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MADONNA DI VICO



L. MELANO ROSSI.

THE
MADONNA DI VICO



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PROPRIETÀ ARTISTICA
L. MELANO ROSSI

LA MADONNA DI VICO

L. Melano Rossi

THE SANTUARIO
OF THE
MADONNA DI VICO

PANTHEON OF
CHARLES EMANUEL I. OF SAVOY

BY
L. MELANO ROSSI

ILLUSTRATED

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
ST. MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON

1907

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(Boston, Mass.)

93 Moreland Street
Roxbury, Mass.

TO
HIS MAJESTY
Victor Emanuel III.
OF SAVOY
KING OF ITALY

PREFACE

ITALY is an inexhaustible theme even if one considers only the best-known characteristic feature—its Art. No one has felt the truth of this statement more fully than Taine when, journeying towards Switzerland, “after three months passed in the society of pictures and statues,” he longed for rest amid the pastoral scenes of Northern Italy. “But,” he writes from Como, “it is in vain to have resolved to see no more works of art. They exist everywhere in Italy.” He might have added also that they are to be found in the most unexpected places, as in the case of the *Santuario* of the *Madonna di Vico*, the great *Pantheon* of *Charles Emanuel I. of Savoy*,¹ hidden away in a little

¹ The Sanctuary of Vico, a church designed by Ascanio Vitozzi in 1590, and crowned by a famous dome (1730-48) has been declared a national monument.—*Encyclopædia Britannica*, MCMII.

Je ne dois pas oublier que l'architecture italienne du XVIII^e siècle s'orne d'une des plus belles constructions qui aient été élevées depuis la Renaissance jusqu'à nos jours. Je veux parler de la coupole du Sanctuaire de Mondovì, achevée en 1748, ouvrage de l'architecte François Gallo (1672-1750), une coupole qui, par son importance, rappelle celle de Santa Maria del Fiore et de Saint Pierre. L'architecte Gallo fut vraiment un parfait constructeur.—P. PLANAT, *Encyclopédie de l'Architecture* (last edition).

Una delle più mirabili cupole d'Italia è quella del Santuario di Mondovì, opera dell' architetto Francesco Gallo, la quale per dimensioni vien subito dopo la cupola di San Pietro e la cupola di Santa Maria del Fiore.—GIULIO NATALI ED EUGENIO VITELLI (1903).

Gloria tamen longe maxima Urbi Deiparae Virginis a Vico Templum est, miraculis, & populorum cultu celeberrimum. Hoc vero satis sit in praesens innuere de Oppido, quod leucam circiter ab Urbe dissitum, pars tamen Urbis ex veteri institutione censetur, & de Templo; peculiarem enim sibi exigit narrationem, uti etiam alia longe plura ad Civitatis statum, administrationemque spectantia, quae fusius prosequi operae pretium in presentiarum nequaquam est.—*Novum Theatrum Pedemontii, etc.*

mountain valley of Piedmont, and entirely forgotten by the world of to-day.

Chance travellers like Taine, seeking rest and quiet in health-giving mountain air, might discover this monumental temple, were it not that in thinking of mountain scenery every one turns instinctively to Switzerland, forgetting that Italy, although possessing the soft valleys and rolling hills of the Apennines, is surrounded on the north by the immense snowy barrier of the same Alps that make the fame of Switzerland. The mountains of Cadore, better known as the Dolomites, geographically belonging to Italy, the Italian Tyrol, including Lake Garda, the Valtellina, and some other regions of Lombardy, are known because they are on the high road of travel, but beautiful Piedmont,¹ bounded by Savoy and Provence, with glorious views of the Alpine giants, lovely glens and valleys musical with rippling streams and shaded by forests of tall chestnuts and walnuts, is entirely neglected. Piedmont, especially South Piedmont, has no luxurious hotels nor other artificial allurements to tempt an invasion of fashion. The people are still absorbed in the culture of the silkworm and general agricultural pursuits, and take no measures to attract tourists. They care little for mountain scenery, describing which they use the old pagan terms "rocky," "rugged and horrid."² The Swiss, less favoured in soil

¹ Piedmont is a State of God's own making. The barrier which Providence reared up for the defence of Italy stands yet unconquered after the enslavement of the whole Peninsula. The Alps, which failed to make one State of the land they encompassed, gave at least rise to a border State, which may perhaps yet work out the deliverance of the country (May 1854).—ANTONIO GALLENGA.

² Dryden, in his dedication to the *Indian Emperor*, says: "High objects, it is true, attract the sight; but it looks up with pain on craggy rocks and barren mountains, and continues not intent on any object which is wanting in shades and green to entertain it." Addison and Gray had no better epithets than "rugged," "horrid," and the like for Alpine landscape.—JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS.

Burckhardt affirms that "a deepening effect of nature on the human spirit begins with Dante. Not only does he awaken in us by a few vigorous lines the sense of the morning airs and the trembling light on the distant ocean, or

and with a climate unsuited to the silkworm, early learned to make the most of their scenic possessions, and little by little have gone on opening up their Alpine world and building hostelrys, till now their "hotel industry" is a source of permanent national prosperity.¹

Italy may still be regarded as pre-eminently the land of Art, but it should be realised that it is as well a land whose great natural beauty varies from the exuberance of the tropics to the savage wildness of Alpine heights. It is not on artistic grounds alone that the Santuario of the Madonna di Vico should prove interesting, but also because of the surpassing beauty of its surroundings, entirely one side from the ordinary routes of travel.²

of the grandeur of the storm-beaten forest, but he makes the ascent of lofty peaks, with the only possible object of enjoying the view, the first man, perhaps, since the days of antiquity who did so." Petrarch also was a well-known Alpinist.

Montaigne, visitant la chute du Rhin à Shaffouse, n'y trouve rien à remarquer, si ce n'est "qu'elle interrompt la navigation." . . . Les littérateurs qui ont visité Rome au XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles ont traversé la Campagne sans la voir. Ni Balzac, ni Voiture, ni Milton, ni Addison, ni Gray ne l'ont jugée digne d'un regard.—PALÉOLOGUE.

¹ Mine host of the "Falcon" at Berne, a competent authority in such matters, assured me that no less than forty million francs come yearly into Switzerland with the great influx of tourists and pleasure-seekers who repair to the mountains in the short summer season between July and September. Now as there are two sides to these mountains, and as, in my humble opinion, the Italian side of the Alps is by no means less grand and picturesque, and infinitely more verdant, luxuriant, and lovely, than the Helvetian side, there is no mortal reason why the Italian dwellers on the Alps, and especially the Piedmontese, should not come in for their fair share of the millions which make Swiss inn-keepers the magnates of their land. The only reason is the very dismal accommodation afforded by sub-Alpine hotels. . . . I have known tourists, whole tribes of English tourists, with a complete array of couriers, maids, tutors, and governesses, pause on the Grand St. Bernard, inhaling the sweet balmy air coming up from the Val d' Aosta—that loveliest of valleys—and inquire whether no better inn had yet been established in the ancient city of Augusta Praetoria than the old "Golden Lion," of which either they had such horrid recollection, or of which common report gave such a shocking account; and upon hearing that the "Golden Lion" still reigned alone, I have seen them turn their faces backwards, and scamper down the narrow northern valley to their cheerless but cosy and clean quarters at Martigny.—GALLENGA, 1854.

² There are some mineral springs near the Santuario, the waters of which are said to be efficacious in digestive troubles; and the hill of Fiamenga has been suggested by some doctors as an excellent place to establish a grape-cure, as they assert the native grapes are of the very best quality for such a purpose.

There is still a third interest for lovers of modern Italy, because of its association with the House of Savoy,¹ and particularly with the patriotic and public-spirited founder, Charles Emanuel I., who was foremost in proclaiming the gospel of Dante, the true religion of Italy, and the basis of all sound creeds that elevate a people by implanting in them love of God and love of country.

Popularly known simply as "La Madonna di Vico," this "Santuario," or more exactly "Pantheon," has already been the subject of some local literature under the official (but not legitimate) name of "Santuario di Mondovì." A large, diffuse, and discursive book by Prof. Danna and Architect Chiecchio, though valuable for its minute information, has apparently never been read beyond a limited radius. In attempting to write this account of the Santuario it has often been necessary to dissent from local opinions, but the historical facts are unchanged; and, strange as some of these may seem, no statement has been made that is not fully supported by the authority of the best accredited historians of this section. For facts concerning the Santuario itself I am indebted to Prof. Danna, the only writer who has thoroughly sifted its archives and made full notes from its official records. As regards technical details, Prof. Danna had the valuable help of Mr. Chiecchio, an

¹ There is enough that is intrinsically beautiful and heart-stirring in the annals of the reigning House itself. For a lineal succession of forty sovereign princes in twenty-seven generations—counts, dukes, and kings—during the lapse of eight centuries and a half (1854), that House has stood its ground. There must have been something more than chance thus to chain the wheel of fortune in favour of a dynasty; and the historians of Savoy find an adequate reason in the fact that "no royal family has produced so long and uninterrupted a series of brave, able men"; or we might say, with more modesty but greater certainty, none has been so remarkable for the absence of bad, idiotic, or craven men and of profligate women—in none have the instances of startling crimes or hideous vices been more unfrequent. Several of those princes may claim the reputation of distinguished warriors and legislators at home, and two of them at least played a most conspicuous part, and exercised a paramount influence on general events abroad.—ANTONIO GALLENGA.

architect who, after the death of the professor, completed his unfinished book. The great defect of this book, however, though published under the supervision of a professional architect, is the absolute lack of drawings illustrating the construction of the church, and this is made still worse by the reproduction of some early plates taken from the *Theatrum Pedemontii*, etc., which are in every way incorrect, and only serve to mislead those seeking information from original plans.

Before treating in detail of the architecture, decorative frescoes, and sculptures of the Santuario, I have prefaced each of these important subjects with a short introduction for the benefit of the general reader who may not be familiar with the technicalities of these arts. For this purpose I have availed myself freely of the works of such recognised authorities as J. Guadet, Professor of Architecture in the École des Beaux-Arts of Paris ; Reginald Blomfield, Architect, of Exeter College, Oxford ; Prof. Charles H. Moore, of Harvard University, Cambridge, U.S.A. ; Prof. Banister Fletcher, of King's College, London ; Viollet-le-Duc, Charles Blanc, E. M. Barry, Elmes, Fergusson, Russell Sturgis, Armitage, Lübke, Choisy, Muther, Woermann und Wortmann, Bosanquet, George Edmund Street, Sir Gilbert Scott, J. A. Symonds, Burckhardt, Grimm, Duruy, Michelet, Dean Milman, Gregorovius, Gallenga, Enrico Panzacchi, Menendez y Pelayo, Benedetto Croce, and others. The drawings were made by Mr. Washington W. Marrs, except the asymmetric view, which is the work of Mr. James Ford Clapp.

After a description of the geographical situation and the country surrounding the Santuario, I have given an account of its building and a sketch of the life and deeds of Charles Emanuel I. of Savoy ; then, having reviewed the most remarkable dome constructions in different parts

of the world, the unique dome of the Santuario of the Madonna di Vico is analysed.

As the history of the House of Savoy has been closely interwoven with that of the Santuario during almost three centuries, from the moment when the foundation stone was laid in 1596, until 1881, when the temple was taken under the protection of the State, I have added at the end of the volume, as a matter of interest and for easy reference, a Chronological Table of that reigning House from its legendary beginnings to the present day, further supplemented by a Genealogical Tree.

Respecting the slow and often interrupted progress of the building of the Santuario, I have tried to save the reader from the tedious task of perusing a long and disconnected narrative by adding also a Memorandum of Data that may prove useful to those looking for a detailed history of this great Pantheon, which I have here endeavoured to make known to the world again.

L. MELANO ROSSI

LONDON, *August* 1906.

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INTRODUCTION

BOTH ancient and modern geographers seem to agree on the line of demarcation between the Alpine system of mountains surrounding the northern part of Italy and the subordinate Apennines dividing that Peninsula from one end to the other. They almost unanimously point to the lowest depression in the range of the Western Riviera¹ traversed by an ancient Roman road.² This road, ascending from the olive orchards of the Bay of Savona, soon passes beneath the spreading chestnut-trees of Altare, where the low summit is reached, and then, winding

¹ It is not easy to determine where the limit between the Maritime Alps and the Ligurian Apennines should be fixed. That great master of practical geography, Napoleon, placed the boundary at the Colle d' Altare, or di Cadibona (470 m., 1624 feet), under which now passes the railway line from Turin and Alessandria to Savona, and this opinion was endorsed by the Italian Geographical Congress in 1892, on the ground that this pass is the best defined depression in the mountain ranges round the Gulf of Genoa.—JOHN BALL.

² Cette route est évidemment la route phénicienne classée sous l'Empire comme embranchement de la grande *voie Aurélienne*, sous le nom de *Via Julia Augusta*. Peu après la Turbie, elle suivait les premières pentes des Apennins, doucement inclinées vers la mer, et devait les franchir par un de ces nombreux cols aux altitudes moyennes qui donnent accès dans l'une des vallées tributaires du Po. Le choix était facile, et l'un d'entre eux, celui de *Cadibone* en particulier, est un véritable seuil géographique entre la plaine du Piémont et la région du littoral. Sa hauteur n'atteint pas cinq-cent mètres, et il peut être considéré comme un large fossé qui sépare les Alpes de l'Apennin. Les pentes du côté de la mer, sont très faciles ; du côté du Nord, on suit l'un des affluents de la Bormida à travers des prairies et de petits bois d'oliviers, qui ont été de tout temps fertiles, dans un pays enchanteur dont les petites villes et les inoindres bourgs modernes retentissent encore de l'éclat de nos armes : Mondovì, Montenotte, Millesimo. C'est essentiellement un passage stratégique, le mieux dessiné, le plus accessible, le plus hospitalier de toute la chaîne des Alpes, presque une route de plaisance et qui a été certainement connue et suivie dans la longue série des siècles par les peuples et les armées.—CHARLES LENTHÉRIC.

peacefully for many miles between thickly wooded hills from one narrow valley to another, gently descends on the northern side, to separate into the bewildering arteries of Montferrat and Piedmont. The branch of this road that skirts the foot of the mountains behind the Western Riviera strikes the river Tanaro at Ceva, and crosses it again at the picturesque ravine of Lesegno. Bordered with green fields planted with mulberry-trees, it then runs through a level stretch of country, and a few miles farther along passes in front of the Santuario of the Madonna di Vico, and thence to lower Mondovì, where it meets many other roads coming from different directions.

The strategic importance of this road was appreciated by the young Napoleon and used to good advantage in his first expedition to Italy, in the successful battles of Carcare, Dego, Montenotte, Millesimo, and Mondovì. "When the soldiers in the march towards Ceva reached the heights of Montezemolo¹ and beheld the splendid plain which lay stretched before them, surrounded by the magnificent amphitheatre of the Alps, they were seized with such admiration that they halted and saluted their young chief with universal acclamations."² Napoleon himself was so struck by the country, and particularly by the view from the summit of Vico, that he wrote to the Directoire: "Nous sommes ici dans le plus beau pays de la terre."³

The continental watershed formed by this side of the Maritime Alps is the obverse of the medal, in comparison with the tropical Riviera,⁴ and is one of the anomalies of

¹ Bonaparte had gained in a few days the entire confidence of his soldiers. The generals of division yielded to his opinion. They listened with attention, nay, with admiration, to the terse and figurative language of the young captain. On the heights of Montezemolo, which had to be crossed to reach Ceva, the army perceived the lovely plains of Piedmont and Italy. The French armies beheld the Tanaro, the Stura, the Po, and all those rivers that run into the Adriatic; they beheld in the background the Upper Alps covered with snow, and were lost in the contemplation of those beautiful plains of *the land of promise* (Bonaparte's own expression). Bonaparte was at the head of his soldiers; he was affected. "Hannibal," he exclaimed, "crossed the Alps; as for us, we have gone round them."—ADOLPHE THIERS.

² Lanfrey.

³ "C'est le plus beau tableau dont l'œil humain puisse être frappé," said Jean-Jacques Rousseau in speaking of this region.

⁴ There is a vast difference between the gradual northern slope of the

the Italian climate which perplexes those unfamiliar with the country who are accustomed to think of Italy only as "das Land wo die Citronen blüh'n." Vine-clad hills and emerald green plains here take the place of olive orchards and orange groves, and the landscape, though softer and more luxuriant than the austere solitudes of Switzerland and Germany, has the same aspect of freshness and coolness, accentuated by the sharp lines of snow-capped mountains. The exhaustive methods of tilling the fertile land in connection with the silkworm culture and the intensive systems of gardening give an artificial air to much of Northern Italy that detracts from its natural picturesqueness; but this loss is more than compensated for by the wealth and comfort indicated by the numerous farms and villages.¹

The so-called battle of Mondovì was fought within the territory of Vico, upon the neighbouring Brichetto, a low hill overlooking both Vico and Mondovì. The numberless hills of this region, many still crowned with Saracenic towers or ruins of mediæval castles, bear the

Ligurian Alps and the steep southern descent in regard to climate and vegetation as well as to its form and general outward character. The northern side has the character of Central Europe, while the southern side, sloping with exquisite beauty down to the famed Riviera di Ponente with its splendid climate, exhibits to a great extent the vegetation of the south.—F. UMLAUF.

¹ The hand of Providence has not withheld a single gift from this blessed land. It bestows on the plain rich crops of wheat, maize, and rice, which the perennial streams from the Alpine glaciers secure from drought in the longest summer heats; it mantles the lower hillsides with vineyards, renowned throughout Lombardy; it shades the valleys in their deepest recesses with chestnuts and walnuts, which attain all the height and luxuriance of the English oak. Mere forest-trees are not numerous, for the niggardly industry of the sub-Alpine husbandman would grudge any space for mere timber; those long rows of trees which look so quaint from an elevated point of view, dwarfed as they are by the distance, are mostly mulberry-trees, every leaf worth its weight of gold; and from every branch, in every tree, the vine hangs in festoons, whilst under the shade of both, the corn, nothing hindered, still contrives to ripen. Even in the mountains scarcely a bush grows but is made to contribute to the wealth no less than to the beauty of the country. . . .

The different character of the sub-Alpine and trans-Alpine valleys is not unhappily described in a popular couplet, in which the Dora Riparia is represented as bidding farewell to its sister, the Durance, on the little lakelet which gives birth to both on the plain at the top of Mont Genève :—

Adieu, ma sœur, la Durance,
 Nous nous séparons sur ce mont ;
 Tu vas ravager la France,
 Je vais féconder l'Piémont.—ANTONIO GALLENCA.

one common name of Aleramic Hills, from Aleramo,¹ a legendary hero of the times of Otho I., Emperor of Germany,² who is said to have made over to him all this region in fief as a reward for his gallant deeds. During the ancient Roman times it was considered a part of Liguria. Immediately after the Roman conquest, as was the custom then, a new road was built which joined Ceba (now Ceva) with Bredolum (now Mondovì-Breo), and connected the Aurelian Way from the Western Riviera with what became later the *Via Julia Augusta*, in Upper Italy.³ This new road was built for military purposes on the commanding ridge now occupied by the present Vicoforte, selected as the best site for a strong *castrum*,⁴

¹ A drama called *Il Falconiere di Pietra Ardena* has been written by Leopoldo Marengo about this hero.

² This Aleramo, according to ancient legends, came as an orphan to the court or camp of the Emperor Otho I., where he won the good graces of Alasia, or Adelaide, the Emperor's daughter. She eloped with him, and lived in concealment in the grottoes and woods of the Apennines above Savona or Albenga, where the valiant husband provided for the wants of a growing family by manual labour as a charcoal-burner. After fifteen years of this obscure existence, an opportunity offered itself to Aleramo of displaying his own valour and that of his son, Oddo, a mere boy, before the Emperor's eyes at the siege of Brescia. This led to a discovery and restoration of the long-lost couple to favour, when Aleramo was invested with the Marchional rank and extensive estates between the Tanaro, the Orba, and the sea (March 23, 967).

So far the legend, which must not be rejected as altogether fabulous. Modern genealogists have given this Aleramo a father, one Count William, a Frenchman, whom they describe as coming into Italy in the suite of Guido of Spoleto, at the time that this Duke laid claims to the crown of Italy, in opposition to Berengarius I., in 889. Aleramo himself took part in those wars which Arduino Gabrione of Turin and other lords waged against the Saracens of Frassineto. Indeed, it was probably under the guidance of this Aleramo that the citizens of Acqui repulsed those marauders from their walls in 933. It was by these important services to the cause of Christianity that he won the esteem of the German Emperor, as he had previously secured the goodwill of Berengarius II., King of Italy, his marriage with whose daughter Gilberga seems, to say the least, as authentic as that with the love-sick princess of the legend. The title of Marquis and very broad lands were already possessed by Aleramo under Berengarius II., and they could only be confirmed and extended by Otho I. when Aleramo abandoned the fortunes of the Italian king to follow those of his Saxon conqueror.—ANTONIO GALLENGA.

³ Casalis, *Dizionario Geografico*.

⁴ Nothing now remains above ground of the once famous Castle of Vico, called by the Marquises of Montferrat "their heart." It is supposed, however, that the present battlemented campanile of the parish church is a relic of it. A few underground passages still exist in a dilapidated state.

Vico is a name common to various towns and villages in Italy and elsewhere during the Roman period, and proves their Roman origin. The ancient

and was called *Via Flaminia*, a name still retained by tradition. This *Via Flaminia* bears no relation to the more important Flaminian Way from Rome to Rimini, which commemorates another Flaminius. This name *Via Flaminia* came to be identified with a certain portion of the long horseshoe-shaped hill along which the road ran, where the first nucleus of the town was planted, the present *Fiamenga*. The inhabitants of this new settlement were of the *Camillia* tribe,¹ from the near-by country included between the rivers Tanaro and Stura. Beyond a conjectural account of its foundation there is no historical record, any such being probably lost for ever in the missing books of Livy's *History of Rome*.² D'Anville, however, may not be far from the truth in thinking that it was the *Augusta Vagiennorum*, because of its geographical advantages at the junction of several continental roads with two mountain roads leading in opposite directions to the Mediterranean at *Vada Sabbata* and Nice, and forming the apex of a triangle with the

Romans usually added a second name to distinguish the many *Vici* one from another. This may have been *Vicus Flaminius*, as *Fiamenga* (a variation of *Flaminia*) is still preserved in the name of the oldest and best exposed part of the town, and therefore the most likely spot to have been first settled along the *Via Flaminia*. The *Camillia* tribe may have called it *Vicus Camilius*, though, judging from tradition, this seems less likely. The lower sections, which were the last to be built, have vague names that bear no reference to antiquity. They sprang up probably during the age of the mediæval republics, at which time the *Castrum* was already distinct from *Flaminia* proper, as it took the Teutonic name of *Burg*, still retained in the Italian form of *Borgo*; and the more general name of *Vico* came to designate the eastern additions, comprising Settevie, Gariboggio, San Bernardo, Buda, il Poggio, la Costa, and il Santuario. The first Christian church mentioned, according to Lobera, is *San Pietro*, built in the western part of the town, on the *Via Flaminia*, between the Castle or *Burg*, and *Fiamenga*, thus indicating again that this western side was the oldest. The large jurisdiction of this church, or *Pieve di San Pietro*, was afterwards transferred to *Monte Vico* (the present Mondovì), and when *Vico* was under the Bishop of Asti, a new parish church was built within the "*Burg*," which still survives, and is called *San Donato*.

The new name of *Vicoforte* was officially given to the town in 1864; but it is a misnomer in that it leads one to expect to see a fort or fortification, or, at least, the ruins of one. Of the three names, *Vico*, *Borgo*, and *Fiamenga*, *Vico* and one of the last two should be kept. As the name of *Via Flaminia* already exists officially in *Fiamenga*, why would it not be better to call the whole straggling town *Vico Flaminio*? It would then have a distinctive name indicating its historic origin.—L. M. R.

¹ Lobera.

² Della Rocca.

seashore for its base.¹ Over-run and razed to the ground by repeated Gothic invasions, both town and castle were as many times rebuilt, without, however, ever rising to any commercial importance, even during the Communes of the Middle Ages, after the general dismemberment of Charlemagne's empire. It only began to be known in history during the Italian struggles against Frederick Barbarossa, when it espoused indifferently the cause of the Guelphs or Ghibellines, according to convenience and circumstances. Its most important event was a long war with the tyrant lord, the Bishop of Asti, during which a great part of the population migrated to another hill three miles farther west, where they made a permanent settlement which grew into *Monte Vico*² (the present city of Mondovì), sometimes called "Monte Regale," or "Monregale," by the fugitives from other Piedmontese or Lombard states, attracted by the reports of the new lawless community.³ In 1368 it was an English possession.⁴

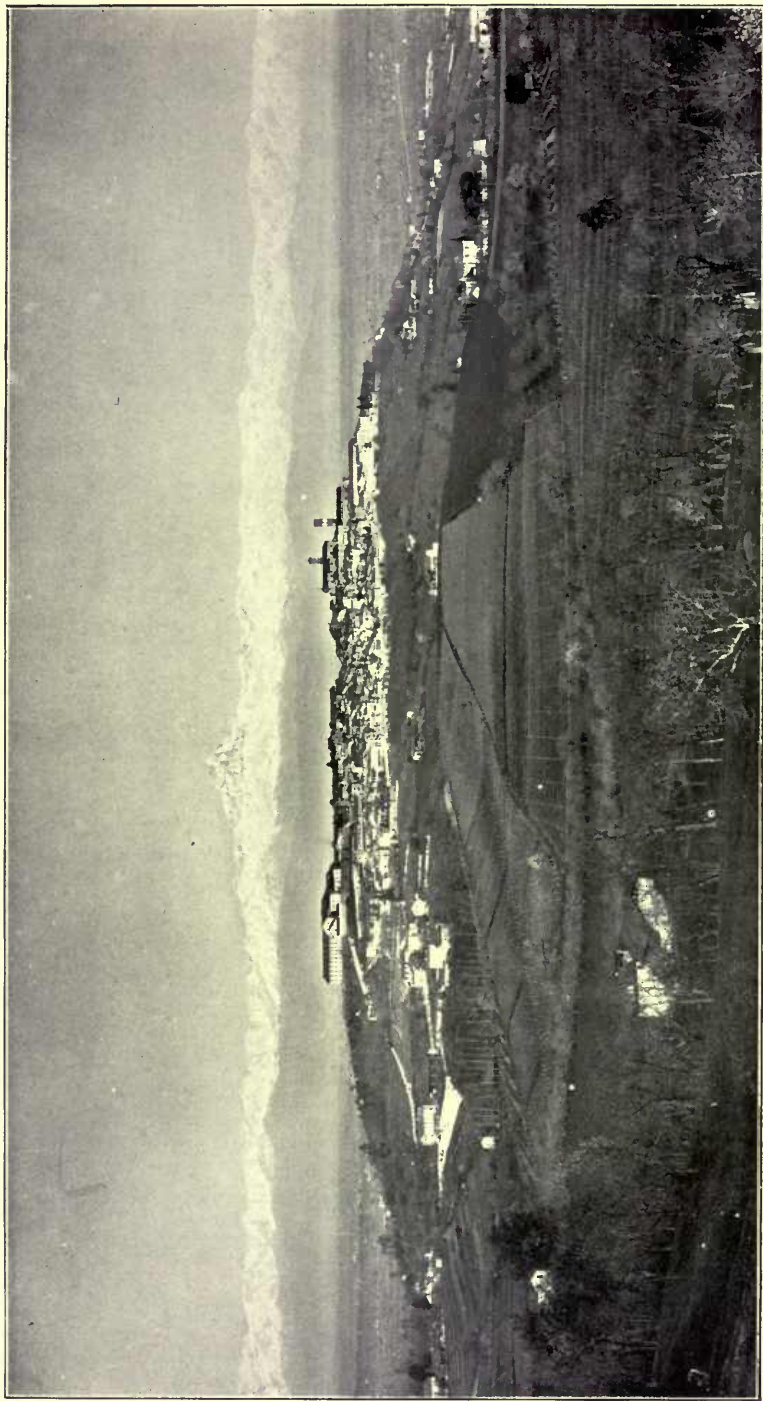
Yet, if the historic obscurity of Vico has bequeathed no legacy of literary value, the beauty of the spot itself and its surroundings deserves more than the passing glance of Napoleon's armies. To those familiar with Greece it recalls the many cities perched on Arcadian hills over-

¹ De Amicis.

² Mons ergo Vici (nomen mutuatur a Vico Pago, cujus ad Incolas magnam partem spectabat) delectus est. In cum colonias unanimes trastulerunt.—*Novum Theatrum Pedemontii, etc.*

³ Della Chiesa.

⁴ Galeazzo Visconti mirava a levar la sua casa con grandi maritaggi, sistema che già gli aveva dato buoni frutti; Bianca sua moglie era sorella di Amedeo VI. di Savoia, Isabella figlia di Giovanni II. re di Francia era moglie di Gian Galeazzo suo figlio: restava di maritar bene la figlia Violante, e credette riuscire nell'intento dandola sposa (1368) a Lionello duca di Chiarenza figlio di Odoardo III. re d'Inghilterra, vedovo di Elisabetta figlia di Guglielmo di Burgh conte di Ulster. Assegnolle duocento mila fiorini e le sue terre del Piemonte Bra, Alba, Cherasco, il Montereale, Cuneo, Centallo, Demonte, Roccasparvera. . . . Giunto Lionello a Parigi il 6 Aprile si riponeva dopo pochi giorni in viaggio ed entrava il 27 maggio (1368) in Milano accompagnato da Amedeo VI., che si era a lui congiunto in Savoia. Galeazzo moveva incontro con grande seguito agli ospiti illustri. Lo spozalizio fu celebrato il 5 giugno. Le pompe del corteo nuziale superarono tutto ciò che di più meraviglioso erasi veduto da gran tempo in Italia. Al convito sedeva in mezzo ai principi il Petrarca.—E. MOROZZO DELLA ROCCA.



VIEW OF MONVISO AND MONDOVÌ, FROM VICO, IN THE MORNING.



VIEW OF MONVISO AND MONDOVÌ, FROM VICO, AT SUNSET.

looking outlying valleys and the distant mountains of Laconia ; or Baalbeck in Cele-Syria, with a more exuberant Bekaa stretched below, and the Lebanon mountains magnified and in a richer scheme of colour. But nowhere does the eye of man take in so much of the earth and the heavens at one glance. It is situated like an observatory at the western extremity of the hills of Aleramo, with four geographical features at hand. Here the Apennines have their birth and the Maritime Alps end ; in one direction extends the great Plain of Lombardy, and in another the whole range of the higher Alps is seen in uninterrupted succession as far as the eye can reach gradually rising from over against Nice to the majestic snowy pyramid of Monviso,¹ far more commanding than the Finsteraarhorn in the Bernese Oberland, and fully as bold and imposing as the Matterhorn in the Pennine Alps. It is like Mount Shasta, but wilder, and, emerging in solitary grandeur from an endless line of snow, overshadows all the other summits, except Monte Rosa and Mount Paradis (which hides Mont Blanc). It is so gigantic that it struck even the imagination of the ancient Romans, wholly unappreciative of mountain scenery, who mention it, under the name of *Mons Vesulus*, as “the highest mountain in the world, from which issues the Po, the king of Italian rivers.”²

¹ The Cottian Alps form the northerly continuation of the main ridge of the Maritime Alps. They consist mainly of four great parallel chains extending east and west, and connected by transverse branches. These chains are regular on the eastern side, and between them rise the Po and its upper tributaries, the Maira, Varaita, and Pellice. The Po itself rises in *Monte Viso* (12,613 feet), which is composed of gabbro and serpentine, and is the most isolated peak of conspicuous height in the whole of the Alps.—T. UMLAUFT.

² This is the chord of Lombard colouring in May. Lowest in the scale : bright green of varied tints, the meadow-grasses mingling with willows and acacias, harmonised by air and distance. Next, opaque blue—the blue of something between amethyst and lapis lazuli—that belongs alone to the basements of Italian mountains. Higher, the roseate whiteness of ridged snow on Alps or Apennines. Highest, the blue of the sky, ascending from pale turquoise to transparent sapphire filled with light. . . .

The panorama, unrolling as we ascend, is enough to overcome a lover of beauty. There is nothing equal to it for space and breadth and majesty. Monte Rosa, the masses of Mont Blanc blent with the Grand Paradis, the airy pyramid of Monte Viso, these are the battlements of that vast Alpine rampart, in which the vale of Susa opens like a gate. To west and south sweep the

It seemed almost as if the destiny of the Christian world was to be decided under its mighty flanks. It was here that Constantine, returning from Gaul, saw in the heavens the resplendent White Cross and the mystic words: "*In hoc signo vinces.*" Under its shadow the Roman general Stilicho was saluted "Fourth Founder of Rome" after his victory over Alaric, at Pollentia.¹ Here, again, the Saracens (flocking hither from Frassineto and Spain) were finally defeated and driven back by Arduin III., Aleramo, and probably Count Berold of Savoy: an event less noted than the battles of Tours and Lepanto, but which may have had no less historic consequences.

This beautiful corner of Piedmont can now be reached by rail from Nice or Genoa, by way of Savona, following very nearly the same route as Napoleon in his first Italian expedition, or more directly from Turin through the so-called "Italian Netherlands," threaded by an intricate system of irrigating canals that feed rich meadows reaching to the foot-hills of the Aleramic region.² When the railway line from Tenda is com-

Maritime Alps and the Apennines. Beneath glides the infant Po; and where he leads our eyes, the plain is only limited by pearly mist.—JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS.

This eloquent description is equally applicable to the view from the highest part of Vicoforte, and, indeed, from almost every open space on the roads that wind midway along the surrounding hills. The view is the same as from Superga, of which Mr. Symonds is speaking, or from Monte Cappuccini of the Alpine Club; but there Monviso is not seen in the best perspective as it is from Vico, where in all its glory it towers aloft to its full height, and the near Ligurian chain, which here is as the finishing touch to the picture, is too far away and too indistinct, seen from the hills of Turin.—L. M. R.

¹ Thierry.

² Northern Italy, in addition to the numerous rivers, possesses one of the most extensive systems of canals in the world, which has served as a pattern to all the rest of Europe. Lombardy, portions of Piedmont, the Campagna of Turin, the Lomellina of the Ticino, and the Polesinas of Ferrara and Rovigo possess a wonderful ramification of irrigation, which carries fertile alluvium to the exhausted fields. In the Middle Ages, when the remainder of Europe was still shrouded in darkness, the Lombard republics already practised the art of irrigation on the vastest scale, and drained their low-lying plains. Milan, after she had thrown off the yoke of the German oppressors, towards the close of the twelfth century, constructed the *Naviglio Grande*, a ship canal derived from the Ticino, thirty miles distant, probably the first engineering work of the kind in Europe. In the beginning of the thirteenth century the superabundant waters of the Adda were utilised in filling the Muzza Canal. The same river at a subsequent period was made to feed another canal, the

pleted, it will be in direct communication with both Nice and Ventimiglia. Another line is proposed by the Pass of Nava to Albenga, near Alassio, or Oneglia, which will be the shortest way to the Riviera. The carriage roads across the mountains from Nice, Mentone, Ventimiglia, Albenga, Oneglia, Finale, and Savona are even more numerous.¹ With all these convenient routes it is strange the place has never been mentioned until recently in the guide-books, and even now the Santuario of the Madonna di Vico is so vaguely described that there is every reason to believe that the meagre knowledge of the place was never gained by personal inspection. It may be said, therefore, that this is a virgin land that would well repay explorers. The Madonna di Vico, which was the rendezvous of the diplomats of Europe at the end of the sixteenth and during the seventeenth centuries, is now completely blotted out from the memory of the world. As a work of architecture it is scarcely mentioned in any treatise, dictionary, encyclopædia, or history of art. In one of these encyclopædias, under the article "Dome," all the domes, even the most insignificant, ancient and modern, of all descriptions and of all countries, are specified with the exception of this. It must be wholly unknown outside of Italy, and almost unknown even to the Italians themselves; otherwise it is impossible to explain why all the many writers on architecture and Italian travel have failed to make some reference to it. The mere suspicion of its existence would have started Hare out to see it, if only as a matter of curiosity. To say that the inhabitants of the place are responsible for this oblivion because they lack taste

Martesana, which was constructed by the great Leonardo da Vinci. The art of surmounting elevations of the ground by means of locks had been discovered by Milanese engineers about a century before that time, and was applied to the construction of secondary canals. Among the works of more recent date are the *Naviglio* from Milan to Pavia, the Cavour Canal, fed by the Po, below Turin, and the Canal of Verona, derived from the Adige.—ÉLYSÉE RECLUS.

¹ Gaetano Capuccio in 1865 planned a canal to connect the Mediterranean and the Adriatic from Albenga, by way of Mondovì and Turin, to the mouth of the Po near Rovigo. This project is again seriously considered, and would make both Mondovì and Turin seaports.

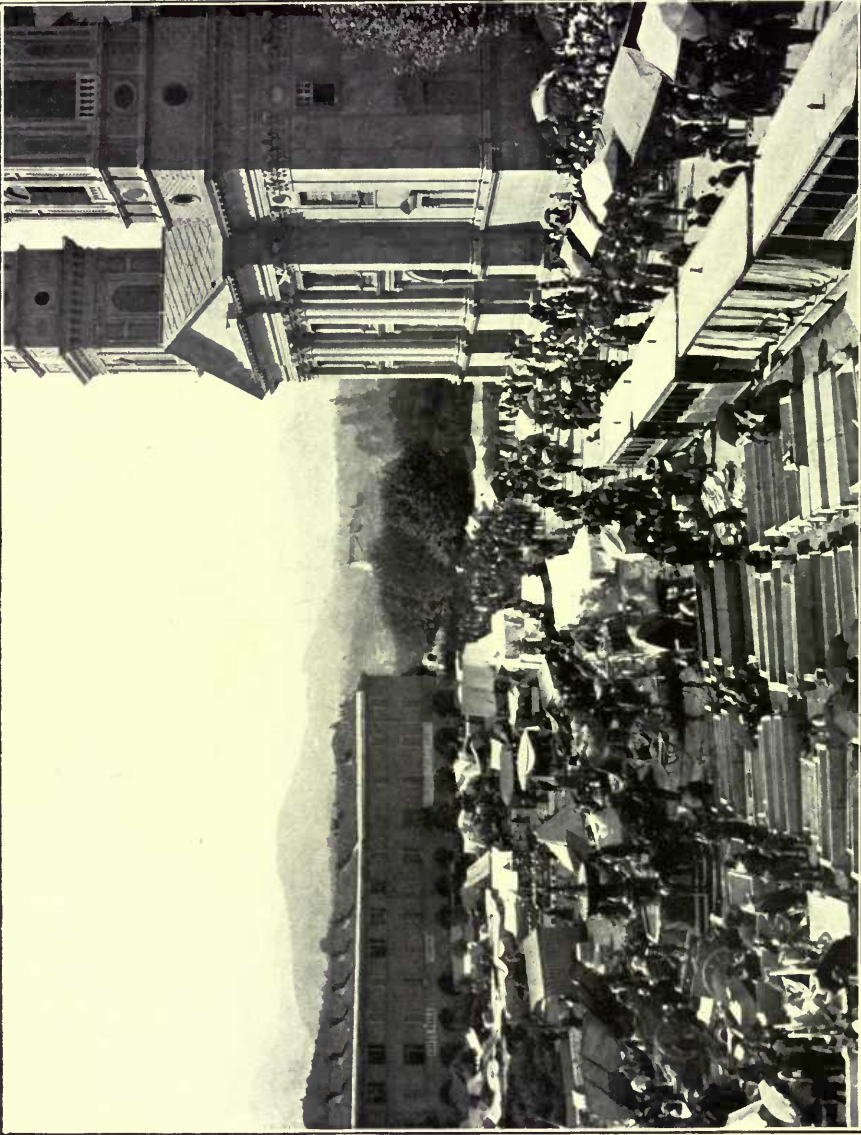
to appreciate it is no explanation ; the same assertion could be made of other people in other lands whose monuments nevertheless have world-wide renown. Even if the House of Savoy finally abandoned it to build Superga for a Pantheon in its stead, or if fashion has since made Notre Dame de Lourdes¹ more popular as a Mecca for pilgrims, it seems unbelievable that even the memory of *the fourth largest and the most beautiful dome in the world* should have been so completely forgotten, especially in the nineteenth century, when the nations of the earth have been turning constantly to the works of the past for inspiration and models for such stupendous structures as the National Capitol at Washington, the dome of which, however, is copied from that of St. Paul's in London, neither of them being an example of good Roman construction.²

The Pantheon of Charles Emanuel the Great is situated at the bottom of a narrow level valley at the foot of the hills upon which rises Vicoforte, at the convergence

¹ Marie Alacoque a bien vécu à la fin du XVII^e siècle, mais le culte qu'elle a inventé n'est devenu une vraie religion que depuis peu ; c'est notre génération qui a élevé des temples au *Sacré Cœur*, qui lui a consacré la France qui a fait de Paray-le-Monial le grand pèlerinage national. Avant nous, l'hystérique visionnaire avait produit si peu d'effet que la *Biographie Générale* de Firmin-Didot déclarait encore en 1855 que c'est au *Vert-Vert* de Gresset, où la rime amène son nom baroque, qu'elle doit sa plus grande célébrité. Que les temps sont changés ! Marie Alacoque compte maintenant au premier rang parmi les docteurs de l'Église. A y regarder de près, Paray-le-Monial peut donc le disputer, en fait de nouveauté, à la Salette, et même à Lourdes. Ce n'est plus l'antiquité d'un sanctuaire, en effet, qu'il faut vanter. Nous avons abandonné et remplacé les Vierges devant lesquelles s'agenouillaient nos pères. Les nôtres portent triomphalement le vocable même du dogme promulgué il y a vingt-cinq ans par le grand pontife : elles ont pour nom propre *l'Immaculée Conception*. Changer le nom de la divinité, c'est changer la divinité elle-même. L'ancienne déesse ne nous suffisait plus, ni les anciens saints, ni l'ancien culte en général.—T. COLANI. See also Huysman, *La Cathédrale*.

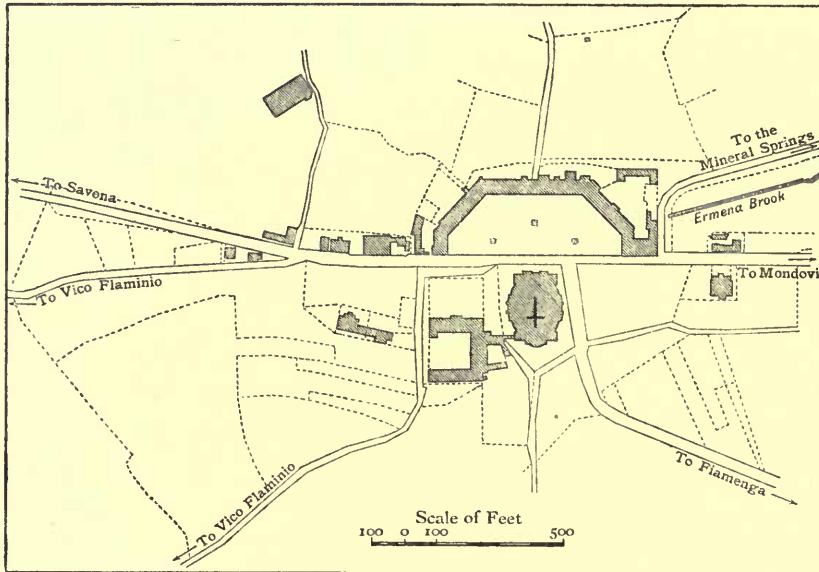
² There stands the Capitol at Washington sharply cutting a piece of the blue sky on the horizon of Maryland, the pride of every American citizen, acknowledged to be the most successful specimen of American Renaissance of its class (legislative buildings), yet the most loyal to its Italian antecedents, making the newer State capitols with domes look tawdry in consequence, proportionately as they are less Italian and significant historically.—Dow.

It is a very clever piece of construction, as solid as a rock (dome of St. Paul's in London), but somehow when we look at that leaded dome pretending to carry the lantern, which is really an independent structure protruded from beneath it, and which it could by no possibility carry, we feel our respect for what is in many senses a great building rather materially diminished.—STATHAM.



VIEW OF THE SANTUARIO DURING THE SEPTEMBER FESTIVALS.

of six minor valleys formed by the encircling hills. Without seeing it, the first thought naturally would be that such a site is little calculated to give proper value to the architectural merits of a beautiful temple, and that it should have been reared on a height. Why then is it there? For what purpose? Why is it not in a city? Like *Nuestra Señora del Pilar* at Saragossa and *Notre Dame de Lourdes*, it owes its location and existence to a miraculous manifestation. The practical advantages of



LOCAL MAP OF THE SANTUARIO.

its position at the conjunction of so many diverging valleys are easily seen during the September festivals, when crowds gather by thousands; or in the spring months, when scores of white-robed processions appear simultaneously from all points of the compass, advancing slowly in double line, with banners and crucifixes, bearing long staves surmounted by gilded lamps, torches, swinging thuribles, and all the paraphernalia of mediæval times. These processions start even before dawn from their churches and villages, sometimes many miles away, and, repeating prayers and chanting praises to Mary, pass

beneath the majestic dome and reverently draw near the shrine that encloses the sacred object of their veneration. Very different, however, is this noble pile, rising against the verdant hills, from the famous Spanish shrine in the heart of a crowded city of a sunburnt plain, or Lourdes with its commonplace, insignificant church.

The religious interest of the Santuario, however, is overshadowed by its political importance, at least in the minds of those who realise its true intent and purpose. It was originally planned for an Italian Westminster Abbey, or Church of Saint Denis—as a burial-place for the House of Savoy, even then contemplating the deliverance of the country from foreign invaders. Several places had been used previously, the Hautecombe, the Church of Brou, the Sagra of St. Michael, the Cathedral of Turin, etc. Charles Emanuel I., Duke of Savoy, the projector and builder of the Santuario, was the first Prince who had seriously thought of the possibility of an Italian kingdom¹ under the patriotic rule of a dynasty truly Italian. Like Dante, he believed “in the presence of the discordant rivalries of Italian cities there was no other safety except in the unity of country.” He conceived

¹ All the ills from which his country suffered he (Machiavelli) considered to be owing to its partition into so many separate states, and to the perpetual divisions and internecine strife thereby engendered. The continual interference of foreigners, the mischievous interference of the Papacy, helped largely to intensify this unhappy state of things. Machiavelli longed for the advent of some deliverer—a man with indomitable will and iron hand who might reconstruct and unify the whole country. See the eloquent passage in the last chapter of the *Prince*.—JOHN OWEN.

Non si debba, adunque, lasciare passare questa occasione, acciò che l' Italia, dopo tanto tempo, vegga uno suo redentore. Nè posso esprimere con quale amore e' fussi ricevuto in tutte quelle provincie che hanno patito per queste illuvioni esterne ; con che sete di vendetta, con che ostinata fede, con che pietà, con che lacrime. Quali porte se li serrerebbero ? quali popoli li negherebbero la obediencia ? quale invidia se li opporrebbe ? quale Italiano li negherebbe l' ossequio ? A ognuno puzza questo barbaro dominio. Pigli, adunque, la illustre casa vostra questo assunto con quello animo e con quella speranza che si pigliano le imprese iuste ; acciò che, sotto la sua insegna, e questa patria ne sia nobilitata, e sotto li sua auspizii si verifichi quel detto del Petrarca :

Virtù contro a furore
Prenderà l' arme ; e fia el combatter corto :
Chè l' antico valore
Nelli italici cor non è ancor morto.

NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI.

thereupon the idea of gathering together here, within one structure suitably grand and monumental, the tombs of his House, and to symbolise by the name "Temple of Peace" or "Concord" the advantage of unity of aspirations and national strength. Adverse circumstances, for which the people of this region were mainly responsible, caused the subsequent abandonment of this plan, and the tombs of his successors were finally raised in the new Basilica of Superga, and after the occupation of Rome in 1870, in the Pantheon of Agrippa. The Santuario of the Madonna di Vico, therefore, can only be called "the Pantheon of Charles Emanuel the Great," instead of "the Pantheon of the House of Savoy," as he is the only one of the family buried there. But, transplanted from this unsympathetic soil, the seed of national independence grew elsewhere in more hospitable ground, and though the Santuario cannot be called "the Cradle of Italian Liberty," it certainly is the emblem of the first faint spark of the light of Italian independence, finally achieved through the joint efforts of Charles Albert, Victor Emanuel II., Mazzini, Cavour, and Garibaldi.¹

The original idea of this temple, as it unfolded itself to the monarch of Savoy and Piedmont, very likely resembled that which Philip II. of Spain had in mind when planning the Escorial. Had the times been more propitious, royal apartments and other accessories connected with the monastery might have been added to the church.

¹ Edward A. Freeman was as good a historian as he was a bad prophet. Writing in 1857 about the future of Italy he said :—"That she has fallen for ever we will not willingly believe. But in what form shall she rise again? Her town autonomy can never be restored in an age of emperors and standing armies. Yet no lover of Italy could bear to see Milan, and Venice, and Florence, and Rome, the Eternal City itself, sink into provincial dependencies of the Savoyard. . . . It may not be too wild a dream, if foreign intermeddlers stand aloof, to hope that an Italian Confederation may yet hold an independent and honourable place in the general system of Europe." Then in 1879 he added :—"Yet I may be allowed to doubt whether Italy has not been somewhat hasty in her choice, and whether something of a Federal form would not have been better for a constitution which has to take in lands differing so widely from one another in their social state and in their historical associations as do some of the provinces of the present Italian kingdom. A closer knowledge of Sicily strengthens me in this belief, as far as regards the seven provinces of that island."

But Philip II. of Spain and Charles Emanuel I. of Savoy started from diametrically opposed positions. The one, whose great political power had already passed its zenith, was enabled, by the victory of St. Quentin, to stay for a time the decline of Spanish supremacy; the other, the son of the landless Emanuel Philibert, who had won St. Quentin,¹ was to make that same battle the foundation of a glorious future for his house. Dante, in his first canto, prophesies of "the coming hero, the greyhound who, disregarding the gain of money and territory, is to drive the wolf of the Papacy from city to city until she returns to the hell from which she sprang." But the Duke's *mission* was not one of destruction; he knew no good could come from violence. His ideal Italy was to be evolved through a Fabian policy. Unhampered by the past, he could exercise greater freedom in carrying out his new scheme. Unlike Philip II., instead of surrounding himself with signs of religious ostentation, he began by breaking with the traditions of the Temporal Church by refusing the plans urged upon him by the Bishop of Mondovì. A military engineer, who had fought at Lepanto by the side of Marcantonio Colonna, without superstitious ideas of Christianity, was chosen to plan a

¹ The real career of Savoy south of the Alps may be said to begin at Château Cambrésis. . . . Had Emanuel Philibert fallen at St. Quentin, he might have cried, "Finis Sabaudia!" France and Spain (or Austria) would have bordered upon one another at the Alps, and the intermediate State would never have been missed. But it was otherwise decreed. The Prince conquered at St. Quentin, and won back his States. He continued the annals of his House—he began those of his country. For indeed, and in more senses than one, here, at this very crisis, where Italy, as a nation, has reached its end, the nationality of Piedmont first comes into existence.

Honour, eternal honour, to those who knew how to bring two or three Italian tribes to pull together! We will take the result as it is, without reference to the causes which led to it, or to the means which achieved it. To the shame of the human race be it said, it was everywhere tyranny—tyranny alone—that gave union and stability to great national aggregates. What Henry VII. did for England, or Louis XI. for France, the House of Savoy achieved for Italy; and to the mere talent of constructiveness the Savoy Princes added peculiar virtues of their own, and exemption from many of the vices which degraded the generality of despots. Amadeus VIII. was a more honest subduer of feudalism than Louis XI., whom he preceded. Emanuel Philibert was a master no less than a precursor to Henry IV., and Victor Amadeus II., both as a conqueror and a legislator, was a far greater Prince than the *Grand Monarch*, his contemporary.—ANTONIO GALLENDA.

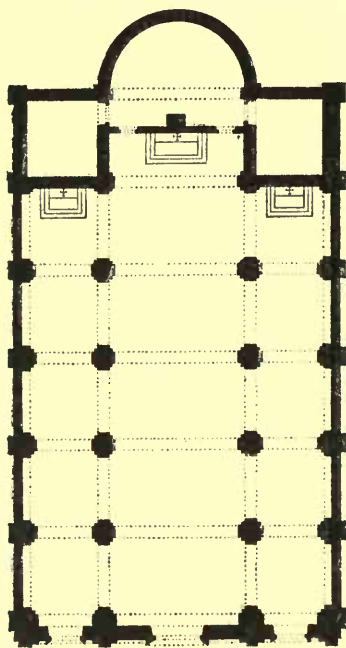
place of worship according to a more progressive spirit, which, however, fully appreciated beauty, harmony, and sublimity. The foundation of true religion, according to the Duke, was a free conscience,¹ and the altar and temple of divinity was Nature herself; but, as these abstract conceptions could not readily be comprehended by the multitudes in the power of an ambitious Church, he sought to impart these principles in a more concrete and tangible form. As Mr. Pater best interpreted: "To reconcile forms of sentiment which at first sight seem incompatible, to adjust the various products of the human mind to one another in one many-sided type of intellectual culture, to give humanity, for heart and imagination to feed upon, as much as it could possibly receive, belonged to the generous instinct of that age, great rather by what it designed than by what it achieved. Much which it aspired to do, and did but imperfectly or mistakenly, was accomplished in what is called *éclaircissement* of the eighteenth century, as in our own generation; and what really belongs to the revival of the fifteenth century is but the leading instinct, the curiosity, the initiatory idea. It is so with the very question of the reconciliation of antiquity with the religion of Christ." And the Duke of Savoy was still a child of the golden age, who had basked in the setting sun of the Italian Renaissance. Throughout the Church he promulgated his ideas of Christian love and worship by suppressing crucifixes, figures of emaciated saints, representations of martyrdoms, confessionals, and spectacles of torture. All tombs, memorials, and inscriptions were to be relegated

¹ This right was denied by both Luther and Calvin as well as by the Roman Catholic Church.

Tertullian said in reference to the Edict of Milan (A.D. 312): "Le droit commun, la loi naturelle veulent que chacun adore le dieu auquel il croit. Il n'appartient pas à une religion de faire violence à une autre (*non est religionis cogere religionem*). Une religion doit être embrassée par conviction et non par force, car les offrandes à la divinité exigent le consentement du cœur." Lactantius, a century later, has a similar statement: "Ce n'est pas en tuant les ennemis de sa religion qu'on la défend, c'est en mourant pour elle. Si vous croyez servir sa cause en versant le sang en son nom, en multipliant les tortures, vous vous trompez. Il n'y a rien qui doive être plus librement embrassé que la religion."—GASTON BOISSIER, *La Fin du Paganisme*.

to the space beyond the limits of the main interior ; in fact, the temple was to convey nothing but ideas of order, harmony, and healthy spiritual life and worship.

No one but a man of his daring could have accomplished this revolution in church building in Italy



THE BISHOP'S CHURCH.

without becoming at variance with the jealous authorities of Rome, who deemed it unwise to interfere in matters of form as long as the object of worship was preserved untouched.¹ He was, however, but exercising the rightful authority in religious matters which he had inherited from Amadeus VIII., known as Pope Felix V. The plan selected is an example of the highest order of design, and is worthy to be classed with the greatest works of the Renaissance, possessing their best artistic qualities, and even surpassing them in the construction of the dome. If the Bishop of Mondoví had had his way, nothing but a commonplace

baroque church, surrounded by the usual convents and monasteries, would now be in the Ermena Valley. At the same time, had the Duke been moved by motives

¹ Macaulay has remarked that the Catholic Church owes no small part of its success to the capacity it has at all times displayed for making use of the excessive. To make ourselves clearer, the Roman Catholic Church has at no time found it necessary to exclude from its communion even its most fanatical members. Where Protestantism would have split off into some fresh and independent sect, Roman Catholicism has created an order, or something equivalent. Instead of driving the over-zealous into opposition by an attempt to reduce them to a level of conformity, it has turned the superabundant fervour into a useful and appropriate channel, thus avoiding the excessive subdivision and decentralisation which makes the weakness of Protestantism. Roman Catholicism finds room within its limits for such associations as the Jansenists, the Trappists, and the Poor Clares, all of which may be considered as extreme sects, but all of which remain faithful to the mother Church.—EMIL REICH.

of self-glorification only, Hadrian's Tomb, or Theodoric's, might have served as ready models for such a purpose. As it is, on the contrary, he displayed a feeling of modesty and almost self-effacement. He does not monopolise the centre of the temple as Napoleon does under the Dome des Invalides ; indeed there is absolutely nothing in the main interior to show his connection with the temple which he planned. Instead of turning the walls into an ordinary picture gallery as at Sainte Geneviève in Paris, he preserved the sanctity of the church as a holy place, and accepted the worship of the Virgin as the form best suited to the spirit of the Latin races. Thus while preserving his Roman Catholic faith and friendly relations with the Pope, Charles Emanuel I. was personally more truly Protestant than many of the contemporary dissenters, and was seeking to introduce reform and principles of liberality,¹ of which the Italian Church was in need for its own preservation.

The first sight of the great temple with the noble dome and rising towers successfully grouped in pyramidal form gives an impression of immensity and originality. Its lowly situation at the bottom of the valley, far from dwarfing it against the high background of hills and mountains, on the contrary, lends it greater majesty. Its orientation, too, in utter disregard of conventionalities, seems purposely planned to be in keeping with the nearer range of mountains, to which it is parallel with its major axis and greatest length, so that the perspective is always pleasing, and nature and art blend into one harmonious

¹ That all the Princes of Savoy without exception incurred the heavy displeasure of the Church by their leniency to their Protestant subjects is a fact in support of which we could bring the most unanswerable documents. Suffice it that the final act by which Victor Amadeus on the 23rd of May 1694 not only granted the Waldenses the free exercise of their own religion, but also allowed the recantation of such as had been converted to Catholicism, either by seduction or on compulsion, called forth the most virulent protests, not so much indeed of Pope Innocent XII., who from political motives was speedily appeased, but of the Office of the Inquisition, which pronounced the dispositions of the Ducal edict to be "most enormous, impious, and detestable." Victor referred the matter to the Senate of Turin, who had sufficient independence to forbid the publication of the decree of the Holy Office, under penalty of capital punishment.—*Cibrario, Cronologia* (GALLENGA).

picture. There is no other single building that changes its physiognomy at every step like this, because no other building shows the size of its dome to such advantage, and there is only one dome of that shape and size in the world. Variety, indeed, in this domed structure is its most extraordinary quality. Other domes, circular in plan, are identical on all sides, and for that reason, however grand and perfect they may be in other respects, by their very nature they cannot avoid monotony, especially when introduced as a subordinate part of a large rectangular structure.



COAT OF ARMS OF VICO.

HISTORICAL



Photographed by Carlo Antonicelli, San, Baudouin, 1878.

Revue géographique de

L. Milano Rossi

La Valle Ormena, il Santuario di Vico
e le Alpi Marittime d'inverno.

CHAPTER I

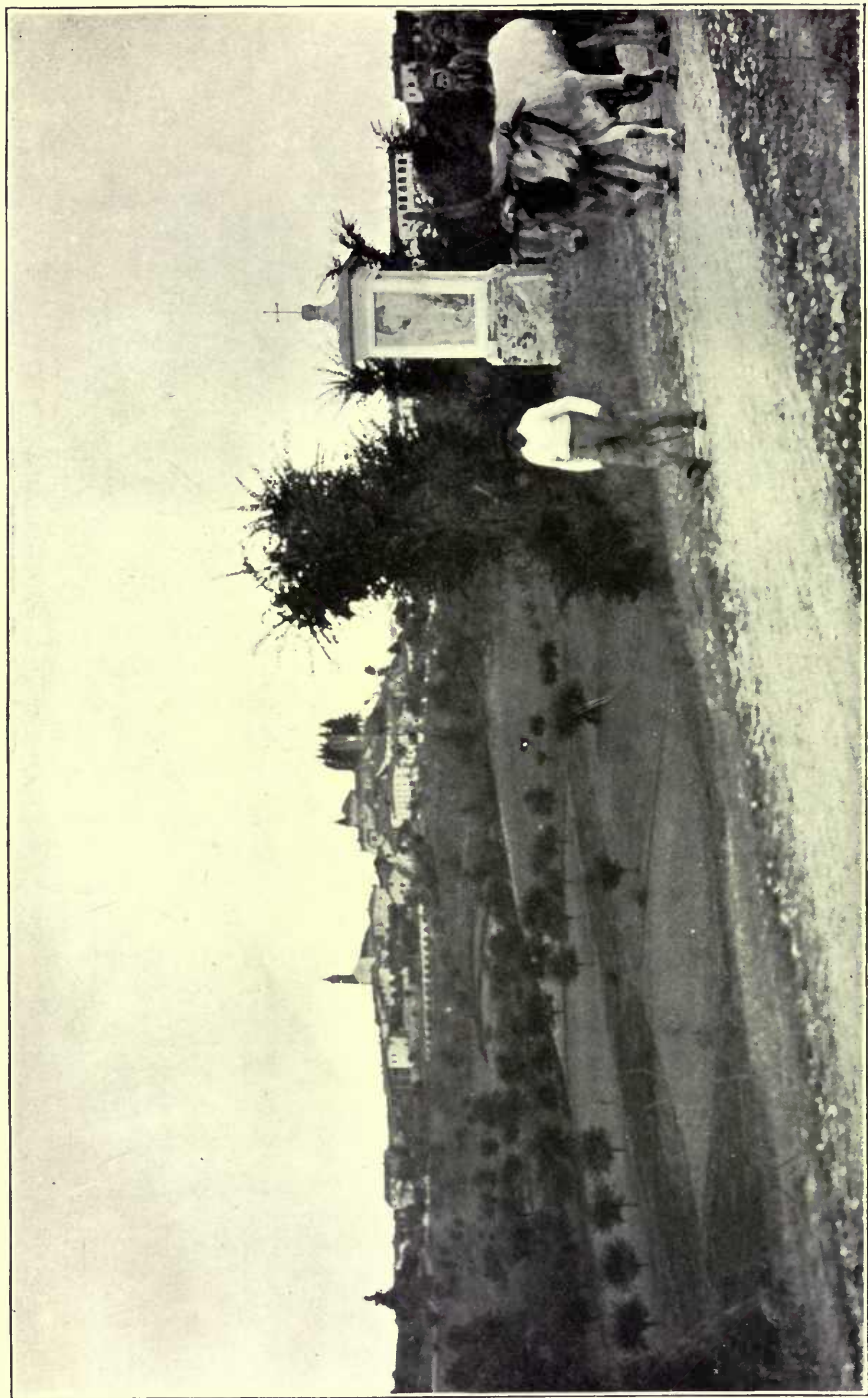
IN relating the history of the gradual building of the Santuario di Vico it is necessary to put aside a vast amount of spurious matter, due mainly to the accumulation of superstition upon superstition. The first real fact of any accuracy is connected with a religious enthusiast, one Cæsar Trombetta, who sought the help of the Bishop of Mondovì in building a chapel. The Bishop, however, had ambitious plans of his own, and became the promoter of an extensive propaganda that reached both the Court of Turin and that of the Vatican. From this time, it may be said, the history of the Santuario of the Madonna di Vico forms a part of the history of Piedmont, and, coincidentally, of the history of Italy, although no mention is made of it by the otherwise diffuse historians; and even the biographers of Charles Emanuel I. of Savoy seem to know little about it, as they still designate a church at Savigliano as his last burial-place.

The origin of the shrine itself is a matter of conjecture, and it might dispel the little halo with which legend has surrounded it, if all the uninteresting fables told were chronicled. This revived form of ancient pagan *fanum* or *sacellum* differs according to the taste of each different country; also according as it has been raised at private expense or by the authorities of the Church. It is generally a painting or icon of the Madonna and Child on the wall of a niche or tabernacle, or upon one of the four sides of a square pillar, then called a *pilone*; or on the plastered front of a country house. When erected by the Church in the interest of public worship, a conspicuous

location is chosen, as at a cross-roads, the middle or end of a frequented bridge, or an open grotto. Sometimes several shrines are ranged at given intervals along the slope of a hill to represent the fourteen stations of the *Via Crucis*, to which is then given the name of "Mount Calvary"; or a regular chapel is built upon a commanding height like Notre Dame de la Garde near Marseilles and the Madonna di San Luca near Bologna. In the larger Italian cities a marble group placed on a corner or over the gateway of a palace is oftentimes substituted for the picture; or it may be a group carved in wood, like the picturesque shrines on the gondolas which all lovers of Venice remember. In Bavaria, Austria, Bohemia, and France a wooden crucifix or a saint is preferred to the Madonna, and visitors to Oberammergau must have noticed this peculiarity in the numerous wayside shrines.

There are many such piloni to be seen around Vico-forte, and their number is witness to the slight interest they inspire and to the trivial causes for their existence. It might be called a superstition, and yet this Christian iconolatry is of long-established date, and has registered many miracles in healing the sick, restoring sight to the blind, and life to the limbs of the paralytic. As soon as the wonderful cures are made known the shrine becomes frequented, and the picture is reproduced on other new shrines elsewhere, as that of the *Madonna di Vico*, which in this way soon became a familiar sight for more than twenty miles around.

The story, as it goes, presupposes some knowledge of local history. It is enough for the present purpose to state that it happened during the unstable period of the sixteenth century, when Vico and Mondovì shared the same fate as the rest of Italy, alternating a short life as a free commune with periods of oppression, either by local tyrants or foreign invaders. With the occupation of Piedmont by Francis I. of France the Castle of Vico had been partly dismantled; but in 1539 orders were given for its restoration, and a great demand for bricks was made upon the brickmakers of the Ermena Valley. At



A PILONE AND VIEW OF VICOFORTE.

the same time an unusually wet spring had set in, preventing them from adding to their store of clay, and, as their stock began to be exhausted, they were at a loss what to do to supply the bricks required of them. The Ermena Valley is hemmed in on all sides by an amphitheatre of hills; in the spring all the little streams discharge into one common basin, the soft clayey soil of which, already saturated with the melted snows of the long winter, retains this added moisture for a long time, and the roads are generally impassable until the coming of warm weather.

It is said that while one of these brickmakers was pondering sadly on the situation an exciting event was taking place at his home. His only daughter, a girl of seventeen, while repeating her morning prayers, beheld a vision of a heavenly figure in blue, who led her, half-conscious, to a spot where she was told to build a *pilone*, with a picture of the Virgin¹ and Child thereon. As soon as the pilone was built the sky was cleared of its heavy clouds, the bright sun burst forth, and for several months warm weather continued until the castle was completely restored. There may be truth in the story of the long wet spring, as there was said to have been a disastrous landslide on the north side of the castle which made necessary an additional retaining wall.

¹ A single incident may suffice to indicate the place awarded to the Virgin Mary by a certain class of Roman Catholic theologians—the vision of St. Bernard, recorded with approbation by St. Alphonso de Liguori. St. Bernard is recorded as having in this vision seen two ladders extending from earth to heaven. At the top of one ladder appeared Jesus Christ; at the top of the other appeared the Virgin Mary. While those who attempted to enter into heaven by the way of Christ's ladder fell constantly back and utterly failed, those, on the other hand, who tried to enter by the ladder of Mary all succeeded, because she put forth her hands to assist and encourage them. It is not, therefore, surprising to find in the prescribed offices and ritual of the Roman Catholic Church not only prayers offered to the Almighty in Mary's name, pleading her merits and seeking a divine blessing through her mediation, advocacy, and intercession, but also prayers offered directly to herself, beseeching her to employ her intercession from all evils, spiritual and bodily, for her guidance and aid, and for the influences of her grace. In addition to all this, divine praises are ascribed to her, in pious acknowledgment of her attributes of power, wisdom, goodness, and mercy, and of her exalted state above all the spirits of life and glory in heaven, and for her share in the redemption of the world, and the benefits conferred by her on the individual worshipper.—LYMAN ABBOTT.

The first miracle of the pilone must have been the multiplication of the store of bricks, otherwise the necessity of waiting for new ones to be made would have entailed too long a delay in the restoration of the castle. Many years passed by ; the devotion of the brickmakers flagged, and the pilone had been completely abandoned when it was rediscovered by the Deacon Cæsar Trombetta. Whether it was inspiration, or whether this devout man was merely attracted by the expression of the Madonna is not told. The religious writers simply speak of his weeding the ground of the tall nettles and wild shrubs which had grown so freely around it as almost to conceal it from view. Before he knew it he had become a real *fanatic*, and began his work of preaching to the people who had neglected the shrine by upbraiding them with indignation in the family circle, along the street, and in the church. Finding that he could not move them in this way, he thought that perhaps building a chapel might better arouse them. Accordingly, supported by a few followers, he applied to the Bishop of Mondovì for permission to build a chapel. So earnest was he in his petition that the Bishop not only granted his wish but contributed from his own purse towards his plan. The construction of the chapel created some interest among the heedless farmers, who now began to gather there from curiosity. But the case was different with the casual wayfarers from other towns and villages, who believed that miracles were being wrought there, and the addition of the chapel gradually convinced others that there must be good reason for the belief. The news began to spread abroad, and in less than a month after the beginning of the work the shrine was being visited by thousands of people from all directions. The Bishop himself, who saw a chance for his own aggrandisement, visited it, and, pretending to discover an abuse of public faith, summoned the Deacon and ordered him to suspend the work. He also sent agents to seize the contributions. This strange proceeding alarmed Trombetta, who feared that the scandal might injure the worship of the Virgin. He



Photogravure by John Andrew & Son, Boston, U.S.A.

From negative by

L. Melano Rossi

Pilone della Madonna di Vico.

did not understand that this measure was necessary to ensure official recognition, as was afterwards done in the case of Notre Dame de Lourdes, where all the supernatural manifestations were proven true by the widely proclaimed guarantee of several bishops. This step was so well planned that after long and repeated sittings, a council of the most noted doctors of divinity finally rendered a verdict of approval, declaring the cures genuine and the worship of the shrine a highly commendable act of devotion. Thereupon great credit was given the Bishop, who now thought a mere chapel not sufficient for such a sacred spot, and proposed building a large church, of which he laid the corner-stone in the presence of processions of more than twenty thousand people on the anniversary of the Nativity of the Virgin, and decreed that this festival be celebrated every year thereafter : a custom that has continued to the present day.

In the records of the following year (1596) are found the names of many dignitaries of the Church, who were sent to add their word of approval for the excellent work that had been done for the glory of the Christian Faith. Many foreign officials of high rank vied with one another in this fashionable pilgrimage, bringing rich offerings in specie and objects of art. Among these were the Constable of Castile, Governor of Milan, the Spanish Ambassador at the Court of Savoy, the Duke of Nemours, the Duke of Luxembourg, the Count of Flanders, Simone Contarini of Venice, the Cardinal Archduke Albert of Austria, and numerous bishops from Northern Italy. The Queen of France was represented by a Special Envoy with a rich present of jewels and gold. The Nuncio at the Court of Turin was instructed by Pope Clement VIII. to visit the place and bless the people of Mondovì, granting them at the same time the privilege of building a Cistercian monastery in the neighbourhood of the shrine, thereby ignoring the Deacon Trombetta and the very existence of Vico.

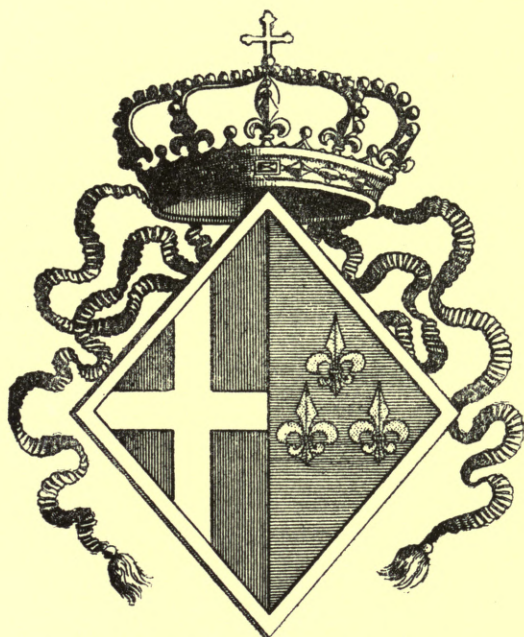
A continuance of the list of illustrious visitors shows the great fame of this spot, now almost unknown. In

1601 the same Pope delegated his nephew, Cardinal Peter Aldobrandini, to negotiate a peace between Piedmont and France, charging him, before leaving Italy, to seek the intercession of the Madonna di Vico. After the successful issue of the meeting at Lyons, this papal delegate revisited the shrine to return thanks, supplemented by the gift of a rich diamond cross. It was on this occasion that Charles Emanuel I. manifested his own gratitude by striking gold and silver coins bearing the favourite motto *Pax in virtute tua*, in memory of the name he had given to his newly planned "Temple of Peace." Another souvenir was in the form of a silver ring with an oval shield, upon which was engraved the picture of the Madonna and Child, reproduced from the shrine. The archives of the Santuario also record the visit of the Duchess of Valois and the Countess of Montmorency, the Marshals Vitry and D'Ornano from France; the Countess Borromeo from Milan and Prince Doria from Genoa, who came as devout pilgrims with strong faith and generous gifts.

Among the large number of other distinguished persons great stress is laid upon the name of St. Francis de Sales, Bishop of Geneva, who made his memorable pilgrimage in 1604, after the deliverance of Savoy from the plague through the special grace of the Madonna di Vico. This "best of all good-natured Saints" (so described by Jean-Jacques Rousseau) was accompanied by other bishops, by the councillors of the city of Chambéry, the capital of Savoy, a long retinue of noblemen and other prominent citizens, bringing with them a silver statuette of St. Maurice, the patron saint of Savoy.

To these must be added the name of the unfortunate pope, Pius VII., made prisoner by Napoleon I. in 1809, who, on his way to Paris, begged permission to visit the Madonna di Vico. It is not because he was the supreme representative of the Roman Church that this roll of important personages is closed with him, but because he was a man of refinement, an unprejudiced connoisseur,

and the restorer of the Coliseum at Rome, whose favourable criticism of this church has gone far to establish the artistic value of the building. He was so impressed by the grandeur and beauty of the temple that a project was then formed in his mind that would have given new lustre to his name; but, unfortunately, his connection with the political complications of the times prevented anything definite being done.



(CONTEMPORARY) COAT OF ARMS OF MONDOVÌ.

CHAPTER II

CHARLES EMANUEL I., Duke of Savoy, was the founder of the Santuario of the Madonna di Vico, which he named "The Temple of Peace." Born at Rivoli in 1562, he succeeded his father, Emanuel Philibert, at the age of eighteen. His mother was Marguerite of Valois, sister of Henry II., King of France. It was through her that he laid claim to the crown of France when, after the death of the children of this French king, the Pope opposed the election of Henry of Navarre, a Huguenot. In 1585 he was married at Saragossa to a daughter of Philip II., Catherine of Austria, Infanta of Spain,¹ through whom

¹ Charles Emanuel was a model of the happy husband in love with his wife. When he wrote to her he used her native language :—

Fece eseguire un gioiello per racchiudere il ritratto di colei che era morta d' affetto per lui, disegnando di sua mano un piccolo modello. Era una specie di medaglione chiuso, il quale aprendosi, da una parte lasciava vedere il ritratto della principessa con questo motto : "Morte levar non la può, Amor la impresse," e dall' altro i due C intrecciati, incoronati della corona ducale, attornati da S., e con sotto un nodo d' amore, ed il motto :

Altra tomba quaggiù non può avere
Caterina Real che il cor di Carlo.

Egli raccolse poi, con cura minuziosa, ogni piccolo oggetto a cui fosse legato un ricordo di lei, e tutto conservò gelosamente.

Si era fatto come un museo di coserelle che gli rammentavano tanti felici momenti, e in questo vi figurava sino un foglietto di carta, su cui la Duchessa aveva posato la mano, e colla penna, forse la stessa con cui il Duca attendeva a scrivere, aveva per scherzo disegnato i loro ritratti. Chi sa quanti ricordi erano legati, per Carlo Emanuele, a quel pezzetto di carta ! Egli vi scrisse sotto di suo pugno, in spagnuolo, la lingua più usata da lei : "Fatto di mano della mia signora."

Poi le corde del suo cuore, scosse dal dolore, vibrarono fortemente, e poetò, ed ecco qui un saggio de' suoi versi, fatti in quella occasione.

Albergo ove il mio ben stette e si piacque,
Com' or mi torna in voi il mio destino ?
Il sol già si parlò nel bel mattino,
Tu cieco io senza luce
Restiamo allo sparir del lume amato
E così con ragione anco s' induce
Il mio dolor di star con te alloggiato



he later aspired to the Spanish throne. On his arrival at Saragossa he was invested with the Order of the Golden Fleece and presented with the sword of Francis I. of France, taken from him by Charles V. at the battle of Pavia.

With the advent of Charles Emanuel I. of Savoy is ushered in the long struggle for Italian independence. At the end of the sixteenth century only two Italian States remained: the Republic of Venice and the Monarchy of Piedmont; all the rest, comprising the greater part of the Peninsula, were divided among foreign invaders and the popes. The local princes were vassals either of Spain, of Austria, or of France. The Republic of Venice, distracted by her Oriental policy, had no time to devote to Italian interests at home, and it was left to the Duke of Savoy to sustain the honour of the nation and to reconquer the ground inch by inch from rival competing powers. He began his political career by the conquest of the Marquisate of Saluzzo, the cornerstone of present United Italy. The opportunity came during the contest between Henry of Guise, chief of the Catholic League, and Henry III. of France. Soon after the assassination of the Duke of Guise at Blois in 1588, the King himself fell a victim to a monk, and thus ended the dynasty of the Valois. These troubles continued after the accession of Henry of Navarre, whose rights were suspended by the excommunication pronounced against him by Pope Sixtus V. To the King were

Perchè molto conviene
Che ricevano in lor qui tante pene,
Vedove mura in tetto tenebroso
Vedovo sconsolato e lacrimoso.

Ben m' accorsi io nell' apparir le stelle,
Ahi, che il mio sole amato
Già s' era ascoso e quelle luci belle
Che il cor mi ha trapassato
Non vidi già ver me liete venire
Come soleva e fece al mio partire,
Sicchè sospeso e pieno di dolore
Dissi, forse il mio sol s' eclissa a noi
Per far veder dappoi
Ad altri il suo splendore,
Ma seppi allor che stava ahimè languendo
Ed io per il suo mal restai morendo.

GEMMA GIOVANNINI.

dictated unequivocal terms of submission and surrender to the Mother Church as a prerequisite condition to the ratification of his accession to the throne. The good-natured King acted as an ordinary business man at this juncture, when he is credited with saying : "Paris vaut bien une messe !" The disordered state of affairs in France favoured Charles Emanuel's plan to obtain by a vigorous attack what he had not been able to gain by diplomacy or through his legal right as heir. In carry-



COAT OF ARMS OF THE MONARCHY OF PIEDMONT AT THE ACCESSION OF
CHARLES EMANUEL I. IN 1580.

ing this out he was compelled to keep on friendly terms with Spain ; but in his second plan, to recover Montferrat from Spain he had to reverse the conditions. He sent envoys to Henry IV. and rich presents to the Duchess of Belfort, and visited them both at Fontainebleau, where he was greatly admired for his quick eye, his stately bearing, and courtly manners ; but all to no purpose, for the French King was determined to keep a foothold in Italy as a base for future operations ; and, after crafty delays, advanced his troops to the frontier of Charles Emanuel's

territory. Clement VIII. finally interposed and despatched his nephew, Cardinal Aldobrandini, to Lyons, where a treaty of peace was concluded. By this treaty the King of France gained many provinces beyond the Rhone which sooner or later must have been incorporated in the French domain by force of their geographical situation ; but the victory really rested with the Duke, for in receiving the Marquisate of Saluzzo he acquired the object for which he had fought.

Pursuing, then, his policy of annexing Montferrat, to which he was legitimately entitled through his daughter, Marguerite of Savoy, left a widow without male issue by the death of Duke Gonzaga, he again sought the help of the Catholic party, at which time his son, Prince Maurice, was made a cardinal by the Pope. King James of England promised his loyal support, and outwardly friendly relations were maintained with Philip III. of Spain. But Spanish duplicity was soon made apparent to him, particularly when his eldest son died suddenly at the Escorial, where, after earnest entreaties, he had been sent with his younger brother to live at the Court of Spain. A dreadful suspicion flashed into his mind, and henceforth he became the bitter enemy of Spain. He made a strong appeal to the Italian vassal princes to combine against the Spanish rule ; but, as might have been expected, all preferred a life of ease under an absent master to the trouble and meagre chance of success in a costly war against him, which, even if successful, would reduce their domains to a number of jealous principalities without any possible prospect of a general Confederation. Meantime Henry IV. had matured his design of checking the excessive expansion of Austria, and promised the Duke of Savoy the long-desired Montferrat and the Duchy of Milan as a reward for his alliance. The Duke accepted the offer, and the French troops had already started on their expedition to the Rhine when fate dissipated this fair dream by the assassination of the French King by Ravallac in 1610.

These unfortunate circumstances were made still worse

by the weakness of the Queen Regent, Marie de Medici, mother of Louis XIII., still a minor, who disregarded the Treaty of Brosolo, signed by Lesdiguières, and left the Duke at the mercy of the revengeful King of Spain. But Charles Emanuel's courage rose in proportion to the danger of his position. In answer to the impertinence of Philip III., who had written to his ambassador, *En caso de que no obedezca*, he suddenly tore the collar of the Golden Fleece from his neck and flung it at the feet of the Spanish grandee,¹ protesting in terms of deep indignation at such an outrage to his honour and princely independence. To the Austrian Emperor, who threatened him with the ban of the Empire, he replied by imprisoning the agent who had brought the insulting message. Through special envoys he threatened Spain that he would join with France, France that he would join with Spain, the Pope that he would fill Italy with Huguenots, and the Venetians that he would help the Turks. When asked by Spain to disarm, he declared he would only do so on condition that Spain should disarm also, well knowing that if he disarmed there would not be a free citizen left in Italy. Deserted and yet feared by all, by a clever move against Milan and the war cry of "Italian Liberty!" he intimidated the Spanish general who had already crossed the river Sesia with a large body of troops greatly outnumbering his. And when, at length, an honourable peace was proposed, he agreed to accept it as a victor, only on the same basis and with the equally binding obligation of common disarmament and the express condition of the restoration of all his lands. For ten months alone he had waged

¹ E quando nel 1613 Carlo Emanuele I. duca di Savoia, contrastategli da Spagna certe sue ragioni su l' eredità del Monferrato, questo invase; e, rimandato a Spagna il tosone d' oro, proposta in vano una lega nazionale a Venezia, sostenne, solo e messo al bando dell' Impero, la guerra; e dalla caduta risorse, Anteo italico, a maggior sforzo nel 1616, chiamando alla riscossa i principi e nobili uomini d' Italia; allora il Tassoni, con generosità di cittadino, con acutezza di politico, con forza di oratore, scrisse le due *Filippiche contra gli Spagnuoli*; intendendo a mostrare la debolezza della monarchia iberica e a sollevare contro il dominio forastiero i principi e cavalieri italiani.—GIOSUÈ CARDUCCI.

war against Spain, with only his faithful soldiers, who loved and admired him as he deserved.¹ He well knew that Piedmont was upholding the balance of Europe, and that, unless Piedmont was preserved, Spain would take possession of all Italy.

Almighty Spain, wounded in her pride by one whom she probably considered an insignificant vassal, now resorted to the dark intrigues of the Jesuits to destroy Piedmont and Venice, the only two Italian States that stood in the way of her complete occupation of the Peninsula. With the Pope's consent, secret propositions were made to the Crown Prince of Savoy to place him on the throne of his father, if he would ally himself with Spain. If this negotiation failed, poison was to be administered to him by the Grand Duke of Tuscany. If this was an infamous plan, that contrived to ruin Venice was absolutely ignominious, degrading the mission of diplomacy to the contemptible office of espionage and treason. Bedmar, the Spanish ambassador at Venice, devised a plan, whereby the city was to be captured and its independence annihilated by an army of adventurers, felons, and proscripsts, who, driven from Venice, had been enrolled for that purpose in the service of the Duke of Ossuna, Spanish Viceroy at Naples. Bedmar himself, in violation of his official position, furnished the Duke with particulars of the Arsenal and its approaches and of the defensive resources of the city. The Pope, too, sent a nuncio to congratulate Ossuna on the enterprise. The Government realised that the Spanish Embassy was a sanctuary for conspirators, but no direct evidence of a plot could be obtained until an anonymous letter was picked up and carried to the Council of Ten. Through this the base instruments of the plan were arrested, and on the person of one were found damning letters written to Ossuna. Among them was a letter from Bedmar recommending the messenger as an agent to arrange the

¹ Such was his reputation for personal character and bravery in Europe that a deputation of German princes, headed by the Prince of Anhalt, offered him the crown of the German Empire, and still another commission the crown of Bohemia.

final details of the movement against Venice. In spite of this revelation Bedmar had the insolent assurance to present himself to the Council and protest the entire innocence of his Catholic Majesty and himself of the plot, remarking with characteristic effrontery "that his loyalty was known to all, that his conscience was perfectly clear, and that such proceedings would have been repugnant to Christian piety and to any man of upright intentions."

But Piedmont, the natural guardian of the Alps,¹ was the real apple of discord and the object of desire of all ambitious monarchs. Cardinal Richelieu, the deadly foe of the House of Savoy, now made war upon the Duke, advancing personally into the field, determined to bend him to his will. He attempted to capture him and his sons at his Castle of Rivoli, as though they were ordinary rebels. Charles Emanuel died a natural death soon after, before the end of that war.

His work cannot be measured by the gain and loss of territory, or by superior ability in all matters pertaining to the science of warfare, in which he had no equal. He was a man of great culture and extraordinary address.² He had the gift of natural eloquence, associated with a wonderful memory and a great facility in acquiring foreign languages. An example of his powers of physical

¹ Tu magnanimo Carlo, a cui le porte
D' Italia il re del Ciel diede in governo
Perché la difendessi ardito e forte
Da l' inimico oltraggio e da lo scherno,
Tu gradisci il mio canto ; e tu da morte
Privilegiato si ch' ei viva eterno ;
Chè tuo nome immortal fuor di sè stesso
Può l' opre anco eternar dove sia impresso.

TASSONI, *Dell' Oceano*.

² Charles Emanuel I. had already thought of solving the Eastern question of that day. He proposed to Spain and the Pope to create a powerful fleet, and to raise a great army under his command. He assured them he had already favourable reports from the islands under Turkish rule, and the Balkan countries, Bosnia, Servia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Macedonia, which were ready to make common cause with them. The enterprise could not fail. While he would have been satisfied with the Island of Cyprus and the kingdom of Macedonia, Spain would have had Egypt for her share, which would have secured to her the future route to India. But having learned at the Peace of Vervins how unreliable Spain was, and having become suspicious of her good faith, he gave up the plan.

endurance was shown at the battle of Bricherasio, where he remained in the saddle for thirty hours, without food and without sleep. King James of England sent him a rich sword, saying that he was the man who best knew how to wield it.¹ His great work was the arousing of the Italian heart to the appreciation of Italian patriotism, as the great work of Dante had been the education of the mind. Modern historians, philosophers, and statesmen have agreed to call him "Great."²

¹ Absque adulatione fatendum *Carolus Emanuelem* omnibus aevi sui Principibus virtute, et animo praestitisse. Hoc de illo iudicium tullit *Henricus magnus*, qui se duos tantum cognoscere aiebat homines quibus Ducis titulus merito deberetur, nempe *Carolus Emanuelem*, et *Mauricium Nassovium Arausionis Principem*. *Jacobus I. Magnae Britanniae Rex* idem iudicium tulerat cum ad eum preciosissimam ensem mitteret quam nemo Principum fortius gerere posset. Quoad ejus ingenium, referam testimonium prudentis cujusdam judicis nempe *Richelii*, qui saepius dixit, se neminem cognoscere ingenio solertiori, sagaciori, uberiori. Ejus in adversa fortuna constantiam, in secunda temperantiam ostendit . . . Nullum in eo vitium magis reprehendum est, quam ejus dissimulatio atque pessima in servandis foederibus fides, cui addi poterat magna quam de sua fortitudine conceperat opinio, qua majores difficultates se superare posse arbitrabatur; persuasum illi etiam erat, sibi nullas deesse maximorum impedimentorum artes.—*Novum Theatrum Pedemontii, etc.*

² *Carolus Emanuel I. cognomine Magnus et Militum Pater.*—*Novum Theatrum Pedemontii, etc.*

CHAPTER III

CHARLES EMANUEL "the Great" chose his "Temple of Peace" for his last resting-place, and from the day of his first visit to the shrine, March 30, 1596, he spent most of his leisure time in hastening forward the work of the enormous edifice which he had founded. He undoubtedly was first drawn to the spot by mere curiosity. To be sure he joined in a decent respect for the universal hallucination, and in his position realised full well that he could not trifle with a superstition that seemed so natural to the Italians.¹ At the same time his conscience rebelled against such frauds of the Church. He would have espoused the cause of the Huguenots if the Italians had been less indifferent and more spiritual in matters of religion ; but that would have led to bloodshed and civil war. To have returned to the purity and simplicity of the primitive Church, like the English Puritans and other similar sects of the North, would have been to un-Italianise the Italians.² He saw plainly enough that to

¹ Kant would call much of what other people call religion, hallucination. . . . To attempt to please the Deity by acts which have no moral value, by mere *cultus*, i.e. by external worship, is not religion, but simply superstition.—MAX MÜLLER.

² The superiority of Protestantism over Catholicism consists in its diminution of superstition and intolerance, and in the check which it gives to ecclesiastical power. But the experience of Europe teaches us, that when the superior religion is fixed among an inferior people, its superiority is no longer seen. The Scotch and the Swedes—and to them might be added some of the Swiss cantons—are less civilised than the French, and are therefore more superstitious. This being the case, it avails them little that they have a religion better than the French. It avails them little that, owing to circumstances which have long since passed away, they, three centuries ago, adopted a creed to which the force of habit and the influence of tradition now obliges them to cling. Whoever has travelled in Scotland with sufficient attention to observe the ideas and

be Roman Catholic was to depart from the tenets of the early Christians, according to the Bible, which did not tolerate image worship, and that lingering remnants of Paganism¹ had been amalgamated with the pure Christian theology to make it acceptable to the Italian nature. There is no doubt that the Roman Catholic Church was made to fit Italians by the Italians themselves,² following

opinions of the people, and whoever will look into Scotch theology and read the history of the Scotch Kirk and the proceedings of the Scotch Assemblies and Consistories, will see how little the country has benefited by its religion, and how wide an interval there is between its intolerant spirit and the natural tendencies of the Protestant Reformation. On the other hand, whoever will subject France to a similar examination, will see an illiberal religion accompanied by liberal views, and a creed, full of superstitions, professed by a people among whom superstition is comparatively rare. The simple fact is, that the French have a religion worse than themselves; the Scotch have a religion better than themselves. The liberality of France is as ill-suited to Catholicism as the bigotry of Scotland is ill-suited to Protestantism. In these, as in all similar cases, the characteristics of the creed are overpowered by the characteristics of the people; and the national faith is, in the most important points, altogether inoperative because it does not harmonise with the civilisation of the country in which it is established. How idle, then, it is to ascribe the civilisation to the creed; and how worse than foolish are the attempts of government to protect a religion which, if unsuited to them, will work no good!—HENRY THOMAS BUCKLE, *History of the Civilisation in England*.

¹ That the system of morals propounded in the New Testament contained no maxim which had not been previously enunciated, and that some of the most beautiful passages in the Apostolic writings are quotations from Pagan authors, is well known to every scholar; and so far from supplying, as some suppose, an objection against Christianity, it is a strong recommendation of it, as indicating the intimate relation between the doctrines of Christ and the moral sympathies of mankind in different ages.—HENRY THOMAS BUCKLE.

² J'ai entrepris d'étudier l'histoire de l'Italie au moyen âge. La religion fut alors l'œuvre excellente du génie italien. La poésie, l'art et la politique, qui, dès le XIII^e siècle, firent de l'Italie le principal foyer de la civilisation occidentale, ont reçu du sentiment religieux une constante et très noble inspiration. La façon particulière dont l'Italie conçut de bonne heure l'idée du royaume de Dieu et de la voie qui y conduit; l'étonnante liberté d'esprit avec laquelle elle traita le dogme et la discipline; la sérénité qu'elle sut garder en face du grand mystère de la vie et de la mort; l'art qu'elle mit à accorder ensemble la foi et le rationalisme; sa médiocre aptitude à l'hérésie formelle et les témérités de son imagination mystique; l'élan d'amour qui l'emporta souvent jusqu'au plus haut idéal chrétien; enfin l'angoisse qu'elle ressentit parfois en face de l'Eglise de Rome, et le droit qu'elle se donna d'en dénoncer sans pitié les faiblesses, d'en flétrir les violences, d'en tourmenter les ambitions, c'est la religion originale de l'Italie, la religion de Pierre Damien, d'Arnould de Brescia, de Joachim de Flore, de Saint François, de Jean de Parme, de Fra' Salimbene, de Sainte Catherine, de Savonarole, de Contarini. C'est aussi la religion de Dante et de Pétrarque, de Giotto, de Fra' Angelico et de Raphaël, d'Olimpia Morata, de Vittoria Colonna et de Michel-Ange.—ÉMILE GEBHART, *L'Italie mystique*.

the same train of ideas which led them to the Renaissance. When the northern nations began to assert themselves, the *dross* of Paganism was swept away, and Protestantism in its best form is a return to the Judaism of Christ, still under the sway of the Mosaic Law. As Burckhardt says, the Italian Church is "a work of art" in that it is the fruit of reflection and careful adaptation;¹ a fair compromise between classic and Jewish culture. It needed, however, the stimulus of the Reformation to counter-reform itself and to bring into stronger relief the curse of the Temporal Power of the popes.

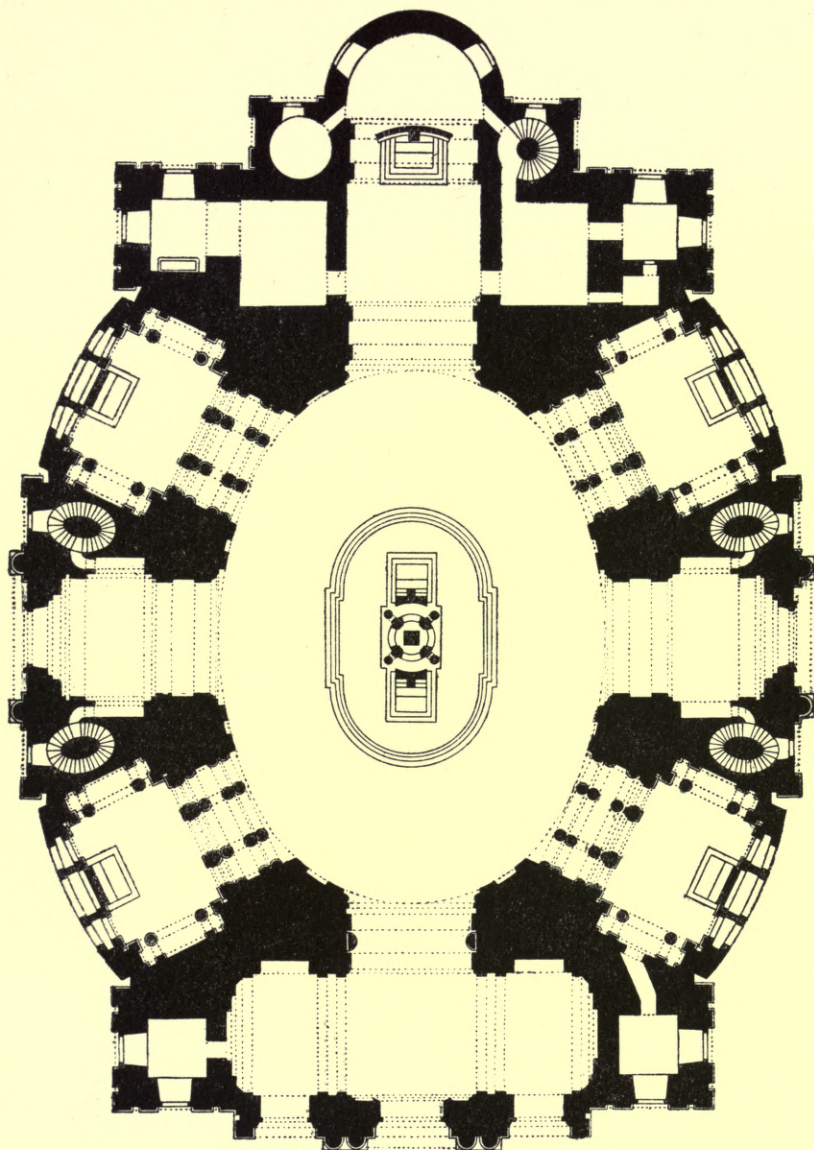
Charles Emanuel studied the possibility of reconciling the two discordant elements of "God and Country" long before the patriot Mazzini took those two names as the watchword of his revolutionary crusade; discordant elements only in a land like Italy, for at the end of the sixteenth century the God of the Italians was still the theocrat of Rome, the greatest enemy of their country. "The Papacy, with its creatures and allies, was strong enough to hinder national unity in the future, not strong enough itself to bring about that unity."²

The remoteness of this corner of Piedmont was probably considered a great disadvantage by him. He would have preferred to build his memorial in some more accessible spot had he been able to find as good a pretext for it; that is, had he been able to combine the two interests as at Vico, where a strong religious propaganda had already created a focus for popular enthusiasm. Knowing the Italian nature of those times, he did not believe that a political interest alone could be made sufficiently attractive without a religious interest as a

¹ Certes le génie juif est bien médiocre en regard du génie grec, il n'a rien inventé ni la science, ni l'art, ni la morale, ni même la religion, et la race d'Israël n'aurait pas existé que rien jusqu'alors n'eût été changé dans l'histoire du monde. . . . Mais le christianisme n'est pas le simple contact de la *pâte hellénique* et du *levain juif*; c'est un archée, une âme propre; si le monde gréco-romain, comme le croit M. Albert Réville, évoluait vers la torpeur chinoise, le monde sémitique aurait abouti à la décadence musulmane; la croyance en Jehovah ne pouvait engendrer à elle seule que l'Islam. La création effarante du christianisme fut l'Homme-Dieu.—HENRY MAZEL.

² Machiavelli.

preliminary. The worship of the Madonna was to lead



Scale of Feet
0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

VITOZZI'S PLAN.

to the worship of the Italy which did not exist, but which was to be created. So it was that among the architects

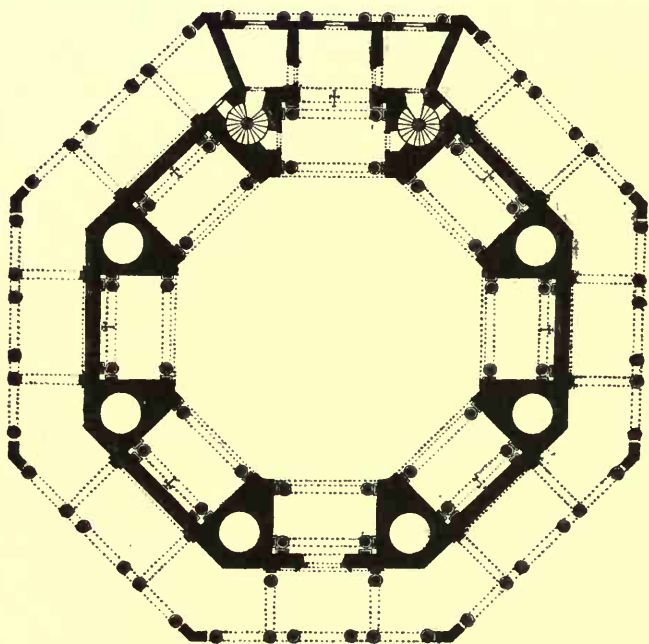
who submitted plans no one had so well mastered his idea and so truly interpreted his conception as Captain Vitozzi, with whom he could talk more freely and intelligently of his purposes ; and this also explains the preference given to a grand Renaissance style, instead of the solemn and dreamy Mediæval Gothic.

Captain Ascanio Vitozzi was a military engineer in the service of Charles Emanuel I. He was born in the year 1539 in Orvieto, a city of the Roman pontifical states. Very little is known of his professional education, which he probably acquired in his native city. Orvieto could already boast of its Gothic cathedral, containing some precious sculpture and the masterpieces of Signorelli, which were the admiration of Michael Angelo. From this cathedral Vitozzi had learned that to commemorate a miracle it was not necessary that the church should be built upon the exact spot where the miracle had taken place, Lake Bolsena being some miles distant from Orvieto.

More is known of Vitozzi's military career. Like Cervantes, he fought at the naval battle of Lepanto under Marcantonio Colonna. He then followed Prospero Colonna in the Tunis expedition ; thence he was transferred to the Spanish army, fighting under Philip II. for the conquest of Portugal. A few years later he was enrolled in the service of Charles Emanuel I., just before his struggle for the Marquisate of Saluzzo, after which time he followed the fortunes of that Prince until his death. He had military ability and personal courage that often won the praise of the Duke. As an architect he has left many edifices in Turin, erected during this period of the Piedmontese Renaissance, which give him a good reputation as a church and civic builder, with a style that does not show the weak tendencies of the age.

When he began work on his great masterpiece at Vico he was fifty-seven years old. He felt bitterly disappointed to find that he could not alter the determination of the local authorities to have the church built around the shrine. He sent message after message to the Duke begging him to disregard the farmers' mistaken idea and

select higher ground close by, better adapted to sustain the weight of the massive foundations. The Duke approved Vitozzi's suggestion, but when the news reached Fiamenga (the western portion of Vico, where Trombetta resided), the people rose in opposition, and, headed by the Deacon, declared "the Duke a mere intruder encroaching on their sacred rights." They added that "a chapel had been provided to protect the



PAGANELLO'S PLAN.

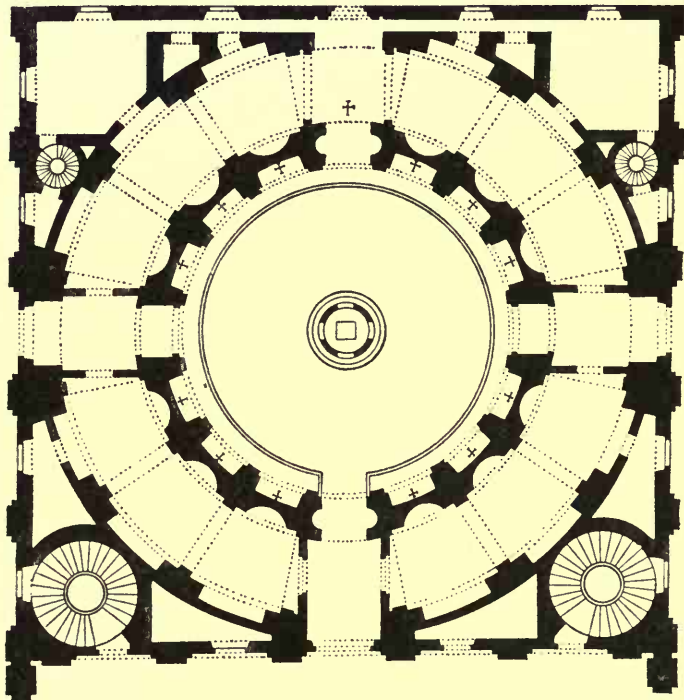
shrine from all possible injury from the weather, and that a larger church was already in process of construction for all possible needs of worship. Therefore, why should he interfere? The shrine belonged to them. If he wished to raise a memorial for himself and his descendants, he could betake himself elsewhere." Evidently they objected to his meddling with the shrine in any way. The Bishop of Mondovì was probably the instigator of this resistance, and the matter might have become a scandal had not the Council of Mondovì seen a way to overcome

the difficulty. The prospect of obtaining privileges from the Duke through frequent intercourse with him and his Court, and the source of wealth which the work itself would create, was too good an opportunity for them to let slip because of the animosity of a few peasants. The angry feelings were calmed and the people of Fiamenga partially satisfied by conceding that the site of Vitozzi's building should be that of the shrine itself and no other, and that the Pilone should occupy the exact centre of it.

That the Bishop should have had a grudge against the Duke for proposing to tear down the church he had specially planned for religious celebrations was only natural ; but why the people of Mondoví and surroundings should have always been so hostile to their lawful rulers as to prefer a foreign yoke is hard to conceive. Like the people of the Marquisate of Saluzzo and those of Pignerol, they continually longed for annexation to France, just as the Sicilians wished to return to their Spanish masters when another Duke of Savoy had been made king of their island, although he had liberated the whole Peninsula from French occupation. These facts prove how utterly incomprehensible to the people of Italy, from one end of the Peninsula to the other, was the conception of nationality, and what a Herculean task Charles Emanuel had undertaken. The minds of the uneasy people of Mondoví were always brooding on the idea of a free commune or republic even after many failures had shown how unfit they were for self-government, and proved them to be as bad masters as they were bad servants.

The corner-stone of the present Santuario was laid with much pomp July 7, 1596, in the presence of the Duke, his wife and children, the Bishop and Council of Mondoví, two other bishops, and a delegation from Vico, besides forty processions from all parts of the province. The general enthusiasm was very great, and from the amount of the contributions and the precious gifts collected on that one occasion, it would seem as if the work could have been pushed to a finish in a few years. Unfortun-

ately, the ill-will of the Bishop had been evident from the very first, and on one pretext and another, from moment to moment the work was delayed, so that the temple had only reached a quarter of its intended height when Vitozzi died. The people of Fiamenga, who viewed the progress of the work with an evil eye, rejoiced to hear of the political difficulties of the Duke, and never



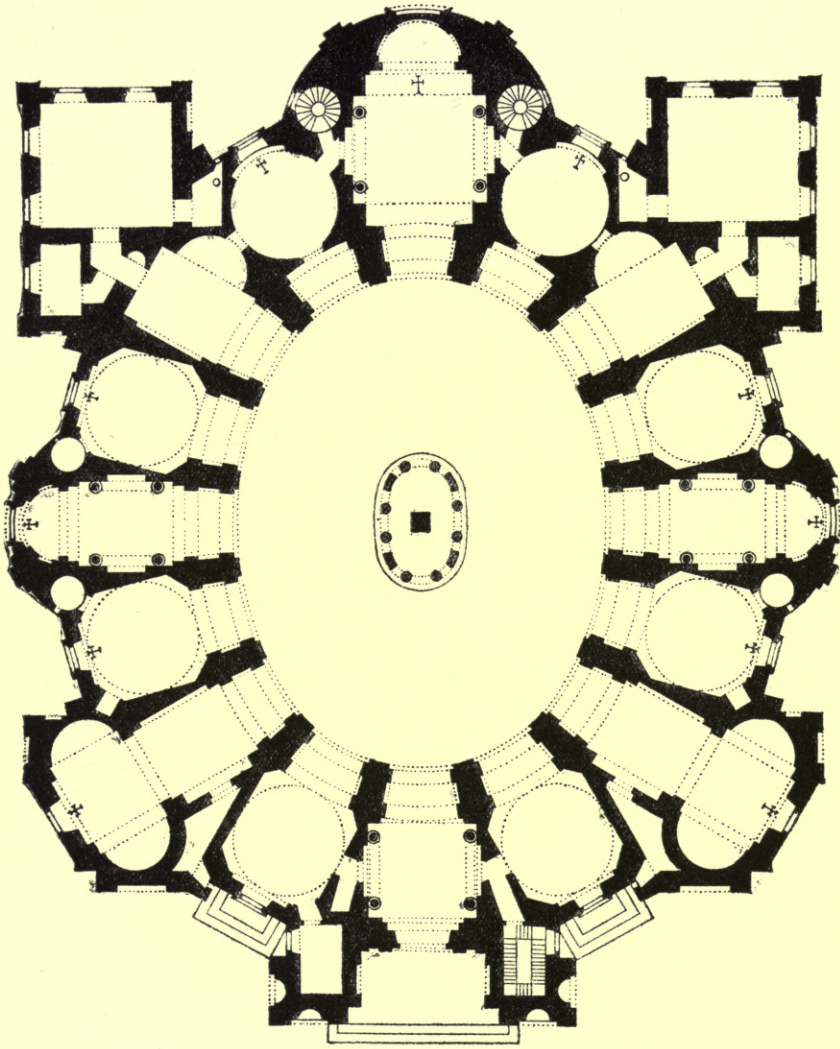
TESAURO'S PLAN.

gave up the hope that sooner or later they would have a free hand in the matter.

The latter part of 1596 was spent in demolishing the walls of the church begun the year before by the Bishop of Mondovì. Trombetta's chapel was left to protect the Pilone, and, in fact, never was removed until the dome was completed by Gallo. After contending with the heterogeneous nature of the soil, partly alluvial and partly *tufò* and clay, which made the work of laying the foundations extremely difficult, it was found necessary

to cut down the base of the hill behind, in order to make an open space around the church at the same level as the base of the Pilone. To do this successfully the course of the little brook Ermena had to be turned to the southward for a considerable distance, and underground canals made to drain both the hill and the valley. While this work was going on Vitozzi's time was taken up in preparing plans for the monastery of the impatient Cistercian monks, who had managed to extort undue privileges from the Pope, enabling them to dispose of the revenues given by the Duke and the contributions collected at the shrine. These notorious frauds and systematic peculations caused unnecessary delays, and finally a suspension, and almost total abandonment of the work. It may be inferred that if Charles Emanuel had not introduced the four chapels for the avowed purpose of receiving the tombs of his family and descendants, the church would have been finished before Vitozzi's death. The delays were made under one false pretext after another, and the monks were not insignificant accomplices. In Malabaila's petition to the successor of the Duke, when he refers to "the ugliness of those chapels," much can be read between the lines. Again, when the monks had full control of the work, they only permitted the mausoleum of Princess Marguerite to be placed in her chapel, after long-continued pressure brought to bear by her relatives, notwithstanding her written will and the funds she had left for the necessary expenses. A considerable portion of this money they wasted on four indifferent marble statues of saints, fixed in as many niches where Princes of Savoy would have been much more appropriate. But the Bishop of Mondoví, the Council of that city, the people of Fiamenga, and the monks have not been the only offenders. A late Administration, headed by a Royal Commissioner, has covered the walls and ceilings of the other two chapels with inappropriate decorations in addition to the vulgar and gaudy altars which already encumbered them. As it is, we must conclude that everything was done to irritate the House of Savoy, which

furnished the greater part of the funds with which the temple was built, and yet was forced to abandon it because of the disloyalty of these citizens.



CARLO NEGRI CONTE DI SAN FRONTE'S PLAN.

A period of perplexity and discouragement followed the death of the architect and of the founder. The ambitious monks, more impatient to complete their monastery than the Santuario, appropriated all the avail-

able funds of the Administration and left the main work at a standstill ; and the better to ensure the failure of the original plan, they destroyed the model left by Vitozzi. But they tried in vain to induce the successor of Charles Emanuel I. to change the plan of the church to one that could be completed more speedily and at less expense. Malabaila's petition was an artful piece of insolence. Making an able specification of the work, he asked Victor Amadeus I. (successor and son of Charles Emanuel I.) to allow him to transform the domed plan into a rectangular gable-roofed basilica, doing away with "the four ugly chapels." The Duke's successor, who felt no particular interest in it, might have been easily persuaded if he had not been expressly charged by his father to continue the work "according to Vitozzi's plan." Abbot Malabaila gained, however (later), the favour of Madama Reale, who constructed, at her own expense, in 1644, a covered passage connecting the monastery with the Santuario. She insisted, however, upon the completion of that structure "which we have most at heart," the cost to be defrayed from the proceeds of the sale of jewels and silver offerings, forming a part of the treasure of the shrine.

Charles Emanuel I., so anxious to finally rest in the chapel he had chosen in 1601 and built with his own private funds, was long disappointed in this desire. Although his funeral services were held at the Santuario, his body was buried at Savigliano, where he died, because, it was said, his chapel was not finished. That this was only a pretext can be judged from the fact that, after an interval of another forty-seven years, it was removed to that very chapel, still unfinished, and placed in a temporary recess opened in the wall under the large semicircular window, where it was left for over a century more before it was finally deposited in a specially designed mausoleum. No especial honour was intended by this ; it was merely executing his will, which, even then, was only partially fulfilled, as he had particularly specified that the bodies of his wife and his eldest son, Philip Emanuel, should be buried in the same chapel with him. Instead, then, of



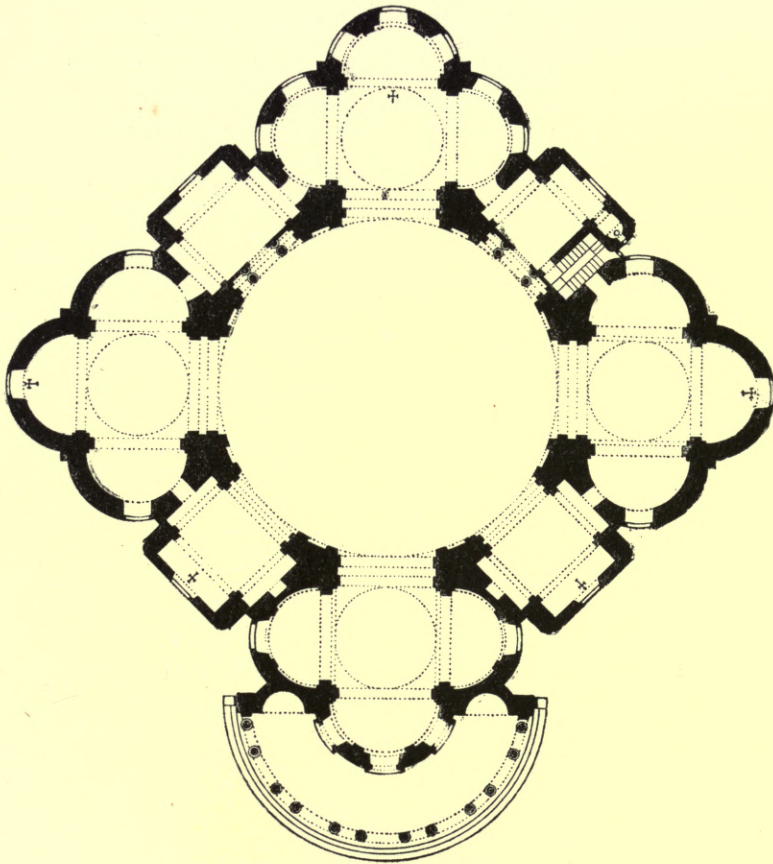
Photographed by John Andrew W. Son, Boston, U.S.A.

From negative by

L. Melano Rossi

Mausoleo di Carlo Emanuele I

the insignificant standing figure afterwards dedicated to him in front of his temple, a more suitable honour would have been that of complying with his sacred wishes and transporting from the Sagra San Michele and from the *Pudridero* of the Escorial the remains of the



ANONYMOUS PLAN.

two most cherished members of his family and laying them near him in his chapel.

The work on his chapel, named after St. Bernard, was well advanced before Charles Emanuel's death, as is shown by the records of the time and by the criticism of the architectural part of the mausoleum, which is admittedly of superior workmanship, "because it was made

under the superintendence of Vitozzi himself, after his own drawings." The marble group, a work of the Collini brothers, was added in 1792 by Victor Amadeus III.

In 1680 the vault was painted in fresco by Gian Paolo Recchi of Como,¹ belonging to a family of painters of the Milanese School. Gian Paolo, though born in 1600, was a strong and active man, and at the age of eighty-two was still busy on one of his best works in the neighbourhood of his native place. He also painted the altarpiece in Princess Marguerite's chapel, the marble decorations of which, in imitation of those of the Duke's mausoleum, were finished in 1667. Sebastiano Taricco of Cherasco,² considered one of the best painters of his time in Piedmont, painted the vault of this chapel in 1683, and the brothers (or cousins) Gaggini of Genoa completed the statuary in 1698. This is the period of

¹ At about the same period flourished at Como, besides the Bustini, the two brothers Gio. Paolo and Gio. Battista Recchi, whose chief merit was in painting frescoes, disciples likewise of Morazzone. These artists decorated San Giovanni and other churches of their native place, two chapels at Varese, with others in the same vicinity. The second of them also became eminent beyond the State, particularly at San Carlo in Turin, where he is placed near his master. His style is solid and strong, his colouring forcible, and in the skill of his foreshortening on ceilings he yields to very few of his day. Pasta, in his guide for Bergamo, has deservedly praised him on this score, when speaking of a Santa Grata, seen rising into heaven, a work, he observes, that is admirably delightful. In some of the chambers of the Veneria at Turin he was assisted by one Gio. Antonio, his nephew.—THOMAS ROSCOE's *Lanzi*.

² "Sebastiano Taricco was born in Cherasco, a city of Piedmont, in the year 1645; and it clearly appears from his works that he studied with Guido and with Domenichino in the great school of the Caracci." Thus far the historian (Della Valle). I have endeavoured, but in vain, to find any record of the residence of these two great masters in Bologna in the year 1645, when Taricco was born; they were at that time both dead. I therefore conjecture that the writer meant to say that Taricco studied in Bologna the works of the Caracci, as Guido and Domenichino had done before him. That he acquired the principles of his art in that city is believed in Piedmont; and his manner does not contradict this supposition. The truth is that at that time all Italy, as it were, was turned to the imitation of the Bolognese; and Turin had already a few specimens. Above all, they possessed specimens of Guido and his followers, Carlo Nuvolone and Gio. Peruzzini; and all might influence the style of Sebastiano, which was select in the heads, and sufficiently pleasing in general, but of too great facility, and without that refinement which distinguishes the classic painters. This I say after seeing the picture of the Trinity and others of his oil pictures at Turin; but I have heard that the Sala del Signor Gotto, painted by him in fresco in his native place, and various other works by him interspersed through that vicinity, inspire a higher opinion of his talents.—THOMAS ROSCOE's *Lanzi*.

the Salt Tax War and of the treacherous conduct on the part of the people of Mondovì and Vico¹ which did so much to influence Victor Amadeus II. to give up his ancestor's plan of making the Santuario a royal Pantheon. The people of Mondovì did their best to aid the French invaders of Louis XIV.,² but were again disappointed, for the French were defeated and forced to retreat. After

¹ Aveva questa metropoli (Torino) incominciata quell' eroica difesa, che passò insigne nella storia per l' abnegazione ed il valore addimosttrato dai suoi cittadini, per il sublime sacrificio di Pietro Micca. . . . Il perchè la notte del 16 Giugno il principe fece allontanare dalla capitale assediata la sua famiglia, cioè la madre Madama Reale, ecc. Ripararono dapprima a Cherasco e di là a Mondovì dove giunsero la sera del 22 Giugno e presero alloggio nel palazzo del governatore. Ivi li raggiunse due giorni dopo, lo stesso Vittorio Amedeo II., e, credendoli sicuri, levò armati e ritornò al comando delle truppe accampate presso Cuneo. Ma siccome il Duca de la Feuillade in quel mentre si era avanzato verso Mondovì, il principe esortò la città ad opporre viva resistenza.

Questa invece temendo contribuzioni e saccheggi, gli mosse incontro e così portò le chiavi e prestò giuramento di fedeltà al nemico. Madama Reale e la Duchessa d' Orleans coi figli si rifuggiarono per tempo a Ceva. Il Principe di Carignano, vecchio cadente per età e sordo-muto per nascita, li seguiva, costretto a percorrere, lentamente la strada colla vettura, allorchè fu raggiunto colla famiglia dalle truppe di La Feuillade e fatto prigionero. Questi però obblighosi, in parola di gentiluomo, di farli condurre ove al Re piacesse di ordinare e furono lasciati liberi a Racconigi.

Intanto i cittadini di Mondovì riconobbero tardi il loro errore ed in quale modo avessero esacerbato l' animo del sovrano, che a loro aveva affidato il sacro deposito della famiglia, e tosto gl' inviarono una deputazione per chiedere il suo perdono. . . . Il rifiuto di ricevere quella deputazione, e le parole colle quali il Re ne scrive al Conte di Robilant spiegano abbastanza come dovette essere esacerbato l' animo suo contro i Mondoviti. Non ripetiamo un' altra volta i fatti che contribuirono a staccare l' animo e la fiducia di questo principe da Mondovì e dal Santuario. Quest' ultimo giunse in mal punto. È nel breve soggiorno a Bibbiana . . . e forse nell' istesso giorno che, come scrive il De Amicis, sulla cima del colle di S. Bernardo il re Vittorio Amedeo II. fece il voto che un mese dopo, il 28 Agosto cioè, confermò colla presenza del Principe Eugenio, dopo aver esaminato dall' altura di Superga lo strazio di Torino assediata, e la posizione del campo nemico. I suoi sentimenti religiosi rifulsero dopo la splendida vittoria, e la sua devozione a Maria SS. congiunta alla religione delle tombe, ebbe lassù un insigne monumento. Da quel giorno il Santuario di Mondovì non servì più al precipuo scopo per cui era stato eretto da Carlo Emanuele I.—Prof. CASIMIRO DANNA.

² Le peuple donna dans cette circonstance des marques de la plus haute affection pour les Français ; on sût même que les habitants de Mondovì, qui auraient pu se rassembler au nombre de cinq à six mille, avaient refusé de prendre les armes pour le service de leur maître. Ce fut pour leur donner une entière liberté de se livrer à leurs bonnes intentions que M. de la Feuillade fit proposer au prince de Carignan de s'éloigner de Mondovì et de se retirer, ou bien hors des états du duc de Savoie, ou dans une telle maison de son apanage qui lui serait le plus agréable. Ce prince se détermina pour Racconigi, sur la rivière de Maira, où il avait une fort belle habitation ; il partit le lendemain

losing this chance they threw themselves on the Duke's mercy, imploring pardon for their misdeeds, but he repulsed them with scorn and aversion. Victor Amadeus II., incensed at their shameful treachery, could no longer endure such traitors, nor would he listen to anything that had the least reference to their city, or even to the Santuario, to which, in 1684, he had assigned an annual stipend. Henceforth Superga was to be the burial-place of the House of Savoy, and the Santuario of the Madonna di Vico was abandoned to its fate; Mondovì, divided by Royal decree into fourteen communes, deprived of its University, and cast out from the affections of the Royal Family, declined in a few years to an insignificance from which it has never recovered.

avec toute la cour, escorté par cinquante carabiniers destinés à y rester avec lui pour sa sûreté.—Dès qu'il se fut mis en chemin, M. de la Feuillade établit dans Mondovì les deux bataillons de son régiment, dont les deux compagnies de grenadiers allèrent occuper le château de Saint Michel sur le chemin de Ceva; et, comme il fut averti que les habitants de ce dernier canton n'étaient pas moins bien intentionnés que ceux de Mondovì, il envoya M. de Marignan avec deux bataillons, quatre pièces de canon et deux mortiers, pour se rendre maître du château de Ceva, qui ne pouvait faire qu'une faible résistance et qui n'était gardé que par des paysans. M. de Sartirane, officier général espagnol, y marcha aussi de Finale avec deux mille hommes.—GÉNÉRAL PELET.

CHAPTER IV

WOUNDED in their pride, the people of Mondoví were filled with a desire to finish the church themselves. But what could be done without Vitozzi's model, which the monks had destroyed, now that they were facing the construction of the dome, the most daring conception of the whole plan? Its shape was so peculiar and needed such exhaustive study of ellipsoid centering, that no one was willing to assume the responsibility of its execution, especially when neither honour nor adequate compensation could be expected from this fickle community. Notwithstanding the very mediocre reputation that the Piedmontese have had in the world of art, architects in particular, during the best period of the House of Savoy, being invariably brought from other provinces of Italy, as Vitozzi from Orvieto and Juvara from Messina, a genius was discovered in this unpromising atmosphere in a fellow-citizen, Francesco Gallo, who answered the country's call in that one moment of artistic ambition. Although still in his youth and his professional education unfinished, he was asked by the city of Mondoví to submit a plan for the oval dome, a commission which he modestly accepted, and from that time dedicated his whole life and soul to fulfilling. He was subsequently favoured in this purpose by being sent to Rome by the King of Sardinia (in whose service he was employed as a military and civil engineer) to study the aqueducts of the Campagna, in order to plan a water-supply for the city of Turin. Francesco Gallo had the strength of character and the stubborn and unrelenting perseverance that is

necessary to carry out a great idea and finally achieve success. With a superb confidence and self-reliance that amounted to inspiration, he astounded the world by the rapidity with which he built the drum and the superimposed dome and lantern; and this, too, with an unprecedented economy of materials, without resorting to the usual expedient of an iron ring and cross-ties, to counteract the lateral thrust of the dome, or a wooden framework on which to model a more lofty exterior, or a brick cone to support the stone lantern, or subterfuges to conceal the bulging buttresses, or other architectural frauds that detract from thoroughly honest and sound construction. This success was still more remarkable as the older architect Juvara had warned him that he could expect nothing but failure in attempting to build the dome according to his plans. Philip Juvara of Messina, then in the service of the King, had a European reputation, and as he had been hailed by Milizia as the supreme architect of Italy, his judgment must have had some weight. However, the dome still stands. It has stood the test of nearly two centuries, and neither earthquake shocks nor stress of weather have had any effect upon the thorough stability of its masonry—"like a gigantic piece of pottery," if you will, as Viollet-le-Duc scornfully says of Agrippa's vault!

Victor Amadeus II., who had now become King of Sardinia, could not very well relinquish his family rights in the Santuario, and work could not be resumed without his consent. When his "vassal" Francesco Gallo was ready to begin work on the dome in 1728, he appointed a Special Commissioner, Count Capellini di Montelupo, to superintend it. Through royal encouragement and the financial help of a few public-spirited citizens, the drum was finished in 1730, the dome in 1731, and the lantern in 1733, with intervals of rest, the better to secure the solidification of drum and dome before the lantern was raised.

Then came the turn of the interior. The traditional good intercourse of the three arts—architecture, painting,

and sculpture—was more strictly observed in the preliminary work of Vitozzi, although the space reserved for the sculptor had never been filled. Francesco Gallo, very doubtful as to whether the Administration could ever afford to add a sculptural finish, did not attempt to solve the problem, but left the whole interior smooth and bare.

The first fresco of the great vault was completed by Pietro Antonio Pozzo in 1739, after three years of labour. It is not quite clear why his work was condemned by Sebastiano Galeotti, director of the Academy of Fine Arts in Turin, and his friend Giuseppe Galli Bibbiena. Absolutely ignorant in matters of mural decoration, the administrators of the church had no criterion to follow except that of expense. Because of a difference of a few hundred francs they rejected the better design of the two Alemani and awarded the work to the one who would do it for the least. Then instead of accepting the blame for the failure themselves, they suffered the poor artist to be scorned, condemned him to refund as indemnity part of the money he had earned with his honest labour, and reduced him to poverty. If the picture was condemned by competent judges, they ought to have borne the consequences themselves. They had chosen the design, and was it not enough for the painter to bear the shame of seeing his work obliterated?

The enormous scaffolding was put up again, and about 16,000 square feet of painted plaster had to be removed prior to beginning the work again by the newly appointed painters Giuseppe Galli Bibbiena and Sebastiano Galeotti, the same who had condemned Pozzo's work.

Bibbiena¹ was born at Parma in 1696 of a Bolognese

¹ Whatever splendour of ornament may have been conferred upon the theatre by the Aldobrandini family, so greatly devoted to it, that of the Galli in the present age, sprung from Gio. Maria, pupil of Albani, surnamed, from his country, Bibbiena, has acquired still greater celebrity. By the same surname were distinguished Ferdinando and Francesco, his sons, with their posterity; nor has any pictoric family in this or any other age advanced higher claims to public notice. There was hardly any court that invited not some of the Bibbieni into its service; nor was any sphere more eligible for that family than

family, the son of a skilful decorative painter at the Court of Vienna, whom he afterwards succeeded. Often invited to other parts of Europe upon occasions of great festivals, his time was generally limited, and on his visit to the Santuario he remained only long enough to draw in the architectural perspective of the dome, leaving the minor work of detail to some of his pupils, among whom Felice Biella had the most decorative talent.

Sebastiano Galeotti died before the commencement of the work, and Mattia Bortoloni took his place after presenting his own sketches. This painter was born in 1690 in Rovigo, in the province of Venice, and belonged to the Venetian School of Tiepolo. Felice Biella, apparently from Lombardy, born in 1702, was of the Bolognese School.¹

The new frescoes of the dome were begun in the spring of 1746, and completed before the end of that year, Bortoloni having had the more important task of supplying the subject of the composition. The decoration around the drum and the arcade below was painted at different intervals.

The Baldacchino in the interior, of rich and different coloured marbles, was erected in 1751, and the metal the great courts whose sovereign dignity was equalled by the elevation of their ideas, which only princely power could carry into execution. The festivals which they directed on the occasion of victories, of nuptials, or of royal entrances were the most sumptuous that Europe ever witnessed. The genius of Ferdinando, formed for architecture, and for this reason wholly directed to it by Cignani, attained such excellence, that he was enabled to teach it in a volume which he printed at Parma. . . . He was the real inventor of those magnificent scenes which we now witness, and of that rapid mechanic motion with which they are seen to move and change. . . .

Ferdinando had a numerous family, of whose members we shall mention Alessandro, Antonio, and Giuseppe ; not because equal to their predecessors, but as being versed in the practice of their manner, both in oil and fresco, and on this account eagerly sought after by the different courts of Europe. . . . Giuseppe, who, on his father's departure from Vienna on account of illness, was substituted architect and painter of court festivals in his twentieth year, afterwards left that city for Dresden, where he enjoyed the same office, and, after the lapse of many years, also at Berlin. He was invariably patronised by princes. . . . Many of the decorations invented by Giuseppe and Carlo (his son) on occasion of public festivals have been engraved from their designs, in the production of which they were equally rapid, masterly, and refined.—

THOMAS ROSCOE'S *Lanzi*.

¹ Danna e Chiecchio.

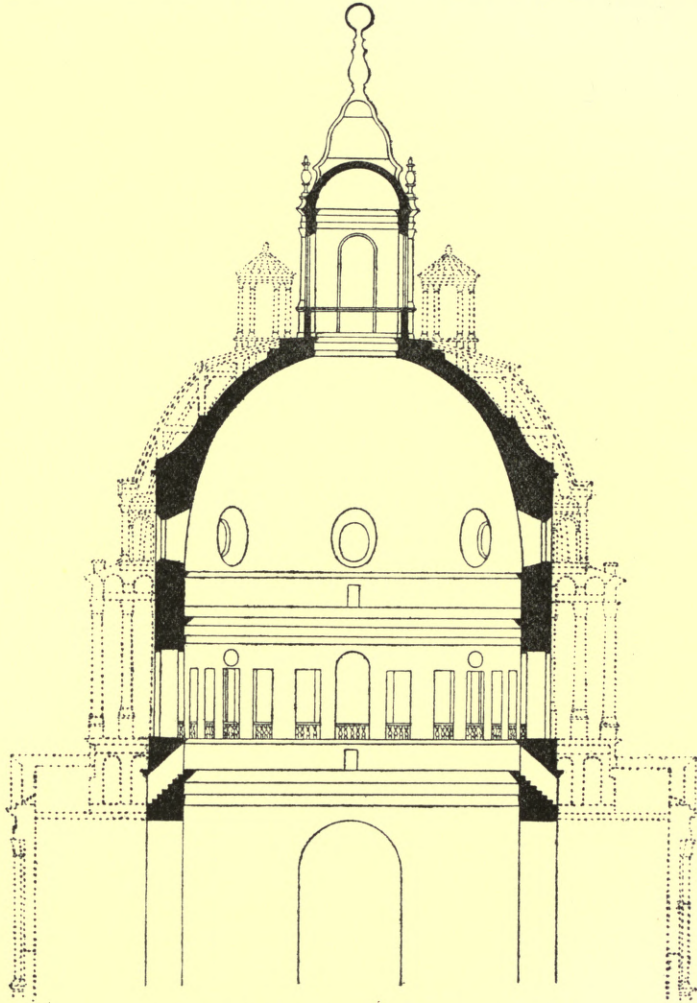
framework of the Pilone within it was made by Boucheron of Turin and Ladatte of Paris. The marble pavement of the whole church was laid by Gallo's son in 1773.

After the completion of the dome another critical period was reached, and again the credit of overcoming enormous difficulties is due to another Piedmontese, Captain Virginio Bordino, an engineer of great inventive genius. His skill was shown in the practical reconstruction of the entire main façade, which had suffered through the unequal settling of the ground, owing to the gradual disintegration of the alluvial soil upon which the front portion of the building rests, by continuous filtration of rain-water. This was not by reason of faulty calculation of the supporting strength of the piers, as in the Pantheon in Paris. To counteract this settling, extensive tunnelling and drainage canals were dug, isolating the whole structure from the hill and valley. Colossal scaffoldings were raised to support the upper part of the walls and the vault of the main vestibule, while the inserted columns and pilasters made of three superimposed blocks were removed and immense monoliths substituted in their places, completing this gigantic undertaking with a megalith as architrave, extending the whole width of the great pediment above the entrance. This was done in 1833.

Nothing now was needed but the finishing touch by an artist imbued with the grandeur of the building. But, unfortunately, in Italy during the latter part of the nineteenth century presumptuous mediocrity held sway. Some of these dilettanti, after completing the campanili, thought to improve and decorate them by applying a coating of cement with checkerwork and rough panellings, entirely out of keeping with the otherwise dignified exterior. Too late the Italian Government sent word that everything should be left as it was, but the mischief had been done, and should have been remedied then and there by pulling down the offending upper portions of the campanili and rebuilding them in the original style. The judges themselves, though sent by the Government,

do not seem in matters of taste to have been much above the general low artistic level.

Recently an architect much admired in Italy advocated the elimination of these four campanili with a

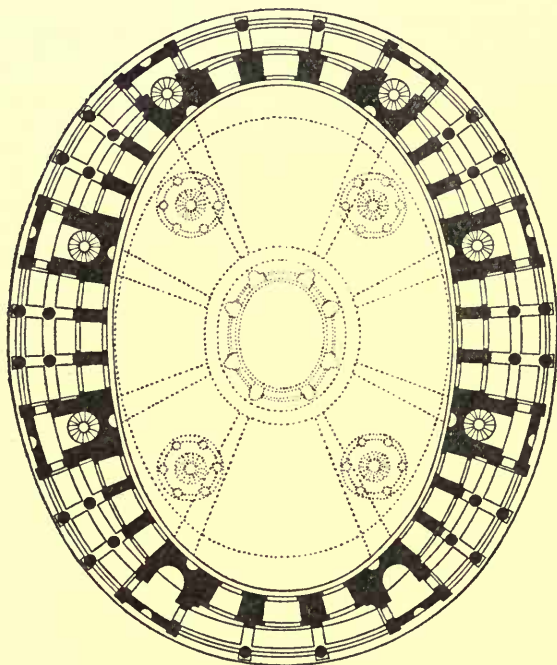


ANTONELLI'S SECTION OF THE MINOR AXIS.

view of further embellishing the general appearance and better displaying the central dome. This was not merely a passing thought of his, for he had elevations and plans specially prepared to show his design. This consisted mainly in a peristyle around the base of the dome, outside,

as in the Pantheon in Paris, and a roof reminiscent of his great though not beautiful work, the Jewish Synagogue at Turin, surmounted by four pavilions surrounding the lantern. The æsthètes of Mondovì were loud in praise of such a scheme, and consideration of cost was all that saved the Santuario from this new vandalism.

Another architect discovered that the dome could be raised higher, giving it the same radius and profile as St.



ANTONELLI'S PROJECTED DRUM AND DOME.

Peter's in Rome, making it, in fact, a surmounted dome, and raising the lantern above its present level, which is equivalent to adding a piece of mere carpentry, as at the Invalides in Paris or St. Paul's in London. Gallo took his constructive scheme, evidently, from the Temple of Minerva Medica in Rome, and made no efforts to conceal it, except that the bending of his buttresses seems to remind one of the ribbed construction. Late architects, not appreciating his methods, took the unwarrantable liberty of modifying his design externally, in the wooden frame

for the sheathing. This was perhaps done unconsciously, but it interferes with the sincerity of construction which is the especial merit of this dome. All these architectural follies arise from excessive servility to the Renaissance and from the lack of a poetic sense of the picturesque. It is, however, a very coarse kind of picturesqueness which only evokes deformities, dwarfs, diabolical gargoyles, and grotesque monsters crawling with distorted features from under the weight of ponderous nightmares of stone; but it certainly is genuine and uplifting art which can rear soaring masses, with broad surfaces and vigorous angles that afford Rembrandt-like light and shade and picturesque sky-lines. The Pantheon of Charles Emanuel I. of Savoy is the romantic building of Italy. It needs no ivy-clad ruined walls to be picturesquely impressive. Can any of the many-hued marble or stuccoed walls of Italian basilicas and *duomi* rival the soft yellow tone of its masonry, or even the plain unpolished brick of its drum? Much of the effect is due to the campanili, an important feature in Vitozzi's plan, that with their sharp angles are happily contrasted with the bold curves of Gallo's dome. It would have been doing both Vitozzi and Gallo great injustice to presume to meddle with these ideas, for which alone they were responsible.

In 1881 the Santuario was declared a "national monument" upon the reports made by Antonelli and Ighina, and the order came from the Italian Government to finish building the campanili, which, together with the copper sheathing of the roof, were completed in 1884. The curving western façade is a recent addition; it was commenced in 1890, the year before the dedication of a bronze statue of Charles Emanuel I. in front of his Pantheon. The eastern façade is still a desideratum, although the lack of it is hardly noticeable to the casual observer.

The long line of houses enclosing the semi-octagonal plaza was built at different periods with the most complete disregard of perspective possibilities. There was

ample opportunity for picturesque grouping of the buildings, leaving passages for free circulation, instead of the present uniformly plain unbroken wall, entirely without beauty, which congests the traffic within its limits.

I have more than one recommendation to make. First, the removal of the statues of the four saints from the chapel of the Duchess of Mantua ; next, the obliteration of the crude frescoes of the vaults and the demolition of the ignoble altars in the other two chapels which should have been left empty ; another, the effacement of the tasteless decorations of the arcade and the drum, thus affording a splendid opportunity for some art-loving millionaire to cover everything, except the cupola (as at St. Mark's), with mosaic ; the removal of the boastful tablet of an obscure vassal count from the great altar of the apse, Charles Emanuel himself having refrained from any recapitulations of the benefits he had conferred on the Santuario ; the exclusion of the memorial of Bishop Ghilardi from the main vestibule ; the removal of the insignificant statue from the plaza ; the division into four isolated blocks of the long line of houses ; the introduction of wide avenues radiating from the church, thus making picturesque and diversified perspectives ; the construction of a new road along the hills opposite, and the consequent suppression of the present road and tramway line, the close proximity of which spoils the sacred character of the place ; and last, and perhaps not the least, the permanent banishment of all the wine-shops from the buildings facing the temple.



Photographed by John Andrew & Son, Boston, U.S.A.

From negative by

L. Melano Rossi

Santuario di Vicoforte

ARCHITECTURAL

CHAPTER V

THE noblest heritage that can be left to a people is the monumental character given to its works of architecture. These are the luminous beacons of its history and the most effective stimulus to the art culture of succeeding generations. In the language of Dr. Morgan, "Architecture is the printing-press of all ages, and gives a history of the state of society in which it was erected." It is the first indication of advancing civilisation ; and, according to the taste shown for it, or to its apparent neglect, is either a sign of refinement or of barbarism. No truly great nation ever failed to appreciate this art, even if, like that of the Jews of Solomon's time, it was borrowed from others. This is especially true of religious architecture. "Religious architecture has always been the highest expression of the art of a people ; in human progress it is always the religious edifice which has preceded all others, which has furnished the models and traditions, which has made accomplished architects and skilled workmen."¹ From the remotest antiquity people have always desired "to see that embodied which they consider beautiful or sacred."² The Egyptians had their splendid Hypostyle Hall at Karnak ;³ the Greeks their most perfect masterpiece in the Parthenon ; the Jews still lament their once famous Temple at Jerusalem ; while the

¹ J. Guadet.

² Hermann Grimm.

³ La littérature a fait beaucoup de phrases sur l'architecture égyptienne ; on y a vu toutes sortes d'idées mystiques ou philosophiques, on a décrit ses effets, les impressions qu'elle devait produire ; nous avons eu même une Égypte romantique. Combien il eût été plus simple de s'apercevoir que les Égyptiens *ne pouvaient pas*, entre deux axes de point d'appui, avoir des portées de plus de six à sept mètres qui d'ailleurs n'étaient réalisables que par l'emploi de matériaux exceptionnels !—J. GUADET.

Romans, supreme in everything of cosmopolitan application, created in the Pantheon of Agrippa, the Basilica of Constantine, the Thermæ of Caracalla, and the Temple of Minerva Medica the fountain-heads from which all later structures, particularly in church architecture, have been derived.¹

In art and in politics, in spiritual and in temporal life, "it is in Rome that the history of antiquity ends, and it is in Rome that all modern history begins."² Rome gave to the world as her last and most enduring inheritance not only Christianity, but with it also an appropriate and magnificent sanctuary suited to its spiritual dignity. "At Rome, during the reigns of Constantine and his immediate successors, Christianity was indeed the religion of the sovereign, and had all the weight of royal influence and example."³

¹ The Roman was a born architect, in the sense of what is most vital in architecture, for he was a born constructor; and it was out of this strong constructive sense that a new architecture was developed. The arches of his aqueducts, the tremendous feats of his concrete vaulting, the constructional daring of his baths and amphitheatres, far outweighed his carelessness or insensibility to the refinements of ornament. Moreover, he was, in fact, as in Diocletian's palace, learning to dispense with the pedantries of his masters, and in Syria he had worked out a method of architecture of which the chief characteristic was its practical sense and unfaltering logic—an architecture that eliminated ornamental forms, and worked out an abstract system of design from the materials to hand.—REGINALD BLOMFIELD.

² The history of Rome is the greatest of all historical subjects, for this simple reason, that the history of Rome is in truth the same as the history of the world. If history be read, not as a mere chronicle of events, recorded as a form and remembered as a lesson, but as the living science of causes and effects, it will be found that, if we would rightly understand the destiny of what is truly called the Eternal City, our researches must be carried up to the very beginnings of history and tradition, and must be carried on without break to the present hour. Palestine, Greece, Italy, are the three lands whose history contains the history of man. From Palestine we draw our religion, from Greece comes art and literature, and, in a manner, law and freedom. But the influence of Palestine and Greece is, to a large extent, an influence of mere example and analogy; even where it is a real influence of cause and effect it is at best an indirect influence, an influence working through the tongues and the arms of strangers. The history of civilised man goes on in one unbroken tale from Theseus to our own day; but the drama shifts its scenes and changes its actors; Greece can reach us only by way of Italy; the Athenian speaks to modern Europe almost wholly through a Roman interpreter. We profess a religion of Hebrew birth, but the oracles of that religion speak the tongue of Greece, and they reached us only through the agency of Rome.—E. FREEMAN.

³ Freeman.

It is not intended to enumerate the various stages of Christian architecture ; but, as from the very outset the embarrassing question of style cannot be avoided, it is necessary to start from some standpoint in considering a sacred building planned during the time when there was still originality in architecture, before this art fell under “ the spell of modern archæology ” ;¹ when the conditions of fitness and monumentality were of paramount importance, and artistic genius was not yet hampered by the tyranny of superstitious architects and the taste of local dilettanti.

It may be said that the national divergences of style originated in the spirit of destruction so general in the Protestant countries at the time of the Reformation. When order was once more restored and houses of worship were needed, the question arose after what manner should they be built. Gothic at first was regarded as “ a heathenish style,” “ a Popish, antichristian, and anti-national style,” because all the great mediæval churches had been reared by monks or under Roman Catholic auspices. Instead the people delighted in “ columns, entablatures, and pediments, originally imported from the very temples of Jupiter, Venus, and Bacchus, where not a few of the Popish superstitions and practices had their origin.”² This fashion extended to America, where it took the name of “ colonial style.” In England it led to St. Paul’s Cathedral, which, although an imitation of St. Peter’s in Rome, even at the present time is extolled

¹ Depuis un siècle, et dans le monde entier, les arts et l’architecture surtout sont anémiés par leur subordination à l’archéologie. Eussions-nous un Raphaël ou un Paul Véronèse, il ne leur serait permis de faire ni l’*École d’Athènes* ni les *Noces de Cana*, car à ces admirables chefs-d’œuvre l’archéologie opposerait, qu’ils sont inexacts ! L’architecture, à qui l’on ose demander de se faire contemporaine, aujourd’hui de Saint Louis, demain de Louis XV, l’architecture n’est plus presque partout à l’étranger qu’une expression archéologique, une adaptation servile d’anachronismes illogiques, quelle que soit l’époque qui fournit le modèle au pastiche. A Munich, on imagine des Parthénons utilitaires ; à Londres, pour répondre aux besoins tout modernes du *club*, vous rencontrez des vieilles connaissances, le Palais Farnèse, les Procuraties, la colonnade de la Place de la Concorde, tout cela copié jusqu’au surmoulage, pour plus de servilité. L’art italien ne sait plus que se répéter ; et partout ainsi, jusqu’en Amérique, pays jeune, mais aussi vieux en art que la vieille Europe.—J. GUADET.

² Dennison.

by one of the most stalwart advocates of "Christian Gothic." "The truly ecclesiastical outline of St. Paul's Cathedral," he says, "is a Gothic conception expressed in Italian ideals. Not that for this we have to thank the architect, who would, if unshackled, have allowed us nothing of the kind; it is simply owing to the traces of the old tradition, and to the Catholic feelings of the Caroline divines, who might be ignorant or careless about architectural detail, but were not men to allow the new Cathedral to depart from the ecclesiastical model of the elder one."¹ Taste for the classic was so prevalent that even Milton is said to have transposed the Bible narrative into the form of a Greek epic. "What the *Iliad* and *Æneid* were to Milton, the Pantheon and the Temple of Peace were to Wren."² Great Britain was leading in the glorious discoveries of ancient art in Egypt, Assyria, Greece, and Asia Minor, and upon Canova's recommendation (though reluctantly) had bought the famous Elgin Marbles for the benefit of the art culture of the nation. But, all at once, as if awakening from a bad dream, a universal verdict of condemnation was voiced against classic art (as formerly against Gothic),³ and everything mediæval that had been destroyed was rehabilitated and restored to its former glory. "Goethe's readiness to blaspheme" (against classic art) "is a striking sign of the times."⁴

But this early love for Gothic was soon driven into

¹ Freeman.

² Fergusson.

³ Every one, I should think, who was well acquainted with the literature of the eighteenth century must have been struck with the contempt of Gothic architecture pervading it; but the extent to which this was carried was never fully shown till the publication, a few years ago, of an exceedingly curious book by the Abbé Corblet called *L'Architecture du Moyen Âge jugée par les Écrivains des deux derniers siècles* (Paris, 1859). The learned antiquarian has shown that, during the last half of the seventeenth century, and during the whole of the eighteenth century, there was scarcely a single writer, no matter what may have been his religious opinions, who did not speak of Gothic architecture not merely without appreciation, but with the most supreme and unqualified contempt. This list includes, among others, Fénelon, Bossuet, Molière, Fleury, Rollin, Montesquieu, La Bruyère, Helvétius, Rousseau, Mengs, and Voltaire. Goethe at one time opposed, but afterwards yielded to the stream. . . . It is to the Catholic revival of the present century that we mainly owe the revival of Gothic architecture.—W. E. H. LECKY.

⁴ Bosanquet.

the background in Goethe's mind¹ by his inclination "towards a more developed art."² He wrote afterwards in his Autobiography: "Misled by the example of Herder and Hamann, I obscured these very simple thoughts and observations by a dusty cloud of words and phrases, and both for myself and others darkened the light which had arisen within me. However, the paper was well received, and reprinted in Herder's work on German manners and art." In it "we have the germ of those ideas which were to find their full expression eighty years after in the chapter 'On the Nature of Gothic' in Mr. Ruskin's *Stones of Venice*."³ The new science of archæology soon sprang into existence, and that of æsthetics burst into full bloom, only to find that the spirit of Art had departed from the world. Hegel's

¹ In Weimar we no longer hear Goethe speak of the once so proudly boasted "German" architecture. On the other hand, he adds further to his collection of casts of antique sculptures, and makes drawings of antique orders of columns. . . . Goethe's whole being strives after great, noble beauty. But he can find it only in truth, and truth manifests itself to him only in simplicity, as is the case in nature. In this way he returns to noble simplicity and quiet greatness as the highest qualities of the beautiful. True, he saw in the Gothic pillar and pointed arch both greatness and beauty, but if we take the church as the complete expression of Gothic art, the ensemble lacked repose within, and without, not merely repose, but simplicity and truth as well. Pillar and arch strove restlessly, endlessly upward, and lack of repose was increased without by the pointed towers which crowned the façade, and the wilderness of ornamentation which enveloped the body and sought to achieve the great by a multiplication of the small. This ornamentation was not merely the opposite of simplicity and repose, but, like the towers, was wholly lacking in organic necessity, that is, in truth; indeed, it was not infrequently a *structural absurdity*. Thus Gothic art was offensive to Goethe's feelings, which demanded quiet beauty, great in its simplicity, and to his understanding, which demanded constructive harmony and regularity. . . . If there was anything that could confirm Goethe in his long-cherished predilection for the antique it was the study of Palladio. Under the weight of this artist's words and works his radical renunciation of the Gothic is made permanent. When he sees in the Palazzo Farsetti the cast of a part of the entablature of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina (in Rome) his long-restrained anger at the Gothic breaks out. He compares "the projecting presence" of this splendid architectural work with the Gothic style, and exclaims: "This is indeed something different from the crouching saints of our Gothic ornamentation, piled one upon another on corbels—something different from our tobacco-pipe columns, pointed turrets, and flowery pinnacles. These, thank God, I am now rid of for ever." This is a fierce abjuration of his sometime youthful love.—ALBERT BIELSCHOWSKY.

² Bosanquet.

³ *Ibid.*

funeral oration on it is still re-echoing its dismal note in the barren wastes of utilitarianism.

This astounding change in public taste was evidently not due to purely æsthetic feelings. The opportune appeal to the "sentiment of nature," to some fabled association with "free-thinkers," or "free-burghers," to the romantic records of chivalry,¹ made to live again by the spell of Walter Scott and the poetic effusions of Victor Hugo,² could not fail to stir the imagination of an already excited people. Thus false notions of Gothic penetrated every-

¹ Whatever the original cause, the superiority in most respects of the Moslemism to the Christianity of the twelfth century is a fact every candid inquirer must concede. That this superiority was acknowledged is amply attested by the records, fictitious as well as true, of the conversion of prominent Christians to Moslemism. I need not remind you of the ill-fame of the Knights Templars acquired by their sympathy with the religion and usages of their Saracen foes. . . . Chivalry has often been called the poetry of feudalism; but it is not an essential attribute of the feudal system, nor is it contemporaneous with it in origin. The humanising effects of loyalty to duty, pity for the weak, generosity and unselfishness which it inculcated, begin to be especially marked in the twelfth century. In its origin, and many of its qualities, chivalry may claim to be an offshoot of Arab culture and literature.—JOHN OWEN.

² Viollet-le-Duc (que distaba mucho de ser anti-catòlico, pero que tenia en alto grado aquel género de irritabilidad nerviosa propia del artista en presencia del falso aficionado), no se harta de perseguir con sus sarcasmos à los canónigos autores de manuales de arqueología, à los estéticos de seminario, que han querido ver en la ogiva un emblema de la Santísima Trinidad. Y por huir de ellos se va al extremo opuesto, y se empeña en presentar el arte gótico como puramente *laico*, popular, *democrático*, en oposicion al arte románico que, para el es siempre un arte *hierático*, fundado en tradiciones vagas é incompletas del arte decrepito de los bizantinos. . . .

Pero lo màs grave, lo màs mitológico de todo, son esos "conciliábulos burgueses, artistas y artesanos" que fueron elaborando en la sombra del arte gótico hasta que apareció como por magia, siendo un misterio para todos, menos para sus autores. Esta invencion que ha hecho fortuna (y que realmente ha de atribuirse à Victor Hugo y no à Viollet-le-Duc) es tan extravagante por lo menos como el simbolismo teológico de la ogiva, y como "las caladas agujas que ascienden à lo infinito." Pero no sé que tiene esta arquitectura ogival, que parece condenada à alimentar el lirismo fácil, y à sugerir à todo el mundo los mayores despropósitos. Para Montalembert, los arquitectos góticos habian sido una especie de santos absortos en el pensamiento de lo suprasensible, siempre en éstasis y en oracion; para Viollet-le-Duc era una asociacion de *libres pensadores*, que poseídos de espíritu anti-monacal se habian puesto de acuerdo con los municipios y tambien con algunos obispos envidiosos de la popularidad de los monjes, para suplantar à los arquitectos teocráticos y levantar una especie de edificios que *parecian religiosos*, pero que en el fondo éran edificios civiles y servían para las reuniones populares y aun para espectáculos profanos lo mismo que para el culto, si bien luego, *con mala fé*, los obispos fuéron llenándolos de altares.—D. MARCELINO MENENDEZ Y PELAYO.

where, and an artificial enthusiasm was created for a period which had produced marvels in stone, with historical, political, social, religious, and artistic significance, which now must be considered as dead geological strata,¹ but which had its birth at a period of universal efflorescence, in an atmosphere entirely different and far removed from modern ideas. The world has been educated to look at the surface only of its buildings; at the accessory parts instead of the fundamental structure that lies concealed beneath the entrancing lacework and minutely carved borders of the exterior; to look upon the mechanical framework of the nave under a lofty roof that loses itself in heaven, as a forest of trees² with interlacing boughs and spreading branches, revealed in the softened light diffused by stained-glass windows that usurp the legitimate wall space.

It seems strange from all points of view that buildings which so loudly proclaim the highest theocratic period of the Roman Catholic Church, when simony, corruption, and despotism had reached the extremes of which they were capable, should have appeared other than abhorrent to the Protestants of the Reformation. If, finally,

¹ Sans partager la colère de Vasari, on peut trouver qu'il n'a pas tort quand il reconnaît un manque général de proportion et de raison. Cette architecture n'est point logique; elle sort des conditions humaines. . . .

On a reproché aux artistes du XVI^e siècle de ne pas l'avoir développée; rien de plus injuste; c'était une manière épuisée qu'il était impossible de faire revivre. Les contrefaçons tentées de nos jours ne l'ont que trop prouvé. Ces efforts pour donner de la raison à un paradoxe, à un élan d'enthousiasme et d'ivresse, ont démontré par leur gaucherie que cette architecture d'un autre âge doit être classée parmi les œuvres originales qu'il est glorieux d'avoir produites et sage de ne pas imiter.—ERNEST RENAN.

² There is, however, a certain deception necessarily occurring in Gothic architecture which relates not to the points, but to the manner of support. The resemblance in its shafts and ribs to the external relations of stems and branches, which has been the ground of so much foolish speculation, necessarily induces in the minds of the spectator a sense or belief of a correspondent internal structure: that is to say, of a fibrous and continuous strength from the root into the limbs, and an elasticity communicated *upwards*, sufficient for the support of the ramified portions. The idea of the real conditions, of a great weight of ceiling thrown upon certain windows, jointed lines, which have a tendency partly to separate and be pushed outwards, is with difficulty received; and the more so when the pillars would be, if unassisted, too slight for the weight, and are supported by external flying buttresses, as in the apse of Beauvais, and the other such achievements of the bolder Gothic.—JOHN RUSKIN.

colonial architecture was found inappropriate to church-building, some other form ought to have arisen by spontaneous growth, with Protestant characteristics evolved from its natural tendency to simplicity and lack of ceremonial. "It seems that the Reformation which dared to modify Christian worship ought to have modified its architectural expression."¹ In fact, this would not have been the first time that it had been done. The Byzantines, who were the first dissenters and had their own standard of Christian devotion, had enough inventiveness to produce St. Sophia. The Italians, as far back as the eleventh century, and from then on without interruption down to the end of the sixteenth century, had abandoned both the Romanesque and Gothic, and started the movement of the coming Reformation in the manifold ideals of art and philosophy which are identified with Dante and Giotto, Brunelleschi and Pico della Mirandola, Leon Battista Alberti and Lorenzo il Magnifico, Savonarola and Bramante, Leonardo and Raphael, Machiavelli and Michael Angelo. To be sure they were Italian and not English Protestants, and understood spiritual independence in their own way; but, nevertheless, they acted in opposition to the Church. "Looking at Pico we can guess at the lofty flight which Italian philosophy would have taken had not the counter-Reformation annihilated the higher spiritual life of the people."² Dante does not for one moment forego his belief in the freewill and moral responsibility of man. "Galeottus Martius had ventured to write that the man who walked uprightly, and acted according to the natural law born within him, would go to heaven whatever religion he belonged to." "The poems written in Italian in the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, in which we meet with genuine religious feeling, such as the hymns of Lorenzo il Magnifico and the sonnets of Vittoria Colonna and Michael Angelo, might have been just as well composed by Protestants."³ But Italians were not seeking to

¹ J. Guadet.

² Burckhardt.

³ *Ibid.*

shatter and destroy the Church ; they wished for universal love and the reconciliation of all mankind.¹

Another example is furnished by the Mohammedans of Asia, Egypt, Spain, and Sicily, who imprinted their own character on their religious buildings, although these were derived from the Persians and Byzantines. This comparison with the Saracens is justified, because if it is true that the Italians of the Renaissance chose to return to Paganism, the Protestants of the Reformation retraced their steps back to the religious severity of the Jews,² from which point both Christ and Mohammed took their start with the Bible and the Mosaic Law as their bases. However, even now "such a thing as a Protestant temple does not exist: I mean by this that Protestantism has not asserted itself by means of an architectural composition of its own."³ Therefore, whether Protestants chose at one time to depend on Renaissance, at another on Romanesque or Byzantine, or again on revived Gothic, their temples, churches, or cathedrals have always been reproductions and plagiarisms.⁴

If it is asked, then, what is the real meaning of "Christian architecture," the answer must differ according to the different forms of Christianity. But, judging with thorough impartiality, there could be only one "Christian art" available for all Christians of all denominations during that great early period when Christians "had *no* art," when *every* Christian professed

¹ Réforme non, mais révolution et révolte. Avant Luther, les réformateurs, même les plus tonitruants comme certains mystiques franciscains, même les plus terribles pour la papauté, comme Dante, même les plus solennellement condamnés par les évêques comme Jean Huss et Jerome de Prague, n'avaient eu en vue que le bien de l'Eglise, non sa ruine ; ils étaient mus par l'amour non par la haine, ils voulaient l'amélioration par la concorde non le bouleversement par la révolte, surtout ils n'abandonnaient pas la doctrine traditionnelle et gardaient tous les enseignements de quinze siècles.—HENRI MAZEL.

² W. M. Rossetti.

³ Guadet.

⁴ It is probable that if buildings of any importance had been erected for the purpose of public worship in the days of Puritan rule, they would have retained little or no resemblance to the mediæval type. But the Puritans confined their zeal to works of destruction, and in course of time, when a reactionary feeling set in and brought about a better state of things, the builders of churches returned to the ancient model.—EASTLAKE.

to believe "that it is good to be ill-used and buffeted ; that all wealth is an evil, because rich men cannot enter the kingdom of Heaven ; that if your cloak is taken, you must give your coat also ; that if you are smitten on your cheek, you should turn round and offer the other. These and similar doctrines the early Christians not only professed, but acted up to and followed. The same doctrines are contained in our Bibles, read in our churches, and preached in our pulpits. Who is there that observes them ?"¹ Those early Christians had just abandoned the catacombs for the *basilicas*, which were Pagan buildings turned into Christian churches, and answered all the requirements of the new worship.² "The very essence of Christian worship requires, as a general rule, the presence of the worshippers within the temple ; it is inside that all the holiest things are placed, and here accordingly the full glories of its architecture are developed. The outside is but the shell and husk of the material symbol of her 'who is all glorious within' ; the tower is but the guiding landmark, the west front the mere portal to the glorious vista of pillar, arch, and vault, leading gradually onward to the crowning point of all, the altar. Hence the basilica offered far greater facilities for conversion to ecclesiastical uses than could be found in any idolatrous temple."³ It already possessed the long nave separated by arcades from its smaller aisles, sometimes a single one, sometimes two on either side, in some cases a kind of transept, called *chalcidica*,

¹ H. T. Buckle.

² All' arte cristiana primitiva non si può dare altra lode che quella di essersi serbata fedele alla tradizione romana, salvando così e perpetuando l' arte antica, pur trasformandola secondo il proprio ideale etico ed estetico. I cristiani non mirarono alla bellezza, ma a tradurre coi metodi conosciuti e con le vecchie forme il novo pensiero. Senza l' arte romana, non avremmo l' arte cristiana primitiva. Come il Cristianesimo divenne Cattolicesimo sul terreno della Romanità, così la religione cristiana, a contatto col mondo pagano, si trasformò da culto giudaico nemico dell' arte in culto pagano amico dell' arte.—GIULIO NATALI ED EUGENIO VITELLI.

³ Klenze, at Munich, decided in favour of both Latin and Byzantine basilicas in his beautiful examples of St. Boniface's and All Saints', the last of which was considered by Selvatico the most truly Christian of all church buildings erected during the last three centuries.

crossed them at one end ; in most cases the central avenue was terminated by a semicircular apse, which in those which were still employed as courts of justice (for some had been applied to mercantile uses) contained the seat of the presiding magistrate. In all this it is plain that we have the complete type of a Christian church ; ‘ the transept,’ says Mr. Hope, ‘ already in heathen times seeming, by its disposition with regard to the nave, to have foretold the future triumph of the cross.’ The necessary arrangements for Christian worship were readily made ; the altar was placed at the end of the nave, on the chord of the apse ; the Bishop’s throne behind it took the place of that of the judge, while the subordinate seats of the presbytery were ranged on either side of him along the walls of the semicircle. The choir for the inferior ministers, not marked in the construction, was formed in the nave by screening off a sufficient space in front of the altar ; while the long nave and aisles accommodated the congregation, the lateral division maintaining the requisite separation of the sexes.”¹

Archæological disquisitions are of no practical value to art, and they are always misleading through the constant endeavour to distort historical truth.² It is a barren study, the only really tangible result of which is cause for antagonism of races.³ History teaches us that

¹ Freeman.

² The story of past times and events may be told in a picturesque, lively, and graphic manner ; by judicious selection and elimination, may be taught by preachers. . . . The clever exponent of some passing phase of opinion or of the narrow notions of a sect or clique, the man who makes himself the mouth-piece of the passion of the hour, who flatters by formulating or giving a dress of rationality to ignorant prejudice or dull and obstinate obscurantism, the astute, ambitious statesman who appeals to philistinism, to national conceit or the vulgar love of military glory—for these and such as these, for charlatans and popularity-hunters of all sorts, wide is the gate, broad and ready the way, to notoriety and immediate success. But the penalty is this, that success is as short-lived as it is swiftly won.—PRINCIPAL CAIRD.

³ The mistaken notion of believing that Gothic has been created by Northern countries makes them cling to what they consider the heritage of their race. Most people are acted upon by this principle without any serious knowledge of either Gothic art or Renaissance, or particular taste for either. They make it a question of Latinity and Germanism, ethnology instead of true æsthetics, Catholicism and Protestantism, Paganism and Christianity, corresponding to an everlasting antagonism of races.—KERR.

all modern architecture had its source in Rome.¹ Everything that is truly great, and durable, and universal is Roman. It is only in Rome that all humanity feels its universal brotherhood. "Rome had gathered up and embodied in her literature and institutions all the ideas and all the practical results of ancient thought. Embracing and organising and propagating the new religion, she made it seem her own. Her language, her theology, her laws, her architecture, made their way where the eagles of war had never winged their flight, and with the spread of civilisation have found new homes on the Ganges and the Mississippi."² "If Saint Paul had not aimed at Rome as the goal of his mission, and if he had not been himself a Roman citizen, Europe would have remained heathen, and we should be still living in miserable huts."³ Rome is where we meet historical truth face to face.

Be the case as it may, it is certain that the Gothic style so well suited the requirements of Northern nations, that it was immediately adopted with enthusiasm. Yet "if we inquire as to the origin of this style, which might appear to have been a mere caprice compared with the varied and brilliant development of the Romanesque style, we discover at last that it was produced neither by motives of worship nor expediency, but that it owes its origin alone to a striving after an ethical artistic ideal."⁴ This was retrospectively true, and many plausible arguments have been advanced to support theories which give the credit of originating it to France, Germany, and England. Unfortunately, so complex and preposterous was the real legitimate method of *good* Gothic building, that it has been found neither practical nor suitable to

¹ The Etruscans have left some specimens of very ancient methods of construction ; and to them has been attributed the invention of building with small pieces of stone joined together by calcareous cements, because in their country are found the earliest examples of this method of construction. But it is to the Romans that the greatest praise is due for construction in this way ; for to them must be attributed at least the earliest use, if not the invention, of the arch and the cupola, together with the building of walls and arches of small stones and bricks cemented together, of bridges, of aqueducts, and of sewers.—J. ELMES.

² J. Bryce.

³ Freeman.

⁴ Dr. Lübke.

modern ideas ;¹ and, although proud and jealous of their national traditions, modern French and Germans look upon their cathedrals as *fossilised* records of an age which they declare beyond possibility of revival, notwithstanding sentimental and archæological pressure brought to bear.

This in a great measure is also tacitly acknowledged by such well-known English architects as George Edmund Street and Sir Gilbert Scott, judging from their remarkable works. At all events, modern architects, although partial to schemes of Gothic decoration, are no longer willing to conform to the dangerous principle of the "opposition of two never resting forces whose precise power it is difficult to calculate,"² and prefer to rely on the safer methods of Latin construction. This is exemplified in many of the secular buildings of Belgium, which, with the exception of their spires, are akin to Italian work. No building can ever be called beautiful and perfect when it always looks on the verge of falling. Its stability should be constructively apparent and reassuring, and any artifice used to bolster it up is a symptom of some constitutional weakness. If works of art were to be judged according to the ingenuity displayed in executing them, the carved ivory balls of the Chinese and other intricate toys would be of inestimable value. The dexterity, however, of Luca Giordano and Tiepolo has not ranked them above less expeditious painters. So Walter Pater may describe the *tour de force*

¹ Throughout Gothic art, whether sculpture or architecture, there was, it must be confessed, something complex, aged, and painful. The enormous mass of the church rests on innumerable counterforts, and is laboriously raised up and supported, like Christ on the cross. It is fatiguing to see it surrounded with countless props, which give the idea of an old house threatening to fall, or of an unfinished building. Yes, the house threatened to fall ; it could not be finished. Gothic art, assailable with regard to its form, failed as well in its social principle. The social state in which it took its birth was too unequal and too unjust. The sway of caste, weakened as it was by Christianity, was still in vigour. The Church, which sprang out of the people, was early in fear of the people, kept herself at a distance from them, contracted an alliance with her old enemy—feudalism, and then with monarchy on its triumph over feudalism. . . . Churches built by forced labour, raised out of the tithes of a famished people, all blazoned with the pride of bishops and of lords, all filled with their insolent tombs, must have daily pleased God less. These stones had cost too many tears.—MICHELET.

² Véron.

of Amiens Cathedral as something that gives a sense of *harmony*,¹ as opposed to the *melody* of Vézelay, and consequently of all Italian works, especially the much-abused Cathedral of Milan. Harmony is as much an element of beauty as it is of ugliness.² Such lyric flights in poetic prose about things of the past would be entirely legitimate if he did not at the same time pose as a practical critic extolling those works as examples for present imitation. On the other hand, this trite comparison of architecture and music betrays a degree of pedantry, and is sometimes an unfortunate one.

But the sin of pedantry is really a sin of archæology. Modern art has been made a slave to archæology. Art critics have lost the intuitive sense of beauty, and can judge only according to principles advanced by archæology, and are willingly blinded by national antagonism. For example, instead of looking

¹ Having rebuked popular criticism for using poetry as the standard whereby to judge the arts, Mr. Pater proceeds to make a similar use of music; for he lays it down that all the arts in common aspire "towards the principle of music, music being the typical or ideally consummate art, the object of the great *Anders-streben* of all art, of all that is artistic, or partakes of artistic qualities." . . . It is difficult to see in what way Mr. Pater can evade the strictures he has passed upon his brethren, the popular critics. Whether a man selects poetry or selects music as the "true type or measure of consummate art," to which "in common all the arts aspire," will depend doubtless partly upon personal susceptibilities, and partly upon the theory he has formed of art in general. . . . Mr. Pater, in order to complete his theory, is forced to depreciate the most sublime and powerful masterpieces of poetry. In his view drama and epic doff their caps before a song, in which verbal melody and the communication of a mood usurp upon invention, passion, cerebration, definite meaning. . . . But let it be remembered that this discrimination of an *Anders-streben* in the arts is, after all, but fanciful. It is at best a way of expressing our sense of something subjective in the styles of artists or of epochs, not of something in the arts themselves. Let it be still more deeply remembered that if we fix upon any one art as the type and measure for the rest, we are either indulging a personal partiality, or else uttering an arbitrary, and therefore *inconclusive*, æsthetic hypothesis.—JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS.

² C'est que l'harmonie est indépendante de la donnée générale et du style choisi; c'est qu'elle est indépendante de la richesse ou de la pauvreté de l'œuvre; je dirai même qu'elle est indépendante de la beauté: cela se constate chaque jour sur la figure des gens qui, bien que forts laids, ont néanmoins dans l'ensemble de leurs traits une simplicité, une proportion relative qui n'est autre que l'harmonie. Les yeux à la chinoise peuvent s'harmoniser avec un nez retroussé, bien que ni l'un ni l'autre ne soit le type réel de la beauté. La beauté n'existe pas sans l'harmonie, mais l'harmonie peut exister sans la beauté.—CHARLES GARNIER.

for artistic and practical suitableness in a place of worship for Anglo-Saxons, they invariably decree the Perpendicular style. Not because of any particular beauty or advantage of its own, but because it is supposed to be the only English, and consequently the "national style" exclusively intended for the Anglo-Saxon races; in fact "their inalienable property."¹ This, indeed, is historically correct. "Macaulay," says Freeman, "has truly remarked that the history of England for a considerable period after the Conquest is not English history at all, but French. It was not till the reign of Edward I., at the earliest, that our kings and nobles could be regarded as really our fellow-countrymen. And likewise it may be said that the architecture of England at the same epoch was not English architecture at all, but French. . . . The Perpendicular style, which alone since the Conquest is entitled to be called an English art, is certainly neither Gothic nor at all comparable in merits to the architecture which it superseded."² This statement Freeman confirmed when he concluded: "Every church I see convinces me more and more that this" (the Perpendicular) "is our peculiarly English style." If Anglo-Saxons are to be debarred from every foreign form that is not strictly *Perpendicular*, they are to be commiserated. As well might all Anglo-Saxon painters and scholars be forbidden to imitate either Titian, Rembrandt, or Corot, or to study the literature of Greece and Rome. The French, who are noted for their *chauvinisme*, do not affect the same contempt for their famous *châteaux*, although most of them were built according to French taste either by Italian architects or from their designs.³ Leaving England for the United

¹ R. A. Cram.

² C. H. Moore.

³ Charles VIII avait fait travailler des artistes italiens au château d'Amboise. Louis XII nomma Fra Giocondo architecte royal, et lui fit rebâtir solidement à Paris le Pont Notre-Dame, qui s'était écroulé pour la quatrième fois en 1499. Giocondo construisit aussi la grande chambre du Parlement, et une chambre pour la cour des comptes qui a été incendié en 1737. Il donna peut-être pour le château de Blois le plan de la façade orientale, la partie certainement la plus originale de ce curieux monument.—Le Cardinal d'Amboise partageait tous les goûts de son maître. Il fit commencer par Roger Anglo le palais de justice de

States of America, this narrow-minded policy becomes an even greater mistake. There, more than anywhere else, it is justifiable to ask, Why not follow modern ideals? Is it really believed that a tradition can be revived "by the mere framing of windows with a two-centered curve? Let us put aside these illogical *pasticcios* for what they are worth. We mean to speak of serious things here!"¹ And yet even now prophets arise and insist upon breathing new life into the tottering giant that has been torn down, and only succeed in rousing battalions of "ugly goblins and stern statues, anatomiless and rigid, but do not mock at them" (you are told), "for they are the signs of life and liberty."² And Goethe has said: "Do not let a misconception come between us; do not let the effeminate doctrine of the beauty-monger make you too tender to enjoy significant roughness, lest in the end your enfeebled feeling should be able to endure nothing but unmeaning smoothness. They try to make you believe that the fine arts arose from our supposed inclination to beautify the world around us. That is not true! For in the only sense in which it could be true it may be asserted by a citizen or artisan, but not by the philosopher." Then he added: "Now chide me for a dreamer, that I see beauty where you see only strength and roughness . . . masculine Albert Dürer, whom the moderns mock at, the most wooden of your forms please me better." The literary connoisseur who writes on art with material borrowed from Viollet-le-Duc (who had reason to defend himself from pedants of this class and other unscrupulous or ignorant partisans) can at times drop into the discursiveness of a pamphleteer and entertain the imagination, but he has no right to sit as a judge in the sacred Temple of Art.

Rouen, où se trouve un si gracieux mélange de l'art nouveau et de l'art ancien du gothique transformé par la Renaissance, et il exécuta d'importantes réparations à la cathédrale.—DURUY.

¹ Guadet.

² John Ruskin.

CHAPTER VI

To fill the requirements of modern times ecclesiastical architecture is subject to the same general law applied to all modern buildings, that is, fitness of purpose and due regard to personal comfort. This does not necessarily preclude beauty,¹ if it retains its monumental character. To ordinary modern constructors the question of art is of secondary importance. With them there is no more a distinction between a place of worship and a place of amusement. This is really the reason why a Gothic mask is still considered necessary by the more scrupulous architect, who thinks that the religious purpose of some of these general constructions intended for churches should be specified, Gothic being considered now the conventional style for expressing Christianity, unfit as it has been found finally for civic buildings. Otherwise, for all,—churches, railway stations, public libraries, world's fair palaces, hotels, hospitals, theatres, markets, or dry-goods stores,—the problem of construction is the same, as carried out by modern engineering, which is the hybrid outcome of the monstrous intercourse between science and archæology. "Copy, always copy ; no more artists, but

¹ Modern philosophers are inclined to very dark prognostications about Art ; among them Tolstoï declares that we must expect to have "an Art that will recuperate its social aim through the complete Suppression of Beauty" ; an Art, according to others, "that will banish Italian Renaissance for the fear of inoculation of Paganism" ; just the same as when "Americans were afraid of Paradise for the fear of meeting Spaniards there" (Baron Taccone-Gallucci). "Hegel's *Æsthetics* is a funereal discourse on Art as a thing of the past. After reviewing its successive phases of progress, he proceeds to show its decay, and then lays it away in the grave, adding a memorial inscription suggested by philosophy."—BENEDETTO CROCE.

copyists, the *servum pecus* of imitators!"¹ Art is no longer consulted, but archæology, for "architecture is a quality inherent in a building, and not a veil thrown over it"; nor is "the work of the architect the mere drawing of pictures, but the designing of buildings, which is a different matter."² In a word, archæology is equivalent to photographic reproduction, and engineering is utilitarian and cheap construction.

Architecture deals with iron and steel in so far as these materials are used as accessories—productions of the minor arts subservient to architecture,³ as in railings and other useful or merely decorative features. Iron and steel are legitimate substitutes for wood for commercial and temporary purposes, being lighter, more rigid and yet more elastic materials, and less expensive than either brick or stone. In a certain way they indirectly help the cause of architecture by reserving it more exclusively for monumental and lasting work. "Gothic concealment of the relation between burden and support . . . is incompatible with the aim Schopenhauer⁴ ascribes to

¹ Guadet.

² J. T. Micklethwaite.

³ Le palais du Champ-de-Mars, qui ne ressemble guère à l'École militaire, sa voisine, n'est pas pour cela de l'architecture nouvelle; c'est un abri plus ou moins gigantesque, mais ce n'est qu'un abri dont le principe se retrouve dans les volières et les serres, connues dès la plus haute antiquité. C'est l'indication de l'usage du fer, mais c'est aussi l'indication de son impuissance à réaliser par lui-même une révolution artistique. Le hangar: voilà la destination du métal; la diminution extrême du point d'appui et l'augmentation des portées; voilà la mission de l'architecture métallique.—Ses propriétés sont définies nettement; quant à ses tendances, c'est le tour de force.—Mais, si ses propriétés sont indiquées, elles montrent aussi la limite de l'emploi. Chaque fois que l'auvent sera le programme, le fer sera employé là seulement. Lorsqu'il faudra clore et enserrer, lorsqu'il faudra faire le mur, le fer sera rejeté comme incompatible avec le plein, et, comme le plein et le mur sont les données premières et impérieuses de l'art architectural, il faudra revenir aux matériaux qui peuvent les suivre. Ainsi, si, comme construction proprement dite, le fer a des ressources innombrables et prête à des hardiesses inconnues, comme art, il n'a pour avenir que le point d'appui et la couverture. Il va sans dire que j'en excepte toutes les parties décoratives, où son emploi est franchement indiqué.—CHARLES GARNIER.

⁴ It is absolutely necessary, in order to understand the æsthetic satisfaction afforded by a work of architecture, to have immediate knowledge through perception of its matter as regards its weight, rigidity, and cohesion, and our pleasure in such a work would certainly be very much diminished by the discovery that the material used was pumice-stone; for then it would appear to us as a kind of sham building. We would be affected in almost the same way if we were told that it was made of wood, when we had supposed it to be of stone,

art.¹” It is not only the appearance of æsthetic beauty with which architecture is concerned, but also, and even more with intrinsically sound and honest construction. If architects always kept these two fundamental principles of their art clearly in mind there is no doubt that they could do better than merely design window traceries, floral stems, “mollusk decorations of the *art nouveau*,” or the juxtapositions of volutes and *rocailles*, so cherished by both Gothic and classic partisans. Then perhaps the problem of a contemporary architecture answering to modern ideals, both as regards places of worship and civic buildings, would be solved of its own accord, without the interference of archæology. But leave for a moment the subject of churches about which there seems no prospect of agreement between North and South, to see what course was taken by the mediæval cities of Italy under similar circumstances in the erection of their palaces, for in these, at least, Renaissance is tolerated by Gothic advocates.²

It appears that the Northern nations of the present time

just because this alters and destroys the relation between rigidity and gravity, and consequently the significance and necessity of all the parts, for these natural forces reveal themselves in a far weaker degree in a wooden building. Therefore no real work of architecture as a fine art can be made of wood, although it assumes all forms so easily; this can only be explained by our theory. If we were distinctly told that a building, the sight of which gave us pleasure, was made of different kinds of material of very unequal weight and consistency, but not distinguishable to the eye, the whole building would become as utterly incapable of affording us pleasure as a poem in an unknown language. All this proves that architecture does not only affect us mathematically, but also dynamically, and that which speaks to us through it, is not mere form and symmetry, but rather those fundamental forces of nature, those first ideas, those lowest grades of the objectivity of will. . . . The more a harsh climate increases these demands of necessity and utility, determines them definitely, and prescribes them more inevitably, the less free play has beauty in architecture. In the mild climate of India, Egypt, Greece, and Rome, where the demands of necessity were fewer and less definite, architecture could follow its æsthetic ends with the greatest freedom. But under a northern sky this was sorely hindered. Here, when caissons, pointed roofs and towers were what was demanded, architecture could only unfold its own beauty within very narrow limits, and therefore it was obliged to make amends by resorting all the more to the borrowed ornaments of sculpture, as is seen in Gothic architecture.

—SCHOPENHAUER.

¹ Bosanquet.

² Qu'on élève des palais et des châteaux dans le style de la Renaissance, à la bonne heure; aucun style ne s'y prête mieux; mais non des édifices religieux.

—ABBÉ MALLET.

are analogous to the mediæval republics of Italy. In fact, it may be said that those republics were their precursors and teachers by four or five centuries. Commerce, manufacture, and navigation were the main pursuits of Venice, Florence,¹ Pisa, Genoa, Milan,² Amalfi, etc., as they are to-day of Germany, England, and the United States. These industries were not limited by local needs; their markets then, as at present, extended to all the known world. The nations of the North are now actuated by the same spirit of personal pride and rapid aggrandisement. They have the same independent way of thinking and an equal amount of enterprise. But this analogy ends when the productions of art are considered, at least, the architectural productions. The Italian communes, perhaps because more truly exempt from bigotry, were less anxious about the importance of their churches than of their palaces, which have never been surpassed.³ Thus the Florentines evolved a palace which for originality and fitness of purpose was altogether unlike that of the Venetians, which in turn had a different physiognomy and plan from that of the Genoese; and, again, the people of Rome, Siena, and Milan devised other palaces that could be distinguished one from the other by their peculiar characteristics. This Italian individuality was so strongly marked that almost every city had some artistic idea, distinctively its own.⁴

¹ The Florentines boasted in the thirteenth century of two hundred cloth manufactories and of an annual municipal revenue of about \$3,000,000, larger than that of all England in the fifteenth century, a people who voted \$100,000 for a bronze gate, and \$5,000,000 for the bell-tower of their metropolitan cathedral.—SAMSON.

² The "petty lord" of Milan had a petty state which in wealth, population, in every element of material prosperity, surpassed every land beyond the Alps, a "petty lord" of greater weight in European politics than the Bohemian Cæsar.—FREEMAN.

³ Italy is the land of street palaces, and the Renaissance there began, not from the decay of Pointed architecture, but almost from the days of its perfection; so that among the Italian palaces we have every gradation from the best Gothic period of the fourteenth century to the Palladian of the sixteenth. Lastly, the domestic architecture of Italy will, if rightly used, add a great store of useful materials to that which we obtain from our own examples.—SIR GILBERT SCOTT.

⁴ In no way is the characteristic diversity of the Italian communities so

Verona, Vicenza, Brescia, Como, Mantua, Cremona, Pisa, Perugia, Assisi, etc., might still further be mentioned as exemplifying this. How can so much variety within the compass of a comparatively small territory, with the same religion, laws, and manners and customs, be explained? They had no archæological knowledge and their notions of form were only rudimental. And yet they seized upon one form of Gothic (their own), and from it evoked such dissimilar structures as the Doge's Palace at Venice, Orgagna's Tabernacle and Giotto's Campanile at Florence, the Scaligers' Tombs at Verona, and the Campo Santo at Pisa, each with a totally different treatment and each equally successful. Then again, when during the Renaissance they wished to make use of Roman ideas, each city followed so different a method of adaptation that modern architects have found it necessary to specify the various novel applications by the individual names of Farnese Palace, the Cancelleria, the Massimi, the Riccardi, the Rucellai, the Pesaro, the Grimani; and sometimes by personal names as Michelozzo, Sangallo, Bramante, Sansovino, Palladio, Peruzzi, Alessi, and Vignola; or Venetian, Roman, Genoese, Florentine, and Lombard.

Examining their Gothic, it is seen that it was developed by a process of selection, by choosing what was considered beautiful and of practical value to them, and by carefully avoiding the Northern clumsiness¹ and the riddle of its

noticeable as in their buildings. Each district, each town, has a well-defined peculiarity, reflecting the specific qualities of the inhabitants and the conditions under which they grew in culture. . . . The study of Italian politics, Italian literature, Italian art is really the study not of one national genius, but, if I may so express myself, of a whole family of cognate geniuses, grouped together and obeying the same laws, but producing markedly different results.—JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS.

¹ Me sera-t-il permis, sans blasphème, de faire quelque réserve sur le style gothique et de donner raison aux Italiens à cet égard? Je demanderai alors si dans l'architecture du Nord il n'y a pas eu excès d'échafaudage, et si ce n'est pas aux frais énormes ainsi causés, qu'il faut attribuer l'inachèvement de maint cathédrale. On sera surpris de trouver beaucoup d'édifices italiens de ce style, que les arcs-boutants si saillants dans le Nord sont à peine indiqués par des bandes de maçonnerie, qui naturellement n'ont aucun besoin d'être couronnés de pinacles. La raison en est claire; le Nord avait infiniment exagéré les appuis des voûtes, et le Sud a supprimé tout ce luxe comme inutile.

artificial equilibrium,¹ which Vignola compared to a child walking *colle dande*.² They proceeded in the same way in their Classic Revival, which, however, they enriched with new combinations, "and a style was built up which has become the basis of all modern styles." "Likewise they were the first to introduce as an architectural *motif* the wall of massive rusticated masonry with arched openings, as in the Palazzo Riccardi, Florence, and the Palazzo Pesaro, Venice, and elsewhere, in which buildings the wall was frankly treated as architecture, and was in no way imitative of ancient Roman buildings."³ The campanili, balustrades, and modern fortifications are also Italian inventions.

On the other hand, if the Christian piety of the Italians was not so prominently shown in their church building,⁴ it certainly found as pure and equally sublime

Le gothique septentrional, de plus, avait fait de la tour comme le patron, l'expression maîtresse de l'édifice, et l'église toute entière était plus ou moins façonnée sur ce modèle. Les Italiens, ne trouvant ce rapport ni nécessaire ni naturel, ont séparé les tours et l'église, ou ils ne les ont unies que sans prétention de style. Le but primitif des tours était de servir de clochers, et les Italiens n'ont perdu de vue ni le nom ni la chose. Dès lors ils étaient libres dans le choix des formes pour leurs façades. Le résultat fut qu'ils se contentaient de remanier, en les rendant plus riches, les façades de leurs églises romanes. La façade fut traitée à part comme un objet de luxe, qui ne se rattache extérieurement au reste de l'édifice, et qui souvent le dépasse en grandeur. . . . Les fenêtres, dans les cathédrales du Nord, occupent toute la surface murale et sont proprement la négation même du mur. En Italie, les fenêtres ont pu être ramenées à des proportions plus modérées ; l'architecture n'y est pas, comme au Nord, asservie à cette idée de n'admettre les surfaces murales que comme étais ; le mur ici et l'espace reprennent leurs droits. Enfin la structure des piliers montre que les architectes, du moins ceux de l'Italie centrale, étaient capables non seulement de modifier le détail d'après l'ensemble de l'édifice, mais même de le créer de toutes pièces. . . . —BURCKHARDT.

¹ L'esprit accepte d'instinct ce qui est naturel et simple, il ne se livre pas sans combat à ce qui lui paraît contre nature. Il n'admet pas d'emblée que le monument qui s'élève ait besoin d'étais, et que ces étais soient non pas un expédient temporaire, mais une nécessité de la construction devant durer autant que l'édifice. Étais ou béquilles, je crois bien que le spectateur de cette exhibition, supposée subite, en garderait une impression de je ne sais quelle irrémédiable infirmité, tributaire de l'orthopédie monumentale.—J. GUADET.

² Tullo Massarani.

³ Fletcher.

⁴ La France faisait sans doute plus de sacrifices que l'Italie pour ses constructions religieuses ; mais elle y sortait rarement d'une certaine sécheresse. Ces églises de Toscane, de Bologne, de Milan, tristement inachevées, respirent un sentiment de l'art plus délicat que nos cathédrales de la même époque. Une pensée plus vivante les a élevées ; ici ce sont des œuvres d'artistes, là des œuvres

expression in both mural and easel-painting. "It was not the art of the educated few but of the people at large, embodying the ideal element of the impulsive spirit of the time. . . . Those works of art remain in evidence that piety and elevation of soul could still appeal to the hearts of the people. Even where the sentiment is not strictly religious, such spiritual beauty and purity of sense, such noble earnestness and eager enthusiasm for the loftiest ideal may be discerned, that we cannot doubt that the core was sound in a nation which thus 'sought the good in the guise of the beautiful.'"¹ But for this happy circumstance we might be practising still the archaic methods of painting of the school of Mount Athos. Apart from the works of art, they helped forward the cause of Christianity more effectually by fighting against the Saracens and Turks on the sea than did the legions of destitute pilgrims who miserably lost their lives in vain Crusades,² or plundered Christian Byzantium, and

d'ouvriers ; on sent que les unes sont dans la voie du progrès, et que les autres font partie d'un art condamné.

Aucun grand vaisseau du XVI^e siècle en Italie ne saurait être comparé à nos cathédrales de la même époque. Pourquoi cependant les églises toscanes et ombriennes sont-elles d'un art plus fin que Saint Ouen, que la cathédrale de Beauvais ? Parceque l'architecte s'y est borné à son rôle, parceque chaque détail y conserve son prix. Elles sont supérieures à nos églises, comme Pétrarque est supérieur aux troubadours. Elles remplissent la condition essentielle de l'art classique ; un cadre fini, laissant place à toutes les délicatesses de l'exécution. L'avenir est de leur côté, car elles appellent et provoquent le progrès de tous les arts.—ERNEST RENAN.

¹ Dr. Woermann.

² While the Northern warriors of the Cross prayed, fought, and pillaged, Venice, Genoa, and Pisa prayed, fought, and—traded. Wherever the stout men of the North founded ephemeral principalities, the supple Italians established commercial factories. They obtained for them charters and privileges which soon raised them to the rank of self-governing communities, and when the Latin Empire in the East went to pieces, and the Greeks regained their ascendancy on the Bosphorus ; or more lately, when both Latins and Greeks were overpowered by the Turks, it was found that while all flimsy principalities of the Crusaders vanished, hardly leaving a trace, the Italian settlements alone had sufficient vitality to withstand the shock of all successive vicissitudes, and it was only on Venetian and Genoese bulwarks that the Cross to the last confronted the victorious Crescent. The battle of Lepanto closed the era of the Crusades, and Venice in that encounter rallied around the banner of St. Mark the sea forces of all the Italian States but one. It was the last battle fought by the Italians as a nation ; for though Spain, with the Genoese, Neapolitans, and Sicilians, was present, and Don John of Austria had the supreme command, the brunt of the fight was borne by the Italians—the Venetians—who mustered

abandoned it an easy prey to the Muslim. They still further promoted the advancement of civilisation by collecting ancient manuscripts, reviving the industries of Tyre and Sidon, introducing the mulberry-tree, "which enriched Italy before it enriched France,"¹ rediscovering the mariner's compass, and leading the way beyond the Pillars of Hercules both in geographical discoveries and in the hidden paths of science.²

In church building also Italy created a new type which is even now the admiration of the world; to say nothing of the Romanesque, Lombard, and Gothic styles, which, as has been asserted on reliable authority,³ were

the large forces and the ablest commanders, who were assigned the post of honour, and suffered the heaviest losses.

That battle, one of the most memorable episodes of maritime warfare, was barren of results, because Spain, jealous of Venice, and dreading a revival of the half-crushed energies of her Italian subjects, looked upon that triumph as an "untoward event," and refused to follow up the advantage which might have broken the naval power of the Ottoman Empire for ever.—BORTA, *Storia d' Italia* (from A. Gallenga).

¹ Duruy.

² To pass to the Italians, there can be little doubt that they are the most gifted nation in Europe. In the world of action, as in the world of thought, they have produced men not only of great power, but of unique power. Probably no man, single-handed, and through the sheer force of his own personal genius, has ever done so much to change the face of the world as did the great Genoese, Christopher Columbus; and what Columbus did in the West Marco Polo, another Italian, accomplished in the East. Dante raised the finest cathedral in words, and one well comparable with the greatest buildings of the Middle Ages, the work of generations. What characterises Italians above all is their initiative. It is the first step which is the hardest to take; but it is the Italians who have always been ready to take the first step in the paths of science. When once the route across the Atlantic was shown by a Columbus or a Vespucci, it required no remarkable courage or enterprise to follow in their track. But imagine the cool nerves necessary in those days of yet imperfect seamanship to strike boldly out across that vast waste of uncharted waters, in vessels a little larger than our coast-wise fishing smacks, and with more than a good chance of never returning. In all modern sciences the Italians played the part of pioneers. It is they who have taken up the pursuit of knowledge where the Greeks or Arabs had left it. They have laid the foundations of arithmetic and algebra, of physics, electricity, pathological anatomy (the creation of Morgagni); they have traced the first lines in sociology and in the philosophy of history. Often enough they have left traces of their labours upon scientific terminology, to remain as a memorial of their achievements. Thus it is that in electricity we have retained the name of Volta, the renowned physician of Pavia, who lived from 1745 to 1825. We might multiply examples without end.—EMIL REICH.

³ But the earliest development of ribbed vaulting, together with a functional grouping of supports, may be taken as the tangible beginning. This is first met with in the Lombard churches of Northern Italy, dating from the early

originated in Italy and further developed in other parts of Europe. It is not from any lack of appreciation of the beautiful cathedrals of France, England, Germany, and Spain that St. Peter's at Rome is cited as a type, but because it so well illustrates the application of that fundamental principle of fitness of purpose which is the best guide in all inventions when coupled with artistic feeling. Mr. Enlart says: "It is not that one style be more religious than another; every style, as every language, ought to be able to express different ideas." But, allow that Gothic is "the only possible religious style." If in the judgment of a Northerner, accustomed to bare interiors of masonry, St. Peter's be not a church of a religious character, the mistake does not lie in the Pagan style or in the luxury, but in the preconceived idea of looking upon St. Peter's as upon an ordinary church. It was never intended for a mere house of prayer, not even perhaps as a place of worship, but as a colossal pile to convey the idea of the splendour and universal power of a triumphant theocracy. Call it Pagan if you wish, but it must be admitted that the original plan conceived by Michael Angelo (apart from the numerous imperfections due to later architects) could not be otherwise than a colossal unity,¹ as opposed to the feebler

part of the eleventh century. The innovations here made, though destined to remain unfruitful in their original locality, were apparently those from which the Romanesque builders of Northern France derived a large share of their early inspiration. In addition to the evidence of this which the monuments themselves furnish, we have record of the migration of Lombard workmen into Gaul even before the eleventh century (Merzario). The rudimentary principles of organic structure thus transmitted to France were, as we shall presently see, there rapidly developed, so that from St. Ambrogio of Milan to the Cathedral of Amiens a logical series of progressive changes may be traced. Gothic architecture is thus in no sense an independent, though it is a distinct style.—CHARLES HERBERT MOORE.

¹ Michael Angelo was the first able to imagine the colossal in a colossal manner. And in this way he devised the dome of St. Peter's. We need only compare Antonio di San Gallo's model with this to feel where the difference lies. San Gallo raised tower above tower, increased, added one thing to another, and thus brought together a great but divisible mass. The small, however, does not become colossal by making it double or threefold; magnitude must belong to the form when it is devised. In this spirit Michael Angelo made his plan. He arranged every proportion according to the extent of the whole work. So colossal is his St. Peter's that, while all that Bramante and his like

designs proffered by artists of less elevated mind.¹ The Gothic builders of the Middle Ages had quite different ideas to express, especially in the North, where religion was associated with solemnity, mysticism, and terror, reminiscent still of the worship of groves and the traditional struggle with the evil spirits of the air. At all events, if the building of St. Peter's was the main cause of the Reformation, it was reasonable to expect some Protestant counter-manifestation in architecture to make commensurate contrast with it, which should not bear the stigma of reproduction and artistic incompetence,²

executed appears as the amplification of ideas originally small, and even petty, the very imitations of St. Peter's, on a reduced scale, have always a colossal effect. Just as the melodies of Handel and Beethoven, even when executed in the most modest manner, make us feel the extent of grandeur of which they would be capable; while melodies of other masters, even when produced by the largest orchestra, with all the accompaniments of drums and trumpets, never lose their true character of being only petty and trifling.—GRIMM.

¹ In St. Peter's is embodied the universality, which in the history of culture corresponds to the cosmos of the Church. It is the crystallisation of the collective modern culture of the Italian Renaissance. The Byzantine, Roman, and Gothic churches are all stamped with the individual impress of a more or less limited religious past. Although St. Peter's also necessarily bears the features of the culture of its time, nevertheless this is so universal that no one specifically historic or national element predominates over the others. If the spectator deplores the absence of æsthetic or religious effect, he will at any rate find himself encompassed by an architectural world of incomparable extent, complete in its smallest details, a world of embodied ideas and events, the creation of which presupposes the course of centuries. When finally he gazes upwards to the radiant heaven of the dome, he will probably admit that St. Peter's is the temple of all temples, where even in the remotest future, when the dogmatic face of religion shall have become spiritualised in a higher culture, the human race, united in this new spiritual life, will there be able to give solemn expression to its noblest feelings.—FERDINAND GREGOROVIVS.

² Mas los espíritus estrechos que se guían por una fórmula, juzgan á veces tales producciones feas, y proclaman un solo tipo de belleza única. Quien se atiende al griego, quien al cristiano medioeval, quien al clasico español del siglo XVII. Tales inteligencias poco flexibles si algo admiran en las producciones que no están conforme con su escuela es lo que no es digno de ser admirado. Para comprender la belleza de una obra hay que identificarse con el espíritu humano en el tiempo y condiciones que la produjo; las fórmulas de escuela, el criterio, sobran. . . . Y esto es tan verdad que las obras fabricadas con preceptos estéticos, las hijas de la imitación de obras anteriores, aunque sean muy perfectas en la forma, no valen nada. De una escuela solo vale el inventor, que no se propuso inventarla; los demás sólo son serviles imitadores, si no la modifican ó si no imprimen su personalidad en ella. . . . Así dijo Voltaire que el primero que comparó la mujer con una flor era un poeta y el segundo un imbécil. . . . Admiro profundamente los templos góticos, me extasio ante la puerta de San Ivo de la catedral de Barcelona, pero al ver su fachada reciente, aprieto á correr.

which should not be the *old* Gothic, but the *new* Protestant.

Turning now to the other great countries of Europe during the same period, the first thing noticed is the low degree of civilisation¹ that prevailed in comparison with that of the miniature states of mediæval Italy,² and also the difference in artistic inventiveness. France, the foremost among them (not always ready to do justice to the work of the Renaissance),³ after the First Crusades

El árabe de la Alhambra es una maravilla, sus copias parecen casas de Baños. La admiración absoluta, madre de las fórmulas de escuela y de las reglas de estética, es lo mas irracional que darse pueda. Solo se puede juzgar bien, sumergiéndose en el espíritu humano todo entero. Todo punto de vista dogmático es absoluto y por tanto sujeto à falsedad en su realización práctica. Toda apreciación según reglas prefijadas, es injusta. Sólo los pedantes de colegio pueden concebir un tipo eterno de belleza y en su nombre bendecir ó excomulgar las obras. . . .

Creerse que con solo criticar se ha de producir arte, es un error profundo ; el análisis no crea. Un hombre sencillo sin crítica alguna, pero con fuerza sintética en la mente, con el sentimiento exacto de las cosas, es mil veces mas apto para producir y para cambiar la faz del mundo que todos los pedantes armados de criterios absolutos. El país mas inepto para producir la belleza literaria, es el que está hoy más influido por la crítica de escuela, Alemania, que no tiene ni novelistas ni dramaturgos ; en sus teatros, en sus librerías sólo se halla lo francés traducido ó arreglado. . . . El defecto del desarrollo intelectual de la Alemania moderna, es el abuso de reflexión ; es decir, el aplicarla con premeditación y alevosía à lo que debe de ser producto de la espontaneidad de cada autor. . . . La crítica sólo puede venir à analizar el fruto y hacerlo gustar à los demás cuando ya se ha producido. Jamás ningún crítico ha enseñado à hacer nada ; el crítico en materia de arte es un eunuco. . . . Los leones podrán parecerse, pero imitarse, nunca, pues los que se imitan son los monos.—POMPEYO GENER, *Literaturas Malsanas*, Barcelona, 1900.

¹ Before the first years of the fourteenth century the Italian cities presented a spectacle of solid and substantial comfort very startling to Northerners who travelled from the unpaved lanes of London and the muddy labyrinths of Paris.—J. A. SYMONDS.

² Toward the end of the fifteenth century the chiefs of the French, German, and Spanish nations were tempted to invade Italy, allured by the marvellous opulence of a country where the plunder of a single town afforded sometimes greater riches than they could wrest from millions of their own subjects. The most frivolous pretexts sufficed ; and, during forty years of war, that prosperous and beautiful country was ravaged by all the various nations which could find their way into Italy. The insatiable brigandage of these new barbarians at length destroyed the opulence which had allured them ; but the soldiers of the north and west carried into their own countries, along with the treasures of the Italians, the instruction and example of a more advanced civilisation ; numerous germs of a better state of things, carried away from the Italian republics of the Middle Ages, were spread over the rest of Europe. Let us not, while we now reap the harvest, forget the parent soil.—J. C. L. DE SISMONDI.

³ Ce sont nos anciens architectes, religieux ou laïques, qui ont donné à

was beginning to build her cathedrals, perfecting *one kind* of Gothic, which, like Parisian fashions, spread *uniformly* over the whole country. This general conformation to *one style* is again apparent at the introduction of the Italian Renaissance by Charles VIII., and thence down to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The successive stages of French architecture were evidently not of spontaneous and still less democratic growth,¹ whatever may have been said to the contrary, as they can always be traced back to *one common source* at each different period, from which each time they issued forth almost like official edicts. Accordingly, they are recognised as the styles of Francis I., Henry II., Louis XIII., Louis XIV., Louis XV., and Louis XVI.; the Medici, the Régence, the Révolution, and the Empire. In England the case is exactly parallel, the royal titles having no local distinction; and in Germany, Spain, and Portugal the situation is similar. Italy was then the only country where different styles grew simultaneously and independent of one another, without any servile deference to a common standard regulating public taste. She

l'art national, c'est-à-dire l'architecture, cette force d'expansion qui répandit partout son action civilisatrice pendant le moyen âge. Ce sont les architectes français qui ont propagé dans tous les pays, surtout en Allemagne et en Italie, les méthodes monumentales et les enseignements de l'art sous toutes ses formes. Ce sont nos constructeurs et nos artistes qui ont établi dans toute l'Europe occidentale, et jusqu'en Orient, la suprématie de l'art français. Et si une évolution qui s'est produite au XVI^e siècle a exercé sur nous une influence éphémère, il ne faut pas oublier que ce mouvement, novateur en apparence, avait été préparé par les artistes français qui ont porté, haut et loin, la gloire et la renommée de notre cher pays.—ÉDOUARD COURROYER.

¹ Something of Roman culture and of Roman institutions, at least in the suggestive form of memories of past achievements, had been saved for Italy from the wreck of the empire. This very predominance of Rome deprived the clergy in other cities of Italy of a portion of such authority as they exercised in more remote localities. Their episcopal sees were, indeed, even more numerous than in other lands; but they were of less extent, their revenues were generally of less amount, and their bishops rarely possessed that independent foreign authority which those at greater distance from Rome frequently exercised. Thus, though there was great activity in church-building in Italy during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the upper clergy had less to do with the work than in Germany or England. It was mainly the expression of the piety of the citizens of towns in which wealth was accumulating, and of the spirit of a community animated with a sense of independence and of strength, and becoming confident of perpetuity.—CHARLES ELIOT NORTON.



Photogravure by John Andrew F. Son, Boston, U.S.A.

From negative by

L. Delano Rossi

*Dettaglio del baldacchino
Statua della Speranza*

produced a variety of architectural structures answering so nicely to the character and peculiar needs of each place that they could not be imagined otherwise. That architecture was only a fashion in the North is seen in St. Paul's, London, built in imitation of St. Peter's, Rome. Even as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century the New Houses of Parliament, in the same city, were built in a debased style¹ with an emphasised horizontal line little in keeping with the nature of mediæval verticality.²

It is from this extraordinary example of the Italian communes that the possibilities of expressing modern ideas can be assumed. *Expression*,³ as advocated by Leonardo da Vinci, is the modern definition of art, and, as "mediæval styles do not supply modern needs because of a failure to express modern ideas,"⁴ it is with the *naïveté* of those peoples that *local*, and, according to circumstances, *personal* ideals, should be followed, instead of deceptive *national* standards. Success is better assured with a variety of local features meeting local needs and local taste, than with one general feature which, while it may have some national character, as far as it goes, is

¹ It is hardly too much to say that if half the decorative features of this building had been omitted, its general effect would have been enhanced in a twofold degree. One of the peculiar failings exhibited by Gothic architects of the day seems to have been the incapacity to regulate the character of design by the scale on which it was to be applied.—EASTLAKE.

² The flourishing condition of the cities in Germany at the time of the appearance of the Gothic, and the consequent desire for splendid buildings, allowed this style to attain to the perfection it reached in Germany; while with its upward-soaring lines, dividing the building in height, it was never able to overcome the length of the Italian style of building, and was speedily given up again in places where the influence of antique models existed.—GRIMM.

³ *Esprimere*, ecco il gran segreto, il gran mezzo dell' arte, ed esprimere secondo la verità, dando evidenza, spigliatezza, carattere all' idea vera, bene rappresentata. Un affetto profondo, una passione ardente, un sentimento manifestante allo esterno i moti del cuore commuove anche veduto nella realtà. Se un' arte dunque giunga a fermare sulla tela, o sul marmo quell' affetto che sul vero è istantaneo, non è dubbio che questa specie d' arte avrà efficacia sugli animi degli osservatori.

Del resto io credo che le arti figurative, quali pittura e scultura, non potranno qui da noi risorgere, se non risorgerà l' architettura, ch' è l' arte madre, e che si fa necessario teatro alle altre. Lì sta il nodo. Rifacciamo degli architetti artisti come erano nel Medio Evo, nel cinquecento, e anche nelle epoche barocche, e avremo impulso vivo per tutte le arti.—MARCHESE PIETRO SELVATICO.

⁴ L. Eidlitz.

suiting to only a few localities and for only a few purposes. There never has been but one style appropriate for every people and every need, for all purposes and all climates,¹ and that was the Roman,² which flourished when the nations of the North were still nations of barbarians. After having given birth to the Syrian, Byzantine, Romanesque, Lombard, Norman, Saxon, Gothic,³ and Renaissance, the Roman still possesses capabilities of rejuvenation⁴ which should produce new and vigorous offshoots, if but the methods of the mediæval Italian republics are kept constantly in view.

¹ Now if we are asked what impression the gathered art of these peoples made upon modern art, I see nothing for it but to say that it invented architecture—no less. . . . In the first place, they seized on the great invention of the arch, the most important invention to home-needing men that has been or can be made; in using it they settled what the architecture of civilisation must henceforward be. Nor was their architecture, stately as it was, any longer fit for nothing but a temple—a holy railing for the shrine or symbol of the god; it was fit for one purpose as for another—church, house, aqueduct, market-place, or castle; nor was it the style of one country or climate; it would fit itself to north or south; snow-storm or sand-storm alike.—WILLIAM MORRIS.

² The *Quarterly Review* of a few numbers back ably characterises the far-famed city of Athens as possessing national edifices surpassingly magnificent, and private houses despicably mean; temples and statues in profusion, and no supply of one of the most necessary conveniences of common life—water; porticoes crowded with paintings, and a stream which the citizens were obliged daily to wade through for want of a bridge. . . . A contrary feeling pervaded the Romans, even in the sternest days of their republic, when every great man vied in the magnificence of his villa or palace. Pompey had a palace of superlative grandeur; the villa of Caius Marius at Misenum was so vast and grand that the republican spirit of his contemporaries began to feel offended; and yet that of Lucullus, afterwards built on the same site, left the former a mere cabin in comparison. Pliny informs us that there were, at one time, in Rome above a hundred palaces, the habitations of private individuals, equal in splendour to that of Lepidus, in its first state, which covered the ground occupied by a hundred ordinary houses.—J. ELMES.

³ By Roman architecture I do not mean that spurious condition of temple form which was nothing more than a luscious imitation of the Greek; but I mean that architecture in which the Roman spirit truly manifested itself, the magnificent vaultings of the aqueduct and the bath, and the colossal heaping of the rough stones in the arches of the amphitheatre; an architecture full of expression of gigantic power and strength of will, and from which are directly derived all our most impressive early buildings, called, as you know, Saxon, Norman, or Romanesque. Now the first point I wish to insist upon is that the Greek system, considered merely as a piece of construction, is weak and barbarous compared with the two others.—JOHN RUSKIN.

⁴ Contemplo aquellas paredes como testigos de vista de las generaciones que pasaron. . . . Pero fuera de esto, la arquitectura gótica me parece siempre antigua, la romana siempre moderna.—DE CAPMANY Y MONTPALAU, *D. Antonio, Reflexiones sobre la arquitectura gótica* (quoted by MENENDEZ Y PALAYO).

CHAPTER VII

E. M. BARRY said : "The cupola is an indigenous plant of Italian soil and never could prosper in foreign countries"; and Arthur T. Bolton : "The modern dome is an Italian creation, and the numberless examples to be found in that country present the series of changes and experiments that mark the introduction of a fresh element in architecture." Even in the hands of the Byzantines the original principle of its construction had degenerated, as at Venice, where it had ceased to be the actual crown of the building. "At St. Mark's we meet with domes which have become mere ceilings, constructed at a lower level than the exterior leads us to expect, and covered with lofty roofs, having no relation to the forms beneath them. This was the method of the Gothic architects of Northern Europe, though they did not adopt the fantastic shapes we see at Venice. The groining in our cathedrals is not the roof, in the sense that the dome of the Pantheon is the roof of the building; for such groining requires to be protected by an outer roof of woodwork covered with lead, or other weather-resisting material. The construction of a cupola which shall be equally successful as regards both exterior and interior has perhaps never been satisfactorily accomplished. The Gothic architects acknowledged this difficulty by the adoption of spires, and Sir Christopher Wren by his well-known expedient in the case of St. Paul's."¹

The more this grandest of all architectural features is studied, the better can be understood why Fergusson's project for the improved domical church which he

¹ E. M. Barry.

proposed for Edinburgh and Berlin failed. The Roman Catholics of London in their Westminster Cathedral thought to find a better solution in a Byzantine plan with a series of flat domes, but the experiment is far from being satisfactory from the æsthetic point of view. "It must be confessed that the want of positive information as to the principles upon which a dome, whatever be its materials, should be constructed is not creditable to the present state of science; . . . for want of sufficient knowledge Gibbs was obliged to abandon the stone cupola which he had begun to construct over the building erected for the Radcliffe Library at Oxford, and which caused dreadful fractures in the substructure, threatening final ruin, although encircled with buttresses almost colossal. Does the cupola of the Pantheon at Rome contain within its masonry any artificial links or ties of iron? If not, is that of St. Peter's, in the same city, erroneous in its construction from standing in need of their later insertion? or were those fractures occasioned by cutting away and weakening the substructure by an equally lamentable want of knowledge? Are the chains which are inserted in the cone and inner dome of St. Paul's, London, essentially necessary to its present stability, or are they only wise preventives in the too certain event of decay, or the decomposition of the materials of the edifice?"¹

All French, Russian, English, and American domes betray an inveterate leaning towards Gothic methods of construction, not excepting the National Capitol at Washington. After first experimenting with a brick and wooden dome as at St. Paul's in London, the builders, disregarding John Ruskin's most cherished doctrines, committed the solecism of rearing a cast-iron dome,² as

¹ Elmes.

² The dome, by Walters, was not added until 1858-73; it is a successful and harmonious composition, nobly completing the building. Unfortunately, it is an afterthought, built of iron painted to simulate marble, the substructure being inadequate to support a dome of masonry. The Italian or Roman style which it exemplified in time superseded the less tractable Greek style.—A. D. F. HAMLIN.

had been done at St. Isaac's in St. Petersburg.¹ It may be said that from that time all domed buildings have been degraded into feats of engineering. They are no longer reserved for monumental works, but are used indiscriminately for all kinds of utilitarian purposes, as at the Halles Centrales in Paris and "World's Fairs."

Imposing as it is from the outside, the dome of the National Capitol at Washington internally is more like a great tower, and it has been compared to a funnel.² Besides, instead of being the principal feature of the structure, as the exterior would lead one to expect, it is in reality a very subordinate part. The total height of the interior is 180 feet, that of the exterior 287 feet 5 inches. "Internally, the Rotunda is certainly even much less successful than it is externally. In the first place, a circular room 94 feet in diameter, with only four small doors leading into it 10 and 13 feet high, and 4 and 6 feet wide, while the room is 180 feet in height, is an architectural solecism that no amount of art can redeem; and in this instance the extreme plainness of the lower part—there are only twelve very commonplace pilasters with a few panels—compared with the richness of the upper part, renders the absurdity still more glaring."³

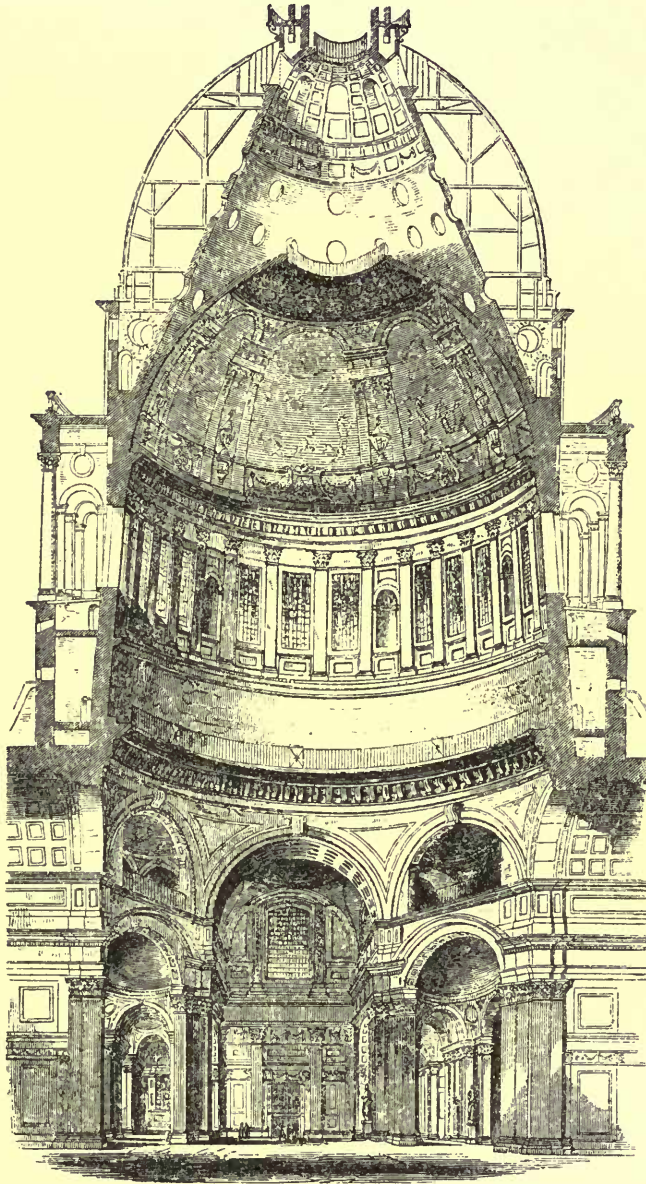
Its prototype, St. Paul's in London, is not exempt from faults of construction. "Not only are the inner and the outer dome distinct, but the outer dome is not even seen from within the church, and no such cupolas

¹ St. Isaac's in St. Petersburg, erected under the direction of the Chevalier de Montferrand. "The walls of the dome are carried up in solid construction of brick, with tiers of stone-bond, and are above 8 feet thick. On the level of the top of the cornice of the circular colonnade which girds the drum there is a series of twenty-four cast-iron ribs, the feet of which rest on a cast-iron plate 7 feet wide, which runs quite round the circumference. At their head all the ribs are attached to a horizontal plate or curb, 6 to 3 inches wide, which follows the periphery of the dome. At this height the rib is divided into two: the one part, about 12 feet 6 inches deep, following the sweep of the inner dome for a height of 20 feet, is at its summit bolted to a cast-iron perforated cylinder, 21 feet in diameter, and 7 feet high; this forms the centre aperture at the summit of the inner dome. The other part follows the line of an intermediate cone, with a catenary outline, and similar to the one in St. Paul's; it is 21 feet long, and 2 feet 6 inches deep, and perforated to render it lighter. The roofing is wholly of iron, covered with copper."—GOODWIN.

² Fergusson.

³ *Ibid.*

as these ought to be compared in any way with such



SECTION OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, LONDON.

cupolas as those of Florence and Rome, or those of Constantinople and Bijapur.”¹ After severely condemning

¹ Fergusson.

the outer wall like a screen hiding the enclosed buttresses, the writer of Bohn's *London* says: "Nothing can atone for the fact that the dome, which ought to be the lightest, is the darkest part of the interior. . . . The technical defects of the interior exceed those of the exterior; and perhaps the greatest of them is the eking out the height of each pilaster by an ugly, isolated bit of entablature, which is the more inexcusable from the number of ways in which it might easily have been avoided. With regard to the attic which takes the place of the Gothic triforium, it is doubtful whether its 19 feet adds anything to the effective height, which appears much the same as if the vault sprung at once from the entablature. . . . In the portion under the dome, the four segmental arches are obviously an after insertion, probably on account of some symptom of unequal settlement observed in one of the arches over them. Their introduction must ever be regretted as a blemish to the integrity of the most important part of the edifice, apparently useless to the equilibrium of the work as *designed*; consequently betraying a discrepancy between design and execution. . . . The great architect had prepared schemes for consistently decorating the bare surfaces, at least of the vaultings, if not of other parts; and the inner dome was to glow with the perennial freshness of mosaic-painting, for which has been substituted stage scenery appropriately enclosing the wretched counterfeit sculpture of Sir James Thornhill, both now happily unintelligible, from smoke and damp. The house and the theatre painters seem to have taken possession of the chancel and apsis. The exterior of this fabric, no less than that of its Italian rival, is remarkable for its deceptive smallness."

Soufflot in the Pantheon at Paris seems to have caught Milizia's suggestion¹ of suppressing the often-censured

¹ Fa S. Pietro come S. Paolo, cioè infilavi colonne isolate, e vedrai subito S. Pietro il più grande del mondo; e addio dispute e misure. Quante più colonne isolate si frappongono, più grande comparisce un edificio. E il comparire maggiore di quello che si è in realtà è un merito. Questo demerito di S. Pietro deriva dall'architettura moderna, la quale, dato il bando alle basiliche e ai peristili di colonne isolate, non lavora che di piloni e di massicci; onde risultano brevi, goffe e piccole costruzioni.—MILIZIA.

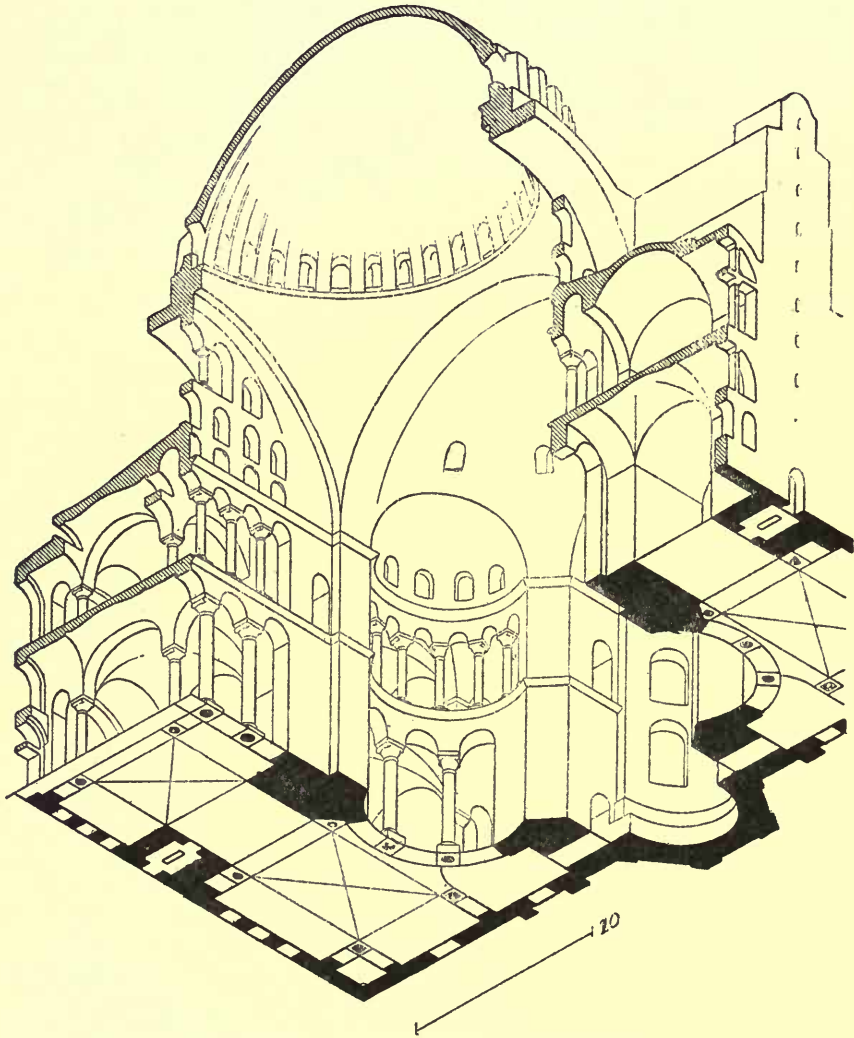
Roman arcades of St. Peter's, and using free disengaged columns instead ; but the desired effect is marred by the introduction of an entablature quite foreign to the idea of Milizia, who had specified a preference for the Latin method of St. Paul's without the walls. "The light effect, which is so striking in the interior (Pantheon in Paris), produced by the employment of columns instead of the old system of arcades, is extremely pleasing, though, as has often been truly urged, they have no office to perform. Objections, moreover, have been taken to the wide intercolumniations of the portico and some other parts. . . . Its greatest fault is instability about the piers of the cupola. This failure was afterwards rectified by his celebrated pupil Rondelet, who, with consummate skill, imparted perfect and lasting security to the edifice."¹ The construction of the dome is similar to that of St. Paul's and the Invalides.

In all these modern domed buildings the same constant striving for external effect at the expense of the interior cannot fail to be observed. The dome, it is thought, is such a beautiful feature that it must be shown to the best advantage, lifted, as it were, like a crown in all its glory, up into the heaven of which it is the symbol. Therefore, it is not enough to have it spring from an already high cylindric drum above the main body of the structure, but, to save it from its external squatty appearance, an outer sham dome must be raised still higher over the interior dome with a superposed lantern. There is no example of such constructional artifices in antiquity, nor in the works of the Italian Renaissance. It is the interior that ought to bring out the exterior as a matter of course.² This perhaps explains why there

¹ Fergusson.

² Cherchez dans toute l'antiquité, vous ne trouverez pas un édifice, pas un seul, entendez-le bien—dont l'intérieur et l'extérieur ne soit pas la conséquence réciproque, rigoureuse et nécessaire, l'un de l'autre. Lorsqu'une fois vous avez saisi la structure d'un édifice antique, sa forme, son expression, sa réalisation, évoquent chez nous l'idée invincible du *nécessaire*. Cela devait être ainsi, cela ne pouvait pas n'être pas ainsi. Et en même temps, c'est généralement d'une grande beauté de par la composition, et non beauté de par l'artifice. Voilà l'art parfait.—GUADET.

are so many finished façades of churches and other buildings in the North and such a great number of unfinished ones, sometimes a total lack of them, in the



SAINT SOPHIA.

(Reproduced by permission from "L'Histoire de l'Architecture," by M. Auguste Choisy.)

South, where this axiom was more thoroughly appreciated and acted upon. Thus outside of Italy many ordinary buildings masquerade as Palladian, Venetian, or Roman palaces by means of a façade alone, which internally have

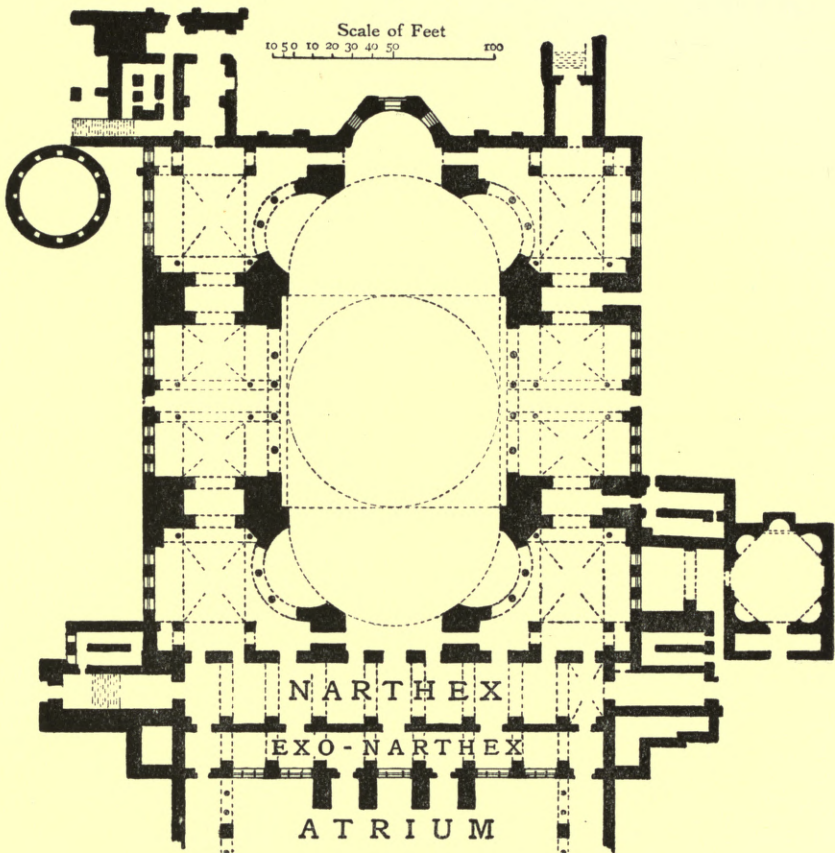
no grand apartments, no frescoed walls, no monumental staircase, and no architectural courtyard. If by chance these have been introduced, they are as an after-thought, and usually misplaced and ill-designed. In the original models, on the other hand, there is a thorough feeling of reciprocity between the interior and the exterior, one being the inevitable consequence of the other both in plan and elevation.

St. Sophia is noted for its sincerity of construction. "The main space has for its central point the mighty dome, which, itself 106 feet in diameter, rises on four pillars placed at right angles to a height of 177 feet. Yet the dome is in no wise slender, far rather its form is shallow, as though it were only the segment of a circular arch; it rises from an entablature,¹ which rests on the top of the four grand arches supported by the main pillars. Triangular niches fill the space between the sides of the arch and the entablature. Nevertheless only a quadratic place is thus obtained; and to lengthen this space, a mighty semicircular niche is attached to the front and back sides, the walls of the niche resting on the corner pillars of the dome and two pillars placed between them. On the sides, on the contrary, the central aisle was bounded by a wall supported by columns, the arches between which formed the connection with the side aisles. The two apses, the vaulted arches of which touched the great central dome and continued its lines, increased the space of the principal aisle into an oblong oval, which in this ingenious design was intended to correspond with the central aisle of the basilica. On the front side this was connected with the long portico, extending the whole width of the building; at the back it was terminated by a larger altar apsis and two side apses, likewise required for religious services, so that here also a further enlargement of the semicircular form took place. The two long sides, on the other hand, were accompanied by two low side aisles, which, however, on account of the different strength of the projecting

¹ Gesimskrantz (crown-moulding).

counterposts and the different kind of vaulted roof, had not the character of consistently executed side aisles, but of a number of subordinate spaces. Instead of the calm stability of the basilica aisles, they presented to view an attractive variety of picturesque vistas. Over all these side spaces galleries were placed, which contained the seats for the women, and open with colonnades to the central aisle. The building was lighted by a circle of windows at the foot of the principal dome, also by windows in the semi-domes and by a great many others in the vast partition walls. All these variously formed spaces exhibited outwardly an almost quadratic figure, 225 feet long by 228 wide. In front of the entrance hall, which contained nine gates, there was an atrium surrounded with colonnades, after the fashion of the great basilicas. . . . Bold was the plan of construction which the ingenious mind had here devised ; imposing was the impression of a dome, raised hovering with its vast span upon few supports. Yet the product of all this labour must ever be full of arduous effort ; and in complete contrast to the early Christian basilica, the church of St. Sophia, it is true, is regarded as a wonder of constructive knowledge and clever combination ; but he who perceives beauty in simplicity and distinctness in the harmonious union of the different parts in an animated whole, will give the preference to the basilica. At all events the treatment of the upper walls is defective, and the ceiling has none of the construction necessarily arising from the organisation of the other parts. The importance of the church of St. Sophia is not, however, to be underrated, inasmuch as it presents a fully developed system of stone roof construction ; but, combining as it does, in a studied manner, the great forms of buildings following mechanical rather than organic laws, it bears the stamp of temporal constraint and local limitation. The form of architectural detail is of little importance, owing to the preponderance of surface ornament. The heavy Byzantine form of the capital alone furnishes a distinct evidence of the architectural conception. Thus the exterior also

maintains an air of unpleasing stiffness, and the shallow main dome stands with its adjoining semi-domes, vast and heavy, like a mountain rising above a mass of walls and pillars. The minarets added by the Turks furnish the exterior with ornament, though heterogeneous in its kind.”¹



PLAN OF ST. SOPHIA.

For mere boldness of ideas and constructive skill the Hindoos, and in fact all Orientals, are superior to the Byzantines, and to a certain extent it may be said that they were their masters. The architecture of the Moguls is somewhat reminiscent of the numerous domes of Persia and the Haurán. The most interesting example is that of the *Gol Gumbaz*, or Tomb of Mahmoud at Bijapur. “At

¹ Lübke.

the height of 57 feet from the floor-line the hall begins to contract, by a series of pendentives as ingenious as they are beautiful, to a circular opening 97 feet in diameter. On the platform of these pendentives the dome is erected, 124 feet in diameter, thus leaving a gallery more than 12 feet wide all round the interior. Internally the dome is 175 feet high, externally 198 feet, its general thickness being about 10 feet. The most ingenious and novel part of the construction of this dome is the mode in which its lateral or outward thrust is counteracted. This was accomplished by forming the pendentives so that they not only cut off the angles, but that their arches intersect one another, and form a very considerable mass of masonry perfectly stable in itself; and, by its weight acting inwards, counteracting any thrust that can possibly be brought to bear upon it by the pressure of the dome. If the whole edifice thus balanced has any tendency to move, it is to fall inwards, which from its circular form is impossible; while the action of the weight of the pendentives being in the opposite direction to that of the dome, it acts like a tie, and keeps the whole in equilibrium, without interfering at all with the outline of the dome."¹

There is still another method of dome construction which was recently introduced by Antonelli in his *Mole Antonelliana*, formerly the Jewish Synagogue at Turin. In walking about the streets of that city one is struck by a strange vertical pile "towering before him which renders him breathless with amazement—an edifice of brick . . . rising to a height of more than 240 feet, and apparently of such slender constructions that he will almost expect to see it fall while he gazes."² . . . As

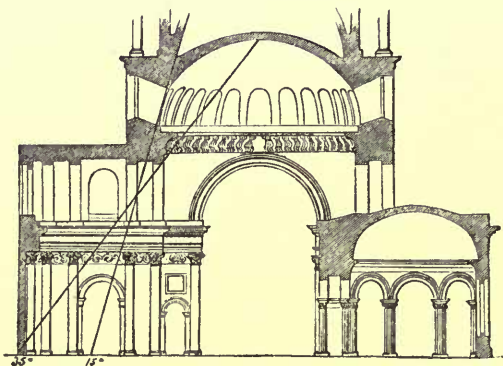
¹ Fergusson.

² The Via Montebello . . . leads to the so-called *Mole Antonelliana*, begun in 1863 as a synagogue by Antonelli (d. 1888) and completed by the city in 1878-89 as a *Museo del Risorgimento Italiano*, in memory of Victor Emanuel II. It is a square building (44 yards each way) resembling a tower, with a singular façade formed of several rows of columns; its height to the head of the gilded statue (13 feet high) at the top is 538 feet (Washington obelisk 555 feet). The dome is striking from its bold disregard of the ordinary technical rules of construction. The hall beneath is 84 feet square and upwards of 300 feet high, and contains three galleries one above the other.—KARL BAEDEKER.

perfection in building consists in the attainments of the greatest results with the utmost economy of materials consistent with stability, this edifice approaches perfection in the science of construction more closely than any other in existence. Then, again, the mode of construction is 'hardi' in the extreme; the roof is what may be called a four-sided dome . . . springing at the height of 150 feet above the ground-line. This dome, which is extremely steep, is covered with plates of metal, apparently zinc. . . . The spectator when looking upwards is struck with amazement at the grandeur of the conception, and at the boldness of the construction; for he perceives that the dome is sustained by three rows of slender columns, six on each side, which stand upon the outer piers supporting the galleries. . . . We think much of ourselves if we complete a Gothic spire of unusual height, or a vault of great span; but these are but puny works by the side of this gigantic synagogue. In fact, such a piece of construction is simply impossible in England; for in such a building, where the stability of the whole depends upon the most careful workmanship, it would not do to trust to the chance-work of builders, or the possible negligences of clerks of works. . . . The dome when seen in section appears like an imitation of iron construction in brick-work. It consists of two coverings or shells, five feet apart, the outer one brick thick, the inner only half a brick. Both of these have, however, inner ribs at short intervals. The shells are connected by what may be termed bonding arches, with stone heads, placed one above the other vertically, above 20 feet apart; and from them again spring longitudinal arches. The inner shell is strengthened by ribs a brick and a half in thickness, which rise above the columns, and form acutely pointed groining arches intersecting one another. Thus the whole dome is kept together by a complicated system of circulation. In addition, it is secured at the angles by iron ties, which connect the inner-angle pier with the outer-angle ribs, and by longitudinal and transverse ties which run round the entire building and between the

main points of support. Between these two shells a series of ladders will give access to the cupola above the dome."¹

Amid such a variety of domed edifices it is no wonder that Fergusson set himself the task of planning an "ideal church" that should combine most of the merits and avoid the errors of other churches. He was himself a strong partisan of Gothic, and not free from the general prejudice against Italian Renaissance, yet nevertheless he admired the domical structure.



FERGUSSON'S IDEAL DOMED CHURCH.

For the interior he gave the preference to St. Sophia, and then upon mature consideration came to the conclusion that the Latin construction was more satisfactory, "provided that the proportions be kept the same as with the Byzantine." His plan, however, has nothing to compensate for the two semi-domes which Lübke so luminously interpreted as "the effort to make the oblong design of the basilica harmonise with the cupola form," and is almost equivalent to an *oval dome* such as had been happily completed at the Santuario of the Madonna di Vico fully two centuries before by Francesco Gallo, after the plans made by Ascanio Vitozzi at the end of the sixteenth century. Besides, Fergusson retained the device of a cone to support the stone lantern. The Italian domes, according to him, were successful in their exterior appearance, but this was gained by the sacrifice of the interior, which was too high. In St. Sophia, on the contrary, the opposite course has been pursued, and the interior is successful at the expense of the exterior. It was, therefore, necessary to adhere to Sir Christopher Wren's scheme to obtain the two advantages and avoid the detriments.

¹ Pullan.

CHAPTER VIII

IT has been necessary to dwell a little on the vulnerable points of some of the best-known domes, and to add a few particulars about two of less familiar construction in order to draw the conclusion that a monumental dome cannot be called perfect unless it embodies the following essentials :—

1. It should be the principal feature of the plan, subordinating to itself all the other parts (Lansing Raymond).

2. It should be the actual crown of the building, the inner surface of the shell of masonry forming the ceiling of the church, and the exterior a visible water-shedding roof (E. M. Barry).

3. It should have a diameter of not less than 90 feet (Sir Edmund Beckett).

4. It should have a moderate height internally to be in harmony with the whole, and its apex should be visible from every part of the church (Fergusson).

5. It should spring from the drum at a level below the external cornice, so that the wall above the springing forms a solid and powerful abutment, reaching almost to the haunch of the vault. Above this a stepped mass of masonry, diminishing in thickness as it rises, should be carried well over the haunch, effectively overcoming any tendency to yield to the force of thrust (Charles Herbert Moore).

6. To show its real magnitude, the surface of the interior should not be broken by any coffer-work. Entabla-

tures should be avoided and mere ornamental projections introduced (Viollet-le-Duc).

7. The painting of the cupola should be in *buon fresco*, and not in an oil-medium, which blackens with age. It should not hide the vault (J. Guadet).

Besides these a few more requisites of general application to the whole building may be added :—

8. Instead of the columniated structure of the basilicas there should be substituted a pillared structure with broad surfaces and great arches, and colonnades only added in a subordinate way to support the galleries (Dr. William Lübke).

9. Curvature should be the essence of the plan and elevation of a domical church (E. M. Barry).

10. A domical church should be sparing of exterior columns (Fergusson).

11. The masonry should be shown (John Ruskin).

12. A certain prodigality of strength is a noble quality (Bosanquet).

13. Grace and proportion require an elongation in some one direction (John Ruskin).

14. The effect of grandeur is lost by the introduction of too large details (J. Guadet).

The Pantheon of Charles Emmanuel I. realises all these requirements—*plus* an additional beauty, namely :

The *elliptical plan* of the dome, the only example of this form on so large a scale. John Ruskin and Lansing Raymond seem to suggest a similar idea, but it is not clear that they actually mean an oval dome occupying the central nave of a basilica plan, although their theory about elliptical curves is completely demonstrated at Vicoforte.

To appreciate its importance a list for comparison is subjoined :—

	Diameter.	
	Feet.	Inches.
The Pantheon at Rome	142	6
St. Peter's at Rome	137	6
S. M. del Fiore, Florence	138	6
Madonna di Vico, Major Axis	119	...
„ „ Minor Axis	80	...

oval dome in the Santuario. The ends of the *gammæ* are on a curved plan, and a thoroughly organised system of arches and vaults has been developed uniting the several parts into a symmetrical whole that most fully substantiates Dr. Lübke's theory that beauty and harmony are obtained by simplicity of construction. The dome, in Vitozzi's plan, rises naturally without abruptness from a continuous arcade surmounted by an intermediate drum which is lacking in St. Sophia. Its dimensions and general arrangement of spaces are approximately the same, though the somewhat reduced area gives more value to the central part, which thus seems more conspicuous. The church measures 234 feet 7 inches \times 164 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

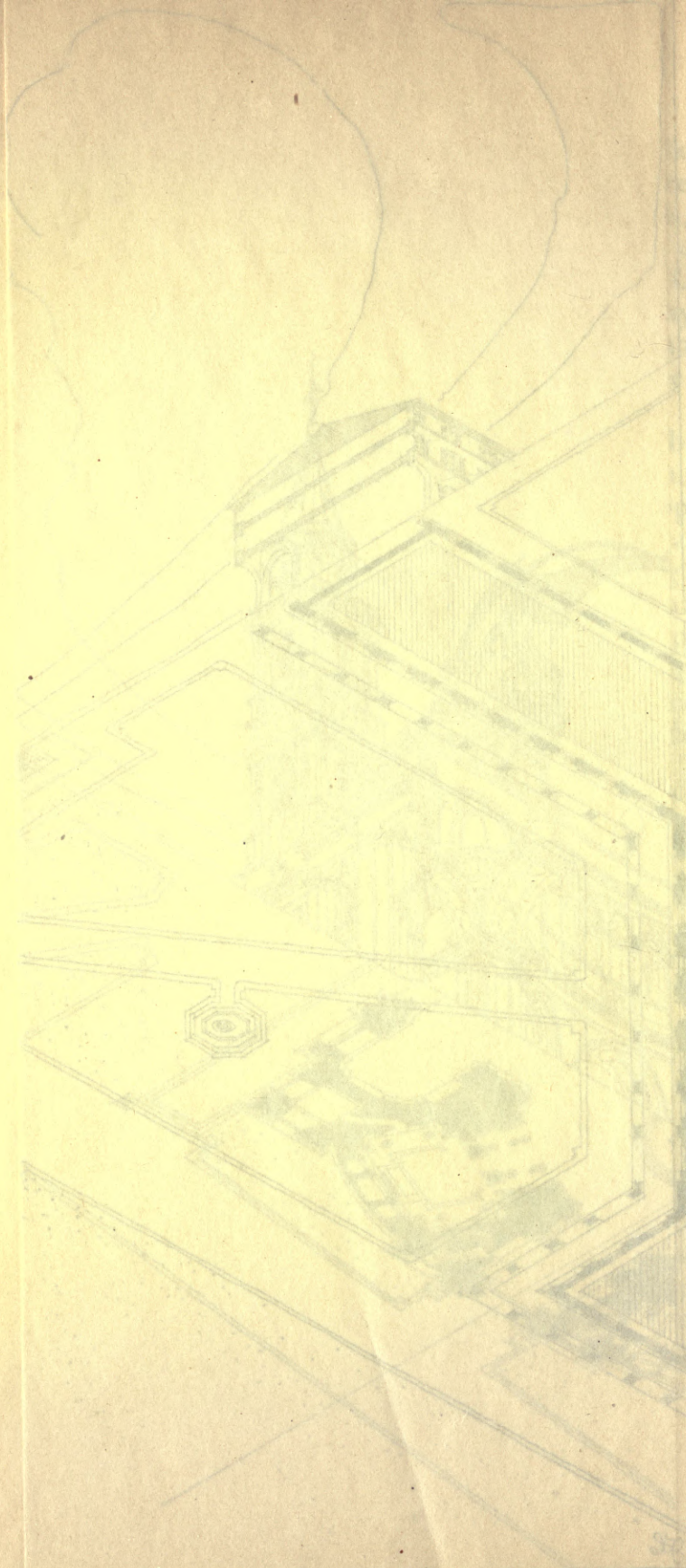
The lofty and wide vestibule, 80 feet long by 27 feet wide, corresponds to the narthex of St. Sophia; the four chapels alternating with minor side vestibules which occupy the space of the two low side aisles of St. Sophia have a different kind of vaulted roof, and are kept subordinate to the main interior; and the larger apse at Vico is supplemented by another wide vestibule, or transverse ambulatory, that imparts more grandeur to the well-balanced construction. Then the four colonnades of handsome monoliths which form front porticoes to the chapels lend more solemnity to the great interior, and serve better the purpose of scale; and, although differently arranged, the four galleries above the colonnades are an equally happy idea that still further heightens the same effect. Port-holes, opened at the base of the cupola, admit as much light as at Constantinople, and at each of the four external angles of the structure is a campanile, but square instead of round, as the Moghrabin architecture differs from the Oriental in this respect, and more closely grouped about the dome.

Seen from the half-octangular plaza in front of the Santuario, the best point of view of the great dome and general *ensemble* is at the south-west angle. By reason of its oblong shape, the three-quarters perspective develops a larger body, and the whole mass towers up in superb

stateliness amidst the campanili guarding it like giant sentinels. Its magnitude is increased by the great simplicity and compactness of the supporting walls, which are built on a curve, and are without detached columns or other attempts at superfluous decoration. Contemplating this huge rotunda the complete harmony of the whole composition is felt anew, and that the arrangement of the exterior is indeed the logical sequence of the interior distribution of parts is plainly apparent.

The lower part, covered by a lean-to roof, is built of a mellow-toned sandstone, the continuous plain surface of which forms a most appropriate base to the upper part, springing from it like a colossus upon its pedestal. The main façade, with engaged columns and projecting fronton, is framed by the bases of two campanili ornamented with engaged pilasters. A similar arrangement is repeated at the two side entrances, but their subordinate character is expressed by a gentle swell and a less organised architectural treatment. They have as many windows and niches, but only one doorway instead of three. The rear of the church forms a plain apse. The perfect proportions of this lower structure contribute greatly towards giving scale to the whole building. Instead of proudly rising with a superposition of two orders to proclaim the entrance to the central nave, the main façade does not reach above the level of the first roof, and although dignified with columns on pedestals in a solid mass of masonry, does not presume to lead directly to the great dome whose heavenly vault is seen opening wide beyond the lofty arch of the vestibule.

The architrave of the fronton is cut from a single block of stone, measuring 40 feet $6\frac{1}{6}$ inches \times 10 feet $8\frac{3}{8}$ inches \times 3 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and is estimated to weigh about 129 tons. The campanili are not mere toys; but, while they are of sufficient height to be impressive, they are kept in due subordination to the overpowering dome surmounted by its lantern and cross. Compare the vigour and unity of the Pantheon at Vico with the weak and detached effect of the projecting portico in front of



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the Pantheon at Paris, grand and beautiful as it is seen from beneath, but suggesting at least a fourfold nave beyond ; its windowless walls, the small blocks of the columns, and the crowning terrace so disconnected with the central part, made smaller by an equally disconnected peristyle of enormous size in comparison with the enclosed insignificant dome !

The principal entrance is by three doorways of equal size, each surmounted by a rectangular window with a stone balustrade, and framed by single columns and pediments. The modillions of the large fronton of the façade have been purposely omitted by Bonsignore, one of the later architects, to afford the sculptor a better opportunity to fill the tympanum with statuary. The foliated Corinthian capitals and the bases of the engaged columns and pilasters here, and throughout the church, are of white marble from Frabosa.

The four campanili take their independent rise from the level of the lower roof on a perfectly square plan, 26 feet 3 inches \times 26 feet 3 inches. The three storeys and intervening attics are a repetition of the architecture of the dome. The windows of the first storey correspond to the windows of the drum, those of the second storey to the port-holes of the cupola, but are of different shape. The campanili then assume a peculiar physiognomy of their own, diminishing in size, on an octagonal plan, to a pyramidal pinnacle upon which is fixed a metal ball and cross. The three storeys and the pinnacle measure 213 feet from the ground to the tip of the cross. They are not devoid of architectural merit, but their execution is poor, and they are disfigured by a coating of cement with vulgar abuse of ornamentation.

The rough brick exterior of both drum and dome has been left untouched, but a white marble balustrade has lately been added to an outside gallery running around the drum by means of passages left open in the projecting buttresses. It is intended to repeat this gallery in the interior at the same level (the impost of the drum), as in all large domes of modern construction. The eight bare

buttresses show the mechanism by which the cylindric wall of the drum is corroborated. They measure 19 feet $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches \times 10 feet $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches at their base, where the thickness of the main wall is 7 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, which gradually diminishes to the impost of the dome, where it is only 6 feet $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Niches for statuary have been



ELEVATION AND SECTION OF THE MAJOR AXIS.

made in the buttresses to correspond with the twenty-four windows of the drum, but as yet they are empty. The rugged strength of these eight buttresses is very skilfully moulded into graceful curves, terminating in ogees at their upper ends, and they are completed by curved gables intersecting the cornice of the port-holes running in a wavy line around the dome.

The twenty-four windows of the drum are distributed

in groups of three between the eight buttresses, each group composed of a dominant one in the centre, 21 feet $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches \times 8 feet $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, finished alternately in an arch or surmounted by a bull's eye, and a subordinate rectangular one on either side, 15 feet 9 inches \times 6 feet $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Above this row of windows runs an outside entablature, whose projection would admit of another gallery, at the height of nearly 110 feet from the ground, passages having again been left in the upper part of the buttresses for the purpose of free circulation as below. From both these outside galleries, the upper and the lower, a rectangular passage has been opened through the main wall into the interior of the dome, where the projection of the cornices at the same level would permit of galleries for viewing the interior, as at St. Peter's in Rome.

Turning again to the exterior. "Externally, wishing to give more spring to the dome and thus also additional security to the vaulting, Gallo inserted two attics which enabled him to obtain in the upper one a more artistic effect by means of oval windows and the rounded gables of the intervening buttresses. The lower attic is more severely treated and just high enough, 10 feet 6 inches, to form a background to the prospective gallery with balustrade; the upper one instead is 15 feet $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch high, exclusive of the pediments, and has a more elaborate moulding to make it a fit crown to the drum. Æsthetically speaking it aptly fills the space originally planned by Vitozzi to be decorated with statuary, with how much propriety cannot be told. Still a third attic was added by Gallo above the other two, 11 feet $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch high, having a plain surface finished by a stone cornice hollowed out to serve as a gutter to discharge the rain-water from the surface of the domical roof. . . . Gallo resumed the use of sandstone for the lantern. In this he introduced a graceful Corinthian order around the drum, finished at the upper edge of the cornice of the entablature by eight flambeaux (corresponding to the eight columns). The leaden roof was not laid directly upon the masonry, but upon a wooden framework, allowing space between to

move about for possible repairs. The pinnacle of the lantern is surmounted by a gilded metal ball, upon which is fixed the cross dominating all. This lantern was completed in stone to make it permanent and final, and so avoid further expense that might result from a temporary construction. The drum of this lantern is 29 feet 11 inches high; the vault is an ellipsoid (to correspond with the great dome below) with three axes. The major axis is 25 feet $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches, the minor one 19 feet 6 inches, and the vertical 9 feet 9 inches. The pinnacle upon this vault is 40 feet 2 inches high, so that the height of whole lantern, from its base to the top of the cross, is 84 feet 6 inches; and the height of the whole building, from the pavement of the interior to the top of the cross inclusive, is 246 feet 5 inches.”¹

¹ Danna e Chiecchio.



Photographed by John Andrew P. Son, Boston, U.S.A.

From negative by

L. Milano Rossi

*Santuario di Vico
Veduta generale dell' Interno.*

CHAPTER IX

BUT, if the exterior is constructively successful, it is more particularly in the interior that the architects have studied æsthetic effects. Its spell is instantaneous and magical, and waxes stronger with each repeated visit.¹ From the lofty vestibule a tremendous arch, imposing and satisfying, spans the entrance to the sanctuary. It is a surprise to find it only one of a continuous series which surrounds the spacious interior and supports an immense elliptical drum pierced by many windows. The eye leaps with delight to the airy brightness of the dome—the illusion of a real sky peopled by angelic figures floating on cloudy masses, or soaring upward to disappear within the dimmer vault of the lantern. An elaborate structure of coloured marbles rises in the centre of the marble pavement, like the Baldacchino of Bernini under the dome of St. Peter's at Rome. Beneath are the two main altars, one against the other, facing in opposite directions, and the whole surrounded by a coloured marble balustrade surmounted by a gracefully-wrought iron railing, the better to isolate the shrine from the crowds of pilgrims in the great open space of the church. On a high marble pedestal in the centre of the Baldacchino is the precious Pilone, the Palladium of this region, upon which is painted a group of the Virgin and Child. This is encased in a solid

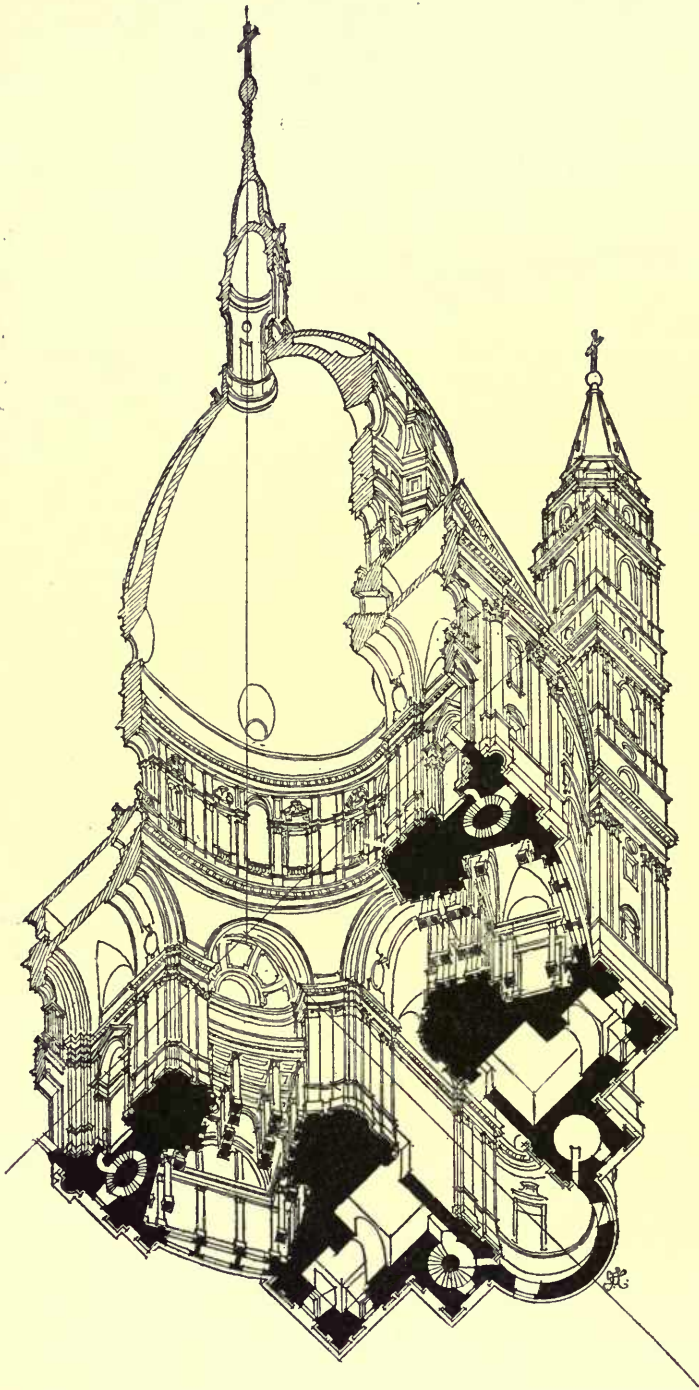
¹ An admirer of Gothic sums up thus his ideal of an interior, which seems also to enumerate some of the beauties of the Santuario : “ Une église sera belle, d'abord, si par ses dimensions et ses dispositions bien ordonnées, par ses tendances ascensionnelles, ses jours et ses vides largement ménagés, par sa solidité, elle répond à sa fin : à savoir, de rappeler la grandeur de Dieu.”—ABBÉ MALLET.

framework of bronze, silver, and gold, with decorative enrichment of figures, volutes, palm-branches, and symbols. From the four corners of the Baldacchino rise columns of red and white spotted marble, crowned with Corinthian capitals of white Carrara marble. These are reinforced by as many groups of engaged pilasters surmounted by an entablature of various marbles, ending in four broken curved pediments that support four Carrara marble angels upholding an enormous gilded bronze crown above the gorgeous Pilone below. Two Carrara marble figures of more than life size fill the vacant sides not occupied by the two altars. One of them, Charity, is of remarkable beauty of form and expression.

From the shrine the eye wanders in astonishment from arch to arch, trying to comprehend the scheme of construction, which, after all, is very simple by virtue of a system of elliptical curves, both in the vertical surfaces from the pavement upward to the eye of the dome, and in the horizontal planes rising in parallel stages from one string-course to another. This is indeed the empire of the curve:¹ in the ground-plan and in the elevation; in the prodigious arches and in the alternate exedræ-like niches; in the painted medallions of the spandrils; in the port-holes and the eye of the dome and in the enclosed space surrounding the Baldacchino. The vast central space has triumphal entrances on three sides, and everything converges towards the shrine: the *raison-d'être* and the one idea of the temple.

One idea is said intentionally, although the *other idea* of Charles Emanuel I. which justifies the name of *Pantheon* given it has not been forgotten; but the

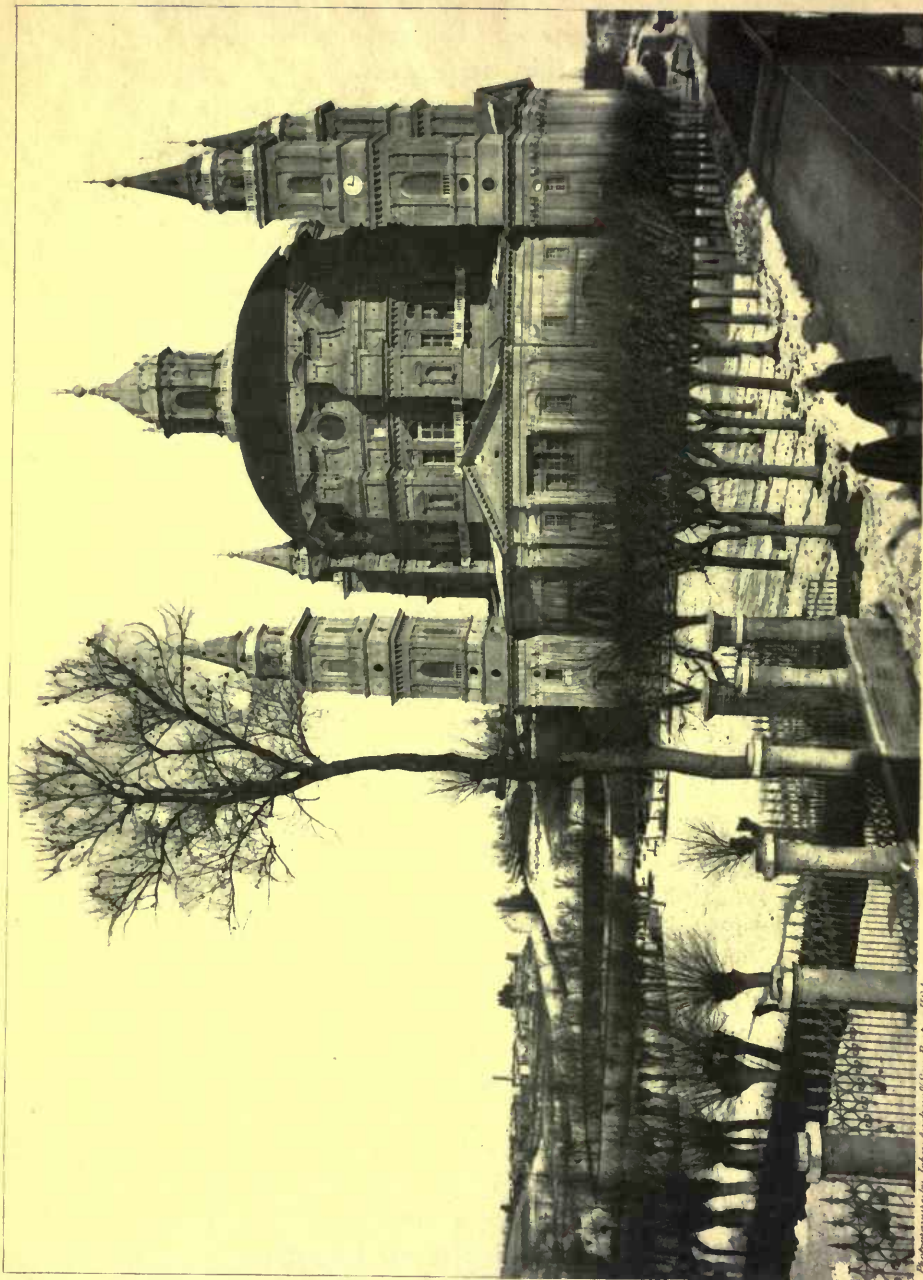
¹ "Adoption of curved lines through both plan and elevation gives a completeness of effect as a domed structure which cannot be claimed for buildings which adopt a dome as they might any other form of roof for covering a part only of the interior. We have no square or rectangular nave, or transepts, roofed over by curved forms. Curvature is the essence of the plan, and we see at once that a domical completion is the most obvious and natural method to be adopted. The eye passes with delight from the walls to the roof, . . . the great cupola, the whole forming one of the most beautiful, perhaps the most beautiful work of domical architecture in the world." Barry little knew that these words of his in praise of St. Sophia are an even more faithful description of the Santuario of the Madonna di Vico.



ASYMMETRIC SECTION OF THE MINOR AXIS.

modesty of the Duke would permit no interference with the idea of a *santuario* devoted to the worship of the Virgin. Throughout the main area of the temple there is nothing, absolutely nothing, that would lead one to suspect that a ruler had built it as a mausoleum for his race. It might be supposed that at least he would occupy the place usually reserved in sacred precincts for the donor. But, no: the Ducal founder withdrew entirely apart, beyond the main limits, and the city of Mondovì alone ostentatiously parades her claim to patronage (really the exclusive right of the House of Savoy) in a bronze tablet affixed to the frame of the shrine, and the city arms above it. The space intended for the sepulchres of the Princes of Savoy is divided into four chapels, at which the four porticoes of the interior hint. These preludes to the abodes of death display in this realm of light and life the solemnity of a straight horizontal line. Each portico leads to a wrought-iron gate that opens into a vaulted chapel lighted by a large semicircular window divided by two stone mullions. The first chapel at the left on entering contains the mausoleum of the founder, embellished with an academic group of figures in white Carrara marble elaborately finished and polished by the brothers Collini, under a pavilion of columns and an archivolt of various marbles, with the symbolic "lover's knot" carved on the frieze. The first chapel on the right is the only one entirely completed. The Duke's daughter, Princess Marguerite of Savoy, married to the Duke of Mantua and Montferrat, provided money for this, and wished to be buried there, but instead, dying on a journey, was buried at Burgos in Spain. Her monument by the brothers Gaggini represents her at prayer kneeling on a cushion and turning towards the shrine. The other two chapels are best ignored.

Eight colossal piers and as many arches forming a grand continuous arcade around the interior, 60 feet 5 inches high from the pavement to the string-course (which is the real cornice of the painted entablature) inclusive, bear the weight of a drum 49 feet 10½ inches



From negative by

L. Milano Rossi

Visuale laterale del Santuario di Vercorbo

Photographed by John Anderson & Son, London, U.S.A.

high, and a dome, the vertical axis of which is 52 feet 6 inches, surmounted by a stone lantern. The two middle arches over the side vestibules, one at each end of the minor axis of the church, are carried to the outer wall above each doorway by a tunnel vaulting. Of the two arches over the two ends of the major axis, the first opens into the main vestibule, and the other opposite opens into the vaulted apse of the church. These four principal arches correspond to the four ends of the gammas in St. Sophia, intersecting an ellipse instead of a perfect circle. The four intermediate arches, but a trifle smaller, make as many great recesses like giant niches in the main wall, within each of which, about half-way down the piers, a large tribune (or gallery) has been placed, supported by the quadruple Corinthian colonnades of the mortuary chapels. One of these galleries contains the organ.

There is no colossal order with great protruding entablatures as at St. Peter's in Rome, or at St. Paul's in London ; no Greek order facing a Roman arcade, as at the Theatre of Marcellus. The thin engaged pilasters on the face of the piers are only ornamental features to give scale to the building, and are rendered still less assuming by elevation upon pedestals. It was a mistake, no doubt, to carry the entablature-like band at the impost of the arches all around the interior, "crossing the great niches, with pilasters to hold it up, and all for no purpose but for the further decoration of the great vaulted room," as Viollet-le-Duc rightly observed, referring to the Pantheon in Rome. This, however, is not the case with the two string-courses forming the imposts of the rotunda, which are unobtrusive and necessary for defining the drum and dome.

The borders of the four larger arches are more strongly modelled for the sake of variety and to give more expression to the constructive scheme ; but on the whole there are few breaks, and the projections are kept within bounds so as not to interfere with the effect of the perspective. It is to be regretted that the architectural painter did not exercise the same self-restraint as the

builder, but unhappily he attempted to make it seem that the string-course at the impost of the drum was the cornice of a real entablature. The elaborate variation of the windows of the drum is not in keeping with the serene simplicity of the interior.

It is difficult to say whether the few large apertures at the base of the dome are better than the minute perforations of St. Sophia. Neither were introduced in Vitozzi's drawing, and there are no examples of such phenomenal bull's eyes anywhere, except perhaps in Brunelleschi's drum. On the other hand, while there is no reason to doubt that the twenty-four windows in Gallo's drum would have been more than sufficient to set the whole interior alight, as at St. Peter's in Rome, it may be that such a great windowless dome might, after all, have been as dark as that of St. Paul's in London. On the whole, the idea was a good one, because otherwise there would not be the splendid contrast between the crowning cupola literally flooded with light, as if it were the open sky itself, and the rest of the interior, somewhat subdued, despite the direct light from the twenty-four windows of the drum. It may be also that the smaller openings of St. Sophia might have belittled the grandeur of proportion at Vico, especially on account of the ponderous addition of a stone lantern, another considerable structure itself, composed of the same elements of drum and dome.

The building shows all the signs of two different periods of construction, as well as the stamp of two different minds. To begin with the materials: the lower part, as it was left by Vitozzi, is principally stone masonry with stone monoliths and decorative marbles; the upper part is wholly brickwork. In form, distribution of voids, and monumental character Vitozzi's work is masterly and perfect; Gallo's shows the greater success of the builder and less of the artist. This merit, however, must not be underrated, for if his drawings of the dome are compared with Vitozzi's, Gallo must be acknowledged the superior as a constructor of a dome; that is, if Vitozzi's drawings

have been transmitted correctly. But Vitozzi's plans are somewhat apocryphal. It is known that his model of the dome was destroyed by the monks, and therefore it is doubtful if his drawings were preserved. Gallo's dome is, in fact, the greatest work of the kind in modern times, indeed unique, considering its plan and size. The lower part of the building expresses grace and refinement, the upper part long study and sincerity of purpose. The architectural treatment as far as the impost of the drum is pure and full of beauty, and would have been even more complete had Vitozzi lived to adorn the splendid arcade of the interior with ornamental sculpture of his own. Instead, this field was invaded by the riotous dreamers of the brush, who did their best to spoil the majesty of the original design.

In conclusion, it is perhaps not too much to say that the Santuario di Vico is probably the only example of a temple successfully developed from the Pantheon of Agrippa, the Temple of Minerva Medica, and Saint Sophia. While maintaining an aspect of originality as befits the requirements of a later civilisation, it nevertheless embodies the same identical principles of construction taught by both Roman and Byzantine architects. It shows how far the builders of the Italian Renaissance wandered from the old ideals of sound construction, and how an unbiassed genius, even in modern times, can successfully compete with the great workers of antiquity.

The dome of the Madonna di Vico does not spring from the top of a wall with "manifold extraneous and hidden devices for security,"¹ such as binding chains and brick cones; neither has it the inner shells, misplaced buttresses, and carpentry work which are found in modern domes, from Brunelleschi's down to those of the present time. As in the Roman Pantheon, the dome of Vico springs from the drum at a level "below the external cornice, so that the wall above the springing forms a solid and powerful abutment, reaching almost to the haunch of the vault. Above this a stepped mass of masonry, diminishing in

¹ C. H. Moore.

thickness as it rises, is carried well over the haunch, effectively overcoming any tendency to yield to the force of thrust."¹ As in Bramante's plan, a perforated drum is substituted for the solid wall, within which rises the dome, surmounted by a stone lantern; and, as in the Temple of Minerva Medica, the voids of the windows are compensated by the thickness of the projecting buttresses, which here take the place of the usual colonnade. The vault is also a single shell, such as Bramante had intended for St. Peter's.

Its superiority is especially obvious in that it is the only conspicuous dome on a large scale that from the springing to the crown does not resort to any architectural subterfuge, and in being, legitimately, the most important feature of the whole structure, which has been the result that all modern architects have striven to attain. The buttresses, far from impairing the beauty of the building as a whole, add a sense of muscular strength which satisfies the eye as to its stability, as buttresses do in the daring Gothic buildings. They explain, as it were, the perfect equilibrium between the interior (arcades) and the exterior (buttresses). In spite of some architectural defects the campanili are very effective accessories in the bold sky-line, while the solid substructure forms a massive support to the noble dome, and the dignity and beauty of the whole group is greatly increased by the elliptical plan.

¹ C. H. Moore.

PICTORIAL

CHAPTER X

SHOULD the interior of a church be decorated or should it be left entirely bare? A great diversity of opinion still exists on this much-debated subject, but it may be taken for granted that if by decoration is meant mural painting, some other reason than religious prejudice must be sought to account for its use or its neglect. If it were simply a question of Romish or non-Romish convictions there would not be such a dearth of it in the Roman Catholic churches of the North. Mural painting, generally speaking, is still looked upon with suspicion by the Anglo-Saxon races of all creeds, and it is only lately that they have made use of it in public buildings and some few private houses, while purely constructive decoration is still in great vogue.

Yet, if we go back to the early Teutonic Renaissance which preceded the far greater Italian Renaissance, we should find that mural painting was originally as much the pursuit of the Teutonic as of the Latin races.¹ Since

¹ In Germany remains of wall-painting are considerably more numerous than in any other country north of the Alps. The coarse and broad handling exhibited by German painters at the beginning of this period, even in miniature work, is more in place in decorative painting. Although the great cathedrals built in the French style, like that of Cologne, had scarcely any room left for pictures except the choir-presses, other churches, in which the French principle was not so thoroughly carried out, still afforded the necessary space for them, as, for instance, on the unpierced lower walls of the transept. The compartments of the vaultings, too, were commonly adorned with figure compositions. True, this was often done in a method which brought swift and certain destruction upon the work, the method of painting direct on the wrought stone without a plaster preparation. They had a better chance of standing when they were painted on a wall of rough masonry coated with plaster, and the most frequent remains are found in small country churches, cloisters, chapels, castles, and dwelling-houses.—WOERMANN UND WORTMANN.

that time it has either disappeared where national taste has clung to the Gothic, or has gone on steadily gaining ground wherever the national architecture has diverged from the Gothic. As long as Britons, Normans, and Anglo-Saxons built after Roman methods, an equitable share was allotted to painting, sculpture, and architecture in the North as well as in the South. Images of the Virgin and Saints and many Biblical personages were reproduced at that time for the edification of the Roman Catholics of Great Britain. Charlemagne gave his strong personal impulse to all the arts, and supported with his own vote the synod of Frankfort-on-the-Main when it granted the right to fashion images "for purposes of commemoration and ornament." This practice of image-making also extended to Great Britain. But mural painting had been discontinued in the British Isles too long before the Reformation to think that it ever was affected by the "cold hand of Puritanism." It had perished in the too close embrace of Gothic art.

"In Italy, on the contrary, architecture was a prop and fulcrum for sculpture and painting. The Gothic style was cast aside, and a new scheme of constructive art was borrowed from the antique. We find this style of design reflected in the pictures of the time, and its forms associate happily with the proportions of the human figure, and lend harmony and dignity to the composition. . . . As Gothic principles of architecture were never consistently carried out in Italy, so painting was not cramped by the limitations those principles impose. . . . Even where both construction and detail were taken from the Gothic, architecture in Italy remained exempt from that exclusive pursuit of height, that predominance of the principle of the perpendicular, which was of the essence of the Northern style, and kept up its old love for clear and ample interior spaces. There was no inclination to break up the whole structure into vertical members, to banish wall-surfaces, and fill up the space between the several piers and vaultings with huge windows, which

would have been quite out of place in the intense daylight of the South. The wall-surfaces retained their old importance in the scheme, and were treated, now as ever, as so many sheets of pictorial tapestry. Whereas wall-painting in the North played but a secondary part after the Gothic style reached perfection, and was executed for the most part in a merely decorative way, in Italy it was an essential feature.”¹

It is, then, beyond doubt that there was a time when both Northern and Southern nations equally favoured mural painting. Indeed to the North is due the merit of having first raised the art above the dead level of the Byzantine, and of having initiated the South into the direct study of Nature. North and South had the same point of departure in early mediævalism. But while Giotto branched off and prepared the way for the Italian Renaissance, the North, on the contrary, steadily followed its Gothic ideals until they finally culminated in the actual suppression of the wall ; until the decorated panels of the wall were supplanted by enormous windows of stained glass, and the masonry grew more and more ornate with “meaningless and uninteresting fineries,” which, in the judgment of eminent Gothic admirers, is “considered the most obvious and most certain, though it must be confessed, perhaps the most vulgar, means of obtaining architectural grandeur.”²

Fully three centuries after the storm of the Reformation, when a “Christian architecture” was sought in vain among the people who had torn down the Gothic works of both monks and *freemasons*, Pugin denounced the plagiarisms of the then prevalent classic style (believed to be infected with Paganism), and advocated returning to Roman Catholicism in matters of art, saying : “Let us choose the glorious epoch before the Reformation, . . . before the accursed light of reason destroyed the phantasma of that massive darkness.” But though saying this, he ignored the pictorial phase of that same early period when Great Britain had reaped the first benefits

¹ W. und W.

² Fergusson.

of the Roman Church.¹ Therefore he did not faithfully present English Christian traditions.² His mind did not stray further back than the threshold of the Reformation, when North and South had reached the two extremes of pictorial decoration; that is when Michael Angelo was portraying in fresco his great conception of the Bible in the Sistine Chapel, and British taste was exemplified in the windows of the King's Chapel at Cambridge. Both these conceptions are, however, absolutely identical and actuated by the same spirit. Had he been more exact in the details of his plan of "Christianising the architecture of modern Christians" by reviving "the style of building which prevailed in this country (England) *for some centuries before* the Reformation," he certainly would have found that true English traditions involved some amount of mural painting. But that would have

¹ Some of the ecclesiastical cathedrals and churches, from the Conquest to the Reformation, had their ceilings adorned in great profusion of paintings. The roof, for example, of the cathedral church of Canterbury, built by Archbishop Lanfranc, was painted, if we may believe a contemporary author, in the most elegant manner (Gervas, *De Combustione et Reparatione Ecclesiae Dorobornensis*, col. 1249). Aldred, Archbishop of York, who put the crown on the head of William the Conqueror, added much to the magnitude and beauty of the church of Beverley. "He enlarged," says his historian, "the old church by adding a new presbytery, which he dedicated to St. John the Evangelist; and he adorned the whole roof, from the presbytery to the great tower, with the most beautiful paintings, intermixed with much gilding of gold, performed with admirable art" (Stubbs, *Ant. Pontific. Ebor.* col. 1704). In a word, it seems to have been the constant custom at this period to paint the inner roof or ceiling of cathedrals and conventual churches. . . . Dudo of St. Quintin tells us that Richard I., Duke of Normandy, who died A.D. 1002, painted the inside of a magnificent church, which he built at Rouen, with historical paintings.—RICHARD BROWN, *Sacred Architecture* (Fisher, Son, and Co., London, 1845).

² In England mural painting was warmly encouraged by the Court from the time of Henry III. (A.D. 1216-1272), and much used for the decoration of chapels, halls, and chambers. Many authentic records and some names of artists are still preserved, but the works themselves have for the most part disappeared, including the Painted Chamber in Westminster from the time of Henry III., as well as the most important work of the fourteenth century—the painting of St. Stephen's Chapel, executed under Edward III. between A.D. 1350-1358. The only idea we get of these is from accounts written before their destruction, A.D. 1834. Within a painted architectural framework were representations of angels, saints, scenes from the childhood of Christ, the stories of Job and of Tobias, and, lastly, the whole Royal Family. The design oscillated between the extremes of vehement action and mannered suavity. Among the painters recorded as having taken part in these works appear foreigners as well as Englishmen.—WOERMANN UND WORTMANN.

forced him seemingly to approve the pictorial decorations of the Italian Renaissance, and, too, this earlier Christian spirit might have led back to the Paganism he was trying to avoid. The wonder is how the same Biblical subjects can be less offensive when painted on the transparent glass of mullioned windows than when frescoed on a vaulted ceiling or a plain wall-surface! Was the divine brush of Michael Angelo any less inspired than that of some corrupt monk soon to be proscribed by the new English Church, or of some common artisan working from a copy? A medley of emaciated figures on stained glass could never have succeeded in stirring the feelings of the faithful, and instead of "teaching the uneducated mind" by the pictured saints or prophets, they could only have lightened the spirits of the worshippers by the contrast of a bright colour scheme with the solemn tone of elaborate masonry. Stained glass also necessarily alters the colours of any mural decorations of the interior. Gradually, as the prejudice against the human figure was overcome, the mosaic style of the glass was abandoned,¹ until now whole figures, and sometimes whole compositions, like easel-work, occupy large unlead windows.²

And yet the original idea of the revivers of Mediæval Gothic was to guard Christian art from this result. Some declared that pictures and images verged upon idolatry. Others affirmed that they strove only for

¹ The era of glass-painting was at an end. From the moment that it was attempted to transform an art of purely monumental decoration into an art of expression, its intention was perverted, and this led of necessity to its ruin.—LABARTE.

² The painted windows of St. George's Chapel, designed by Benjamin West, where all the conditions of stained glass are misunderstood or ignored, where an attempt was made to produce the effect of the highly elaborated light and shade of the oil pictures in fashion at the time, and where no thought was given to adapting the work to the exigencies of the surrounding architecture. . . . Again, the reason why the attempt to introduce the light and shade and relief of an oil-painting in stained glass is bad art is—not because stained glass was made of flat tints in the thirteenth century—but because, in the first place, a window which is meant to admit light, carries with it the idea of transparency, and therefore should not be encumbered with heavy shading; and, secondly, because however well the light and shade may be imitated, the presence of the lead-lines brings us back constantly to the idea of a flat surface, so that the kind of painting which best accords with this is the best for the purpose.—EDWARD J. POYNTER, R.A.

simplicity and purity of lines which do not distract the mind from spiritual contemplation of God, and, "above all things, they wish to banish all superfluities from their places of worship"; and yet they recommended Decorated Gothic for a Christian style. What a delusion! Hear what a well-informed admirer of Gothic says: "The vault, for instance, of a Gothic cathedral might just as easily spring from a bracket or a corbel as from a shaft, and in early experiments this was often tried; but the effect was unsatisfactory, and a vaulting shaft was carried down first to the capital of the pillar, and afterwards to the floor; by this means the eye was satisfied, the thin reed-like shafts being sufficient to explain that the vault rested on the solid ground, and an apparent propriety and stability were given to the whole. These shafts not being necessary constructively, the artist could make them of any size he thought most proper, and, consequently, instead of one he generally used three small shafts tied together at various intervals. Afterwards a group of more graceful mouldings was employed, which satisfied, not only the exigencies of ornamental construction, but became a real and essential decorative feature of the building. In like manner it was good architecture to use flying buttresses, even where they were not essential to stability. They explained externally that the building was vaulted, and that its thrusts were abutted and stability secured."¹

A more logical conception of ideal simplicity can be obtained from the interior of the new Westminster Cathedral in London, as it appears now (1906). It resembles some portions of the ruined Baths of Caracalla, as that tremendous building might appear if it were constructively restored without the architectural "mask" which modern connoisseurs so bitterly condemn. It would seem, however, that an impression of massiveness would have been better secured had large blocks of stone been used as in the interior of the Sacré Cœur at Montmartre, instead of such small units as brick. Of

¹ Fergusson.

course we know that Mr. Bentley's church has been planned on the lines of the most approved Byzantine models, and that the walls are to be faced with gorgeous mosaics ; but will this redeem the building from its constructive monotony ? Will the flat *archaic* decoration fill the emptiness of the mammoth nave roofed with shallow saucer-like domes ? Will it not be regretted that the architect did not plan "a network of pilasters and arcades, hooped with cornices one over another," and adorn it with a wealth of marble statuary, as at the Baths of Caracalla before it was plundered by the Huns ? The Byzantine style is dead, like the Gothic, the Assyrian, the Egyptian, and the Greek of ancient Hellas, and it is vain to attempt to revive it for modern use. It certainly could not be claimed historically as a universal style, for it always remained Oriental and more adapted to Mohammedan taste.

But are religious or national prejudices or Gothic traditions the real reasons for the lack of mural painting in Great Britain and in the United States ? It is said that the damp atmosphere of the North rapidly destroys "all but the most carefully protected pictures." If this were so the frescoes of Del Rosso at Fontainebleau would now be completely faded. Instead of that they are still in a perfect state of preservation, and only the work of the Vandals has disappeared, while much modern work in oil has deteriorated like that of Baron Gros on the cupola of Ste. Geneviève in Paris, which has already grown dingy and marred by the joints of the stonework becoming visible.¹ The climate at Vicoforte is cold and damp during six months of the year, and yet the frescoes in the Santuario retain their freshness and brilliancy. At all events the United States is far from being a damp country. We are unable to form a judgment from the wreck of William Morris Hunt's frescoes in the Capitol at Albany, ruined by reason of the faulty construction of the building, and there is no other example in the North of any artistic importance to refer to. It is therefore

¹ Crowningshield.

necessary to again revert to Continental Europe to find that *buon fresco* has been discarded¹ merely because of its technical difficulties.² Hence the necessity of substituting for it some easier and less exacting process according to local taste and personal dexterity. "The greater number of wall-painters in France at the present time use wax because they can retouch their work indefinitely and can use more brilliant colours."³ Flandrin used wax in his work in the apse of St. Vincent de Paul in Paris. In England Lord Leighton used spirit-fresco in his large wall-painting of "The Arts of War" in the South Kensington Museum, which "is much disfigured by the disagreeable gravelly surface of the stucco."⁴ Attempts were made in Germany by Cornelius and Kaulbach to introduce *buon fresco*, but even there encaustic and different kinds of silica-processes and pastel were finally preferred. The process now most in vogue, however, is that called *marouflage*, which is "to fix a canvas to the surface of the wall so as to interpose between the picture

¹ There are certain drawbacks to the employment of fresco which may be noted here. At a meeting of the Society of Arts on February 2, 1864, "when the subject under discussion was the best method of painting to employ in mural decoration, at which a paper was read by J. B. Atkinson highly extolling fresco, Lord Elcho, who was in the chair, quoting J. R. Herbert, R.A., said that if the plasterer on one day put more water into his plaster than he did on another, the colour would come out different though the same colours had been employed. In the fresco of Lear and Cordelia he had cut out the head of Lear six times, and that of Cordelia five times, and there was no part of that picture which had not been cut out four times. Mr. Dyce's and Mr. Herbert's plasterers both died mad—in Mr. Herbert's opinion, owing to constant worry." —HAMILTON JACKSON, *Mural Painting* (Sands and Co., 1904).

² Mais, à cause de son mode d'emploi, elle (la peinture à fresque) offre une grande difficulté d'exécution. L'enduit devant toujours être frais quand le peintre y appose les couleurs, si, pour un motif ou un autre, il se trouve obligé, durant le jour, d'interrompre son travail, ou s'il ne le termine dans la journée, la reprise en devient impossible le lendemain. Il faut jeter à bas la partie de l'enduit, peinte la veille, et la remplacer par une nouvelle couche. La fresque exige donc une couche vive et rapide, une main sûre et un parti parfaitement mûri d'avance. Pour ces motifs, bien que les couleurs qu'elle emploie, soient plus transparentes et plus lumineuses que celle de toute autre peinture, l'échelle de ses tons plus élevée, elle n'a jamais obtenu chez nous grand succès. De nos jours on lui préfère la peinture à l'huile, qui lorsqu'elle est bien faite et apposée sur des murs exempts de salpêtre, est presque aussi inaltérable. Il convient pourtant de n'y mêler aucun vernis; les couleurs restant mates, on évite ces reflets luisants, qui incommode et troublent tant la vue.—ABBÉ MALLET.

³ Ch. Blanc.

⁴ William Morris.

and the plaster an impervious stratum which serves as a protective against damp and chemical action, and reduces the risk of the painting peeling away from its base. Before this invention was perfected, decorations painted on canvas had frequently been stretched on frames and kept in position either by being nailed to the wall or by being set in a panelling."¹

Genuine fresco, then, like genuine dome construction, remains an Italian art,² and this leads to the conclusion that the so-called frescoes outside of Italy are not really frescoes but imitations. Why should this be so? All the great masters of the nineteenth century resorted to Italy to study the famous works of the Renaissance. Yet Baudry,³ Puvis de Chavannes, and others who were familiar with the Italian process showed great timidity in attempting it in their own country, and finally executed their work by means of less trying mediums.

"People who do not know much about painting are very apt to call any picture on a wall a fresco, but I suppose I need hardly tell you that oil or wax paintings

¹ A. Lys Baldry.

² The practice of painting in fresco has continued to the present time in Italy; it has been employed not only for the decoration of churches, public buildings, and private residences, but also for painting exteriors. The traditional habit of painting the exteriors of houses prevalent in Genoa and its neighbourhood for centuries, and less frequently in other parts of Italy, still continues, although in an incompetent manner and by painters of a much more ordinary class than formerly. For the execution of interior work excellent fresco-painters are readily found, and the Italians of the present day are in no respect inferior to their predecessors in practical skill, however little they may equal them in the high characteristics of art. Modern Italian masters paint in pure fresco with much force of colour, satisfactory execution, and excellent finish; they repudiate the old system of retouching with distemper colours, whilst apart from the practice of fresco they are probably the best painters in distemper in Europe. In this art they paint like the old masters with the vehicle, but as a separate art of mural painting, and never as an adjunct to fresco.—C. HEATH WILSON.

³ Baudry himself, the powerful decorator of the Grand Opera House in Paris, withal that he was familiar with the Italian methods, painted his wall decoration on canvas. Baudry was then thirty-five years old, in possession of his full powers, and yet he thought it necessary to go to Italy to interrogate the masters of the Renaissance anew. For a full year he worked ten hours daily in his Sistine Chapel. As soon as he knew Michael Angelo by heart, he betook himself to England to copy Raphael's cartoons, and then in 1870 for the third time to Italy, before he felt himself capable of covering the five hundred square metres of canvas.—MUTHER.

on walls are no more frescoes than is an oil sketch on paper a water-colour. In all methods of painting some medium is used to fix the colour. It is either oil, copal, wax, size, or silica, but in fresco no vehicle of any kind except water is used. . . . The reason that frescoes can be dusted and washed without effacing the colour, is that they were originally painted on wet mortar, and the lime of which the mortar is composed has the property of retaining and fixing the colour.”¹

Still, the artifice might be overlooked if the imitators could approximate the same results as are obtained in *buon fresco*; ² but when their best efforts are compared with it the lack of brilliancy cannot fail to be noticed immediately. What is even more distasteful to an intelligent observer is the obvious insincerity they imply by pretending to be an integral part of the wall when there is not the least doubt that they have been previously worked upon for a long time in the atmosphere of a closed studio, making them, as it were, so many *hors-*

¹ The great objection to oil for mural work is the impossibility of seeing the painting when it faces the light. An absorbent ground will to a certain extent mitigate this evil. The use of spirits of turpentine, benzine, and other essences will also contribute toward giving a flat surface; but do what you will, we can never get in an oil painting the pure, clear qualities of water-colour or fresco. The great *desideratum* in all mural and decorative oil-painting is that every part should have an equal amount of shine. . . . Take an ordinary oil picture and place it opposite the light. The lighter parts will be tolerably well seen, but the oily or gummy darks will reflect the light of the sky and spoil the effect completely.—EDWARD ARMITAGE, *Lectures on Painting* (Trübner and Co., 1883).

² The tones fit for poetic painting are, like its styles of design, generic and characteristic. The former is called negative, or composed of little more than *chiaroscuro*; the second admits, though not ambitiously, a greater variety and subdivision of tint. The first is the tone of Michelangelo, the second that of Raphael. The sovereign instrument of both is undoubtedly the simple, broad, pure, fresh, and limpid vehicle of fresco. Fresco which does not admit of that refined variety of tints that are the privilege of oil-painting, and, from the rapidity with which the earths, its chief materials, are absorbed, requires nearly immediate termination, is for those reasons the immediate minister and the aptest vehicle of a great design. Its element is purity and breadth of tint. In no other style of painting could the generic forms of Michelangelo have been divided, like night and day, into that breadth of light and shade which stamps their character. The silver purity of Correggio is the offspring of fresco; his oil-paintings are faint and tainted emanations of the freshness and “*limpidezza*” in his frescoes.—HENRY FUSELI, *Lectures on Painting by the Royal Academicians* (Henry G. Bohn, London, 1848).

d'œuvres on the wall to which they are foreign both in tone and design. Such works *always* lack monumental character, which is the first essential of genuine fresco. Their composition, too, often lacks poetic conception and balance ; in their conventionalism they either lack interest or are crowded with the results of facile technique intended to create a sensation ; in them there is only the juxtaposition of loud colours ; they have no meaning nor connection with their surroundings ; no perspective nor appropriate background ; or, going to the other extreme, they fall into the affectation of a purposely subdued colour-scale verging on monochrome. All of these are unpardonable faults in mural painting. But, detached from the wall, sometimes these poor mural paintings become good easel-pictures. This is so true that the public often remains indifferent before such sham frescoes, which, when hung within frames, they very likely would admire. The art critics, too, are never interested in studying or in defending fresco-painting, which, if well planned and well carried out, is for the public benefit.¹ Yet the remedy is within reach. If these imitators feel unable to paint *alla prima* on the wet plaster and prefer the less difficult work of the easel-picture, let them come forward with honesty like the great masters of the Venetian School employed in the decoration of the Doge's Palace at Venice ; let them study better the mystery of Veronese's art in harmonising his work with the surroundings.² This seems to be the substance of Muther's conclusion, who, speaking in reference to Cornelius's failure in fresco at Munich, thinks that monumental painting, as aimed at by him, "must remain an imported plant that

¹ Mural painting "is a civic art, of political importance, public ;—not hidden away in the cabinets of the rich, but where all may see it, and participate in the pride of ownership. In subject, too, it has to reckon with the public consciousness ; ideals of glory, honour, or of faith. It brings people and artists into sympathy, and creates unconsciously a common æsthetic atmosphere. It is a public education in taste. It affords no chance for the weakness of idiosyncrasy or of imitation."—ERNEST F. FENOLLOSA.

² Veronese's "Marriage of Cana" in the Louvre, and his "Feast in the House of Levi" in the Venice Academy, though not frescoes, were painted for a similar position, and much of their purpose is missed where they now hang among other pictures in a gallery.—WITT.

cannot possibly thrive in a northern climate," and advocates oil-painting as "the medium and basis of the art-culture of the Teutonic races." But, it should be added, on condition that their works always preserve the character of movable decorations ; on condition that they never try to deceive the spectator by means of the too easy process of *marouflage*.

CHAPTER XI

HISTORIANS of Italian art, so intent upon finding a link between the work of antiquity and that of the infant age of modern painting, when they reach what has been called the end of the Italian Renaissance, either dismiss the subject with a few words of scorn¹ for the period of its decadence, or, leaping the wide gap of two centuries, the seventeenth and the eighteenth, fix on a new era coincident with the advent of Napoleon I. as the beginning of late modern art. Burckhardt in his *Cicerone* is almost the sole exception to this ignoring of the art of two hundred years. Such an arbitrary method is apt to convey a false notion of the real state of the genius of the Italians of those times, whose manifold fertility then burst forth anew in the more emotional art of music. And, notwithstanding the curse of long-continued Spanish rule, this genius of the Italian people never so fully yielded the fruit of individual effort as, for example, in the field of universal science, where discoveries were made, like those of Volta and Galvani, without which much of the scientific achievement of the nineteenth century would have been impossible. The historian of civilisation has not yet fully studied the social phenomena of Italy during this most

¹ Since then, although new movements of an isolated kind were preparing, the rich and simple beauty which was rooted in the Middle Age had become a thing of the past. Mannerism and the classical Renaissance on one side, science and philosophy (Descartes was born in 1596), the Reformation, the English Revolution, industrial changes, and the spread of printed literature on the other, were rapidly making an end of the great artistic and architectural age of the modern world. . . . To condemn a revolution of this kind is like condemning the course of nature. After the flower, the fruit; no plant flowers for ever and all the year round.—BOSANQUET.

odious period of subjection, when the unquenchable spirit of art found vent in exuberant flights of Baroque, which were neither academic nor imitative, but, although exaggerated and in bad taste, were nevertheless true and genuine inventions, fully in harmony with an excited artistic feeling, and admired even now by the adherents of both modern classic and Gothic art—as contrasted with the present period of political independence and artistic depression. Is art, then, only possible during some social crisis, or under strong political stimulus? The truth is that Italy to-day has joined in the universal servitude to archæology, even in matters of painting, and her artistic talent, trained under such barren teaching, produces works which, when not plagiarisms of her own previous art, are timid or trivial imitations of foreign schools.

Therefore, this period between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries should be no less interesting than that which had preceded it. With it is associated the great name of Michael Angelo, whose powerful reaction against the cold regularity of classic traditions, and whose introduction for the first time of ideas of motion and picturesque design were the result of superior spirituality and perfect mastery of the anatomy of the human figure. It was the age of Domenichino, Albani, Guercino, Ribera, Salvator Rosa, Luca Giordano, Cortona, Canaletto, and Tiepolo, besides the Caracci and Guido Reni. It was the age of great facility of execution, extreme bravura, and marvellous technique which struck the imagination of Fortuny¹ with greater effect than had the work of the earlier masters. It was the imitation of the art of this age which made Delacroix's fame. The biographies of Lanzi have rescued many names from oblivion, but a more comprehensive history is still to be made by some unprejudiced writer, in which the name of Mattia Bortoloni should deservedly shine among those of the greatest fresco-painters

¹ Tiepolo has made many converts among modern painters. Fortuny, who was unmoved by the Sistine Chapel, greatly admired him.—FREDERIC CROWNINGSHIELD, *Mural Painting* (Ticknor and Co., Boston, 1887).

for his work in the cupola of the Madonna di Vico, the largest mural painting in the world.

From motives of economy, apparently, rather than from choice, the cupola of the Madonna di Vico was left constructively bare, *i.e.* without ribs, coffer-work, or other kind of projections, reliefs, or recesses to break the continuity of its smooth surface: a most fortunate circumstance during the intemperate age of *Baroque* and *Rococo*. Juvara, untrammelled by financial restrictions, freely indulged in all the extravagances of stucco-work, which left scarcely any free space for the painter. Even worse than this was the harm wrought by the imitation of architectural details in St. Paul's in London.¹ Now, the question may be asked whether any such constructive devices as those used by Juvara at Superga be necessary, or even useful, for the material or apparent support of a dome. It may also be asked, moreover, whether the pictorial decoration of a cupola should be the same as that of a flat ceiling. Professor Guadet of the *École des Beaux-Arts* in Paris says that a dome being self-supporting, all kinds of ribs and other similar schemes are absolutely superfluous, and the whole plain surface of the cupola can be legitimately devoted to pictorial purposes.² With regard to the kind of decoration, he

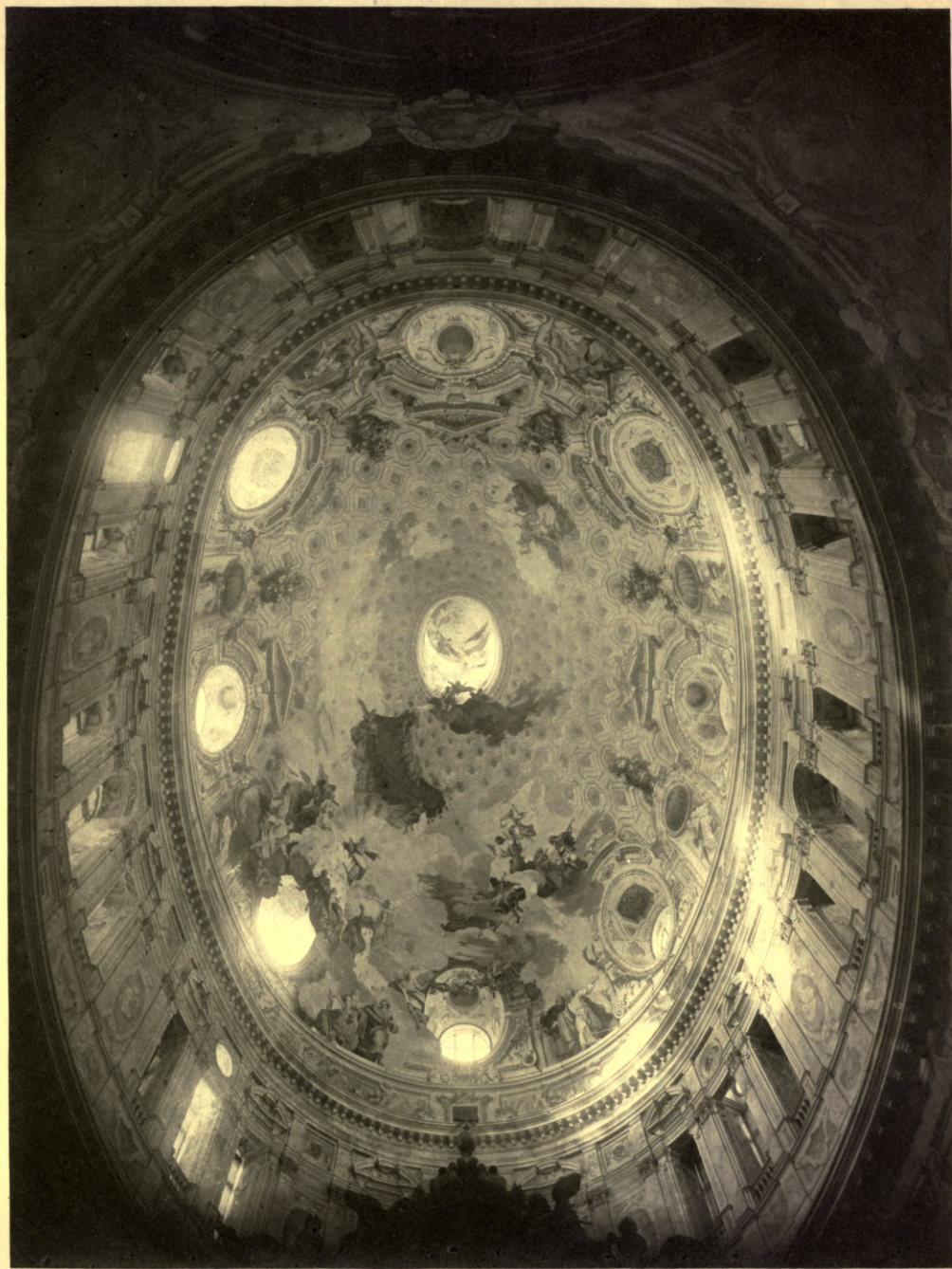
¹ The painting of the cupola had been taken out of Wren's hands; it was now made over, contrary to his wishes, to Sir James Thornhill. Thornhill in those days stood high in his art. His design was not without boldness of conception, vigour and facility in drawing and execution. But the whole, in my present judgment, was an egregious mistake. The cupola, instead of having been brought down by dark and heavy figures, ought to have been melted upwards into light. In truth, to paint a cupola nothing less was required than the free, delicate, accurate touch, the brilliant colour, the air and translucence of Correggio. Instead of lifting the sight and thought heavenwards, Thornhill's work, with its opaque and ponderous masses, oppresses and lies like a weight upon the eye and mind. . . . There is another irremediable fault: the architectural framework of Thornhill's figures does not harmonise with the architecture of the building; it crosses and clashes with the lines and curves of the original structure. . . . Mr. Penrose is of opinion that the seeming leaning forward of the thirty-two Corinthian pilasters in a manner painful to the sight, to which Mr. Fergusson so strongly objects, is caused by the comparison with Sir James Thornhill's architecture, which throws them forward.—DEAN MILMAN.

² The other point in which I think mistakes have often been made has been in dividing a dome for decoration into vertical sections, as Thornhill did in St. Paul's, and as was proposed to be done in the new scheme. This is contradict-

boldly declares that for the same reason it can very consistently be made to appear, as it were, projecting or hanging downwards without infringing on the laws of stability; while in the case of a flat ceiling everything should be the reverse. A flat ceiling, he affirms, is intrinsically weak by its own nature, so that all the resources of decoration should work for its apparent support, to relieve the mind from the painful impression caused by the superincumbent weight.

But if the scheme of decorating an ordinary cupola can be considered a comparatively easy matter, the peculiar conformation of the cupola of the Santuario does not lend itself readily to conventional treatment. Except Agrippa's Pantheon, no other domical structure can be compared to it for optical properties, from the peculiar fact that all other domes are embraced at one glance from the pavement below, while at the Santuario, as at the Pantheon in Rome, only a part of the cupola can be seen at one glance from below. Other domes, including St. Sophia's, appear as if merely a subordinate part of the building lifted bodily aloft, and not as the building itself; and, in fact, in some of them, as at St. Paul's in London, this illusion is so perfect that there is apparently no support, the dome looking almost aerostatic, having lost all connection with the ground. At Vico, however, the solid arcade and the elliptical drum have raised the dome to a considerable height, but the spherical form through this more developed organism is shown to spring from the ground, rising uninterruptedly from the pavement to the summit with the same impression of unbroken continuity as the Roman Pantheon. Moreover, the elongation increases the effect of the dependence of the dome on the ponderous support, and localises the sight at one end of the ellipse. On the other hand, even

ing the constructive character of a dome, which is a homogeneous hemispherical vault, not a collocation of vertical arches. The arrangement undoubtedly renders the task of the decorator much easier, by dividing up his work into more manageable sections; but it is destroying the essential grandeur of the domical form; any decoration which is applied to a dome should be on a scheme embracing the whole domical surface in one continuous design.—H. HEATHCOTE STATHAM.



Photographed by John Andrew & Son, Boston, U.S.A.

Born negative by

L. Melano Rossi

*Interno della Cupola
del Santuario di Vicoforte*

if the dome were circular with the diameter of the major axis, it would not be high enough to see it all at one glance. The great success of this dome interior, as in the Pantheon, lies principally in its property of surrounding the spectator, who not only is under it but also within it when once the vestibule is crossed. Indeed, he is actually enclosed by it on every side, hemmed in by the mighty arches and still mightier vault merged into one solid mass, the perspective of which is a combination of that of the Roman Rotunda and of St. Sophia.

It would seem from the peculiar conformation of its interior that the Pantheon of Vico could hardly permit the usual circular arrangement of the decorative scheme of Byzantine churches so generally used in modern domes. This scheme divides the dome into equal geometrical sections for the symmetrical distribution of figures, or as a variation divides the lower part into caissons and uses the upper part only for the figures. If such a plan were adopted for a dome like that at Vico, not being able to see all at one glance, we should not know which way to turn or where to begin. We should be obliged to move backwards and forwards from one point to another, to make sure that we had seen everything, and in doing this the perspective of the architectural decoration (if there were any) would generally be out of plumb, the whole scene would become distorted, and everything would appear topsy-turvy. The safest plan, then, would be to follow the natural perspective of the observer coming in from the main vestibule and turning a little to the right to leave the passage free. From this point he should be able "to hold" the main part of the composition at one glance without moving the eye (monocular view), as he can "hold" the greater part of the interior within the range of vision of our eye (an angle of little less than 90°); and as the extreme end of the ellipse is what he sees at first sight, and not the middle of the dome, the centre of interest should be there, diagonally opposite him and a little to the left. This is what

Bortoloni did, and at that focus is seen the key of the whole composition, a figure of Mary wafted upward through the air, made still more distinct by her own radiance and the contrast with the great mass of the overhanging crimson canopy. Around this focus a variety of groups and isolated figures are gathered in pleasing irregularity. The general action of the scene seems to point to the Virgin ascending to heaven upon a billowy mass of clouds, "The Assumption," as it is generally called, which is the subject of the whole composition. This happy idea of confining the pictorial interest to one part of the cupola with angel figures, allegorical groups, and floating clouds, in a lower key, dispersed throughout the rest of the wide space, enhances the general effect and better accentuates the graceful curves of the overpowering ellipse. The eye lingers in this airy dome to grow familiar with the animated fresco, and on looking down again, everything seems enveloped in a transparent mist, for the subdued tone of the mural decoration below successfully keeps it in subordination,¹ notwithstanding the abundance of light from twenty-four windows at the same level. We are thus brought back to the upper platform—to the side of the colossal apostles who come with hurried pace and gaze in attitudes of intense excitement, with arms outstretched or clasped hands, at a vision of angels ministering to Mary and her celestial train. The ease with which the immense composition is seen, the predominance of warm colours, tempered by light blues and all the intermediate shades of grey, together with the aerial perspective skilfully increased by the artifice of the diminishing caissons, which seemingly push

¹ This effect of light giving lightness to the upper part and solidity to the lower part of a large interior was noticed by Burckhardt in the church of San Lorenzo at Milan. "Dans ce projet (St-Pierre de Rome), c'est manifestement à S. Lorenzo que Bramante a emprunté la composition d'une coupole centrale avec les extrémités circulaires des bras de la croix, les pourtours, et les tours angulaires. Aussi bien, il y a peu de monuments aussi instructifs pour l'architecture. On voit ici combien il importe à l'impression d'ensemble d'une église que dès l'entrée, le regard, à travers la fantaisie des colonnes, aille droit au centre, et aussi par quelle richesse de contrastes, un pourtour clair agit sur un pourtour obscur, combien la lumière donne de légèreté à l'étage supérieur, combien l'ombre prête au bas de solidité et de force."

the vault yet higher than its actual extent, is a triumph of the architect's skill and the painter's art.

The painting of the cupola has a twofold object—to decorate the cupola itself by means of appropriate architectural details as if they were of its own solid substance, and to give the illusion of the passing of an angelic multitude. This is mainly obtained through the artifice of the aerial perspective by filling the dome with clouds and moving figures in *plein air*, so disposed as to avoid flatness and confusion. The background of the picture is the dome itself with its diminishing coffers, its architectural frames around the port-holes, its vases, garlands, and flowers. The passing scene is a poetic vision of a transcendent throng of celestial beings ascending to higher spheres—motion in contrast with stability. The artist, apparently, had watched this triumphal advance of the Virgin from the time when she first rose from her grave of lilies, and has chosen the moment when she is met by a heavenly host sent to welcome her to the abode of the Holy Trinity. A moment earlier this immense space was deserted and vacant; a moment later it will be vacant again, and all the life and melody will have passed away and left only the faint echoes of a vanishing choir. The Apostles, apparently, will remain to bear witness to the mystery they now behold. The illusion is, however, carried rather too far when detached figures upon clouds are represented as projecting out bodily into the empty space within the eye of the dome. It is a dangerous and theatrical expedient that cannot stand the test of the most indulgent criticism. It is, in fact, an instance of what has been called the picturesque or theatrical. The artist evidently wished to express the idea that the dome was still a part of the earth, not yet belonging to the heavenly regions, which he felt to be inexpressibly beyond his powers of portrayal. For this reason he continued the upward flight of the figures, as if to show that they would not pause there, but that the whole array would mount higher and higher until they disappeared from sight. To make this conception plain beyond discussion, he

introduced the Apostles as spectators only, as mortal beings still inhabiting this world with a great mission to fulfil before they could be made participants in the glories of the kingdom of heaven. Like Titian in his "Assumption" of the Frari at Venice,¹ they are placed nearer the eye to give an idea of actual life, while Mary exists only as a spirit. The massiveness and magnitude of the construction, then, fitly symbolises the earth which she leaves behind.

The history of Mary's life, or the mysteries, as they are called, are represented in eight large medallions on the spandrels of the arches of the arcade upon which the great dome rests. There are pictured the epochs in her life from the cradle to the grave. The prophets who foretold the coming of her Divine Son are represented as framed busts around the drum, while pictures of the Sibyls are painted under the haunches of the four principal arches. Thus Bortoloni acquitted himself in his treatment of this hackneyed subject, which, unfortunately, was not wholly executed by him. His success lies entirely in the cupola, where, although he betrays signs of hastiness and summary treatment in subordinate details, his drawing is always good, the nudes well modelled, and the action free, spontaneous, and full of life. His chief merit, however, consists in the design and the general tone of the whole composition,² which is like a blaze of golden glory illuminating the entire dome.

¹ An obvious peculiarity of the "Assunta" is the prominence given to the figures of the Apostles in the foreground, in spite of which the focal centre of the composition is successfully thrown back to a more distant point within the picture. It is common to observe in photographs that near objects, and particularly objects in close proximity to the camera, acquire a certain indistinctness which leads the spectator's eye into the space beyond, where it rests on objects more minutely defined. . . . It always occurred to Father Germano to remark that the Apostles were too large; Titian invariably replied that the large size of these pictures was a necessary feature in a picture intended for the decoration of a vast and imposing church. . . . The Apostles we observed are in shade. An awfully inspired unanimity directs their thoughts and eyes from the tomb round which they linger to the circle of clouds beautifully supported in its upward passage by the floating shapes of the angels.—CROWE AND CAVALCASELLE.

² La tonalité générale doit préoccuper vivement le peintre qui décore un édifice; ce n'est, il est vrai, qu'une partie de l'art, mais elle ne nuit pas aux

It is difficult to realise the true effect of this pictorial work on such an immense background from any picture or photograph. Is it due to the oval shape, or to the sense of magnitude obtained by the imposing arcade, or to the concentration of the pictorial interest in one part of the immense vault, or is it due to the scheme of treating the cupola independently of the picture which thus stands out more distinctly? No one can tell, but it is probably due to a combination of all these factors.

There is nothing in this fresco of the mannerism of Tiepolo "seeking the melodramatic in religious subjects, purposely upsetting columns, overthrowing pyramids, rending clouds, and scattering his figures in a way that gives to scenes the aspect of a volcano in eruption."¹ Perhaps the division of labour had something to do with this remarkable moderation on the part of Bortoloni, for Bibbiena had already painted the architectural background according to the usual physiognomy of a Roman dome, adding golden stars and rosettes in the recesses, so that when Bortoloni set to work he found his task almost half-completed, and felt no longer free to deal with scenic architecture. The possible extravagance of his own fancy was thus effectually curbed. Some prevalence of architectural detail is seen from the apse, where we can better appreciate the wisdom of Bortoloni in subordinating the decoration of the port-holes to the subject of the composition.

I have not seen any sketch made by the first painter, Pietro Antonio Pozzo, whose fresco was pitilessly erased,

autres. La composition, le dessin, la forme complètent l'œuvre et retiennent alors qui sait admirer ; mais tout cela attire sans fracas, sans secousse, avec calme, mais aussi avec certitude ; et, lorsque les yeux viennent à s'y reposer, ils le font avec d'autant plus de charme, que ce n'est pas une surprise passagère qui a provoqué le regard, mais bien une impression causée par une œuvre forte et harmonieuse qui, ne cherchant pas à s'imposer bruyamment, finit par s'imposer longtemps et sûrement. . . . Laissant de côté toute préoccupation de talent ou de génie et ne considérant la peinture que comme un des moyens de décorer un édifice, ce qui domine dans le résultat, c'est la couleur, c'est la *tache*. C'est la *tache* qui doit avant tout être harmonieuse et décorative ; c'est la *tache* qui dit dès l'abord si le peintre a été digne de sa mission. Dans la peinture décorative, hors la *tache* pas de salut.—CHARLES GARNIER.

¹ Taine.

so as to be able to say with any degree of certainty what was the real cause of his failure ; but Bortoloni's restraint gives me reason to believe that a salutary lesson was learned by the critics from the Academy of Turin, and that from Pozzo's work they realised how perilous an adjunct is stage architecture to pictorial composition when both are planned by one mind. This is well shown in the vaults of the side chapels in the Santuario itself, one by Taricco, and the other by the two Rechi.

All Bortoloni's groups or single figures are supported by clouds or upborne on wings, as if in a real sky, "the only object that can decorate a ceiling without shocking conventionalism." There is no necessity to resort to the *plafonning* of figures that Charles Blanc so deprecates. Correggio and Giulio Romano did not have the advantage of distance as in the Santuario, so as to be able to show their pictures in the horizontal perspective in which objects are seen in everyday life. To give a realistic idea under their conditions they had to draw figures "seen from below upward, . . . so that the forms under pretext of obeying rigorously the laws of perspective, undergo deviations the most monstrous, the most offensive to the sight."

The problem of the decoration of this dome had to be solved by the artists in an original manner. There was no classic example of a painted cupola on such a large scale, and Byzantine methods of decoration would have looked too antiquated, even if executed in glass mosaics. How utterly incongruous these methods are can be seen in St. Paul's in London, where they are used in the soffits of the exedrae by the side of Baroque sculpture and decorations of modern design on the eight spandrels above them. This anachronism will be still more glaring in the new St. Patrick's Cathedral at Westminster.

There is no danger in listening to the facile lyrics of dreamers who preach the restoration of all phases of mediæval art, as there is no danger in reading the wonderful novels of chivalry like *Amadis de Gaule* or *Don Quixote*, because although they please, we do not believe



A DETAIL OF TARICCO'S FRESCOS IN PRINCESS MARGUERITE'S CHAPEL.

in these stories told by an extravagant imagination. But there is danger in trying to readjust the practical present to the ideals of the past. Then common sense rebels and demands modern methods for modern works. To the eyes of a modern artist "the cupola is an imitation of the vault of heaven, and there is poetry in the idea of an open sky, a diaphanous dome that gives to the lifted eye of the believer a glimpse of paradise." Let us then follow this ideal of modern times even if it be executed in mosaics. Art lives in freedom : erudition and bigotry are to it slow poison and final death.

CHAPTER XII

THE subject of the joint work of Bortoloni, Bibbiena, and Biella was the Glorification of Mary in all the stages of the Bible story, from her nativity to her assumption and final coronation. "In the lower part of this pictorial *ensemble* are represented the Sibyls in eight medallions on the soffits of the haunches of the four arches spanning the three passageways and the apse. The prophetic virgins of the old legend represent the mystic doctrines of mythology. In their selection the artists must have followed Varro, the most learned of the ancient Romans, who made no mention in his writings of the Jewish Sibyl Rabbe. Under the arch of the principal entrance there is the Phrygian Sibyl on the one side, and the Hellespontine Sibyl on the other. Under the east arch the Samian and the Cumæan Sibyls; under the north arch over the apse the Lybian and the Persian, and under the west arch the Erythrean and the Delphian. The eight spandrels of the arcade are filled by eight huge oval frames which contain different scenes from Mary's life, in the following order, starting at the left of the main entrance:—1st, Her Nativity; 2nd, Her Consecration in the Temple; 3rd, Her Marriage; 4th, The Annunciation; 5th, The Visitation; 6th, The Birth of Christ; 7th, The Presentation in the Temple; and 8th, Her Death.

"After mythology and history come the Symbols of the Holy Scriptures illustrated on the faces of the keystones of the eight great arches, and following the same order as before:—*Aurora consurgens*, Cant. chapt. vi.;

2nd, *Oliva fructifera in Domo Dei*, Psalm li.; 3rd, *Lectulus noster floridus*, Cant. chapt. i.; 4th, *Majestas Domini implevit domum*, Parab. Book ii., chapt. vii.; 5th, *Vox turturis audita est in terra nostra*, Cant. chapt. ii.; 6th, *Fructus honoris et honestatis*, Eccl. chapt. xxiv.; 7th, *Odoratus est domus odorem suavitatis*, Gen.; and 8th, *Amore languet*, Cant. chapt. ii. These Symbols of the Old Testament have been adopted from Christian poetry to express the greatness, sanctity, and glory of Mary. Over each of the arches, on either side of the keystones, are painted sixteen colossal angels of extraordinary artistic beauty which serve as ornamentation between the great oval frames on the spandrels and the keystones. The inspired prophets, Zachariah, David, Hezekiah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Hosea, and Malachi, who foretold the coming of Mary, are seen in the same order as the Symbols in another row of medallions painted in relief on the empty spaces of the wall around the drum.

“And now, leaving legend, history, and mythology, we reach the Christian era and its allegories, beginning at the impost of the great vault. Here are the Apostles upon an attic arranged around the ellipse. Starting again at the left of the main entrance, we see, first, Philip and James the Minor together, then alone Matthew, then Simon; then a group of three at the left of the apse, Peter and Paul, before whom Mathias is kneeling; then at the right of the apse are John and Thomas together, followed singly by Bartholomew and James the Elder in pilgrim garb; and, lastly, Andrew and Thaddeus together. Resting upon the pediments of the port-holes over the side vestibules are the Doctors of the Church, Saint Augustin and Saint Bernard on the left, Saint Gregory and Saint Ambrose on the right. And now the sky envelops with its clouds the joyful cortège of angels in varied groups, acclaiming Mary, who—shining by her own effulgence, with ermine outspread at her feet, beneath a great canopy of ermine and purple¹ upheld by angelic figures of paradise—ascends amidst clouds of

¹ Crimson.

burning incense to the abode of the Trinity. Far off in the dome, on the opposite side, standing out against the serene blue of the sky, is an allegorical group of Justice, Fortitude, and Charity. The highest figure of the three, a beautiful woman, crowned and wrapped in a rich mantle, is Justice. She holds the scales in her right hand, and in her left the sword. Lower down, at the left of Justice, is Fortitude, represented as a younger woman in a cuirass, with a helmet of gold on her head. Her right hand rests on the broken shaft of a column, and her left firmly grasps a long spear projecting obliquely into space. Truth, in shadow, at the right of Justice, is seen in profile looking into the depths of a mirror held in her hand. Temperance, the fourth cardinal virtue, is at some distance from this group, on the left of the main entrance, holding a golden pitcher, from which she pours water into a golden cup.

“Numerous angels, variously grouped in mid-air, are busy upholding the drapery or the canopy, or swinging censers—all intent upon serving Mary, who is surrounded by an immense aureole. She wears a flowing robe of red, partly covered by a blue mantle loosely thrown around her waist, with one end floating out on the breeze. This luminous centre, vividly coloured and drawn with masterly skill, is made still more conspicuous by contrast with the angels in deep shadow below, and by the dark mass of the canopy above, again overtopped by heavy clouds. A little to the right, resting on flying clouds, is another group of angels, boldly designed, forming a celestial choir. In the foreground, with back turned, a splendid angel with extended wings holds outspread an open book of music. This figure is in deep shadow. Upon the music are fixed the eyes of another angel clothed in blue and strongly lighted, who is playing on a violoncello. Still another angel, poised a little higher in the air, draws a bow across the strings of a violin, and two others on the right play, one the flute and the other the lute: wonderful figures these, whose grace and natural movements are depicted with rare skill.

Towards the eye of the dome there is still another group of angels floating upon a cloud in shadow. Part of this cloud and the figures are projected out into the open space of the lantern with great scenic effect. This dark mass again contrasts magnificently with still another luminous group in the vault of the lantern, where the pictorial composition ends with a representation of the Trinity, the Holy Ghost as a dove being uppermost and in strongest light. . . .

"As the scene is pictured within an enclosed space strongly illuminated from the lantern above, the artist followed the natural direction of this light, throwing it upon all sides except in the groups nearest to the Virgin, who has herself been made a radiating focus reflecting light upon all her surroundings. This double lighting required more than ordinary skill in the management of the chiaroscuro so as not to lose transparency in the shadows. The half-tones are often made purposely dull, the better to bring out the effect of the juxtaposition of the richer colours."¹

I cannot refrain from deploring the theatrical effect of much of the interior decoration, always excepting the cupola, which has many technical merits, besides the successful design, which entitle it to the honour of perpetuity as a "national monument," as such works are called in Italy which have been recognised as of great artistic or historic value. The pictorial work of the lower part of the building up to the impost of the dome is artistically inappropriate to the construction. It shows the same kind of manual dexterity possessed by "Luca fa Presto," though far from being as good and imaginative as his work. As has already been said, sculpture would probably have been welcomed, but the Administration might well shrink back before its greater cost, and permit painting to invade every available corner in imitation of both sculpture and architecture. The whole scheme might be extremely decorative in some great secular building, and there are many beautiful devices of

¹ Chiecchio.

splendid general effect, but wholly out of place in a Christian church intended to elevate the mind of the pilgrim, and not to amuse it with jugglery. The poorly designed and perfunctory work around the drum, with its shapeless cameos and its heavy and meaningless *rocaille*, would hardly be tolerated in a commonplace church.

Before the painters took possession of the flat surfaces, the whole interior probably looked as Viollet-le-Duc would have had St. Peter's look, and in truth nothing would have been so extraordinarily beautiful as to have had all the wall-surfaces covered with mosaics, as at St. Mark's or as in the Tomb of Galla Placidia. Probably this idea of mosaic decoration never entered the minds of those in authority, and in any case it would have been even more expensive than sculpture, which was discarded for the sake of economy. But I sincerely believe that, as the architectural features of great size, colossal masses, and immensity of volume should be the real salient points of the whole structure, the more uniform, more restricted designs and richer tone of mosaic would have been far superior to either fresco or stucco-work, which, if well executed, distracts the mind to the disadvantage of the architecture. This is the great defect of the Jesuit churches, beautiful and valuable taken in detail, but over-elaborated and confused in the *ensemble*. The golden background of the Byzantines and its flat conventional ornamentation would better give the grandiose *galbe* and massiveness to this extraordinary succession of Roman arches in the interior of the temple. They would also be without the illusive effect of the mosaics at St. Peter's, which deceive the eye with a perspective that pierces the wall, and consequently detracts from the sense of solidity. I have mentioned this subject of mosaic decoration because it is not too late to think about it. The hasty work of the painters in the lower part could be easily effaced without artistic loss or the least injury to the walls. Beginning at the vestibule of the main entrance, which was restored after Bordino's improvements, and which is the most offensive as it first strikes the eye on entering,

all this meretricious ornamentation could be replaced with mosaics. The great fresco of the dome might be left as an aerial vision, the fitting culmination of a gorgeous and brilliant scheme of decoration.

In spite of the faulty and theatrical details of much of the pictorial work, one great charm of this church is the soft and harmonious tone of the whole interior. The prevailing tint is like old ivory, with faint suggestions of pale pink and blue. One accustomed only to the dim light of Gothic churches might indeed think it almost too bright, delicate, and beautiful for a place of worship. But a less prejudiced observer looking reverently up to its heavenly vault might with truth exclaim: "If there be a temple fit for a *loving* God, to love and not to dread, this certainly must be it, because we breathe in it the joy of the infinite."



Photogravure by John Andrew & Sons, Boston, U.S.A.

From negative by

L. Melano Rossi

Pila dell'acqua benedetta.

SCULPTURAL

CHAPTER XIII

THE early and rapid spread of Christianity was at the expense of Greek genius. Jewish monotheism through the mild reforms of Jesus had overthrown Paganism and thereby put an end to the art of sculpture. The half Pagan Constantine came too late to his new capital of the Roman Empire to encourage further art-production, for he found there nothing but intellectual inanition and "barren formalism." The Greeks, it would seem, more spiritual than the Romans, were more readily attracted by the magnetic personality of St. Paul, who, on his part, appreciating their quick understanding, was able to appeal more directly to their feelings and thunder against the spectacle of surrounding statuary which he dared to call the most degrading form of worship. They straightway grasped the far-reaching truths of the Gospel, and so exalted was their conception of it that they could perceive no possible compromise with the stern mandates of the triumphant Church. They saw an awful chasm open before them dividing them from eternal salvation, and in their consternation lost all self-command. Like the Protestants of the Reformation, they rushed into the wildest iconoclastic excesses, and, not only abandoned art and mental cultivation for ever, but, through a course of ascetic mortifications, succeeded in barbarising themselves and the East more thoroughly and irreparably than did the barbarians themselves in the West.¹ So, when called

¹ At last, however, the fountain of genius became dry. Not only creative power, but even the very perception and love of the beautiful, seemed to have died out, and for many centuries the Greek Church, the Greek Empire, and

upon to rear Christian temples in Byzantium, they either had lost all remembrance of classic forms, or, looking upon them with horror, preferred to draw new ideas from Rome. In fact, Christianity had reversed the trend of civilisation. Hitherto all light had come from the East ; henceforth it was destined to come from the West. Hitherto the Etruscans, bowing to the superior refinement of the Greeks, had borrowed from them their animated and exquisite forms of physical beauty ; now the Christian Greeks, or Byzantines, borrowed from the Etruscans the massiveness of construction and the sombre sepulchral tone of their vast interiors.¹ It was the last flicker of that brilliant artistic fire which had illumined the ancient world, and was now to be quenched for all time by the noxious vapours of Oriental immutability.

We cannot but wonder at such blind faith in the Gospel, and such reckless self-sacrifice that would have been heroic had it only been wise. As it was, it must be deplored as an intellectual weakness, at least viewed from the standpoint of Christian theology of to-day, which welcomes the fine arts as useful auxiliaries in Christian worship. Thus the most enlightened among Christian advocates, Dean Milman, asks : "Is pure and spiritual Christianity—the highest Christianity to which the

the Greek artists proved the most formidable obstacles to æsthetic development. It was from this quarter that the Iconoclasts issued forth to wage their fierce warfare against Christian sculpture. It was in the Greek Church that was most fostered the tradition of the deformity of Christ, which was as fatal to religious art as it was offensive to religious feeling. It was in Greece, too, that there arose that essentially vicious and unprogressive style of painting which was universal in Europe for many centuries, which trammelled even the powerful genius of Cimabue, and it was reserved for Giotto and Masaccio to overthrow. This was the uniform tendency of modern Greece. It was the extreme opposite of that which had once been dominant.—W. E. H. LECKY.

¹ It is in St. Sophia that we have the first and most signal illustration of the transformation of Roman construction by the genius of the later Greeks. There, for the first time, at any rate on a large scale, we have the thrust of the dome recognised and strongly dealt with by an elaborate system of counter-thrust worked out within the building itself, and not, as in Gothic architecture, somewhat artlessly met by the props and stays of external buttresses. This was the highest point of attainment ever reached by the Byzantine architects. Other types of dome construction were employed by them, and in all their buildings they devised a very beautiful method of ornament ; but St. Sophia remains their last word.—REGINALD BLOMFIELD.

human mind can attain—implacably and irreconcilably hostile to the fine arts? Is that influence of the majestic and the beautiful awakened through the senses by form, colour, and expression to be altogether abandoned? Can the exaltation, the purification of the human soul by Art in no way be allied with true Christian devotion? Is that aid to the realisation of the historic truths of our religion, by representations, vivid, speaking, almost living, to be utterly proscribed? Is that idealism which grows out of and nourishes reverential feelings, to rest solely on the contemplation of pure spirit, within any intermediate human, yet superhumanised form? Because the ignorant or fraudulent monk has ascribed miraculous power to his Madonna or the image of his patron saint, and the populace have knelt before it in awe which it is impossible to distinguish from adoration, is Christianity to cast off as alien to its highest development the divine creations of Raffaele or of Correggio? Are we inexorably to demand the same sublime spiritualism from the more or less imaginative races or classes of mankind? This great question lies indeed at the bottom of the antagonism between those two descriptions of believers; to a certain extent, between the religion of Southern and of Northern Europe, between that of the inhabitants of towns and villages and rude mountaineers; finally, between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. But since in the progress of civilisation the fine arts will no doubt obtain, if not greater influence, more general admiration, religion must either break entirely all association with these dangerous friends, and the fine arts abandon the most fertile and noble field for their development; or their mutual relations must be amicably adjusted. A finer sense of their inherent harmony must arise, the blended feelings which they excite must poise themselves far above the vulgar superstition of idolatry, while they retain the force and intensity of devotional reverence. The causes which may be expected to work this sacred reconciliation may be the growing intelligence of mankind, greater familiarity with the written Scriptures, and paradoxical as it may

sound, but as may hereafter appear, greater perfection in the arts themselves, or a finer apprehension of that perfection in ancient as in modern art.”¹

The more self-contained, slower nations of the West only yielded by degrees to Christianity without ever entirely forsaking their Roman customs, and even those who chose to follow with greater enthusiasm the new Christian teachings, and made themselves instrumental in promulgating its tenets, still retained the same old love for images. Statues continued to decorate public places, and later, when these came to be considered an offence against the established religion, were still tolerated on the condition that they be submitted to Christian baptism. In this way many ancient statues were preserved, among the most noted those of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitol and St. Peter's in the great basilica of the same name. “The manufactory of likenesses of saints gave occupation to countless artists and monks, and the churches which boasted the possession of these miraculous effigies drew considerable revenues from the fact. Pictures were more numerous than statues, the art of sculpture, partly on account of the horror with which statues had been regarded by the early Christians, partly from other causes, having made less progress than painting. If, in the

¹ If, at the present day, we can unhesitatingly take part with the Byzantine Iconoclasts in their endeavours to purify religion from the Pagan influences with which it was imbued, a consideration of the æsthetic requirements of mankind must lead us to moderate our judgment of their opponents. As among the ancients, so among Christian nations, art was the product of religious and public worship. However repulsive its tendency, and however defective the forms in which it appeared in centuries so barbarous, it was yet of the highest value in the civilisation of mankind. It raised men from the rough materialism of faith into the sphere of the ideal; placed before them the realm of the beautiful in which all that was gloomy was transfigured and idealised by symbols, and during the dark night of superstition remained the sole surviving influence to cheer impoverished humanity with a ray of light. The struggle of the Papacy with the Byzantine Emperors saved it in the West; and Italy, which retained the polytheism of images, was able, tardily yet triumphantly, to justify herself in the genius of Giotto, Lionardo, and Raffaele. At the time of the Iconoclastic struggle many artists from the East made their way to Rome, where a hospitable reception invariably awaited them, and these men probably contributed to spread the stiff, dogmatic style of Byzantine painting throughout Italy, and, by the establishment of a traditional type, checked the free development of Western art.—FERD. GREGOROVIVS.

beginning of the eighth century, figures carved in wood were not yet carried in procession in Rome, numbers of gold, silver, and bronze statues of the Saviour, the Virgin, and the Apostles existed in the churches. As early as the fifth century the celebrated statue of St. Peter had been placed in the atrium of his basilica; and the Apostle henceforward had offered his foot to the kisses of the faithful, even as in former times the renowned bronze Hercules in the temple at Agrigentum had presented his face to be saluted by his devoted worshippers.”¹

This apparent perverseness of the Western multitudes actually saved the plastic arts from total extinction. First with innocent symbols and then with naturalistic representations, sometimes of the rudest kind, but always progressive, the invigorating spirit of Roman classicism was transmitted to the eleventh century, while the Byzantines, their artistic faculties benumbed, although still imbued with a lingering predilection for images, after the second Council of Nicæa were only able to produce “crude and lifeless forms,” as little calculated for prospective improvement as the hieratic decorations of the Pharaohs. The love for images was innate in the Southern races, and Leo the Isaurian’s celebrated edict against them served only to divide the Christian world and more firmly establish the Roman Church without making any permanent gain for Puritanism in Byzantium. “The populace rose in fanatical revolt, and the innumerable company of priests were forced to recognise that their power rested mainly on the material apparatus of the faith.”² This revival of image-worship among the degenerate Greeks evinces clearly what an immense waste of human energy Christian bigotry has caused, and what an infinite loss art has suffered. If Greek genius had been less harassed by fanaticism, the Roman Church would have preserved its unity undisturbed, and by this time the whole earth would be glorified with Greek statuary, as perfect as that of Pericles’s time, expressing moral beauty and Christian ideals.

¹ Gregorovius.

² *Ibid.*

But it had been ordained otherwise. Teutonic Christianity, afterwards so subservient to the rigorous rules of Calvinism that it destroyed its own work of centuries, was first to blossom into a heathen or Gothic Renaissance of sculpture that was not wholly conceived in the spirit of the Mosaic Law, nor according to the teaching of St. Paul. The "stonemasons" of the Middle Ages toiled under the commands of the mother church, which desired to make great display of luxury and to exorcise the diabolical powers let loose when the worship of the god Wodin was abandoned. "In every corner and under every arch you will detect some symbol of the powers of darkness—dragons or devil's heads—or if there are representations of human faces, they are contorted, as if in torment. Do not imagine that these architectural figures (in architecture they are commonly called gargoyls) are placed where they are merely by chance. No, they symbolise the lost condition of all men outside the church, cut off from the light of faith which burns on the altar inside."¹ As to the æsthetic worth of these fiendish shapes very little is said. On the front of the churches "plastic art was forcibly pressed into the service of architecture. The life of the figures in consequence became petrified, they became integral parts of the architecture,² and rested, as passive and expressionless, against the columns as the priestly figures rest against the pillars in Egyptian temples. Still, typical and column-like, unnaturally tall, with drapery arranged in precise parallel folds, which in its deeply-cut lines calls to mind the fluting of the column-shafts, the feet side by side and pointed downwards, they remind us of primitive sculptures on tombstones. Thus they stand there, not as crowned princes, but as a band of subject servants, all with the same bent heads, the same narrow shoulders, the same

¹ C. F. Keary.

² However great may be my admiration for these designs considered as a whole, I have never been able to reconcile myself to small figures tilting forward in the arches, so that they would fall on the heads of the entering worshippers, if not artificially secured in their places by unseen supports.—EDWARD M. BARRY.

prescribed position of the arms, not venturing to move, because any freedom of action would bring them into conflict with their neighbours and with the architecture.”¹

Then when fears of Northern heathenism had abated and the “freethinkers” were allowed more liberty in their “romantic art,” a less scrupulous and more realistic treatment was employed with occasional humorous hits which struck the fancy of Goethe, Victor Hugo, and even John Ruskin, no one of whom seemingly felt the incongruity of associating these gross travesties with the sacred themes of the Bible.² In these later works “the popular drapery hardly permits the religious skeleton to be suspected. One cannot even form an idea of the liberties which the architects then take even toward the Church. There are capitals knitted of nuns and monks, shamelessly coupled, as in the *Salle des Cheminées* in the *Palais de Justice* in Paris. There is Noah’s adventure carved to the last detail, as under the great portal of Bourges. There is a bacchanalian monk, with ass’s ears and glass in hand, laughing in the face of a whole community, as on the lavatory of the Abbey of Bocheville. There exists at that epoch, for thought written in stone, a privilege exactly comparable to our present liberty of the press. It is liberty of architecture. This liberty goes very far. Sometimes a portal, a façade, an entire church, presents a symbolical sense, absolutely foreign to worship, or even hostile to the Church. In the thirteenth century Guillaume de Paris, and Nicholas Flamel in the fifteenth, wrote seditious pages. Saint Jacques de la Boucherie was a whole church of the opposition. . . . In this manner, under the pretext of building churches to God,”³ . . . plastic art was broadly telling to every passer-by, man, woman, or child, modest or libertine, the

¹ Dr. Lübke.

² A Rouen un cochon joue du violon, à Chartres un âne tient une sorte de harpe ; à Essone, un évêque tient une marotte. Ailleurs, ce sont les images des vices et des péchés sculptées dans la liberté d’un pieux cynisme. Le courageux artiste n’a pas reculé devant l’inceste de Loth, ni les infamies de Sodome ! Dans l’église de l’Épine, petit village près Châlons, il se trouve des sculptures très remarquables, mais aussi très obscènes.—MICHELET.

³ Victor Hugo.

same stories as Boccaccio and Rabelais, but with infinitely less grace, and with the deliberate intention of corrupting the public. The freethinkers of Victor Hugo are now become objects of hero-worship and fetishism, while the witty and elegant writers are accused of immorality ! In the great capital of Western Christendom, where satire was always the favourite weapon against an incorrigible hierarchy, a more expeditious way was discovered to carry on the warfare in the famous *pasquinades*, without permanently defacing churches under the name of Christian art.¹

Closer scrutiny cannot fail to reveal that Victor Hugo was not concerned with the heavenward-pointing spires of Gothic architecture, but with its scandalous bits of sculpture, the *sublime des âmes communes* of Stendhal.² But for these he would never have noticed the mediæval cathedrals which remained constructively foreign to his poetic mind. He was fortunate, however, in his familiar parallel between architecture and the printing-press, and

¹ All the world have heard of these statues (Pasquin and Marforio) ; they have served as vehicles for the keenest satire in a land of the most uncontrolled despotism. *The statue of Pasquin* (from whence the word *pasquinade*) and that of *Marforio* are placed in Rome in two different quarters. *Marforio's* is an ancient statue that lies at its whole length : either *Panarium Jovum* or the river *Rhine*. That of *Pasquin* is a marble statue, greatly mutilated, which stands at the corner of the palace of the Ursinos, supposed to be the figure of a gladiator. Whatever they may have been is now of little consequence ; to one or the other of these statues, during the concealment of the night, are affixed those satires or lampoons which the authors wish should be dispersed about Rome without any danger to themselves. When *Marforio* is attacked, *Pasquin* comes to his succour ; and when *Pasquin* is the sufferer, he finds *Marforio* a constant defender. Thus, by a thrust and a parry, the most serious matters are disclosed ; and the most illustrious personages are attacked by their enemies and defended by their friends. . . . Of Alexander VI. we have an apology for his conduct.—

Venit Alexander Claves, altaria, Christum,
Emerat ille prius, vendere jure potest.

“Alexander *sells* the keys, the altars, and Christ ;
As he bought them first, he had a right to *sell them* !”

Many of these satirical touches depend on puns. Urban VII., one of the *Barberini* family, pillaged the pantheon of brass to make cannon, on which occasion Pasquin was made to say :—*Quod non fecerunt Barbari Romae, fecit Barberini.*—ISAAC DISRAELI.

² Indecency has always been extruded from the temple of art, and relegated to slums and dubious places in its precincts. . . . It appeals to the gross natural man, upon whose sense of humour the creator of grotesque imagery wishes to work, and with whom he is in cordial sympathy.—JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS.

quite correct in asserting that "this will kill that." He displayed also great ingenuity in proving (*incredibile dictum* !) that Gothic architecture died at the time of the Reformation. Nevertheless, he had not discovered that Teutonic Christianity had left the *grove* of Northern heathenism and no longer believed in demons. Out of the Gothic ruins rose the science of archæology, "the Book," which killed architecture more completely than even he had anticipated, and which now teaches how to read those stone pages so shamelessly conspicuous upon the façades of venerable cathedrals.

French, German, and English Renaissance had each yielded its best fruit. It was now the turn of the Italians, who had apparently lagged behind. But this was in appearance only. The process of their rehabilitation had been going on for centuries, and it was to be made manifest to all the world as soon as some great event should set them free from the trammels of Gothic ideas. Then they, like the church in Michelet's parable of the Renaissance, would stand "up simply, as a strong man in the morning rises from his bed without the need of staff or crutch."¹ The Italians, in fact, had thrown off their sackcloth and ashes to live henceforth for personal freedom and temporal enjoyment, producing or admiring works of beauty for their own sake, as all civilised people do at the present day. "From the thirteenth century Italian art pursued its own way, and in its aims, results, and destiny is distinct from the art of the Northern lands. It is true Northern influence may constantly be perceived, especially in the fourteenth century ; even the Gothic current it was not able totally to resist. But it stemmed it, and skilfully adapted it to its own use."² Even this remarkable fact shows how separate and isolated was the art of Italy. The Alps in this respect proved themselves a wall of partition. The Middle Ages of Italy is

¹ Symonds.

² Les statues ne restaient plus entassées dans les niches des églises, étouffées sous les lourdes et raides broderies des saints ; le sculpteur travaillait à l'air libre, traitait les sujets, étudiait le nu, surtout étudiait l'antique, dont chaque jour on découvrait les chefs-d'œuvre. . . . Il n'y avait que barbarie en France.—DURUY.

in every respect distinct from the mediæval period of the North. . . . The splendour of the material (white marble) excluded the general use of colour and allowed only moderate gilding. Everything aimed accordingly at the purest perfection of form. Thus the limits of sculpture and painting were early marked, and did not, as in the North, merge the one into the other ; and just from this definite separation resulted that greater distinctness which was impressed on the development of both. . . . Until 1450, sculpture stands in Italy at the head of the art movement."¹

When sculpture is not confined to the realistic reproduction of the human figure, as in portraits, it should never express ugliness ; and when its mission is to serve religious ideals, in the opinion of Lessing, the modern sculptor, "depraved in his tastes, must revert to ancient Greece to find human nature immaculate."² This at first sight seems a return to academic conventionalities, but in reality it is only an awakening to the dignity of humanity by example. It is the process of selection which distinguishes the work of art from the photograph. This sense of discrimination in Niccoló Pisano gave him the reputation of founder of Christian art, which soon discovered, however, a better means of expression in painting. "Least of all the arts, could sculpture, with its essential repose of corporeal conditions, solve the problem. Sculpture had suited the requirements of Greek thought. It belonged by right to men who not unwillingly accepted the life of this world as final, and who worshipped in their deities the incarnate personality of man made perfect. But it could not express the cycle of Christian ideas."³ The brush was then a much better tool than the chisel with which to express that liberty of thought to which Victor Hugo alluded. But the Italian painters, who were no less independent than the "architects" of Gothic cathedrals, when they exceeded their limits only indulged in poetic picturesqueness, and during the best period of their Pagan revival they set

¹ Dr. Lübke.² H. Parker.³ Symonds.

forth in their great frescoes beautiful conceptions of sacred poetry "for commemoration and ornament," by means of "a language which the Greeks had never greatly needed, and had therefore never fully learned. . . . Motives more varied, gradations of sentiment more delicate, the fugitive and transient phases of emotion, the inner depths of consciousness had somehow to be seized. It was here that painting asserted the supremacy. . . . Painting in the work of Raphael accomplished a more vital harmony than philosophy in the writings of Pico and Ficino. A new Catholicity, a cosmopolitan orthodoxy of the beautiful, was manifested in his pictures. It lay outside his power, or that of any other artist, to do more than to extract from both revelations the elements of plastic beauty they contained, and to show how freely he could use them for a common purpose."¹ "If we weigh all this we shall not be surprised to find that in modern art, sculpture attained to no higher importance and to no more thorough efficiency. As surely as among the Greeks sculpture was the leading art,² and painting held a secondary position, so of necessity in modern times the relation must be reversed."³

The world has become so accustomed to long rows of lifeless saints, Biblical processions in archaic perspective, and quaint compositions of carved grotesques, that Gothic buildings can no longer be imagined apart from them. Gothic architecture cannot be considered complete without Gothic sculpture. They are, as it were, two essential

¹ Symonds.

² How was it that, while sculpture was the characteristic fine art of antiquity, painting became the distinguishing fine art of the modern era? No true form of figurative art intervened between Greek sculpture and Italian painting. The latter took up the work of investing thought with sensible shape from the dead hands of the former. Nor had the tradition that connected art with religion been interrupted, although a new cycle of religious ideas had been substituted for the old ones. Not only is painting the art in which the Italians among all nations of the modern world stand unapproachably alone, but it is also the one that best enables to grasp their genius at the time when they impressed their culture on the rest of Europe. In the history of the Italian intellect painting takes the same rank as that of sculpture in the Greek.—J. A. SYMONDS.

³ Dr. Lübke.

components of one body. And yet, as Statham says : "If we were to put the question to an assembly of travelled and cultivated persons, who had seen the principal architectural monuments of the world, what building they would select as having given them the greatest impression of pure poetic beauty, it is probable that a majority would vote for the Taj Mahal at Agra, a structure of an almost dream-like beauty, in speaking of which the dullest writer of travel grows eloquent, and which is absolutely destitute of sculpture and painting, and was the work of architects who were forbidden by their creed to make use of either art in any imitation of the forms of nature, and were therefore restricted to the use of abstract geometrical ornament." The lack of sculpture in the Taj Mahal is, however, compensated for by the precious material employed, itself a decoration ; by the additional enrichments of coloured arabesques and Cufic inscriptions, by the setting of luxuriant gardens, and the beauty of the whole still further enhanced by a perfectly clear atmosphere. Architectural forms alone would be far from pleasing either in the Taj Mahal or in a Gothic cathedral : both demand the aid of decoration. A Gothic pile reduced to its simple constituent elements of bare walls, steep slanting roofs and spires, without the expedient of window-tracery, trefoils, and pinnacles, would certainly be a depressing sight. And even then it would lack interest were it not for its world of sculptured demons and saints. The stone carving, then, in a mediæval church is not a mere optional auxiliary, it is a vital necessity, however much in conflict with the Mosaic Law. But, as both luxury and idolatry, or image worship, or image reproduction, ought to be excluded from all truly Christian conceptions,¹ neither the Taj Mahal nor

¹ Saint Bernard dans une de ses lettres condamne avec véhémence "la hauteur immense des églises, leur longueur extraordinaire, l'inutile ampleur de leur nef, la richesse des matériaux polis, les peintures qui attirent le regard." Après avoir signalé le luxe des pièces d'orfèvrerie il ajoute : "O vanité des vanités ! mais encore plus insensée que vaine. L'église brille dans ses murailles, elle est nue dans ses pauvres. Elle couvre d'or ses pierres et laisse ses fils sans vêtements." Il s'irritait surtout contre ces animaux étranges, partout sculptés



Photogravure by John Andrew P. Son, Boston, U.S.A.

From negative by

L. Melano Rossi

*Dettaglio del Baldacchino
Statua della Carità*

any mediæval cathedral could serve as a model for a Christian church. As regards Gothic interiors the very resemblance to a "grove" suggests at once the heathenism of Northern Europe and human sacrifices around "sacred trees." A Christian church should be beautiful by its own nature and almost unadorned externally.¹ All Gothic sculptures ought to be barred from it as completely as from a Mohammedan mosque.² True dignity and beauty of architectural form, capable of expressing great ideals without the help of either sculpture or painting³ except for mere architectural details inherent in itself, can only be found in the ancient Roman buildings. The Italian Renaissance, equally great in the three arts, had the acumen to preserve the happiest equilibrium in the works of Bramante. The immense resources of pillar, column,

sur les frises et les chapiteaux car "telle est la variété de ces formes fantastiques qu'on a plus de plaisir à lire sur le marbre que dans son livre, et qu'on aime mieux passer le temps à les admirer tour à tour qu'à méditer sur la loi de Dieu." Aussi toute décoration trop riche était exclue des sévères églises cisterciennes. Mais les rigoristes ne formaient qu'une minorité, et Suger exprimait mieux l'opinion générale : "Que chacun pense sur ce point ce que bon lui semble. Quant à moi, j'avoue me complaire dans cette opinion que plus les choses ont de prix, plus il y a obligation de les consacrer au service du Seigneur."—BAYET.

¹ On the very threshold of the matter I am bound to affirm my conviction that the spiritual purists of all ages—the Jews, the iconoclasts of Byzantium, Savonarola, and our Puritan ancestors—were justified in their mistrust of plastic art. The spirit of Christianity and the spirit of figurative art are opposed, not because such art is immoral, but because it cannot free itself from sensuous associations. It is always bringing us back to the dear life of earth, from which the faith would sever us. It is always reminding us of the body which piety bids us to forget. Painters and sculptors glorify that which saints and ascetics have mortified. Nor is this all : religious motives may be misused for what is worse than merely sensuous suggestiveness.—J. A. SYMONDS.

² The prohibition of idols was extended to every representation of man and animals, no matter how completely unconnected they might be with religion. Mahomet perceived very clearly that in order to prevent his disciples from worshipping images, it was absolutely necessary to prevent them from making any ; and he did this by commands which were at once so stringent and so precise, that it was scarcely possible to evade them. In this way he preserved his religion from idolatry ; but he made it the deadly enemy of art. How much art has lost by the antagonism it is impossible to say.—W. E. H. LECKY, *Rationalism in Europe* (D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1866).

³ Architecture is an art with its own limits and ideals, not dependent on sculpture and painting as the mediævalist has made it, but complete within itself and capable of realising its full effect by simple qualities of line, mass, and proportion.—REGINALD BLOMFIELD.

round arch, and dome are the true and legitimate means by which Christian ideals can be expressed in spiritual purity with no distracting memories. This is universally admitted by broad-minded architects,¹ and is supported by sound common sense and public taste.²

¹ With all its defects it is not likely that the neo-Roman architecture so profoundly studied by the Italians, and so anxiously refined by their chief masters, will ever wholly cease to be employed. In all cases where a grand and massive edifice, no less suited to purposes of practical utility than imposing by its splendour, is required, this style of building will be found the best. Changes of taste and fashion, local circumstances, and the personal proclivities of modern architects may determine the choice of one type rather than another among the numerous examples furnished by Italian masters. But it is not possible that either Greek or Gothic should permanently take the place assigned to neo-Roman architecture in the public buildings of European capitals.—J. A. SYMONDS.

² The Gothic style has been tried in modern times ; and it manifests this very evident weakness, that its picturesque character, its vivacity, its variety, the very upward-striving character of its lines, are features contrary altogether to those which modern requirements suggest, and which, perhaps on that account, modern taste demands. No community is content with Gothic buildings for its residences and its State houses, and the attempts to make the Gothic style do duty in such ways are often too monstrous for careful consideration. I who use these words was a Gothic revivalist once, but, as has been said more than once, I have seen the folly of it.—RUSSELL STURGIS.

CHAPTER XIV

THE monumental character given to the Pantheon of Charles Emanuel I., and the material employed in the substructure, limited the works of sculpture to the purely architectural decoration belonging to the style adopted for both the exterior and the interior. The row of statues originally planned to surround the dome outside at its impost was suppressed by Gallo, and the niches left by him in the bulging counterforts intended to shelter similar statuary are still empty. The group of the "Virgin among the Angels," sketched by Spalla by order of the Administration to fill the large fronton of the main façade, has never been executed owing to lack of funds. This was surely a fortunate circumstance, as the conventional group and arbitrary frame enclosing it had no analogy to the pictorial group of the Pilone inside, nor did it convey a suggestion of any kind relative to the origin of the building either as regards its religious or its political interest, and would have merely degraded the great temple to a commonplace Roman Catholic church. At all events, if the fronton must be filled by plastic art, in contradiction to the Christian canon that excludes the human (or any animal) figure, let it be of such ideal and symbolic nature that it appeals only to the intellectual faculties of the mind.

After the simple and harmonious exterior, the decorative extravagance of the interior surprises and repels by its deceptive artificiality. The architectural mouldings of entablatures, frames, and arches are mostly painted and carried out on such a scale that it is really

astonishing. At the first glance it is difficult to tell where graphic sham ends and solid moulding begins. The colossal picture-frames standing out in strong relief between the arches of the great arcade are painted in powerful *chiaroscuro*; the gigantic angels spring forth in mighty flight partly extended on pieces of wood jutting out from the wall, and overlapping and concealing the painted architecture beneath. The same device can be seen on a smaller scale at Sant' Ambrogio in Genoa. These vagaries betray an acute state of anarchy in which sculpture is completely overwhelmed. A plain treatment in bold relief would have been more impressive, and would also have been a restraint upon the painter's exuberant fancy. But, after all, no irreparable damage has been done, and these theatrical errors could be easily obliterated, leaving the plain wall-surface free once more for rational decoration.

An undisputed field for sculptural display was found in the central Baldacchino and in the four side chapels. In the first there was an opportunity to symbolise all the joyousness of life, while in the second its counterpart of sorrow and death could be depicted.¹ The whole Baldacchino is a plastic apotheosis of the sacred Palladium which it contains: a hymn in marble, bronze, and silver to the Madonna and Child crowned with gold and jewels, before which the superstitious pilgrim still kneels in reverence. The genius of Bartolomeo Solaro is shown here at its best, the rich architectural background increasing the effect of the Carrara marble statuary. He was a Tuscan living at Genoa, and preserved his Italian ideals although he was influenced by the French school

¹ To sculpture in the Renaissance, shorn of the divine right to create gods and heroes, was left the narrow field of decoration, portraiture, and sepulchral monuments. In the last of these departments it found the noblest scope for its activity; for beyond the grave, according to Christian belief, the account of the striving, hoping, and resisting soul is settled. The corpse upon the bier may bear the stamp of spiritual character impressed on it in life; but the spirit . . . is the proper subject for the highest Christian sculpture. Here, if anywhere, the right emotion could be adequately expressed in stone, and the moulded form may be made the symbol of repose, expectant of restored activity. The greatest sculptor of the modern age was essentially a poet of Death.—
JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS.

of Puget. His masterpiece is a large allegorical figure of "Charity." It has the elaborate polish of his contemporaries of the eighteenth century, but it is conceived in a grand style and executed with a technique that borders on modernity. It represents a young woman clad in a loose flowing robe, who, filled with divine pity for suffering humanity, stands looking tenderly at her burning heart, which she holds in her outstretched right hand. With her left she unconsciously gathers up the folds of her robe and drooping mantle. Her lovely face is animated by motherly love, but it is an idealised motherhood, more priestess and minister of a merciful God. It is treated with artistic affection and breadth without meaningless details, keeping ever in mind the intense feeling concentrated in her noble features.

Another statue, "Hope," symmetrically placed within the intercolumniation on the opposite side of the Baldacchino, is artistically successful in so far as it fully conveys its allegorical meaning, but it lacks the individuality of "Charity"; the arrangement of the drapery is more conventional and the pose somewhat affected. The four angels, also of Carrara marble, supporting the huge crown, by the same artist, are graceful figures, and, placed high as they are, answer well their decorative purpose.

The bronze and silver gilt case by Boucheron and Ladatte, said to be after a drawing by Gallo, is without doubt the greatest work of its kind in existence. It is so elaborate that it defies description. Its front shows some constructive decoration in the most extravagant Rococo style. The large volutes of the reversed consoles, the cherub heads in groups and singly, the cupids, and the palm-leaves are a welcome change from the tawdry altar embellishments of the ordinary Roman Catholic church. The whole is, to be sure, a sort of orgy of religious decoration, but here is in perfectly good taste and in keeping with the fanaticism that called for the excessive enrichment of a fetish: that being the only name that can be justly applied to it, since the symbolised greatness

of Mary is artistically expressed in the cupola and around the immense rotunda. The sides of the shrine facing the two marble statues are equally elaborate, although of different design. A *cartouche* on the left holds a bas-relief of the Annunciation, and another *cartouche* on the right shows the Marriage of Mary in bas-relief also. This wonderful work of the silversmith, and the four large silver lamps hanging at the corners of the Baldacchino, ought to be credited to French art, for they are not Italian work nor in Gallo's style.

Two beautiful marble fonts upheld by child angels with cherub heads above, are on either side of the entrance from the main vestibule. They serve the purpose of decoration and scale in the space leading to the dome. The same cannot be said of Bishop Ghilardi's memorial on the right-hand wall of the vestibule. It is so inartistic and so evidently an intrusion that one may well wonder why it was ever allowed there.

Two Gaggini, brothers or cousins, residents of Genoa, undertook the statuary in the chapel of Princess Marguerite. Her kneeling figure in Carrara marble is the portrait of a nobly beautiful woman clothed in richest robes of State as vice-Queen of Portugal. About her are her armorial bearings of the House of Savoy and those of her husband of Mantua and Montferrat. The monks, despite the fact that this chapel was built solely as a memorial to the daughter of the great Duke, and that she herself defrayed the entire cost of it, called it after St. Benedict, and placed in the four corners, statues of San Mauro, San Placido, Santa Cunegonda, and Santa Geltrude, belonging to his order.

In the chapel of Charles Emanuel I. is the mausoleum by the Collini brothers,¹ erected to him by Victor Amadeus III. It has a family resemblance to other

¹ I due fratelli Collini, Ignazio e Secondo, onorano l' arte della scultura quanto la materna città. Ignazio inalzò i monumenti della Reale Basilica di Superga, e scolpì per Nocera la colossale figura di Sant' Agabo. I due fratelli, uniti, scolpirono nel Santuario di Vico il monumento sepolcrale di Carlo Emanuele I (1782). Due genii in alto sollevano una cortina, una Pallade stende la mano alla Sapienza simboleggianti ambedue le virtù dell' estinto principe.—C. J. CAVALLUCCI.



Photoprinted by John Andrew & Son, Boston, U.S.A.

From negative by

L. Melano Rossi

*Principessa Margherita di Savoia
Duchessa di Mantova e Monferrato*

mausoleums by the same sculptors at Superga. There is nothing in this rather formal composition to bring to mind the valiant warrior "the Alexander of that Philip," as Cæsar Balbo called him, who humbled the mighty pride of Spain, who was invited to become the head of the German Empire and planned an Eastern one. A standing Pallas, dignified but cold, and a recumbent figure of Wisdom are hardly suggestive of the central figure of the stirring events of the half-century when the fate of Italy was most at stake. Bernini would have translated Tassoni's poetry into marble. The *petit louvetot*, *le Cerbère*, *le portier des Alpes*, as he is called in Duruy's *History of France*, still lacks a fitting memorial. The sculptor ought to have seized upon his most characteristic trait as a man of action, and shown him at some decisive moment, on horseback in the midst of battle, as his father was portrayed by Marocchetti, and not as a pedant away from his customary pursuits. His Pantheon, successful as a great temple, was a political failure, for which the hostility of the monks and the French sympathies of the people should be blamed. His most cherished plans were disregarded, and his dearest wishes are still unfulfilled.

CONCLUSION

ONCE again another great monument of Italian art has been brought to light. In it are illustrated two different periods of modern local history—a Piedmontese Renaissance, born with the rise of the monarchy of Savoy after its second foundation by Emanuel Philibert, and its inevitable decadence when military success had reached its climax under Charles Emanuel III. This artistic Renaissance was principally of alien growth. With almost the single exception of Francesco Gallo, all the architects, painters, sculptors, silversmiths, and designers engaged on the Santuario of the Madonna di Vico and other public works in Piedmont were from other states of the Peninsula. Indeed Piedmont was essentially a military state; and it was not misnamed when it was called “the Sword of Italy,” and its people “the Macedonians of Italy.” There never was a native Piedmontese school. This side efflorescence of art during the Spanish occupation of the country is, however, proof of an amount of personal energy and inventive power which, even while repressed by the weight of political slavery, was still capable of developing new ideas for modern architecture.

In describing this most remarkable work of the Piedmontese Renaissance at Vicoforte it has been impossible to avoid becoming involved in some of the artistic problems of the present day which are based on archæological fallacies¹ and on the false idea that art and

¹ Nous ne voulons pas être enveloppés et enserrés par une époque. Nous aimons l'archéologie, mais nous la voulons pour auxiliaire et non pour maître ;

worship have been the exclusive prerogatives of any one particular nation. The imaginative works of the Middle Ages are splendid phenomena of Christianity wherein Northern heathenism has preserved the memory of the sacred grove; the no less fascinating works of the Byzantines and of the Italian Renaissance are the outgrowth of the same Christianity wherein Roman influence has prevailed. This accounts for the unending antagonism of architectural taste between North and South. When the tide of civilisation swept away all barriers, and the nations of the world in their social development tended towards universal amalgamation, science became cosmopolitan, but art was still hemmed in by the restraint of nationality, and remained as one of the contending forces of two distinct races. For some time Gothic buildings were generally suffered "for the sake of the feelings they excited";¹ but although the greatest talent was directed into that channel the result was complete failure.² It is to Italy that both Europe and America have finally turned;³ to Florence, where democracy had been crushed by aristocracy; to Venice, the Mistress of the Seas,

nous voulons apprendre, mais nous voulons créer; et pourtant c'est nous, c'est l'art militant qu'on accuse de manquer d'initiative, tandis que les partisans d'une architecture morte passent pour des novateurs! Et cependant si nous étudions le grec, si nous étudions les monuments de l'antiquité, nous ne les copions pas; nous y cherchons des préceptes et des exemples, mais nous cherchons aussi en nous un sentiment et une volonté; nous regardons, mais nous créons. Que font alors ceux qu'on nous oppose? Au lieu de prendre le principe et l'essence des édifices, ils les imitent; ils voient, mais ils reproduisent; ils ne cherchent pas, ils immobilisent! De quel côté est la vie et le mouvement? qui faut-il encourager, le penseur ou le copiste?—Oh! je sais bien que ceux-ci se retranchent derrière un grand mot: celui d'architecture nationale. Mais qu'est-ce donc que votre architecture nationale? pourquoi plutôt celle-là qu'une autre? pourquoi plutôt le moyen âge que la renaissance? Est-ce que votre littérature nationale est celle de Froissard, celle de Montaigne ou celle de Voltaire? Est-ce que votre souverain national est Charlemagne, saint Louis ou Napoléon? Toutes nos productions font l'histoire de la France, comme tous nos grands hommes en font la gloire. Je revendique tous les génies de mon pays, et je n'exalte pas un aux dépens des autres.—CHARLES GARNIER.

¹ Martineau.

² They have proved once more the vanity of an art dictated by sentiment and fashion, but their positive contribution to architectural thought is practically nil. Indeed, it is a sobering reflection, to those who believe in continuous progress, that the Gothic revival, which insisted on the sincerity and honesty of its building, rapidly became one of the most insincere movements that have ever happened in the history of architecture.—REGINALD BLOMFIELD.

³ Rouaix.

governed by the Ten ; and to Rome, where Raphael's Stanze, the Sistine Chapel, and St. Peter's had been paid for with the price of indulgences.¹ The art that now graces the modern world was gained by the sacrifice of the noblest gifts of religion, freedom, and morality. Art is essentially aristocratic, and never thrives in the lowlands of democracy. Where society has become "an ant-hill, and life in multiplicity is beginning, . . . the useful will take the place of the beautiful, industry of art, political economy of religion, and arithmetic of poetry."² The nation and not the individual, then, gives its character to architecture. The Italian dome was chosen to express union, power, and magnitude. It was naturalised by all ambitious nations. Gothic bigotry may use the name of the Borgias wherewith to curse classicism, but Rome is above the Borgias. Indeed, the Borgias themselves were from Spain, where Christian Gothic was favoured, and where Loyola conceived the idea of his new order. However, the Teutonic nations have been constantly and zealously studying the works of the Italian Renaissance,³ and it may be that by more

¹ The Roman, when he walked amid the Logge of the Vatican, ennobled by the wonder-working pencil of Raffaele, when he stood beneath the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, canopied over with M. Angelo's sibyls and prophets, when he gazed on the rising pile of St. Peter's, could not but think of the sums of money wrung from his suffering countrymen to feed the vanity of a proud and luxurious pontiff. If he were a sincere churchman he bethought him of the sale of indulgences, and the other means to which the successor of St. Peter stooped to replenish his over-drained coffers. Even the noblest works of art that ever adorned public edifice or house of worship he would think ill purchased by the best energies, ay, the very life-blood of a people, or by the sacrifice of pure religion. . . . We cannot afford to barter liberty for luxury, comfort for costly show, a state of solvency and independence for a state of national debt and bondage. Therefore we will not advocate the restoration of all the magnificent churches and religious edifices which were ruined at the Reformation because we do not wish for a revival of the same ascendancy which it cost England so much blood and treasure to rid herself from.—GEORGE BUTLER.

² Amiel.

³ Les monuments qui, de 1500 à 1520, devaient s'élever à Rome sous la direction de Bramante et de Raphaël, sont d'une grandeur et d'une perfection dont il serait difficile de se faire une idée. Le critique, capable de reconnaître dans les monuments de la Grèce et du moyen âge l'organisme qui leur est propre, avouera que l'idéal poursuivi par ces maîtres, par un Fra Giocondo, et par un Léonard de Vinci, est tout aussi légitime. Les Grecs auraient été les premiers à modifier leurs formes pour les adapter à des problèmes nouveaux.

faithful adherence to Bramante's methods of construction they will finally abandon their last distinctive characteristic¹—their dependence upon "framework."²

"On a great scale the dome appears to me to be, in spite of the difficulty of reconciling its internal and external treatment, the grandest architectural feature invented by man, and to have capabilities of higher treatment and finer effect than have ever yet been realised with it, externally at least. The Renaissance architects have had too much their own way with it, and have ignored its possible poetry of effect, and treated it in a too conventional and scholastic manner ; but if an architect of genius had a chance, he might do more with the dome than was achieved either in St. Peter's or in St. Paul's."³ That a further advance was made in this direction by both Vitozzi and Gallo has been demonstrated, it is to be hoped. They solved, perhaps, also the important problems brought forward by Elmes, who believed their solution would deserve the thanks of the whole world. He best of all saw the possibility of learning from past errors how

Quant aux architectes auxquels incombe la construction des monuments de notre temps, ils feront bien de ne pas abandonner la voie ouverte par Bramante en 1505 dans ses plans de Saint Pierre. Qu'ils recherchent et étudient à fond les projets de cette époque, on ne saurait assez le leur conseiller. Ils ne tarderont pas à s'apercevoir qu'il n'y a peut-être pas, aujourd'hui encore, de style moins connu que la Renaissance italienne au temps de sa plus belle floraison.—BURCKHARDT.

¹ An attempt at introducing a true masonry style was made about 1878 and during the following years. . . . The innovators were never able to escape from the American tendency to rely upon woodwork ; the exterior might be of stone or of stone-faced brickwork, but once past the door-sill, the carpenter was the only workman employed on the structure of the building, although elaborate chimney-pieces were set up here and there.—RUSSELL STURGIS.

² Viollet-le Duc has shown that this architecture consists primarily in a peculiar structural system,—a system which was a gradual evolution out of the arched Roman through the Romanesque,—and that its distinctive characteristic is that the whole scheme of the building is determined by, and its whole strength is made to reside in, a finely organised and frankly confessed framework rather than in walls. This framework, made up of piers, arches, and buttresses, is freed from every unnecessary encumbrance of wall, and is rendered as light in all its parts as is compatible with strength, the stability of the fabric depending not upon inert massiveness (except in the outermost abutments), but upon a logical adjustment of the active parts whose opposing forces neutralise each other and produce a perfect equilibrium.—CHARLES HERBERT MOORE.

³ Statham.

to avoid present deformities, and how to secure future improvements.¹

Art must keep pace with scientific progress and express the great ideals of humanity. But it must also be in full accord with human nature, because it is closely connected with human happiness. The true mission of art is to afford pleasure even in the lowest forms among savages. "Art is one of the natural forms which are assumed by joy ; what we call the arts are merely different ways of being happy."² Anciently, and to a certain extent during mediæval times, art bore a fruit which differed according to the different states of society in which it was nurtured. Native genius, surrounded by jealous neighbours, had a natural impulse to create individual forms or national styles, as in the mediæval cities of Italy. But the case is quite different in the twentieth century, when, with the unlimited facilities for universal intercourse and rapid transmission of thought, the whole world has become one great country. Native peculiarities still survive, but in the main lines the nations are the same. With the general exchange of commodities came the general exchange of artistic ideas.

If the present social life is totally different from that of the Middle Ages, so is the Christianity. "It is the historical task of Christianity to assume with every succeeding age a fresh metamorphosis, and to be for ever spiritualising more and more her understanding of the Christ and salvation."³ But Christianity has lost its first great idea of mutual love, because it has lost its unity. The Gothic cathedral itself is not a monument of Christian piety or of freethought, but "an imperishable and majestic monument of hierarchical wealth."⁴ The end of the Middle Ages marks a return to classic

¹ The Greeks and Romans were both admirable in this department of architecture. There are no false bearings in any of their stupendous edifices. In them we see no masonry depending on carpentry for its support ; no enormous cumbrous piers bowing down the arched lintel of a subjacent aperture ; no cupolas or arches vaulted over a threatened space, no tottering pinnacles, strutted up by flying-buttresses or temporary shores, disgrace their scientific and well-digested works.—J. ELMES.

² Seeley.

³ Amiel.

⁴ Milman.

life ; and this apparent step backward was real progress because the mystic fog of superstition was dispelled.

“ William Morris used to say that architecture must start again at the beginning.”¹ It is easier to recognise ourselves in the life of the old Roman world than in the Christian austerity of the Middle Ages. “ The ancient Pagan city, the modern Christian city, have their temples ; but by the side of the religious edifice rise here as well as there the profane constructions where the multitude circulates. Pleasure calls people to the stadia, to the circuses, to the amphitheatres, to the theatres. The palæstras and the gymnasiums are dedicated to physical energy. Lawyers and business people used to frequent the basilicas, as they do now court-houses and stock exchanges. People used to discuss at the forum or at the agora. Philosophers used to walk back and forward under the porticoes. People used to gaze as they now do at pictures in the pœciles and in the museums or picture galleries. Statues used to rise, as they now rise everywhere, on the public squares, at cross-roads, on the house-fronts, for the admiration or respect of man or god. The Middle Ages have only one monument, and in this monument are concentrated and collected all the others : it is the church.”² Again, even in the more strictly religious practices of Christianity the spirit of mediæval asceticism has certainly been rejected for ever, and the world has returned to the primitive half-pagan *naïveté* of the Christianity of the Catacombs, with hearts and souls full of hope and contentment.³ “ In the Catacombs there

¹ A remark of far-reaching sagacity, in singular contrast with his own practice in ornament ; but “ beginning again ” does not mean intentional eccentricity and the repudiation of knowledge, or such cheap experiments in originality as disfigured the lectures of Viollet-le-Duc.—REGINALD BLOMFIELD.

² Rouaix.

³ L'impression première (des Catacombes de Saint Calliste) est toute de sérénité. Jamais le séjour de la mort ne présenta un aspect moins lugubre, moins effrayant. Sur les murs, on ne lit que des paroles d'espoir, des vœux de quiétude, des promesses de lumière, de fraîcheur, de repos. Et les images peintes ne représentent que des scènes paisibles, des emblèmes d'affranchissement, des symboles de résurrection. Par instant même, on hésite à se croire au milieu de sépultures chrétiennes, tant l'art qui s'y manifeste a conservé le caractère païen. Les formules ornementales du style gréco-latin s'y reconnaissent à

is not a single scene of martyrdom, but a multitude of subjects relative to the resurrection. Martyrs and Last Judgments, with representations of the torments of hell, abound during the Middle Ages. Thenceforth throughout the Renaissance and down to the present day it is sweetness, and we might say sentimentality, that dominates."¹ Gothic architecture was born, lived, and died in the Middle Ages. "It had even passed its gorgeous epoch, called in France the Flamboyant; it was degenerating into luxury and wantonness; it had begun to adorn for the sake of adornment."² Besides its constructive absurdities, the mediæval cathedral was a conglomeration of capricious forms without scale. The same design was used for a piece of furniture as for a cathedral façade. The reliquary is a little church, the same as the Sainte Chapelle is a large reliquary.³ The only human scale for a Gothic cathedral consisted in its utilitarian appliances, such as steps, staircases, pulpits, and altars. Necessarily always of the same size, they were made to fit any building of whatsoever height, 500 feet or 50, according to the case.

Yet let no one be deceived by false appearances. If we seem to be looking backward, we have really higher aspirations than the Christians of the Middle Ages.⁴

chaque pas; les types classiques se retrouvent partout. . . . Et l'on y chercherait en vain le crucifix. . . . Le crucifix n'apparaît dans les églises qu'au VIII^e siècle. Mais, jusqu'au XI^e, c'est Jésus triomphant et non pas Jésus agonisant, qui est toujours figuré sur la croix. L'artiste évite avec soin tout ce qui pourrait évoquer l'idée de souffrance et d'infamie. C'est l'apothéose qu'il représente et non pas le supplice. L'image du Christ sanglant, émacié, cadavérique, ne prévaut que vers le milieu du XII^e siècle.—MAURICE PALÉOLOGUE.

¹ Didron.

² Milman.

³ Rouaix.

⁴ Nothing but the scientific method can in the long-run enable us to reach that further point, outside both Christianity and Paganism, at which the classical idea of a temperate and joyous natural life shall be restored to the conscience educated by the Gospel. This, perchance, is the religion, still unborn or undeveloped, whereof Joachim of Flora dimly prophesied when he said that the kingdom of the Father was past, the kingdom of the Son was passing, and the kingdom of the Spirit was to be. The essence of it is contained in the whole growth to usward of the human mind; and though a creed so highly intellectualised as that will be, can never receive adequate expression from the figurative arts, still the painting of the sixteenth century forms for it, as it were, a not unworthy vestibule. It does so, because it first succeeded in humanising the religion of the Middle Ages, in proclaiming the true value of antique Paganism for the modern mind, and in making both subserve the purposes of free and unimpeded art.—SYMONDS.

The restoration of antiquity to its rights as a permanent power of civilisation, after mankind had completed its education by the Church, is the strongest testimony to the indestructibility of all true culture, and also to the limits of the human mind ; for the mass of ideas with which it works is as strangely simple in numbers and substance as the mass of forces in nature. It is only by the combination of such forces that the new is created.¹ Our eyes are no longer raised wistfully to the intersecting ribs of a groined vault seeking for an idea of "the infinite." To-day our minds have acquired a much clearer idea of the infinitely great as well as of the infinitely small. The present conception of God is much more akin to light than to darkness. The dying wish of one of the greatest poets was for "More Light" (*Mehr Licht!*). "*Deva*" came to mean "God" because it originally meant "bright," and we cannot doubt that something beyond the meaning of brightness had attached itself to the word *deva* before the ancestors of the Indians and Italians broke up from their common home.² Christian temples, therefore, should be light and not dark, and all their surroundings should be in keeping.

In the world of art "there is always the initial vagueness and blundering. . . . Evolution is the name given to the process by which the formative tendency takes effect."³ But, owing to the peculiar circumstances of this purely democratic and manufacturing age, the evolution in architecture has unfortunately abandoned the world of reality to branch off into a world of intellectual speculation and barren discussion. Architecture may not return to its natural channel and resume its concrete form until science shall have been banished from the field of art. Even the ghost of architecture has been driven away, principally by the abuse of iron and steel, and by the theories of archæology which have brought us back again, *nolens volens*, to the primitive platband of Egyptian architecture ; while spherical domes and tunnel-roofs have been definitely passed over to the carpenter's craft.

¹ Gregorovius.² Max Müller.³ Miss Bessington.

The Etruscan arch and vault are the foundation for all styles and for all architecture of the future, for the very reason that these great elements of prehistoric Italy, identified with the names of Etruria and ancient Rome, never reached their perfection and never exhausted their endless possibilities in the same sense as did the platband of the Greeks, which, on the other hand, is extremely limited in its architectural resources. The future course of universal architecture is then to be looked for in the further development of the arched organism, not only in obedience to a logical sequence compatible with practical needs, but also and especially in conformity with a true sense of æsthetic beauty. These conditions were realised to a high degree by the Romans in their *Thermae*, the greatest achievement of all ages, although they did not attain the artistic refinement obtained by the Greeks in the more simple problem of a temple—the Parthenon of Athens. After the disappearance of Rome, “the mother of nations,” the arch degenerated into the grand but warped shapes known under the names of Byzantine and Romanesque, Saracenic and Slavonic, Saxon and Norman, Lombard and Gothic, Renaissance and Rococo, which are so many landmarks of social revolutions, national vanity, and individual discord. None of these, however, can truly be called *original styles*. They are mere varieties and different offshoots of *one* great style: the Roman, as we still find it in the portentous ruins of the Baths of Caracalla. The characteristics that distinguish the Gothic style, for example, are entirely of a subordinate nature, its vital organism being wholly taken from the Roman construction. That which is peculiarly Gothic is, as it were, the *flourish* or the efflorescence, the side outgrowth, the whimsical excrescences repeated to a degree of satiety, the mystic exuberance of fancy, blossoming forth on the surface of a borrowed device. The champions of Gothic architecture have drawn attention only to the innocent accessories¹ that have nothing to

¹ The importance of the Roman work has been overlooked by some who judge of a style principally by its detail, and, taking that as a standard, pro-

do with the main construction, except as accidental ornamentation. The suppression of the Greek orders, already realised in the Byzantine and Romanesque styles, was originally a measure of pure necessity owing to public poverty, whereas among the Romans the absence of these orders in their aqueducts showed they possessed a true standard of taste. "In France, and much more in Provence and Italy, the connection with the Roman times is continuous. It goes on in language, in nomenclature, in art, in institutions, in everything. No impassable gulf separates the present from the Roman past ; the change has been great, but it has been perfectly gradual."¹ Neither France, therefore, nor Provence, nor Italy, in Western Europe, nor Byzantium itself, nor Syria, invented anything really fundamental. Their artistic claims can only be claims to the perversion or exaggeration of previous forms, or, more truly speaking, their greatest efforts were spent in mere flourish and studied adaptation.

nounce the art of the Romans unsatisfactory. But this is not the way to judge architecture. It is not detail that makes a style, but the methods of construction which are employed, and the different ways in which these methods are applied. In construction the Romans excelled.—F. M. SIMPSON.

¹ Freeman.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF SAVOY

1027-1056.—HUMBERT I. “of the White Hand,” born in 975, the founder of the House of Savoy, was himself a descendant of a noble family of Royal blood.

The House of Savoy begins to have a history of its own from the time of the dissolution of the ancient kingdom of Burgundy, whose last king, Rudolph III., the Fainéant, dying without children, transferred the right of succession to Conrad the Salic, husband of his sister Gisela. Rudolph's second wife, the young Ermengarda, had hardly recovered from her loss when Otho, Count of Champagne, son of another sister of the King, claimed the crown, and, taking advantage of Conrad's absence in Poland, invaded Burgundy, besieged the widowed Queen in her palace, and made her a prisoner. At this news Conrad at once prepared to meet the usurper and give battle, but because of the terrible cold he was detained the whole winter at Zurich unable to advance his army.

Meantime Humbert conceived a bold plan for the rescue of the Queen. Faithful to the cause of his legitimate sovereign, he did not rest until he had gathered together a number of valiant knights who were willing to fight for the triumph of justice and to defend the honour of the Queen. For Otho, a veritable monster physically and morally, had insulted Ermengarda with base proposals, and when she repulsed him had thrust her into one of the dungeons of the castle tower.

Humbert's plan was, however, so well contrived and carried out that one midnight, on a sudden, the castle was surrounded by hissing and flaming torches. The surprise was complete ; in the banquet hall a wild orgy was in progress, and into the midst of the dismayed revellers Humbert strode and forced Otho to release the Queen. Having safely delivered her from her peril, he escorted her to Zurich and placed her under the protection of the German Emperor.

This chivalrous feat gained for Humbert the esteem and admiration of Conrad, who entrusted to him the command of his army. He returned victorious from the battle of Geneva, having defeated Otho and recovered the usurped domain. Such success deserved a commensurate reward ; and the Emperor, in giving independence to the provinces of the ancient kingdom of Burgundy, bestowed his highest honours on Humbert by confirming him in his paternal rights to Savoy, Salmorenc, and Maurienne. Besides enlarging these provinces he also added the possession of Nyon, Bellay, and Aosta, which made him master of the three most important Alpine passes, the Little and Grand St. Bernard, and Mongenèvre. The House of Savoy was thus installed as the natural warder of the Alps. This investiture was made with great pomp, and the German Emperor, who presided at the ceremony, declared that Humbert, because of his brilliant deeds, should have by his imperial authority, henceforth for himself and his descendants, rightful sovereignty over the provinces he had assigned him. This was made still more binding by the addition of Aosta, already an hereditary charge and a prize much coveted by ambitious monarchs.

But if Humbert's valour befitted the honours he received, his moral character was a no less worthy title to nobility. Already the son of a great nobleman with Royal blood in his veins, he had no selfish and vulgar ambition for power and popularity. Rising above mere personal interests, he constantly laboured for the public good, and won the heart of his people by his wisdom and clemency. Throughout the twenty-four years (probably) of his reign he encouraged the arts and sciences and founded monasteries, then the only depositories of mediæval treasures. In a country difficult of access and intercommunication he contributed to the general prosperity by building new roads and the two hospices of the Little and Great St. Bernard, which still exist.

By his wife, the lovely Ancilla of Savoy, he had five children : Amadeus and Otho, his successors, Burcardo and Aymon, who were both made bishops, and a daughter, Ermengarda. He showed great foresight and political perspicuity in marrying his son Otho to Adelaide of Susa—a most fortunate alliance which enlarged his dominion, and by strengthening his Italian influence assured the future of his House.¹

¹ The origin of the House of Savoy has never been satisfactorily traced further back than that same White-handed Humbert. The disputes which have been carried on for centuries with a view to give Humbert a father, and a line of forefathers, seem to us unworthy the dignity of history. It had for a long

1048-1058.—**AMADEUS I.** "of the Tail," who had been associated with his father in the government of the realm, was noted for his ambition and love of display. When he journeyed to Verona to join Emperor Henry III. of Germany, then on his way to Rome, objection was made to his great retinue of barons and signiors vassals. He, however, absolutely refused to enter the presence of the Emperor without his *codazzo*, a word in Italian meaning "suite," "retinue," "cortège," and, literally translated, "great tail."

1058-1060.—**OTHO**, fourth son of Humbert "of the White Hand," in 1046 married Adelaide of Susa, Countess of Turin, whose father was a descendant of Arduino, King of Italy. Adelaide's rank and extensive possessions laid the foundation and increased the subsequent influence of the House of Savoy in Italian politics. She was the young and childless widow of Henry of Aleramo, and added to her husband's paternal inheritance of Nyon, Maurienne, Savoy, Belley, Chablais, and Tarantaise, lands and townships in the provinces of Vercelli, Ivrea, Asti, Albenga, Alba, Ventimiglia, Acqui, Piacenza, Parma, Pavia, and Bredolo. This last province included Vicoforte and the site of the Santuario. Otho acquired the title of Marquis of

time been the fashion to assign to the House of Savoy a German ancestry. The father of Humbert was, according to that version, a Count Berold, whose pedigree began with Witichind, the Saxon hero, known for his long contest with all the might of Charlemagne. This opinion was especially upheld and developed by Guichenon, the most distinguished historiographer of the House of Savoy, in the seventeenth century—at a time, that is, when the House cherished some vague aspirations to the throne of Germany, and when it was consequently of the greatest moment to prove ancient ties of consanguinity between itself and the House of Saxony. In later times great weight has been given to a theory first started nearly three centuries ago, but now revived by some of the scholars who, under the patronage of the late King of Sardinia, Charles Albert, have been eager to throw light upon Piedmontese history. By these it is supposed that Humbert owed his birth to Otho William, some time Count of Upper Burgundy—*Franche Comté*—a prince of undoubted Italian descent, who was the son of Adalbert, son and colleague of Berengarius II., Marquis of Ivrea, and King of Italy in 950, in whose veins they also contrive to blend, either by male or female descent, the blood of Guido of Spoleto and Berengarius of Friuli, the two first competitors for the Italian crown in the latter part of the ninth century. More lately still some Swiss writers, who have been occupied with the arduous subject of the later Burgundian kingdoms, have thrown out some important hints in support of another hypothesis, already well known to Guichenon himself, who treated it with great respect, which represents Humbert as son of the "last of the Bosonides"—son, that is, of Charles Constantine, who was the son of Louis II. the Blind, King of Provence, King of Italy, and Emperor (896-928), son and successor of Boson, Count of Vienne, in 870, and founder of the dynasty of Provence and Lower Burgundy in 879.—**ANTONIO GALLENZA.**

Italy with the province of Turin, which, owing to its geographical situation on the extreme northern frontier of the Peninsula, at the foot of the Alps, was then called the "Marca d' Italia." Through this marriage Otho gained a foothold in the valley of the Po, and the House of Savoy undertook the difficult duties of "warders of the Alps," which gave a permanent aim to the future policy of her Princes, and made them thereafter more Italian in character and aspirations.

1060-1080.—PETER I. as Marquis, and AMADEUS II. as Count, both sons of Otho and Adelaide, reigned jointly under the regency of their mother. The former died in 1078, and the latter in 1080. Amadeus II. was surnamed "the Adelao," from his mother's name Adelaide. This period is noted for the excommunication by Pope Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) of Henry IV. of Germany, who had married Adelaide's daughter Bertha,¹ and the subsequent reconciliation made possible by his mother-in-law, who granted him permission to pass through her dominions on his way to Canossa, where the Pope was a guest of the celebrated Countess Mathilde. As a reward for her kind offices Adelaide received the province of Bugey. Her other daughter, Adelaide, married Rudolph of Swabia.

1080-1103.—HUMBERT II., son of Amadeus II., whom he succeeded as Prince of Piedmont with enlarged territory, remained until 1091 under the guardianship of his grandmother, Adelaide of Susa.

1103-1148.—AMADEUS III., son of Humbert II., reigned for a time under the guardianship of his mother, Gisela of Burgundy. He was the first to use the title of "Count of Savoy." After a successful war against the French, whom he expelled from his states, he joined the Second Crusade, and, on

¹ A proverb very general throughout Italy is said to have originated in this way. Long ago, in the eleventh century, Henry IV. of Germany had fallen under the displeasure of the powerful Pope Hildebrand. At length desiring a reconciliation with the pontiff, he crossed over the Alps in midwinter to Canossa. His devoted, but ill-appreciated wife, Bertha of Savoy, accompanied him in his long and perilous journey. One day, near Montignano, she came across a poor old woman spinning, whose name also was Bertha. Becoming interested in her sorrowful story, she took from her the spindle filled with newly-spun thread and commanded the Commune of Montignano to give her as much land, in length and breadth, as could be measured by the thread upon her spindle—the expense to be met from her own Royal purse. Hearing of Bertha's good fortune, many others appeared offering their spindles to the Queen, but she smilingly refused them, saying, "No more spinning for Bertha."—ARTURO GALLETI CAMBIAGI.

his return, died at Nicosia, on the Island of Cyprus. He founded the Abbey of Hautecombe, near Lake Bourget, which was used as a burial-place for the Princes of Savoy until Charles Emanuel I. built the Santuario of the Madonna di Vico for that purpose. Amadeus III. reigned during the period of the greatest ascendancy of the Church, when France was left in the hands of the Abbot of St. Denis during the absence of Louis VII. with the Second Crusade, when the German Empire of Conrad III. was governed by another abbot, and Savoy also was under the rule of the Bishop of Lausanne.

1148-1189.—HUMBERT III., "the Saint," son of Amadeus III., having sided with the Pope, Frederick Barbarossa ravaged his domains and declared him under the ban of the Empire.

1189-1233.—THOMAS I., son of Humbert III., "the Saint," born in 1177, was first placed under the guardianship of Bonifacio, Marquis of Montferrat, who brought about a reconciliation with the Emperor, who restored his lost possessions to him. Following the policy of Amadeus III., he steadfastly adhered to the Ghibellines, and acquired great prestige as Imperial Vicar, which office was also conferred on his successor, Peter II.

The family of this Prince of Savoy is noted for its close relations with Henry III. of England. His son William was appointed President of the Council by the English King. Count Peter, another son, afterwards Peter II., surnamed the "little Charlemagne," also visited England on the occasion of the marriages of his nieces, Eleanor of Provence to the King, and Sancha to Richard, Earl of Cornwall. Count Peter was made President of the King's Privy Council and Earl of Richmond by Henry, who also gave him a palace on the Thames, hence known as "Savoy House," but which was demolished in 1816 to make room for Waterloo Bridge.

Another son of Thomas I. was Boniface, surnamed "Absalom," because of his great personal beauty, who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1241, and was canonised in 1838.

The second son, Thomas, Count of Flanders, married Jane, daughter of Baldwin, Emperor of Constantinople.

1233-1253.—AMADEUS IV., eldest son of Thomas I., received the title of "Duke of Aosta" from Frederick II., and divided his inherited realm with his brothers. His second wife, Cecilia del Balzo, was of such extraordinary beauty that she was surnamed "Passe Rose," or surpassing the rose in beauty.

1253-1263.—**BONIFACIO**, son of Amadeus IV., born in 1244, ruled under the guardianship of his uncle, Thomas, Prince of Achaia, third son of Thomas of Savoy. He defeated the troops of Charles of Anjou before Turin, but was made a prisoner, and died during his captivity, leaving no male issue. He was succeeded by his uncle, Peter II., "the little Charlemagne."

1263-1268.—**PETER II.**, "the little Charlemagne," son of Thomas I., was invested with the rank of Imperial Vicar. He spent the early part of his life in England, and died at the Castle of Chillon on Lake Geneva, aged sixty-five. He was the first of the Princes of Savoy to adopt in his coat-of-arms the white cross on a red field, afterwards known as the "White Cross of Savoy."

1268-1285.—**PHILIP I.**, brother of Peter II., was made Archbishop of Lyons against his will, he never having consented to assume the duties of the sacred office. He married, but, having no children, adopted as his heir his nephew Amadeus, the second son of Thomas, his elder brother.

1285-1323.—**AMADEUS V.**, surnamed "the Great," was regarded as a usurper of the throne of Savoy, which by right belonged to his nephew Philip, of whom he was a guardian. As soon as Philip reached his majority he was compelled to renounce his rights and agree to remain a vassal to his uncle. This Philip, under the title of Prince of Achaia, became the founder of another branch of the House of Savoy.

Amadeus V.'s life was passed in continuous warfare. When he ascended the throne he was already famous for brilliant services rendered the King of England. Belief in his judgment was so great that he was often asked to settle differences between European sovereigns. One of his last victories was his defence of Rhodes against the Turks in 1316, on which occasion, it is said, he added to his coat-of-arms the letters F.E.R.T., which surround the shield bearing the white cross. He died at the age of seventy-eight, after a reign of thirty-eight years.

1323-1329.—**EDWARD**, son of Amadeus V., surnamed "the Liberal," received his name from his godfather, Edward I. of England. He introduced the heraldic device known as "the true lover's knot" in the armorial bearings of the House of Savoy. He died at the age of thirty-nine.

1329-1343.—**AYMON** "the Peaceful," Edward's brother, "one of the wisest and best Princes of his race," reorganised

and replenished the revenues of the State, squandered by the extravagance of his brother. Such was his universal repute in political wisdom, that he was often asked to arbitrate between contending powers, and was called upon to make peace between England and France. His wife was Yolande of Montferrat.

1343-1383.—**AMADEUS VI.**, "the Green Count," Aymon's son, was nine years old at his father's death, and ruled first under the regency of his mother. This "perfect knight" was celebrated for the brilliancy of his court as well as for his wise administration. In 1366 he set out from Venice with a handful of followers, "clad all in green," on the self-imposed mission of uniting the Greek and Roman Churches. With this small number he conquered Gallipoli and Mesembria, and rescued the Byzantine Emperor at the siege of Varna. He was made Imperial Vicar in perpetuity for himself and his descendants. Constantly appealed to as a successful arbitrator, he concluded the peace between the rival republics of Genoa and Venice after the war of Chioggia. He instituted the "Order of the Collar of Savoy," afterwards called "the Anonciade."

1383-1391.—**AMADEUS VII.**, "the Red Count," son of Amadeus VI., "the Green Count," was also at first called "the Black Count," because of the deep mourning he wore in memory of his father. His name was already well known and popular in England and in France by reason of his chivalrous deeds and the conspicuous part he had taken in the tournaments of those countries. His reign promised to be as glorious as that of his father. The voluntary allegiance tendered by Nice and Ventimiglia in 1388 gave him easy access to the Mediterranean. His death was commonly attributed to a fall from his horse, but there is reason to believe that he was a victim of Court intrigue, and it is not improbable that some slow poison administered by a celebrated charlatan may have hastened his end.

1391-1439.—**AMADEUS VIII.**, "the Peaceful," was the son of Amadeus VII. This successful Duke, hermit, and Pope was one of the most powerful European rulers of his time. Born in 1383, he reigned first under the guardianship of his grandmother, Bona of Bourbon, "Madame la Grande." "The Solomon" of his age, as he was called, had one of the most prosperous reigns in the annals of the House of Savoy, and was created "Duke" by Emperor Sigismund, who came in person to Chambéry in 1416 to invest him with this title.

The various provinces of the State, which had been divided between two branches of the family, the Barons de Vaud and the Princes of Achaia, were again consolidated under his rule. It is said that the discovery of a plot against his life decided him, in 1434, to withdraw from the world and live as a hermit at Ripaille. He left his son Louis to govern the State, without, however, formally abdicating. Such was the prestige of his name, that after the deposition of Pope Eugenius IV. he was elected Pope by the Council of Bâle, assuming the tiara in 1439 as Pope Felix V., when he at last consented to abdicate in favour of his son. He reigned as Pope three years at Bâle, then transferred his residence to Lausanne. At the election of Nicholas V., whom he highly esteemed, in 1449, he resigned to him the honours of the tiara, thus ending the schism of the Church. As Pope he was officially recognised by England, France, Spain, Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, Bavaria, Switzerland, and Northern Italy. He passed the rest of his life at Ripaille, and died in 1451. His body was buried in the Cathedral of Turin, where Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, erected a mausoleum to him.

1439-1465.—LOUIS, son of Amadeus VIII., was born in 1402, "Prince of Piedmont." His accession to the throne can only be reckoned from 1439, before which time his father, although immured in his retreat at Ripaille, still held the reins of government, and the country continued prosperous. As soon, however, as he assumed full control, a period of retrogression and decay set in, which did not stop until it ended in total ruin under the weak Charles III. The principal aim of Louis's policy was to preserve his states intact by holding aloof from all political enterprise. Thus he missed the opportunity of his life when, at the death of Filippo Maria, the last of the Visconti, he could have become possessed of Milan by simply marching into the city, where everything was in readiness for his reception. His sister, Princess Mary of Savoy,¹ widow of the Visconti, had already raised the arms of Savoy in expectation of his coming. After much hesitation and delay he finally did send a body of troops, only to meet certain defeat at the hands of Francesco Sforza, who had by that time made himself master of the city. But if weakness and love of ease were responsible for his unenterprising

¹ It is said that Princess Mary of Savoy, daughter of Amadeus VIII., and married to Filippo Maria Visconti of Milan, was of such an affectionate disposition, and loved her husband so dearly, that she was loath to wash her hands after he had touched them. At the same time the Duke of Milan was so extremely jealous of her that he kept her immured in his castle, in the custody of several noble ladies and maid-servants.

administration, some allowance also should be made for the repressive influence of his wife, Anna of Lusignano, daughter of the King of Cyprus, believed to be the most beautiful princess in the world. She was a woman of marvellous beauty, resolute and imperious, who swayed him as she willed. She bore him eighteen children, among them Charlotte, wife of King Louis XI. of France, and Bona (of Savoy), married to Galeazzo Maria, the son of Francesco Sforza.

1465-1472.—AMADEUS IX., "the Blessed," son of Louis, was born in 1435. Educated by the Franciscan monk Fauzone of Mondoví, his naturally docile temper sank into utter helplessness, and left him at the mercy of the Church and his political enemies. The influence of the monk was again and again perceptible in his constant attempt to abdicate. Had it not been for the vigorous interference of his wife, Yolande of France, a woman of masculine energy and resolution, he would have soon retired to a monastery and left his states to the possession of Louis XI. of France, who may have been secretly intriguing with the Franciscan of Mondoví. Mondoví, like Saluzzo and Pignerol, was traditionally hostile to the House of Savoy, and strongly desired to be annexed to France. That there is truth in this is proven, perhaps, by an incident in the war waged by the Duchess of Savoy against Milan, when the gallant Prince Philip, Count of Bresse, at the decisive moment of battle, was betrayed by the recruits from Mondoví, and, obliged to divide his forces, was overcome by the Duke of Milan and the Marquis of Montferrat.

1472-1482.—PHILIBERT I., "the Hunter," son of Amadeus IX., came to the throne at the age of seven. He was at first under the guardianship of his mother, Yolande, who had already been made Regent before her husband died, "in odour of sanctity," in 1478. This short reign was embittered by the continual intrigues of Louis XI., King of France, and Count Romont, supported by Philip of Bresse, who both sought to possess Savoy during his minority. He ultimately fell a victim of Louis XI. at Lyons, where, after a great reception and public festivities, he was ignominiously murdered at the age of seventeen.

1482-1490.—CHARLES I., "the Warrior," brother of Philibert I., although only fourteen years old, was so ambitious and full of daring that the hopes of the country revived. Twice victorious against the Marquis of Saluzzo, who was allied with Charles VIII., King of France, he was another victim of French intrigue, and died by poison at the age of twenty-one. He was

the first of the Dukes of Savoy to bear the title of King of Cyprus.¹

The celebrated Chevalier Bayard, "Sans Peur et Sans Reproche," was a page of Charles I., and completed his education in "honour and virtue" at his Court. He continued to live at Turin in the service of Charles's widow, Blanche of Montferrat.

1490-1496.—CHARLES II., an infant nine months old, and the only son of Charles I., ruled under the regency of his mother, Blanche of Montferrat, who, although a young woman, upheld her position as Regent with shrewdness and dignity against the persevering attacks of many pretenders to the throne. When Lodovico Sforza, surnamed the Moor, invited Charles VIII. of France to come to Italy and take possession of the kingdom of Naples, she opened to him the Alpine passes, but managed to rid herself of the intruder at comparatively little cost. By a strange coincidence the French King, after the battle of Fornovo, saved his life and regained the French frontier on the "swift horse given to him by the little Duke of Savoy."² This delicate prince died when he was seven years old.

¹ Charlotte of Lusignan, the only legitimate child of John III. of Constantinople, succeeded him in 1458. She was the widow of John of Portugal, Prince of Antioch, who had been poisoned by the creatures of Helena in 1457. She married in 1459 her cousin, Lewis, Count of Geneva, of the House of Savoy, who was crowned the same year. Her bastard brother James, Archbishop elect of Nicosia, the son of a Greek lady whose nose Queen Helena had bitten off, was disappointed of the succession, and turned traitor. He aspired to the vain glory of sovereignty, and, having done homage to the Sultan of Egypt, invaded Cyprus. For four years Queen Charlotte was besieged at Chérin; in 1464 she fled to Rhodes, and thence to Italy, where, in 1485, she made over her rights and the three crowns she wore to the House of Savoy. James II., a prince of some power, governed or commanded in Cyprus from 1464 to 1473, and to some extent justified his usurpation by taking Famagosta from the Genocse, but his reign was one long series of conspiracies. He was assassinated two years after his marriage with Caterina Cornaro (in 1471), who bore a son after her husband's death. This was King James III., who died when he was two years old. The Venetians held that the rights of the infant King devolved on his mother, and in her name governed Cyprus. . . . The Dukes of Savoy called themselves Kings of Cyprus and Jerusalem from the date of Queen Charlotte's settlement, . . . but the Savoyard claim to Cyprus was held as an offence to the Venetian Republic, a point of ceremonial which, in the seventeenth century, put a stop for thirty years to any diplomatic intercourse between Venice and Savoy. . . . The Kings of Sardinia continued to strike money as Kings of Cyprus and Jerusalem until they became Kings of Italy.—WILLIAM STUBBS.

² To the swiftness of this horse Charles VIII. owed his safety at the battle of Fornovo, and though history may lament that "Savoie" was possessed of such swiftness of foot, his Majesty of France had cause to bless his godson for such a gift, and to ascribe to him indirectly the safety of his valuable life!—ALETHEA WIEL.

1496-1497.—**PHILIP II.**, "Sans Terre," or "Lackland," fifth son of Louis and Anna of Cyprus, and brother of Amadeus IX., ascended the throne in his fifty-eighth year, and died eighteen months later. He had acquired great fame in France fighting for Louis XI. against John of Aragon, from whom he gained Perpignan and Roussillon. During his short reign he was enrolled as a patrician in the Golden Book of the Republic of Venice, and Turin became the residence of many foreign ambassadors to the Court of Savoy. His first wife was Marguerite of Bourbon; his daughter Louise became the mother of Francis I. of France, and of the Queen of Navarre, grandmother of Henry IV.; and Filiberta, his second daughter, married Giuliano de' Medici, brother of Pope Leo X.

1497-1504.—**PHILIBERT II.**, "the Fair," was seventeen years old at the death of his father, Philip "Lackland." Though young, he realised the danger of a too close alliance with the King of France, and soon manifested political tact by initiating a policy of armed neutrality, leaning, however, more towards Austria, at that time the safer side. He died when twenty-one years old, and was buried in the new church of Brou¹ in Bresse, built by his mother, Marguerite of Bourbon.

1504-1553.—**CHARLES III.**, "the Good-natured," brother of Philibert II., continually strove to maintain peace with every one at any price. Yet, during a reign of forty-nine years, he had forty-one years of disastrous war, and lost all his possessions except Nice, that defended herself gallantly, in 1538 and 1543, despite instructions to the contrary sent by him. But the people of Nice declared that they had given themselves voluntarily to the Princes of Savoy, stipulating only that they should never be made an object of political negotiation. Therefore, disregarding the Duke's command to surrender, they raised the war cry of "Savoy!" "Savoy!" and, though fighting for their own liberties, still clung with fealty to him. Charging him with double dealing, Francis I. of France, his nephew, marched into Savoy and Piedmont in 1536; and Emperor Charles V. of Spain, his brother-in-law, notwithstanding the Duke's faithful adherence to the Empire, under the pretext of defending Milan, occupied the rest of his states, and, after the Peace of Crépy in 1544, also the

¹ The church of Brou was begun by Duchess Margaret of Bourbon, first wife of Philip II., in fulfilment of a vow for her husband's recovery from sickness. This edifice was completed after a labour of fifteen years, and at a cost of 25,000,000 francs, by her daughter-in-law, Margaret of Austria, second wife of Philibert II., after the death of her youthful husband.—**ALETHEA WIEL.**

fortresses ceded by the French. It was soon after this, in 1549, that the people of Saluzzo (unlike the loyal citizens of Nice) took advantage of these favourable circumstances to offer their humble submission to the King of France, preferring a foreign yoke to independence as a nation. Yet the Marquisate of Saluzzo was destined to be the foundation-stone of the Italy of the future, though apparently very much against the will of its citizens. Thus, after five centuries of steady progress the Monarchy of Savoy fell to pieces. The weak Charles III. himself, deserted even by the servants after ransacking his apartments, died amidst such general indifference that he was buried without funeral services.

1553-1580. — EMANUEL PHILIBERT, "the Iron-headed Duke," and only surviving child of Charles III., was born in 1528, and succeeded to the throne at the age of twenty-five. This extraordinary man was barely thirteen when, on first meeting his uncle, Charles V., at Genoa, he begged as a favour to be accepted as a volunteer in his expedition against the Turks. This request was then refused, but it was granted four years later when Charles V. was preparing for his German wars. After his victory at Renty, in 1554, he went to London to be present at the wedding of his cousin, Philip II. of Spain, with Queen Mary. On this occasion he was decorated with the Order of the Garter, and a proposition of marriage with the young Princess Elizabeth (afterwards Queen of England) was made to him. He was unable, however, to accept this proposal because of the too onerous condition imposed with it; namely, the cession of Nice and Villafranca to Spain. When Charles V. abdicated in favour of his son, Philip II., Emanuel Philibert was made Governor of Flanders. The most glorious event of his life was his great victory at Saint Quentin, which, but for the inopportune interference of the jealous Philip II., might have changed the history of the world. France was saved through the imbecility of the Spanish King.¹ When Charles V., at the monastery of Saint Just, received the news of the victory, his first inquiry was, "Has my son marched on to Paris?" then said no more. Charles V.'s son had, in fact, prevented Emanuel Philibert from

¹ After the battle of St. Quentin, Emanuel Philibert had France at his discretion. Had his counsels been instantly followed, the Spanish army would have dictated its own terms before or within the walls of Paris. But the narrow and pusillanimous mind of Philip II. partly frustrated the victory, and the great opportunity was lost. It is well known that when Charles V. received the first tidings of the glorious battle in his retirement at Yuste, he made up his mind that his son must be in full march upon Paris; and when fallen from his expectation, he sank into one of his fits of deep gloom, and refused to open further despatches.—ANTONIO GALLENGA.

marching on to Paris. He was chosen by Pius V. and the Venetian Republic, Generalissimo in the war against the Turks, which was decided by the battle of Lepanto; but the unabated jealousy of Philip II. of Spain prevailed, and caused his natural brother, Don John of Austria, to be finally appointed instead of Emanuel Philibert.

By the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis all the former possessions of the House of Savoy were restored to him. He is, therefore, the second founder of the Monarchy, not only through thus honourably regaining what had been irrevocably lost, but through the reorganisation of the army and navy, and the energetic arousal of the dead spirit of patriotism in his unstable people. He repaired fortresses and built others, and was busy planning many great works and radical reforms when death overtook him at the age of fifty-two, leaving the charge of carrying out his designs to his son, Charles Emanuel I. During his reign he made Turin the permanent capital of his dominions, instead of Chambéry; he acquired the province of Tenda in exchange for the Marquisate of Villars in Bresse, and boldly protected the persecuted Waldenses.

1580-1630.—CHARLES EMANUEL I., "the Great," son of Emanuel Philibert, was constantly harassed by either France or Spain, and occasionally also by the Popes and the House of Austria. But for him Italy would still be a Spanish province.¹ His father educated his people to feel the thrill of patriotism; he, through his personal character and high-minded policy, implanted in them love for the House of Savoy, the ardent wish and undying hope for the complete liberation of Italy from foreign invaders. He was the first to sound the knell of Spanish rule, and the downfall was more rapid than the Italian

¹ A contemporary writer thus expresses himself in reference to the reign of Charles Emanuel I.: "Non ostante che i piccoli stati rimasti liberi nel Nord mal potevano sottrarsi, e disobbedire alla preponderanza e prepotenza di uno straniero possessore degli altri tre quarti circa delle terre d'Italia, essi se subirono a volte umiliazioni gravissime, ebbero pure il folle ardimento di combatterlo a viso aperto con lotta titanica. Non erano che de' semplici pigmei di fronte al colosso gigantesco della potente casa d'Absburgo, e ne restavano per ciò terribilmente feriti; ma almeno riuscivano a salvare la propria dignità." And then (about 1815) he adds: "Ma il Metternich, mente politica acuta e profonda, faceva bene gli interessi dell'Austria, ed aveva ragione ad opporsi nel Congresso di Vienna a che il regno sabaudo fosse così bene ricostituito, poichè da parte degli eredi del *folle ardimento di Carlo Emanuele I* era da temere, che i giorni del Lombardo-Veneto fossero contati." Speaking of the Italian Revolution of 1848 he says: "Il resto d'Italia si condanna da sè ad essere incorporato al libero e forte Piemonte" (F. CARABELLESE, *Nord e Sud*, Bari, 1905).

resurrection, for the Italians always lacked national spirit,¹ and needed the spur of the French Revolution to awaken them to the consciousness of their opportunity.

1630-1637.—VICTOR AMADEUS I. was the second son of Charles Emanuel I. The eldest, Philip Emanuel, died of poison at the Court of Madrid by order of the King of Spain, who had refused to send him back to Italy. Victor Amadeus I. was born in 1587, and succeeded to the throne at the age of forty-three, while he was Viceroy of Portugal. During his short reign he was continually at war with Richelieu, whose aim was the total extinction of the House of Savoy, the sole impediment to French occupation of Italy. It is believed that he, and other noblemen of his Court, were poisoned at a banquet given in his honour at Vercelli, by Marshal Créquy, who in 1630 seized Pignerol, an easy prey, because of its French sympathies.

1637-1638.—FRANCIS HYACINTH, son of Victor Amadeus I., was a boy of six, who ruled only one year under the regency of his mother, Christine, daughter of Henry IV. of France, and sister of Louis XIII. She is better known by the popular name of "Madama Reale."

1638-1675.—CHARLES EMANUEL II., Francis Hyacinth's brother, only four years old, was first under the guardianship and absolute rule of his mother, Madama Reale.

When dying, Victor Amadeus I. had entrusted his wife, Christine of France, with the government of his realm as

¹ Looking back from the vantage-ground of history upon the issue of this long struggle (the Lombard League against Frederick Barbarossa), we are struck with the small results which satisfied the Lombard communes. They had humbled and utterly defeated their foreign lord. They had proved their strength in combination. Yet neither the acts by which their league was ratified, nor the terms negotiated for them by their patron Alexander, evince the smallest desire of what we now understand as national independence. The name of Italy is never mentioned. The supremacy of the Emperor is not called in question. The conception of a permanent confederation, bound together in offensive and defensive alliance for common objects, has not occurred to these hard fighters and stubborn asserters of their civic privileges. All they claim is municipal autonomy: the right to manage their own affairs within the city walls, to fight their battles as they choose, and to follow their several ends unchecked. It is in vain to lament that, when they might have now established independence upon a secure basis, they chose local and municipal privileges. Their mutual jealousies, combined with the prestige of the empire, and possibly with the selfishness of the Pope, who had secured his own position and was not likely to foster a national spirit that would have threatened the ecclesiastical supremacy, deprived the Italians of the only great opportunity they ever had of forming themselves into a powerful nation.—JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS.

Regent during the minority of the Crown Prince. His brothers, who, for reasons of State, considered the administration of the government more properly their charge, fearing too that the regency of a French princess, sister of the French King, might lead to a French protectorate and then to definite conquest, supported by Spain, rose against the Duchess, already allied with France. She proved, however, faithful to the Italian cause, and Richelieu's plans to overthrow her and her children were completely foiled. Some years later, while France was distracted by the Fronde, Cardinal Mazarin, favouring the idea of a strong state in Upper Italy to counterbalance the influence of Spain, brought this war to a close by the Peace of Pignerol in 1665. Peace was still further guaranteed by the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1669. Charles Emanuel II. died during a period of prosperity, and, loving his people as he was beloved by them, he ordered the doors of his palace thrown wide open that all might come in to his dying presence.

1675-1730.—VICTOR AMADEUS II., only son of Charles Emanuel II., ruled first under the guardianship of his mother, Maria Jeanne Baptiste of Nemours. He assumed the reins of government at the age of eighteen on the occasion of his marriage with Princess Mary of Orleans, a niece of Louis XIV. of France. The French King had previously planned to marry him to the only daughter of Don Pedro, King of Portugal, with the intention of weaning him from Piedmont, and so allow his mother to continue to govern alone as Regent. Disappointed in this scheme, Louis XIV. offered to send troops to help quell the rebellion at Mondovì, whose citizens refused to pay the Salt Tax. But the Duchess was too wise to allow him to enter Italy on such a pretext, and preferred to sacrifice her rightful authority by abolishing the tax and granting a general amnesty. This Salt Tax War was a cause of great annoyance to Victor Amadeus II., who saw nothing but disloyalty and lack of patriotism in the stubborn resistance of these mountaineers. After he had exhausted all peaceful means to induce them to yield obedience, he was forced to put a stop to their smuggling and contempt of the law by a more rigorous exercise of his power, and the circumstances doubtless justified the measures taken.

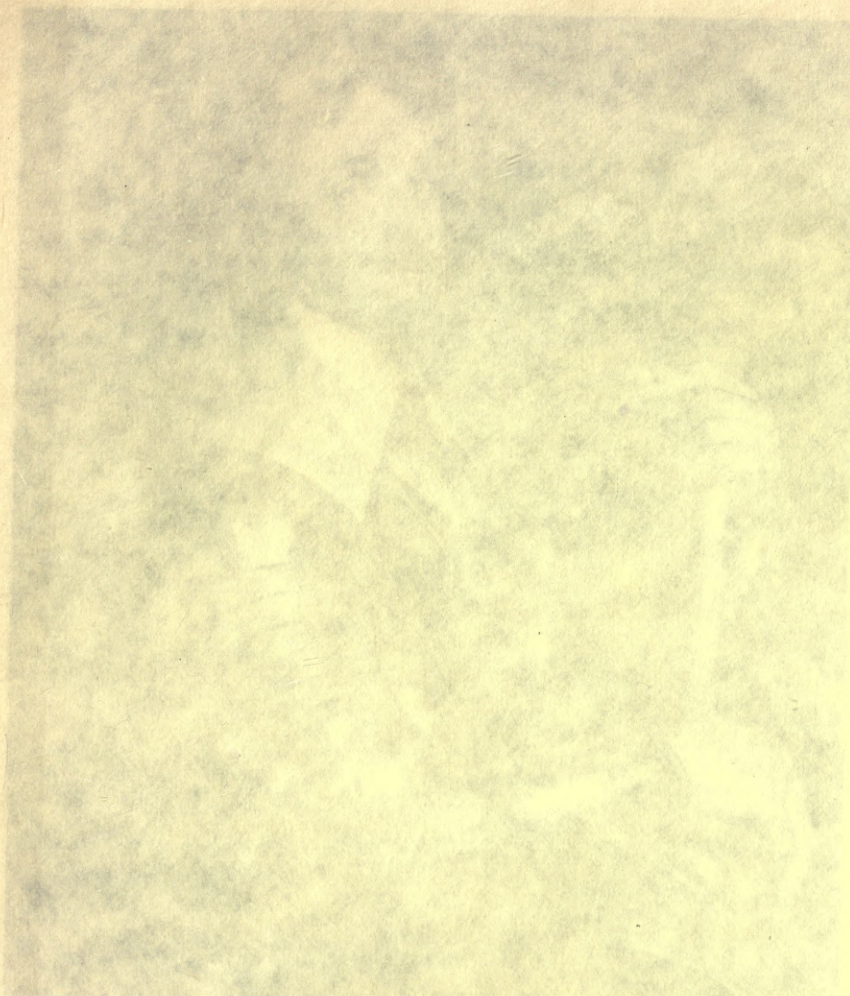
Incensed by the overbearing demeanour of Louis XIV., who wished him to aid in the persecution of the Huguenots, he joined the League of Augusta, instituted by William of Orange in 1686. This was the cause of the long war ended by the famous battle of Turin, won by Prince Eugene of Savoy in 1706, and resulted

in the permanent expulsion of the French from Italy. By the subsequent treaties of Utrecht in 1713, and Rastadt in 1714, Victor Amadeus II. received Montferrat and Sicily. He afterwards exchanged Sicily for Sardinia, but retained the title of King. Spain was also finally driven from Italy, but Austria remained.

He abdicated in 1730 in favour of his second son, whom he never loved, and died of regret for this act in 1732, leaving an enlarged kingdom and a prosperous country. His wife, Mary of Orleans, was the grand-daughter of Charles I. and Henrietta of England. At the death of Queen Anne she was the legitimate heir to the English crown. Maria Adelaide, the daughter of King Victor Amadeus, married to Louis of Bourbon, Duke of Burgundy, was the mother of Louis XV. of France.

1730-1773.—CHARLES EMANUEL III., second son of Victor Amadeus II., succeeded his father, the eldest son, Victor Amadeus, having died at the age of sixteen. A man of great military talent, and regarded by his contemporaries second only to Frederick the Great, he was the ally of France in the war of the succession of Poland. But, after having conquered all Lombardy, which, according to the explicit terms of the Treaty of Turin in 1733, was to be his legitimate prize, the French King managed to cede to him only Novara and Tortona as his reward. He was again victorious in the war of the Austrian Succession, annihilating the French at the Assiette in 1747, and thereby, through the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, still further extended his Lombard domains. Mere literary accomplishments were little encouraged by him, and perhaps he was not altogether wrong when he defined poets as "makers of half-lines," at a time when Crescimbeni's "Arcadia" was in fashionable vogue.

1773-1796.—VICTOR AMADEUS III., only son of Charles Emanuel III., ascended the throne at the age of forty-seven. In 1744, when he was only eighteen, he fought at the battle of the Madonna dell' Olmo. He headed the coalition of the Italian States against the French Revolutionists, but with no effect, because of the discord and jealousy amongst themselves. He was, however, unwise to refuse the neutrality proposed by Robespierre, by which he was to regain Nice and Savoy, lost in 1792. The result of this refusal was the expedition of Napoleon to Italy. Among his numerous public works is the Alpine road known as "Col de Tenda," connecting Cuneo in Piedmont with Nice on the Mediterranean.



THE PHOTOGRAPH OF THE ABOVE NAMED PERSON IS
HEREBY CERTIFIED TO BE A TRUE AND CORRECT
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SERENISS^{IMI} PRINC. FRANCISCVS. THOMAS. A. SABAVDIA. PRINC
CARIGNANI. ETC. ARMOR. ET. EXERCIT. CATH.^{OL} MAI^{OR} IN. BELG
PRÆFECT. ET. GVBERNAT. GENERAL.

Paul. Pontius sculp.

Ant. van Dyck pinxit

Cum privilegio

Emery Walker Pinse

1796-1802.—CHARLES EMANUEL IV., the eldest son of Victor Amadeus III., began his reign when he was forty-five years old. His education had made him a superstitious bigot, and he was well mated in his marriage with Marie Clothilde, sister of Louis XVI. of France, who had wished to become a Carmelite nun at Saint Denis. While the Royal couple busied themselves in religious exercises, the provinces throughout the Peninsula were falling away from the throne, and Sardinia alone remained faithful to him. He first abdicated in favour of France, and then, at his wife's death, in 1802, the pious King abdicated in favour of his brother, Victor Emanuel I., and entered the Order of the Jesuits at Rome, where he died, childless, in 1819.

1802-1821.—VICTOR EMANUEL I., brother of Charles Emanuel IV., was another weak-minded Prince, absolutely incapable of coping with the political difficulties of the moment, and utterly opposed to the progressive ideas brought forward by the French Revolution. After the downfall of Napoleon I., the Congress of Vienna, in 1814, restored to him the lost possessions of the House of Savoy, to which were added Savoy, Genoa, and the Riviera, including Nice. Rather than grant the Constitution demanded by his subjects he preferred to resign his throne in favour of his brother, Charles Felix.

1821-1831.—CHARLES FELIX succeeded his brother, Victor Emanuel I., when fifty-six years old. He obstinately clung to the antiquated ideas of government, and, meeting with resistance in enforcing them, did not hesitate to stain his name with acts of cruelty. Absent at the moment when his brother resigned the throne, his cousin, Charles Albert, was made Regent *ad interim*. This representative of the younger branch of Savoy-Carignano at once proclaimed the "Constitutional Charter," which, however, was immediately suppressed by the King-elect. Charles Felix, the last scion of the elder branch of the House of Savoy, was brought up in an atmosphere of expiring despotism, while Charles Albert, on the contrary, had breathed in democratic principles. Consequently all their ideas were antagonistic, and yet the future of Italy depended on their reconciliation. Charles Albert, it was true, was the rightful heir to the crown of Sardinia, but for any act of insubordination he could be set aside and deprived of the succession, which would then pass to Victor Emanuel's son-in-law, Francis IV., Duke of Modena, of the House of Este, and thus all the possessions of the House of Savoy would become Austrian. All this was appreciated by

Charles Albert, who yielded loyalty to his relative, and on his return from the Trocadero, where he had been fighting for the French, was recognised by Charles Felix as his successor to the throne.

Charles Felix's reign is redeemed only by his successful bombardment of Tripoli in 1825, and by his opposition to the House of Austria in political matters. Thus, after eight centuries of an uninterrupted succession of Counts, Dukes, and Kings, the elder branch of the House of Savoy became extinct in the death of Charles Felix without male issue. With him ends the history of the past in more than one sense, and with Charles Albert begins the history of the Italy of to-day.

1831-1849.—CHARLES ALBERT, "the Magnanimous," sometimes called "the Italian Hamlet," was a descendant of the younger line of Savoy-Carignano, founded by Thomas Francis, youngest son of Charles Emanuel I., from whom Prince Eugene also descended. Napoleon I., pleased with his martial inclinations, gave him, at the age of sixteen, the title of Count, and with it command of a regiment of dragoons. Soon after his accession to the throne he granted to his subjects the "Constitutional Charter," or *Statuto*, which had already been proclaimed by him during his short regency, but withdrawn by Charles Felix. Then he declared the "War for Italian Independence" of which he had dreamt in his youth; but, bitterly disappointed by his defeat at the battle of Novara, he abdicated in favour of his elder son, Victor Emanuel II., and left Italy, a voluntary exile to Oporto, where he died of grief four months later, having sacrificed his life for the good of his country.

1849-1878.—VICTOR EMANUEL II., "the *Re Galantuomo*" ("the King who keeps his word"), the first King of United Italy, was the most popular Prince of the House of Savoy and the impersonation of Italian ideals. He never lost sight of the one great object of expelling the Austrians and other foreign invaders from Italian soil. Perhaps history has no parallel to the remarkable association of three such men, each great in his own way, as Victor Emanuel II., Cavour, and Garibaldi. "The three things on which Cavour's great heart was set, the objective points to which he directed his policy, were—first, the making of Italy, including the making of an Italian people; second, a 'Free Church in a Free State'; third, peace with the surrounding nations, since peace would give Italy the best chance to consolidate herself, and to recover from the strain of her great

struggle.”¹ The joint work of these great men would have been accomplished even more speedily if the too bright aspect of Italian fortunes had not awakened the jealousy of Napoleon III., who saw a rival in the daring young King of Sardinia. But the French Cæsar paid dearly for his perfidy, for Italy not being freed “from the Alps to Etna,” it was possible for Prussia to win Sadowa in 1866, which opened the road to Sédan in 1870.

1878–1900.—HUMBERT I., eldest son of Victor Emanuel II., was only a youth when he fought at Custoza in 1866, and his bravery saved the honour of the Italian arms.² “During his reign he carefully regarded constitutional limitations, and, directing his choice of Prime Ministers according to parliamentary conditions, selected but one, Rudinî, from the Conservatives. . . . Humbert’s attitude toward the Vatican was one of firmness, respecting all guarantees to the Pope, but insisting on the permanence of the Italian possession of Rome. His private munificence and personal interest and courage in the rescue work after the earthquake of Ischia (July 28, 1883), and his visits to Busca and Naples during the cholera epidemic (1884), made him greatly respected by all Italians, to whom he was known as ‘Humbert the Good.’ ”³

1900.—VICTOR EMANUEL III., son of King Humbert I. and Queen Marguerite of Savoy, was born at Naples in 1869. “The Prince’s intellectual and artistic leanings were well known ; in particular, he was a collector of historic Italian coins, on which subject he became an authority. . . . The manly, earnest tone of his first speech from the throne, delivered in the presence of both Houses of Parliament, created an exceedingly favourable impression. . . . He possesses the intrepidity and promptness in action characteristic of the House of Savoy. On October 4, 1896, he married Princess Elena of Montenegro.”⁴

¹ Elizabeth Wormeley Latimer.

³ *Encyclopædia Americana*.

² *Encyclopédie Larousse*.

⁴ *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

MEMORANDUM OF DATA OF THE SANTUARIO OF THE MADONNA DI VICO

1536.—Monte Vico (now Mondovì) occupied by Francis I. of France.

1539.—The French Governor, Vagnone di Drosio, charged with the restoration of the castle of Vico.

The *pilone*, or square pillar of the shrine, raised by a brick-maker. The fresco on it of the Madonna and Child is attributed to two painters, Cigna and Mazzucchelli.

1542.—The castle of Vico greatly damaged by lightning.

1546.—The castle of Vico pulled down by order of the King of France.

1559.—The French troops evacuate Monte Vico, called by them *Mont-de-Vi*, in Italian Mondovì. The fortifications erected by them destroyed.

1560.—Duke Emanuel Philibert founds a University at Mondovì. The population of this city, according to Botero, is 20,000, while that of Turin is only 14,000.

1566.—Michele Ghislieri, Bishop of Mondovì, elected Pope as Pius V., liberally dispenses high offices to his favourites from that city.

1577.—Emanuel Philibert, as a precaution against the suspected loyalty of the citizens of Mondovì, begins a citadel on the site occupied by the primitive church and monasteries, which he tears down and persuades the Bishop to rebuild at the other end of the saddle-shaped hill.

1584.—The *bealera*, or irrigating canal, from the river Coraglia to Vicoforte and Mondovì, planned.

1585.—Charles Emanuel I. and his wife, Catherine of Austria, visit Vico on their return from Spain, after their marriage.

1594.—The Deacon, Cæsar Trombetta, preaches a great propaganda in favour of the worship of "the Madonna di Vico," and obtains permission from Bishop Castrucci to build a chapel six feet square to protect the shrine.

1595.—During the building of the chapel pilgrims throng thither in great numbers. The Bishop of Mondovì, pretending alarm at the increasing popularity, orders the work suspended and the contribution box seized, apparently with the secret intention of building a large church to perpetuate his own name.

The corner-stone of his new church laid, June 19, by Bishop Castrucci, in the presence of the Bishop of Aosta and many brotherhoods, who came in processions from the surrounding country for that ceremony, besides 40,000 others bringing presents and donations. The annual Festival of the Nativity of the Virgin (September 8) instituted by the Bishop.

Improvements made in the canal of the Ricaudano furnishing spring water for the pilgrims. The chapel protected by an iron railing.

1596.—Pope Clement VIII. sends the Archbishop of Bari, papal nuncio at the Court of Turin, to inspect the place and report on it. He grants permission for a Jesuit College at Mondovì and a monastery of Cistercian monks near the shrine.

Duke Charles Emanuel I. arrives, March 30, and prefers to stay at Vico, the guest of a citizen, rather than at Mondovì. He brings gifts to the shrine and assigns it a fixed annual income. Several plans for large churches submitted to him by the Bishop of Mondovì, but not approved.

Captain Ascanio Vitozzi, the architect and engineer chosen by the Duke, arrives at Mondovì, May 18.

Corner-stone of the present Santuario laid, July 7, by the Duke, in the presence of three bishops, the Ducal family, and Court, and forty religious brotherhoods from the neighbouring towns and villages. The Duchess gives two enamelled golden crowns enriched with pearls and precious stones, to be affixed to the wall above the heads of the Virgin and Child.

Prominent citizens of Chambéry, capital of Savoy, come in a pilgrimage to give thanks for their deliverance from the plague, through the grace of the Madonna di Vico.

A new road planned connecting Mondovì with the Santuario.

The Administration for the work, composed of three priests and three laymen from Mondovì, presided over by the Bishop, organised.

1597.—Charles Emanuel I., with all his family and a large retinue of noblemen, returns and again stays in Vico, January 30, and the following days.

Vitozzi ill at Turin and Charles Emanuel ill in Savoy. Death of the Duchess, only thirty years old, caused by the rumoured death of the Duke. Arrangements made by the Duke for her to be buried with him in his chapel at the Santuario as soon as it is completed.

The monastery begun.

1598.—Further revenues bestowed by the Duke to meet the expenses of building his private chapel.

After his victories at Bricherasio and Cavour, the Duke sends the spoils to the shrine, and orders the new Santuario called "The Temple of Peace."

Bishop Castrucci's long account of miracles performed by the Madonna di Vico interdicted by the Duke at the moment of publication.

A pilgrimage of thanksgiving made by the city of Mondovì spared from both the plague and war; a miracle believed due to the proximity of the shrine. On this occasion a vote is taken binding every citizen to supply each year, until it is finished, materials towards the building of the Santuario, each according to his means.

By a papal bull promulgated June 22, the Administration must consist of the Duke, the Bishop of Mondovì, the Abbot of the monastery, and the Municipal Council of Mondovì.

Treasures of the shrine removed for safe keeping to the cathedral of Mondovì.

1601.—Cardinal Aldobrandini, nephew of the Pope, visits the shrine on his way to Lyons to negotiate a peace with Henry IV. of France in favour of Charles Emanuel I. After successfully concluding his mission he returns, and makes an offering of a diamond cross.

Gold and silver coins struck by the Duke to commemorate peace, inscribed on one side *Pax in virtute tua*, and on the other with his own name.

A jubilee of four months granted by the Pope to call the faithful to the shrine.

Alleged pilgrimage on foot from Turin by the Duke, a

distance of about 40 miles, accompanied by the Archbishop of Turin and several noblemen, when, it is said, he gave final directions concerning the construction of his chapel, and formally expressed his wish to be buried there with his wife.

The shrine visited by several princes and high officials from all parts of Europe.

Foundation of a hospital by Senator Guidetto.

1602.—Visit of the Duke and two of his sons. Removal of the enormous accumulation of earth and other refuse from around the building volunteered by "all who have beast and cart."

Jewels and other valuables stolen from the chapel.

1603.—The thief Sannaire caught at Grenoble, and the stolen jewels restored to the chapel.

The Duke, with two of his sons and their teacher, the famous Giovanni Botero, again visits the shrine.

The people of Mondovì consent to hold their annual fair of St. Martin at the Santuario every year, at the time of the September festival.

The Duke visits the shrine to offer thanksgiving for the recovery of his son, Prince Maurice, from a serious illness. His other sons, Philip Emanuel (the Crown Prince), Victor Amadeus, and Emanuel Philibert, placed under the protection of the Madonna di Vico before their departure for Spain.

A further supply of spring water brought by canal near the shrine.

1604.—Francis de Sales, Bishop of Geneva, accompanied by the nobility of Savoy, makes a pilgrimage to the shrine, and brings a present of a silver statuette of Saint Maurice, patron saint of Savoy.

To avoid overcrowding, Bishop Argentero forbids marching nine times around the Pilone, as recommended in 1596 by his predecessor, Bishop Castrucci, in honour of the Virgin "carrying the Child nine months."

Fireworks, general illumination of Mondovì, and bands of music on the eve of the annual Festival of the Nativity of the Virgin, ordered at the expense of the city: a custom that still continues.

December 4, the Duke visits the Santuario, and stays at a new villa built for his commissioner, Senator Guidetto, adjoining the hospital.

1613.—The monks leave their temporary quarters and remove to the unfinished monastery.

1614.—Work on the Santuario suspended at the impost of the arches.

1615.—Death of Vitozzi, October 23, at the age of seventy-six.

Festivals celebrated on the occasion of the Truce of Asti.

1617.—Festivals and processions celebrate the treaty of peace, October 17.

1623.—Cæsar Trombetta, Treasurer of the Administration, dies January 28, at the age of fifty-two, and is buried at the foot of the Pilone. After his death, both the work and the available funds come under the direct management and full control of the monks.

1625.—Taverns, public-houses, and restaurants prohibited within half a mile of the shrine. This wise measure, obtained by Abbot Malabaila from the reigning Duke, however, temporarily suspended during the special jubilee granted by Pope Urban VIII.

The Princess of Soissons, wife of Prince Thomas of Savoy, son of Charles Emanuel I., ancestor of Prince Eugene, and founder of the present reigning branch of Savoy-Carignano, presents relics and valuable jewels in thanksgiving for her safe delivery of the child, Prince Emanuel Philibert.

1628.—Three sides of the monastery finished. The fourth side has never been commenced.

1630.—Death of Duke Charles Emanuel I. at Savigliano. Plague in Piedmont caused by the continual wars with France and Spain. Mondovì, having been exempt, votes money for a silver frame to encase the Pilone.

1632.—Abbot Malabaila writes an able article suggesting a more economical scheme for completing the church, which could be turned into a basilica with gabled roof, central nave, and side aisles by suppressing the four chapels specially planned by Vitozzi, and constituting an essential feature imposed by Charles Emanuel I., the founder, whose principal object was to prepare a worthy burial-place, or pantheon, for his family and descendants.

1633.—Processions from different parts of Piedmont after the cessation of the plague.

1634.—Victor Amadeus I. inspects the work on the Santuario.

1636.—Extensive improvements made in the monastery.

1637.—February 11, the treasure of the Santuario again stolen in such a mysterious way that suspicion falls on the monks themselves ; but no positive proof against them can be found.

1638.—Death of the young Duke Francis Hyacinth.

Cardinal Maurice and Prince Thomas of Savoy, brothers of the late Victor Amadeus I., supported by Spain, rise against the Regent, sister of King Louis XIII. of France, and daughter of Henry IV. All work on the Santuario abandoned during this war in which Mondoví is involved, and the new treasure is carried for safety to the castle of Prince Maurice at Nice.

1639.—French troops at the Santuario. A silver lamp offered by a number of ladies seeking protection from the licentious outrages committed daily by the French soldiers.

The Regent, Christine of France (Madama Reale), reinstates the accused monks to avoid further scandal.

1640.—Work resumed on the monastery.

1641.—Work on the Santuario recommenced at the first great arch at the left on entering, and suspended soon after on account of another French invasion. Mondoví, Cuneo, and Ceva besieged during the civil war against the Regent Mother.

1642.—Death of Cardinal Richelieu. Mondoví occupied by a regiment of French cavalry under Colonel Marsin, who levies a tax of 25,000 lire, which is paid by the Administration of the Santuario pledging some of the jewels of the treasury.

End of the civil war. The victorious Regent (Madama Reale) visits the Santuario, bringing valuable gifts. She agrees to bear the expense of building the first of the four campanili, the one nearest to the monastery.

1644.—Madama Reale visits the Santuario with one of her daughters, May 6. The first campanile being finished, she consents to defray from her own purse the additional cost of constructing a covered passage giving direct communication between the monastery and the church.

1646.—Madama Reale sends silver ornaments to the Madonna di Vico as a thankoffering for the deliverance of Mondoví from the band of French marauders commanded by Colonel Marsin.

The monks sell a part of the treasure to obtain money to carry on the work.

1649.—A citizen of Vico donates a stone quarry to the Madonna.

Madama Reale comes again to the Santuario.

1651.—Work on the main vestibule of the church resumed, in view of the forthcoming jubilee.

Jubilee of a month granted by Pope Innocentius X., to which more than 100,000 visitors come from all parts of Europe, bringing valuable presents and contributions, among them a golden lamp from Duke Charles Emanuel II.

1652.—Princess Marguerite of Savoy, Duchess of Mantua and Montferrat, a daughter of Charles Emanuel I., bequeathes a part of her fortune to the Madonna di Vico for the construction of a mausoleum and the decoration of her chapel, according to her specified plans.

1653.—Work continued on the main vestibule.

1657.—Charles Emanuel II., with his mother, Madama Reale, and two of his sisters, visits the Santuario and gives a second golden lamp.

1659.—Madama Reale again visits the Santuario.

1660.—The great arch of the apse completed.

1663.—Princess Marguerite's chapel commenced under the exclusive supervision of the monks.

The vault of her father's chapel finished.

1664.—The silver framework voted by the city of Mondovì, in 1630, brought in procession to the Pilone.

Archbishop Teofane Maurocordato of Pari and Nassos, in the Greek Archipelago, visits the shrine and leaves a valuable present.

1676.—Work progresses on the monastery. Jubilee granted by Pope Clement X. Edict prohibiting armed men to assemble in the vicinity of the Santuario.

1677.—The remains of Charles Emanuel I. brought from Savigliano, where he died, and laid in a temporary resting-place under the window in his chapel until his mausoleum shall be built.

1680.—The vault of his chapel frescoed by the two Recchi, painters from Como. One of these painted the altar-piece in Princess Marguerite's chapel.

Don Gabriel of Savoy encamps with a body of troops below Mondoví.

1681.—The Salt Tax War begun. Troops sent to the Santuario to subdue the refractory inhabitants of Montaldo (a village near Mondoví) break into the monastery.

1682.—A humiliating truce made by the Regent to avoid French interference. Don Gabriel compels Vico to rebuild the castle.

The temporary reconciliation of Mondoví with the House of Savoy celebrated by a general procession to the Santuario.

Victor Amadeus II. consents to the First Coronation of the Virgin and Child, and permission for a special jubilee of two weeks is obtained from Pope Innocentius XI. The ceremony of the Coronation held on the last day of the jubilee, September 13, amidst festivities and general rejoicing. Two golden crowns set with precious stones used for this purpose are left suspended above the picture of the shrine.

On this occasion the people of Mondoví were allowed to change the popular name of *Madonna di Vico*, or *Beata Virginis Vicensis*, to *Regina Montis Regalis*, as afterwards added to the litany. Bishop Franchi is thus responsible for the still unabated jealousy existing between Vico and Mondoví. Notwithstanding official approval, the Santuario even to this day continues to be universally known by the old name of *Madonna di Vico*. Vitozzi calls it "Madonna di Vico" in his notes. In his medal of 1596, and again in his silver tablet of 1603, Charles Emanuel I. designates it as "B. V. Vicensi." The elaborate inscription beneath the statue of Marguerite of Savoy names it "Vicensi Deiparae Virginis."

The number of visitors this year estimated at about 140,000.

A splendid folio edition, in two volumes, of the *Theatrum Statuum Regiae Celsitudinis Sabaudiae Ducis*, containing plans and drawings of the Santuario, published by Blaeu at Amsterdam.

The project discussed of building, at fixed intervals, along the road between Upper Mondoví and the Santuario, fourteen chapels to represent the Mysteries of the Virgin; the fifteenth mystery, the Coronation, to be represented by the Santuario itself.

1684.—The weakness shown in dealing with Mondoví encourages Ceva to rise in rebellion for the same cause (the salt tax); but in the meantime Victor Amadeus II. had assumed control of the government, and forces both Mondoví and Ceva to obey the law.

Victor Amadeus II. visits the Santuario and grants an annual income for the prosecution of the work.

1687.—Princess Marguerite's chapel finished.

1689.—The monks having tried to conceal valuables, the treasure is sealed up and the sacristy closed, by order of the Administration.

1690.—Everything restored to the monks, who sign a written agreement promising to faithfully fulfil their duties.

1691.—Carmagnola capitulates to the French, who also lay siege to Cuneo, but without success. The militia of Mondovì, bearing the standard of their *Regina Montis Regalis*, had taken part in the defence of Cuneo, and, believing its deliverance due to her interposition, go in procession to the Santuario and offer further gifts.

1692.—Francesco Gallo, twenty years old, invited by the Administration to submit a plan for the dome, accepts the commission.

1694.—The crumbling base of the Pilone restored.

1696.—The eight arches of the ellipse in the interior of the church finished, and the structure now reaches the first string-course, at the impost of the drum. The two campanili on the front also raised to the same level, and left unfinished.

1698.—The sculptors Gaggini complete the kneeling statue of Princess Marguerite, and it is placed in her chapel.

General Des Hayez terrorises the country, burning forests and destroying property.¹

¹ The Piedmontese had learnt to value their national existence above all worldly advantages, and must not shrink from the sacrifices which, from their smallness of territory and the peculiarity of their position, that most inestimable of all blessings necessarily entailed upon them. . . . For a plainly defensive warfare the most ample supplies were sure to be cheerfully yielded ; and so long as temporary sufferings were recompensed by ultimate success, it probably would not, in the end, signify much whether the Sovereign had taken the field on warrantable grounds or was engaged in a quarrel of his own seeking. Conspiracy or rebellion never, therefore, could be rife in this community, and seldom even murmur or discontent. The disturbances, to which we must now turn our attention, we give them as exceptions.

From 1679 to 1699 there were riots in Mondovì. . . . The necessities of the public treasury weighed hard upon the State, and, from the time of Emanuel Philibert, efforts had been made to equalise the public burdens, and distribute them without distinction of ranks, classes, or localities. The clergy of Mondovì had attempted resistance in 1674 (Cibrario), and, after vain appeals to the Pope, they had roused the passions of the multitude by spreading a report that the Government harboured the intention of levying the salt duty on the province. This tax, the most obnoxious to the lower classes throughout Piedmont, was particularly dreaded in Mondovì, where the peasantry took

1699.—Deportation of 450 families of Mondovì to Vercelli,¹ and dismemberment of the city government, henceforth divided into fourteen communes. One of these, Vico, thus acquires exclusive possession of the Santuario and surroundings, which are entirely within its territorial limits.

1700.—A second edition published of the *Theatrum Pedemontium*, etc., by Hadrian Moetjean, at the Hague.

1702.—A jubilee of thirty days granted by Pope Clement XI. A valuable present sent by the Duchess Giovanna Battista of Savoy.

1704.—Battle of Blenheim won by Marlborough and Prince Eugene of Savoy.²

advantage of their exemption and of their situation on the frontier of Genoa to carry on an extensive contraband trade, to the great detriment of the ducal revenue. . . . After the Peace of Ryswick, in 1698, Victor Amadeus himself, profiting by the repose that short respite afforded, and anxious to reorganise the State on the principle of an equal, uniform policy, was tempted to reimpose the odious tax on the stubborn Mondovites, and a new revolt was the consequence. But the Duke was resolved that the experiment should be final and decisive. He invaded Mondovì with an irresistible army, of which he gave the command to Des Hayes. Fire and sword consumed the bandits' nests; several scores of them suffered on the scaffold, and Victor, following the example of the Romans, who pacified some of the most riotous Ligurian districts by carrying away the population into captivity to far-off lands, transported four hundred and fifty families of Mondovì into the territory of Vercelli, where he indemnified them for their losses by grants of land equal in value to those they left behind. Not a few of the most implacable rebels relieved the country by their voluntary emigration (Botta).—ANTONIO GALLENGA.

¹ Quatre cents quarante-cinq familles avaient été dispersées dans les villages du Verceilais, où l'on accorda à chacune un revenu en biens-fonds, égal à celui qu'elle possédait dans sa patrie; c'est ainsi qu'en punissant le crime que nul gouvernement ne peut pardonner sans cesser d'exister, Victor Amédée traitait en père ses sujets égarés; il avait de même pourvu à l'indemnité des créanciers des coupables, et ordonné, que les dots de leurs femmes, et les alimens de leurs enfans fussent prélevés avant toute chose de la masse des biens tombant en confiscation.—COMTE ALEXANDRE SALUCES.

² A French writer, one not prone to judge him too favourably, has declared that Eugene, shaking off the burden of existing rules, confided in the inspirations of his genius; that his courage and capacity did the rest. "He belongs, assuredly," he continues, "to the small number of generals who, in the seventeenth century, brought the art of war to its greatest perfection. Napoleon, whose opinion in this respect is not open to suspicion, places him in the same rank as Turenne, and as Frederic, and regards as *chefs-d'œuvre* all the plans of his campaigns."

This I believe to be the truth. There were, indeed, in that age two men, rivals and opponents, who were the true precursors of Napoleon. Those men were Eugene and Villars. The wonderful campaign of Turin, in which Eugene, with a force smaller than either, made head against two hostile armies, and finally defeated both, was the real forerunner of the campaign of 1796. . . .

1706.—During the siege of Turin the Duke sends his family for protection to Mondovì, commanding it to defend itself and them. Upon the advance of the French troops on Mondovì, the city surrenders unconditionally, not even attempting resistance,¹ thus deliberately betraying the Duke, who, relying on its

Marlborough was a splendid tactician, admirable to carry through a well-thought-out plan, quick at realising all the advantages of the plan when proposed. But it should never be forgotten that the inspiration for the campaign which was his greatest, the inspiration for the campaign of Blenheim, came from Eugene.

Eugene was a great tactician as well as a great strategist. He possessed the marvellous power, without which no man can be a general at all, the power of maintaining his coolness and self-possession, of keeping all his faculties about him, in times of tumult and danger. In battle he was worth thousands of ordinary men. His quick eye detected the true point of attack, the point of pressing danger, on the instant; and he possessed with Napoleon and with Villars the power of rousing the most complete enthusiasm of his men, of exciting them to stupendous exertions.

No criticism can be more false than that which has been made by island prejudice, to the effect that Eugene owes his fame to having been associated with Marlborough. . . . There was no Marlborough by the side of Eugene when he made his famous campaign of Turin. Eugene, in fact, owed nothing to Marlborough. At Blenheim, at Oudenarde, at Malplaquet, the force at the disposal of Marlborough was to that of Eugene in proportion of at least three to two; and yet, at those battles, Eugene contributed certainly a moiety to the success. But for his generous and timely despatch of cavalry, indeed, Blenheim might have been a defeat. . . .

The Peace of Carlowitz was the consequence of the great victory of Zenta. That peace constitutes a memorable point of departure alike in the history of Austro-Hungary and the history of Europe. By it the Ottoman Power lost nearly one half of its European dominions, and ceased to be dangerous to Christendom. Never more would the discontented magnates of Hungary be able to find a solid supporter in the Sultan. The relations of the Osmánli towards Europe were absolutely reversed. From having been the spoilers, the children of Othmán were thenceforward to become the despoiled. Two great blows had been struck by John Sobieski under the walls of Vienna in 1683; the last by Prince Eugene at Zenta in 1697.—COL. G. B. MALLESON, C.S.I., *Prince Eugene of Savoy* (Chapman and Hall, 1888).

¹ Per fortuna il La Feuillade, invece di inseguire il Duca alle calcagna, varcata la Stura si occupò anzi tutto a conquistare il territorio circostante, lusingandosi di indurre così Vittorio Amedeo a battaglia. Assaggiata invano Cherasco, che sperava sorprendere col favore di alcune intelligenze le quali non ebbero effetto, avviò la sua cavalleria sulle orme del Duca, e con una parte della fanteria mosse verso Mondovì. Questa città, come tutti i luoghi di qualche conto in quel tempo, era fortificata, e nel momento stesso in cui il La Feuillade compariva sotto le mura da una parte, vi giungevano da un'altra circa trecento cavalieri, mandativi in furia da Vittorio Amedeo; ma la popolazione, nella quale covavano ancora i rancori lasciati dalla sanguinosa ribellione del sale, aprì le porte ai Francesi. Anzi, nelle vicine campagne, alcune torme di cittadini armati non esitarono a far causa comune coi soldati del La Feuillade; sicchè questi illudendosi stranamente sulla portata di quel deplorabile movimento, fantasticava di instituire colà una repubblica, sotto il protettorato di Luigi XIV (Pelet).—PIETRO FEA.

fidelity, had entrusted his family to its care. The Ducal family narrowly escapes from the city (June 28), is stopped and arrested by the French. A month later, Victor Amadeus II., confirmed in his original opinion of the people of Mondovì, decides that a Pantheon of the House of Savoy would not be valued by such disloyal subjects, and besides planning to build a church on the summit of Superga, in thanksgiving to the Virgin for the victory at Turin, determines to transfer the Ducal burial-place thither.

Realising too late their mistake, and that perforce they must accept Italian rather than French rule, the people of Mondovì send a commission to the Duke humbly beseeching pardon for their treason. This commission, however, he indignantly repulses.

1707.—Great festivals at the Santuario, at which the Archbishop of Avignon is present.

The four niches in Princess Marguerite's chapel, intended to contain statues of members of the House of Savoy, filled with marble figures of saints.

1713.—The decoration and sculpture in Princess Marguerite's chapel finished under the superintendence of Francesco Gallo.

1715.—Superga begun by Juvara.

1716.—Juvara, consulted by Gallo on the possibility of constructing a dome upon the elliptical plan of the Santuario, predicts failure.

1722.—Vico, now an independent commune, given by the King as a fief, with title of Count, to Gerolamo de Rossi of Usseglio, reserving, however, by express stipulation, the Santuario to himself.

1726.—Gallo sent to Rome by the King to study the aqueducts for the purpose of planning a water-supply for the city of Turin.

Abbot Bonaudi reprovved by the new Administration and discharged, thus depriving the monks of all authority in the management of the work.

Another edition made of the *Novum Theatrum Pedemontii et Sabaudiae*; Hagae, Comitum Christoph Rutger, MDCCXXVI.

1727.—Giovanni Govone leaves his property of 30,000 lire to carry on the work.

1728.—Authority given by the King to resume work under

the supervision of his Commissioner, Count Capellini di Montelupo.

The plan and estimate (150,991 lire) for the construction of both drum and dome, presented to Juvara, and approved.

1729.—The drum begun by Gallo in the spring, and completed before the end of the year.

1730.—The monks finally lose control of everything respecting the building of the church.

1731.—The dome begun in June and finished in October.

1732.—The dome disarmed and proves a great success. The stone lantern begun.

1733.—The dome, partly covered with tiles and partly with straw, owing to the lack of tiles. A fire accidentally breaks out, but fortunately is extinguished by the people of Vico.

The lantern ready for the September festivals.

1734.—The silver plate and votive offerings sent to the mint at Turin for the relief of the State.

1736.—The painter, Pietro Antonio Pozzo, begins the frescoes of the dome. The better design of Joseph and Nicholas Alemani rejected because of greater cost.

1737.—An inquiry made by Charles Emanuel III. into the conflagration of the roof.

1739.—Pozzo's frescoes finished and the Ponte Reale, or great scaffold of the interior, taken down.

Death of Count Capellini di Montelupo, who leaves 30,000 lire for the construction of the proposed central Baldacchino enclosing the Pilone.

Imprisonment and release of the sacristan accused of the theft of the Virgin's ring.

1741.—Pozzo's frescoes condemned and erased after the re-erection of the Ponte Reale. Bibbiena paints the architectural decoration of the cupola and returns to Vienna. Death of Galeotti.

1744.—A band of French soldiers ravaging the country about Mondovì, the treasure of the Santuario is turned over to the care of the State.

1745.—Galeotti and Bibbiena replaced by Bortoloni and Biella.

1746.—The new frescoes of the cupola begun in March and finished in November.

1747.—Prince Victor Amadeus, afterwards King Victor Amadeus III., views the new frescoes.

1748.—The decorations of the interior of the main church finished and the tiny chapel raised by Trombetta around the Pilone demolished, together with the six great piers built to support the Ponte Reale. It is then found that through some miscalculation the Pilone is not in the exact centre of the pavement.

Mondoví at last forced to pay 8000 lire promised to build the high altar ; but this sum proves insufficient, although that city was supposed to bear the entire expense of its construction. Notwithstanding this, through a bronze tablet prominently displayed on the front of the Pilone, she claims the right of patronage of the church which belongs exclusively to the Royal Family.

The apse finished.

1749.—Andrew Boucheron, silversmith to the King, and Francis Ladatte, professor of sculpture in the École des Beaux Arts at Paris, execute the gorgeous bronze and silver frame enclosing the Pilone. The former frame melted down for material, and several pounds found missing.

A loan of 10,000 lire made by the commune of Vico to the Administration, in need of money.

The Pilone moved to the exact centre of the church and raised on a marble pedestal 10 feet high, purposely built to this height for better effect, and to correspond with the proportions of the altar. Fragments of the former base eagerly preserved by the pious.

1750.—Mondoví apologises for her insolent tablet on the front of the shrine, and recognises the Royal Family as the sole and rightful patron of the Santuario ; but makes no attempt to remove the offensive tablet, which still remains unchanged (1906).

June 20, Francesco Gallo dies, and is buried in a church, since destroyed, in Mondoví-Piazza. He never claimed nor received any remuneration for his work of a lifetime. Perhaps none was ever even offered to him.

1751.—All the marble work of the two altars and the balustrade around the central Baldacchino completed, and two Carrara

marble statues of "Hope" and "Charity," by Bartolomeo Solaro, raised to their respective places.

1752.—Two beautiful silver lamps by Boucheron, costing 8654 lire, hung one on either side of the Pilone.

A jubilee of thirty days granted by Pope Benedictus XIV.

Charles Emanuel III. readmits Mondovì to the Administration of the Santuario.

The side vestibules decorated in distemper by Biella.

1770.—The road from Fiamenga to the Santuario improved.

Biella decorates the apse, occupied by a large altar of various marbles, dedicated to SS. Maurice and Roch.

1773.—The entire interior paved with marble under the superintendence of Giuseppe Gallo, son of the late architect.

Bishop Casati strongly opposes the admittance of the authorities of Mondovì within the enclosure of the Presbytery during religious celebrations.

1775.—The ground lowered around the Santuario to prevent possible flooding of the interior by rain or melting snows. This necessitates the construction of an embankment along the brook Ermena to cause its waters to flow through a canal under the large esplanade, thus leaving the entire space clear for a projected row of houses.

1776.—Dedication of the two monumental stone fountains by Buzzi in front of the church.

1777.—A jubilee of thirty days granted by Pope Pius VI. Bishop Casati forbids the revived custom of circling nine times around the Baldacchino.

The Santuario solemnly consecrated by the Archbishop of Turin, July 6.

1782.—Another jubilee of thirty days granted by Pope Pius VI. for the Second Coronation of the Virgin and Child, new jewelled gold crowns replacing the old ones. The ceremony performed by Bishop Morozzo of Fossano, the Bishop of Mondovì having recently died. The number of visitors estimated at about 40,000.

Completion of the other two chapels dedicated to St. Joseph and St. Francis de Sales respectively, both poorly frescoed by the two sons of Felice Biella.

1790.—The intriguing monks claim the privilege of exteri-

toriality from the commune of Vico by right of the Royal decree of 1722, and, obtaining it, elect citizenship in Mondovì.

1792.—All treasure of the church declared the property of the Government.

Dedication of the mausoleum of Charles Emanuel I., the work of the brothers Collini. The remains of the Duke transferred to their final resting-place.

1794.—King Victor Amadeus III. visits the Santuario with his family.

1796.—King Victor Amadeus III. again at the Santuario with his wife, bringing a present of two rich crowns.

The French troops under the young Napoleon arrive at the Santuario and sack the monastery, but are prevented from entering the church.

The Administration, as reorganised by the Provisional Government, consists of the Bishop of Mondovì, the Mayor of the city, the Abbot of the monastery, and a member of the Municipal Council of Vico.

After the battle of Mondovì, won by Napoleon, the people of that city at last obtain their long-desired annexation to France, and send for the body of General Des Hayez to be brought from Vercelli. Having cherished for a century undiminished hatred towards this man, they give his remains to the flames, and scatter the ashes to the winds in the presence of an approving throng! This was to avenge the punishment meted out to them by the first King of Sardinia when they rebelled against the payment of the Salt Tax. This tax, made necessary by continual wars forced upon the King by foreign invaders, was regularly paid by the other provinces.

1799.—Vico claims the exclusive right of administration of the Santuario, the King of Sardinia being in exile, and Mondovì having no longer jurisdiction over its territory.

1802.—Suppression of all religious orders.

1803.—The diocese of Mondovì, threatened with suppression, is, however, reconfirmed by the Apostolic Delegate, Jean Christophe de Villaret, Bishop of Amiens, who comes in procession to the Santuario.

1809.—Pope Pius VII., deposed by Napoleon and sent as a prisoner to Paris, begs for delay on his way to France in order to visit the Santuario of the Madonna di Vico on August 13.

He declares himself "surprised at finding such a majestic temple outside of Rome."

1812.—The petition for exclusive management of the Santuario by the commune of Vico refused.

The monastery and all the houses belonging to the Santuario offered for sale at auction. This order, however, is soon countermanded through the interposition of Count de la Vieuville ; but all the jewels and everything of value are sent to Paris, and there sold for 37,144 francs.

Vico finally obtains the right of exclusive control over the Santuario, the authority of the Bishop of Mondoví being limited to the religious services.

1814.—The people of Mondoví again find they have blundered, for the Treaty of Vienna restores everything to its former state, and the King of Sardinia is once more master of Piedmont.

1816.—The right of exclusive control of the Santuario taken from Vico, and the Administration the same as in 1752.

Charles Emanuel IV. visits the shrine with his wife, Marie Clothilde, sister of Louis XVI. of France.

The ground still further lowered around the church.

1817.—General processions of pilgrims to the Santuario, principally from Turin, Asti, Vercelli, and Mondoví.

1820.—The monks return to the monastery and resume their former place in the Administration.

1822.—King Charles Felix visits the place with his wife and the Duchess of Châblais.

1824.—Second visit of Charles Felix, bringing many presents, among them two lamps made to match those of Boucheron. These are hung at the further side of the Pilone.

1827.—Prince Charles Albert, with his wife, visits the Santuario. A jubilee granted by Leo XII.

1828.—Second visit of Charles Albert.

1830.—Captain Virginio Bordino takes charge of the general restoration of the church.

1831.—Third visit of Charles Albert, now King of Sardinia, with his wife, the Queen.

1833.—Bordino's valuable alterations finished.

1834.—The campanile nearest to the monastery hung with a chime of eight bells.

Lacking funds, the Administration withdraws the order given Spalla to carve a marble group of the Virgin with angels, to be placed within the tympanum of the great fronton over the main entrance.

A new organ installed, and an aqueduct of thirteen arches built to convey water to supply the public fountains and dwellings.

1835.—A plague distresses parts of Piedmont. Mondoví, believing itself spared by the special grace of the Madonna, sends processions in thanksgiving to the shrine.

1846.—Bishop Ghilardi issues a formal edict forbidding the authorities of Mondoví to penetrate within the Presbytery.

1847.—A new high road, passing in front of the church, built from Lower Mondoví to Savona. This necessitates the demolition of some houses and the construction of a tunnel under a hill that divides the two watersheds of Ermena and Corsaglia.

1851.—Vico objects to the Mayor of Mondoví belonging to the Administration.

1857.—The two jewelled gold crowns and one of the four large silver lamps stolen.

1866.—A new road made between Mondoví-Piazza and the Santuario.

1869.—Bishop Ghilardi obtains two other gold crowns from the Vatican, to which Pius IX. adds some valuable jewels.

Extraordinary Coronation ceremony on August 15 (Assumption Day). An appeal made to the public to contribute towards the erection of the still missing chapels of the fourteen originally planned to be built between Mondoví-Piazza and the Santuario.

1870.—The new Administration appointed to consist of the Bishop of Mondoví, a Royal Commissioner, two members of the Municipal Council of Vico, and a priest from Mondoví nominated by the King at the Bishop's suggestion.

1877.—New lead pipes laid to convey the water-supply.

1879.—Architect Antonelli writes a favourable criticism on the architectural merits of the Santuario for the use of the Government.

1881.—The Santuario of the Madonna di Vico, Pantheon of Charles Emanuel I. of Savoy and Temple of Peace, declared "a work of art" by the Royal Commission, and placed under the protection of the State as a "National Monument."

Estimate for the completion of the work, 526,000 lire.

1882.—Count Ernesto Cordero di Montezemolo donates 80,000 lire for the work.

Third Centennial Coronation by Bishop Pozzi of Mondovì, assisted by ten other bishops. The number of visitors estimated at 100,000.

1884.—The campanili finished and also the copper sheathing of the roof.

1890.—The western façade begun.

1891.—Dedication of a bronze statue of Charles Emanuel I. in the presence of King Humbert I.

1903, November 24.—Visit by the Queen Dowager, Marguerite of Savoy.

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