"), were in the areas around Sovana and Roselle in southern Tuscany. In addition, Alpert was able to gain a pre-eminent position in the Lucchese bishopric chancellery.[29] In a slightly later period, as well as exploiting their relationship with the Church, the Aldobrandeschi managed to ingratiate themselves with the Carolingian rulers. Consequently, of Ildebrand's three grandsons, Jeremias became bishop of Lucca, Eriprand an imperial *missus*, while on Ildeprand was conferred the title of count of Roselle.[30]

On the strength of the holdings gained in this and subsequent periods, mostly at the expense of the Church, the Aldobrandeschi became one of the most powerful

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[26] KURZE, Wilhelm, 'Monasteri e nobiltà nella Tuscia altomedievale', in *Lucca e la Tuscia nell'alto medioevo. Atti del 5° Congresso Internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo, Lucca, 1971* (Spoleto, 1973), 348-9.

[27] SCHWARZMAIER, Hansmartin, *Lucca und das Reich bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts. Studien zur Sozialstruktur einer Herzogsstadt in der Toskana* (Tübingen, 1972), 161. COLLAVINI, Simone M., 'Gli Aldobrandeschi a Lucca: origini e ascesa della famiglia', in *«Honorabilis domus et spetiosissimus comitatus». Gli Aldobrandeschi da "conti" a "principi territoriali" (secoli IX-XIII)* (Pisa, 1998), 22-4.

[28] ROSSETTI, Gabriella, 'Gli Aldobrandeschi', in *I ceti dirigenti in età precomunale. Atti del I Convegno di studi sulla storia dei ceti dirigenti in Toscana, Firenze, 1978* (Pisa, 1981), 151.

[29] COLLAVINI, 'Gli Aldobrandeschi a Lucca', 34-5, ROSSETTI, 'Gli Aldobrandeschi', 152-4.

[30] ROSSETTI, 'Gli Aldobrandeschi', 152.

feudal families in Tuscany for the next five centuries.[31] Their experience is common to a whole class of families, almost all Langobardic, who used church donations, as with foundations, as studied profile raising exercises, bringing greatly magnified rewards in terms of property and high status positions (though the degree of success achieved by the Aldobrandeschi was close to exceptional). In using the Church as a mechanism for self-advancement in the Carolingian era, these families were continuing in a tradition whose roots extended back well over a century.

It is not inconceivable that the concept of *launegild* (gift exchange) has some relevance to what seems an extraordinary relationship between Langobardic families and the Church in the sphere of property. Under this system, gifts were given with the expectation of receiving something in return, sometimes token, sometimes not. *Launegild*, whose chief function was to facilitate social cohesion, was an essential part of Langobardic culture going back to their origins.[32] More likely, however, is that the Langobardic nobility simply took advantage of deep corruption within the Church, most of whose senior members were their close relatives or acquaintances.

The alienation of churches and their associated wealth

Around the 820s, the donation of privately owned churches to the bishop began to decrease.[33] However, there was no diminution in the concession of Church property to private individuals, which became a haemorrhage during the second half of the 10th and early 11th centuries. Generally, this took place in the form of *libelli* (from '*libellum*', or document), perpetual leases that were given in exchange for an annual, often paltry, payment.[34] *Libelli* were usually hereditary, and were given to both laymen and members of the clergy, among whom marriage was common.[35] Hence,

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[31] WICKHAM, *Early Medieval Italy*, 74.
[32] See WICKHAM, Chris J., 'Economic and social institutions in northern Tuscany in the 8th century', in Fonseca, Cosimo Damiano and Violante, Cinzio (eds.), *Istituzioni Ecclesiastiche della Toscana Medioevale* (Lecce, 1980), 17-20.
[33] WICKHAM, 'Economic and social institutions', 25.
[34] See Pierotti's example concerning Lucchese bishop Gherard's 995 *libellus* to brothers Alberic and Winighild of an enormous range of properties in the Serchio valley for the ludicrously low sum of fifteen *soldi* and six *denari* per year. PIEROTTI, Piero, 'Chiese private, pievi, territorio nella Valdiserchio (secoli VIII-XI)', in Quintavalle, Arturo Carlo (ed.), *Romanico padano, Romanico europeo. Convegno internazionale di studi. Modena-Parma, 1977* (Parma, 1982), 266.
[35] See ROSSETTI, Gabriella, 'Il matrimonio del clero nella società altomedievale', in *Il matrimonio nella società altomedievale. Atti della XXIV settimana di studi del Centro italiano di studi sull'altomedioevo, 1976* (Spoleto, 1977), 473-554.

such a lease generally ended in outright ownership by a family.[36] An indication of the scale of the practice can be found in documents pertaining to Pope (and bishop of Lucca) Alexander II's attempts to conserve what remained of the Lucchese Church's possessions, presumably in the 1060s. Only five *pievi* are listed as having escaped alienation, out of a total of around fifty.[37] Those who had gained possession of the Lucchese *pievi* all belonged to prominent families of the Langobardic aristocracy, and the same families were still continuing to receive *pievi per libellum* a century later.[38]

Ecclesiastic corruption was not the single reason for the granting of a *libellus*, however. In 876, the Pavian capitulary attempted to force the restitution of Church lands that had been alienated by rectors "through fear or favor".[39] Boyd was of the opinion that the principle driving force behind an aggressively predatory approach to Church wealth on the part of the petty *signoria* was the adherence to Langobardic inheritance law, under which a legacy was divided equally, thereby tending "to reduce their sons to poverty."[40] The possession of a *pieve* was lucrative: to the owner were due the tithes paid by parishioners, burial duties ("*mortuorum et sepulture*") and the proceeds of oblations and other services, as well as revenue from the rent of land.[41]

But it was really the fact of simply controlling what were perhaps the two most important foundations of rural society in the feudal era, land and the parish church, that brought with it power and prestige. To quote Boyd: "…early in the tenth century some families already towered above others in the rural scene; they were the families which had secured economic control of the parish churches. In Lucca, […] the feudatories who waged incessant war with the commune at a later period, all traced their descent from men mentioned in tenth-century documents as recipients of parochial lands and tithes; in fact, with but few exceptions, all the families of the Lucchese contado, who later constituted the *nobiles* so hated by the burghers, first

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[36] In a papal bull of Alexander II it is clear that he was resigned to the fact that possessions ceded to laymen were lost forever; this is reflected in the use of the term *beneficium* instead of *libellus*. VIOLANTE, Cinzio, 'Pievi e parrocchie nell'Italia centrosettentrionale durante i secoli XI e XII', in *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche e la «Societas Christiana» dei secoli XI-XII: diocesi, pievi e parrocchie. Problemi e ricerche. Atti della sesta Settimana internazionale di studio, Milano, 1974* (Milan, 1974), 665.

[37] VIOLANTE, 'Pievi e parrocchie', 658.

[38] VIOLANTE, 'Pievi e parrocchie', 663

[39] BOYD, *Tithes and Parishes*, 67.

[40] BOYD, *Tithes and Parishes*, 96-7.

[41] NANNI, Luigi, *La Parrocchia studiata nei documenti lucchesi dei secoli VIII-XIII*, Analecta Gregoriana, XLVII (Rome, 1948), 97-8.

appeared in history in the documents which we have just surveyed. It is evident that the acquisition of parish churches and tithes marked their accession to power."[42]

Much of the available knowledge of this subject specifically regards the Lucchesia, because medieval documentation for this area is unrivalled. But though there would have been regional variations, the pattern is unlikely to have been radically different in the rest of Tuscany.

As may be imagined, the Church reform movement which began to gather pace in the second half of the 11th century sought an end to such a state of affairs. Alexander II – generally credited with having been an active reforming Pope – denounced simony in a letter to the cathedral chapter of Lucca, and prohibited any further relinquishing of Church property to laymen other than peasants. But he did not attempt to retrieve properties already lost, probably not wishing to risk antagonising the aristocratic owners.[43]

Lay control of churches was only finally confronted in 1078 by Pope Gregory VII, who threatened with excommunication any layperson who did not surrender Church properties obtained without the consent of the bishop.[44] Yet the fact almost all the properties had actually been ceded by bishops meant that such decrees were no more than a statement of principle. In Lucca, they became even more meaningless when Gregory's ally, bishop Anselm II, was chased from the city two years later. Nevertheless, Matilda of Tuscany, whose house of Canossa also owed its vast territories largely to the usurpation of Church land,[45] did much to encourage the nobility to renounce its ecclesiastic properties.[46]

However, it is evident that the reform movement achieved only limited success in implementing its aims in this respect. In the year 1181, in a papal bull issued by Lucius III, only nine Lucchese *pievi* had been added to the five mentioned above as still in the hands of the Church over a century previously. Eleven years on a further two had been recovered. Taking into account one other that belonged to the

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[42] BOYD, *Tithes and Parishes*, 97.
[43] BOYD, *Tithes and Parishes*, 113-4.
[44] BOYD, *Tithes and Parishes*, 117.
[45] In a document from 1052, or slightly earlier, Matilda's father, Boniface, is stated to have had full control over eleven *pievi* and a half share in a twelfth, in addition to their innumerable dependant *cappelle*. These were in the diocese of Reggio, but he had others in the dioceses of Cremona and Mantova. AMBROSI, Augusto C., 'Pieve e territorio nella Lunigiana', *Studi Lunigianesi*, no. X (1980), 225.
[46] GARUTI, Alfonso, 'Il tempo di Matilde: lo sviluppo del romanico', in *Nel segno di Matilde* (Modena, 1991), 80.

cathedral chapter, seventeen *pievi* out of a new total of fifty-nine – less than thirty per cent – were under the control of the bishop by 1192.[47]

In effect, while many *pievi* and other churches had probably been returned to the Church, many more had not. An extreme example can be found in the Milanese area, where many parish churches were still under the control of lay families as late as the 18th century.[48] In Tuscany, it is probable that those *pievi* that remained in private hands were mostly in more remote rural areas, which would have been more impervious to the demands of the city-based bishops.

The rise of the communal city-states

As hinted by Boyd, the interests of the *Longubardi* and of the communes were generally diametrically opposed. By the late 11th century, the feudal aristocracy had begun to properly consolidate its position, establishing a legal hold on rights and possessions that had originally been won "through fear or favor". In addition, the strength of the March of Tuscany was in terminal decline, leaving the field clear of any authority capable of containing the violence they routinely employed in furthering their aims.[49] But they now faced serious opposition from very powerful rivals in the form of the communal cities, who were intent on turning their rural hinterlands into *contadi*.[50]

It is in this context that the feudal aristocracy felt reinforced in its authority, legitimacy and cohesion by stressing its Langobardic identity. Not only did this label genuinely largely reflect the ancestry of the class, but it was in obvious contrast to the city-states' professed '*romanitas*'. The dichotomy between these parties is likely to have regarded not only politics, but their very ethos, in terms of culture, ideology and lifestyle. Volpe intuited as much back in 1904: "…if we want to explain the fact that in the 12th and 13th centuries [society] still presented itself under the name and forms of Latin and Langobardic – law, professions of law, family traditions… – I insist on

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[47] VIOLANTE, 'Pievi e parrocchie', 658-9.
[48] BOYD, *Tithes and Parishes*, 101. For a more summarised discourse on the persistence of lay proprietorship of churches, see 127-8.
[49] WICKHAM, Chris J., 'Property ownership and signorial power in twelfth-century Tuscany', in Davies, Wendy and Fouracre, Paul (eds.), *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1995), 227.
[50] A *contado* was the fiefdom of a city-state.

the necessity of looking back to the social facts and motives; of not forgetting the profound opposition in life between a city bourgeoisie and a rural aristocracy…".[51]

Langobardia minor

The persistence of a Langobardic sense of self in Tuscany was demonstrated in other ways, such as in the clear preference for marriage with members of other families of the same tradition. In fact, Schwarzmaier identified this consistent intermarriage and the fact that the individuals involved all had similar – Langobardic – names as factors that render the study of lineage in feudal Tuscany extremely arduous.[52] However, marriage was obviously not restricted to other Tuscan families. For example, Rodolf II of the Aldobrandeschi and count Cadolo of the Cadolinghi respectively married Willa and Gemma, daughters of prince Landulf IV of Capua and Benevento, in the late 10th century.[53]

Such evidence of the maintenance of strong links with the southern principalities of *Langobardia minor* is especially revealing. While the Langobardic state had been swept away in northern and central Italy (*Langobardia major*) in 774, in the south it endured in the form of the three independent principalities of Benevento, Capua and Salerno for a full three centuries longer.[54] The rulers of these statelets saw themselves as the "*reliquiae Langobardorum gentis*": sole inheritors of the legacy of the Langobardic *Regnum* and responsible for conserving "the nation's consciousness".[55] Benevento, the largest of the three, was a pole of attraction for northern Langobards, both in the immediate aftermath of the Carolingian invasion and in later times.[56] For example, Sico I '*Foroiuliensis*', gastald of Acerenza before becoming prince of Benevento from 817 to 832, was an aristocratic exile from Friuli, as his epithet made clear.[57]

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[51] VOLPE, Gioacchino, 'Lambardi e Romani nelle campagne e nelle città. Per la storia delle classi sociali, della nazione e del rinascimento italiano (secoli XI-XV)' (1904), now in *Origine e primo svolgimento dei Comuni nell'Italia Longobarda. Studi preparatori* (Rome, 1976), 141, see also 134-6.
[52] SCHWARZMAIER, Hansmartin, 'Società e istituzioni nel X secolo: Lucca', in *Lucca e la Tuscia nell'alto medioevo*, 154.
[53] ROSSETTI, 'Gli Aldobrandeschi', 163; COTURRI, Enrico, 'I conti Cadolingi di Fucecchio', in *La Valdinievole tra Lucca e Pistoia nel primo Medioevo. Atti del Convegno organizzato dall'Istituto Storico Lucchese e dalla società pistoiese di storia patria, Fucecchio, 1985* (Pistoia, 1986), 27.
[54] Capua and Benevento were united for most of the 10th century.
[55] CILENTO, Nicola, 'Cultura e storia dell'Italia meridionale longobarda', in *La civiltà dei Longobardi in Europa. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Roma - Cividale del Friuli, 1971* (Rome, 1974), 193.
[56] CILENTO, 'Cultura e storia', 194.
[57] WICKHAM, *Early Medieval Italy*, 160, CILENTO, 'Cultura e storia', 194.

The southern Langobardic states were positioned in the midst of several different competing and often warring powers. In addition to the maritime city-states of Amalfi, Naples and Gaeta, there were the Frankish empire and the Papal state to the north, and the Byzantines and Arabs to the south. Such circumstances were instrumental in the creation of a fierce awareness of Langobardic identity, which continued up to, and even increased in, the final phases of existence.[58]

A singular illustration of this can be found in an illuminated manuscript from that latter period entitled '*Codex Legum Langobardorum. Capitularia Regum Francorum*', conserved in the archives of the Abbey of Ss. Trinità in Cava dei Tirreni, near the Amalfi coast. The manuscript, which dates from the early 11th century, contains the legend *Origo gentis Langobardorum*, as well as a glossary of Langobardic terms, the edicts of Aistulf, Arachis II and Adelchis and a chronology of Capuan princes. Albano Leoni, in a study published in 1979, explored several aspects of the work that are relevant to the subject in question.[59]

The *Origo* is a mythic account of the origins of the Langobards and their early history, including the initial period posterior to their invasion of Italy. An essential element of the story is the part played by the gods Wodan and Frîja in assisting the Winniles to victory over the Vandals, as well as giving the tribe the new name of Langobards. The legend is therefore fundamental to a Langobardic national awareness,[60] and almost always accompanied written copies of Rothari's edicts of 643, the backbone of Langobardic law. However, not surprisingly, for political reasons the *Origo* became rare following the Carolingian invasion.[61]

The pagan past of the Langobards is also made plain in the legend, but there was a tendency to temper this less acceptable side in later versions. For example, Paul the Deacon included the *Origo* in his late 8th century *Historia Langobardorum*, but also referred to it as a "*ridicula fabula*". In the late 10th, early 11th century *Codex Gothanus olim S. Martini Moguntinensis*, the *Origo* is preceded by a passage describing the predestination of the Langobards to Christianity.[62]

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[58] CILENTO, 'Cultura e storia', 195.
[59] ALBANO LEONI, Federico, 'Vitalità della tradizione longobarda nell'Italia meridionale', *Medioevo Romanzo*, 6 (1979), 3-21.
[60] See POHL, Walter, 'Memory, identity and power in Lombard Italy', in Hen, Yitzhak and Innes, Matthew (eds.), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), 9-28.
[61] ALBANO LEONI, 'Vitalità della tradizione', 15-6.
[62] ALBANO LEONI, 'Vitalità della tradizione', 12.

In the Cavense version there are no such fig-leafs: the story is recounted in its original form without comment. Further, there is a full-page illumination depicting and naming the two Germanic gods, Langobardic warriors with their women, and the leaders of the tribe, brothers Ybor and Agio and their mother Gambara.[63] That this may be interpreted as a manifestation of vestigial pre-Christian beliefs can be ruled out, as the legend is preceded by the words "*In nomine domini nostri ihesu Christi. Incipit horigo gentis nostre langobardorum*".[64] Rather, it must be viewed in the context of the other contents of the codex, which suggest that it was intended to arouse nationalist sentiment.

Arachis II and Adelchis were the first princes of Benevento in the period following the conquest of the northern Langobardic kingdom, and were therefore potent figures in the history of *Langobardia minor* (Aistulf was king in the north from 749-56). Arachis, who was the son-in-law of Desiderius (the last northern king), issued seventeen laws for Benevento in 774, the year of the conquest, as an unmistakable act of defiance to the Carolingian invaders.[65] The inclusion of those edicts in the 11th century Cavense manuscript was a significant reaffirmation of that spirit. In the glossary can also be recognised the desire to revive national pride, though the Langobardic terms are often so heavily corrupted as to be unrecognisable: by then the language would have been long lost, aside from loan-words.[66]

However, the most revealing aspects are, firstly, the unadulterated version of the *Origo* and, secondly, its location at the beginning of the book followed by legal edicts in an identical manner to pre-conquest versions. In its content and arrangement, it does not differ significantly from another less well-preserved codex produced around the same time and in the same area, known simply as *Leges Langobardorum*.[67] But despite the affinities, the two codices were not copied from the same model, thereby confirming "the intentionality of their structure".[68]

Though it is not known exactly where or when they were written, due to their nationalist inspiration and other aspects they can be placed in a Capuan context within

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[63] ALBANO LEONI, 'Vitalità della tradizione', 8-9. For an image of the page, see ROTILI, Mario, 'La cultura artistica nella Longobardia minore', in *La cultura in Italia fra Tardo Antico e Alto Medioevo. Atti del Convegno tenuto a Roma, 1979*, II (Rome, 1981), Fig. 52.
[64] ALBANO LEONI, 'Vitalità della tradizione', 10, n. 16.
[65] WICKHAM, *Early Medieval Italy*, 49.
[66] ALBANO LEONI, 'Vitalità della tradizione', 17-9.
[67] This work is conserved in Madrid national library. ALBANO LEONI, 'Vitalità della tradizione', 11.
[68] ALBANO LEONI, 'Vitalità della tradizione', 14.

living memory of the reign of Pandulf I (961-81).[69] Pandulf '*caput ferreum*' (Ironhead), father of the Landulf IV mentioned above, managed to bring most of the Italian peninsula from Ancona in the Marche to Calabria, the peninsula's 'toe', under the control of Capua-Benevento for a brief period (974-81). However, over the next century, the Langobardic principalities entered into a slow decline that culminated in their liquidation at the hands of Norman mercenaries in the 1070s.[70]

The readiness to use such codices (and, no doubt, other means) to stir nationalist feeling at a time of political weakness or even crisis in the south puts the Tuscan noble families' expressions of collective Langobardic solidarity into perspective. Less than a century later, the latter were similarly faced with the prospect of a diminution or even loss of their power as a result of a political equation that was gradually altering. The continued ties between Langobards in the two areas is therefore especially relevant: it may not be mere coincidence that Landulf's daughters married into the Aldobrandeschi and Cadolinghi at around the same time as the two codices were written.

'Archaic' Romanesque sculpture in Capua-Benevento

Beyond *Tuscia*, the most striking examples of 'archaic' Italian Romanesque sculpture are in Molise, which was part of the territory of Capua-Benevento. In the 12th-13th century churches of S. Giorgio Martire a Petrella Tifernina, S. Maria della Strada in Agro di Matrice, S. Maria di Canneto a Roccavivara and others, the character of the architectural sculpture is very like that of much Tuscan 'archaic' work (Figs. 277-9).[71] The flat relief technique and the motival repertoire are visibly based on early medieval carving. But here too there is nothing to suggest a Lombard import, or that the Molisan sculpture is related to Lombardy in any way. In Rotili's view, it represents a revival of 9th century Beneventan sculptural style.[72]

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[69] ALBANO LEONI, 'Vitalità della tradizione', 20-1. In addition to the Beneventan calligraphic style, the anonymous compiler of the chronology of Capuan princes had evidently personally met Pandulf, CILENTO, Nicola, *Italia meridionale longobarda (*Naples, 1971), 291-2.

[70] WICKHAM, *Early Medieval Italy*, 156; though, as in Tuscany and the north, people in these areas retained a sense of Langobardic nationality until at least the 13th century: see VOLPE, 'Lambardi e Romani', 139-40.

[71] See INCOLLINGO, Bernardino, *La scultura romanica nel Molise* (Rome, 1991).

[72] ROTILI, Mario, *La diocesi di Benevento. Corpus della scultura altomedievale*, V (Spoleto, 1966), 23-4.

Together with Tuscany, Campania is often cited as the region where the strongest *renovatio* of classical art occurred in Italian Romanesque sculpture.[73] But here too there was an alternative 'archaic' stylistic current that derived from the Langobardic principalities, though instances tend to be earlier and to occur more sporadically than in Molise. A notable example is in the famous late 11th century church of S. Michele Arcangelo a Sant'Angelo in Formis, near Capua. There, the stringcourse around the bell tower is decorated with fantastic quadrupeds and human masks, as well as classical egg-and-dart.[74]

The sculpture of the Cathedral of Aversa, about twelve miles to the south of Capua, also betrays a strong early medieval contribution to style. This is most graphic in one of two reliefs set into the wall of the ambulatory, which depicts a horsed warrior plunging his sword into a lion overhead (Fig. 280). In compositional terms, the image is very unusual. The relationship between the figure and the lion (mistakenly identified as a dragon by Volbach)[75] is quite detached: other than the connecting sword they appear to exist in separate dimensions. The knight recalls a pre-Romanesque carving on the right hand jamb of the Duomo di Sovana, as Ducci has already noted (Fig. 281).[76] Volbach ascribed the slab to the 9th century based on stylistic and iconographic affinities with other reliefs in Civita Castellana and Rome.[77] Glass, on the other hand, described it and other related material in the cathedral as 'early Romanesque', and cited a Langobardic, as well as an Apulian, influence.[78] A mid-1070s chronology is the most probable, as the piece is closely related to much of the earlier Romanesque architectural sculpture of the church.

For example, the decoration '*a occhi di dado*' composed of multiple small concentric circles (or 'stippling', as Glass called it), which defines the mane and tail of the lion, also appears on the abaci, caulicoles and volutes of capitals in the same cathedral, as well as in those of nearby Carinola.[79] It further occurs along the borders of the coiled tail of the whale shown swallowing Jonah on a relief slab in the cathedral

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[73] SHEPPARD, Carl D., 'A Chronology of Romanesque Sculpture in Campania', *The Art Bulletin*, vol. XXXII, Dec. (1950), 319-20.
[74] D'ONOFRIO, Mario and PACE, Valentino, *Campanie romane* (La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1981), Fig. 62.
[75] VOLBACH, Wolfgang Friedrich, 'Oriental Influences in the Animal Sculpture of Campania', *The Art Bulletin*, no. XXIV (1942), 173.
[76] DUCCI, Annamaria, 'Altomedioevo e preromanico: problemi critici e storicoartistici', Università degli Studi di Pisa, Ph.D. thesis (1993), 177.
[77] VOLBACH, 'Oriental Influences', 173-4.
[78] GLASS, Dorothy F., *Romanesque Sculpture in Campania: Patrons, Programs and Style* (Pennsylvania, 1991), 48-53.
[79] See GLASS, *Romanesque Sculpture*, Figs. 35, 43.

of Minturno (Fig. 282). Iconographically, this piece, which decorates the staircase leading up to the pulpit, is comparable to *tarsie* in the Cathedal of Ravello and S. Giovanni del Toro – also in Ravello – and to carved reliefs at the cathedral of Gaeta, as Glass observed (Fig. 283).[80] But the style of the Minturno relief differs enormously from those at Gaeta, with a flatter technique and a more linear conception that exhibits a strong sense of *horror vacui*, just as in the Aversa work.

The '*a occhi di dado*' technique is common in early medieval sculpture (Fig. 276).[81] Executed with a drilling action using a special bit, it probably derives from the decoration of bone, bronze and other materials, as identical marks are common on 5th-7th century Langobardic portable articles such as jewellery and combs (Figs. 284-5).

Another example in Campania of the survival of ornament whose origins lie in metalworking in the same early period is *Kerbschnitt*, or chip-carving. This decorative form, which occasionally occurs in all sculpture of the Langobardic period, had particularly good fortune throughout *Langobardia minor* from the 9th to the 13th centuries, as in a late 11th century marble capital reworked as a font in S. Michele Arcangelo (Fig. 286). Cielo, who carried out the most comprehensive study of chip-carved patterns in this region, associated the success and longevity of the motif with the continued existence of a Langobardic consciousness and nationalism.[82]

A relationship between Tuscan 'archaic' and the Langobardic nobility?

In 10th-11th century marriage contracts in *Langobardia minor* it was common to make reference to *morgincap*, or *morgengabe*. This was a Langobardic custom in which a husband gave his bride a gift of property, not exceeding a quarter of his estate, on the morning after the wedding night.[83] According to Albano Leoni there was often little necessity for the use of the term, which was included more to emphasise nationality,

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[80] GLASS, *Romanesque Sculpture*, 206-7 and Figs. 64, 229-31.

[81] For this type of ornament, see AMANTE SIMONI, Clorinda, 'Lastrine di osso lavorato: tentativo ragionato di ricostruzione di un reliquiario. Analisi di una placchetta zoomorfa e crocetta in lamina d'argento decorate a sbalzo', in Piancastelli Politi Nencini, Giovanna (ed.), *La chiesa dei Santi Giovanni e Reparata in Lucca. Dagli scavi archeologici al restauro* (Lucca, 1992), 227-38, particularly 235.

[82] CIELO, Luigi R., 'Decorazione a incavi geometrizzanti nell'area longobarda meridionale', *Napoli nobilissima*, no. XVII/5, Sept.-Oct. (1978), 181. See also GIESS, Hildegarde, 'The sculpture of the Cloister of Santa Sofia in Benevento', *The Art Bulletin*, no. XLI (1959), 252.

[83] CALISSE, *A History*, 574-5.

allowing such phrases as "*per meum scriptum morgincap mihi emissum secondum legem et consuetudinem langobardorum*".[84]

In some areas of Tuscany, the tradition of *morgincap* also continued to be common among families of Langobardic origin up to the 15th century, as in the Casentino and Terra Barbaritana in the Aretino.[85] Here too such expressions of Langobardic culture were part of efforts by the feudal caste to reverse the weakening of their power and authority, which were under pressure from the communes.[86] These mountainous and heavily wooded areas were home to a heavy concentration of Langobards (as might be imagined from such names as 'Terra Barbaritana'), who were extremely active in the reconstruction of churches in the 9th and 10th centuries.[87] These same zones, particularly the Casentino, are some of the richest in extant 'archaic' sculpture.[88]

Indeed, for most of those regions where 'archaic' sculpture is most abundant, there is similar evidence not only of dense Langobardic settlement, but also of their maintenance of a separate identity into a late period and extensive involvement in church ownership. For example, the Lucchesia possibly has the greatest proportion of toponyms of Langobardic derivation in all Italy, outnumbering those of Latin origin almost two to one.[89] In the Romanesque period, rural Lucchesia was dominated by Langobardic families like the Suffredinghi, who had built up enormous holdings of lands and churches extending into Versilia and the Garfagnana by obtaining *libelli* from the bishops of Lucca (one of whom, Gherard II, who held the see from 990 to 1003 and who was one of the worst of the 'simoniac bishops', was a family member).[90]

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[84] ALBANO LEONI, 'Vitalità della tradizione', 19-20, n. 35.
[85] DINI, Vittorio, 'Il Costume longobardo del "morgincap" in Arezzo e nel Casentino', *Scriptoria*, I (1967), 28.
[86] DINI, 'Il Costume longobardo', 31-5.
[87] FATUCCHI, Alberto, *La diocesi di Arezzo. Corpus della scultura altomedievale*, IX (Spoleto, 1977), 23. See also by the same author '«Sesto Aretino» e la «Terra Barbaritana»', in *Atti e memorie della Accademia Petrarca di Lettere, Arti e Scienze*, vol. XXVIII (1965-6), 151-61, and 'Note sui Longobardi e la diocesi aretina', in *Atti del 6° Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo, Milano, 1978* (Spoleto, 1980), 401-15.
[88] See ANGELELLI, Walter, GANDOLFO, Francesco and POMARICI, Francesca, *La scultura delle pievi: Capitelli medievali in Casentino e Valdarno* (Rome, 2003).
[89] AMBROSINI, Riccardo, 'Germanicità della Lucchesia', *Rivista di archeologia, storia, economia, costume*, no. 3 (1981), 45, 62. See also MASTRELLI, Carlo Alberto, 'L'elemento germanico nella toponomastica toscana dell'alto medioevo', in *Lucca e la Tuscia nell'alto medioevo*, 645-71.
[90] GIAMBASTIANI, Claudio, 'I Suffredinghi, nobili di Anchiano e della Rocca. Geneologia e vicende storiche dal IX al XIII secolo', in *Atti del VIII Convegno di Studi, Borgo a Mozzano, 1991* (Borgo a Mozzano, 1991), 13-4, 52.

In Lunigiana, Langobardic words still form part of the local dialect.[91] There, the two *pievi* with 'archaic' sculpture at Codiponte and Offiano were in the heart of de Herberia territory, while Vendaso and Pognana were well within the family's zone of influence.[92] Though the roots of the de Herberia are obscure, Formentini theorised that their origins were probably in pre-774 Langobardic Lucca.[93]

At this point, a recapitulation of several generalised aspects of rural Tuscan society in the 11th-13th centuries is appropriate, particularly with regard to its *pievi* and other churches. The feudal nobility was almost exclusively composed of families who defined themselves as Langobardic in their profession of law and in their customs. This class had attained its wealth and privileged position principally through the usurpation of ecclesiastic property, most significantly in the form of actual churches, from the 9th century onwards. By the 11th-12th centuries, this feudal order was coming under increasing pressure from the communes, for whom it represented an obstacle to the extension of their power and influence into the countryside. One of the means by which the feudal nobility sought to preserve its strength and authority under these circumstances was through the continued emphasis on its Langobardic identity.

As regards the latter two points, there are strong parallels with the experience of the Langobardic principalities of the *mezzogiorno*, where attempts were made to arrest deteriorating political fortunes by revitalising nationalist feeling. In Tuscany, it echoes the somewhat artificial identification with Rome and its classical culture by Pisa and other communal city-states. In both the Langobardic south and in Pisa, artistic media, in the form of illuminated manuscripts and architectural sculpture, were employed as part of the propaganda arsenal.

Seen in this light, to equate 'archaic' sculpture in Tuscany with Langobardic cultural revivalism due to the prevailing political climate is not an unreasonable proposition. This is especially so if one considers that 'archaic' sculpture is principally modelled on the sculpture of the Langobardic period, and would also appear to have been influenced, directly or otherwise, by 6th-7th century Langobardic

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[91] CONTI, Pier Maria *Luni nell'alto medioevo* (Padua, 1967), 151-9.

[92] NOBILI, Mario, 'Famiglie signorili di Lunigiana fra vescovi e marchesi (secoli XII e XIII)', in *I ceti dirigenti dell'età comunale nei secoli XII e XIII. Atti del II Convegno di studi sulla storia dei ceti dirigenti in Toscana, Firenze, 1979* (Pisa, 1982), 256-64, especially the map of de Herberia territory between pages 256-7.

[93] FORMENTINI, Ubaldo, 'Una podesteria consortile nei secoli XII e XIII. (Le Terre dei Bianchi)', *Giornale Storico della Lunigiana*, XII (1922), 202; see also by the same author: 'Consorterie langobardiche tra Lucca e Luni', *Giornale Storico e Letterario della Liguria*, II (1926), 169-85.

metalwork. A revival of a sculptural style that 'looked Langobardic' would have been a manifest allusion to an era in which the Langobards held unchallenged power at state level. Furthermore, the prevalence of a proprietary relationship between Langobardic families and churches would have given practically unlimited scope for the imposition of a particular artistic style, had it so been desired.

Yet other than a brief comment by Pierotti, no scholar has ever discussed the notion that private ownership of Tuscan churches may have had an impact on their sculptural decoration.[94] This, despite the obvious fact that it would have been very much in the interest of those lay families who owned churches to carry out works ranging from simple repairs to complete reconstruction simply to guarantee a continued income, as well as to keep up appearances. Certainly, such a condition was stipulated in many *libelli* relating to churches and other ecclesiastic buildings.[95]

To return momentarily to the Aldobrandeschi, in the early 9th century the family rebuilt the church of S. Pietro a Vico Asulari, just outside Lucca, which had been given to them *per libellum* by the bishop.[96] Around the same time Alpert is recorded as having procured "*quattuor colonnas petranas*" from the church of S. Donato, probably for use in S. Pietro.[97] Several fragments of sculptural ornament still conserved in the latter church, now reconstructed, were commissioned by the Aldobrandeschi. The most notable of these is the limestone crown of a ciborium, with a cross encircled by a jewelled ring between two affronted birds; truncated interlace is also visible at the two lateral extremes of the piece (Fig. 287).[98]

There are no surviving documents that confirm any instance of Romanesque 'archaic' sculpture as an explicitly stated intention to give tangible expression to the Langobardic identity of the patrons. Such a failure is in spite of the extensive nature of the Lucchese Archdiocesan archives. However, it is unlikely that the literary culture of the families in question extended beyond the recording of anything other than legal contracts in written form. In this regard they would have been quite the opposite of the Pisan clerics who composed the *Liber Maiorichinus* and other 11th-

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[94] PIEROTTI, 'Chiese private', 267.
[95] BELLI BARSALI, Isa, 'La Topographia di Lucca nei secoli VIII-IX', in *Lucca e la Tuscia nell'alto medioevo*, 495-6.
[96] COLLAVINI, 'Gli Aldobrandeschi a Lucca', 31-3.
[97] COLLAVINI, 'Gli Aldobrandeschi a Lucca', 37-8.
[98] See CIAMPOLTRINI, Giulio, 'Annotazioni sulla scultura d'età carolingia in Toscana', *Prospettiva*, no. 62 (1991), 63-4 and LERA, Guglielmo, 'Ricerche in provincia di Lucca: S. Pietro a Vico', *La Provincia di Lucca*, no. 4 (1967), 100-4.

12th century texts expressing the city's '*romanitas*'. Even in a progressive cosmopolitan city like Pisa, few laymen other than those associated with the legal profession would have known how to write in Latin in the mid-12th century.[99]

Early medieval *spolia in se* and *spolia in re* in 12th century Paris

Definite confirmation of a connection between the context outlined in this chapter and the *renovatio* of early medieval style would perhaps require a surviving contemporary account of the construction of a church with 'archaic' sculpture. In addition, it would have to include hints at the ideological backdrop to design choices, such as in that left by Suger for St.-Denis. Interestingly, at St.-Denis and in other Parisian churches reconstructed or enlarged in the 12th century, it would appear that almost the exact same phenomenon theorised above was at play. Early medieval sculpture in the form of *spolia* provided the stylistic source for new carvings, and the motives for such were wholly political and ideological.

As mentioned already, Abbot Suger was famously concerned to harmonise the old with the new, reiterating the idea on several occasions: "*In agendis siquidem hujusmodi, apprime de convenientia et cohærentia antiqui et novi operis sollicitus*".[100] To this end, abundant Merovingian columns and capitals were reused both in the crypt, where they still remain, and probably also in the upper level of the new chevet.[101] These marble capitals acted as models for new work, with the acanthus leaves of the originals either directly copied or reinterpreted in limestone.[102]

Clark has convincingly demonstrated that the resultant 'neo-Merovingian' capitals, together with the *spolia* and other features, were part of a deliberate revival programme aimed at enhancing the image of Louis VII, "the most serene king of the Franks". This was to have been achieved through association with his royal Frankish ancestors, both Merovingian and Carolingian, together with the figure of Saint Denis, who brought Christianity to the Franks. To the upper level of the new chevet, which

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[99] FISHER, Craig B., 'The Pisan Clergy and an Awakening of Historical Interest in a Medieval Commune', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, III (1966), 144.
[100] PANOFSKY, Erwin, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis and its Art Treasures* (1946; Princeton, 1979), 90-1, also 50-3 and 100-1.
[101] CLARK, William W., 'Defining national historical memory in Parisian architecture (1130-1160)', in Gauthier, Nancy and Galinié, Henri (eds.), *Grégoire de Tours et l'espace gaulois: actes du congrès international, Tours, 1994* (Tours, 1997), 351.
[102] VIEILLARD-TROÏEKOUROFF, May, 'Les chapiteaux de marbre du Haut Moyen Âge à Saint-Denis', *Gesta*, no. 15 (1976), 105, 110, and more recently, CLARK, William W., 'Merovingian revival acanthus capitals at Saint-Denis', in *L'acanthe dans la sculpture monumentale de l'Antiquité à la Renaissance. Actes du colloque tenu du 1er au 5 octobre 1990 à La Sorbonne* (Paris, 1993), 346-54.

contained a synthesis of the old and the new in the form of *spolia in se* and *in re*, was translated the body of Saint Denis in 1144.[103] If Clark's thesis regarding St.-Denis is correct, many elements of what has been viewed as the birth of a new style – Gothic – may, to 12th century eyes, have rather been a form of *antiquitas*.[104]

Over the course of a decade, other Parisian churches, such as St.-Pierre de Montmartre and St.-Germain-des-Prés, had imitated the use of Merovingian *spolia* capitals and their style at St.-Denis.[105] In addition, coins minted during the reign of Louis VII showed several changes to those of his namesake predecessor. The king is shown seated on the throne of Dagobert, the founder of St. Denis, and his hair has become shoulder-length, just as the 'long-haired kings', as the descendants of Merovingian king Clovis were known.[106]

The facts relating to St.-Denis are ascertainable because of the high profile enjoyed by the basilica, due to its association with the figure of Saint Denis, patron saint of France, and the French royal house from the reign of Dagobert (629-38). But it is Suger's detailed descriptions of the thinking that drove decisions that really provide Clark's theories with a firm footing. Were there no other evidence beyond the incorporation of Merovingian *spolia* and its apparent imitation in the *ex novo* sculpture, as in Tuscany, all such ideas would be far more speculative.

Conclusions

It is also clear that 'archaic' sculpture in Tuscany is a phenomenon of far greater complexity than that addressed by Clark. As opposed to three or four churches within a limited area, it regards scores of monuments, exhibiting at times widely divergent styles, found singly or in clusters in separate localities over a wide area. In addition, works to the Parisian monuments referred to all took place inside a short timeframe, whereas Tuscan 'archaic' lasted from the second half of the 11th century well into the

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[103] CLARK, 'Defining national historical memory', 355.
[104] CLARK, William W., '"The Recollection of the Past is the Promise of the Future." Continuity and Contextuality: Saint-Denis, Merovingians, Capetians and Paris', in Raguin, Virginia Chieffo, Brush, Kathryn and Draper, Peter (eds.), *Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings* (Toronto-London, 1995), 99-100.
[105] CLARK, 'Defining national historical memory', 342-50. At St.-Pierre de Montmartre, besides the *spolia* capitals and "historicizing forms", Queen Adelaide († 1154) was interred in a tomb whose slab bore an effigy carved in identical manner to a contemporary piece made for the remains of the Merovingian queen, Fredegonde. NOLAN, Kathleen, 'The Queen's body and institutional memory: the tomb of Adelaide of Maurienne', in Valdez del Alamo, Elizabeth (ed.), *Memory and the medieval tomb* (Aldershot, 2000), 249-55.
[106] CLARK, 'Defining national historical memory', 355-8.

13th; that is, for the entire Romanesque period. Hence, even were there a document attesting to Langobardic nationalism as the operating motive behind a certain stylistic choice by the patrons, to an extent its application to other 'archaic' work would perhaps be invalidated by slight differences of cultural, social, and historical context.

Moreover, by no means would such a discovery exclude other factors, particularly the desire to highlight religious continuity: as shown by Suger, the prestige of the Capetian kings was inextricably linked to Saint Denis and his church, and vice versa. In the Middle Ages there was no real cut off point between spiritual and secular life in any of its spheres. Other aspects of 'archaic' sculpture demonstrate that nationality cannot have been the only element in what was probably a more multifaceted equation. For example, its occasional appearance in an urban context, where the influence of the feudal nobility would have been decidedly less or non-existent, as in the lunette at S. Maria della Pieve ad Arezzo.

However, the prevalence of a sense of Langobardic identity in Romanesque Tuscany has never been proposed as having a possible bearing on 'archaic' sculpture. This is despite the extremely widespread possession of ecclesiastic property by the class that professed such an identity and the close ties between its fortunes and the control of churches. Such a silence also ignores the remarkable correspondence between the two parts of *Langobardia – major* and *minor* – and the incidence of a Romanesque sculpture in which the principle stylistic sources were early medieval. The most obvious example is Lombardy, hence the unfortunate historiography of 'archaic' sculpture in Tuscany. But to the 'archaic' styles in Tuscany, Molise and Campania already discussed may be added other similar anachronisms – albeit on a minor scale – in Spoleto, home to a Langobardic duchy until 774.[107]

'Archaic' Romanesque sculpture is therefore present, to a greater or lesser degree, in most of the parts of Italy that had been previously dominated by the Langobards. This, and the other factors here described, amount to a substantial, if circumstantial, body of evidence suggesting that there is a linkage between Tuscan 'archaic' sculpture, ideology and national identity. That such a situation should not be viewed as anomalous in medieval Europe will be demonstrated in the following chapter.

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[107] PERONI, Adriano, 'Elementi di continuità e di innovazione nel Romanico spoletino', in *Il ducato di Spoleto. Atti del 9° Congresso Internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo, Spoleto, 1982*, vol. II (Spoleto, 1983), 683-712.

7. European comparisons

As illustrated by the simulation of Merovingian capitals in 12th century Parisian churches, the revival of early medieval sculptural styles was not solely an Italian phenomenon. Schmitt, writing of a type of relief sculpture found in central and western France with much in common with Tuscan 'archaic' sculpture, opened her article thus: "Throughout Romanesque Europe, a particular form of architectural ornament still awaits full investigation: single-unit reliefs arranged in various configurations [...]. A phenomenon as yet poorly defined in Romanesque art, this body of relief sculpture shares characteristics with the mainstreams of Romanesque sculpture but has long been uneasily discussed apart."[1]

Schmitt's lines hint at what is in fact a much wider picture, extending to the ornament of capitals, portals, corbels and all the other tectonic members to which sculpture was most often applied in Romanesque buildings. In this chapter, examples of European medieval art and architecture – both pre-Romanesque and Romanesque – which demonstrate a conscious will to recuperate elements of early medieval style will be examined.

In order to avoid overextending the parameters of this study, attention will be focused on Spain and France, and in the latter case Normandy in particular. Given that it has only been possible to touch on a small portion of Tuscan and Italian 'archaic' sculpture, investigation will obviously be far from exhaustive, even in these areas. Particular attention will be paid to instances that appear to offer a more promising prospect from an instructive viewpoint. That is, where contextual aspects, patronage and the background social, religious, ideological and political climate, seem to offer a rationale behind such a revival.

Spain

The Visigothic legacy and Christian Spanish identity in the Middle Ages

Central to the medieval history of Spain is, of course, *la Reconquista*. Following the defeat of the Visigothic army in 711, almost the entire Peninsula became part of the

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[1] SCHMITT, Marilyn, ' "Random" Reliefs and "Primitive" Friezes: Reused Sources of Romanesque Sculpture?', *Viator*, no. 11 (1980), 123.

Muslim world.[2] Only the northern mountainous region of Asturias escaped conquest, though the Mozarabs – the Christian majority of the population of al-Andalus (the Moorish controlled area) – were permitted to continue practicing their faith.[3] The independence of Asturias was established through a victory over Umayyad forces at Covadonga in 722 by Pelayo, who had been elected king of the region by fellow Visigothic refugees. This event became an inspiration to all those who in the future desired to expel the Muslims and achieve the *salus Spanie*, the salvation of Spain, though such an ambition only became militarily realistic towards the middle of the 11th century.[4]

The image of the Visigothic *Monarchia Hispaniae* of the 5th-8th centuries underpinned the concept of the reconquest throughout the Middle Ages. It was a potent and omnipresent ideal: a (largely imaginary) lost unified and Christian Spain which the crusaders strove to restore. Paralleling Benevento's post-774 role as the "*Ticinum geminum*", or second Pavia,[5] King Alfonso II's creation of a court at Oviedo was hailed as a new Toledo (the historic Visigothic capital) in the 9th century Chronicle of Albelda: "*Omnemque gotorum ordinum sicuti Toleto fuerat, tam in ecclesia quam palatio in Obeto cuncta statuit.*"[6] Lest the connection were not sufficiently plain, the relics of Toledo's patron saint, Leocadia, were translated to Oviedo's palatine chapel.[7] The Chronicle of Albelda was in fact conceived as a continuation of Isidore of Seville's 7th century *Historia Gothorum, Wandalorum, Sueborum* (History of the Goths, Vandals and Sueves).[8]

Highly symbolic Visigothic customs, such as the presentation by the bishop of a golden cross and blessed banners to the king before going into battle, were maintained in the wars against the Moors.[9] Christian kings consistently stressed their fictitious descent from Visigothic royalty, as in the 12th century Chronicle of Silos, in

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[2] The name 'Spain' will be used here synonymously with 'Iberian Peninsula', as many writers on medieval history have done. Portugal, which became politically independent from Castille in the 12th century, was only one of many regions with varying historical and cultural experiences.
[3] The Moors called the Iberian Peninsula 'al-Andalus' after the Germanic Vandal tribe, who had penetrated the region prior to the Sueves or Visigoths.
[4] O'CALLAGHAN, Joseph F., *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia, 2003), 5.
[5] This description of Benevento comes from Erchempert's *Ystoriola Langobardorum Beneventum degencium*; CILENTO, Nicola, 'Cultura e storia dell'Italia meridionale longobarda', in *La civiltà dei Longobardi in Europa. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Roma - Cividale del Friuli, 1971* (Rome, 1974), 193-4.
[6] DODDS, Jerrilyn D., *Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia, 1990), 78.
[7] WILLIAMS, John W., 'Orientations: Christian Spain and the art of its neighbors', in O'Neill, John P. (ed.), *The art of medieval Spain A.D. 500-1200* (New York, 1993), 19.
[8] O'CALLAGHAN, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 6, 8.
[9] O'CALLAGHAN, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 186-7, 190-1.

which Alfonso VI of León-Castile was described as "born of illustrious Gothic lineage." These types of references continued to be commonplace right up to the 15th century, that is, until the reconquest had been consummated with the fall of Granada in 1492.[10] Such an identification with the Visigothic past was not solely the preserve of royalty, but permeated Christian society at all levels, as will be shown below.

Christian architecture and sculpture in the 10th century

It is not surprising that such nostalgia was reflected in the privileged treatment accorded to material vestiges of the Visigothic period. In the aftermath of the capture of Toledo by the Christians in 1085, numerous fragments of Visigothic sculpture were incorporated in newly constructed buildings in the city.[11] Once again, *spolia* became a vehicle for ideological expression.

Historicism impacted even more forcefully on architectural design and its associated sculpture. The early 10th century Mozarabic church of S. Miguel de Escalada, near León, departs from the immediately precedent Asturian tradition – as represented by the slightly earlier S. Salvador de Valdediós – in a number of respects. In place of heavy square sectioned piers carrying the semicircular arches of the nave at Valdediós, horseshoe arches bear on slender capitals and columns. The low chancel screen which separates the choir from the nave at Valdediós has been replaced by columned horseshoe arches. These would have been fitted with barriers, producing a much starker divide between celebrants and congregation.

The differences between the two buildings, which are representative of two distinct types of 10th century northern churches, have usually been attributed to the Mozarabs' assimilation of Islamic culture and aesthetics in Cordoban al-Andalus, from whence they had migrated.[12] A recent study by Dodds, however, demonstrated that the architectural conception exhibits not just an outright rejection of Islamic models, but an acute awareness of, and a desire to emulate, 7th-8th century Visigothic church design.[13]

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[10] O'CALLAGHAN, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 6-7, 209-14.
[11] WILLIAMS, 'Orientations', 14.
[12] For example, BARRAL I ALTET, Xavier, *The Early Middle Ages. From Late Antiquity to A.D. 1000* (Cologne, 2002), 210-1.
[13] DODDS, *Architecture and Ideology*, 48-51. Dodds' thesis agrees with, but expands exponentially, especially where the historical context is concerned, the ideas set out by PUIG I CADAFALCH, Josep, *L'art Wisigothique et ses survivances. Recherches sur les origines et le développement de l'art en France et en Espagne du IVe au XIIe siècle* (1944; Paris, 1961), 168-77, 186.

At Escalada, the ground plan, the form of the nave and the spatial arrangement are practically identical to Visigothic churches such as S. Juan de Baños, just to the north. While the Mozarabic horseshoe arch may appear Islamic, its origins lie in the Visigothic period. Islamic horseshoe arches were generally proportioned differently and their voussoirs were alternately coloured in two separate tones, either through the use of varying materials or an overlay of paint. The latter was the principle device used by Christian manuscript illuminators to recognisably differentiate between Muslim architecture and their own.[14] The proportions of the non-polychrome arches at Escalada and the way they relate to the architecture are the same as in pre-Muslim churches; as a whole, the result is a conscious copy of a Visigothic church.[15]

Dodds also likened the relief sculpture of the chancel screens to Visigothic work, seeing it as another part of what she believed to be essentially a revival programme, though one unspecified motif was identified as Islamic in origin.[16] There is no doubt that the sculpture at Escalada, both that of the liturgical fittings and the architectural decoration, is very closely related to Visigothic sculpture, so much so that in many cases they are virtually indistinguishable.[17]

For example, one of the most frequent motifs at Escalada, appearing in the chancel screens, the friezes in the walls of the choir and on at least one of the capitals, is a distinctive long-necked bird. It is depicted either in the act of feeding on a bunch of grapes or else with its neck curled downwards to allow the beak to touch the feet. In most cases, these birds and other beasts are almost enclosed in a vine-scroll that forms regular circular fields, as in the chancel screens and choir friezes (Fig. 288). The latter combination differs from classic Visigothic designs – as in architectural relief carvings at S. Pedro de la Nave and Quintanilla de las Viñas – only in respect of minor details, such as a slight variation in the depth of relief (Fig. 289).[18] Palol de

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[14] DODDS, Jerrilyn D., 'Islam, Christianity, and the Problem of Religious Art', in O'Neill (ed.), *The art of medieval Spain*, 29-30.
[15] DODDS, *Architecture and Ideology*, 51, see also n. 17 for an in-depth discussion of the horseshoe arch.
[16] DODDS, *Architecture and Ideology*, 53 and n 29.
[17] For the sculpture at Escalada, see FONTAINE, Jacques, *L'art préroman hispanique.* Vol. 2, *L'art mozarabe* (La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1977), Figs. 20-34.
[18] For an illustration of the motif on the frieze that runs around the exterior at las Viñas, see DE PALOL, Pedro, *Arte hispanico de la época visigoda* (Barcelona, 1968), Fig. 141.

Salellas has shown this pattern to have been directly transcribed from Visigothic metalwork into stone (Fig. 290).[19]

Much of the geometric ornament of the lunette over the door at the eastern extreme of the southern portico betrays similar origins (Fig. 291). Likewise, the chip-carving, vortices, interlace and six-lobed rosettes that comprise the decorative vocabulary of the Mozarabic churches of S. María de Lebeña and S. Millán de la Cogolla, several decades posterior to Escalada, are clearly copied from Visigothic models (Figs. 292-3).

Dodds argued that later northern churches, built under both Mozarabic and indigenous patronages, showed a similar return to Visigothic architectural prototypes.[20] She set out to study the experience of the Mozarabs living under Muslim rule prior to their emigration north and to relate this to their subsequent interest in the past. One of a wide range of heavily discriminatory laws imposed on the Christian and Jewish populations of al-Andalus was a ban on the *ex novo* construction of places of worship. Under these circumstances, those Christians that refused to accept the option of apostasy had no alternative but to practice their religion in churches dating to the Visigothic era. These buildings would have held a special resonance for the persecuted congregation, who must have been fully aware of the very different conditions under which they were erected.

In addition, the extremely high rate of conversion to Islam – by the 9th century Christians were already a minority in the cities – meant that the hardcore that resisted were often fanatically intransigent in their Christianity. This attitude was reflected in the trend for actively seeking martyrdom by publicly insulting the Prophet Muhammad: more than fifty Mozarabs obtained decapitation in this way.

Those who accepted the Christian kingdoms' invitations to migrate north in order to repopulate frontier areas tended to be the most ardent and politicised of the Mozarabs. Upon their arrival in the north, the opportunity to build churches would have been of huge significance, given the centuries of deprivation of such a right. Very often, as at Escalada, they were constructed on the site of earlier ruined churches, which would invariably have been Visigothic. Such monuments would have constituted models for the new, while simultaneously reinforcing the sense of

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[19] PALOL DE SALELLAS, Pedro, 'Esencia del arte hispánico de época visigoda: romanismo y germanismo', in *I Goti in occidente: problemi. Settimane di studio sull'alto medioevo, 1955* (Spoleto, 1955), 110.
[20] DODDS, *Architecture and Ideology*, 55.

meaning behind the act of church construction (as many inscriptions on the churches testify). Dodds was convinced that these and other similar factors explain the 10th century Mozarabic revival of Visigothic forms.[21]

Though churches in the Asturian tradition seem to have been slightly less indebted architecturally to Visigothic precedents, the same cannot be said for their sculpture, which like Mozarabic work draws almost entirely on Visigothic style.[22] At S. Cristina de Lena to the south of Oviedo, the striking chancel screens are Visigothic *spolia*.[23] The capitals at Lena and at S. María de Naranco, as well as mural roundels in the latter, are decorated with beasts similar to those on Visigothic belt buckles from Besançon and León (Figs. 294-5).[24] In other Asturian churches such as S. Miguel de Lillo and S. Salvador de Priesca there are the same geometric motifs common to Visigothic and Mozarabic relief sculpture. For the inhabitants of the northern kingdoms, the Visigothic legacy was equally as important as for the Mozarabs, as mentioned above. Perhaps, however, having been spared the pain of Muslim domination they felt less need to express their attachment to it so forcefully.

Iberian Romanesque

In the Romanesque period, the contribution of the Visigothic heritage to a Spanish national identity continued to find expression through art. For example, Leovigild, the 6th century Visigothic king who subdued the Sueves and initiated the process that brought political unity to the peninsula, is shown on one of the ivory panels of the reliquary of Saint Aemilian, dated 1060-80 (Fig. 296).[25]

But in many ways the introduction of the Romanesque style to Spain signified a wish to identify the nation with a more forward-looking European culture, one that had not been forced into such uncomfortably close contact with Islam. This desire to modernise Spain was responsible for the late 11th century suppression of the age-old 'Mozarabic' rite or liturgy, unchanged since Visigothic times, in favour of a Latin,

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[21] DODDS, *Architecture and Ideology*, 66-77.
[22] For the Visigothic derivation of Asturian sculpture, see PUIG I CADAFALCH, *L'art Wisigothique*, 121-30.
[23] ARBEITER, Achim and NOACK-HALEY, Sabine, 'The kingdom of Asturias', in O'Neill (ed.), *The art of medieval Spain*, 116.
[24] See also PUIG I CADAFALCH, *L'art Wisigothique*, pl. XXXIV.
[25] O'NEILL (ed.), *The art of medieval Spain*, 12, 260-6. The reliquary is from the monastery of S. Millán de la Cogolla in Logroño.

"Europeanized", version.[26] In architecture, it led to the general abandonment of such native forms as the horseshoe arch.[27]

Nevertheless, Visigothic art most definitely continued to exert an influence on peninsular Romanesque sculpture, though less uniformly so than in the 10th century.[28] While examples of such influence occur throughout the peninsula, perhaps the strongest concentrations are in the northeast, mirroring the historical role of the area as a bastion of Christian independence. In order to avoid the creation of valueless inventories of such examples, attention will here be drawn only to several of the more noteworthy instances of the transmission of Visigothic artistic traits into Portuguese Romanesque, principally in the north.

At S. Pedro de Rates, both orders of the archivolts above the north portal are entirely decorated with the *kerbschnitt* so ubiquitous to Visigothic carving (Figs. 297-8). On the southern door, beasts' heads spew interlaced strands, each of which contains a regular row of raised beads between borders, both on the left hand abaci and on the underside of the lintel (Fig. 299). The design is indistinguishable from Visigothic examples, as on two chancel screen posts from S. Pedro de Coimbra, about 150 km to the south (Fig. 300).[29] Both chip-carved stars and beaded interlace are common in Iberian Romanesque.

The beakheads that adorn the arches over the apsidal window at S. Claudio de Nogueira, the north door at S. Pedro de Águias and the chancel arch of Tarouquela are recognisably close to the type found on Migration era Germanic fibulae '*a staffa*'.[30] A similar derivation from metalwork seems likely for the possibly apotropaic fanged quadruped surrounded by multiple parallel undulating lines in the tympanum above the north door of S. Maria da Porta, Melgaço.[31]

Again at Águias, the crosses in the lunettes of the western portal and a doorway in the wall to the left, both with a large decorated circle at their centres and

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[26] BARTLETT, Robert, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350* (Princeton, 1993), 270.
[27] DODDS, 'Islam, Christianity', 33-6
[28] Although Puig i Cadafach's arguments for a Visigothic derivation of the decoration of the Romanesque capitals in the narthex of S. Isidoro de León seem rather forced; PUIG I CADAFALCH, *L'art Wisigothique*, 180-2 and pl. LVI.
[29] GRAF, Gerhard N., *Portugal roman.* Vol. 2, *Le nord du Portugal* (La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1987), 62. Graf also noted that the same design occurs in buildings touched by the "Burgundian current" of Romanesque.
[30] GRAF, *Le nord du Portugal*, Fig. 167, GRAF, Gerhard N., *Portugal roman.* Vol. 1, *Le sud du Portugal* (La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1986), Figs. 52, 63.
[31] GRAF, *Le nord du Portugal*, 283-4 and Fig. 188.

cuneiform arms of equal length, replicate early medieval types (Figs. 301-2).[32] This is the form of the Visigothic and Asturian golden crosses, such as the Cross of the Angels (Fig. 303), which were highly important religious and political symbols of the unity of church and state, and which were probably carried into battle against the Moors, as noted above.[33] Around the early 10th century, Frankish influence brought a shift away from this Greek type towards the Latin cross (i.e. with a longer arm underneath) with non-tapering arms ending in lobes, as in the Cross of Victory.[34] The appearance of the earlier type in sculpture of the Romanesque period is therefore especially significant.

Finally, a notable element of northern Portuguese portal decoration is the frequent employment of rhomboidal motifs, chevron and other similar patterns on the outermost moulding of the arches. It occurs, for example, in the western portals of S. Maria de Pitões das Junias, S. Martinho de Manhente and Vilar de Frades, and the north door of Rio Mau (Figs. 304-5). The chancel arches of S. Salvador de Bravães and S. Claudio de Nogueira are also adorned in this manner.[35] This scheme mimics perfectly an identical usage of the same decoration in Visigothic liturgical furniture, as in a chancel screen from Mérida (Fig. 306).[36]

Endless such examples could be provided for Portugal alone, while other regions in the north of the peninsula, particularly Galicia, León, Catalonia and the Pyrenees demonstrate an equally high degree of influence. It can be assumed that the same sentiments that drove the imitation of early medieval style in pre-Romanesque architectural sculpture were still present in the 11th and 12th centuries, albeit in a more diluted form. As the northern kingdoms went increasingly onto the offensive, extending their territories inexorably southwards at the expense of the Muslim fiefdoms, a more self-assured Spanish Christianity began to look to the future in equal measure to the past. Hence, in contrast to Tuscan 'archaic' sculpture, for example, elements of early medieval style occur alongside more 'advanced' Romanesque forms. There does not seem to have been the same desire or need to create such an overwhelmingly early medieval 'effect'.

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[32] For the other doorway, see GRAF, *Le sud du Portugal*, Fig. 55.
[33] WILLIAMS, 'Orientations', 19.
[34] WILLIAMS, 'Orientations', 20.
[35] GRAF, *Le nord du Portugal*, Figs. 163, 166, 179, 198.
[36] See DE PALOL SALELLAS, Pere, 'Arte y arqueología', in Jover Zamora, José María (dir.), *Historia de España*. Vol II, *España visigoda: la monarquía, la cultura, las artes* (Madrid, 1991), 344.

The question arises whether 'archaic' elements in Spanish Romanesque sculpture can be considered pure revivals. Mozarabic carving clearly constitutes a *renovatio*, as the Mozarabs would have had little opportunity for the production of Christian art in the south. But the same assumption cannot necessarily be made for pre-Romanesque sculpture of the Asturian tradition, which appears to have been more of an unbroken continuation of Visigothic style. Whether this may have carried over seamlessly into the Romanesque – and if so to what extent – is unascertainable here, given the obvious limitations that arise when studying from afar. It is worth noting that, as opposed to Langobardic sculpture, for example, which was almost entirely limited to internal church fittings, Visigothic carving was often architectural, thereby excluding the need for any leap from one application to another.

Normandy

One of the regions of France where Romanesque sculpture is most richly endowed with early medieval style is Normandy. Zarnecki wrote that: "…once adopted by Norman masons and carvers, geometric sculpture became almost their obsession."[37] Chip-carved stars are by far the most prominent motif, but spirals, rosettes, chevron and other such patterns abound. The carving technique is frequently one of flat relief or *en creux*. Given the clear link between ideology, identity and the incorporation of Visigothic elements in Spanish Romanesque art, it may be asked whether there were any comparable contextual factors that may have influenced the appearance of similar styles in this region.

Northmannia, or Normandy, takes its name from the Norsemen who, under the leadership of Rolf, invaded the northern Frankish coast in the late 9th century. Over the next three centuries, Rolf's descendants ruled from their capital Rouen over a duchy that came to be extremely powerful. In the second half of the 11th century, Norman knights conquered a patchwork of regions in Europe – England, Sicily and southern Italy – and beyond, taking Antioch and much of Syria in the first crusade.[38]

Despite the existence of several medieval histories of the Normans, in particular Dudo of Saint-Quentin's *Historia Normannorum* (written *c.* 1015-24),

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[37] ZARNECKI, George, 'Romanesque Sculpture in Normandy and England in the Eleventh Century', in *Proceedings of the Battle conference on Anglo-Norman studies*, I (1978), 179. In the following pages he made some general points relating to the subject but without committing himself to any analysis of the reasons behind it.

[38] See DOUGLAS, David C., *The Normans* (1969 & 1976; London, 2002), 47-73.

determining how they perceived themselves and their historical origins is not as simple as might be expected. The difficulty with Dudo's account lies not in the fact that it is largely invented and irrelevant (as he himself admitted in a letter to Adalberon, bishop of Laon: "Nearly half of this work seems to have no regard at all for the business of utility unless, by you as reaper, it is weeded of superfluous thistles.").[39] It is rather its ambiguity towards the question of how much the Normans were the product of ethnic and cultural intermingling between Rolf's Vikings and the Franks. Dudo wrote that, prior to his arrival in *Francia*, Rolf – or Rollo, the Gallicised name by which he was known in later times – had a dream vision. In it, he was at the top of a mountain to which flocked multitudes of different types of multicoloured birds to nest. The dream was interpreted for him by a Christian prisoner, who told that the birds represented the men of many nationalities (*homines diversorum regnorum*) whom he would unite in a Christian realm.[40]

Yet Dudo also recounted a story relating to Rolf's son William Longsword, who almost makes the fatal error of trusting the Franks to aid him in a power struggle with rebel Normans under Riulf. But after jibes from his own supporters that he is becoming too Frankish and womanly, the Viking blood in William reacts and he himself goes and slaughters the rebel band. The message of this and other tales was that the Normans must never forget their roots or become too much like the Franks, despite their taking Frankish wives and customs.[41]

Such apparent contradictions have caused enduring disputes over interpretation. On the one side are the 'scandinavistes', those who argue that the Normans stayed faithful to their Viking past and rejected all things Frankish. Ranged against them are the 'gallo-franquistes', who believe the exact opposite, that the Normans quickly discarded their Scandinavian heritage in favour of Frankish culture.[42] Potts, in examining the question afresh more recently, opined that the truth lies somewhere in between. In her analysis, the Norman leaders were compelled to walk a tightrope between the need to set themselves apart as a distinct identity, while

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[39] ALBU, Emily, *The Normans in their Histories: Propaganda, Myth and Subversion* (Woodbridge, 2001), 10.
[40] POTTS, Cassandra, '*Atque unum ex diversis gentibus populum effecit*: Historical Tradition and the Norman Identity', in *Proceedings of the Battle conference on Anglo-Norman studies*, XVIII (1996), 142.
[41] POTTS, '*Atque unum*', 143-5.
[42] POTTS, '*Atque unum*', 140-1.

at the same time trying to fit into the political and cultural realities in which they found themselves.[43]

The problems involved in such a balancing act were not inconsiderable, as those of Viking descent were a tiny minority in Normandy, and alienating the rest of the population would have been disastrous.[44] On the other hand, a too overt or hasty adoption of Frankish ways would have removed the Normans' sense of separate identity (and hence, destiny), while also risking infuriating those who, like William Longsword's followers, would have seen this as a betrayal of their forefathers.

Furthermore, the hint of a continued connection with the ancestral homeland was extremely expedient in cautioning any powers that might be tempted to menace Normandy. Richard I (William's son), for example, was able to call upon the Danish King Harald to send military backup in a dispute with the Franks.[45] Probably for this reason Richard was referred to as a '*piratarum dux*' in contemporary chronicles.[46] The favour was returned when Normans fought side by side with Vikings at the Battle of Clontarf, near Dublin (1014).[47]

The advantages of having ferocious reinforcements on call no doubt explain the hearty welcome Duke Richard II (Richard's son and William the Conqueror's grandfather) regularly gave to Viking raiding parties returning from pillaging England, Brittany or other regions. Normandy was known in this period as a safe haven for such expeditions, and Rouen was the "*entrepôt*" where stolen 'goods' – i.e. slaves and other riches – could be sold, left for safekeeping, or enjoyed.[48]

However, if the Norman dukes were to have a credible authority over all their subjects and to increase their prestige with neighbouring powers, a compromise of some sort was necessary. An opportunity presented itself in the form of the Church. By granting monastic orders the same lands that had been taken from them with much violence by their forebears, the Norman dukes were able to portray themselves as legitimate and respectable: "In their efforts to define the boundaries of the duchy and resolve the tension of their mixed legacy, the Normans found the church a most

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[43] POTTS, '*Atque unum*', 142.
[44] LOUD, Graham A., 'The 'Gens Normannorum'- Myth or Reality?', in *Proceedings of the Battle conference on Anglo-Norman studies*, IV (1981), 113.
[45] LOUD, 'The 'Gens Normannorum', 109.
[46] DOUGLAS, *The Normans*, 25.
[47] SEARLE, Eleanor, *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power, 840-1066* (Berkeley, 1988), 124.
[48] SEARLE, *Predatory Kinship*, 125.

effective ally. A clear testament of this is the fact that the Norman state, as it grew, conformed to the approximate boundaries of the ecclesiastical province of the archbishop of Rouen."[49]

By the middle of the 11th century, William of Jumièges in his *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* had shortened the story of William Longsword's defeat of the rebels, leaving its moral much less in evidence.[50] He was also quite explicit in contrasting Harald's Danes, mentioned above, and the Normans, primarily because the Danes and other Scandinavians were *pagani*. Indeed, William referred to the Normans' antecedents as Danes prior to their conversion to Christianity (which occurred in Rolf's time); thereafter they were Normans.[51] Now that the Normans were becoming such a force to be reckoned with on the battlefield, there may also have been a reduced necessity for association with Scandinavia. They seem to have been considered Franks abroad, at least by the Anglo-Saxons. In the text of the Bayeux Tapestry, which was almost certainly designed and embroidered by Anglo-Saxons sometime between 1066 and 1082,[52] they are referred to as such: "*Hic ceciderunt simul Angli et Franci in pr*[*o*]*elio*" ("Here the English and Franks fell in battle").[53]

However, it is certain that the Normans thought of themselves as a race apart, a race of mixed descent but a distinct *gens* nonetheless, as Norman historiography never failed to make clear.[54] There was an awareness of the essential contribution of indigenous peoples – above all the Franks – to the Norman ethnogenesis. All of the Norman dukes from Rolf onwards had married daughters of the Frankish aristocracy, and by the 11th century their family connections were mostly Frankish.[55] But the Scandinavian origins were never forgotten, and remained essential to Norman identity and culture, as comes to the fore in their legends.[56] In the church of St.-Georges de Boscherville, founded around 1050, an engaged capital in the choir carries a possible image of Thor and his hammer (Fig. 307).[57] And though he has perhaps become a diabolic figure by *interpretatio christiana*, Searle described the image as "still

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[49] POTTS, '*Atque unum*', 146, see also 147-52.
[50] POTTS, '*Atque unum*', 145.
[51] LOUD, 'The 'Gens Normannorum'', 108-9.
[52] ALBU, *The Normans in their Histories*, 88.
[53] DUBY, Georges, *France in the Middle Ages 987-1460. From Hugh Capet to Joan of Arc* (1987; Eng. edn., Oxford, 1991), 24.
[54] LOUD, 'The 'Gens Normannorum'', 111-5.
[55] DAVIS, Ralph Henry Carless, *The Normans and their Myth* (London, 1976), 26.
[56] LOUD, 'The 'Gens Normannorum'', 115.
[57] BAYLÉ, Maylis, 'Le décor sculpté de Saint-Georges de Boscherville: quelques questions de style et d'iconographie', in *Proceedings of the Battle conference on Anglo-Norman studies*, VIII (1985), 36-7.

numinous".[58] Davis contended that the more "French" the Normans became in the late 11th and 12th centuries, the more they sought to emphasise their Danish ancestry as proof of their 'difference'.[59] This finds verification in Orderic Vitalis' early 12th century rewriting of William of Jumièges' *Gesta*, in which he rehabilitated the Danish connections highlighted by Dudo but downplayed by William.[60]

Scandinavian influence in Norman Romanesque sculpture

Baylé found that there were two periods in which "reminiscences" of Scandinavian or Anglo-Scandinavian art were most prevalent in Norman architectural sculpture: the late 10th, early 11th century, and the late 11th century.[61] These waves appear to roughly coincide with surges in the emphasis on the Viking basis for '*Normanitas*' in the written histories.

Among the more notable of the earlier examples brought to light by Baylé were two early 11th century voussoirs bearing fantastic beasts in flat relief from the church of Evrecy, Calvados, one of which was lost when the church was partially destroyed in 1944. The scholar compared them to similar Scandinavian designs in the Orkneys, Isle of Man and Essen, Germany (Figs. 308-9). Though not wholly dissimilar motifs occur in Merovingian art, as on a fibula found in nearby Verson, other details set them apart.[62]

In the late 11th century, Scandinavian influence was more widespread. At Ste.-Marie-du-Mont and Ste.-Paix de Caen stylised quadrupeds were depicted with what appear to be highly unusual multiple antlers (Figs. 310-1). These bear a close resemblance to images in the Ringerike style on the 11th century gilt bronze Heggen weather vane from Modum, Norway and a sarcophagus from St. Paul's churchyard in London (Figs. 312-3).[63] Another example is a form of interlace that is particular to Normandy, occurring chiefly in the Cotentin and Pays de Caux areas. It is based on a pattern that is common in Carolingian art, consisting of two separate strands that weave together to form a sequence of loops above and below. Unusually, however, a straight strand pierces both rows of loops (Fig. 314). This design was likely inspired

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[58] SEARLE, *Predatory Kinship*, 124-5.
[59] DAVIS, *The Normans and their Myth*, 54.
[60] ALBU, *The Normans in their Histories*, 182.
[61] BAYLÉ, Maylis, 'Reminiscences anglo-scandinaves dans la sculpture romane de Normandie', in *Proceedings of the Battle conference on Anglo-Norman studies*, XIII (1990), 35.
[62] BAYLÉ, 'Reminiscences anglo-scandinaves', 35-44, also Fig. 1.
[63] BAYLÉ, 'Reminiscences anglo-scandinaves', 45-6.

by depictions of rigging on Viking longboats, as on a slab from Tingstäde in Gotland (Fig. 315).[64] Other types of vegetal decoration on capitals, again in the Cotentin, are related to the woodcarvings of *stavkirke* portals (Fig. 316).[65]

The Cotentin is evidently the area with the highest concentration of elements of Scandinavian influence. However, Baylé associated this with subsequent settlements of Vikings in the 10th and 11th centuries, who maintained closer contact with their kinsmen both in Scandinavia and in England. The Cotentin's coastal location would also have encouraged more frequent artistic exchanges with abroad.[66] Thus, perhaps the Cotentin examples should be considered less representative of Norman Romanesque sculpture. Nevertheless, many instances of Scandinavian-derived sculpture occur in other parts of Normandy, such as late 11th, early 12th century work at Autheuil, Tilly-sur-Seulles and elsewhere (Figs. 317-8).[67]

'Géométrisme normand'

But what of the more general geometric character of Norman carving? Various hypotheses have been forwarded to explain the prevalence of *géométrisme* in the duchy. With a tone that recalls Salmi's descriptions of Tuscan 'archaic' sculpture, Musset described Norman Romanesque sculpture as the "poor cousin" in the "family" of regional styles. He credited this perceived poverty to "the pragmatic, organisational and systematic spirit" of the Normans, which had little time for the extravagances of elaborate sculptural or painted decoration.[68] Zarnecki, also echoing Salmi, believed an Italian influence emanating from Lombardy was responsible, citing the fact that many of the senior ecclesiastics in Normandy were of Italian origin.[69]

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[64] BAYLÉ, Maylis, 'Interlace Patterns in Norman Romanesque Sculpture: Regional Groups and their Historical Background', in *Proceedings of the Battle conference on Anglo-Norman studies*, V (1982), 13-5.

[65] BAYLÉ, 'Interlace Patterns', 17-8, subsequently expanded in BAYLÉ, Maylis, 'Le décor végétal du XII[e] siècle dans la sculpture normande', in *Arte d'Occidente: temi e metodi: studi in onore di Angiola Maria Romanini*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1999), 804-8.

[66] BAYLÉ, 'Interlace Patterns', 16-20.

[67] For further examples from the same author, see 'Reminiscences anglo-scandinaves', 44-8, 'La sculpture du XII[e] siècle à Bayeux' (1996), now in *Art monumental en Normandie et dans l'Europe du nord-ouest (800-1200)* (London, 2003), 437-9, and *Les origines et les premiers développments de la sculpture romane en Normandie* (Caen, 1996), 101, 154-6.

[68] MUSSET, Lucien, *Normandie romane*. Vol. 1, *La Basse Normandie* (La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1967), 243-7. Similar ideas are found in MUSSET, Lucien, *Normandie romane*. Vol. 2, *La Haute-Normandie* (La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1974), 165-7.

[69] ZARNECKI, George, '1066 and Architectural Sculpture', in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, LII (London, 1966), 95, cited in Baylé, '*Les origines*', 104.

For her part, Baylé ignored the type of views held by Musset, but did point out the contrasts between Lombard and Norman sculpture. Chip-carving, the most frequently employed element of the decorative Norman repertoire, is relatively rare in Lombard Romanesque, while the interlace on which the latter is founded is uncommon in Normandy.[70] Furthermore, while some interlace patterns occur in both regions, in Normandy these have been altered in a fashion that suggests the impact of Scandinavian art, while other interlace designs seem to be even more dependant on this source.[71]

The earliest known examples of the geometric style in Normandy are in the Caen area and date to about 1070. There, chip-carved stars are the principle decoration, as at la Trinité (Figs. 319-20). In subsequent years, the range of motifs was expanded and figurative elements were included as the style spread out rapidly all over Normandy (Figs. 321-2).[72]

Baylé observed that *géométrisme normand* appeared only in the aftermath of the conquest of England in 1066. But in her view, Anglo-Saxon art could not have been the source, being quite different in character. The conquest brought great riches to Normandy in the form of booty, which in turn were used to kick-start a massive church building programme. Baylé posited that under these circumstances, a scarcity of trained stone sculptors may have arisen, necessitating the services of craftsmen used to working only in wood. These sculptors would have belonged to an alternative artistic tradition based on "…the old barbaric, Celtic and perhaps even prehistoric substrata that permeates popular art."[73]

The scholar corroborated her hypothesis with the fact that wood was the material of choice in Scandinavian carving, and thus would have been commonly used in Normandy with its Viking connections. Such a background would also help provide a reason for the second, late 11th century, wave of Scandinavian influence in Norman Romanesque. And it is certainly true that motifs like *kerbschnitt* do occur in Scandinavian architectural carving in timber, as on the southern side of the western wall of the church at Vågå in Gudbransdal, Norway (Fig. 323).[74]

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[70] BAYLÉ, *Les origines*, 104 and BAYLÉ, 'Interlace Patterns', 2.
[71] BAYLÉ, *Les origines*, 154-6 and Figs. 650-67.
[72] BAYLÉ, *Les origines*, 102.
[73] BAYLÉ, *Les origines*, 105.
[74] For Vågå, see ANKER, Peter, *L'art scandinave*, Vol. 1 (La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1969), 261-3.

However, Vieillard-Troïekouroff found the geometric carving of 11th-13th century French sarcophagi and other "*archaïsante*" funerary material, including chip-carved stars, rosettes, vortices, chevron and so on, to be Merovingian in origin.[75] Such local early medieval sources were likely behind the geometric style to a greater extent than Scandinavian designs. Indeed, Baylé probably had Merovingian, or more generically, Frankish, in mind when referring to "barbaric" art. Most of the motifs that comprise *géométrisme normand* occur in Merovingian metalwork and marble sculpture, which are similar in many respects to Langobardic, Visigothic and other early medieval Germanic work. Much Carolingian sculpture continued to be substantially based on this same decorative style (Fig. 324).[76]

Other areas of France

A geometric style was an important feature of Romanesque sculpture in many regions of France beyond Normandy. In the nearby Oise-Aisne area, Micheli showed many of the motifs to be of "barbaric" – which she too generally intended to mean Merovingian – origin.[77] As in Normandy, the most frequent of them is the chip-carved star, which the scholar linked to the fact that, in Merovingian fibulae, it is "…the most habitually employed theme and it [therefore] lends itself to these continuous compositions that are sometimes of an extreme monotony."[78] An example is the archivolt of a 10th century portal in the Basse-œuvre de Beauvais (Fig. 325), which the scholar believed to have been faithfully copied in the early 12th century portal of la Rue St.-Pierre nearby.[79] Micheli was quite clear that she saw this style not as a revival, but as the product of an artistic lineage with demonstrable 9th and 10th century phases.[80] For her, the art of the fibulae was also behind the late 11th century capitals of Oulchy-le-Château, while the *têtes coupées* at Morienval were also Celtic in origin (Figs. 326-7).[81]

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[75] VIEILLARD-TROÏEKOUROFF, May, 'Survivances mérovingiennes dans la sculpture funéraire du Moyen Âge', *Art de France*, I (1961), 264-9.
[76] See HUBERT, Jean, PORCHER, Jean and VOLBACH, Wolfgang Friedrich, *Europe in the Dark Ages* (London, 1969), and, by the same authors, *Carolingian Art* (London, 1970).
[77] MICHELI, Geneviève Louise, *Le décor géométrique dans la sculpture de l'Aisne et de l'Oise au XI^e siècle: Recherches sur Morienval et son groupe* (Paris, 1939).
[78] MICHELI, *Le décor géométrique*, 12-3.
[79] MICHELI, *Le décor géométrique*, 20-1.
[80] MICHELI, *Le décor géométrique*, 84.
[81] MICHELI, *Le décor géométrique*, 44-5, 55-7.

There may be some truth to the affirmation – also made by Baylé – that some geometric motifs were of Celtic or even earlier derivation. Varagnac identified several instances of French Romanesque carving that he believed were related to Gaulish sculpture. In one instance, the tympanum of the church at Cortrat in the Loiret, he compared the rhythmic forms created by multiple parallel lines on the lintel to the decoration of the tumulus of Gavr'inis, Morbihan (Brittany) (Figs. 328-30).[82] It is notable that most of the voussoirs of the surrounding archivolt are adorned with chip-carving.

Varagnac described the tympanum as "difficult to date", implying that it may not be Romanesque at all. The similarity between the figures in both the lintel and the voussoirs would appear to suggest they are coeval, though this judgement is admittedly based solely on Varagnac's photograph. The voussoirs are consonant with the type of Romanesque arch decoration seen at Caen and elsewhere in France, but also with the 10th century portal in the Basse-œuvre de Beauvais discussed by Micheli. The entire tympanum is therefore of an uncertain chronology.

'Archaic' Romanesque sculpture is also abundant in the southwest of France, as Cabanot has shown.[83] Cabanot's thesis regarding the architectural sculpture of the region can be characterised as evolutionist. The monuments are divided into three categories based on how "progressive" their sculpture is, i.e. the degree to which classicism is rejected or embraced. With this rationale the first group, which is confined to the Girondine region around Bordeaux, is marked by a lack of cultivation and "an almost total absence of references to the classical tradition" that betray it as the earliest. The second group, while still heavily geometric, is more "evolved", with clumsy attempts at the Corinthian capital or palmette friezes. Only the third group, with its "more precise reminiscences of the classic tradition", is "fully Romanesque".[84]

Though there are clearly difficulties involved in evaluating an interpretation of evidence with which one is unfamiliar, Cabanot's approach smacks of the kind of art historical methodologies that must be admitted as inexcusably simplistic and outdated. Kingsley Porter had already dispelled any legitimacy attached to such Darwinist theories as far back as 1923 (though he still used such definitions as 'crude'

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[82] VARAGNAC, André and FABRE, Gabrielle, *L'art gaulois* (La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1956), 277-304.
[83] CABANOT, Jean, *Les débuts de la sculpture romane dans le Sud-Ouest de la France* (Paris, 1987).
[84] CABANOT, *Les débuts*, 177-81.

and 'fine'): "The orthodox chronology of Romanesque has assumed a constant progression from lower to higher forms which did not in fact exist. It is easy to say that any work which is crude is early, and any work which is fine is late. This facile formula may satisfy those who seek generalities, and shun the sifting of complicated evidence. Its fallacy has, however, always been tacitly admitted."[85]

Like Salmi in Tuscany and Zarnecki in Normandy, Cabanot too saw a Lombard influence, thereby falling victim to a lazy and largely false theory that seems to raise its head wherever 'archaic' styles are to be found, and almost always in conjunction with notions of 'uncultured' and 'cultured' art.[86] Nevertheless, such studies as that of Cabanot, in placing together a wealth of examples of 'archaic' sculpture, are valuable. Above all, they allow a realisation of the scale on which Romanesque sculptors were turning to early medieval and other non-classical sources for inspiration: a perusal of Cabanot's images confirms this was certainly the case in southwestern France.

In central and western France, Schmitt described the 'archaic' style of what she termed "oversize reliefs": "Their subject matter is typically basic. Decorative motifs such as interlace, rinceaux and rosettes abound, as do animals and orientalizing monsters, usually in static or heraldic poses. Single human figures, frontal or in profile, may combine with other figures or with animals, but with gesture, interaction, and spatial reference typically held to a minimum."[87]

She compiled a list of two hundred and ninety monuments in France and northern Spain with such reliefs. As in Tuscany, by way of their 'archaic' appearance and random positioning in church exteriors, the apparent intention was to create the impression of *spolia*. Indeed, Schmitt showed that most previous contributors to the subject, even recent, had been led astray in this manner, believing the reliefs to be pre-Romanesque "debris". However, by demonstrating stylistic and iconographic affinities with the other Romanesque carving of the same churches, as at La Celle-Bruère (Cher), she was able to prove beyond any doubt that "random reliefs" were not only Romanesque, but were executed by the same sculptors as the less 'archaic' work.[88]

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[85] KINGSLEY PORTER, Arthur, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, vol. I (Boston, 1923), 15.
[86] CABANOT, *Les débuts*, 181-2.
[87] SCHMITT, '"Random" Reliefs', 123.
[88] SCHMITT, '"Random" Reliefs', 125-9 and Figs. 12-3.

As noted in the introduction, Provence – together with Tuscany and Campania – is the region of Europe to which the label 'classical' has been most typically applied in relation to its Romanesque sculpture. This undoubtedly stems from the common recreation of Roman triumphal arches in façade and portal arrangement.[89] Yet Borg identified another type of Provençal carving that is similar to Schmitt's random reliefs: "The stylistic links [...] lie not with twelfth-century Provence but with an earlier phase of European art, which is broadly speaking pre-Romanesque and in this case corresponds to the styles termed Lombardic [Langobardic], Merovingian, and Visigothic. [...] In all regions this style has a long and comparatively static history; it does not undergo any very rapid internal evolution (in the way that, for example, twelfth century Romanesque art does) and consequently works in this style can seldom be dated accurately on the basis of purely stylistic criteria. Thus, if we consider Lombardic works alongside the S. Restitut reliefs we can find a series of fairly striking parallels which span several centuries. Using stylistic criteria alone, a case could be made out for an eighth-century dating of the S. Restitut reliefs."[90]

Rather than a revival of early medieval style, it is clear that Borg believed the 'archaic' reliefs at S. Restitut and elsewhere to be representative of an older artistic tradition which was still alive and healthy up to the end of the 12th century and beyond, though no evidence was supplied for such continuity.[91] Baylé also held this view for Norman sculpture of the first half of the 11th century (i.e. non-geometric), whilst admitting that tracing the progression of Norman sculpture from the Merovingian period was "certainly risky", due to the many lacunae in our present state of knowledge.[92]

The Frankish heritage

The success of geometric styles in late 11th, early 12th century Normandy should be considered not as an isolated phenomenon, but part of a trend of early medieval revivalism that affected many regions of France, though with varying results. The '*hereditas Francorum*' must have been integral to this predilection for stylistic elements that can almost always be related to Merovingian art. Contrary to the

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[89] For example, GEESE, Uwe, 'Romanesque sculpture', in Toman, Rolf (ed.), *Romanesque: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting* (Cologne, 1997), 282-7.
[90] BORG, Alan, *Architectural Sculpture in Romanesque Provence* (Oxford, 1972), 30.
[91] BORG, *Architectural Sculpture*, 30-1.
[92] BAYLÉ, Maylis, 'La sculpture préromane en Normandie et ses prolongements jusqu'au début du XI[e] siècle' (1990), now in *Art monumental en Normandie*, 274-326, particularly 309.

Langobards or the Visigoths, in most of France the Franks had never lost power at any level, and hence comprised the vast majority of the aristocracy.

An anonymous mid-12th century narrative written in Tours, the 'History of the Lords of Amboise', laid out contemporary ideas regarding the formation of the French feudal nobility: "The Romans were driven from this kingdom by the courage of the Franks and the Goths. All the nobles of the kingdom are descended from them [...]. After the Franks had defeated the Goths and crushed their king, they made peace with many of the Gothic nobility, and allowed them to rule Aquitaine under Frankish sovereignty, intermarrying with them."[93]

The perceived Germanic background of the French aristocracy, both by itself and by the lower orders, was such that the 'race issue' was to play its part in the enormous upheavals that were brewing for much of the 18th century. Comte Henri de Boulainvilliers († 1722) wrote: "There are two races of men [Franks and Gauls] in this country", of which the former were "the only recognised nobles, the only people recognised as lords and masters". By the same token, the revolutionaries saw themselves as the heirs of the Gallo-Romans, finally freeing themselves from the tyranny of the Frankish invaders; it was even proposed to abandon the name 'French'. The outsider's perspective was no different. Catherine the Great wrote of the revolution: "Do you not see what is happening in France? The Gauls are driving out the Franks."[94]

In reality, the Frankish nobility were ethnically mixed in origin, a fusion between the Germanic migrants of the 5th-6th centuries and the native Gallo-Roman population.[95] Nevertheless, the fact that they were never referred to as anything other than Franks suggests they regarded themselves as a single ethnicity. In Normandy, on the other hand, with its highly distinct 'Viking' identity, there was a comprehension of the fact that the very real differences with the Danes were founded on both the profession of Christianity and an ethnicity that was equally Scandinavian and Frankish. The heavy reliance on Merovingian and, to a lesser degree, Scandinavian sources in Norman Romanesque sculpture was therefore nothing other than a reflection of the plurality of meanings inherent to '*Normanitas*'.

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[93] DUBY, *France in the Middle Ages*, 200-2.
[94] JAMES, Edward, *The Franks* (Oxford, 1988), 238-40.
[95] See FOURACRE, Paul, 'The Origins of the Nobility in Francia', in Duggan, Anne J. (ed.), *Nobles and Nobility in Medieval Europe: Concepts, Origins, Transformations* (Woodbridge, 2000), 17-24.

8. Conclusions

According to Focillon, western European art post-'*l'an mil*' was "…a crisis of conscience of the West as the new hearth of civilisation, as well as a reaction against *le germanisme*, shapeless barbarism or organised barbarism."[1] However, that the rupture that took place in art in the Late Antique and early medieval periods later impacted on Romanesque sculptural style, iconography and motival repertoire is undeniable. Of course, the shift away from the naturalism and perspective of classical art under the influence of Christianity was already well underway by the 3rd-4th centuries. However, the portable art of the Germanic tribes that swept over southern and western Europe cannot be divorced from the subsequent taste for styles characterised by *horror vacui* and an essential linearity, *géométrisme* and abstraction. The zoomorphs and rarer anthropomorphs in what was chiefly an aniconic art were presented as highly stylised or fantastic forms. These are the basic features of 'archaic' Romanesque sculpture, but also have a wider currency in most Romanesque art.

Yet at least one scholar has felt moved to redress an imbalance in which the classical roots of Romanesque carving were overemphasised to the detriment of the "Barbarian legacy".[2] What has gone even more unnoticed, however, is the degree to which in many regions of Europe certain currents of Romanesque sculpture were almost entirely based on early medieval style. These currents may exist in proximity to other more 'developed' forms, or even alongside them in the same building. In other cases they occur separately, often in more isolated areas. Baltrušaitis did point to the existence of 'archaic' styles – "*la troisième sculpture romane*" – throughout 12th and 13th century Europe.[3] But he made no real attempt to understand the possible meaning behind the presence of such "*néo-archaïsmes*", many of which would appear far from 'archaic' in comparison to the material that has formed the basis of this dissertation.

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[1] FOCILLON, Henri, 'Du moyen-âge germanique au moyen-âge occidental', in *Moyen-Âge. Survivances et réveils* (Montreal, 1945), 31.
[2] PÄCHT, Otto, 'The pre-Carolingian roots of early Romanesque art', in *Romanesque and Gothic Art. Studies in Western Art. Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art*, I (Princeton, N.J., 1963), 67-75.
[3] BALTRUŠAITIS, Jurgis, 'La troisième sculpture romane', in *Formositas Romanica: Beiträge zur Erforschung der romanischen Kunst, Joseph Gantner zugeeignet* (Bâle, 1958), 47-84.

The term 'popular' crops up once again in Baltrušaitis' work: "Popular art lives outside time and never goes beyond its primitive phases."[4] As in Tuscany, such definitions of 'archaic' art quite probably account for much of the lack of historiographic appreciation and interest, as exemplified by Musset and Cabanot. However, if the lessons of Tuscany are at all applicable on a wider basis, 'archaic' sculpture was anything but 'popular', and was instead a testimony to the perseverance of elitist ethnic identities. In much of Europe the descendants – sometimes real, sometimes imagined – of the migrant Germanic tribes still retained power over a half a millennium after their eruption into the territories once held by the Western Roman Empire. That these aristocratic elites should have wanted to make references to the antiquity and exclusivity of their presence on a monumental scale, whether in the face of difficult circumstances or otherwise, should not cause surprise. And there was no better way to do so than to replicate in religious architectural sculpture the artistic styles recognisably associable with the earlier periods of their hegemony.

Like most groups in history that succeed in attaining a dominant position over their fellows, it was vital for the feudal nobility to devise strategies – either consciously or not – that would bring legitimacy to such an elevated status. This is particularly so when, as was generally the case, wealth, power and title had been won through a combination of corruption and extreme coercive violence, either threatened or perpetrated. As Pope Gregory VII wrote in a letter of 1081 to Bishop Hermann of Metz: "Who does not know that kings and dukes derived their origin from men, ignorant of God, who with intolerable presumption and blind greed established their power over other men who were their equals by pride, perfidy, rapine, murder, and every sort of crime, under the stimulus of the devil, the prince of this world?"[5] As Duggan rightly noted, this account lends itself equally well to the lesser nobility as to kings and dukes.

Again as in most historical situations where extreme inequality is a factor, the most effective means of justifying the status quo was to mark out the higher social order as somehow 'different', i.e. superior, to the rest of the populace. This could be achieved by invoking the conquering character of the ruling elite's forefathers, as was the case in the Iberian Peninsula. There, 13th-14th century literature, as in the *Livro do*

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[4] BALTRUŠAITIS, 'La troisième sculpture romane', 55.
[5] DUGGAN, Anne J., 'Introduction: Concepts, Origins, Transformations', in Duggan, Anne J. (ed.), *Nobles and Nobility in Medieval Europe: Concepts, Origins, Transformations* (Woodbridge, 2000), 9.

Deão, emphasised how the nobility had gained its lands and position during the *Reconquista*, the holy war against the Moorish infidel.[6] More often than not, however, there was also an ethnic dimension to the class divisions within feudal society. As has been pointed out here with regard to the Langobardic aristocracy in Tuscany and its Frankish equivalent in much of France, a more complex ancestry was often airbrushed out to obtain the idea of a homogenous ethnic entity, distinct from the rest of society and ancient in its authority. In such manner was it possible to rationalise a system in which, by mere accident of birth, some were destined to become the privileged '*bellatores*' (and the better-off of the '*oratores*'), while the rest – the vast majority – must accept the wretched life of the '*laboratores*'.[7]

It is the contention of this dissertation that Romanesque 'archaic' art was, in essence, principally the material expression of a widespread identification on the part of feudal elites with a particular ethnicity, generally Germanic.

It may be argued that the forms of sculpture typical of the 5th-8th century Langobardic, Merovingian and Visigothic kingdoms were not, in fact, ethnic or national arts at all, and would therefore have been ill-adapted to conjuring up images of ethnic supremacy. For example, Gray pointed out that the few surviving instances of artistic signatures in conjunction with early medieval Langobardic sculpture show that the sculptors were more likely to have had Latin than Germanic names (Figs. 331-2).[8] More importantly, the oriental origin of much of what are considered the principle constituents of Langobardic sculpture has long been proposed in art-historical debate.[9] And recently, Casartelli Novelli constructed a persuasive argument for a fundamentally Christian and Mediterranean basis for these geometric types of carving in flat relief, demonstrating that similar styles were present in North Africa in the same period.[10]

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[6] BRANCO, Maria João Violante, 'The Nobility of Medieval Portugal (XIth-XIVth Centuries)', in Duggan, Anne J. (ed.), *Nobles and Nobility in Medieval Europe: Concepts, Origins, Transformations* (Woodbridge, 2000), 226-7.

[7] For a succinct outline of the contempt in which the peasants were held by the nobility, both lay and ecclesiastic, see LE GOFF, Jacques, *Medieval civilization 400-1500* (1964; Eng. edn., Oxford, 1988), 299-304.

[8] GRAY, Nicolette, 'Dark Age Figure Sculpture in Italy', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. LXVII (1935), 192-7. incl. n. 11.

[9] Above all, DE FRANCOVICH, Géza, 'Il problema delle origini della scultura cosidetta «longobarda»', in *Atti del 1° Congresso Internazionale di studi longobardi, Spoleto 1951* (Spoleto, 1952), 255-73, and GRABAR, André, 'Essai sur l'art des Lombards en Italie', in *La civiltà dei Longobardi in Europa. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Roma - Cividale del Friuli, 1971* (Rome, 1974), 25-43.

[10] The first of several works in which the scholar has explored this question is CASARTELLI NOVELLI, Silvana, 'Segno *salutis* e segno 'iconico': dalla «invenzione» costantiniana ai codici astratti del primo

However, these issues have no more relevance to the question at hand than the degree to which the Tuscan '*Longubardi*' were genetically Langobards. What counts is that they *felt* Langobardic. Similarly, in the 11th-13th centuries, perceptions of early medieval marble sculpture would have been of an art that had been predominant in the Langobardic era, and, in that sense, to viewers it would have been Langobardic. It is especially unlikely that the Tuscan Langobards were unaware of the age and significance (to them) of carved liturgical fittings of the Langobardic era, in view of the degree to which their ascent to power post-774 was linked to the private possession of churches. There is also a notable correlation between much Tuscan 'archaic' sculpture and 6th-7th century Langobardic metalwork, often without any visible intermediary in extant early medieval sculpture. There may have been an awareness of the history of jewellery and other family heirlooms passed down through many generations since the *Wanderungen*, and such pieces may have served as models for newly commissioned sculpture.

How real was the Tuscan Langobards' relationship with the past? Medieval concepts of time were less linear and more based on an idea of "regenerated rotation" than in the present age.[11] Interestingly, Constable attributed this mind-set to the Germanic influence: "The presence of cyclical and historical attitudes derived from the Germanic settlers may help to explain the persistent attitude of mythomania, which drew the present to the past […]."[12] And, further on: "This attitude helps to explain the anachronisms in medieval art and literature, when a past event was often depicted or described as if it were in the present, since the mythological view of time, like many rites and ceremonies, brought the past into the present and endowed it with an immediate relevance and meaning."[13]

Related to the question of perceptions of past and present is, of course, memory. It is not easy now to fully grasp how memory functioned in medieval Tuscany. Delumeau's study of the subject in rural areas of 12th century Arezzo and Siena found that, on an individual and collective level, memory was "rich" and used landmark events, mostly violent, as yardsticks for the calibration of temporal

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altomedioevo', in *Segni e riti nella chiesa altomedievale occidentale. XXXIII Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, I (Spoleto, 1987), 105-72.

[11] CONSTABLE, Giles, 'Past and Present in the Eleventh and Twelfth centuries. Perceptions of time and change', in *L'Europa dei secoli XI e XII fra novità e tradizione: sviluppi di una cultura. Atti della decima Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 1986* (Milan, 1989), 139.

[12] CONSTABLE, 'Past and Present', 139-40.

[13] CONSTABLE, 'Past and Present', 156-7.

distance.[14] Delumeau's research was based on a written survey, carried out in 1177-80, which was part of an attempt to settle a territorial dispute between the sees of Arezzo and Siena. However, what Le Goff called "ethnic memory" is almost always oral, rather than written, and hence leaves few literary traces.[15] But if Ruskin was right in claiming that the history of a people can be understood through what it did, what it wrote, and how it expressed itself in art, then 'archaic' sculpture may be treated, in a sense, as a form of written document.

Casartelli Novelli has argued that early medieval geometric art was in itself a Christian code, a semiotic language that is indecipherable today.[16] This type of interpretation is very difficult to prove or disprove, and others such as Panofsky have argued against the idea that design must equal sign.[17] He contended that geometric forms of Islamic art were probably purely decorative, and that uncorroborated suggestions that they were laden with religious symbolism, or that they were suggestive of the "essence of 'Islamic thought'", were merely attempts to create a mysterious aura.[18] In any case, even were Casartelli Novelli right, it is unlikely that any really literal meanings were retained in the passage from early medieval to 'archaic' sculpture. Underlying the early medieval appearance of the latter there was generally minimal understanding of, or respect for, the basic principles or even technical constructs of early medieval sculpture. It is worth underlining again the fundamental point that the objective of 'archaic' sculpture was not to slavishly recreate early medieval art: what was required was something that looked sufficiently like early medieval art for the association to be clear to all.

It was Romanini's belief that Langobardic art should be understood in terms of a process of dynamic evolution that was underway both before and after the conquest of Italy in 568. In her view, this art reflected and was part of the *Stammesbildung*, i.e. the formation of the *gens*: its culture, mentality and identity.[19] In other words, Langobardic art cannot be considered as a static ethnic art carried by a homogenous

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[14] DELUMEAU, Jean-Pierre, 'La mémoire des gens d'Arezzo et de Sienne à travers des dépositions de témoins (VIII^{e}-XII^{e} s.)', in *Temps, Mémoire, Tradition au moyen âge. Actes du XIII^{e} Congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public, Aix-en-Provence, 1982* (Aix-en-Provence, 1983), 51-3, 59.

[15] LE GOFF, Jacques, *History and Memory* (1977; Eng. edn., Oxford, 1992), 55-8.

[16] CASARTELLI NOVELLI, 'Segno *salutis*', and elsewhere.

[17] GOMBRICH, Ernst H., *The Sense of Order. A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art* (London, 1979), 217-25.

[18] GOMBRICH, *The Sense of Order*, 224-5.

[19] ROMANINI, Angiola Maria, 'Scultura nella *Langobardia Major*: questioni storiografiche', *Arte Medievale*, V (1990), 8-9.

ethnic group from their original homeland into Italy, where it was transposed into stone sculpture with some modifications. Rather, it was an extremely fluid art, which was in a constant state of flux owing to the multiethnic nature of the Langobards and to contact with well-established Mediterranean cultures: Late Antique, Byzantine, and most fundamentally, Christian.[20]

Romanini also expressed the opinion that Langobardic art survived the calamity of 774: "…the Frankish conquest did not determine, in artistic terms, fractures and relative explicit separations between an *ante* and a *post*, one contrary to the other or in any way differentiated."[21]

To what extent, therefore, can 'archaic' Tuscan sculpture be regarded as the ultimate phase in this process of development in Langobardic art? Just as much of what came to typify 7th-8th century Langobardic sculpture had been appropriated from external sources (some scholars have insisted on inserting inverted commas around 'Langobardic' when referring to art), so was 'archaic' sculpture largely a borrowed art. However, in both instances the creative element was seldom absent. Further, both arts were born largely to serve the purpose of symbolising the Langobardic ruling class. And, if anything, there was far more of a stylistic continuum between 7th-8th century and 'archaic' sculpture than between the art produced in Langobardic circles '*ante* and *post*' 568, where there is major disparity. There are, therefore, no valid grounds for considering 'archaic' sculpture any less a 'Langobardic' art than its early medieval equivalent, despite the hiatus that apparently separates them.

Summary

The aim of this dissertation has been to attempt to reach a deeper understanding of an area of art history that has long been subject to undeserved neglect. This has been shown to be largely the consequence of long-established views that hold 'archaic' sculpture to be no more than a regional variety of Lombard sculpture, or simply the expression of more primitive or 'popular' elements in society. Others have seen in it a reflection of the ideology of Church reform. Such interpretations have been demonstrated to lack foundation not only with regard to technical and stylistic aspects of the actual sculpture, but also to the historical context in which it was produced. In

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[20] ROMANINI, 'Scultura nella *Langobardia Major*', 9-11.
[21] ROMANINI, 'Scultura nella *Langobardia Major*', 28.

such a manner, they generally betray what amounts to no more than a superficial interest in, or knowledge of, the subject.

In examining here some of the more common motifs that constitute 'archaic' sculpture, close parallels were found with 6th-8th century Langobardic metalwork and marble relief sculpture, though more occasional affinities were also identified with Carolingian, Etruscan or Celtic art. Particular attention was focused on several instances where 'archaic' sculpture was evidently inspired by still-extant early medieval models within the same monument. This approach proved fruitful in exploring divergences with early medieval sculpture, in turn bringing to light subtle but important differences in what was required of 'archaic' sculpture. What emerged was the need to achieve a sufficient likeness to Langobardic sculpture on an immediate visual level to evince that particular association. Beyond that, there was an evident freedom to experiment and to corrupt early medieval formulae.

It was found that there is little or no surviving evidence to suggest that 'archaic' sculpture in Tuscany may have been seamlessly linked by tradition to early medieval sculpture. By contrast, several instances of demonstrable revivalism with no pre-Romanesque intermediary were highlighted. Together with the common classical revivalist tendencies in contemporary Romanesque sculpture elsewhere, this factor was construed as lending weight to the case for a revival rather than continuity. Such a deduction was supported by the simple fact that many of the sculptors who executed 'archaic' work were clearly quite capable of working in a more volumetric style when they so desired, proving the intentionality of the flat relief style. Together with the most crucial giveaway of its inherent Romanesque conception, its symbiotic relationship with architecture, 'archaic' work was also shown to bear other characteristics in keeping with its 11th-13th century chronology.

Following up on Ducci's work in her doctoral thesis, early medieval *spolia* was shown to be crucial to the subject. Not only did 'archaic' sculpture find stylistic, technical and motival inspiration in early medieval material, it was often consciously used in the same way as – and may well have been thought of as equivalent to – actual *spolia*, an attitude that is well exemplified at Vicopisano. Through comparison with Pisa and other communal city-states, 'archaic' sculpture was placed in the context of what was a widespread phenomenon in Romanesque Tuscany and Italy: the recreation of older styles through the use of *spolia*, both *in se* and *in re*. The motives behind the classical revival in Pisa were examined, taking advantage of the Pisans' more literary

– and thus better-documented – culture to build a framework for understanding the possible background to 'archaic' sculpture. In Pisa and the other city-states, these motives were shown to have been directly related to the existence of a 'Roman' identity, a wholly artificial construct based in turn on political and ideological requirements.

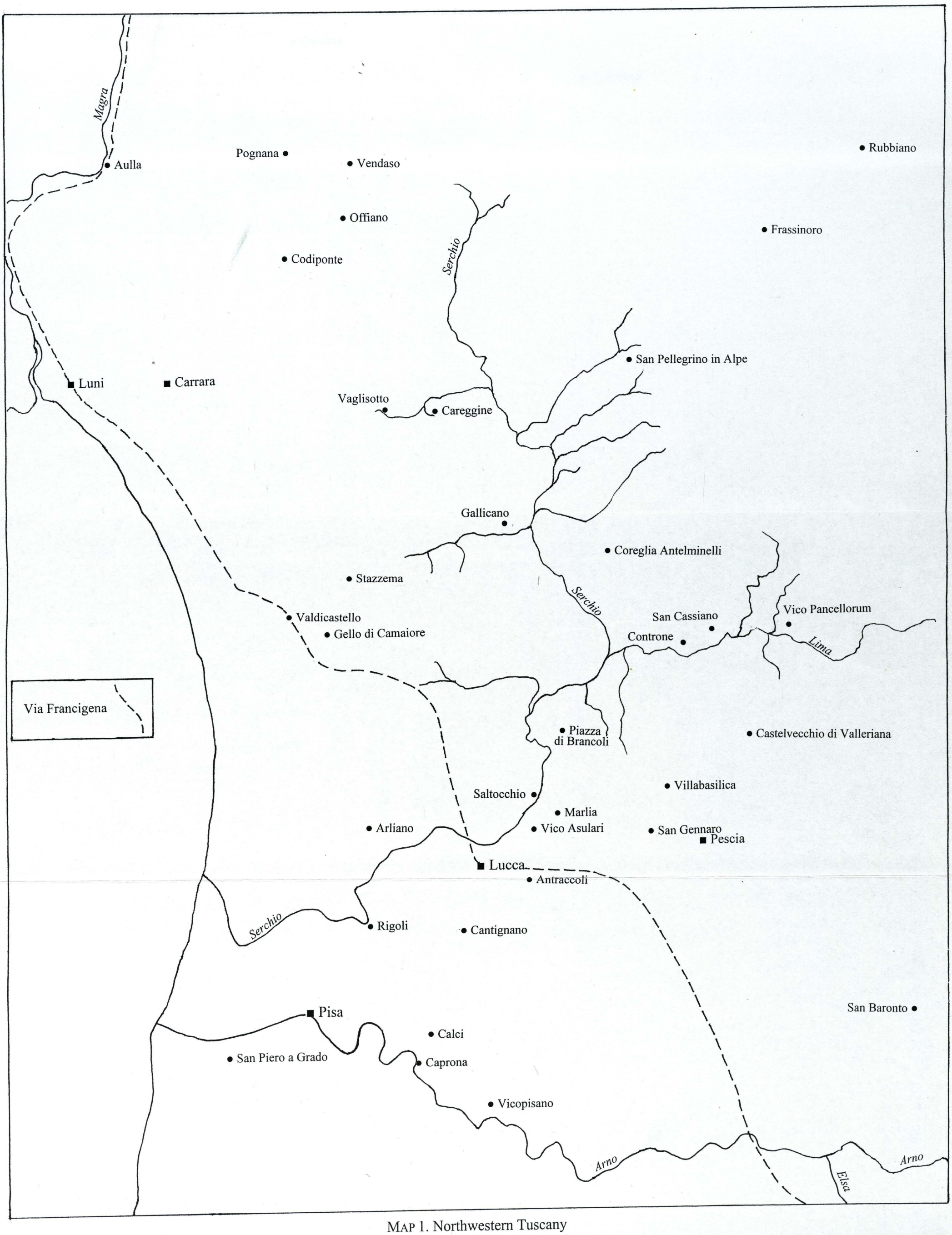
Such a scenario was found to be mirrored by an alternative profession of identity among the feudal nobility of rural Tuscany, who overwhelmingly claimed a Langobardic 'nationality'. The background and nature of this group were explored, and the link between its attainment of power and wealth and the private possession of churches highlighted. With the expansion of the city-states into the rural hinterlands, the resulting difficulties faced by the feudal class were related to the tendency to emphasise its Langobardic origins, with the intent of augmenting its authority and internal solidarity. Similar strategies were shown to have also been adopted by their 'co-nationals' in *Langobardia minor*, with whom there were close relations. A close geographical correlation between areas that had comprised the Langobardic state and the occurrence of early medieval revivalism in Romanesque sculpture throughout the peninsula was found. In view of these and other circumstances, a linkage between the existence of a widely held Langobardic identity on the part of the feudal elite and 'archaic' Tuscan Romanesque sculpture was proposed.

This proposition, the essential thesis of this dissertation, was supported with near-analogies elsewhere in Europe, showing that it was not unusual to draw on early medieval style in Romanesque sculpture. It was demonstrated that such artistic references to the past can often be similarly linked to issues of identity or ideology, as there was a frequent identification with the Germanic tribes of the Migration period, particularly on the part of the upper echelons of feudal society.

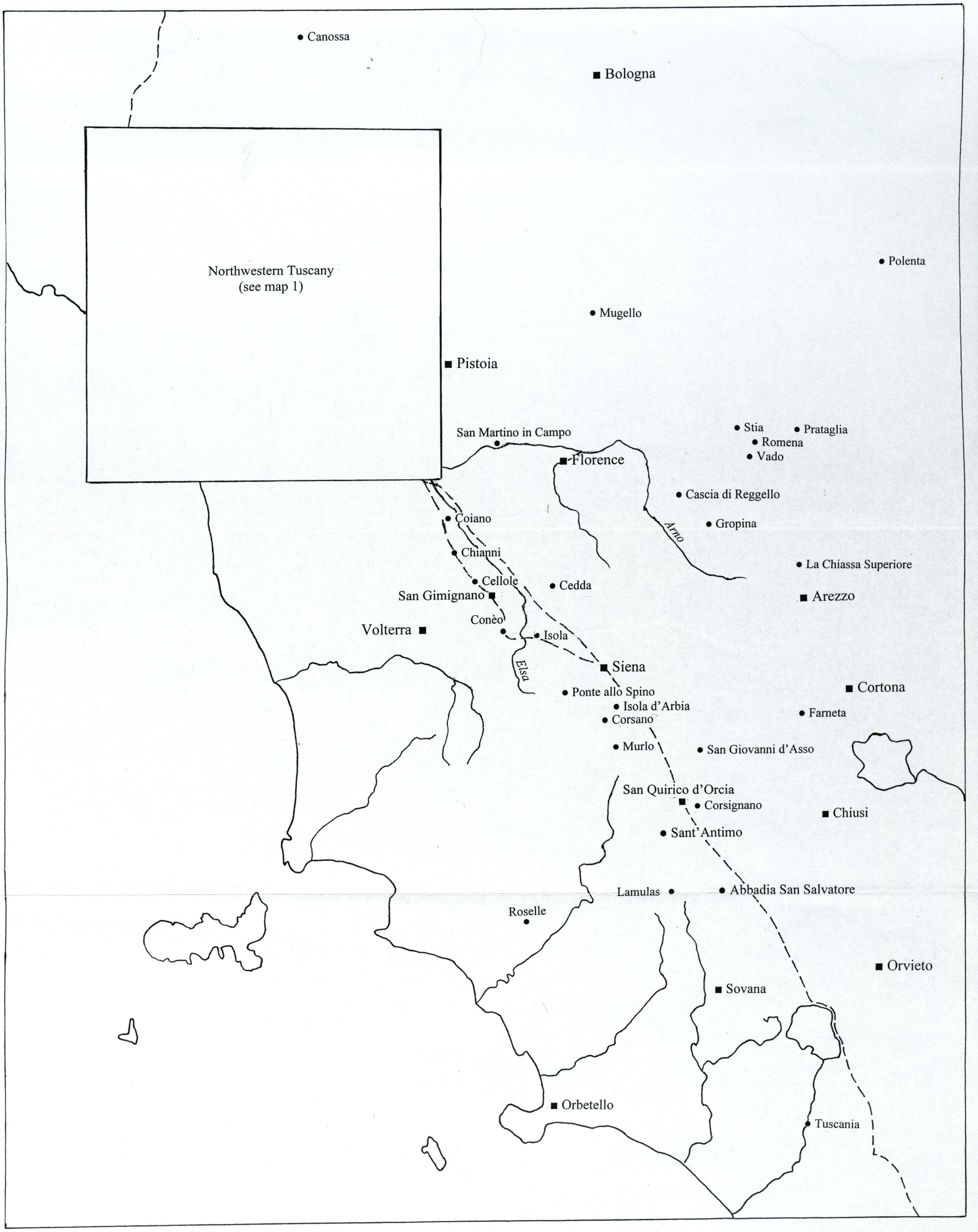
This dissertation has built on the work of a variety of scholars, not only of art history, but of a wide selection of disciplines, especially those that regard medieval social, religious and ethnic history. But many of the points raised – again not only those that relate to art history – have either never been broached at all or else have only been hinted at. Only Ducci has previously related 'archaic' motifs to specific examples of Langobardic sculpture (Baracchini made more generalised comparisons), but her interest in sculpture was more focused on enigmatic examples of pre-Romanesque carving. The issue of Langobardic identity in feudal Tuscany has never been the subject of any extensive or specific study comparable, for example, to the

work of Castagnetti on the Veneto or Cilento on *Langobardia minor*. Nor has this question ever been related in any way to art historical matters in a Tuscan context. The possibility that the private ownership of churches, practiced on an enormous scale in Tuscany, may have impacted on church decoration has only ever been remarked upon in passing by one contributor, Pierotti. The present dissertation not only explores these issues in as great a depth as space allows, but their relationship both to each other and to 'archaic' sculpture.

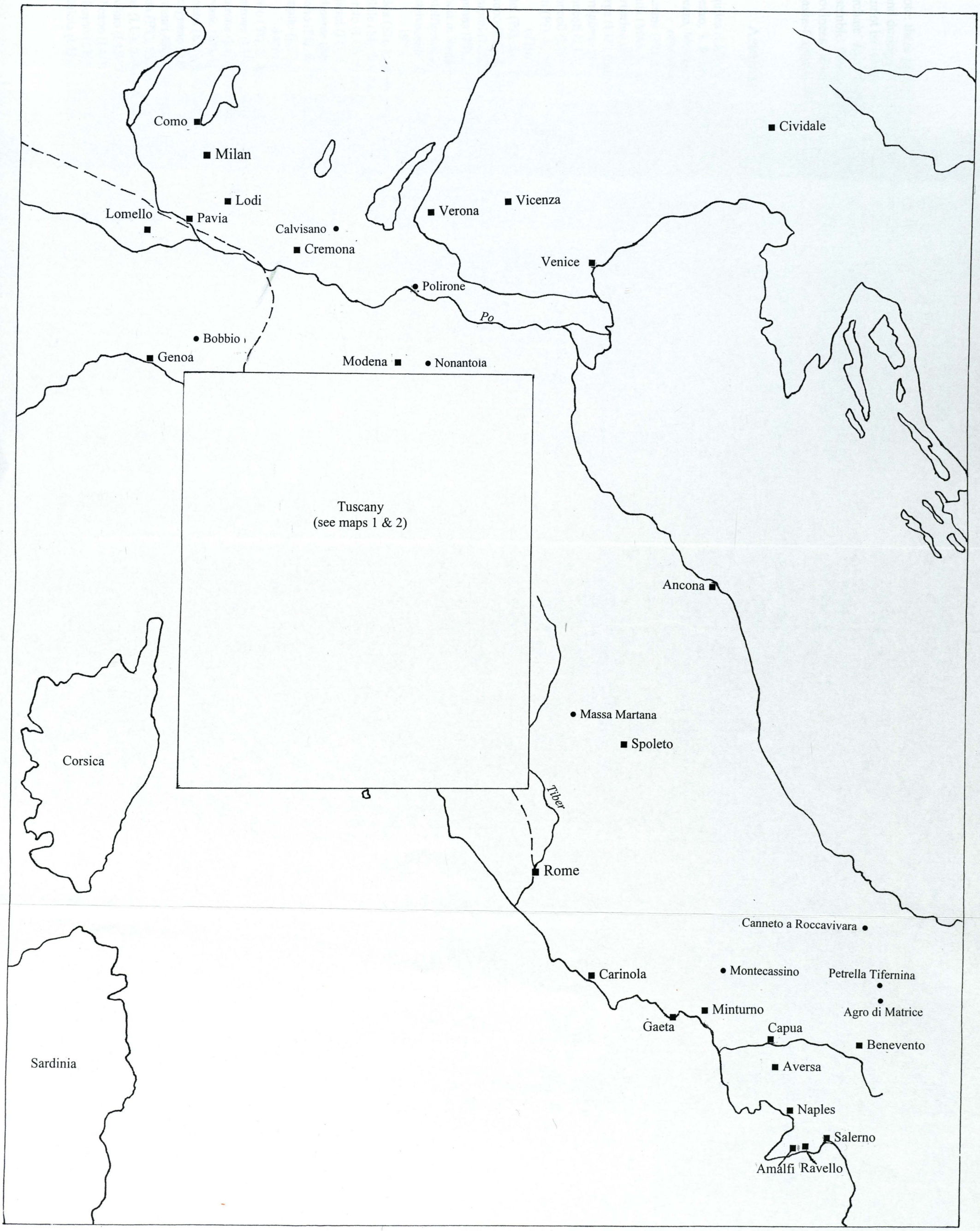
As noted in the introduction, there has only ever been one previous attempt to treat 'archaic' sculpture as a distinct subject of study. But this effort was founded essentially on flights of fancy coupled with an openly declared and wilful ignorance of all the existing literature pertaining to context, either art historical or otherwise. As such, this dissertation constitutes the first study to concentrate solely on the subject of 'archaic' Tuscan sculpture that bases all findings on an in-depth knowledge of the carvings themselves and extensive research into the social and historical context in which such work was produced. It is hoped that, in so doing, the present writer will have made a worthwhile contribution to knowledge of a fascinating and evocative branch of Tuscan Romanesque sculpture, and that this may also help to throw light on what was clearly a much more widespread phenomenon throughout medieval Europe.



MAP 1. Northwestern Tuscany



MAP 2. Tuscany



MAP 3. The Italian peninsula

Note: these appendices are not fully comprehensive, listing only sites studied at first hand during the course of research. The chronological categorisation of material cannot be certain in all cases, given the obvious difficulties in distinguishing between 'archaic' Romanesque sculpture and the early medieval material it was intended to resemble. Geographic locations are given according to the ten modern Tuscan provinces: Arezzo (AR), Florence (FI), Grosseto (GR), Livorno (LI), Lucca (LU), Massa-Carrara (MS), Pisa (PI), Pistoia (PT), Prato (PO) and Siena (SI).

APPENDIX 1; 'ARCHAIC' ROMANESQUE SCULPTURE IN TUSCANY

Aquilea (LU), S. Leonardo cornices of apsidal windows
Arezzo, S. Maria, capitals in chancel & southern portal
Arezzo, Museo statale d'arte medievale e moderna, capitals from crypt of S. Maria & other fragments
Asciano (PI), S. Maria di Mirteto, window lintel (other elements recently stolen)
Aulla (MS), S. Caprasio, abaci & other fragments
Barberino (FI), S. Appiano, capitals of adjacent ruins
Barga (LU), Cathedral, many of the corbels (not all are 'archaic' in style)
Borsigliana (LU), S. Maria Assunta, lintel in façade
Brancoli (LU), S. Giorgio, lintel in south portal
Brancoli (LU), S. Maria a Piazza, five slabs in façade, decoration of portals & apse
Buti (PI), S. Maria in Valle Verde ad Nives di Panicale, door lintels & window lintels (not all of the latter are original)
Calci (PI), Ss. Giovanni ed Ermolao, reliefs in eastern exterior
Campo (PT), S. Martino, *ex situ* lintel & capitals
Campori (LU), Ss. Maria e Benedetto, some corbels and other *ex situ* elements
Caprona (PI), S. Giulia, corbels
Cascia di Reggello (FI), S. Pietro, capitals
Castelfiorentino (FI), Ss. Ippolito e Biagio, corbels under lintel of west portal
Castelvecchio di Valleriana (PT), Ss. Ansano e Tommaso, capitals, corbels etc…(largely 19th c. reproductions; additional original material in courtyard of bishophric, Pescia)
Cedda (SI), S. Pietro, capitals & decoration around portal & apse
Cellole (SI), S. Maria Assunta, capitals, apse decoration etc…
Cerreto (LU), S. Giovanni Battista, apsidal corbels & window lintels
Chianni (FI), S. Maria Assunta, capitals
Codiponte (MS), Ss. Cornelio e Cipriano, capitals & font
Coiano (FI), Ss. Pietro e Paolo, capitals
Compito (LU), S. Giusto, lintel in bell tower, reliefs in façade, figural relief in southern doorway
Conèo (SI), S. Maria, capitals, corbels & cornices
Controne (LU), S. Cassiano, façade, corbels, capitals, etc…
Controne (LU), S. Giovanni Battista, south portal, façade cornice, corbels & window lintels
Corsano (SI), S. Giovanni Battista, capitals & façade
Corsena (LU), S. Pietro, capital
Corsignano (SI), Ss. Vito e Modesto, portals & capital
Cortona (AR), Cathedral, capital in façade
Costa (PT), Ss. Bartolomeo e Silvestro, corbels & mini-lunette
Cune (LU), S. Bartolomeo, apsidal corbels
Dièccimo (LU), S. Maria, apsidal corbels
Gallicano (LU), S. Andrea capital & two reused slabs in exterior
Gallicano (LU), S. Iacopo, lunette of presbytery
Gattaiola (LU), S.Andrea, apsidal corbels & jambs of portal

Gaville (FI), S. Romolo, capitals
Granaiola (LU), S. Michele, lunette over doorway in belltower
Greti (PT), S. Ansano, capitals
Gropina (AR), S. Pietro, southern capitals, pulpit etc…
Impruneta (FI), S. Maria, crypt capitals
Isola (SI), Abbey, reliefs in façade
Isola d'Arbia (SI), S. Maria in Salteano, relief
Isola d'Arbia (SI), S. Ilario, reliefs in façade & apse
Làmmari (LU), S. Cristoforo architrave over portal, window lintels & corbels
Lamulas (GR), S. Maria, capitals
Lucardo (FI), S. Lazzaro, capitals in ex-cloister
Lucca, S. Maria foris Portam, reliefs in façade & transept
Lucca, S. Michele in Foro, mock *spolia* relief next to apse
Lugliano (LU), S. Jacopo, slab with human image in south doorway
Marlia (LU), S. Giusto alla Caipira, apsidal window lintel & relief
Marlia (LU), S. Maria Assunta, northern corbels
Massa, Ss. Remigio e Pancrazio di Turano, capital, conserved in Deputazione di Storia Patria Antiche Provincie Modenesi
Montemignaio (AR), S. Maria Assunta in Cielo, capitals & relief in lunette
Montepiano (PO), S. Maria, portal & corbels
Mugello (FI), S. Agata, lintel in façade
Offiano (MS), S. Pietro, capitals and other fragments in convent and Casola museum
Paganico (LU), S. Maria Assunta, capital
Partigliano (LU), Ss. Giusto e Clemente, slab/lintel in north wall
Pescia (PT), S. Maria Assunta, now Duomo, corbels
Pian di Scò (AR), S. Maria, capitals
Pistoia, courtyard of Commune, decorated column
Pognana (MS), S. Maria Assunta, capitals, reworked in 20th c.
Ponte allo Spino (SI), S. Giovanni Battista, stringcourse & reliefs in façade, capitals etc…
Pruno (LU), Ss. Nicolau e Maria, reliefs in façade and in rectory
Radda in Chianti (SI), S. Maria Novella in Chianti, capitals
Romena (AR), S. Pietro, capitals
San Casciano (SI), S. Michele Arcangelo ad Argiano, lintel in façade
San Gennaro (LU), S. Gennaro in Asilatta, capitals, apsidal decoration etc…
San Gimignano (SI), S. Maria Assunta, capitals
San Gimignano (SI), Spedale di S. Giovanni, capitals & reliefs in façade
San Giovanni d'Asso (SI), S. Pietro in Villore, façade & capitals
Sarteano (SI), S. Vittoria, capitals
Soliera (MS), Pieve, relief in nearby building (from demolished church?)
Sorano (MS), S. Stefano, capitals and exhibitionist relief in nave
Sovicille (SI), S. Lorenzo, lintel of north doorway
Stia (AR), S. Maria Assunta, capitals
Torri (SI), Abbazia di S. Mustiola, capitals in cloister
Vado (AR), S. Martino, capitals
Vaglialle (AR), S. Biagio, capitals
Vaglisotto (LU), S. Agostino di Vicaglia, capitals
Vendaso (MS), S. Paolo, capitals
Vico Pancellorum (LU), S. Paolo, capitals, architrave over portal & corbels
Vicopisano (PI), S. Mamiliano Jacopo in Lupeta, reliefs in façade & interior, corbels etc…
Vicopisano (PI), S. Maria e Giovanni Battista relief in façade, corbels, fragmentary altar etc…
Villabasilica (LU), S. Maria Assunta, fragmentary pulpit
Volterra (PI), Cathedral, cornices on south flank
Volterra (PI), Palazzo Guarnacci, arcaded cornice from S. Giusto

APPENDIX 2; EARLY MEDIEVAL AND PRE-ROMANESQUE SCULPTURE IN TUSCANY

Abbadia San Salvatore (SI), S. Salvatore, capitals in crypt
Agna, S. Salvatore (PT), capitals in crypt & relief slabs
Antraccoli (LU), S. Margherita di Tassignano lintel of north door & corbel of south door
Aquilea (LU), S. Leonardo di Castellaccio, slab & pilaster, now in 'nuova parrocchia'
Arezzo, Museo statale d'arte medievale e moderna, selection of fragments
Arliano (LU), S. Martino, corbels
Aulla (MS), Abbazia di S. Caprasio, pilaster in internal apse wall
Badicroce (AR), church, capitals in crypt
Bardine di S. Terenzo (MS), S. Terenzio de' Monti, relief in south exterior wall
Cantignano (LU), S. Bartolomeo, pilasters & other fragments
Caprona (PI), S. Giulia, reliefs in exterior south & apsidal walls
Careggine (LU), Ss. Paolo e Pietro, relief slab by bell tower & seven smaller reliefs
Carrara, S. Andrea, window lintel & animal relief in sacristy
Casoli di Lima (LU), fragments in ruined house
Coreglia Antelminelli (LU), S. Martino, capitals, architrave of north door
Corsignano (SI), Ss. Vito e Modesto, fragments in chancel barrier, capitals in crypt
Crespiano (MS), S. Maria Assunta, three small capitals, now lost
Cucigliana (PI), S. Andrea Apostolo, four slabs inserted in base of bell tower
Elmi (SI), ex-badia del Santo Sepolcro, crypt capitals
Farneta (AR), S. Maria Assunta, capitals in crypt & *ex situ* pieces outside
Farnocchia (LU), S. Michele, fragments in façade
Gallicano (LU), S. Maria in Pianizza, sixteen slabs inserted in walls
Gropina (AR), S. Pietro, cross slabs & other fragments in excavated area under floor
La Chiassa Superiore (AR), S. Maria Assunta, large relief slab & other fragments in walls
Lamulas (GR), S. Maria, lintel over north door
Lucca, ex-Oratorio di S. Giovannetto, slabs in façade
Lucca, Museo nazionale di Villa Guinigi, wide selection of fragments
Lucca, Oratorio di S. Benedetto in Gotella, slabs in east wall
Lucca, S. Frediano, two slabs in east wall (one is now in adjacent garage)
Lucca, S. Maria foris Portam, heads over crypt windows, apsidal capital
Lucca, S. Martino, relief slab, now in Museo dell'Opera del Duomo
Lucca, S. Michele in Foro, slabs in east wall, crypt window surrounds
Lucca, S. Micheletto, six pilasters in north wall
Luni (MS), S. Maria, fragments now in Museo Archeologico "U. Formentini", La Spezia
Metra (LU), church, reliefs in façade
Montalcino (SI), S. Antimo, numerous *ex situ* fragments
Nicola (MS), fragments from Luni in v. della Chiesa, 4 & v. Borgo di Fondo, 91
Panzano in Chianti (FI), S. Leolino, two relief slabs
Pariana (LU), Ss. Prospero e Lorenzo, unidentified element protruding from bell tower
Pescia (PT), S. Michelino, capitals. of engaged pilasters, external corbels
Petrognano (LU), relief in exterior of private house
Pieve Fosciana (LU), S. Giorgio, demolished in 19th c. , fragments in wall of cemetery
Pisa, Cathedral, six slabs in eastern exterior
Pisa, Museo di San Matteo, capital
Pisa, S. Frediano, lintel over western portal
Pisa, S. Piero a Grado, slab by original north door & other fragments
Pistoia, Cathedral, capital & reliefs in crypt
Pognana (MS), S. Maria Assunta, fragment of pluteus/pilaster
Prataglia (AR), Abbey, capitals & relief in crypt
Rigoli (PI), S. Marco, baptismal font

Romena (AR), S. Pietro, fragments in excavated area under floor
Ruota (LU), S, Bartolomeo, fragments in façade
San Baronto (PT), Badia di S. Baronto, crypt capitals
San Giovanni d'Asso (SI), S. Pietro in Villore, slab in portal lunette & crypt capital
San Pellegrino in Alpe (LU), museum, capital & other fragments
Seravezza (LU), S. Stefano a Vallecchia, corbel (?) in north wall to left of door
Sorano (MS), S. Stefano relief slab in interior apse wall
Sovana (GR), Duomo, northern portal
Sovana (GR), S. Maria, ciborium
Stazzema (LU), Pieve di S. Maria Assunta, reliefs in exterior of apse
Talla (AR), Alpe di S. Trinità, various fragments
Vico Asulari (LU), S. Pietro, various fragments
Villabasilica (LU), S. Maria Assunta, capitals of crypt
Volterra (PI), Palazzo Guarnacci, relief slabs

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———— 'Santa Maria Assunta di Pognana', *Giornale Storico della Lunigiana*, VI (1955), 5-15.

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