

GREAT CRAFTSMEN

THE PAVEMENT MASTERS OF SIENA 1369-1562

R. H. HOBART CUST, M.A.



UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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CRAFTSMEN. EDITED BY
G. C. WILLIAMSON, Litt.D.

THE PAVEMENT MASTERS OF SIENA

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THE PAVEMENT MASTERS

OF

SIENA

(1369—1562)

BY

ROBERT H. HOBART CUST, M.A.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE. OXFORD



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PREFACE

THE first impression that this book may give, is that I have put the cart before the horse, and that, instead of dwelling on the Pavement Masters, I have laid too much stress on the Pavement itself, and too little on the makers of it. A careful perusal, however, will, I hope, prove that I have been right in my reasoning. I have felt strongly, that in order to form a fair idea of these Masters, many,—I may say, most,—of whose names are entirely unknown to the general English reader, it was necessary to give as clear and vivid a picture as was possible, of this, their greatest work, through which their names live. Most people, who have ever heard of Siena, have heard of its Cathedral Pavement:—an unique and historical piece of work:—but how many have heard of even such great artists as Pietro del Minella and Antonio Federighi? On this account, it seems to me that the case needed treatment such as I have given it. I have, therefore, composed a full and, as far as I could make it, a clear account of the chain which connects these men together, and then added short notices of each, giving all the important facts obtainable about them. For this purpose, I have

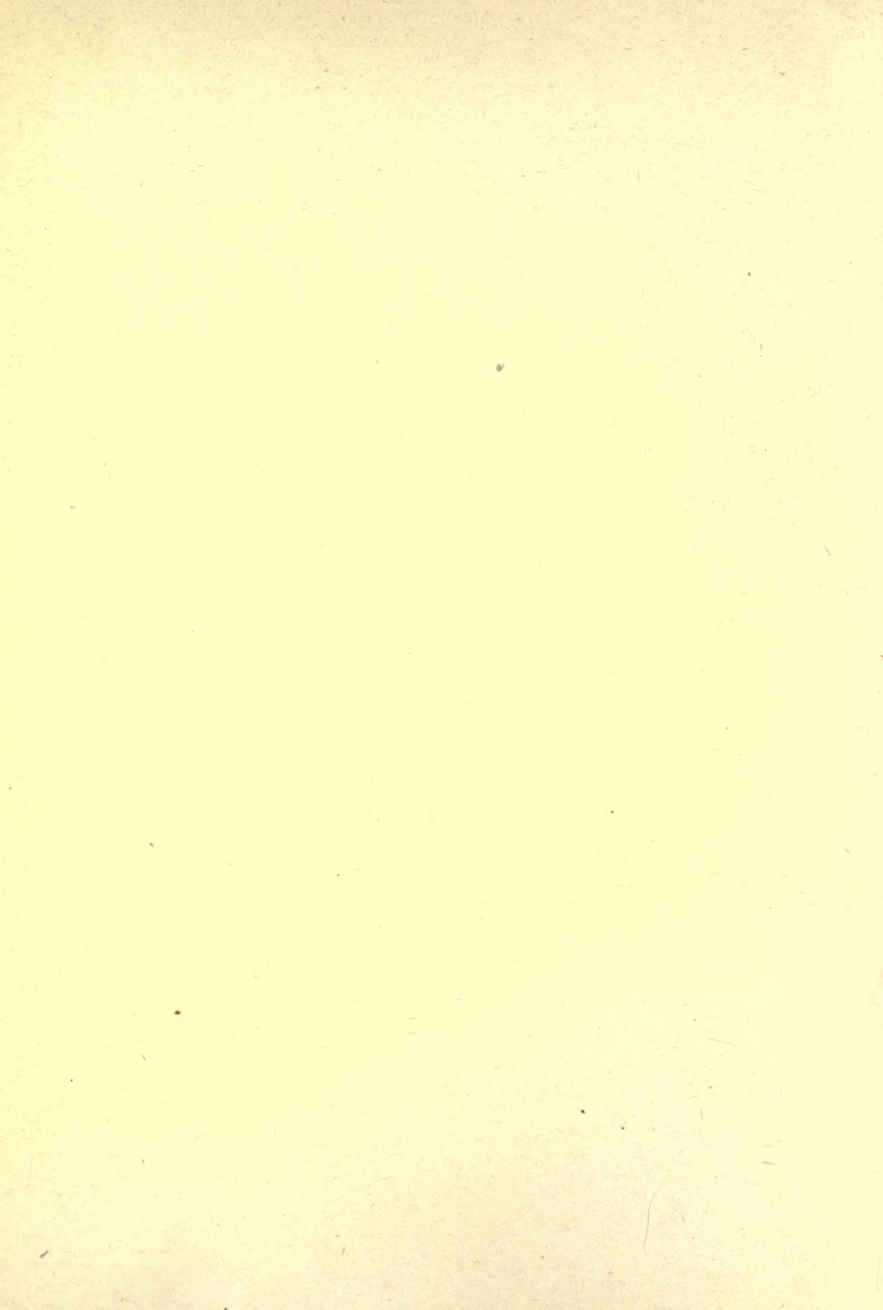
PAVEMENT OF SIENA

examined all the recognized authorities, and tried to introduce any side-lights that may brighten up a somewhat dull record of facts. I have avoided venturing on criticism : partly because I felt myself unequal to the task ; and partly because my space was too limited to allow of such digressions without a sacrifice of more important matter. Where I have put forward a theoretical suggestion, I have carefully pointed out that it is only offered as such. I regret that it is impossible to translate all the documents quoted, chiefly because the quaint language in which they are written is untranslatable, and would lose most of its charm if rendered into modern English. On the other hand, I have, where a passage specially important to my argument occurs in a document, given its general meaning in the text. I have added a long list of authorities, and works connected with the Cathedral and its Pavement which have been consulted, and I have to thank cordially, for practical and artistic help, and advice throughout, three ladies : the Hon. Mrs. A. L. Pelham, Mrs. J. P. Richter, and Mrs. Trail.

SIENA, *September*, 1901.

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THE SCHEME OF THE PAVEMENT

The various designs on the pavement arranged in their chronological order.	Notes.	Date the work was executed.	Numbers corresponding to those on the plan (p. 15).	Names of the Artists.
<p>Fortune's Wheel revolving with figures of men clinging to it. In the four corners of the picture are half-length portraits of Euripides, Seneca, Epictetus, and Aristotle. (Milanesi. <i>Documenti</i>. Vol. i., p. 177.)</p> <p>The Arms of the Cities allied and friendly to Siena. (Ditto.) . .</p>	<p>Of these eight artists' work on the Pavement, no recognizable trace now remains.</p>	1369	37	(1). Antonio di Brunaccio.
		1370		(2). Sano di Marco.
		"		(3). Francesco di Ser Antonio.
		1376		(4). Matteo di Bartolo.
		1380		(5). Nanni di Corsino.
		1398		(6). Sano di Maestro Matteo.
		"		(7). Luca di Cecco.
		1405		(8). Cecco di Giovanni.
		1372	37	
		1373	34	

A Wheel, in the middle of which
is the Imperial Eagle. . . .
The Parable of the Mote and the
Beam. . . .
Temperance
Prudence
Christian Piety
Justice
Fortitude. (*Mil. Doc.*, vol. i., p.
177)

King David the Psalmist. (*Siena
e il suo Territorio*, p. 205.) . . .
Goliath the Giant. (Ditto.) . . .
The Young David with his Sling.
(Ditto.)
Judas Maccabeus. . . .
Joshua and the King of the Amor-
ites. (Ditto.)
Samson. (Ditto.)
Moses. (Ditto.)
Joshua. (Ditto.)
A man, giving alms to a woman,
carrying a child
The Emperor Sigismund enthron-
ed. (*Mil. Doc.*, vol. ii., p. 261.)

The frieze of zig-zags
and spikes which frames
the five figures Nos. 17-
21, also dates from 1406.

The frieze inclosing
all these designs, together
with No. 24, was inlaid
by (11) Agostino di Nic-
colo, and (12) Bastiano
di Corso da Firenze, and
completed in 1423.

1373 (?)	35
1374-5	38
1380	17
"	18
1406	19
"	20
"	21
1423	53
"	54
"	55
1424	15
1426	22
"	14
"	16
"	23
1433	39
1434	13

(9). Marchessè d'Adamo
and the Comacene Mas-
ters in stone.
(10). Domenico di Nic-
colo del Coro.

"

"

"

(13) Paolo di Martino.

"

"

"

Domenico di Niccolo
del Coro.

Designed by (14) Do-
menico di Bartolo da

The various designs on the pavement arranged in their chronological order.	Notes.	Date the work was executed.	Numbers corresponding to those on the plan.	Names of the Artists.
The Story of Absalom. (<i>Sienna e il suo Territorio</i> .)	These three designs are in the doorways of the principal façade.	1447	12	Asciano. Executed by (15) Giacomod'Antonio. Designed by (16) Pietro del Minella.
Solomon		"	24	
The Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican		1448	57	
A Jar, labelled <i>Fel</i> (Gall)		"	58	
A similar Jar, labelled <i>Mel</i> (Honey)	"	"	59	Designed by (17) Nas- tagio di Guasparre and executed by (18) Barto- lomeo di Mariano, called <i>Il Mandriano</i> , and (21) Antonio Federighi.
Three designs before doors of Baptistery. (The Birth, Baptism, and Reception of an Infant Christian.)	1450	1450		
Design before the Porta del Per- dono. (Consecration of the Duomo by Pope Alexander III. [Bandinelli] in 1174.) The two Blind men. (<i>Mil. Doc.</i> , vol. ii., p. 437-)	Now destroyed.	1451		
		1459	40	Executed, after his own design, by Antonio Federighi.

The Relief of Bethulia by Judith.	The frieze of Reels around this design was executed by the said Ur- bano, (24) Giovanni di Maestro Stefano, (25) Bartolommeo di Domeni- co Calabrone, and (26) Francesco di Bartolo- meo.	1473	25	Designed by (22) Urba- no da Cortona (?) or by (23) Matteo di Giovanni Bartoli. (?) Executed by Antonio Federighi.
The Seven Ages of Man . . .	Around it is a frieze of stags, by the same artist.	1475	6	Executed by Antonio Federighi.
The Massacre of the Innocents .		1481	26	Designed by Matteo di Giovanni Bartoli.
The Delphic Sibyl		1482	1	Executed by (27) Giu- liano di Biagio and (28) Vito di Marco.
The Cumean Sibyl		"	2	Executed by (29) Luigidi Ruggiero, called <i>L'Ar- mellino</i> , and Vito di Marco.
The Cuman Sibyl		"	3	Giovanni di Maestro Stefano.
The Erythrean Sibyl		"	4	Antonio Federighi.
The Persian Sibyl		"	5	Urbano di Pietro da Cortona.
The Sacrifice of Jephthah . . .		1483	11	Designed and executed by (30) Bastiano di Fran- cesco di Sano.
The Albunean Sibyl	Who executed these	"	28	Designed by (31) Ben-

The various designs on the pavement arranged in their chronological order.	Notes.	Date the work was executed.	Numbers corresponding to those on the plan.	Names of the Artists.
The Samian Sibyl	<p>five Sibyls is not known, but it seems possible that, amongst other masters, Giuliano di Biagio may have worked on them.</p> <p>The frieze of winged lions which surrounds this picture, was designed by Bastiano di Francesco di Sano. Upon this picture and upon No. 26 (above mentioned), the following artists were also employed: Vito di Marco, (34) Bernardino d'Antonio, (35) Cristo-</p>	1483	29	<p>venuto Giovanni del Guasta. Designed by Matteo di Giovanni Bartoli. Luigi di Ruggiero, called <i>L'Armellino</i> (?) and Vito di Marco (?). Designed by (32) Neroccio di Bartolommeo Landi. Designed by (33) Guidoccio Cozzarelli. Designed by Benvenuto di Giovanni del Guasta.</p>
The Phrygian Sibyl		"	30	
The Hellespontine Sibyl		"	31	
The Libyan Sibyl.		"	32	
The Expulsion of Herod		1484	27	

fano di Pietro Paolo del
Quarantotto, and Barto-
lomeo di Domenico Cal-
abrone.

Mercurius Trismegistus. . . .
An Allegory of Fortune. (*Mil.*
Doc., vol. iii., p. 13.) . . .

The Story of Elijah and Ahab.

Elijah's Sacrifice
The Compact between Elijah and
Ahab, each to prove the Truth
of his Deity by Sacrifice. . .
The Slaughter of the False Pro-
phets of Baal
Ahab's Sacrifice
Elijah bids Obadiah bring Ahab
to him
Ahab meets Elijah
Moses striking the Rock . . .
Moses receives the Tables of the
Law on Mount Sinai. (This pic-
ture is divided into six parts.) .
(a) Moses receives the Tables of
the Law.

1488 33
1505-6 36
1518-24 41
42
43 44
45 46
1525 51
1531 52

Designed by Giovanni
di Maestro Stefano (?)
Designed by (36) Ber-
nardino Betti, called *Pin-*
turichio, and executed
by (37) Paolo Mannucci.
Designed by (38) Do-
menico Beccafumi, call-
ed *Mecherino*, and exe-
cuted at the same time
by (39) Bernardino di
Giacomo, (40) Giovann'
Antonio Marinelli, sur-
named *il Mugnaio*, (41)
Giacomo, and (42) Bar-
tolommeo di Pietro
Gallo, (43) Niccolo Fil-
ippi, and (44) Cristofano
di Carbone.

The various designs on the pavement arranged in their chronological order.	Notes.	Date the work was executed.	Numbers corresponding to those on the plan.	Names of the Artists.
<p>(β) The Hebrew People wait for Moses' Descent from the Mount.</p> <p>(γ) The Destruction of the idolatrous Hebrews.</p> <p>(δ) Moses breaks the Tables of Stone.</p> <p>(η) The Hebrews sacrifice to the Golden Calf.</p> <p>(θ) The Hebrews compel Aaron to make them idols.</p>		1544-46	56	Designed by Domenico Beccafumi and executed by Bernardino di Giacomo.
<p>The Story of Abraham's Sacrifice.</p> <p>At the side of this large picture, which is placed before the High Altar, and on either side of the Altar itself, are fourteen other small pictures, seven on each side.</p> <p>These represent :</p>				
<p>On the right :</p> <p>1. Elisha raises the son of the Shunammite.</p> <p>2. A Prophet, with an open book before him.</p>				

3. Eve kneeling.
4. A Woman, with an open book in her hand.
5. A Woman holding a hand-mirror, who represents "Prudence."
6. Melchisedec Sacrificing.
7. A seated Woman, with a Child.

On the left :

8. The old Tobit with his Son, and the Angel Raphael. At his feet a dog.
9. A Woman, representing "Charity."
10. Adam kneeling.
11. A Prophet, looking up to Heaven.
12. A seated Woman, with a book in her hand.
13. Abel Sacrificing.
14. A Woman, in the act of sitting down, with a Child . . .

The large picture and the smaller ones are framed by a frieze of half-length figures, which represent the Hebrew People journeying

Designed by Domenico
Beccafumi and executed
by (45) Pellegrino di
Pietro.

The various designs on the pavement arranged in their chronological order.	Notes.	Date the work was executed.	Numbers corresponding to those on the plan.	Names of the Artists.
from Egypt towards the Promised Land.				
Elijah fed by Ravens	These four designs are usually attributed, as is stated in col. 5; but, as I have argued at length in chap. ii., it is not improbable that they were originally designed by (46) Gio. Battista Sozzini, and executed by (47) Niccolo di Girolamo Gori, (48) Domenico di Pier Giovanni, and Bernardino di Jacomo, in 1562.	1780	47	Designed by (49) Carlo Amidei, and executed by (50) Matteo Pini.
Elijah anoints Jehu King of Israel.		"	48	
Elijah asks bread of the Widow .		"	49	
Elijah raises the Widow's son .		"	50	
Hope Faith Charity Religion	Originally designed in 1780, by Carlo Amidei and Matteo Pini, but removed in 1878.		7	(See below.)
			8	
			9	
			10	

In 1875-78, the scenes in the four lozenges, Nos. 47-50, by Carlo Amidei, being considered unsatisfactory, and the ancient scenes 38, 39, 40, being much dilapidated, (51) Professor Alessandro Franchi prepared four new designs of the same subjects for the lozenges, and three more subjects from the same story, for the three hexagons.

Namely: (a) Elijah predicts the manner of Ahab's death,
No 39.¹

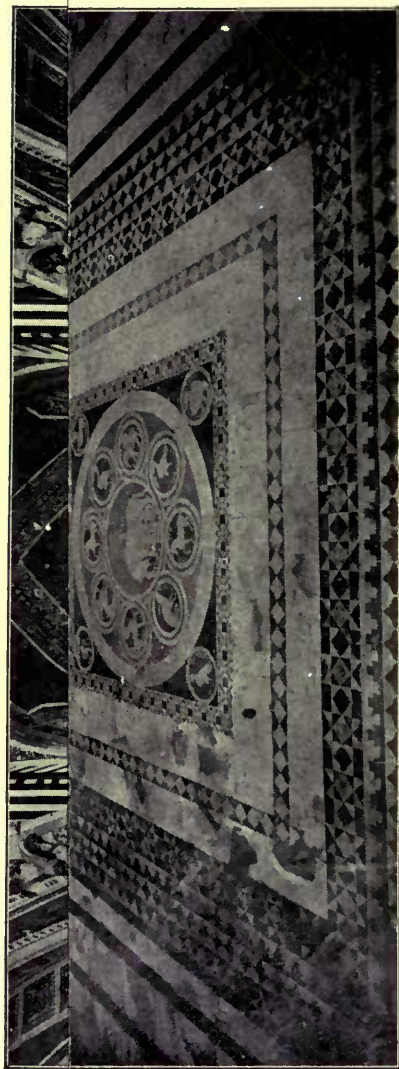
(b) Ahab mortally wounded, No. 40.

(c) Elijah carried to Heaven in a Chariot of Fire,
No. 38.

These designs were executed by (52) Prof. Leopoldo Maccari, with the assistance of the sculptors (53) Antonio and (54) Giuseppe Radicchi.

The same artists also, at the same date, designed and executed, respectively, the figures of the four Theological Virtues (Nos. 7, 8, 9, and 10), as we now see them.

¹ These numbers refer to the position of these subjects on the plan (p. 15).



LOMBARDI PHOTO.]

I. GENERAL VIEW OF THE INTERIOR OF SIENA CATHEDRAL,
SHOWING THE PAVEMENT

.
"Cast down thine eyes ;
'Twere well for thee, to alleviate the way,
To look upon the bed beneath thy feet.

.
So saw I there, but of a better semblance
In point of artifice, with figures covered
Whate'er as pathway from the mount projects.

.
Who e'er of pencil master was or stile,
That could portray the shades and traits which there
Would cause each subtile genius to admire ?
Dead seemed the dead, the living seemed alive ;
Better than I saw not who saw the truth,
All that I trod upon while bowed I went.

*"La Divina Commedia" of Dante Alighieri,
translated by H. W. Longfellow.*

.
Volgi gli occhi in giue ;
Buon ti sarà, per alleggiar la via,
Veder lo letto delle piante tue.

.
Si vid' io li, ma di miglior sembianza
Secondo l' artificio, figurato
Quanto per via di fuor dal monte avanza.

.
Qual di pennel fu maestro o di stile,
Che ritraesse l'ombre e i tratti, ch' ivi
Mirar farieno ogn' ingegno sottile ?
Morti li morti, e i vivi parean vivi.
Non vede me' di me chi vide il vero,
Quant' io calcai fin che chinato givi.

*"La Divina Commedia" di Dante Alighieri, Il
Purgatorio, Canto xii. L. 13-15, 22-24, 64-69.*

THE PAVEMENT MASTERS OF SIENA

CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF THE PAVEMENT

ONE might have supposed that when Dante wrote the lines here quoted, he was describing the wonderful pavement that still adorns the Duomo of Siena. But this, we know, cannot be, since it was not until more than thirty years after Dante's death that the plans for a greatly enlarged Duomo were abandoned, and the Sienese set themselves to adorn the building in the shape that we see it now. Moreover, as we shall presently see, no records of *ornamental* work done upon the floor exist earlier than 1369. We may, however, I think, fairly turn the proposition the other way, and fancy that the pavement designers had Dante's wonderfully descriptive verses in their minds, when they planned such a work. Their subjects and his differ vastly; and in the two hundred years that passed, ere it was in any sense completed, many variations took place in the original design,

PAVEMENT OF SIENA

if complete design there ever was. Still we may feel, on entering that glorious temple, as if we were really treading the first parapet of Purgatory, as pictured by him.

Although the order in which the stories meet our eyes does not in the least agree with the chronology of their execution, a sense of fitness in position seems to run through them, even from the great West Door itself. Hermes Trismegistus presenting to his disciples the Poemander, meets us on the very threshold of the Nave, supported in either aisle by the majestic figures of the ten Sibyls ; and seems to lead the way, through half-pagan symbolical designs, to where, surrounded by the histories of Hebrew heroes and prophets, the mystery of the Atoning Sacrifice of Christ, the Very God, the Centre of all Faith and Prophecy is, before the High Altar itself, symbolized by the Sacrifice of Isaac.

But this suggestion must not be pressed too far, because, as I have already remarked, and as the accompanying plan will show, many variations, for which at first sight the reason is not very obvious, have from time to time crept in. For general purposes, however, the student of the floor may fairly start with some such complete conception.

From the admirably arranged Archives, both Ecclesiastical and Communal, of the City of Siena, we are able to piece together a very nearly complete history of the work, showing, in most cases, why certain exceptions probably were made ; and

HISTORY OF THE PAVEMENT

from them, through the medium of the carefully compiled volumes of the late Signor Gaetano Milanesi, I have drawn most of the information which follows.¹

Vasari's statement, so often quoted by subsequent writers, that Duccio made designs for this pavement, is quite without documentary authority.² Duccio died more than fifteen years before the larger Duomo scheme was finally abandoned; whilst the earliest records dealing with work of a *decorative* nature³ is dated 1369, and runs as

¹ *Documenti per la Storia dell' Arte Senese*, collected and illustrated by Dott. Gaetano Milanesi (Porri, Siena, 1854). Supplemented by *Nuovi Documenti per la Storia del Arte Senese*, by S. S. Borghesi and L. Banchi. (Torrini, Siena, 1898).

² Vasari also states that Duccio invented this species of work; but Milanesi, in his Notes to Vasari's "Life of Duccio" (vol. i. p. 654), says, "It is certain, also, that these works of '*putting together*' (*commesso*), were in use *before* the time of "Duccio. We have an ancient example in the Atrium of the "Duomo at Lucca, where, among certain 'little figures,' (*form-elle*), is a decoration in black, red and white marble, with "figures of men and animals, in some parts *engraved* (*graffiti*). "This work of '*commesso*,' and mosaic in marble, was made in "1233, as is shown by an inscription near the left side of the "great door, which states:

"HOC OPUS CEPIT FIERI A BELENATO

"ET ALDIBRANDO OPERAII

"A D. MCCXXXIII."

³ Mil. Doc., vol. i. p. 176-178. An earlier notice as to the floor itself, dated 1362, exists it is true, and runs as follows: "a lo schalzetta matonaio - per matoni che sebero per amatonare lo spazzo di duomo intorno al altare di duomo L. 11 sol. 6."

PAVEMENT OF SIENA

follows: "*a maestro Antonio di Brunaccio vintuna lire a cinque sol per ij braccia e due quarri di tarsie di marmo di lo spazzo di Duomo.*" In the following year (1370) we read "*a maestro Sano di Marco per dodici porporelle per lo spazzo di duomo, a sol: 10 l'una, si danno L. 6.*"; "*a Francesco di Ser Antonio per uno braccio e mezzo di compasso per detto spazzo a ragione d'otto lire e mezzo il braccio si danno lire 12. e soldi 15,*" and "*a maestro Sano di Marco per birichuocoli bianchi e rossi pello spazzo di duomo, L. 4. soldi 8.*"¹

Two years later, according to the historian Sigismondo Tizio, the Pavement of the nave from the cupola downwards was begun, and among other things was laid out (*spianata*) the design of the Wheel of Fortune, with figures of men clinging to it.

And in the next year (1373) an old chronicler² tells us that "*In questo anno si fece il pavimento a pietre tassellate,*" which no doubt refers to the circle containing the emblems of Siena, surrounded by those of the cities friendly and allied to her. Be it noted here that this is the only portion of the floor that is *tessellated*; that is to say, decorated with designs, made up of small squares of

(Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo. Entrata e Uscita ad annum). But this clearly only refers to the laying down of an ordinary floor; perhaps a platform for the high altar. Cf. Padre Prof. Everardo Micheli. *Il Pavimento del Duomo*, etc. Note f.

¹ Archivio detto. Entrata e Uscita ad annos.

² *Frammenti di Storia Senese* presso Emilio Piccolomini.

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different coloured stones, in the manner of ordinary mosaic.

Then, in 1374, we find reference¹ to work done, under the direction of Andrea di Minuccio *Operaio*, at the foot of the Choir; which was at that date, and until the commencement of the sixteenth century, situated under the Cupola.

Again in 1376, 1380, 1398 and 1405, we read of payments to certain master-workmen, named Matteo di Bartolo, Nanni di Corsino, Sano di Matteo, Luca di Ciecho (or Cecco), and Cecco di Giovanni (or Giovannino di Ciecho), for intarsia work on the Pavement, apparently in decorative friezes, some of which, no doubt, exist still, though we cannot now identify them.

The first authoritative document, however, which speaks of *figures* on the Pavement is an entry in the Duomo Archives, under date March 13th, 1406, which records the payment of 140 lire, "*e quali li debiamo dare,*" to Marchesse d'Adamo (perhaps a son of the architect, Maestro Adamo), "*e compagni maestri di pietra da Como per una rotta (ruota) anno fatto murare nello spazzo contra a la sagrestia.*"²

From the mention of its neighbourhood to the *sacristy*, this must point to the circle containing the figure of Fortitude, No 21, from which, alas!

¹ Archivio detto. 1374, Maggio, Libro d'Entrata ed Uscita a 70.

See also Borghesi MSS.

² Archivio detto. Bastardello, No. 2, del 1405, a. 65.

PAVEMENT OF SIENA

restoration, in 1839, has removed all ancient feeling, and sadly reduced to the commonplace.

After this we find no entries until 1423; but from that time commences the real history of the Pavement Masters: and we begin with perhaps the most interesting personage connected with it; namely, Domenico di Niccolo del Coro, who held the post of Capo-maestro¹ of the Opera del Duomo between the years 1413 and 1423. It is not easy now to separate the work attributed to Domenico from that of another artist, Paolo di Martino, who appears to have immediately succeeded Domenico as Capo-maestro. We know, however, that the following portions of the floor were executed at that date:

1. David the Psalmist, surrounded by four Musicians (No. 53).²
2. David the Youth with his Sling (No. 55).
3. The Giant Goliath falling backwards (No. 54).
4. Moses (No. 16).
5. Samson chastising the Philistines (No. 14).
6. Judas Maccabeus (No. 15).

¹ Apparently the working foreman or clerk of the works. The terms used to describe the different offices are both confusing and misleading, but it is evident from the documents that the *Rettore* or *Operaio* as he is indifferently called, was a person of much greater social importance than the *Capo-maestro*, and not really a workman at all. He was the official Director of the Cathedral works, the Steward in fact: the Capo-maestro being his head workman.

² These numbers refer to the plan on p. 15.

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7. Joshua (No. 23).

8. The Slaughter of the Five Kings of the Amorites (No. 22).

Of these eight subjects the first three may be with certainty given to Domenico himself; whilst Nos. 5 and 8 may be¹ ascribed to the other artist. Of the single figures that of Judas Maccabeus is so entirely concealed now by the balustrade of the altar of the Blessed Sacrament built over it, that it is impossible to ascertain with any degree of absolute certainty who was its author; but Joshua and Moses are given by Milanesi to Paolo di Martino.

Domenico seems to have been a great and versatile artist, a worker in glass,² as well as in marble, and above all famous for his skill in wood-carving and inlay. The restorations of his work here, which have evidently been frequent, have robbed it of very much of the charm, which we feel so strongly in his inlaid panels in the Palazzo Pubblico Chapel, but there is still a naïve originality about the designs, which cannot fail to show his high merit.

The next celebrated artist, who left his mark on this floor was the painter, Domenico di Bartolo di Ghezzi of Asciano, whose charming design of the

¹ See *Siena e il suo Territorio*, p. 217, and *passim*. Also *Mil. Doc.*, vol. i. p. 238; and *Sulla Storia Artistica Senese*, p. 84.

² For references on this head from the Archives of the Opera del Duomo, see *Mil. Doc.*, vol. ii. pp. 12, 238, 239.

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Emperor Sigismund enthroned, No. 13, is one of the most marked exceptions to the general scheme.

Next we have Pietro del Minella, the celebrated sculptor, and a pupil of the still more famous Giacomo della Quercia. He also left only one design, but that perhaps the most striking in the entire floor : Absalom hanging by his hair, No. 12.

Then appears that great craftsman, Antonio Federighi, whose graceful "Ages of Man," No. 6, would alone entitle him to take a high rank in the History of Art. The works of Art left by this artist here and elsewhere are many, and of a very varied description ; but we must now pass on to perhaps the most interesting and prolific period in the History of the Duomo, during which the floor was by no means left uncared for.

The City of Siena outside was a prey to constant faction and civil disturbance, but her Duomo within, under the fostering care and taste of the noble Alberto Aringhieri, Knight of Rhodes and Malta, Rettore from 1481-1498, was steadily growing in beauty and splendour. I cannot here enumerate all the embellishments added during this period to the fabric, though among them I may name the decoration of the interior of the Cupola : the adornment of the Chapel of S. Giovanni, where may still be seen Pinturicchio's beautiful portraits of Aringhieri himself in youth and age : and the frieze of Papal busts that runs round the entire building.

Aringhieri collected around him a band of artists,

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eminent already as painters and sculptors ; among whom was Federighi himself. From the designs and with the skill of these, he completed the floor of the North and South Transepts ; both the Aisles and the last bay of the Nave. Whether, as is possible, he was influenced in his choice of subjects by external historical events, we cannot now say ; but some at least of the designs, while appropriate to the general idea of the whole, appear to have a possible political significance. Thus the "Massacre of the Innocents," No. 26, designed by Matteo di Giovanni Bartoli, may have been chosen to commemorate the terrifying episodes that occurred during the Sack of Otranto by the Turks ; and the Expulsion of Herod, No. 27, the Fall of Pandolfo Petrucci and his faction. Whether this was so or not, the works of this period are among the finest and noblest designs on the entire floor. The later work of Beccafumi may be more realistic, but nothing can surpass the force and feeling of power exhibited in the fourteen designs, which date their origin from this period.

In 1505-6 was added Pinturicchio's "Allegory of Fortune," No. 36 ; and shortly after an important change in the interior arrangement of the building, by exposing a great deal of floor space, necessitated the addition of a large number of fresh designs, which Domenico Beccafumi (*il Mecerino*) was called upon to supply. This change was the removal, under the direction of Baldassare Peruzzi, Capomaestro in 1532, of the High Altar, which had

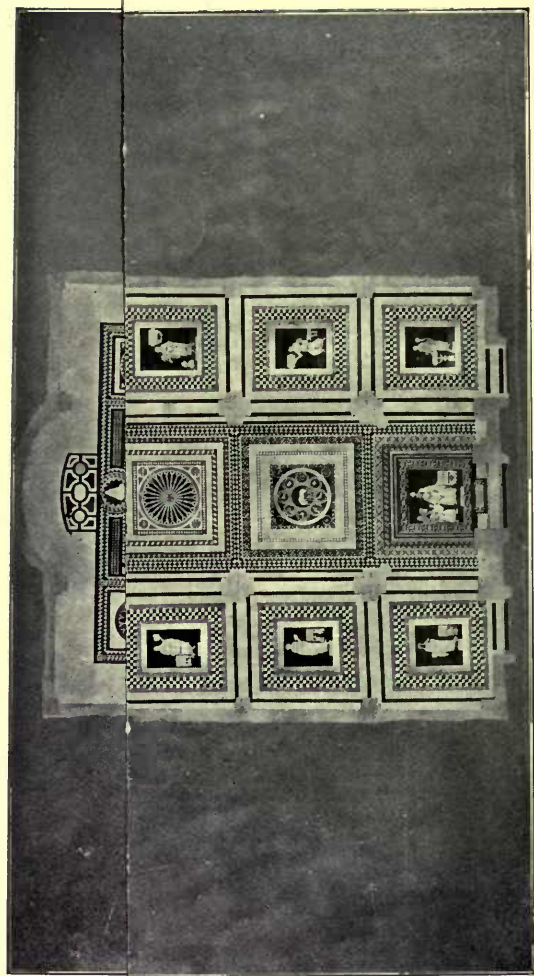
PAVEMENT OF SIENA

hitherto stood under the Cupola, to their present position, further east in the Apse.

Beccafumi had previously, in 1525 and 1531, designed his scenes from the Life of Moses, Nos. 51 and 52, and he now, in 1544-46, was commissioned to make designs to surround the Altar-steps. Of the history of the Elijah designs, Nos. 41-46, under the Cupola, attributed to him, I wish to speak at greater length, so I will reserve the details concerning them until the next chapter.

In 1661 the building of the Cappella del Voto by Pope Alexander VII. destroyed the ancient Porta del Perdono; and the scene representing the Consecration of the Cathedral, designed by Guasparre d'Agostino, and executed by Corso di Bastiano in 1451, which formerly lay before that door, was ruthlessly destroyed.

In 1750, certain Virtues, Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, were designed by Carlo Amidei for the entrance to the above-mentioned chapel. This artist also restored a good many of the older designs, and added, it is generally assumed, four lozenges to the story of Elijah, Nos. 47-50, under the Cupola. These were all considered worthless and removed in 1875 to make way for new designs by Sig. Prof. Alessandro Franchi, the present Director of the Accademia delle Belle Arti. This accomplished gentleman also designed three hexagons to complete the Story of Elijah, Nos. 38, 39 and 40, and to fill spaces, up to that time occupied by fragments of older work, brought from other parts of the Cathedral.



LOMBARDI PHOTO.]

II. THE ENTIRE PAVEMENT

HISTORY OF THE PAVEMENT

These designs were all executed under his direction by Signor Leopoldo Maccari in 1878.¹

Between the years 1864 and 1878 a complete restoration of the whole floor has taken place. Much time and money have been expended upon the work, and the result is, on the whole, not unsatisfactory ; but the effects of previous restorations by less sympathetic hands in certain parts is painfully apparent. Some of the work, beautiful still, but too much injured to remain *in situ* has been removed to the Museum of the Opera del Duomo, and replaced by copies.

This Pavement, in spite of the opinions of those who consider pictorial design unsuitable floor decoration, is a never-ending source of joy and pleasing suggestion : an unique *tour de force*, and a stroke of genius on the part of the original designers. Except during the month of August, the entire centre portion from the West door to the High Altar itself is carefully protected by boarding. When this is removed, and the whole vista is spread out before one, it would be hard to imagine any other species of floor, that would have so satisfactorily completed the many-coloured interior harmonies of this wonderful Cathedral.

¹ Ferdinando Rubini, *Dei Restauri eseguiti nella chiesa Metropolitana in Siena*. (Bargellini, 1869-1879.)

CHAPTER II

THE PAVEMENT

HAVING briefly sketched the history of the entire Pavement, it will be necessary now to describe it in detail. For this purpose I have divided it into ten parts, commencing at the great Western Entrance.

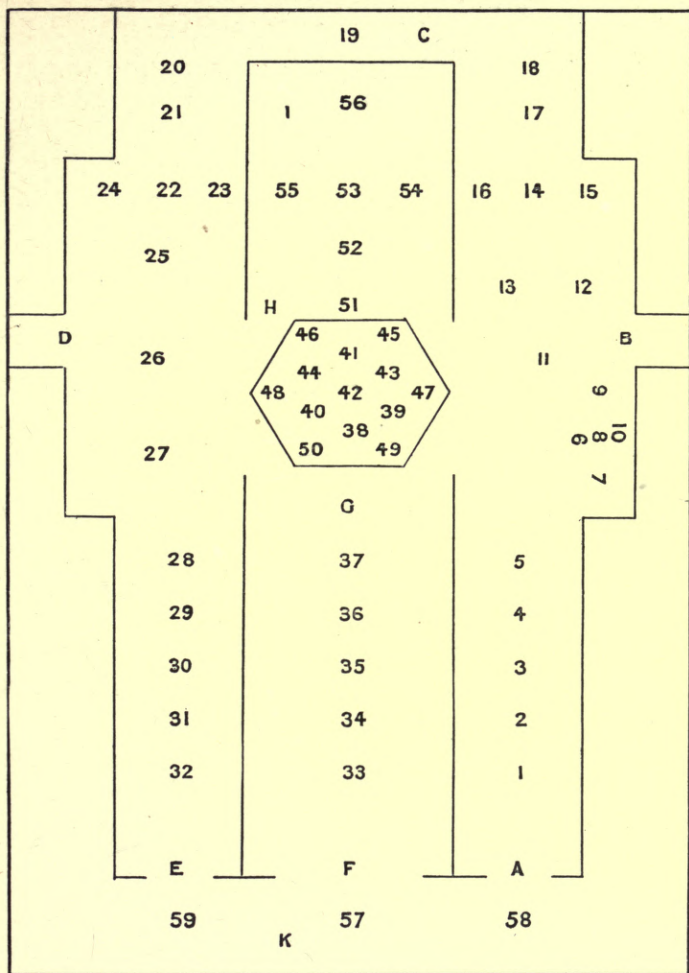
These ten parts are as follows :

1. The wide Platform before the Façade.
2. The Spaces in the three Western Doorways.
3. The Nave.
4. The South Aisle.
5. The North Aisle.
6. The North Transept.
7. The Choir Ambulatory.
8. The South Transept.
9. The Choir and Altar-steps.
10. Under the Cupola.

I. THE PLATFORM BEFORE THE WESTERN FAÇADE.

Tizio¹ tells us that this platform with its three

¹ 1448. Pavimentum quoque marmoreum *ante portas* Templi Senensis *trinīs scalīs ascensis*, e marmore sterni fecit.



KEY PLAN TO THE PAVEMENT

PAVEMENT OF SIENA

steps was laid down in 1448, under the direction of Giovanni Borghesi, then Rettore of the Opera. Originally there were apparently five designs upon it, of which, however, only four were still distinguishable when, in the seventeenth century, Landi wrote his elaborate description of the floor.¹ These were: In the centre, as at present, the Pharisee and the Publican kneeling before a round Temple: On either side a vase; the one inscribed *Mel* (Honey), the other *Fel* (Gall), symbolic perhaps of the imperfection of earthly joys. On the right-hand side on entering was the Sacrifice of Abel; and on the other side, Landi says, that there was no pictured design, but merely a fancy pattern of coloured marbles, probably replacing a scene previously destroyed by time and hard usage. The constant stream of traffic across this Platform has necessitated frequent restoration of the Pavement; and the story of Abel has now entirely vanished. The vase, also, on the right, now bears the label *Lac* (Milk), instead of *Fel*, perhaps in allusion to the Promised Land, and the Golden Jerusalem of Bernard of Clairvaux's hymn. This work is ex-

Abel quoque sacrificium, nec non Publicanum et Phariseum designari duo insuper vascula, melle uno felle altero plenis, e regione portarum extremarum notabili significazione depromi, quoniam a summo et maximo Deo in hujus mundi ingressu ac limine tum mala tum bona omnes sunt accepturi.—Tizio, *Hist. Sen.*, vol. iv., ad ann.

¹ Alfonso Landi. *Descrizione del Pavimento*, quoted in full by Padre Guglielmo delle Valle. *Lettere Senese*, vol. iii., pp. 124-157.

THE PAVEMENT

cuted in the earliest of the four principal methods of design : namely *a trapano* ; that is to say, outlined on a slab of white marble in little dots made with a trepanning drill.

The figures of the Pharisee and the Publican are executed with great spirit, but are entirely modern in feeling and conception.¹ Each figure is formed of a slab or slabs of white marble, cut in outline, and let into a background, of which the atmosphere is black and the ground red marble, so that each figure stands out clear and distinct. Lines of feature, folds of robes and other accessories are outlined, as described above, with a trepanning drill. Certain pieces of yellow marble have been added at the sides of the picture, which seem unnecessary and even discordant. They may have been placed there during the restorations which took place here but a few years since.

2. THE SPACES IN THE THREE DOORWAYS OF THE WESTERN FAÇADE.

The three much-worn scenes that remain here evidently represent the "Ceremonies of Ordination"

¹ The author of *Siena e il suo Territorio*, p. 211, states that these figures were executed originally in 1513, and suggests that they may have been designed by Giacomo Cozzarelli ; but I have hitherto found no authority to support that statement, and they are now too much restored to assist one's judgment by comparison with other work of that artist. Moreover, as Giacomo Cozzarelli at that date would have been very old, since we read of work done by him as far back as 1447, this is very improbable.

PAVEMENT OF SIENA

in the three degrees ; and such is the opinion of Faluschi, Landi, and Della Valle. Padre Everardo Micheli, however, wishes us to believe that these scenes illustrate the "Reconciliation of the Penitent:" a proposition which seems to me both far-fetched and improbable.

These works, executed in the same methods and with the same materials as those just described, retain far more of their original feeling and sentiment ; and it is interesting to compare them with a similar set in the doorways of San Giovanni (the Baptistery), which represent the "Birth," "Baptism," and "Anointing of an Infant Christian."

In the first case we have, to the extreme right, the "Ordination of the Deacon ;" next, that "of the Priest ;" and, finally, that "of the Bishop." In the other, to the extreme left, is the "Birth of the Child" (a composition curiously similar to that employed by many painters at this period for the Birth of St. John the Baptist): then "Its Baptism ;" and lastly, "Its Anointing and Reception into the Church of Christ." Of these three scenes, commenced in 1450 by a certain Bartolomeo di Mariano, called *Il Mandriano*, from designs made by one Nastagio di Guasparre ; that in the centre, which we read was executed by Antonio Federighi (1451),¹ is very much the finest, although there is a certain similarity in general conception throughout.

¹ Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo. Libro E. IV. Memorie, a. 21. Archivio detto. Libro delle due Rose dal 1466 al 1476, a. 64.

THE PAVEMENT

On further research, we find that a certain Guasparre, described as "*dipentore nostro*," made a design for the space before the door for the then existing Porta del Perdono.¹ This design represented the "Consecration of the Duomo" in 1174,² and was executed by Corso di Bastiano of Florence.

Now Guasparre d'Agostino, also designated as "*nostro dipentore*,"³ about this same time painted certain scenes from the Life of S. Bernardino for the Sacristy of the Duomo, and also decorated the apse of the Baptistery with frescoes of the "Crucifixion and Burial of Christ."⁴ We may not unreasonably suppose that the above-mentioned Nastagio was his son or pupil, and that the father and son, or master and pupil, were associated together in all these similar works around the doors of the Cathedral and Baptistery. Unfortunately the work known to have been designed by Guasparre before the Porta del Perdono was, together with that entrance itself, ruthlessly destroyed in 1661, so that we have nothing certain

¹ Archivio detto. Libro E. IV. Memorie, a. 24.

² It is generally supposed that this ceremony was performed by Pope Alexander III. (Bandinelli), but the tradition is unsupported by documentary evidence hitherto obtainable. This same Pope laid the foundation stone of the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris in 1163. See *Paris als Kunststätte*, Georges Riat. (Seemann. Leipzig and Berlin, 1901.)

³ Archivio detto. Libro Debit e Credit dal 1441 al 1497, a. 297 (on the back).

⁴ *La Guida Artistica*, p. 56. Milanesi, *Sulla Storia dell'Arte Toscana, Scritti Varii*, p. 52.

PAVEMENT OF SIENA

remaining of his Pavement work upon which to start comparison. The force and charm, however, of the compositions, still existing before the Western Doorway of the Cathedral, show that they must have been executed from the designs of no mean or inferior draughtsman.

We find also several references at this date,¹ to work done outside the Duomo by Bastiano di Corso, a Florentine, fine work by whom, as we shall see presently, still exists inside also; but it is not easy to identify the exact portion laid down by him and his son Corso, who, as we have seen above, was employed on the work before the Porta del Perdono.

It is interesting to notice how sharp and clear is the trepanning work in the older of these designs, and how close together the points have been drilled. It would appear as if, contrary to the method employed in the more modern work, no graving tool had been used, nor any stucco to fill up the holes and outlines.

And now we enter the Church.

3. THE NAVE.

The first thing that meets the eye is an inscription:

“CASTISSIMUM VIRGINIS TEMPLUM CASTE MEMENTO
INGREDI.”

¹ Archivio detto. Libro Verde dal 1441 al 1457, a. 89. Libro E. IV. Memorie, a. 24. Libro E. 5. Debit. a. 110 (on the back).

THE PAVEMENT

It is unknown by whom, or when, this inscription was laid down, but it is possible that it was in-



ALINARI PHOTO.]

[DESIGNED BY GIOVANNI
DI MAESTRO STEFANO (?)

III. HERMES TRISMEGISTUS (No. 33)

roduced at the same time as the design which follows it.

Beyond this appears the commanding figure of

PAVEMENT OF SIENA

a man in a high crowned head-dress, apparently an Eastern Sage, holding out with his right hand, to two other men, a book inscribed *SUSCIPITE O LICTERAS ET LEGES EGYPTII* ; while with his left, he points to a quotation on a slab supported by two winged sphinxes. The principal figure represents the semi-mythical *Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus*, who, as we read below, was “Contemporaneus Moysi.” The two men, one old and turbaned, and the other veiled, may perhaps typify the learned men of the East and West. (Ill. III.)

The introduction of this mysterious personage, whose very existence is extremely doubtful, is most interesting to the student of Renaissance philosophical and theological ideas. Since to his fabled authorship are attributed a vast number of works dealing with ancient wisdom and religious belief, as well as many treatises on ecclesiastical ceremonial, the placing of him on the threshold of this magnificent Temple is not without appropriate suggestion. From the principal work attributed to him “the *Poemander*”,¹ is drawn the quotation inscribed on the slab beside him here ; and the

¹ Ποιμάνδρης = Ποιμὴν ἀνδρῶν = “*The Shepherd of men. De Potestate et Sapientia Divina.*” The Editio Princeps of this work appeared in Paris in 1554. It was edited by Parthey, in 1854, and had been translated into German, by Tiedemann, in 1781. The connection of the name of *Hermes* with alchemy will explain what is meant by *hermetic sealing*, and will account for the use of the phrase, *hermetic Medicine*, by Paracelsus ; as also for the so-called *hermetic Freemasonry*, of the middle ages.

THE PAVEMENT

enthusiastic attitudes of the two Seekers after Knowledge before him are very forcibly expressed.

This admirable design was placed here in 1488, under the Rectorship of Alberto Aringhieri, mentioned in the last chapter. He, being a Knight of St. John of Jerusalem and of Rhodes, must have been familiar with the mystical tastes and theories of those who endeavoured to bring the learning, lore, and art of Pagan ideals into line with Christian Dogma and Faith. Hence the choice under his direction of this subject, and, as we shall presently see, of the ten Sibyls also.

It is not definitely known who designed this group; but it is generally supposed, with considerable show of reason, to have been Giovanni di Maestro Stefano:¹ and it appears to have been the last of the series commissioned by Aringhieri, as Rettore, since his occupation of that post ended in 1498.² He seems, though, seven years later, to have commissioned Pinturicchio's "Allegory of Fortune."

The next design is that of the Badges or Emblems of Siena, surrounded by those of her allies. In the middle is the Wolf of Siena suckling the Twins. In a circle round her are the symbols of the following cities; Florence (a Lion, the "*Marzocco*"); Lucca (a Lynx); Pisa (a Hare); Viterbo (an Unicorn); Perugia (a Stork); Rome

¹ *Siena e il suo Territorio*, p. 221.

² This design was restored by Sig. L. Maccari, in 1866 (F. Rubini, *Dei Restauri*, etc.), at a cost of 3,403 lire 30 c.

PAVEMENT OF SIENA

(an Elephant bearing a Tower); Orvieto (a Goose); and Arezzo (a Horse). In the four



LOMBARDI PHOTO.]

[1373. AUTHOR UNKNOWN

IV. THE BADGES OF SIENA AND THE CONFEDERATE CITIES (No. 34)

(The only panel in mosaic)

corners of the surrounding square are, Massa (a smaller Lion); Grosseto (a Goat); Volterra, (a Vulture); and Pistoia (a Dragon). (Ill. IV.)

THE PAVEMENT

This, the only portion of the Pavement that is really executed in mosaic, was, as we have seen already, laid down in 1373; but we are unable to trace the author. Fragments of the original work are still existing in the Museum of the Opera; but the whole design has been replaced by a modern copy, carefully made by Sig. Maccari in 1865.¹

Beyond this is a large geometrical pattern. A wheel with twenty-four columnar spokes, in the centre of which appears the Imperial Eagle. Of this design little or nothing is known; but the author of *La Guida Artistica* supposes it to have been of the same date as that last described (1373). It is possible that, before the days of Alberto Aringhieri, the whole of the Nave floor, except "Fortune's Wheel," in the first bay, may have been covered with geometrical or heraldic devices only, as can be seen at Lucca, and that all of them, except these last two, were removed to make way for other more interesting subjects.

The next scene is Pinturicchio's well-known design, called in the old documents "La Storia della Fortuna." It might just as well though be designated as "the Reward of Virtue," or the "Pursuit of Wisdom." (Ill. V.)

Wisdom, a sedate woman, royally robed, veiled, and crowned with a jewelled wreath, is throned upon the upper platform of a small precipitous

¹ For which 8,900 lire 48 c. were paid.

PAVEMENT OF SIENA

rock in the midst of the sea. The platform is covered with growing flowers, as is also the winding path which leads to it. On Wisdom's right hand stands Socrates, holding a book, to whom she offers a branch of palm. On her left is Crates, who is hastily emptying into the sea a basketful of rings, chains, and other jewels. To him she extends a closed volume. Over the head of Wisdom, on a tablet, appears the following inscription :

HUC PROPERATE VIRI, SALEBROSUM SCANDITE MONTEM
PULCHRA LABORIS ERUNT PREMIA PALMA QUIES.

On the path below, which, besides flowers, is strewn with stones and over-run with reptiles and small animals, is a crowd of ten men, seekers after Wisdom, who apparently have just been landed upon the Island by Fortune. The attitudes of these men, some of whom at least appear to be portraits, are very striking. Alone at the head of the procession strides a stately personage—a patron perhaps of art and learning. Next to him an old man, leaning on a crutch-handled staff, plods determinedly along. Following him, a younger man looks back and shakes his fist at Fortune. Behind him stand six figures with varied expressions of interest or desire. In front of them an elderly man with a beard has sunk down exhausted, his book clasped in his left arm, too weary to move on. On the extreme right of the picture stands Fortune, a nude woman with a



ALINARI PHOTO.]

[DESIGNED BY PINTURICCHIO

V. AN ALLEGORY OF FORTUNE (No. 36)

PAVEMENT OF SIENA

cornucopia in her right hand. She is the most striking figure in the composition. Her left foot is resting on a globe, perhaps to indicate her instability, while with her right she seems to push off the boat, shattered and broken-masted, in which these travellers have journeyed to the island. Above her head she holds a sail, which the wind has filled out, one end of which, wound round her body, is grasped also by her right hand. Obviously this design is one of those conceits so dear to the Renaissance mind. Fortune has, with favouring breeze, but through stormy waters, brought the seekers after Knowledge to the Mount of Wisdom; and the artist has endeavoured in these ten figures to symbolize the varied character of her votaries. Socrates stands calmly waiting for his reward; Crates earns his by contempt of all things worldly.

Pinturicchio received on the 13th of March, 1504,¹ twelve lire for this design, which was laid down under his direction, probably by Paolo Manucci, in 1506.²

¹ 1504 (St. Sen.), 13 Marzo. A maestro Bernardino Pinturicchio dipentore per sua fadiga d'avere fatto uno cartone di disengnio per la Storia de la Fortuna, la quale al presente si fa in Duomo questo di 13 Marzo - lire dodici sol. - contanti per detto messer Alberto nostro. Io ho fatto boni a messer Alberto per una soma di grano de' al detto maestro Bernardino. Archivio detto. Libro d'Entrata e Uscita. 1504 a 47.

² 1506. In detto anno si faceva la storia della fortuna. Forse fù lavorata da Paolo Mannucci Archivio detto. Libro Rosso d'un Leone a 10? Milanesi MS. notes p. 32 (on the

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The last design in the Nave is perhaps the oldest of all; but the actual piece of Pavement that we now see is a complete renovation by Signor Maccari in December, 1864, costing 2,491 lire 98 c. Tizio¹ tells us that it was executed in 1372, and though he does not say who was the author of the design, or who executed the work, we know that Andrea di Minuccio was Operaio at this time,² and that under his direction, two years later, the work at "*the foot of the Choir*" was completed.

We see a wheel with eight columnar spokes. To give an effect of rotatory motion, the border is inlaid in small lozenges of black and white marble, arranged to represent cogs. At the top of the wheel sits a King, enthroned and crowned, with orb and sceptre. Clinging to the two sides and bottom are three figures of men, whose anxiety to retain their hold, as the wheel revolves, is forcibly expressed. The wheel is surrounded by a continuous band of black and white marble, which, looped octagonally at the angles, incloses,

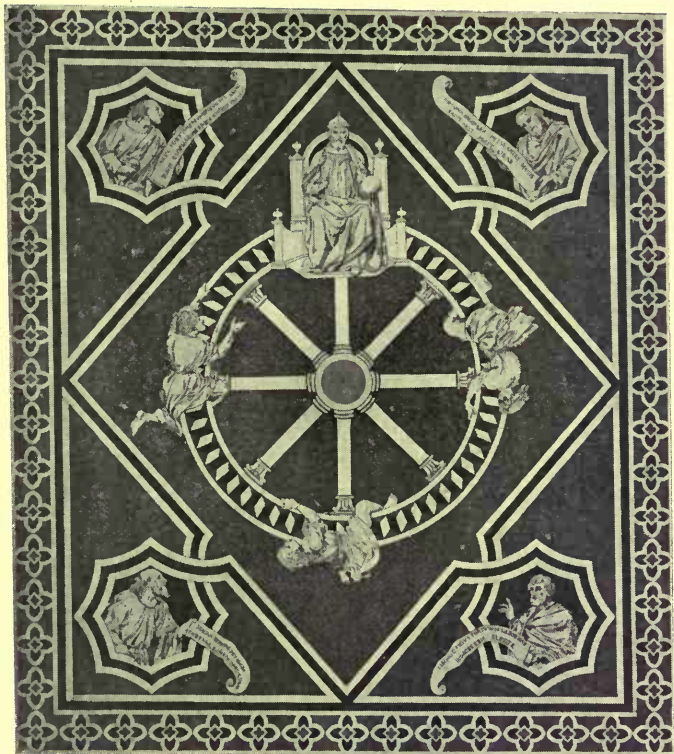
back). Compare also Landi, who in his *Descrizione del Pavimento*, although by mistake he applies his reference to the *Wheel of Fortune*, tells us that the Rectorship was in commission at this time. He states further that Paolo Mannucci was, on the 16th of April, 1506, paid 24 scudi for the execution of this work.

¹ 1372. Novembris decima die Edis sacre maioris pavimentum marmoreum quod medium est, stratum fuit, et fortune rota cum hominibus posita fuit. Tizio, *Hist. Sen.* ad annum.

² Cf. Borghesi and Faluschi MSS. Lists of Operaii.

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in the spaces so formed, half lengths of the following four Sages: Epictetus, Aristotle, Seneca and



LOMBARDI PHOTO.]

[1372. AUTHOR UNKNOWN

VI. THE WHEEL OF FORTUNE (No. 37)

Euripides. Each Sage holds a scroll, with a quotation from one of his own writings. (Ill. VI.)

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This design may be compared with another Wheel of Fortune, inlaid by Domenico del Coro in the lower panel of a door in the Chapel of the Palazzo Comunale. Padre Micheli calls it the Wheel of Ambition,¹ although the wheel itself is inscribed "*Rota della Fortuna.*" He thus describes it: "To the lower part is a man clinging, beside whom is written the inscription '*So senza Regno*' (I am without a Kingdom). Half way up the wheel, to his right, clings another figure of a man, this time with the head of an ass, and the inscription '*Regnero*' (I will reign). On the top of the wheel is seated an ass, with the word '*Regno*' (I reign); and lastly, on the other side, going downwards, is an ass with a man's head, and the motto '*Regnai*' (I have reigned)." The author of this inlaid panel, who must in his former position of Capo-maestro, have known well the larger and older design, probably wished to improve upon it; but it is somewhat remarkable to find it placed among panels symbolising the Articles of Christian Faith.

Let us now turn to

4. THE SOUTH AISLE.

Both this and the North Aisle are adorned with representations of the ten Sibyls, five in each. These Sibyls were all placed here under the Rec-torship of Alberto Aringhieri in the years 1482-83.²

¹ *La Guida Artistica*, p. 97, Note.

² 1482. "Quinque interea Sibille, Alberti Aringhieri Editui

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The introduction of these mythical personages into ecclesiastical art was not unusual at this period, and they take their place beside the Prophets, as forerunners of Christ.

They form a curious link between the Pagan and Christian world of thought. According to Greek ideas, Sibyls were women under the inspiration of the Deity, but they are not spoken of at all by either Homer or Herodotus : and the first Greek writer who mentions them is Heraclitus (*circa* 500 B.C.). Aristophanes, Plato and other early writers only mention *one* : Heraclides Ponticus, a pupil of Plato, speaks of *three* (the Erythraean, Phrygian, and Hellespontine) ; but Pausanias gives *four* (the Libyan, Erythraean, Cuman, and Hebrew). Of these the oldest was said to have been the Libyan : though the best known to modern times are undoubtedly the Delphic, the Cuman (visited by Æneas), and the Tiburtine, who is said to have foretold Christ to the Emperor Augustus.

By Christian writers they are spoken of first in the second century A.D., but do not appear in art until the eleventh. In the handbook of Mount Athos we read of the "*Wise Sibyl*" ; and side by side with David, one of these prophetesses

opera, Pavimento Edis majoris in *campanilis deambulario* constrate sunt." Tizio, *Hist. Sen.*, vol. vi., 66.

1483. "Quinque Sibille ad levam majoris Edis *versus Cappellam Cardinalis Francisci* (Piccolomini), Alberto Aringherio Edituo, posite sunt." Vol. vi., 87.

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appears in the Sequence of Thomas of Celano : the Dies Irae (*circa* 1253).¹ They have no place in early mosaics, but one of the most ancient representations of a Sibyl is that of the Tiburtine in the church of Sta. Maria Aracoeli in Rome.

The first, and perhaps the most poetic Choir of them, is on the pulpit of S. Andrea at Pistoia, sculptured by Giovanni Pisano in 1301 ; but from that time, until the fifteenth century, we find no other *groups* of them. Then appeared a great many representations, and their number increases rapidly to as many as thirteen, the last of whom is the Queen of Sheba, who is called Nichaula, and is fabled to have foretold to King Solomon the Advent of a Messiah. The usual numbers, however, are *three, four, six* and *ten* ; and in such groups they have been designed by the greatest artists. Giotto,² Perugino,³ Pinturicchio,⁴ Raphael,⁵ and Michael Angelo,⁶ are but a few of these. Not only throughout Italy, but to the Northern Art Schools of Germany and Flanders, the same cult spread ; and we find them introduced into sculpture, painting and engraving. Sibyls assist,

¹ Dies Irae ! Dies illa !
Solvit Saeclum in favillâ.
Teste David cum Sibillâ.

² Tower of the Duomo, Florence.

³ Sala del Cambio, Perugia.

⁴ Sta. Maria del Popolo, Rome.

⁵ Sta. Maria della Pace, Rome.

⁶ The Sixtine Chapel, Rome.

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as interested and sympathizing spectators, in every scene of Holy Writ. They meet us even in painted windows and illustrated books of devotion.¹ It is therefore not remarkable to find them here; and, if one recognizes the attitude of mind, with which they were regarded by the Renaissance Catholic, they are even most appropriate. The number chosen is in accordance with that fixed by Varro, and with the exception of the *Cumæan*, who seems to take the place of the *Cimmerian* in his list, the choice of prophetesses is the same.

For the purpose of study, let us begin at the Western door; and commence with

The Delphic Sibyl.

Delphi, famous in ancient times for its Oracles, would not unnaturally suggest itself to these early students of Greek art and literature as one of the places whence prophecies of the Redemption of the World should come. Hence Plutarch calls her the *first* of the Sibyls. According to Pausanias, the Erythraean Sibyl, although a native of Marpessus, or Erythrae, in the Troad, lived mostly at Samos, and visited Clarus, Delos, and Delphi,

¹ It may interest English readers to be reminded that, at the famous fête given at Kenilworth Castle by the Earl of Leicester in the summer of 1575, the first group of fantastic personages that approached to greet the Virgin Queen on her arrival were robed in the likeness of ten Sibyls.

See *Queen Elizabeth*, by Mandell Creighton, late Bishop of London, p. 156. (Longmans, London, 1899.)

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at all of which places were shrines dedicated to the Pythian Apollo, whose special gift this form of prophetic utterance was said to be. Later tradition would seem to have divided her attributes into at least three, and given them separate existence. Here she is shown as a stately woman, bearing in her left hand a decorated horn from which issue flames. Her right hand rests on a tablet supported by a winged sphinx, which bears the words :

IPSVM TVVM CO
GNOSCE DEVM
QVI DEI FILIVS EST

(Know thy God Himself, Who is the Son of God.)

Beneath her feet a label records her name, and the fact that she is mentioned by Chrysippus in his Book of Divination. We find¹ that this figure was executed in 1482 by Giuliano di Biagio and Vito di Marco, who probably also made the design for the work, as the payment they received was 579 lire 10 soldi. We may compare this amount with the sum paid in 1866-69 for the restoration of the same Sibyl. It was 2,341 lire 17 c.

¹ 1482. Luglio 19. Giuliano di Biagio, e Vito di Marco, scarpellini, deno avere a di 19 di Luglio 1482 lire cinquecento settantanove e soldi x: sonno per un quadro di marmo o pavimento anno fatto in Duomo rincontro all'altare di S. Chalisto, a quadrucci bianchi e neri, e fregi rossi, neri e bianchi e la Sibilla Delficha in mezzo campeggiata di nero. Archivio detto. Libro Giallo delle tre Rose a 342 e 345.

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The Cumaean Sibyl.

It is not clear why this Sibyl is so named, especially as it provokes confusion with the more celebrated "*Sibilla Cumana*." Apparently the Cimmerian Sibyl is intended. Ferdinand Piper tells us that she was sometimes styled the Italian Sibyl,¹ and mentions other variations of the name: "Cymea, Chymerea or Chimica." According to the label, supported behind her by two charming *putti*, she is said to have been mentioned by Piso in his Annals. Here she is represented as an excited-looking woman, with loose hair scattered over her shoulders. She bears in her hand a tablet, with the following words inscribed upon it:

ET MORTIS FATVM FINI
ET, TRIVM DIERVVM SO
MNO SUSCEPTO TUNC
AMORTVIS REGRESSVS
INLUCEM VENIET PRIM
VM RESURRECTIONIS
INITIVM OSTENDENS.

(He shall accomplish the fate of death, having undergone a sleep of three days. Then being returned from the dead, he shall come into the light, showing the first beginning of the resurrection).

This design is said to be the work of Luigi di

¹ F. Piper, *Mythologie der christlichen Kunst*, pp. 473 and 497 (note).

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Ruggiero, called *l'Armellino*, and Vito di Marco ;¹ but, except a notice dated 1482² of payments to the first-named worker for marble cut by him for work on "*li spazi di Duomo e per le Sibille*," we have no further record as to the author of this particular design, or its cost. We find, however, that in the restoration above referred to, it cost 2,581 lire 80 c.

The Cuman Sibyl.

This Sibyl is famed in poetic story as having been visited by Æneas: an interview described with much graphic minuteness by Virgil, in Book VI. of the Æneid. Endless legends have accumulated in connection with her, and her presence is associated with many spots in and around Naples. Ferdinand Piper states that the names of Amalthea, Demophile, and Herophile have been given to her by different writers,³ and that Justin Martyr asserts that she was daughter of Berosus, and came from Babylon to Campania. She is said to have lived for a thousand years ;

¹ *La Guida Artistica*, p. 24.

² 1482. A Luigi di Ruggeri scarpellino e fameglio de' nostri Magnifici Signori, altrimenti chiamato l'Armellino, lire cento quatro: e sono per cavatura di libre cento trentana (*sic*) nove di marmo rosso à chavate a Gierfalco a sol: xv braccio, cioè sonno braccie quadre, di più tavole, e fregi per li spazi di Duomo e per le Sibille. Archivio detto. Libro d'un Leone a 34 (on the back).

³ F. Piper, *Mythologie der christlichen Kunst*, p. 473. But the identification of the Sibyls entails immense confusion.

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and to have been the ancient prophetess, who offered the Sibylline Books to Tarquin. These books, the oldest collection of which was, according to tradition, made about the time of Solon and Cyrus, by the Sibyl of Marpessus (the Erythraean Sibyl), at Gergis, on Mount Ida, found their way thence to Erythrae; from there to Cumae; and so to Rome. In 83 B.C. they were burned; but fragments of their contents continued to exist orally until A.D. 12, when they were collected and revised by the Emperor Augustus, and were surviving in 363. In the year 400 they were again destroyed by Stilicho; and the present so-called Sibylline books are a spurious invention of Jewish and Christian writers.

Here she appears as a somewhat severe old woman, with a veil wound round her head. In her right hand she carries the mistletoe bough of the Virgilian story; and with her left she clasps to her three books. Piled on the ground to her right, and burning, are six more, representing those destroyed by her in the Tarquinian legend; and above her left shoulder two flying cherubs bear a tablet, with the following inscription:

VLTIMA CVMAEI VENIT IAM
CARMINIS AETAS MAGNUS
ABINTEGRO SAECLORVM
NASCITVR ORDO IAM RE
DIT ET VIRGO, REDEVNT
SATVRNIA REGNA, IAM

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NOVA PROGENIES CAELO
DEMITTITVR ALTO

(Now has come the last period of Cumaean song,
A great order of the ages is born afresh.

The Virgin now returns; the kingdoms of Saturn
return.

Now a new progeny is sent down from lofty
Heaven.)

Her label bears the words "Sibilla Cumana me-
minit Virgilius. Eclog. IV."

This figure is the work of Giovanni di Maestro Stefano di Giovanni and his scholars, and was executed by him in 1482.¹ He received for it the sum of 697 lire, 9 soldi and 2 c. It was restored at the same time as the other Sibyls, in 1866-69, at a cost of 2,743 lire 6 c.

The Erythraean Sibyl.

This Sibyl, as we have already seen, is one of those named in the earliest lists by Pausanias. She is said to have been a native of Marpessus or Erythrae in the Troad, and he, as well as some other writers, gives her the name of Herophile; one authority however speaks of a *Trojan* Sibyl, whom he calls Herophila, and names the Erythraean

¹ 1482, Luglio 19. Maestro Giovanni di maestro Stefano e compagni scharpellini, deno avere lire 697. 9 2., sonno per uno quadro e pavimento an fatto in Duomo a rinpetto de la Madona anticha a marmi bianchi, rossi e neri con la Sibilla in mezzo a tutte loro spese. Archivio detto. Libro Giallo delle tre Rose, a 342 e 345.

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one, Symmachia. She lived, as we have said before when writing of the Delphic Sibyl, chiefly at Samos, but visited Clarus, Delos and Delphi. This would, no doubt, account for the difficulty in distinguishing the various place-names attached to these different women. As we have also seen above, the Sibylline books are said to have been once preserved at Erythrae, and Lactantius attributes to her the famous acrostic which announces the Coming of the Anointed One, Son of God Himself, as Saviour of the World. Here she is depicted as a tall patrician lady, with a rather forbidding countenance, and a very curious head-dress, which partially envelops her face. Her right hand clasps a closed volume, while the left rests on an open book, supported by a carved lectern. On the pages of this book are written the following words :

DE EXCELSO	ET NASCETVR
CAELORVM HA	IN DIEBVS NO
BITACVLO PRO	VISSIMIS DE VIR
SPEXIT DOMI	GINE HEBRAEA
NVS HVMILES	IN CVNABVLIS
SVOS	TERRAE

(From the High Habitation of Heaven God has looked down on His humble (servants), and shall be born in these most recent days of a Hebrew Virgin in the cradle of the earth.)

Beside her on a stool is a tablet, telling us that this is the Erythraean Sibyl, whom Apollodorus

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claimed as his fellow citizen. This Sibyl was designed and executed by Antonio Federighi in 1482; and we are told that he received 649 lire 17 soldi for it.¹ It is interesting to note that this and the Samian are the only Sibyls signed by their designers. Federighi's evident taste for faithful representation of the costumes of his period, apparent also in his other works, would account for the rather bizarre head-dress above referred to. The cost of restoration of this Sibyl was 2,043 lire 13 c..

The Persian Sibyl.

Ferdinand Piper, quoting a scholiast on Plato,² identifies this Sibyl with the one elsewhere variously called Chaldaean, Babylonian, Egyptian and Hebrew. He tells us further, that tradition called her also the daughter of Berosus, and daughter-in-law of Noah, which raises confusion with the Cuman.³ He adds, also, that sometimes the name of Sabbe is given to her, and sometimes that of Sambetha. Nothing more is known of this Sibyl; but it is worth noting that the prophecy here attributed to her is the only one that does not deal with the Birth or Atonement of Christ.

¹ 1482, Luglio 19. Maestro Antonio di Federighi, maestro di pietra, de' avere lire 649.17, sonno per braccia cento trentasse 13/16 d'uno quadro, o pavimento rincontro all' altare di Santo Antonio a marmi bianchi, rossi e neri. Archivio detto. Libro detto, a 342 e 345.

² F. Piper, *Mythologie der christlichen Kunst*, p. 473

³ See above.

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She is represented as a pleasant-looking woman of middle age, with her head bound up in a simple veil. In her left hand she carries a book, and with her right she draws attention to a tablet, resting on a carved pedestal, with an inscription as follows:

PANIBVS SOLVM QVINQVE
ET PISCIBVS DVOBVS HO
MINVM MILLIA IN FOENO
QVINQVE SATIABIT RELI
QVIAS TOLLENS XII
COPHINOS IMPLEBIT
IN SPEM MVLTORVM.

(With five loaves and two fishes He will satisfy the hunger of five thousand men on the grass. Taking up the remains, he will fill twelve baskets, for the hope of many.)

Beneath her feet, a label informs us that it is Nicanor who bears record of her. Urbano di Pietro da Cortona, Antonio Federighi, Vito da Marco and Luigi Ruggiero (*l'Armellino*) received commissions to execute these Sibyls on September 20th, 1481;¹ but Urbano does not appear to have received his payment of 605 lire 12 soldi for the execution of this one, until October, 1483.² The sum paid to restore his work was 3,153 lire 84 c.

¹ 1481, Settembre 20. Archivio de' Contratti di Siena. Rogiti di Ser Giovanni di Daniello.

² 1483, 8 Ottobre. Mo. Urbano di Pietro scultore—diè avere a di viij dottobre 1483, L. 605. 12 per br. 127 e mezzo di spazo

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5. THE NORTH AISLE.

The Albunean Sibyl.

This prophetess, as we gather from the label placed beneath her feet, was also styled the *Tiburtine* Sibyl, because she was "*honoured as Divine at Tibur.*" From a Christian point of view she is perhaps the best known of all the Sibyls, and the representations of her in art, still extant, are many and very varied in conception.¹ The Emperor Augustus is said to have visited her, and, as a result of her prophecy, erected the altar inscribed "ARA PRIMOGENITI DEI," now inclosed in the Cappella Santa (or di S. Elena) of the Church of Sta. Maria Aracoeli in Rome.

She is here represented as a tall and youngish woman, with a curious pointed head-dress. In her right hand she carries an open book ; while above her left shoulder, and attached by a ribbon to the neck of a small cherub, is a tablet on which are the words :

NASCETVR CHRISTVS
IN BETHLEHEM ANNVN

in uno quadro a lavorato in duomo con una Sibilla rinpetto aluscio del chanpanile. Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena. Libro Giallo di tre Rose a 380.

¹ In Siena one may notice two other pictures of her : one in the Sacristy of the Church of Sta. Maria sotto le Volte del Ospedale ; and the other the celebrated painting by Baldassare Peruzzi, in the Church of the Fonte-giusta.

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CIABITVR IN NAZARETH
REGNANTE TAVRO PACI
FICO FUNDATORE QVIE
TIS. O FELIX MATER CV
IVSVBERA ILLVM LACTA
BVNT

(Christ shall be born in Bethlehem. He shall be announced in Nazareth, the peaceful Taurus (the Bull) being in the ascendant, the founder of peace. Oh Happy Mother whose breast shall give him milk.)

This Sibyl was designed by Benvenuto di Giovanni del Guasta in 1483,¹ and is a fine specimen of his work; but it is not known definitely who executed this, or indeed any of the four remaining Sibyls. We read, however, that Giuliano di Biagio was in this year paid 41 lire 15 soldi for the carriage of 9,310 lbs. of marble for this work,² so presumably he and his assistants executed some if not all of them. 2,149 lire 35 c. were paid for the restoration of this Sibyl in 1866-69.

The Samian Sibyl.

Of this Sibyl we know nothing, and can only

¹ 1483. Archivio detto. Libro Rosso d'un Leone ad annum a. 38.

² Giuliano di Biagio, scarpellino, ha lire quarantuna, soldi quindici per vettura di libre 9,310 di marmi rechati da Gierfalco per li pavimenti de le Sibille verso l'altare dei Calzolari. Archivio detto. Libro detto ad annum a. 35.



ALINARI PHOTO.]

[DESIGNED BY MATTEO DI GIOVANNI BARTOLI

VII THE SAMIAN SIBYL (No. 29)

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point out, as in the case of the Delphic and Erythraean Sibyls, that the latter of those prophetesses, though born in the Troad, made her principal abode at Samos : and that thus these three may have been one and the same person. We are told, by the label beneath her representation, that she is spoken of by Eratosthenes, a writer quoted by Lactantius, and whose work was one of the first books printed in Italy in 1465.

This figure is one of the most beautiful of all the ten Sibyls, and well it may be, seeing that it was designed by that delightful draughtsman and earnest artist, Matteo di Giovanni Bartoli. A slender princess, with flowing draperies, she supports with her left hand a handsomely-bound open volume. A curious and characteristic feature of Matteo's work is evident in the charming cherub-head, with outspread wings, that clasps a girdle round her robe below the hips. Beside her on a tablet, upborne by two lion-headed figures, is the following inscription :

TV ENIM STVLTA IVDAEA
DEVM TVVM NON CO
GNOVISTI LVCENTEM
MORTALIVM MENTI-
BVS SED ET SPINIS CO
RONASTI HORRIDVM
QVE FEL MISCVISTI

(For thou, foolish Judaea ! hast not known thy God, shining in the minds of men. But thou hast

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both crowned Him with thorns, and hast mixed for Him nauseous gall.)

At the foot of the tablet is the designer's signature, with the date 1483. (Ill. VII.)

Matteo di Giovanni received for this design 4 lire only,¹ on May 23rd, 1483; but it cost 2,654 lire 52 c. to restore.

The Phrygian Sibyl.

Of this Sibyl also nothing is known, though she too has been confounded with the Delphic Sibyl. Most of the longer lists, however, include both. From the label designating her we learn that she prophesied at Ancyra. She is here brought before us attired in what we may suppose the artist intended to represent Phrygian or semi-Oriental dress. She holds aloft in her left hand a small book open at the words :

SOLVS

DEUS

DEVS

SVM ET

ALIVS

NON EST

(I am the only God, and there is no other God.)

Her right hand directs attention to a tablet, on

¹ 1483, Maggio 23. Matteo di Giovanni, dipentore a di 23 di Maggio lire 4.—sonno per disegno fè d'una Sibilla dinanzi all' altare de' Chalzolari. Archivio detto. Entrata e Uscita ad annum a. 45. Cf. also Archivio detto. Libro Rosso d'un Leone. Debit e Credit a. 35-38.

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a lyre-shaped support, between which are seen half-length figures and heads of nude suppliants, apparently rising from the grave.

The inscription on the tablet runs as follows :

TVBA DE CAELO VOCEM LV
CTVOSAM EM ITET TARTARE
VM CHAOS OSTENDET DEHIS
CENS TERRA VENIET AD TRIBV
NAL DEI REGES OMNES DEVS
IPSE IVDICANS PIOS SIMVL
ET IMPIOS TVNC DEMVM IM
PIOS IN IGNEM ET TENEBRAS
MITTET QVI AVTEM PIETA
TEM TENET ITERV VIVENT

(The trumpet shall utter from Heaven a mournful sound. Yawning earth shall show Tartarean Chaos. All Kings shall come before the Tribunal of God. God Himself judging the Evil and the Good together. Then at length He will send the wicked into fire and darkness. But whosoever will keep righteousness shall live again.)

Luigi di Ruggiero (*l'Armellino*) and Vito di Marco are generally reputed to have devised and executed this design, but no record exists on the subject. The cost of restoration was 2,433 lire 91 c.

The Hellespontine Sibyl.

The inscription beneath the feet of this Sibyl



ALINARI PHOTO.]

[DESIGNED BY NEROCCIO DI LANDI

VIII. THE HELLESPONTINE SIBYL (No. 31)

E

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says that she was born on Trojan soil, and was, according to Heraclides, a contemporary of Cyrus. Hence, no doubt, she also has been confused with the Erythraean Sibyl. It is very probable indeed, as we have before hinted, that time, tradition, and the varying expressions of different writers have divided the personality of that one Sibyl into several, according to the various places that she is reported to have visited.¹

The figure is a graceful one, but suggests somewhat gigantic proportions. Her hair flows over her shoulders, though partially confined by ribbons, and crowned with a jewelled diadem. In her left hand she holds a half-open book. Her robe is loosely confined by a small girdle set with gems.

On her left, a tablet is borne by two columns, seated in front of which are a Wolf and a Lion (the *Marzocco*), with their hands amicably clasped: an allusion perhaps to the then recent treaty between Siena and Florence.² The inscription on the tablet runs thus:

IN CIBVM FEL IN SITIM ACE
TVM DEDERVNT HANC
IN HOSPITALITATIS MOSTR

¹ It is worth noting, though, that all the three Sibyls mentioned by Heraclides Ponticus (see above) are, according to this supposition, variations of the same personage.

² Sismondi, *Histoire des Républiques Italiennes du Moyen Age*, vol. xi., chap. 88.

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ABVNT MENSAM ; TEMPLI
VERO SCINDETVR VELVM
ET MEDIO DIE NOX ERIT
TENEBROSA TRIBVS HORIS.

(For food gall, in his thirst they gave him vinegar, they will show this table of inhospitality. The veil of the Temple shall indeed be rent, and at mid-day there shall be black night for three hours.)

This fine design was the work of Neroccio di Bartolommeo di Benedetto Landi in 1483,¹ and is a noble specimen of his style. We do not know what he received for the work, but it is probable that it was the same sum as that given to Matteo di Giovanni. Nor, as we have seen, do we know who executed this and the adjacent designs.² (Ill. VIII.)

The Libyan Sibyl.

According to Pausanias, the Libyan was the oldest of all the Sibyls, and was the daughter of Zeus and Lamia. More than this nothing is known of her, but her label tells us that she is spoken of by Euripides. She is a striking figure, her black marble face, neck, hands and feet, producing a remarkable effect. She is veiled and crowned with a garland of flowers. In her left

¹ Archivio detto. Libro detto a 38.

² The restoration of it cost 2,411 lire 47 c.

PAVEMENT OF SIENA

hand she grasps a small open scroll, while in her right she shows an open book with the words :

	DABIT
COLA	IN VER
PHOS	BERA
ACCIPI	INNO
ENS TA	CENS
CEBIT	DORSV

M

(Receiving buffets he will be silent, to blows he will give his innocent back.)

On her left is a tablet, borne by intertwined serpents, the words written upon it being :

IN MANVS INIQVAS
VENIET. DABVNT DEO
ALAPAS MANIBVS IN
CESTIS. MISERABILIS.
ET IGNOMINIOSVS.
MISERABILIBVS SPEM
PRAEBEBIT.

(He shall come into unjust hands. With impure hands they shall give stripes to God. He miserable and in ignominy will give hope to the miserable.)

Guidoccio Cozzarelli was the author of this design in 1483,¹ but here again there exists no

¹ 1483. Guidoccio (Cozzarelli) disegna la Sibilla avanti l'altare dei SS. quattro Coronati. Tizio, *Hist. Sen.*, vol. vi. Cf. also Archivio detto. Libro detto. Debit. e Credit. a 35-38.

THE PAVEMENT

record of the sum paid for it. We may suppose though that these designs were all paid for at about the same rate.¹ The expense of its restoration was 2,352 lire 16 c.

With the examination of the Libyan Sibyl, we find ourselves again at the Western end of the Church, and must betake ourselves back to—

6. THE NORTH TRANSEPT.

This Transept is covered with three large designs, all executed during the Rectorship of Alberto Aringhieri; two of which, at least, may have some political significance.

The first we come to is—

The Expulsion of Herod (No. 27).

This vast composition, designed by Benvenuto Giovanni del Guasta in 1484-85, and for which he received 78 lire,² is full of charming grouping and

¹ Abate Faluschi states as much in his MS. notes on the Duomo Pavement (p. 31 on the back), but so far I have been unable to find any definite authority on the point.

² 1484. Hoc Anno Alberti Aringherii cura quoniam Edituus erat . . . historiam *Herodis cum Socero Areta dimicantis* . . . constrata est et decenti opificio pavimento inserta. Tizio, *Hist. Sen.*, vol. vi., p. 137.

1485. Ottobre 3. Maestro Benvenuto di Maestro Giovanni dipintore die avere per insino a'iii d'Otobre 1485, lire sesantotto—sonno per disegniatura del pavimento s'è fatto della storia di rincontro alla chappella di Santa Chaterina (now S. Giovanni). Archivio detto. Libro detto a 110.

PAVEMENT OF SIENA

delightful suggestion. It not impossibly alludes to the expulsion, which had then but recently taken place, of Pandolfo Petrucci and his followers. It must be remembered that, though Siena at this period was not involved in important external historical events, her internal history was one long record of party faction and strife, in which Aringhieri himself played a not unimportant part. (Ill. IX.)

Benvenuto was a consummate draughtsman, and he was ably supported here by Bastiano di Francesco, who designed the delightful border of winged lions that frames the picture (Ill. XI.), and made sixty letters of marble for the same work.¹

We find several notices as to sums paid to workmen for executing this frieze, but only one speaks also of work on the design itself. From this, how-

¹ 1484. 12 Gennaio . . . E più L. sedici sono per fare disegni spolvari e dipegnarli overo disegnarli a fregi della storia attorno si fa rincontra al altare di Santa Catherina. Archivio detto. Libro d'un Lione a 107 (on the back).

1483-4. 13 Gennaio. M. di Bastiano di Francesco *dipintore et charpellino* a di xiii di Gennaio L. 18, sonno per parte di sua fatica a *disegnare el fregio* de la storia di s. *Chaterina* (now the Chapel of S. Giovanni) in Duomo.

Nel 3 Aprile gli si danno quaranta sol : per resto di L. 18 per 60 lettere di marmo nela Storia fatta in Duomo. Archivio detto. Libro detto a 87.

Apparently, judging from the date, the frieze and these letters may have preceded the execution of Benvenuto di Giovanni's design. The letters referred to probably were those inscriptions that we still see, recording the work done under the directorship of Aringhieri, and the dates at which it was executed.



LOMBARDI PHOTO.]

[DESIGNED BY BENVENUTO DI GIOVANNI DEL GUASTA

IX. THE EXPULSION OF HEROD (No. 27)

(The entire panel)

PAVEMENT OF SIENA

ever, we learn that it was executed by Bernardino Antonio and Cristofano di Pietro Paolo del Quarantotto.¹ The other workmen employed on the frieze were Vito di Marco,² and Bartolommeo di Domenico.³ With the exception of Vito di Marco, we have no record of these men, apart from notices of their work done on this Pavement. Perhaps they were scholars or apprentices of the better-known masters, and therefore not recorded more particularly. We also read that certain millers, by name Giusto Giovanni and Michele di Ludovicho, were paid 15 lire 14 c. for the portorage of 7,870 lbs. of black marble used in this design, and that “del ouperadore.”⁴ (Ill. X.)

¹ 1484-5 12 Gennaio. *Bernardino d'Antonio e Cristofano di Pietro Paolo del Quarantotto lavorano nel fregio del Leone e nella storia quando fu cacciato Erode.* Archivio detto. Libro detto. a III.

² 1484. 3 Aprile. *Vito di Marcho scharpellino diè avere a dì iii Aprile L. centoventi sol. sette den. otto sono per B^a (?) tre e uno terzo di fregio a lavorato a uno liono nel fregio de la storia del pavimento rimpetto alaltare overo chappella dinanzi a la Chappella nuovamente si lavora per lo braccio di (sic) Giovanni in Duomo.* Archivio detto. Libro detto. Debit e Credit a 74.

³ 1485. 25 Aprile. *Bartolomeo di Domenico scarpellino diè avere a dì xxv Aprile L. 77, soldi 18, den. 6. sonno per B^a (?) otto quadri di fregio del Leone e per B^a (?) sete e cinque otavi di fregio . . . intorno a la storia derode ruando fu chacciato.*— Archivio detto. Libro detto. a 10.

⁴ 1485. Giusto Gio. e Michele di Ludovicho nostri mugnari dieno avere — Eprima per vettura di libri sette millia ottocento settanta di marmi neri rechati da chasciano de le donne per la storia dinanzi ala chapella si fa per san giovanni e raconciare la

THE PAVEMENT

The composition is most graceful and full of force. It illustrates an episode in the struggle between Herod Antipas and his brother-in-law Aretas, as a result of which the former had to evacuate his kingdom. The picture has been well restored, a re-engraving of the marble slabs on the old lines having been, to a large extent, sufficient for the main work, though the frieze has had to be entirely renewed. A group of soldiers, among whom is one extremely striking man's figure in full armour, has been particularly successful. Over this group, in a high tree, an eagle may be seen protecting her nest of young ones from the attacks of a serpent, possibly alluding to the same political events referred to above. The charming cherubs, supporting a tablet in the upper part of the composition, upon which is engraved a long quotation from Josephus, describing the scene depicted, have been renewed, and the damaged originals transported to the Museum of the Opera.¹ With them is also the original tablet, which curiously enough on removal was found to be a memorial slab of an earlier date, bearing on the reverse side a fine effigy of a cleric.²

The last restoration of this design took place storia del onperadore L 15, 14. Archivio detto. Libro Nero dal 1461-1533 a 182.

¹ All these fragments may still be seen there.

² Several discoveries of this kind were made by the restorers of the floor; showing that work, by even such great artists as Giovanni Pisano, was destroyed, and the marble used again in this way.

PAVEMENT OF SIENA

between the years 1869-1878 and, together with the Pavement around it, cost 2,156 lire 63 c. ;



ALINARI PHOTO.]

[DESIGNED BY
BASTIANO DI FRANCESCO

XI. DETAIL OF THE FRIEZE OF LIONS

while that of the friezes, around this and the next design, cost another 3,490 lire 12 c.

Beyond this fine scene we come to another, still more remarkable, if not quite so pleasing.

THE PAVEMENT

The Massacre of the Innocents (No. 26).

This, perhaps, is the most striking of all the scenes on the Pavement, and as interesting historically as artistically. The artist who designed it, Matteo di Giovanni Bartoli, has thrown into it all the force of his fancy and skill. It is extraordinarily full of life, and vivid with imagination. The same artist executed certainly three, if not four, more designs of the same subject, two of them being pictures still existing in Siena itself;¹ and it is extremely interesting to compare his treatment of it in all these three. Authorities differ as to the dates of these two paintings, but admittedly there was an interval of ten years between them. That in S. Agostino, and most probably also the very similar painting by the same artist at Naples, come in point of date almost immediately subsequent to this design for the Pavement, and resemble it very closely. At this period all Italy was convulsed with horror at the awful Sack and Destruction of Otranto, which had occurred on the 11th of August, 1480.² We read that 1,200 persons were massacred, and that most of the children were sold as slaves. The shock to the

¹ In the churches of S. Agostino and of Sta. Maria del Concezione dei Servi. The other two are (a) in the Pinacoteca at Naples (No. 31), and (b) in the Public Gallery at Aix-en-Provence (No. 138). (See B. Berenson, *Central Italian Painters*.)

² Sismondi, *Histoire des Republiques Italiennes du Moyen Age*, vol. iv., chap. 88.

PAVEMENT OF SIENA

Christian world was so terrible that the Pope, Sixtus IV., in an Encyclical addressed to all the cities of Italy, called their attention to the disaster, pointed out to them that none of them, however remote, was safe, and implored them, setting aside their party divisions, to combine in the cause of mutual protection against the Moslem. Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, son of Ferdinand, King of Naples, then living as ruler in Siena, was hastily recalled to take command of an expedition against the common enemy : and it is, I submit, not straining a theory too far, to suppose, that Matteo di Giovanni may have been directed to design these scenes on the Pavement of the Duomo, for the Church of S. Agostino, and for the Church of Sta. Caterina a Formello at Naples, as an object lesson to recall to the public mind, through the medium of a Scriptural Tragedy, the horrors to be endured at the hands of the unspeakable Turk. They are all executed with a force and a suggestiveness, so vivid as to be painful in their intensity. The successful results of these three probably inspired the fourth,¹ which is somewhat less ferocious, and certainly more graceful and pleasing.

Unable to use on the Pavement the brilliant pigments so lavishly employed in the paintings, the artist has introduced, wherever possible, marbles of many and varied colours ; and when upon these multi-coloured materials are super-imposed

¹ Mr. Berenson with, I think, great reason, suggests the view that 1471 should be 1491. (*Central Italian Painters*, Index.)



LOMBARDI PHOTO.]

[DESIGNED BY MATTEO DI GIOVANNI BARTOLI

XII. THE MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS (No. 26)

(The entire panel)

PAVEMENT OF SIENA

most elaborate designs, the whole produces the effect of a gorgeous piece of bizarre jewellery. Herod sits on a splendid Renaissance throne of carved marble, in a colonnade, adorned with panels¹ of classical scenes. A sportive frieze of marble Bacchanals is introduced along the top of the composition, broken by circular windows, from which groups of impish children look down complacently and even laughingly, on the dreadful slaughter below. The armour of Herod and his soldiers is of the most magnificent kind, and we may notice again the artist's affection for finishing a clasp with the head of an animal or a human being.² (Ill. XII.)

It is evident from the style of this work that it is by Matteo di Giovanni Bartoli, and his authorship has never been questioned, though there is no record of any commission or payment to him. The date of its execution (1481) is fixed by Tizio,³ and by two records of payments for materials used upon it.⁴

¹ The reader will find it of considerable interest to examine and compare the scenic accessories of this design, with those of the pictures mentioned above. It is curiously noticeable how many *putti* are introduced into the decorations, as if in symbolical contrast with the gruesome massacre of the helpless human infants beneath.

² Compare the girdle of the Samian Sibyl with the knee and shoulder caps of the soldiers in this design.

³ 1481. *Historia Innocentium pavimento Edis Majoris Albertus Aringherius Edituus sterni fecit hoc anno.* Tizio, *Hist. Sen.* ad an. 1481. Vol. vi. p. 52.

⁴ 1481. 4 Giugno. Francesco di Niccolaio e nanni di piero



ALINARI PHOTO.

[DESIGNED BY MATTEO DI GIOVANNI BARTOLI

THE PAVEMENT

We have no record as to who executed the very charming frieze of *putti* and dragons, which borders the bottom and the left side of this picture; nor that of greyhounds and fountains, which incloses the other sides, and it is not easy to suggest any reason why two such different designs should have been employed for the same picture. They are evidently designed by different hands, and were probably executed like the other friezes by the Cathedral workmen mentioned above. (Ill. XIII.)

The whole work has been apparently restored several times; for we find in the notes of Abate Faluschi,¹ that it was restored in 1790 by Matteo Pini, after the designs of Carlo Amidei, and at this very day some of the worn-out stones are being renewed, and the line of drawing retrepanned and stuccoed.

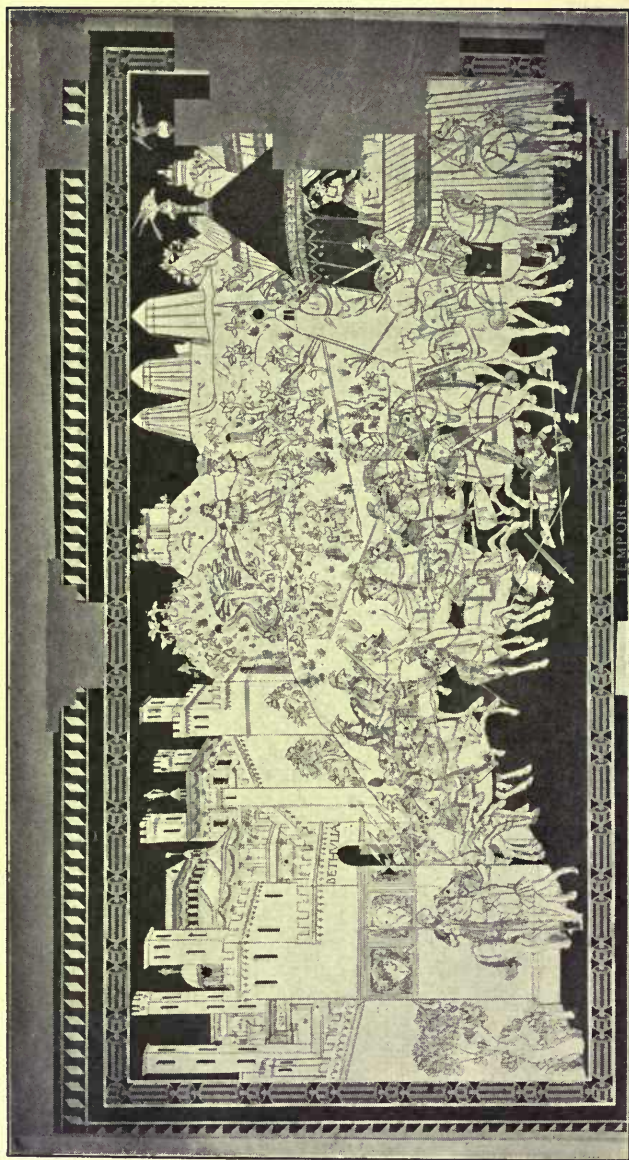
The third picture in this transept is :

The Relief of Bethulia by Judith. (Judith, cap. xiii., xiv., and xv.) (No. 25.)

di nanni—deno avere a di iiij di Giugno lire trentaquattro sol otto per B^a., quaranta tre di marmi bianchi bigi e gialli misurati di piu sorte a b^a : quadro — el quale po per lo pavimento de la storia *deglinnocenti*.

Domenico d'antonio di Lando sensale diè avere a di 8 di Maggio, L. undici per una balla di pecie navale compramo da Lui—per impeciare la storia *deglinnocenti* si fa nuovamente in Duomo. Archivio detto. Libro Giallo dellè tre Rose, a 283 e 292.

¹ Faluschi MS. notes, a. 27.



LOMBARDI PHOTO.]

[DESIGNED BY URBANO DA CORTONA (?) OR MATTEO DI GIOVANNI BARTOLI (?)
 EXECUTED BY ANTONIO FEDERIGHI
 XIV. THE RELIEF OF BETHULIA (No. 25)

THE PAVEMENT

Whether this picture had any political or semi-political reference we do not know. The small fortress-towns in the Sienese contado were at this time continually being relieved and changing hands, but we cannot now identify this scene with any particular event. It is interesting, though, to note that it was planned during the Rectorship of Savino di Matteo di Guido Savino, who was, on January 26th, 1480, deposed from his post for being one of the "Riformatori."¹

The notices as to this work are few and vague: but we know from Tizio² that it was laid down in 1473, and further that the frieze of "reels" (*naspatio*), surrounding it, was executed by Urbano di Pietro da Cortona, Giovanni di Stefano di Giovanni, Bartolomeo di Domenico Calabrone and Francesco di Bartolomeo (perhaps his son).³ It is generally supposed that the design itself was the work either of Urbano da Cortona or of Matteo di Giovanni Bartoli, and the execution is attributed to Antonio Federighi.⁴ (Ill. XIV.) However this may be, it is a work full of charm, recalling examples of the most poetic period of

¹ Borghesi and Faluschi, MSS. Lists of Operaii.

² 1473. *Historia Judith cum Betulia* ab Olopherne obsideretur in pavimento Ecclesie majoris constrata est. Tizio, *Hist. Sen.*, vol. iv., ad an.

³ 1473. *Urbano di Pietro Giovanni di Stefano e Bartolomeo di Domenico Calabrone e Francesco di Bartolomeo scarpellini fecero il naspatio di marmo intorno la storia di Giuditta.* Archivio detto. Libro delle due Rose, a. 283.

⁴ *La Guida Artistica*, p. 26.



ALINARI PHOTO.]

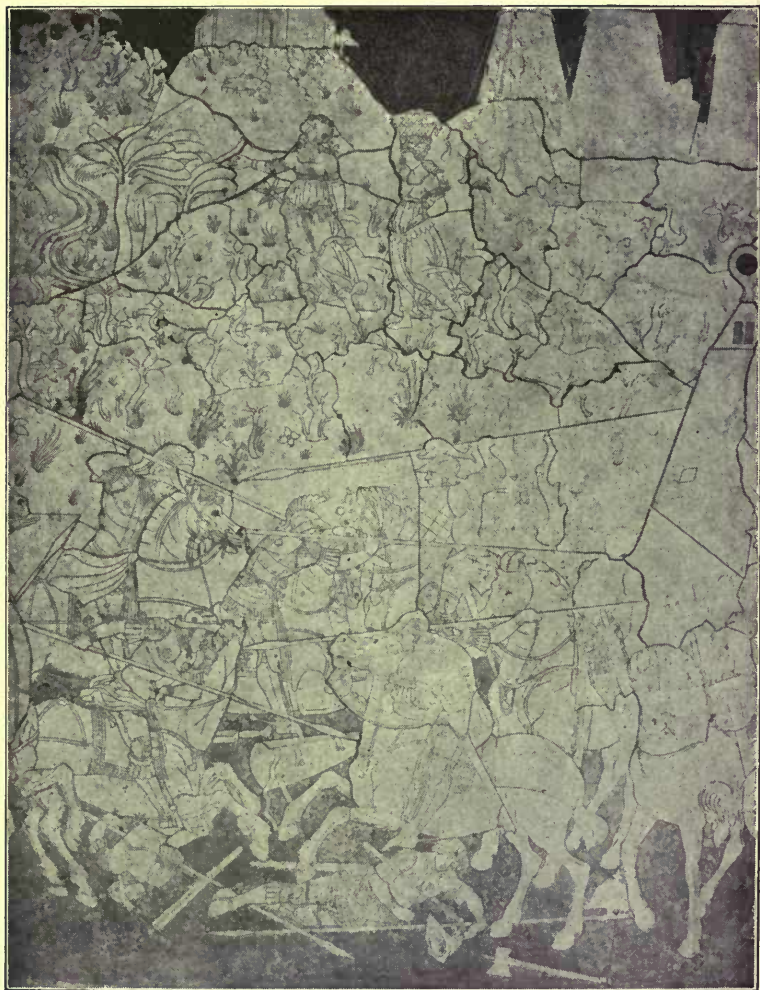
XV. DETAIL FROM THE RELIEF OF BETHULIA

THE PAVEMENT

Florentine art. As usual in work of this period, several episodes of the story are told in various parts of the picture. On the extreme right, now much injured, and partly obliterated by the Pisani's pulpit, we can still trace Holofernes' tent, and the gruesome tragedy therein enacted. Above the middle of the picture, over the hillside, upon which bloom myriad flowers amid purling brooks, comes Judith, a figure of extreme grace, followed by her maid, who bears on her head a basket, containing the tyrant's head.¹ (Ill. XV.) To the left is the towered city of Bethulia, from which issue troops of horsemen, intent upon victory in the fight, which is depicted in the centre of the composition. Beside the gate of the city, one may notice a group of a knight with his squire arranging the harness of his horse. (Ill. XVI.) We may also remark the introduction here of birds. In the extreme left corner are two parent birds, sitting in a bush, guarding their young ones in a nest, whilst above Holofernes' tent are perched two waiting ravens.

This work was also restored, or, as Abate Faluschi puts it with much truth, "modernized" (*modernata*) by Carlo Amidei and Matteo Pini in 1790, so that we cannot now know how much of the original work has perished. It is not unlikely that, in any case, it may have been a com-

¹ These two figures recall the work of Francesco di Giorgio. Compare pictures by him in the Church of S. Domenico and the Siena Academy.



ALINARI PHOTO.]

XVI. DETAIL FROM THE RELIEF OF BETHULIA

THE PAVEMENT

posite design from the hand of more than one artist. It is, however, worth noting that, whereas the design last described depends largely for its effect on varied colour, this one, the *Expulsion of Herod*, and the other contemporary picture of the *Story of Jephthah*, presently to be described, show how much can be done by the use of line alone.

Ascending a wide step, we come to a work of much older and more archaic character, which I propose to include in my seventh division.

7. THE CHOIR AMBULATORY.

The Story of Joshua's Victory over the Amorites (No. 22), *and the Slaughter of the Five Kings*.

This work, with the others beside it on the same platform right across the church, was executed about the year 1424, during the Rectorship of Bartolommeo Cecchi. I have already, in my introduction, referred to the difficulty in separating the work done here by Domenico di Niccolo del Coro, from that of Paolo di Martino. Both men appear from the documents to have held the post of Capo-maestro of the Duomo. Tizio mentions distinctly¹ this design as among those executed in

¹ 1424. Bartolommeus interea Johannis Cecchi Ex Usinina oriundus majoris templi Edituus historiam marmoream ab Altare Ansani ad Victoris aram in pavimento majoris Edis sterni fecit. In ejus medio *e regione majoris Are cis scalas* historia cernitur *David cum cantoribus circulo conventis* : a *dextris* vero *Sanson*, *precedente Mosè* ; a *sinistris Judas Macabeus* cum *Josue quinque Reges ulciscente* : Tizio, *Hist. Sen.*, vol. iv., p. 200.

PAVEMENT OF SIENA

1424, and Milanesi in his *Documenti*¹ repeating that date, assures us that it was among works to be attributed to Domenico himself: thereby pointedly confuting Vasari's assertion, that it and those adjoining it were from designs by Duccio. On the same page, however, of the *Documenti*,² we find a notice, dated 1426, of payment to a paper dealer, named Domenico di Francesco, for ten squares of "*fogli reagli*," used by "*Paolo nostro*," for a design for the "*storia di Giesue*:" and Milanesi himself in his *Discorso sulla Storia Artistica Senese*³ contradicts his former statement, attributes this design and that of *Samson* (No. 14) in the opposite aisle of the Choir, also hitherto given by him to Domenico, to Paolo, and dates them both two years later than in his previous assertion.

It is an interesting picture, though at present sadly in need of judicious restoration. The greater part of it is occupied by the battle scene, but up in the top left-hand corner we see the bodies of the Five Kings hung up to five stakes, and below them a yawning cavern. Some of the figures are expressed with considerable force, and the fifteenth-century armour of the soldiers is most quaint and curious.

¹ *Mil. Doc.*, vol. i., p. 178, and vol. ii., p. 238.

² 1426. *Domenico di Francesco, cartaio de' avere - per x quaderni di fogli reagli, ebe Pauolo nostro per la disegniatura de la storia di Giesuè.* Archivio detto. Memoriale di Antonio di Savio, Camarlingo, dal 1426 al 1427, a. 39.

³ *Sulla Storia dell' Arte Toscana, Scritti Vari*, p. 84.

THE PAVEMENT

The work here, and that of the story of *Samson* above referred to, do resemble each other, and have not much in common with the known work of Domenico del Coro. I think we may, therefore, fairly consider them as from Paolo's designs; and supposing that these artists worked in collaboration on the whole scheme of this platform, that, when Tizio spoke of these designs, he described a project not completely carried out until two years later.

On either side of the main picture are single figures of *Joshua* and *Solomon* (Nos. 23 and 24). The first of these Milanese, in his *Discorso*,¹ gives unhesitatingly to Paolo di Martino, with the same date as the before-mentioned larger design. But of the figure of *Solomon*, now more than half concealed under the marble balustrade of the altar of S. Ansano, a mention exists in a document in the Archivio dell' Opera, dated 10th of August, 1447.² This was during the Rectorship of Giovanni di Pietro Ghezzi (Borghesi), who held the post from 1437 to 1448,³ and we find a notice dated June, 1444,⁴ which may refer to this very work, although it is not mentioned specifically. It is a permission

¹ P. 84.

² Archivio detto. Lib. Delib. ad annum, E.V. a 89 (on the back).

³ Borghesi and Faluschi MSS. Lists of Operaii.

⁴ 1444. Giugno. Miss: l'operaio et consiglieri convocati – deliberarono che miss: Gio. (Borghesi) operaio che lui possa et facei fare uno pavimento in Duomo verso Santo Sano come allui parrà, e piacerà. Archivio detto. Libro E. 5. Delib: a 76 (on the back).

PAVEMENT OF SIENA

to the Rector to fill up this portion of the Pavement with such a design, as may seem to him suitable and pleasing.¹

The whole platform, or step, upon which all these designs are inlaid had been bordered, along the top and bottom, by a delightful frieze of *putti*, executed in 1423, by Agostino di Niccolo of Siena,² and Bastiano di Corso of Florence.³ Of the former artist we know but little, but of the work of the latter, in company with his son Corso, on the pavement before the Cathedral doors, we find several notices, to which I have referred already.⁴ A notice, dated 25th March, 1447,⁵ speaks of other

¹ The following notice, perhaps, also refers to the same work :
1448. 6. Agosto. Similmente rimisero nel decto Miss : l'operaio che lui possa fare nella chiesa cathedrale lo spazo che è alato al coro di verso la Cappella di S. Bastiano di marmo con quegli intagli, compassi, figure et ornamenti che li parrà per honore di Dio et exaltatione dela decta chiesa. Archivio detto. Libro detto. a 98 (on the back).

² Archivio detto. Libro di Documenti Artistici, No. 46.

³ 1423, di Dicembre. Bastiano di Chorso, maestro di pietra da Firenze s'alochò a dì XVII di Deciembre di fare braccia cinquanta, o per quello he (che) a me parà, del fregio, il quale si die fare lo spazo nel Duomo a piè le schalelle de l'atare maggiore : et io gli deba dare marmo e chola e ogni altra chosa ; e lui lavoralo a ogni sua spesa. E die avere del braccio steso, lire cinque, sol : quindici e dielo fare presto senza metare in mezzo altro lavorio. Archivio detto. Memoriale di messere Bartolommeo Cecchi, operaio del Duomo dal 1423 al 1427 a 2.

⁴ Archivio detto. Libro E. IV. Memorie a 24, and Libro E. V. a 108 e 110 (on the back).

⁵ 1447, 25 Marzo. Maestro *Bastiano* di *Chorso*, et *Chorso* suo figliuolo, dieno avere per insino questo dì 25 di Marzo :

THE PAVEMENT

frieze-work done by father and son, "*sotto la tribuna di verso l'altare di Santa Chaterina.*" This work appears to have perished, or been superseded, unless, as is by no means impossible or improbable, we may attribute to him the frieze round the *Massacre of the Innocents* described above, the authors of which are unknown and unidentified.

Agostino and Bastiano's frieze is a very graceful one, but it would seem, judging from the dates of the documents, as if the latter artist had succeeded the former in the work: for the first document speaks of payment made to Agostino up to December 30th, 1423, whereas both those commissioning Bastiano are dated the same month, with no allusion to previous or contemporary employment of any other artist.

Three more steps bring us to the passage which runs round behind the altar. Here originally was some of the oldest work, but to all appearance now it would seem to be almost the most modern. In five circles we find the five Cardinal Virtues, the first of whom is

Fortitude (No. 21).

On this spot, as I have already said in my first

per brac: trenta quattro di porporele, lire tre sol: 2: monta lire CXXVIII. Per brac: trenzette di rochetti, per lire tre el braccio: monta lire CVIII. Per brac: sette di fogliami, per lire quatro el braccio: monta lire XXVIII. el quale tuto lavoro è posto e murato sotto la tribuna di verso l'altare di Santa Chaterina. Archivio detto. Libro Verde dal 1441 al 1457 a 184 (on the back).

PAVEMENT OF SIENA

chapter, Marchesse d'Adamo¹ and his companions, the Comacene sculptors at work in Siena in 1406, are generally supposed to have executed the earliest figure-subject on the Pavement, about which we now possess authoritative information. There is nothing, however, to show their work. The figure is imposing and dignified in composition, but the workmanship on it is poor and somewhat paltry.

Of the four other Virtues, *Justice*, *Christian Piety*, *Prudence*, and *Temperance* (Nos. 20, 19, 18, and 17), there is little definite to be said. Padre Micheli² following Milanese³ gives 1406 as the possible date of the two first, 1380 as that of the other two; but there is nothing in their present condition to prove either one date or the other. The only thing that may be noticed is that the restoration of *Justice* and *Prudence* shows more vigour of conception and boldness of line, with far more satisfactory results than have been shown in the case of *Fortitude* and *Temperance*. *Fortitude*, we know, was restored in 1839, and *Temperance* perhaps at the same time. *Christian Piety* is half covered by the great lectern, and so obliterated by the feet of readers and singers as to be now

¹ (1406) 13 Marzo. Marchesse d'Adamo e compagni maestri di pietra da Como. — E dieno avere a di XIII. di Marzo lire centoquaranta e quali li debiamo dare per una rotta (ruota) anno fatto murare nello spazzo contra a la sagrestia. Archivio detto. Bastardello No. 2. del 1405 a 65. *Mil. Doc.*, vol. i., p. 177.

² *Il Pavimento del Duomo and La Guida Artistica*, p. 26.

³ *Discorso sulla Storica Artistica Senese*, p. 84.

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almost indistinguishable. The frieze of ladders (*scaglioni*) and thorns (*spini*), surrounding these works, is said to have been executed in 1406.¹

Descending again three steps corresponding to those on the opposite side of the church we come to the design of

*Samson slaying the Philistines with the jawbone
of an ass* (No. 14).

alluded to above. The workmanship and style of this picture certainly resembles that of the *Joshua and the Five Kings* on the north side, but it is a finer and a grander piece of work. The grouping is bolder and more forcible. Samson, a giant figure, is administering chastisement to a Philistine in the manner of a schoolmaster to a naughty boy. He holds aloft, not merely the jawbone of an ass, but the whole skull. Some of his opponents lie slaughtered on the ground, and a crowd of them cowers away in terror, to the right of the composition. (Ill. XX.)

This design, as we have said before, is mentioned by Tizio² among those projected in 1424, and was probably executed by Paolo di Martino in 1426. On either side of it are the single figures of *Moses* (No. 16) and *Judas Maccabeus* (No. 15). Milanesi in his *Discorso*³ attributes the figure of *Moses*, like that of *Joshua* (No. 23), to Paolo di Martino in 1426, while that of *Judas Maccabeus*, now hidden

¹ *La Guida Artistica*, p. 26.

² Tizio, *Hist. Sen.*, vol. iv., p. 200.

³ P. 84.

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almost entirely by the balustrade of the altar of the Blessed Sacrament, and also recorded by Tizio (in the notice already more than once referred to), Padre Micheli¹ supposes, and there is no evidence to contradict him, to have been the work of Domenico del Coro in 1424.

Before descending the step to the South Transept, I would wish to draw the reader's attention to the fact, that this step does not run parallel with the steps above it, and that the platform is narrower at this end than at the other. Consequently, the design of *Samson* and those in the transept, now to be described, are all more or less irregular in shape. Whether this is due to some structural defect in the original building, or to some inequality in the foundation, it is impossible now to say.

8. THE SOUTH TRANSEPT.

This transept is complicated in its general plan by the irregularity above referred to. It contains *two* pictures to correspond to the *one* (the *Story of Judith*) on the opposite side of the church, and is further broken up by varied designs, of different sizes, before what was once the Porta del Perdono, and is now the Cappella del Voto.

The first picture, that we come to, is very remarkable, especially since it is the only one which is neither biblical, symbolical, nor heraldic. It professes to be a portrait of the

¹ *Il Pavimento del Duomo and La Guida Artistica*, p. 25.

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Emperor Sigismund (No. 13),

who in 1433 was a visitor for some months to the city. (Ill. XXI.)

Confusion has arisen among Sienese writers as to the identity of this portrait, and some have said that it represents the Emperor Charles IV. This probably arose from the fact, which is difficult now to explain, that Tizio,¹ under date 1424, after describing, as we have seen, the above-mentioned designs, goes on to say that "in the time immediately following, to the right, by the iron grating, a Portrait of the Emperor was laid down on the pavement; and not much later the Story of Absalom hanging by his hair to the oak, under the direction of the same Operaio." With the *Story of Absalom* I will deal presently, but Tizio must have made a very grave mistake here in dates; since we have two notices² proving that

¹ 1424. . . . eodemque succedente tempore a destris, citra ferreas crates, *Imperatoris* Imago in pavimento est locata, nec non demum *Absalonis* Historia cesarie ad quercum pendentis, cooperante eodem Edituo et hisdem lapidum cesoribus.—Tizio, *Hist. Sen.*, vol. iv., p. 200.

² 1434, 30 Ottobre. Anco deliberarono, che conciosiacosache uno maestro Domenicho dipentore habbi certa statua ossivero disegno, il quale è simile alla faccia de la Cesarea maestà; et assai farebbe honore averlo nella mani della decta opera; potendosi avere condecante prezzo, che al dto Camarlengo sia lecito senza suo pregriditio, o danno et co' denari de la decta opera spendervi fino alla quantita di L. 16. Archivio detto. Delib. E. 5, a. 4 (on the back).

Domenico di Bartolo dipentore de' avere lire sedici, i quagli sono per uno disegno facie per deliberazione di messer Bartolo-

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Domenico di Bartolo di Ghezze d'Asciano was the designer of this work in 1434, for which he received 16 lire; whilst another notice,¹ dated December 2nd in the same year, records the payment of 3 lire 10 soldi to a workman named Giacomo d'Antonio for assistance in executing it.

As regards the Operaio at this period some difficulty arises, since Padre Micheli asserts that Bartolomeo Cecchi only held the post up to 1430. From the Borghesi and the Faluschi MS. lists,² however, we find that Cecchi (Bartolommeo di Gio. di Cecco) was still in office on October 25th, 1434, but was apparently compelled to resign on account of his having married a certain Corsa, and had children by her.³ We read further that he was succeeded, 1434-5, by Giacomo della Quercia, who held the post until his death on February 8th, 1438.⁴ From the second of the

meio de lo Imperatore per una storia si fa in Duomo. Archivio detto. Memoriale del Camarlingo Gio: Matteio di Salvi. ad annum a 13.

¹ 1434, 2 di Decembre. Le spese dell' Uopara Santa Maria di Duomo. E die dare a dì ij di Dicembre lire tre, soldi dieci pagamo a Jacomo d'Antonio manovale per vii huopare aito quando si muro lo spazzo de l'Imperatore. Archivio detto. Libro detto, a 15 (on the back) No. 9.

² Borghesi and Faluschi MSS. Lists of Operaii. It appears from these curious side-lights that the Operaio of the Duomo was bound by the regulations of the period to be a celibate, or at least *to have no children*; but we learn, from further study of them, that the regulations varied considerably from time to time.

³ Cf. Aldobrandini Chronicle.

⁴ Delib. del Consistoro ad annum.



LOMBARDI PHOTO.]

[BY PIETRO DEL MINELLA (?)

XVII. THE STORY OF ABSALOM (No. 12)

PAVEMENT OF SIENA

notices above referred to we gather, therefore, that the work was certainly ordered by Bartolomeo Cecchi, even if, as is possible, it was completed under the direction of his successor.

The Emperor, crowned and sceptre in hand, sits on a splendid throne, under a marble canopy, hung with garlands. Four counsellors sit beside him, two on each hand; and two tall pages carry his orb and sword. It is worth noting, that this design appears to have early required restoration, because we read in a notice quoted above,¹ under date 1485, of black marble being brought from Chasciano, among other things, "*raconciare la storia del onperadore.*" At the latest restoration (1869-78) a sum of 616 lire 49 c. was expended on it.

Beside this design, as I have remarked above, is the very striking picture of

Absalom hanging by his hair (No 12).

(Ill. XVII.). No design on the Pavement attracts so much attention as this. The bold, vigorous outlines of the white figures set against the black marble background, the vivid and forcible composition of the picture, and the remarkably decorative foliage of the two trees, almost Japanese in character, from one of which Absalom is hanging, arrest the eye and the attention of even the most casual visitor. We find a notice in the Archivio dell' Opera,² stating that it was com-

¹ Archivio detto. Libro Nero dal 1461-1533 a 182.

² Archivio detto. Libro Verde dal 1441-57.

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menced after the 11th of July, 1447, during the Rectorship of Giovanni Borghesi, and while Pietro di Tommaso Minella was Capo-maestro.

The design of it is generally attributed to Minella himself, and from the high merit of its conception and composition this is very probable, but there are no records to prove more than that he superintended its execution. Tizio¹ includes it in the list of works to which he gives the date 1424, but this, as I have already pointed out, is an obvious mistake.

Below these two designs we come to another fine large picture, similar to those in the North Transept. It represents

The Story of Jephthah's Victory, and the Sacrifice of his Daughter (No. 11).

The greater part of the composition is taken up with the Fight and Victory; and the expression of violent action on the part of the combatants is wonderfully forcible. To the left Jephthah, on his charger, a crown on his head, and clothed like a Roman emperor, gives orders to his men. Near him we notice a charming group of two young men conversing, one of whom, a negro, stands out from the picture with startling vividness. (Ill. XXIII.). Above, in the background, Jephthah's daughter is seen coming out of the city gates, with a joyous crowd of maiden companions, to greet her vic-

¹ Tizio, *Hist. Sen.*, vol. iv., p. 200.

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torious father ; while, still farther into the top left-hand corner, we may see the unhappy father, in a tiny temple, sacrificing his daughter, in fulfilment of his rash vow. Of this work we find two notices in the Archives,¹ the first, dealing with advances made on two occasions to the artist, and the other, recording payment for the complete work. The artist employed upon it was Bastiano di Francesco di Sano, of whom we have already spoken, and he appears in this case to have been both designer and executant. The work seems to have been commenced either late in 1481 or at the beginning of 1482, but not finished until the end of 1484 or early in 1485. Not that the artist was idle, for, as we have seen, he had work to do elsewhere on the Pavement in the interval, besides various sculptures commissioned by the cathedral authorities.² He received for it in all a sum of 2,555 lire. Its

¹ 1481-2, 18 Gennaio. Bastiano di Francesco *scharpellino* die dare a di xviii di giennaio L. cento – contanti in sua manoli quali se gli prestano per parte de la storia e pavimento attolto affare in duomo di marino rincontro al crocifisso. –

e die dare a di vi Aprile 1482 L. ottanta per parte del quadro overo pavimento come sopra. Archivio detto. Libro Giallo de' tre Rose a 348.

1484-5. 12 Gennaio. Bastiano di Francesco *scharpellino* et dipintore diè avere a di xii Giennaio lire duo-milatrecientosessantacinque sol., sonno per la storia overo pavimento del Re Jefte à fatta in Duomo dinanzi all'altare del Crocifisso. Archivio detto. Libro Rosso d'un Leone a 107 (on the back).

² 1484. Bastiano predetto (di franco) fa il festone, e i serafini intorno al raso, o raggio della Tribuna. Archivio detto. Libro d'un Leone a 140.

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restoration in 1869-78 cost 2,664 lire 8 c. (Ill. XXIII.)

Below this design, the plan of the floor is very much broken up. The reader must, however, bear in mind that up to the year 1661, when Pope Alexander VII. (Fabio Chigi) began to build the Cappella della Madonna del Voto, to contain the famous wonder-working picture of the Madonna, Protectress of Siena, this portion of the Pavement lay before the *Porta del Perdono*, to which I have made frequent reference at the commencement of this chapter. This *Porta del Perdono* must have been a sort of *Porta Sacra*, opened only in solemn state in the years of Jubilee.¹ Fragments of it still exist, and may be seen built into the outer wall of the bay, next to the above-mentioned Chapel; and the inscription, quoted in the note, is now to be found over the left hand doorway of the Western façade. There are many notices still to be found dealing with this important entrance. Several, to which we have referred already, dealt with the adornment of the wide step or platform, that apparently led to it from the outside. All this has now perished. Inside, however, the floor has fared better, and the beautiful painting by Maestro

¹ From a MS. dated 1625 in the Archivio Chisiano in Rome. See Faluschi MSS., p. 48.

“La porta sinistra è quale del Perdono, che stava serrata pel Giubileo, poi solamente si apriva, e è scritto sopra.

“Annus centenus Romae semper est jubilenus.

“Crimina laxantur cui poenitet ista donantur.

“Haec declaravit Bonifatius et roboravit.”

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Gregorio (1423), which hung above an altar¹ once erected over this door, and belonging to the Tolomei family, still exists in the Museum of the Opera del Duomo. It was, no doubt, the fact that long periods of time passed between each successive opening of this door, which gave Antonio di Federigo, or Federighi, the idea of placing before it his beautiful design of the

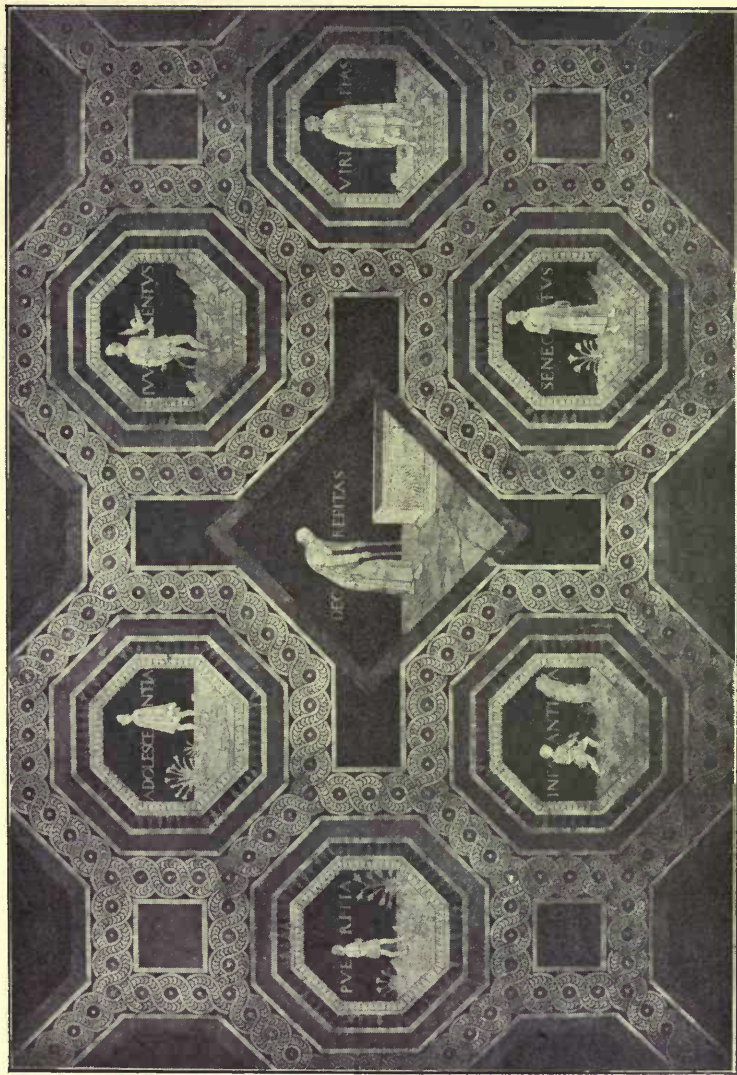
Seven Ages in the Life of Man. Infancy, Childhood, Adolescence, Youth, Manhood, Age, and Decrepitude (No. 6).

All seven are treated with a *naïveté* and grace impossible to surpass. (Ill. XVIII.) Not only the figures themselves, but also their accessories; the budding blossoms, the over-blown flowers, and the handsome classical tomb to which "*Decrepitas*" is tottering, show a taste and feeling beyond description. Federighi, we read, designed and executed this delightful work in 1475,² and, at about the same date, the friezes of stags, and perhaps the beautiful lily (Ill. XXIV.), candlestick (Ill. XXII.) and geometrical pattern, in the angle formed by the *Seven Ages* with the Cupola designs, were also laid

¹ From an old description of the Duomo among the notes of Abate Faluschi, pp. 7 and 11 (on the back).

² 1475. Aprile 24. E a dì 24 d'Aprile, 1475 libre diciotto di pecie si diè a maestro Antonio capomaestro di buttiga nostra per inpeciare la storia del Pettade. Archivio detto. Libro delle due Rose a 385.

1476. Interea Albertus Aringhierius Edituus *etates septem hominum* pavimento Edis majoris ad portam *Indulgentie intus* sterni fecit. Tizio, *Hist. Sen.*, vol. vi. 4.



ALINARI PHOTO.]

[DESIGNED BY ANTONIO FEDERIGHI

XVIII. THE SEVEN AGES OF MAN (No. 6)

PAVEMENT OF SIENA

down; but we cannot be sure whether they are by the same master or not. All that we do know for certain about them is drawn from two notices,¹ recording payments to a certain Bartolino of Massa da Carrara for marble for work in the Duomo, among which the "frieze of stags" (*fregio del cervio*), and a frieze at the Porta del Perdono are especially mentioned.

The work visible here now is wholly a restoration; but Federighi's *Seven Ages* may be seen nearly complete in the Museum of the Opera, together with part of the frieze of stags. Fragments of the other friezes and borders are also to be found, laid down outside the north aisle of the Cathedral, in the little courtyard between it and the present Palace of the Archbishop.

Federighi's work, when removed (1869-1878), was replaced by the fine copy, which we now see, executed by Leopoldo Maccari and Giuseppe Radicchi. The cost of restoration, at this date, of the entire angle amounted to 22,254 lire 26 c.

There is no record of any early work ever hav-

¹ 1475. Bartolino di Massa da Carrara die avere a di v di Settembre 1475 libre cento vinti – sonno per una colonna di libre quatro (cento) quaranta due per L 40 – e per due cornici L 40 – le quali avemo per finire la cappella di sto ansano – e L 40 per pezi – di marmo per la fare *el fregio del cervio per lo spazzo de la porta del perdono* a soldi xx P – montano L cxx. Archivio detto. Libro detto. dal 1466 al 1476 a 398.

1496 9 Settembre. Bartolino da Massa da Carrara die avere L cento – trenta – sonno per cavatura degli infrascritti marmi ci anno cavati alla marmiera nostra di Gallena cioè in prima.

Omissis – sei pezzi *di fregio per lo spazzo dela porta del perdono*. Archivio detto. Libro Giallo delle tre Rose a. 57.

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ing existed between this design and the destroyed Porta, which probably stood nearly on the same spot as the doorway of the present Cappella del Voto. Perhaps the erection of this newer archway created a wider space. However this may have been, designs for the four Theological Virtues, *Religion, Faith, Hope, and Charity* were made by Carlo Amidei, and executed here by Matteo Pini¹ in 1780. These designs were not admired, and, moreover, did not stand the wear of time as the older work had done. They were, therefore, removed in 1870, and replaced by entirely new designs, made by Professor Alessandro Franchi, and executed, under his direction, by Leopoldo Maccari.

Before commencing the description of the last two sections of the Pavement, I must remind my reader once more, that, after a great part of it had been laid down, an important radical change took place in the interior arrangements of the Duomo.

Up to the commencement of the sixteenth century the great High Altar, glorified by Duccio's grand *Maestà*, stood in the centre of the Cathedral, under the Cupola. This part, therefore, of the floor was not decorated. But, on the other hand, that above the steps, where the Choir and Altar now are, was so adorned.

By the advice of Baldassare Peruzzi, Capomaestro in 1532, the whole arrangement was changed. In accordance with his plans, and under

¹ See Libri dell' Opera, Giornale Cecconi. G. Anno, 1780, p. 77. Also *La Guida Artistica*, p. 24.

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his direction, Choir and Altar were moved further east, and placed in the position that they now occupy.

Of the original floor decorations, then, all that now remain *in situ* are the designs in the Choir Ambulatory above-mentioned, and Domenico del Coro's work, to be described shortly. Fragments of the older work, removed to make way for the alterations, still exist ; and, until 1878, were used to fill up three of the hexagons under the Cupola. At that date, as we shall presently see, they were finally removed to the Museum of the Opera, and replaced by modern work of an entirely different character.

Let us now proceed eastwards and examine

9. THE CHOIR AND ALTAR-STEPS.

Before the lowest step of the High Altar, we find one large design, and on either side of it seven small ones ; the whole being inclosed by a long processional frieze.

The principal design represents

Abraham's Sacrifice (No. 56).

The whole story is told in different parts of the picture, culminating in the central group of the Sacrifice itself. The smaller designs represent the following subjects.

On the right of the Altar :

1. *Elisha raising the son of the Shunammite.*
2. *A prophet with an open book before him.*
3. *Eve on her knees.*

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4. *A woman, holding in her hand an open book.*
5. *Another woman, with a mirror, representing Prudence.*

6. *The Sacrifice of Melchisedec.*

7. *A seated woman, with a child.*

On the left :

1. *The old Tobit, with his son, Tobias, and the Angel Raphael. At their feet a dog.*

2. *A woman, representing Charity.*

3. *Adam kneeling.*

4. *A prophet, gazing up to Heaven.*

5. *Another woman, seated, holding a book in her hand.*

6. *The Sacrifice of Abel.*

7. *Another woman, seated, with a child.*

A great procession runs all round these, composed of men and women of all ages, shown in half-length, representing

The Children of Israel seeking the Promised Land.

All these designs were the work of Domenico di Jacopo di Pace Beccafumi, called Il Mecharino, and we read in Alfonso Landi's *Descrizione del Pavimento* and in the notes of Abate Faluschi¹ that they were executed between the years 1544 and 1546. The writers refer to (as their authority) the *Libro Giallo dell' Assunta* of the Cathedral Archives, and state that the artist received 8,004 lire 19 c. for his

¹ *Descrizione del Pavimento*, by Alfonso Landi : Della Valle, *Lettere Senesi*, vol. iii. Faluschi MSS., p. 23. Archivio detto. *Libro Giallo dell' Assunta* a 42, 89 e 155.

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work. The subjects chosen fitly complete the general scheme of the floor, surrounding, as they do, the Altar, with symbolical imagery from the Old Testament. The repentant Adam and Eve, the three Typical Sacrifices, Prophets, Virtues, the Guardian Angel, and around the whole a host of believers hastening to the Promised Land. Some of the drawing is very beautiful and extremely decorative, notably the frieze. The beautiful figure of Eve, indeed, has been even attributed to Giovanni Antonio Bazzi (*Il Sodoma*), who is known to have received a commission to make at least one design for this floor.¹ This, however, is wholly uncertain, and cannot now be verified. The workmen employed here, and the sums they received respectively, we learn from the above sources and from Milanese.² They were Bernardino di Giacomò, who received for his labour 475 scudi, and Pellegrino di Pietro, 151 sc., 1. 4. These men were probably masons in the regular employ of the

¹ 1527, 31 Agosto. M^o. Giovant^o. detto el sodoma dipentore de dare a dì xxxi d' agosto lire quattordici per prezo del disegno aveva fatto per la storia di. . . . Archivio detto. Libro di tre Angeli dal 1521 al 1529 a 465. Mil. MS. notes, p. 33.

² Milanese *Discorso sulla Storia Artistica Senese*. Archivio detto. Libro Giallo dell' Assunta a 44 e a 177. Landi and Faluschi differ slightly as to details and sums of money, but agree in the general facts. I have preferred to take Landi's version, as I am inclined to think that Faluschi's information is in the main drawn from the earlier writer; who states that whereas Bernardino di Jacomo executed the Sacrifice of Abraham and the smaller stories, Pellegrino di Pietro did the frieze, which happens to be the finer work.

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Cathedral, for Bernardino, at least, seems to have been employed on all the work done at this time.

Descending three steps we come to Domenico del Coro's design of David, to which we have had occasion to refer already more than once.

David as King and Psalmist, and David and Goliath.

In a circular panel, David, as King, sits on a throne with a sort of zither on his knee, while, with his right hand, he points to an open book of Psalms, propped upon a lectern by his side. Around him stand four courtiers holding each a primitive musical instrument:—a small organ, a tambourine, a mandoline, and a viol. The whole picture is surrounded by a graceful cornice of leaves. On either side of the central picture, in a lozenge-shaped space, is a single figure; on the one side is the youth David slinging his stone, and upon the other the giant Goliath falling backwards. It is curious that Goliath has a hole in his forehead, although the stone has not reached him; while, at the same time, the stone is both still in David's sling and in the air above Goliath. The figures in the central composition are fine, but much altered by restoration. Those of David and Goliath are more original, and have probably suffered less. These designs are undoubtedly the work of Domenico del Coro, executed during the Rectorship of Bartolommeo Cecchi; and the cornice and frieze work around

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them is that of Agostino da Niccolo, for we read special notice of this fact in a memorandum of payment to the latter, dated June 6th, 1423.¹

Below another step we come to the largest and most pretentious of Beccafumi's designs.

Moses' Ascent of Mount Sinai, his Receipt of the Tables of the Law, and the Idolatry of the Children of Israel (No. 52). (Ill. XXV.)

The story is told in six parts, combined into one large picture. Above, in the centre, Moses kneels on the mountain top (α). The light of Heaven streams over him, and he receives the 'Tables of the Law into his outstretched hands. Below in the centre he lifts the Tables over his head, to dash them to pieces on the ground (δ). In the upper *left*-hand corner, the Elders of Israel are seen persuading Aaron, who points to Moses on the mountain, to make the Golden Calf (β): in the lower, we see him casting their gold and jewels into the fire to make it (θ). In the lower *right*-hand corner the Israelites are worshipping the Calf (η), while above they are smitten with plague and dying in agony (γ). This work appears to have been originally commissioned by a certain Antonio

¹ 1423. 4 Giugno. E ò fatte sette-ciento mandorle, a ragione di vinte lire el centonaio: e più feci ventitre braccia e mezzo di braccia alla distesa di marmo rosso digrossato come viene di petriera, del quale adoparò maestro *Domenicho* nella storia derre (*del re*) Davitte. Archivio detto. Libro di Documenti Artistici, No. 46.

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d'Agostino del Vescovo, then Rector (1524);¹ but, as we read from an inscription let into the beautiful frieze that surrounds it, it was completed under the direction of his successor, Francesco di Carlo Tolomei. Beccafumi received on the 30th of August, 1531, 120 scudi for these designs,² according to a valuation made for Tolomei by Baldassare Peruzzi himself;³ which suggests the idea that these two great artists may have together planned the new arrangements of the Choir, and a scheme of decoration to adorn it, when complete. From Landi and Faluschi we learn that the workmen here employed⁴ were the same Bernardino di Giacomo, who now received for his work 969 scudi 13: Giacomo di Pietro Gallo, 133 sc. 6.8; Bartolommeo di Pietro Gallo, 41 sc.; and Giovanni d'Antonio Marinelli, called *il Mugnaino*, 486 sc. To these Milanese adds two more, not mentioned by either of the above authorities: Niccolo Filippi and Cristofano di Carbone.⁵

¹ Operaio from 1524-1529. See Faluschi MS. Lists of Operaii.

² The large original cartoons, preserved by the Spannoechi family up to August 31st, 1801, were at that date generously presented by them to the Picture Gallery of the Accademia delle Belle Arti in Siena, where they may still be seen. They have suffered sadly from time and damp, but they show the artist's skill as a draughtsman far better than the reproductions on the Pavement, as it now exists.

³ From Landi we learn that Baldassare's stipend while Capomaestro was 30 scudi per annum.

⁴ Archivio detto. Libro Giallo dell' Assunta a 5, 12, 76, 79, 84 e 108.

⁵ *Discorso sulla Storia Artistica Senese*, p. 87.

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Immediately below these scenes a long narrow design, also by Beccafumi, shows

Moses striking the Rock to bring water for the thirsting Israelites (No. 51).

This is by far the most pleasing and successful of Beccafumi's works. We can see, from its very simplicity, how much its charm depends upon sheer skill of drawing. This work was executed in 1525,¹ but we do not find any record as to the amount paid to him for it, or the workmen employed upon it. Probably they were the same as had carried out his previous designs.² These scenes by Beccafumi provoked the most extravagant admiration and applause from the writers of the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; and as *tours de force*, and specimens of a new kind of work, they are certainly remarkable. They do not, however, succeed in provoking that feeling of pleasure and charm, that one experiences when studying the older and simpler productions.

And now we come to the last section, and some of the latest work.

10. UNDER THE CUPOLA.

This vast hexagonal space is divided into seven hexagons and six lozenges. They all now contain

¹ Archivio detto. Libro di tre Angeli. Debit e Credit a 341.

² The cartoon for this scene also still exists in the Accademia delle Belle Arti.

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scenes from the *Story of Elijah*, completing what probably was Beccafumi's original design. That that artist *did* prepare designs for four of the hexagons, for two of the lozenges and for a frieze, we have abundant evidence, for we have no less than five notices,¹ between the 11th of March, 1518-19, and the 18th of June, 1524, in the books of the Opera, of payment to him, not only for his labour, but also for the paper used for his

¹ 1518-19. 11 di Marzo. Domenico di Jachomo di Pacie dipintore de' dare a di xi di Marzo lire quaranta tre, soldi dieci, ebe contanti in ducati sei d'oro, li quali se li devono per parte del disengnio e chartone à fatto della storia che va in Duomo sotto la pupola (cupola).

1520. 3 di Novembre. E a di iii di Novembre, 1520, lire setantaebe conntanti -- se li danno per chonto delle storie dipegnie. Archivio detto. Libro Verde di 2 Agnoli dal 1511 al 1520 a 477.

1521. 3 di Aprile. Giovanni d'Alixandro cartaio -- de' avere fino a questo di iii Aprile 1521 lire 39 -- sonno e per fogli reali date a Mecharino per le storie e fogli comuni. Archivio e Libro detto a 411.

1521. 6 di Settembre. Domenico di Jacomo di Pacie dipintore de' avere fino a questo di vi di Settembre lire dugiento vintiquattro (Duc. trentadue?) -- sonno per sue fadighe d' avere lui disegnatioci, e dipintoci tre storie d'Elia e del re Agabe in tre tondi sotto la pupola di Duomo. Archivio detto. Libro di tre Agnoli a 94 e a 147.

1524. 18 di Giugno. Domenico di Jachomo di Pacie dipintore de' avere fino a questo di xviii di Giugno 1524 lire otantaquatro, che sonno per le sue fadige (*sic*) d' avere disegnata e dipenta (*sic*) l' ultimo tondo de la storia de re Agabe e d'Elia quando vanno a fare sacrificio, e due mandorle con certe figure, e disegnato uno fregio. Archivio e Libro detti dal 1521 al 1529 a 147.

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cartoons. It is also to be noted that the commission for this work was given him earlier than that of any of the other works above described. Upon these grounds, Professor Luigi Mussini, writing on the Pavement,¹ supposes that they were executed in 1517, and likens them to Pinturicchio's work of eleven years before. A recent writer in the *Miscellanea Storica Senese*,² however, contests this statement, and quotes a document in the Archives dated 1562,³ which states that a certain person, called there *Giovan Battista nostro*, designed four scenes from the *Story of Elijah* for the Duomo floor, which, we gather from the same sources, were executed by the Cathedral masons, Niccolo di Girolamo Gori, Domenico di Pier Giovanni, and the same Bernardino di Jacomo.

This Giovan Battista was Giovanni Battista di Girolamo Sozzini, brother of Alessandro Sozzini, Diarist of the last Siege of Siena. He was a pupil of Beccafumi's, and of his work, Scipio Bargagli in his *Imprese* speaks in high praise, specially mentioning some *mandorle* designed by him, "placed

¹ *Il Pavimento del Duomo di Siena e il Professor Alessandro Franchi*, by Luigi Mussini. (Florence, Le Monnier, 1880).

² *Miscellanea Storica Senese*. Gennaio-Febbraio, 1898.

³ 14 Agosto 1562. El dì, settantacinque sol. — pagati a Giovan Battista nostro per detto di messer Azzolino Cerretani nostro dignissimo Operaio, per li cartoni et disegni fatti di 4 storie d'Elia in 4 mandorle fatte in Duomo stimate per m^o Bernardino Scarpellino a esser piacere. Archivio detto. Libro d'Entrata ed Uscita 1562 n. 131 a. 43 (on the back).

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“near the grand works of the great Mecarino.”¹ To add to these facts, we know that Sozzini retained in his possession many drawings by Beccafumi, and among them his cartoons for the floor. These designs he sold to the architect Tiburzio Spannocchi, and it is recorded in the Archives of the Duomo,² that the Cathedral authorities endeavoured, but apparently unsuccessfully, to recover them. Some of these have now, as we know, found their way into the Public Picture Gallery. These six designs differ in treatment from Beccafumi’s other work, and the drawing and composition of them is not so striking. The large hexagons represent :

1. *The Compact between Elijah and Ahab* (in the centre). (Ill. XIX.) No. 42.³
2. *Ahab’s Sacrifice* (to the left). No. 44.
3. *Elijah’s Sacrifice* (above). No. 41.

¹ . . . “si vedono ancora, per chi vuole, alcune *mandorle* “per lui diseguate nel nobilissimo pavimento di marmi del nostro “Duomo, *presso alle opere grandi del gran Mecarino allogate.*” Scipione Bargagli. *Le Imprese.* (Venezia, 1594.)

² 1565. 16 Ottobre. Ancora inteso come Giovan Battista Sozzini ha tramandati certi disegni et venduti, per quanto s’intende, a Tiburtio Spannocchi, e intendendosi che sono disegni de lo spazzo del Duomo e appartenere a la detta Opera, deliberarono che li due de’ Savi, che nominerà el Magnifico Rettore, che col Magnifico Rettore si faccino chiamare li detti Giovan Battista et Tiburtio a la loro presentia, e si domandino di tali disegni; et quando ne trovino riferischino al Capitolo. Archivio detto. Registro E. x a 32.

³ These numbers correspond with those on the Plan and the Scheme of the Pavement.

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4. *The Slaughter of the Prophets of Baal* (to the right). No. 43.

The small ones :

5. *Ahab comes to meet Elijah*. No. 46.

6. *Elijah sends Obadiah to fetch Ahab*. No. 45.

It does not seem to me, however, that the learned writer of the above-referred-to article brings forward any *real* ground for doubting Beccafumi's authorship of these designs. The Document quoted, and Scipio Bargagli, both speak of "*mandorle*," which appears to have been the technical expression for the *lozenges* filling up the great hexagon, in contradistinction to the words "*tondo*" or "*esagono*," used to describe the larger sections. The documents dated 6th of September, 1521, and 18th of June, 1524, together expressly mention four *tondi* and two *mandorle*, which exactly accounts for the designs in question. It seems unnecessary, therefore, to strain the word *mandorle* to mean something else than its more obvious meaning: and it is surely much more probable, that the document and quotation, both refer to designs for the remaining four *mandorle*, which are generally supposed to have been filled in by Carlo Amidei, and Matteo Pini in 1780.¹ However this may be, the smallness of the sum paid for the designs, 75 soldi, makes the idea, that it was a payment for drawings of any size, even more improbable and absurd.

¹ Faluschi MSS., p. 25 (on the back).

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ALINARI PHOTO.]

[DESIGNED BY
DOMENICO BECCAFUMI

XIX. ELIJAH'S COMPACT WITH AHAB (No. 42)

The three remaining hexagons, up to 1878, contained fragments, and most interesting fragments, of older work, which evidently once formed

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part of the floor, where the High Altar now stands. To the left, looking east, was a delightful design representing the *Blind leading the Blind*. An old man is holding one end of a stick, while a young man, also blind, is grasping it at the other end. The older man is just stepping over a precipice into space. Below them is a delightful *putto*, holding in one hand a mirror, and a label with the word "*Notate*" upon it. This design we know to have been the work of Antonio Federighi in 1459; and for it he received 46 lire.¹ It was apparently ordered by the Rector, Benedetto di Biagio di Roberto, and completed during the Directorate of Cristofano Felice.²

The middle design illustrates the *Parable of the Mote and the Beam*; and though it dates from 1374-5,³ strangely enough is now in the best preservation of the three.

The third design was a scene of a stately-looking

¹ 1459. 19 d'Aprile. "Anne dati a dì xviii d'Aprile 1459 lire quarantasei, e qual den : sonno per la Storia dei due ciechi che stanno in terra a piei del Coro di Duomo, che sonno a misura braccia xi misurate per detto dell' operaio coè (*sic*) Benedetto di Bigio (*sic* : Biagio) di Ruberto hoperaio, a ragione di lire iiii el braccio ; la quale storia fu fatta al tempo di misser Christofano Filigi hoparaio stato." Archivio detto. Libro Rosso d'una Stella a 162 (on the back).

² At this date the Operaii were elected annually. See Borghesi and Faluschi MSS. Lists of Operaii.

³ 1374-5, 17 Marzo. Si fe lo spazzo di Duomo delle due figure delle travi nell' occhio ; *tu mivi la una brusca e non mivi la tua travi*. (Cron : del Bisdomini). Borghesi MS.

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bearded man, giving alms to a woman with a child in her arms. This is generally supposed to be that work of Domenico del Coro¹ which is referred to in a document dated 1433, as being placed by him in the choir (then under the cupola) *from the lectern downwards, in that place where they stand to sing*,² and for which he received 357 lire.

It is impossible now to tell what was the original shape of these designs, or where they were placed. But to fit them into the hexagons, they were made into more or less complete triangles, the remainder of the space being filled up with fragments of old friezes, brought probably from the same place.

In 1875, the fragments left of them, and of the four later *mandorle*, were removed to the Museum of the Opera, where they now are, and in 1878, all seven were replaced by others, completing the *Story of Elijah and Ahab*.

The subjects chosen are, for the larger ones :

¹ 1433. M° Domenico di Niccholo M° di lengname die avere lire treciento cinquanta sette per una istoria a fatto nelo spazzo del choro *da legio in giù quella di choloro trovaro incanto*, il quale salogo da Miss. Bartolomeio di giovanni ciechi operaio di duomo per L. 7 el braccio quadro fu misurato il detto lavoro per maestro chola di nanni, e matteio di domenicho maestri dell'uopera al quale fu tutto di marmo, apare al memor: di pavolo. Archivio detto. Libro Giallo dal 1420 al 1444 a 267 (on the back).

² This sentence is ambiguous, as it is most difficult to understand for certain, what is really meant by *incanto*; but I am assured, that it should in modern Italian run thus: *quella di coloro che trovarano in canto (cantando)*.

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1. *Ahab mortally wounded.* No. 40.
2. *Elijah carried to Heaven in a Chariot of Fire.* No. 38. (Ill. XXVI.)
3. *Elijah predicts the manner of Ahab's death.* No. 39.

For the smaller ones :

1. *Elijah fed by Ravens.* No. 47.
2. *Elijah raises the widow's son.* No. 50.
3. *Elijah asks bread of the widow.* No. 49.
4. *Elijah anoints Jehu, King of Israel.* No. 48.

These designs were made by Professor Alessandro Franchi, the present Director of the Accademia delle Belle Arti, and were executed under his direction by Leopoldo Maccari and Antonio Radicchi.¹ The smaller ones follow to some extent the older lines, but in the larger ones, the artist has struck out for himself; and, if the result is in somewhat startling contrast to everything preceding it, there is no doubt that his work is full of skill and merit of a most scholarly and remarkable kind. Under his care, and with the able support of the above-mentioned two artists, aided by a generous legacy of a former Rector, Cav. Pietro Bambagini Galletti, the whole Pavement has undergone the Restoration, to which I have referred so often,² and is now in as perfect a condition as constant loving and intelligent care can keep it, without entirely hoarding it from view.

¹ The cost of these works was 86,739 lire 35 c.

² Between the years 1864-1869 alone, no less a sum than 40,000 lire from this fund was expended on restoration

CHAPTER III

THE PAVEMENT MASTERS

THE reader, having patiently followed me along the intricacies of the Pavement, and the ramifications of its history, will now like to know something more detailed about the men who made it. To satisfy this wish, I have collected from various sources, chiefly from Milanese, the following notes.

Padre Micheli¹ gives no less than forty-one names of workers of various sorts on the Pavement. To these the writer in *Miscellanea*² adds three more; and if with them we include the six artists and sculptors, who, since the middle of the eighteenth century, and up to the present day, have restored, replaced, and made additions, we arrive at a total of more than fifty men, who have, in one way or another, contributed to this beautiful work.³

¹ *Il Pavimento del Duomo di Siena*. The learned father's list is not absolutely to be depended upon, as, through inadvertence, he has made several mistakes in names, thereby causing confusion.

² *Miscellanea Storica Senese*. Gennaio - Febbraio, 1898.

³ In the course of this chapter and in my Scheme, I have

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Of these, many remain but as names recorded in documents concerning the Pavement, and are heard of nowhere else ; of others we catch a few glimpses in the pages of Milanesi ; about a dozen were celebrated in their day as painters and sculptors, in the somewhat limited world of Sienese Art, and have left specimens of their work elsewhere ; while two alone, Pinturicchio and Beccafumi, have attained world-wide fame.

I propose then to take the names of these men, according to the dates of the first work contributed by them to the Pavement.

Thus we begin with :

1. 1369. *Antonio di Brunaccio.*

This earliest name, connected with work on the Pavement, is of a man, about whom we do not know very much. In 1362, we find him witnessing two contracts made between the Operaio and a certain Francesco di Tonghio, for woodwork (stalls and a lectern) made for the Choir of the Duomo. He is among the sculptors, whose names are entered in the Book of Arts and Crafts of the City of Siena, under date 1363, and in the following year, he binds himself to do certain work in the Cathedral, and the Cappella di Piazza. In 1369, we read of his making a small lion, to adorn a

added four more names. They are scarcely entitled to rank among the Duomo Pavement masters, but, as they are necessary to the full evolution of its history, I have decided to admit them into the list.

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fountain in the Palazzo Pubblico. He was, perhaps, the son of a certain Brunaccio di Santa Colomba, a sculptor, who signed the *Sculptors' Brief* in the thirteenth century, quoted in the *Nuovi Documenti*.¹

2. 1370. *Sano di Marco*.

This man's name is also among those of the sculptors working in Siena in 1363. Milanesi mentions a daughter of his called Valentina, who married a sculptor named Paolo di Pietro, of the parish (*Popolo*) of San Stefano: but there is no other record about him.

3. 1370. *Francesco di Ser Antonio*.

Appears to have been a painter, and we find his name on the list of artists flourishing in Siena in 1402.² He was also consulted in 1376 as to the walls of the Cappella di Piazza; and was witness to a contract made with Giacomo di Buonfredi, called *Corbello*, for certain work done on the façade of the Duomo. He must not, however, be confused with Francesco d'Antonio di Francesco, the goldsmith, who lived many years later.

4. 1376. *Matteo di Bartolo*.

5. 1380. *Nanni di Corsino*.

Of these men, and their work, nothing is known, but the notices already quoted.

¹ *Nuovi Documenti*, p. 3.

² *Mil. Doc.*, vol. i., p. 39.

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6. 1398. *Sano, or Ansano di Maestro Matteo.*

Of this sculptor and architect, notices exist from 1392 to 1429. He was a native of Siena, and might have been the son of the Matteo di Bartolo mentioned above, although we cannot prove it. He married twice : first, Cristofora di Cecco di Domenico ; and secondly, after her death, a certain Madonna Bartolommea. In 1402, we find him witness to a contract, given to Giacomo di Giovanni, "*a key-maker*" (*chiavaio*) to make an iron railing round the pulpit in the Duomo in Siena. In 1404, he held the post of *Petrone*, or valuer, to the Commune, and Director of the City water-supply, and was re-appointed in 1407. In 1408 and in 1409, we also find him recommending Cristoforo di Francesco, a Sienese sculptor, first to the Orvieto Cathedral authorities, and then to the Signoria of Siena. He was, in 1416, elected Castellan of the fortalice of Montalcino, but, being engaged to assist Giacomo della Quercia in his work on the Fonte Gaia, sent Maestro Giovanni di Giacomo, as his lieutenant.¹ He was Capo-maestro of the Duomo at Orvieto for various periods during the years 1407-1425, and during that time he made the font there.² He also added a new chapel to the Cathedral. In 1416, he too was among the

¹ 18 Luglio, 1416. Archivio delle Riformagione di Siena. Deliberazioni del Concistoro, ad annum.

² In 1407, not in 1400, as Padre della Valle states. Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo d'Orvieto. Libro di Riformanze ad annum.

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artists employed on the Font in the Baptistery at Siena, and in 1426-27, he was called to Perugia to superintend the drainage works of Lake Thrasy-mene. Among the Sienese State Records of 1427-28 are three letters from the Signoria to him, apologizing for not sending him an apprentice, but recalling him home : together with letters addressed, one to the Pope's Legate, Bishop Pietro Donato, and the other to Antonio Casini, Cardinal of San Marcello, asking leave for him to return: the object being, that he should build the Loggia di S. Paolo, (now the Casino dei Nobili). Among the documents extracted by Signori Borghesi and Banchi, we find several referring to work done by Sano at Perugia : among other things, the construction of a mill at Ragulano. We also learn that, for the months of May and June, 1414, he was Gonfaloniere of the Compagnia di Rialto e Cartagne. He had two daughters : Caterina, born on July 30th, 1405 ; and Mattia, who married Gherardo di Niccolo.¹

7. 1398. *Luca di Cecco.*

A sculptor, whose signature is also found attached to the document mentioned above. In 1375, and again in 1377, his name occurs as witness to contracts for works of art : the first, a picture for the High Altar of the Duomo, to be made by Lorenzo di Vanni and Nuccio di Neruccio : the second,

¹ Rogiti di Ser Giovanni di Daniello. 27 Maggio, 1463.

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a marble statue by Mariano d'Agnolo and Bartolommeo di Tommè, for the Cappella del Campo. In 1386, he was commissioned to make some marble steps for the interior of the Duomo.

8. 1405. *Cecco di Giovanni.*

Another unrecorded artist.

9. 1406. *Marchesse d' Adamo.*

Of this man, or of his stonemason companions from Como, we hear nothing more than the short notice I have given already. We know that Comacene and Lombard workmen, especially masons and sculptors, were labouring in great numbers all over Italy at this period, and that they have left their traces very markedly, throughout all Tuscan and Umbrian Art. We know also, that the stone workers of Siena made a compact with those of Lombardy, residing and working in that town, on the 5th of December, 1473, whereby they gave to them certain privileges on payment of suitable fees.¹

10. 1423-33. *Domenico di Niccolo del Coro.*

This great artist was born about 1363, and belonged to the noble family of Spinelli. He was one of the cleverest and most prolific workers of

¹ *Mil. Doc.*, vol. i., p. 126. The compiler warns us that the original documents are lost, and that his transcription is from a faulty copy of the seventeenth century, preserved in the Biblioteca Pubblica of Siena.

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his day. His principal trade was that of a wood-carver; and he is said to have obtained his surname of *del Coro* from his ability and success in designing and carving Choir-stalls. From 1413 to 1423, he held the post of Capo-maestro of the Opera del Duomo of Siena, and we have records of work done by him in glass, as well as in stone and wood. He worked on the older Fonte Gaia, made designs for an intended loggia (on the site of the present Casino dei Nobili), to face into the Piazza del Campo,¹ and was sent for to Orvieto to advise about the repair of the roof of the Duomo there. The panels, inlaid with the *Symbols of the Creed*, for the stalls of the Chapel of the Palazzo Pubblico, executed by him between the years 1415-1428,² after designs said to be by Taddeo Bartoli,³ are works of exceptional beauty. After a long life, in January 1446-7, we find him, at 84 years of age, begging the Signoria of Siena to grant him a pension. A sum of two florins a month was allowed to him, but he could not have enjoyed it for long, since after 1450 we entirely lose sight of him.

II. 1423. *Agostino di Niccolo.*

The only specimen of this artist's work we know

¹ The making of this design was once attributed to Duccio. Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena. Libro dei Documenti Artistici, No. 40.

² Archivio delle Riformagioni di Siena. Deliber: del Gran Consiglio, T. 212.

³ *Mil. Doc.*, vol. ii., p. 72.

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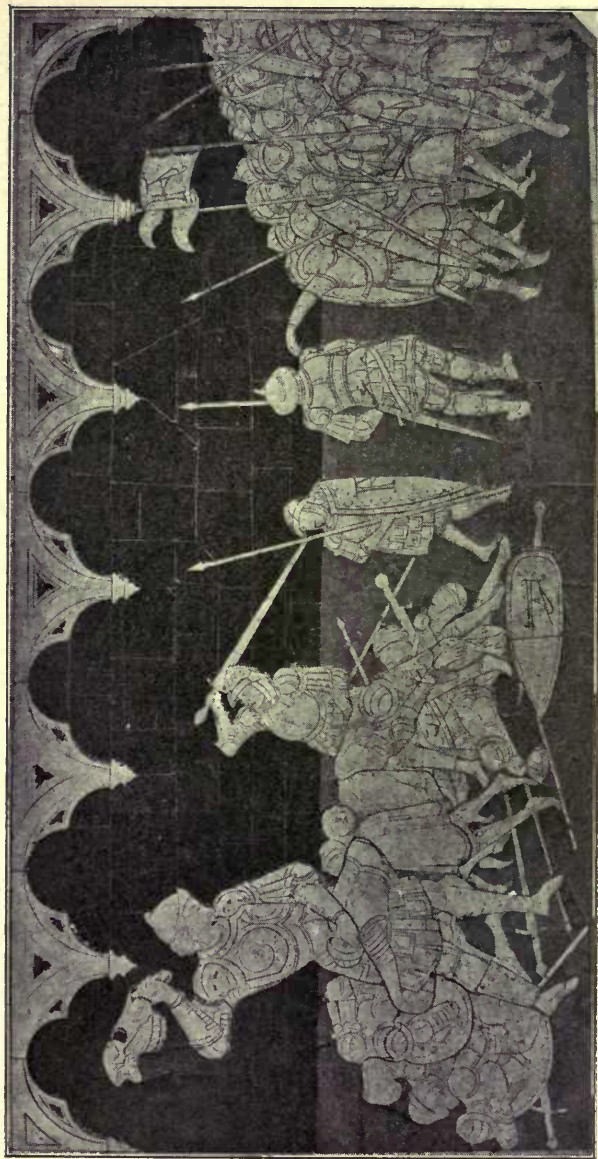
of in Siena, is that on the Pavement. We have no other record of him except that in 1405, or perhaps even earlier, he was working at Orvieto, in company with a certain Nanni di Giacomo (a cadet of the noble house of Castori, or Amidei), a native of Lucca, but resident in Siena, and during the next year, with an artist named Orbetano, called *il Mastro*, also a Siennese.

12. 1423. *Bastiano di Corso*.

Concerning this artist, we know that he came from Florence, lived a long time in Siena, and died rather before 1455. His family name was Giuliani, and he married Francesca di Cristoforo Pastella, by whom he had four sons: Taddeo; Cristoforo (born 1422); Corso (of whom presently), and Giuliano, who married, in 1469, Marianna, daughter of Pietro Paoletti. Both of these were sculptors, like their father. Milanesi gives many notices of work in marble done by this artist, in company with his sons, in the Cathedral, the Baptistery, the Hospital of Sta. Maria della Scala, and the Loggia di S. Paolo.

13. 1426. *Paolo di Martino*.

Of this man, beyond the records of him in connexion with the Pavement, scarcely anything is known. He appears once, as witness to a contract for some carved figures for the Duomo. A curious fact occurs also, as to work done by him in the before-mentioned Chapel of the Palazzo Pubblico.



ALINARI PHOTO.]

XX. SAMSON AND THE PHILISTINES (No. 14)
[DESIGNED BY PAOLO DI MARTINO]

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In 1414, he, his brother Antonio, and a certain Simone d'Antonio, were commissioned to decorate the stalls of that Chapel. Their work seems not to have given public satisfaction, with the result that the commission was taken away from them, and given to Domenico del Coro, who, as we have seen, executed his task triumphantly.

14. 1434. *Domenico di Bartolo di Ghezze da Asciano.*

We find the name of this artist on the Roll of Sienese Painters in 1428. Vasari would have us believe, that he was the nephew of Taddeo Bartoli. This, however, is proved to be erroneous, because we know that Taddeo was the son of a barber, one Bartolo di Maestro Mino: that his brother died childless; and that his sister Petra married a notary of Radicondoli, named Ser Antonio Gennari. Domenico Bartoli was a member of the well-known Ghezzi family of Asciano, and a picture by him is still to be seen in the Church of St. Agostino in his native town. He was born about 1400, married in 1440¹ Donna Antonia Pannilini, and died in 1446.² He was an artist of

¹ Romagnuoli MS. (Biblioteca Comunale di Siena), vol. iv., p. 444.

² Della Valle, *Lettere Senesi*, vol. ii. 197, 1444. In the Archivio di Stato of Siena there is a contract to purchase a piece of land by the said Antonia, in which she is described as "Antonia . . . vedova olim magistri dmci Bartali de Asciano pictoris districtus Senensis. Archivio di Stato. Pergam. d. convento di



ALINARI PHOTO.]

[BY DOMENICO DI BARTOLO D'ASCIANO

XXI. THE EMPEROR SIGISMUND (No. 13)

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very great merit. His finest works are his frescoes in the Pellegrinaggio of the Hospital of Sta. Maria della Scala at Siena, which were painted in 1443-44.¹ These frescoes throw a vivid light on the manners, customs, costume, and style of architecture of the period in which he lived, and form a remarkable picture of Sienese life at that date. It is, moreover, most interesting to note how much the decorative effects, employed by him in his work, foreshadow the coming Renaissance.

15. 1434. *Giacomo d'Antonio*

Appears to have been merely a workman (*manovale*), as, except the record quoted, no other notice appears of him among those hitherto extracted.

16. 1447. *Pietro di Tommaso del Minella*.

A native of Siena, this famous sculptor and architect was born on the 21st of December, 1391. He was son of a certain Tommaso, surnamed *Minella* and had two brothers, Antonio and Giovanni (both workers in wood), the latter of whom became a Franciscan monk, and Rector of the Hospital of Sta. Croce. Pietro was a favourite pupil of Giacomo della Quercia, who left him ten florins in his will; and he worked with that great master

S. Maria degli Angeli. Nr. 88. 18 Feb., 1446. Index X. See also H. J. Wagner, *Domenico di Bartolo Ghezzi*, etc.

¹ Archivio dello Spedale di Sta. Maria della Scala di Siena. Libro di conti correnti, segnato a carte 99.

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on the famous Font in the Baptistery. From 1431 to 1433, he was Capo-maestro of the Opera del Duomo at Orvieto, and with his brother Antonio, executed some works there in intarsia on the stalls. In 1437, Quercia gave him some commissions in connection with the Loggia di S. Paolo, and in 1439 he was employed to make the choir for the Chapel of the Hospital of Sta. Maria della Scala. Out of this much litigation arose, which was settled by the giving of a dowry to his daughter.¹ In 1441, he and his brother Antonio were commissioned to make a new Bishops' Throne for the Cathedral at Orvieto,² adorned with figures of SS. John and Costanzo; but apparently, whether for want of funds or for what reason does not appear, the work was never completed.³ He remained at Orvieto until March, 1444, when he returned to Siena, where he had been commissioned by the Council to execute further work on the Loggia di S. Paolo.⁴ In August of that year he was in treaty to go back to Orvieto, and we find a document, showing that he asked in payment for his services 120 ducats

¹ This work was eventually completed by his brothers Antonio and Giovanni. Cf. *Nuovi Documenti*, p. 163.

² 1441, dal Gennaio al Ottobre. Archivio del Duomo d'Orvieto. Libro di Riformanze di detto anno. He is called there "PETRUS DE SENIS," and "PETRUS HERMINELLE." ПОЛТАВ

³ See Luigi Fumi, *Il Duomo d'Orvieto e i suoi Restauri*, pp. 277 and 294-297. (Rome, La Società Laziale Tipografico-Editrice.)

⁴ 1444. Febbraio 10. Archivio de' Contratti in Siena. Concistoro Scritture ad annum.

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and a house, but agreed to accept 110 without the house, arranging to come to Orvieto about the middle of October to complete his bargain.¹ In September, however, he was promised by the *Camarlingo* (perhaps the Treasurer) of the Opera del Duomo at Siena, the post of Capo-maestro there. This appointment, however, he did not at first obtain, though he was employed on the tomb of Carlo Bartoli, Bishop of Siena, for which he received, as his share, a sum of 38 lire 8 soldi;² and in the following year on the Chapel of S. Crescenzo in the Duomo.³ At last, in 1447, he was appointed Capo-maestro, and during his occupation of the post, he designed the Church of S. Ansano. He died in August, 1458, having married Cristofora, daughter of Maestro Pannucci, surnamed *Cinquino*, and had by her three sons—Tone (Canon of the Duomo), Niccolo, and Sano, who died in 1498, having married Polissena, daughter of Arnolfo di Fortunato, by whom he had six sons.

17. 1450. *Nastagio di Guasparre.*

¹ 1444. Agosto 26. Archivio della Fabbrica del Duomo d'Orvieto. Libro di Riformanze ad annum.

² 1444. Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo di Siena. Libro delle Deliberazioni segnato E 4. a 10 (on the back).

³ 1445. Aprile 4. Archivio detto. Pergamena, No. 1532.

1452. Maggio 27. Archivio e Libro detti. a. 117.

This chapel we learn was not completed until 1452, and he ought to have paid a fine of fifty florins for such delay. He was, however, absolved from the penalty.

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18. 1450. *Bartolomeo di Mariano*, called
"Il Mandriano."

19. 1451. *Guasparre d'Agostino*.

Of the first and second of these three men nothing is known but their names, and the notice which records their work, described in the last chapter. As I have suggested, Nastagio di Guasparre and Guasparre d'Agostino may have been father and son, or master and pupil. I have also referred to the fact that Guasparre d'Agostino painted frescoes of the Crucifixion and Burial of Christ in the apse over the altar of the Baptistry,¹ and was commissioned to paint some scenes from the life of S. Bernardino for the Sacristy of the Duomo. We are told also by Milanese² that he was the master of Francesco di Giorgio and Neroccio di Bartolommeo Landi.

20. 1451. *Corso di Bastiano*.

Son of Bastiano di Corso, he married Nanna, daughter of a certain Simone di Niccolo, surnamed *Calabrese*, a maker of drinking vessels. He was, as we have seen, a sculptor like his father, with whom he worked. We read, besides, however, that he made the balcony of the Palazzo Pubblico,³ whence the sentences on criminals were read, and

¹ *Guida Artistica*, p. 56.

² *Discorso sulla Storia Artistica Senese*, p. 53.

³ Biblioteca Pubblica di Siena. Libro del Maestro della Camera dal 1453 al 1464 a 376.

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executed certain marble work at the Oratorio di Sta. Caterina in Fontebranda.¹

21. 1459. *Antonio di Federigo or Federighi (Federigi)*.

This sculptor and architect was one of the glories of Siena in his time. In one document, to be referred to later, he is called Tolomei (*de Ptholomeis*), but we have no record as to his birth or family. In 1444, he was among the artists employed on the tomb of Bishop Carlo Bartoli, and for his share in the work he received 15 lire. In 1451, he was appointed Capo-maestro of the Opera del Duomo at Orvieto,² where he remained until 1456, living in considerable style.³ He had with him all the time his two pupils, Polimante of Assisi and Vito di Marco, both of whom were paid by the Duomo authorities. He was evidently held in high honour, for we find on April 7th, 1452,⁴ the Signoria of Siena writing to the heads of the Commune at Orvieto, to ask them to recommend him to the notice of the Duke of Cala-

¹ Archivio delle Riformagioni di Siena. Revisioni delle Regioni de' Camarlinghi e Uffiziali del Commune, vol. viii. a 413 e seg.

² 1451. Settembre 14. Archivio Della Fabbrica del Duomo d'Orvieto. Riformanze ad annum.

³ We read that he kept two servants and horses for which the establishment allowed him "*Libr. quatuordecim, sol. decem.*" Archivio detto. Libro d'Uscita del Camarlingo, ad annum.

⁴ 1452 Aprile 7. Archivio del Comune d'Orvieto. Carteggio ad annum. Cf. *Nuovi Documenti*, p. 169.

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bria. In April, 1453, with safe conducts from the Republic of Florence and the King of Naples, he, with seven companions, went to Carrara to quarry marble, and in October of the same year he started for Corneto for a similar purpose; but was recalled on the 5th of the same month, to advise as to the roof of one of the Chapels in the Duomo, which threatened to collapse. In September, 1456, he made, and put into position, one of the statues on the façade. During this period he made statues of SS. Ansano, Vittore, and Savino for the Loggia di Mercanzia or S. Paolo (now the Casino dei Nobili), and executed the work before the doors of the Baptistery, to which we have already alluded. (Ill. XXII.) After 1456, he appears to have returned to Siena, for we find a number of references to a commission for the statues of SS. Peter and Paul, given first to Urbano da Cortona, then to Federighi, and lastly to Lorenzo di Pietro (*Il Vecchietta*); the special object of



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the last change being to keep that artist in Siena.¹ From 1460 to 1462, he was engaged in the design and erection of the magnificent Loggia di Papa, built by Pope Pius II.; and in 1463, on the palace of that Pope's sister, Caterina Piccolomini, called then *Palazzo delle Papesse*, but now styled *Palazzo Nerucci*.² In 1469-70, we hear of work done by him at the Oratorio di S. Caterina in Fontebranda; in 1473 he was party to the contract made between the Sienese and Lombard workers in stone; and in 1480, he petitioned the authorities with reference to the drainage and water-supply of the town.³ Other noticeable works by him are the marble bench on the right-hand side of the Loggia di Mercanzia, before mentioned; the basins of the two holy water stoups at the west end of the Cathedral Nave (attributed, wrongly, to Quercia); and the Chapel and Palace, outside the Porta Camollia, known as the *Palazzo dei Diavoli*.

22. 1473. *Urbano di Pietro di Domenico da Cortona.*

This artist came with his brother Bartolommeo, in his early youth, from his native city of Cor-

¹ *Mil. Doc.*, vol. ii. p. 309.

² 1463, 1 Giugno. Archivio delle Riformagioni di Siena. Copialettere filza 85. It is in this document that he is spoken of as *De Ptholomeis*.

³ 1480. Archivio detto. Libro di No. 107 del Gradino xxxiv.

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tona, to settle in Siena, where in 1451,¹ they together undertook to build the Chapel of the Madonna delle Grazie, in the Duomo. In the same year he was commissioned, as we have seen, to make two statues for the Loggia di Mercanzia, but the commission was cancelled. In 1456, he made a statue of S. Bernardino for the Convent of the Osservanza, and a figure of S. Peter for the façade of the Duomo. In 1458, the Signoria of Siena deliberated as to the suitability of employing him, in company with Donatello, to procure alabaster from the Val D'Orcia, to decorate a room in the Palazzo Pubblico.² Among the records of the Oratorio di Sta. Caterina in Fontebranda, between the years 1465 and 1474, we find two notices of work by him: namely, a statue of the Saint over the Chapel door, and a holy-water stoup. In 1471, he had a dispute with Bastiano di Francesco, as to the price due for work done by the latter, in which Vecchietta was one of the two arbitrators. In the same year he was employed on the Palazzo *delle Papesse*, and in 1473, we find him also joining in the contract made by the Sienese sculptors with their Lombard fellow-craftsmen. In 1497-98, he was one of the arbitrators in a dis-

¹ 1451, Ottobre 19. Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena. Libro di Memorie segnato E. iv., p. 29, e seg. Also Archivio detto, Filza de' Ricordi, e memorie. Bastardello d' Andrea di Bernabè dal 1450 al 1467 a 23.

² We do not hear that this scheme was ever carried out. Probably not.

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pute between Giovanni di Stefano and his workmen.¹ He died in Siena, on May the 8th, 1504, leaving, by his wife, Caterina Scotti, a daughter, Lucrezia, who married Ser Pasquale Griffi, of Montalcino; his son Tommaso having predeceased him. His finest works still existing are the decorations for the Chapel of the Madonna delle Grazie referred to above, which are now affixed to the walls of the Duomo, near the door leading to the Campanile stairs; and the tomb of Cav. Cristoforo Felice (Rector 1457-58 and 1460-65) in the church of S. Francesco in Siena.

23. 1473. *Matteo di Giovanni di Bartolo.*

This artist, also known as Matteo da Siena, was born about 1435. It was erroneously supposed, that he was the son of Giovanni di Paolo di Grazia, the painter of Poggio Malavolti, and brother of Pietro and Benvenuto di Giovanni, also painters of repute. As a matter of fact, however, Matteo's father was a certain Giovanni di Bartolo, a merchant of Borgo San Sepolcro, who had settled in Siena, by his second wife, Elisabetta, daughter of Andrea d'Ambrogio, a goldsmith: while Pietro was the son of another merchant, one Giovanni Pucci; and Benvenuto, of a certain Giovanni di Maestro Meo del Guasta of San Quirico. Moreover, Giovanni di Paolo

¹ 1497-98, Marzo 6. Archivio de' Contratti di Siena. Rogiti di Ser Pietro dall'Oca. Filza di Sentenza, Lodi e Compromessi dal 1484 al 1499.

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of Poggio was quite an old man when, in 1480, he married a woman called Domenica, by whom he had no children, as we find that by his will, dated June 29th, 1482, he left her his sole heiress.

Matteo married twice; first, a certain Contessa, by whom he had no children; and secondly, Orsina di Francesco del Taia, by whom he had three sons and four daughters. He died in June, 1495. He was a distinguished painter, much admired in his day, and had a very distinct charm of his own, in spite of his somewhat rigid adherence to old traditions. Many of his pictures are still in their original places in the churches of Siena,¹ and there are also some good specimens of his work in the Accademia delle Belle Arti in that town.

24. 1473. *Giovanni di Maestro Stefano di Giovanni.*

Son of the celebrated painter, usually called *Sassetta*. We first hear of him in 1452, as appealing for judgment in the matter of the price of a fresco, over the Porta Romana, left unfinished by his father's death; (subsequently completed by Sano di Pietro, and Lorenzo di Pietro, commonly called *Il Vecchietta*). In August 1446, he was commissioned, with the assistance of the goldsmith

¹ In the Churches of S. Domenico, S. Agostino, Sta. Maria delle Neve, and Sta. Maria dei Servi, are fine pictures by him, still *in situ*, and a magnificent *Assumption of the Virgin* once in the Chapel of the Monastery of S. Eugenio, outside the Porta S. Marco, is now in the National Gallery, in London.

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Francesco d'Antonio, to make a silver head of Sta. Caterina, for the Monks of S. Domenico in Siena.¹ He made a model for the head, which Francesco executed in silver;² and perhaps the tabernacle also, although that has been attributed to Vecchietta. In 1466-68,³ we find a petition, addressed to the Signoria, for the erection of two stone wolves outside the Porta Nuova, or Romana. These are generally supposed to have been the work of this artist. In 1477, he was recommended by the Signoria of Siena to Federigo, Duke of Urbino; and in 1481, was witness to the commission, given by the Opera del Duomo, to Urbano di Pietro, Antonio Federighi, Vito di Marco and Luigi di Ruggiero, to execute the Sibyls on the Duomo Pavement; one of which (the *Cuman*) we know was, in the following year, his work. In 1487, he executed the statue of S. Ansano (formerly attributed to Neroccio di Bartolommeo Landi, of whom presently) in the Chapel of S. Giovanni in the Duomo.⁴ In 1427, in company with Giacomo Cozzarelli, and Domenico di Matteo, he made a valuation of the bronze doors, for the Libreria in

¹ 1466. Agosto 3. Archivio de' Contratti di Siena. Filza di Ser Minoccio di Gio. di Minoccio.

² This head was re-made in its present shape in the eighteenth century, at the expense of Conte Marcello Biringucci. *Mil. Doc.*, vol. ii., p. 335.

³ 1467-68. Marzo 4. Archivio delle Riformazioni di Siena. Deliberazioni del Concistoro ad annum.

⁴ 1487. Luglio 17. Archivio del' Opera del Duomo di Siena. Libro dei Contratti segnato E 8. a 16.

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the Duomo, executed by Giacomo Ormanni ; and in the same year we read of the dispute with his workmen, to which we have alluded above. In 1497-98, he also executed two of the bronze angels¹ for the High Altar of the Duomo. The celebrated sculptor, Lorenzo di Mariano, better known as *Il Marrina*, was one of his pupils.

25. 1473. *Bartolommeo de' Domenico Calabrone.*

26. 1473. *Francesco di Bartolommeo.*

Both these men appear to have been sculptors, and are associated together, as arbitrators, with Urbano da Cortona, in the dispute referred to above, between Giovanni di Stefano and his workmen. Of the former, we also find a record, under date August 11th, 1507, as arbitrator between Lorenzo di Mariano (*Il Marrina*) and Battista di Simone,² and we are told that he was surnamed *Bacelli*, and died in 1531.³ Of Francesco we know nothing more, except that he also signed the contract with the Lombard sculptors.

27. 1482. *Giuliano di Biagio.*

Of this artist, we know nothing, beyond the reference to his work on the Pavement, of which mention has been made above. He appears, how-

¹ *Mil. Doc.*, vol. ii., p. 464, vol. iii., p. 306. Milanese states that Tizio is the authority for this fact.

² Archivio de' Contratti di Siena. Filza di ser Francesco Martini.

³ *Mil. Doc.*, vol. iii., p. 36.

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ever, to have been not merely the mason, but also the contractor, who procured the marble for his own work.¹

28. 1482. *Vito di Marco.*

A German, who, with his brother Giovanni, came to settle in Siena, as a mason. He was, as we have seen above, a pupil of Antonio Federighi, and was employed under him, on the works at Orvieto. In 1473, he was also party to the contract between the Sienese and Lombard sculptors. In 1483-84, he was commissioned, in company with a certain Lucillo di Maestro Marco, to execute the tomb of Tommaso del Testa Piccolomini, Bishop of Pienza and Montalcino,² which commission, through his absence from Siena, and the death of Lucillo, was transferred in the following year to Neroccio di Bartolommeo Landi. In 1487, he executed the façade of the church of S. Andrew at Orvieto, in which city we find him still working in 1489-91. He died in 1495.

29. 1482. *Luigi di Ruggiero, surnamed
L'Armellino.*

This man also joined in the above-mentioned

¹ Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena. Libro Rosso d'un Leone ad annum a 35.

² 1483-84. Marzo 10. Archivio de' Contratti di Siena. Rogiti di ser Giovanni di Daniello. It is curious that the words *di Maestro Marco* should be used in both documents to designate Lucillo, as if to mark that he was not a relation. Milanese, however, in his *Index*, calls him Vito's brother.

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contract with the Lombard stone workers (1473). In January, 1486-87, we find the Signoria of Siena writing to Ottaviano, Count of Mercatelli, on his behalf, for arrears of salary due to him for work done.¹ He also appears to have been a contractor, as well as a sculptor.²

30. 1483. *Bastiano di Francesco di Sano.*

This man was a sculptor and a painter, but it is uncertain whether he is the same person, as the Florentine sculptor Bastiano di Francesco, who, with Francesco di Giovanni, was employed to build the tomb of Pope Pius III. in S. Peter's at Rome.³ We do not know much about him, beyond the work which he did in the Duomo. In 1481, he assisted Guidoccio Cozzarelli, Benvenuto di Giovanni del Guasta, and Pellegrino di Mariano, in decorating the interior of the Cupola with sculpture and painting. We gather, that in 1484, he moved the beautiful tomb of Cardinal Petroni, by Tino di Camaino,⁴ from its original place near the present Cappella del Voto, to its present lofty position, by the Cappella di S. Giovanni. To

¹ 1486-87. Archivio delle Riformagioni di Siena. Copia-lettere, No. III.

² 1482. Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena. Libro d'un Leone a 34 (on the back).

³ *Nuovi Documenti*, p. 391. Cf. Document dated 150 . . . Archivio Piccolomineo, where, by the way, he is called "*Bastiano di Francesco*."

⁴ This tomb is by some authorities considered not to be the work of Tino himself, but of his pupil *Gano*.

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him, in the same and following years, are also due the carved festoons, monstrous cherub heads, and painting and gilding round the east window (*Occhio*) of the choir. Twice we hear of him in legal difficulties: once, as we have mentioned already, with Urbano da Cortona in 1471; and again in 1477, when a certain doctor of laws, one Prospero Poccio, complained to the Podestà, that Bastiano would not finish a picture for him, that he had contracted to do.¹ He appears to have lived in the Valle Piatta at Siena.² (Ill. XXIII.)

31. 1483. *Benvenuto di Giovanni del Guasta.*

This versatile artist was the son, as we have seen, of a certain Giovanni di Meo del Guasta, a mason from San Quirico. He was born the 13th of September, 1436, and died about 1518. He married Jacopa, daughter of Tommaso da Cetona, by whom he had three daughters, and a son, Girolamo, also a clever artist. In 1466, we find him in company with Sano di Pietro, valuing the decorative work on two chests, made by a certain Francesco d'Andrea, for Ambrogio Spannocchi. In 1481-82, as we have already noted, he was employed on the decoration of the interior of the Cupola in the Duomo, where he painted thirty-five figures,

¹ 1477. 4 Giugno. Archivio de' Contratti di Siena. Carte di Ser Giovanni Cecchini.

² 1491. Archivio di Stato in Siena. Denunzie, Terzo di Città. Compagnia di Valle Piatta.



ALINARI PHOTO.]

XXII. THE STORY OF JEPHTHAH (No. II) [BY BASTIANO DI FRANCESCO]

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for which he received a sum of 105 lire.¹ In the same year, he painted miniatures in the Antiphonaries, for the Duomo; one of which, the largest, represented "*the Giving of the Keys to S. Peter*," for which he received 27 lire 14 soldi.² That he was much admired in his day as a painter, is evident from the number of notices still to be found of payments made to him for banners, bier-heads and pictures of various sorts, by Convents and Guilds. Many of these still exist, either in the Churches for which they were painted, or in the Picture Gallery.³ In 1508, he was called as witness, in a lawsuit between Giovanni Battista di Bartolommeo Alberti and the heirs of Neroccio Landi, as to the price of an unfinished picture by that artist. From the two inventories of his property, made in 1491 and 1509, and the list of goods bequeathed by him to his son Girolamo, we gather that he lived in houses of his own: first, in the district of Camollia; and latterly, in that of the Rialto in Siena.

¹ 1482. Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo. Libro Giallo delle tre Rose a 383.

² 1482. Dicembre 18. Archivio detto. Libro di un Leone a 19, e a 18 (on the back).

³ In the second chapel to the right of the High Altar, in the Church of S. Domenico (Bellanti Chapel, dedicated to SS. John and Anthony), a large panel, with a lunette above it, by him, is still to be seen in its original place. For this picture he received 45 florins. 1483. Novembre 17. Archivio del Patrimonio Ecclesiastico. Carte di S. Domenico. Libro di Memorie, A 18 a 15.

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32. 1483. *Neroccio di Bartolommeo di Benedetto Landi.*

This great artist was equally celebrated, both as sculptor and painter. He belonged to the noble family of Landi, who are described as "*of Poggio Malevolti*", to distinguish them from the family of Landi *Sberghieri*. He was born in 1447, and died in 1500. He was twice married: first, to Elisabetta, daughter of Antonio Cigalini, who died in 1483; and, secondly, in 1493 to Lucrezia, daughter of Antonio Paltoni, who bore him several sons, one of whom was a painter as was his father.¹ Many of his pictures and statues still exist in Siena, in the places for which he designed them. In 1475, he appears to have quarrelled with Francesco di Giorgio; a dispute that was settled by the kindly offices of Sano di Pietro and Lorenzo di Pietro (*Il Vecchietta*). In the following year we find the same Sano di Pietro, with Francesco di Giorgio, valuing a picture, painted by Neroccio, for a certain Bernardino Nini. In the records of the Oratorio di Sta. Caterina in Fontebranda,² we find that this artist was paid 31 lire, for a wooden statue of the Saint, which still stands over the altar in that Chapel. In 1481, he was engaged

¹ Giovanni di Neroccio, apparently another son, signed the Painters' Brief in 1533. See *Mil. Doc.*, vol. i., p. 52.

² Dal Febbraio 1465 al Maggio 1474. Item: lire 31, sol: 0 Neroccio dipentore per parte d'una sancta Chaterina à fatto fare di legname per stare su l'altare. Archivio de' Contratti di Siena. Revisioni delle Rogioni de' Camarlinghi e Uffiziali del Commune, vol. viii., a 413 e seg.

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to work for the Duke of Calabria, and also for the Abbot of the Benedictine Convent at Lucca. In 1484-85, he received the commission (originally given to Vito di Marco and Lucillo, but cancelled through the absence of the former, and the death of the latter), to execute the tomb of Bishop Tommaso del Testa Piccolomini.¹ This tomb is now over the door, leading from the Cathedral to the stairs of the Campanile. In 1487, he was also directed to make the beautiful statue of S. Catherine of Alexandria for the Chapel of S. Giovanni in the Duomo; but his death left the work unfinished. We find two notices with reference to this work, dated 5th of February, 1487-88, and 21st of August, 1502² respectively: the first recording the payment of an advance of 40 lire to the painter himself, and the other of a further payment (in accordance with the valuation of Giacomo Cozzarelli and Ventura di Ser Giuliano) of 202 lire more to his heirs. These heirs, as we have seen above, also had a lawsuit over another unfinished work of his, with one of his pupils, Giovanni Battista di Bartolommeo Alberti. Milanesi quotes some interesting documents in connection with this lawsuit in his notes.³ The names of some of his pupils, besides the above-mentioned

¹ 1484-5. Febbraio 4. Archivio detto. Rogiti di Ser Giovanni di Daniello.

² 1487-88. Febbraio 5. Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo. Libro Rosso d'un Leone a 242.

1502. Agosto 21. Archivio e Libro detti, a 242.

³ *Mil. Doc.*, vol. iii., pp. 38-40.

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Giovanni Battista di Bartolommeo Alberti are as follows: Giovanni di Tedaldo, Leonardo di Ser Ambrogio de' Maestrelli,¹ Taldo di Vittore, and Achille di Pietro di Paolo del Crogio.²

33. 1483. *Guidoccio di Giovanni Cozzarelli*.

This artist must not be confused with the more famous Giacomo di Bartolommeo di Marco Cozzarelli, who was a sculptor and worker in metal, nor do we know, whether or no, he was related in any way to the engineer Giovanni Cozzarelli, a notice of whose work on a bridge at Macereto, we find under date 3rd of November, 1487.³ This man was a painter of considerable ability, whose pictures may be studied in the Picture Gallery, and who executed some of the miniatures in the Duomo Antiphonaries. We read that in 1447, he was employed with Sano di Pietro, to decorate the Chapel (now destroyed) of the Madonna delle Grazie in the Cathedral; and that in 1481, he was employed on the decoration of the interior of the Cupola. Professor Luigi Mussini⁴ suggests that the Tavoletta di Biccherna (No. 34 of those preserved in the Archivio di Stato), representing *The*

¹ Of noble origin, a painter, and a writer of Comedies and Pastoral Eclogues. He also had charge of the candles for the service of the Duomo, and belonged to the Accademia dei Rozzi, where he received the nickname of *Mescalino*.

² *Mil. Doc.*, vol. iii., pp. 40-42.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 418.

⁴ *Le Tavole della Biccherna, e della Gabella della Repubblica di Siena*, by Luigi Mussini, p. 11. (Siena, Bargellini, 1877.)

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Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, is by him.

34. 1484. *Bernardino d'Antonio*.

35. 1484. *Cristofano di Pietro Paolo del Quarantotto*.

Of these men nothing is known but the reference to them here.

36. 1505-6. *Bernardino di Benedetto or Betto (Il Pinturicchio)*.

Of this painter, and his work, so much has been written elsewhere, that I shall only attempt the briefest sketch of his life here.

He was a native of Perugia, was the son of a certain Betto or Benedetto, and was born in 1454. He had six children by his wife Grania : Adriana, who married Giuseppe, son of Giovanni of Perugia, and died in 1518 : Clelia or Egidia, who married Girolamo, son of Paolo of Perugia, called *Paffa*, a soldier of the guard of Siena ; Giulio Cesare (b. 1506) ; Camillo (b. 1509) ; Faustina Girolama (b. 1510) ; and Faustina, who married Filippo, son of Paolo of Perugia, or of Deruta. His frescoes in the Libreria of the Duomo, and the chapel of S. Giovanni, are among the most celebrated of Italian works of art. Vasari relates many more or less fictitious stories about his life and doings, which, though amusing to read, are not borne out by fact. He died in 1513, and was buried in the Church of SS. Vincenzo and Anastasia, the Chapel of the *Contrada of the Porcupine (Istrice)*.

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37. 1505-6. *Paolo Mannucci*.

Of this artist, nothing is known, but the notice already quoted, which states that he was employed to execute Pinturicchio's design of the *Allegory of Fortune*. (No. 36.)

38. 1518. *Domenico di Jacopo di Pace Beccafumi, called Mecarino (or Mecherino)*.

This very celebrated painter and sculptor was the son of a certain Giacomo (Jacopo) di Pace,¹ a labourer on the Podere of Cortine, near the Castle of Montaperto, and was born in 1486. This Podere was the property of the Sienese noble, Lorenzo Beccafumi, who, more than once held high offices in his native town. The boy early showed remarkable artistic promise, and used to amuse himself modelling animals, flowers, and leaves in clay. Lorenzo Beccafumi, one day seeing these efforts, and being struck by their promise, took him into his house, as a sort of servitor, but also gave him the opportunity of studying art. Near the house of the Beccafumi family, was then living an artist, named *Mecarino*, of poor ability and circumstances, but possessing a fine collection of drawings by good masters. These the young Domenico studied carefully, and on the death of Mecarino, by that artist's special wish, assumed his name. In later years, he also added, by permission of his

¹ Said to have been so called on account of his peaceful disposition.

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first patron, the name of *Beccafumi*. He was married twice. By his first wife, Andreoccia, of whose family and origin nothing is known, he had a son, Adriano, who died poor and childless in 1588. By his second wife, Caterina, sister of Pietro Cataneo, the Sienese architect and mathematician, he had two daughters: Ersilia (b. 1535), and Polifila (b. 1573), who became afterwards a Gesuate nun, under the name of Suor Cecilia. His work was very much sought after, and is to be found in all directions, in churches and palaces alike, throughout Siena. (Ill. XXV.) At one time, he came very much under the influence of Giovanni Antonio Bazzi (called *Il Sodoma*), in whose company he worked, from 1518 to 1532, at the decoration of the Oratorio di S. Bernardino,¹ but subsequently, became his rival and bitter enemy. One of his earliest works in Siena was, in 1513, the decoration in fresco of the façade of the Palazzo de' Borghesi in the Piazza di Postierla, opposite the house of Agostino Bardi, soon afterwards adorned in similar materials by Sodoma.² In February, 1515, he purchased a house, numbered 408, in the Via dei Maestri (now Via Tito Sarocchi), for which he paid 270 florins, and, in 1545, another house next door for 245 florins.³ We find him continually in request to value works of art of all kinds: panel-pictures, frescoes, bronze crucifixes,

¹ *Nuovi Documenti*, p. 422-423.

² *Mil. Doc.*, vol. iii., p. 66.

³ *Mil. Doc.*, vol. iii., p. 70-71.



LOMBARDI PHOTO.]

[LILY DESIGNED BY ANTONIO FEDERIGHI (?)

A. DESIGNED BY DOMENICO BECCAFUMI

XXIV. DRAWINGS OF DETAILS

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marble tombs, etc., and Guilds were always employing him to paint bier-heads and banners for them. Among the latter, we are told that he was engaged by the Compagnia di S. Sebastiano in Camollia, to complete Sodoma's celebrated banner of S. Sebastian (now in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence).¹ In 1529, and again in 1535, he received commissions to decorate the Sala del Concistoro in the Palazzo Pubblico; and on the occasion of the visit of Charles V. to Siena (23rd of April, 1536), he, in company with Anton Maria di Paolo Lari (nicknamed *Il Tozzo*) and Lorenzo Donati, designed and erected a triumphal arch and other decorations, including a gigantic horse in papier-mâché, in honour of that Emperor.² He was also famous as a worker in bronze,³ and among the works done by him in this metal, the most celebrated, now known, are six of the bronze angels, holding lights, affixed to the columns in the Choir of the Duomo. For this work he received 11,600 lire from the Opera del Duomo. According to a contemporary Register of persons buried in the Duomo, Beccafumi died on the 18th May, 1550, and was buried there: other authorities state that

¹ Romagnuoli MS. *Life of Gio. A. Bazzi (Il Sodoma)*, Biblioteca Pubblica di Siena. The writer claims to have seen documents proving this among the Archives of the Patrimonio Ecclesiastico, but I find no mention of it elsewhere.

² For these works he received 70 scudi in gold. Milanesi, *Notes on Vasari's Vite*, etc., vol. v., p. 645.

³ Letter from Accursio Baldi to Scipione Cibo. Biblioteca Pubblica di Siena. Cod. D. vii. 4.



LOMBARDI PHOTO.]

[DESIGNED BY DOMENICO BECCAFUMI

XXV. THE STORY OF MOSES AND THE TABLES OF THE LAW (No. 52)

PAVEMENT OF SIENA

his death occurred in the following year.¹ Giorgio di Gio. Simone was one of his pupils, and Giovanni Battista di Girolamo Sozzini (of whom presently) was another.

39. 1518. *Bernardino di Jacomo.*

Of this sculptor nothing much is known. In company with a painter named Francesco di Bartolommeo, in 1555, he valued a picture painted by Lorenzo di Cristofano (*il Rustico*) and his pupils, for the Confraternità di S. Michele; and he was in 1559-60, commissioned to make three coats of arms in tufa, to decorate the façade of the Palazzo Pubblico.

40. 1518. *Giovannantonio Marinelli, called il Mugnaino.*

Of this sculptor we find no trace; but we read of another workman in the same craft, by name Anton Maria, who was also nicknamed *il Mugnaino*. This artist in 1583, with another sculptor, Domenico Capo, was employed to make marble ornaments for an altar in the Duomo.²

41. 1518. *Giacomo di Pietro Gallo.*

42. 1518. *Bartolommeo di Pietro Gallo.*

Of these two brother masons nothing is known. They may have been related to the cannon-founder,

¹ *Album della Storia Patria. Bozzetti Repubblicani Senesi*, vol. i., p. 637.

² *Mil. Doc.*, vol. iii., p. 252.

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Mosè Gallo, whom we find referred to in 1502, as making guns for the Commune of Siena;¹ or they may have been related to the family from which came Sodoma's wife, Beatrice, daughter of Luca di Gallo.

43. 1518. *Niccolo Filippi*.

44. 1518. *Cristofano di Carbone*.

45. 1544. *Pellegrino di Pietro*.

The only information to be found, concerning this sculptor, is that he was employed to make a tomb for the Marsili family, which was valued by Francesco Tolomei and Domenico Beccafumi.²

46. 1562. *Giovanni Battista di Girolamo Sozzini*.

This painter and sculptor was born in Siena in 1525, and studied the arts of drawing and painting under Bartolommeo Neroni (*Il Riccio*). He was also a pupil of Beccafumi's, and in addition learned to make portrait-effigies in stucco and wax under Pastorino Pastorini, in which art he excelled.³ He was brother to the celebrated Alessandro Sozzini, Diarist of the last Siege of Siena, and died in 1582. His work, as we have said above, was much admired in its day.

¹ *Nuovi Documenti*, p. 363.

² *Mil. Doc.*, vol. iii., p. 317.

³ Signor Armand (*Les Médailleurs Italiens des quinzième et seizième Siècles*. Paris. Plon, 1879. in-8), attributes to him the medallion of Cammillo Agrippa, Milanese architect and engineer, who lived during the Pontificate of Pope Gregory XIII. Milanese, *Notes on Vasari's Vite*, etc., vol. v., p. 391.

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47. 1562. *Niccolo di Girolamo Gori*,

With his brother Antonio was, in 1552, party to a receipt in full, given by the Opera del Duomo to Pastorino Pastorini, the painter and worker in glass, for work done there.¹

48. 1562. *Domenico di Pier Giovanni*.

Of this man also no record is to be found, but perhaps he was the son of the mason, Pier Giovanni, mentioned in a document dated 1537, who opened up an arch for a niche in connection with Sodoma's work on the Cappella di Piazza.²

From this time, for over 200 years, the Pavement work stood still, until :

49. 1780. *Carlo Amidei*, a craftsman of a very mediocre type.

50. 1780. *Matteo Pini*, who was probably only a mason.

Then another century passed away, until our own day.

51. 1875. *Professor Alessandro Franchi*.

52. 1875. *Professor Leopoldo Maccari*.

53. 1875. *Antonio Radicchi*.

54. 1875. *Giuseppe Radicchi*.

These names belong to the History of Modern Italian Art, so that I need do no more than mention them in passing, as they hardly come into the scope of this work.

¹ *Mil. Doc.*, vol. iii., p. 192.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 185.

CHAPTER IV

OTHER PAVEMENT WORK

AS far as I have been able to ascertain, there are but three other examples of Pavement work, similar to that employed in the Siena Duomo. Mosaic pavements, of course, abound all over Italy, with more or less elaborate designs, fanciful, historical, or symbolical ;¹ but none of them really resembles this kind of work, which seems to have been peculiar to the artistic mind of the Sienese. The only other works, that I can find, that can, in any degree, be allied to it are :

1. The Cathedral Pavement at Lucca.
2. The Pavement of the Piccolomini Chapel at S. Francesco, in Siena.
3. The Pavement of the Chapel of Sta. Caterina in S. Domenico, in the same town.

Let us take them in order of date.

1. *The Cathedral Pavement at Lucca.*

This floor is covered with geometrical patterns

¹ In the Cathedral of the SS. Annunziata at Otranto, there is a celebrated work of this kind, dating from 1163, with a number of mythical and historical figures, Signs of the Zodiac, etc., upon it.

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in inlay, and was executed during the Rectorship of Jacopo di Chivizzano (1470-1484). We know, from several references in the Archives of the "Opera" of that Cathedral, that it had been commenced before 1475,¹ and that, among others, Matteo Civitali, the great Luccchese sculptor, was employed upon some of the designs on it. It principally consists of merely ornamental friezes and geometrical designs. In the centre of the Nave, however, there is one picture, to which I would draw special attention. It represents the *Judgment of Solomon*, and is the work of one Antonio di Ghino of Siena. It was commissioned, we read,² by a certain Bartolommeo Guarguaglia, and finished in 1477.³ The work is of the same kind as that at Siena, but is coarser and heavier in type. In design it most resembles the work of Domenico di Bartolo, but there are suggestions in some of the female figures of the influence,—Botticellesque perhaps,—that produced Matteo di Giovanni's *Judith* and her maid, in the *Relief of Bethulia*. Solomon sits on a throne, under a sort of pillared loggia, surrounded by courtiers and attendants, while before him stand the claimants and their infants. The colouring of the picture, the somewhat

¹ Vacchetta vecchia di entrate et uscite dal 1471 all 1484. Archivio dell' Opera di Sta. Croce. (Miscellaneo MS. di n. 1549, p. 168, e seg. nella Biblioteca Pubbl. di Lucca.)

² E. Ridolfi. *L'Arte in Lucca, studiata nella sua Cattedrale*. (Lucca, 1882), p. 163, 164.

³ The final payment is dated 9th June, 1477.

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brutal force of the composition, and the plentiful use of vari-coloured marbles, recall Matteo di Giovanni's *Massacre of the Innocents*, although that work was not executed until several years later. Being in the centre of the nave, and not covered, it has been much injured by time and hard usage. Of its maker, Antonio di Ghino, we know but little. From a note given by Milanese,¹ we gather that, though here called "*da Siena*," he really came of Lucchese stock, and was the son of one Ghino di Paolo of Lucca, a sculptor who lived long in Siena, and died in 1482. Antonio apparently had a son, who signed the Painters' Brief in 1533.

2. *The Pavement of the Cappella Piccolominea in S. Francesco.*

This chapel, which was originally dedicated to S. Andrew, has recently been entirely rejuvenated, at the expense of the late Signora Anna Camaiori Saracini, and re-dedicated to Sta. Anna. There is not, therefore, at first sight much trace of the original work left. We know that, in 1504,² Lorenzo

¹ *Mil. Doc.*, vol. i., p. 53. The compiler in this note promises to give more particulars about him further on, but does not do so; and I can find nothing more elsewhere.

² Archivio de' Contratti. Rogiti di Ser Filiziano Nerini. According to Padre de Angelis (*Vita del Beato Pietro Pettinaio*, p. 124) the artist received 900 florins, of four lire each, for the pavement and altar decorations; and his designs on two sheets of paper, one green and the other plain, signed with his name and the date 1504, are to be found in vol. 69, in the Archives of the Piccolomini family.

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di Mariano (*Il Marrina*) was employed by Giacomo Piccolomini, brother of Pope Pius III., to adorn their family chapel in this church; and, that he not only made an altar, the decorations around the windows, and the entrance arch to the chapel, but also laid down four Cardinal Virtues: *Justice*, *Prudence*, *Fortitude*, and *Temperance*, on the floor.¹ Of all this work, the various conflagrations, that have destroyed the great church of S. Francesco, have left only the arch, the coats of arms, the windows, a small portion of the altar, and the pavement. Restoration, of a too complete kind, has even further concealed the original nature of what remained; and one's first impression on looking at this pavement is that it is brand-new, so well has Professor Leopoldo Maccari done his work.² The figures, however, on close inspection, show high merit. They are finely conceived, on the lines of the Sibyls in the Duomo, and are imposing pieces of work. Lorenzo di Mariano (*Il Marrina*) was one of the finest sculptors of his time. He was born on the 11th of August, 1476, and was the son of Mariano di Domenico Nanni, a goldsmith. In 1506, he became Capo-maestro of the Opera del Duomo,³ where he had been employed since 1490,

¹ According to Padre Micheli (*La Guida Artistica*, p. 131) these Virtues were executed from designs by Pacchiarotto, but I find no authority for that assertion, which seems to contradict the statement made by Padre de Angelis above.

² V. Lusini. *Storia della Basilica di S. Francesco a Siena*, pp. 143, and 282.

³ *Mil. Doc.*, vol. iii., p. 77.

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under the mastership of Giovanni di Maestro Stefano. On the 28th of January, in the following year, he married Elisabetta, daughter of Ser Jacopo Bertini, by whom he had four sons: by name, Girolamo, Gio.-Battista, Agostino, and Giacomo, who were goldsmiths; and one daughter, Bartolommea, who married Lattanzio di Gio. Lotti. He worked a great deal for the various members of the Piccolomini family; the finest extant piece commissioned by them remaining, being the doorway of the Libreria in the Duomo. A tabernacle in the chapel of the Convent of S. Girolamo, and, above all, the exquisite altar in the church of the Fontegiusta by him, testify that the admiration, in which he was held, in his day, was not misplaced.

3. *The Pavement of the Chapel of Sta. Caterina in S. Domenico.*

Of this work we have no reliable record; but it is clearly of late date, perhaps made in the sixteenth century, and most probably, as a sepulchral memorial. We learn from Abate Faluschi,¹ that this chapel belonged to the Benzi family, and was their burial-place. Hither was brought the body of the famous Marco, son of Giovanni Benzi and Nicola Serfucci, who was physician to Niccolo, Marchese d'Este, and died in Ferrara in 1429. The corpse was buried by his uncle Ugo, son of

¹ Faluschi MSS. *Chiese Senesi, A-F*, pp. 154 (on the back) and 148 (on the back).

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Andrea Benzi and Minoccia Pagni, in 1448; and the chapel was built over the grave by Niccolo Buonsignore Benzi in 1488. The following inscription, now effaced :—

HIC LAPIS EGREGII MARCI TEGIT OSSA CELEBRIS.

BENZIUS IS LOGICUS, IS MEDICUS-QUE FUIT.

ALTER ERAT SOCRATES MEDICINA MAXIMUS ARTIS.

HIC AVICENNA FUIT, ISQUE GALENUS ERAT.

QUOS IS NON POTUIT CURASSE EGROS

HERBIS NE CREDAS ID VALUISSE DEOS.

was placed to the memory of Marco Benzi. We find too, that another physician, Sozzini Benzi, belonging to the same family, was also buried here. The decoration of this chapel, by Sodoma, did not take place until 1526; and it is not improbable, that the floor was subsequent to that date. So that it may have been the work of the last of the Pavement Masters, Giovanni Battista Sozzini, spoken of above. The Sozzinis were a distinguished family, and if the name tells us anything, may have been related to this very Sozzini Benzi. The figure of Æsculapius, seated among various wild beasts, would then have appropriate reference to the merits of these two physicians. It is strange to find such a classical piece of composition in a chapel dedicated to Sta. Caterina di Siena, a saint so pre-eminently ecclesiastical; but it is quite in accordance with the spirit of the time. Æsculapius, a handsome nude youth, resembling Orpheus or Bacchus, is seated on a rock

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in a grove of oaks, laurels, and fruit-trees. In his right hand he holds a mirror in which is reflected his own face. To his right, are an unicorn and a wolf: to his left, a leopard and a lion. Perched on the trees, in various directions, are sundry birds: owls, vultures, eagles, etc. One vulture, on the right of the principal figure, is screaming at a monkey, who is eating fruit. On the other side, another bird is clawing at an over-grown squirrel. Around the composition is a frieze representing water, on which are swimming swans and ducks.¹ The composition is good, but the perspective is odd, and the use of many coloured marbles profuse, and not altogether happy.

¹ This border of waterfowl may possibly allude to the *Contrada of the Oca (the Goose)* of which Contrada Sta. Caterina was the especial Patroness, she having lived in their ward and their chapel being in her former home.

NOTE.—The tomb of the Cennini family, before the High Altar in S. Francesco is a degraded seventeenth-century specimen of this kind of work, but it is so debased in taste, and so injured by time, that I hardly like drawing attention to it.

CHAPTER V

MATERIALS AND WORKMANSHIP OF THE PAVEMENT

MOST of the writers on the Pavement, speak of its workmanship, as being of four kinds. This would give the idea of four distinct methods, abruptly divided, which is most certainly not the case. The line of division is so indistinct, and the various styles so blended one into the other, that I can only describe it as an *evolution*, during which four special changes took place.

The earliest and simplest method consisted in using large pieces of white marble, shaped and put together ("*commesso*") to form a sort of silhouette: the perspectives, folds of robes, and other details being defined by lines made, first, with a graving tool, and then accentuated by rows of holes, (smaller or larger, according to the importance of the particular line in the general composition), pierced with a trepanning drill. This is said to be a *trapano*, and is in fact the real *graffito* work. These punctures were frequently very deep, and when filled up with a stucco, composed of pitch (*pecie navale*), resin (*ragia*), and

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pounded potter's clay (*bolio macinato*), produced a surface hard, and nearly as durable, as the solid marble itself. In order further to heighten the effect, the pieces of white marble, making up the entire scene or figure, were inlaid against a piece of dark marble: generally black for the atmosphere, and red for the ground, upon which the figures were supposed to stand. In the ornamental friezes, framing these scenes and figures, marble of other colours very early began to be used. Then presently, these coloured marbles found their way into the picture itself; especially in the larger scenes, where yellow, for instance, was found useful to accentuate jewellery or ornaments. Take as an example, *The Massacre of the Innocents* (Matteo di Giovanni), in which it is very largely employed. To this end also, black marble is twice introduced with startling effect: for *The Libyan Sibyl* (Guidoccio Cozzarelli), and for the negro boy in *The Story of Jephthah* (Bastiano di Francesco). It is undoubtedly true, that the finest effects are obtained, where there is least variety in colour, and where the artist has depended most entirely on simple line, and contrasts of white marble against black. A fine specimen of this treatment is *The Story of Absalom* (Pietro del Minella). Here the figures, trees, etc., stand out with almost weird abruptness, as if they had been cut out of white paper. It must be borne in mind, however, (in spite of statements made to the contrary, and the fact that such methods were

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employed elsewhere later on),¹ that the marbles used on the Pavement were always *natural*, and *not artificially coloured*. The Duomo authorities appear to have had quarries, either of their own, or under contract to supply them regularly. We read of *nostro marmiera*² at Gallena, in the Val d'Elsa; of black marble, brought from *chasciano de le donne* (San Casciano, near Radicofani);³ and of red from Gorfalco in the Val di Cecina, near Massa Marittima.⁴

Pinturicchio, following out his ardent taste for brilliant and bizarre effect, made plentiful use of these colour varieties; but what probably makes the work of Beccafumi so striking, as compared with that of his predecessors, is, that in his later work he discards these vivid contrasts, confines himself almost entirely to low tones of colour, which shade from one into the other; and produces his effects by a species of *chiaroscuro*. Instead of outlining each piece, or figure, in a single colour, he frequently uses on the same subject, white and two or three different shades of pale-coloured grey marble. On a face, or a nude figure, this gives

¹ An instance of this debased, but by some admired, artifice may be seen in the church of S. Giorgio in Siena, on the memorial slab to the artist, Francesco Vanni, executed in 1656, by his son, Michel Angelo.

² 1476, 9 Settembre. Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo. Libro Giallo delle tre Rose a 57.

³ 1485 Archivio detto. Libro Nero dal 1461-1533 a 182.

⁴ 1482. Archivio detto. Libro d'un Leone a 34 (on the back).

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the effect of shadows of varying intensity, but, at times, runs perilously near the ludicrous, by making some of the persons parti-coloured. In the *Elijah* series,—his earliest work,—probably with an idea of improving on his predecessors, he had introduced small pieces of vivid green and red marble, to indicate jewelled borders to the robes of Ahab, and other important personages. This treatment, adopted again by Professor Franchi, when completing that *Story*, he soon wholly discarded, still retaining, however, the old *graffito* method for his outlines. But this also he abandoned more and more as he proceeded. Had he not been so fine a draughtsman his experiments in this direction would have been dangerous. Even now, it is doubtful, whether the results are so practically durable, or so artistically satisfactory, on the floor, as the older work. It would seem, as if they, in a sense, the apotheosis of this species of work, should be set up perpendicularly, so that the full effect of their superb draughtsmanship could be fairly perceived and appreciated.

Professor Franchi must have found himself in a great dilemma, when he undertook to complete this work. He could hardly revert to the manner of the pre-Beccafumi schools, and it would have been too dangerous to imitate closely Beccafumi himself. Fortunately, he had special gifts, and had the courage to follow his own instinct. The result has been, works, which, if in vivid contrast to all that had gone before, and essentially

PAVEMENT OF SIENA

modern in feeling, are works of art of unquestionable brilliance. They resemble cartoons in marble,



LOMBARDI PHOTO.]
(FROM A DRAWING)

[BY PROF. ALESSANDRO FRANCHI

XXVI. ELIJAH CAUGHT UP TO HEAVEN (No. 38)

and are drawn with extraordinarily realistic force. All the three larger designs are instinct with life,

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and irresistibly suggestive of energetic movement. We may especially notice for this *Elijah being caught up to Heaven*. (Ill. XXVI.)

In conclusion, let me say, that whatever may be the opinion of critics of undoubted ability : first, as to the suitability of a Pavement, such as this, at all ;¹ and next, as to the varying merits of this or that portion of it, over any other : there can be no doubt, as to its paramount and unique interest, historically, as well as artistically. It is in itself a small epitome of Sienese Art History : a continuous chain, whose links bind together, in spite of long intervals, more than five centuries of Sienese art-workers ; and a never-ending joy to the thoughtful and the intelligent.

¹ See Charles E. Norton. *Church Building in the Middle Ages*, p. 176.



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