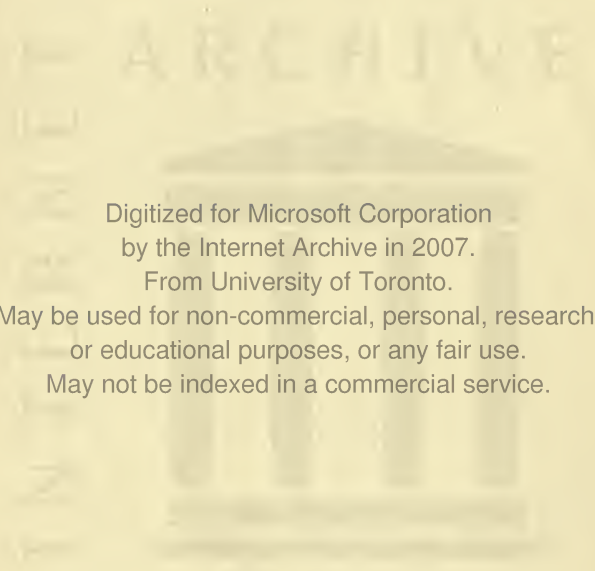


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A



The Assumption of the Virgin Mary

I
BEQUEST OF
REV. CANON SCADDING, D. D.
TORONTO, 1901.

Sacred
AND
Legendary Art.

VOL. I.

1854
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1856

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Sacred

AND

Legendary Art.

BY MRS. ^{Ann}JAMESON.



51900
1901

VOLUME I.

CONTAINING

LEGENDS OF THE ANGELS AND ARCHANGELS, THE EVANGELISTS,
THE APOSTLES, THE DOCTORS OF THE CHURCH,
AND ST. MARY MAGDALENE,
AS REPRESENTED IN THE FINE ARTS.

NEW EDITION.

LONDON:
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1890.

PREFACE
TO
THE FIRST EDITION.

(1848.)

THIS book was begun six years ago, in 1842. It has since been often laid aside, and again resumed. In this long interval, many useful and delightful works have been written on the same subject, but still the particular ground I had chosen remained unoccupied; and, amid many difficulties, and the consciousness of many deficiencies, I was encouraged to proceed, partly by the pleasure I took in a task so congenial—partly by the conviction that such a work has long been wanted by those who are not contented with a mere manual of reference, or a mere catalogue of names. This book is intended not only to be consulted, but to be read—if it be found worth reading. It has been written for those who are, like myself, unlearned; yet less, certainly, with the idea of instructing, than from a wish to share with others those pleasurable associations, those ever new and ever various aspects of character and sentiment, as exhibited in Art, which have been a source of such vivid enjoyment to myself.

This is the utmost limit of my ambition; and, knowing that I cannot escape criticism, I am at least anxious that there should be no mistake as to purpose and intention. I hope it will be clearly understood that I have taken throughout the æsthetic and not the religious view of those productions of Art which, in as far as they are informed with a true and earnest feeling, and steeped in that beauty which emanates from genius inspired by faith, may cease to be Religion, but cannot cease to be Poetry; and as poetry only I have considered them.

The difficulty of selection and compression has been the greatest of all my difficulties; there is not a chapter in this book which might not have been more easily extended to a volume than compressed into a few pages. Every

reader, however, who is interested in the subject, may supply the omissions, follow out the suggestions, and enjoy the pleasure of discovering new exceptions, new analogies, for himself. With regard to the arrangement, I am afraid it will be found liable to objections; but it is the best that, after long consideration and many changes, I could fix upon. It is not formal, nor technical, like that of a catalogue or a calendar, but intended to lead the fancy naturally from subject to subject as one opened upon another, with just sufficient order to keep the mind unperplexed and the attention unfatigued amid a great diversity of objects, scenes, stories, and characters.

The authorities for the legends have been the *Legenda Aurea* of Voragine, in the old French and English translations; the *Flos Sanctorum* of Ribadeneira, in the old French translation; the *Perfetto Legendario*, editions of Rome and Venice; the *Legende delle Sante Vergini*, Florence and Venice; the large work of Baillet, *Les Vies des Saints*, in thirty-two volumes, most useful for the historical authorities; and Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints*. All these have been consulted for such particulars of circumstance and character as might illustrate the various representations, and then compressed into a narrative as clear as I could render it. Where one authority only has been followed, it is usually placed in the margin.

The First Part contains the legends of the scriptural personages and the primitive fathers.

The Second Part contains those sainted personages who lived, or are supposed to have lived, in the first ages of Christianity, and whose real history, founded on fact or tradition, has been so disguised by poetical embroidery, that they have in some sort the air of ideal beings. As I could not undertake to go through the whole calendar, nor yet to make my book a catalogue of pictures and statues, I have confined myself to the saints most interesting and important, and (with very few exceptions) to those works of Art of which I could speak from my own knowledge.

The legends of the monastic orders, and the history of the Franciscans and Dominicans, considered merely in their connection with the revival and development of the Fine Arts in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, open so wide a range of speculation,—the characteristics of these religious enthusiasts of both sexes are so full of interest and beauty as artistic conceptions, and as psychological and philosophical studies so extraordinary, that I could not, in conscience, compress them into a few pages: they form a volume complete in itself, entitled 'Legends of the Monastic Orders.'

The little sketches and woodcuts are trifling as illustrations, and can only assist the memory and the fancy of the reader; but I regret this the less, inasmuch as those who take an interest in the subject can easily illustrate the book for themselves. To collect a portfolio of prints, including those works of Art which are cited under each head as examples, with a selection from the hundreds of others which are not cited, and arrange them in the same order—with reference, not to schools, or styles, or dates, but to subject merely—would be an amusing, and I think not a profitless, occupation. It could not be done in the right spirit without leading the mind far beyond the mere pleasure of comparison and criticism, to 'thoughts more elevate and reasonings high' of things celestial and terrestrial, as shadowed forth in form by the wit and the hand of man.



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1

Laus Deo !

Introduction.

I. OF THE ORIGIN AND GENERAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LEGENDS REPRESENTED IN ART.

WE cannot look round a picture gallery—we cannot turn over a portfolio of prints after the old masters, nor even the modern engravings which pour upon us daily, from Paris, Munich, or Berlin—without perceiving how many of the most celebrated productions of Art, more particularly those which have descended to us from the early Italian and German schools, represent incidents and characters taken from the once popular legends of the Catholic Church. This form of '*Hero-Worship*' has become, since the Reformation, strange to us—as far removed from our sympathies and associations as if it were antecedent to the fall of Babylon and related to the religion of Zoroaster, instead of being left but two or three centuries behind us, and closely connected with the faith of our forefathers and the history of civilisation and Christianity. Of late years, with a growing passion for the works of Art of the Middle Ages, there has arisen among us a desire to comprehend the state of feeling

which produced them, and the legends and traditions on which they are founded;—a desire to understand, and to bring to some surer critical test, representations which have become familiar without being intelligible. To enable us to do this, we must pause for a moment at the outset; and, before we plunge into the midst of things, ascend to higher ground, and command a far wider range of illustration than has yet been attempted, in order to take cognizance of principles and results which, if not new, must be contemplated in a new relation to each other.

The Legendary Art of the Middle Ages sprang out of the legendary literature of the preceding ages. For three centuries at least, this literature, the only literature which existed at the time, formed the sole mental and moral nourishment of the *people* of Europe. The romances of Chivalry, which long afterwards succeeded, were confined to particular classes, and left no impress on Art, beyond the miniature illuminations of a few manuscripts. This legendary literature, on the contrary, which had worked itself into the life of the people, became, like the antique mythology, as a living soul diffused through the loveliest forms of Art, still vivid and vivifying, even when the old faith in its mystical significance was lost or forgotten. And it is a mistake to suppose that these legends had their sole origin in the brains of dreaming monks. The wildest of them had some basis of truth to rest on, and the forms which they gradually assumed were but the necessary result of the age which produced them. They became the intense expression of that inner life, which revolted against the desolation and emptiness of the outward existence; of those crushed and outraged sympathies which cried aloud for rest, and refuge, and solace, and could nowhere find them. It will be said, 'In the purer doctrine of the GOSPEL.' But where was that to be found? The Gospel was not then the heritage of the poor: Christ, as a comforter, walked not among men. His own blessed teaching was inaccessible except to the learned: it was shut up in rare manuscripts; it was perverted and sophisticated by the passions and the blindness of those few to whom it *was* accessible. The bitter disputes in the early Church relative to the nature of the Godhead, the subtle distinctions and incomprehensible arguments

of the theologians, the dread entertained by the predominant Church of any heterodox opinions concerning the divinity of the Redeemer, had all conspired to remove *Him*, in His personal character of Teacher and Saviour, far away from the hearts of the benighted and miserable people—far, far away into regions speculative, mysterious, spiritual, whither they could not, dared not follow Him. In this state of things, as it has been remarked by a distinguished writer, ‘Christ became the object of a rémoter, a more awful adoration. The mind began, therefore, to seek out, or eagerly to seize, some other more material beings in closer alliance with human sympathies.’ And the same author, after tracing in vivid and beautiful language the dangerous but natural consequences of this feeling, thus sums up the result: ‘During the perilous and gloomy days of persecution, the reverence for those who endured martyrdom for the religion of Christ had grown up out of the best feelings of man’s improved nature. Reverence gradually grew into veneration, worship, adoration: and although the more rigid theology maintained a marked distinction between the honour shown to the martyrs, and that addressed to the Redeemer and the Supreme Being, the line was too fine and invisible not to be transgressed by excited popular feeling.’¹

‘We live,’ says the poet, ‘through admiration, hope, and love.’ Out of these vital aspirations—not indeed always ‘well or wisely placed,’ but never, as in the heathen mythology, degraded to vicious and contemptible objects—arose and spread the universal passion for the traditional histories of the saints and martyrs,—personages endeared and sanctified in all hearts, partly as examples of the loftiest virtue, partly as benign intercessors between suffering humanity and that Deity who, in every other light than as a God of Vengeance, had been veiled from their eyes by the perversities of schoolmen and fanatics, till He had receded beyond their reach, almost beyond their comprehension. Of the prevalence and of the incalculable influence of this legendary literature from the seventh to the tenth century, that is, just about the period when Modern Art was struggling into existence, we have a most striking picture in Guizot’s ‘*Histoire de la Civilisation*.’ ‘As after the

¹ Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, iii. 540.

siege of Troy (says this philosophical and eloquent writer) there were found, in every city of Greece, men who collected the traditions and adventures of heroes, and sung them for the recreation of the people, till these recitals became a national passion, a national poetry; so, at the time of which we speak, the traditions of what may be called the heroic ages of Christianity had the same interest for the nations of Europe. There were men who made it their business to collect them, to transcribe them, to read or recite them aloud, for the edification and delight of the people. And this was the only literature, properly so called, of that time.'

Now, if we go back to the *authentic* histories of the sufferings and heroism of the early martyrs, we shall find enough there, both of the wonderful and the affecting, to justify the credulity and enthusiasm of the unlettered people, who saw no reason why they should not believe in one miracle as well as in another. In these universally diffused legends, we may recognise the means, at least one of the means, by which a merciful Providence, working through its own immutable laws, had provided against the utter depravation, almost extinction, of society. Of the 'Dark Ages,' emphatically so called, the period to which I allude was perhaps the darkest; it was 'of Night's black arch the key-stone.' At a time when men were given over to the direst evils that can afflict humanity,—ignorance, idleness, wickedness, misery; at a time when the everyday incidents of life were a violation of all the moral instincts of mankind; at a time when all things seemed abandoned to a blind chance, or the brutal law of force; when there was no repose, no refuge, no safety anywhere; when the powerful inflicted, and the weak endured, whatever we can conceive of most revolting and intolerable; when slavery was recognised by law throughout Europe; when men fled to cloisters, to shut themselves from oppression, and women to shield themselves from outrage; when the manners were harsh, the language gross; when all the softer social sentiments, as pity, reverence, tenderness, found no resting-place in the actual relations of life; when for the higher ranks there was only the fierce excitement of war, and on the humbler classes lay the weary, dreary monotony of a stagnant existence, poor in pleasures of every kind, without aim, without hope; *then—*

wondrous reaction of the ineffaceable instincts of good implanted within us!—arose a literature which reversed the outward order of things, which asserted and kept alive in the hearts of men those pure principles of Christianity which were outraged in their daily actions; a literature in which peace was represented as better than war, and sufferance more dignified than resistance: which exhibited poverty and toil as honourable, and charity as the first of virtues; which held up to imitation and emulation self-sacrifice in the cause of good, and contempt of death for conscience' sake; a literature in which the tenderness, the chastity, the heroism of woman, played a conspicuous part; which distinctly protested against slavery, against violence, against impurity in word and deed; which refreshed the fevered and darkened spirit with images of moral beauty and truth; revealed bright glimpses of a better land, where 'the wicked cease from troubling,' and brought down the angels of God with shining wings and bearing crowns of glory, to do battle with the demons of darkness, to catch the fleeting soul of the triumphant martyr, and carry it at once into a paradise of eternal blessedness and peace!

Now the Legendary Art of the three centuries which comprise the revival of learning, was, as I have said, the reflection of this literature, of this teaching. Considered in this point of view, can we easily overrate its interest and importance?

When, after the long period of darkness which followed upon the decline of the Roman Empire, the Fine Arts began to revive, the first, and for several ages the only, impress they received was that of the religious spirit of the time. Painting, Sculpture, Music, and Architecture, as they emerged one after another from the 'formless void,' were pressed into the service of the Church. But it is a mistake to suppose, that in adroitly adapting the reviving Arts to her purposes, in that magnificent spirit of calculation which at all times characterised her, the Church from the beginning selected the subjects, or dictated the use that was to be made of them. We find, on the contrary, edicts and councils *repressing* the popular extravagances in this respect, and denouncing those apocryphal versions of sacred events and traditions which had become the delight of the people. But vain

were councils and edicts; the tide was too strong to be so checked. The Church found herself obliged to accept and mould to her own objects the exotic elements she could not eradicate. She *absorbed*, so to speak, the evils and errors she could not expel. There seems to have been at this time a sort of compromise between the popular legends, with all their wild mixture of northern and classical superstitions, and the Church legends properly so called. The first great object to which reviving Art was destined, was to render the Christian places of worship a theatre of instruction and improvement for the people, to attract and to interest them by representations of scenes, events, and personages, already so familiar as to require no explanation, appealing at once to their intelligence and their sympathies; embodying in beautiful shapes (beautiful at least in their eyes) associations and feelings and memories deep-rooted in their very hearts, and which had influenced, in no slight degree, the progress of civilisation, the development of mind. Upon these creations of ancient Art we cannot look as *those* did for whom they were created; we cannot annihilate the centuries which lie between us and them; we cannot, in simplicity of heart, forget the artist in the image he has placed before us, nor supply what may be deficient in his work, through a reverentially excited fancy. We are critical, not credulous. We no longer accept this polytheistic form of Christianity; and there is little danger, I suppose, of our falling again into the strange excesses of superstition to which it led. But if we have not much sympathy with modern imitations of Mediæval Art, still less should we sympathise with that narrow puritanical jealousy which holds the monuments of a real and earnest faith in contempt. All that God has permitted once to exist in the past should be considered as the possession of the present; sacred for example or warning, and held as the foundation on which to build up what is better and purer. It should seem an established fact, that all revolutions in religion, in government, and in art, which begin in the spirit of scorn, and in a sweeping destruction of the antecedent condition, only tend to a reaction. Our puritanical ancestors chopped off the heads of Madonnas and Saints, and paid vagabonds to smash the storied windows of our cathedrals; —*now*, are these rejected and outraged shapes of beauty coming back to us, or are we not rather going back to them? As a Protestant, I

might fear lest in doing so we confound the eternal spirit of Christianity with the mutable forms in which it has deigned to speak to the hearts of men, forms which must of necessity vary with the degree of social civilisation, and bear the impress of the feelings and fashions of the age which produce them; but I must also feel that we ought to comprehend, and to hold in due reverence, that which has once been consecrated to holiest aims, which has shown us what a magnificent use has been made of Art, and how it may still be adapted to good and glorious purposes, if, while we respect these time-consecrated images and types, we do not allow them to fetter us, but trust in the progressive spirit of Christianity to furnish us with new impersonations of the good—new combinations of the beautiful. I hate the destructive as I revere the progressive spirit. We must laugh if any one were to try and persuade us that the sun was guided along his blazing path by ‘a fair-haired god who touched a golden lyre;’ but shall we therefore cease to adore in the Apollo Belvedere the majestic symbol of light, the most divine impersonation of intellectual power and beauty? So of the corresponding Christian symbols:—may that time never come, when we shall look up to the effigy of the winged and radiant angel trampling down the brute-fiend, without a glow of faith in the perpetual supremacy and final triumph of good over evil!

It is about a hundred years since the passion, or the fashion, for collecting works of Art, began to be generally diffused among the rich and the noble of this land; and it is amusing to look back and to consider the perversions and affectations of the would-be connoisseurship during this period;—the very small stock of ideas on which people set up a pretension to taste—the false notions, the mixture of pedantry and ignorance, which everywhere prevailed. The publication of Richardson’s book, and Sir Joshua Reynolds’s Discourses, had this advantage,—that they, to a certain degree, diffused a more elevated idea of Art as *Art*, and that they placed connoisseurship on a better and truer basis. In those days we had Inquiries into the Principles of Taste, Treatises on the Sublime and Beautiful, Anecdotes of Painting; and we abounded in Antiquarian Essays on disputed Pictures and mutilated Statues; but then, and up to a late

period, any inquiry into the true spirit and significance of works of Art, as connected with the history of Religion and Civilisation, would have appeared ridiculous—or perhaps dangerous:—we should have had another cry of ‘No Popery,’ and Acts of Parliament forbidding the importation of Saints and Madonnas. It was fortunate, perhaps, that connoisseurs meddled not with such high matters. They talked volubly and harmlessly of ‘hands,’ and ‘masters,’ and ‘schools,’—of ‘draperies,’ of ‘tints,’ of ‘handling,’—of ‘fine heads,’ ‘fine compositions;’ of the ‘grace of Raphael,’ and of the ‘Correggiosity of Correggio.’ The very manner in which the names of the painters were pedantically used instead of the name of the subject, is indicative of this factitious feeling; the only question at issue was, whether such a picture was a genuine ‘Raphael?’ such another a genuine ‘Titian?’ The spirit of the work—whether *that* was genuine; how far it was influenced by the faith and the condition of the age which produced it; whether the conception was properly characteristic, and of *what* it was characteristic—of the subject? or of the school? or of the time?—whether the treatment corresponded to the idea within our own souls, or was modified by the individuality of the artist, or by received conventionalisms of all kinds?—these were questions which had not then occurred to any one; and I am not sure that we are much wiser even now: yet, setting aside all higher considerations, how can we do common justice to the artist, unless we can bring his work to the test of truth? and how can we do this, unless we know what to look for, what was *intended* as to incident, expression, character? One result of our ignorance has been the admiration wasted on the flimsy mannerists of the later ages of Art; men who apparently had no definite *intention* in anything they did, except a dashing outline, or a delicate finish, or a striking and attractive management of colour.

It is curious, this general ignorance with regard to the subjects of Mediæval Art, more particularly now that it has become a reigning fashion among us. We find no such ignorance with regard to the subjects of Classical Art, because the associations connected with them form a part of every liberal education. Do we hear any one say, in looking at Annibal Caracci’s pictures in the National Gallery,

'Which is Silenus, and which is Apollo?' Who ever confounds a Venus with a Minerva, or a Vestal with an Amazon; or would endure an undraped Juno, or a beardless Jupiter? Even the gardener in Zeluco knew Neptune by his 'fork,' and Vulcan by his 'lame leg.' We are indeed so accustomed, in visiting the churches and the galleries abroad, and the collections at home, to the predominance of sacred subjects, that it has become a mere matter of course, and excites no particular interest and attention. We have heard it all accounted for by the fact that the Church and Churchmen were the first, and for a long time the only, patrons of Art. In every sacred edifice, and in every public or private collection enriched from the plunder of sacred edifices, we look for the usual proportion of melancholy martyrdoms and fictitious miracles,—for the predominance of Madonnas and Magdalenes, St. Catherines and St. Jeromes; but why these should predominate, why certain events and characters from the Old and the New Testament should be continually repeated, and others comparatively neglected; whence the predilection for certain legendary personages, who seemed to be multiplied to infinity, and the rarity of others;—of this we know nothing.

We have learned, perhaps, after running through half the galleries and churches in Europe, to distinguish a few of the attributes and characteristic figures which meet us at every turn, yet without any clear idea of their meaning, derivation, or relative propriety. The palm of victory, we know, designates the martyr triumphant in death. We so far emulate the critical sagacity of the gardener in Zeluco that we have learned to distinguish St. Laurence by his gridiron, and St. Catherine by her wheel. We are not at a loss to recognise the Magdalene's 'loose hair and lifted eye,' even when without her skull and her vase of ointment. We learn to know St. Francis by his brown habit and shaven crown and wasted ardent features: but how do we distinguish him from St. Anthony or St. Dominick? As for St. George and the Dragon—from the St. George of the Louvre,—Raphael's,—who sits his horse with the elegant tranquillity of one assured of celestial aid, down to him 'who swings on a sign-post at mine hostess's door,'—he is our familiar acquaintance. But who is that lovely being in the first blush of youth, who, bearing aloft the symbolic cross, stands with one foot on the vanquished dragon?

‘That is a copy after Raphael.’ And who is that majestic creature holding her palm branch, while the unicorn crouches at her feet? ‘That is the famous Moretto at Vienna.’ Are we satisfied?—not in the least! but we try to look wiser, and pass on.

In the old times the painters of these legendary scenes and subjects could always reckon securely on certain associations and certain sympathies in the minds of the spectators. We have outgrown these associations, we repudiate these sympathies. We have taken these works from their consecrated localities, in which they once held each their dedicated place, and we have hung them in our drawing-rooms and our dressing-rooms, over our pianos and our side-boards—and now what do they say to us? That Magdalene, weeping amid her hair, who once spoke comfort to the soul of the fallen sinner,—that Sebastian, arrow-pierced, whose upward ardent glance spoke of courage and hope to the tyrant-ridden serf,—that poor tortured slave, to whose aid St. Mark comes sweeping down from above,—can they speak to *us* of nothing save flowing lines and correct drawing and gorgeous colour? Must we be told that one is a Titian, the other a Guido, the third a Tintoret, before we dare to melt in compassion or admiration?—or the moment we refer to their ancient religious signification and influence, must it be with disdain or with pity? This, as it appears to me, is to take not a rational, but rather a most irrational as well as a most irreverent, view of the question; it is to confine the pleasure and improvement to be derived from works of Art within very narrow bounds; it is to seal up a fountain of the richest poetry, and to shut out a thousand ennobling and inspiring thoughts. Happily there is a growing appreciation of these larger principles of criticism as applied to the study of Art. People look at the pictures which hang round their walls, and have an awakening suspicion that there is more in them than meets the eye—more than mere connoisseurship can interpret; and that they have another, a deeper significance than has been dreamed of by picture dealers and picture collectors, or even picture critics.

II. OF THE DISTINCTION TO BE DRAWN BETWEEN THE DEVOTIONAL AND THE HISTORICAL SUBJECTS.

At first, when entering on a subject so boundless and so diversified, we are at a loss for some leading classification which shall be distinct and intelligible, without being mechanical. It appears to me that all sacred representations, in as far as they appeal to sentiment and imagination, resolve themselves into two great classes, which I shall call the DEVOTIONAL and the HISTORICAL.

Devotional pictures are those which portray the objects of our veneration with reference only to their sacred character, whether standing singly or in company with others. They place before us no action or event, real or supposed. They are neither portrait nor history. A group of sacred personages where no action is represented, is called in Italian a '*sacra conversazione*;'—the word *conversazione*, which signifies a society in which there is communion, being here, as it appears to me, used with peculiar propriety. All subjects, then, which exhibit to us sacred personages, alone or in groups, simply in the character of superior beings, must be considered as *devotionally* treated.

But a sacred subject, without losing wholly its religious import, becomes historical the moment it represents any story, incident, or action, real or imagined. All pictures which exhibit the events of Scripture story; all those which express the actions, miracles, and martyrdoms of saints, come under this class; and to this distinction I must call the attention of the reader, requesting that it may be borne in mind throughout this work.

We must also recollect that a story, action, or fact, may be so represented as to become a symbol expressive of an abstract idea; and some Scriptural and some legendary subjects may be devotional, or historical, according to the sentiment conveyed: for example, the Crucifixion and the Last Supper may be so represented as either to exhibit an event, or to express a symbol of our Redemption. The Raising of Lazarus exhibits in the Catacombs a mystical emblem of the general resurrection; in the grand picture by Sebastian del Piombo, in our National Gallery, it is a scene from the life of

our Saviour. Among the legendary subjects, the Penance of the Magdalene, and St. Martin Dividing his Cloak, may be merely incidents, or they may be symbolical, the first of penitence, the latter of charity, in the general sense. And, again, there are some subjects which, though expressing a scene or an action, are *wholly* mystical and devotional in their import; as the Vision of St. Augustine, and the Marriage of St. Catherine.

Among the grandest of the devotional subjects, we may reckon those compositions which represent the whole celestial hierarchy; the divine personages of the Trinity, the angels and archangels, and the beatified spirits of the just. Such is the subject called the 'Paradiso,' so often met with in pictures and ecclesiastical decoration, where Christ is enthroned in glory; such is also the Coronation of the Virgin, that ancient and popular symbol of the triumph of Religion or the Church; the Adoration of the Lamb; and the Last Judgment, from the Apocalypse. The order of precedence in these sacred assemblages was early settled by ecclesiastical authority, and was almost as absolute as that of a modern code of honour. First after the Trinity, the Virgin Mary, as *Regina Angelorum*, and St. John the Baptist; then, in order, the Evangelists; the Patriarchs, the Prophets; the Apostles; the Fathers; the Bishops; the Martyrs; the Hermits; the Virgins; the Monks, Nuns, and Confessors.

As examples, I may cite the *Paradiso* of Angelico, in the Florence Academy; the Coronation of the Virgin by Hans Hemling, in the Wallerstein collection, which contains not less than fifty-two figures, all individualised with their proper attributes; and which, if it were possible, should be considered in contrast with the Coronation by Angelico. The Flemish painter seems to have carried his intense impression of earthly and individual life into the regions of heaven; the Italian, through a purer inspiration, seems to have brought all Paradise down before us upon earth. In the Adoration of the Lamb by Van Eyck, there are not fewer than two hundred figures. For the Last Judgment, the grand compositions of Orcagna in the Campo Santo,—of Luca Signorelli and Angelico at Orvieto,—and the fresco of Michael Angelo in the Sistine Chapel, may be consulted.

Where the usual order is varied, there is generally some reason

for it; for instance, in the exaltation of a favourite saint, as we sometimes find St. Dominick and St. Francis by the side of St. Peter and St. Paul; and among the miniatures of that extraordinary MS.,—the Hortus Deliciarum, now at Strasbourg, painted for a virgin abbess,—there is a ‘Paradiso,’ in which the painter, either by her command or in compliment to her, has placed the virgins immediately after the angels.

The representation of the Virgin and Child with saints grouped around them, is a devotional subject familiar to us from its constant recurrence. It also frequently happens that the tutelary saint of the locality, or the patron saint of the votary, is represented as seated on a raised throne in the centre; and other saints, though under every other circumstance taking a superior rank, become here accessaries, and are placed on each side or lower down in the picture: for example, where St. Augustine is enthroned, and St. Peter and St. Paul stand on each side, as in a picture by B. Vivarini,¹ or where St. Barbara is enthroned, and Mary Magdalene and St. Catherine stand on each side, as in a picture by Matteo di Siena.²

In such pictures, the votary or donor is often introduced kneeling at the feet of his patron, either alone or accompanied by his wife and other members of his family: and to express the excess of his humility, he is sometimes so diminutive in proportion to the colossal object of his veneration, as to be almost lost to sight; we have frequent examples of this *naïveté* of sentiment in the old mosaics and votive altar-pieces; for instance, in a beautiful old fresco at Assisi, where the Magdalene, a majestic figure about six feet high, holds out her hand in benediction to a little Franciscan friar about a foot in height: but it was abandoned as barbarous in the later schools of Art, and the votary, when retained, appears of the natural size; as in the *Madonna del Donatore* of Raphael,³ where Sigismund Conti is almost the finest and most striking part of that inestimable picture and in the *Madonna* of the Meyer family by Holbein.⁴

When a bishop is introduced into a group of saints kneeling, while all the others are standing, he may be supposed to be the *Donatore*

¹ Venice; SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

² Siena; San Dominico.

³ Rome; Vatican.

⁴ Dresden Gal.

or *Divoto*, the person who presents the picture. When he is standing, he is one of the bishop-patrons or bishop-martyrs, of whom there are some hundreds, and who are more difficult to discriminate than any other pictured saints.

And this leads me to the subject of the so-called *anachronisms* in devotional subjects, where personages who lived at different and distant periods of time are found grouped together. It is curious to find the critics of the last century treating with pity and ridicule, as the result of ignorance or a barbarous unformed taste, the noblest and most spiritual conceptions of poetic Art. Even Sir Joshua Reynolds had so little idea of the true object and feeling of such representations, that he thinks it necessary to apologise for the error of the painter, or the mistaken piety of his employer. We must remember that the personages here brought together in their sacred character belong no more to our earth, but to heaven and eternity: for them there is no longer time or place; they are here assembled together in the perpetual 'communion of saints,'—immortal contemporaries in that kingdom where the Angel of the Apocalypse proclaimed 'that there should be time no longer.'

Such groups are sometimes arranged with an artless solemnity, all the personages standing and looking straight out of the picture at the worshipper. Sometimes there is a touch of dramatic sentiment, which, without interfering with the solemn devotional feeling, lights up the whole with the charm of a purpose; as in the Correggio at Parma, where St. Jerome presents his translation of the Scriptures to the infant Christ, while an angel turns the leaves, and Mary Magdalene, symbol of redemption and reconciliation, bends to kiss the feet of the Saviour.

Our ancestors of the Middle Ages were not particular in drawing that strong line of demarcation between the classical, Jewish, and Christian periods of history, that we do. They saw only Christendom everywhere; they regarded the past only in relation to Christianity. Hence we find in the early ecclesiastical monuments and edifices such a strange assemblage of Pagan, Scriptural, and Christian worthies; as, Hector of Troy, Alexander the Great, King David,

Judas Maccabeus, King Arthur, St. George, Godfrey of Boulogne, Lucretia, Virginia, Judith, St. Elizabeth, St. Bridget (as in the Cross of Nuremburg). In the curious Manual of Greek Art, published by Didron, we find the Greek philosophers and poets entering into a scheme of ecclesiastical decoration, as in the carved stalls in the Cathedral of Ulm, where Solon, Apollonius, Plutarch, Plato, Sophocles, are represented, holding each a scroll, on which is inscribed a passage from their works, interpreted into an allusion to the coming of Christ: and I have seen a picture of the Nativity in which the sibyls are dancing hand-in-hand around the cradle of the new-born Saviour. This may appear profane to some, but the comprehension of the whole universe within the pale of Christianity strikes me as being in the most Catholic, as well as in the most poetical, spirit.

It is in devotional subjects that we commonly find those anthropomorphic representations of the Divinity which shock devout people; and which no excuse or argument can render endurable to those who see in them only ignorant irreverence or intentional profaneness. It might be pleaded that the profaneness is not intentional; that emblems and forms are, in the imitative arts, what figures of speech are in language; that only through a figure of speech can any attempt be made to place the idea of Almighty power before us. Familiar expressions, consecrated by Scripture usage, represent the Deity as reposing, waking, stretching forth His hand, sitting on a throne; as pleased, angry, vengeful, repentant; and the ancient painters, speaking the language proper to their art, appear to have turned these emblematical words into emblematical pictures. I forbear to say more on this point, because I have taken throughout the poetical and not the religious view of Art, and this is an objection which must be left, as a matter of feeling, to the amount of candour and knowledge in the critical reader.

In the sacred subjects, properly called HISTORICAL, we must be careful to distinguish between those which are *Scriptural*, representing scenes from the Old or New Testament, and those which are *Legendary*.

Of the first, for the present, I do not speak, as they will be fully treated hereafter.

The historical subjects from the lives of the saints consist principally of *Miracles* and *Martyrdoms*.

In the first, it is worth remarking that we have no pictured miracle which is not imitated from the Old or the New Testament (unless it be an obvious emblem, as where the saint carries his own head). There is no act of supernatural power related of any saint which is not recorded of some great Scriptural personage. The object was to represent the favourite patron as a copy of the great universal type of beneficence, CHRIST OUR REDEEMER. And they were not satisfied that the resemblance should lie in character only; but should emulate the power of Christ in His visible actions. We must remember that the common people of the Middle Ages did not, and could not, distinguish between miracles accredited by the testimony of Scripture and those which were fabrications, or at least exaggerations. All miracles related as divine interpositions were to them equally possible, equally credible. If a more extended knowledge of the natural laws renders us in these days less credulous, it also shows us that many things were possible, under particular conditions, which were long deemed supernatural.

We find in the legendary pictures, that the birth of several saints is announced by an angel, or in a dream, as in the stories of St. Catherine, St. Roch, &c. They exhibit precocious piety and wisdom, as in the story of St. Nicholas, who also calms a tempest, and guides the storm-tossed vessel safe to land. They walk on the water, as in the stories of St. Raymond and St. Hyacinth; or a river divides, to let them pass, as in the story of St. Alban. Saints are fed and comforted miraculously, or delivered from prison by angels; or resist fire, like the 'Three Children.' The multiplication of bread, and the transformation of water into wine, are standing miracles. But those which most frequently occur in pictures, are the healing of the sick, the lame, the blind; the casting out of demons, the restoration of the dead, or some other manifestation of compassionate and beneficent power.

Some of the pictured legends are partly Scriptural, partly historical, as the story of St. Peter; others are clearly religious apologues founded on fact or tradition, as those of St. Mary of Egypt and St. Christopher; others are obviously and purely allegorical, as the Greek

story of St. Sophia (*i.e.*, Heavenly Wisdom, $\Sigma\Phi\text{I}\text{A}$) and her celestial progeny, St. Faith, St. Hope, and St. Charity, all martyred by the blind and cruel Pagans. The names sound as if borrowed from the 'Pilgrim's Progress;' and it is curious to find Bunyan's allegorical legend, the favourite picture-book of the people, appearing just at the time when the legends and pictures of the saints became objects of puritanical horror, and supplying their place in the popular imagination.

Martyrdoms are only too common: they present to us Christianity under its most mystical aspect—the deification of suffering; but to render these representations effective, they should be pathetic without being terrible, they should speak to us

Of melancholy fear subdued by faith,
Of blessed consolations in distress;

but not of the horrid cruelty of man towards man. It has been well remarked by my friend M. Rio (to whose charming and eloquent exposition of Christian Art I refer with ever-new delight), that the early painters of Western Christendom avoided these subjects, and that their prevalence in ecclesiastical decoration marked the decline of religious feeling, and the degeneracy of Art. But this remark does not apply to Byzantine Art; for we find from the exact description of a picture of the martyrdom of St. Euphemia (both the picture and the description dating from the third century), that such representations were then common, and were appealed to in the same manner as now, to excite the feelings of the people.

The martyrdoms generally met with are those of St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Stephen Protomartyr, St. Laurence, St. Catherine, and St. Sebastian. These we find everywhere, in all countries and localities. Where the patron of the church or chapel is a martyr, his martyrdom holds a conspicuous place, often over the high altar, and accompanied by all the moving circumstances which can excite the pity, or horror, or enthusiasm of the pious votaries; but in the best examples we find the saint preparing for his death, not suffering the torments actually inflicted; so that the mind is elevated by the sentiment of his courage, not disturbed and disgusted by the spectacle of his agonies.

III. OF CERTAIN PATRON SAINTS,

WHO ARE COMMONLY GROUPED TOGETHER IN WORKS OF ART, OR WHO BELONG TO PARTICULAR COUNTRIES, CITIES, OR LOCALITIES.

WHILE such assemblages of holy persons as are found grouped together in devotional pictures are to be considered as quite independent of chronology, we shall find that the selection has been neither capricious nor arbitrary, and, with a little consideration, we shall discover the leading idea in the mind of the artist—that, at least, which was intended to be conveyed to the mind of the spectator, and which was much more intelligible in former times than it is now.

Sometimes we find certain saints placed in companionship, because they are the joint patrons and protectors of the city or locality for which the picture was painted. Thus in the Bologna pictures we constantly find the bishop St. Petronius, St. Eloy, St. Dominick, and the warrior St. Proculus; while in the Venetian pictures we have perpetual St. Marks, St. Georges, and St. Catherines.

Or, secondly, they are connected by kindred powers and attributes. Thus we find St. Sebastian, the patron against pestilence, in company with St. Roch, who ministered to the sick of the plague. Thus St. Catherine and St. Jerome, the two patrons of school theology, are often found in companionship. Where St. Catherine and St. Barbara are found together, the first figures as patroness of the ecclesiastical, and the second of the military, power—or they represent respectively the contemplative and the active life.

Or, thirdly, they are combined in the fancy by some inevitable association; as St. Augustine and St. Stephen are often in the same picture, because St. Augustine dedicated some of his most eloquent works to the glory of the martyr.

Or they were friends on earth, for which reason St. Cyprian and St. Cornelius are placed together.

Or their relics repose in the same spot; whence St. Stephen and St. Laurence have become almost inseparable. When St. Vincent and

St. Laurence are placed together (as in a lovely composition of Parmigiano, where they sit reading out of the same book), it is because of the similarity of their fate, and that the popular tradition supposed them to be brothers.

A point of more general importance, and capable of more definite explanation, is the predominance of certain sacred personages in particular schools of Art. St. Cosmo and St. Damian, for instance, are perpetually recurring in the Florentine pictures as the patron saints of the Medici family. In the Lombard pictures St. Ambrose is often found without his compeers—not as doctor of the Church, but as bishop of Milan. In the Siena pictures, we may look for the nun St. Catherine of Siena, and St. Ansano, the apostle of the Sienese, holding his banner and palm. And in the Augustine chapels and churches, St. Augustine figures, not as doctor of the Church, but as patriarch of the Order.

A bishop-martyr, holding his palm, and not otherwise designated either by name or attribute, would be—in one of Perugino's pictures, St. Ercolano or St. Costanzo; in a Florentine picture, St. Donato or St. Romulo; if the picture were painted in the march of Ancona, it would probably be St Apollinaris of Ravenna; at Naples it would be St. Januarius; at Paris, or in a picture painted for a French church, of which there are many in Italy, it would be St. Denis; and in German prints, St. Boniface or St. Lambert. I need not further multiply examples.

If the locality from which the picture came will sometimes determine the names of the personages, so the personages represented will often explain the purpose and intended situation of the picture. There is in Lord Ashburton's gallery a noble group representing together St. Peter, St. Leonard, St. Martha, and Mary Magdalene. Such a combination points it out at once as intended for a charitable institution, and, on inquiry, we find that it was painted for the chapel of a brotherhood associated to redeem prisoners, to ransom slaves, to work for the poor, and to convert the sinner to repentance. Many such interesting and instructive analogies will be pointed out in the course of the following pages, and the observer of works of Art will discover others for himself.

I add here, in alphabetical order, those countries and localities of which the patron saints are distinguished in works of Art.¹

ANCONA : St. Cyriacus, *Bishop*; and his mother Anna, *Martyr*.

AREZZO : St. Donato, *Bishop*.

ASTI, NOVARA, and all through the cities of PIEDMONT and the north of Italy, we find the *Warrior*, St. Maurice, and his companions St. Secundus, St. Alexander, and the other Martyrs of the Theban Legion.

AUGSBURG : St. Ulrich, *Bishop*; St. Afra, *Martyr*.

AUSTRIA : St. Leopold, St. Stephen, St. Maximilian, St. Coloman.

BAMBERG : St. Henry and St. Cunegunda, *Emperor* and *Empress*.

BARCELONA : St. Eulalia, *Martyr*. (In Spanish pictures only.)

BAVARIA : St. George, *Martyr*.

BERGAMO : St. Alexander, *Warrior*; St. Grata, *Widow*.

BOHEMIA : St. John Nepomuck, *Priest*; St. Wenceslaus, *King*; St. Ludmilla, *Queen*; St. Vitus, *young Martyr*; St. Procopius, *Hermit*.

BOLOGNA : St. Petronius, *Bishop*; St. Dominick, *Friar*; St. Proculus, *Warrior Martyr*; St. Eloy (Eligio), *Bishop* and *Smith*.

BRĒSCIA : St. Faustinus and Jovita; St. Julia, St. Afra, *Martyrs*.

BRUGES : St. John the Baptist.

BURGUNDY : St. Andrew, *Apostle*.

COLOGNE : The Three Kings; St. Ursula, *Virgin Martyr*; St. Gereon, *Warrior Martyr*.

COMO : St. Abbondio, *Bishop*.

CORTONA : St. Margaret, *Nun* and *Penitent*.

CREMONA : St. Omobuono, *Secular Habit*.

FERRARA : St. Geminiano, *Bishop*; St. George, *Martyr*; St. Barbara, *Martyr*.

FIESOLE : St. Romolo, *Bishop*.

FLORENCE : St. John the Baptist; St. Zenobio, St. Antonino, *Bishops*; St. Reparata, *Virgin Martyr*; St. Cosmo and Damian (the Apothecary Saints, especial patrons of the Medici family); St. Verdiana, *Nun*; St. Miniato, *Warrior*.

FRANCE : St. Michael, *Angel*; St. Dionysius (Denis), *Bishop*; St. Geneviève, *Virgin*; St. Martin, *Bishop*.

GENOA : St. George, St. Laurence, *Martyrs*.

GHENT : St. Bavon, *Prince* and *Hermit*.

GRENOBLE : St. Hugh the Carthusian.

IRELAND : St. Patrick, *Bishop*; St. Bridget, *Abbess*.

LUCCA : St. Martin, *Bishop*; St. Frediano, *Priest*; St. Zita, *Virgin*.

LIEGE : St. Hubert, *Bishop* and *Huntsman*; St. Lambert, *Bishop*.

MADRID : St. Isidore, *Labourer*; St. Dominick, *Friar* (Patron of the Escorial, St. Laurence).

¹ The Saints who do not appear in these volumes will be found in the 'Legends of the Monastic Orders.'

MANTUA : St. Andrew ; St. Barbara ; St. George and St. Longinus, *Warrior Saints*.
 MARSEILLES and all PROVENCE : St. Lazarus ; St. Mary Magdalen ; St. Martha ;
 St. Marcella.

MESSINA : St. Agatha, *Martyr*.

MILAN : St. Ambrose, *Bishop and Doctor* ; St. Gervasius and St. Protasius,
Martyrs ; St. Maurice, St. Victor, *Warriors*.

MODENA : St. Geminiano, *Bishop*. (In pictures of the Correggio School.)

NAPLES : St. Januarius, *Martyr*.

NOVARA : St. Gaudenzio, *Bishop*.

NUREMBURG : St. Laurence, *Martyr* ; St. Sebald, *Pilgrim and Hermit*. (The
 latter an important person in pictures and prints of the Albert Dürer school.)

PADUA : St. Anthony of Padua, *Friar*.

PARIS : St. Geneviève, *Virgin* ; St. Germain, *Bishop* ; St. Hippolitus, *Martyr*.

PARMA : St. John, B. ; St. Thomas the Apostle ; St. Bernard, *Monk* ; St. Hilary
 (Ilario), *Bishop*.

PERUGIA : St. Ercolano and St. Costanzo, *Bishops*.

PIACENZA : St. Justina, *Martyr* ; St. Antoninus, *Warrior* (Theban Legion).

PIEDMONT and SAVOY : St. John, B. ; St. Maurice and St. George, *Warriors* ;
 St. Amadeus, *King*.

PISA : St. Ranieri, *Hermit* ; St. Torpé, *Warrior* ; St. Ephesus and St. Potita,
Warriors. (These only in the ancient Pisan school.)

RAVENNA : St. Appollinaris, *Bishop*.

RMINI : St. Julian, *Martyr*. (A young saint, popular all through the north
 and down the east coast of Italy.)

SEVILLE : St. Leander, *Bishop* ; St. Justina, St. Rufina, *Sisters and Martyrs*.
 (These are only found in Spanish pictures.)

SICILY : St. Vitus, *Martyr* ; St. Rosalia, *Recluse* (Palermo) ; St. Agatha (Messina),
 St. Lucia (Syracuse), *Martyrs*.

SIENNA : St. Ansano, *Martyr* ; St. Catherine of Siena, *Nun* ; St. Bernardino,
Friar.

THURINGIA and all that part of SAXONY : St. Elizabeth of Hungary ; St. Boni-
 face, *Bishop*.

TOLEDO : St. Ildefonso, *Bishop* ; and St. Leocadia, *Martyr*. (Only in Spanish
 pictures.)

TREVISO : St. Liberale, *Warrior*.

TURIN : St. John the Baptist ; St. Maurice, *Warrior*.

UMBRIA : All through this region and the eastern coast of Italy, very important
 in respect to Art, the favourite saints are—St. Nicholas, *Bishop* ; St. Francis of
 Assisi, *Friar* ; St. Clara, *Nun* ; St. Julian, *Martyr* ; and St. Catherine, *Virgin Martyr*.

VALENCIA : St. Vincent, *Martyr*.

VENICE : St. Mark, *Apostle* ; St. George, St. Theodore, *Warriors* ; St. Nicholas,
Bishop ; St. Catherine, St. Christina, *Virgin Martyrs*.

VERCELLI : St. Eusebius, *Bishop* ; St. Thronestus, *Warrior* (Theban Legion).

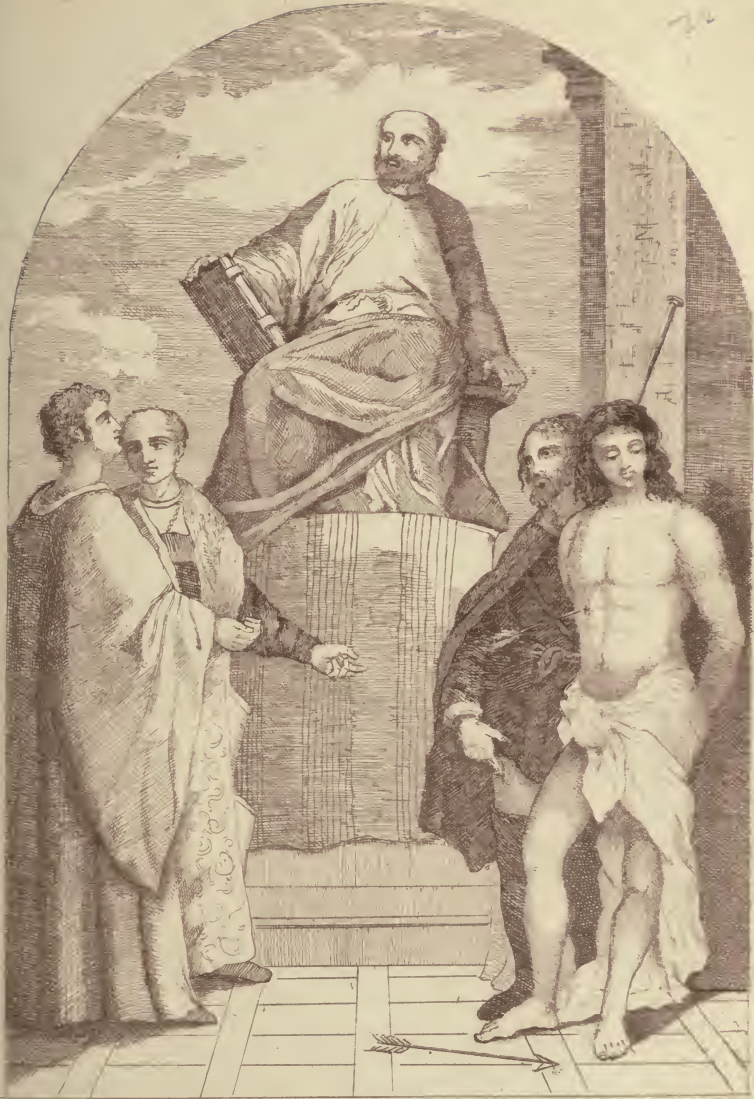
VERONA : St. Zeno, *Bishop* ; St. Fermo, *Martyr* ; St. Euphemia, *Martyr*.

VOTIVE PICTURES are those which have been dedicated in certain religious edifices, in fulfilment of vows ; either as the expression of thanksgiving for blessings which have been vouchsafed, or propitiative against calamities to be averted. The far greater number of these pictures commemorate an escape from danger, sickness, death ; and more especially, some visitation of the plague, that terrible and frequent scourge of the Middle Ages. The significance of such pictures is generally indicated by the presence of St. Sebastian or St. Roch, the patrons against the plague ; or St. Cosmo and St. Damian, the healing and medical saints ; accompanied by the patron saints of the country or locality, if it be a public act of devotion ; or, if dedicated by private or individual piety, the donor kneels, presented by his own patron saint. In general, though not always, this expressive group is arranged in attendance on the enthroned Madonna and her divine Son, as the universal protectors from all evil. Such pictures are among the most interesting and remarkable of the works of sacred Art which remain to us, and have often a pathetic and poetical beauty, and an historical significance, which it is a chief purpose of these volumes to interpret and illustrate.

IV. OF CERTAIN EMBLEMS AND ATTRIBUTES.

To know something of the attributes and emblems of general application, as well as those proper to each saint, is absolutely necessary ; but it will also greatly assist the fancy and the memory to *understand* their origin and significance. For this reason I will add a few words of explanation.

The GLORY, NIMBUS, or AUREOLE—the Christian attribute of sanctity, and used generally to distinguish all holy personages—is of pagan origin. It expressed the luminous nebula (Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 205), supposed to emanate from, and surround, the Divine Essence, which stood, ‘a shade in midst of its own brightness.’ Images of the gods were decorated with a crown of rays, or with stars ; and when the Roman emperors assumed the honours due to



S^t. Domian
ASTOR

S^t. Mark

S^t. Sebastian

A Venetian votive picture against the plague.

divinity, they appeared in public crowned with golden radii. The colossal statue of Nero wore a circle of rays, imitating the glory of the sun. This ornament became customary; and not only the first Cæsars, but the Christian emperors, adopted the same divine insignia; and it became at length so common that we find it on some medals, round the heads of the consuls of the later empire. Considered in the East as *the attribute of power only*, whether good or evil, we find, wherever early Art has been developed under Byzantine influences, the nimbus thus applied. Satan, in many Greek, Saxon, and French miniatures, from the ninth to the thirteenth century, wears a glory. In a psalter of the twelfth century, the Beast of the Apocalypse with seven heads, has six heads surrounded by the nimbus; the seventh, wounded and drooping, is without the sign of power.

But in Western Art the associations with this attribute were not merely those of dignity, but of something divine and consecrated. It was for a long time avoided in the Christian representations as being appropriated by false gods or heathen pride; and when first adopted does not seem clear.¹ The earliest example cited is a gem of St. Martin of the early part of the sixth century, in which the glory round his head seems to represent his apotheosis; and in all instances it is evidently intended to represent divine glory and beatitude.

The glory round the head is properly the nimbus or aureole. The oblong glory surrounding the whole person, called in Latin the *vesica piscis*, and in Italian the *mandorla* (almond) from its form, is confined to figures of Christ and the Virgin, or saints who are in the act of ascending into heaven. When used to distinguish one of the three divine persons of the Trinity, the glory is often cruciform or triangular. The square nimbus designates a person living at the time the work was executed. In the frescoes of Giotto at Assisi, the allegorical personages are in some instances distinguished by the hexagonal nimbus. In other instances it is circular. From the fifth to the twelfth century the nimbus had the form

¹ 'Avant le 5me siècle le nimbe chrétien ne se voit pas sur les monuments *authentiques*. (Didron, Iconographie, p. 101.)

of a disc or plate over the head.¹ From the twelfth to the fifteenth century, it was a broad golden band, round, or rather behind the head, composed of circle within circle, often adorned with precious stones, and sometimes having the name of the saint inscribed within it. From the fifteenth century it was a bright fillet over the head, and in the seventeenth century it disappeared altogether, in pictures the glory is always golden, the colour of light; in miniatures and stained glass I have seen glories of various colours, red, blue, or green.²

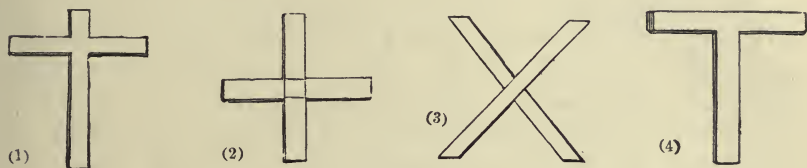
The FISH was the earliest, the most universal, of the Christian emblems, partly as the symbol of water and the rite of baptism, and also because the five Greek letters which express the word Fish form the anagram of the name of Jesus Christ. In this sense we find the fish as a general symbol of the Christian faith upon the sarcophagi of the early Christians; on the tombs of the martyrs in the Catacombs; on rings, coins, lamps, and other utensils; and as an ornament in early Christian architecture. It is usually a dolphin, which among the pagans had also a sacred significance.

The passage in the Gospel, 'Follow me, and I will make ye fishers of men,' is supposed to have originated the use of this symbol; and I may observe here, that the fish placed in the hands of St. Peter has probably a double or treble signification, alluding to his former occupation as a fisherman, his conversion to Christianity, and his vocation as a Christian apostle, *i.e.*, a fisher of men, in the sense used by Christ; and in the same sense, we find it given as an attribute to bishops who were famous for converting and baptizing, as St. Zeno of Verona, and Gregory of Tours.

¹ A metal circle, like a round plate, was fastened on the head of those statues placed in the open air, to defend them from the rain or dust. Some of the ancient glories are very like those plates, but I do not think they are derived from them.

² I believe these coloured glories to be symbolical, but am not sure of the application of the colours. Among the miniatures of the *Hortus Deliciarum*, painted in 1180, is a representation of the celestial paradise, in which the virgins, the apostles, the martyrs, and confessors wear the golden nimbus; the prophets and the patriarchs, the white or silver nimbus; the saints who strove with temptation, the red nimbus; those who were married have the nimbus green, while the beatified penitents have theirs of a yellowish white, somewhat shaded. (Didron, *Iconographie Chrétienne* p. 168.)

The Cross.—About the tenth century the Fish disappeared, and the Cross—symbol of our redemption, from the apostolic times—became the sole and universal emblem of the Christian faith. The cross placed in the hand of a saint is usually the Latin cross (1), the form ascribed to the cross on which our Saviour suffered. Other crosses are used as emblems or ornaments, but still having the same signification: as the Greek cross (2), in which the arms are all of the same length; the transverse cross, on which St.



Andrew is supposed to have suffered, in this form (3); the Egyptian cross, sometimes placed in the hands of St. Philip the apostle, and it was also the form of the crutch of St. Anthony, and embroidered on his cope or robe, hence it is called St. Anthony's cross (4). There is also the Maltese cross, and various ornamental crosses. The double cross on the top of a staff, instead of the crozier, is borne by the Pope only; the staff with a single cross by the Greek bishops.

At first, the Cross was a sign only. When formed of gold or silver, the five wounds of Christ were signified by a ruby or carbuncle at each extremity, and one in the centre. It was not till the sixth century that the Cross became a CRUCIFIX, no longer an emblem, but an *image*.

The LAMB, in Christian Art, is the peculiar symbol of the Redeemer, as the sacrifice without blemish; in this sense it is given as an attribute to John the Baptist. The lamb is also the general emblem of innocence, meekness, modesty; in this sense it is given to St. Agnes, of whom Massillon said so beautifully, 'Peu de pudeur, où il n'y a pas de religion; peu de religion, où il n'y a pas de pudeur.'

The PELICAN, tearing open her breast to feed her young with her own blood, was an early symbol of our redemption through Christ.

One or both of these emblems are frequently found in ancient crosses and crucifixes; the lamb at the foot, the pelican at the top, of the cross.

The DRAGON is the emblem of sin in general, and of the sin of idolatry in particular; and the dragon slain and vanquished by the power of the Cross, is the perpetually recurring myth, which, varied in a thousand ways, we find running through all the old Christian legends; not subject to misapprehension in the earliest times; but as the cloud of ignorance darkened and deepened, the symbol was translated into a fact. It has been suggested that the dragon, which is to us a phantasm and an allegory, which, in the Middle Ages, was the visible shape of the demon adversary of all truth and goodness, might have been, as regards form, originally *a fact*; for wherever we have dragon legends, whether the scene be laid in Asia, Africa, or Europe, the imputed circumstances and the form are little varied. The dragons introduced into early painting and sculpture so invariably represent a gigantic winged crocodile, that it is presumed there must have been some common origin for the type chosen as if by common consent; and that this common type may have been some fossil remains of the Saurian species, or even some far-off dim tradition of one of these tremendous reptiles surviving in Heaven knows what vast desolate morass or inland lake, and spreading horror and devastation along its shores. At Aix, a huge fossilised head of one of the Sauri was for a long time preserved as the head of the identical dragon subdued by St. Martha; and St. Jerome relates that he had himself beheld at Tyre the bones of the sea monster to which Andromeda had been exposed—probably some fossil remains, which in the popular imagination were thus accounted for. Professor Owen told me, that the head of a dragon in one of the legendary pictures he had seen in Italy, closely resembled in form that of the *Deinotherium Giganteum*. These observations have reference only to the type adopted when the old Scripture allegory took form and shape. The dragon of Holy Writ is the same as the serpent, *i.e.*, personified sin, the spiritual enemy of mankind.

The Scriptural phrase of the 'jaws of hell' is literally rendered in

the ancient works of Art by the huge jaws of a dragon, wide open and emitting flames, into which the souls of sinners are tumbled headlong. In pictures, sin is also typified by a serpent or snake; in this form it is placed under the feet of the Madonna, sometimes with an apple in its mouth; sometimes, but only in late pictures of the seventeenth century, winding its green scaly length round and round a globe, significant of the subjugation of the whole earth to the power of sin till delivered by the Redeemer. On this subject I shall have much more to say when treating of the pictures of the Fall of Man, and the subjects taken from the Apocalypse: for the present we need only bear in mind the various significations of the popular Dragon myth, which may shadow forth the conquest over sin, as in the legends of St. Michael and St. Margaret; or over paganism, as in the legends of St. Sylvester and St. George; or sometimes a destroying flood, as in the legend of St. Martha, where the inundation of the Rhone is figured by a dragon emerging from the waters and spreading around death and pestilence,—like the Python of the Grecian myth.

The LION, as an ancient Christian symbol, is of frequent recurrence, more particularly in architectural decoration. Antiquaries are not agreed as to the exact meaning attached to the mystical lions placed in the porches of so many old Lombard churches; sometimes with an animal, sometimes with a man, in their paws. But we find that the lion was an ancient symbol of the Redeemer, 'the Lion of the tribe of Judah:' also of the resurrection of the Redeemer; because, according to an oriental fable, the lion's cub was born dead, and in three days its sire licked it into life. In this sense it occurs in the windows of the cathedral at Bourges. In either sense it may probably have been adopted as a frequent ornament in the church utensils, and in ecclesiastical decoration, supporting the pillars in front, or the carved thrones, &c.

The lion also typifies solitude—the wilderness; and, in this sense, is placed near St. Jerome and other saints who did penance, or lived as hermits in the desert; as in the legends of St. Paul the hermit, St. Mary of Egypt, St. Onofrio. Further, the lion as an attribute denoted death in the amphitheatre, and with this signification is placed near certain martyrs, as St. Ignatius and St. Euphemia. The

lion, as the type of fortitude and resolution, was placed at the feet of those martyrs who had suffered with singular courage, as St. Adrian and St. Natalia.¹

When other wild beasts, as wolves and bears, are placed at the feet of a saint attired as abbot or bishop, it signifies that he cleared waste land, cut down forests, and substituted Christian culture and civilisation for paganism and the lawless hunter's life: such is the significance in pictures of St. Magnus, St. Florentius, and St. Germain of Auxerre.

The HART or HIND was also an emblem of double signification. It was a type of solitude and of purity of life, and was also a type of piety and religious aspiration, adopted from the forty-second Psalm, 'Like as the hart panteth after the water-brooks, so panteth my soul for Thee, O God!'

When the original meaning of the lion, the hart, and other emblems, was no longer present to the popular mind, legends were invented to account for them; and that which had been a symbol, became an incident, or an historical attribute,—as in the stories of the lion healed by St. Jerome, or digging the grave of St. Paul; the miraculous stag which appeared to St. Eustace and St. Hubert; the wounded doe in the legend of St. Giles; and the hind which spoke to St. Julian.

The PEACOCK, the bird of Juno, was an ancient pagan symbol, signifying the apotheosis of an empress, as we find from many of the old Roman coins and medals. The early Christians, accustomed to this interpretation, adopted it as a general emblem of the mortal exchanged for the immortal existence; and, with this signification, we find the peacock with outspread train on the walls and ceilings of catacombs, the tombs of the martyrs, and many of the sarcophagi, down to the fourth and fifth centuries. It is only in modern times that the peacock has become the emblem of worldly pride.

The CROWN, as introduced in Christian Art, is either an emblem or an attribute. It has been the emblem from all antiquity of victory,

¹ In the example of St. Jerome, a lion may have originally typified any hindrance in the way of study or of duty; in allusion to the text, 'The slothful man saith, There is a lion by the way.' Prov. xxvi. 13.

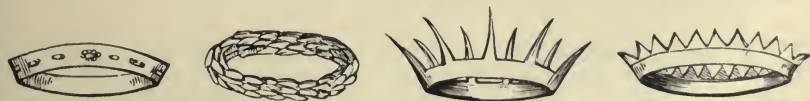
and of recompense due to superior power or virtue. In this sense the word and the image are used in Scripture in many passages: for example, 'Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of glory.' And in this sense, as the recompense of those who had fought the good fight to the end, and conquered, the crown became the especial symbol of the glory of martyrdom. In very ancient pictures, a hand is seen coming out of heaven holding a wreath or circlet; afterwards it is an angel who descends with a crown, which is sometimes a coronet of gold and jewels, sometimes a wreath of palm or myrtle. In general only the female martyrs wear the symbolical crown of glory; martyrs of the other sex hold the crown in their hands, or it is borne by an angel. Hence we may presume that the crown, which among the Jews was the especial ornament of a bride, signified the bride or spouse of Christ—one dedicated to virginity for his sake; and in this sense, down to the present time, the crown is placed on the head of a nun at the moment of consecration. Therefore in the old pictures of female martyrs we may interpret the crown in this double sense, as signifying at once the bride and the martyr.

But it is necessary also to distinguish between the *symbol* and the *attribute*: thus, where St. Cecilia and St. Barbara wear the crown, it is the symbol of their glorious martyrdom; when St. Catherine and St. Ursula wear the crown, it is at once as the symbol of martyrdom and the attribute of their royal rank as princesses.

The crown is also the symbol of sovereignty. When it is placed on the head of the Virgin, it is as Queen of Heaven, and also as the 'Spouse' of Scripture allegory.

But the crown is also an attribute, and frequently, when worn by a saint or placed at his feet, signifies that he was royal or of princely birth: as in the pictures of Louis of France, St. William, St. Elizabeth, St. Helena, and many others.

The crowns in the Italian pictures are generally a wreath, or a



simple circle of gold and jewels, or a coronet radiated with a few

points. But in the old German pictures the crown is often of most magnificent workmanship, blazing with jewels.

I have seen a real silver crown placed on the figures of certain popular saints, but as a votive tribute, not an emblem.

The **SWORD** is also either a symbol or an attribute. As a symbol, it signifies generally a martyrdom by any violent death, and, in this sense, is given to many saints who did not die by the sword. As an attribute, it signifies the particular death suffered, and that the martyr in whose hand or at whose feet it is placed was beheaded: in this sense it is given to St. Paul, St. Catherine, and many others. It is given also to the warrior-martyrs, as the attribute of their military profession. Other symbols of martyrdom are the **AXE**, the **LANCE**, and the **CLUB**.

ARROWS, which are attributes, St. Ursula, St. Christina, and St. Sebastian.

The **PONIARD**, given to St. Lucia.

The **CAULDRON**, given to St. John the Evangelist and St. Cecilia.

The **PINCERS** and **SHEARS**, St. Apollonia and St. Agatha.

The **WHEELS**, St. Catherine.

FIRE and **FLAMES** are sometimes an emblem of martyrdom and punishment, and sometimes of religious fervour.

A **BELL** was supposed to have power to exorcise demons, and for this reason is given to the haunted St. Anthony.

The **SHELL** signifies pilgrimage.

The **SKULL**, penance.

The **ANVIL**, as an attribute of martyrdom, belongs to St. Adrian only.

The PALM, the ancient classical symbol of victory and triumph, was early assumed by the Christians as the universal symbol of martyrdom, and for this adaptation of a pagan ornament they found warrant in Scripture: Rev. vii. 9, 'And after this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude stood before the throne clothed with white robes and with palms in their hands.' . . . 'And he said to me, These are they which came out of great tribulation.' Hence in pictures of martyrdoms an angel descends with the palm; hence it is figured on the tombs of early martyrs, and placed in the hands of those who suffered in the cause of truth, as expressing their final victory over the powers of sin and death.

The sensual think with reverence of the palm
Which the chaste votary wields.

The palm varies in form from a small leaf to the size of a palm branch, almost a tree. It is very small in the early Italian pictures, very large in the Spanish pictures. In the Siena pictures it has a



bunch of dates depending from it. It is only in late pictures that the palm, with a total disregard to the sacredness of its original signification, is placed on the ground, or under the feet of the saint.

The STANDARD, or banner, is also the symbol of victory, the spiritual victory over sin, death, and idolatry. It is borne by our Saviour after His resurrection, and is placed in the hands of St. George, St. Maurice, and other military saints; in the hands of some victorious martyrs, as St. Julian, St. Ansano, and of those who preached the

Gospel among infidels; also in the hands of St. Ursula and St. Reparata, the only female saints, I believe, who bear this attribute.

The OLIVE, as the well-known emblem of peace and reconciliation, is figured on the tombs of the early martyrs; sometimes with, sometimes without, the dove. The olive is borne as the attribute of peace by the angel Gabriel, by St. Agnes, and by St. Pantaleon; sometimes also by the angels in a Nativity, who announce 'peace on earth.'

The DOVE in Christian Art is the emblem of the Holy Ghost; and, besides its introduction into various subjects from the New Testament, as the Annunciation, the Baptism, the Pentecost, it is placed near certain saints who are supposed to have been particularly inspired, as St. Gregory, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Hilarius, and others.

The dove is also a symbol of simplicity and purity of heart, and, as such, it is introduced into pictures of female saints, and especially of the Madonna and Child.

It is also the emblem of the soul; in this sense it is seen issuing from the lips of dying martyrs, and is found in pictures of St. Eulalia of Merida, and St. Scholastica the sister of St. Benedict.

The LILY is another symbol of purity, of very general application. We find it in pictures of the Virgin, and particularly in pictures of the Annunciation. It is placed significantly in the hand of St. Joseph, the husband of the Virgin Mary, his staff, according to the legend, having put forth lilies; it is given, as an emblem merely, to St. Francis, St. Anthony of Padua, St. Dominick, and St. Catherine of Siena, to express the particular purity of their lives.

The UNICORN is another ancient symbol of purity, in allusion to the fable that it could never be captured except by a virgin stainless in mind and life; it has become in consequence the emblem peculiarly of *female* chastity, but in Christian Art is appropriate only to the Virgin Mary and St. Justina.

The FLAMING HEART expresses fervent piety and love: in early pictures it is given to St. Augustine, merely in allusion to a famous

passage in his 'Confessions;' but in the later schools of Art it has become a general and rather vulgar emblem of spiritual love: in this sense it is given to St. Theresa; St. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi, a Florentine nun; and some of the Jesuit saints.

The Book in the hands of the Evangelists and the Apostles is an attribute, and represents the Gospel. In the hand of St. Stephen it is the Old Testament; in the hand of any other saint it may be the Gospel, but it may also be an emblem only, signifying that the saint was famous for his learning or his writings; it has this sense in pictures of St. Catherine, the Doctors of the Church, St. Thomas Aquinas, and St. Bonaventura.

A CHURCH placed in the hands of a saint signifies that he was the founder of some particular church: in this sense St. Henry bears the cathedral of Bamberg; or, that he was the protector and first bishop of the Church, as St. Petronius bears the cathedral of Bologna. I must except the single instance of St. Jerome; the church in his hands signifies no particular edifice, but, in a general sense, the Catholic Church, of which he was the great support and one of the primitive fathers; to render the symbol more expressive, rays of light are seen proceeding from the portal.

The SCOURGE in the hand of a saint, or at his feet, signifies the penances he inflicted upon himself; but in the hand of St. Ambrose, it signifies the penance he inflicted upon others.

The CHALICE, or Sacramental Cup, with the Host, signifies Faith; it is given to St. Barbara. The Cup, with the Serpent, is the attribute of St. John.

The SHIP.—The Ark of Noah, floating safe amid the Deluge, in which all things else were overwhelmed, was an obvious symbol of the Church of Christ. Subsequently the *Ark* became a ship. St. Ambrose likens the Church of God to a ship, and the Cross to the mast set in the midst of it. '*Arbor quædam in navi est crux in ecclesia.*' The Bark of St. Peter tossed in the storm, and by the

Redeemer guided safe to land, was also considered as symbolical. These mingled associations combined to give to the emblem of the ship a sacred significance. Every one who has been at Rome will remember the famous mosaic of the ship tossed by the storms, and assailed by demons, called *THE NAVICELLA*, which was executed by Giotto for the old Basilica of St. Peter's, and is now under the Portico, opposite to the principal door. I believe that in the pictures of St. Nicholas and St. Ursula the ship had originally a sacred and symbolical significance, and that the legends were afterwards invented or modified to explain the emblem, as in so many other instances.

The *ANCHOR* is the Christian symbol of immovable firmness, hope, and patience; and in this sense we find it very frequently in the catacombs, and on the ancient Christian gems. It was given to several of the early saints as a symbol. Subsequently a legend was invented to account for the symbol, turning it into an attribute, as was the case with the lion and the stag. For example: to St. Clement the anchor was first given as the symbol of his constancy in Christian hope, and thence we find, subsequently invented, the story of his being thrown into the sea with the anchor round his neck. On the vane of the Church of St. Clement in the Strand, the anchor, the parish device, was anciently placed; and as in the English fancy no anchor can be well separated from a ship, they have lately placed a ship on the other side—the original signification of the anchor, as applied to St. Clement the martyr, being unknown or forgotten.

The *LAMP, LANTERN, or TAPER*, is the old emblem of piety: 'Let your light so shine before men:'—and it also signifies wisdom. In the first sense we find this attribute in the hand of St. Gudula, St. Geneviève of Paris, and St. Bridget; while the lamp in the hand of St. Lucia signifies celestial light or wisdom.

FLOWERS and FRUITS, often so beautifully introduced into ecclesiastical works of Art, may be merely ornamental; Crivelli, and some of the Venetian and Lombard painters, were fond of rich festoons of fruit, and backgrounds of foliage and roses. But in some instances they have a definite significance. Roses are symbolical in pictures

of the Madonna, who is the '*Rose of Sharon*.'¹ The wreath of roses on the brow of St. Cecilia, the roses and fruits borne by St. Dorothea, are explained by the legends.

The apple was the received emblem of the Fall of man and original sin. Placed in pictures of the Madonna and Child, either in the hand of the infant Christ, or presented by an angel, it signified Redemption from the consequences of the Fall. The pomegranate, bursting open, and the seeds visible, was an emblem of the future—of hope in immortality. When an apple, a pear, or a pomegranate is placed in the hand of St. Catherine as the mystical *Sposa* of Christ, which continually occurs, particularly in the German pictures, the allusion is to be taken in the Scriptural sense: '*The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace.*'

V. OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF COLOURS.

In very early Art we find colours used in a symbolical or mystic sense, and, until the ancient principles and traditions were wholly worn out of memory or set aside by the later painters, certain colours were appropriate to certain subjects and personages, and could not arbitrarily be applied or misapplied. In the old specimens of stained glass we find these significations scrupulously attended to. Thus:—

WHITE, represented by the diamond or silver, was the emblem of light, religious purity, innocence, virginity, faith, joy, and life. Our Saviour wears white after His resurrection. In the judge it indicated integrity; in the rich man humility; in the woman chastity. It was the colour consecrated to the Virgin, who, however, never wears white except in pictures of the Assumption.

RED, the ruby, signified fire, divine love, the Holy Spirit, heat, or the creative power, and royalty. White and red roses expressed

¹ *Vide* '*Legends of the Madonna.*'

love and innocence, or love and wisdom, as in the garland with which the angel crowns St. Cecilia. In a bad sense, red signified blood, war, hatred, and punishment. Red and black combined were the colours of purgatory and the Devil.

BLUE, or the sapphire, expressed heaven, the firmament, truth, constancy, fidelity. Christ and the Virgin wear the red tunic and the blue mantle, as signifying heavenly love and heavenly truth.¹ The same colours were given to St. John the evangelist, with this difference,—that he wore the blue tunic and the red mantle; in later pictures the colours are sometimes red and green.

YELLOW, or gold, was the symbol of the sun; of the goodness of God; initiation, or marriage; faith, or fruitfulness. St. Joseph, the husband of the Virgin, wears yellow. In pictures of the apostles, St. Peter wears a yellow mantle over a blue tunic. In a bad sense, yellow signifies inconstancy, jealousy, deceit; in this sense it is given to the traitor Judas, who is generally habited in dirty yellow.

GREEN, the emerald, is the colour of spring; of hope, particularly hope in immortality; and of victory, as the colour of the palm and the laurel.

VIOLET, the amethyst, signified love and truth: or passion and suffering. Hence it is the colour often worn by the martyrs. In some instances our Saviour, after His resurrection, is habited in a violet instead of a blue mantle. The Virgin also wears violet after the crucifixion. Mary Magdalene, who as patron saint wears the red robe, as penitent wears violet and blue, the colours of sorrow and of constancy. In the devotional representation of her by Timoteo della Vite,² she wears red and green, the colours of love and hope.

GREY, the colour of ashes, signified mourning, humility, and inno-

¹ In the Spanish schools the colour of our Saviour's mantle is generally a deep rich violet.

² Bologna Gal.

cence accused; hence adopted as the dress of the Franciscans (the Grey Friars); but it has since been changed for a dark rusty brown.

BLACK expressed the earth, darkness, mourning, wickedness, negation, death; and was appropriate to the Prince of Darkness. In some old illuminated MSS., Jesus, in the Temptation, wears a black robe. White and black together signified purity of life, and mourning or humiliation; hence adopted by the Dominicans and the Carmelites.

The mystical application of attributes and colours was more particularly attended to in that class of subjects I have distinguished as *devotional*. In the sacred historical pictures we find that the attributes are usually omitted as superfluous, and characteristic propriety of colour often sacrificed to the general effect.

These introductory observations and explanations will be found illustrated in a variety of forms as we proceed; and readers will be led to make comparisons and discover analogies and exceptions for themselves. I must stop here;—yet one word more.

All the productions of Art, from the time it has been directed and developed by Christian influences, may be regarded under three different aspects. 1. The purely religious aspect, which belongs to one mode of faith; 2. The poetical aspect, which belongs to all; 3. The artistic, which is the individual point of view, and has reference only to the action of the intellect on the means and material employed. There is pleasure, intense pleasure, merely in the consideration of Art as *Art*; in the faculties of comparison and nice discrimination, brought to bear on objects of beauty; in the exercise of a cultivated and refined taste on the productions of mind in any form whatever. But a three-fold, or rather a thousand-fold, pleasure is theirs who to a sense of the poetical unite a sympathy with the spiritual in Art, and who combine with delicacy of perception, and technical knowledge, more elevated sources of pleasure, more variety of association, habits of more excursive thought. Let none imagine, however, that, in placing before the uninitiated these unpretending volumes, I assume any such superiority as is here implied. Like a child that has sprung on a little

way before its playmates, and caught a glimpse through an opening portal of some varied Eden within, all gay with flowers and musical with birds, and haunted by divine shapes which beckon onward; and, after one rapturous survey, runs back and catches its companions by the hand and hurries them forwards to share the new-found pleasure, the yet unexplored region of delight; even so it is with me:—I am on the outside, not the inside, of the door I open.



2

After Gaudenzio Ferrari, at Saronno.

PART I.

YE too must fly before a chasing hand,
 Angels and saints in every hamlet mourned !
 Ah ! if the old idolatry be spurned,
 Let not your radiant shapes desert the land !
 Her adoration was not your demand,—
 The fond heart proffered it,—the servile heart,
 And therefore are ye summoned to depart ;
 Michael, and thou St. George, whose flaming brand
 The Dragon quelled ; and valiant Margaret,
 Whose rival sword a like opponent slew ;
 And rapt Cecilia, seraph-haunted queen
 Of harmony ; and weeping Magdalene,
 Who in the penitential desert met
 Gales sweet as those that over Eden blew ! —WORDSWORTH.

‘ I can just remember,’ says a theologian of the last century, ‘ when the women first taught me to say my prayers, I used to have an idea of a venerable old man, of a composed, benign countenance, with his own hair, clad in a morning gown of a grave-coloured flowered damask, sitting in an elbow chair.’ And he proceeds to say that, in looking back to these beginnings, he is in no way disturbed at the grossness of his infant theology. The image thus shaped by the imagination of the child was, in truth, merely one example of the various forms and conceptions fitted to divers states and seasons, and orders and degrees, of the religious mind, whether infant or adult, which represent the several approximations such minds at such seasons can respectively make to the completeness of faith. These imperfect ideas should be held to be reconciled and comprehended in that completeness, not rejected by it ; and the nearest approximation which the greatest of human minds can accomplish is surely to be regarded as much nearer to the imperfection of an infantine notion than to the fulness of truth. The gown of flowered damask and the elbow-chair may disappear ; the anthropomorphism of childhood may give place to the divine incarnation of the Second Person in after years ; and we may come to conceive of the Deity as Milton did when his epithets were most abstract :—

‘ So spake the SOVRAN PRESENCE.

But after all, these are but different grades of imperfection in the forms of doctrinal faith ; and if there be a devouter love on the part of the child for what is pictured in his imagination as a venerable old man, than in the philosophic poet for the ‘Sovran Presence,’ the child’s faith has more of the efficacy of religious truth in it than the poet’s and philosopher’s. —(Vide ‘Notes on Life,’ by HENRY TAYLOR, p. 136.)



Gloria in excelsis Deo !

Of Angels and Archangels.

I. THE ANGELS.

THERE is something so very attractive and poetical, as well as soothing to our helpless finite nature, in all the superstitions connected with the popular notion of Angels, that we cannot wonder at their prevalence in the early ages of the world. Those nations who acknowledged one Almighty Creator, and repudiated with horror the idea of a plurality of Gods, were the most willing to accept, the most enthusiastic in accepting, these objects of an intermediate homage; and gladly placed between their humanity and the awful supremacy of an unseen God, the ministering spirits who were the agents of His will, the witnesses of His glory, the partakers of His bliss, and who in their preternatural attributes of love and knowledge filled up that vast space in the created universe which intervened between mortal man and the infinite, omnipotent LORD OF ALL.

The belief in these superior beings, dating from immemorial antiquity, interwoven as it should seem with our very nature, and authorised by a variety of passages in Scripture, has descended to our time. Although the bodily forms assigned to them are allowed to be impossible, and merely allegorical, although their supposed functions as rulers of the stars and elements have long been set aside by a knowledge of the natural laws, still the co-existence of many orders of beings superior in nature to ourselves, benignly interested in our welfare, and contending for us against the powers of evil, remains an article of faith. Perhaps the belief itself, and the feeling it excites in the tender and contemplative mind, were never more beautifully expressed than by our own Spenser:—

And is there care in heaven? And is there love
 In heavenly spirits to these creatures base,
 That may compassion of their evils move?
 There is!—else much more wretched were the case
 Of men than beasts! But oh, th' exceeding grace
 Of highest God that loves His creatures so,
 And all His works with mercy doth embrace,
 That blessed angels He sends to and fro
 To serve to wicked man, to serve His wicked foe.

How oft do they their silver bowers leave,
 And come to succour us that succour want?
 How oft do they with golden pinions cleave
 The fitting skies, like flying pursuivant,
 Against foul fiends, to aid us militant?
 They for us fight, they watch, and duly ward,
 And their bright squadrons round about us plant,
 And all for love, and nothing for reward!
 Oh, why should heavenly God to men have such regard!

It is this feeling, expressed or unexpressed, lurking at the very core of all hearts, which renders the usual representations of angels, in spite of all incongruities of form, so pleasing to the fancy: we overlook the anatomical solecisms, and become mindful only of that emblematical significance which through its humanity connects it with us, and through its supernatural appendages connects *us* with heaven.

But it is necessary to give a brief summary of the Scriptural and

theological authorities, relative to the nature and functions of angels, before we can judge of the manner in which these ideas have been attended to and carried out in the artistic similitudes. Thus angels are represented in the Old Testament—

1. As beings of a higher nature than men, and gifted with superior intelligence and righteousness.¹

2. As a host of attendants surrounding the throne of God, and as a kind of celestial court or council.²

3. As messengers of His will conveyed from heaven to earth: or as sent to guide, to correct, to instruct, to reprove, to console.

4. As protecting the pious.

5. As punishing by command of the Most High the wicked and disobedient.³

6. As having the form of men; as eating and drinking.

7. As wielding a sword.

8. As having power to slay.⁴

I do not recollect any instance in which angels are represented in Scripture as instigated by human passions; they are merely the agents of the mercy or the wrath of the Almighty.

After the period of the Captivity, the Jewish ideas concerning angels were considerably extended and modified by an admixture of the Chaldaic belief, and of the doctrines taught by Zoroaster.⁵ It is then that we first hear of good and bad angels, and of a fallen angel or impersonation of evil, busy in working mischief on earth and counteracting good; also of archangels, who are alluded to by name; and of guardian angels assigned to nations and individuals; and these foreign ideas concerning the spiritual world, accepted and promulgated by the Jewish doctors, pervade the whole of the New Testament, in which angels are far more familiar to us as agents, more frequently alluded to, and more distinctly brought before us, than in the Old Testament. For example: they are represented—

¹ 2 Sam. xiv. 17.

² Gen. xxxii. 1, 2; Ps. ciii. 21; 1 Kings xxii. 19; Job i. 6.

³ Gen. xxii. 11; Exod. xiv. 19; Num. xx. 16; Gen. xxi. 17; Judg. xiii. 3; 2 Kings i. 3; Ps. xxxiv. 7; Judith xiii. 20.

⁴ 2 Sam. xxiv. 16; 2 Kings xix. 35; Gen. xviii. 8; Num. xxii. 31; 1 Chron. xxi. 16; Gen. xix. 13.

⁵ Calmet.

1. As countless.
2. As superior to all human wants and weaknesses.
3. As the deputed messengers of God.
4. They rejoice over the repentant sinner. They take deep interest in the mission of Christ.
5. They are present with those who pray; they bear the souls of the just to heaven.
6. They minister to Christ on earth, and will be present at His second coming.¹

In the Gospel of St. John, which is usually regarded as the fullest and most correct exposition of the doctrines of Christ, angels are only three times mentioned, and in none of these instances does the word angel fall from the lips of Christ. On the other hand, the writings of St. Paul, who was deeply versed in all the learning and philosophy of the Jews, abound in allusions to angels, and according to the usual interpretation of certain passages, he shows them divided into several classes.² St. Luke, who was the friend and disciple of St. Paul, some say his convert, is more direct and explicit on the subject of angels than any of the other Evangelists, and his allusions to them much more frequent.

The worship of angels, which the Jews brought from Chaldea, was early introduced into the Christian Church. In the fourth century the council of Laodicea published a decree against places of worship dedicated to angels under names which the Church did not recognise. But neither warning nor council seems to have had power to modify the popular creed, countenanced as it was by high authority. All the Fathers are unanimous as to the existence of angels good and evil. They hold that it is evermore the allotted task of good angels to defend us against evil angels, and to carry on a daily and hourly combat against our spiritual foes: they teach that the good angels are worthy of all reverence as the ministers of God and as the protectors of the human race; that their intercession is to be invoked, and their

¹ Matt. xxvi. 53; Heb. xii. 22; Matt. xxii. 30; Luke xx. 36; Matt. xix. 24; Luke i. 11; Acts v. 19, *et passim*; Luke xv. 10; 1 Peter i. 12; Luke xvi. 22; Heb. i. 14; 1 Cor. xi. 10; Matt. i. 20, xvi. 27, xxv. 31.

² Rom. viii. 38; Col. i. 16; Ephes. i. 21.

perpetual, invisible presence to be regarded as an incitement to good and a preventive to evil.

This, however, was not enough. Taking for their foundation a few Scripture texts, and in particular the classification of St. Paul, the imaginative theologians of the Middle Ages ran into all kinds of extravagant subtleties regarding the being, the nature, and the functions of the different orders of angels. Except as far as they have been taken as authorities in Art, I shall set aside these fanciful disquisitions, of which a mere abstract would fill volumes. For our present purpose it is sufficient to bear in mind that the great theologians divide the angelic host into three hierarchies, and these again into nine choirs, three in each hierarchy: according to Dionysius the Areopagite, in the following order: 1. Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones. 2. Dominations, Virtues, Powers. 3. Princedoms, Archangels, Angels. The order of these denominations is not the same in all authorities: according to the Greek formula, St. Bernard, and the *Legenda Aurea*, the Cherubim precede the Seraphim, and in the hymn of St. Ambrose they have also the precedence—*To Thee, Cherubim and Seraphim continually do cry, &c.*; but the authority of St. Dionysius seems to be admitted as paramount, for, according to the legend, he was the convert and intimate friend of St. Paul, and St. Paul, who had been transported to the seventh heaven, had made him acquainted with all he had there beheld.

Desire

In Dionysius so intensely wrought
That he, as I have done, ranged them, and named
Their orders, marshalled in his thought;

. For he had learned
Both this and much beside of these our orbs
From an eye-witness to Heaven's mysteries.

—DANTE, *Par.* 23.

The first three choirs receive their glory immediately from God, and transmit it to the second; the second illuminate the third; the third are placed in relation to the created universe and man. The first Hierarchy are as councillors; the second as governors; the third as ministers. The Seraphim are absorbed in perpetual love and adoration immediately round the throne of God. The Cherubim know and

worship. The Thrones sustain the seat of the Most High. The Dominations, Virtues, Powers, are the Regents of stars and elements. The three last orders, Princedoms, Archangels, and Angels, are the protectors of the great Monarchies on earth, and the executors of the will of God throughout the universe.

The term angels is properly applied to all these celestial beings; but it belongs especially to the two last orders, who are brought into immediate communication with the human race. The word angel, Greek in its origin, signifies a messenger, or more literally, a *bringer of tidings*.

In this sense the Greeks entitle Christ, 'The great Angel of the will of God;' and I have seen Greek representations of Christ with wings to His shoulders. John the Baptist is also an angel in this sense; likewise the Evangelists; all of whom, as I shall show hereafter, bear, as celestial messengers, the angel-wings.

In ancient pictures and illuminations which exhibit the glorification of the Trinity, Christ, or the Virgin,



4 Greek Seraph: wings of gold and crimson. (Ninth century)

the hierarchies of angels are represented in circles around them, orb within orb. This is called a glory of angels. In pictures it is seldom complete: instead of nine circles; the painters content themselves with one or two circles only. The innermost circles, the Seraphim and the Cherubim, are in general represented as *heads* merely, with two or four or six wings, and of a bright red or blue colour; sometimes with variegated wings, green, yellow, violet, &c. This emblem—intended to shadow forth to human comprehension a pure spirit glowing with love and intelligence, in which all that is bodily is put away, and only the head, the seat of soul, and wings, the attribute of spirit and swiftness, retained—is of Greek

origin. When first adopted I do not know, but I have met with it in Greek MSS. of the ninth century. Down to the eleventh century the faces were human, but not childish; the infant head was afterwards adopted to express innocence in addition to love and intelligence.



5

Cherubim, Italian. (Fourteenth century.)

Such was the expressive and poetical symbol which degenerated in the later periods of Art into those little fat baby heads, with curly hair and small wings under the chin, which the more they resemble nature in colour, feature, and detail, the more absurd they become, the original meaning being wholly lost or perverted.



6



Cherub Heads.

In painting, where a glory of angels is placed round the Divine Being or the glorified Virgin, those forming the innermost circles are, or ought to be, of a glowing red, the colour of fire, that is, of love; the next circle is painted blue, the colour of the firmament, or light, that is, of knowledge. Now as the word seraph is derived from a Hebrew root signifying love, and the word cherub from a Hebrew root signifying to know, should not this distinction fix the proper place and name of the first two orders? It is admitted that the spirits which *love* are nearer to God than those which *know*, since we cannot know that which we do not first love; that Love and Knowledge, 'the two halves of a divided world,' constitute in their union the perfection of the angelic nature; but the Seraphim, according to the derivation of their name, should *love* most; their whole being is fused, as it were, in a glow of adoration; therefore they

should take the precedence, and their proper colour is red. The Cherubim, 'the lords of those that know,' come next, and are to be painted blue.

Thus it should seem that, in considering the religious pictures of the early ages of Art, we have to get rid of certain associations as to colour and form, derived from the phraseology of later poets and the representations of later painters. 'Blue-eyed Seraphim,' and the 'blue depth of Seraph's eyes,' are not to be thought of any more than 'smiling Cherubim.' The Seraphim, where distinguished by colour, are red; the Cherubim blue: the proper character, where character is attended to, is, in the Seraph, adoration; in the Cherub, contemplation. So Milton—

With thee bring
Him who soars on golden wing,
The Cherub, Contemplation.

I remember a little Triptyca, a genuine work of Fiesole, in which one of the lateral compartments represents his favourite subject, the souls of the blessed received into Paradise. They are moving from the lower part of the picture towards the top, along an ascent paved with flowers, all in white garments and crowned with roses. At one side, low down, stands a blue Cherub robed in drapery spangled with golden stars, who seems to encourage the blessed group. Above are the gates of heaven. Christ welcomes to His kingdom the beatified spirits, and on each side stands a Seraph, all of a glowing red, in spangled drapery. The figures are not here merely heads and wings, but full length, having all that soft peculiar grace which belongs to the painter.¹

In a Coronation of the Virgin,² a glory of Seraphim over-arches the principal group. Here the angelic beings are wholly of a bright red colour: they are human to the waist, with hands clasped in devotion: the bodies and arms covered with plumage, but the forms terminating in wings; all uniformly red. In the same collection is a small

¹ I know not whether it be necessary to observe here, that in early Art the souls of the blessed are not represented as angels, nor regarded as belonging to this order of spiritual beings, though I believe it is a very common notion that we are to rise from the dead with the angelic attributes as well as the angelic nature. For this belief there is no warrant in Scripture, unless Mark xii. 25 be so interpreted.

² Now in the Collection of Prince Wallerstein at Kensington Palace.

Greek picture of Christ receiving the soul of the Virgin; over His head hovers a large, fiery-red, six-winged Seraph; and on each side a Seraph with hair and face and limbs of glowing red, and with white draperies. Vasari mentions an Adoration of the Magi by Liberale of Verona, in which a group of angels, all of a red colour, stand as a celestial guard round the Virgin and her divine Infant.¹

The distinction of hue in the red and blue angels we find wholly omitted towards the end of the fifteenth century. Cherubim with

blue, red, green, and variegated wings, we find in the pictures of Perugino and other masters in the beginning of the sixteenth century, also in early pictures of Raphael.

Liberale di Verona has given us, in a Madonna picture, Cherub heads without wings, and of a blue colour, emerging from golden clouds. And in Raphael's Madonna di San Sisto, the whole background is formed of Cherubim and Seraphim of a uniform delicate bluish tinge, as if composed of air, and melting away into an abyss of golden glory, the principal figures standing relieved against this flood of living love and light—beautiful! So are the Cherubim with many-coloured wings,

which float in the firmament in Perugino's Coronation of the Virgin; but none of these can be regarded as so theologically correct, as the fiery-red and bright-blue Seraphim and Cherubim, of which are formed the hierarchies and glories which figure in the early pictures, the stained glass, the painted sculpture, and the illuminated MSS. from the tenth to the sixteenth century.

The next five choirs of angels, the Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers, though classed and described with great exactitude by the theologians, have not been very accurately discriminated in Art. In some examples the Thrones have green wings, a fiery



7 Cherubim. (Liberale di Verona.)

¹ Vasari, p. 648. Fl. edit.



8 Part of a Glory of Angels surrounding the figure of Christ in a picture by Ambrogio Borgognone.

aureole, and bear a throne in their hands. The Dominations, Virtues, and Powers, sometimes bear a globe and a long sceptre surmounted by a cross. The Principalities, according to the Greek formula, should bear a branch of lily. The Archangels are figured as warriors, and carry a sword with the point upwards. The angels are robed as deacons, and carry a wand. In one of the ancient frescoes in the Cathedral at Orvieto, there is a complete hierarchy of angels, so arranged as to symbolise the Trinity, each of the nine choirs being composed of three angels, but the Seraphim only are distinguished by

their red colour and priority of place. In the south porch of the Cathedral of Chartres, each of the nine orders is represented by two angels; in other instances, one angel only represents the order to which he belongs, and nine angels represent the whole hierarchy.¹ Where, however, we meet with groups or rows of angels, as in the Greek mosaics and the earliest frescoes, all alike, all with the tiara, the long sceptre-like wands, and the orb of sovereignty, I believe these to represent the Powers and Princedoms of Heaven. The Archangels alone, as we shall see presently, have distinct individual names and attributes assigned to them.

The angels generally have the human form; are winged; and are endowed with immutable happiness and perpetual youth, because they are ever in the presence of Him with whom there is no change and no time. They are direct emanations of the beauty of the Eternal mind, therefore beautiful; created, therefore, not eternal, but created perfect, and immortal in their perfection. They are always supposed to be masculine; perhaps for the reason so beautifully assigned by Madame de Staël, 'because the union of power with purity (*la force avec la pureté*) constitutes all that we mortals can imagine of perfection.' There is no such thing as an old angel, and therefore there ought to be no such thing as an infant angel. The introduction of infant angels seems to have arisen from the custom of representing the regenerate souls of men as new-born infants, and perhaps also from the words of our Saviour when speaking of children, 'I say unto you, their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.' Such representations, when religiously and poetically treated as spirits of love, intelligence, and innocence, are of exquisite beauty, and have a significance which charms and elevates the fancy; but from this, the true and religious conception, the Italian *putti* and *puttini*, and the rosy chubby babies of the Flemish school, are equally remote.

¹ I saw in the palace of the Bishop of Norwich an elegant little bas-relief in alabaster, exhibiting the nine choirs, each represented by a single angel. The first (the Seraphim) hold the sacramental cup; the Cherubim, a book; the Thrones, a throne; the Principalities, a bunch of lilies; the Archangels are armed. The other attributes are not clearly made out.

The figures have been ornamented with painting and gilding, now partially worn off; and the style is of the early part of the fifteenth century. It appeared to me to have formed one of the compartments of an altar-piece.



9

Egyptian winged genius. (Louvre.)

In early Art, the angels in the bloom of adolescence are always amply draped; at first, in the classical tunic and pallium; afterwards in long linen vestments with the alba and stole, as levites or deacons; or as princes, with embroidered robes and sandals, and jewelled crowns or fillets. Such figures are common in the Byzantine mosaics and pictures. The expression, in these early representations, is usually calm and impassive. Angels partially draped in loose, fluttering, meretricious attire, poised in attitudes upon clouds, or with features animated by human passion, or limbs strained by human effort, are the innovations of more modern Art. White is, or ought to be, the prevailing colour in angelic draperies, but red and blue of various shades are more frequent. Green often occurs; and in the Venetian pictures, yellow, or rather saffron-coloured robes are not unfrequent. In the best examples of Italian Art, the tints, though varied, are tender and delicate; all dark heavy colours and violent contrasts of



10 Winged figure from Nineveh.

colour are avoided. On the contrary, in the early German school, the angels have rich heavy voluminous draperies of the most intense and vivid colours, often jewelled and embroidered with gold. Flight, in such garments, seems as difficult as it would be to swim in coronation robes.

But, whatever be the treatment as to character, lineaments, or dress, wings are almost invariably the attribute of the angelic form. As emblematical appendages, these are not merely significant of the character of celestial messengers, for, from time immemorial, wings have been the Oriental and Egyptian symbol of power, as well as of swiftness; of the spiritual and aerial, in contradistinction to the human and the earthly. Thus, with the Egyptians, the winged globe signified power and eternity, that is, the Godhead; a bird, with a human head, signified the soul; and nondescript creatures, with wings, abound not only in the Egyptian paintings and hieroglyphics,

but also in the Chaldaic and Babylonian remains, in the Lycian and Nineveh marbles, and on the gems and other relics of the Gnostics. I have seen on the Gnostic gems figures with four wings, two springing from the shoulders and two from the loins. This portentous figure, from the ruins of Nineveh, is similarly constructed. (10.)

In Etruscan Art all their divinities are winged; and where Venus is represented with wings, as in many of the antique gems (and by Correggio in imitation of them),¹ these brilliant wings are not, as some have supposed, emblematical of the *transitoriness*, but of the might, the majesty, and the essential divinity of beauty. In Scripture, the first mention of Cherubim with wings is immediately after the departure of the Israelites from Egypt (Exod. xxxi. 2). Bezaleel, the first artist whose name is recorded in the world's history, and who appears to have been, like the greatest artists of modern times, at once architect, sculptor, and painter, probably derived his figures of Cherubim with outstretched wings, guarding the mercy-seat, from those Egyptian works of Art with which the Israelites must have been familiarised. Clement of Alexandria is so aware of the relative similitude, that he supposes the Egyptians to have borrowed from the Israelites, which is obviously the reverse of the truth. How far the Cherubim, which figure in the Biblical pictures of the present day, resemble the carved Cherubim of Bezaleel, we cannot tell, but probably the idea and the leading forms are the same: for the ark, we know, was carried into Palestine; these original Cherubim were the pattern of those which adorned the temple of Solomon, and these, again, were the prototype after which the imagery of the second temple was fashioned. Although in Scripture the shape under which the celestial ministers appeared to man is nowhere described, except in the visions of the prophets (Dan. x. 5), and there with a sort of dreamy incoherent splendour, rendering it most perilous to clothe the image placed before the fancy in definite forms, still the idea of wings, as the angelic appendages, is conveyed in many places distinctly, and occasionally with a picturesque vividness which inspires and assists the artist. For instance, in Daniel, ch. vii., 'they had wings like a fowl.' In Ezekiel, ch. i., 'their wings were stretched upward when they flew; when they stood they let down their wings.'

¹ As in the picture in our National Gallery, No. 10.

‘I heard the noise of their wings as the noise of great waters:’ and in Zechariah, ch. v., ‘I looked, and behold there came out two women, and the wind was in their wings, for they had wings like the wings of a stork.’ And Isaiah, ch. vi., in the description of the Seraphim, ‘Each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly.’ By the early artists this description was followed out in a manner more conscientious and reverential than poetical.

They were content with a symbol. But mark how Milton, more daring, could paint from the same original:—



11 Seraph
(Greek mosaic, Cathedral of Monreale.)

A seraph winged; six wings he wore to shade
His lineaments divine: the pair that clad
Each shoulder broad, came mantling o'er his breast
With regal ornament; the middle pair
Girt like a starry zone his waist, and round
Skirted his loins and thighs with downy gold
And colours dipped in heaven; the third his feet
Shadowed from either heel with feathered mail,
Sky-tinctured grain.

I have sometimes thought that Milton, in his descriptions of angels, was not indebted merely to the notions of the old theological writers, interpreted and embellished by his own fancy: may he not, in his wanderings through Italy, have beheld with kindling sympathy some of those glorious creations of Italian Art, which, when I saw them, made me break out into his own divine language as the only fit utterance to express those forms in words?—But, to return—Is it not a mistake to make the wings, the feathered appendages of the angelic form, as like as possible to real wings—the wings of storks, or the wings of swans, or herons, borrowed for the occasion? Some modern painters, anxious to make wings look ‘natural,’ have done this; Delaroche, for instance, in his *St. Cecilia*. Infinitely more beautiful and consistent are the nondescript wings which the early

painters gave their angels :—large—so large, that when the glorious creature is represented as at rest, they droop from the shoulders to the ground ; with long slender feathers, eyed sometimes like the peacock's train, bedropped with gold like the pheasant's breast, tinted with azure and violet and crimson, 'colours dipped in heaven,'—they are really angel-wings, not bird-wings.

Orcagna's angels in the Campo Santo are, in this respect, peculiarly poetical. Their extremities are wings instead of limbs ; and in a few of the old Italian and German painters of the fifteenth century we find angels whose extremities are formed of light waving folds of pale rose-colour or azure drapery, or of a sort of vapoury cloud, or,



12



Angels. (Orcagna.)

in some instances, of flames. The cherubim and seraphim which surround the similitude of Jehovah when He appears to Moses in the burning bush,¹ are an example of the sublime and poetical significance which may be given to this kind of treatment. They have heads and human features marvellous for intelligence and beauty ; their hair, their wings, their limbs, end in lambent fires ; they are 'celestial Ardours bright,' which seem to have being without shape.



13 Fiery Cherub. (Raphael.)

Dante's angels have less of dramatic reality, less of the aggrandised and idealised human presence, than Milton's.

They are wondrous creatures. Some of them have the quaint fan-

¹ Vatican : Raphael's fresco.

tastic picturesqueness of old Italian Art and the Albert Dürer school; for instance, those in the Purgatorio, with their wings of a bright green, and their green draperies, 'verde come fogliette,' kept in a perpetual state of undulation by the breeze created by the fanning of their wings, with features too dazzling to be distinguished:

Ben discerneva in lor la testa bionda,
Ma nelle facce l' occhio si smarria
Come virtù ch' a troppo si confonda.¹

And the Shape, glowing red as in a furnace, with an air from the fanning of its wings, 'fresh as the first breath of wind in a May morning, and fragrant as all its flowers.' That these and other passages scattered through the Purgatorio and the Paradiso assisted the fancy of the earlier painters, in portraying their angelic Glories and winged Beatitudes, I have little doubt; but, on the other hand, the sublime angel in the Inferno—he who comes speeding over the waters with vast pinions like sails, sweeping the evil spirits in heaps before him, 'like frogs before a serpent,' and with a touch of his wand making the gates of the city of Dis fly open; then, with a countenance solemn and majestic, and quite unmindful of his worshipper, as one occupied by higher matters, turning and soaring away—this is quite in the sentiment of the grand old Greek and Italian mosaics, which preceded Dante by some centuries.²

But besides being the winged messengers of God to man, the deputed regents of the stars, the rulers of the elements, and the dispensers of the fate of nations, angels have another function in which we love to contemplate them. They are the choristers of heaven. Theirs is the privilege to sound that hymn of praise which goes up from this boundless and harmonious universe of suns and stars and worlds and rejoicing creatures, towards the God who created them: theirs is the music of the spheres—

They sing, and singing in their glory move;

they tune divine instruments, named after those of earth's harmonies—

¹ *v.* Purg. c. viii.; Par. c. xxxi.; Purg. c. xxiv.

² The Cherubim in the upper lights of the painted windows at St. Michael's, Coventry, and at Cirencester, are represented each standing on a white wheel with eight spokes. They have six wings, of peacocks' feathers, of a rich yellow colour. A white cross surmounts the forehead, and both arms and legs are covered with short plumage. The extremities are human and bare. At Cirencester the Cherubim hold a book; at Coventry a scroll.

The harp, the solemn pipe
 And dulcimer, all organs of sweet stop,
 All sounds on fret by string or golden wire,
 And with songs
 And choral symphonies, day without night,
 Circle his throne rejoicing.

There is nothing more beautiful, more attractive, in Art than the representations of angels in this character. Sometimes they form a chorus round the glorified Saviour, when, after His sorrow and sacrifice on earth, He takes His throne in heaven; or, when the crown is placed on the head of the Maternal Virgin in glory, pour forth their triumphant song, and sound their silver clarions on high: sometimes they stand or kneel before the Madonna and Child, or sit upon the steps of her throne, singing,—with such sweet earnest faces! or playing on their golden lutes, or piping celestial symphonies; or they bend in a choir from the opening heavens above, and welcome, with triumphant songs, the liberated soul of the saint or martyr; or join in St. Cecilia's hymn of praise: but whatever the scene, in these and similar representations, they appear in their natural place and vocation, and harmonise enchantingly with all our feelings and fancies relative to these angelic beings, made up of love and music.



14 Angel. (Francia.)



15 Piping Angel. (Gian Bellini.)

Most beautiful examples of this treatment occur both in early painting and sculpture; and no one who has wandered through churches and galleries, with feeling and observation awake, can fail to remember

such. It struck me as characteristic of the Venetian school, that the love of music seemed to combine with the sense of harmony in colour; nowhere have I seen musical angels so frequently and so beautifully introduced: and whereas the angelic choirs of Fiesole, Ghirlandajo, and Raphael seem to be playing as an act of homage for the delight of the Divine Personages, those of Vivarini and Bellini and Palma appear as if enchanted by their own music; and both together are united in the grand and beautiful angels of Melozzo da Forlì, particularly in one who is bending over a lute, and another who with a triumphant and ecstatic expression strikes the cymbals.¹ Compare the cherubic host who are pouring forth their hymns of triumph, blowing their uplifted trumpets, and touching immortal harps and viols in Angelico's 'Coronation,'² or in Signorelli's 'Paradiso,'³ with those lovely Venetian choristers, the piping boys, myrtle-crowned, who are hymning Bellini's Madonna,⁴ or those who are touching the lute to the praise and glory of St. Ambrose in Vivarini's most beautiful picture; you will feel immediately the distinction in point of sentiment.

The procession of chanting angels which once surmounted the organ in the Duomo of Florence is a perfect example of musical angels applied to the purpose of decoration. Perhaps it was well to remove this exquisite work of art to a place of safety, where it can be admired and studied as a work of art; but the removal has taken from it the appropriate expression. How they sing!—when the tones of the organ burst forth, we might have fancied we heard their divine voices through the stream of sound! The exquisite little bronze choristers round the high altar of St. Antonio in Padua are another example; Florentine in elegance of form, Venetian in sentiment, intent upon their own sweet song.

There is a third function ascribed to these angelic natures, which brings them even nearer to our sympathies; they are the deputed guardians of the just and innocent. St. Raphael, whose story I shall presently relate, is the prince of the guardian angels. The Jews held that the angels deputed to Lot were his guardian angels.⁵ The fathers of the Christian Church taught that every human being, from the

¹ In the sacristy of the Vatican.

² In the Louvre.

³ In the Cathedral at Orvieto.

⁴ In the *Frari* at Venice.

⁵ Gen. xviii., xlviii. 16.

hour of his birth to that of his death, is accompanied by an angel appointed to watch over him. The Mahometans give to each of us a good and an evil angel; but the early Christians supposed us to be attended each by a good angel only, who undertakes that office, not merely from duty to God, and out of obedience and great humility, but as inspired by exceeding charity and love towards his human charge. It would require the tongues of angels themselves to recite all that we owe to these benign and vigilant guardians. They watch by the cradle of the new-born babe, and spread their celestial wings round the tottering steps of infancy. If the path of life be difficult and thorny, and evil spirits work us shame and woe, they sustain us; they bear the voice of our complaining, of our supplication, of our repentance, up to the foot of God's throne, and bring us back in return a pitying benediction, to strengthen and to cheer. When passion and temptation strive for the mastery, they encourage us to resist; when we conquer, they crown us; when we falter and fail, they compassionate and grieve over us; when we are obstinate in polluting our own souls, and perverted not only in act but in will, they leave us—and woe to them that are so left! But the good angel does not quit his charge until his protection is despised, rejected, and utterly repudiated. Wonderful the fervour of their love—wonderful their meekness and patience—who endure from day to day the spectacle of the unveiled human heart with all its miserable weaknesses and vanities, its inordinate desires and selfish purposes! Constant to us in death, they contend against the powers of darkness for the emancipated spirit; they even visit the suffering sinner in purgatory; they keep alive in the tormented spirit faith and hope, and remind him that the term of expiation will end at last. So Dante¹ represents the souls in purgatory as comforted in their misery; and (which has always seemed to me a touch of sublime truth and tenderness) as rejoicing over those who were on earth conspicuous for the very virtues wherein themselves were deficient. When at length the repentant soul is sufficiently purified, the guardian angel bears it to the bosom of the Saviour.

The earlier painters and sculptors did not, apparently, make the same use of guardian angels that we so often meet with in works of Modern Art. Poetical allegories of angels guiding the steps of child-

¹ Purg c. viii.

hood, extending a shield over innocence, watching by a sick-bed, do not, I think, occur before the seventeenth century; at least I have not met with such. The ancient masters, who really believed in the personal agency of our angelic guardians, beheld them with awe and reverence, and reserved their presence for great and solemn occasions. The angel who presents the pious votary to Christ or the Virgin, who crowns St. Cecilia and St. Valerian after their conquest over human weakness; the angel who cleaves the air 'with flight precipitant' to break the implements of torture, or to extend the palm to the dying martyr, victorious over pain; the angels who assist and carry in their arms the souls of the just; are, in these and all similar examples, representations of guardian angels.

Such, then, are the three great functions of the angelic host: they are Messengers, Choristers, and Guardians. But angels, without reference to their individuality or their ministry—with regard only to their species and their form, as the most beautiful and the most elevated of created essences, as intermediate between heaven and earth—are introduced into all works of Art which have a sacred purpose or character, and must be considered not merely as decorative accessories, but as a kind of presence, as attendant witnesses; and, like the chorus in the Greek tragedies, looking on where they are not actors. In architectural decoration, the cherubim with which Solomon adorned his temple have been the authority and example.¹ 'Within the oracle he made two cherubims, each ten cubits high, and with wings five cubits in length' (the angels in the old Christian churches on each side of the altar correspond with these cherubim), 'and he overlaid the cherubims with gold, and carved all the walls of the house with carved figures of cherubims, and he made doors of olive tree, and he carved on them figures of cherubims.' So, in Christian art and architecture, angels, with their beautiful cinctured heads and outstretched wings and flowing draperies, fill up every space. The instances are so numerous that they will occur to every one who has given a thought to the subject. I may mention the frieze of angels in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, merely as an example at hand, and which can be referred to at any moment; also the angels

¹ 1 Kings vi. 23.

round the choir of Lincoln Cathedral, of which there are fine casts in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham; and in some of the old churches in Saxony which clearly exhibit the influence of Byzantine Art—for instance, at Freyberg, Merseburg, Naumburg—angels with outspread wings fill up the spandrils of the arches along the nave.

But, in the best ages of Art, angels were not merely employed as decorative accessories; they had their appropriate place and a solemn significance as a part of that theological system which the edifice, as a whole, represented.

As a celestial host surrounding the throne of the Trinity; or of Christ, as redeemer or as judge; or of the Virgin in glory; or the throned Madonna and Child; their place is immediately next to the Divine Personages, and before the Evangelists.

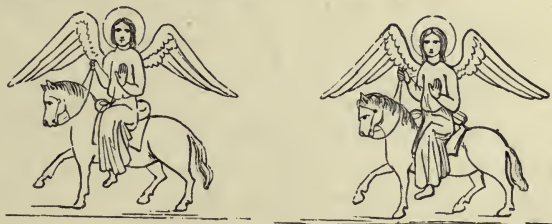
In what is called a Liturgy of Angels, they figure in procession on each side of the choir, so as to have the appearance of approaching the altar: they wear the stole and alba as deacons, and bear the implements of the mass. In the Cathedral of Rheims there is a range of colossal angels as a grand procession along the vaults of the nave, who appear as approaching the altar: these bear not only the gospel, the missal, the sacramental cup, the ewer, the taper, the cross, &c., but also the attributes of sovereignty, celestial and terrestrial: one carries the sun, another the moon, a third the kingly sceptre, a fourth the globe, a fifth the sword; and all these, as they approach the sanctuary, they seem about to place at the feet of Christ, who stands there as priest and king in glory. Statues of angels in an attitude of worship on each side of the altar, as if



16 Angel bearing the Moon.
(Greek, 12th century.)

adoring the sacrifice—or bearing in triumph the instruments of Christ's passion, the cross, the nails, the spear, the crown of thorns—or carrying tapers—are more common, and must be regarded not merely as decoration, but as a *presence* in the high solemnity.

In the Cathedral of Auxerre may be seen angels attending on the triumphant coming of Christ; and, which is most singular, they, as well as Christ, are on horseback (17).



17

When, in subjects from Scripture history, angels figure not merely as attendants and spectators, but as personages necessary to the action, they are either ministers of the divine wrath or of the divine mercy; agents of destruction, or agents of help and good counsel. As all these instances belong to the historical scenes of the Old or the New Testament, they will be considered separately, and I shall confine myself here to a few remarks on the introduction and treatment of angels in some subjects of peculiar interest.

In relating “the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise,” it is not said that an angel was the immediate agent of the divine wrath, but it is so represented in works of Art. In the most ancient treatment I have met with,¹ a majestic armed angel drives forth the delinquents, and a cherub with six wings stands as guard before the gate. I found the same *motif* in the sculptures on the façade of the Duomo at Orvieto, by Niccolò Pisano. In another instance, an ancient



18 Adam and Eve expelled. (N. Pisano.)

Saxon miniature, the angel is represented not as driving them forth, but closing the door against them. But these are exceptions to the

¹ MS. 10th century, Paris, Bibl. Nationale.

usual mode of treatment, which seldom varies; the angel is not represented in wrath, but calm, and stretches forth a sword which is often (literally rendering the text) a waving, lambent flame. I remember an instance in which the preternatural sword, 'turning every way,' has the form of a wheel of flames.

An angel is expressly introduced as a minister of wrath in the story of Balaam, in which I have seen no deviation from the obvious prosaic treatment, rendering the text literally, 'And the ass saw the angel of the Lord standing in the way, and his sword drawn in his hand.'

'The destroying angel, leaning from heaven, presents to David three arrows, from which to choose—war, pestilence, or famine.' I have found this subject beautifully executed in several MSS., for instance, in the 'Heures d'Anne de Bretagne;' also in pictures and in prints.

'The destroying angel sent to chastise the arrogance of David, is beheld standing between heaven and earth with his sword stretched over Jerusalem to destroy it.' Of this sublime vision I have never seen any but the meanest representations; none of the great masters have treated it; perhaps Rembrandt might have given us the terrible and glorious angel standing like a shadow in the midst of his own intense irradiation. David fallen on his face, and the sons of Ornan hiding themselves by their rude threshing-floor, with that wild mixture of the familiar and the unearthly in which he alone has succeeded.

'The chastisement of Heliodorus' has given occasion to the sublimest composition in which human genius ever attempted to embody the conception of the supernatural—Raphael's fresco in the Vatican. St. Michael, the protecting angel of the Hebrew nation, is supposed to have been the minister of divine wrath on this occasion; but Raphael, in omitting the wings, and all exaggeration or alteration of the human figure, has shown how unnecessary it was for *him* to have recourse to the prodigious and impossible in form, in order to give the supernatural in sentiment. The unearthly warrior and his unearthly steed—the weapon in his hand, which is not a sword to pierce, nor a club to strike, but a sort of mace, of which, as it seems, a touch would annihilate; the two attendant spirits, who come gliding above the marble floor, with their hair streaming back with the rapidity of their aerial motion—are in the very spirit of Dante, and,

as conceptions of superhuman power, superior to anything in pictured form which Art has bequeathed to us.

In calling to mind the various representations of the angels of the Apocalypse let loose for destruction, one is tempted to exclaim, 'Oh, for a warning voice!' When the Muse of Milton quailed, and fell ten thousand fathom deep into Bathos, what could be expected from human invention? In general, where this subject is attempted in pictures, we find the angels animated, like those of Milton in the war of heaven, with 'fierce desire of battle,' breathing vengeance, wrath, and fury. So Albert Dürer, in those wonderful scenes of his 'Apocalypse,' has exhibited them; but some of the early Italian's show them merely impassive, conquering almost without effort, punishing without anger. The immediate instruments of the wrath of God in the day of judgment are not angels, but devils or demons, generally represented by the old painters with every possible exaggeration of hideousness, and as taking a horrible and grotesque delight in their task. The demons are fallen angels, their deformity a consequence of their fall. Thus, in some very ancient representations of the expulsion of Lucifer and his rebel host, the degradation of the form increases with their distance from heaven.¹ Those who are uppermost are still angels; they bear the aureole, the wings, and the tunic; they have not yet lost all their original brightness: those below them begin to assume the bestial form: the fingers become talons, the heads become horned; and at last, as they touch the confines of the gulf of hell, the transformation is seen complete, from the luminous angel into the abominable and monstrous devil, with serpent tail, claws, bristles, and tusks. This gradual transformation, as they descend into the gulf of sin, has a striking allegorical significance which cannot escape the reader. In a Greek MS. of the ninth century,² bearing singular traces of antique classical Art in the conception and attributes of the figures, I found both angels and demons treated in a style quite peculiar and poetical. The angels are here gigantic, majestic, Jove-like figures, with great wings. The demons are also majestic, graceful winged figures, but painted of a dusky grey colour (it may originally have been black). In one scene, where Julian the Apostate goes to seek the heathen divinities, they are thus represented,

¹ MS. 13th century, Breviaire de St. Louis.

² Paris, Bibl. Nat., No. 510. G. MS.

that is, as *black angels*; showing that the painter had here assumed the devils or demons to be the discrowned and fallen gods of the antique world.

These are a few of the most striking instances of angels employed as ministers of wrath. Angels, as ministers of divine grace and mercy,

Of all those acts which Deity supreme
Doth ease its heart of love in,

occur much more frequently.

The ancient heresy that God made use of the agency of angels in the creation of the world, and of mankind, I must notice here, because it has found its way into Art; for example, in an old miniature which represents an angel having before him a lump of clay, a kind of *ébauche* of humanity, which he appears to be moulding with his hands, while the Almighty stands by directing the work.¹ This idea, absurd as it may appear, is not perhaps more absurd than the notion of those who would represent the Great First Cause as always busied in fashioning or altering the forms in His visible creation, like a potter or any other mechanic. But as we are occupied at present with the Scriptural, not the legendary subjects, I return to the Old Testament. The first time that we read of an angel sent as a messenger of mercy, it is for the comfort of poor Hagar; when he found her weeping by the spring of water in the wilderness, because her mistress had afflicted her: and again, when she was cast forth and her boy fainted for thirst. In the representation of these subjects, I do not know a single instance in which the usual angelic form has not been adhered to. In the sacrifice of Isaac, 'the angel of the Lord calls to Abraham out of heaven.' This subject, as the received type of the sacrifice of the Son of God, was one of the earliest in Christian Art. We find it on the sarcophagi of the third and fourth centuries; but in one of the latest only have I seen a personage introduced as staying the hand of Abraham, and this personage is without wings. In painting, the angel is sometimes in the act of taking the sword out of Abraham's hand, which expresses the nature of his message; or he lays one hand on his arm, and with the other points to the ram which was to replace the sacrifice, or brings the ram in his

¹ As in the legend of Prometheus. (Plato, Protag. p. 320.)

arms to the altar ; but, whatever the action, the form of the angelic messenger has never varied from the sixth century.

In the visit of the angels to Abraham, there has been a variety caused by the wording of the text. It is not said that three *angels* visited Abraham, yet in most of the ancient representations the three celestial guests are winged angels. I need hardly observe that these



19

The Angels who visit Abraham. (Raphael.)

three angels are assumed to be a figure of the Trinity, and in some old illuminations the interpretation is not left doubtful, the angels being characterised as the three persons of the Trinity, wearing each the cruciform nimbus: two of them, young and beardless, stand behind; the third, representing the Father, has a beard, and, before *Him*, Abraham is prostrated. Beautiful for grace and simplicity is the winged group by Ghiberti, in which the three seem to step and move together as one. More modern artists have given us the celestial visitants merely as men. Pre-eminent in this style of conception are the pictures of Raphael and Murillo. Raphael here, as elsewhere, a true poet, has succeeded in conveying, with exquisite

felicity, the sentiment of power, of a heavenly presence, and of a mysterious significance. The three youths, who stand linked together hand in hand before the Patriarch, with such an air of benign and superior grace, want no wings to show us that they belong to the courts of heaven, and have but just descended to earth—

So lively shines
In them divine resemblance, and such grace
The hand that formed them on their shape hath poured.

Murillo, on the contrary, gives us merely three young men, travellers, and has set aside wholly both the angelic and the mystic character of the visitants.¹

The angels who descend and ascend the ladder in Jacob's dream are in almost every instance represented in the usual form; sometimes a few²—sometimes in multitudes³—sometimes as one only, who turns to bless the sleeper before he ascends;⁴ and the ladder is sometimes a flight, or a series of flights, of steps ascending from earth to the empyrean. But here it is Rembrandt who has shown himself the poet; the ladder is a slanting stream of light; the angels are mysterious bird-like luminous forms, which emerge one after another from a dazzling fount of glory, and go floating up and down,—so like a dream made visible!—In Middle-Age Art this vision of Jacob occurs very rarely. I shall have to return to it when treating of the subjects from the Old Testament.

In the New Testament angels are much more frequently alluded to than in the Old; more as a reality, less as a vision; in fact, there is no important event throughout the Gospels and Acts in which angels do not appear, either as immediate agents, or as visible and present; and in scenes where they are not distinctly said to be visibly present, they are assumed to be so invisibly, St. Paul having said expressly that 'their ministry is continual.' It is therefore with undeniable propriety that, in works of Art representing the incidents of the Gospels, angels should figure as a perpetual presence, made visible under such forms as custom and tradition have consecrated.

I pass over, for the present, the grandest, the most important

¹ Sutherland Gallery.

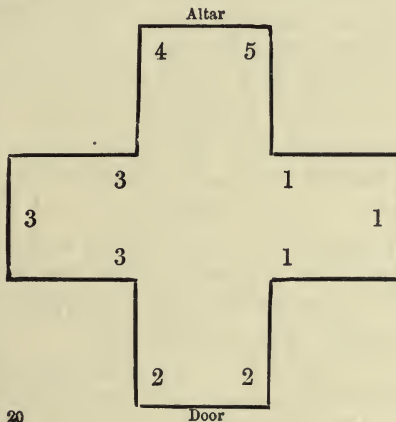
² As in Raphael's fresco in the Vatican.

³ As in the picture by Allston, painted for Lord Egremont, and now at Petworth.

⁴ As in a picture by F. Bol.

mission of an angel, the announcement brought by Gabriel to the blessed Virgin. I shall have to treat it fully hereafter.¹ The angel who appears to Joseph in a dream, and the angel who commands him to flee into Egypt, was in both cases probably the same angel who hailed Mary as blessed above all women; but we are not told so; and according to some commentators it was the guardian angel of Joseph who appeared to him. In these and other scenes of the New Testament, in which angels are described as direct agents, or merely as a chorus of ministering attendants, they have the usual form, enhanced by as much beauty, and benignity, and aërial grace as the fancy of the artist could bestow on them. In the Nativity they are seen hovering on high, pouring forth their song of triumph; they hold a scroll in their hands on which their song is written: in general there are three angels; the first sings, *Gloria in excelsis Deo!* the second, *Et in terra pax!* the third, *Hominibus bonæ voluntatis!* but in some pictures the three angels are replaced by a numerous choir, who raise the song of triumph in the skies, while others are seen kneeling round and adoring the Divine Infant.

The happiest, the most beautiful, instance I can remember of this particular treatment is the little chapel in the Riccardi Palace at Florence. This chapel is in the form of a Greek cross, and the frescoes are thus disposed:—



¹ See 'Legends of the Madonna,' p. 180.

The walls 1, 2, and 3, are painted with the journey of the Wise Men, who, with a long train of attendants mounted on horseback and gorgeously appared, are seen travelling over hill and dale led by the guiding star. Over the altar was the Nativity (now removed); on each side (4, 5) is seen a choir of angels, perhaps fifty in number, rejoicing over the birth of the Redeemer: some kneel in adoration, with arms folded over the bosom, others offer flowers; some come dancing forward with flowers in their hands or in the lap of their robe; others sing and make celestial music: they have glories round their heads, all inscribed alike, 'Gloria in excelsis Deo!' The naïve grace, the beautiful devout expression, the airy movements of these lovely beings, melt the soul to harmony and joy. The chapel having been long shut up, and its existence scarcely remembered, these paintings are in excellent preservation; and I saw nothing in Italy that more impressed me with admiration of the genuine feeling and piety of the old masters. The choral angels of Angelico da Fiesole already described are not more pure in sentiment, and are far less animated, than these.¹

But how different from both is the ministry of the angels in some of the pictures of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, both German and Italian! The Virgin Mary is washing her Divine Infant; angels dry the clothes, or pour out water; Joseph is planing a board, and angels assist the Infant Saviour in sweeping up the chips. In a beautiful little Madonna and Child, in Prince Wallerstein's collection, an angel is playing with the Divine Infant, is literally his *play-fellow*; a very graceful idea, of which I have seen but this one instance.

In the Flight into Egypt, an angel often leads the ass. In the Riposo, a subject rare before the fifteenth century, angels offer fruit and flowers, or bend down the branches of the date-tree, that Joseph may gather the fruit; or weave the choral dance, hand in hand, for the delight of the Infant Christ, while others make celestial music—as in Vandyck's beautiful picture in Lord Ashburton's collection. After the Temptation, they minister to the Saviour in the wilderness, and spread for Him a table of refreshment—

. . . Celestial food divine,
Ambrosial fruit, fetched from the tree of life,
And from the fount of life ambrosial drink.

¹ For several curious and interesting particulars relative to these subjects, see the 'Legends of the Madonna,' pp. 247, 256.

It is not said that angels were visibly present at the baptism of Christ; but it appears to me that they ought not therefore to be supposed absent, and that there is a propriety in making them attendants on this solemn occasion. They are not introduced in the very earliest examples, those in the catacombs and sarcophagi; nor yet in the mosaics of Ravenna; because angels were then rarely figured, and instead of the winged angel we have the sedge-crowned river god, representing the Jordan. In the Greek formula, they are required to be present 'in an attitude of respect:' no mention is made of their holding the garments of our Saviour; but it is certain that in Byzantine Art, and generally from the twelfth century, this has been the usual mode of representing them. According to the Fathers, our Saviour had no guardian angel; because He did not require one: notwithstanding the sense usually given to the text, 'He shall give His angels charge concerning thee, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone,' the angels, they affirm, were not the guardians, but the servants, of Christ; and hence, I presume, the custom of representing them, not merely as present, but as ministering to Him during His baptism. The gates of San Paolo (tenth century) afford the most ancient example I have met with of an angel holding the raiment of the Saviour: there is only one angel. Giotto introduces two graceful angels kneeling on the bank of the river, and looking on with attention. The angel in Raphael's composition bows his head, as if awe-struck by the divine recognition of the majesty of the Redeemer; and the reverent manner in which he holds the vestment is very beautiful. Other examples will here suggest themselves to the reader, and I shall resume the subject when treating of the life of our Saviour.

In one account of our Saviour's agony in the Garden of Gethsemane, it is expressly said that an angel 'appeared unto Him out of heaven, strengthening Him;' therefore, where this awful and pathetic subject has been attempted in Art, there is propriety in introducing a visible angel. Notwithstanding the latitude thus allowed to the imagination, or perhaps for that very reason, the greatest and the most intelligent painters have here fallen into strange errors, both in conception and in taste. For instance, is it not a manifest impropriety to

take the Scripture phrase in a literal sense, and place a cup in the hand of the angel? Is not the word *cup* here, as elsewhere, used as a metaphor, signifying the destiny awarded by Divine will, as Christ had said before, 'Ye shall drink of my cup,' and as we say, 'His cup overfloweth with blessings?' The angel, therefore, who does not bend from heaven to announce to Him the decree He knew full well, nor to present the cup of bitterness, but to strengthen and comfort Him, should not bear the cup;—still less the cross, the scourge, the crown of thorns, as in many pictures.

Where our Saviour appears bowed to the earth, prostrate, half swooning with the anguish of that dread moment, and an angel is seen sustaining Him, there is a true feeling of the real meaning of Scripture; but even in such examples the effect is often spoiled by an attempt to render the scene at once more mystical and more palpable. Thus a painter equally remarkable for the purity of his taste and deep religious feeling, Niccolò Poussin, has represented Christ, in His agony, supported in the arms of an angel, while a crowd of child-angels, very much like Cupids, appear before Him with the instruments of the Passion; ten or twelve bear a huge cross; others hold the scourge, the crown of thorns, the nails, the sponge, the spear, and exhibit them before Him, as if these were the images, these the terrors, which could overwhelm with fear and anguish even the *human* nature of such a Being!¹ It seems to me also a mistake, when the angel is introduced, to make him merely an accessory (as Raphael has done in one of his early pictures), a little figure in the air to help the meaning: since the occasion was worthy of angelic intervention, in a visible shape, bringing divine solace, divine sympathy, it should be represented under a form the most mighty and the most benign that Art could compass;—but has it been so? I can recollect no instance in which the failure has not been complete. If it be said that to render the angelic comforter so superior to the sorrowing and prostrate Redeemer would be to detract from *His* dignity as the principal personage of the scene, and thus violate one of the first rules of Art, I think differently—I think it could do so only in unskilful hands. Represented as it ought to be,

¹ The picture is, I suspect, not by Poussin, but by Stella. There is another, similar, by Guido; Louvre, 1057.

and might be, it would infinitely enhance the idea of that unimaginable anguish which, as we are told, was compounded of the iniquities and sorrows of all humanity laid upon *Him*. It was not the pang of the Mortal, but the Immortal, which required the presence of a ministering spirit sent down from heaven to sustain Him.



21

Lamenting Angel in a Crucifixion. (Campo Santo.)

In the Crucifixion, angels are seen lamenting, wringing their hands, averting or hiding their faces. In the old Greek crucifixions, one angel bears the sun, another the moon, on each side of the cross :—

... Dim sadness did not spare,
That time, celestial visages.

Michael Angelo gives us two unwinged colossal-looking angel heads, which peer out of heaven in the background of his Crucifixion in a manner truly supernatural, as if they sympathised in the consummation, but in awe rather than in grief.

Angels also receive in golden cups the blood which flows from the wounds of our Saviour. This is a representation which has the authority of some of the most distinguished and most spiritual among the old painters ; but it is, to my taste, particularly unpleasing and unpoetical. Raphael, in an early picture, the only Crucifixion he ever painted, thus introduces the angels ; and this form of the angelic ministry is a mystical version of the sacrifice of the Redeemer, not uncommon in Italian and German pictures of the sixteenth century.

As the Scriptural and legendary scenes, in which angels form the poetical machinery, will be discussed hereafter in detail as separate subjects, I shall conclude these general and preliminary remarks

with a few words on the characteristic style in which the principal painters have set forth the angelic forms and attributes.

It appears that, previous to the end of the fourth century, there were religious scruples which forbade the representation of angels, arising, perhaps, from the scandal caused in the early Church by the worship paid to these supernatural beings, and so strongly opposed by the primitive teachers. We do not find on any of the Christian relics of the first three centuries, neither in the catacombs nor on the vases or the sarcophagi, any figure which could be supposed to represent what we call an angel. On one of the latest sarcophagi we find little winged figures, but evidently the classical winged genii, used in the classical manner as ornament only.¹ In the second Council of Nice, John of Thessalonica maintained that angels have the human form, and may be so represented; and the Jewish doctors had previously decided that God consulted His angels when He said, 'Let us make man after *our* image,' and that consequently we may suppose the angels to be like men, or, in the words of the prophet, 'like unto the similitude of the sons of men.'² (Dan x. 16.)

But it is evident that, in the first attempt at angelic effigy, it was deemed necessary, in giving the human shape, to render it as super-human, as imposing, as possible; colossal proportions, mighty overshadowing wings, kingly attributes,—these we find in the earliest figures of angels which I believe exist—the mosaics in the Church of Santa Agata at Ravenna (A.D. 400). Christ is seated on a throne (as in the early sarcophagi); He holds the Gospel in one hand, and with the left gives the benediction. An angel stands on each side; they have large wings, and bear a silver wand, the long sceptre of the Grecian kings; they are robed in classical drapery, but wear the short pallium (the 'garb succinct for flight'); their feet are sandaled, as prepared for a journey, and their hair bound by a fillet. Except in the wings and short pallium, they resemble the figures of Grecian kings and priests in the ancient bas-reliefs.

This was the truly majestic idea of an angelic presence (in contradistinction to the angelic *emblem*), which, well or ill executed, prevailed during the first ten centuries. In the MS.³ already referred

¹ Ciampini, p. 131, A.D. 394. ² Greek MS., A.D. 867. ³ Paris, Bib. Nat., No. 510.



22

Angel. (Greek MSS., ninth century.)

to, as containing such magnificent examples of this Godlike form and bearing, I selected one group less ruined than most of the others—Jacob wrestling with the angel. The drawing is wonderful for the period, that of Charlemagne; and see how the mighty being grasps the puny mortal, who was permitted for a while to resist him!—‘He touched the hollow of Jacob’s thigh, and it was out of joint;’—the action is as significant as possible. In the original, the drapery of the angel is white; the fillet binding the hair, the sandals, and the wings, of purple and gold.

This lank, formal angel, is from the Greco-Italian school of the eleventh century. From the eleventh to the thirteenth century, the forms of the angels became, like all things in



23

A. D. 1000.

the then degraded state of Byzantine Art, merely conventional. They are attired either in the imperial or the sacerdotal vestments, as already described, and are richly ornamented, tasteless and stiff, large without grandeur, and, in general, ill drawn; as in these figures from Monreale (24).



24

Greek Angels. (Cathedral of Monreale. Eleventh century.)

On the revival of Art, we find the Byzantine idea of angels everywhere prevailing. The angels in Cimabue's famous 'Virgin and Child Enthroned' are grand creatures, rather stern; but this arose, I think, from his inability to express beauty. The colossal angels at Assisi (A.D. 1270), solemn sceptred kingly forms, all alike in action and attitude, appeared to me magnificent (30).

In the angels of Giotto (A.D. 1310), we see the commencement of a softer grace and a purer taste, further developed by some of his scholars. Benozzo Gozzoli and Orcagna have left in the Campo Santo examples of the most graceful and fanciful treatment. Of Benozzo's angels in the Riccardi Palace I have spoken at length. His master Angelico (worthy the name!) never reached the same power of expressing the rapturous rejoicing of celestial beings, but his conception of the angelic nature remains unapproached, unapproachable (A.D. 1430); it is only his, for it was the gentle, passion-

less, refined nature of the recluse, which stamped itself there. Angelico's angels are unearthly, not so much in form as in sentiment; and superhuman, not in power but in purity. In other hands, any imitation of his soft ethereal grace would become feeble and insipid. With their long robes falling round their feet, and drooping many-coloured wings, they seem not to fly or to walk, but to float along, 'smooth sliding without step.' Blessed, blessed creatures! love us, only love us, for we dare not task your soft serene Beatitude by asking you to *help* us!

There is more sympathy with humanity in Francia's angels: they look as if they could weep, as well as love and sing.

Most beautiful are the groups of adoring angels by Francesco



25

Angels. (F. Granacci.)

Granacci,¹ so serenely tender, yet with a touch of grave earnestness which gives them a character apart: they have the air of guardian angels, who have discharged their trust, and to whom the Supreme utterance has voiced forth, 'Servant of God, well done!'

¹ In the Academy at Florence: they must have formed the side wings to an enthroned Madonna and Child.

The angels of Botticelli are often stiff, and those of Ghirlandajo sometimes fantastic; but in both I have met with angelic countenances and forms which, for intense and happy expression, can never be forgotten. One has the feeling, however, that they used human models—the *portrait* face looks through the *angel* face. This is still more apparent in Mantegna and Filippo Lippi. As we might have expected from the character of Fra Filippo his angels want refinement: they have a boyish look, with their crisped curled hair, and their bold beauty; yet some of them are magnificent for that sort of angel-beings supposed to have a volition of their own. Andrea del Sarto's angels have the same fault in a less degree: they have, if not a bold, yet a self-willed boyish expression.

Perugino's angels convey the idea of an unalterable sweetness: those of his earlier time have much natural grace, those of his later time are mannered. In early Venetian Art the angels are charming; they are happy affectionate beings, with a touch of that voluptuous sentiment afterwards the characteristic of the Venetian school.

In the contemporary German school, angels are treated in a very extraordinary and original style (26). One cannot say that they are earthly, or commonplace, still less are they beautiful or divine; but they have great simplicity, earnestness, and energy of action. They appear to me conceived in the Old Testament spirit, with their grand stiff massive draperies, their jewelled and golden glories, their wings 'eyed like the peacock, speckled like the pard,' their intense expression, and the sort of personal and passionate interest they throw into their ministry. This is the character of Albert Dürer's angels especially; those of Martin Schoen and Lucus v. Leyden are of a gentler spirit.

Leonardo da Vinci's angels do not quite please me, elegant, refined, and lovely as they are:—'methinks they smile too much.' By his scholar Luini there are some angels in the gallery of the Brera, swinging censers and playing on musical instruments, which, with the peculiar character of the Milanese school, combine all the grace of a purer, loftier nature.

Correggio's angels are grand and lovely, but they are like children enlarged and sublimated, not like spirits taking the form of children: where they smile it is truly, as Annibal Caracci expresses it, '*con una*



26

Angel. German School. (Albert Dürer).

naturalezza e semplicità che innamora e sforza a ridere con loro; but the smile in many of Correggio's angel heads has something sublime and spiritual, as well as *simple and natural*.

And Titian's angels impress me in a similar manner—I mean those in the glorious Assumption at Venice—with their childish forms and features, but with an expression caught from beholding the face of 'our Father that is in heaven:' it is glorified infancy. I remember standing before this picture, contemplating those lovely spirits one after another, until a thrill came over me like that which I felt when Mendelssohn played the organ, and I became music while I listened. The face of one of those angels is to the face of a child just what that of the Virgin in the same picture is compared with the fairest of the daughters of earth: it is not here superiority of beauty, but mind and music and love, *kneaded*, as it were, into form and colour.

I have thought it singular and somewhat unaccountable, that among the earliest examples of undraped boy-angels are those of Fra Bartolomeo—he who on one occasion, at the command of Savonarola, made a bonfire of all the undressed figures he could lay his hands on.

But Raphael, excelling in all things, is here excellent above all: his angels combine, in a higher degree than any other, the various faculties and attributes in which the fancy loves to clothe these pure, immortal, beatified creatures. The angels of Giotto, of Benozzo, of Fiesole, are, if not female, feminine; those of F. Lippi, and of A. Mantegna, masculine; but you cannot say of those of Raphael that they are masculine or feminine. The idea of sex is wholly lost in the blending of power, intelligence, and grace. In his earlier pictures grace is the predominant characteristic, as in the dancing and singing angels in his Coronation of the Virgin.¹ In his later pictures the sentiment in his ministering angels is more spiritual, more dignified. As a perfect example of grand and poetical feeling, I may cite the angels as 'Regents of the Planets,' in the Capella Chigiana.² The cupola represents in a circle the creation of the solar system, according to the theological and astronomical (or rather *astrological*) notions which then prevailed—a hundred years before 'the starry Galileo and his woes.' In the centre is the Creator; around, in eight compartments, we have, first, the angel of the celestial sphere, who seems to be listening to the divine mandate, 'Let there be lights in the firmament of heaven;' then follow, in their order, the Sun, the Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. The name of each planet is expressed by its mythological representative; the Sun by Apollo, the Moon by Diana: and over each presides a grand colossal winged spirit seated or reclining on a portion of the zodiac as on a throne. I have selected two angels to give an idea of this peculiar and poetical treatment. The union of the theological and the mythological attributes is in the classical taste of the time, and quite Miltonic.³ In Raphael's child-angels, the expression of power

¹ Gallery of the Vatican.

² S. Maria del Popolo, Rome.

³ The mosaics in the dome of the Chigi chapel are so ill lighted that it is difficult to observe them in detail, but they have lately been rendered cheaply accessible in the fine set of engravings by Gruner, an artist who in our day has revived the pure and correct design and elegant execution of Marc Antonio.



Angels of the Planets from the Cappella Chigi

and intelligence, as well as innocence, is quite wonderful; for instance, look at the two angel-boys in the Dresden Madonna di San Sisto, and the angels, or celestial genii, who bear along the Almighty when He appears to Noah.¹ No one has expressed like Raphael the action of flight, except perhaps Rembrandt. The angel who descends to crown Santa Felicità cleaves the air with the action of a swallow;² and the angel in Rembrandt's Tobit soars like a lark with upward motion, spurning the earth.

Michael Angelo rarely gave wings to his angels; I scarcely recollect an instance, except the angel in the Annunciation: and his exaggerated human forms, his colossal creatures, in which the idea of power is conveyed through attitude and muscular action, are, to my taste, worse than unpleasing. My admiration for this wonderful man is so profound that I can afford to say this. His angels are super-human, but hardly angelic: and while in Raphael's angels we do not feel the want of wings, we feel while looking at those of Michael Angelo that not even the 'sail-broad vans' with which Satan laboured through the surging abyss of chaos could suffice to lift those Titanic forms from earth, and sustain them in mid-air. The group of angels over the Last Judgment, flinging their mighty limbs about, and those that surround the descending figure of Christ in the Conversion of St. Paul, may be referred to here as characteristic examples. The angels, blowing their trumpets, puff and strain like so many troopers. Surely this is not angelic: there may be *power*, great imaginative and artistic power, exhibited in the conception of form, but in the beings themselves there is more of effort than of power: serenity, tranquillity, beatitude, ethereal purity, spiritual grace, are out of the question.

The later followers of his school, in their angelic as in their human forms, caricatured their great master, and became, to an offensive degree, forced, extravagant, and sensual.

When we come to the revival of a better taste under the influence of the Caracci, we find the angels of that school as far removed from the

¹ As in the fresco in the Vatican.

² See the engraving under this title by Marc Antonio; it is properly St. Cecilia, and not St. Félicité.

early Christian types as were their apostles and martyrs. They have often great beauty, consummate elegance, but bear the same relation to the religious and ethereal types of the early painters that the angels of Tasso bear to those of Dante. Turn, for instance, to the commencement of the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, where the angel is deputed to carry to Godfrey the behest of the Supreme Being. The picture of the angel is distinctly and poetically brought before us; he takes to himself a form between boyhood and youth; his waving curls are crowned with beams of light; he puts on a pair of wings of silver tipped with gold, with which he cleaves the air, the clouds, the skies; he alights on Mount Lebanon, and poises himself on his balanced wings—

E si librò su l' adeguate penne.

This is exactly the angel which figures in the best pictures of the Caracci and Guido: he is supremely elegant, and nothing more.

I must not here venture on minute criticism, as regards distinctive character in the crowds of painters which sprung out of the eclectic school. It would carry us too far; but one or two general remarks will lead the reader's fancy along the path I would wish him to pursue. I would say, therefore, that the angels of Ludovico have more of sentiment, those of Annibal more of power, those of Guido more of grace; and of Guido it may be said that he excels them all in the expression of adoration and humility; see, for instance, the adoring seraphs in Lord Ellesmere's 'Immaculate Conception.' The angels of Domenichino, Guercino, and Albano, are to me less pleasing. Domenichino's angels are merely human. I never saw an angel in one of Guercino's pictures that had not, with the merely human character, a touch of vulgarity. As for Albano, how are we to discriminate between his angels and his nymphs, Apollos, and Cupids? But for the occasion and the appellation, it would be quite impossible to distinguish the Loves that sport round Venus and Adonis, from the Cherubim, so called, that hover above a Nativity or a Riposo; and the little angels, in his Crucifixion, cry so like naughty little boys, that one longs to put them in a corner. This merely heathen grace and merely human sentiment is the general tendency of the whole school; and no beauty of form or colour can, to the feeling and religious mind, redeem such gross violations of



27

Angels in a Nativity. (Seventeenth century.)

propriety. As for Poussin, of whom I think with due reverence, his angels are often exquisitely beautiful and refined: they have a chastity



23

Angel: in a picture of Christ healing the Sick. (N. Poussin.)

and a moral grace which pleases at first view; but here again the scriptural type is neglected and heathenised in obedience to the fashion of the time. If we compare the Cupids in his Rinaldo and

Armida, with the angels which minister to the Virgin and Child; or the Cherubim weeping in a Deposition, with the Amorini who are lamenting over Adonis; in what respect do they differ? They are evidently painted from the same models, the beautiful children of Titian and Fiamingo.

Rubens gives us strong well-built youths, with redundant yellow hair; and chubby naked babies, as like flesh and blood, and as natural, as the life: and those of Vandyck are more elegant, without being more angelic. Murillo's child-angels are divine, through absolute beauty; the expression of innocence and beatitude was never more perfectly given; but in grandeur and power they are inferior to Correggio, and, in all that should characterise a divine nature, immeasurably below Raphael.

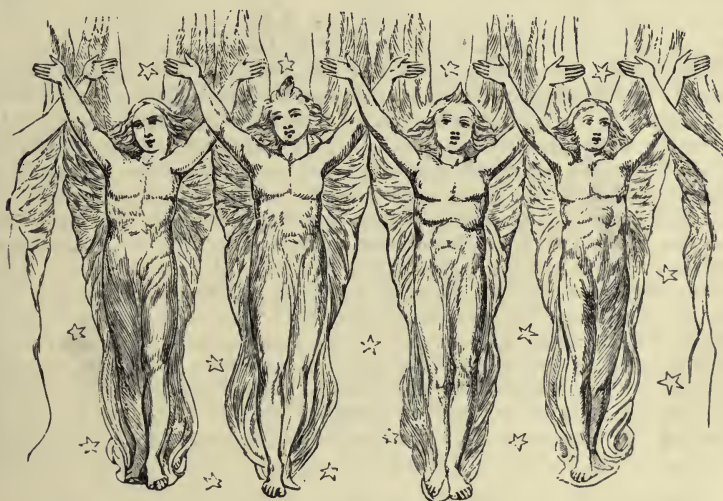
Strange to say, the most poetical painter of angels in the seventeenth century is that inspired Dutchman, Rembrandt; not that his angels are scriptural; still less classical; and beautiful they are not, certainly—often the reverse; but if they have not the Miltonic dignity and grace, they are at least as unearthly and as poetical as any of the angelic phantasms in Dante,—unhuman, unembodied creatures, compounded of light and darkness, 'the somewhat between a *thought* and a *thing*,' haunting the memory like apparitions. For instance, look at his Jacob's Dream, at Dulwich; or his etching of the Angels appearing to the Shepherds,—breaking through the night, scattering the gloom, making our eyes ache with excess of glory,—the *Gloria in excelsis* ringing through the fancy while we gaze!

I have before observed that angels are supposed to be masculine, with the feminine attributes of beauty and purity; but in the seventeenth century the Florentine painter, Giovanni di S. Giovanni, scandalised his contemporaries by introducing into a glory round the Virgin, female angels (*angelesse*). Rubens has more than once committed the same fault against ecclesiastical canons and decorum; for instance, in his Madonna 'aux Anges' in the Louvre. Such aberrations of fancy are mere caprices of the painter, improprieties inadmissible in high Art.

Of the sprawling, fluttering, half-naked angels of the Pietro da Cortona and Bernini school, and the feeble mannerists of the seven-

teenth and eighteenth centuries, what shall be said? that they are worthy to illustrate Moore's Loves of the Angels? '*non ragioniam di lor;*' no, nor even *look* at them! I have seen angels of the later Italian and Spanish painters more like opera dancers, with artificial wings and gauze draperies, dressed to figure in a ballet, than anything else I could compare them to.

The most original, and, in truth, the only new and original version of the Scripture idea of angels which I have met with, is that of William Blake, a poet painter, somewhat mad as we are told, if indeed his madness were not rather 'The telescope of truth,' a sort of poetical *clairvoyance*, bringing the unearthly nearer to him than to others. His adoring angels float rather than fly, and, with their half-liquid draperies, seem about to dissolve into light and love: and his rejoicing angels—behold them—sending up their voices with the morning stars, that 'singing, in their glory move!'



As regards the treatment of angels in the more recent productions of Art, the painters and sculptors have generally adhered to received and known types in form and in sentiment. The angels of the old

Italians, Giotto and Frate Angelico, have been very well imitated by Steinle and others of the German school: the Raffaelesque feeling has been in general aimed at by the French and English painters. Tenerani had the old mosaics in his mind when he conceived that magnificent colossal Angel of the Resurrection seated on a tomb, and waiting for the signal to sound his trumpet, which I saw in his atelier, prepared, I believe, for the monument of the Duchess Lanti.¹

I pause here, for I have dwelt upon these celestial Hierarchies, winged Splendours, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers, till my fancy is becoming somewhat mazed and dazzled by the contemplation. I must leave the reader to go into a picture-gallery, or look over a portfolio of engravings, and so pursue the theme, whithersoever it may lead him, and it *may* lead him, in Hamlet's words, 'to thoughts beyond the reaches of his soul!' ²

¹ It is now in the Lanti chapel in the church of the Lateran.

² Mr. Ruskin remarks very truly, that in early Christian Art there is 'a certain confidence, in the way in which angels trust to their wings, very characteristic of a period of bold and simple conception. Modern science has taught us that a wing cannot be anatomically joined to a shoulder; and in proportion as painters approach more and more to the scientific as distinguished from the contemplative state of mind, they put the wings of their angels on more timidly, and dwell with greater emphasis on the human form with less upon the wings, until these last become a species of decorative appendage, a mere *sign* of an angel. But in Giotto's time an angel was a complete creature, as much believed in as a bird, and the way in which it would or might cast itself into the air and lean hither and thither on its plumes, was as naturally apprehended as the manner of flight of a chough or a starling. Hence Dante's simple and most exquisite synonym for angel, "Bird of God;" and hence also a variety and picturesqueness in the expression of the movements of the heavenly hierarchies by the earlier painters, ill replaced by the powers of foreshortening and throwing naked limbs into fantastic positions, which appear in the cherubic groups of later times.' The angels from the Campo Santo at Pisa, numbered 12, 21, and 32, are instances of this bird-like form. They are *Uccelli di Dio*. Those numbered 27, 28, and 37 are examples of the later treatment.



II. The Archangels.

The Seven

Who in God's presence, nearest to His throne,
Stand ready at command.—MILTON.

HAVING treated of the celestial Hierarchy in general, we have now to consider those angels who in artistic representations have assumed an individual form and character. These belong to the order of Archangels, placed by Dionysius in the third Hierarchy : they take rank between the Princedoms and the Angels, and partake of the nature of both, being, like the Princedoms, Powers ; and, like the Angels, Ministers and Messengers.

Frequent allusion is made in Scripture to the seven Angels who stand in the presence of God. (Rev. viii. 2, xv. 1, xvi. 1, &c., Tobit xxii. 15.) This was in accordance with the popular creed of the Jews, who not only acknowledged the supremacy of the Seven Spirits, but assigned to them distinct vocations and distinct appellations, each terminating with the syllable *EL*, which signifies God. Thus we have—

I. MICHAEL (*i.e.*, who is like unto God), captain-general of the host of heaven, and protector of the Hebrew nation.

II. GABRIEL (*i.e.*, God is my strength), guardian of the celestial treasury, and preceptor of the patriarch Joseph.

III. RAPHAEL (*i.e.*, the Medicine of God), the conductor of Tobit; thence the chief guardian angel.

IV. URIEL (*i.e.*, the Light of God), who taught Esdras. He was also regent of the sun.

V. CHAMUEL (*i.e.*, one who sees God?), who wrestled with Jacob, and who appeared to Christ at Gethsemane. (But, according to other authorities, this was the angel Gabriel.)

VI. JOPHIEL (*i.e.*, the Beauty of God), who was the preceptor of the sons of Noah, and is the protector of all those who, with an humble heart, seek after truth, and the enemy of those who pursue vain knowledge. Thus Jophiel was naturally considered as the guardian of the tree of knowledge, and the same who drove Adam and Eve from Paradise.

VII. ZADKIEL (*i.e.*, the Righteousness of God), who stayed the hand of Abraham when about to sacrifice his son. (But, according to other authorities, this was the archangel Michael.)

The Christian Church does not acknowledge these Seven Angels by name; neither in the East, where the worship of angels took deep root, nor yet in the West, where it has been tacitly accepted. Nor have I met with them as a series, *by name*, in any ecclesiastical work of Art, though I have seen a set of old anonymous prints in which they appear with distinct names and attributes: Michael bears the sword and scales; Gabriel, the lily; Raphael, the pilgrim's staff and gourd full of water, as a traveller. Uriel has a roll and a book: he is the interpreter of judgments and prophecies, and for this purpose was sent to Esdras:



31

The Archangels Michael and Raphael. (Campo Santo.)

—‘The angel that was sent unto me, whose name was Uriel, gave me an answer.’ (Esdras, ii. 4.) And in Milton—

Uriel, for thou of those Seven Spirits that stand
In sight of God’s high throne, gloriously bright,
The first art wont his great authentic will
Interpreter through highest heaven to bring.

According to an early Christian tradition, it was this angel, and not Christ in person, who accompanied the two disciples to Emmaus.

Chamuel is represented with a cup and a staff; Jophiel with a flaming sword. Zadkiel bears the sacrificial knife which he took from the hand of Abraham.

But the Seven Angels, without being distinguished by name, are occasionally introduced into works of art. For example, over the arch of the choir in San Michele, at Ravenna (A.D. 545), on each side of the throned Saviour are the Seven Angels blowing trumpets like cow's horns:—'And I saw the Seven Angels which stand before God, and to them were given seven trumpets.' (Rev. viii. 2, 6.) In representations of the Crucifixion and in the Pietà, the Seven Angels are often seen in attendance, bearing the instruments of the Passion. Michael bears the cross, for he is 'the Bannerer of heaven;' but I do not feel certain of the particular avocations of the others.

In the Last Judgment of Orcagna, in the Campo Santo at Pisa (31), the Seven Angels are active and important personages. The angel who stands in the centre of the picture, below the throne of Christ, extends a scroll in each hand; on that in the right hand is inscribed 'Come, ye blessed of my Father,' and on that in the left hand, 'Depart from me, ye accursed:' him I suppose to be Michael, the angel of judgment. At his feet crouches an angel who seems to shrink from the tremendous spectacle, and hides his face: him I suppose to be Raphael, the guardian angel of humanity. The attitude has always been admired—cowering with horror, yet sublime. Beneath are other five angels, who are engaged in separating the just from the wicked, encouraging and sustaining the former, and driving the latter towards the demons who are ready to snatch them into flames. These Seven Angels have the garb of princes and warriors, with breastplates of gold, jewelled sword-belts and tiaras, rich mantles; while the other angels who figure in the same scene are plumed, and bird-like, and hover above bearing the instruments of the Passion (32).

Again we may see the Seven Angels in quite another character, attending on St. Thomas Aquinas, in a picture by Taddeo Gaddi.¹ Here, instead of the instruments of the Passion, they bear the allegorical attributes of those virtues for which that famous saint and doctor is to be revered: one bears an olive-branch, *i.e.*, Peace; the second, a book, *i.e.*, Knowledge; the third, a crown and sceptre,

¹ A.D. 1352. Florence, S. Maria Novella.



i.e., Power ; the fourth, a church, *i.e.*, Religion ; the fifth, a cross and shield, *i.e.*, Faith ; the sixth, flames of fire in each hand, *i.e.*, Piety and Charity ; the seventh, a lily, *i.e.*, Purity.

In general it may be presumed when seven angels figure together, or are distinguished from among a host of angels by dress, stature, or other attributes, that these represent 'the Seven Holy Angels who stand in the presence of God.' Four only of these Seven Angels are individualised by name, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel. According to the Jewish tradition, these four sustain the throne of the Almighty : they have the Greek epithet *arch*, or chief, assigned to them, from the two texts of Scripture in which that title is used (1 Thess. iv. 16 ; Jude 9) ; but only the three first, who in Scripture have a distinct personality, are revered in the Catholic Church as saints ; and their gracious beauty, and their divine prowess, and their high behests to mortal man, have furnished some of the most important and most poetical subjects which appear in Christian Art.

The earliest instance I have met of the Archangels introduced by name into a work of art is in the old church of San Michele at Ravenna (A.D. 545). The mosaic in the apse exhibits Christ in the centre, bearing in one hand the cross as a trophy or sceptre, and in the other an open book on which are the words '*Qui videt me videt et Patrem meum.*' On each side stand Michael and Gabriel, with vast wings and long sceptres ; their names are inscribed above, but without the *Sanctus* and without the Glory. It appears, therefore, that at this time, the middle of the sixth century, the title of *Saint*, though in use, had not been given to the Archangels.

When, in the ancient churches, the figure of Christ or of the Lamb appears in a circle of glory in the centre of the roof; and around, or at the four corners, four angels who sustain the circle with outspread arms, or stand as watchers, with sceptres or lances in their hands, these I presume to be the four Archangels 'who sustain the throne of God.' Examples may be seen in San Vitale at Ravenna; in the chapel of San Zeno, in Santa Prassede at Rome; and on the roof of the choir of San Francesco d'Assisi.

So the four Archangels, stately colossal figures, winged and armed and sceptred, stand over the arch of the choir in the Cathedral of Monreale, at Palermo.¹

So the four angels stand at the four corners of the earth and hold the winds, heads with puffed cheeks and dishevelled hair.² (Rev. vii. 1.)

But I have never seen Uriel represented by name, or alone, in any sacred edifice. In the picture of Uriel painted by Allston,³ he is the 'Regent of the Sun,' as described by Milton; not a sacred or scriptural personage. On a shrine of carved ivory⁴ I have seen the four Archangels as keeping guard, two at each end; the three first are named, as usual, St. Michael, St. Gabriel, St. Raphael; the fourth is styled *St. Chérubin*; and I have seen the same name inscribed over the head of the angel who expels Adam and Eve from Paradise. There is no authority for such an appellation applied individually; but I find, in a famous legend of the middle ages, 'La Pénitence d'Adam,' that the angel who guards the gates of Paradise is thus designated:—'Lorsque l'Ange Chérubin vit arriver Seth aux portes de Paradis,' &c. The four Archangels, however, seldom occur together, except in architectural decoration. On the other hand, devotional pictures of the three Archangels named in the canonical Scriptures are of frequent occurrence. They are often grouped together as patron saints or protecting spirits; or they stand round the throne of Christ, or below the glorified Virgin and Child, in an attitude of adoration. According to the Greek formula, the three in combination represent the triple power, military, civil, and religious, of the celestial hier-

¹ Greek mosaic, A. D. 1174.

² MS. of the Book of Revelation, fourteenth century. Trinity College, Dublin.

³ Coll. of the Duke of Sutherland.

⁴ Hôtel de Cluny, 399.



archy: St. Michael being habited as a warrior, Gabriel as a prince, and Raphael as a priest. In a Greek picture, of which I give an outline, the three Archangels sustain in a kind of throne the figure of the youthful Christ, here winged, as being Himself *the* supreme Angel (ἄγγελος), and with both hands blessing the universe. The Archangel Raphael has here the place of dignity as representing the Priesthood;

but in Western Art Michael takes precedence of the two others, and is usually placed in the centre as Prince or Chief: with him, then, as considered individually, we begin.

ST. MICHAEL.

Lat. Sanctus Michael Angelus. *Ital.* San Michele, Sammichele.
Fr. Monseigneur Saint Michel. (Sept. 29.)

'Michael, the Great Prince that standeth for the children of thy people.'—*Dan.* xii. 1.

It is difficult to clothe in adequate language the divine attributes with which painting and poetry have invested this illustrious archangel. Jews and Christians are agreed in giving him the pre-eminence over all created spirits. All the might, the majesty, the radiance, of Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers, are centred in him. In him God put forth his strength when He exalted him chief over the celestial host, when angels warred with angels in heaven; and in him God showed forth his glory when He made him conqueror over the power of sin, and 'over the great dragon that deceived the world.'

To the origin of the worship paid to this great Archangel I dare not do more than allude, lest I stray wide from my subject, and lose myself, and my readers too, in labyrinths of Orientalism. But, in considering the artistic representations, it is interesting to call to mind that the glorification of St. Michael may be traced back to that primitive Eastern dogma, the perpetual antagonism between the Spirit of Good and the Spirit of Evil, mixed up with the Chaldaic belief in angels and their influence over the destinies of man. It was subsequent to the Captivity that the active Spirit of Good, under the name of Michael, came to be regarded as the especial protector of the Hebrew nation; the veneration paid to him by the Jews was adopted, or rather retained, by the Oriental Christians, and, though suppressed for a time, was revived and spread over the West, where we find it popular and almost universal from the eighth century.

The legends which have grown out of a few mystical texts of Scripture, amplified by the fanciful disquisitions of the theological writers, place St. Michael before us in three great characters:—
1. As captain of the heavenly hosts, and conqueror of the powers of hell. 2. As lord of souls, conductor and guardian of the spirits of the dead. 3. As patron saint and prince of the Church Militant.

When Lucifer, possessed by the spirit of pride and ingratitude, refused to fall down and worship the Son of man, Michael was deputed to punish his insolence, and to cast him out from heaven. Then Michael chained the revolted angels in middle air, where they are to remain till the day of judgment, being in the meantime perpetually tortured by hate, envy, and despair; for they behold man, whom they had disdained, exalted as their superior; above them they see the heaven they have forfeited; and beneath them the redeemed souls continually rising from earth, and ascending to the presence of God, whence they are shut out for ever.

‘Now,’ says the old Legend,¹ ‘if it be asked wherefore the books of Moses, in revealing the disobedience and the fall of man, are silent as to the revolt and the fall of the angels, the reason is plain; and in this God acted according to his wisdom. For, let us suppose that a certain powerful lord had two vassals, both guilty of the crime of treason, and one of these is a nobleman of pure and lofty lineage, and the other a base-born churl:—what doth this lord? He hangs up the churl in the market-place as a warning and example to others;—but, for the nobleman, fearing the scandal that may arise among the people, and perhaps also some insult to the officers of the law, the judge causes him to be tried secretly, and shuts him up in a dungeon; and when judgment is pronounced against him, he sends to his prison, and puts him privily to death; and when one asketh after him, the answer is only “He is dead:”—and nothing more. Thus did God in respect to the rebel angels of old; and their fate was not revealed until the redemption of man was accomplished.’

This passage from the old Italian legend is so curiously charac-

¹ v. Il perfetto Legendario. 1659.

teristic of the feudal spirit of Christianity in the middle ages, that I have ventured to insert it verbatim. If religion did, in some degree, modify the institutions of chivalry, in a much greater degree did the ruling prejudices of a barbarian age modify the popular ideas of religion. Here, notwithstanding the primary doctrine of Christ—the equality of all men before God, we have the distinction between noble and churl carried into the very councils of Heaven.

But, to return to St. Michael: on whom, as the leader of his triumphant hosts, God bestowed many and great privileges. To him it was given

to bid sound th' archangel trumpet,

and exalt the banner of the Cross in the day of judgment; and to him likewise was assigned the reception of the immortal spirits when released by death. It was his task to weigh them in a balance (Dan. v. 27; Ps. lxii. 9): those whose good works exceeded their demerits, he presented before the throne of God; but those who were found wanting he gave up to be tortured in purgatory, until their souls, from being 'as crimson, should become as white as snow.' Therefore, in the hour of death, he is to be invoked by the faithful, saying, '*O Michael, militiæ cælestis signifer, in adjutorium nostrum veni, princeps et propugnator!*'

Lastly, when it pleased the Almighty to select from among the nations of the earth one people to become peculiarly his own, He appointed St. Michael to be president and leader over that chosen people.¹ 'At that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people' (Dan. x. 13, xii. 1): and when the power of the Synagogue was supposed to cease, and to be replaced by the power of the Church, so that the Christians became the people of God, then Michael, who had been the great prince of the Hebrew

¹ The Gnostics taught that the universe was created by the Seven Great Angels, who ranked next to the *Eons*, or direct emanations from God: 'and when a distribution was afterwards made of things, the chief of the creating angels had the people of the Jews particularly to his share; a doctrine which in the main was received by many ancients.'—See Lardner's 'History of the Early Heresies.' I have alluded to the angel pictured as the agent in creation (p. 39), but the Seven creating Angels I have not met with in art. This was one of the Gnostic fancies condemned by the early Church.

people, became the prince and leader of the Church militant in Christendom, and the guardian of redeemed souls, against his old adversary the Prince of Hell. (Rev. xii. 6, 7.)

The worship paid to St. Michael, and which originated in the far East, is supposed to have been adopted by the Oriental Christians in consequence of a famous apparition of the Archangel at Colossæ, in Phrygia, which caused him to be held in especial honour by the people of that city, and perhaps occasioned the particular warning of St. Paul addressed to the Colossians. But although the worship of angels was considered among the heresies of the early Church, we find Constantine no sooner master of the empire, and a baptized Christian, than he dedicates a church to the Archangel Michael (by his Greek name Michaëlion), and this church, one of the most magnificent in Constantinople, became renowned for its miracles, and the parent and model of hundreds more throughout the East.

In the West, the honours paid to St. Michael are of later date: that a church dedicated to him must have existed in Rome long before the year 500 seems clear, because at that time it is mentioned as having fallen into ruin. But the West had its angelic apparitions as well as the East, and St. Michael owes his wide-spread popularity in the middle ages to three famous visions which are thus recorded.

In the fifth century, in the city of Siponte, in Apulia (now Manfredonia), dwelt a man named Galgano or Garganus, very rich in cattle, sheep, and beasts; and as they pastured on the sides of the mountain, it happened that a bull strayed and came not home; then the rich man took a multitude of servants and sought the bull, and found him at the entrance of a cave on the very summit of the mountain, and, being wroth with the bull, the master ordered him to be slain; but when the arrow was sent from the bow it returned to the bosom of him who sent it, and he fell dead on the ground: then the master and his servants were troubled, and they sent to inquire of the bishop what should be done. The bishop, having fasted and prayed three days, beheld in a vision the glorious Archangel Michael, who descended on the mountain, and told him that the servant had been slain because he had violated a spot peculiarly sacred to him, and he commanded that a church should be erected and sanctified there to his honour. And when they entered the cavern they found there three

altars already erected, one of them covered with a rich embroidered altar-cloth of crimson and gold, and a stream of limpid water springing from the rock which healed all diseases. So the church was built, and the fame of the vision of Monte Galgano, though for some time confined to the south of Italy, spread throughout Europe, and many pilgrimages were made to the spot on which the angelic footsteps had alighted.

The second vision is much more imposing. When Rome was nearly depopulated by a pestilence in the sixth century, St. Gregory, afterwards pope, advised that a procession should be made through the streets of the city, singing the service since called the Great Litanies. He placed himself at the head of the faithful, and during three days they perambulated the city; and on the third day, when they had arrived opposite to the mole of Hadrian, Gregory beheld the Archangel Michael alight on the summit of that monument, and sheathe his sword, bedropped with blood. Then Gregory knew that the plague was stayed, and a church was there dedicated to the honour of the Archangel: and the Tomb of Hadrian has since been called the Castle of Sant' Angelo to this day.

This, of all the recorded apparitions of St. Michael, is the only one which can be called poetical; it is evidently borrowed from the vision of the destroying angel in Scripture. As early as the ninth century, a church or chapel dedicated to St. Michael was erected on the summit of the huge monument, which at that time must have preserved much of its antique magnificence. The church was entitled *Ecclesia Sancti Angeli usque ad Caelos*. The bronze statue, which in memory of this miracle now surmounts the Castle of St. Angelo, was placed there in recent times by Benedict XIV., and is the work of a Flemish sculptor, Verschaffelt. I suppose no one ever looked at this statue critically—at least, for myself, I never could: nor can I remember now, whether, as a work of art, it is above or below criticism; perhaps both. With its vast wings, poised in air, as seen against the deep blue skies of Rome, or lighted up by the golden sunset, to me it was ever like what it was intended to represent—like a vision.

A third apparition was that accorded to Aubert, bishop of Avranches (A.D. 706). This holy man seems to have been desirous to attract to his own diocese a portion of that sanctity (and perhaps other advan-

tages) which Monte Galgano derived from the worship of St. Michael. In the Gulf of Avranches, in Normandy, stands a lofty isolated rock inaccessible from the land at high water, and for ages past celebrated as one of the strongest fortresses and state prisons in France. In the reign of Childebert II., St. Aubert, bishop of Avranches, had a vision, in which the Archangel Michael commanded him to repair to this rock, then the terror of mariners, and erect a church to his honour on the highest point, where a bull would be found concealed, and it was to cover as much space as the bull had trampled with his hoofs; he also discovered to the bishop a well-spring of pure water, which had before been unknown. As the bishop treated this command as a dream, the Archangel appeared to him a second and a third time; and at length, to impress it on his waking memory, he touched his head with his thumb, and made a mark or hole in his skull, which he carried to the grave. This time the bishop obeyed, and a small church was built on the spot indicated; afterwards replaced by the magnificent Abbey Church, which was begun by Richard duke of Normandy, in 966, and finished by William the Conqueror. The poverty of invention shown in this legend, which is little more than a repetition of that of Monte Galgano, is very disappointing to the fancy, considering the celebrity of Mont-Saint-Michel as a place of pilgrimage, and as one of the most picturesque objects in European scenery, with its massive towers, which have braved the tempests of a thousand years, rising from the summit of the peak, and the sea weltering round its base. It failed not, however, in the effect anticipated. The worship of St. Michael became popular in France from the ninth century; the Archangel was selected as patron saint of France, and of the military order instituted in his honour by Louis XI. in 1469. The worship paid to St. Michael as patron saint of Normandy naturally extended itself to England after the Norman conquest, and churches dedicated to this archangel abound in all the towns and cities along the southern and eastern shores of our island; we also have a Mount St. Michael on the coast of Cornwall, in situation and in name resembling that on the coast of France. At this day there are few cities in Christendom which do not contain a church or churches dedicated to St. Michael, some of them of great antiquity.

I must not omit that St. Michael is considered as the angel of good

counsel :—that ‘*Le vrai office de Monseigneur Saint Michel est de faire grandes revelations aux hommes en bas, en leur donnant moult saints conseils,*’ and in particular, ‘*sur le bon nourrissement que le père et la mère donnent à leurs enfans.*’¹ It is to be regretted that ‘*Monseigneur Saint Michel*’ should be found rather remiss in this part of his angelic functions.

We shall now see how far these various traditions and popular notions concerning St. Michael have been carried out in Art.

In all representations of St. Michael, the leading idea, well or ill expressed, is the same. He is young and beautiful, but ‘severe in youthful beauty,’ as one who carries on a perpetual contest with the powers of evil. In the earlier works of art he is robed in white, with ample many-coloured wings, and bears merely the sceptre or the lance surmounted by a cross, as one who conquered by spiritual might alone. But in the later representations, those coloured by the spirit of chivalry, he is the angelic Paladin, armed in a dazzling coat of mail, with sword, and spear, and shield. He has a lofty open brow, long fair hair floating on his shoulders, sometimes bound by a jewelled tiara; sometimes, but not often, shaded by a helmet. From his shoulders spring two resplendent wings. Thus we see him standing by the throne of the Madonna, or worshipping at the feet of the Divine Infant; an exquisite allegory of spiritual and intellectual power protecting purity and adoring innocence.

There is a most beautiful little figure by Angelico, of St. Michael standing in his character of archangel and patron of the Church Militant, ‘as the winged saint;’ no demon, no attribute except the lance and shield. The attitude, so tranquilly elegant, may be seen in this sketch (34). In the original the armour is of a dark crimson and gold, the wings are of rainbow tints, vivid and delicate; a flame of lambent fire rests on the brow.

But the single devotional figures of St. Michael usually represent him as combining the two great characters of captain of the heavenly host, and conqueror of the powers of hell. He stands armed, setting his foot on Lucifer, either in the half-human or the dragon form, and is about to transfix him with his lance, or to chain him down in the

¹ *Le Livre des Angeles de Dieu*, MS. Paris Bibl. Nat.

infernally abyss. Such, however varied in the attitude, expression, and accessories, is the most frequent and popular representation of St. Michael, when placed before us, as the universally received emblem of the final victory of good over evil.

In those churches of Christendom which have not been defaced by a blind destructive zeal, this image meets us at every turn: it salutes us in the porch as we enter, or it shines upon us in gorgeous colours from the window, or it is wreathed into the capitals of columns, or it stands in its holy heroic beauty over the altar. It is so common and so in harmony with our inmost being, that we rather feel its presence than observe it. It is the visible, palpable reflection of that great truth stamped into our very souls, and shadowed forth in every form of ancient belief,—the final triumph of the spiritual over the animal and earthly part of our nature. This is the secret of its perpetual repetition, and this the secret of the untired complacency with which we regard it; for even in the most inefficient attempts at expression, we have always the leading *motif* distinct and true, the winged virtue is always victorious above, and the bestial vice is always prostrate below: and if to this primal moral significance be added all the charm of poetry, grace, animated movement, which human genius has lavished on this ever blessed, ever welcome symbol, then, as we look up at it, we are 'not only touched, but wakened and inspired,'



24 St. Michael. (Angelico, Fl. Acad.)

and the whole delighted imagination glows with faith and hope, and grateful triumphant sympathy,—so at least I have felt, and I must believe that others have felt it too.

In the earliest representations of this subject, we see the simplest form of the allegory, literally rendering the words of Scripture, 'The dragon shalt thou trample under foot' (Ps. xci. 13). Here there is no risk of a divided interest or a misdirected sympathy. The demon, grovelling under the feet of the victorious spirit, is not the star-bright apostate who drew after him the third part of heaven; it is the bestial malignant reptile:—not the emblem of resistance, but the emblem of sin; not of the sin that aspires, which, in fact, is a contradiction in terms;—no sin aspires;—but of the sin which degrades and brutifies, as all sin does. In the later representations, where the demon takes the half-human shape, however hideous and deformed, the allegory may so be brought nearer to us, and rendered more terrible even by a horrid sympathy with that human face, grinning in despite and agony; but much of the beauty of the scriptural metaphor is lost.¹

The representations of St. Michael and the dragon are so multifarious that I can only select a few among them as examples of the different styles of treatment.

The symbol, as such, is supposed to have originated with the Gnostics and Arians, and the earliest examples are to be found in the ancient churches on the western coast of Italy, and the old Lombard churches. I have never seen it in the old mosaics of the sixth century, but in the contemporary sculpture frequently. It would be difficult to point to the most ancient example, such is the confusion of dates as regards dedications, restorations, alterations; but I remember a carving in white marble on the porch of the Cathedral of Cortona (about the seventh century), which may be regarded as an

¹ Dr. Arnold has some characteristic remarks on the half-human effigies of Satan; he objects to the Miltonic representation:—'By giving a human likeness, and representing him as a bad man, you necessarily get some image of what is good, as well as of what is bad, for no man is entirely evil.'—'The hoofs, the horns, the tail, were all useful in this way, as giving you an image of something altogether disgusting; and so Mephistophiles, and the utterly contemptible and hateful character of the Little Master in *Sintram*, are far more true than the *Paradise Lost*.'—*Life*, vol. ii.

example of this primitive style of treatment: the illustration, from a slight sketch made on the spot, will be better than any description (35).

Another instance will be remembered by the traveller in Italy, the strange antique bas-relief on the façade of that extraordinary old church the San Michele at Pavia; not the figure in the porch, which is modern, but that which is above. In the *Menologium Grecum* is a St. Michael standing with a long sceptre, a majestic colossal figure, while kneeling angels adore him, and the demons crouch under his feet.¹

By Martin Schoen: St. Michael, attired in a long loose robe and floating mantle, tramples on the demon; he has thrown down the shield, and with his lance in both hands, but without effort, and even with a calm angelic dignity, prepares to transfix his adversary. The figure is singularly elegant. The demon has not here the usual form of a dragon, but is a horrible nondescript reptile, with multitudinous flexile claws, like those of a crab, stretched out to seize and entangle the unwary;—for an emblematical figure, very significant (36). In an old fresco by Guariente di Padova² the angel is draped as in Martin Schoen's figure, but the attitude is far less elegant.

Sometimes the dragon has a small head at the end of his tail, instead of the forked string. I recollect an instance of St. Michael transfixing the large head, while a smaller angel, also armed, transfixes the other head.³ This is an attempt to render literally the description in the Apocalypse: 'For their power is in their mouth, and in their tails: for their tails were like unto serpents, and had heads, and with them they do hurt' (Rev. ix. 19). In a most elegant figure of St. Michael, from the choir of the San Giovanni, at Malta, I found the demon thus characterised, with a tail ending in the serpent head.



35

¹ Vatican MSS., No. 1613, A.D. 989.

² A.D. 1365. Eremitani. Padua.

³ Greek Apocalypse MS. Paris Bibl. Nat.



36

St Michael. (Martin Schoen)

In an old Siena picture¹ St. Michael is seated on a throne: in one hand a sword, in the other the orb of sovereignty; under his feet lies the dragon mangled and bleeding: a bad picture, but curious for the singular treatment.

In the sixteenth century these figures of St. Michael become less ideal and angelic, and more and more chivalrous and picturesque. In a beautiful altar-piece by Andrea del Sarto, now in the Florence Academy, there is a fine martial figure of the Archangel, which, but for the wings, might be mistaken for a St. George; and in the predella underneath, on a small scale, he is conqueror of the demon. The

¹ Siena Acad.

peculiarity here is, that the demon, though vanquished, makes a vain struggle, and has seized hold of the belt of the angel, who, with uplifted sword, and an action of infinite grace and dignity, looks superior down, as one assured of victory.

Raphael has given us three figures of St. Michael, all different, and one of them taking rank with his masterpieces.

The first is an early production, painted when he was a youth of nineteen or twenty, and now in the Louvre. St. Michael armed with a shield on which is a red cross, his sword raised to strike, stands with one foot on a monster; other horrible little monsters, like figures in a dream, are around him: in the background are seen the hypocrites and thieves as described by Dante; the first, in melancholy procession, weighed down with leaden cowls; the others, tormented by snakes: and, in the distance, the flaming dolorous city. St. Michael is here the vanquisher of the Vices. It is a curious and fantastic, rather than poetical, little picture.

The second picture, also in the Louvre, was painted by Raphael, in the maturity of his talent, for Francis I.: the king had left to him the choice of the subject, and he selected St. Michael, the military patron of France, and of that knightly Order of which the king was Grand Master.

St. Michael—not standing, but hovering on his poised wings, and grasping his lance in both hands—sets one foot lightly on the shoulder of the demon, who, prostrate, writhes up, as it were, and tries to lift his head and turn it on his conqueror with one last gaze of malignant rage and despair. The archangel looks down upon him with a brow calm and serious; in his beautiful face is neither vengeance nor disdain—in his attitude no effort; his form, a model of youthful grace and majesty, is clothed in a brilliant panoply of gold and silver; an azure scarf floats on his shoulders; his wide-spread wings are of purple, blue, and gold; his light hair is raised, and floats outward on each side of his head, as if from the swiftness of his downward motion. The earth emits flames, and seems opening to swallow up the adversary. The form of the demon is human, but vulgar in its proportions, and of a swarthy red, as if fire-scathed; he has the horns and the serpent-tail; but, from the attitude into which he is thrown, the monstrous form is so fore-shortened that it does not



37

The St. Michael painted by Raphael for Francis I.

disgust, and the majestic figure of the archangel fills up nearly the whole space—fills the eye—fills the soul—with its victorious beauty.

That Milton had seen this picture, and that when his sight was quenched the 'winged saint' revisited him in his darkness, who can doubt?—

Over his lucid arms
 A military vest of purple flowed
 Livelier than Melibœan, or the grain
 Of Sarra worn by kings and heroes old
 In time of truce.

By his side,
As in a glittering zodiac, hung the sword,
Satan's dire dread, and in his hand the spear.

A third St. Michael, designed by Raphael, exists only as an engraving.¹ The angel here wears a helmet, and is classically draped; he stands in an attitude of repose, his foot on the neck of the demon; one hand rests on the pommel of his sword, the other holds the lance.

It seems agreed that, as a work of art, there is only the St. Michael of Guido (in the Capuccini at Rome) which can be compared with that of Raphael; the moment chosen is the same; the treatment nearly the same; the sentiment quite different.

Here the angel, standing, yet scarcely touching the ground, poised on his outspread wings, sets his left foot on the head of his adversary; in one hand he brandishes a sword, in the other he holds the end of a chain, with which he is about to bind down the demon in the bottomless pit. The attitude has been criticised, and justly; the grace is somewhat mannered, verging on the theatrical; but Forsyth is too severe when he talks of the 'air of a dancing-master:' one thing, however, is certain, we do not think about attitude when we look at Raphael's St. Michael; in Guido's, it is the first thing that strikes us; but when we look farther, the head redeems all; it is singularly beautiful, and in the blending of the masculine and feminine graces, in the serene purity of the brow, and the flow of the golden hair, there is something divine: a slight, very slight expression of scorn is in the air of the head. The fiend is the worst part of the picture; it is not a fiend, but a degraded prosaic human ruffian; we laugh with incredulous contempt at the idea of an angel called down from heaven to overcome such a wretch. In Raphael the fiend is human, but the head has the god-like ugliness and malignity of a satyr; Guido's fiend is only stupid and base. It appears to me that there is just the same difference—the same *kind* of difference—between the angel of Raphael and the angel of Guido, as between the description in Tasso and the description in Milton; let any one compare them. In Tasso we are struck by the picturesque elegance of the description as a piece of art, the melody of the verse, the

¹ By Marco di Ravenna. Bartsch, xiv. 106.

admirable choice of the expressions, as in Guido by the finished but somewhat artificial and studied grace. In Raphael and Milton we see only the vision of a 'shape divine.'

One of the most beautiful figures of St. Michael I ever saw, occurs in a coronation of the Virgin by Moretto, and is touched by his peculiar sentiment of serious tenderness.¹

In devotional pictures such figures of St. Michael are sometimes grouped poetically with other personages, as in a most beautiful picture by Innocenza da Imola,² where the archangel tramples on the demon; St. Paul standing on one side, and St. Benedict on the other, both of whom had striven with the fiend and had overcome him: the Madonna and Child are seen in a glory above.

And again in a picture by Mabuse,³ where St. Michael, as patron, sets his foot on the black grinning fiend, and looks down on a kneeling votary, while the votary, with his head turned away, appears to be worshipping, not the protecting angel, but the Madonna, to whom St. Michael presents him (38). Such votive pictures are not uncommon, and have a peculiar grace and significance. Here the archangel bears the victorious banner of the cross;—he has conquered. In some instances he holds in his hand the head of the Dragon, and in *all* instances it is, or ought to be, the head of the Dragon which is transfixed:—'Thou shalt bruise his head.'

Those representations in which St. Michael is not conqueror, but combatant, in which the moment is one of transition, are less frequent; it is then an *action*, not an *emblem*, and the composition is historical rather than symbolical. It is the strife with Lucifer; 'when Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon fought and his angels, and the great dragon was cast out.' (Rev. xii. 7.) In churches and chapels dedicated to St. Michael, or to 'the Holy Angels,' this appropriate subject often occurs; as in a famous fresco by Spinello d'Arezzo, at Arezzo.⁴ In the middle of the composition, Michael, armed with sword and shield, is seen combating the dragon with seven heads, as described in the Apocalypse. Above and around are many angels also armed. At the top of the picture is seen an empty

¹ Brescia. S. Maria delle Grazie.

² Milan, Brera.

³ Boisserée Gallery.

⁴ A. D. 1400. Engraved in Lusinio's 'Early Florentine Masters.'



throne, the throne which Lucifer had 'set in the north;' below is seen Lucifer, falling with his angels over the parapet of heaven. (Isaiah xiv. 13.) The painter tasked his skill to render the transformation of the spirits of light into spirits of darkness as fearful and as hideous as possible; and, being a man of a nervous temperament, the continual dwelling on these horrors began at length to trouble his brain. He fancied that Lucifer appeared to him in a dream, demanding by what authority he had portrayed him under an aspect so revolting?—the

painter awoke in horror, was seized with delirious fever, and so died.

In his combat with the dragon, Michael is sometimes represented alone, and sometimes as assisted by the two other archangels, Gabriel and Raphael: as in the fresco by Signorelli, at Orvieto, where one of the angels, whom we may suppose to be Raphael, looks down on the falling demons with an air of melancholy, almost of pity.

In a picture by Marco Oggione,¹ Michael has precipitated the demon into the gulf, and hovers above, while Raphael and Gabriel stand below on each side, looking on; all are clothed in voluminous loose white draperies, more like priests than warriors; but it is a fine picture.

In the large Rubens-room at Munich, there are two pictures of Michael subduing the revolted angels. The large one, in which Michael is the principal figure, is not agreeable. Rubens could not lift himself sufficiently above the earth to conceive and embody the spiritual, and heroic, and beautiful in one divine form; his St. Michael is vulgar. The smaller composition, where the fallen, or rather falling, angels fill the whole space, is a most wonderful effort of artistic invention. At the summit of the picture stands St. Michael, the shield in one hand, in the other the forked lightnings of divine wrath; and from above the rebel host tumble headlong 'in hideous ruin and combustion hurled,' and with such affright and amazement in every face, such a downward movement in every limb, that we recoil in dizzy horror while we look upon it. It is curious that Rubens should have introduced female reprobate spirits: if he intended his picture as an allegory, merely the conquest of the spiritual over the sensual, he is excusable; but if he meant to figure the vision in the Apocalypse, it is a deviation from the proper scriptural treatment, which is inexcusable. This picture remains, however, as a whole, a perfect miracle of art: the fault is, that we feel inclined to applaud as we do at some astonishing *tour de force*; such at least was my own feeling, and this is not the feeling appropriate to the subject. Though this famous picture is entitled the Fall of the Angels, I have some doubts as to whether this was the intention of the painter, whether he did not mean to express the fall of sinners, flung by the Angel of judgment into the abyss of wrath and perdition?

¹ Milan. Brera.



33 St. Michael as Angel of Judgment and Lord of Souls. (Justice of Ghent.)

In those devotional pictures which exhibit St. Michael as Lord of souls, he is winged and unarmed, and holds the balance. In each scale sits a little naked figure, representing a human soul; one of these is usually represented with hands joined as in thankfulness—he is the *beato*, the elected; the other is in an attitude of horror—he is the rejected, the reprobate; and often, but not necessarily, the idea is completed by the introduction of a demon, who is grasping at the descending scale, either with his talons, or with the long two-pronged hook, such as is given to Pluto in the antique sculpture.

Sometimes St. Michael is thus represented singly; sometimes very beautifully in Madonna pictures, as in a picture by Leonardo da Vinci (A.D. 1498), where St. Michael, a graceful angelic figure, with light flowing hair, kneels before the Madonna, and presents the balance to



40 St. Michael. (Signorelli, 1600. In the San Gregorio, Rome.)

the Infant, who seems to welcome the pious little soul who sits in the uppermost scale.

I have seen this idea varied. St Michael stands majestic with the balance poised in his hands: instead of a human figure in either scale, there are weights; on one side is seen a company of five or six little naked shivering souls, as if waiting for their doom; on the other several demons, one of whom with his hook is pulling down the ascending scale.¹ With or without the balance, St. Michael figures as Lord of souls when introduced into pictures of the Assumption or the Glorification of the Virgin. To understand the whole beauty and propriety of such representations, we must remember that, according to one of the legends of the death of the Virgin, her spirit was con-

¹ Psalter of St. Louis. Bib. de l'Arsenal, Paris.

signed to the care of St. Michael until it was permitted to reanimate the spotless form, and with it ascend to heaven.

In one or two instances only, I have seen St. Michael without wings. In general, an armed figure, unwinged and standing on a dragon, we may presume to be a St. George; but where the balance is introduced, it leaves no doubt of the personality—it is a St. Michael. Occasionally the two characters—the protecting Angel of light and the Angel of judgment—are united, and we see St. Michael, with the dragon under his feet and the balance in his hand. This was a favourite and appropriate subject on tombs and chapels dedicated to the dead; such is the beautiful bas-relief on the tomb of Henry VII. in Westminster Abbey.

In some representations of the Last Judgment, St. Michael, instead of the banner and cross, bears the scales; as in the very curious bas-relief on the façade of the church of St. Trophime at Arles. St. Michael here has a balance so large that it is almost as high as himself; it is not a mere emblem, but a fact; a soul sits in each scale, and a third is rising up; the angel holds out one hand to assist him. In another part of the same bas-relief St. Michael is seen carrying a human soul (represented as a little naked figure) and bringing it to St. Peter and St. Paul. In a celebrated Last Judgment, attributed by some authors to John Van Eyck, by others to Justus of Ghent, St. Michael is grandly introduced.¹ High up, in the centre, sits the Saviour, with the severe expression of the judge. Above Him hover four angels with the instruments of the Passion, and below Him three others sounding trumpets (v. p. 54).—I suppose the seven pre-eminent angels: the Virgin and St. John the Baptist on each side, and then the Apostles ranged in the usual manner. 'In the lower half of the picture stands St. Michael, clad in golden armour, so bright as to reflect in the most complete manner all the surrounding objects. His figure is slender and elegant, but colossal as compared to the rest. He seems to be bending earnestly forward, a splendid purple mantle falls from his shoulders to the ground, and his large wings are composed of glittering peacock's feathers. He holds the balance; the scale with the good rests on earth, but that with the souls which are found wanting mounts into the air. A demon

¹ See ante, p. 111, for the figure of St. Michael.

stands ready to receive them, and towards this scale St. Michael points with the end of a black staff which he holds in his right hand.' This picture, which is a chef-d'œuvre of the early German school, is now in the church of St. Mary at Dantzig.

The historical subjects in which St. Michael is introduced exhibit him as prince of the Hebrew nation, and belong properly to the Old Testament.¹ 'After the confusion of tongues, and the scattering of the people, which occurred on the building of the Tower of Babel, every separate nation had an angel to direct it. To Michael was given in charge the people of the Lord. The Hebrews being carried away captive into the land of Assyria, Daniel prayed that they might be permitted to return when the seventy years of captivity were over; but the Angel of Persia opposed himself on this occasion to the angels Michael and Gabriel. He wished to retain the Jews in captivity, because he was glad to have, within the bounds of his jurisdiction, a people who served the true God, and because he hoped that in time the captive Jews would convert to the truth the Assyrians and Persians committed to his care.' This curious passage from one of the early Christian fathers, representing the good angels as opposed to each other, and one of them as disputing the commands of God, is an instance of the confused ideas on the subject of angels which prevailed in the ancient Church, and which prevail, I imagine, in the minds of many even at this day.

In the story of Hagar in the wilderness, it is Michael who descends to her aid. In the sacrifice of Isaac, it is Michael who stays the arm of Abraham. It is Michael who brings the plagues on Egypt, and he it is who leads the Israelites through the wilderness. It was the belief of the Jews, and of some of the early Christian fathers, that through his angel (not in person) God spoke to Moses from the burning bush, and delivered to him the law on Mount Sinai; and that the angel so delegated was Michael.

It is Michael who combats with Lucifer for the body of Moses. (Jude ver. 9.) According to one interpretation of this curious passage

¹ St. Ephrem, *Bib. Orient.* tom. i. p. 78. De Beausobre, vol. ii. p. 17.

of Scripture, the demon wished to enter and to possess the form of Moses, in order to deceive the Jews by personating their leader; but others say, that Michael contended for the body, that he might bury it in an unknown place, lest the Jews should fall into the sin of paying divine honours to their legislator. This is a fine picturesque subject; the rocky desert, the body of Moses dead on the earth, the contest of the good and evil angel confronting each other, —these are grand materials! It must have been rarely treated, for I remember but one instance—the fresco by L. Signorelli, in the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican.

It is Michael who intercepts Balaam¹ when on his way to curse the people of Israel, and puts blessings into his mouth instead of curses: a subject often treated, but as a fact rather than a vision.

It is Michael who stands before Joshua in the plain by Jericho:— ‘And Joshua said unto him, Art thou for us, or for our adversaries? And he said, Nay; but as captain of the host of the Lord am I now come. And Joshua fell on his face to the earth, and did worship, and said unto him, What saith my Lord unto his servant? And the captain of the Lord’s host said unto Joshua, Loose thy shoe from off thy foot; for the place whereon thou standest is holy.’ (Joshua v. 13–15.) This subject is very uncommon. In the Greek MS. already alluded to, I met with a magnificent example—magnificent in point of sentiment, though half ruined and effaced; the God-like bearing of the armed angel, looking down on the prostrate Joshua, is here as fine as possible.

It is Michael who appears to Gideon.² It is Michael who chastises David.³ It is Michael who exterminates the army of Sennacherib; a subject magnificently painted by Rubens. (Some suppose that on this occasion God made use of the ministry of an evil angel.⁴)

It is Michael who descends to deliver the Three Children from the burning fiery furnace. The Three Children in the furnace is a subject which appears very early in the catacombs and on the sarcophagi as a symbol of the Redemption;—so early, that it is described by Tertullian; ⁵ but in almost all the examples given there are three figures

¹ Didron, Manuel grec., p. 101.

² Judges vi. 11.

³ 2 Sam. xxiv. 16.

⁴ Calmet.

⁵ De Oratone, cap. xii.

only: where there is a fourth, it is, of course, the protecting angel, but he is without wings.¹

Michael seizes the prophet Habakkuk by the hair of the head, and carries him to Babylon, to the den of lions, that he may feed Daniel.² This apocryphal subject occurs on several sarcophagi.³ I have seen it also in illuminated MSS., but cannot at this moment refer to it. It occurs in a series of late Flemish prints after Hemskirk,—of which there are good impressions in the British Museum.

The Archangel Michael is not named in the Gospels; but in the legends of the Madonna, as we shall see hereafter, he plays a very important part, being deputed by Christ to announce to His mother her approaching end, and to receive her soul. For the present I will only remark, that when, in accordance with this very ancient legend, an angel is represented kneeling before the Madonna, and holding in his hand a palm surmounted by stars, or a lighted taper, this angel is not Gabriel, announcing the conception of Christ, as is usually supposed, but Michael, as the angel of death.⁴

The legend of Monte Galgano I saw in a large fresco, in the Santa Croce at Florence, by a painter of the Giotto school; but in so bad a state, that I could only make out a bull on the top of a mountain, and a man shooting with a bow and arrow. On the opposite wall is the combat of Michael with the dragon—very spirited, and in much better preservation. To distinguish the apparition of St. Michael on Monte Galgano from the apparition on Mont St. Michel, in both of which a bull and a bishop are principal figures, it is necessary to observe, that, in the last-named subject, the sea is always introduced at the base of the picture, and that the former is most common in Italian, and the latter in French, works of art. In the French stained glass of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, St. Michael is a very popular subject, either with the dragon, or the scales, or both.

Lately, in removing the whitewash from the east wall of the nave

¹ Bottari, Tab. xxii. On the early Christian sarcophagi, as I have already observed, there are no winged angels. In the oft-repeated subject of the 'Three Children in the burning fiery furnace,' the fourth figure, when introduced, may represent a son of God,—*i.e.*, an angel; or the Son of God, *i.e.*, Christ, as it has been interpreted in both senses.

² Bel and the Dragon, 26. ³ Bottari, 15, 49, 84. ⁴ See 'Legends of the Madonna.'

of Preston Church, near Brighton, was discovered the outline of a group of figures representing St. Michael, fully draped, and with large wings, bearing the balance; in each scale a human soul. The scale containing the *beato* is assisted by a figure fully draped, but so ruined that it is not possible to say whether it represents the Virgin, or the guardian saint of the person who caused the fresco to be painted. I am told that in the old churches of Cornwall, and of the towns on the south coast, which had frequent intercourse with France, effigies of St. Michael occur frequently, both in painting and sculpture. On the old English coin, thence called an *angel*, we have the figure of St. Michael, who was one of the patron saints of our Norman kings.

I must now trust to the reader to contemplate the figures of St. Michael, so frequent and so varied in Art, with reference to these suggestions; and leaving for the present this radiant Spirit, this bright similitude of a primal and universal faith, we turn to his angelic companions.



41 Egyptian hieroglyphic of the Genius of Good overcoming Evil (v. p. 108).

ST. GABRIEL.

Lat. Sanctus Gabriel. *Ital.* San Gabriello, San Gabriele, L'Angelo Annunziatore.
Fr. St. Gabriel.

'I am GABRIEL, that stand in the presence of God.'—*Luke* i. 19.

IN those passages of Scripture where the Angel Gabriel is mentioned by name, he is brought before us in the character of a Messenger only, and always on important occasions. In the Old Testament he is sent to Daniel to announce the return of the Jews from captivity and to explain the vision which prefigures the destinies of mighty empires. His contest with the Angel of the kingdom of Persia, when St. Michael comes to his assistance, would be a splendid subject in fit hands; I do not know that it has ever been painted. In the New Testament the mission of Gabriel is yet more sublime: he first appears to the high priest Zacharias, and foretells the birth of John the Baptist,—a subject which belongs especially to the life of that saint. Six months later, Gabriel is sent to announce the appearance of the Redeemer of mankind.¹

In the Jewish tradition, Gabriel is the guardian of the celestial treasury. Hence, I presume, Milton has made him chief guardian of Paradise:—

Betwixt these rocky pillars Gabriel sat,
Chief of the angelic guards, awaiting night.

As the Angel who announced the birth of Christ, he has been venerated as the Angel who presides over childbirth. He foretells the birth of Samson, and, in the apocryphal legends, he foretells to Joachim the birth of the Virgin. In the East, he is of great importance. Mahomet selected him as his immediate teacher and inspirer, and he became the great protecting angel of Islamism: hence between Michael, the protector of the Jews and Christians,

¹ 'The stone on which stood the angel Gabriel when he announced to the most Blessed Virgin the great mystery of the Incarnation,' is among the relics enumerated as existing in the church of the Santa Croce at Rome.

and Gabriel, the protector of the Moslem, there is supposed to exist no friendly feeling—rather the reverse.

In the New Testament, Gabriel is a much more important personage than Michael; yet I have never met with any picture in which he figures singly as an object of worship. In devotional pictures he figures as the second of the three Archangels—‘*Secondo fra i primi*,’ as Tasso styles him; or in his peculiar character as the divine messenger of grace, ‘*l’Angelo annunziatore*.’ He then usually bears in one hand a lily or a sceptre; in the other a scroll on which is inscribed, ‘*AVE MARIA, GRATIA PLENA!*’¹

The subject called the ANNUNCIATION is one of the most frequent and most important, as it is one of the most beautiful, in the whole range of Christian Art. It belongs, however, to the history of the Virgin, where I shall have occasion to treat it at length; yet as the Angel Gabriel here assumes, by direct scriptural testimony, a distinct name and personality, and as the dignity and significance proper to a subject so often unworthily and perversely treated depend very much on the character and deportment given to the celestial messenger, I shall make a few observations in this place with respect to the treatment of the angél, only reserving the theme in its general bearing for future consideration.

In the early representations of the Annunciation it is treated as a religious mystery, and with a solemn simplicity and purity of feeling, which is very striking and graceful in itself, as well as in harmony with the peculiar manner of the divine revelation. The scene is generally a porch or portico of a temple-like building; the Virgin stands (she is very seldom seated, and then on a kind of raised throne); the angel stands before her, at some distance: very often, she is within the portico; he is without. Gabriel is a majestic being, generally robed in white, wearing the tunic and pallium à *l’antique*, his flowing hair bound by a jewelled tiara, with large many-coloured wings, and bearing the sceptre of sovereignty in the left hand, while the right is extended in the act of benediction as well as salutation: ‘Hail! thou that art

¹ In Paradise he sings for ever the famous salutation:—

Cantando *Ave Maria gratia plena*
Dinanzi a lei le sue ali distese.

DANTE, *Par.* 32.

highly favoured! Blessed art thou among women!’ He is the principal figure: the attitude of the Virgin, with her drapery drawn over her head, her eyes drooping, and her hands folded on her bosom, is always expressive of the utmost submission and humility. So Dante introduces the image of the lowly Virgin receiving the angel as an illustration of the virtue of Humility:—

Ed avea in atto impressa esta favella
 ‘Ecce ancilla Dei!’—

and Flaxman has admirably embodied this idea, both in the lofty angel with outspread arms, and the kneeling Virgin. Sometimes



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the angel floats in, with his arms crossed over his bosom, but still with the air of a superior being, as in this beautiful figure after Lorenzo Monaco, from a picture in the Florence Gallery.

The two figures are not always in the same picture; it was a very general custom to place the Virgin and the Angel, the 'Annunziata' and the 'Angelo annunziatore,' one on each side of the altar, the place of the Virgin being usually to the right of the spectator; sometimes the figures are half-length: sometimes, when placed in the same picture, they are in two separate compartments, a pillar, or some other ornament, running up the picture between them; as in many old altar-pieces, where the two figures are placed above or on each side of the Nativity, or the Baptism, or the Marriage at Cana, or some other scene from the life and miracles of our Saviour. This subject does not appear on the sarcophagi; the earliest instance I have met with is in the mosaic series over the arch in front of the choir in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, at Rome, executed in the fifth century. Here we have two successive moments represented together. In the first the angel is sent on his mission, and appears flying down from heaven; the earliest instance I have seen of an angel in the act of flight. In the second group the Virgin appears seated on a throne; two angels stand behind her, supposed to represent her guardian angels, and the angel Gabriel stands in front with one hand extended. The dresses are classical, and there is not a trace of the mediæval feeling, or style, in the whole composition.

In the Greek pictures, the Angel and the Virgin both stand; and in the Annunciation of Cimabue the Greek formula is strictly adhered to. I have seen pictures, of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in which Gabriel enters as a princely ambassador, with three little angels bearing up his mantle behind: in a picture in the collection of Prince Wallerstein, one meek and beautiful angel bears up the rich robes of the majestic archangel, like a page in the train of a sovereign prince. But from the beginning of the fourteenth century we perceive a change of feeling, as well as a change of style: the veneration paid to the Virgin demanded another treatment. She becomes not merely the principal person, but the superior being; she is the 'Regina angelorum,' and the angel bows to her, or kneels before her as to a queen.¹ Thus in the famous altar-piece at Cologne,

¹ See the Ursuline Manual. 'When an angel anciently appeared to the patriarchs or prophets, he was received with due honour as being exalted above them, both by nature



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The Angel Gabriel. (Wilhelm of Cologne. 1440.)

the angel kneels; he bears a sceptre, and also a sealed roll, as if he were a celestial ambassador delivering his credentials: about the same period we sometimes see the angel merely with his hands folded over his breast, and his head inclined, delivering his message as if to a superior being.

I cannot decide at what period the lily first replaced the sceptre in the hand of the angel, not merely as the emblem of purity, but as the

and grace; but when an archangel visited Mary, he was struck with her superior dignity and pre-eminence, and, approaching, saluted her with admiration and respect. Though accustomed to the lustre of the highest heavenly spirits, yet he was dazzled and amazed at the dignity and spiritual glory of her whom he came to salute Mother of God, while the attention of the whole heavenly court was with rapture fixed upon her.'

symbol of the Virgin from the verse in the Canticles usually applied to her: 'I am the rose of Sharon, and the lily of the valley.' A lily is often placed in a vase near the Virgin, or in the foreground of the picture: of all the attributes placed in the hand of the angel, the lily is the most usual and the most expressive.

The painters of Siena, who often displayed a new and original sentiment in the treatment of a subject, have represented the Angel Gabriel as the announcer of 'peace on earth; ' he kneels before the Virgin, crowned with olive, and bearing a branch of olive in his hand, as in a picture by Taddeo Bartoli. There is also a beautiful St. Gabriel by Martin Schoen, standing, and crowned with olive. So Dante—

L' angel che venne in terra col decreto
Della molt' anni lagrimata pace.

Another passage in Dante which the painters seem to have had before them shows us the Madonna as queen, and the angel as adoring:—

'Qual è quel angel che con tanto giuoco
Guarda negli occhi la nostra regina
Innamorato sì che par di fuoco?'
Ed egli a me,—'Baldezza e leggiadria
Quanta esser puote in angelo ed in alma
Tutta è in lui, e si volem che sia!'

It is in seeking this *baldezza e leggiadria* in a mistaken sense that the later painters have forgotten all the spiritual dignity of the Angel Messenger.

Where the angel bears a lighted taper, which the Virgin extends her hand to take from him; or, kneeling, bears in his hand a palm-branch, surmounted by seven or twelve stars (44), the subject represented is not the announcement of the birth of the Saviour, but the death of the Virgin, a part of her legendary history which is rarely treated and easily mistaken; then the announcing angel is not Gabriel, but Michael.¹

In old German Art, the angel in the Annunciation is habited in

¹ The Annunciation and the Death of the Virgin, and the office and character of the announcing angel in both subjects, are fully treated and illustrated in the 'Legends of the Madonna,' pp. 179, 334.



44 Angel announcing the death of the Virgin. (F. Filippo Lippi.)

priestly garments richly embroidered (45). The scene is often the bedroom of the Virgin; and while the announcing angel enters and kneels at the threshold of the door, the Holy Ghost enters at the window. I have seen examples in which Gabriel, entering at a door behind the Virgin, unfolds his official 'Ave Maria.' He has no lily, or sceptre, and she is apparently conscious of his presence without seeing him.¹

But in the representations of the sixteenth century we find neither the solemnity of the early Italian nor the naïveté of the early German school; and this divine subject becomes more and more materialised and familiarised, until, losing its spiritual character, it strikes us as shockingly prosaic. One cannot say that the angel is invariably deficient in dignity, or the Virgin in grace. In the Venetian school and the Bologna school we find occasionally very beautiful Annunciations; but in general the half-draped fluttering angels and the girlish-looking Virgins are nothing less than offensive; and in the attempt

¹ As in a very curious print by 'Le Graveur de 1466;' and there are other instances.



to vary the sentiment the *naturalisti* have here run the risk of being much *too* natural.

In the Cathedral at Orvieto, the Annunciation is represented in front of the choir by two colossal statues by Francesco Mochi: to the right is the Angel Gabriel, poised on a marble cloud, in an attitude so fantastic that he looks as if he were going to dance; on the other side stands the Virgin, conceived in a spirit how different!—yet not less mistaken; she has started from her throne; with one hand she grasps it, with the other she seems to guard her person against the intruder: majesty at once, and fear, a look of insulted dignity, are in the air and attitude,—‘*par che minacci e tema nel tempo istesso*’—but I thought of Mrs Siddons while I looked, not of the Virgin Mary.

This fault of sentiment I saw reversed, but equally in the extreme,

in another example—a beautiful miniature.¹ The Virgin, seated on the side of her bed, sinks back alarmed, almost fainting; the angel in a robe of crimson, with a white tunic, stands before her, half turning away and grasping his sceptre in his hand, with a proud commanding air, like a magnificent surly god—a Jupiter who had received a repulse.

I pass over other instances conceived in a taste even more blameable—Gabriels like smirking, winged lord chamberlains; and Virgins, half prim, half voluptuous—the sanctity and high solemnity of the event utterly lost. Let this suffice for the present: I may now leave the reader to his own feeling and discrimination.

ST. RAPHAEL.

Lat. Sanctus Raphael. *Ital.* San Raffaello. *Fr.* Saint Raphael. *Ger.* Der Heilige Rafael.

'I am RAPHAEL, one of the Seven Holy Angels which present the prayers of the Saints, and which go in and out before the glory of the HOLY ONE.'—*Tobit* xii. 15.

I HAVE already alluded to the established belief, that every individual man, nay, every created being, hath a guardian angel deputed to watch over him:—Woe unto us, if, by our negligence or our self-will, we offend him on whose vigilance we depend for help and salvation! But the prince of guardian spirits, the guardian angel of all humanity, is Raphael; and in this character, according to the early Christians, he appeared to the shepherds by night 'with good tidings of great joy, which shall be for all people.' It is, however, from the beautiful Hebrew romance of Tobit that his attributes are gathered: he is the protector of the young and innocent, and he watches over the pilgrim and the wayfarer. The character imputed to him in the Jewish traditions has been retained and amplified by Milton; Raphael is the angel sent by God to warn Adam:—

. The affable archangel
Raphael; the sociable spirit that deigned
To travel with Tobias, and secured
His marriage with the seven times wedded maid.

¹ Chants Royaux. Paris Bibl. Nat. MS. No. 6989.

And the character of the angel is preserved throughout; his sympathy with the human race, his benignity, his eloquence, his mild and social converse. So when Adam blesses him:—

. . . . Since to part,
Go, heavenly guest, ethereal messenger,
Sent from whose sovereign goodness I adore!
Gentle to me and affable hath been
Thy condescension, and shall be honoured ever
With grateful memory. Thou to mankind
Be good and friendly still, and oft return!

This character of benignity is stamped on all the best representations of Raphael, which, however, are not common: they occur principally in the chapels dedicated to the holy guardian angels; but there are also churches and chapels dedicated to him singly.

The devotional figures of Raphael exhibit him in the dress of a pilgrim or traveller, 'his habit fit for speed succinct,' sandals on his feet, his hair bound with a fillet or diadem, the staff in his hand, and sometimes a bottle of water or a wallet (*panetière*) slung to his belt. In this figure by Murillo (46), from one of the most beautiful pictures in the Leuchtenberg Gallery, Raphael is the guardian and guide of the votary who appears below—a bishop who probably bore the same name.¹

Sometimes, as guardian spirit, he has a sword: the most beautiful example I could cite of this treatment is the figure in the Breviary of Anne of Bretagne (A.D. 1500); he wears a pale-green tunic bordered with gold, and wings of a deep rose-colour; he has a casket or wallet slung over his shoulder by a golden belt; in one hand he holds a sword, and the other is raised with a warning gesture; his countenance, beautiful and benign as possible, yet says, 'Take heed.' More commonly, however, he carries a small casket, box, or vase, supposed to contain the 'fishy charm' against the evil spirits. (Tobit vi. 6, 7.)

Raphael, in his character of guardian angel, is generally represented as leading the youthful Tobias. When, in order to mark the difference between the celestial and the mortal being, Tobit is figured so small as to look like a child, and when the angel wears his spirit-wings, and is not disguised, the whole subject becomes idealised: it

¹ Mr Stirling entitles this picture, 'An Angel appearing to a Bishop at his prayers.'



is no longer an historical action, but a devotional allegory; and Tobias with his fish represents the Christian, the believer, guarded and guided through his life-pilgrimage by the angelic monitor and minister of divine mercy.

There is a small side chapel in the church of Saint Euphemia, at Verona, dedicated to St. Raphael. The walls are painted with frescoes from the story of Tobit; and over the altar is that masterpiece of Carotto, representing the three archangels as three graceful spirit-like figures without wings. The altar being dedicated to Raphael, he is here the principal figure; he alone has the glory encircling his

head, and takes precedence of the others; he stands in the centre leading Tobias, and looking down on him with an air of such saintly and benign protection, that one feels inclined to say or sing, in the words of the litany, 'Sancte Raphaël, adolescentium pudicitæ defensor, ora pro nobis!' Even more divine is the St. Michael who stands on the right, with one hand gathering up the folds of his crimson robe, the other leaning on his great two-handed sword; but such a head, such a countenance looking out upon us—so earnest, powerful, and serious!—we recognise the Lord of Souls, the Angel of Judgment. To the left of Raphael stands Gabriel, the Angel of Redemption; he holds the lily, and looks up to heaven adoring! this is the least expressive of the three heads, but still beautiful; and, on the whole, the picture left a stronger impression on my mind than any I had seen at Venice, the glorious Assumption excepted. The colouring in its glowing depth is like that of Giorgione. Vasari tells us, that this picture, painted when Carotto was young (about A.D. 1495), was criticised because the limbs of the angels were too slender; to which Carotto, famous for his repartees, replied, 'Then they will fly the better!' The drawing, however, it must be conceded, is not the best part of the picture.

The earliest picture of Titian which remains to us is a St. Raphael leading Tobias; ¹ beautiful, but not equal, certainly, to that of Carotto. Raphael, as we might naturally suppose, painted his guardian angel and patron saint *con amore*: ² we have by him two St. Raphaels; the first, a little figure, executed when he was a boy in the studio of his master Perugino, is now on one side of an altar-piece in the Certosa at Pavia. Later in life, and in one of his finest works, he has introduced his patron saint with infinite beauty of feeling: in the *Madonna della Pesce*, ³ the Virgin sits upon her throne, with the Infant Christ in her arms; the angel Raphael presents Tobias, who is not here a youth but a child; while the Infant Christ turns away from the wise bearded old doctor, who is intently studying his great book, to welcome the angel and his charge. The head of the angel, looking up in the face of the Madonna, is in truth sublime: it would be impossible to determine whether it belongs to a masculine or a feminine being; but none could

¹ In the church of S. Marziale, Venice. ² Passavant's *Raphael*, vol. ii. pp. 6, 150.

³ Madrid Gallery.

doubt that it is a *divine* being, filled with fervent, enthusiastic, adoring love. The fish in the hand of Tobias has given its name to the picture; and I may as well observe that in the devotional pictures, where the fish is merely an attribute, expressing Christian baptism, it is usually very small; in the story it is a sort of monster, which sprang out of the river and would have devoured him.

All the subjects in which the Archangel Raphael is an actor belong to the history of Tobit. The scenes of this beautiful scriptural *legend*—I must call it so—have been popular subjects of Art, particularly in the later schools, and have been admirably treated by some of the best Dutch and Flemish painters; the combination of the picturesque and poetical with the homely and domestic recommended it particularly to Rembrandt and his school. Tobias dragging the fish ashore, while the angel stands by, is a fine picturesque landscape subject which has been often repeated. The spirited little sketch by Salvator,¹ in which the figure of the guardian angel is admirable for power and animated grace; the twilight effect by Rembrandt;² another by Domenichino; three by Claude; may be cited as examples.



47

Archangel. (Rembrandt.)

In such pictures, as it has been rightly observed, the angel ought

¹ Louvre, No. 353.

² In our National Gallery.

not to have wings: he is disguised as the friendly traveller. The dog, which ought to be omitted in the devotional pictures, is here a part of the story, and figures with great propriety.

Rembrandt painted the parting of Tobias and his parents four times; Tobias led by the angel, four times; Tobias healing his father, once; the departure of the angel, twice. Of this last subject, the picture in the Louvre may be pronounced one of his finest;—miraculous for true and spirited expression, and for the action of the soaring angel, who parts the clouds and strikes through the air like a strong swimmer through the waves of the sea (47).

The story of Tobit, as a series of subjects, has been very frequently represented, always in the *genre* and picturesque style of the later schools. I shall have to return to it hereafter; here I have merely alluded to the devotional treatment, in order to direct attention to the proper character of the Archangel Raphael.

And thus we have shown

. . . . how Holy Church
Doth represent with human countenance
Gabriel and Michaël, and him who made
Tobias whole.—DANTE, *Par.* c. iv.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON ANGELS.

1. In a picture by Gentile da Fabriano (*Berlin Gallery*, 1130), the Virgin and Child are enthroned, and on each side of the throne is a tree, on the branches of which are little red Seraphim winged and perched like birds, singing and making music. I remember also a little Dutch print of a Riposo (*v.* 'Legends of the Madonna,' p. 256), in which five little angels are perched on the trees above, singing and playing for the solace of the divine Infant. Thus we have Dante's idea of the *Uccelli di Dio*, reproduced in a more familiar form.

2. In the Convent of Sant-Angelo at Bologna, Camillo Procaccino painted the 'Acts of the Holy Angels' in the following order:—1. The Fall of the Dragon. 2. The Angels drive Adam and Eve from Paradise. 3. The three Angels visit Abraham. 4. The Angel stays the arm of Abraham. 5. The Angel wrestles with Jacob. 6. The Angels visit Jacob in a Dream. 7. The Angel delivers the three Children in the burning fiery Furnace. 8. The Angel slays the Host of Sennacherib. 9. The Angel protects Tobit. 10. The Punishment of Heliodorus. 11. The Annunciation to Mary. It will be remarked that all these subjects are strictly scriptural.

The Four Evangelists.

'Matthew wrote for the Hebrews ; Mark, for the Italians ; Luke, for the Greeks ; for ALL, the great herald John.'—*Gregory Nazianzen.*

SINCE on the Four Evangelists, as the witnesses and interpreters of a revealed religion, the whole Christian Church may be said to rest as upon four majestic pillars, we cannot be surprised that representations of them should abound, and that their effigies should have been introduced into Christian places of worship from very early times. Generally, we find them represented together, grouped, or in a series, sometimes in their collective character, as the *Four Witnesses* ; sometimes in their individual character, each as an inspired teacher, or beneficent patron. As no authentic resemblances of these sacred personages have ever been known or even supposed to exist, such representations have always been either *symbolical* or *ideal*. In the symbol, the aim was to embody, under some emblematical image, the spiritual mission ; in the ideal portrait, the artist, left to his own conception, borrowed from Scripture some leading trait (when Scripture afforded any authority for such), and adding, with what success his skill could attain, all that his imagination could conceive, as expressive of dignity and persuasive eloquence—the look 'commercing with the skies,' the commanding form, the reverend face, the ample draperies—he put the book or the pen into his hand, and thus the writer and the teacher of the truth was placed before us.

The earliest type under which the Four Evangelists are figured is an emblem of the simplest kind : four scrolls placed in the four angles of a Greek cross, or four books (the Gospels), represented allegorically those who wrote or promulgated them. The second type chosen was more poetical—the four rivers which had their source in Paradise : representations of this kind, in which the Saviour, figured as a lamb holding the cross, or in His human form, with a lamb near Him, stands on an eminence, from which gush four rivers or fountains, are to be met with in the catacombs, on ancient sarcophagi preserved among

the Christian relics in the Vatican, and in several old churches constructed between the second and the fifth century.

At what period the four mysterious creatures in the vision of Ezekiel (ch. i. 5) were first adopted as significant symbols of the Four Evangelists, does not seem clear. The Jewish doctors interpreted them as figuring the four Archangels,—Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, Uriel; and afterwards applied them as emblems of the Four Great Prophets,—Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. By the early Oriental Christians, who typified the whole of the Old Testament, the transfer of the emblem to the Four Evangelists seems obvious and easy; we find it alluded to as early as the second century. The four ‘Beasts’ of corresponding form in the Revelation (chap. iv. 7), which stood round the throne of the Lamb, were likewise thus interpreted; but it was not till the fifth century that we find these symbols assuming a visible form, and introduced into works of Art. In the seventh century they had become almost universal, as distinctive attributes.

The general application of the Four Creatures to the Four Evangelists is of much earlier date than the separate and individual application of each symbol, which has varied at different times;



that propounded by St. Jerome, in his commentary on Ezekiel, has since his time prevailed universally. Thus, then, 1. To St. Matthew was given the CHERUB, or human semblance, because he begins his Gospel with the human generation of Christ; or, according to others, because in his Gospel the human nature of the Saviour is more insisted on than the divine. In the most ancient mosaics, the type is human, not angelic, for the head is that of a man with a beard. 2. St. Mark has the LION, because he has set forth the royal dignity of Christ; or, according to others, because he begins with

the mission of the Baptist—‘*the voice of one crying in the wilderness*’—which is figured by the lion; or, according to a third interpretation, the lion was allotted to St. Mark, because there was, in the Middle Ages, a popular belief that the young of the lion was born dead, and after three days was awakened to vitality by the breath of its sire; some authors, however, represent the lion as vivifying his young not by his breath, but by his roar. In either case the application is the same; the revival of the young lion was considered as symbolical of the resurrection, and Mark was commonly called the ‘Historian of the Resurrection.’ Another commentator observes that Mark begins his Gospel with ‘roaring’—‘the voice of one crying in the wilderness;’ and ends it fearfully with a curse—‘He that believeth not shall be damned;’ and that, therefore, his appropriate attribute is the most terrible of beasts, the lion.¹ 3. Luke has the Ox, because he has dwelt on the priesthood of Christ, the ox being the emblem of sacrifice. 4. John has the EAGLE, which is the symbol of the highest inspiration, because he soared upwards to the contemplation of the divine nature of the Saviour.

But the order in which, in theological Art, these symbols are placed, is not the same as the order of the Gospels according to the canon. Rupertus considers the Four Beasts as typical of the Incarnation, the Passion, the Resurrection, and the Ascension; an idea previously dwelt upon by Durandus, who adds, that the man and the lion are placed on the right, because the incarnation and the resurrection are the joy of the whole earth; whilst the ox is on the left, because Christ’s sacrifice was a trouble to the apostles; and the eagle is above the ox, as suggestive of our Lord’s upward flight into heaven: according to others, the proper order in the ascending scale is thus—at the lowest point on the left, the ox; to the right, the lion; above the ox, the eagle; and above all, the angel. So in Raphael’s Vision of Ezekiel, the angel gazes into the face of the Holy One, the others form His throne.

I have dwelt on these fanciful interpretations and disquisitions, because the symbols of the Evangelists meet us at every turn; in the mosaics of the old Italian churches, in the decorative sculpture of our old cathedrals, in the Gothic stained glass, in the ancient pictures

¹ Rupertus, Commentar. in Apocal. c. 4. Mark xvi. 16.

and miniatures, on the carved and chased covers of old books ; everywhere, in short, where enters the idea of their divine mission—and where is it not ? The profound thought, as well as the vivid imagination, exercised in some of these early works of Art, is beginning to be appreciated ; and we should lose the half of what is poetical and significant and venerable in these apparently arbitrary and fanciful symbols, if we merely seized the general intention, and not the relative and appropriate meaning of each.

I will only add (for I have restricted myself to the consideration of the mysteries of faith only so far as they are carried into the forms of Art) that these symbols of the Four Evangelists were in their combination held to be symbolical of the Redeemer, in the fourfold character then universally assigned to Him, as man, as king, as high priest, and as God ; according to this Latin verse :—

Quatuor hæc Dominum signant animalia Christum :
 Est *Homo* nascendo, *vitulusque* sacer moriendo,
 Et *Leo* surgendo, cœlos *aquilaque* petendo ;
 Nec minus hos scribas animalia et ipsa figurant.

This would again alter the received order of the symbols, and place the angelic or human semblance lower than the rest : but I have never seen them so placed, at least I can recollect no instance.

A Greek mosaic, existing in the Convent of Vatopedi, on Mount Athos, exhibits an attempt to reduce to form the wild and sublime imagery of the prophet Ezekiel : the Evangelists, or rather the Gospels, are represented as the tetramorph, or four-faced creature, with wings full of eyes, and borne on wheels of living flame (49.)

The Tetramorph, *i.e.*, the union of the four attributes of the Evangelists, in one figure, is in Greek Art always angelic or winged—a mysterious thing. The Tetramorph in Western Art has in some instances become monstrous, instead of mystic and poetical. In a miniature of the *Hortus Deliciarum*, we find the new Law, or Christianity, represented as a woman crowned and seated on an animal which, with the body of a horse, has the four heads of the mystic creatures ; and of the four feet, one is human ; one hoofed, for the ox ; one clawed like an eagle's ; and one like a lion's : underneath is inscribed *Animal Ecclesiæ*. In some other examples, the Church, or



49 Tetramorph.

the new Law, is seated in a triumphal car, drawn by the eagle, the lion, and the ox, while the angel holds the reins and drives as charioteer.

The early images of the Evangelical symbol are uniformly represented with wings, for the same reason that wings were given to the angels,—they were angels, *i.e.*, bringers of good tidings: for instance, in the earliest example to which I can refer, a rude fragment of a bas-relief in terra-cotta, found in the catacombs, which represents a lamb with a glory holding a cross; on the right, an angel in a sacerdotal garment (St. Matthew), on the left the winged ox (St. Luke), each holding a book.

In the most ancient Christian churches we find these symbols perpetually recurring, generally in or over the recess at the east end (the apsis, or tribune), where stands the altar. And as the image of Christ, as the Redeemer, either under the semblance of the lamb, or in His



50 St. Luke. (Mosaic, A.D. 750.)



51 St. Luke. (Mosaic, fifth century.)

invariably the Evangelists are either at the four corners, or ranged in a line above or below, or they are over the arch in front of the tribune. Sometimes they are the heads only of the mystic creatures on an azure



52

St. John. (Mosaic, eleventh century.)

ground, studded with stars, floating as in a firmament, thus (50); or the half figure ends in a leafy scroll, like the genii in an arabesque, as thus (51); or the creature is given at full length and entire, with four wings, holding the book, and looking much like a figure in heraldry (52, 53).



53

St. Mark. (Mosaic.)

The next step was the combination of the emblem with the human form, *i.e.*, the head of the lion, ox, or eagle, set upon the figure of a man. Here is a figure of St. John standing with the head of an eagle, holding the Gospel (54). There is another rudely engraved in Münter's work, with the eagle's head, wings upon the shoulders, and a scroll. I remember another of St. John seated, writing, with the head and clawed feet of an eagle, and the body and hands of a man. Such figures as a series I have seen in ornaments, and frequently in illuminated

MSS., but seldom in churches, and never of a large size. A very striking and comparatively modern example of this peculiar treatment occurs in a bas-relief on the door of the College of St. Stephen and St. Lawrence, at Castiglione, in which the Four Evangelists are represented as half-length human figures, amply draped and holding the Gospels, each with the emblematic head and large outspread wings (55). The bronze bas-reliefs of the Evangelists on each side of the choir of St. Antonio, at Padua, are similar in form, and very fine, both in conception and workmanship.



54 St. John.

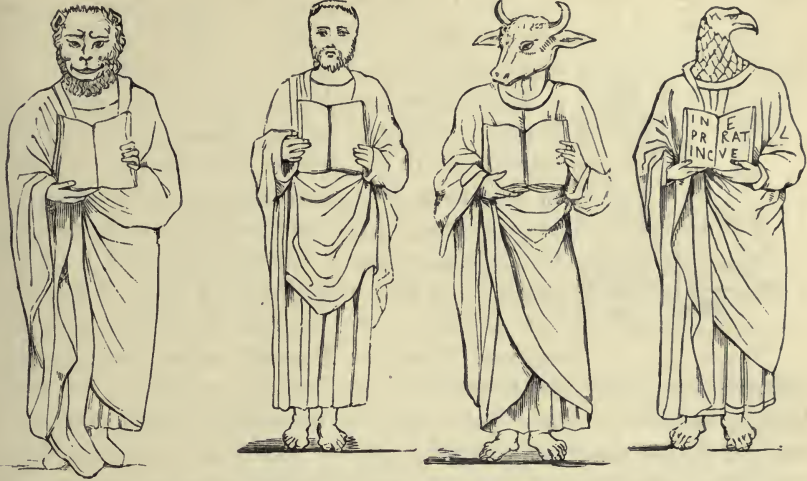
This series of full-length figures is from the first compartment of the Life of Christ by Angelico da Fiesole.¹ In the original the figures stand round a mystic circle, alternately with the prophets (56). We must remember, that however monstrous and grotesque such figures may appear to the eye, they are not more unnatural than the angelic representations with which we are so familiar that we see in them beauty only—not considering that men with the wings of birds are as merely emblematical and impossible as men with animal heads. It is interesting, and leads the mind to many speculations, to remark that the Babylonish captivity must have familiarised the Israelites with the combination of the human and animal attributes in the same figure. The gigantic bas-reliefs from Nineveh show us winged bulls with human heads, and the human form with the eagle's head and wings. This figure, for example (57), is not unlike some early figures of St. John, if we substitute the book and the pen for the basket and the pine-cone.



55 St. Mark.

In a few later examples the only symbolical attribute retained is a

¹ Fl. Acad.



56

pair of wings. The next figure (58) is from a curious set of Evangelists, of a minute size, and exquisitely engraved by Hans Beham;



57

From Nineveh.



58

they are habited in the old German fashion ; each has his book, his emblem, and in addition the expressive wings.

These animal symbols, whether alone or in combination with the human forms, were perfectly intelligible to the people, sanctified in their eyes by tradition, by custom, and by the most solemn associations. All direct imitation of nature was, by the best painters, carefully avoided. In this respect how fine is Raphael's Vision of Ezekiel! how sublime and how true in feeling and conception! where the Messiah comes floating along, upborne by the Four Creatures—mysterious, spiritual, wonderful beings, animals in form, but in all else unearthly, and the winged ox not less divine than the winged angel!¹ Whereas in the later times, when the artist piqued himself upon the imitation of nature, the mystic and venerable significance was wholly lost. As a striking instance of this mistaken style of treatment, we may turn to the famous group of the Four Evangelists by Rubens,² grand, colossal, standing or rather moving figures, each with his emblem, if emblems they can be called which are almost as full of reality as nature itself:—the ox so like life, we expect him to bellow at us; the magnificent lion flourishing his tail, and looking at St. Mark as if about to roar at him!—and herein lies the mistake of the great painter, that, for the religious and mysterious emblem, he has substituted the creatures themselves: this being one of the instances, not unfrequent in Art, in which the literal truth becomes a manifest falsehood.

In ecclesiastical decoration the Four Evangelists are sometimes grouped significantly with the Four Greater Prophets; thus representing the connection between the new and the old Law. I met with a curious instance in the Cathedral of Chartres. The five great windows over the south door may be said to contain a succinct system of

¹ There is a small and beautiful picture by Giulio Romano in the Belvedere at Vienna, representing the emblems of the Four Evangelists grouped in a picturesque manner, which was probably suggested by Raphael's celebrated picture, which is in the Pitti palace at Florence.

² Grosvenor Gallery.

theology, according to the belief of the thirteenth century: here the Virgin, *i.e.*, the Church or Religion, occupies the central window; on one side is Jeremiah, carrying on his shoulders St. Luke, and Isaiah carrying St. Matthew; on the other side Ezekiel bears St. John, and Daniel St. Mark; thus representing the New Testament resting on the Old.

In ecclesiastical decoration, and particularly in the stained glass, they are often found in combination with the Four Doctors, the Evangelists being considered as witnesses, the Doctors as interpreters, of the truth; or as a series with the Four Greater Prophets, the Four Sibyls, and the Four Doctors of the Church, the Evangelists taking the third place.

If, as late as the sixteenth century, we find the Evangelists still expressed by the mystic emblems (as in the fine bronzes in the choir of Sant' Antonio at Padua), as early as the sixth we have in the Greek MSS. and mosaics the Evangelists as venerable men, and promulgators of a revelation; as in San Vitale at Ravenna (A.D. 547): on each side of the choir, nearest the altar, we find the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah; then follow the Evangelists, two on each side, all alike, all classically draped in white tunics, each holding an open book, on which is inscribed 'Secundum Marcum,' 'Secundum Johannem,' &c.; and above each the animal symbol or attribute, large, full length, and grandly designed. In modern ecclesiastical decoration, the usual and appropriate situation of the Four Evangelists is immediately under the dome, nearest to the Saviour after the angels, or after the prophets, where either are introduced. I will mention here a few examples celebrated in the history of Art; premising that among the works of Leonardo, of Michael Angelo, and Raphael, we find no representations of the Four Evangelists; which is singular, considering that such figures entered necessarily into every scheme of theological decorative Art.

By Cimabue (A.D. 1270), larger than life, on the vault of the choir in San Francesco d'Assisi.

By Giotto (A.D. 1320), in the choir of Sant' Apollinare, at Ravenna; seated, and each accompanied by one of the doctors of the Church.

By Angelico (A.D. 1390), round the dome of the chapel of San Niccolò, in the Vatican; all seated, each with his emblem.

By Masaccio (A.D. 1420), round the dome of the chapel of the Passion in San Clemente, at Rome; admirable for simple grandeur.

By Perugino (A.D. 1490), on the dome of the chapel del Cambio, at Perugia; the heads admirable.

By Correggio (A.D. 1520), immediately under the cupola of San Giovanni, in four lunettes, magnificent figures: and again in the Cathedral of Parma, each seated in glory, with one of the doctors of the Church.

By Domenichino, two sets (A. D. 1620). Those in the Church of St. Andrea della Valle, at Rome, are considered his finest works, and celebrated in the history of Art: they are grand figures. The emblematical animals are here combined with the personages in a manner the most studied and picturesque; and the angels which sport around them, playing with the mane of St. Mark's lion, or the pallet and pencils of St. Luke, are like beautiful 'Amoretti,'—but we hardly think of angels. The series at Grotta-Ferrata is inferior.

The Four Evangelists by Valentin (A.D. 1632), in the Louvre, had once great celebrity, and have been often engraved; they appear to me signal examples of all that should be avoided in character and sentiment. St. Matthew, for example, is an old beggar; the model for the attendant angel is a little French *gamin*, 'à qui Valentin a commandé de sortir un bras de la manche de sa chemise, que de l'autre main il soutient gauchement.'

Le Sueur (A.D. 1655), has represented the Four Evangelists seated at a table writing; the Holy Ghost descends upon them in the form of a dove.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, we find sets of the Evangelists in which the emblems are altogether omitted, and the personages distinguished by their situation, or by their names inscribed under or over them; but we miss those antique scriptural attributes which placed them before us as beings foreshadowed in the prophecies uttered of old; they have become mere men.

This must suffice for the Evangelists considered as a series and in their collective character; but it will be interesting to pause for a moment, and take a rapid retrospective view of the progress, from first to last, in the expression of an idea through form.

First, we have the mere *fact*; the four scrolls, or the four books.

Next, the *idea*; the four rivers of salvation flowing from on high, to fertilise the whole earth.

Thirdly, the *prophetic* Symbol; the winged cherub of fourfold aspect.

Next, the *Christian* Symbol; the four 'beasts' in the Apocalypse, with or without the angel-wings.

Then the combination of the *emblematical animal* with the *human* form.

Then the *human* personages, each of venerable or inspired aspect, as becomes the teacher and witness; and each attended by the scriptural emblem—no longer an emblem, but an attribute—marking his individual vocation and character.

And, lastly, the emblem and attribute both discarded, we have the human being only, holding his Gospel, *i.e.*, *his* version of the doctrine of Christ.

ST. MATTHEW.

Lat. S. Mattheus. *Ital.* San Matteo. *Fr.* Saint Matthieu. *Ger.* St. Matthäus. (Sept. 21.)

ST. MATTHEW among the Apostles takes the seventh or eighth place, but as an Evangelist he always stands first, because his Gospel was the earliest written. Very little is certainly known concerning him, his name occurring but once in his own Gospel, and in the other Gospels only incidentally with reference to two events.

He was a Hebrew by birth; by profession a publican, or tax-gatherer, in the service of the Romans—an office very lucrative, but particularly odious in the sight of his countrymen. His original name was Levi. It is recorded in few words, that as he sat at the receipt of custom by the lake of Gennesareth, Jesus in passing by saw him, and said unto him, 'Follow me,' and he left all and followed Him; and further, that he made a feast in his house, at which many publicans and sinners sat down with the Lord and His disciples, to the great astonishment and scandal of the Jews. So far the sacred record: the traditional and legendary history of St. Matthew is equally scanty. It is related in the *Perfetto Leggendario* that, after the dispersion of

the apostles, he travelled into Egypt and Ethiopia, preaching the Gospel; and having arrived in the capital of Ethiopia, he lodged in the house of the eunuch who had been baptized by Philip, and who entertained him with great honour. There were two terrible magicians at that time in Ethiopia, who by their diabolical spells and incantations kept all the people in subjection, afflicting them at the same time with strange and terrible diseases; but St. Matthew overcame them, and having baptized the people, they were delivered for ever from the malignant influence of these enchanters. And further, it is related that St. Matthew raised the son of the King of Egypt from the dead, and healed his daughter of the leprosy. The princess, whose name was Iphigenia, he placed at the head of a community of virgins dedicated to the service of God; and a certain wicked heathen king, having threatened to tear her from her asylum, was struck by leprosy, and his palace destroyed by fire. St. Matthew remained twenty-three years in Egypt and Ethiopia, and it is said that he perished in the

ninetieth year of our era, under Domitian; but the manner of his death is uncertain; according to the Greek legend, he died in peace, but according to the tradition of the Western Church, he suffered martyrdom either by the sword or the spear.

Few churches are dedicated to St. Matthew. I am not aware that he is the patron saint of any country, trade, or profession, unless it be that of tax-gatherer or exciseman; and this is perhaps the reason that, except where he figures as one of the series of evangelists or apostles, he is so seldom represented alone, or in devotional pictures. In a large altarpiece, the 'San Matteo' of Annibal Caracci,¹ he is standing before the throne of the Madonna, as a pendant to John the Baptist, and gives his name to the picture: but such examples are uncommon. When he is portrayed as an evangelist, he holds a book or a pen; and the angel, his proper attribute and



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St. Matthew.

¹ Dresden Gallery. No. 828.

attendant, stands by, pointing up to heaven, or dictating; or he holds the inkhorn, or he supports the book. In his character of apostle, St. Matthew frequently holds a purse or money-bag, as significant of his former vocation (56).

Neither are pictures from his life of frequent occurrence. The principal incident, entitled the 'Calling of Matthew,' has been occasionally, but not often, treated in painting. The *motif* is simple and not easily mistaken. St. Matthew is seated at a kind of desk with money before him; various personages bring tribute; on one side is seen Christ, with one or two of His disciples, generally Peter and Andrew; St. Matthew is either looking towards Him with an expression of awe-struck attention, or he is rising from his seat, as in the act to follow: the mere accessories and number of the personages vary with the period of the composition and the taste of the painter.

1. The earliest instance I can cite, probably the oldest which has come down to us, is in a Greek MS. of the ninth century.¹ St. Matthew sits with both hands on a heap of gold, lying on a table before him: he looks round at Christ, who is a little behind.

2. St. Matthew is about to rise to follow the Saviour; by Matteo di Ser Cambio of Perugia, who has represented his patron saint in a small composition.²

3. In the Queen's Gallery at Buckingham Palace, there is a very curious and interesting picture of this subject, by Mabuse, which once belonged to King Charles I., and is quaintly described in the old catalogue of his pictures as 'a very old, defaced, curious altar-piece, upon a thick board, where Christ is calling St. Matthew out of the custom-house; which picture was got in Queen Elizabeth's days, in the taking of Calus Malus (Cadiz), in Spain. Painted upon a board in a gilded arched frame, like an altar-piece; containing ten big figures, less than half so big as the life, and some twenty-two afar off less figures. Given to the King.' In the foreground there is a rich architectural porch, from which St. Matthew is issuing in haste, leaving his money-bags behind; and in the background is seen the Lake of Gennesareth and shipping. This picture was among the booty taken in Essex's expedition against Cadiz in 1596, and probably stolen from some church.

¹ Paris, Bib. du Roi, No. 510.

² A.D. 1377. Eng. in Rossini, pl. 24.

4. In the Vienna Gallery I found three pictures of the same subject, all by Hemessen, very quaint and curious.

5. At Dresden the same subject in the Venetian style by Por-denone.

6. By Ludovico Caracci, a grand scenic picture, painted for the Mendicanti in Bologna.

7. In a chapel of the church of San Luigi de' Francesi, at Rome, there are three pictures by Caravaggio from the life of St. Matthew. Over the altar is the saint writing his Gospel, he looks up at the attendant angel, who is behind with outspread wings, and in the act of dictating. On the left is the calling of St. Matthew: the saint, who has been counting money, rises with one hand on his breast, and turns to follow the Saviour; an old man, with spectacles on his nose, examines with curiosity the personage whose summons has had such a miraculous effect; a boy is slyly appropriating the money which the apostle has thrown down. The third picture is the martyrdom of the saint, who, in the sacerdotal habit, lies extended on a block, while a half-naked executioner raises the sword, and several spectators shrink back with horror. There is nothing dignified or poetical in these representations; and though painted with all that power of effect which characterised Caravaggio, then at the height of his reputation, they have also his coarseness of feeling and execution: the priests were (not without reason) dissatisfied; and it required all the influence of his patron, Cardinal Giustiniani, to induce them to retain the pictures in the church where we now see them;—here we sympathise with the priests, rather than with the artist and his patron.

The Feast which St. Matthew made for our Saviour and His disciples is the subject of one of Paul Veronese's gorgeous banquet scenes; that which he painted for the refectory of the Convent of St. John and St. Paul at Venice. It is now in the Academy, filling up the end wall of one of the great rooms from side to side, and seeming to let in light and air through the lofty marble porticoes, which give us such a magnificent idea of the splendour which surrounded Levi before he left all to follow Jesus.

In all the representations of the death of St. Matthew, except those of the Greek or Byzantine school, he dies by the sword. The Greek artists uniformly exhibit him as dying in peace, while an

angel swings the censer beside his bed: as on the ancient doors of San Paolo at Rome.

Pictures from the legendary life of St. Matthew are very rare. The most remarkable are the frescoes in the chapel of San Matteo at Ravenna, attributed to Giotto. They are so much ruined, that, of the eight subjects represented, only three—his vocation, his preaching and healing the sick in Ethiopia, and the baptism of the king and queen—can be made out. In the Bedford missal at Paris I found a miniature, representing St. Matthew 'healing the son and daughter of King Egyptus of the leprosy;' but, as a subject of Art, he is not popular.

ST. MARK.

Lat. S. Marcus. *Ital.* San Marco Evangelista. *Fr.* St. Marc. *Ger.* Der Heilige Marcus.
(April 25. A.D. 68.)

ST. MARK the Evangelist was not one of the twelve Apostles: his conversion apparently took place after the ascension. He was the companion and assistant of Paul and Barnabas, with whom he preached the Gospel among the Gentiles. According to the traditions received in the Roman Church, he was converted by St. Peter, and became his favourite disciple; attended him first to Aquileia, where they converted and baptized the people on the shores of the Adriatic, and thence to Rome. While there he wrote his Gospel for the use of the Roman converts,—some say from the dictation of the apostle. He afterwards, by command of St. Peter, went to preach the Gospel in Egypt; and after preaching in Lybia and Thebais for twelve years, he founded the church of Alexandria, subsequently one of the most celebrated of all the early Christian churches. The ire of the heathen being stirred up against him because of his miracles, they reviled him as a magician, and, during the feast of their god Serapis, seized him while in the act of worship, bound him, and dragged him along the streets and highways, and over stony and rocky places, till he perished miserably; at the same time a dreadful tempest of hail and lightning fell upon his murderers, by which they were dispersed and destroyed. The Christians of Alexandria buried his mangled remains, and his sepulchre was regarded with great reverence for several centuries. About 815 A.D.,

some Venetian merchants trading to Alexandria carried off the relics (literally stole them,—‘*convey* the wise it call!’), and they were deposited in the city of Venice, where the stately church of St. Mark was built over them. Since that time, St. Mark has been honoured as the patron saint of Venice, and his legendary history has supplied the Venetian painters with many beautiful and picturesque subjects.

When St. Mark is represented as one of the Four Evangelists, either singly or grouped with the others, he is almost invariably accompanied by the lion, winged or unwinged, but generally winged,—which distinguishes him from St. Jerome, who is also accompanied by the lion, but unwinged, as we shall see hereafter.

In devotional representations, St. Mark often wears the habit of bishop, as first bishop of Alexandria. He is thus represented in the colossal mosaic over the principal door of St. Mark’s at Venice¹ in the pontificals of a Greek bishop, no mitre, short grey hair and beard; one hand raised in benediction, the other holding the Gospel.

Of the innumerable pictures in which St. Mark figures as patron of Venice, I can afford to give a few examples only.

1. A. Busati. He is seated on a throne; an open book in one hand, bearing inscribed the Venetian motto (*‘la Leggenda de’ Veneti’*) PAX TIBI, MARCE, EVANGELISTA MEUS; the other hand blessing: behind him a fig-tree, with leaves and no fruit; probably in allusion to the text, ch. xi. 13, which is peculiar to St. Mark. On his right stands St. Andrew bearing a cross; on the left St. Bernardino of Siena; behind him the apple-tree which ‘brought death into the world and all our woe.’ This votive picture, from its mystical accessories and the introduction of St. Bernardino, was probably painted for the Franciscans (*i Frari*) of Venice: it is now in the Academy there.

2. St. Mark on a lofty throne holds his Gospel in his hand; at his feet the four saints who are protectors against sickness and pestilence, St. Sebastian, St. Roch, St. Cosmo, and St. Damian: a splendid picture, in Titian’s early manner.² 3. St. Mark plants the standard

¹ Designed by Titian, and executed by F. Zuccati.

² It is so like Giorgione in sentiment and colour that it has been attributed to him. For this expressive votive group, see the frontispiece to vol. ii., and the legends of the four patron saints above mentioned.

of Venice, by Bonifazio. And 4. 'San Marco che assista all' coscrizione maritima;' (*i.e.*, the enlisting of the mariners for the service of the State) by G. del Moro, both curious instances of the manner in which the Venetians mixed up their patron saint with all their political and military transactions. 5. St. Mark presents the Doge Leonardo Dona to the Virgin; the most remarkable of a numerous class of votive pictures common in the Venetian school, in which St. Mark introduces either the Doge or some general or magnifico to the Virgin.¹

Among the devotional pictures of St. Mark, one of the most famous is that of Fra Bartolomeo, in the Palazzo Pitti. He is represented as a man in the prime of life, with bushy hair and a short reddish beard, throned in a niche, and holding in one hand the Gospel, in the other a pen; the lion is omitted. The Frate painted this picture for his own convent of San Marco at Florence. It is much lauded and celebrated, but the attitude appeared to me rather forced, and the features rather commonplace.

The legend which describes St. Mark as the disciple and amanuensis of St. Peter, has given occasion for those votive pictures in which they are represented together. 1. In the treasury of St. Mark's is preserved a golden reliquary of a square form, containing, it is said, a fragment of the original Gospel in the handwriting of St. Mark; the chased cover represents St. Peter on a throne, and before him kneels the evangelist, writing from his dictation.² 2. And again, in an ancient Greek Evangelarium, St. Mark is seated, writing; St. Peter stands before him with his hand raised as dictating. 3. In a beautiful picture by Angelico da Fiesole,³ St. Peter is in a pulpit preaching to the Romans; and Mark, seated, is taking down his words in a book. 4. St. Peter and St. Mark standing together, the former holding a book, the latter a pen, with an ink-horn suspended from his girdle, by Bellini;⁴ and 5, a similar one by Bonvicino—very beautiful.⁵ Such pictures are extremely interesting,

¹ Beneath the monument of Nicolò Orsini, in the SS. Giovanni-e-Paolo at Venice. A very remarkable and beautiful picture of this class is in the Berlin Gallery (No. 316). St. Mark, enthroned and holding his Gospel open on his knees, is instructing three of the *Procuradori di San Marco*, who kneel before him in their rich crimson dresses, and listen reverently.

² Venice Ducal Palace.

³ Fl. Gal.

⁴ Venice Acad.

⁵ Brera. Milan.

showing the opinion generally entertained of the origin of St. Mark's Gospel.

Historical pictures from the legendary life of St. Mark abound in the Venetian school, but are not often found out of Venice.

St. Mark preaching the Gospel at Alexandria, by Gentil Bellini,¹ a very large composition with numerous figures, is on many accounts extremely curious. The painter, who had been at Constantinople, transferred to Alexandria the Oriental scenery and costume with which he had become acquainted. The church of St. Euphemia at Alexandria, in the background, has the air of a Turkish mosque; a crowd of persons, men and women, in the costume of the Turks, surround the Saint, who is standing on a kind of pedestal or platform, ascended by a flight of steps, from which he addresses his audience with great fervour. Gentil Bellini painted this picture for the Scuola di San Marco, at Venice.

It is related that one day St. Mark, in his progress through the city of Alexandria, saw a poor cobbler, who had wounded his hand severely with his awl, so as to be incapacitated from gaining his bread: St. Mark healed the wound; and the cobbler, whose name was Anianus, being converted and properly instructed, became a zealous Christian, and succeeded St. Mark as Bishop of Alexandria. This miraculous cure of St. Anianus, and his subsequent baptism, are represented in two pictures by Mansueti.² In the Berlin Gallery is the cure of St. Anianus, by Cima da Conegliano; a large composition with many figures. The cure and baptism of St. Anianus, represented as a very aged man, form the subjects of two fine bas-reliefs on the façade of the School of St. Mark, by Tullio Lombardo, A.D. 1502.

In the Martyrdom of St. Mark, he is dragged through the streets by the enraged populace, who haul him along by a rope; a storm from above overwhelms the idolaters. The subject is thus represented by Angelico da Fiesole.³

A famous legend of St. Mark, which has been the subject of several pictures, can only be worthily given in the language of the old Venetian chronicle: there is something perfectly charming in the picturesque naïveté and matter-of-fact detail with which this

¹ Brera, Milan.

² A D 1500. Scuola di S. Marco, Venice.

³ Fl. Gal.

wild and wonderful story is related; and if you, reader, have ever stood on the steps of the Piazzetta and looked over to San Giorgio, or San Niccolò, when the waves of the Lagune were foaming and driving up to your feet, and storm-clouds stooping and lowering seemed to touch the very domes and campanile around, then you will have the whole scene as a reality before you.

‘On the 25th of February 1340, there fell out a wonderful thing in this land; for during three days the waters rose continually, and in the night there was fearful rain and tempest, such as had never been heard of. So great was the storm that the waters rose three cubits higher than had ever been known in Venice; and an old fisherman being in his little boat in the canal of St. Mark, reached with difficulty the Riva di San Marco, and there he fastened his boat, and waited the ceasing of the storm. And it is related that, at the time this storm was at the highest, there came an unknown man, and besought him that he would row him over to San Giorgio Maggiore, promising to pay him well; and the fisherman replied, “How it is possible to go to San Giorgio? we shall sink by the way!” But the man only besought him the more that he should set forth. So, seeing that it was the will of God, he arose and rowed over to San Giorgio Maggiore; and the man landed there, and desired the boatman to wait. In a short while he returned with a young man; and they said, “Now row towards San Niccolò di Lido.” And the fisherman said, “How can one possibly go so far with one oar?” And they said, “Row boldly, for it shall be possible to thee, and thou shalt be well paid.” And he went; and it appeared to him as if the waters were smooth. Being arrived at San Niccolò di Lido, the two men landed, and returned with a third, and, having entered into the boat, they commanded the fisherman that he should row beyond the two castles. And the tempest raged continually. Being come to the open sea, they beheld approaching, with such terrific speed that it appeared to fly over the waters, an enormous galley full of demons (as it is written in the Chronicles, and Marco Sabellino also makes mention of this miracle): the said bark approached the castles to overwhelm Venice, and to destroy it utterly; anon the sea, which had hitherto been tumultuous, became calm; and these three men, having made the sign of the cross, exorcised the demons, and com-

manded them to depart, and immediately the galley or the ship vanished. Then these three men commanded the fisherman to land them, the one at San Niccolò di Lido, the other at San Giorgio Maggiore, and the third at San Marco. And when he had landed the third, the fisherman, notwithstanding the miracle he had witnessed, desired that he would pay him; and he replied, "Thou art right; go now to the Doge, and to the Procuratore of St. Mark, and tell them what thou hast seen, for Venice would have been overwhelmed had it not been for us three. I am St. Mark the Evangelist, the protector of this city; the other is the brave knight St. George; and he whom thou didst take up at the Lido is the holy bishop St. Nicholas. Say to the Doge and to the Procuratori¹ that they are to pay you; and tell them likewise that this tempest arose because of a certain schoolmaster dwelling at San Felice, who did sell his soul to the devil, and afterwards hanged himself." And the fisherman replied, "If I should tell them this, they will not believe me." Then St. Mark took off a ring which was on his finger, which ring was worth five ducats; and he said, "Show them this, and tell them when they look in the sanctuary they will not find it;" and thereupon he disappeared. The next morning, the said fisherman presented himself before the Doge and related all he had seen the night before, and showed him the ring for a sign. And the Procuratori having sent for the ring, and sought in the usual place, found it not; by reason of which miracle the fisherman was paid, and a solemn procession was ordained, giving thanks to God, and to the relics of the three holy saints, who rest in our land, and who delivered us from this great danger. The ring was given to Signor Marco Loredano and to Signor Andrea Dandolo the Procuratori, who placed it in the sanctuary; and, moreover, a perpetual provision was made for the aged fisherman above mentioned.²

This legend is the subject of two celebrated pictures:—The first, attributed to Giorgione,³ represents the storm. A ship, manned by demons, is seen towering over the waves: the demons appear to be seized with consternation; some fling themselves headlong over the side of their vessel, others are clinging to the rigging, others

¹ The *Procuradori* had the charge of the church and the treasury of St. Mark.

² Sanuto, *Vite de' Duci Veneti*.

³ Acad. Venice.

sit on the masts which flame with fire, and the glare is seen over the murky sky and sea. More in front are two barks, one rowed by four satyr-like demons, splendid figures admirably painted, literally glowing as if they were red-hot, and full of fierce animation. In the other bark are seen the three saints, St. Mark, St. Nicholas, and St. George, rowed by the fisherman; sea-monsters are sporting amid the waves, demons bestride them; the city of Venice is just visible in the far-off distance. The whole picture is full of vigour and poetic feeling; the fiery glow of colour and the romantic style of Giorgione suited the subject; and it has been admirably restored.

The second picture is by Paris Bordone,¹ and represents the fisherman presenting the miraculous ring of St. Mark to the Doge Gradonigo. It is like a grand piece of scenic decoration; we have before us a magnificent marble hall, with columns and buildings in perspective; to the right, on the summit of a flight of steps, sits the Doge in council; the poor fisherman, ascending the steps, holds forth the ring. The numerous figures, the vivid colour, the luxuriant architecture, remind us of Paul Veronese, with, however, more delicacy, both in colour and execution.

A Christian slave, in the service of a certain nobleman of Provence, disobeyed the commands of his lord, and persisted in paying his devotions at the shrine of St. Mark, which was at some distance. On his return home, he was condemned to the torture. As it was about to be inflicted, the saint himself descended from heaven to aid his votary; the instruments of torture were broken or blunted, the oppressor and his executioners confounded. This legend is the subject of a celebrated picture by Tintoretto,² of which Mr Rogers had the original sketch. The slave lies on the ground amid a crowd of spectators, who look on, animated by all the various emotions of sympathy, rage, terror; a woman in front, with a child in her arms, has always been admired for the life-like vivacity of her attitude and expression. The executioner holds up the broken implements; St. Mark, with a headlong movement, seems to rush down from heaven in haste to save his worshipper; the dramatic grouping in this picture

¹ Acad. Venice.

² *Ibid.*

is wonderful; the colouring, in its gorgeous depth and harmony, is in Mr Roger's sketch finer than in the picture.

In St. Mark's, at Venice, we find the whole history of St. Mark on the vault of the Cappella Zen (opening from the Baptistery), in a series of very curious mosaics of the twelfth century. The translation of the body of St. Mark; the carrying off the relics from Alexandria; their arrival in Venice; the grand religious ceremonies which took place on their arrival; are also represented in the mosaics over the portico of St. Mark's, executed chiefly between 1650 and 1680. We have the same legend in two compositions of Tintoretto:¹ in the first, the remains of St. Mark are taken forcibly from the tomb by the Venetian mariners; in the other, they are borne away to sea in a nightstorm, while in the air is seen hovering a bright transparent form,—the soul of the saint fitting with his body to Venice.

ST. LUKE.

Lat. Sanctus Luca. *Ital.* San Luca. *Fr.* Saint Luc. (Oct. 18.)

OF the real history of St. Luke we know very little. He was not an apostle; and, like St. Mark, appears to have been converted after the ascension. He was a beloved disciple of St. Paul, whom he accompanied to Rome, and remained with his master and teacher till the last. It is related, that, after the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul, he preached the Gospel in Greece and Egypt; but whether he died a natural death, or suffered martyrdom, does not seem clear. The Greek traditions represent him as dying in peace, and his death was thus figured on the ancient doors of San Paolo at Rome. Others affirm that he was crucified at Patras with St. Andrew.

There is some ground for the supposition that Luke was a physician. (Col. iv. 14.) But the pretty legend which makes him a painter, and represents him as painting the portrait of the Virgin Mary, is unsupported by any of the earlier traditions. It is of Greek origin, still universally received by the Greek Church, which considers painting a religious art, and numbers in its calender of saints a long list of painters, as well as poets, musicians, and physicians. 'Les Grecs,' says Didron,

¹ Venice, Ducal Palace.

'semblent avoir canonisé des chrétiens uniquement parce qu'ils s'occupaient de soulager le corps ou de charmer l'esprit.' In the west of Europe, the legend which represents St. Luke as a painter can be traced no higher than the tenth century; the Greek painters introduced it; and a rude drawing of the Virgin discovered in the Catacombs, with an inscription purporting that it was 'one of seven painted by Luca,' confirmed the popular belief that St. Luke the Evangelist was meant. Thus originated the fame of innumerable Virgins of peculiar sanctity, all attributed to his hand, and regarded with extreme veneration. Such ancient pictures are generally of Greek workmanship, and of a black complexion.¹ In the legend of St. Luke we are assured that he carried with him everywhere two portraits, painted by himself; one of our Saviour, and one of the Virgin; and that by means of these he converted many of the heathen, for not only did they perform great miracles, but all who looked on these bright and benign faces, which bore a striking resemblance to each other, were moved to admiration and devotion. It is also said, that St. Luke painted many portraits of the Virgin, delighting himself by repeating this gracious image; and in the church of Santa Maria in Via Lata, at Rome, they still show a little chapel in which, 'as it hath been handed down from the first ages, St. Luke the Evangelist wrote, and painted the effigy of the Virgin-Mother of God.'

On the strength of this tradition, St. Luke has been chosen as the patron saint of painters. Academies of art are placed under his particular protection; their chapels are dedicated to him, and over the altar we see him in his charming and pious avocation, that of painting portraits of the Blessed Virgin for the consolation of the faithful.

¹ The little black virgin of the Monte della Guardia, near Bologna, I saw carried in grand procession through the streets of that city, in May 1847. The following inscription is engraved on a tablet in the church of San Domenico and San Sisto at Rome: 'Here at the high altar is preserved that image of the most blessed Mary, which, being delineated by St. Luke the Evangelist, received its colours and form divinely. This is that image with which St. Gregory the Great (according to St. Antonine), as a suppliant, purified Rome; and the pestilence being dispelled, the angel messenger of peace, from the summit of the castle of Adrian, commanding the Queen of Heaven to rejoice, restored health to the city.' A Virgin in the Ara Cœli pretends to the same honour: both these are black and ugly, while that in the S. Maria in Cosmedino is of uncommon dignity and beauty.—See 'Legends of the Madonna,' Introduction, p. xli.

The devotional figures of St Luke, in his character of evangelist, represent him in general with his Gospel and his attendant ox, winged or unwinged, as already described : but in Greek Art, and in those schools of Art which have been particularly under the Byzantine influence (as the early Venetian), we see St. Luke as evangelist young and beardless, holding the portrait of the Virgin as his attribute in one hand and his Gospel in the other. A beautiful figure of St. Luke as evangelist and painter is in the famous 'Heures d'Anne de Bretagne.'¹

In an engraving by Lucas v. Leyden, executed as it should seem in honour of his patron saint, St. Luke is seated on the back of his ox writing the Gospel ; he wears a hood like an old professor, rests his book against the horns of the animal, and his inkstand is suspended on the bough of a tree. But separate devotional figures of him as patron are as rare as those of St. Matthew.

St. Luke painting the Virgin has been a frequent and favourite subject. The most famous of all is a picture in the Academy of St. Luke, at Rome, ascribed to Raphael. Here St. Luke, kneeling on a footstool before an easel, is busied painting the Virgin with the Child in her arms, who appears to him out of heaven sustained by clouds : behind St. Luke stands Raphael himself, looking on. Another of the same subject, a very small and beautiful picture, also ascribed to Raphael, is in the Grosvenor Gallery. In neither of these pictures is the treatment quite worthy of that great painter, wanting his delicacy both of sentiment and execution. There is a most curious and quaint example in the Munich Gallery, attributed to Van Eyck ; here the Virgin, seated under a rich Gothic canopy, holds on her lap the Infant Christ, in a most stiff attitude ; St Luke, kneeling on one knee, is taking her likeness. There is another, similar in style, by Aldegræf, in the Vienna Gallery. Carlo Maratti represents St. Luke as presenting to the Virgin the picture he has painted of her. St. Luke painting the Madonna and Child, while an angel is grinding his colours, I remember in the Aguado Gallery ; a late Spanish picture.²

¹ MS. A.D. 1500. Paris, Bib. Imp.

² F. Rizi. A.D. 1660.



St. Luke painting the Virgin



St. Mark attended by St. Gregory

ST. JOHN.

Lat. Sanctus Johannes. *Gr.* St. John Theologos, or the Divine. *Ital.* San Giovanni Evangelista. *Fr.* Saint Jean; Messire Saint Jehan. *Ger.* Der Heilige Johann. (Dec. 27, A.D. 99.)

OF St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, so little is certainly known, that we have no data on which to found an individual portrait; therefore any representation of them as venerable and inspired teachers suffices to the fancy: but it is quite otherwise with St. John, the most distinguished of the evangelists, and the most beloved of the disciples of our Lord. Of him sufficient is known to convey a distinct impression of his personal character, and an idea of what his personal appearance may have been, supposing this outward semblance to have harmonised with the inward being.

He was the son of the fisherman Zebedee, and, with his brother James, among the first followers of the Saviour. He is emphatically called 'the disciple whom Jesus loved;' a preference which he merited, not only from the extreme purity of his life and character, but from his devoted and affectionate nature. He appears to have been at all times the constant companion of his divine Lord; and his life, while the Saviour was on earth, inseparable from His. In all the memorable circumstances recorded in the Gospel he was a party, or at least present. He witnessed the glory of the transfiguration; he leaned on the bosom of Jesus at the Last Supper; he stood by the cross in the hour of agony; he laid the body of his crucified Master in the sepulchre. After the death of the Virgin Mother, who had been confided to his care, he went about Judæa, preaching the Gospel with St. Peter. He then travelled into Asia Minor, where he founded the Seven Churches, and resided principally at Ephesus. During the persecution of the Christians under Domitian, St. John was sent in fetters to Rome; and, according to a tradition generally received in the Roman Church, he was cast into a caldron of boiling oil, but was miraculously preserved, and 'came out of it as out of a refreshing

bath.' He was then accused of magic, and exiled to the island of Patmos, in the *Ægean* Sea, where he is said to have written his Revelation. After the death of the Emperor Domitian he was released, and returned to his church at Ephesus; and for the use of the Christians there he is said to have written his Gospel, at the age of ninety. A few years afterwards he died in that city, being nearly a century old. All the incidents here touched upon occur frequently as subjects of Art, but most of them belong properly to the life of Christ.

The personal character of St. John, at once attractive and picturesque, has rendered him popular as a patron saint, and devotional pictures of him are far more numerous than of any of the other evangelists.

He is represented in one of his three characters: 1, as evangelist; 2, as apostle; 3, as prophet; or the three are combined in one figure.

1. Of the early eagle symbol, I have spoken at length.

In Greek Art, whether as apostle or evangelist, St. John is always an aged man with white hair, and a venerable beard descending to his breast; and by the earlier Latin painters, where he figures as evangelist only, not as apostle, this type has been adhered to; but the later painters set it aside, and St. John the Evangelist, nearly a century old, has all the attributes of the youthful apostle. He is beardless, with light curling hair, and eyes gazing upwards in a rapture of inspiration: he is sometimes seated with his pen and his book, sometimes standing; the attendant eagle always near him, and frequently holding the pen or inkhorn in his beak.

In some of the old prints and pictures, which represent St. John as writing the Gospel, his eyes are turned on the Virgin with the Infant Christ in her arms, who appear as a vision in the skies above; underneath, or on his book, is inscribed,—‘The word was made flesh,’ or some other text of the same import. The eagle at his side has sometimes the nimbus or a crown of stars,¹ and is then perhaps intended to figure the Holy Ghost.

I remember an instance in which the devil, intent on intercepting the message of reconciliation and ‘goodwill towards men,’ which was destined to destroy his empire on earth, appears behind St. John, and

¹ As in the Missal of Henry VIII. Bodleian, Oxford.

is oversetting the ink upon the pages ; another, in which he is stealing away the inkhorn.

2. As one of the series of apostles, St. John is always, in Western Art, young, or in the prime of life ; with little or no beard ; flowing or curling hair, generally of a pale brown or golden hue, to express the delicacy of his nature ; and in his countenance an expression of benignity and candour. His drapery is, or ought to be, red, with a blue or green tunic. He bears in his hand the sacramental cup, from which a serpent is seen to issue. St. Isidore relates that, at Rome, an attempt was made to poison St. John in the cup of the sacrament ; he drank of the same, and administered it to the communicants without injury, the poison having by a miracle issued from the cup in the form of a serpent, while the hired assassin fell down dead at his feet. According to another version of this story, the poisoned cup was administered by order of the Emperor Domitian. According to a third version, Aristodemus, the high priest of Diana, at Ephesus, defied him to drink of the poisoned chalice, as a test of the truth of his mission ; St. John drank unharmed,—the priest fell dead. Others say, and this seems the more probable interpretation, that the cup in the hand of St. John alludes to the reply given by our Saviour, when the mother of James and John requested for her sons the place of honour in heaven,—‘ Ye shall drink indeed of my cup.’ As in other instances, the legend was invented to explain the symbol. When the cup has the consecrated wafer instead of the serpent, it signifies the institution of the Eucharist.



60 St. John. (Hans Hemling.)

Some of the old German representations of St. John are of singular beauty : for example, one by *Hans Hemling*, one by *Isaac von Melem*,¹ standing figures ; simple, graceful, majestic ; in the prime of youth,

¹ Both among the fine lithographs of the Boissérée Gallery. (v. Nos. 5, 15, 25.)

with a charming expression of devotion in the heads: both hold the sacramental cup with the serpent; no eagle; therefore St. John is here to be considered as the apostle only; when, with the cup, the eagle is placed by his side, he is represented in the double character of apostle and evangelist (61).



61 St. John. (Raphael.)

In the early Siena school, and in some old illuminations, I have seen St. John carrying in his hand a radiant circle, inscribed '*In primo est verbum,*' and within the circle an eagle with outspread wings: but this is uncommon.

3. St. John as the prophet, the writer of the Revelation, is usually an aged man, with a white flowing beard, seated in a rocky desert; the sea in the distance, or flowing round him, to represent the island of Patmos; the eagle at his side. In the old frescoes, and the illuminated MSS. of the Apocalypse, this is the usual representation.

Some examples of the ideal and devotional figures of St. John, as evangelist and prophet, will give an idea of the variety of treatment in this favourite subject:—

1. Ancient Greek. St. John, with the head of an eagle and large wings, the figure fully draped, is soaring upwards. In such representations the inscription is usually '*Quasi aquila ascendet et volabit*' ('Behold, he shall come up and fly as the eagle.' Jer. xlix. 22).

2. Perugino. St. John as an aged man, with long grey beard and flowing hair, attended by a black eagle, looking up at the Madonna in glory.¹

3. Raphael (?). St. John, young and beautiful, mounted on the back of an eagle, and soaring heavenwards; in one hand he holds a

¹ Acad. Bologna.

tablet, in the other a pen; sea and land below. This treatment, which recalls the antique Jupiter bestriding his eagle, appears to me at once too theatrical and too commonplace for Raphael.¹

4. Correggio. St. John seated writing his Gospel; the eagle at his feet is pluming his wing; inscribed '*Altius cæteris Dei patefecit arcana.*' One of the series of Evangelists in the Duomo of Parma—wonderfully beautiful.

5. Domenichino. St. John, full-length, life size; young and beautiful, in an ecstasy of inspiration, and sustained by two angels; the eagle at his feet: formerly in the Giustiniani Gallery;²—finer, I think, than the St. John in Sant' Andrea. Another, half length, a scroll in his hand, looking upwards as one to whom the glory of the heavens had been opened;—you see it reflected in his eyes,—while love, wonder, devotion, beam from his beautiful face and parted lips; behind him hovers the attendant eagle, holding the pen in his beak; near him is the chalice, with the serpent; so that here he is in his double character of apostle and evangelist.³ Domenichino excelled in St. Johns, as Guido in Magdalenes; perhaps the most beautiful of all is that in the Brera, at Milan, where St. John bends on one knee at the foot of the throne of the Madonna and Child, his pen in one hand, the other pressed to his bosom, and looking up to them with an air of ecstatic inspiration. Two little angels, or rather *amoretti*, are in attendance: one has his arms round the neck of the eagle, sporting with it; the other holds up the cup and the serpent. Every detail is composed and painted to admiration; but this is the artistic and picturesque, not the religious, version of the subject.

St. John is frequently represented with St. Peter, because, after the ascension, they taught and acted in concert. In such pictures, the



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St John.

¹ Musée, Marseilles.

² Leigh Court, Gal. of Mr Miles.

³ Petersburg, Gal. of Prince Narishken. Eng. by Müller.

contrast between the fiery resolve and sturdy, rugged grandeur which is given to St. Peter, and the refinement, mildness, and personal grace of St. John, produces a fine effect: as in Albert Dürer's picture,¹ where John is holding open the Gospel, and Peter apparently reading it; two grand and simple figures, filling the mind as we gaze upon them. As this picture was painted *after* Albert Dürer became a Protestant, I have thought it possible that he might have had some particular meaning in thus making Peter study the Gospel of John. At all events, Albert Dürer was quite capable of such an intention; and, whether intended or not, the picture may be, and has been, thus interpreted. The prophets and the poets often say more than they intended, for their light was for others more than for themselves: so also the great painters—the Raphaels and Albert Dürers—prophets and poets in their way. When I have heard certain critics ridiculed because they found more in the productions of a Shakespeare or a Raphael than the poet or painter himself ever perceived or 'intended,' such ridicule has appeared to me in the highest degree presumptuous and absurd. The true artist 'feels that he is greater than he knows.' In giving form or utterance to the soul within him, does he account to himself for all the world of thoughts his work will excite in the minds of others? Is its significance to be circumscribed either by the intention and the knowledge of the poet, or the comprehension of the age in which he lived? That is the characteristic of the second-rate, self-conscious poets or painters, whom we read or study because they reflect to us a particular meaning—a particular period,—but not of the Homers and Shakespeares, the Raphaels and Albert Dürers; *they* speak to all times, to *all* men, with a suggestive significance, widening, deepening with every successive generation; and to measure their depth of meaning by their own *intention*, or by the comprehension of their own or any one generation, what is it but to measure the star of heaven by its apparent magnitude?—an inch rule will do that!

But to return from this digression. In devotional pictures we often see St. John the Evangelist and St. John the Baptist standing together; or on each side of Christ, or of the Madonna and Child.

¹ Munich Gal.

There is a peculiar propriety and significance in this companionship : both are, then, to be considered as prophets ; they were, besides, kinsmen, and bore the same name ; and St. John the Evangelist was the disciple of John the Baptist before he was called by Christ. Here, again, the contrast between the dark, emaciated, hairy prophet of the wilderness, and the graceful dignity of the youthful apostle, has a striking effect. An example at hand is the bronze bas-relief on the tomb of Henry VII.¹ Madonna pictures, in which the two St. Johns stand before her throne, occur frequently. I remember, also, a marble group of the Virgin and Child, in which the two St. Johns, as infants, are playing at her feet, one with his eagle, the other with his reed cross.²

As one who bore the most direct testimony to the Incarnation, St. John is often introduced into Madonna pictures and pictures of the Nativity ; but in the later schools only. In these instances he points significantly to the Child, and the sacramental cup and wafer is either in his hand or at his feet, or borne by an angel.

The historical and dramatic subjects in which St. John figures as a principal personage are very numerous. As the scriptural scenes belong properly to the life of Christ, I shall confine myself here to some observations on the manner in which St. John is introduced and treated in such pictures. In general he is to be distinguished from the other apostles by his youth and beauty and flowing hair, and by being placed nearest to Christ as the most beloved of His disciples.

‘The mother of James and John imploring from our Saviour the highest place in heaven for her two sons.’ (Matt. xx. 21) : a picture by Bonifazio, in the Borghese Gallery, beautiful both in sentiment and colour. There is another example by Paul Veronese ; and another, by Tintoretto, was in the Coesvelt Gallery. I must observe that, except in Venetian pictures, I have not met with this incident as a separate subject.

In the Last Supper, Peter is generally on the right of Christ, and St. John on the left : he leans his head down on the bosom of Christ

¹ Westmin. Abbey.

² Rome, S. Maria-sopra-Minerva.

(this is always the attitude in the oldest pictures); or he leans towards Christ, who places His hand upon his shoulder, drawing him towards Him with an expression of tenderness: this is the action in the fresco by Raphael lately discovered at Florence. But I must reserve the full consideration of this subject for another place.

Where, instead of the Last Supper, our Saviour is represented as administering the Eucharist, St. John is seen on His right hand, bearing the cup.

In the Crucifixion, when treated as a religious rather than an historical subject, St. John stands on the left of the Cross, and the Virgin on the right; both in attitudes of the profoundest grief and adoration mingled. In general the *motif* of this sacred subject does not vary; but I remember examples, in which St. John is seen trampling a Jew under his feet; on the other side the Virgin tramples on a veiled woman, signifying the old law, the synagogue, as opposed to the Christian Church, of which the Virgin was the received symbol.

When the Crucifixion is a *scene* or action, not a *mystery*, then St. John is beheld afar off, with the women who followed their divine Master to Calvary.

St. John and the Virgin Mary returning from the Crucifixion: he appears to be sustaining her slow and fainting steps. I have only once met with this beautiful subject, in a picture by Zurbaran, in the Munich Gallery.

In the Descent from the Cross, St. John is a chief actor; he generally sustains the head of the Saviour, and is distinguished by an expression of extreme sorrow and tenderness. In the Entombment he is sometimes one of the bearers, sometimes he follows lamenting. In a print of the Entombment after Andrea Mantegna, he is not only weeping and wringing his hands as usual, but absolutely crying aloud with the most exaggerated expression of anguish. In pictures of the Descent of the Holy Ghost, St. John is usually a conspicuous figure, and in the foreground. In the Assumption of the Virgin, he is also conspicuous, generally in front, as the pendant to St. Peter, and gazing upwards with ecstatic faith and devotion.

Of course there is great variety in these representations: the later painters thought less of individual character and significant propriety

of arrangement than of artistic grouping; therefore the above remarks have reference to the early painters only.

In the scenes taken from the Acts, St. John is always in companionship with St. Peter, and becomes the secondary figure.

St. John writing his Revelation in the island of Patmos is a subject which frequently occurs in MSS. of the Apocalypse, and in the chapels

dedicated to St. John. The *motif* is generally the same in all; we have a desert island, with the sea in the distance, or flowing round it; St. John, seated on a rock or under a tree, is in the act of writing; or he is looking up to heaven, where the 'Woman crowned with stars,' or 'the Woman fleeing from the dragon,' appears as in his vision.¹ (Rev. xii.) Or he beholds St. Michael, armed, cast down the dragon in human form; he has the eagle and book, and looks up at the Virgin as in a picture by Ambrogio Figino.² The eagle is always in attendance as the symbol of inspiration in a general sense; when represented with a diadem, or glory, as in some very early examples, it is a symbol of the Holy Ghost, which, among the Jews, was figured by the eagle.



63 St. John. (Lucas v Leyden.)

The subjects from the legendary life of St. John are exceedingly interesting, but they are not easily recognised, and require particular attention; some are of frequent occurrence, others rarely met with.

1. Israel v. Meckenen. St. John Instructing his Disciples at Ephesus. (Acts iv. 37.) The scene is the interior of a Gothic church, the windows painted with heraldic emblazonments; St. John is seated expounding the Scriptures, and five disciples sit opposite to him with coarse ugly faces, but most intent, expressive countenances; in the background, a large chest full of money.

¹ v. 'Legends of the Madonna.'

² Brera, Milan.

2. Vatican, Chr. Mus. St. John drinking from the poisoned chalice; a man falls down dead at his feet, several figures look on with awe and astonishment: this is a frequent subject in the elder schools of Art, and in the illuminated MSS. of the Gospel and Apocalypse: but I have never met with a representation later than the beginning of the fourteenth century.¹

3. It is related by Clement of Alexandria, that when St. John was at Ephesus, and before he was exiled to Patmos, he had taken to his care a young man of promising qualities of person and mind. During his absence he left him under the spiritual guidance of a certain bishop; but, after a while, the youth took to evil courses, and, proceeding from one excess to another, he at length became the leader of a band of robbers and assassins who struck terror into the whole country. When St. John returned to Ephesus, he went to the bishop and demanded 'the precious deposit he had left in his hands.' At first the priest did not understand him; but when St. John explained the allusion to his adopted son, he cast down his eyes with sorrow and shame, and told of what had befallen. Then St. John rent his garments, and wept with a loud voice, and cried out, 'Alas! alas! to what a guardian have I trusted our brother!' And he called for a horse and rode towards the forest in which the robbers sojourned; and when the captain of the robbers beheld his old master and instructor, he turned and would have fled from his presence; but St. John, by the most fervent entreaties, prevailed on him to stop and listen to his words. After some conference, the robber, utterly subdued, burst into tears of penitence, imploring forgiveness; and while he spoke, he hid beneath his robe his right hand, which had been sullied with so many crimes; but St. John, falling on his knees before him, seized that blood-polluted hand, and kissed it, and bathed it with his tears; and he remained with his re-converted brother till he had, by prayers and encouraging words and affectionate exhortations, reconciled him with Heaven and with himself.

This beautiful legend is the subject of some old engravings, in which

¹ We find among the relics exhibited on great occasions in the church of the S. Croce at Rome 'the cup in which St. John, the apostle and evangelist, by command of Domitian the emperor, drank poison without receiving any injury; which afterwards being tasted by his attendants, on the instant they fell dead.'

St. John is represented embracing the robber, who is weeping on his neck, having flung away his weapons. It has been, however, too rarely treated; I have never met with a picture of the subject; and yet it abounds in picturesque capabilities: the forest background—the contrast of youth and age—bright armour, flowing drapery, and the most striking and affecting moral, are here all combined.

4. Another very pretty apologue relating to St. John is sometimes included in a series of subjects from his life. Two young men, who had sold all their possessions to follow him, afterwards repented. He, perceiving their thoughts, sent them to gather pebbles and faggots, and, on their return, changed these into money and ingots of gold, saying to them, 'Take back your riches and enjoy them on earth, as you regret having exchanged them for heaven!' This story is represented on one of the windows of the Cathedral at Bourges. The two young men stand before St. John, with a heap of gold on one side, and a heap of stones and faggots on the other.

5. When St. John had sojourned in the island of Patmos a year and a day, he returned to his church at Ephesus; and as he approached the city, being received with great joy by the inhabitants, lo! a funeral procession came forth from the gates; and of those who followed weeping he inquired 'who was dead?' They said, 'Drusiana.' Now when he heard that name he was sad, for Drusiana had excelled in all good works, and he had formerly dwelt in her house; and he ordered them to set down the bier, and having prayed earnestly, God was pleased to restore Drusiana to life; she arose up, and the apostle went home with her and dwelt in her house.

This incident is the subject of a fine fresco, painted by Filippo Lippi, on the left hand wall of the Strozzi Chapel at Florence. It has the forcible expression and dramatic spirit of the painter, with that characteristic want of elevated feeling in the countenances and in the general treatment which is apparent in all his works: the group in one corner, of a child starting from a dog, is admired for its truth; but, by disturbing the solemnity of the marvellous scene, it repels like a falsehood.

6. There is another beautiful and picturesque legend relating to St. John, of which I have never seen any representation; but it may possibly have occasioned the frequent introduction of a partridge

into the pictures of sacred subjects, particularly in the Venetian School. St. John had a tame partridge, which he cherished much; and he amused himself with feeding and tending it. 'A certain huntsman, passing by with his bow and arrows, was astonished to see the great apostle, so venerable for his age and sanctity, engaged in such an amusement. The apostle asked him if he always kept his bow bent? He answered, that would be the way to render it useless. "If," replied St. John, "you unbend your bow to prevent its being useless, so do I thus unbend my mind for the same reason."'

7. The subject entitled the Martyrdom of St. John represents his immersion in a caldron of boiling oil, by order of the Emperor Domitian. According to the received tradition, this event took place outside the Latin gate at Rome; and on the spot stands the chapel of San Giovanni *in Olio*, commemorating his miraculous deliverance, which is painted in fresco on the walls. The subject forms, of course, one of a series of the life of St. John, and is occasionally met with in old prints and pictures; but it is uncommon. The treatment affords little variety; in Albert Dürer's famous woodcut, St. John is sitting in a pot of boiling oil; one executioner is blowing the fire, another is pouring oil from a ladle on the saint's head; a judge, probably intended for Domitian, is seated on a throne to the left, and there are numerous spectators. Padovanino painted this subject for the San Pietro at Venice; Rubens, with horrible truth of detail, for the altar-piece of St. John at Malines.

It is the martyrdom in the boiling oil which gives St. John the right to bear the palm, with which he is occasionally seen.

8. St. John, habited in priest's garments, descends the steps of an altar into an open grave, in which he lays himself down, not in death, but in sleep, until the coming of Christ: 'being reserved alive with Enoch and Elijah (who also knew not death), to preach against the Antichrist in the last days.' This fanciful legend is founded on the following text: 'Peter, seeing the disciple whom Jesus loved following, saith unto Jesus, Lord, and what shall this man do? Jesus saith unto him, If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? Then went this saying abroad among the brethren that that disciple should not die' (John xxi. 21, 22.)

The legend which supposes St. John reserved alive has not been generally received in the Church, and as a subject of painting it is very uncommon. It occurs in the *Menologium Græcum*,¹ where the grave into which St. John descends is, according to the legend, '*fossa in crucis figuram*' (in the form of a cross). In a series of the deaths of the Apostles,² St. John is ascending from the grave; for, according to the Greek legend, St. John died without pain or change, and immediately rose again in bodily form, and ascended into heaven to rejoin Christ and the Virgin.

In a small and very curious picture which I saw at Rome,³ forming part of a Predella, there is a tomb something like the Xanthian tombs in form; one end is open; St. John, with a long grey beard, is seen issuing from it, and, as he ascends, he is met by Christ, the Virgin, St. Peter, and St. Paul, who are descending from above; while figures below look up with astonishment. On the ancient doors of San Paolo he is lying in an open grave or sarcophagus.

Of the miracles performed by John after his death, two are singularly interesting in the history of Art; both have been treated in sculpture.

9. When the Empress Galla Placidia was returning from Constantinople to Ravenna with her two children (A.D. 425), she encountered a terrible storm. In her fear and anguish she vowed a vow to St. John the Evangelist, and, being landed in safety, she dedicated to his honour a magnificent church. When the edifice was finished, she was extremely desirous of procuring some relics of the Evangelist, wherewith to consecrate his sanctuary; but as it was not the manner of those days to exhume, and buy and sell, still less to steal, the bodies of holy men and martyrs, the desire of the pious empress remained unsatisfied. However, as it is related, St. John himself took pity upon her; for one night, as she prayed earnestly, he appeared to her in a vision; and when she threw herself at his feet to embrace and kiss them, he disappeared, leaving one of his slippers or sandals in her hand, which sandal was long preserved.

The antique church of Galla Placidia still exists at Ravenna, to

¹ Vatican MSS., tenth century. ² MSS., ninth century. Paris Nat. Library.

³ Vatican, Christian Museum.

keep alive, after the lapse of fourteen centuries, the memory of her dream, and of the condescension of the blessed apostle. Not much of the original building is left; the superb mosaics have all disappeared, except a few fragments, in which may be traced the storm at sea, and Galla Placidia making her vow. Over the principal porch, which is of white marble, in the Lombard style, and richly and elegantly ornamented, the miracle of the slipper is represented in two bas-reliefs, one above the other. The lower compartment, or lunette, represents a tabernacle, and within it an altar; St. John the Evangelist is seen offering incense; on the other side is Barbation, the confessor of the empress; she, prostrate at the feet of the apostle, seems to take off his sandal: on each side are six hovering angels bearing the implements of the mass. In the upper compartment, Galla Placidia is seen kneeling at the feet of Christ, and offering to him the sacred sandal, while the Evangelist stands on one side, and Barbation on the other. These bas-reliefs are not older than the twelfth century, and are in excellent preservation: I should suppose, from the style of the grouping, that they were copied, or imitated, from the older mosaics, once in the interior of the church.

10. The other miracle has the rare interest of being English in its origin and in its representation. 'King Edward the Confessor had, after Christ and the Virgin Mary, a special veneration for St. John the Evangelist. One day, returning from his church at Westminster, where he had been hearing mass in honour of the evangelist, he was accosted by a pilgrim, who asked of him an alms for the love of God and St. John. The king, who was ever merciful to the poor, immediately drew from his finger a ring, and, unknown to any one, delivered it to the beggar. When the king had reigned twenty-four years, it came to pass that two Englishmen, pilgrims, returning from the Holy Land to their own country, were met by one in the habit of a pilgrim, who asked of them concerning their country; and being told they were of England, he said to them, "When ye shall have arrived in your own country, go to King Edward, and salute him in my name: say to him, that I thank him for the alms which he bestowed on me in a certain street in Westminster; for there, on a certain day, as I begged of him an alms, he bestowed on me this

ring, which till now I have preserved, and ye shall carry it back to him, saying that in six months from this time he shall quit the world, and come and remain with me for ever." And the pilgrims, being astounded, said, "Who art thou, and where is thy dwelling-place?" And he answered, saying, "I am John the Evangelist. Edward, your king, is my friend, and for the sanctity of his life I hold him dear. Go now, therefore, deliver to him this message and this ring, and I will pray to God that ye may arrive safely in your own country." When St. John had spoken thus he delivered to them the ring, and vanished out of their sight. The pilgrims, praising and thanking the Lord for this glorious vision, went on their journey; and being arrived in England, they repaired to King Edward, and saluted him, and delivered the ring and the message, relating all truly. And the king received the news joyfully, and feasted the messengers royally. Then he set himself to prepare for his departure from this world. On the eve of the Nativity, in the year of our Lord 1066, he fell sick, and on the eve of the Epiphany following he died. The ring he gave to the Abbot of Westminster, to be for ever preserved among the relics there.¹

According to one account,² the pilgrims met the king near his palace at Waltham, at a place since called *Havering*. The writer adds,—'In allusion to this story, King Edward II. offered at his coronation a pound of gold made in the figure of a king holding a ring, and a mark of gold (8 oz.) made like to a pilgrim putting forth his hand to receive the ring.' These must have been two little statuettes of gold.

The legend of King Edward and St. John the Evangelist is represented, with other legends of the same monarch, along the top of the screen of Edward the Confessor's chapel. It is in three compartments. The first represents King Edward bestowing the ring on St. John in the disguise of a pilgrim; Westminster Abbey is seen behind. The second shows us the meeting of the pilgrims and St. John in Palestine; he holds what seems a palm. In the third the pilgrims deliver the ring to King Edward, who is seated at table. The sculpture is very rude; the figures disproportioned and ungraceful. They are supposed to be of the time of Henry VI.

¹ *Johannis Brompton Cronicon*, 955.

² *Dart's Hist. of Westminster*.

The same legend was painted on one of the windows of Romford church, in Essex, but whether it still exists there I know not.¹

Before I quit the subject of the Evangelists, it is worth while to observe that, in Greek Art, not only the Four Evangelists, but the six writers of the Acts and Epistles, are considered as a sacred series. In an ancient and beautiful MS. of the *Epistole Canoniche*, presented by the Queen of Cyprus to Pope Innocent VIII., they are thus represented, two and two together :—

St. Luke, with a very thoughtful, earnest countenance, holds a scroll, on which is written in Greek the commencement of the Acts, 'The former treatise have I made, O Theophilus,' &c.; and St. James, with a long, very earnest, and refined face, holds a single roll.

St. Peter, with a broad, coarse, powerful physiognomy, strongly characterised, holds two rolls; and St. John, with a long, and very refined face, grey hair and beard, holds three rolls.

St. Jude, with a long white beard and very aquiline nose, holds one roll. St. Paul, bald in front, with long brown hair and beard, and a refined face, bears many rolls tied up together.

All the figures are on a gold ground, about six inches in height, very finely conceived, though, as is usual in Byzantine Art, formal and mechanical in execution. They look like small copies of very grand originals. The draperies are all classical; a pale violet or brown tunic and a white mantle, as in the old mosaics; the rolls in their hands corresponding with the number of their writings.

¹ *v.* Legend of St. Edward the Confessor in the 'Legends of the Monastic Orders,' p. 99.

The Twelve Apostles.

NEXT to those who recorded the Word of God, were those called by Christ to the task of diffusing His doctrine, and sent to preach the kingdom of heaven 'through all nations.'

The earliest representations of the Twelve Apostles appear to have been, like those of the Four Evangelists, purely emblematical: they were figured as twelve sheep, with Christ in the midst, as the Good Shepherd, bearing a lamb in His arms; or, much more frequently, Christ is Himself the Lamb of God, raised on an eminence and crowned with a cruciform nimbus, and the apostles were ranged on each side as sheep. Instances are to be met with in the old Christian bas-reliefs. In the old Roman churches¹ we find this representation but little varied, and the situation is always the same. In



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the centre is the lamb standing on an eminence, from which flow the four rivers of Paradise; on one side six sheep issuing from the city of Jerusalem, on the other six sheep issuing from the city of Bethlehem, the whole disposed in a line forming a sort of frieze, just below the decoration of the vault of the apsis. The church of S. M. Maggiore exhibits the only exception I have met with; there we find a group of sheep, entering, not issuing from, the gates of Jerusalem and Bethlehem: in this case, however, the sheep may represent believers, or disciples in general, not the Twelve Apostles. Upon the great crucifix in the apsis of San Clemente, at Rome, are twelve doves, which appear to signify the Twelve Apostles.

The next step was to represent the Apostles as twelve men all alike, each with a sheep, and Christ in the middle, also with a sheep,

¹ Rome. S. M. in Trastevere. S. Prassede. S. Clemente. S. Cecilia.

sometimes larger than the others. We find this on some of the sarcophagi.¹ Again, a little later, we have them represented as twelve venerable men, bearing tablets or scrolls in their hands, no emblems to distinguish one from another, but their names inscribed over or beside each. They are thus represented in relief on several ancient sarcophagi now in the Christian Museum in the Vatican, and in several of the most ancient churches at Rome and Ravenna, ranged on each side of the Saviour in the vault of the apsis, or standing in a line beneath.

But while in the ancient Greek types, and the old mosaics, the attributes are omitted, they adhere almost invariably to a certain characteristic individual representation, which in the later ages of painting was wholly lost, or at least neglected. In these eldest types, St. Peter has a broad face, white hair, and short white beard : St. Paul, a long face, high bold forehead, dark hair and beard : St. Andrew is aged, with flowing white hair and beard : St. John, St. Thomas, St. Philip, young and beardless : St. James Major and St. James Minor, in the prime of life, short brown hair and beard ; both should bear a resemblance more or less to the Saviour, but St. James Minor particularly : St. Matthew, St. Jude, St. Simon, St. Matthias, aged, with white hair. The tablets or scrolls which they carry in their hands bear, or are supposed to bear, the articles of the Creed. It is a tradition, that, before the apostles dispersed to preach the Gospel in all lands, they assembled to compose the declaration of faith since called the Apostles' Creed, and that each of them furnished one of the twelve propositions contained in it, in the following order :—St. Peter : *Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, creatorem cœli et terræ.* St. Andrew : *Et in Jesum Christum Filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum.* St. James Major : *Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria Virgine.* St. John : *Passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus.* St. Philip : *Descendit ad inferos, tertia die resurrexit à mortuis.* St. James Minor : *Ascendit ad cœlos, sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis.* St. Thomas : *Inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos.* St. Bartholomew : *Credo in Spiritum Sanctum.* St. Matthew : *Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam ; sanctorum communionem.*

¹ Bottari, Tab. xxviii.

St. Simon : *Remissionem peccatorum.* St. Matthias : *Carnis resurrectionem.* St. Thaddeus : *Et vitam æternam.*

The statues of the apostles on the shrine of the Virgin in the San Michele at Florence exhibit a fine example of this arrangement. I give the figure of St. Philip, holding his appropriate sentence of the Creed on a scroll (65).



65 Orcagna.

In later times, the Apostles, instead of being disposed in a line, are grouped round the Saviour in glory, or they form a circle of heads in medallions: as statues, they ornament the screen in front of the altar, or they are placed in a line on each side of the nave, standing against the pillars which support it. From the sixth century it became usual to distinguish each of them by a particular emblem or attribute borrowed from some circumstance of his life or death. Thus, taking them in order, according to the canon of the mass—

St. Peter bears the keys or a fish.

St. Paul, the sword: sometimes two swords.

St. Andrew, the transverse cross.

St. James Major, the pilgrim's staff.

St. John, the chalice with the serpent; sometimes the eagle also; but the eagle, as I have

observed, belongs to him properly only in his character of Evangelist.

St. Thomas, a builder's rule: also, but more seldom, a spear.

St. James Minor, a club.

St. Philip, the staff or crosier, surmounted by a cross; or a small cross in his hand.

St. Bartholomew, a large knife.

St. Matthew, a purse.

St. Simon, a saw.

St. Thaddeus (or Jude), a halberd or lance.

St. Matthias, a lance.

The origin and meaning of these attributes will be explained presently: meantime it must be borne in mind, that although in sacred Art the Apostles are always twelve in number, they are not always the same personages. St. Jude is frequently omitted to make room for St. Paul. Sometimes, in the most ancient churches (as in the Cathedral of Palermo), St. Simon and St. Matthias are omitted, and the evangelists St. Mark and St. Luke figure in their places. The Byzantine manual published by Didron omits James Minor, Jude, and Matthias; and inserts Paul, Luke, and Mark. This was the arrangement on the bronze doors of San Paolo-fuori-le-Mura at Rome, executed by Byzantine artists in the tenth century, and now destroyed.

On an ancient pulpit, of beautiful workmanship, in the Cathedral of Troyes, the arrangement is according to the Greek formula.¹ Thus—

S. John B.	S. Matthew. ✓	J. Christ.	S. Peter. ✓	The Virgin.	S. Simon. ✓	S. Bartholomew. ✓
S. Philip. ✓	S. Mark.	S. Luke.	S. Andrew. ✓	S. James. ✓	S. James. ✓	S. John. ✓
S. Paul. ✓	S. Thomas. ✓	S. Thomas. ✓				An Angel.

Here, John the Baptist figures in his character of angel or messenger; and St. Paul, St. Mark, and St. Luke take the place of St. James Minor, St. Jude, and St. Matthias.

The earliest instance of the Apostles entering into a scheme of ecclesiastical decoration, as the consecrated and delegated teachers of a revealed religion, occurs in the church of San Giovanni in Fonte at Ravenna.² In the centre of the dome is the Baptism of Christ, represented quite in the classical style; the figure of the Saviour being entirely undraped, and the Jordan, signified by an antique river god, sedge-crowned, and bearing a linen napkin as though he were an attendant at a bath. Around, in a circle, in the manner of radii, are the Twelve Apostles. The order is,—Peter, Andrew, James, John, Philip, Bartholomew, Simon, Jude, James Minor, Matthew, Thomas, Paul; so that Peter and Paul stand face to face at one extremity of

¹ The churches in the eastern provinces of France, particularly in Champagne, exhibit marked traces of the influence of Greek Art in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

² A. D. 451. Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* p. 1, c. iv.

the circle, and Simon and Bartholomew back to back at the other. All wear pointed caps, and carry the oblation in their hands. Peter has a yellow vest and white mantle; Paul, a white vest and a yellow mantle, and so all around alternately. The name of each is inscribed over his head, and without the title *Sanctus*, which, though admitted into the Calendar in 449, was not adopted in works of Art till some years later, about 472.

In the next instance, the attributes had not yet been admitted, except in the figures of St. Peter and St. Paul.

MOSAIC (A.D. 816). Christ, in the centre, stands on an eminence; in one hand He holds an open book, on which is inscribed *Pax vobis*. St. Peter, with the keys and a cross, stands on the right; and Christ, with His right hand, points to the cross. St. Paul is on the left, with his sword; beyond, there are five Apostles on one side, and four on the other: in all, eleven (Judas being properly omitted). Each holds a book, and all are robed in white; underneath the whole is inscribed, in Latin, the words of our Saviour, 'Go ye, and teach all nations.' On the arch to the right, Christ is seated on a throne, and presents the keys to St. Peter, who kneels on one side, and the standard to Constantine, who kneels on the other (alluding, of course, to the famous standard). On the arch to the left, St. Peter is throned, and presents the stole to Pope Leo III., and the standard to Charlemagne. This singular monument, a kind of *résumé* of the power of the Church, is a restoration of the old mosaic, executed by order of Leo III. in the Triclinium of the old palace of the Lateran, and now on one side of the Scala Santa, the side facing the Porta San Giovanni.

MOSAIC, in the old basilica of St. Paul (A.D. 1206). In the centre an altar veiled, on which are the Gospels (or perhaps, rather, the *Book of Life*, the seven-sealed book in the Revelations), and the instruments of the Passion. Behind it rises a large Greek cross, adorned with gold and jewels. Underneath, at the foot of the altar, five small figures standing and bearing palms, representing those who suffered for the cause of Christ; and on each side, kneeling, the monk Aginulph, and Giovanni Gaetano Orsini, afterwards Nicholas III. On each side of the altar, a majestic angel: one bears a scroll, inscribed GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO; the other, ET IN TERRA PAX

HOMINIBUS BONÆ VOLUNTATIS. Beyond these the Apostles, six on each side, bearing scrolls with the articles of the Creed. They are much alike, all in white robes, and alternately with each stands a palm-tree, the symbol of victory and resurrection. This composition, of a colossal size, formed a kind of frieze (taking the place of the emblematical lamb and twelve sheep) round the apsis of the Basilica.

In sculpture, the Apostles, as a series, entered into all decorative ecclesiastical architecture: sometimes on the exterior of the edifice, always in the interior. In our English cathedrals they are seldom found un mutilated, except when out of the reach of the spoiler; such was the indiscriminate rage which confounded the venerable effigies of these delegated teachers of the truth with the images which were supposed to belong exclusively to the repudiated religion!

Where the scheme of decoration is purely theological, the proper place of the Apostles is after the Angels, Prophets, and Evangelists; but when the *motif*, or leading idea, implies a special signification, such as the Last Judgment, Paradise, the Coronation of the Madonna, or the apotheosis of a saint, then the order is changed, and the Apostles appear immediately after the Divine Personages and before the angels, as forming a part of the council or court of heaven;—‘When the Son of man shall come in His glory, ye also shall sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.’¹ Such is the arrangement in the Campo Santo, in Angelico’s ‘Paradiso’ in the Florence Gallery, in Raphael’s ‘Disputa,’ and many other instances: and I may add the architectural treatment on the façade of Wells Cathedral, where, immediately under the Saviour sitting in judgment, stand the Twelve Apostles, and beneath them the hierarchy of angels, each of the nine choirs being here expressed by a single angel.² Therefore to determine the proper place of the Apostles, it is necessary to observe well and to understand what has been the design of the artist, and the leading idea of the whole composition, whether strictly *theological* or partly *scenic*. In all monuments which have a solemn or a sacred purpose,—altars, pulpits, tombs,—the Apostles

¹ Matt. xix. 28; and Luke xxii. 30.

² I must refer the reader to Mr Cockerell’s illustrations and restorations of the rich and multifarious and significant sculpture of Wells Cathedral.

find an appropriate place, either in connection with other sacred personages, or as a company apart,—the band of teachers. The range of statues along the top of the screen in front of the choir of St. Mark's at Venice will be remembered by all who have seen them: in the centre stand the Virgin and St. Mark, and then the Apostles, six on each side, grand solemn figures, standing there as if to guard the sanctuary. These are by Jacobelli, in the simple religious style of the fifteenth century, but quite Italian. In contrast with them, as the finest example of German sculptural treatment, we have the Twelve Apostles on the tomb of St. Sebald, in his church at Nuremburg, cast in bronze by Peter Vischer (about 1500). These have become well known by the casts which have lately been brought to England; they are about two feet high, all remarkable for the characteristic expression of the heads, and the grand simplicity of the attitudes and draperies.

There are instances of the Apostles introduced into a scheme of ecclesiastical decoration as devotional figures, but assuming, from the style of treatment and from being placed in relation with other personages, a touch of the dramatic and picturesque. Such are Correggio's Apostles in the cupola of the duomo at Parma (1532), which may be considered as the most striking instance that could be produced of studied contrast to the solemnity and simplicity of the ancient treatment: here the *motif* is essentially *dramatic*. They stand round the dome as spectators would stand in a gallery or balcony, all in picturesque attitudes, studiously varied (some, it must be confessed, rather extravagant), and all looking up with amazement, or hope, or joy, or adoration, to the figure of the glorified Virgin ascending into heaven.

Another series of Apostles in the San Giovanni at Parma, which Correggio had painted earlier (1522), are conceived, I think, in a finer spirit as to character, but, perhaps, not more appropriate to the scene. Here the Twelve Apostles are seated on clouds round the glorified Saviour, as they are supposed to be in heaven: they are but partially draped. In the heads but little attention has been paid to the ancient types, except in those of St. Peter and St. Paul; but they are sublime as well as picturesque in the conception of character and expression.

The Apostles in Michael Angelo's Last Judgment (A.D. 1540) exhibit a still further deviation from the antique style of treatment. They stand on each side of the Saviour, who is not here Saviour and Redeemer, but inexorable Judge. They are grandly and artificially grouped, all without any drapery whatever, and with forms and attitudes which recall an assemblage of Titans holding a council of war, rather than the glorified companions of Christ. In early pictures of Christ in glory, the Apostles, His companions in heaven as on earth, form, with the Patriarchs and Prophets, the celestial court or council: they sit upon thrones to the right and to the left.¹ Raphael's 'Disputa' in the Vatican is a grand example of this arrangement.

Sets of the Apostles, in devotional pictures and prints, are so common, that I shall particularise only a few among the most interesting and celebrated. Engravings of these can easily be referred to.

1. A set by Raphael, engraved by Marc Antonio: grand, graceful figures, and each with his appropriate attribute. Though admirably distinguished in form and bearing, very little attention has been paid to the ancient types, except perhaps in St. Peter and St. John. Here St. James Minor is omitted to make room for St. Paul.

2. A set by Lucas van Leyden, smaller than Raphael's, but magnificent in feeling: here also the ancient types are for the most part neglected. These two sets should be compared as perfect examples of the best Italian and the most characteristic German manner. Some of the German sets are very curious and grotesque.

3. By H. S. Beham, a most curious set, in what may be called the ultra German style: they stand two and two together, like a procession of old beggars; the workmanship exquisite. Another set by Beham, in which the figures stand singly, and which includes the Four Evangelists, dressed like old burgomasters, with the emblematical wings, has been already mentioned.

4. A set by Parmigiano, graceful and mannered, as is usual with him.

5. By Agostino Caracci. This set, famous as works of Art, must, when compared with those of Raphael and Lucas van Leyden, be pronounced absolutely vulgar. Here St. John is drinking out of his cup,—an idea which might strike some people as picturesque; but

¹ Luke xxii. 30.

it is in vile taste. Thaddeus has a saw as well as Simon; Peter has the papal tiara at his feet; St. James Minor, instead of Thomas, carries the builder's rule; and St. Bartholomew has his skin thrown over his shoulders. This set is an example of the confusion which prevailed with respect to the old religious types and attributes, after the first half of the sixteenth century.

6. 'The Five Disciples,' by Albert Dürer, seem intended to form part of a complete set. We have St. Paul, St. Bartholomew, St. Thomas, St. Philip, and St. Simon. The two last are the finest, and are most grandly conceived.

These are examples of the simplest devotional treatment.

When the Apostles are grouped together in various historical scenes,—some scriptural, some legendary—they are more interesting as individual personages; and the treatment should be more characteristic. Some of these subjects belong properly to the life of Christ; as the Delivery of the Keys to Peter; the Transfiguration; the Entry into Jerusalem; the Last Supper; the Ascension. Others, as the Death and Assumption of the Virgin, will be considered in the Legends of the Madonna. But there are others, again, which refer more particularly to the personal history of the Apostles, as related in the Acts and in the Legends.

The Descent of the Holy Ghost was the first and most important event after the Ascension of Christ. It is thus described: "When the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven, as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues, like as of fire, and sat upon each of them, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance. And there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven. Now when this was noised abroad the multitude came together, and were confounded, because that every man heard them speak in his own language. . . . But this is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel.' (Acts ii. 1-12, 16.)

According to the usual interpretation, the word *they*, in the first

verse, does not signify the Apostles merely, but, with them, 'the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and His brethren:' hence in so many representations of this subject the Virgin is not only present, but a principal person: Mary Magdalene and others are also frequently introduced.

1. The most striking example I have yet met with is the grand mosaic in the principal dome of St. Mark's at Venice. In the apex of the dome is seen the Celestial Dove in a glory of light; rays proceed from the centre on every side, and fall on the heads of the Virgin and the Twelve Apostles, seated in a circle. Lower down is a series of twelve figures standing all round the dome; 'Parthians, Medes, and Elamites, the dwellers in Mesopotamia, Judea, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, Pamphylia, Cretes, and Arabians,'—each nation represented by one person, and all in strange dresses, and looking up with amazement.

2. The Twelve Apostles and the Virgin are seen above seated in an enclosure; tongues of fire descend from heaven; beneath is a closed door, at which several persons in strange foreign dresses, with turbans, &c., are listening with amazement. One of these is in the Chinese costume,—a curious circumstance, considering the age of the picture, and which could have occurred at that date nowhere but at Venice.¹

3. In the interior of a temple, sustained by slender pillars, the Twelve Apostles are seated in a circle, and in the midst the Virgin, tongues of fire on each head. Here the Virgin is the principal person.²

4. An interior, the Twelve Apostles seated in a circle; above them, the Celestial Dove in a glory, and from his beak proceed twelve tongues of flame: underneath, in a small arch, is the prophet Joel, as an old man crowned with a kingly crown and holding twelve rolls or scrolls, indicating the Gospel in so many different languages. The allusion is to the words of Joel, ii. 28: 'And I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh.'³ This is the Greek formula, and it is curious that it should have been closely followed by Pinturicchio;—thus:

5. In a rich landscape, with cypresses, palm-trees, and birds, the Virgin is seen kneeling; St. Peter on the right, and James Minor on the left, also kneeling; five other Apostles on each side. The

¹ Venice Acad., fourteenth century.

² Rosini, vol. iii. p. 75.

³ Convent of Chilandari, Mount Athos.

Celestial Dove, with outspread wings, descends in a glory surrounded by fifteen cherubim : there are no tongues of fire. The prophet Joel is seen above, with the inscription, '*Effundam de Spiritu meo super omnem carnem.*'¹

6. The Virgin and the Apostles seated ; flames of fire stand on their heads ; the Holy Ghost appears above in a glory of light, from which rays are poured on every side. Mary Magdalene, and another Mary, are present behind ; astonishment is the prevailing expression in every face, except in the Virgin and St. Peter. The composition is attributed to Raphael.²

The next event of importance is the separation of the Twelve Apostles when they disperse to preach the Gospel in all lands. According to the ancient traditions, the Apostles determined by lot to what countries they should go : Peter went to Antioch ; James the Great remained in Jerusalem and the neighbourhood ; Philip went to Phrygia ; John to Ephesus ; Thomas to Parthia and Judea ; Andrew to Scythia ; Bartholomew to India and Judea. The Parting of the Apostles is a beautiful subject, of which I have met with but few examples ; one is a woodcut after Titian. The Mission of the Apostles I remember to have seen by Bissoni over an altar in the Santa Giustina at Padua ; they are preparing to depart ; one reads from a book ; another looses his shoes from his feet, in allusion to the text, 'Take neither purse, nor scrip, nor shoes ;' several are bidding adieu to the Virgin. This picture struck me as dramatic ; its merits otherwise I do not remember.

We have next 'The Twelve Baptisms.'³ In the upper compartment Christ is standing in a majestic attitude, and on each side are six Apostles, all alike, and in white garments. The inscription above is in Greek : 'Go ye, and preach the Gospel to all nations.' Below in twelve smaller compartments, each of the Apostles is seen baptizing a convert : an attendant, in white garments, stands by each font, holding a napkin. One of the converts and his attendant are black, denoting

¹ Vatican, Sala del Pozzo.

² Vatican.

³ Greek MS., ninth century. Paris, Bibl. du Roi, No. 510.

clearly the chamberlain of the Queen of Ethiopia. This is a very uncommon subject.

And, lastly, we have 'The Twelve Martyrdoms.' This is a more frequent series, in pictures and in prints, and occurs in a set of large fresco compositions in the church of San Nereo e Sant' Achilleo at Rome. In such representations the usual treatment is as follows:—
 1. St. Peter is crucified with his head downwards. 2. St. Andrew, bound on a transverse cross. 3. St. James Major, beheaded with a sword. 4. St. John, in a caldron of boiling oil. 5. St. Philip, bound on a cross in the form of a T. 6. St. Bartholomew, flayed. 7. St. Thomas, pierced with a spear. 8. St. Matthew, killed with a sword. 9. St. James Minor, struck down with a club. 10. St. Simon and St. Jude together: one is killed with a sword, the other with a club. 11. St. Matthias has his head cloven by a halbert. 12. St. Paul is beheaded.¹

The authority for many of these martyrdoms is wholly apocryphal,² and they sometimes vary; but this is the usual mode of representation in Western Art. In early Greek Art a series of the Deaths of the Apostles often occurs, but they do not all suffer martyrdom; and the subject of St. John in the caldron of boiling oil, so famous in the Latin Church, is, I believe, unknown, or, at least, so rare, that I have not found it in genuine Byzantine Art.

The most ancient series I have met with (in a Greek MS. of the ninth century) shows us five Apostles crucified: St. Peter and St. Philip with the head downwards; St. Andrew on the transverse cross, as usual; St. Simon and St. Bartholomew, in the same manner as our Saviour. St. Thomas is pierced by a lance; and St. John is buried, and then raised by angels, according to the legend. The same series, similarly treated, ornamented the doors of the old Basilica of St. Paul, executed by Greek artists of the tenth century.³

Wherever the Apostles appear as a series, we expect, of course, some

¹ A set of martyrdoms is in the Frankfort Museum; another is mentioned in Bartsch, viii. 22.

² Eusebius says that *all* the Apostles suffered martyrdom; but this is not borne out by any ancient testimony.—*Lardner's Cred. of Gospel Hist.* vol. viii. p. 81.

³ They were fortunately engraved for D'Agincourt's *Histoire de l'Art*, before they were destroyed by fire.

degree of discriminating propriety of character in each face and figure. We seek it when they merely form a part of the general scheme of significant decoration in the architectural arrangement of a place of worship ; we seek it with more reason when they stand before us as a series of devotional representations ; and still more when, as actors in some particular scene, they are supposed to be animated by sentiments called forth by the occasion, and modified by the individual character. By what test shall we try the truth and propriety of such representations ? We ought to know both what to require from the artist, and on what grounds to require it, before we can rest satisfied.

In the Gospel histories the Apostles are consistently and beautifully distinguished in temper and bearing. Their characters, whether exhibited at full length, or merely touched upon, are sustained with dramatic truth. The mediæval legends, however wild, are, as far as character goes, in harmony with these scriptural portraits, and fill up the outline given. It becomes therefore a really interesting speculation to observe, how far this variety of characteristic expression has been carried out in the early types, how far attended to, or neglected, by the great painters, since the revival of Art.

ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.

Lat. SS. Petrus et Paulus. *Ital.* San Pietro or Piero, San Paolo. *Fr.* S. Pierre, S. Paul. *Spa.* San Pedro, San Pablo. (June 29 and 30.)

I HAVE already observed, that, as apostles and preachers of the Word, St. Peter and St. Paul take the first place. Even during their lives, a superiority was accorded to them ; and this superiority, as the acknowledged heads and founders of the Christian Church, under Christ, has been allowed down to the present time. The precedence is by common consent given to St. Peter ; but they are held to be equal in faith, in merit, and in sanctity.

The early Christian Church was always considered under two great divisions : the church of the converted Jews, and the church of the Gentiles. The first was represented by St. Peter, the second by St.



66

St. Paul.

St. Peter.

(Crivelli)

Paul. Standing together in this mutual relation, they represent the universal Church of Christ; hence in works of Art they are seldom separated, and are indispensable in all ecclesiastical decoration. Their proper place is on each side of the Saviour, or of the Virgin throned; or on each side of the altar; or on each side of the arch over the choir. In any case, where they stand together, not merely as Apostles, but Founders, their place is next after the Evangelists and the Prophets.

Thus seen almost everywhere in companionship, it becomes necessary to distinguish them from each other; for St. Peter does not

always bear his keys, nor St. Paul his sword. In the earliest examples, these attributes are wholly omitted; yet I scarcely know any instance in which a distinct type of head has not been more or less attended to.



67

St. Peter.

(Greek type, eleventh century.)

The ancient Greek type of the head of St. Peter, 'the Pilot of the Galilean Lake,' is so strongly characterised as to have the air of a portrait. It is either taken from the description of Nicephorus, so often quoted, or his description is taken from some very ancient representation: it certainly harmonises with all our pre-conceived notions of St. Peter's temperament and character. He is a robust old man, with a broad forehead, and rather coarse features, an open undaunted countenance, short grey hair, and short thick beard, curled, and of a silvery white: according to the descriptive portrait of Nicephorus, he had red weak eyes,—a peculiarity which it has not been thought necessary to preserve in his effigies. In some early pictures he is bald on the top of the head, and the hair grows thick around in a circle, somewhat like the priestly tonsure; and in some examples this tonsure has the form of a triple row of curls close to the head, a kind of tiara. A curious exception to this predominant, almost universal, type is to be found in Anglo-Saxon Art,¹ where St. Peter is always beardless, and wears the ton-

sure; so that but for the keys, suspended to a ring on his finger, one might take him for an elderly monk. It is a tradition that the Gentiles shaved the head of St. Peter in order to make

¹ St. Guthlac's Book. Ethelwold's Benedictional.

him an object of derision, and that this is the origin of the priestly tonsure.

The dress of St. Peter in the mosaics and Greek pictures is a blue tunic, with white drapery thrown over it, but in general the proper colours are a blue or green tunic with yellow drapery. On the early sarcophagi, and in the most ancient church mosaics, he bears merely a scroll or book, and, except in the character of the head, he is exactly like St. Paul; a little later we find him with the cross in one hand, and the Gospel in the other. The keys in his hand appear as his peculiar attribute about the eighth century. I have seen him with one great key, but in general he carries two keys, one of gold and one of silver, to absolve and to bind; or, according to another interpretation, one is of gold, and one of iron, opening the gates of heaven and hell: occasionally, but rarely, he has a third key, expressing the dominion over heaven, and earth, and hell.¹



68 St. Peter with one Key.
(Taddeo Gaddi.)

St. Paul presents a striking contrast to St. Peter, in features as in character. There must have existed effigies of him in very early times, for St. Augustine says that a certain Marcellina, living in the second century, preserved in her Lararium, among her household gods, 'the images of Homer, Pythagoras, Jesus Christ, and Paul the apostle.' Chrysostom alludes to a portrait of Paul which hung in his chamber, but unfortunately he does not describe it. The earliest allusion to the personal appearance of St. Paul occurs in Lucian, where he is styled, in a tone of mocking disparagement, 'the bald-headed Galilean with a hook-nose.' The description given by Nicephorus, founded, we may presume, on tradition and on the existing portraits, has been the authority followed in the early representations. According to the ancient tradition, Paul was a man of small and meagre stature, with an aquiline nose, a high forehead, and sparkling

¹ As in the mosaic on the tomb of Otho II. (Lateran Mus.)

eyes. In the Greek type the face is long and oval, the nose aquiline, the forehead high and bald, the hair brown, the beard long, flowing, and pointed, and of a dark brown (in the Greek formula it is said that his beard should be greyish—I recollect no instance of St. Paul with a grey beard); his dress is like St. Peter's, a blue tunic and white mantle; he has a book or scroll in one hand, sometimes twelve rolls, which designate his epistles. He bears the sword, his attribute in a double sense; it signifies the manner of his martyrdom, and it is emblematical of the good fight fought by the faithful Christian, armed with 'the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God' (Ephes. vi. 17). The life of St. Paul, after his conversion, was, as we know, one long spiritual combat:—'perplexed, but not in despair; cast down, but not destroyed.'

These traditional characteristic types of the features and persons of the two greatest apostles were long adhered to. We find them most strictly followed in the old Greek mosaics, in the early Christian sculpture, and the early pictures; in all which the sturdy dignity and broad rustic features of St. Peter, and the elegant contemplative head of St. Paul, who looks like a Greek philosopher, form a most interesting and suggestive contrast. But, in later times, the old types, particularly in the head of St. Paul, were neglected and degraded. The

best painters took care not to deviate wholly from the square head and short grey beard of St. Peter; but, from the time of Sixtus IV., we find substituted for the head of St. Paul an arbitrary representation, which varied according to the model chosen by the artist—which was sometimes a Roman porter or a German boor; sometimes the antique Jupiter or the bust of a Greek rhetorician.



69 St. Paul.
(Greek type, eleventh century.)

I shall now give some examples, in chronological order, of the two great Apostles represented together, as Founders of the Church.

On the early sarcophagi (from A.D. 321 to 400), St. Peter and St. Paul stand on each side of the Saviour. The former bears a cross, and is generally on the left hand of Christ. The cross given to Peter, and often set with jewels, is supposed to refer to the passage in St. John, xxi. 19, 'Signifying by what death he should die:' but it may surely bear another interpretation, *i.e.*, the spirit of Christianity transmitted to all nations by the first and greatest of the Apostles. St. Paul carries a roll of writing; he has a very high bald forehead: in other respects the two Apostles are not particularly discriminated; they wear the classical costume.¹ Similar figures of Peter and Paul occur on the ancient glass drinking-vessels and lamps preserved in the Vatican; but the workmanship is so rude, that they are merely curiosities, and cannot be cited as authorities.

MOSAIC (Rome, A.D. 443) in Santa Maria Maggiore, over the arch which separates the sanctuary from the nave. We have in the centre a throne, on which lies the roll, sealed with seven seals; above the throne rises a cross set with precious stones; on each side of the throne, St. Peter and St. Paul; they have no attributes, are habited in classical draperies, and the whole representation is strictly antique in style, without a trace of any of the characteristics of Mediæval Art. This is the oldest representation I have met with next to those on the sarcophagi.

MOSAIC (Rome, 6th century) in the church of Santa Sabina on the interior of the arch over the door. We find on one side St. Peter, on the other St. Paul. Under St. Peter stands a graceful female figure, veiled, and inscribed *Ecclesia ex circumcissione*; under St. Paul, a female figure, crowned, and inscribed *Ecclesia ex gentibus*.

MOSAIC (Rome, A.D. 526) in St. Cosmo and St. Damian, on the vault of the apsis. Christ stands in the centre, sustained by clouds; His right hand is raised in the attitude of one who exhorts (not blessing, as is the usual manner); the left hand holds the book of life; at His feet flows the river Jordan, the symbol of Baptism. On each side, but lower down and much smaller in size, stand St. Peter and St. Paul; they seem to present St. Cosmo and St. Damian to

¹ Bottari, Tab. xxv.

the Saviour. Beyond these again, on either side, stand St. Theodore and the pope (Felix I.) who dedicated the church. Palm-trees, and a Phoenix crowned with a starry glory, emblems of Victory and Immortality, close this majestic and significant composition on each side. Here St. Peter and St. Paul are dignified figures, in which the Greek type is strongly characterised; they wear long white mantles, and have no attributes.

MOSAIC (Milan, 9th century), in Sant' Ambrogio. Christ enthroned presents the Gospel to St. Paul, and the two keys to St. Peter.

MOSAIC (A.D. 936) on the tomb of Otho II. St. Peter and St. Paul together, rather more than half length, and above life size. St. Peter has three keys, suspended on a ring; St. Paul, the book and sword. The original mosaic is preserved in the Vatican, and a copy is in the Lateran. This relic is, as a document, invaluable.

MOSAIC (A.D. 1216-1227), in the apsis of the old basilica of St. Paul. Christ is seated on a throne, with the cruciform glory and His name $\overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{C}} \cdot \overline{\text{X}} \overline{\text{C}} \cdot$: the right hand gives the benediction in the Greek form; He holds in His left an open book, inscribed *VENITE BENEDICTI PATRIS MEI PERCIPITE REGNUM.* (Matt. xxv. 34.) On the left, St. Peter with his right hand raised to Christ, and an open scroll in his left hand, inscribed *TU ES CHRISTUS FILIUS DEI VIVI.* On the other side of Christ, St. Paul; his right hand on his breast, and in his left a scroll with these words, *IN NOMINE JESU OMNE GENU FLECTATUR CÆLESTIUM TERRESTRIVM ET INFERNORVM.* (Phil. xi. 10.) Beyond St. Peter stands his brother St. Andrew; and beyond St. Paul his favourite disciple Luke. At the foot of the throne kneels a diminutive figure of the Pope, Honorius III., by whom the mosaic was dedicated. Palm-trees close the composition on each side; underneath runs the frieze of the Twelve Apostles, described at p. 173.

MOSAIC (12th century) in the Cathedral of Monreale at Palermo. St. Peter and St. Paul are seated on splendid thrones on each side of the tribune; St. Peter holds in his left hand a book, and the right,

which gives the benediction, holds also the two keys: over his head is inscribed, *SANCTUS PETRUS PRINCEPS APOSTOLORUM CUI TRADITÆ SUNT CLAVES REGNI CÆLORUM*. St. Paul holds the sword with the point upwards like a sceptre, and the book as usual: the intellectual Greek character of the head is strongly discriminated. The inscription is, *SANCTUS PAULUS PRÆDICATOR VERITATIS ET DOCTOR GENTIUM GENTI*.

Among the rich and curious bas-reliefs in front of the church of St. Trophime at Arles, we have St. Peter and St. Paul seated together receiving the souls of the just. Each has two souls in his lap, and the Archangel Michael is bringing another.

In pictures, their proper place, as I have observed, is on each side of the throne of the Redeemer, or on each side of the Virgin and Child: sometimes they are standing together, or reading in the same book.

This must suffice for the devotional treatment of St. Peter and St. Paul, when represented as joint founders and patrons of the universal Christian Church. Before I notice those historical subjects in which they appear together, I have to say a few words of the manner in which they are treated separately and distinctly. And first of St. Peter.

The various events of the life of St. Peter are recorded in the Gospels and the Acts so minutely, that they may be presumed to be familiar to all readers. From these we may deduce his character, remarkable for fervour and energy rather than sustained power. His traditional and legendary history is full of incidents, miracles, and wonderful and picturesque passages. His importance and popularity, considered as Prince of the Apostles and Founder of the Church of Rome, have extended with the influence of that powerful Church of which he is the head and representative, and multiplied, almost to infinitude, pictures and effigies of him in his individual character, as well as historical representations of his life and actions, wherever his paramount dignity is admitted.

It struck me, when wandering over the grand old churches of Ravenna, where the ecclesiastical mosaics are the most ancient that exist, and still in wonderful preservation, that St. Peter and St. Paul

do not often appear, at least are in no respect distinguished from the other apostles. Ravenna, in the fifth century, did not look to Rome for her saints. On the other hand, among the earliest of the Roman mosaics, St. Peter is sometimes found sustaining the throne of Christ, without his companion St. Paul; as in S. Maria-in-Trastevere, S. Maria Nuova, and others. At Rome, St. Peter is *the* Saint, the *San-tissimo*. The secession of the Protestant Church dimmed his glory as Prince of the Apostles and universal Saint; he fell into a kind of disrepute as identified with the See of Rome, which exposed his effigies, in England and Scotland particularly, to a sweeping destruction. Those were disputatious days; and Peter, the affectionate, enthusiastic, devoted, but somewhat rash apostle, veiled his head to the intellectual, intrepid, subtle philosopher Paul.

Let us now see how Art has placed before us the sturdy Prince of the Apostles.

I have already mentioned the characteristic type which belongs to him, and his prevalent attributes—the key, the cross, the book. When he figures among the disciples in the Gospel stories, he sometimes holds the fish as the symbol of his original vocation: if the fish be given to him in single devotional figures, it signifies also Christianity, or the rite of Baptism.

The figures of St. Peter standing, as Apostle and Patron Saint, with book and keys, are of such perpetual occurrence as to defy all attempts to particularise them, and so familiar as to need no further illustration.¹

Representations of him in his peculiar character of Head and Founder of the Roman Church, and first universal bishop, are less common. He is seated on a throne; one hand is raised in the act of benediction; in the other he holds the keys, and sometimes a book or scroll, inscribed with the text, in Latin, ‘Thou art Peter, and on this rock have I built my Church.’ This subject of the throned St. Peter

¹ One of the finest I have ever seen is the ‘Saint Pierre au Donateur,’ by Gaudenzio Ferrari; holding his keys (both of gold), he presents a kneeling votary, a man of middle age, who probably bore his name. The head of St. Peter is very characteristic, and has an energetic pleading expression, almost *demanding* what he requires for his votary. The whole picture is extremely fine. (*Turin Gallery*, No. 19.)

is very frequent in the older schools. The well-known picture by Giotto, painted for Cardinal Stefaneschi, now in the sacristy of the Vatican, is very fine, simple, and solemn. In a picture by Cima da Conegliano,¹ St. Peter is not only throned, but wears the triple tiara as Pope; the countenance is particularly earnest, fervent, almost fiery in expression: the keys lie at his feet; on one side stands St. John the Baptist, on the other St. Paul.



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As a deviation from the usual form of this subject, I must mention an old bas-relief, full of character, and significantly appropriate to its locality—the church of San Pietro-in-Vincoli, at Rome. St. Peter, enthroned, holds in one hand the keys and the Gospel; with the other he presents his chains to a kneeling angel; this unusual treatment is very poetical and suggestive.

There are standing figures of St. Peter wearing the papal tiara, and brandishing his keys,—as in a picture by Cola dell' Amatrice (70). And I should think Milton had some such picture in his remembrance when he painted *his* St. Peter:—

Last came and last did go
The pilot of the Galilean Lake;
Two massy keys he bore of metals twain,
(The golden opes, the iron shuts amain),
He shook his *mitred* locks, and stern bespake.

When, in devotional pictures, St. Peter is accompanied by another apostle with no distinctive attributes, we may suppose it to be St. Mark, who was his interpreter, companion, and amanuensis at Rome. According to an early tradition, the Gospel of St. Mark was written down from the dictation of St.

¹ Milan, Brera (No. 189).

Peter.¹ In a miniature frontispiece to St. Mark's Gospel, the evangelist is seated writing, and St. Peter stands opposite, as if dictating. In a picture by Angelico,² Peter is preaching from a pulpit to a crowd of people: Mark, seated on one side, is diligently taking down his words. In a very fine picture by Bonvicino³ they stand together; St. Peter is reading from a book; St. Mark holds a scroll and inkhorn; he is submitting to St. Peter the Gospel he has just penned, and which was afterwards confirmed by the apostle.

Lastly, a magnificent Venetian picture⁴ represents St. Peter throned as bishop, with an earnest and rather stern countenance; he holds a book in his hand; two angels with musical instruments are seated on the steps of his throne: on his right hand stand John the Baptist, and St. Jerome as cardinal; on his left St. Ambrose; while St. Mark bends over a book, as if reading to this majestic auditory.

Those scenes and incidents related in the Gospels in which St. Peter is a principal or conspicuous figure, I shall enlarge upon when treating of the life of Christ, and will only indicate a few of them here, as illustrating the manner in which St. Peter is introduced and treated in such subjects.

We have, first, the Calling of Peter and Andrew in a picture by Basaiti,⁶ where the two brothers are kneeling at the feet of the Saviour; the fishing boats and the Lake of Gennesareth in the background: and in the beautiful fresco by Ghirlandajo in the Sistine Chapel, where a number of contemporary personages are introduced as spectators. St. Andrew presenting St. Peter to our Saviour (as in a picture by Cavalucci, in the Vatican), is another version of the same subject; or St. Andrew is seen at the feet of Christ, while St. Peter is sitting on the edge of the boat, or descending from it in haste.

¹ 'What St. Clement says is to this purpose: that St. Peter's hearers at Rome were desirous of having his sermons writ down for their use; that they made their request to Mark to leave them a written memorial of the doctrine they had received by word of mouth; that they did not desist from their entreaties till they had prevailed upon him; and St. Peter confirmed that writing by his authority, that it might be read in the churches.'—LARDNER, *Cred.*, vol. i. p. 250.

² Fl. Gal. ³ Brera, Milan. ⁴ Gian Bellini: Venice. S. M. de' Frari. ⁵ Vienna Gal.

'Christ Walking on the Sea' is a familiar and picturesque subject, not to be mistaken. The most ancient and most celebrated representation is Giotto's mosaic (A.D. 1298), now placed in the portico of St. Peter's, over the arch opposite to the principal door. The sentiment in the composition of this subject is, generally, 'Lord, help me; or I perish:' St. Peter is sinking, and Christ is stretching out His hand to save him. It is considered as a type of the Church in danger, assailed by enemies, and saved by the miraculous interposition of the Redeemer; and in this sense must the frequent representations in churches be understood.

In the 'Miraculous Draught of Fishes,' St. Peter is usually on his knees looking up with awe and gratitude:—'Depart from me, O Lord! for I am a sinful man.' The composition of Raphael (the cartoon at Hampton Court) is just what we should seek for in Raphael, a masterpiece of dramatic expression,—the significant, the poetical, the miraculous predominating. The composition of Rubens, at Malines, which deserves the next place, should be looked at in contrast, as an instance of the picturesque and vigorous treatment equally characteristic of the painter;—all life and reality, even to the glittering fish which tumble in the net. 'St. Peter finding the tribute money' is a subject I have seldom met with; the *motif* is simple, and not to be mistaken.

In all the scenes of the life of our Saviour in which the Apostles are assembled,—in the Transfiguration, in the Last Supper, in the 'Washing the Feet of the Disciples,' in the scene of the agony and the betrayal of Christ,—St. Peter is introduced as a more or less prominent figure, but always to be distinguished from the other Apostles. In the third of these subjects, the washing of the feet, St. Peter generally looks up at Christ with an expression of humble expostulation, his hands on his head: the sentiment is—'Not my feet only, but my hands and my head.'

In the scene of the betrayal of Christ, St. Peter cutting off the ear of Malchus is sometimes a *too* prominent group; and I remember an old German print in which St. Peter, having cut off the ear, our Lord bends down to replace it.¹

'St. Peter Denying the Saviour' is always one of the subjects in

¹ Bartsch, vi. 92.

the series of the Passion of Christ. It occurs frequently on the ancient sarcophagi as the symbol of repentance, and is treated with classical and sculptural simplicity, the cock being always introduced, as in the illustration (71): it is here to be understood as a general emblem of human weakness and repentance. As an action separately, or as one of the series of the life and actions of Peter, it has not been often painted; it seems to have been avoided in general by the early Italian painters as derogatory to the character and dignity of the Apostle. The only examples I can recollect are in the later Italian



71 Repentance of Peter. (Sarcophagus, third century.)

and Flemish schools. Teniers has adopted it as a vehicle for a guard-room scene; soldiers playing at cards, bright armour, &c. Rembrandt has taken it as a vehicle for a fine artificial light; and, for the same reason, the Caravaggio school delighted in it. The maiden, whose name in the old traditions is Balilla, is always introduced with a look and gesture of reproach, and the cock is often perched in the background.

‘Christ turned and looked upon Peter:’ of this beautiful subject, worthy of Raphael himself, I can remember no instance.

The ‘Repentance of Peter’ is a subject seldom treated in the earlier

schools of Italy, but frequently by the later painters, and particularly by the Bologna school; in some instances most beautifully. It was a subject peculiarly suited to the genius of Guercino, who excelled in the expression of profound rather than elevated feeling.

There is a manner of representing the repentance of Peter which seems peculiar to Spanish Art, and is more ideal than is usual with that school. Christ is bound to a column and crowned with thorns; St. Peter kneels before Him in an attitude of the deepest anguish and humiliation, and appears to be supplicating forgiveness. Except in the Spanish school, I have never met with this treatment. The little picture by Murillo¹ is an exquisite example; and in the Spanish Gallery are two others, by Pedro de Cordova and Juan Juanes:—in the former, St. Peter holds a pocket-handkerchief with which he has been wiping his eyes, and the cock is perched on the column to which our Saviour is bound.

Another ideal treatment we find in a picture by Guercino; St. Peter is weeping bitterly, and opposite to him the Virgin is seated in motionless grief.

Half-length figures of St. Peter looking up with an expression of repentant sorrow, and wringing his hands, are of frequent occurrence, more especially in the later followers of the Bologna and Neapolitan schools of the seventeenth century: Ribera, Lanfranco, Caravaggio, and Valentin. In most of these instances, the total absence of ideal or elevated sentiment is striking;—any old bearded beggar out of the streets, who could cast up his eyes and look pathetic, served as a model.

I recollect no picture of the Crucifixion in which St. Peter is present.

‘The Delivery of the Keys to Peter’ and ‘The Charge to Peter’ (Feed my sheep), either in separate pictures or combined into one subject, have been, of course, favourite themes in a Church which founds its authority on these particular circumstances. The bas-relief over the principal door of St. Peter’s at Rome represents the two themes in one: Christ delivers the keys to Peter, and the sheep are standing by. In the panels of the bronze doors beneath (A.D.

¹ ‘Le Christ à la Colonne.’ *Louvre*, No. 550.

1431), we have the chain of thought and incident continued; Peter delivers the emblematical keys to Pope Eugenius IV.

It is curious that, while the repentance of Peter is a frequent subject on the sarcophagi of the fourth century, the delivery of the keys to Peter occurs but once. Christ, as a beardless youth, presents to Peter two keys laid crosswise one over the other. Peter, in whose head the traditional type is most distinctly marked, has thrown his pallium over his outstretched hands, for, according to the antique ceremonial, of which the early sculpture and mosaics afford us so many examples, things consecrated could only be touched with covered hands. This singular example is engraved in Bottari.¹ An example of beautiful and solemn treatment in painting is Perugino's fresco in the Sistine Chapel. It contains twenty-one figures; the conception is quite ideal, the composition regular even to formality, yet striking and dramatic. In the centre, Peter, kneeling on one knee, receives the keys from the hand of the Saviour; the apostles and disciples are arranged on each side behind Christ and St. Peter; in the background is the rebuilding of the Temple;—a double allegory: 'Destroy this temple, I will build it up in three days:' and also, perhaps, alluding to the building of the chapel by Sixtus IV.

In Raphael's cartoon² the scene is an open plain: Christ stands on the right; in front, St. Peter kneels, with the keys in his hand; Christ extends one hand to Peter, and with the other points to a flock of sheep in the background. The introduction of the sheep into this subject has been criticised as at once too literal and too allegorical,—a too literal transcript of the words, a too allegorical version of the meaning; but I do not see how the words of our Saviour could have been otherwise rendered in painting, which must speak to us through sensible objects. The other apostles standing behind Peter show in each countenance the different manner in which they are affected by the words of the Saviour.

By Gian Bellini: a beautiful picture:³ St. Peter kneeling, half-length, receives the keys from Jesus Christ, seated on a throne. Behind St. Peter stand the three Christian Graces, Faith, Hope, and Charity. Poussin has taken this subject in his series of the Seven Sacraments,⁴ to represent the sacrament of Ordination. In this

¹ Tab. xxi.² Hampton Court.³ Madrid Gal., No. 114.⁴ Bridgewater Gal.

instance again, the two themes are united; and we must also remember, that the allegorical representation of the disciples and followers of Christ as sheep looking up to be fed is consecrated by the practice of the earliest schools of Christian Art. Rubens has rendered the subject very simply, in a picture containing only the two figures, Christ and St. Peter;¹ and again with five figures, less good.² Numerous other examples might be given; but the subject is one that, however treated, cannot be easily mistaken.

A very ideal version of this subject is where St. Peter kneels at the feet of the Madonna, and the Infant Christ, bending from her lap, presents the keys to him; as in a singularly fine and large composition by Crivelli,³ and in another by Andrea Salaino. Another, very beautiful and curious, is in the possession of Mr Bromley of Wootton.⁴

After the ascension of our Saviour, the personal history of St. Peter is mingled first with that of St. John, and afterwards with that of St. Paul.

'Peter and John healing the lame man at the gate called Beautiful,' is the subject of one of the finest of the cartoons at Hampton Court. Perin del Vaga, Niccolò Poussin, and others less renowned, have also treated it; it is susceptible of much contrast and dramatic effect.

'The sick are brought out and placed in the shadow of Peter and John that they may be healed,' by Masaccio.⁵

'Peter preaching to the Early Converts:' the two most beautiful compositions I have seen, are the simple group of Masaccio; and another by Le Sueur, full of variety and sentiment.

'Peter and John communicate the Holy Ghost by laying their hands on the Disciples,' by Vasari.⁶ I do not well remember this picture.

The Vision of Peter: three angels sustain the curtain or sheet which contains the various forbidden animals, as pigs, rabbits, &c. (as in a print after Guercino).

'Peter baptizes the Centurion' (very appropriately placed in the

¹ Cathedral at Malines.

² Gal. of the Hague.

³ This picture, formerly in the Brera, is now in England, in the gallery of Lord Ward. It is the finest and most characteristic specimen of the master I have ever seen.

⁴ It is signed MÈDULA, and attributed to Giulio della Mendula; a painter (except through this picture) unknown to me.

⁵ Brancacci Chapel, Florence.

⁶ Berlin Gal., No. 313.

baptistery of the Vatican). St. Peter meets the Centurion; he blesses the family of the Centurion. All commonplace versions of very interesting and picturesque subjects.

'The Death of Ananias.' Raphael's cartoon of this awful scene is a masterpiece of dramatic and scenic power; never was a story more admirably and completely told in painting. Those who had to deal with the same subject, as if to avoid a too close comparison with his unapproachable excellence, have chosen the death of Sapphira as the *motif*: as, for example, Niccolò Poussin.¹

'Dorcas or Tabitha Restored to Life.' One of the finest and most effective of Guercino's pictures, now in the Palazzo Pitti: the simple dignity of the apostle, and the look of sick amazement in the face of the woman restored to consciousness, show how strong Guercino could be when he had to deal with natural emotions of no elevated kind. The same subject, by Costanzi, is among the great mosaics in St. Peter's. 'The Death of Dorcas,' by Le Sueur, is a beautiful composition. She lies extended on a couch; St. Peter and two other apostles approach the foot of it: the poor widows, weeping, show to St. Peter the garments which Dorcas had made for them (Acts ix. 39).

The imprisonment of Peter, and his deliverance by the Angel, were incidents so important, and offer such obvious points of dramatic effect, that they have been treated in every possible variety of style and sentiment, from the simple formality of the early mosaics, where the two figures—Peter sitting on a stool, leaning his head on his hand, and the Angel at his side—express the story like a vision,² down to the scenic and architectural compositions of Steenwick, where, amid a vast perspective of gloomy vaults and pillars, a diminutive St. Peter, with an Angel or a sentinel placed somewhere in the foreground, just serves to give the picture a name.³

Some examples of this subject are of great celebrity.

Masaccio, in the frescoes of the Brancacci Chapel, has represented Peter in prison looking through his grated window, and Paul outside communing with him. (The noble figure of St. Paul in this fresco

¹ Louvre, No. 685.

² As in the Greek mosaics in the Cathedral of Monreale, near Palermo.

³ Several such pictures are in the royal collections at Windsor and Hampton Court.

was imitated by Raphael in the 'St. Paul preaching at Athens.') In the next compartment of the series, Masaccio has given us the Angel leading forth Peter, while the guard sleeps at the door: he sleeps as one oppressed with an unnatural sleep. Raphael's fresco in the Vatican is not one of his best, but he has seized on the obvious point of effect, both as to light and grouping; and we have three separate moments of the same incident, which yet combine most happily into one grand scene. Thus in the centre, over the window, we see through a grating the interior of the prison, where St. Peter is sleeping between two guards, who, leaning on their weapons, are sunk in a deep charmed slumber; ¹ an angel, whose celestial radiance fills the dungeon with a flood of light, is in the act of waking the apostle: on the right of the spectator, the angel leads the apostle out of the prison; two guards are sleeping on the steps: on the left, the soldiers are roused from sleep, and one with a lighted torch appears to be giving the alarm; the crescent moon faintly illumines the background.

The deliverance of St. Peter has always been considered as figurative of the deliverance of the Church; and the two other frescoes of this room, the Heliodorus and the Attila, bear the same interpretation. It is worth while to compare this dramatic composition of Raphael with others wherein the story is merely a vehicle for artificial effects of light, as in a picture by Gerard Honthorst; or treated like a supernatural vision, as by that poet, Rembrandt.

Those historical subjects in which St. Peter and St. Paul figure together will be noticed in the life of St. Paul.

I come now to the legendary stories connected with St. Peter;—an inexhaustible source of popular and pictorial interest.

Peter was at Jerusalem as late as A.D. 52; then at Antioch; also in Babylon: according to the most ancient testimonies he was at Rome about A.D. 63; but the tradition, that he resided as bishop in the city of Rome for twenty-five years, first related by Jerome, seems

¹ Moore makes a characteristic remark on this fresco; he is *amazed* at the self-denial of the painter who could cross this fine group with the black iron bars which represent the prison.

questionable.¹ Among the legendary incidents which marked his sojourn in Rome, the first and the most important is the story of Simon Magus.

Simon, a famous magician among the Jews, had astonished the whole city of Jerusalem by his wonderful feats; but his inventions and sorceries were overcome by the real miracles of Peter, as the Egyptian magi had been conquered by Aaron. He offered the apostles money to buy the secret of their power, which Peter rejected with indignation. St. Augustine tells us, as a characteristic trait of the fiery-spirited apostle, that 'if he had fallen on the traitor Simon, he would certainly have torn him to pieces with his teeth.' The magician, vanquished by a superior power, flung his books into the Dead Sea, broke his wand, and fled to Rome, where he became a great favourite of the Emperor Claudius, and afterwards of Nero. Peter, bent on counteracting the wicked sorceries of Simon, followed him to Rome. About two years after his arrival, he was joined there by the Apostle Paul. Simon Magus having asserted that he was himself a god, and could raise the dead, Peter and Paul rebuked his impiety, and challenged him to a trial of skill in presence of the emperor. The arts of the magician failed; Peter and Paul restored the youth to life: and on many other occasions Simon was vanquished and put to shame by the miraculous power of the apostles. At length he undertook to fly up to heaven in sight of the emperor and the people; and, crowned with laurel, and supported by demons, he flung himself from a tower, and appeared for a while to float thus in the air: but St. Peter falling on his knees, commanded the demons to let go their hold, and Simon, precipitated to the ground, was dashed to pieces.

This romantic legend, so popular in the Middle Ages, is founded on some antique traditions not wholly unsupported by historical testimony.

There can be no doubt that there existed in the first century a

¹ Some Protestant writers have set aside St. Peter's ministry at Rome, as altogether apocryphal; but Gieseler, an author by no means credulous, considers that the historical evidence is in favour of the tradition (*v. Text-book of Eccles. Hist.* p. 53). This is the more satisfactory, because, even to Protestants, it is not agreeable to be at Rome and to be obliged to reject certain associations which add to the poetical, as well as to the religious, interest of the place.

Simon, a Samaritan, a pretender to divine authority and supernatural powers; who, for a time, had many followers; who stood in a certain relation to Christianity; and who may have held some opinions more or less similar to those entertained by the most famous heretics of the early ages, the Gnostics. Irenæus calls this Simon the father of all heretics. 'All those,' he says, 'who in any way corrupt the truth, or mar the preaching of the Church, are disciples and successors of Simon, the Samaritan magician.' Simon gave himself forth as a god, and carried about with him a beautiful woman named Helena, whom he represented as the first conception of his—that is, of the divine—mind, the symbol or manifestation of that portion of spirituality which had become entangled in matter.¹

The incidents of the story of Simon Magus have been often and variously treated.

1. By Quintin Matsys: Peter refuses the offer of Simon Magus—'Thy money perish with thee!' Here Peter wears the mitre of a bishop: the picture is full of coarse but natural expression.

2. 'Peter and Paul Accused before Nero': the fresco in the Brancacci Chapel, attributed by Kugler to Filippino Lippi, is certainly one of the most perfect pieces of Art, as a dramatic composition, which we have before the time of Raphael. To the right the emperor is seated on his throne, on each side his ministers and attendants. The countenances are finely varied; some of them animated by attention and curiosity, others sunk in deep thought. The two apostles, and their accuser Simon Magus, are in front. Simon, a magnificent figure, who might serve for a Prospero, lays his hand on the vest of Peter, as if to drag him forward; Paul stands aside with quiet dignity; Peter, with a countenance full of energetic expression, points contemptuously to the broken idol at his feet. For the felicity and animation with which the story is told, and for propriety, grace, and grandeur, Raphael has not often exceeded this picture.

3. Another of the series of the life of Peter in the Brancacci Chapel is the resuscitation of the youth, who in the legend is called the nephew of the emperor; a composition of numerous figures. In the centre stands St. Peter, and before him kneels the youth; a skull and

¹ He represented her as a resuscitation of the famous Helen of Troy, which is said to have suggested to Goethe the resuscitation of Helena in the second part of 'Faust.'

a few bones are near him—a naïve method of expressing his return from death to life. The variety of expression in the countenances of the assembled spectators is very fine. According to the custom of the Florentine school at that time, many are portraits of distinguished persons; and, considering that the fresco was painted at a period most interesting in the Florentine history (A.D. 1440), we have much reason to regret that these can no longer be discriminated.

4. 'The Fall of Simon Magus' is a favourite and picturesque subject, often repeated. A most ancient and most curious version is that on the walls of the Cathedral at Assisi, older than the time of Giotto, and attributed to Giunta Pisano. (A.D. 1232.) On one side is a pyramidal tower formed of wooden bars; Peter and Paul are kneeling in front; the figure of the magician is seen floating in the air and sustained by hideous demons;—very dreamy, poetical, and fanciful. In Mr Ottley's collection I saw a small ancient picture of the same subject, very curious, attributed to Benozzo Gozzoli. Raphael's composition in the Vatican has the simplicity of a classical bas-relief—a style which does not appear suited to this romantic legend. The picture by L. Caracci at Naples I have not seen. Over one of the altars of St. Peter, we now see the great mosaic, after Vanni's picture of this subject; a clever commonplace treatment: the scene is an amphitheatre, the emperor above in his balcony; Peter and Paul in front, invoking the name of Christ, and Simon Magus tumbling headlong, forsaken by his demons; in the background sit the vestals. Battoni's great picture in the S. Maria degli Angeli at Rome is considered his best production; it is full of well-studied academic drawing, but scenic and mannered.

The next subject in the order of events is styled the 'DOMINE, QUO VADIS?' After the burning of Rome, Nero threw upon the Christians the accusation of having fired the city. This was the origin of the first persecution, in which many perished by terrible and hitherto unheard-of deaths. The Christian converts besought Peter not to expose his life, which was dear and necessary to the well-being of all; and at length he consented to depart from Rome. But as he fled along the Appian Way, about two miles from the gates, he was met by a vision of our Saviour travelling towards the city. Struck with

amazement, he exclaimed, 'Lord! whither goest thou?' to which the Saviour, looking upon him with a mild sadness, replied, 'I go to Rome to be crucified a second time,' and vanished. Peter, taking this for a sign that he was to submit himself to the sufferings prepared for him, immediately turned back and re-entered the city. Michael Angelo's famous statue, now in the church of S. Maria-sopra-Minerva at Rome, is supposed to represent Christ as He appeared to Peter on this occasion; and a cast or copy of it is in the little church of 'Domine, quo vadis?' erected on the spot sanctified by this mysterious meeting.

It is surprising that this most beautiful, picturesque, and, to my fancy, sublime legend, has been so seldom treated; and never, as it appears to me, in a manner worthy of its capabilities and its high significance. It is seldom that a whole story can be told by two figures, and these two figures placed in such grand and dramatic contrast;—Christ in His serene majesty and radiant with all the glory of beatitude, yet with an expression of gentle reproach; the apostle at His feet, arrested in his flight, amazed, and yet filled with a trembling joy; and for the background the wide Campagna or the towering walls of imperial Rome;—these are grand materials; but the pictures I have met with are all ineffective in conception. The best fall short of the sublime ideal; most of them are theatrical and commonplace.

Raphael has interpreted it in a style rather too classical for the spirit of the legend; with great simplicity and dignity, but as a *fact*, rather than a vision conjured up by the stricken conscience and tenderness of the affectionate apostle. The small picture by Annibal Caracci in our National Gallery is a carefully-finished academical study and nothing more, but may be referred to as a fair example of the usual mode of treatment.

Peter returned to Rome, persisted in his appointed work, preaching and baptizing; was seized with St. Paul and thrown into the Mamertine dungeons under the Capitol. The two centurions who guarded them, Processus and Martinian, and many of the criminals confined in the same prison, were converted by the preaching of the apostle; and there being no water to baptize them, at the prayer of St. Peter a fountain sprang up from the stone floor; which may be seen at this day.

‘The Baptism of St. Processus and St. Martinian in the Dungeon,’ by Trevisani, is in the baptistery of St. Peter’s at Rome; they afterwards suffered for the faith, and were canonised. In the same church is the scene of their martyrdom by Valentino; they are seen bound and stretched on a hurdle, the head of one to the feet of the other, and thus beaten to death. The former picture—the Baptism—is commonplace; the latter, terrible for dark and effective expression; it is just one of those subjects in which the Caravaggio school delighted.

A few days after their incarceration, St. Peter and St. Paul were condemned to death. According to one tradition, St. Peter suffered martyrdom in the Circus of Caligula at the foot of the Vatican, and was crucified between two *metæ*, *i.e.*, the goals or terminæ in the Circus, round which the chariots turned in the race; but, according to another tradition, he was put to death in the court-yard of a barrack or military station on the summit of Mons Janicula, where the church of San Pietro in Montorio now stands; that is, on an eminence above the site of the Circus of Caligula. At his own request, and that his death might be even more painful and ignominious than that of his Divine Master, he was crucified with his head downwards.

In the earliest representations I have met with,¹ St. Peter is raised on the cross with his head downwards, and wears a long shirt which is fastened round his ankles. In the picture of Giotto,² the local circumstances, according to the first tradition, are carefully attended to: we have the cross erected between the two *metæ*, and about twenty soldiers and attendants; among them a woman who embraces the foot of the cross, as the Magdalene embraces the cross of the Saviour. Above are seen angels, who bear the soul of the martyred saint in a glory to heaven. Masaccio’s composition³ is very simple; the scene is the court-yard of a military station (according to the second tradition). Peter is already nailed upon a cross; three executioners are in the act of raising it with cords and a pulley to suspend it against a great beam of wood; there are several soldiers, but no women, present.

¹ MS., Vatican, No. 5409. 10th century.

² In the sacristy of the Vatican.

³ In the Brancacci Chapel at Florence.



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Crucifixion of St. Peter. (Giotto.)

In Guido's composition ¹ there are only three figures, the apostle and two executioners; it is celebrated as a work of Art, but it appeared to me most ineffective. On the other hand, Rubens has gone into the opposite extreme; there are only three persons, the principal figure filling nearly the whole of the canvas: it is full of vigour, truth, and nature; but the brutality of the two executioners, and the agony of the aged saint, too coarsely and painfully literal. These simple representations of the mere act or fact should be compared with the fresco of Michael Angelo, ² in which the event is evolved into a grand drama. Here the scene is evidently the summit of the Mons Janiculum: in the midst of a crowd of soldiers and spectators, St. Peter lies nailed to the cross, which a number of men are exerting their utmost strength to raise from the ground.

The legend which makes St. Peter the keeper of the gate of

¹ In the Gallery of the Vatican.

² Vatican. Cappella Paolina.

Paradise, with power to grant or refuse admission, is founded on the delivery of the keys to Peter. In most of the pictures which represent



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From the fresco of Simone Memmi, Florence. (S. Maria Novella.)

the entrance of the blessed into Paradise or the New Jerusalem, Peter stands with his keys near the gate. There is a beautiful example in the great fresco of Simone Memmi in the chapel *de' Spagnuoli* at Florence: St. Peter stands at the open portal with his great key, and two angels crown with garlands the souls of the just as they enter joyously hand in hand.

The legend of St. Petronilla, the daughter of St. Peter (in French; Sainte Pernelle), has never been popular as a subject of Art, and I can remember no series of incidents from the life of St. Peter in which she is introduced, except those in the Carmine at Florence. It is

apparently a Roman legend, and either unknown to the earliest artists, or neglected by them. It is thus related :—

‘The apostle Peter had a daughter born in lawful wedlock, who accompanied him in his journey from the East. Being at Rome with him, she fell sick of a grievous infirmity which deprived her of the use of her limbs. And it happened that as the disciples were at meat with him in his house, one said to him, “Master, how is it that thou, who healest the infirmities of others, dost not heal thy daughter Petronilla?” and St. Peter answered, “It is good for her to remain sick :” but, that they might see the power that was in the word of God, he commanded her to get up and serve them at table, which she did; and having done so, she lay down again helpless as before; but many years afterwards, being perfected by her long suffering, and praying fervently, she was healed. Petronilla was wonderfully fair; and Valerius Flaccus, a young and noble Roman, who was a heathen, became enamoured of her beauty, and sought her for his wife, and he being very powerful, she feared to refuse him; she therefore desired him to return in three days, and promised that he should then carry her home. But she prayed earnestly to be delivered from this peril; and when Flaccus returned in three days with great pomp to celebrate the marriage, he found her dead. The company of nobles who attended him carried her to the grave, in which they laid her, crowned with roses; and Flaccus lamented greatly.’¹

The legend places her death in the year 98, that is, 34 years after the death of St. Peter; but it would be in vain to attempt to reconcile the dates and improbabilities of this story.

St. Peter raising Petronilla from her sick-bed is one of the subjects by Masaccio in the Brancacci Chapel. The scene of her entombment is the subject of a once celebrated and colossal picture by Guercino: the copy in mosaic is over the altar dedicated to her in St. Peter’s: in front, and in the lower part of the picture, she is just seen as they are letting her down into the grave, crowned with roses; behind stands Flaccus with a handkerchief in his hand, and a crowd of

¹ v. Il perfetto Leggendario.

spectators: in the upper part of the picture Petronilla is already in Paradise, kneeling, in a rich dress, before the feet of Christ, having exchanged an earthly for a heavenly bridegroom. This great picture exhibits, in a surpassing degree, the merits and defects of Guercino: it is effective, dramatic, deeply and forcibly coloured, and arrests attention: on the other hand, it is coarse, crowded, vulgar in sentiment, and repugnant to our better taste. There is a standing figure of Petronilla in the Duomo at Lucca, by Daniel di Volterra, very fine.¹

The life of St. Peter, when represented as a series, generally comprises the following subjects, commencing with the first important incident after the Ascension of Christ.

1. Peter and John heal the lame man at the Beautiful Gate. 2. Peter heals the paralytic Eneas. 3. Peter raises Tabitha. 4. The angel takes off the chains of Peter. 5. He follows the angel out of the prison. 6. St. Peter and St. Paul meet at Rome. 7. Peter and Paul before Nero are accused by Simon Magus. 8. The fall of Simon Magus. 9. The crucifixion of St. Peter. This example is taken from the series of mosaics in the Cathedral of Monreale, at Palermo.

The fine series of frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel at Florence is differently arranged; thus:—1. The tribute money found in the fish

¹ There was an oratory in the church of the Franciscans at Varallo, in which they celebrated a yearly festival in honour of St. Petronilla. While Gaudenzio Ferrari was painting there the series of frescoes in the chapel of the crucifixion on the Sacro Monte, he promised to paint for the festival an effigy of the saint. The eve of the day arrived, and still it was not begun: the people murmured, and reproached him, which he affected to treat jestingly; but he arose in the night, and with no other light than the beams of the full moon, executed a charming figure of St. Petronilla, which still exists. She stands holding a book, a white veil over her head, and a yellow mantle falling in rich folds: she has no distinctive emblem. 'Gaudenzio, che in una bella notte d' estate dipinse fra ruvide muraglie una Santa tutta grazia e pudore mentre un pallido raggio di luna sbucato dalla frondosa chioma d' albero dolcemente gl' irradia la fronte calva e la barba rossiccia, presenta un non so che di ideale e di romanzesco che veramente rapisce.'—*Opere di Gaudenzio Ferrari*, No. 21. (Maggi, Turin. It is to be regretted that in this valuable work neither the pages nor the plates are numbered.)

by St. Peter. 2. Peter preaching to the converts. 3. Peter baptizes the converts. In this fresco, the youth, who has thrown off his garments and is preparing for baptism, is famous as the first really graceful and well-drawn undraped figure which had been produced since the revival of Art. 4. Peter and John heal the cripple at the Beautiful Gate, and Petronilla is raised from her bed. 5. Peter in his prison is visited by Paul. 6. Peter delivered by the angel. 7. The resuscitation of the dead youth. 8. The sick are laid in the way of Peter and John, 'that at the least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them.' 9. Peter and John distribute alms; a dead figure lies at the feet of the apostles, perhaps Ananias. The situation of the fresco is very dark, so that it is difficult to distinguish the action and expression of the figures. 10. Peter and Paul accused before Nero. 11. The crucifixion of Peter.

In St. Peter's at Rome, we have of course every scene from the life of the apostle which could well be expressed by Art; but none of these are of great merit or interest: most of them are from the schools of the seventeenth century.

ST. PAUL, though called to the apostleship after the ascension of the Saviour, takes rank next to St. Peter as one of the chief witnesses of the Christian faith. Of all the apostles he is the most interesting; the one of whose personal character and history we know most, and through the most direct and irrefragable testimony. The events of his life, as conveyed in the Acts and the Epistles, are so well known that I need not here particularise them. The legends connected with him are very few.

The earliest single figure of St. Paul to which I can refer was found painted on the walls of the cemetery of Priscilla, near Rome.¹ He stands, with outstretched arms, in the act of prayer (in the early ages of Christianity the act of supplication was expressed in the classical manner, that is, not with folded hands, but with the arms extended); he has the nimbus; his dress is that of a traveller, the tunic and pallium being short, and his feet sandalled, perhaps to indicate his

¹ Second or third century. Bosio, p. 519.

many and celebrated travels; perhaps, also, it represents Paul praying for his flock before he departed from Macedon to return to Jerusalem (Acts xx.): over this ancient figure, which, though ill drawn, is quite classical in sentiment and costume, is inscribed PAULUS. PASTOR. APOSTOLOS; on his right hand stands the Good Shepherd, in reference to the title of PASTOR, inscribed over his effigy. Another figure of St. Paul, which appears to be of later date, but anterior to the fifth century, was found in the catacombs at Naples: in this effigy he wears the dress of a Greek philosopher; the style in which the drapery is worn recalls the time of Hadrian: he has no nimbus, nor is the head bald; he has sandals on his feet: over his head is inscribed his name, PAULUS; near him is a smaller figure similarly draped, who offers him fruit and flowers in a vase; probably the personage who was entombed on the spot.

At what period the sword was given to St. Paul as his distinctive attribute, is with antiquaries a disputed point; certainly, much later than the keys were given to Peter.¹ If we could be sure that the mosaic on the tomb of Otho II., and another mosaic already described, had not been altered in successive restorations, these would be evidence that the sword was given to St. Paul as his attribute as early as the 6th century; but there are no monuments which can be absolutely trusted as regards the introduction of the sword before the end of the 11th century; since the end of the 14th century, it has been so generally adopted, that in the devotional effigies I can remember no instance in which it is omitted. When St. Paul is leaning on the sword, it expresses his martyrdom; when he holds it aloft, it expresses also his warfare in the cause of Christ: when two swords are given to him, one is the attribute, the other the emblem; but this double allusion does not occur in any of the older representations. In Italy I never met with St. Paul bearing two swords, and the only instance I can call to mind is the bronze statue by Peter Vischer, on the shrine of St. Sebald, at Nuremberg.

Although devotional representations of St. Paul separate from St. Peter and the other apostles occur very rarely, pictures from his life

¹ v. Münter's *Sinnbilder*, p. 35.

and actions are commonly met with; the principal events are so familiar, that they are easily recognised and discriminated even by the most unlearned in biblical illustration; considered and treated as a series, they form a most interesting and dramatic succession of scenes, often introduced into the old churches; but the incidents chosen are not always the same.

Paul, before his conversion, was present at the stoning of Stephen, and he is generally introduced holding on his knees the garments of the executioners. In some ancient pictures, he has, even while looking on and 'consenting to the death' of the victim, the glory round his head, as one who, while 'breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord,' was already a 'chosen vessel to bear His name before the Gentiles.' But in a set of pictures which relate expressly to St. Paul, the Martyrdom of Stephen is, with proper feeling, omitted, and the series generally begins with the CONVERSION OF PAUL,—in his character of apostle, the first great event in his life. An incident so important, so celebrated, and in all its accessories so picturesque and dramatic, has of course been a frequent subject of artistic treatment, even as a separate composition. In some of the old mosaics, the story is very simply, and at the same time vividly, rendered. In the earliest examples, St. Paul has the nimbus or glory while yet unconverted; he is prostrate on the ground, grovelling on his hands and knees; rays of light fall upon him out of heaven, where the figure of Christ, half-length, is seen emerging from glory; sometimes it is a hand only, which is the emblem of the Almighty Power; two or four attendants at most are flying in terror. It is not said in Scripture that St. Paul journeyed on horseback from Jerusalem to Damascus; but the tradition is at least as old as the time of Pope Dalmasius (A.D. 384), as it is then referred to. St. Augustine says he journeyed on foot, because the Pharisees made a point of religion to go on foot, and it is so represented in the old Greek mosaics. The expression, 'It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks,' has been oddly enough assigned as a reason for placing Paul on horseback;¹ at all events, as he bore a military command, it has been thought proper in later times so to represent him, and also as surrounded by a

¹ v. Zani. Enc. della Belle Arti.

numerous cortège of attendants. This treatment admits, of course, of endless variety, in the disposition and number of the figures, in the attitudes and expression; but the moment chosen is generally the same.

1. The oldest example I can cite, next to the Greek mosaics, is an old Italian print mentioned by Zani. Paul, habited as a Roman warrior, kneels with his arms crossed on his breast, and holding a scroll, on which is inscribed in Latin, 'Lord, what shall I do?' Christ stands opposite to him, also holding a scroll, on which is written, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?' There are no attendants. Zani does not give the date of this quaint and simple version of the story.

2. Raphael. Paul, habited as a Roman soldier, is lying on the ground as thrown from his horse; he looks upward to Christ, who appears in the clouds, attended by three child-angels: his attendants on foot and on horseback are represented as rushing to his assistance, unconscious of the vision, but panicstruck by its effect on *him*: one attendant in the background seizes by the bridle the terrified horse. The original cartoon of this fine composition (one of the tapestries in the Vatican) is lost.

3. Michael Angelo. Paul, a noble figure, though prostrate, appears to be struck motionless and senseless: Christ seems to be *rushing* down from heaven surrounded by a host of angels; those of the attendants who are near to Paul are flying in all directions, while a long train of soldiers is seen ascending from the background. This grand dramatic composition forms the pendant to the Crucifixion of Peter in the Cappella Paolina. It is so darkened by age and the smoke of tapers, and so ill lighted, that it is not easily made out; but there is a fine engraving, which may be consulted.

4. Another very celebrated composition of this subject is that of Rubens.¹ Paul, lying in the foreground, expresses in his attitude the most helpless and grovelling prostration. The attendants appear very literally frightened out of their senses; and the grey horse snorting and rearing behind is the finest part of the picture: as is usual with Rubens, the effects of physical fear and amazement are given with the utmost spirit and truth; but the scriptural dignity,

¹ In the Gallery of Mr Miles, at Leigh Court.

the supernatural terrors, of the subject are ill expressed, and the apostle himself is degraded. To go a step lower, Cuyp has given us a Conversion of St. Paul apparently for the sole purpose of introducing horses in different attitudes; the favourite dapple grey charger is seen bounding off in terror; no one looks at St. Paul, still less to Christ above—but the *horses* are admirable.

5. In Albert Dürer's print, a shower of *stones* is falling from heaven on St. Paul and his company.

6. There is a very curious and unusual version of this subject in a rare print by Lucas van Leyden. It is a composition of numerous figures. St. Paul is seen, blind and bewildered, led between two men; another man leads his frightened charger; several warriors and horsemen follow, and the whole procession seems to be proceeding slowly to the right. In the far distance is represented the previous moment—Paul struck down and blinded by the celestial vision.

'Paul, after his Conversion, restored to sight by Ananias,' as a separate subject, seldom occurs; but it has been treated in the later schools by Vasari, by Cavallucci, and by P. Cortona.

'The Jews flagellate Paul and Silas.' I know but one picture of this subject, that of Niccolò Poussin: the angry Jews are seen driving them forth with scourges; the Elders, who have condemned them, are seated in council behind: as we might expect from the character of Poussin, the dignity of the apostles is maintained,—but it is not one of his best pictures.

'Paul, after his Conversion, escapes from Damascus;' he is let down in a basket (Acts ix. 25): the incident forms, of course, one of the scenes in his life when exhibited in a series, but I remember no separate picture of this subject, and the situation is so ludicrous and so derogatory that we can understand how it came to be avoided.

'The ecstatic vision of St. Paul, in which he was caught up to the third heaven' (2 Cor. xii. 2.) Paul, who so frequently and familiarly speaks of angels, in describing this event, makes no mention of

them, but in pictures he is represented as borne upwards by angels. I find no early composition of this subject. The small picture of Domenichino is coldly conceived. Poussin has painted the 'Ravissement de St. Paul' twice; in the first, the apostle is borne upon the arms of four angels, and in the second he is sustained by three angels. In rendering this ecstatic vision, the angels, always allowable as machinery, have here a particular propriety; Paul is elevated only a few feet above the roof of his house, where lie his sword and book. Here the sword serves to distinguish the personage; and the roof of the house shows us that it is a vision, and not an apotheosis. Both pictures are in the Louvre.

'Paul Preaching to the Converts at Ephesus.' In a beautiful Raffaelesque composition by Le Sueur, the incident of the magicians bringing their books of sorcery and burning them at the feet of the apostle is well introduced. It was long the custom to exhibit this picture solemnly in Notre Dame every year on the 1st of May. It is now in the Louvre.

'Paul before Felix,' and 'Paul before Agrippa.' Neither of these subjects has ever been adequately treated. It is to me inconceivable that the old masters so completely overlooked the opportunity for grand characteristic delineation afforded by both these scenes, the latter especially. Perhaps in estimating its capabilities, we are misled by the effect produced on the imagination by the splendid eloquence of the apostle; yet, were another Raphael to arise, I would suggest the subject as a pendant to the St. Paul at Athens.

'Paul performs miracles before the Emperor Nero;' a blind man, a sick child, and a possessed woman are brought to him to be healed. This, though a legendary rather than a scriptural subject, has been treated by Le Sueur with scriptural dignity and simplicity.

'The Martyrdom of St. Paul' is sometimes a separate subject, but generally it is the pendant to the martyrdom of St. Peter. According to the received tradition, the two apostles suffered at the same time, but in different places; for St. Paul, being by birth a Roman citizen, escaped the ignominy of the public exposure in the Circus, as well as the prolonged torture of the cross. He was

beheaded by the sword outside the Ostian gate, about two miles from Rome, at a place called the Aqua Salvias, now the 'Tre Fontane.' The legend of the death of St. Paul relates that a certain Roman matron, named Plautilla, one of the converts of St. Peter, placed herself on the road by which St. Paul passed to his martyrdom, in order to behold him for the last time; and when she saw him, she wept greatly, and besought his blessing. The apostle then, seeing her faith, turned to her and begged that she would give him her veil to bind his eyes when he should be beheaded, promising to return it to her after his death. The attendants mocked at such a promise, but Plautilla, with a woman's faith and charity, taking off her veil, presented it to him. After his martyrdom, St. Paul appeared to her, and restored the veil stained with his blood. It is also related, that when he was decapitated the severed head made three bounds upon the earth, and wherever it touched the ground a fountain sprang forth.

In the most ancient representations of the martyrdom of St. Paul, the legend of Plautilla is seldom omitted. In the picture of Giotto preserved in the sacristy of St. Peter's, Plautilla is seen on an eminence in the background, receiving the veil from the hand of Paul, who appears in the clouds above; the same representation, but little varied, is executed in bas-relief on the bronze doors of St. Peter's. The three fountains gushing up beneath the severed head are also frequently represented as a literal fact, though a manifest and beautiful allegory, figurative of the fountains of Christian faith which should spring forth from his martyrdom.

In all the melancholy vicinity of Rome, there is not a more melancholy spot than the 'Tre Fontane.' A splendid monastery, rich with the offerings of all Christendom, once existed there: the ravages of that mysterious scourge of the Campagna, the malaria, have rendered it a desert; three ancient churches and some ruins still exist, and a few pale monks wander about the swampy dismal confines of the hollow in which they stand. In winter you approach them through a quagmire; in summer, you dare not breathe in their pestilential vicinity; and yet there is a sort of dead beauty about the place, something hallowed as well as sad, which seizes on the fancy. In the church properly called 'San Paolo delle Tre Fontane,' and which

is so old that the date of the foundation is unknown, are three chapels with altars raised over as many wells or fountains; the altars are modern, and have each the head of St. Paul carved in relief. The water, which appeared to me exactly the same in all the three fountains, has a soft insipid taste, neither refreshing nor agreeable. The ancient frescoes have perished, and the modern ones are perishing. It is a melancholy spot.

To return, however, to that event which has rendered it for ages consecrated and memorable. Among the many representations of the decollation of St. Paul which exist in sculpture and in painting, I have not met with one which could take a high place as a work of Art, or which has done justice to the tragic capabilities of the subject.

After his martyrdom, the body of St. Paul was interred on a spot between the Ostian gate and the Aqua Salvias, and there arose the magnificent church known as *San Paolo-fuori-le-mura*. I saw this church a few months before it was consumed by fire in 1823; I saw it again in 1847, when the restoration was far advanced. Its cold magnificence, compared with the impressions left by the former structure, rich with inestimable remains of ancient Art, and venerable from a thousand associations, saddened and chilled me.

The mosaics in the old church, which represented the life and actions of St. Paul, were executed by the Greek mosaic masters of the eleventh century. They appear to have comprised the same subjects which still exist as a series in the church of Monreale near Palermo, and which I shall now describe.

1. Saul is sent by the high priest to Damascus. Two priests are seated on a raised throne in front of the Temple; Saul stands before them.

2. The Conversion of Saul, as already described (p. 214.)

3. Saul, being blind, is led by his attendants to the gate of Damascus.

4. Saul seated. Ananias enters and addresses him.

5. Paul is baptized: he is standing, or rather sitting, in a font, which is a large vase, and not much larger in proportion than a punch-bowl.

6. St. Paul disputes with the Jews. His attitude is vehement

and expressive; three Jewish doctors stand before him as if confounded and put to silence by his eloquent reasoning.

7. St. Paul escapes from Damascus; the basket, in which he is lowered down from a parapet, is about the size of a hand-basket.

8. St. Paul delivers a scroll to Timothy and Silas; he consigns to their direction the deacons that were ordained by the apostles and elders. (Acts xvi. 4.)

9. St. Paul and St. Peter meet at Rome, and embrace with brotherly affection. I believe this subject to represent the reconciliation of the two apostles after the dispute at Antioch. The inscription is, *Hic Paulus venit Romam et pacem fecit cum Petro*. (In the Christian Museum in the Vatican there is a most beautiful small Greek picture in which Peter and Paul are embracing; it may represent the reconciliation or the parting: the heads, though minute, are extremely characteristic.)

10. The Decollation of St. Paul at the Aqua Salvias; one fountain only is introduced.

This is the earliest instance I can quote of the dramatic treatment of the life and actions of St. Paul in a series of subjects. The Greek type of the head of St. Paul is retained throughout, strongly individualised, and he appears as a man of about thirty-five or forty. In the later schools of Art, which afford some celebrated examples of the life of St. Paul treated as a series, the Greek type has been abandoned.

The series, by Raphael, executed for the tapestries of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican, consists of five large and seven small compositions.

1. The Conversion of Saul, already described: the cartoon is lost.
 2. Elymas the sorcerer struck blind: wonderful for dramatic power.
 3. St. Paul and Barnabas at Lystra. 4. Paul preaches at Athens. Of these three magnificent compositions we have the cartoons at Hampton Court. 5. St. Paul in prison at Philippi. The earthquake through which he was liberated is here represented allegorically as a Titan in the lower corner of the picture, with shoulders and arms heaving up the earth. This, which strikes us as rather pagan in conception, has, however, a parallel in the earliest Christian Art, where, in the baptism of Christ, the Jordan is sometimes represented by a classical river-god, sedge-crowned, and leaning on his urn.

The seven small subjects, which in the set of tapestries run underneath as borders to the large compositions, are thus arranged :—

1. 'As for Saul, he made havoc of the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women committed them to prison' (Acts viii. 3). At one end of a long narrow composition Saul is seated in the dress of a Roman warrior, and attended by a lictor; they bring before him a Christian youth; farther on are seen soldiers 'haling men and women' by the hair; others flee in terror. This was erroneously supposed to represent the massacre at Prato, in 1512, by the adherents of the Medici, and is so inscribed in the set of engravings by Bartoli and Landon.

2. John and Mark taking leave of the brethren at Perga in Pamphylia. (Acts xiii. 3.)

3. Paul, teaching in the synagogue at Antioch, confounds the Jews. (Acts xviii. 3.)

4. Paul at Corinth engaged in tent-making with his host. This is an uncommon subject, but I remember another instance in a curious old German print, where, in the lower part of the composition, the apostle is teaching or preaching; and above there is a kind of gallery or balcony, in which he is seen working at a loom: 'You yourselves know that these hands have ministered to my necessities, labouring night and day, because we would not be chargeable unto you' (Acts xviii. 6).

5. Being at Corinth, he is mocked by the Jews. (Acts viii. 12.)

6. He lays his hand on the Christian converts.

7. He is brought before the judgment-seat of Gallio.¹

'Paul, in the island of Melita, shaking the viper from his hand,' is not a common subject, and yet it is capable of the finest picturesque and dramatic effects: the storm and shipwreck in the background, the angry heavens above, the red firelight, the group of astonished mariners, and, pre-eminent among them, the calm intellectual figure of the apostle shaking the venomous beast from his hand,—these are surely beautiful and available materials for a scenic picture. Even if treated

¹ Those who consult the engravings by Santi Bartoli and Landon must bear in mind that almost all the references are erroneous. See Passavant's 'Rafael,' ii. 245.

as an allegory in a devotional sense, a single majestic figure, throwing the evil thing innocuous from him, which I have not yet seen, it would be an excellent and a significant subject. The little picture by Elzheimer is the best example I can cite of the picturesque treatment. That of Le Sueur has much dignity; those of Perino del Vaga, Thornhill, West, are all commonplace.

Thornhill, as everybody knows, painted the eight principal scenes of the life of the apostle in the cupola of St. Paul's.¹ Few people, I should think, have strained their necks to examine them; the eight original studies, small sketches *en grisaille*, are preserved in the vestry, and display that heartless, mindless, mannered mediocrity, which makes all criticism foolishness; I shall, however, give a list of the subjects.

1. Paul and Barnabas at Lystra.
2. Paul preaching at Athens.
3. Elymas struck blind.
4. The converts burn their magical books.
5. Paul before Festus.
6. A woman seated at his feet; I presume the Conversion of Lydia of Thyatira.
7. Paul let down in a basket.
8. He shakes the viper from his hand.

At the time that Thornhill was covering the cupola at 'the rate of £2 the square yard,' Hogarth, his son-in-law, would also try his hand. He painted 'St. Paul pleading before Felix' for Lincoln's Inn Hall; where the subject, at least, is appropriate. The picture itself is curiously characteristic, not of the scene or of the chief personage, but of the painter. St. Paul loaded with chains, and his accuser Tertullus, stand in front; and Felix, with his wife Drusilla, are seated on a raised tribunal in the background; near Felix is the high priest Ananias. The composition is good. The heads are full of vivid expression—wrath, terror, doubt, fixed attention; but the conception of character most ignoble and commonplace. Hogarth was more at home when he took the same subject as a vehicle for a witty caricature of the Dutch manner of treating sacred subjects—their ludicrous anachronisms and mean incidents. St. Paul, in allusion to his low stature, is mounted on a stool; an angel is sawing through one leg of it; Tertullus is a barrister, in wig, band, and gown; the

¹ The clergy who permitted Sir James Thornhill to paint the cupola of St. Paul's with Scripture scenes, refused to admit any other paintings into the church. Perhaps they were justified; but not by the plea of Bishop Terrick—the fear of idolatry.

judge is like an old doting justice of peace, and his attendants like old beggars.

In the Florentine Gallery there is a very curious series of the lives of St. Peter and St. Paul in eight pictures, in the genuine old German style; fanciful, animated, full of natural and dramatic expression, and exquisitely finished,—but dry, hard, grotesque, and abounding in anachronisms.¹

Among the few separate historical subjects in which St. Peter and St. Paul are represented together, the most important is the dispute at Antioch,—a subject avoided by the earliest painters. St. Paul says, ‘When Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed.’ Guido’s picture in the *Brera* at *Milan* is celebrated: Peter is seated, looking thoughtful, with downcast eyes, an open book on his knees; Paul, in an attitude of rebuke, stands over against him. There is another example by Rosso: here both are standing; Peter is looking down; Paul, with long hair and beard floating back, and a keen reproving expression, ‘rebukes him to his face.’ I presume the same subject to be represented by Lucas van Leyden in a rare and beautiful little print, in which St. Peter and St. Paul are seated together in earnest conversation. St. Peter holds a *key* in his right hand, and points with the other to a book which lies on his knees. St. Paul is about to turn the leaf, and his right hand appears to rebuke St. Peter; his left foot is on the *sword* which lies at his feet.

‘The Parting of St. Peter and St. Paul, before they are led to death.’ The scene is without the gates of Rome; and as the soldiers drag Peter away, he turns back to Paul with a pathetic expression. This picture, now in the Louvre, is one of Lanfranco’s best compositions.²

When the crucifixion of St. Peter and the decollation of St. Paul

¹ This series, the most important work of the painter, Hans Schaufelein, is not mentioned in Kugler’s Handbook. It is engraved in outline in the ‘New Florence Gallery,’ published in 1837.

² ‘St. Paul prevents his jailor from killing himself’ (Acts xvi.) has been lately painted by Claude Hallé, and is now in the Louvre. (École française, No. 233.)

are represented together in the same picture, such a picture must be considered as religious and devotional, not historical; it does not express the action as it really occurred, but, like many pictures of the crucifixion of our Saviour, it is placed before us as an excitement to piety, self-sacrifice, and repentance. We have this kind of treatment in a picture by Niccolò dell' Abate:¹ St. Paul kneels before a block, and the headsman stands with sword uplifted in act to strike; in the background, two other executioners grasp St. Peter, who is kneeling on his cross and praying fervently: above, in a glory, is seen the Virgin; in her arms the Infant Christ, who delivers to two angels palm-branches for the martyred saints. The genius of Niccolò was not precisely fitted for this class of subjects. But the composition is full of poetical feeling. The introduction of the Madonna and Child stamps the character of the picture as devotional, not historical—it would otherwise be repulsive, and out of keeping with the subject.

There is a *Martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul* engraved after Parmigiano,² which I shall notice on account of its careless and erroneous treatment. They are put to death together; an executioner prepares to decapitate St. Peter, and another drags St. Paul by the beard: the incidents are historically false, and, moreover, in a degraded and secular taste. These are the mistakes that make us turn disgusted from the technical facility, elegance, and power of the sixteenth century, to the simplicity and reverential truth of the fourteenth.

There are various traditions concerning the relics of St. Peter and St. Paul. According to some, the bodies of the two apostles were, in the reign of Heliogabalus, deposited by the Christian converts in the catacombs of Rome, and were laid in the same sepulchre. After the lapse of about two hundred years, the Greek or Oriental Christians attempted to carry them off; but were opposed by the Roman Christians. The Romans conquered; and the two bodies were transported to the church of the Vatican, where they reposed together in a magnificent shrine, beneath the church. Among the engravings in the work of Ciampini and Bosio are two rude old pictures commemorating this event. The first represents the combat of the Orientals and the Romans

¹ In the Dresden Gal., No. 821.

² Bartsch, vii. 79.

for the bodies of the Saints; in the other, the bodies are deposited in the Vatican. In these two ancient representations, which were placed in the portico of the old basilica of St. Peter, the traditional types may be recognised—the broad full features, short curled beard, and bald head of St. Peter, and the oval face and long beard of St. Paul.

Here I must conclude this summary of the lives and characters of the two greatest apostles, as they have been exhibited in Christian Art; to do justice to the theme would have required a separate volume. One observation, however, suggests itself, and cannot be passed over. The usual type of the head of St. Peter, though often ill rendered and degraded by coarseness, can in general be recognised as characteristic; but is there among the thousand representations of the apostle Paul, *one* on which the imagination can rest completely satisfied? I know not one. No doubt the sublimest ideal of embodied eloquence that ever was expressed in Art is Raphael's St. Paul preaching at Athens. He stands there the delegated voice of the true God, the antagonist and conqueror of the whole heathen world:—'Whom ye ignorantly worship, HIM declare I unto you'—is not this what he says? Every feature, nay, every fold in his drapery, speaks; as in the other St. Paul leaning on his sword (in the famous St. Cecilia), every feature and every fold of drapery meditates. The latter is as fine in its tranquil melancholy grandeur, as the former in its authoritative energy: in the one the orator, in the other the philosopher, were never more finely rendered: but is it, in either, the Paul of Tarsus whom we know? It were certainly both unnecessary and pedantic to adhere so closely to historic fact as to make St. Paul of diminutive stature, and St. Peter weak-eyed: but has Raphael done well in wholly rejecting the traditional portrait which reflected to us the Paul of Scripture, the man of many toils and many sorrows, wasted with vigils, worn down with travel,—whose high bald forehead, thin flowing hair, and long pointed beard, spoke so plainly the fervent and indomitable, yet meditative and delicate, organisation,—and in substituting this Jupiter Ammon head, with the dark redundant hair, almost hiding the brow, and the full bushy beard? This is one of the instances in which Raphael, in yielding to the fashion of his time, has erred, as it seems to me,—

though I say it with all reverence. The St. Paul rending his garments at Lystra, and rejecting the sacrifice of the misguided people, is more particularly false as to the character of the man though otherwise so grandly expressive, that we are obliged to admire what our better sense—our *conscience*—cannot wholly approve.

I shall now consider the rest of the apostles in their proper order.

ST. ANDREW.

Lat. S. Andreas. *Ital.* Sant' Andrea. *Fr.* St. André. Patron saint of Scotland and of Russia. Nov. 30, A.D. 70.

ST. ANDREW was the brother of Simon Peter, and the first who was called to the apostleship. Nothing farther is recorded of him in Scripture : he is afterwards merely included by name in the general account of the apostles.

In the traditional and legendary history of St. Andrew, we are told that, after our Lord's ascension, when the apostles dispersed to preach the Gospel to all nations, St. Andrew travelled into Scythia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia, everywhere converting multitudes to the faith. The Russians believe that he was the first to preach to the Muscovites in Sarmatia, and thence he has been honoured as titular saint of the empire of Russia. After many sufferings, he returned to Jerusalem, and thence travelled into Greece, and came at length to a city of Achaia, called Patras. Here he made many converts ; among others, Maximilla, the wife of the proconsul Ægeus, whom he persuaded to make a public profession of Christianity. The proconsul, enraged, commanded him to be seized and scourged, and then crucified. The cross on which he suffered was of a peculiar form (*crux decussata*), since called the St. Andrew's cross ; and it is expressly said that he was not fastened to his cross with nails, but with cords,—a circumstance always attended to in the representations of his death. It is, however, to be remembered, that while all authorities agree that he was crucified, and that the manner of his crucifixion was peculiar, they are not agreed as to the form of his cross. St. Peter Chrysologos says that it was a tree : another author affirms that it was an olive tree. The Abbé Méry

remarks, that it is a mistake to give the transverse cross to St. Andrew; that it ought not to differ from the cross of our Lord. His reasons are not absolutely conclusive:—‘Il suffit pour montrer qu’ils sont là-dessus dans l’erreur, de voir *la croix véritable* de St. André, conservée dans l’Église de St. Victor de Marseille; on trouvera qu’elle est à angles droits,’ &c.¹ Seeing is believing; nevertheless, the form is fixed by tradition and usage, and ought not to be departed from, though Michael Angelo has done so in the figure of St. Andrew in the Last Judgment, and there are several examples in the Italian masters.² The legend goes on to relate, that St. Andrew on approaching the cross prepared for his execution, saluted and adored it on his knees, as being already consecrated by the sufferings of the Redeemer, and met his death triumphantly. Certain of his relics were brought from Patras to Scotland in the fourth century, and since that time St. Andrew has been honoured as the patron saint of Scotland, and of its chief order of knighthood. He is also the patron saint of the famous Burgundian Order, the Golden Fleece; and of Russia and its chief Order, the Cross of St. Andrew.

Since the fourteenth century, St. Andrew is generally distinguished in works of Art by the transverse cross; the devotional pictures in which he figures as one of the series of apostles, or singly as patron saint, represent him as a very old man with some kind of brotherly resemblance to St. Peter; his hair and beard silver white, long, loose, and flowing, and in general the beard is divided; he leans upon his cross, and holds the Gospel in his right hand.

The historical subjects from the life of St. Andrew, treated separately from the rest of the apostles, are very few; his crucifixion is the only



74 St. Andrew.
(Peter Vischer.)

¹ Théologie des Peintres.

² In several ancient pictures and bas-reliefs the cross has the usual form, but he is not nailed—always bound with cords, as in the ancient bas-relief over the portal of his church at Vercelli.

one that I have found treated before the fifteenth century. On the ancient doors of San Paolo, the instrument of his martyrdom has the shape of a Y, and resembles a tree split down the middle. The cross in some later pictures is very lofty, and resembles the rough branches of a tree laid transversely.

I know but two other subjects relating to the life of St. Andrew which have been separately treated in the later schools of Art—the Adoration of the Cross, and the Flagellation.

‘St. Andrew Adoring his Cross,’ by Andrea Sacchi, is remarkable for its simplicity and fine expression; it contains only three figures. St. Andrew, half undraped, and with his silver hair and beard floating dishevelled, kneels, gazing up to the cross with ecstatic devotion; he is addressing to it his famous invocation:—‘Salve, Croce preziosa! che fosti consecrata dal corpo del mio Dio!’—an executioner stands by, and a fierce soldier, impatient of delay, urges him on to death.¹

‘St. Andrew Taken Down from the Cross’ is a fine effective picture by Ribera.²

When Guido and Domenichino painted, in emulation of each other, the frescoes in the chapel of Sant’ Andrea in the church of San Gregorio, at Rome, Guido chose for his subject the Adoration of the Cross. The scene is supposed to be outside the walls of Patras in Achaia; the cross is at a distance in the background; St. Andrew, as he approaches, falls down in adoration before the instrument of his martyrdom, consecrated by the death of his Lord; he is attended by one soldier on horseback, one on foot, and three executioners; a group of women and alarmed children in the foreground are admirable for grace and feeling—they are, in fact, the best part of the picture. On the opposite wall of the chapel Domenichino painted the Flagellation of St. Andrew, a subject most difficult to treat effectively, and retain at the same time the dignity of the suffering apostle, while avoiding all resemblance to a similar scene in the life of Christ. Here he is bound down on a sort of table; one man lifts a rod, another seems to taunt the prostrate saint; a licitor drives back the people. The group of the mother and frightened children, which Domenichino so often introduces with little variation, is here very

¹ Gallery of the Vatican.

² Munich, 363.

beautiful; the judge and lictors are seen behind, with a temple and a city in the distance. When Domenichino painted the same subject in the church of Sant' Andrea-della-Valle, he chose another moment, and administered the torture after a different manner: the apostle is bound by his hands and feet to four short posts set firmly in the ground; one of the executioners in tightening a cord breaks it and falls back; three men prepare to scourge him with *thongs*: in the foreground we have the usual group of the mother and her frightened children. This is a composition full of dramatic life and movement, but unpleasing. Domenichino painted in the same church the crucifixion of the saint, and his apotheosis surmounts the whole.

All these compositions are of great celebrity in the history of Art for colour and for expression. Lanzi says, that the personages, 'if endued with speech, could not say more to the ear than they do to the eye.' But, in power and pathos, none of them equal the picture of Murillo, of which we have the original study in England.¹ St. Andrew is suspended on the high cross, formed not of planks, but of the trunks of trees laid transversely. He is bound with cords, undraped, except by a linen cloth; his silver hair and beard loosely streaming in the air; his aged countenance illuminated by a heavenly transport, as he looks up to the opening skies, whence two angels of really celestial beauty, like almost all Murillo's angels, descend with the crown and palm. In front, to the right, is a group of shrinking, sympathising women; and a boy turns away, crying with a truly boyish grief; on the left are guards and soldiers. The subject is here rendered poetical by mere force of feeling; there is a tragic reality in the whole scene, far more effective, to my taste, than the more studied compositions of the Italian painters. The Martyrdom of St. Andrew, and the Saint Preaching the Gospel, by Juan de Roelas, are also mentioned as splendid productions of the Seville school.

I think it possible that St. Andrew may owe his popularity in the Spanish and Flemish schools of Art to his being the patron saint of the far-famed Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece. At the time that Constantinople was taken, and the relics of St. Andrew dispersed in consequence, a lively enthusiasm for this

¹ In the collection of Mr Miles at Leigh Court.

apostle was excited throughout all Christendom. He had been previously honoured chiefly as the brother of St. Peter: he obtained thenceforth a kind of personal interest and consideration. Philip of Burgundy (A.D. 1433), who had obtained at great cost a portion of the precious relics, consisting chiefly of some pieces of his cross, placed under the protection of the apostle his new order of chivalry, which, according to the preamble, was intended to revive the honour and the memory of the Argonauts. His knights wore as their badge the cross of St. Andrew.

ST. JAMES THE GREAT.

Lat. Sanctus Jacobus Major. *Ital.* San Giacomo, or Jacopo, Maggiore. *Fr.* St. Jacques Majeur. *Spa.* San Jago, or Santiago. El Tutelar. Patron saint of Spain. July 25, A.D. 44.

ST. JAMES the Great, or the Elder, or St. James *Major*, was nearly related to Christ, and, with his brother John (the evangelist) and Peter, he seems to have been admitted to particular favour, travelled with the Lord, and was present at most of the events recorded in the Gospels. He was one of the three who were permitted to witness the glorification of Christ on Mount Tabor, and one of those who slept during the agony in the garden. After our Saviour's ascension, nothing is recorded concerning him, except the fact that Herod slew him with the sword. In the ancient traditions he is described as being of a zealous and affectionate temper, easily excited to anger: of this we have a particular instance in his imprecation against the inhospitable Samaritans, for which Christ rebuked him: 'Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. The Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them.' (Luke ix. 55.)

As Scripture makes no farther mention of one so distinguished by his zeal and by his near relationship to the Saviour, the legends of the Middle Ages have supplied this deficiency; and so amply, that St. James, as St. Jago or SANTIAGO, the military patron of Spain, became one of the most renowned saints in Christendom, and one of

the most popular subjects of Western Art. Many of these subjects are so singular, that, in order to render them intelligible, I must give the legend at full length as it was followed by the artists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

According to the Spanish legend, the apostle James was the son of Zebedee, an illustrious baron of Galilee, who, being the proprietor of ships, was accustomed to fish along the shores of a certain lake called Gennesareth, but solely for his good pleasure and recreation: for who can suppose that Spain, that nation of *Hidalgos* and *Caballeros*, would ever have chosen for her patron, or accepted as the leader and captain-general of her armies, a poor ignoble fisherman? It remains, therefore, indisputable, that this glorious apostle, who was our Lord's cousin-german, was of noble lineage, and worthy of his spurs as a knight and a gentleman;—so in Dante:—

*Ecco il Barone
Per cui laggiù si visita Galizia.*

But it pleased him, in his great humility, to follow, while on earth, the example of his divine Lord, and reserve his warlike prowess till called upon to slaughter, by thousands and tens of thousands, those wicked Moors, the perpetual enemies of Christ and His servants. Now, as James and his brother John were one day in their father's ship with his hired servants, and were employed in mending the nets, the Lord, who was walking on the shores of the lake, called them; and they left all and followed Him; and became thenceforward His most favoured disciples, and the witnesses of His miracles while on earth. After the ascension of Christ, James preached the Gospel in Judea; then he travelled over the whole world, and came at last to Spain, where he made very few converts, by reason of the ignorance and darkness of the people. One day, as he stood with his disciples on the banks of the Ebro, the blessed Virgin appeared to him seated on the top of a pillar of jasper, and surrounded by a choir of Angels; and the apostle having thrown himself on his face, she commanded him to build on that spot a chapel for her worship, assuring him that all this province of Saragossa, though now in the darkness of paganism, would at a future

time be distinguished by devotion to her. He did as the holy Virgin had commanded, and this was the origin of a famous church afterwards known as that of Our Lady of the Pillar (*'Nuestra Señora del Pilar'*). Then St. James, having founded the Christian faith in Spain, returned to Judea, where he preached for many years, and performed many wonders and miracles in the sight of the people: and it happened that a certain sorcerer, whose name was Hermogenes,¹ set himself against the apostle, just as Simon Magus had wickedly and vainly opposed St. Peter, and with the like result. Hermogenes sent his scholar Philetus to dispute with James, and to compete with him in wondrous works; but, as you will easily believe, he had no chance against the apostle, and, confessing himself vanquished, he returned to his master, to whom he announced his intention to follow henceforth James and his doctrine. Then Hermogenes, in a rage, bound Philetus by his diabolical spells, so that he could not move hand or foot; saying, 'Let us now see if thy new master can deliver thee:' and Philetus sent his servant to St. James, praying for aid. Then the apostle took off his cloak, and gave it to the servant to give his master, and no sooner had Philetus touched it, than he became free, and hastened to throw himself at the feet of his deliverer. Hermogenes, more furious than ever, called to the demons who served him, and commanded that they should bring to him James and Philetus, bound in fetters; but on their way the demons met with a company of Angels, who seized upon them, and punished them for their wicked intentions, till they cried for mercy. Then St. James said to them, 'Go back to him who sent ye, and bring him hither bound.' And they did so; and having laid the sorcerer down at the feet of St. James, they besought him, saying, 'Now give us power to be avenged of our enemy and thine!' But St. James rebuked them, saying, 'Christ hath commanded us to do good for evil.' So he delivered Hermogenes from their hands; and the magician, being utterly confounded, cast his books into the sea, and desired of St. James that he would protect him against the demons, his former servants. Then St. James gave him his staff, as the most effectual means of defence against the infernal spirits; and

¹ Hermogenes was the name of a famous Gnostic teacher and philosopher; thence, I suppose, adopted into this legend.

Hermogenes became a faithful disciple and preacher of the Word from that day.

But the evil-minded Jews, being more and more incensed, took James and bound him, and brought him before the tribunal of Herod Agrippa; and one of those who dragged him along, touched by the gentleness of his demeanour, and by his miracles of mercy, was converted, and supplicated to die with him; and the apostle gave him the kiss of peace, saying, 'Pax vobis!' and the kiss and the words together have remained as a form of benediction in the Church to this day. Then they were both beheaded, and so died.

And the disciples of St. James came and took away his body; and, not daring to bury it, for fear of the Jews, they carried it to Joppa, and placed it on board of a ship: some say that the ship was of marble, but this is not authenticated; however, it is most certain that angels conducted the ship miraculously to the coast of Spain, where they arrived in seven days; and, sailing through the straits called the Pillars of Hercules, they landed at length in Galicia, at a port called Iria Flavia, now Padron.

In those days there reigned over the country a certain queen whose name was Lupa, and she and all her people were plunged in wickedness and idolatry. Now, having come to shore, they laid the body of the apostle upon a great stone, which became like wax, and, receiving the body, closed around it: this was a sign that the saint willed to remain there; but the wicked queen Lupa was displeased, and she commanded that they should harness some wild bulls to a car, and place on it the body, with the self-formed tomb, hoping that they would drag it to destruction. But in this she was mistaken; for the wild bulls, when signed by the cross, became as docile as sheep, and they drew the body of the apostle straight into the court of her palace. When Queen Lupa beheld this miracle, she was confounded, and she and all her people became Christians: she built a magnificent church to receive the sacred remains, and died in the odour of sanctity.

But then came the darkness and ruin which during the invasion of the Barbarians overshadowed all Spain; and the body of the apostle was lost, and no one knew where to find it, till, in the year 800, the place of sepulture was revealed to a certain holy friar.

Then they caused the body of the saint to be transported to Compostella; and, in consequence of the surprising miracles which graced his shrine, he was honoured not merely in Galicia, but throughout all Spain. He became the patron saint of the Spaniards, and Compostella, as a place of pilgrimage, was renowned throughout Europe. From all countries bands of pilgrims resorted there, so that sometimes there were no less than a hundred thousand in one year. The military Order of Saint Jago, enrolled by Don Alphonso for their protection, became one of the greatest and richest in Spain.

Now, if I should proceed to recount all the wonderful deeds enacted by Santiago in behalf of his chosen people, they would fill a volume. The Spanish historians number thirty-eight visible apparitions, in which this glorious saint descended from heaven in person, and took the command of their armies against the Moors. The first of these, and the most famous of all, I shall now relate.

In the year of our Lord 939, King Ramirez, having vowed to deliver Castile from the shameful tribute imposed by the Moors, of one hundred virgins delivered annually, collected his troops, and defied their king Abdelraman to battle:—

The king call'd God to witness, that, came there weal or woe,
Thenceforth no maiden tribute from out Castile should go.—
' At least I will do battle on God our Saviour's foe,
And die beneath my banner before I see it so !'

Accordingly he charged the Moorish host on the plain of Alveida or Clavijo: after a furious conflict, the Christians were, by the permission of Heaven, defeated, and forced to retire. Night separated the combatants, and King Ramirez, overpowered with fatigue, and sad at heart, flung himself upon his couch and slept. In his sleep he beheld the apostle St. Jago, who promised to be with him next morning in the field, and assured him of victory. The king, waking up from the glorious vision, sent for his prelates and officers, to whom he related it; and the next morning, at the head of his army, he recounted it to his soldiers, bidding them rely on heavenly aid. He then ordered the trumpets to sound to battle. The soldiers, inspired with fresh courage, rushed to the fight. Suddenly St. Jago was seen mounted on a milk-white charger, and waving aloft a white standard; he led on the

Christians, who gained a decisive victory, leaving 60,000 Moors dead on the field. This was the famous battle of Clavijo; and ever since that day, 'SANTIAGO!' has been the war-cry of the Spanish armies.

But it was not only on such great occasions that the invincible patron of Spain was pleased to exhibit his power: he condescended oftentimes to interfere for the protection of the poor and oppressed, of which I will now give a notable instance, as it is related by Pope Calixtus II.

There was a certain German, who with his wife and son went on a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella. Having come as far as Torlosa, they lodged at an inn there; and the host had a fair daughter, who, looking on the son of the pilgrim, a handsome and a graceful youth, became deeply enamoured; but he, being virtuous, and, moreover, on his way to a holy shrine, refused to listen to her allurements.

Then she thought how she might be avenged for this slight put upon her charms, and hid in his wallet her father's silver drinking-cup. The next morning, no sooner were they departed, than the host, discovering his loss, pursued them, accused them before the judge, and the cup being found in the young man's wallet, he was condemned to be hung, and all they possessed was confiscated to the host.

Then the afflicted parents pursued their way lamenting, and made their prayer and their complaint before the altar of the blessed Saint Jago; and thirty-six days afterwards as they returned by the spot where their son hung on the gibbet, they stood beneath it, weeping and lamenting bitterly. Then the son spoke and said, 'O my mother! O my father! do not lament for me, for I have never been in better cheer; the blessed apostle James is at my side, sustaining me and filling me with celestial comfort and joy!' The parents, being astonished, hastened to the judge, who at that moment was seated at table, and the mother called out, 'Our son lives!' The judge mocked at them: 'What sayest thou, good woman? thou art beside thyself! If thy son liveth, so do those fowls in my dish.' And lo! scarcely had he uttered the words, when the fowls (being a cock and a hen) rose up full-feathered in the dish, and the cock began to crow, to the great admiration of the judge and his attendants.¹ Then the

¹ v. Southey, 'Pilgrim of Compostella.'

judge rose up from table hastily, and called together the priests and the lawyers, and they went in procession to the gibbet, took down the young man, and restored him to his parents; and the miraculous cock and hen were placed under the protection of the Church, where they and their posterity long flourished in testimony of this stupendous miracle.



75 St. James Major. (Gio. Santi.)

There are many other legends of St. James; the Spanish chroniclers in prose and verse abound in such; but, in general, they are not merely incredible, but puerile and unpoetical; and I have here confined myself to those which I know to have been treated in Art.

Previous to the twelfth century, St. James is only distinguished among the apostles by his place, which is the fourth in the series, the second after St. Peter and St. Paul. In some instances he is portrayed with a family resemblance to Christ, being his kinsman; the thin beard, and the hair parted and flowing down on each side. But from the thirteenth century it became a fashion to characterise St. James as a pilgrim of Compostella: he bears the peculiar long staff, to which the wallet or gourd of water is suspended; the cloak with a long cape, the scallop-shell on his shoulder or on his flapped hat. Where the cape, hat, and scallop-shells are omitted, the staff, borne as the first of

the apostles who departed to fulfil his Gospel mission, remains his constant attribute, and by this he may be recognised in the Madonna pictures, and when grouped with other saints.

The single devotional figures of St. James represent him in two distinct characters:—

1. As tutelar saint of Spain, and conqueror of the Moors. In his

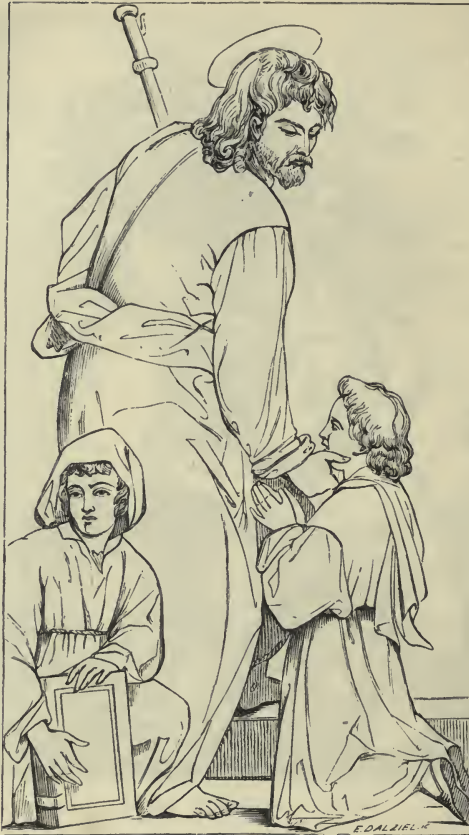


76

Santiago. (Carreño de Miranda.)

pilgrim habit, mounted on a white charger, and waving a white banner, with white hair and beard streaming like a meteor,—or sometimes armed in complete steel, spurred like a knight, his casque shadowed by white plumes,—he tramples over the prostrate Infidels; so completely was the humble, gentle-spirited apostle of Christ merged in the spirit of the religious chivalry of the time. This is a subject frequent in Spanish schools. The figure over the high altar of Santiago is described as very grand when seen in the solemn twilight.

2. St. James as patron saint in the general sense. The most beautiful example I have met with is a picture in the Florence Gallery,



77

St. James Major. (A. del Sarto.)

painted by Andrea del Sarto for the Compagnia or Confraternita of Sant' Jacopo, and intended to figure as a standard in their processions. The Madonna di San Sisto of Raphael was painted for a similar purpose: and such are still commonly used in the religious processions in Italy; but they have no longer Raphaels and Andrea-del-Sartos to paint them. In this instance the picture has a particular form, high and narrow, adapted to its especial purpose: St. James wears a green tunic, and a rich crimson mantle; and as one of the purposes of the Compagnia was to educate poor orphans, they are

represented by the two boys at his feet. This picture suffered from the sun and the weather, to which it had been a hundred times exposed in yearly processions; but it has been well restored, and is admirable for its vivid colouring as well as the benign attitude and expression.

3. St. James seated; he holds a large book bound in vellum (the Gospels) in his left hand—and with his right points to heaven: by Guercino, in the gallery of Count Harrach, at Vienna. One of the finest pictures by Guercino I have seen.

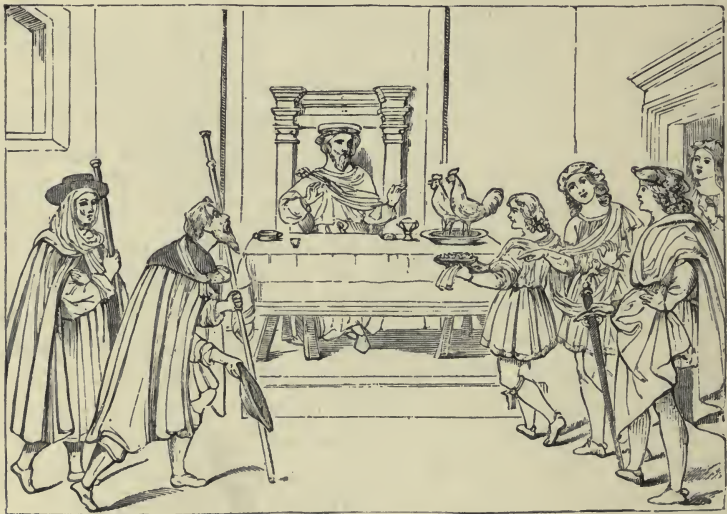
Pictures from the life of St. James singly, or as a series, are not common; but among those which remain to us there are several of great beauty and interest.

In the series of frescoes painted in a side chapel of the church of St. Antony of Padua (A.D. 1376), once called the Capella di San Giacomo, and now San Felice, the old legend of St. James has been exactly followed; and though ruined in many parts, and in others coarsely repainted, these works remain as compositions amongst the most curious monuments of the *Trecentisti*. It appears that, towards the year 1376, Messer Bonifacio de' Lupi da Parma, Cavaliere e Marchese di Serana, who boasted of his descent from the Queen Lupa of the legend, dedicated this chapel to St. James of Spain (San Jacopo di Galizia), and employed M. Jacopo Avanzi to decorate it, who no doubt bestowed his best workmanship on his patron saint. The subjects are thus arranged, beginning with the lunette on the left hand, which is divided into three compartments:

1. Hermogenes sends Philetus to dispute with St. James. 2. St. James in his pulpit converts Philetus. 3. Hermogenes sends his demons to bind St. James and Philetus. 4. Hermogenes brought bound to St. James. 5. He burns his books of magic. 6. Hermogenes and Philetus are conversing in a friendly manner with St. James. 7. St. James is martyred. 8. The arrival of his body in Spain in a marble ship steered by an angel. 9. The disciples lay the body on a rock, while Queen Lupa and her sister and another personage look on from a window in her palace. Then follow two compartments on the side where the window is broken out, much ruined; they represented apparently the imprisonment of the disciples. 12. The disciples escape and are pursued, and their pursuers with their

horses are drowned. 13. The wild bulls draw the sarcophagus into the court of Queen Lupa's palace. 14. Baptism of Lupa. 15 and 16 (lower compartments to the left): St. Jago appears to King Ramirez, and the defeat of the Moors at Clavijo.

There is a rare and curious print by Martin Schoen, in which the apparition of St. James at Clavijo is represented not in the Spanish but the German style. It is an animated composition of many figures. The saint appears on horseback in the midst, wearing his pilgrim's dress, with the cockle-shell in his hat: the Infidels are trampled down, or fly before him.



78

The Miracle of the Fowls. (Lo Spagna.)

On the road from Spoleto to Foligno, about four miles from Spoleto, there is a small chapel dedicated to St. James of Galizia. The frescoes representing the miracles of the saint were painted by Lo Spagna (A.D. 1526), the friend and fellow pupil of Raphael. In the vault of the apsis is the Coronation of the Virgin; she kneels, attired in white drapery flowered with gold, and the whole group, though inferior in power, appeared to me in delicacy and taste far superior to the fresco of Fra Filippo Lippi at Spoleto, from which

Passavant thinks it is borrowed.¹ Immediately under the Coronation, in the centre, is a figure of St. James as patron saint, standing with his pilgrim's staff in one hand, and the Gospel in the other; his dress is a yellow tunic with a blue mantle thrown over it. In the compartment on the left, the youth is seen suspended on the gibbet, while St. James with his hands under his feet sustains him; the father and mother look up at him with astonishment. In the compartment to the right, we see the judge seated at dinner, attended by his servants, one of whom is bringing in a dish: the two pilgrims appear to have just told their story, and the cock and hen have risen up in the dish (78). These frescoes are painted with great elegance and animation, and the story is told with much naïveté. I found the same legend painted on one of the lower windows of the church of St. Ouen, and on a window of the right-hand aisle in St. Vincent's at Rouen.

Of ST. JOHN, who is the fifth in the series, I have spoken at large under the head of the Evangelists.

ST. PHILIP.

Ital. San Filippo Apostolo. *Fr.* Saint Philippe. Patron of Brabant and Luxembourg.
May 1.

OF St. Philip there are few notices in the Gospel. He was born at Bethsaida, and he was one of the first of those whom our Lord summoned to follow Him. After the ascension, he travelled into Scythia, and remained there preaching the Gospel for twenty years; he then preached at Hieropolis in Phrygia, where he found the people addicted to the worship of a monstrous serpent or dragon, or of the god Mars under that form. Taking compassion on their blindness, the apostle commanded the serpent, in the name of the cross he held in his hand, to disappear, and immediately the reptile glided out from beneath the altar, at the same time emitting such a hideous stench, that many people died, and among them the king's son fell dead in the arms of his attendants: but the apostle, by Divine power,

¹ Passavant's *Rafael*, I. 503.

restored him to life. Then the priests of the dragon were incensed against him, and they took him, and crucified him, and being bound on the cross they stoned him; thus he yielded up his spirit to God, praying, like his Divine Master, for his enemies and tormentors.

According to the Scripture, St. Philip had four daughters, who were prophetesses, and made many converts to the faith of Christ (Acts xxi. 9). In the Greek calendar, St. Mariamne, his sister, and St. Hermione, his daughter, are commemorated as martyrs.

When St. Philip is represented alone, or as one of the series of apostles, he is generally a man in the prime of life, with little beard, and with a benign countenance, being described as of a remarkably cheerful and affectionate nature. He bears, as his attribute, a cross, which varies in form; sometimes it is a small cross, which he carries in his hand; sometimes a high cross in the form of a T, or a tall staff with a small Latin cross at the top of it (79). The cross of St. Philip may have a treble signification: it may allude to his martyrdom; or to



79 St. Philip. (A. Durer.)

his conquest over the idols through the power of the cross; or, when placed on the top of the pilgrim's staff, it may allude to his mission among the barbarians as preacher of the cross of salvation. Single figures of St. Philip as patron are not common: there is a fine statue of him on the façade of San Michele at Florence, and a noble figure by Beccafumi, reading;¹ another, seated and reading, by Ulrich Mair.²

Subjects from the life of St. Philip, whether as single pictures or in a series, are also rarely met with. As he was the first called by our Saviour to leave all and follow Him, and his vocation therefore a festival in the Church, it must, I think, have been treated apart; but I have not met with it. I know but of three historical subjects taken from his life:—

1. Bonifazio. St. Philip stands before the Saviour: the attitude of the latter is extremely dignified, that of Philip

¹ Duomo, Siena.

² Belvedere, Vienna.

supplicatory; the other apostles are seen in the background: the colouring and expression of the whole like Titian. The subject of this splendid picture is expressed by the inscription underneath (John xiv. 14): 'Domine, ostende nobis Patrem, et sufficit nobis.' 'Philippe, qui videt me, videt et Patrem meum: ego et Pater unum sumus.'¹

2. St. Philip exorcises the serpent. The scene is the interior of a temple, an altar with the statue of the god Mars: a serpent, creeping from beneath the altar, slays the attendants with his poisonous and fiery breath. The ancient fresco in his chapel at Padua, described by Lord Lindsay, is extremely animated, but far inferior to the same subject in the Santa Croce at Florence by Fra Filippo Lippi, where the dignified attitude of the apostle, and the group of the king's son dying in the arms of the attendants, are admirably effective and dramatic. St. Philip, it must be observed, was the patron saint of the painter.

3. The Crucifixion of St. Philip. According to the old Greek traditions, he was crucified with his head downwards, and he is so represented on the gates of San Paolo; also in an old picture over the tomb of Cardinal Philippe d'Alençon; where his patron, St. Philip, is attached to the cross with cords, and head downwards, like St. Peter;² but in the old fresco by Giusto da Padova, in the Capella di San Filippo, he is crucified in the usual manner, arrayed in a long red garment which descends to his feet.

It is necessary to avoid confounding St. Philip the apostle with St. Philip the deacon. It was Philip the deacon who baptized the chamberlain of Queen Candace, though the action has sometimes been attributed to Philip the apostle. The incident of the baptism of the Ethiopian, taking place in the road, by running water, 'on the way that goeth down from Jerusalem to Gaza,' has been introduced into several beautiful landscapes with much picturesque effect. Claude has thus treated it; Salvator Rosa; Jan Both, in a most beautiful picture in the Queen's Gallery; Rembrandt, Cuyp, and others.

¹ Venice Acad.

² Rome, S. Maria-in-Trastevere. A.D. 1307.

ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

Lat. S. Bartholomeus. *Ital.* San Bartolomeo. *Fr.* St. Barthélemi. Aug. 24.

As St. Bartholomew is nowhere mentioned in the canonical books, except by name in enumerating the apostles, there has been large scope for legendary story, but in works of Art he is not a popular saint.



80 St. Bartholomew. (Giotto.)

According to one tradition, he was the son of a husbandman; according to another, he was the son of a prince Ptolomeus. After the ascension of Christ he travelled into India, even to the confines of the habitable world, carrying with him the Gospel of St. Matthew; returning thence, he preached in Armenia and Cilicia; and coming to the city of Albanopolis, he was condemned to death as a Christian: he was first flayed and then crucified.

In single figures and devotional pictures, St. Bartholomew sometimes carries in one hand a book, the Gospel of St. Matthew; but his peculiar attribute is a large knife, the instrument of his martyrdom. The legends describe him as having a quantity of strong black hair and a bushy grizzled beard; and this portrait being followed very literally by the old German and Flemish painters, gives him, with his large knife, the look of a butcher. In the Italian pictures, though of a milder and more dignified appearance, he has frequently black hair; and sometimes dark and resolute features; yet the same legend describes him as of a cheerful countenance, wearing a purple robe and attended by angels. Sometimes St. Bartholomew has his own skin hanging over his arm, as among the saints in Michael Angelo's Last Judgment, where he is

holding forth his skin in one hand, and grasping his knife in the other : and in the statue by Marco Agrati in the Milan Cathedral, famous for its anatomical precision and its boastful inscription, *Non me Praxiteles sed Marcus pinxit Agratis*. I found in the church of Nôtre Dame at Paris a picture of St. Bartholomew healing the Princess of Armenia. With this exception, I know not any historical subject where this apostle is the principal figure, except his revolting and cruel martyrdom. In the early Greek representation on the gates of San Paolo, he is affixed to a cross, or rather to a post, with a small transverse bar at top, to which his hands are fastened above his head ; an executioner, with a knife in his hand, stoops at his feet. This is very different from the representations in the modern schools. The best, that is to say, the least disgusting, representation I have met with, is a small picture by Agostino Caracci, in the Sutherland Gallery, which once belonged to King Charles I. : it is easy to see that the painter had the antique Marsyas in his mind. That dark ferocious spirit, Ribera, found in it a theme congenial with his own temperament ;¹ he has not only painted it several times with a horrible truth and power, but etched it elaborately with his own hand : a small picture, copied from the etching, is at Hampton Court.

ST. THOMAS.

Ital. San Tomaso. *Sp.* San Tomè. Dec. 21. Patron Saint of Portugal and Parma.

ST. THOMAS, called *Didymus* (the twin), takes, as apostle, the seventh place. He was a Galilean and a fisherman, and we find him distinguished among the apostles on two occasions recorded in the Gospel. When Jesus was going up to Bethany, being then in danger from the Jews, Thomas said, ' Let us also go, that we may die with Him ' (John xi. 16, xx. 25). After the resurrection, he showed himself unwilling to believe in the reappearance of the crucified Saviour without ocular demonstration : this incident is styled the Incredulity of Thomas. From these two incidents we may form some idea of his character : courageous and affectionate, but not inclined

¹ Stirling's ' Artists of Spain,' ii. p. 753.

to take things for granted; or, as a French writer expresses it, 'brusque et résolu, mais d'un esprit exigeant.' After the ascension, St. Thomas travelled into the East, preaching the Gospel in far distant countries towards the rising sun. It is a tradition received in the Church, that he penetrated as far as India; that there meeting with the three Wise Men of the East, he baptized them; that he founded a church in India, and suffered martyrdom there. It is related, that the Portuguese found at Meliapore an ancient inscription, purporting that St. Thomas had been pierced with a lance at the foot of a cross which he had erected in that city, and that in 1523 his body was found there and transported to Goa.

In Correggio's fresco of St. Thomas as protector of Parma he is surrounded by angels bearing exotic fruits, as expressing his ministry in India.

There are a number of extravagant and poetical legends relating to St. Thomas. I shall here limit myself to those which were adopted in ecclesiastical decoration, and treated by the artists of the Middle Ages.



£1 St. Thomas the Apostle.

When St. Thomas figures as apostle, alone or with others, in all the devotional representations which are not prior to the thirteenth century, he carries as his attribute the builder's rule, of this form—



Now, as he was a fisherman, and neither a carpenter nor a mason, the origin of this attribute must be sought in one of the most popular legends of which he is the subject.

'When St. Thomas was at Cesarea, our Lord appeared to him and said, "The King of the Indies, Gondoforus, hath sent his provost Abanes to seek for workmen well versed in the science of architecture, who shall build for him a palace finer than that of the Emperor of Rome. Behold, now, I will send thee to him." And Thomas went, and Gondoforus commanded him to build for him a magnificent palace, and gave him much gold and silver for the purpose.

The king went into a distant country, and was absent for two years; and St. Thomas meanwhile, instead of building a palace, distributed all the treasures entrusted to him among the poor and sick; and when the king returned, he was full of wrath, and he commanded that St. Thomas should be seized and cast into prison, and he meditated for him a horrible death. Meantime the brother of the king died; and the king resolved to erect for him a most magnificent tomb; but the dead man, after that he had been dead four days, suddenly arose and sat upright, and said to the king, "The man whom thou wouldst torture is a servant of God: behold I have been in Paradise, and the angels showed to me a wondrous palace of gold and silver and precious stones," and they said, "This is the palace that Thomas the architect hath built for thy brother King Gondoforus." And when the king heard these words, he ran to the prison, and delivered the apostle; and Thomas said to him, "Knowest thou not that those who would possess heavenly things, have little care for the things of this earth? There are in heaven rich palaces without number, which were prepared from the beginning of the world for those who purchase the possession through faith and charity. Thy riches, O King, may prepare the way for thee to such a palace, but they cannot follow thee thither."¹

The builder's rule in the hand of St. Thomas characterises him as the spiritual architect of King Gondoforus, and for the same reason he has been chosen among the saints as patron of architects and builders.

There is in this legend or allegory, fanciful as it is, an obvious beauty and significance, which I need not point out. It appears to me to be one of those many legends which originally were not assumed to be facts, but were related as parables, religious fictions invented for the instruction of the people, like our Saviour's stories of the 'Good Samaritan,' the 'Prodigal Son,' &c., and were rendered more striking and impressive by the introduction of a celebrated and exalted personage—our Saviour, the Virgin, or one of the apostles—as hero of the tale. This beautiful legend of St. Thomas and King Gondoforus is painted on one of the windows of the cathedral at Bourges,—an appropriate offering from the company of builders in that ancient city. It is also the subject of one of the finest of the

¹ *Legenda Aurea.*

ancient French *mysteries*, which was acted with great applause at Paris in the fourteenth century.

But, in the historical subjects from the life of St. Thomas, the first place must be given to the one scriptural incident in which he figures as a principal person. 'The Incredulity of St. Thomas' occurs in all the early series of the life of Christ, as one of the events of his mission, and one of the proofs of his resurrection. On the ancient gates of San Paolo it is treated with great simplicity as a sacred mystery, St. Thomas being the principal personage in the action, as the one whose conviction was to bring conviction to the universe. Christ stands on a pedestal surmounted by a cross; the apostles are ranged on each side, and St. Thomas, approaching, stretches forth his hand. The incident, as a separate subject, is of frequent occurrence in the later schools of Italy, and in the Flemish schools. The general treatment, when given in this dramatic style, admits of two variations: either St. Thomas is placing his hand, with an expression of doubt and fear, on the wounds of the Saviour; or, his doubts being removed, he is gazing upwards in adoration and wonder. Of the first, one of the finest examples is a well-known picture by Rubens,¹ one of his most beautiful works, and extraordinary for the truth of the expression in the countenance of the apostle, whose hand is on the side of Christ; St. John and St. Peter are behind. In Vandyck's picture at Petersburg, St. Thomas stoops to examine the Saviour's hand. In a design ascribed to Raphael, we have the second version: the look of astonished conviction in St. Thomas.² Niccolò Poussin has painted it finely, introducing twelve figures.³ Guercino's picture is celebrated, but he has committed the fault of representing the two principal figures both in profile.⁴

The legendary subject styled 'La Madonna della Cintola' belongs properly to the legends of the Virgin, but as St. Thomas is always a principal personage I shall mention it here. The legend relates that when the Madonna ascended into heaven, in the sight of the apostles, Thomas was absent; but after three days he returned, and, *doubting* the truth of her glorious translation, he desired that her

¹ Gallery of Antwerp.

² Passavant's Rafael, II. 116.

³ Eng. by Audran.

⁴ Gal. Vatican.



The Madonna of the Girdle.

tomb should be opened; which was done, and lo! it was found empty. Then the Virgin, taking pity on his weakness and want of faith, threw down to him her girdle, that this tangible proof remaining in his hands might remove all doubts for ever from his mind: hence in many pictures of the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin, St. Thomas is seen below holding the sacred girdle in his hand. For instance, in Raphael's beautiful 'Coronation' in the Vatican; and in Correggio's 'Assumption' at Parma, where St. Thomas holds the girdle, and another apostle kisses it.

The belief that the girdle is preserved in the Cathedral at Pistoia has rendered this legend a popular subject with the Florentine painters; and we find it treated, not merely as an incident in the scene of the Assumption, but in a manner purely mystic and devotional. Thus, in a charming bas-relief by Luca della Robbia,¹ the Virgin, surrounded by a choir of angels, presents her girdle to the apostle. In a beautiful picture by Granacci,² the Virgin is seated on the clouds; beneath is her empty sepulchre: on one side kneels St. Thomas, who receives with reverence the sacred girdle; on the other kneels the Archangel Michael. In simplicity of arrangement, beauty of expression, and tender harmony of colour, this picture has seldom been exceeded. Granacci has again treated this subject, and St. Thomas receives the girdle in the presence of St. John the Baptist, St. James Major, St. Laurence, and St. Bartholomew.³ We have the same subject by Paolino da Pistoia; by Sogliani; and by Mainardi, a large and very fine fresco in the church of Santa Croce at Florence.

A poetical and truly mystical version of this subject is that wherein the Infant Saviour, seated or standing on his mother's knee, looses her girdle and presents it to St. Thomas. Of this I have seen several examples; one in the Duomo at Viterbo.⁴

In the Martyrdom of St. Thomas, several idolaters pierce him through with lances and javelins. It was so represented on the doors of San Paolo, with four figures only. Rubens, in his large picture, has followed the legend very exactly; St. Thomas embraces the cross, at the foot of which he is about to fall, transfixed by spears.

¹ Fl. Acad.² Fl. Gal.³ Florence, Casa Ruccellai.⁴ The romantic Legend of the *sacratissima cintola*, 'the most sacred girdle of the Virgin, is given at length in the 'Legends of the Madonna,' p. 344.

A large picture in the gallery of Count Harrach at Vienna, called there the Martyrdom of St. Jude, I believe to represent the Martyrdom of St. Thomas. Two of the idolatrous priests pierce him with lances. Albert Dürer, in his beautiful print of St. Thomas, represents him holding the lance, the instrument of his martyrdom: but this is very unusual.

The eighth in the order of the Apostles is the Evangelist St. MATTHEW, of whom I have spoken at length.

ST. JAMES MINOR.

Lat. S. Jacobus Frater Domini. *Gr.* Adelphotheos. *Ital.* San Jacopo or Giacomo Minore. *Fr.* St. Jacques Mineur. (May 1.)

THE ninth is St. James Minor, or the Less, called also the Just: he was a near relative of Christ, being the son of Mary, the wife of Cleophas, who was the sister of the Virgin Mary; hence he is styled 'the Lord's brother.' Nothing particular is related of him till after the ascension. He is regarded as first Christian bishop of Jerusalem, and venerated for his self-denial, his piety, his wisdom, and his charity. These characteristics are conspicuous in the beautiful Epistle which bears his name. Having excited, by the fervour of his teaching, the fury of the Scribes and Pharisees, and particularly the enmity of the high-priest Ananus, they flung him down from a terrace or parapet of the Temple, and one of the infuriated populace below beat out his brains with a *fuller's club*.

In single figures and devotional pictures, St. James is generally leaning on this club, the instrument of his martyrdom. According to an early tradition, he so nearly resembled our Lord in person, in features and deportment, that it was difficult to distinguish them. 'The Holy Virgin herself,' says the legend, 'had she been *capable* of error, might have mistaken one for the other:' and this exact resemblance rendered necessary the kiss of the traitor Judas, in order to point out his victim to the soldiers.

This characteristic resemblance is attended to in the earliest and best representations of St. James, and by this he may usually be distinguished when he does not bear his club, which is often a thick stick or staff. With the exception of those Scripture scenes in which the apostles are present, I have met with few pictures in which St. James Minor is introduced: he does not appear to have been popular as a patron saint. The event of his martyrdom occurs very seldom, and is very literally rendered: the scene is a court of the Temple, with terraces and balconies; he is falling, or has fallen, to the ground, and one of the crowd lifts up the club to smite him.

Ignorant artists have in some instances confounded St. James Major and St. James Minor. The Cappella dei Belludi at Padua, already mentioned, dedicated to St. Philip and St. James, contains a series of frescoes from the life of St. James Minor, in which are some of the miraculous incidents attributed in the *Legenda Aurea* to St. James Major.



82 St. James Minor.

1. The Council of the Apostles held at Jerusalem, in which St. James was nominated chief or bishop of the infant Church. 2. Our Saviour after His resurrection appears to St. James, who had vowed not to eat till he should see Christ.¹ 3. St. James thrown down from the pulpit in the court of the Temple. 4. He is slain by the fuller. 5. A certain merchant is stript of all his goods by a tyrant,

¹ 'Very soon after the Lord was risen, he went to James, and showed Himself to him. For James had solemnly sworn that he would eat no bread from the time that he had drunk the cup of the Lord till he should see him risen from among them that sleep. "Bring," saith the Lord, "a table and bread." He took bread, and blessed and brake it, and then gave it to James the Just, and said to him, "My brother, eat thy bread; for the Son of man is risen from among them that sleep."'—St. Jerome, as quoted in Lardner, *Lives of the Apostles*, chap. xvi.

and cast into prison. He implores the protection of St. James, who, leading him to the summit of the tower, commands the tower to bow itself to the ground, and the merchant steps from it and escapes: or, according to the version followed in the fresco, the apostle lifts the tower on one side from its foundation, and the prisoner escapes from under it, like a mouse out of a trap. 6. A poor pilgrim, having neither money nor food, fell asleep by the way-side, and, on waking, found that St. James had placed beside him a loaf of bread, which miraculously supplied his wants to the end of his journey. These two last stories are told also of St. James of Galicia, but I have never met with any pictures of his life in which they are included. Here they undoubtedly refer to St. James Minor, the chapel being consecrated to his honour.

ST. SIMON ZELOTES (OR THE ZEALOT). ST. JUDE (THADDEUS,
OR LEBBEUS).

Ital. San Simone; San Taddeo. *Fr.* St. Simon le Zélé. *St.* Thaddée. *Ger.* Judas Thaddäus.
(Oct. 28.)

THE uncertainty, contradiction, and confusion which I find in all the ecclesiastical biographies relative to these apostles, make it impossible to give any clear account of them; and as subjects of Art they are so unimportant, and so uninteresting, that it is the less necessary. According to one tradition, they were the same mentioned by Matthew as our Lord's brethren or kinsmen. But, according to another tradition, they were not the same, but two brothers who were among the shepherds to whom the angel and the heavenly host revealed the birth of the Saviour. Those painters who followed the first tradition represent Simon and Jude as young, or at least in the prime of life. Those who adopt the second represent them as very old, taking it for granted that at the birth of Christ they must have been full-grown men; and this, I think, is the legend usually followed. It seems, however, generally agreed, that they preached the Gospel together in Syria and Mesopotamia, and together suffered martyrdom in Persia: in what

manner they suffered is unknown; but it is supposed that St. Simon was sawn asunder, and St. Thaddeus killed with a halberd.

In a series of apostles, St. Simon bears the saw, and St. Thaddeus a halberd. In Greek Art, Jude and Thaddeus are two different persons. Jude is represented young, Thaddeus old. St. Simon in extreme old age, with a bald head, and long white beard. In the Greek representation of his martyrdom, he is affixed to a cross exactly like that of our Saviour, so that, but for the superscription *O CIMON*, he might be mistaken for Christ. I do not know of any separate picture of these apostles.

There is, however, one manner of treating them, with reference to their supposed relationship to our Saviour, which is peculiarly beautiful. Assuming that the three last-named apostles, James, the son of Mary Cleophas; Simon and Jude; Joseph or Joses the Just, also named by Matthew among the brethren of Christ; together with James and John, the sons of Mary Salome,—were all nearly related to the Saviour; it was surely a charming idea to group as children around Him in His infancy those who were afterwards called to be the chosen ministers of His Word. Christianity, which has glorified womanhood and childhood, never suggested to the Christian artist a more beautiful subject, nor one which it would be more easy, by an unworthy or too picturesque treatment, to render merely pretty and commonplace. This version, however, of the *Sacra Famiglia* is rarely met with. There is an example in the Louvre, signed 'Laurentius' (Lorenzo di Pavia, A.D. 1513), which is remarkable as a religious representation; but the most beautiful instance of this treatment is a *chef-d'œuvre* of Perugino, in the Musée at Marseilles. In the centre is the Virgin, seated on a throne; she holds the infant Christ in her arms. Behind her is St. Anna, her two hands resting affectionately on the shoulders of the Virgin. In front, at the foot of the throne, are two lovely children, undraped, with glories round their heads, on which are inscribed their names, Simon and Thaddeus. To the right is Mary Salome, a beautiful young woman, holding a child in her arms—St. John, afterwards the evangelist. Near her is Joachim, the father of the Virgin. At his feet another child, James Major. To the left of the Virgin, Mary the wife of Cleophas, standing, holds by the hand

James Minor: behind her, Joseph, the husband of the Virgin, and at his feet another child, Joseph (or Joses) Justus. I have also seen this subject in illuminated MSS., and, however treated, it is surely very poetical and suggestive.¹

ST. MATTHIAS.

Ital. San Mattia. *Fr.* St. Mathias. (Feb. 24.)

ST. MATTHIAS, who was chosen by lot to fill the place of the traitor Judas, is the last of the apostles. (Acts i.) He preached the Gospel in Judea, and suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Jews, either by the lance or by the axe. In the Italian series of the apostles, he bears as his attribute the lance; in the German sets, more commonly the axe.² The ceremony of choosing St. Matthias by lot is the subject of a mediocre picture by Boschi. St. Denis says that the apostles were directed in their choice by a beam of divine splendour, for it were impious to suppose that such an election was made by chance. In this picture of Boschi, a ray of light falls from heaven on the head of St. Matthias.



83 St. Matthias. (Raphael.)

There is a figure of this apostle by Cosimo Roselli, holding a sword *by the point*: what might be the intention of that capricious painter it is now impossible to guess.³ Separate pictures of St. Matthias are very rare, and he is seldom

included in sets of the apostles.

¹ Matt. xiii. 55; Mark xv. 40.

² Fl. Gal.

³ Fl. Acad.

JUDAS ISCARIOT.

Ital. Giuda Scariota. *Fr.* Judas Iscariote.

THE very name of Judas Iscariot has become a by-word ; his person and character an eternal type of impiety, treachery, and ingratitude. We shudder at the associations called up by his memory ; his crime, without a name, so distances all possible human turpitude, that he cannot even be held forth as a terror to evil-doers ; we set him aside as one cut off ; we never think of him but in reference to the sole and unequalled crime recorded of him. Not so our ancestors ; one should have lived in the Middle Ages, to conceive the profound, the ever-present, horror with which Judas Iscariot was then regarded. The devil himself did not inspire the same passionate hatred and indignation. Being the devil, what *could* he be but devilish ? His wickedness was according to his infernal nature : but the crime of Judas remains the perpetual shame and reproach of our humanity. The devil betrayed mankind, but Judas betrayed his God.

The Gospels are silent as to the life of Judas before he became an apostle, but our progenitors of the Middle Ages, who could not conceive it possible that any being, however perverse, would rush at once into such an abyss of guilt, have filled up the omissions of Scripture after their own fancy. They picture Judas as a wretch foredoomed from the beginning of the world, and prepared by a long course of vice and crime for that crowning guilt which filled the measure full. According to this legend, he was of the tribe of Reuben. Before his mother brought him forth, she dreamed that the son who lay in her womb would be accursed, that he would murder his father, commit incest with his mother, and sell his God. Terrified at her dream, she took counsel with her husband, and

they agreed to avert the threatened calamity by exposing the child. As in the story of *Œdipus*, from which, indeed, this strange wild legend seems partly borrowed, the means taken to avert the threatened curse caused its fulfilment. Judas, at his birth, is enclosed in a chest, and flung into the sea; the sea casts him up, and, being found on the shore, he is fostered by a certain king and queen as their own son; they have, however, another son, whom Judas, malignant from his birth, beats and oppresses, and at length kills in a quarrel over a game at chess. He then flies to Judea, where he enters the service of Pontius Pilate as page. In due time he commits the other monstrous crimes to which he was predestined; and when he learns from his mother the secret of his birth, he is filled with a sudden contrition and terror; he hears of the prophet who has power on earth to forgive sins; and seeking out Christ throws himself at His feet. Our Saviour, not deceived, but seeing in him the destined betrayer, and that all things may be accomplished, accepts him as His apostle: he becomes the seneschal or steward of Christ, bears the purse, and provides for the common wants. In this position, avarice, the only vice to which he was not yet addicted, takes possession of his soul, and makes the corruption complete. Through avarice he grudges every penny given to the poor, and when Mary Magdalene anoints the feet of our Lord he is full of wrath at what he considers the waste of the precious perfume: 'Why was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence, and given to the poor? This he said, not that he cared for the poor, but because he was a thief.' Through avarice, he yields to the bribe offered by the Jews. Then follow the scenes of the betrayal of Christ, and the late repentance and terrible suicide of the traitor, as recorded in Scripture. But in the old Mystery of the 'Passion of Christ' the repentance and fate of Judas are very dramatically worked out, and with all possible circumstances of horror. When he beholds the mild Saviour before the judgment-seat of Herod, he repents: Remorse, who figures as a real personage, seizes on the fated wretch, and torments him till in his agony he invokes Despair. Despair appears, almost in the guise of the 'accursed wight' in Spenser, and, with like arguments, urges him to make away with his life:—

And brings unto him swords, rope, poison, fire,
 And all that might him to perdition draw,
 And bids him choose what death he would desire.

Or in the more homely language of the old French mystery —

Il faut que tu passes le pas !
 Voici dagues et coutelas,
 Forcettes, poinçons, allumettes,—
 Avise, choisis les plus belles,
 Et celles de meilleure forge,
 Pour te couper à coup la gorge ;
 Ou si tu aimes mieux te pendre,
 Voici laes et cordes à vendre.

The offer here of the bodkins and the allumettes reminds us of the speech of Falconbridge :—

If thou would'st drown thyself,
 Put but a little water in a spoon,
 And it shall be as all the ocean,
 Enough to stifle such a villain up.

Judas chooses the rope, and hangs himself forthwith ; 'and falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out : ' which account is explained by an early tradition, that being found and cut down, his body was thrown over the parapet of the Temple into the ravine below, and, in the fall, was riven and dashed to pieces.

There required but one more touch of horror to complete the picture ; and this is furnished by a sonnet of Giani, which I remember to have read in my youth. When Judas falls from the fatal tree, his evil genius seizes the broken rope, and drags him down to the seething abyss below : at his approach, hell sends forth a shout of rejoicing ; Lucifer smooths his brow, corrugated with fire and pain, and rises from his burning throne to welcome a greater sinner than himself :—

Poi fra le braccia incatenò quel tristo,
 E colla bocca sfavillante e nera
 Gli rese il bacio ch' avea dato a Christo !

The retribution imaged in the last two lines borders, I am afraid, on a *concetto* ; but it makes one shiver, notwithstanding.

Separate representations of the figure or of the life of Judas Iscariot are not, of course, to be looked for; they would have been regarded as profane, as ominous,—worse than the evil-eye. In those Scripture scenes in which he finds a place, it was the aim of the early artists to give him a countenance as hateful, as expressive of treachery, meanness, malignity, as their skill could compass,—the Italians having depended more on expression, the German and Spanish painters on form. We have a conviction, that if the man had really worn such a look, such features, he would have been cast out from the company of the apostles; the legend already referred to says expressly that Judas was of a comely appearance, and was recommended to the service of Pontius Pilate by his beauty of person: but the painters, speaking to the people in the language of form, were right to admit of no equivocation. The same feeling which induced them to concentrate on the image of the Demon all they could conceive of hideous and repulsive, made them picture the exterior of Judas as deformed and hateful as the soul within; and, by an exaggeration of the Jewish cast of features combined with red hair and beard, they flattered themselves that they had attained the desired object. But as if this were not enough, the ancient painters, particularly in the old illuminations, and in Byzantine Art, represent Judas as directly and literally possessed by the Devil: sometimes it is a little black demon seated on his shoulder, and whispering in his ear; sometimes entering his mouth: thus, in their simplicity, rendering the words of the Gospel, 'Then entered Satan into Judas.'

The colour proper to the dress of Judas is a dirty dingy yellow; and in Spain this colour is so intimately associated with the image of the arch-traitor, as to be held in universal dislike: both in Spain and in Italy, malefactors and galley-slaves are clothed in yellow.¹ At Venice the Jews were obliged to wear yellow hats.

¹ See Ford's 'Handbook of Spain;' also Goethe's 'Theory of Colours,' translated by Sir C. Eastlake. 'When a yellow colour is communicated to dull and coarse surfaces, such as common cloth, felt, or the like, on which it does not appear with full energy, the disagreeable effect alluded to is apparent. By a slight and scarcely perceptible change, the beautiful impression of fire and gold is transformed into one not undeserving the epithet foul, and the colour of honour and joy reversed to that of ignominy and aversion. To this impression, the yellow hats of bankrupts, and the yellow circles on the mantles of Jews, may have owed their origin.'—(P. 308.)

In some of the Scriptural scenes in which Judas is mentioned or supposed to be present, it is worth while to remark whether the painter has passed him over as spoiling the harmony of the sacred composition by his intrusive ugliness and wickedness, or has rendered him conspicuous by a distinct and characteristic treatment. In a picture by Niccolò Frumentini¹ of the Magdalene at the feet of our Saviour, Judas stands in the foreground, looking on with a most diabolical expression of grudging malice mingled with scorn; he seems to grind his teeth as he says, 'To what purpose is this waste?' In Perugino's beautiful picture of the washing the feet of the disciples,² Judas is at once distinguished, looking askance with a wicked sneer on his face, which is not otherwise ugly. In Raphael's composition of the Magdalene anointing the feet of Christ, Judas leans across the table with an angry look of expostulation.

Those subjects in which Judas Iscariot appears as a principal personage follow here.

1. Angelico da Fiesole.³ He is bribed by the Jews. The high priest pays into the hand of Judas the thirty pieces of silver. They are standing before a doorway on some steps; Judas is seen in profile, and has the nimbus as one of the apostles: three persons are behind, one of whom expresses disapprobation and anxiety. In this subject, and in others wherein Judas is introduced, Angelico has not given him ugly and deformed features; but in the scowling eye and bent brow there is a vicious expression.

In Duccio's series of the 'Passion of our Saviour,' in the Duomo at Siena, he has, in this and in other scenes, represented Judas with regular and not ugly features; but he has a villanous, and at the same time anxious, expression;—he has a bad conscience.

The scene between Judas and the high-priest is also given by Schalken as a candle-light effect, and in the genuine Dutch style.

2. 'Judas betrays his Master with a kiss.' This subject will be noticed at large in the Life of Christ. The early Italians, in giving this scene with much dramatic power, never forgot the Scriptural dignity required; while the early Germans, in their endeavour to render Judas as odious in physiognomy as in heart, have, in this as in many other instances, rendered the awful and the pathetic merely

¹ Fl. Gal.² Manfrini P., Venice.³ Fl. Acad.

grotesque. We must infer from Scripture, that Judas with all his perversity, had a conscience: he would not else have hanged himself. In the physiognomy given to him by the old Germans, there is no trace of this; he is an ugly malignant brute, and nothing more.

3. Rembrandt. 'Judas throws down the thirty pieces of silver in the Temple, and departs.'¹

4. 'The remorse of Judas.' He is seated and in the act of putting the rope about his neck; beside him is seen the purse and the money, scattered about the ground. The design is by Bloemart, and from the Latin inscription underneath, appears to be intended as a warning to all unrighteous dealers.

5. 'Judas hanging on a tree' is sometimes introduced into the background, in ancient pictures of the Deposition and the Entombment: there is one in the Frankfort Museum.

6. 'Demons toss the soul of Judas from hand to hand in the manner of a ball:' in an old French miniature.² This is sufficiently grotesque in representation; yet, in the idea, there is a restless, giddy horror which thrills us. At all events, it is better than placing Judas between the jaws of Satan with his legs in the air, as Dante has done, and as Orcagna in his Dantesque fresco has very literally rendered the description of the poet.³

¹ In the gallery of Lord Charlemont, Dublin.

² MS., No. 7206, Bib. du Roi.

³ Florence, S. Maria Novella. It is clear that the extravagant legends which refer to Judas Iscariot were the inventions of the Middle Ages, and are as little countenanced by the writings of the early fathers as by the Gospels. Eusebius says, that 'Christ gave like gifts to Judas with the other apostles; that once our Saviour had good hopes of him on account of the power of the free will, for Judas was not of such a nature as rendered his salvation impossible; like the other apostles, he might have been instructed by the Son of God, and might have been a sincere and good disciple.' (Quoted in Lardner, vol. viii. p. 77.) The Mahometans believe that Christ did not die, that He ascended alive into heaven, and that Judas was crucified in His likeness.—(Curzon, p. 185.)

Leonardo da Vinci



Giotto



Raphael



THE LAST SUPPER.

Ital. Il Cenacolo. *La Cena.* *Fr.* La Cène. *Ger.* Das Abendmal Christi.

I HAVE already mentioned the principal scenes in which the Twelve always appear together; there is, however, one event belonging properly to the Life of Christ, so important in itself, presenting the Apostles under an aspect so peculiar, and throwing so much interest around them collectively and individually, that I must bring it under notice here.

Next to the Crucifixion, there is no subject taken from the history of our redemption so consecrated in Art as the Last Supper. The awful signification lent to it by Protestants as well as Catholics has given it a deep religious import, and caused its frequent representation in churches; it has been, more particularly, the appropriate decoration of the refectories of convents, hospitals, and other institutions having a sacred character. In our Protestant churches it is generally the subject of the altar-piece, where we have one.

Besides being one of the most important and interesting, it is one of the most difficult among the sacred subjects treated in Art. While the fixed number of personages introduced, the divine and paramount dignity of One among them, the well-known character of all, have limited the invention of the artist, they have tasked to the utmost his power of expression. The occasion, that of a repast eaten by twelve persons, is, under its material aspect, so commonplace, and, taken in the spiritual sense, so awful, that to elevate himself to the height of his theme, while keeping the ideal conscientiously bounded within its frame of circumstance, demanded in the artist aspirations of the grandest order, tempered by the utmost sobriety of reflection; and the deepest insight into the springs of character, combined with the most perfect knowledge of the indications of character as manifested through form. On the other hand, if it has been difficult to succeed, it has been equally difficult to fail signally and completely; because the spectator is not here, as in the crucifixion, in danger of

being perpetually shocked, by the intrusion of anomalous incidents, and is always ready to supply the dignity and meaning of a scene so familiar in itself out of his own mind and heart. It has followed, that mediocrity has been more prevalent and more enduring in this than in any other of the more serious subjects of Art. But where excellence has been in some few instances attained, it has been attained in such a supreme degree, that these examples have become a perpetual source of contemplation and of emulation, and rank among the most renowned productions of human genius.

But, before I come to consider these analytically, it is necessary to premise one or two observations, which will assist us to discrimination in the general treatment.

Pictures and works of Art, which represent the Last Supper of our Lord, admit of the same classification which I have adhered to generally throughout this work. Those which represent it as a religious mystery must be considered as *devotional*; those which represent it merely as a scene in the passion of our Saviour are *historical*. In the first, we have the spiritual origin of the Eucharist; in the second, the highly dramatic detection of Judas. It is evident that the predominating *motif* in each must be widely different. In paintings which are intended for the altar, or for the chapels of the Holy Sacrament, we have the first, the mystical version;—it is the distribution of the spiritual food. In the second form, as the Last Supper eaten by Christ with His disciples, as leading the mind to an humble and grateful sense of His sacrifice, as repressing all sinful indulgence in food, it has been the subject chosen to decorate the refectory or common dining-room of convents.

It is curious that on the Christian sarcophagi the Last Supper does not occur. There is, in the Vatican, a rude painting taken from the catacombs representing twelve persons in a semicircle, with something like plates and dishes before them. I could not determine whether this was our Saviour and His apostles, or merely one of those feasts or suppers instituted by the early Christians called *Agapæ* or love-feasts; but I should think the latter.

On the Dalmatica (deacon's robe) preserved in the sacristy of the Vatican, there is, if the date be exact (A.D. 795), the most ancient representation I have seen of the institution of the Sacrament. The

embroidery, which is wonderfully beautiful, is a copy from Byzantine Art. On one side, our Saviour stands by a table or altar, and presents the cup to His apostles, one of whom approaches in a reverential attitude, and with his hands folded in his robe; on the other side, Christ presents the wafer or host: so that we have the two separate moments in separate groups.

There exists in the Duomo of Lodi the most ancient sculptural example of this subject I have met with; it is a bas-relief of the twelfth century, dated 1163, and fixed in the wall to the left of the entrance. Christ and the apostles are in a straight row, all very much alike; six of the apostles lay their hands on their breast,—‘Lord, is it I?’ and Christ presents the sop to Judas, who sits in front, and is as ugly as possible.

Although all the Byzantine pictures of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries which have come under my notice represent Christ breaking the bread or holding the cup, that is, the institution of the Sacrament, the Greek formula published by Didron distinguishes between this scene and that of the repast in which Judas is denounced as a traitor. The earliest representation to which I can refer in Western Art, as taking the historical form, is the Cenacolo of Giotto, the oldest and the most important that has been preserved to us; it was painted by him in the refectory of the convent of Santa Croce at Florence. This refectory, when I visited it in 1847, was a carpet manufactory, and it was difficult to get a good view of the fresco by reason of the intervention of the carpet-looms. It has been often restored, and is now in a bad state; still, enough remains to understand the original intention of the artist, and that arrangement which has since been the groundwork of similar compositions.

A long table extends across the picture from side to side: in the middle, and fronting the spectator, sits the Redeemer; to the right, St. John, his head reclining on the lap of Christ: next to him, Peter; after Peter, St. James Major; thus placing together the three favourite disciples. Next to St. James, St. Matthew, St. Bartholomew, and a young beardless apostle, probably St. Philip.

On the left hand of our Saviour is St. Andrew; and next to him, St. James Minor (the two St. Jameses bearing the traditional re-

semblance to Christ); then St. Simon and St. Jude; and lastly, a young apostle, probably St. Thomas. (The reader will have the goodness to recollect that I give this explanation of the names and position of the eleven apostles as my own, and with due deference to the opinion of those who on a further study of the fresco may differ from me.) Opposite to the Saviour, and on the near side of the table, sits Judas, apart from the rest, and in the act of dipping his hand into the dish. It is evident that the moment chosen by the artist is, 'He that dippeth with me in the dish, the same shall betray me.'

Although the excuse may be found in the literal adoption of the words of the Gospel,¹ it appears to me a fault to make St. John leaning, as one half asleep, on the lap of our Saviour, after such words have been uttered as must have roused, or at least ought to have roused, the young and beloved apostle from his supine attitude; therefore, we may suppose that Christ is about to speak the words, but has not yet spoken them. The position of Judas is caused by the necessity of placing him sufficiently near to Christ to dip his hand in the same dish; while to have placed him on the same side of the table, so as to give him the precedence over the more favoured disciples, would have appeared to the early artists nothing less than profane. Giotto has paid great attention to the heads, which are individually characterised, but there is little dramatic expression; the attention is not yet directed to Judas, who is seen in profile, looking up, not ugly in feature, but with a mean vicious countenance, and bent shoulders.

The arrangement of the table and figures, so peculiarly fitted for a refectory, has been generally adopted since the time of Giotto in pictures painted for this especial purpose. The subject is placed on the upper wall of the chamber; the table extending from side to side: the tables of the monks are placed, as in the dining-rooms of our colleges, length-ways; thus all can behold the divine assembly, and Christ appears to preside over and sanctify the meal.

In another Cenacolo by Giotto,² which forms one of the scenes in the history of Christ, he has given us a totally different version of the

¹ The Greek expression, 'leaning on His bosom, or on His lap,' is not, I believe, to be taken literally, being used to signify an intimate and affectionate intercourse.

² Florence Acad.

subject; and, not being intended for a refectory, but as an action or event, it is more dramatic. It is evident that our Saviour has just uttered the words, 'He that dippeth with me in the dish, the same shall betray me.' Judas, who has mean, ugly, irregular features, looks up alarmed, and seems in the act of rising to escape. One apostle (Philip, I think) points at him, and the attention of all is more or less directed to him. This would be a fault if the subject were intended for a refectory, or to represent the celebration of the Eucharist. But here, where the subject is historical, it is a propriety.

The composition of Duccio of Siena, in the Duomo at Siena, must have been nearly contemporary with, if it did not precede, those of Giotto (A.D. 1308); it is quite different, quite original in *motif* and arrangement. Seven apostles sit on the same side with Christ, and five opposite to Him, turning their backs on the spectator; the faces are seen in profile. The attitude of St. John, leaning against our Saviour with downcast eyes, is much more graceful than in the composition of Giotto. St. Peter is on the right of Christ; next to him St. James Minor: two young apostles sit at the extreme ends of the table, whom I suppose to be St. Philip and St. Thomas: the other apostles I am unable to discriminate, with the exception of Judas, who, with regular features, has a characteristic scowl on his brow. Christ holds out a piece of bread in His hand: two of the apostles likewise hold bread, and two others hold a cup; the rest look attentive or pensive, but the general character of the heads is deficient in elevation. The moment chosen may be the distribution of the bread and wine; but, to me, it rather expresses the commencement of the meal, and our Saviour's address: 'With desire have I desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer' (Luke xxii. 15). The next compartment of the same series, which represents the apostles seated in a group before Christ, and listening with upturned faces and the most profound attention to His last words, has much more of character, solemnity, and beauty, than the Last Supper. Judas is here omitted; 'for he, having received the sop, went immediately out.'

Angelico da Fiesole, in his Life of Christ, has been careful to distinguish between the detection of Judas and the institution of the

Eucharist.¹ He has given us both scenes. In the first compartment, John is leaning down with his face to the Saviour; the back of his head only is seen, and he appears too unmindful of what is going forward. The other apostles are well discriminated, the usual type strictly followed in Peter, Andrew, James Major and James Minor. To the right of Christ are Peter, Andrew, Bartholomew; to the left, James Minor. Four turn their backs, and two young apostles stand on each side,—I presume Thomas and Philip; they seem to be waiting on the rest: Judas dips his hand in the dish. I suppose the moment to be the same as in the composition of Duccio.

But in the next compartment the *motif* is different. All have risen from table; it is no longer a repast, it is a sacred mystery; Christ is in the act of administering the bread to St. John; all kneel; and Judas is seen kneeling behind Christ, near an open door, and apart from the rest, as if he were watching for the opportunity to escape. To dispose of Judas in this holy ceremony is always a difficulty. To represent him as receiving with the rest the sacred rite is an offence to the pious. The expression used by St. John (xii. 30), 'After he had received the sop he went out,' implies that Judas was not present at the Lord's Supper, which succeeded the celebration of the paschal supper. St. Luke and St. Mark, neither of whom were present, leave us to suppose that Judas partook, with the other disciples, of the mystic bread and wine; yet we can hardly believe that, after having been pointed out as the betrayer, the conscience-stricken Judas should remain to receive the Eucharist. Sometimes he is omitted altogether; sometimes he is stealing out at the door. In the composition of Luca Signorelli, which I saw at Cortona, all the twelve apostles are kneeling; Christ is distributing the wafer; and Judas, turning away with a malignant look, puts *his* wafer into his satchel. In the composition of Palmezzano, in the Duomo at Forlì, our Saviour stands, holding a plate, and is in the act of presenting the wafer to Peter, who kneels: St. John stands by the side of Christ, holding the cup. Judas is in the background; he kneels by the door, and seems to be watching for the opportunity to steal away.

✓ The fine composition, fine also in sentiment and character, of Ghir-

¹ In the series of compositions from the Life of Christ, now in the Academy at Florence; beautifully and faithfully engraved by P. Nocchi.

landajo, was painted for the small refectory in the San Marco at Florence. The arrangement is ingenious; the table is of what we call the horse-shoe form, which allows all the figures to face the spectator; and at the same time takes up less room than where the table runs across the picture from side to side. Judas sits in front, alone; Christ has just designated him. 'He it is to whom I shall give the sop when I have dipped it' (John xiii. 26). Judas holds the sop in his hand, with an alarmed conscious look. Behind sits an ill-omened cat, probably intended for the fiend. John, to the left of Christ, appears to have swooned away. The other apostles express, in various ways, amazement and horror.

It has been a question among critics, whether the purse ought to be placed in the hand of Judas when present at the Last Supper, because it is usually understood as containing the thirty pieces of silver: but this is a mistake; and it leads to the mistake of representing him as hiding the purse, as if it contained the price of his treachery. Judas carries the purse openly, for he was the steward, or purse-bearer, of the party: 'he had the bag, and bare what was put therein' (John xii. 6, xiii. 29): and as the money-bag is also the attribute of St. Matthew the tax-gatherer, we must take care not to confound him with the traitor and thief. This brings me to the consideration of the subject as treated by Albert Dürer.

In the series of large woodcuts from the Passion of our Saviour (styled '*La grande Passion*'), the Cenacolo is an event, and not a mystery. John, as a beautiful youth, is leaning against our Saviour with downcast eyes; he does not look as if he had thrown himself down half asleep, but as if Christ had put His arm around him, and drawn and pressed him fondly towards Him. On the right is Peter: the other apostles are not easily discriminated, but they have all that sort of *grandiose* ugliness which is so full of character, and so particularly the characteristic of the artist: the apostle seated in front in a cowering attitude, holding the purse which he seems anxious to conceal, and looking up apprehensively, I suppose to be Judas.

In the smaller sets of woodcuts ('*La petite Passion*') I believe the apostle with the purse in the foreground to be St. Matthew; while the ugly, lank-haired personage behind Christ, who looks as if about to steal away, is probably intended for Judas: one of the

apostles has laid hold of him, and seems to say, 'Thou art the man!'

There is a third *Cenacolo*, by Albert Dürer, which plainly represents the Eucharist. The cup only is on the table, and Judas is omitted.

In a *Cenacolo* by another old German, Judas is in the act of receiving the sop which Christ is putting into his mouth; and at the same time he is *hiding* the purse:—a mistake, as I have already observed.

These examples must suffice to give some idea of the manner in which this subject was generally treated by the early German and Italian artists. But, whether presented before us as a dramatic scene expressing individual character, or as an historical event memorable in the life of Christ, or as a religious rite of awful and mysterious import—all the examples I have mentioned are in some respects deficient. We have the feeling, that, whatever may be the merit in sentiment, in intention, in detail, what has been attempted has *not* been achieved.

When Leonardo da Vinci, the greatest thinker as well as the greatest painter of his age, brought all the resources of his wonderful mind to bear on the subject, then sprang forth a creation so consummate, that since that time it has been at once the wonder and the despair of those who have followed in the same path. True, the work of his hand is perishing—will soon have perished utterly. I remember well, standing before this wreck of a glorious presence, so touched by its pale, shadowy, and yet divine significance, and by its hopelessly impending ruin, that the tears sprang involuntarily. Fortunately for us, multiplied copies have preserved at least the intention of the artist in his work. We can judge of what it *has* been, and take that for our text and for our theme.

The purpose being the decoration of a refectory in a rich convent, the chamber lofty and spacious, Leonardo has adopted the usual arrangement: the table runs across from side to side, filling up the whole extent of the wall, and the figures, being above the eye, and to be viewed from a distance, are colossal; they would otherwise have appeared smaller than the real personages seated at the tables

below. The moment selected is the utterance of the words, ' Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me : ' or rather the words have just been uttered, and the picture expresses their effect on the different auditors. It is of these auditors, his apostles, that I have to speak, and not of Christ himself; for the full consideration of the subject, as it regards *Him*, must be deferred; the intellectual elevation, the fineness of nature, the benign God-like dignity, suffused with the profoundest sorrow, in this divine head, surpassed all I could have conceived as possible in Art; and, faded as it is, the character there, being stamped on it by the soul, not the hand, of the artist, will remain while a line or hue remains visible. It is a divine shadow, and, until it fades into nothing, and disappears utterly, will have the lineaments of divinity. Next to Christ is St. John; he has just been addressed by Peter, who beckons to him that he should ask ' of whom the Lord spake : '—his disconsolate attitude, as he has raised himself to reply, and leans his clasped hands on the table, the almost feminine sweetness of his countenance, express the character of this gentle and amiable apostle. Peter, leaning from behind, is all fire and energy; Judas, who knows full well of whom the Saviour spake, starts back amazed, oversetting the salt; his fingers clutch the bag, of which he has the charge, with that action which Dante describes as characteristic of the avaricious :—

Questi risurgeranno dal sepolcro
Col pugno chiuso.

These from the tomb with clenched grasp shall rise.

His face is seen in profile, and cast into shadow; without being vulgar, or even ugly, it is hateful. St. Andrew, with his long grey beard, lifts up his hands, expressing the wonder of a simple-hearted old man. St. James Minor, resembling the Saviour in his mild features, and the form of his beard and hair, lays his hand on the shoulder of St. Peter—the expression is, ' *Can* it be possible? Have we heard aright?' Bartholomew, at the extreme end of the table, has risen perturbed from his seat; he leans forward with a look of eager attention, the lips parted; he is impatient to hear more. (The fine copy of Uggione, in the Royal Academy, does not give this

anxious look—he is attentive only.) On the left of our Saviour is St. James Major, who has also a family resemblance to Christ; his arms are outstretched, he shrinks back, he repels the thought with horror. The vivacity of the action and expression are wonderfully true and characteristic. (Morghen, the engraver, erroneously supposed this to represent St. Thomas, and placed on the border of his robe an inscription fixing the identity; which inscription, as Bossi asserts, never did exist in the original picture.) St. Thomas is behind St. James, rather young, with a short beard; he holds up his hand, threatening—‘If there be indeed such a wretch, let him look to it.’ Philip, young and with a beautiful head, lays his hand on his heart; he protests his love, his truth. Matthew, also beardless, has more elegance, as one who belonged to a more educated class than the rest; he turns to Jude and points to our Saviour, as if about to repeat His words, ‘Do you hear what He says?’ Simon and Jude sit together (Leonardo has followed the tradition which makes them old and brothers); Jude expresses consternation; Simon, with his hands stretched out, a painful anxiety.

To understand the wonderful skill with which this composition has been arranged, it ought to be studied long and minutely; and, to appreciate its relative excellence, it ought to be compared with other productions of the same period. Leonardo has contrived to break the formality of the line of heads without any apparent artifice, and without disturbing the grand simplicity of the usual order; and he has vanquished the difficulties in regard to the position of Judas, without making him too prominent. He has imparted to a solemn scene sufficient movement and variety of action, without detracting from its dignity and pathos; he has kept the expression of each head true to the traditional character, without exaggeration, without effort. To have done this, to have been the first to do this, required the far-reaching philosophic mind, not less than the excelling hand, of this ‘miracle of nature,’ as Mr Hallam styles Leonardo, with reference to his scientific as well as his artistic powers.

And now to turn to another miracle of nature, Raphael. He has given us three compositions for the Last Supper. The fresco lately

discovered in the refectory of Sant' Onofrio, at Florence, is an early work painted in his twenty-third year (A.D. 1505). The authenticity of this picture has been vehemently disputed; for myself—as far as my opinion is worth anything—I never, after the first five minutes, had a doubt on the subject. As to its being the work of Neri de' Bicci, I do not believe it possible; and as for the written documents brought forward to prove this, I turn from them to 'the handwriting on the wall,' and there I see, in characters of light, RAPHAEL—and *him* only. It is, however, a youthful work, full of sentiment and grace, but deficient, it appears to me, in that depth and discrimination of character displayed in his later works. It is evident that he had studied Giotto's fresco in the neighbouring Santa Croce. The arrangement is nearly the same.

Christ is in the centre; His right hand is raised, and He is about to speak; the left hand is laid, with extreme tenderness in the attitude and expression, on the shoulder of John, who reclines upon Him. To the right of Christ is St. Peter, the head of the usual character; next to him St. Andrew, with the flowing grey hair and long divided beard; St. James Minor, the head declined resembling Christ: he holds a cup. St. Philip is seen in profile with a white beard: (this is contrary to the received tradition, which makes him young; and I doubt the correctness of this appellation). St. James Major, at the extreme end of the table, looks out of the picture; Raphael has apparently represented himself in this apostle. On the left of Christ, after St. John, is St. Bartholomew; he holds a knife, and has the black beard and dark complexion usually given to him. Then Matthew, something like Peter, but milder and more refined. Thomas, young and handsome, pours wine into a cup, last, on the right, are Simon and Jude: Raphael has followed the tradition which supposes them young, and the kinsmen of our Saviour. Judas sits on a stool on the near side of the table, opposite to Christ, and while he dips his hand into the dish he looks round to the spectators; he has the Jewish features, red hair and beard, and a bad expression. All have glories; but the glory round the head of Judas is much smaller than the others.¹

¹ This is also observable in the Last Supper by Nicolò Petri in the San Francesco at Pisa.

In the second composition, one of the series of the Life of Christ, in the Loggie of the Vatican, Raphael has placed the apostles round a table, four on each of the three sides: our Saviour presiding in the centre. John and Peter, who are, as usual, nearest to Christ, look to Him with an animated appealing expression. Judas is in front, looking away from the rest, and as if about to rise. The other heads are not well discriminated, nor is the moment well expressed: there is, indeed, something confused and inharmonious, unlike Raphael, in the whole composition. I pass it over, therefore, without further remark, to come to the third example—a masterpiece of his later years, worthy as a composition of being compared with Leonardo's; but, never having been painted, we can only pronounce it perfect as far as it goes. The original drawing enriches the collection of the Queen of England: the admirable engraving of Marc Antonio, said to have been touched by Raphael, is before me while I write. From the disposition of the unshod feet as seen under the table, it is styled by collectors '*il pezzo dei piedi:*' from the arrangement of the table and figures it was probably designed for a refectory.

In the centre is Christ, with both hands resting on the table; in the head, a melancholy resignation. Peter is on the right, his hand on his breast. John, on the left, places both hands on his breast, with a most animated expression,—'You cannot believe it is I?' Andrew has laid his hand on the shoulder of Peter, and leans forward with a sad interrogative expression. The head of Judas has features akin to those of the antique satyr, with the look askance of a detected villain: he has heard the words, but he dares not meet the eye, of his Divine Master: he has no purse. James Minor, next to John, with his hands extended, seems to speak sadly to Philip: 'And they began to inquire among themselves, which of them should do this thing?' The whole composition is less dramatic, has less variety of action and attitude, than that of Leonardo, but is full of deep melancholy feeling.

The Cenacolo of Andrea del Sarto, in the Convent of the Salvi near Florence, takes, I believe, the third rank after those of Leonardo and Raphael. He has chosen the self-same moment, 'One of you shall betray me.' The figures are, as usual, ranged on one side of a

long table. Christ, in the centre, holds a piece of bread in His hand ; on His left is St. John, and on His right St. James Major, both seen in profile. The face of St. John expresses interrogation ; that of St. James, interrogation and a start of amazement. Next to St. James are Peter, Thomas, Andrew ; then Philip, who has a small cross upon his breast. After St. John come James Minor, Simon, Jude, Judas Iscariot, and Bartholomew. Judas, with his hands folded together, leans forward, and looks down, with a round mean face, in which there is no power of any kind, not even of malignity. In passing almost immediately from the Cenacolo in the St. Onofrio to that in the Salvi, we feel strongly all the difference between the mental and moral superiority of Raphael at the age of twenty, and the artistic greatness of Andrea in the maturity of his age and talent. This fresco deserves its high celebrity. It is impossible to look on it without admiration, considered as a work of Art. The variety of the attitudes, the disposition of the limbs beneath the table, the ample, tasteful draperies, deserve the highest praise ; but the heads are deficient in character and elevation, and the whole composition wants that solemnity of feeling proper to the subject.

The Cenacolo of Titian, painted for Philip II. for the altar of his chapel in the Escorial, is also a notable example of the want of proper reverential feeling : two servants are in attendance ; Judas is in front, averting his head, which is in deep shadow ; a dog is under the table, and the Holy Ghost is descending from above.

Niccolò Poussin has three times painted the Cenacolo. In the two series of the Seven Sacraments, he has, of course, represented the institution of the Eucharist, as proper to his subject ; in both instances, in that pure and classical taste proper to himself. In the best and largest composition, the apostles are reclining on couches round the table. Christ holds a plate full of bread, and appears as saying, 'Take, eat.' Four are putting the morsel into their mouths. Judas is seen behind, with an abject look, stealing out of the room.

The faults which I have observed in pictures of this subject are chiefly met with in the Venetian, Flemish, and later Bolognese schools. When the *motif* selected is the institution of the Eucharist,

it is a fault to sacrifice the solemnity and religious import of the scene in order to render it more dramatic: it ought not to be dramatic; but the pervading sentiment should be *one*, a deep and awful reverence. When Christ is distributing the bread and wine, the apostles should not be conversing with each other; nor should the figures exceed twelve in number, for it appears to me that the introduction of Judas disturbs the sacred harmony and tranquillity of the scene. When the *motif* is the celebration of the Passover, or the detection of Judas, a more dramatic and varied arrangement is necessary; but here, to make the apostles intent on eating and drinking, as in some old German pictures, is a fault. Even Albano has represented one of the apostles as peeping into an empty wine-pitcher with a disappointed look.

It appears to me, also, a gross fault to introduce dogs and cats, and other animals; although I have heard it observed, that a dog gnawing a bone is introduced with propriety, to show that the supper is over, the Paschal Lamb eaten, before the moment represented.

Vulgar heads, taken from vulgar models, or selected without any regard either to the ancient types, or the traditional character of the different apostles, are defects of frequent occurrence, especially in the older German schools; and in Titian, Paul Veronese, and Rubens, even where the heads are otherwise fine and expressive, the scriptural truth of character is in general sacrificed.

It is a fault, as I have already observed, to represent Judas anxiously concealing the purse.

Holbein, in his famous Last Supper at Basle, and in the small one in the Louvre, has adopted the usual arrangement: the heads all want elevation; but here the attention fixes at once upon Judas Iscariot—the very ideal of scoundrelism—I can use no other word to express the unmitigated ugliness, vulgarity, and brutality of the face. Lavater has referred to it as an example of the physiognomy proper to cruelty and avarice; but the dissimulation is wanting. This base, eager, hungry-looking villain stands betrayed by his own looks: he is too prominent; he is, in fact, the principal figure;—a fault in taste, feeling, and propriety.

The introduction of a great number of figures, as spectators or attendants, is a fault; excusable, perhaps, where the subject is decorative and intended for the wall of a refectory, but not otherwise. In the composition of Paul Veronese, there are twenty-three figures; in that of Zuccherò, forty-five; in that of Baroccio, twenty-one. These supernumerary persons detract from the dignity and solemnity of the scene.

Tintoretto has introduced several spectators, and among them an old woman spinning in a corner, who, while she turns her spindle, looks on with an observant eye. This alludes to an early tradition, that the Last Supper was eaten in the house of Mary, the mother of Mark the evangelist. But it is nowhere said that she was present, and therefore it is an impropriety to introduce her. Magnificent architecture, as in the picture by B. Peruzzi (who, by the way, was an architect), seems objectionable: but equally unsuitable is the poor dismantled garret in this picture of Tintoretto; for the chamber in which the scene took place was 'the guest chamber,' a large upper room, ready prepared; and as it was afterwards the scene of the Pentecost, it must have held more than a hundred persons.

It is a fault, as I have already observed, to represent John as *asleep* on the breast or the shoulder of our Saviour.

Though countenanced by the highest authorities in Art, I believe it must be considered as a fault, or at least a mistake, to represent our Saviour and His apostles as seated, instead of reclining round the table. It is a fault, not merely because the use of the *triclinium* or couch at all social meals was general in the antique times,—for the custom of sitting upright was not so entirely extinct among the Jews but that it might on any other occasion have been admissible,—but, from peculiar circumstances, it became in this instance an impropriety. We know that when the Passover was first instituted the Jews were enjoined to eat it standing, as men in haste, with girded loins and sandalled feet; but afterwards it was made imperative that they should eat it in an attitude of repose, lying upon couches, and as men at ease; and the reason for this was, that all the circum-

stances of the meal, and particularly the attitude in which it was eaten, should indicate the condition of security and freedom which the Israelites enjoyed after their deliverance from the Egyptian bondage. In the then imperfect state of Biblical criticism, this fact seems to have been unknown to the earlier artists, or disregarded by those who employed and directed them. Among modern artists, Poussin and Le Sueur have scrupulously attended to it, even when the moment chosen is the mystical distribution of the bread and wine which succeeded the Paschal Supper. Commentators have remarked, that if Christ and His disciples *reclined* at table, then, supposing Christ to have the central place of honour, the head of John would have been near to the bosom of Christ: but under these circumstances, if Judas were sufficiently near to receive the sop from the hand of Christ, then he must have reclined next to Him on the other side, and have taken precedence of Peter. This supposed a propinquity which the early Christian artists deemed offensive and inadmissible.

In the composition by Stradano the arrangement of the table and figures is particularly well managed: all recline on couches; in the centre of the table is a dish, to which Christ extends His hand, and Judas, who is here rather handsome than otherwise, at the same time stretches forth his; the moment is evidently, 'He that dippeth with me in the dish, the same shall betray me.' Two circumstances spoil this picture, and bring it down to the level of the vulgar and the commonplace. In the background is seen a kitchen and the cooking of the supper. Under Judas crouches a hideous demon, with horns, hoof, and tail, visible only to the spectator.

When the Cenacolo represents the Eucharist, it is, perhaps, allowable to introduce angels, because it was, and I believe is, an established belief, that, visible or invisible, they are always present at the Sacrament. The Holy Ghost descending from above is unsanctioned by Scripture, but may serve to mark the mystical and peculiar solemnity of the moment chosen for representation. It may signify, 'He that receiveth me, receiveth *Him* that sent me.' But where angels attend, or where the Spiritual Comforter comes floating down from above, then

the presence of Judas, or of any superfluous figures as spectators or servitors, or of dogs or other animals, becomes a manifest impropriety.

The introduction of the Devil in person as tempting Judas is rendered pardonable by the naïveté of the early painters: in the later schools of Art it is offensive and ridiculous.

The Cenacolo of Baroccio, painted by order of Clement VIII. (1594), for his family chapel in the Santa Maria-sopra-Minerva, is remarkable for an anecdote relating to it. Baroccio, who was not eminent for a correct taste, had in his first sketch reverted to the ancient fashion of placing Satan close behind Judas, whispering in his ear, and tempting him to betray his Master. The Pope expressed his dissatisfaction,—‘*che non gli piaceva il demonio si dimesticasse tanto con Gesù Cristo,*’—and ordered him to remove the offensive figure. This is not the last example of the ancient manner of treatment. In the Cenacolo of Franceschini, painted nearly a century later, two angels are attending on the sacred repast, while Judas is in the act of leaving the room, conducted by Satan in person.

It is surely a fault, in a scene of such solemn and sacred import, to make the head of Judas a vehicle for public or private satire, by giving him the features of some obnoxious personage of the time.¹ This, according to tradition, has been done in some instances. Perhaps the most remarkable example that could be cited is the story of Andrea del Castagno, who, after having betrayed and assassinated his friend Domenico Veneziano, painted himself in the character of Judas: a curious instance of remorse of conscience.

Volumes might be written on the subject of the Last Supper. It extends before me, as I think and write, into endless suggestive associations, which, for the present, I dare not follow out: but I shall have occasion to return to it hereafter.²

¹ For a signal example, see Stirling's 'Artists of Spain,' p. 493.

² For some remarks on the subject of the Pentecost, v. 'Legends of the Madonna,' p. 325.

ST. BARNABAS.

Ital. San Barnabà. *Fr.* Saint Barnabé. (June 11.)

ST. BARNABAS is usually entitled the *Apostle* Barnabas, because he was associated with the Apostles in their high calling; 'and,' according to Lardner, 'though without that large measure of inspiration and high authority which was peculiar to the TWELVE APOSTLES, properly so called, yet he is to be considered as *Apostolical*, and next to them in sanctity.' For this reason I place him here.

St. Barnabas was a Levite, born in the island of Cyprus and the cousin-german of Mark the evangelist. The notices of his life and character scattered through the Acts invest him with great personal interest. He it was who, after the conversion of Paul, was the first to believe in his sincerity, and took courage to present him to the other apostles, 'who were afraid of him, and would not believe that he was a disciple' (Acts xv. 39). Barnabas afterwards became the fellow-labourer of Paul, and attended him to Antioch. We are told that 'he was a good man, full of the Holy Ghost and of faith;' and to this the legendary traditions add, that he was a man of a most comely countenance, of a noble presence, grave and commanding in his step and deportment; and thence, when he and Paul were at Lystra together, 'they called Barnabas Jupiter, and Paul Mercurius.' Subsequently, however, Paul and Barnabas fell into a dispute concerning Mark, and separated. The tradition relates that Barnabas and Mark remained for some time together, being united by the ties of friendship, as well as by those of kindred. Barnabas preached the Gospel in Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy; and there is an old legendary tradition that he was the first Bishop of Milan. The legend also relates that everywhere he carried with him the Gospel of St. Matthew, written by the hand of the evangelist, preaching what was written therein; and when any were sick, or possessed, he laid the sacred writing upon their bosom, and they were healed; (a beautiful allegory this!) and it happened that as he preached in a synagogue of Judea against the Jews, they were seized with fury and took him, and put him to a cruel death. But Mark and the other Christians buried him with many tears.

The body of St. Barnabas remained in its place of sepulture till the days of the Emperor Zeno, when, according to Nicephorus, it was revealed in a dream to Antemius, that the apostle rested in a certain spot, and would be found there, with the Gospel of St. Matthew lying on his bosom. And so it happened: the remains were found; the Gospel was carried to the emperor at Constanti-nople; and a church was built, dedicated to St. Barnabas.

It is, I presume, in consequence of his being the kinsman of St. Mark, that Barnabas is more popular at Venice than elsewhere, and that devotional figures of him are rarely found except in Venetian pictures. He is represented as a man of majestic presence, holding in his hand the Gospel of St. Matthew, as in a fine picture by Boni-fazio: in his church at Venice he is represented over the high altar, throned as bishop, while St. Peter stands below.

He often occurs in subjects taken from the Acts and the life of St. Paul. In the scene in which he presents Paul to the other apostles, he is the principal personage; but in the scene at Paphos, where Elymas is struck blind, and at Lystra, he is always secondary to his great companion.



The Doctors of the Church.

I. THE FOUR LATIN FATHERS.

THE Evangelists and the Apostles represented in Art the Spiritual Church, and took their place among the heavenly influences. The great Fathers or Doctors were the representatives of the Church Militant on earth: as teachers and pastors, as logicians and advocates, they wrote, argued, contended, suffered, and at length, after a long and fierce struggle against opposing doctrines, they fixed the articles of faith thereafter received in Christendom. For ages, and down to the present time, the prevailing creed has been that which was founded on the interpretations of these venerable personages. They have become, in consequence, frequent and important subjects of Art, particularly from the tenth century—the period when, in their personal character, they began to be regarded not merely as gifted and venerable, but as divinely inspired; their writings appealed to as infallible, their arguments accepted as demonstration. We distinguish them as the Latin and the Greek Fathers. In Western Art, we find the Latin Fathers perpetually grouped together, or in a series: the Greek Fathers seldom occur except in their individual character, as saints rather than as teachers.

The four Latin Doctors are St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory. When represented together, they are generally distinguished from each other, and from the sacred personages who may be grouped in the same picture, by their conventional attributes. Thus St. Jerome is sometimes habited in the red hat and crimson robes of a cardinal, with a church in his hand; or he is a half-naked, bald-headed, long-bearded, emaciated old man, with eager wasted features, holding a book and pen, and attended by a lion. St. Ambrose wears the episcopal robes as Bishop of Milan, with mitre and crosier, and holds his book; sometimes, also, he carries a knotted scourge, and a bee-hive is near him. St. Augustine



The Four Latin Fathers.

is also habited as a bishop, and carries a book; he has often books at his feet, and sometimes a flaming heart transpierced by an arrow. The origin and signification of these symbols I shall explain presently.

In the most ancient churches the Four Doctors are placed after the Evangelists. In the later churches they are seen combined or grouped with the evangelists, occasionally also with the sibyls; but this seems a mistake. The appropriate place of the sibyls is neither with the evangelists nor the fathers, but among the prophets, where Michael Angelo has placed them.

Where the principal subject is the glory of Christ, or the coronation or assumption of the Virgin, the Four Fathers attend with their books as witnesses and interpreters.

1. A conspicuous instance of this treatment is the dome of San Giovanni at Parma. In the centre is the ascension of Christ, around are the Twelve Apostles gazing upwards; below them, in the spandrils of the arches, as if bearing record, are the Four Evangelists, each with a Doctor of the Church seated by him as interpreter: St. Matthew is attended by St. Jerome; St. Mark, by St. Gregory; St. Luke, by St. Augustine; and St. John, by St. Ambrose.

2. A picture in the Louvre by Pier-Francesco Sacchi (A.D. 1640) represents the Four Doctors, attended, or rather inspired, by the mystic symbols of the Four Evangelists. They are seated at a table, under a canopy sustained by slender pillars, and appear in deep consultation: near St. Augustine is the eagle; St. Gregory has the ox; St. Jerome, the angel; and St. Ambrose, the lion.

3. In a well-known woodcut after Titian, 'The Triumph of Christ,' the Redeemer is seated in a car drawn by the Four Evangelists; while the Four Latin Doctors, one at each wheel, put forth all their strength to urge it on. The patriarchs and prophets precede, the martyrs and confessors of the faith follow, in grand procession.

4. In a Coronation of the Virgin, very singularly treated, we have Christ and the Virgin on a high platform or throne, sustained by columns; in the space underneath, between these columns, is a group of unwinged angels, holding the instruments of the Passion. (Or, as I have sometimes thought, this beautiful group may be the souls

of the Innocents, their proper place being under the throne of Christ.) On each side a vast company of prophets, apostles, saints, and martyrs, ranged tier above tier. Immediately in front, and on the steps of the throne, are the Four Evangelists, seated each with his symbol and book: behind them the Four Fathers, also seated. This picture, which as a painting is singularly beautiful, the execution finished, and the heads most characteristic and expressive, may be said to comprise a complete system of the theology of the Middle Ages.¹

5. We have the same idea carried out in the lower part of Raphael's 'Disputa' in the Vatican. The Four Doctors are in the centre of what may be called the *sublunary* part of the picture: they are the only seated figures in the vast assembly of holy, wise, and learned men around; St. Gregory and St. Jerome on the right of the altar, St. Ambrose and St. Augustine on the left. As the two latter wear the same paraphernalia, they are distinguished by having books scattered at their feet, on which are inscribed the titles of their respective works.

The Madonna and Child enthroned, with the Doctors of the Church standing on each side, is a subject which has been often, and sometimes beautifully, treated; and here the contrast between all we can conceive of virginal and infantine loveliness and innocence enshrined in heavenly peace and glory—and these solemn, bearded, grand-looking old Fathers, attending in humble reverence, as types of earthly wisdom—ought to produce a magnificent effect, when conceived in the right spirit. I can remember, however, but few instances in which the treatment is complete and satisfactory.

1. One of these is a picture by A. Vivarini (A.D. 1446), now in the Academy at Venice. Here, the Virgin sits upon a throne under a rich canopy sustained by four little angels. She looks out of the picture with a most dignified, tranquil, goddess-like expression; she wears, as usual, the crimson tunic and blue mantle, the latter being of a most brilliant azure; on her brow a magnificent jewelled crown; the Divine Child stands on her knee, and raises his little hand to bless the worshipper. To the right of the Virgin, and on the plat-

¹ Acad. Venice. Giovanni ed Antonio da Murano. 1440.

form of her throne, stands St. Jerome, robed as cardinal, and bearing his church; with St. Gregory, habited as pope. To the left stands St. Ambrose, holding his crosier and knotted scourge, and St. Augustine with his book. This is a wonderful picture, and, as a specimen of the early Venetian school, unequalled. The accuracy of imitation, the dazzling colour, the splendid dresses and accessories, the grave beauty of the Madonna, the divine benignity of the Infant Redeemer, and the sternly thoughtful heads of the old Doctors, are not only positively fine, but have a relative interest and value as being stamped with that very peculiar character which belonged to the Vivarini and their immediate followers. It was painted for the Scuola della Carità.¹

2. A different and a singular treatment of the Four Fathers occurs in another Venetian picture.² Christ is represented seated on a throne, and disputing with the Jewish doctors, who are eagerly arguing or searching their books. In front of the composition stand St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory; who, with looks fixed on the youthful Saviour, appear to be reverentially listening to, and recording, His words. This wholly poetical and ideal treatment of a familiar passage in the life of Christ, I have never seen but in this one instance.

3. A third example is a picture by Moretto, of extraordinary beauty.³ The Virgin sits on a lofty throne, to which there is an ascent of several steps; the Child stands on her right: she presses him to her with maternal tenderness, and his arms are round her neck. At the foot of the throne stand St. Ambrose, with his scourge, and St. Augustine; St. Gregory, wearing the papal tiara, and without a beard, is seated on a step of the throne, holding an open book; and St. Jerome, kneeling on one knee, points to a passage in it; he wears

¹ As I have frequent occasion to refer to pictures painted for the *Scuole* of Venice, it may be as well to observe that the word *scuola*, which we translate *school*, is not a place of education, but a confraternity for charitable purposes,—visiting the sick, providing hospitals, adopting orphans, redeeming prisoners and captives, &c. In the days of the republic these schools were richly supported and endowed, and the halls, churches, and chapels attached to them were often galleries of Art: such were the schools of St. Mark, St. Ursula, St. Roch, the Carità, and others. Unhappily, they exist no longer; the French seized on their funds, and Austria does not like confraternities of any kind. The Scuola della Carità is now the Academy of Arts.

² Acad. Venice. Gio. da Udine.

³ Frankfort Museum.

the cardinal's dress complete. This picture is worthy of Titian in the richness of the effect, with a more sober grandeur in the colour. The Virgin is too much like a portrait; this is the only fault.¹

In the Chapel of San Lorenzo, in the Vatican, Angelico has painted eight Doctors of the Church, single majestic figures standing under Gothic canopies. According to the names *now* to be seen inscribed on the pedestals beneath, these figures represent St. Jerome,² St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Gregory, St. Athanasius, St. Leo, St. John Chrysostom, and St. Thomas Aquinas. St. John Chrysostom and St. Athanasius represent the Greek doctors. St. Leo, who saved Rome from Attila, is with peculiar propriety placed in the Vatican; and St. Thomas Aquinas, the angelic doctor, naturally finds a place in a chapel painted by a Dominican for a pope who particularly favoured the Dominicans,—Nicholas V.

The Four Fathers communing on the mystery of the Trinity, or the Immaculate Conception, were favourite subjects in the beginning of the seventeenth century, when church pictures, instead of being religious and devotional, became more and more theological. There is an admirable picture of this subject by Dosso Dossi.³ Above is seen the Messiah, as Creator, in a glory; he lays His hand on the head of the Virgin, who kneels in deep humility before Him; St. Gregory sits in profound thought, a pen in one hand, a tablet in the other; St. Ambrose and St. Augustine are similarly engaged; St. Jerome, to whom alone the celestial vision appears to be visible, is looking up with awe and wonder. Guido, in a celebrated picture,⁴ has represented the Doctors of the Church communing on the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. The figures are admirable

¹ We missed the opportunity, now never more to be recalled, of obtaining this admirable picture when it was sold out of the Fesch collection.

² I believe the figure called St. Bonaventura to represent St. Jerome, because, in accordance with the usual scheme of ecclesiastical decoration, the greatest of the four Latin Fathers would take the first place, and the cardinal's hat and a long flowing beard are his proper attribute; whereas, there is no example of a St. Bonaventura with a beard, or wearing the monastic habit, without the Franciscan cord. The Arundel Society have engraved this fine figure under the name of St. Bonaventura.

³ Dresden Gal.

⁴ Imp. Gal., St. Petersburg.

for thoughtful depth of character in the expression, and for the noble arrangement of the draperies; above is seen the Virgin, floating amid clouds, in snow-white drapery, and sustained by angels; visible, however, to St. Jerome and St. Ambrose only.

Rubens has treated the Fathers several times: the colossal picture in the Grosvenor Gallery is well known, where they appear before us as moving along in a grand procession: St. Jerome comes last; (he should be first; but on these points Rubens was not particular): he seems in deep contemplation, enveloped in the rich scarlet robes of a cardinal of the seventeenth century, and turning the leaves of his great book. In another picture we have the Four Fathers seated, discussing the mystery of the Eucharist; St. Jerome points to a passage in the Scriptures; St. Gregory is turning the page; they appear to be engaged in argument; the other two are listening earnestly. There is another picture by Rubens in which the usual attributes of the Fathers are borne aloft by angels, while they sit communing below.

These examples will suffice to give a general idea of the manner in which the four great Doctors of the Western Church are grouped in devotional pictures. We will now consider them separately, each according to his individual character and history.

ST. JEROME.

Lat. Sanctus Hieronymus. *Ital.* San Geronimo or Girolamo. *Fr.* St. Jérôme, Hiérome, or Géroisme. *Ger.* Der Heilige Hieronimus. Patron of scholars and students, and more particularly of students in theology. (Sept. 30, A.D. 420.)

OF the four Latin Doctors, St. Jerome, as a subject of painting, is by far the most popular. The reasons for this are not merely the exceedingly interesting and striking character of the man, and the picturesque incidents of his life, but also his great importance and dignity as founder of Monachism in the West, and as author of the universally-received translation of the Old and New Testament into

the Latin language (called 'The Vulgate'). There is scarcely a collection of pictures in which we do not find a St. Jerome, either doing penance in the desert, or writing his famous translation, or meditating on the mystery of the Incarnation.

Jerome was born about A.D. 342, at Stridonium, in Dalmatia. His father, Eusebius, was rich; and as he showed the happiest disposition for learning, he was sent to Rome to finish his studies. There, through his own passions, and the evil example of his companions, he fell into temptation, and for a time abandoned himself to worldly pleasures. But the love of virtue, as well as the love of learning, was still strong within him: he took up the profession of law, and became celebrated for his eloquence in pleading before the tribunals. When more than thirty, he travelled into Gaul, and visited the schools of learning there. It was about this time that he was baptized, and vowed himself to perpetual celibacy. In 373, he travelled into the East, to animate his piety by dwelling for a time among the scenes hallowed by the presence of the Saviour; and, on his way thither, he visited some of the famous Oriental hermits and ascetics, of whom he has given us such a graphic account, and whose example inspired him with a passion for solitude and a monastic life. Shortly after his arrival in Syria, he retired to a desert in Chalcis, on the confines of Arabia, and there he spent four years in study and seclusion, supporting himself by the labour of his hands. He has left us a most vivid picture of his life of penance in the wilderness; of his trials and temptations, his fastings, his sickness of soul and body: and we must dwell for a moment on his own description, in order to show with what literal and circumstantial truth the painters have rendered it. He says, in one of his epistles, 'Oh how often, in the desert, in that vast solitude which, parched by the sultry sun, affords a dwelling to the monks, did I fancy myself in the midst of the luxuries of Rome! I sate, alone, for I was full of bitterness. My misshapen limbs were rough with sackcloth, and my skin so squalid that I might have been mistaken for an Ethiopian. Tears and groans were my occupation every day and all day long. If sleep surprised me unawares, my naked bones, which scarcely held together, rattled on the earth.' His companions, he says, 'were

scorpions and wild beasts ;' his home, ' a recess among rocks and precipices.' Yet, in the midst of this horrible self-torture and self-abasement, he describes himself as frequently beset by temptations to sin and sensual indulgence, and haunted by demons : at other times, as consoled by voices and visions from heaven. Besides these trials of the flesh and the spirit, he had others of the intellect. His love of learning, his admiration of the great writers of classical antiquity, —of Plato and Cicero,—made him impatient of the rude simplicity of the Christian historians. He describes himself as fasting before he opened Cicero ; and, as a further penance, he forced himself to study Hebrew, which at first filled him with disgust, and this disgust appeared to him a capital sin. In one of his distempered visions, he fancied he heard the last trumpet sounded in his ear by an angel, and summoning him before the judgment-seat of God. ' Who art thou ?' demanded the awful voice. ' A Christian,' replied the trembling Jerome. ' 'Tis false !' replied the voice, ' thou art no Christian : thou art a Ciceronian. Where the treasure is, there will the heart be also.' He persevered, and conquered the difficulties of Hebrew ; and then, wearied by the religious controversies in the East, after ten years' residence there, he returned to Rome.

But neither the opposition he had met with, nor his four years of solitude and penance in the desert, had subdued the fiery enthusiasm of temperament which characterised this celebrated man. At Rome he boldly combated the luxurious self-indulgence of the clergy, and preached religious abstinence and mortification. He was particularly remarkable for the influence he obtained over the Roman women ; we find them, subdued or excited by his eloquent exhortations, devoting themselves to perpetual chastity, distributing their possessions among the poor, or spending their days in attendance on the sick, and ready to follow their teacher to the Holy Land—to the desert—even to death. His most celebrated female convert was Paula, a noble Roman matron, a descendant of the Scipios and the Gracchi. Marcella, another of these Roman ladies, was the first who, in the East, collected together a number of pious women to dwell together in community : hence she is, by some authors, considered as the first nun ; but others contend that Martha, the sister of Mary Magdalene, was the first who founded a religious community of women.

After three years' sojourn at Rome, St. Jerome returned to Palestine, and took up his residence in a monastery he had founded at Bethlehem. When, in extreme old age, he became sensible of the approach of death, he raised with effort his emaciated limbs, and, commanding himself to be carried into the chapel of the monastery, he received the Sacrament for the last time from the hands of the priest, and soon after expired. He died in 420, leaving, besides his famous translation of the Scriptures, numerous controversial writings, epistles, and commentaries.

We read in the legendary history of St. Jerome, that one evening, as he sat within the gates of his monastery at Bethlehem, a lion entered, limping as in pain; and all the brethren, when they saw the lion, fled in terror: but Jerome arose, and went forward to meet him, as though he had been a guest. And the lion lifted up his paw, and St. Jerome, on examining it, found that it was wounded by a thorn, which he extracted; and he tended the lion till he was healed. The grateful beast remained with his benefactor, and Jerome confided to him the task of guarding an ass which was employed in bringing firewood from the forest. On one occasion, the lion having gone to sleep while the ass was at pasture, some merchants passing by carried away the latter; and the lion, after searching for him in vain, returned to the monastery with drooping head, as one ashamed. St. Jerome, believing that he had devoured his companion, commanded that the daily task of the ass should be laid upon the lion, and that the faggots should be bound on his back, to which he magnanimously submitted, until the ass was recovered; which was in this wise. One day, the lion, having finished his task, ran hither and thither, still seeking his companion; and he saw a caravan of merchants approaching, and a string of camels, which, according to the Arabian custom, were led by an ass; and when the lion recognised his friend, he drove the camels into the convent, and so terrified the merchants, that they confessed the theft, and received pardon from St. Jerome.

The introduction of the lion into pictures of St. Jerome is supposed to refer to this legend: but in this instance, as in many others, the reverse was really the case. The lion was in very ancient times adopted as the symbol befitting St. Jerome, from his fervid, fiery nature, and

his life in the wilderness; and in later times, the legend invented to explain the symbol was gradually expanded into the story as given above.

Representations of St. Jerome, in pictures, prints, and sculpture, are so numerous that it were in vain to attempt to give any detailed account of them, even of the most remarkable. All, however, may be included under the following classification, and, according to the descriptions given, may be easily recognised.

The devotional subjects and single figures represent St. Jerome in one of his three great characters. 1. As patron Saint and Doctor of the Church. 2. As Translator and Commentator of the Scriptures. 3. As Penitent. As Doctor of the Church, and teacher, he enters into every scheme of decoration, and finds a place in all sacred buildings. As Saint and Penitent, he is chiefly to be found in the convents and churches of the Jeronymites, who claim him as their Patriarch.

When placed before us as the patron saint and father of divinity, he is usually standing full length, either habited in the cardinal's robes, or with the cardinal's hat lying at his feet. It may be necessary to observe, that there is no historical authority for making St. Jerome a cardinal. Cardinal-priests were not ordained till three centuries later; but as the other fathers were all of high ecclesiastical rank, and as St. Jerome obstinately refused all such distinction, it has been thought necessary, for the sake of his dignity, to make him a cardinal: another reason may be, that he performed, in the court of Pope Damasius, those offices since discharged by the cardinal-deacon. In some of the old Venetian pictures, instead of the official robes of a cardinal, he is habited in loose ample red drapery, part of which is thrown over his head. When represented with his head uncovered, his forehead is lofty and bald, his beard is very long, flowing even to his girdle; his features fine and sharp, his nose aquiline. In his hand he holds a book or a scroll, and frequently the emblematical church, of which he was the great support and luminary: and, to make the application stronger and clearer, rays of light are seen issuing from the door of the church.

1. A signal instance of the treatment of Jerome as patron saint occurs in a fine picture by Wohlgenuth, the master of Albert Dürer.¹

¹ Vienna Gal.

It is an altar-piece representing the glorification of the saint, and consists of three compartments. In the centre, St. Jerome *stands* on a magnificent throne, and lays his left hand on the head of a lion, raised up on his hind legs: the donors of the picture, a man and a woman, kneel in front; on each side are windows opening on a landscape, wherein various incidents of the life of St. Jerome are represented; on the right, his Penance in the Wilderness and his Landing at Cyprus; and on the left, the merchants who had carried off the ass bring propitiatory gifts, which the saint rejects, and other men are seen felling wood and loading the lion. On the inner shutters or wings of the central picture, are represented, on the right, the three other doctors,—St. Augustine, with the flaming heart; St. Ambrose, with the beehive—both habited as bishops; and St. Gregory, wearing his tiara, and holding a large book (his famous Homilies) in his hand. On the left, three apostles with their proper attributes—St. Andrew, St. Thomas, and St. Bartholomew; on the other side are represented, to the right, St. Henry II. holding a church (the cathedral of Bamberg), and a sword, his proper attributes; and his wife St. Cunegunda.¹ On the left, St. Elizabeth of Hungary and St. Martin. There are besides, to close in the whole, two outer doors: on the inner side, to the right, St. Joseph and St. Kilian;² on the left, St. Catherine and St. Ursula; and on the exterior of the whole the mass of St. Gregory, with various personages and objects connected with the Passion of Christ. The whole is about six feet high, dated 1511, and may bear a comparison, for elaborate and multifarious detail and exquisite painting, with the famous Van Eyck altar-piece in St. John's Church at Ghent.³

2. In his character of patron, St. Jerome is a frequent subject of sculpture. There is a Gothic figure of him in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, habited in the cardinal's robes, the lion fawning upon him.

When St. Jerome is represented in his second great character, as

¹ In the catalogue, St. Cunegunda is styled *St. Elizabeth Queen of Hungary*, and St. Elizabeth of Hungary is styled *St. Elizabeth Queen of Portugal*.

² Irish Bishop of Würzburg, and Patron, A.D. 689.

³ 'In this picture we recognise the master to whom Albert Dürer was indebted for his education; indeed, Wohlgemuth here surpasses his great scholar in the expression of gentleness and simplicity, particularly in the heads of some of the female saints.'—*Handbook of Painting: German, Flemish, and Dutch Schools*, p. 111.

the translator of the Scriptures, he is usually seated in a cave or in a cell, busied in reading or in writing; he wears a loose robe thrown over his wasted form; and either he looks down intent on his book, or he looks up as if awaiting heavenly inspiration: sometimes an angel is dictating to him.

1. In an old Italian print, which I have seen, he is seated on the ground reading, in *spectacles*; an anachronism frequent in the old painters. Sometimes he is seated under the shade of a tree; or within a cavern, writing at a rude table formed of a stump of a tree, or a board laid across two fragments of rock; as in a beautiful picture by Ghirlandajo, remarkable for its solemn and tranquil feeling.¹

2. Very celebrated is an engraving of this subject by Albert Dürer. The scene is the interior of a cell, at Bethlehem; two windows on the left pour across the picture a stream of sunshine, which is represented with wonderful effect. St. Jerome is seen in the background, seated at a desk, most intently writing his translation of the Scriptures; in front the lion is crouching, and a fox is seen asleep. These two animals are here emblems;—the one, of the courage and vigilance, the other of the wisdom or acuteness, of the saint. The execution of this print is a miracle of Art, and it is very rare. There is an exquisite little picture by Elzheimer copied from it, and of the same size, at Hampton Court. I need hardly observe, that here the rosary and the pot of holy water are anachronisms, as well as the cardinal's hat. By Albert Dürer we have also St. Jerome writing in a cavern; and St. Jerome reading in his cell; both woodcuts.

3. Even more beautiful is a print by Lucas v. Leyden, in which St. Jerome is reclining in his cell and reading intently; the lion licks his foot.

4. In a picture by Lucas Cranach, Albert of Brandenburg, elector of Mayence (1527), is represented in the character of St. Jerome, seated in the wilderness, and writing at a table formed of a plank laid across two stumps of trees: he is in the cardinal-ropes; and in the foreground a lion, a hare, a beaver, a partridge, and a hind, beautifully painted, express the solitude of his life. In the background the

¹ Florence, Ogni Santi.

caravan of merchants is seen entering the gate of the monastery, conducted by the faithful lion.

5. The little picture by Domenichino, in our National Gallery, represents St. Jerome looking up from his book, and listening to the accents of the angel. 6. In a picture by Tiarini,¹ it is St. John the Evangelist, and not an angel, who dictates while he writes. 7. In a picture by Titian, St. Jerome, seated, holds a book, and gazes up at a crucifix suspended in the skies; the lion is drinking at a fountain. Out of twenty prints of St. Jerome after Titian, there are at least eight which represent him at study or writing.

It is in the double character of Doctor of the Church, and translator of the Scriptures, that we find St. Jerome so frequently introduced into pictures of the Madonna, and grouped with other saints. Two of the most celebrated pictures in the world suggest themselves here as examples:—1. 'The Madonna della Pesce' of Raphael; where the Virgin, seated on a raised throne, holds the Infant Christ in her arms; on her right hand, the Archangel Raphael presents the young Tobias, who holds the fish, the emblem of Christianity or Baptism. On the other side kneels St. Jerome, holding an open book, his beard sweeping to his girdle; the lion at his feet; the Infant Christ, while he bends forward to greet Tobias, has one hand upon St. Jerome's book: the whole is a beautiful and expressive allegory.² 2. Correggio's picture, called 'The St. Jerome of Parma,' represents the Infant Christ on the knees of his mother: Mary Magdalene bends to kiss his feet: St. Jerome stands in front, presenting his translation of the Scriptures.

The penitent St. Jerome seems to have been adopted throughout the Christian Church as the approved symbol of Christian penitence, self-denial, and self-abasement. No devotional subject, if we except the 'Madonna and Child' and the 'Magdalene,' is of such perpetual recurrence. In the treatment it has been infinitely varied. The scene is generally a wild rocky solitude: St. Jerome, half naked, emaciated,

¹ Bologna, S. Maria Maggiore.

² The picture, originally at Naples, was purchased or appropriated by Philip IV. for the Church of the Escorial, which belonged to the Jeronimites.

with matted hair and beard, is seen on his knees before a crucifix, beating his breast with a stone. The lion is almost always introduced, sometimes asleep, or crouching at his feet; sometimes keeping guard, sometimes drinking at a stream. The most magnificent example of this treatment is by Titian:¹ St. Jerome, kneeling on one knee, half supported by a craggy rock, and holding the stone, looks up with eager devotion to a cross, artlessly fixed into a cleft



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St. Jerome doing Penance. (Titian.)

in the rock; two books lie on a cliff behind; at his feet are a skull and hour-glass; and the lion reposes in front. The feeling of deep solitude, and a kind of sacred horror breathed over this picture, are inconceivably fine and impressive. Another by Titian, but inferior, is in the Louvre; and there are at least twelve engravings of St. Jerome doing penance, after the same painter: among them a

¹ Milan, Brera.

superb landscape, in which are seen a lion and a lioness prowling in the wilderness, while the saint is doing penance in the foreground. By Agostino Caracci there is a famous engraving of 'St. Jerome doing penance in a cave,' called from its size the *great* St. Jerome. But to particularise further would be endless: I know scarcely any Italian painter since the fifteenth century who has not treated this subject at least once.

The Spanish painters have rendered it with a gloomy power, and revelled in its mystic significance. In the Spanish gallery of the Louvre I counted at least twenty St. Jeromes: the old German painters and engravers also delighted in it, on account of its picturesque capabilities.

Albert Dürer represents St. Jerome kneeling before a crucifix, which he has suspended against the trunk of a massy tree; an open book is near it; he holds in his right hand a flint-stone, with which he is about to strike his breast, all wounded and bleeding from the blows already inflicted; the lion crouches behind him, and in the distance is a stag.

The penitent St. Jerome is not a good subject for sculpture; the undraped, meagre form, and the abasement of suffering, are disagreeable in this treatment: yet such representations are constantly met with in churches. The famous colossal statue by Torrigiano, now in the Museum at Seville, represents St. Jerome kneeling on a rock, a stone in one hand, a crucifix in the other. At Venice, in the Frari, there is a statue of St. Jerome, standing, with the stone in his hand and the lion at his feet; too majestic for the Penitent. There are several other statues of St. Jerome at Venice, from the Liberi and Lombardi schools, all fine as statues; but the penitent saint is idealised into the patron-saint of penitents.

When figures of St. Jerome as penitent are introduced in Madonna pictures, or in the Passion of Christ, then such figures are devotional, and symbolical, in a general sense, of Christian repentance.

There is an early picture of the Crucifixion, by Raphael,¹ in which he has placed St. Jerome at the foot of the cross, beating his breast with a stone (86).

The pictures from the life of St. Jerome comprise a variety of

¹ Collection of Lord Ward.

subjects:—1. ‘He receives the cardinal’s hat from the Virgin:’ sometimes it is the Infant Christ, seated in the lap of the Virgin,



86 St. Jerome, as Penitent, in a Crucifixion. (Raphael.)

who presents it to him. 2. ‘He disputes with the Jewish doctors on the truth of the Christian religion;’ in a curious picture by Juan de Valdes.¹ He stands on one side of a table in an attitude of authority: the rabbis, each of whom has a demon looking over his shoulder, are searching their books for arguments against him. 3. ‘St. Jerome, while studying Hebrew in the solitude of Chalceda, hears in a vision the sound of the last trumpet, calling men to judgment.’ This is a common subject, and styled ‘The Vision of St. Jerome.’ I have met with no example earlier than the fifteenth

¹ Louvre, Sp. Gal.

century. In general, he is lying on the ground, and an angel sounds the trumpet from above. In a composition by Ribera he holds a pen in one hand and a penknife in the other: he seems to have been arrested in the very act of mending his pen by the blast of the trumpet: the figure of the saint, wasted even to skin and bone, and his look of petrified amazement, are very fine, notwithstanding the commonplace action. In a picture by Subleyras, in the Louvre, St. Jerome is gazing upwards, with an astonished look; three arch-angels sound their trumpets from above. In a picture by Antonio Pereda, at Madrid, St. Jerome not only hears in his vision the sound of the last trump, he *sees* the dead arise from their graves around him. Lastly, by way of climax, I may mention a picture in the Louvre, by a modern French painter, Sigalon: St. Jerome is in a convulsive fit, and the three angels, blowing their trumpets in his ears, are like furies sent to torment and madden the sinner, rather than to rouse the saint.

While doing penance in the desert, St. Jerome was sometimes haunted by temptations, as well as amazed by terrors.

4. Domenichino, in one of the frescoes in St. Onofrio, represents the particular kind of temptation by which the saint was in imagination assailed: while he is fervently praying and beating his breast, a circle of beautiful nymphs, seen in the background, weave a graceful dance. Vasari has had the bad taste to give us a penitent St. Jerome with Venus and Cupids in the background: one arch little Cupid takes aim at him;—an offensive instance of the extent to which, in the sixteenth century, classical ideas had mingled with and depraved Christian Art.¹

5. Guido. ‘St. Jerome translating the Scriptures while an angel dictates:’ life size and very fine (except the angel, who is weak, and reminds one of a water-nymph²); in his pale manner.

6. Domenichino. ‘St. Jerome is flagellated by an angel for preferring Cicero to the Hebrew writings:’ also in the St. Onofrio. The Cicero, torn from his hand, lies at his feet. Here the saint is a young man, and the whole scene is represented as a vision.

7. But St. Jerome was comforted by visions of glory, as well as

¹ P. Pitti, Florence.

² Lichtenstein Gal.

haunted by terrors and temptations. In the picture by Parmigiano, in our National Gallery, St. Jerome is sleeping in the background, while St. John the Baptist points upwards to a celestial vision of the Virgin and Child, seen in the opening heavens above: the upper part of this picture is beautiful, and full of dignity; but the saint is lying stretched on the earth in an attitude so uneasy and distorted, that it would seem as if he were condemned to do penance even in his sleep; and the St. John has always appeared to me mannered and theatrical.



8. The story of the lion is often represented. St. Jerome is seated in his cell, attired in the monk's habit and cowl; the lion approaches, and lays his paw upon his knee; a cardinal's hat and

books are lying near him; and, to express the self-denial of the saint, a mouse is peeping into an empty cup (87).¹

In another example, by Vittore Carpaccio, the lion enters the cell, and three monks, attendants on St. Jerome, flee in terror.

9. The Last Communion of St. Jerome is the subject of one of the most celebrated pictures in the world,—the St. Jerome of Domenichino, which has been thought worthy of being placed opposite to the Transfiguration of Raphael, in the Vatican. The aged saint—feeble, emaciated, dying—is borne in the arms of his disciples to the chapel of his monastery, and placed within the porch. A young priest sustains him; St. Paula, kneeling, kisses one of his thin bony hands; the saint fixes his eager eyes on the countenance of the priest, who is about to administer the sacrament,—a noble dignified figure in a rich ecclesiastical dress; a deacon holds the cup, and an attendant priest the book and taper; the lion droops his head with an expression of grief; the eyes and attention of all are on the dying saint, while four angels, hovering above, look down upon the scene.

Agostino Caracci, in a grand picture now in the Bologna Gallery, had previously treated the same subject with much feeling and dramatic power: but here the saint is not so wasted and so feeble: St. Paula is not present, and the lion is tenderly licking his feet.

Older than either, and very beautiful and solemn, is a picture by Vittore Carpaccio, in which the saint is kneeling in the porch of a church, surrounded by his disciples, and the lion is seen outside.

10. 'The Death of St. Jerome.' In the picture by Starnina he is giving his last instructions to his disciples, and the expression of solemn grief in the old heads around is very fine. In a Spanish picture he is extended on a couch, made of hurdles, and expires in the arms of his monks.

In a very fine anonymous print, dated 1614, St. Jerome is dying alone in his cell (this version of the subject is contrary to all authority and precedent): he presses to his bosom the Gospel and the crucifix; the lion looks up in his face roaring, and angels bear away his soul to heaven.

¹ Kugler pronounces this to be a Flemish picture (*v.* 'Handbook,' p. 190).

11. 'The Obsequies of St. Jerome.' In the picture by Vittore Carpaccio, the saint is extended on the ground before the high altar, and the priests around are kneeling in various attitudes of grief or devotion. The lion is seen on one side.¹

I will mention here some other pictures in which St. Jerome figures as the principal personage.

St. Jerome introducing Charles V. into Paradise is the subject of a large fresco, by Luca Giordano, on the staircase of the Escorial.

St. Jerome conversing with two nuns, probably intended for St. Paula and St. Marcella.²

The sleep of St. Jerome. He is watched by two angels, one of whom, with his finger on his lip, commands silence.³

It is worth remarking, that in the old Venetian pictures St. Jerome does not wear the proper habit and hat of a cardinal, but an ample scarlet robe, part of which is thrown over his head as a hood (88).

The history of St. Jerome, in a series, is often found in the churches and convents of the Jeronymites, and generally consists of the following subjects, of which the fourth and sixth are often omitted:—

1. He is baptized. 2. He receives the cardinal's hat from the Virgin. 3. He does penance in the desert, beating his breast with a

¹ The three frescoes by Carpaccio are in the Church of San Giorgio de' Schiavoni at Venice.

² It was in the Standish Gal. in the Louvre

³ Engraved by Loli.



88 Venetian St. Jerome.

stone. 4. He meets St. Augustine. 5. He is studying or writing in a cell. 6. He builds the convent at Bethlehem. 7. He heals the wounded lion. 8. He receives the Last Sacrament. 9. He dies in the presence of his disciples. 10. He is buried.

Considering that St. Jerome has ever been venerated as one of the great lights of the Church, it is singular that so few churches are dedicated to him. There is one at Rome, erected, according to tradition, on the very spot where stood the house of Santa Paula, where she entertained St. Jerome during his sojourn at Rome in 382. For the high altar of this church, Domenichino painted his masterpiece of the Communion of St. Jerome already described. The embarkation of Saint Paula, to follow her spiritual teacher St. Jerome to the Holy Land, is the subject of one of Claude's most beautiful sea pieces, now in the collection of the Duke of Wellington; another picture of this subject, the figures as large as life, is in the Brera, by a clever Cremonese painter, Giuseppe Bottoni.

St. Jerome has detained us long; the other Fathers are, as subjects of Art, much less interesting.

ST. AMBROSE.

Lat. S. Ambrosius. *Ital.* Sant' Ambrogio. *Fr.* St. Ambroise. *Ger.* Der Heilige Ambrosius. Patron Saint of Milan. (April 4, A.D. 397.)

WE can hardly imagine a greater contrast than between the stern, enthusiastic, dreaming, ascetic Jerome, and the statesman-like, practical, somewhat despotic AMBROSE. This extraordinary man, in whose person the priestly character assumed an importance and dignity till then unknown, was the son of a prefect of Gaul, bearing the same name, and was born at Treves in the year 340. It is said that, when an infant in the cradle, a swarm of bees alighted on his mouth, without injuring him. The same story was told of Plato and of Archilochus, and considered prophetic of future eloquence. It is from this circumstance that St. Ambrose is represented with the bee-hive near him.

Young Ambrose, after pursuing his studies at Rome with success, was appointed prefect of Æmilia and Liguria (Piedmont and Genoa), and took up his residence at Milan. Shortly afterwards the Bishop of Milan died, and the succession was hotly disputed between the Catholics and the Arians. Ambrose appeared in his character of prefect, to allay the tumult; he harangued the people with such persuasive eloquence that they were hushed into respectful silence; and in the midst a child's voice was heard to exclaim, 'Ambrose shall be bishop!' The multitude took up the cry as though it had been a voice from heaven, and compelled him to assume the sacred office. He attempted to avoid the honour thus laid upon him by flight, by entreaties,—pleading that, though a professed Christian, he had never been baptized: in vain! the command of the emperor enforced the wishes of the people; and Ambrose, being baptized, was, within eight days afterwards, consecrated bishop of Milan. He has since been regarded as the patron saint of that city.

He began by distributing all his worldly goods to the poor; he then set himself to study the sacred writings, and to render himself in all respects worthy of his high dignity. 'The Old and the New Testament,' says Mr. Milman, 'met in the person of Ambrose: the implacable hostility to idolatry, the abhorrence of every deviation from the established formulary of belief;—the wise and courageous benevolence, the generous and unselfish devotion to the great interests of humanity.'

He was memorable for the grandeur and magnificence with which he invested the ceremonies of worship: they had never been so imposing. He particularly cultivated music, and introduced from the East the manner of chanting the service since called the Ambrosian chant.

Two things were especially remarkable in the life and character of St. Ambrose. The first was the enthusiasm with which he advocated celibacy in both sexes: on this topic, as we are assured, he was so persuasive, that mothers shut up their daughters lest they should be *seduced* by their eloquent bishop into vows of chastity. The other was his determination to set the ecclesiastical above the sovereign or civil power: this principle, so abused in later times, was in the days of Ambrose the assertion of the might of Christianity, of mercy, of

justice, of freedom, over heathenism, tyranny, cruelty, slavery. The dignity with which he refused to hold any communication with the Emperor Maximus, because he was stained with the blood of Gratian, and his resolute opposition to the Empress Justina, who interfered with his sacerdotal privileges, were two instances of this spirit. But the most celebrated incident of his life is his conduct with regard to the Emperor Theodosius, the last great emperor of Rome;—a man of an iron will, a despot, and a warrior. That *he* should bend in trembling submission at the feet of an unarmed priest, and shrink before his rebuke, filled the whole world with an awful idea of the supremacy of the Church, and prepared the way for the Hildebrands, the Perettis, the Caraffas of later times. With regard to St. Ambrose, this assumption of moral power, this high prerogative of the priesthood, had hitherto been without precedent, and in this its first application it certainly commands our respect, our admiration, and our sympathy.

Theodosius, with all his great qualities, was subject to fits of violent passion. A sedition, or rather a popular affray, had taken place in Thessalonica; one of his officers was ill-treated, and some lives lost. Theodosius, in the first moment of indignation, ordered an indiscriminate massacre of the inhabitants, and seven thousand human beings—men, women, and children—were sacrificed. The conduct of Ambrose on this occasion was worthy of a Christian prelate: he retired from the presence of the emperor, and wrote to him a letter, in which, in the name of Christ, of His Church, and of all the bishops over whom he had any influence, he denounced this inhuman act with the strongest expressions of abhorrence, and refused to allow the sovereign; thus stained with innocent blood, to participate in the sacraments of the Church;—in fact, excommunicated him. In vain the emperor threatened, supplicated; in vain he appeared with all his imperial state before the doors of the cathedral of Milan, and commanded and entreated entrance. The doors were closed; and even on Christmas-day, when he again as a suppliant presented himself, Ambrose appeared at the porch, and absolutely forbade his entrance, unless he should choose to pass into the sanctuary over the dead body of the intrepid bishop. At length, after eight months of interdict, Ambrose consented to

relent, on two conditions : the first, that the emperor should publish an edict by which no capital punishment could be executed till thirty days after conviction of a crime ; the second, that he should perform a public penance. The emperor submitted ; and, clothed in sackcloth, grovelling on the earth, with dust and ashes on his head, lay the master of the world before the altar of Christ, because of innocent blood hastily and wrongfully shed. This was a great triumph, and one of incalculable results—some evil, some good.

Another incident in the life of St. Ambrose should be recorded to his honour. In his time, ‘the first blood was judicially shed for religious opinion’—and the first man who suffered for heresy was Priscilian, a noble Spaniard : on this occasion, St. Ambrose and St. Martin of Tours raised their protest in the name of Christianity against this dreadful precedent ; but the animosity of the Spanish bishops prevailed, and Priscilian was put to death ; so early were bigotry and cruelty the characteristics of the Spanish hierarchy ! Ambrose refused to communicate with the few bishops who had countenanced this transaction : the general voice of the Church was against it.

The man who had thus raised himself above all worldly power was endued by popular enthusiasm with supernatural privileges : he performed cures ; he saw visions. At the time of the consecration of the new cathedral at Milan, a miraculous dream revealed to him the martyrdom of two holy men, Gervasius and Protasius, and the place where their bodies reposed. The remains were disinterred, conveyed in solemn procession to the cathedral, and deposited beneath the high altar ; and St. Gervasius and St. Protasius became, on the faith of a dream, distinguished saints in the Roman calendar. Ambrose died at Milan, in 397, in the attitude and the act of prayer.

There were many poetical legends and apologues relating to St. Ambrose current in the middle ages.

It is related that an obstinate heretic who went to hear him preach, only to confute and mock him, beheld an angel visible at his side, and prompting the words he uttered ; on seeing which, the scoffer was of course converted ; a subject represented in his church at Milan.

One day, Ambrose went to the prefect Macedonius, to entreat favour for a poor condemned wretch ; but the doors were shut against him, and he was refused access. Then he said, 'Thou, even thou, shalt fly to the church for refuge, and shalt not enter !' and a short time afterwards, Macedonius, being pursued by his enemies, fled for sanctuary to the church ; but, though the doors were wide open, he could not find the entrance, but wandered around in blind perplexity till he was slain. Of this incident I have seen no picture.

On another occasion, St. Ambrose, coming to the house of a nobleman of Tuscany, was hospitably received ; and he inquired concerning the state of his host ; the nobleman replied, 'I have never known adversity ; every day hath seen me increasing in fortune, in honours, in possessions. I have a numerous family of sons and daughters, who have never cost me a pang of sorrow ; I have a multitude of slaves, to whom my word is law ; and I have never suffered either sickness or pain.' Then Ambrose rose hastily from table, and said to his companions, 'Arise ! fly from this roof, ere it fall upon us ; for the Lord is not here !' and scarcely had he left the house, when an earthquake shook the ground, and swallowed up the palace with all its inhabitants. I have seen this story in a miniature, but cannot at this moment refer to it.

St. Ambrose falls asleep, or into a trance, while celebrating mass, and sees in the spirit the obsequies of St. Martin of Tours : the sacristan strikes him on the shoulder to wake him. This is the subject of a very old mosaic in his church at Milan.

When St. Ambrose was on his death-bed, Christ visited him and comforted him ; Honorat, bishop of Vercelli, was then in attendance on him, and having gone to sleep, an angel waked him, saying, 'Arise, for he departs in this hour ;' and Honorat was just in time to administer the sacrament and see him expire. Others who were present beheld him ascend to heaven, borne in the arms of angels.

Devotional pictures of St. Ambrose alone as patron saint do not often occur. In general he wears the episcopal pallium with the mitre and crosier as bishop : the bee-hive is sometimes placed at his feet ; but a more frequent attribute is the knotted scourge with threethongs. The scourge is a received emblem of the castigation of sin : in the hand of

St. Ambrose it may signify the penance inflicted on the Emperor Theodosius ; or, as others interpret it, the expulsion of the Arians from Italy, and the triumph of the Trinitarians. It has always this meaning, we may presume, when the scourge has three knots, or three thongs. I have seen figures of St. Ambrose holding two human bones in his hand. When this attribute occurs (as in a picture by *Vivarini, Venice Acad.*), it alludes to the discovery of the relics of Gervasius and Protasius.

Among the few representations of St. Ambrose as patron saint, the finest beyond all comparison is that which adorns his chapel in the Frari at Venice, painted conjointly by B. Vivarini and Basaiti (A.D. 1498). He is seated on a throne, raised on several steps, attired in his episcopal robes and mitre, and bearing the triple scourge in his hand. He has a short grey beard, and looks straight out of the picture with an expression of stern power ;—nothing here of the benignity and humility of the Christian teacher ! Around his throne stands a glorious company of saints : on the right, St. George in complete armour ; St. John the Baptist ; a young saint, bearing a sword and palm, with long hair, and the most beautiful expression of mild serene faith, whom I suppose to be St. Theodore ; St. Sebastian ; and another figure behind, part of the head only seen. On the left, St. Maurice, armed ; the three Doctors, St. Gregory, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and two other saints partly seen behind, whose personality is doubtful. All these wait round St. Ambrose, as guards and counsellors round a sovereign ; two lovely little angels sit on the lower step of the throne hymning his praise. The whole picture is wonderful for colour, depth, and expression, and shows to what a pitch of excellence the Vivarini family had attained in these characteristics of the Venetian school, long before it had become a school.

Most of the single figures of St. Ambrose represent him in his most popular character, that of the stern adversary of the Arians. I remember (in the Frari at Venice) a picture in which St. Ambrose in his episcopal robes is mounted on a white charger, and flourishing on high his triple scourge. The Arians are trampled under his feet, or fly before him. I have seen an old print, in which he is represented with a short grey beard, stern countenance, and wearing the bishop's

mitre; underneath is the inscription '*Antiquis ejus imaginibus Mediolani olim depictis ad rivum expressa;*' but it seems certain that no authentic portrait of him exists.

His church at Milan, the Basilica of Sant' Ambrogio Maggiore, one of the oldest and most interesting churches in Christendom, was founded by him in 387, and dedicated to all the Saints. Though rebuilt in the ninth century and restored in the seventeenth, it still retains the form of the primitive Christian churches (like some of those at Rome and Ravenna), and the doors of cypress wood are traditionally regarded as the very doors which St. Ambrose closed against the Emperor Theodosius, brought hither from the ancient cathedral. Within this venerable and solemn old church may be seen one of the most extraordinary and best-preserved specimens of Mediæval Art: it is the golden shrine or covering of the high altar, much older than the famous *pala d' oro* at Venice; and the work, or at least the design, of one man:¹ whereas the *pala* is the work of several different artists at different periods. On the front of the altar, which is all of plates of gold, enamelled and set with precious stones, are represented in relief scenes from the life of our Saviour: on the sides, which are of silver-gilt, angels, archangels, and medallions of Milanese saints. On the back, also of silver-gilt, we have the whole life of St. Ambrose, in a series of small compartments, most curious and important as a record of costume and manners, as well as an example of the state of Art at that time. I have never seen any engraving of this monument, but I examined it carefully. In the centre stand the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, in the Byzantine style; and below them, St. Ambrose blesses the donor, Bishop Angelbertus, and the goldsmith Wolvinus. Around, in twelve compartments, we have the principal incidents of the life of St. Ambrose, the figures being, as nearly as I can recollect, about six inches high.

1. Bees swarm round his head as he lies in his cradle. 2. He is appointed prefect of the Ligurian provinces. 3. He is elected Bishop of Milan in 375. 4. He is baptized. 5. He is ordained. 6. and 7. He sleeps, and beholds in a vision the obsequies of St. Martin of Tours.

¹ Wolvinus, A.D. 832. 'His name seems to indicate that he was of Teutonic race—a circumstance which has excited much controversy amongst the modern Italian antiquaries.'—*Murray's Handbook*.

8. He preaches in the cathedral, inspired by angels. 9. He heals the sick and lame. 10. He is visited by Christ. 11. An angel wakes the bishop of Vercelli, and sends him to St. Ambrose. 12. Ambrose dies, and angels bear away his soul to heaven.

I was surprised not to find in his church what we consider as the principal event of his life—his magnanimous resistance to the Emperor Theodosius. In fact, the grand scene between Ambrose and Theodosius has never been so popular as it deserves to be; considered merely as a subject of painting, it is full of splendid picturesque capabilities; for grouping, colour, contrast, background, all that could be desired. In the great picture by Rubens,¹ the scene is the porch of the church. On the left the emperor, surrounded by his guards, stands irresolute, and in a supplicatory attitude, on the steps; on the right and above, St. Ambrose is seen, attended by the ministering priests, and stretches out his hand to repel the intruder. There is a print, after Andrea del Sarto, representing Theodosius on his knees before the relenting prelate. In the Louvre is a small picture, by Sibleyras, of the reconciliation of Ambrose and Theodosius. In our National Gallery is a small and beautiful copy, by Vandyck, of the great picture by Rubens.

As joint patrons of Milan, St. Ambrose and St. Carlo Borromeo are sometimes represented together, but only in late pictures.

There is a statue of St. Ambrose, by Falconet,² in the act of repelling Theodosius, which is mentioned by Diderot, with a commentary so characteristic of the French anti-religious feeling of that time,—a feeling as narrow and one-sided in its way as the most bigoted puritanism,—that I am tempted to extract it; only premising, that if, after the slaughter at Ismaël, Catherine of Russia had been placed under the ban of Christendom, the world would not have been the worse for such an exertion of the priestly power.

C'est ce fougueux évêque qui osa fermer les portes de l'église à Théodose, et à qui un certain souverain de par le monde [Frederic of Prussia] qui dans la guerre passée avoit une si bonne envie de faire un tour dans la rue des prêtres, et une certaine souveraine [Catherine of Russia] qui vient de débarrasser son clergé de toute cette richesse inutile qui l'empêchoit d'être respectable, auroient fait couper la barbe et les oreilles, en lui disant: 'Apprenez, monsieur l'abbé, que le temple de votre Dieu est sur mon domaine, et que si mon prédécesseur vous a accordé par grâce les trois arpens de terrain qu'il occupe, je puis les

¹ Belvedere Gal., Vienna.

² Paris, Invalides.

repandre et vous envoyer porter vos autels et votre fanatisme ailleurs. Ce lieu-ci est la maison du Père commun des hommes, bons ou méchants, et je veux entrer quand il me plaira. Je ne m'accuse point à vous ; quand je daignerois vous consulter, vous n'en savez pas assez pour me conseiller sur ma conduite, et de quel front vous immiscez-vous d'en juger ?' Mais le plat empereur ne parla pas ainsi, et l'évêque savoit bien à qui il avoit à faire. Le statuaire nous l'a montré dans le moment de son insolent apostrophe.

In Diderot's criticisms on Art, which are often quoted even now, there is in general a far better taste than prevailed in his time, and much good sense ; but a low tone of sentiment when he had to deal with imaginative or religious Art, and an intolerable coarseness—
'most mischievous foul sin in chiding sin.'

ST. AUGUSTINE.

St. Austin. *Lat.* Sanctus Augustinus. *Ital.* Sant' Agostino. *Fr.* St Augustin.
(Aug. 28, A.D. 430.)

ST. AUGUSTINE, the third of the Doctors of the Church, was born at Tagaste, in Numidia, in 354. His father was a heathen : his mother, Monica, a Christian. Endowed with splendid talents, a vivid imagination, and strong passions, Augustine passed his restless youth in dissipated pleasures, in desultory studies, changing from one faith to another, dissatisfied with himself and unsettled in mind. His mother, Monica, wept and prayed for him, and, in the extremity of her anguish, repaired to the bishop of Carthage. After listening to her sorrows, he dismissed her with these words : 'Go in peace ; the son of so many tears will not perish !' Augustine soon afterwards went to Rome, where he gained fame and riches by his eloquence at the bar ; but he was still unhappy and restless, nowhere finding peace either in labour or in pleasure. From Rome he went to Milan ; there, after listening for some time to the preaching of Ambrose, he was, after many struggles converted to the faith, and was baptized by the bishop of Milan, in presence of his mother, Monica. On this occasion was composed the hymn called the 'Te Deum,' still in use in our Church ; St. Ambrose and St. Augustine reciting the verses alternately as they advanced to the altar. Augustine, after some time spent in study, was ordained priest, and then bishop of Hippo,

a small town and territory not far from Carthage. Once installed in his bishopric, he ever afterwards refused to leave the flock intrusted to his care, or to accept of any higher dignity. His life was passed in the practice of every virtue: all that he possessed was spent in hospitality and charity, and his time was devoted to the instruction of his flock, either by preaching or writing. In 430, after he had presided over his diocese for thirty-five years, the city of Hippo was besieged by the Vandals; in the midst of the horrors that ensued, Augustine refused to leave his people, and died during the siege, being then in his seventy-sixth year. It is said that his remains were afterwards removed from Africa to Pavia, by Luitprand, king of the Lombards. His writings in defence of Christianity are numerous and celebrated; and he is regarded as the patron saint of theologians and learned men.

Of his glorious tomb, in the Cathedral of Pavia, I can only say that its beauty as a work of art astonished me. I had not been prepared for anything so rich, so elegant in taste, and so elaborate in invention. It is of the finest florid Gothic, worked in white marble, scarcely discoloured by time. Augustine lies upon a bier, and angels of exquisite grace are folding his shroud around him. The basso-relievos represent the events of his life; the statues of the evangelists, apostles, and other saints connected with the history of the Church, are full of dignity and character. It comprises in all 290 figures. This magnificent shrine is attributed by Cicognara to the Jacobelli of Venice, and by Vasari to the two brothers Agostino and Agnolo of Siena; but he does not speak with certainty, and the date 1362 seems to justify the supposition of Cicognara, the Sienese brothers being then eighty or ninety years old.

Single figures of St. Augustine are not common; and when grouped with others in devotional pictures, it is not easy to distinguish him from other bishops; for his proper attribute, the heart flaming or transpierced, to express the ardour of his piety or the poignancy of his repentance, is very seldom introduced: but when a bishop is standing with a book in his hand, or a pen, accompanied by St. Jerome and with no particular attribute, we may suppose it to be St. Augustine; and when the title of one of his famous writings is inscribed on the book, it of course fixes the identity beyond a doubt.

1. B. Vivarini. St. Augustine seated on a throne, as patron saint, mitred and robed; alone, stern, and majestic.¹
2. Dosso Dossi. St. Augustine throned as patron, attended by two angels; he looks like a jovial patriarch.²
3. F. Filippo Lippi. St. Augustine writing in his chamber; no emblem, no mitre; yet the *personalité* so marked, that one could not mistake him either for Ambrose or Jerome.³
4. Andrea del Sarto. St. Augustine as doctor; before him stand St. Dominic and St. Peter Martyr; beside him St. Laurence, listening; in front kneel St. Sebastian and Mary Magdalen.⁴
5. V. Carpaccio. St. Augustine standing; a fine, stern, majestic figure; he holds his book and scourge.⁵
6. Paris Bordone. The Virgin and Child enthroned; the Virgin places on the head of St. Augustine, who kneels before her, the jewelled mitre.⁶
7. Florigerio. St. Augustine, as bishop, and St. Monica, veiled, stand on each side of the Madonna.⁷

As a *series* of subjects, the history of St. Augustine is not commonly met with; yet certain events in his life are of very frequent occurrence.

I shall begin with the earliest.

1. Monica brings her son to school; the master receives him; the scholars are sitting in a row conning their hornbooks. The names of Monica and Augustine are inscribed in the glories round their heads. This is a very curious little oval picture of the early part of the fourteenth century.⁸

Benozzo Gozzoli has painted the same subject in a large fresco in the church of San Geminiano at Volterra (A.D. 1460). Monica presents her son to the schoolmaster, who caresses him; in the background a little boy is being whipped, precisely in the same attitude in which correction is administered to this day in some of our schools.

2. St. Augustine under the fig-tree meditating, with the inscrip-

¹ SS. Giovan e Paolo, Venice.

² Brera, Milan.

³ Fl. Gal.

⁴ Pitti Pal. This fine picture was painted for the Agostini.

⁵ Brera, Milan.

⁶ Berlin Gal.

⁷ Acad., Venice.

⁸ Vatican, Christian Museum.

tion, 'Dolores animæ salutem parturientes;' and the same subject varied, with the inscription, *Tolle, lege*. He tells us in his Confessions, that while still unconverted and in deep communion with his friend Alypius on the subject of the Scriptures, the contest within his mind was such that he rushed from the presence of his friend and threw himself down beneath a fig-tree, pouring forth torrents of repentant tears; and he heard a voice, as it were the voice of a child, repeating several times, '*Tolle, lege*;' 'Take and read;' and returning to the place where he had left his friend, and taking up the sacred volume, he opened it at the verse of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, 'Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh.' Considering that this was the voice of God, he took up the religious profession, to the great joy of his mother and his friend.

3. C. Procaccino. The Baptism of St. Augustine in the presence of St. Monica. This is a common subject in chapels dedicated to St. Augustine or St. Monica.¹

4. As the supposed founder of one of the four great religious communities, St. Augustine is sometimes represented as giving the rules to his Order: or in the act of writing them, while his monks stand around, as in a picture by Carletto Cagliari:² both are common subjects in the houses of the Augustine friars. The habit is black.³

5. St. Augustine dispensing alms, generally in a black habit, and with a bishop's mitre on his head.

6. St. Augustine, washing the feet of the pilgrims, sees Christ descend from above to have his feet washed with the rest; a large picture in the Bologna Academy by Desubleo, a painter whose works, with this one exception, are unknown to me. The saint wears the black habit of an Augustine friar, and is attended by a monk with a napkin in his hand. I found the same subject in the Louvre, in a Spanish picture of the seventeenth century; above is seen a church (like the Pantheon) in a glory, and Christ is supposed to utter the words, '*Tibi commendo Ecclesiam meam.*'⁴

¹ Cremona. ² Belvedere, Vienna. ³ v. 'Legends of the Monastic Orders,' p. 191.

⁴ I believe this picture was afterwards in the possession of Mr. Dennistoun, of Dennistoun. Mr. Stirling mentions it as a fine specimen of Murillo's second style.

7. St. Augustine, borne aloft by angels in an ecstatic vision, beholds Christ in the opening heavens above, St. Monica kneeling below. This fine picture, by Vandyck, is or was in the gallery of Lord Methuen at Corsham: and at Madrid there is another example, by Murillo: St. Augustine kneeling in an ecstasy sees a celestial vision; on one hand the Saviour crucified, on the other the Virgin and angels.

This, however, is not the famous subject called, in general, 8. 'The Vision of St. Augustine,' which represents a dream or vision related



by himself. He tells us that while busied in writing his Discourse on the Trinity, he wandered along the sea-shore lost in meditation. Suddenly he beheld a child who, having dug a hole in the sand, appeared to be bringing water from the sea to fill it. Augustine inquired what was the object of his task? He replied, that he intended to empty into this cavity all the waters of the great deep. 'Impossible!' exclaimed Augustine. 'Not more impossible,' replied the child, 'than for thee, O Augustine! to explain the mystery on which thou art now meditating.'

No subject from the history of St. Augustine has been so often treated, yet I do not remember any very early example. It was adopted as a favourite theme when Art became rather theological than religious, and more intent on illustrating the dogmas of churchmen than the teaching of Christ. During the 16th and 17th centuries we find it everywhere, and treated in every variety of style; but the *motif* does not vary, and the same fault prevails too generally, of giving us a material fact, rather than a spiritual vision or revelation. Augustine, arrayed in his black habit or his episcopal robes, stands on the sea-shore, gazing with an astonished air on the Infant Christ, who pauses, and looks up from his task, holding a bowl, a cup, a ladle, or a shell in his hand. Thus we have it in Murillo's picture—the most beautiful example I have seen: the child is heavenly, but not visionary, 'palpable to feeling as to sense.'

In Garofalo's picture of this subject, now in our National Gallery, Augustine is seated on a rock by the margin of the sea, habited in his episcopal robes, and with his books and writing implements near him; and while he gazes on the mysterious child, the Virgin appears amid a choir of angels above: behind Augustine stands St. Catherine, the patron saint of theologians and scholars: the little red figure in the background represents St. Stephen, whose life and actions are eloquently set forth in the homilies of St. Augustine: the introduction of St. Catherine, St. Stephen, and the whole court of heaven, gives the picture a visionary character. Rubens has painted this subject with all his powerful reality: here Augustine wears the black habit of his Order. Vandyck in his large grand picture has introduced St. Monica kneeling, thus giving at once the devotional

or visionary character.¹ Albert Dürer has designed and engraved the same subject. The most singular treatment is the classical composition of Raphael, in one of the small chiaro-scuro pictures placed significantly under the 'Dispute of the Sacrament.' St. Augustine is in a Roman dress, bare-headed, and on horseback; his horse starts and rears at the sight of the miraculous child.

There is something at once picturesque and mystical in this subject, which has rendered it a favourite with artists and theologians; yet there is always, at least in every instance I can recollect, something prosaic and literal in the treatment which spoils the poetry of the conception.

9. 'St. Augustine and St. Stephen bury Count Orgaz'—the masterpiece of Domenico el Greco, once in the Cathedral of Toledo, now in the Madrid Gallery. This Conde de Orgaz, as Mr. Ford tells us in his Handbook, lived in 1312, and had repaired a church in his life-time, and *therefore* St. Stephen and St. Augustine came down from heaven to lay him in his tomb, in presence of Christ, the Virgin, and all the court of heaven. 'The black and gold armour of the dead Count is equal to Titian; the red brocades and copes of the saints are admirable; less good are the Virgin and celestial groups.' I have before mentioned the reason why St. Augustine and St. Stephen are often represented in companionship.

St. Monica is often introduced into pictures of her son, where she has, of course, the secondary place; her dress is usually a black robe, and a veil or coif, white or grey, resembling that of a nun or a widow. I have met with but one picture where she is supreme; it is in the Carmine at Florence. St. Monica is seated on a throne and attended by twelve holy women or female saints, six on each side. The very dark situation of this picture prevented me from distinguishing individually the saints around her, but Monica herself as well as the other figures have that *grandiose* air which belongs to the painter—Filippo Lippi.

I saw in the atelier of the painter Ary Scheffer, in 1845, an admirable picture of St. Augustine and his mother Monica. The two figures, not quite full length, are seated; she holds his hand in both hers, looking up to heaven with an expression of enthusiastic

¹ Once in Lord Methuen's Gallery at Corsham.

undoubting faith ;—‘ the son of so many tears cannot be cast away ! ’ He also is looking up with an ardent, eager, but anxious, doubtful expression, which seems to say, ‘ Help thou my unbelief ! ’ For profound and truthful feeling and significance, I know few things in the compass of modern Art that can be compared to this picture.¹

ST. GREGORY.

Lat. Sanctus Gregorius Magnus. *Ital.* San Gregorio Magno or Papa. *Fr.* St. Grégoire.
Ger. Der Heilige Gregor. (March 12, A.D. 604.)

THE fourth Doctor of the Latin Church, St. Gregory, styled, and not without reason, Gregory the Great, was one of those extraordinary men whose influence is not only felt in their own time, but through long succeeding ages. The events of his troubled and splendid pontificate belong to history ; and I shall merely throw together here such particulars of his life and character as may serve to render the multiplied representations of him both intelligible and interesting. He was born at Rome in the year 540. His father, Gordian, was of senatorial rank : his mother, Sylvia, who, in the history of St. Gregory, is almost as important as St. Monica in the story of St. Augustine, was a woman of rare endowments, and, during his childish years, the watchful instructress of her son. It is recorded that when he was still an infant she was favoured by a vision of St. Antony, in which he promised to her son the supreme dignity of the tiara. Gregory, however, commenced his career in life as a lawyer, and exercised during twelve years the office of prætor or chief magistrate of his native city ; yet, while apparently engrossed by secular affairs, he became deeply imbued with the religious enthusiasm which was characteristic of his time and hereditary in his family. Immediately on the death of his father he devoted all the wealth he had inherited to pious and charitable purposes, converted his paternal home on the Celian Hill into a monastery and hospital for the poor, which he dedicated to St. Andrew ; then, retiring to a little cell within it, he took the habit of the Bene-

¹ It was in possession of Her Majesty the Ex-Queen of the French, who paid for it 25,000*l.*

dictine Order, and gave up all his time to study and preparation for the duties to which he had devoted himself. On the occasion of a terrific plague which almost depopulated Rome, he fearlessly undertook the care of the poor and sick. Pope Pelagius having died at this time, the people with one voice called upon Gregory to succeed him; but he shrank from the high office, and wrote to the Emperor Maurice, entreating him not to ratify the choice of the people. The Emperor sent an edict confirming his election, and thereupon Gregory fled from Rome, and hid himself in a cave. Those who went in search of him were directed to the place of his concealment by a celestial light, and the fugitive was discovered and brought back to Rome.

No sooner had he assumed the tiara, thus forced upon him against his will, than he showed himself in all respects worthy of his elevation. While he asserted the dignity of his station, he was distinguished by his personal humility: he was the first pope who took the title of 'Servant of the Servants of God;' he abolished slavery throughout Christendom on religious grounds; though enthusiastic in making converts, he set himself against persecution; and when the Jews of Sardinia appealed to him, he commanded that the synagogues which had been taken from them, and converted into churches, should be restored. He was the first who sent missionaries to preach the Gospel in England, roused to pity by the sight of some British captives exposed for sale in the market at Rome. Shocked at the idea of an eternity of vengeance and torment, if he did not originate the belief in purgatory, he was at least the first who preached it publicly, and made it an article of faith. In his hatred of war, of persecution, of slavery, he stepped not only in advance of his own time, but of ours. He instituted the celibacy of the clergy, one of the boldest strokes of ecclesiastical power; he reformed the services of the Church; defined the model of the Roman liturgy, such as it has ever since remained—the offices of the priests, the variety and change of the sacerdotal garments; he arranged the music of the chants, and he himself trained the choristers. 'Experience,' says Gibbon, 'had shown him the efficacy of these solemn and pompous rites to soothe the distress, to confirm the faith, to mitigate the fierceness, and to dispel the dark enthusiasm of the vulgar and he readily forgave their tendency to promote the reign of priesthood

and superstition.' If, at a period when credulity and ignorance were universal, he showed himself in some instances credulous and ignorant, it seems hardly a reproach to one in other respects so good and so great.

His charity was boundless, and his vigilance indefatigable : he considered himself responsible for every sheep of the flock intrusted to him ; and when a beggar died of hunger in the streets of Rome, he laid himself under a sentence of penance and excommunication, and interdicted himself for several days from the exercise of his sacerdotal functions.

Such was St. Gregory the Great, the last pope who was canonised : celestial honours and worldly titles have often been worse—seldom so well—bestowed.

During the last two years of his life, his health, early impaired by fasts and vigils, failed entirely, and he was unable to rise from his couch. He died in 604, in the fourteenth year of his pontificate. They still preserve, in the church of the Lateran at Rome, his bed, and the little scourge with which he was wont to keep the choristers in order.

The monastery of St. Andrew, which he founded on the Celian Hill, is now the church of San Gregorio. To stand on the summit of the majestic flight of steps which leads to the portal, and look across to the ruined palace of the Cæsars, makes the mind giddy with the rush of thoughts. *There*, before us, the Palatine Hill—pagan Rome in dust : *here*, the little cell, a few feet square, where slept in sackcloth the man who gave the last blow to the power of the Cæsars, and first set his foot as sovereign on the cradle and capital of their greatness.

St. Gregory was in person tall and corpulent, and of a dark complexion, with black hair, and very little beard. He speaks in one of his epistles of his large size, contrasted with his weakness and painful infirmities. He presented to the monastery of St. Andrew his own portrait, and those of his father, and his mother St. Sylvia : they were still in existence 300 years after his death, and the portrait of Gregory probably furnished that particular type of physiognomy which we trace in all the best representations of him, in which he appears of a tall, large, and dignified person, with a broad full face, black hair and eyebrows, and little or no beard.

As he was, next to St. Jerome, the most popular of the Four Doctors, single figures of him abound. They are variously treated: in general, he bears the tiara as pope, and the crosier with the double cross, in common with other papal saints; but his peculiar attribute is the dove, which in the old pictures is always close to his ear. He is often seated on a throne in the pontifical robes, wearing the tiara: one hand raised in benediction; in the other a book, which represents his homilies, and other famous works attributed to him: the dove either rests on his shoulder, or is hovering over his head. He is thus represented in the fine statue, designed, as it is said, by M. Angelo, and executed by Cordieri, in the chapel of St. Barbara, in San Gregorio, Rome; and in the picture over the altar-piece of his chapel, to the right of the high altar. In the Salviati Chapel, on the left, is the 'St. Gregory in prayer,' by Annibal Caracci. He is seen in front bareheaded, but arrayed in the pontifical habit, kneeling on a cushion, his hands outspread and uplifted; the dove descends from on high; the tiara is at his feet, and eight angels hover around:—a grand, finely-coloured, but, in sentiment, rather cold and mannered picture.¹

By Guercino, St. Gregory seated on a throne, looking upwards, his hand on an open book, in act to turn the leaves; the dove hovers at his shoulder: to the left stands St. Francis Xavier; on the right, and more in front, St. Ignatius Loyola. Behind St. Gregory is an angel playing on the viol, in allusion to his love and patronage of sacred music; in front an infant angel holds the tiara. The type usually adopted in figures of St. Gregory is here exaggerated into coarseness, and the picture altogether appears to me more remarkable for Guercino's faults than for his beauties.²

Several of the legends connected with the history of St. Gregory are of singular interest and beauty, and have afforded a number of picturesque themes for Art: they appear to have arisen out of his exceeding popularity. They are all expressive of the veneration in which he was held by the people; of the deep impression left on their minds by his eloquence, his sanctity, his charity; and of the

¹ There is a duplicate in the Bridgewater Gallery.

² Sutherland Gal.

authority imputed to his numerous writings, which were commonly said to have been dictated by the Holy Spirit.

1. John the deacon, his secretary, who has left a full account of his life, declares that he beheld the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove perched upon his shoulder while he was writing or dictating his famous homilies. This vision, or rather figure of speech, has been interpreted as a fact by the early painters. Thus, in a quaint old picture in the Bologna Gallery, we have St. Gregory seated on a throne writing, the celestial dove at his ear. A little behind is seen John the deacon, drawing aside a curtain, and looking into the room at his patron with an expression of the most naive astonishment.

2. The Archangel Michael, on the cessation of the pestilence, sheathes his sword on the summit of the Mole of Hadrian. I have never seen even a tolerable picture of this magnificent subject. There is a picture in the Vatican, in which Gregory and a procession of priests are singing litanies, and in the distance a little *Mola di Adriano*, with a little angel on the summit;—curious, but without merit of any kind.

3. The Supper of St. Gregory. It is related that when Gregory was only a monk, in the Monastery of St. Andrew, a beggar presented himself at the gate, and requested alms: being relieved, he came again and again, and at length nothing was left for the charitable saint to bestow, but the silver porringer in which his mother, Sylvia, had sent him a *potage*; and he commanded that this should be given to the mendicant. It was his custom, when he became pope, to entertain every evening at his own table twelve poor men, in remembrance of the number of our Lord's apostles. One night, as he sat at supper with his guests, he saw, to his surprise, not twelve, but thirteen seated at his table. And he called to his steward, and said to him, 'Did I not command thee to invite twelve? and behold, there are thirteen!' And the steward told them over, and replied, 'Holy Father, there are surely twelve only!' and Gregory held his peace; and after the meal, he called forth the unbidden guest, and asked him, 'Who art thou?' And he replied, 'I am the poor man whom thou didst formerly relieve; but my name is the Wonderful, and through me thou shalt obtain whatever thou shalt ask of God. Then

Gregory knew that he had entertained an angel (or, according to another version of the story, our Lord Himself). This legend has been a frequent subject in painting, under the title of 'The Supper of St. Gregory.' In the fresco in his church at Rome, it is a winged angel who appears at the supper-table. In the fresco of Paul Veronese, one of his famous banquet-scenes, the stranger seated at the table is the Saviour habited as a pilgrim.¹ In the picture painted by Vasari, his masterpiece, now in the Bologna Gallery, he has introduced a great number of figures and portraits of distinguished personages of his own time, St. Gregory being represented under the likeness of Clement VII. The unbidden guest, or angel, bears the features of the Saviour.

This is one of many beautiful mythic legends, founded on the words of St. Paul in which he so strongly recommends hospitality as one of the virtues: 'Be not forgetful to entertain strangers: for thereby some have entertained angels unawares.' (Heb. xiii. 2.) Or, as Massinger has rendered the apostolic precept,—

Learn all,
By this example, to look on the poor
With gentle eyes, for in such habits often
Angels desire an alms.

4. The Mass of St. Gregory. On a certain occasion, when St. Gregory was officiating at the mass, one who was near him doubted the real presence; thereupon, at the prayer of the saint, a vision is suddenly revealed of the crucified Saviour Himself, who descends upon the altar, surrounded by the instruments of his passion. This legend has been a popular subject of painting from the beginning of the fifteenth century, and is called 'The Mass of St. Gregory.' I have met with it in every variety of treatment and grouping; but, however treated, it is not a pleasing subject. St. Gregory is seen officiating at the altar, surrounded by his attendant clergy. Sometimes several saints are introduced in a poetical manner, as witnesses of the miracle: as in an old picture I saw in the gallery of Lord Northwick;—the crucified Saviour descends from the cross, and stands on the altar, or is upborne in the air by angels; while all the incidental circumstances and instruments of the Passion,—not merely the crown

¹ Vicenza. S. Maria del Monte.

of thorns, the spear, the nails, but the kiss of Judas, the soldiers' dice, the cock that crew to Peter,—are seen floating in the air. As a specimen of the utmost naïveté in this representation may be mentioned Albert Dürer's woodcut.

The least offensive and most elegant in treatment is the marble bas-relief in front of the altar in the Chapel of St. Gregory at Rome.

5. The miracle of the Brandeum. The Empress Constantia sent to St. Gregory requesting some of the relics of St. Peter and St. Paul. He excused himself, saying that he dared not disturb their sacred remains for such a purpose, but he sent her part of a consecrated cloth (*Brandeum*) which had enfolded the body of St. John the Evangelist. The Empress rejected this gift with contempt: whereupon Gregory, to show that such things are hallowed not so much in themselves as by the faith of believers, laid the Brandeum on the altar, and after praying he took up a knife and pierced it, and blood flowed as from a living body. This incident, called the 'miracle *dei Brandei*,' has also been painted. Andrea Sacchi has represented it in a grand picture now in the Vatican; the mosaic copy is over the altar of St. Gregory in St. Peter's. Gregory holds up to view the bleeding cloth, and the expression of astonishment and conviction in the countenances of the assistants is very fine.

6. St. Gregory releases the soul of the emperor Trajan. In a little picture in the Bologna Academy, he is seen praying before a tomb, on which is inscribed TRAJANO IMPERADOR; beneath are two angels raising the soul of Trajan out of the flames. Such is the usual treatment of this curious and poetical legend, which is thus related in the *Legenda Aurea*:—"It happened on a time, as Trajan was hastening to battle at the head of his legions, that a poor widow flung herself in his path, and cried aloud for justice, and the emperor stayed to listen to her; and she demanded vengeance for the innocent blood of her son, killed by the son of the emperor. Trajan promised to do her justice when he returned from his expedition. "But, Sire," answered the widow, "should you be killed in battle, who then will do me justice?" "My successor," replied Trajan. And she said, "What will it signify to you, great emperor, that any other than yourself should do me justice? Is it not better that you

should do this good action yourself than leave another to do it?" And Trajan alighted, and having examined into the affair, he gave up his own son to her in place of him she had lost, and bestowed on her likewise a rich dowry. Now it came to pass that as Gregory was one day meditating in his daily walk, this action of the Emperor Trajan came into his mind, and he wept bitterly to think that a man so just should be condemned as a heathen to eternal punishment. And entering into a church he prayed most fervently that the soul of the good emperor might be released from torment. And a voice said to him, "I have granted thy prayer, and I have spared the soul of Trajan for thy sake; but because thou hast supplicated for one whom the justice of God had already condemned, thou shalt choose one of two things: either thou shalt endure for two days the fires of purgatory, or thou shalt be sick and infirm for the remainder of thy life." Gregory chose the latter, which sufficiently accounts for the grievous pains and infirmities to which this great and good man was subjected, even to the day of his death.'

This story of Trajan was extremely popular in the middle ages: it is illustrative of the character of Gregory, and the feeling which gave rise to his doctrine of purgatory. Dante twice alludes to it; he describes it as one of the subjects sculptured on the walls of Purgatory, and takes occasion to relate the whole story:—

. . . There was storied on the rock
 Th' exalted glory of the Roman prince,
 Whose mighty worth moved Gregory to earn
 His mighty conquest—Trajan the Emperor.
 A widow at his bridle stood attired
 In tears and mourning. Round about them trooped
 Full throng of knights; and overhead in gold
 The eagles floated, struggling with the wind.
 The wretch appeared amid all these to say:
 'Grant vengeance, Sire! for, woe beshrew this heart,
 My son is murdered!' He, replying, seemed:
 'Wait now till I return.' And she, as one
 Made hasty by her grief: 'O Sire, if thou
 Dost not return?'—'Where I am, who then is,
 May right thee.'—'What to thee is other's good,
 If thou neglect thy own?'—'Now comfort thee,'
 At length he answers. 'It beseemeth well
 My duty be performed, ere I move hence.
 So justice wills; and pity bids me stay.'

Cary's DANTE, *Purg.* x.

It was through the efficacy of St. Gregory's intercession that Dante afterwards finds Trajan in Paradise, seated between King David and King Hezekiah. (*Par. xx.*)

As a subject of painting, the story of Trajan was sometimes selected as an appropriate ornament for a hall of justice. We find it sculptured on one of the capitals of the pillars of the Ducal Palace at Venice: there is the figure of the widow kneeling, somewhat stiff, but very simple and expressive, and over it in rude ancient letters—' *Traiano Imperador, che die justizia a la Vedova.*' In the Town Hall of Ceneda, near Belluna, are the three Judgments (*i tre Giudizi*), painted by Pompeo Amalteo: the Judgment of Solomon, the Judgment of Daniel, and the Judgment of Trajan. It is painted in the Town Hall of Brescia by Giulio Campi, one of a series of eight righteous judgments.

I found the same subject in the Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury at Verona. 'The son of the Emperor Trajan trampling over the son of the widow' is a most curious composition by Hans Schaufelein.¹

7. There was a monk, who, in defiance of his vow of poverty, secreted in his cell three pieces of gold. Gregory, on learning this, excommunicated him, and shortly afterwards the monk died. When Gregory heard that the monk had perished in his sin, without receiving absolution, he was filled with grief and horror; and he wrote upon a parchment a prayer and a form of absolution, and gave it to one of his deacons, desiring him to go to the grave of the deceased and read it there: on the following night the monk appeared in a vision, and revealed to him his release from torment.

This story is represented in the beautiful bas-relief in white marble in front of the altar of his chapel; it is the last compartment on the right. The obvious intention of this wild legend is to give effect to the doctrine of purgatory, and the efficacy of prayers for the dead.

St. Gregory's merciful doctrine of purgatory also suggested those pictures so often found in chapels dedicated to the service of the dead, in which he is represented in the attitude of supplication, while

¹ Bartsch, *Le Peintre Graveur*, vii. 214.

on one side, or in the background, angels are raising the tormented souls out of the flames.

In ecclesiastical decoration I have seen the two popes, St. Gelasius, who reformed the calendar in 494, and St. Celestinus, who arranged the discipline of the Monastic Orders, added to the series of beatified Doctors of the Church.

II. THE FOUR GREEK FATHERS.

THE Four Greek Fathers are St. John Chrysostom, St. Basil the Great, St. Athanasius, and St. Gregory Nazianzen. To these, in Greek pictures, a fifth is generally added, St. Cyril of Alexandria.

From the time of the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, these venerable personages, who once exercised such an influence over all Christendom, who preceded the Latin Fathers, and were in fact their teachers, have been almost banished from the religious representations of the west of Europe. When they are introduced collectively as a part of the decoration of an ecclesiastical edifice, we may conclude in general, that the work is Byzantine and executed under the influence of Greek artists.

A signal example is the central dome of the baptistery of St. Mark's at Venice, executed by Greek artists, of the 12th and 13th centuries. In the four spandrils of the vault are the Greek Fathers seated, writing (if I well remember), and in the purest Byzantine style of Art. They occupy the same places here that we find usually occupied by the Latin Doctors in church decoration: each has his name inscribed in Greek characters. We have exactly the same representation in the Cathedral of Monreale at Palermo. The Greek Fathers have no attributes to distinguish them, and the general custom in Byzantine Art of inscribing the names over each figure renders this unnecessary: in general, each holds a book, or, in some instances, a scroll, which represents his writings; while the right hand is raised in benediction, in the Greek manner, the first and second finger extended, and the thumb and third finger forming a cross. According to the formula published by M. Didron, each of



The five Greek Fathers

the Greek Fathers bears on a scroll the first words of some remarkable passage from his works : thus, St. John Chrysostom has ' God, our God, who hath given us for food the bread of life,' &c. : St. Basil, ' None of those who are in the bondage of fleshly desires are worthy,' &c. : St. Athanasius, ' Often, and anew, do we flee to thee, O God,' &c. : St. Gregory Nazianzen, ' God, the holy among the holies, the thrice holy,' &c. : and St. Cyril, ' Above all, a Virgin without sin or blemish,' &c.

The Greek bishops do not wear mitres ; consequently, when in the Italian or German pictures St. Basil or any of his companions wear the mitre, it is a mistake arising from the ignorance of the artist.

The Fathers of the Greek Church have been represented by Domenichino at Grotta Ferrata, placed over the cornice and under the evangelists, their proper place : they are majestic figures, with fine heads, and correctly draped according to the Greek ecclesiastical costume. They are placed here with peculiar propriety, because the convent originally belonged to the Greek order of St. Basil, and the founder, St. Nilus, was a Greek.¹

The etched outline, from a beautiful ancient Greek miniature, will give an accurate idea of the characteristic figures and habits of the Greek Fathers.

As separate devotional and historical representations of these Fathers do sometimes, though rarely, occur, I shall say a few words of them individually.

ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

Lat. Sanctus Johannes Chrysostom. *Ital.* San Giovanni Crisostomo, San Giovanni Bocca d' Oro. *Fr.* St. Jean Chrysostome. Died Sept. 14, A.D. 407. His festival is celebrated by the Greeks on the 13th of November, and by the Latin Church on the 27th of January.

ST. JOHN, called CHRYSOSTOM, or OF THE GOLDEN MOUTH, because of his extraordinary eloquence, was born at Antioch in 344. His parents were illustrious, and the career opened to him was of arts and arms ;

¹ For an account of St. Nilus, and the foundation of Grotta Ferrata, see the 'Legenda of the Monastic Orders.'

but from his infancy the bent of his mind was peculiar. He lost his father when young; his mother Arthusia, still in the prime of her life, remained a widow for his sake, and superintended his education with care and intelligence. The remark of Sir James Mackintosh that 'all distinguished men have had able mothers,' appears especially true of the great churchmen and poets. The mother of St. John Chrysostom ranks with the Monicas and Sylvias, already described.

John, at the age of twenty, was already a renowned pleader at the bar. At the age of twenty-six, the disposition to self-abnegation and the passion for solitude, which had distinguished him from boyhood, became so strong, that he wished to retire altogether from the world; his legal studies, his legal honours, had become hateful to him: he would turn hermit. For a time his mother's tears and prayers restrained him. He has himself recorded the pathetic remonstrance in which she reminded him of all she had done and suffered in her state of widowhood for his sake, and besought him not to leave her. For the present he yielded: but two years later he fled from society, and passed five or six years in the wilderness near Antioch, devoting himself solely to the study of the Scriptures, to penance and prayer; feeding on the wild vegetables, and leading a life of such rigorous abstinence that his health sank under it, and he was obliged to return to Antioch.

All this time he was not even an ordained priest; but shortly after he had emerged from the desert, Flavian, bishop of Antioch, ordained him, and appointed him preacher. At the moment of his consecration, according to the tradition, a white dove descended on his head, which was regarded as the sign of immediate inspiration. He then entered on his true vocation as a Christian orator, the greatest next to Paul. On one occasion, when the people of Antioch had offended the Emperor Theodosius, and were threatened with a punishment like that which had fallen on Thessalonica, the eloquence of St. John Chrysostom saved them: he was so adored by the people, that when he was appointed patriarch of Constantinople, it was necessary to kidnap him, and carry him off from Antioch by a force of armed soldiers, before the citizens had time to interfere.

From the moment he entered on his high office at Constantinople, he became the model of a Christian bishop. Humble, self-denying,

sleeping on a bare plank, content with a little bread and pulse, he entertained with hospitality the poor and strangers: indefatigable as a preacher, he used his great gift of eloquence to convert his hearers to what he believed to be the truth: he united the enthusiasm and the imagination of the poet, the elegant taste of the scholar, the logic of the pleader, with the inspired earnestness of one who had authority from above. He was, like St. Jerome, remarkable for his influence over women; and his correspondence with one of his female converts and friends, Olympias, is considered one of the finest of his works remaining to us; but, inexorable in his denunciations of vice, without regard to sex or station, he thundered against the irregularities of the monks, the luxury and profligacy of the Empress Eudisia, and the servility of her flatterers, and brought down upon himself the vengeance of that haughty woman, with whom the rest of his life was one long contest. He was banished: the voice of the people obliged the emperor to recall him. Persisting in the resolute defence of his church privileges, and his animadversions on the court and the clergy, he was again banished; and, on his way to his distant place of exile, sank under fatigue and the cruel treatment of his guards, who exposed him, bare-headed and bare-footed, to the burning sun of noon: and thus he perished, in the tenth year of his bishopric, and the sixty-third of his age. Gibbon adds, that, 'at the pious solicitation of the clergy and people of Constantinople, his relics, thirty years after his death, were transported from their obscure sepulchre to the royal city. The Emperor Theodosius advanced to receive them as far as Chalcedon, and, falling prostrate on the coffin, implored, in the name of his guilty parents, Arcadius and Eudisia, the forgiveness of the injured saint.'

It is owing, I suppose, to the intercourse of Venice with the East, that one of her beautiful churches is dedicated to San Gian Grisostomo, as they call him there, in accents as soft and sonorous as his own Greek. Over the high altar is the grandest devotional picture in which I have seen this saint figure as a chief personage. It is the masterpiece of Sebastian del Piombo,¹ and represents St. John

¹ According to Sansovino, begun by Giorgione, and finished by Sebastian.

Chrysostom throned and in the act of writing in a great book ; behind him, St. Paul. In front to the right, stands St. John the Baptist, and behind him St. George as patron of Venice ; to the left Mary Magdalene, with a beautiful Venetian face ; behind her, St. Catherine, patroness of Venice ; close to St. J. Chrysostom stands St. Lucia holding her lamp ; she is here the type of celestial light or wisdom.¹ This picture was for a long time attributed to Giorgione. There was also a very fine majestic figure of this saint by Rubens, in the collection of M. Schamp ; he is in the habit of a Greek bishop ; in one hand he holds the sacramental cup, and the left hand rests on the Gospel : the celestial dove hovers near him, and two angels are in attendance.

I cannot quit the history of St. John Chrysostom without alluding to a subject well known to collectors and amateurs, and popularly called '*La Pénitence de St. Jean Chrysostome.*' It represents a woman undraped, seated in a cave, or wilderness, with an infant in her arms ; or lying on the ground with a new-born infant beside her ; in the distance is seen a man with a glory round his head, meagre, naked, bearded, crawling on his hands and knees in the most abject attitude : beneath, or at the top, is inscribed S. JOHANNES CRISOSTOMUS.

For a long time this subject perplexed me exceedingly, as I was quite unable to trace it in any of the biographies of Chrysostom, ancient or modern : the kindness of a friend, learned in all the *byways* as well as the *highways* of Italian literature, at length assisted me to an explanation.

The bitter enmity excited against St. John Chrysostom in his lifetime, and the furious vituperations of his adversary, Theophilus of Alexandria, who denounced him as one stained by every vice, '*hostem humanitatis, sacrilegorum principem, immundum dæmonem,*' as a wretch who had absolutely delivered up his soul to Satan, were apparently disseminated by the monks. Jerome translated the abusive attack of Theophilus into Latin ; and long after the slanders against Chrysostom had been silenced in the East, they survived in the West. To this may be added the slaughter of the Egyptian monks by the

¹ Dante, *Inf.* c. xi.



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The Penance of St. Chrysostom. (Albert Dürer.)

friends of Chrysostom in the streets of Constantinople; which, I suppose, was also retained in the traditions, and mixed up with the monkish fictions. It seems to have been forgotten who John Chrysostom really was; his name only survived in the popular ballads and legends as an epitome of every horrible crime; and to account for his being, notwithstanding all this, a *saint*, was a difficulty which in the old legend is surmounted after a very original, and I must needs add, a very audacious fashion. 'I have,' writes my friend, 'three editions of this legend in Italian, with the title *La Historia di San Giovanni Boccadoro*. It is in *ottava rima*, thirty-six stanzas in all, occupying two leaves of letter-press. It was originally composed in the fifteenth century, and reprinted again and again, like

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the ballads and tales hawked by itinerant balladmongers, from that day to this, and as well known to the lower orders as "Jack the Giant-killer" here. I will give you the story as succinctly and as properly as I can. A gentleman of the high roads, named Schitano, confesses his robberies and murders to a certain Frate, who absolves him, upon a solemn promise not to do three things—

Che tu non facci falso sacramento,
Nè homicidio, nè adulterare.

Schitano thereupon takes possession of a cave, and turns *Romito* (Hermit) in the wilderness. A neighbouring king takes his daughter out hunting with him; a white deer starts across their path; the king dashes away in pursuit ten miles or more, forgetting his daughter; night comes on; the princess, left alone in the forest, wanders till she sees a light, and knocks for admittance at the cave of Schitano. He fancies at first that it must be the "Demonio," but at length he admits her after long hesitation, and turns her horse out to graze. Her beauty tempts him to break one of his vows; the fear of discovery induces him to violate another by murdering her, and throwing her body into a cistern. The horse, however, is seen by one of the cavaliers of the court, who knocks and inquires if he has seen a certain "donzella" that way? The hermit swears that he has not beheld a Christian face for three years, thus breaking his third vow; but, reflecting on this three-fold sin with horror, he imposes on himself a most severe penance ("un' aspra penitenza,") to wit—

Di stare sette anni nell' aspro deserto,
Pane non mangerò nè berò vino,
Nè mai risguarderò il ciel scoperto,
Non parlerò Hebraico nè Latino, .
Per fin che quel ch' io dico non è certo,
Che un fantin di sei dì porga favella,
"Perdonato t' ha Dio; va alla tua cella."

That is, he swears that for seven years he will neither eat bread nor drink wine, nor look up in the face of heaven, nor speak either Hebrew or Latin, until it shall come to pass that an infant of seven days old shall open its mouth and say, "Heaven hath pardoned thee

—go in peace.” So, stripping off his clothes, he crawls on hands and knees like the beasts of the field, eating grass and drinking water.

‘Nor did his resolution fail him—he persists in this “*aspra penitenza*” for seven years—

Sette anni e sette giorni nel deserto ;
 Come le bestie andava lui carpone,
 E mai non risguardò il ciel scoperto,
 Peloso egli era a modo d’ un montone ;
 Spine e fango il suo letto era per certo,
 Del suo peccato havea contrizione ;
 E ogni cosa faceva con gran fervore,
 Per purgar il suo fallo e grand’ errore.

In the meantime it came into the king’s head to draw the covers where the hermit was leading this life. The dogs of course *found*, but neither they nor the king could make anything of this new species of animal, “*che pareva un orso.*” So they took him home in a chain and deposited him in their zoological collection, where he refused meat and bread, and persisted in grazing. On new year’s day the queen gives birth to a son, who, on the seventh day after he is born, says distinctly to the hermit,—

Torna alla tua cella,
 Che Dio t’ ha perdonato il tuo peccato,
 Levati su, Romito ! ora favella !

But the hermit does not *speak* as commanded ; he makes signs that he will write. The king orders the inkstand to be brought, but there is no ink in it : so Schitano at once earns his surname of Boccadoro (Chrysostom) by a simple expedient : he puts the pen to his mouth, wets it with his saliva, and writes in letters of gold—

Onde la penna in bocca si metteva,
 E a scrivere cominciò senza dimoro,
 Col sputo, lettere che parevan d’ oro !

‘After seven years and seven days, he opens his golden mouth in speech, and confesses his foul crimes to the king ; cavaliers are despatched in search of the body of the princess ; as they approach the cavern they hear celestial music and in the end they bring the

donzella out of the cistern alive and well, and very sorry to leave the blessed Virgin and the angels, with whom she had been passing her time most agreeably: she is restored to her parents with universal *feſta e allegrezza*, and ſhe announces to the hermit that he is pardoned and may return to his cell, which he does forthwith, and ends in leading the life of a ſaint, and being beatified. The “*discreti auditori*” are invited to take example—

Da queſto Santo pien di leggiadria
Che Iddio ſempre perdona a' peccatori,

and are finally informed that they may purchase this edifying hiſtory on eaſy terms, to wit, a halfpenny—

Due quattrini dia ſenza far più parole.

The price, however, roſe; for in the next century the line is altered thus:—

Pero ciaſcun che comperarne vuole,
Tre quattrini mi dia ſenza più parole.'

The woodcuts prefixed to the ballad repreſent this ſaintly Nebuchadnezzar on all fours, ſurpriſed by the king with his huſtmen and dogs; but no female figure, as in the German prints, in which the German verſion of the legend has evidently been in the mind of the artiſts. It differs in ſome reſpects from the Italian ballad. I ſhall therefore give as much of it here as will explain the artiſtic treatment of the ſtory.

‘When John Chryſoſtom was baptized, the Pope¹ ſtood godfather. At ſeven years old he went to ſchool, but he was ſo dull and backward, that he became the laughing-ſtock of his ſchoolfellows. Unable to endure their mockery, he took refuge in a neighbouring church, and prayed to the Virgin; and a voice whiſpered, “Kiss me on the mouth, and thou ſhalt be endowed with all learning.” He did ſo, and, returning to the ſchool, he ſurpaſſed all his companions,

¹ The Greek word *Papa*, here translated *der Papſt* (the Pope), betrays the Eaſtern origin of the ſtory. It is the general title of the Greek prieſthood, and means ſimply a prieſt, elevated in the German legend into ‘the Pope.’

so that they remained in astonishment: as they looked, they saw a golden ring or streak round his mouth, and asked him how it came there? and when he told them they wondered yet more. Thence he obtained the name of Chrysostom. John was much beloved by his godfather the Pope, who ordained him priest at a very early age; but the first time he offered the sacrifice of the mass, he was struck to the heart by his unworthiness, and resolved to seek his salvation in solitude; therefore, throwing off his priestly garments, he fled from the city, and made his dwelling in a cavern of the rock, and lived there a long while in prayer and meditation.

‘ Now not far from the wilderness in which Chrysostom dwelt, was the capital of a great king; and it happened that one day, as the princess his daughter, who was young and very fair, was walking with her companions, there came a sudden and violent gust of wind, which lifted her up and carried her away, and set her down in the forest, far off; and she wandered about till she came to the cave of Chrysostom, and knocked at the door. He, fearing some temptation of the devil, would not let her in; but she entreated, and said, “ I am no demon, but a Christian woman; and if thou leavest me here, the wild beasts will devour me! ” So he yielded perforce, and arose and let her in. And he drew a line down the middle of his cell, and said, “ That is your part, this is mine; and neither shall pass this line. ” But this precaution was in vain, for passion and temptation overpowered his virtue; he overstepped the line, and sinned. Both repented sorely; and Chrysostom, thinking that if the damsel remained longer in his cave it would only occasion further sin, carried her to a neighbouring precipice, and flung her down. When he had done this deed, he was seized with horror and remorse; and he departed and went to Rome to his godfather the Pope, and confessed all, and entreated absolution. But his godfather knew him not; and, being seized with horror, he drove him forth, and refused to absolve him. So the unhappy sinner fled to the wilderness, and made a solemn vow that he would never rise from the earth nor look up, but crawl on his hands and knees, until he had expiated his great sin and was absolved by Heaven.

‘ When he had thus crawled on the earth for fifteen years, the queen brought forth a son; and when the Pope came to baptize the child,

the infant opened its mouth and said, "I will not be baptized by thee, but by St. John;" and he repeated this three times: and none could understand this miracle; but the Pope was afraid to proceed. In the meantime, the king's huntsmen had gone to the forest to bring home game for the christening feast: there as they rode, they beheld a strange beast creeping on the ground; and not knowing what it might be, they threw a mantle over it and bound it in a chain and brought it to the palace. Many came to look on this strange beast, and with them came the nurse with the king's son in her arms; and immediately the child opened its mouth and spake, "John, come thou and baptize me!" He answered, "If it be God's will, speak again!" And the child spoke the same words a second and a third time. Then John stood up; and the hair and the moss fell from his body, and they brought him garments; and he took the child, and baptized him with great devotion.

'When the king heard his confession, he thought, "Perhaps this was my daughter, who was lost and never found;" and he sent messengers into the forest to seek for the remains of his daughter, that her bones at least might rest in consecrated ground. When they came to the foot of the precipice, there they found a beautiful woman seated, naked, and holding a child in her arms; and John said to her, "Why sittest thou here alone in the wilderness?" And she said, "Dost thou not know me? I am the woman who came to thy cave by night, and whom thou didst hurl down this rock!" Then they brought her home with great joy to her parents.'¹

This extravagant legend becomes interesting for two reasons: it shows the existence of the popular feeling and belief with regard to Chrysostom, long subsequent to those events which roused the hatred of the early monks; and it has been, from its popular notoriety, embodied in some rare and valuable works of art, which all go under the name of 'the Penance or Penitence of Johannes Chrysostom or Crisostomos.'

1. A rare print by Lucas Cranach, composed and engraved by himself. In the centre is an undraped woman reclining on the

¹ Koburger, 'Legendensammlung,' 1488, p. 325. Heller's 'Leben und Werke Albrecht Dürer's,' p. 440.

ground against a rock, and contemplating her sleeping infant, which is lying on her lap; a stag, a hind crouching, a pheasant feeding near her, express the solitude of her life; in the background is 'the savage man' on all fours, and browsing: here, he has no glory round his head. The whole composition is exceedingly picturesque.

2. A rare and beautiful print by B. Beham, and repeated by Hans Sibald Beham, represents a woman lying on the ground with her back turned to the spectator; a child is near her; Chrysostom is seen crawling in the background, with the glory round his head.

3. A small print by Albert Dürer, also exquisitely engraved (from which I give a sketch). Here the woman is sitting at the entrance of a rocky cave, feeding her child from her bosom: in the background the 'savage man' crawling on all fours, and a glory round his head. This subject has been called St. Geneviève of Brabant; but it is evidently the same as in the two last-named compositions.

All these prints, being nearly contemporaneous, show that the legend must have been particularly popular about this time (1509—1520). There is also an old French version of the story which I have not seen.

ST. BASIL THE GREAT.

Lat. St. Basilius Magnus. *Ital.* San Basilio Magno. *Fr.* St. Basile. (June 14, A.D. 380.)

ST. BASIL, called the Great, was born at Cesarea in Cappadocia, in the year 328. He was one of a family of saints. His father St. Basil, his mother St. Emmelie, his two brothers St. Gregory of Nyssa and St. Peter of Sebaste, and his sister St. Macrina, were all distinguished for their sanctity, and renowned in the Greek calendar. The St. Basil who takes rank as the second luminary of the Eastern Church, and whose dogmatical and theological works influenced the faith of his own age, and consequently of ours, was the greatest of all. But, notwithstanding his importance in the Greek Church, he figures so seldom in the productions of Western Art, that I shall content myself with relating just so much of his life and actions as may render the few representations of him interesting and intelligible.

He owed his first education to his grandmother St. Macrina, the elder, a woman of singular capacity and attainments, to whom he has in various parts of his works acknowledged his obligations. For several years he pursued his studies in profane learning, philosophy, law, and eloquence, at Constantinople, and afterwards at Athens, where he had two companions and fellow-students of very opposite character: Gregory of Nazianzen, afterwards the *Saint*; and Julian, afterwards the *Apostate*.

The success of the youthful Basil in all his studies, and the reputation he had obtained as an eloquent pleader, for a time swelled his heart with vanity, and would have endangered his salvation but for the influence of his sister, St. Macrina, who in this emergency preserved him from himself, and elevated his mind to far higher aims than those of mere worldly science and worldly distinction. From that period, and he was then not more than twenty-eight, Basil turned his thoughts solely to the edification of the Christian Church; but first he spent some years in retreat among the hermits of the desert, as was the fashion of that day, living, as they did, in abstinence, poverty, and abstracted study; acknowledging neither country, family, home, nor friends, nor fortune, nor worldly interests of any kind, but with his thoughts fixed solely on eternal life in another world. In these austerities he, as was also usual, consumed and ruined his bodily health; and remained to the end of his life a feeble wretched invalid,—a circumstance which was supposed to contribute greatly to his sanctity. He was ordained priest in 362, and bishop of Cesarea in 370; his ordination on the 14th of June being kept as one of the great feasts of the Eastern Church.

On the episcopal throne he led the same life of abstinence and humility as in a cavern of the desert; and contended for the doctrine of the Trinity against the Arians, but with less of vehemence, and more of charity, than the other Doctors engaged in the same controversy. The principal event of his life was his opposition to the Emperor Valens, who professed Arianism, and required that, in the Church of Cesarea, Basil should perform the rites according to the custom of the Arians. The bishop refused: he was threatened with exile, confiscation, death: he persisted. The emperor, fearing a tumult, resolved to appear in the church on the day of the Epiphany,

but not to communicate. He came, hoping to overawe the impracticable bishop, surrounded by all his state, his courtiers, his guards. He found Basil so intent on his sacred office as to take not the slightest notice of him; those of the clergy around him continued to chant the service, keeping their eyes fixed in the profoundest awe and respect on the countenance of their bishop. Valens, in a situation new to him, became agitated: he had brought his oblation; he advanced with it; but the ministers at the altar, not knowing whether Basil would accept it, dared not take it from his hands. Valens stood there for a moment in sight of all the people, rejected before the altar,—he lost his presence of mind, trembled, swooned, and would have fallen to the earth, if one of the attendants had not received him in his arms. A conference afterwards took place between Basil and the emperor; but the latter remained unconverted, and some concessions to the Catholics was all that the bishop obtained.

St. Basil died in 379, worn out by disease, and leaving behind him many theological writings. His epistles, above all, are celebrated, not only as models of orthodoxy, but of style.

Of St. Basil, as of St. Gregory and St. John Chrysostom, we have the story of the Holy Ghost, in visible form as a dove of wonderful whiteness, perched on his shoulder, and inspiring his words when he preached. St. Basil is also celebrated as the founder of Monachism in the East. He was the first who enjoined the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience; and his Rule became the model of all other monastic Orders. There is, in fact, no other Order in the Greek Church, and when either monks or nuns appear in a Greek or a Russian picture they must be Basilicans, and no other: the habit is a plain black tunic with a cowl, the tunic fastened round the waist with a girdle of cord or leather. Such is the dress of the Greek caloyer, and it never varies.

The devotional figures of St. Basil represent him, or ought to represent him, in the Greek pontificals, bareheaded, and with a thin worn countenance, as he appears in the etching of the Greek Fathers.

‘The Emperor Valens in the church at Cesarea,’ an admirably picturesque subject, has received as little justice as the scene between

Ambrose and Theodosius. When the French painter Subleyras was at Rome in 1745, he raised himself to name and fame by his portrait of Benedict XIV.,¹ and received, through the interest of his friend Cardinal Valenti, the commission to paint a picture for one of the mosaics in St. Peter's. The subject selected was the Emperor Valens fainting in presence of St. Basil. We have all the pomp of the scene:—the altar, the incense, the richly attired priests on one side; on the other, the imperial court. It is not easy to find fault, for the picture is well drawn, well composed, in the mannered taste of that time; well coloured, rather tenderly than forcibly; and Lanzi is enthusiastic in his praise of the draperies; yet, as a whole, it leaves the mind unimpressed. As usual, the original sketch for this picture far excels the large composition.²

The prayers of St. Basil were supposed by the Armenian Christians, partly from his sanctity, and partly from his intellectual endowments, to have a peculiar, almost resistless, power; so that he not only redeemed souls from purgatory, but even lost angels from the abyss of hell. 'On the sixth day of the creation, when the rebellious angels fell from heaven through that opening in the firmament which the Armenians call Arocea, and we the Galaxy, one unlucky angel, who had no participation in their sin, but seems to have been entangled in the crowd, fell with them.' (A moral, I presume, on the consequences of keeping bad company.) 'And this unfortunate angel was not restored till he had obtained, it is not said how, the prayers of St. Basil. His condition meantime, from the sixth day of the creation to the fourth century of the Christian era, must have been even more uncomfortable than that of Klopstock's repentant demon in "The Messiah."'

There are many other beautiful legendary stories of St. Basil, but, as I have never met with them in any form of Art, I pass them over here. One of the most striking has been versified by Southey in his ballad-poem, 'All for Love.' It would afford a great variety of picturesque subjects.

¹ Sutherland Gal.

² 'La Messe de saint Basile.' Louvre, École française, No. 508.

ST. ATHANASIUS.

Lat. S. Athanasius, Pater Orthodoxiæ. *Ital.* Sant' Atanasio. *Fr.* St. Athanase.
(May 2, A.D. 373.)

ST. ATHANASIUS, whose famous Creed remains a stumbling-block in Christendom, was born at Alexandria, about the year 298; he was consequently the eldest of the Greek Fathers, though he does not in that Church take the first rank. He, like the others, began his career by the study of profane literature, science, and eloquence; but, seized by the religious spirit of the age, he, too, fled to the desert, and became, for a time, the pupil of St. Anthony. He returned to Alexandria, and was ordained deacon. His first appearance as a public character was at the celebrated council of Nice (A.D. 325), where he opposed Arius and his partisans with so much zeal and eloquence, that he was thenceforth regarded as the great pillar of orthodoxy. He became Bishop of Alexandria the following year; and the rest of his life was a perpetual contest with the Arians. The great schism of the early Church blazed at this time in the East and in the West, and Athanasius, by his invincible perseverance and intrepidity, procured the victory for the Catholic party. He died in 372, after having been Bishop of Alexandria forty-six years, of which twenty years had been spent in exile and tribulation.

It is curious that, notwithstanding his fame and his importance in the Church, St. Athanasius should be, as a patron and a subject of Art, of all saints the most unpopular. He figures, of course, as one of the series of Greek Doctors; but I have never met with any separate representation of him, and I know not any church dedicated to him, nor any picture representing the vicissitudes of his unquiet life, fraught as it was with strange reverses and picturesque incidents. Such *may* exist, but in Western Art, at least, they have never been prominent. According to the Greek formula, he ought to be represented old, bald-headed, and with a long white beard, as in the etching.

ST. GREGORY NAZIANZEN.

Gr. St. Gregory Theologos. Lat. S. Gregorius Nazianzenus. Ital. San Gregorio Nazianzeno. Fr. St. Grégoire de Naziance. Ger. St. Gregor von Nazianz. (May 9, A.D. 390.)

THIS Doctor, like St. Basil, was one of a family of saints; his father, St. Gregory, having been bishop of Nazianzus before him; his mother, St. Nonna, famous for her piety; and two of his sisters, St. Gorgonia and St. Cesarea, also canonized. Gregory was born about the year 328; and his mother, who fondly believed that he had been granted to her prayers, watched over his early education, and guided his first steps in piety and literature. When a boy, he had a singular dream, which he has related himself. He beheld in his sleep two virgins of celestial beauty; they were clothed in white garments, and their faces shone upon him like two stars out of heaven: they took him in their arms and kissed him as if he had been their child. He, charmed by their virgin beauty and their caresses, asked who they were, and whence they came? One of them replied, 'I am called Chastity, and my sister here is Temperance; we come to thee from Paradise, where we stand continually before the throne of Christ, and taste ineffable delights: come to us, my son, and dwell with us for ever;' and having spoken thus, they left him and flew upwards to heaven. He followed them with longing eyes till they disappeared, and as he stretched his arms towards them he awoke.

This dream—how natural in a boy educated between a tender mother, who had shielded him, as only mothers can, against all sinful temptations, and a lovely and saintly sister!—he regarded as a direct revelation from heaven: it decided his future life, and he made a vow of perpetual continence and temperance. Like the other Greek doctors, he began by the study of profane literature and rhetoric. He went to Athens, where he formed an enduring friendship with St. Basil, and pursued his studies with Julian, afterwards Cæsar and Apostate. After leaving Athens, in his thirtieth year, he was baptized; and, devoting himself solemnly to the service of God and the study of the Scriptures, like his friend Basil, he destroyed his health by his austerities and mortifications:

he confesses that they were wholly repugnant to his nature—a nature sensitive, imaginative, poetical; but this of course only added to their merit and efficacy. His aged father withdrew him from his solitude, and ordained him as his coadjutor: in 362 he succeeded to the bishopric of Nazianzus: but great part of his time was still spent at Constantinople, whither he was invited to preach against the Arians. It was a strange spectacle to see, in the capital of the world, a man, from a distant province and an obscure town, of small shrunken stature, bald-headed, wrinkled, haggard with vigils and fasting, poor, ill-clothed, and in his address unpolished and abrupt, stand up to oppose himself to a luxurious court and prevalent sect. The people began by stoning him; but at length his earnestness and eloquence overcame all opposition.

Religious disputes were the fashion at that time in Constantinople, not merely among the priesthood, but among the laity, the lawyers, and above all the women, who were heard, in assemblies and at feasts, at home and abroad, declaiming and arguing on the most abstruse mysteries of the evangelical doctrine, till they lost temper and modesty:—so true it is, that there is nothing new under the sun. This was in 378, and St. Gregory found more difficulty in silencing their squabbles than in healing the schisms of the Church. He was ordained Bishop of Constantinople by the favour of Theodosius; but, unable to endure the odious cabals and uncharitable contests which at that time distracted and disgraced Christianity, he resigned his sacred office, and retired to a small paternal estate, where he lived, with his usual self-denial and austerity, till his death. He composed in his retreat a number of beautiful poems in his native Greek: he was, in fact, the earliest Christian poet on record. These poems are not hymns only, but lyrics, in which he poured forth his soul, his aspirations, his temptations, his joys, his sufferings, his plaintive supplications to Christ, to aid him in his perpetual combats against a too vivid imagination, and feelings and passions which not even age and penance had subdued.

St. Gregory Nazianzen ought to be represented as an old man wasted by fasting and vigils, with a bald head, a long beard of a reddish colour, and eyebrows the same. He is always the last in a

series of the Four Greek Fathers, and, though often occurring in Greek Art, the popularity of St. Gregory the GREAT has completely banished St. Gregory the POET from Western Art.

There remains, however, a very valuable and singular monument to the honour of St. Gregory Nazianzen, in the Greek MS. of his sermons preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris, and adorned with Byzantine miniatures, which must once have been beautiful and brilliant: ruined as they are, they present some of the most ancient examples which remain to us of the treatment of many sacred subjects from the Old and the New Testament, and give a high idea of the classic taste and the skill of the Byzantine limners of the ninth century. Besides the sacred subjects, we have numerous scenes interspersed from the life of Gregory himself, his friend St. Basil, and the Emperor Theodosius. As these are subjects which are exceptional, I need not describe them. Of the style of the miniatures I have already spoken, and given one example (*v. p. 75*).

ST. CYRIL.

Lat. S. Cyrillus. Ital. San Cirillo. Fr. St. Cyrille. (Jan. 28, A.D. 444.)

ST. CYRIL, Patriarch of Alexandria from the year 412 to 444, was famous in his time as deeply engaged in all the contests which disturbed the early Christian Church. He has left a great number of theological writings, which are regarded as authority in matters of faith. He appears to have been violent against the so-called heresies of that day, and opposed Nestorius with the same determined zeal and inexorable firmness with which Athanasius had opposed Arius. The ascendancy of Cyril was disgraced by the death of the famous female mathematician and philosopher Hypatia, murdered with horrible cruelty, and within the walls of a church, by the fanatic followers of the Patriarch, if he did not himself connive at it. He is much more venerated in the Greek than in the Latin Church. In the Greek representations he is the only bishop who has his head covered; he wears a veil or hood, coming over his head, falling down on his shoulders, and the front embroidered with a cross, as in the illustration.

With the Greek Fathers I conclude the list of those saints who are generally represented in their collective character, grouped, or in a series.

St. Mary Magdalene, St. Martha, St. Lazarus,
 St. Marimin, St. Marcella,
 St. Mary of Egypt, and the Beatified Penitents.

ST. MARY MAGDALENE.

Lat. Sancta Maria Magdalena. *Ital.* Santa Maria Maddalena. *Fr.* La Madeleine. La Sainte Demoiselle pécheresse. (July 22, A.D. 68.) Patroness of Provence, of Marseilles, and of frail and penitent women.

OF all the personages who figure in history, in poetry, in art, Mary Magdalene is at once the most unreal and the most real:—the most *unreal*, if we attempt to fix her identity, which has been a subject of dispute for ages; the most *real*, if we consider her as having been, for ages, recognised and accepted in every Christian heart as the impersonation of the penitent sinner absolved through faith and love. In this, her mythic character, she has been surrounded by associations which have become fixed in the imagination, and which no reasoning, no array of facts, can dispel. This is not the place to enter into disputed points of biblical criticism; they are quite beside our present purpose. Whether Mary Magdalene, ‘out of whom Jesus cast seven devils,’ Mary of Bethany, and the ‘woman who was a sinner,’ be, as some authorities assert, three distinct persons, or, as others affirm, one and the same individual under different designations, remains a question open to dispute, nothing having been demonstrated on either side, from Scripture or from tradition; and I cannot presume even to give an opinion where doctors—and doctors of the Church, too—disagree; Origen and St. Chrysostom taking one side of the question, St. Clement and St. Gregory the other. Fleury, after citing the opinions of both sides, thus beautifully sums up the whole question:—‘Il importe de ne pas croire témérairement ce que l’Évangile ne dit point, et de ne pas mettre la religion à suivre aveuglement toutes les opinions populaires: *la foi est trop précieuse pour la prodiguer ainsi*; mais la charité l’est encore plus; et ce qui est le

plus important, c'est d'éviter les disputes qui peuvent l'altérer tant soit peu.' And this is most true;—in his time the fast hold which the Magdalene had taken of the affections of the people was not to be shaken by theological researches and doubts. Here critical accuracy was nothing less than profanation and scepticism, and to have attacked the sanctity of the Blessed Mary Magdalene would have embittered and alienated many kindly and many believing spirits. It is difficult to treat of Mary Magdalene; and this difficulty would be increased infinitely if it were absolutely necessary to enter on the much-vexed question of her scriptural character and identity; one thing only appears certain,—that such a person, whatever might have been her veritable appellation, did exist. The woman who, under the name of Mary Magdalene,—whether that name be rightfully or wrongfully bestowed,—stands before us sanctified in the imagination and in the faith of the people in her combined character of Sinner and of Saint, as the first-fruits of Christian penitence,—is a reality, and not a fiction. Even if we would, we cannot do away with the associations inseparably connected with her name and her image. Of all those to whom much has been forgiven, she was the first; of all the tears since ruefully shed at the foot of the cross of suffering, hers were the first; of all the hopes which the Resurrection has since diffused through nations and generations of men, hers were the first. To her sorrowful image how many have looked up through tears, and blessed the pardoning grace of which she was the symbol—or rather the impersonation! Of the female saints, some were the chosen patrons of certain virtues—others of certain vocations; but the accepted and glorified penitent threw her mantle over all, and more especially over those of her own sex who, having gone astray, were recalled from error and from shame, and laid down their wrongs, their sorrows, and their sins in trembling humility at the feet of the Redeemer.

Nor is it only the popularity of Mary Magdalene as the representative and the patroness of repentant sinners which has multiplied her image through all Christendom. As a subject for painting,

Whether the fair one sinner it or saint it,

it is rich in picturesque capabilities. It combines all that can inspire

with all that can chasten the fancy; yet, when we review what has been done, how inadequate the result! In no class of subjects have the mistakes of the painters, even the most distinguished, been so conspicuous as in the representation of the penitent Magdalene; and it must be allowed that, with all its advantages and attractions, it is a subject full of perils and difficulties. Where the penitent prevails, the saint appears degraded; where the wasted, unclad form is seen attenuated by vigils and exposed in haggard unseemliness, it is a violation of that first great rule of Art which forbids the repulsive and the painful. And herein lies the fault of the earlier schools, and particularly of the old Greek and German painters;—their matter-of-fact ugliness would be intolerable, if not redeemed by the intention and sentiment. On the other hand, where sensual beauty has obviously been the paramount idea in the artist's work, defeating its holiest purpose and perverting its high significance, the violation of the moral sentiment is yet more revolting. This is especially the fault of the later painters, more particularly of the schools of Venice and Bologna: while the French painters are yet worse, adding affectation to licentiousness of sentiment; the Abbé Mèry exclaims with reasonable and pious indignation against that '*air de galanterie*' which in his time was regarded as characteristic of Mary Magdalene. The '*larmoyantes*' penitents of Greuze—Magdalenes *à la Pompadour*—are more objectionable to my taste than those of Rubens.

I shall give the legend of the Magdalene here as it was accepted by the people and embodied by the arts of the middle ages, setting aside those Eastern traditions which represent the Mary of Bethany and the Magdalene as distinct personages, and place the death and burial-place of Mary Magdalene at Ephesus. Our business is with the Western legend, which has been the authority for Western Art. This legend, besides attributing to one individual, and blending into one narrative, the very few scattered notices in the Gospels, has added some other incidents, inconceivably wild and incredible, leaving her, however, the invariable attributes of the frail loving woman, the sorrowing penitent, and the devout enthusiastic saint.

Mary Magdalene was of the district of Magdala, on the shores of

the Sea of Galilee, where stood her castle, called Magdalon; she was the sister of Lazarus and of Martha, and they were the children of parents reputed noble, or, as some say, of royal race. On the death of their father, Syrus, they inherited vast riches and possessions in land, which were equally divided between them. Lazarus betook himself to the military life; Martha ruled her possessions with great discretion, and was a model of virtue and propriety,—perhaps a little too much addicted to worldly cares; Mary, on the contrary, abandoned herself to luxurious pleasures, and became at length so notorious for her dissolute life, that she was known through all the country round only as ‘THE SINNER.’ Her discreet sister, Martha, frequently rebuked her for these disorders, and at length persuaded her to listen to the exhortations of Jesus, through which her heart was touched and converted. The seven demons which possessed her, and which were expelled by the power of the Lord, were the seven deadly sins to which she was given over before her conversion. On one occasion Martha entertained the Saviour in her house, and, being anxious to feast him worthily, she was ‘cumbered with much serving.’ Mary, meanwhile, sat at the feet of Jesus, and heard his words, which completed the good work of her conversion; and when, some time afterwards, he supped in the house of Simon the Pharisee, she followed him thither, ‘and she brought an alabaster box of ointment, and began to wash his feet with tears, and did wipe them with the hair of her head, and kissed his feet, and anointed them with ointment; and He said unto her, Thy sins are forgiven.’ She became afterwards one of the most devoted of his followers; ‘ministered to him of her substance;’ attended him to Calvary, and stood weeping at the foot of the cross. She, with the other Mary, watched by his tomb, and was the first to whom he appeared after the resurrection; her unflinching faith, mingled as it was with the intensest grief and love, obtained for her this peculiar mark of favour. It is assumed by several commentators that our Saviour appeared first to Mary Magdalene, because she, of all those whom he had left on earth, had most need of consolation:—‘*The disciples went away to their own home; but Mary stood without the sepulchre, weeping.*’

Thus far the notices in the Gospel and the suggestions of commen-

tators : the old Provençal legend then continues the story. After the ascension, Lazarus with his two sisters, Martha and Mary; with Maximin, one of the seventy-two disciples, from whom they had received baptism; Cedon, the blind man whom our Saviour had restored to sight; and Marcella, the handmaiden who attended on the two sisters, were by the heathens set adrift in a vessel without sails, oars, or rudder; but, guided by Providence, they were safely borne over the sea till they landed in a certain harbour which proved to be Marseilles, in the country now called France. The people of the land were pagans, and refused to give the holy pilgrims food or shelter; so they were fain to take refuge under the porch of a temple; and Mary Magdalene preached to the people, reproaching them for their senseless worship of dumb idols; and though at first they would not listen, yet being after a time convinced by her eloquence, and by the miracles performed by her and by her sister, they were converted and baptized. And Lazarus became, after the death of the good Maximin, the first bishop of Marseilles.

These things being accomplished, Mary Magdalene retired to a desert not far from the city. It was a frightful barren wilderness, in the midst of horrid rocks and caves; and here for thirty years she devoted herself to solitary penance for the sins of her past life, which she had never ceased to bewail bitterly. During this long seclusion, she was never seen or heard of, and it was supposed that she was dead. She fasted so rigorously, that but for the occasional visits of the angels, and the comfort bestowed by celestial visions, she must have perished. Every day during the last years of her penance, the angels came down from heaven and carried her up in their arms into regions where she was ravished by the sounds of unearthly harmony, and beheld the glory and the joy prepared for the sinner that repenteth. One day a certain hermit, who dwelt in a cell on one of those wild mountains, having wandered farther than usual from his home, beheld this wondrous vision—the Magdalene in the arms of ascending angels, who were singing songs of triumph as they bore her upwards; and the hermit, when he had a little recovered from his amazement, returned to the city of Marseilles, and reported what he had seen. According to some of the legends, Mary Magdalene died within the walls of the Christian church, after receiving the sacra-

ment from the hand of St. Maximin ; but the more popular accounts represent her as dying in her solitude, while angels watched over and ministered to her.

The middle of the thirteenth century was an era of religious excitement all over the south of Europe. A sudden fit of penitence—'una subita compunzione,' as an Italian author calls it—seized all hearts ; relics, and pilgrimages, and penances, and monastic ordinances filled all minds. About this period, certain remains, supposed to be those of Mary Magdalene and Lazarus, were discovered at a place since called St. Maximin, about twenty miles north of Toulon. The discovery strongly excited the devotion and enthusiasm of the people ; and a church was founded on the spot by Charles, Count of Provence (the brother of St. Louis), as early as 1279. A few years afterwards, this prince was vanquished and taken prisoner by the king of Aragon, and when at length set free after a long captivity, he ascribed his deliverance particularly to the intercession of his chosen patroness, Mary Magdalene. This incident greatly extended her fame as a saint of power ; and from this time we may date her popularity, and those sculptural and pictorial representations of her, under various aspects, which, from the fourteenth century to the present time, have so multiplied, that scarcely any Catholic place of worship is to be found without her image. In fact, it is difficult for us, in these days, to conceive, far more difficult to sympathise with, the passionate admiration and devotion with which she was regarded by her votaries in the middle ages. The imputed sinfulness of her life only brought her nearer to them. Those who did not dare to lift up their eyes to the more saintly models of purity and holiness,—to the martyrs who had suffered in the cause of chastity,—took courage to invoke her intercession. The extravagant titles bestowed upon her in the middle ages—' *l'amante de Jésus-Christ,*' ' *la bien-aimée du Sauveur,*' ' *la très-sainte demoiselle pécheresse,*'—and others which I should hardly dare to transcribe, show the spirit in which she was worshipped, particularly in the south of France, and the kind of chivalrous sentiment which mingled with the devotion of her adorers. I found in an old French sermon a eulogium of Mary Magdalene, which for its eloquence and ingenuity seems to me without a parallel

The preacher, while acknowledging the excesses which brought her a penitent to the feet of Christ, is perfectly scandalised that she should be put on a par with common sinners of the same class, and that on the faith of a passage in St. Luke, 'on a osé flétrir une des plus belles âmes qui soient jamais sorties des mains du Créateur!' He rather glorifies her as a kind of Aspasia, to whom, indeed, he in a manner compares her.¹

¹ 'Pour vous ramener à des idées plus favorables à la Madeleine, vous transportant au temps et aux circonstances où vécut cette célèbre Israélite, je pourrais vous dire, MESSIEURS, que l'antiquité, ne jugeant pas équitable d'exiger plus de vertu du sexe réputé pour le plus faible, ne croyait pas les femmes déshonorées de ce qui ne déshonorait pas les hommes à ses yeux ; qu'elle a d'ailleurs toujours été bien moins sévère à des sentiments qui, naissant avec nous, lui paraissaient une partie de nous-mêmes, et qu'elle n'attacha jamais aucune idée flétrissante aux suites d'une passion qu'elle trouvait presque aussi pardonnable que naturelle. Les grâces de la beauté étaient alors regardées comme les autres talents ; et l'art de plaire, aussi autorisé que les autres arts, loin d'inspirer de l'éloignement,' &c.

After describing, in glowing terms, her splendid position in the world, her illustrious rank, her understanding, '*droit, solide, et délicat,*' her '*grâce,*' her '*esprit,*' her wondrous beauty, particularly her superb hair, '*cultivé avec tant de soin, arrangé avec tant d'art ;*'—and lamenting that a creature thus nobly gifted should have been cast away upon the same rock which had shipwrecked the greatest, the most illustrious, of her *compatriotes, le fort Samson, le preux David, le sage Salomon ;*' he goes on to describe, with real eloquence, and in a less offensive strain of panegyric, her devotion at the foot of the cross, her pious visit to the tomb by break of day, braving the fury of the guards, the cruelty of the Jews, and taking the place of the apostles, who were dispersed or fled. And thus he winds up with a moral, most extraordinary when we recollect that it was preached from a pulpit by a grave doctor in theology :—

'Jeunes personnes qui vivez encore dans l'innocence ! apprenez donc de la Madeleine combien grands sont les périls de la jeunesse, de la beauté, de tous les dons purement naturels ; souvenez-vous que le désir excessif de plaire est toujours dangereux, rarement innocent, et qu'il est bien difficile de donner beaucoup de sentiments, sans en prendre soi-même. A la vue des faiblesses de la jeune Israélite, comprenez de quelle importance est, pour vous, la garde de votre cœur ; et à quels désordres il vous expose, si vous ne vous accoutumez à le contrarier sans cesse, en tous ses penchans.

'Femmes mondaines, et peut-être voluptueuses ! apprenez de la Madeleine à revèir de vos écarts ; ils ont été, dans vous, le fruit de la faiblesse humaine ; que votre retour soit le fruit de votre correspondance à la grâce. Et pourriez-vous ou vous proposer un modèle plus digne d'être suivi que celui que vous présente Madeleine, ou trouver ailleurs un motif plus puissant de le suivre ?

Et vous qui, fières d'une réserve que vous ne devez peut-être qu'à votre insensibilité, vous en faites un rempart, à l'abri duquel vous croyez pouvoir mépriser toute la terre, et dont la mondanité de Madeleine elle-même a peut-être scandalisé la précieuse vertu ! femmes plus vaines que sages ! apprenez de notre Sainte, qu'il n'y a que la grâce de Dieu

The traditional scene of the penance of the Magdalene, a wild spot between Toulon and Marseilles, is the site of a famous convent called La Sainte Beaume (which in the Provençal tongue signifies *Holy Cave*), formerly a much frequented place of pilgrimage. It is built on the verge of a formidable precipice; near it is the grotto in which the saint resided; and to Mount Pilon, a rocky point about six hundred feet above the grotto, the angels bore her seven times a day to pray. This convent was destroyed and pillaged at the commencement of the French Revolution. It was filled with relics and works of art, referring to the life and the worship of the Magdalene.

But the most sumptuous fane ever erected to her special honour is that which, of late years, has arisen in the city of Paris. The church, or rather the temple, of La Madeleine stands an excelling monument, if not of modern piety, at least of modern Art. It is built on the model of the temple of Jupiter at Athens:—

That noble type is realised again
In perfect form; and dedicate—to whom?
To a poor Syrian girl of lowliest name—
A hapless creature, pitiful and frail,
As ever wore her life in sin and shame!

R. M. MILNES.

The saint, whether she were ‘the lowly Syrian girl,’ or the ‘Princess of Magdala,’ would be equally astonished to behold herself thus honoured with a sort of pagan magnificence in the midst of a luxurious capital, and by a people more remarkable for scoffing than for praying. Even in the successive vicissitudes of this splendid edifice there is something strange. That which is now the temple of the lowly penitent, was a few years ago *Le Temple de la Gloire*.

Let us now turn to those characteristic representations with which painting and sculpture have made us familiar, and for which both

et une attention continuelle sur nous-mêmes qui puissent nous aider constamment contre la pente qui nous précipite vers le mal, et craignez qu'on ne puisse vous dire, à son sujet, ce que Saint Augustin disait à une dévote de votre caractère, pleine d'elle-même et médisante: “Plût à Dieu que vous eussiez donné dans les mêmes excès dont vous croyez si volontiers les autres capables! vous seriez moins éloignée du royaume de Dieu; du moins vous auriez de l'humanité!”

Le Brun's Magdalene is just the Magdalene described by this preacher: both one and the other are as like the Magdalene of Scripture as Leo X. was like St. Peter.

Scripture and legendary tradition have furnished the authority and the groundwork. These are so numerous and so infinitely varied, that I find it necessary here, as in the case of St. Jerome, to arrange them under several heads.

The devotional representations may be divided into two classes. 1. Those which represent the Magdalene as patron saint. 2. Those which represent her penitence in the desert.

The historical subjects may also be divided into two classes. 1. Those scenes from Gospel story in which Mary Magdalene figures as a chief or conspicuous personage. 2. The scenes taken from her legendary life.

In all these subjects the accompanying attribute is the alabaster box of ointment, which has a double significance: it may be the perfume which she poured over the feet of the Saviour, or the balm and spices which she had prepared to anoint his body. Sometimes she carries it in her hand, sometimes it stands at her feet, or near her; frequently, in later pictures, it is borne by an attendant angel. The shape varies with the fancy of the artist; it is a small vase, a casket, a box, a cup with a cover; more or less ornamented, more or less graceful in form; but always there—the symbol at once of her conversion and her love, and so peculiar that it can leave no doubt of her identity.

Her drapery in the ancient pictures is usually red, to express the fervour of her love; in modern representations, and where she figures as penitent, it is either blue or violet; violet, the colour of mourning and penitence—blue, the colour of constancy. To express both the love and the sorrow, she sometimes wears a violet-coloured tunic and a red mantle. The luxuriant hair ought to be fair or golden. Dark-haired Magdalenes, as far as I can remember, belong exclusively to the Spanish school.

1. When exhibited to us as the patron saint of repentant sinners, Mary Magdalene is sometimes a thin wasted figure, with long dishevelled hair of a pale golden hue, falling over her shoulders almost to the ground; sometimes a skin or a piece of linen is tied round her loins, but not seldom her sole drapery is her long redundant hair. The most ancient single figure of this character to which I can refer is an old picture in the Byzantine manner, as old perhaps

as the thirteenth century, and now in the Academy at Florence. She is standing as patroness, covered only by her long hair, which falls in dark brown masses to her feet; the colour, I imagine, was originally much lighter. She is a meagre, haggard, grim-looking figure, and holds in her hand a scroll, on which is inscribed in ancient Gothic letters—

Ne desperetis
Vos qui peccare soletis
Exemplo meo
Vos reparate Deo.¹

Rude and unattractive as is this specimen of ancient Art, I could not look at it without thinking how often it must have spoken hope and peace to the soul of the trembling sinner, in days when it hung, not in a picture-gallery to be criticised, but in a shrine to be worshipped. Around this figure, in the manner of the old altar-pieces, are six small square compartments containing scenes from her life.

The famous statue carved in wood by Donatello, in point of character, may be referred to this class of subjects: she stands over her altar in the Baptistery at Florence, with clasped hands, the head raised in prayer; the form is very expressive of wasting grief and penance, but too meagre for beauty. '*Egli la volle specchio alle penitenti, non incitamento alla cupidizia degli sguardi, come avvenne ad altri artisti,*' says Cicognara; and, allowing that beauty has been sacrificed to expression, he adds, 'but if Donatello had done all, what would have



91 Mary Magdalene (Donatello).

The original Latin distich runs thus :—

Ne desperetis vos qui peccare soletis,
Exemplo meo vos reparate Deo.

remained for Canova?' That which remained for Canova to do, he has done; he has made her as lovely as possible, and he has dramatised the sentiment: she is more the penitent than the patron saint. The display of the beautiful limbs is chastened by the humility of the attitude—half kneeling, half prostrate; by the expression of the drooping head—'all sorrow's softness charmed from its despair.' Her eyes are fixed on the cross which lies extended on her knees; and she weeps—not so much her own past sins, as the sacrifice it has cost to redeem them. This is the prevailing sentiment, or, as the Germans would call it, the *motive* of the representation, to which I should feel inclined to object as deficient in dignity and severity, and bordering too much on the *genre* and dramatic style: but the execution is almost faultless. Very beautiful is another modern statue of the penitent Magdalene, executed in marble for the Count d'Espagnac, by M. Henri de Triqueti. She is half seated, half reclining on a fragment of rock, and pressing to her bosom a crown of thorns, at once the mourner and the penitent: the sorrow is not for herself alone.

But, in her character of patron saint, Mary Magdalene was not always represented with the squalid or pathetic attributes of humiliation and penance. She became idealised as a noble dignified creature bearing no traces of sin or of sorrow on her beautiful face; her luxuriant hair bound in tresses round her head; her drapery rich and ample; the vase of ointment in her hand or at her feet, or borne by an angel near her. Not unfrequently she is attired with the utmost magnificence, either in reference to her former state of worldly prosperity, or rather, perhaps, that with the older painters, particularly those of the German school, it was a common custom to clothe all the ideal figures of female saints in rich habits. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries such representations of the Magdalene are usual both in Italian and German Art. A beautiful instance may be seen in a picture by Signorelli, in the Cathedral of Orvieto, where she is standing in a landscape, her head uncovered, and the rich golden hair partly braided, partly flowing over her shoulders; she wears a magnificent tunic embroidered with gold, over it a flowing mantle descending to her feet; she holds the vase with her left hand, and points to it with her right. If it were not

for the saintly aureole encircling her head, this figure, and others similar to it, might be mistaken for Pandora. See, for example, the



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Mary Magdalene (Lucas v. Leyden)

famous print by Lucas v. Leyden, where she stands on clouds with an embroidered coif and flowing mantle, holding the vase in her left hand, and lifting the cover with her right (in the sketch it is reversed): and in the half-length by Leonardo, or one of his school.

The want of a religious sentiment gives such figures a very heathen and *Pandora* look, so that the aureole alone fixes the identity. This is not the case with a noble Magdalene by Dennis Calvert, in the Manfrini Palace at Venice. She is standing in a fine bold landscape; one hand sustains her ample crimson drapery, the other holds her vase; her fair hair falls in masses over her shoulders, and she looks down on her worshippers with a serious dignified compassion. This is one of the finest pictures of the later Bologna school, finer and truer in sentiment than any of the Caracci and Guido Magdalenes.

In this her wholly divine and ideal character of saint and intercessor, Mary Magdalene is often most beautifully introduced as standing near the throne of the Virgin, or as grouped with other saints. In two of the most famous pictures in the world she is thus represented. In the St. Cecilia of Raphael, she stands on the left, St. Paul being on the right of the principal figure; they are here significant of the conversion of the man through *power*, of the woman through *love*, from a state of reprobation to a state of reconciliation and grace. St. Paul leans in deep meditation on his sword. Mary Magdalene is habited in ample drapery of blue and violet, which she sustains with one hand, and bears the vase in the other. She looks out of the picture with a benign countenance and a particularly graceful turn of the head. Raphael's original design for this picture (engraved by Marc Antonio) is, however, preferable in the sentiment given to the Magdalene: she does not look *out* of the picture, but she looks *up*: *she* also hears the divine music which has ravished St. Cecilia. In the picture she is either unconscious or inattentive.

In the not less celebrated St. Jerome of Correggio she is on the left of the Madonna, bending down with an expression of the deepest adoration to kiss the feet of the infant Christ, while an angel behind holds up the vase of ointment: thus recalling to our minds, and shadowing forth in the most poetical manner, that memorable act of love and homage rendered at the feet of the Saviour. Parmigiano has represented her, in a Madonna picture, as standing on one side, and the prophet Isaiah on the other. Lord Ashburton has a fine picture by Correggio, in which we have the same ideal representation: she is here grouped with St. Peter, St. Margaret, and St. Leonardo.

There are two classes of subjects in which Mary Magdalene is richly habited, and which must be carefully distinguished; those above described, in which she figures as patron saint, and those which represent her *before* her conversion, as the votary of luxury and pleasure. In the same manner we must be careful to distinguish those figures of the penitent Magdalene which are wholly devotional in character and intention, and which have been described in the first class, from those which represent her in the act of doing penance, and which are rather dramatic and sentimental than devotional.

2. The penance of the Magdalene is a subject which has become, like the penance of St. Jerome, a symbol of Christian penitence, but still more endeared to the popular imagination by more affecting and attractive associations, and even more eminently picturesque,—so tempting to the artists, that by their own predilection for it they have assisted in making it universal. In the display of luxuriant female forms, shadowed (not hidden) by redundant fair hair, and flung in all the *abandon* of solitude, amid the depth of leafy recesses, or relieved by the dark umbrageous rocks; in the association of love and beauty with the symbols of death and sorrow and utter humiliation; the painters had ample scope, ample material, for the exercise of their imagination, and the display of their skill: and what has been the result? They have abused these capabilities even to licence; they have exhausted the resources of Art in the attempt to vary the delineation; and yet how seldom has the ideal of this most exquisite subject been—I will not say realised—but even approached? We have Magdalenes who look as if they never could have sinned, and others who look as if they never could have repented; we have Venetian Magdalenes with the air of courtesans, and Florentine Magdalenes with the air of Ariadnes; and Bolognese Magdalenes like sentimental Niobes; and French Magdalenes, *moitié galantes, moitié dévotes*; and Dutch Magdalenes, who wring their hands like repentant washerwomen. The Magdalenes of Rubens remind us of nothing so much as of the ‘unfortunate Miss Bailey;’ and the Magdalenes of Van Dyck are fine ladies who have turned Methodists. But Mary Magdalene, such as we have conceived her, mournful yet hopeful,—tender yet dignified,—worn with grief and fasting, yet

radiant with the glow of love and faith, and clothed with the beauty of holiness,—is an ideal which painting has not yet realised. Is it beyond the reach of Art? We might have answered this question, had Raphael attempted it;—but he has not. His Magdalene at the feet of Christ is yet unforgiven—the forlorn castaway, not the devout penitent.

The Magdalene doing penance in her rocky desert first became a popular subject in the sixteenth century; in the seventeenth it was at the height of favour. There are two distinct versions of the subject, infinitely varied as to detail and sentiment: either she is represented as bewailing her sins, or as reconciled to Heaven.

In the former treatment she lies prostrate on the earth, or she is standing or kneeling at the entrance of the cave (in some of the old illuminated missals the upper part of her body is seen emerging from a cave or rather a hole in the ground,) the hands clasped, or extended towards heaven; the eyes streaming with tears; the long yellow hair floating over her shoulders. The crucifix, the skull, and sometimes the scourge, are introduced as emblems of faith, mortality, and penance; weeping angels present a crown of thorns.

In the latter treatment she is reading or meditating; the expression is serene or hopeful; a book lies beside the skull; angels present the palm, or scatter flowers; a vision of glory is seen in the skies.

The alabaster box is in all cases the indispensable attribute. The eyes are usually raised, if not in grief, in supplication or in aspiration. The 'uplifted eye' as well as the 'loose hair' became a characteristic; but there are some exceptions. The conception of character and situation, which was at first simple, became more and more picturesque, and at length theatrical—a mere vehicle for sentiment and attitude.

1. The earliest example I can remember of the Penitent Magdalene, *dramatically* treated, remains as yet unsurpassed;—the reading Magdalene of Correggio, in the Dresden Gallery. This lovely creation has only one fault—the virginal beauty is that of a Psyche or a Seraph. In Oelenschläger's drama of 'Correggio,' there is a beautiful description of this far-famed picture; he calls it 'Die Gottinn des Waldes Frömmigkeit,'—the goddess of the religious solitude. And in truth, if we could imagine Diana reading instead

of hunting, she might have looked thus. Oelenschläger has made poetical use of the tradition that Correggio painted this Magdalene for a poor monk who was his confessor or physician; and thus he makes Silvestro comment on the work:—

What a fair picture!—

This dark o'erhanging shade, the long fair hair,
The delicate white skin, the azure robe,
The full luxuriant life, the grim death's head,
The tender womanhood, and the great book:—
These various contrasts have you cunningly
Brought into sweetest harmony.

But truer, at least nobler in sentiment, is the Magdalene by the same painter (in the Manfrini Palace, Venice,) of the same size and similarly draped in dark blue; but here *standing* at the entrance of her cave. She leans her elbow on the book which lies on the rock, and appears to be meditating on its contents. The head, seen in front, is grand and earnest, with a mass of fair hair, a large wide brow, and deep, deep eyes full of mystery. The expression of power in this head pleases me especially, because true to the character, as I conceive it.

Doch ist es schön von einem Weibe, mein' ich,
Einmal gefallen wieder sich zu heben;
Es gibt sehr wen'ge Männer, die das können!

Yes! it is good to see a hapless woman,
That once has fallen, redeem herself! In truth,
There be few men, methinks, could do as much.

Correggio, Act i. Scene 1.

I do not know why this lovely Manfrini picture should be so much less celebrated than the Dresden Magdalene: while the latter has been multiplied by copies and engravings, I do not remember a single print after the Manfrini Magdalene. There is a bad feeble copy in the Louvre;¹ I know no other.

2. There is a celebrated picture by Timoteo della Vite, in the Bologna Gallery. She is standing before the entrance of her cavern, arrayed in a crimson mantle; her long hair is seen beneath descending to her feet; the hands joined in prayer, the head declined on

¹ It was in the Standish Gallery belonging to Louis-Philippe, and now dispersed.



one side, and the whole expression that of girlish innocence and simplicity, with a touch of the pathetic. A mendicant, not a Magdalene, is the idea suggested; and, for myself, I confess that at the first glance I was reminded of the little Red-Riding-Hood, and could think of no sin that could have been attributed to such a face and figure, beyond the breaking of a pot of butter: yet the picture is very beautiful.

3. The Magdalene of Titian was so celebrated in his own time, that he painted at least five or six repetitions, of it, and copies and

engravings have since been multiplied. The eyes, swimming, in tears, are raised to heaven; the long dishevelled hair floats over her shoulders; one hand is pressed on her bosom, the other rests on the skull; the forms are full and round, the colouring rich; a book and a box of ointment lie before her on a fragment of rock. She is sufficiently woeful, but seems rather to regret her past life than to repent of it, nor is there anything in the expression which can secure us against a relapse. Titian painted the original for Charles V. His idea of the *pose* was borrowed, as we are told, from an antique statue, and his model was a young girl, who being fatigued with long standing, the tears ran down her face, 'and Titian attained the desired expression.'(!) His idea therefore of St. Mary Magdalene was the fusion of an antique statue and a girl taken out of the streets; and with all its beauties as a work of Art—and very beautiful it is—this *chef-d'œuvre* of Titian is, to my taste, most unsatisfactory.

4. Cigoli's Magdalene is seated on a rock, veiled *only* by her long hair, which falls over the whole figure; the eyes, still wet with tears, are raised to heaven; one arm is round a skull, the right hand rests on a book which is on her knees.

5. The Magdalene of Carlo Cignani, veiled in her dishevelled hair, and wringing her hands, is also most affecting for the fervent expression of sorrow; both these are in the Florence Gallery.¹

6. Guido, regarded as the painter of Magdalenes *par excellence*, has carried this mistake yet farther; he had ever the classical Niobe in his mind, and his saintly penitents, with all their exceeding loveliness, appear to me utterly devoid of that beauty which has been called 'the beauty of holiness;' the reproachful grandeur of the Niobe is diluted into voluptuous feebleness; the tearful face, with the loose golden hair and uplifted eyes, of which he has given us at least ten repetitions, however charming as Art—as painting, are unsatisfactory as religious representations. I cannot except even the beautiful study in our National Gallery, nor the admired full-

¹ There is a beautiful half-length female figure, attributed to Correggio, and engraved under the title of 'Gismunda' weeping over the heart of her lover, in the collection of the Duke of Newcastle. The duplicate in the Belvedere Gallery at Vienna is there styled a Magdalene, and attributed correctly to Francesco Furini.

length in the Sciarra Palace, at Rome; the latter, when I saw it last, appeared to me poor and mannered, and the pale colouring not merely delicate, but vapid. A head of Mary Magdalene reading,



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Mary Magdalene (Murillo).

apparently a study from life, is, however in a grand style.¹

7. Murillo's Magdalene, in the Louvre, kneeling, with hands crossed on her bosom, eyes upraised, and parted lips, has eager devout hope as well as sorrow in the countenance. 8. But turn to the Magdalene of Alonzo Cano, which hangs near: drooping, negligent of self; the very hands are nerveless, languid, dead.² Nothing but woe, guilt, and misery are in the face and attitude; *she* has not yet looked into the face of Christ, nor sat at his feet, nor heard from his lips, 'Woman, thy

¹ Lichtenstein Gal.

² These two pictures were sold out of the Louvre with King Louis-Philippe's pictures.

sins be forgiven thee,' nor dared to hope; it is the penitent only; the whole head is faint, and the whole heart sick. 9. But the beautiful Magdalene of Annibal Caracci has heard the words of mercy, *she* has



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Mary Magdalene (Annibal Caracci).

memories which are not of sin only; angelic visions have already come to her in that wild solitude; she is seated at the foot of a tree; she leans her cheek on her left hand, the other rests on a skull; she is in deep contemplation; but her thoughts are not of death: the upward ardent look is full of hope, and faith, and love. The fault of this beautiful little picture lies in the sacrifice of the truth of the situation to the artistic feeling of beauty—the common fault of the school; the forms are large, round, full, untouched by grief and penance.

10. Vandyck's Magdalenes have the same fault as his Madonnas; they are not feeble nor voluptuous, but they are too elegant and lady-like. I remember, for example, a Deposition by Vandyck, and one of

his finest pictures, in which Mary Magdalene kisses the hand of the Saviour quite with the air of a princess. The most beautiful of his penitent Magdalenes is the half-length figure with the face in profile, bending with clasped hands over the crucifix; the skull and knotted scourge lie on a shelf of rock behind; underneath is the inscription, '*Fallit gratia, et vana est pulchritudo; mulier timens Dominum ipsa laudabitur.*' (Prov. xxxi. 30.) 11. Rubens has given us thirteen Magdalenes, more or less coarse; in one picture¹ she is tearing her hair like a disappointed virago; in another, the expression of grief is overpowering, but it is that of a woman in the house of correction. From this sweeping condemnation I must make one exception; it is the picture known as 'The Four Penitents.'² In front the Magdalene bows down her head on her clasped hands with such an expression of profound humility as Rubens only, when painting out of nature and his own heart, could give. Christ, with an air of tender yet sublime compassion, looks down upon her:—'Thy sins be forgiven thee!' Behind Christ and the Magdalene stand Peter, David, and Didymus, the penitent thief; the faces of these three, thrown into shadow to relieve the two principal figures, have a self-abased, mournful expression. I have never seen anything from the hand of Rubens at once so pure and pathetic in sentiment as this picture, while the force and truth of the painting are, as usual, wonderful. No one should judge Rubens who has not studied him in the Munich Gallery.

The HISTORICAL SUBJECTS from the life of Mary Magdalene are either scriptural or legendary; and the character of the Magdalene, as conceived by the greatest painters, is more distinctly expressed in those scriptural scenes in which she is an important figure, than in the single and ideal representations. The illuminated Gospels of the ninth century furnish the oldest type of Mary, the penitent and the sister of Lazarus, but it differs from the modern conception of the Magdalene. She is in such subjects a secondary scriptural personage, one of the accessories in the history of Christ, and nothing more; no attempt was made to give her importance, either by

¹ Turin Gallery.

² Munich Gallery, No. 266. There is an inferior repetition in the Royal Gallery at Turin.

beauty or dignity, or prominence of place, till the end of the thirteenth century.

The sacred subjects in which she is introduced are the following :—

1. Jesus at supper with Simon the Pharisee.—‘ And she began to wash his feet with tears, and did wipe them with the hair of her head, and kissed his feet, and anointed them with ointment.’ (Luke vii. 30.)

2. Christ is in the house of Martha and Mary.—‘ And she sat at Jesus’ feet, and heard his words ; but Martha was cumbered with much serving.’ (Luke x. 39, 40.)

3. The raising of Lazarus.—‘ Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died.’ (John xi. 32.)

4. The Crucifixion.—‘ Now there stood by the cross Mary Magdalene.’ (John xix. 25 ; Matt. xxvii. 56.)

5. The Deposition from the Cross.—‘ And Mary Magdalene, and the mother of Jesus, beheld where he was laid.’ (Mark xv. 47.)

6. The Maries at the Sepulchre.—‘ And there was Mary Magdalene and the other Mary, sitting over against the sepulchre.’ (Matt. xxvii. 61.)

7. Christ appears to Mary Magdalene in the Garden, called the *Noli me tangere*.—‘ Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to my Father.’ (John xx. 17.)

In the first, second, and last of these subjects, the Magdalene is one of the two principal figures, and necessary to the action ; in the others she is generally introduced, but in some instances omitted ; and as all belong properly to the life of Christ, I shall confine myself now to a few remarks on the characteristic treatment of the Magdalene in each.

1. The supper with Simon has been represented in every variety of style. The earliest and simplest I can call to mind is the fresco of Taddeo Gaddi in the Rinuccini Chapel at Florence. The Magdalene bends down prostrate on the feet of the Saviour ; she is in a red dress, and her long yellow hair flows down her back ; the seven devils by which she was possessed are seen above, flying out of the roof of the house in the shape of little black monsters. Raphael, when treating the same subject, thought only of the religious significance of the action, and how to express it with the utmost force and the utmost simplicity.

There are few figures—our Saviour, the Pharisee, four apostles, and two attendants: Mary Magdalene in front bends over the feet of Christ while her long hair half conceals her face and almost sweeps the ground; nothing can exceed the tenderness and humility of the attitude and the benign dignity of Christ. As an example of the most opposite treatment let us turn to the gorgeous composition of Paul Veronese; we have a stately banquet-room, rich architecture, a crowd of about thirty figures; and the Magdalene is merely a beautiful female with loose robes, dishevelled tresses, and the bosom displayed; this gross fault of sentiment is more conspicuous in the large picture in the Durazzo Palace at Genoa than in the beautiful finished sketch in the collection of Mr. Rogers.¹ A fine sketch by the same painter, but quite different, is at Alton Towers. The composition of Rubens, of which a very fine sketch is in the Windsor collection, is exceedingly dramatic; the dignity of Christ and the veneration and humility of the Magdalene are admirably expressed; but the disdainful surprise of some of the assistants, and the open mockery of others—the old man in spectacles peering over to convince himself of the truth—disturb the solemnity of the feeling: and this fault is even more apparent in the composition of Philippe de Champagne, where a young man puts up his finger with no equivocal expression. In these two examples the moment chosen is not ‘*Thy sins are forgiven thee,*’ but the scepticism of the Pharisee becomes the leading idea; ‘*This man, if he were a prophet, would have known who and what manner of woman this is.*’

2. Christ in the house of Martha and Mary. Of this beautiful subject I have never seen a satisfactory version; in the fresco by Taddeo Gaddi in the Rinuccini Chapel the subject becomes legendary rather than scriptural. Mary Magdalene is seated at the feet of Christ in an attitude of attention; Martha seems to expostulate; three of the disciples are behind; a little out of the principal group, St. Marcella, also with a glory round her head, is seen cooking. At Hampton Court there is a curious picture of this subject by Hans Vries, which is an elaborate study of architecture: the rich decora-

¹ The great picture formerly in the Durazzo Palace is now in the Royal Gallery at Turin. It is wonderful for life and colour, and dramatic feeling—a masterpiece of the painter in his characteristic style.

tion of the interior has been criticised; but, according to the legend, Martha and Mary lived in great splendour; and there is no impropriety in representing their dwelling as a palace, but a very great impropriety in rendering the decorations of the palace more important than the personages of the scene. In a picture by Old Bassano, Christ is seen entering the house; Mary Magdalene goes forward to meet him; Martha points to the table where Lazarus sits composedly cutting a slice of sausage, and in the corner St. Marcella is cooking at a fire. In a picture by Rubens, the treatment is similar. The holy sisters are like two Flemish farm servants, and Christ—but I dare not proceed:—in both these instances, the colouring, the expression, the painting of the accessories—the vegetables and fruit, the materials and implements for cooking a feast—are as animated and true to nature as the conception of the whole scene is trivial, vulgar, and, to a just taste, intolerably profane.

One of the most modern compositions of this scene which has attracted attention is that of Overbeck, very simple and poetical, but deficient in individual expression.

3. The raising of Lazarus was selected by the early Christians as an emblem both of the general resurrection and the resurrection of our Saviour, at a time that the resurrection of the Saviour in person was considered a subject much too solemn and mysterious to be dealt with by the imitative arts. In its primitive signification, as the received emblem of the resurrection of the dead, we find this subject abounding in the catacombs, and on the sarcophagi of the third and fourth centuries. The usual manner of representation shows the dead man swathed like a mummy, under the porch of a temple resembling a tomb, to which there is an ascent by a flight of steps. Christ stands before him, and touches him with a wand. Sometimes there are two figures only, but in general Mary Magdalene is kneeling by. There is one instance only in which Christ stands surrounded by the apostles, and the two sisters are kneeling at his feet:—‘Lord, hadst thou been here, my brother had not died.’¹

In more modern Art this subject loses its mystic signification, and becomes simply a scriptural incident. It is treated like a scene in a drama, and the painters have done their utmost to vary the

¹ Bottari, Tab. xxx.

treatment. But, however varied as regards the style of conception and the number of personages, Martha and Mary are always present, and, in general, Mary is at the feet of our Saviour. The incident is of course one of the most important in the life of Christ, and is never omitted in the series, nor yet in the miracles of our Saviour. But, from the beginning of the fourteenth century, it forms one of the scenes of the story of Mary Magdalene. The fresco of Giovanni da Milano at Assisi contains thirteen figures, and the two sisters kneeling at the feet of Christ have a grand and solemn simplicity; but Mary is not here in any respect distinguished from Martha, and both are attired in red.

In the picture in our National Gallery, the kneeling figure of Mary looking up in the face of Jesus, with her grand severe beauty and earnest expression, is magnificent: but here, again, Mary of Bethany is not Mary Magdalene, nor the woman 'who was a sinner;' and I doubt whether Michael Angelo intended to represent her as such. On the other hand, the Caracci, Rubens and the later painters are careful to point out the supposed identity, by the long fair hair, exposed and dishevelled, the superior beauty and the superior prominence and importance of the figure, while Martha stands by, veiled, and as a secondary personage.

4. In the crucifixion, where more than the three figures (the Redeemer, the Virgin, and St. John) are introduced, the Magdalene is almost always at the foot of the cross, and it is said that Giotto gave the first example. Sometimes she is embracing the cross, and looking up with all the abandonment of despairing grief, which is more picturesque than true in sentiment; finer in feeling is the expression of serene hope tempering the grief. In Rubens' famous 'Crucifixion' at Antwerp, she has her arms round the cross, and is gazing at the executioner with a look of horror: this is very dramatic and striking, but the attention of the penitent ought to be fixed on the dying Saviour, to the exclusion of every other thought or object. In Vandyck's 'Crucifixion,' the face of the Magdalene seen in front is exquisite for its pathetic beauty. Sometimes the Virgin is fainting in her arms. The box of ointment is frequently placed near, to distinguish her from the other Maries present.

5. In the Descent or Deposition from the Cross, and in the Entombment, Mary Magdalene is generally conspicuous. She is often supporting the feet or one of the hands of the Saviour; or she stands by weeping; or she sustains the Virgin; or (which is very usual in the earlier pictures) she is seen lamenting aloud, with her long tresses disordered, and her arms outspread in an ecstasy of grief and passion; or she bends down to embrace the feet of the Saviour, or to kiss his hand; or contemplates with a mournful look one of the nails, or the crown of thorns, which she holds in her hand.

In the Pietà of Fra Bartolomeo, in the Pitti Palace, the prostrate abandonment in the figure of the Magdalene, pressing the feet of Christ to her bosom, is full of pathetic expression; in the same gallery is the Pietà by Andrea del Sarto, where the Magdalene, kneeling, wrings her hands in mute sorrow. But in this, as in other instances, Raphael has shown himself supreme; there is a wonderful little drawing by him, in which Nicodemus and others sustain the body of the Saviour, while Mary Magdalene lies prostrate bending her head over his feet, which she embraces; the face is wholly concealed by the flowing hair, but never was the expression of overwhelming love and sorrow conveyed with such artless truth.

6. The Maries at the Sepulchre. The women who carry the spices and perfumes to the tomb of Jesus are called, in Greek Art, the *Myrrhophores*, or myrrh-bearers: with us there are usually three—Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James and John, and Mary Salome. In Matthew, two women are mentioned; in Mark, three; in Luke, the number is indefinite; and in John, only one is mentioned, Mary Magdalene. There is scarcely a more beautiful subject in the whole circle of scripture story than this of the three desolate affectionate women standing before the tomb in the grey dawn, while the majestic angels are seen guarding the hallowed spot. I give, as one of the earliest examples, a sketch from the composition of Duccio; the rules of perspective were then unknown—but what a beautiful simplicity in the group of women! how fine the seated angel!—‘The angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door and sat upon it.’ I have seen one instance, and only one, in which the angel is in the act of descending; in general, the version according to St. John is followed, and the ‘two

men in shining garments' are seated within the tomb. There is a famous engraving, after a design by Michael Angelo, called 'The Three Maries going to the Sepulchre;' it represents three old women veiled, and with their backs turned—very awful; but they might as well be called the three Fates, or the three Witches, as the three Maries. The subject has never been more happily treated than by Philip Veit, a modern German artist, in a print which has become popular; he has followed the version of Matthew: 'As it began to dawn, came Mary Magdalene and the other Mary to see the sepulchre.' The attitude of motionless sorrow; the anxious expectant looks, fixed on the tomb; the deep shadowy stillness; the morning light just breaking in the distance, are very truly and feelingly expressed.

7. The 'Noli me tangere' is the subject of many pictures; they do not vary in the simplicity of the *motif*, which is fixed by tradition, and admits but of two persons. The composition of Duccio, as one of the series of the Passion of Christ, is extremely grand; and the figure of Mary, leaning forward as she kneels, with outstretched hands full of expression. The old fresco of Taddeo Gaddi, in the Rinuccini Chapel,¹ is also exquisite. Two of the finest in conception and treatment are, notwithstanding, in striking contrast to each other. One is the Titian in the collection of Mr Rogers:² the Magdalene, kneeling, bends forward with eager expression, and one hand extended to touch him: the Saviour, drawing his linen garment round him, shrinks back from her touch—yet with the softest expression of pity. Besides the beauty and truth of the expression, this picture is transcendent as a piece of colour and effect; while the rich landscape and the approach of morning over the blue distance are conceived with a sublime simplicity. Not less a miracle of Art, not less poetical, but in a far different style, is the Rembrandt in the Queen's Gallery: at the entrance of the sepulchre the Saviour is seen in the habiliments of a gardener, and Mary Magdalene at his feet, adoring. This picture exhibits, in a striking degree, all the wild originality and peculiar feeling of Rembrandt: the forms and characters are common; but the deep shadow of the cavern tomb, the dimly-seen

¹ Santa Croce, Florence.

² This beautiful and valuable picture has been bequeathed by the poet to the National Gallery.

supernatural beings within it, the breaking of the dawn over the distant city, are awfully sublime, and worthy of the mysterious scene. Barroccio's great altar-piece, which came to England with the Duke of Lucca's pictures, once so famous, and well known from the fine engraving of Raphael Morghen, is poor compared with any of these: Christ is effeminate and commonplace—Mary Magdalene all in a flutter.

I now leave these scriptural incidents, to be more fully considered hereafter, and proceed to the fourth class of subjects pertaining to the life of the Magdalene—those which are taken from the wild Provençal legends of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

1. 'La Danse de la Madeleine' is the title given to a very rare and beautiful print by Lucas v. Leyden. It represent Mary Magdalene abandoned to the pleasures of the world. The scene is a smiling and varied landscape; in the centre Mary Magdalene, with the anticipative glory round her head, is seen dancing along to the sound of a flute and tabor, while a man in a rich dress leads her by the hand: several groups of men and women are diverting themselves in the foreground; in the background Mary Magdalene, with a number of gay companions, is chasing the stag; she is mounted on horseback, and has again the glory round her head: far in the distance she is seen borne upwards by the angels. This singular and suggestive composition is dated 1519. There is a fine impression in the British Museum.

2. 'Mary Magdalene rebuked by her sister Martha for her vanity and luxury.' I believe I am the first to suggest that the famous picture in the Sciarra Palace, by Leonardo da Vinci, known as 'Modesty and Vanity,' is a version of this subject. When I saw it, this idea was suggested, and no other filled my mind. The subject is one often treated, and here treated in Leonardo's peculiar manner. The attitude of the veiled figure is distinctly that of remonstrance and rebuke; the other, decked and smiling, looks out of the picture holding flowers in her hand, as yet unconvinced, unconverted: the vase of ointment stands near her. In other pictures there is no doubt as to the significance of the subject; it has been gracefully treated in a picture by Giovanni Lopicino, now in the gallery of the Belvedere at Vienna. She is seated at her toilette; her maid is binding her luxuriant hair;

Martha, standing by, appears to be remonstrating with great fervour. There is a pretty picture by Elisabetta Sirani of the same scene, similarly treated.

3. 'Mary Magdalene conducted by her sister Martha to the feet of Jesus.' Of this most beautiful subject, I know but one composition of distinguished merit. It is by Raphael, and exists only in the drawing, and the rare engraving by Marc Antonio. Christ sits within the porch of the Temple, teaching four of his disciples who stand near him. Martha and Mary are seen ascending the steps which lead to the portico: Martha, who is veiled, seems to encourage her sister, who looks down. I observe that Passavant and others are uncertain as to the subject of this charming design: it has been styled 'The Virgin Mary presenting the Magdalene to Christ;' but with any one who has carefully considered the legend there can be no doubt as to the intention of the artist. 'Mary Magdalene listening to the preaching of our Saviour, with Martha seated by her side,' is one of the subjects in the series by Gaudenzio Ferrari at Vercelli: it is partly destroyed. We have the same subject by F. Zuccherò; Mary, in a rich dress, is kneeling at the feet of the Saviour, who is seated under a portico; Martha, veiled, stands near her, and there are numerous spectators and accessories.

4. 'The Magdalene renouncing the Vanities of the World' is also a very attractive subject. In a picture by Guido she has partly divested herself of her rich ornaments, and is taking some pearls from her hair, while she looks up to heaven with tearful eyes. In a sketch by Rubens, in the Dulwich Gallery, she is seated in a forest solitude, still arrayed in her worldly finery, blue satin, pearls, &c., and wringing her hands with an expression of the bitterest grief. The treatment, as usual with him, is coarse, but effective. In his large picture at Vienna, with the figures life-size, Mary is spurning with her feet a casket of jewels, and throwing herself back with her hands clasped in an agony of penitence; while Martha sits behind, gazing on her with an expression so demurely triumphant as to be almost comic. There is an exquisite little picture by Gerard Dow in the Berlin Gallery, in which the Magdalene, in a magnificent robe of crimson and sables, is looking up to heaven with an expression of sorrow and penitence; the table before her is covered with gold and

jewels. 'Mary Magdalene renouncing the World,' by Le Brun, is a famous picture, now in the Louvre. She looks up to heaven with tearful eyes, and is in the act of tearing off a rich mantle; a casket of jewels lies overturned at her feet. This picture is said to be the portrait of Madame de la Vallière, by whose order it was painted for the church of the Carmelites at Paris, where she had taken refuge from the court and from the world. It has that sort of theatrical grace and grandeur, that mannered mediocrity, characteristic of the painter and the time.¹ There is a Magdalene in the Gallery at Munich by Le Brun, which is to me far preferable; and this, and not the Paris one, I presume to be the portrait of the Duchesse de la Vallière. In a picture by Franceschini she has flung off her worldly ornaments, which lie scattered on the ground, and holds a scourge in her hand, with which she appears to have castigated herself: she sinks in the arms of one of her attendant maidens, while Martha, standing by, seems to speak of peace, and points towards heaven: the figures are life-size.² None of these pictures, with the exception of the precious Leonardo in the Sciarra Palace, have any remarkable merit as pictures. The scenes between Mary and Martha are capable of the most dramatic and effective illustration, but have never yet been worthily treated.

5. 'The embarkation of the Magdalene in Palestine, with Martha, Lazarus, and the others, cast forth by their enemies in a vessel without sails or rudder, but miraculously conducted by an angel,' is another subject of which I have seen no adequate representation. There is a mediocre picture by Curradi in the Florence Gallery. Among the beautiful frescoes of Gaudenzio Ferrari in the Church of St. Cristoforo at Vercelli, is the voyage of the Magdalene and her companions, and their disembarkation at Marseilles.³

6. 'Mary Magdalene preaching to the inhabitants of Marseilles' has been several times represented in the sculpture and stained glass of the old cathedrals in the south of France. In the Hôtel de Cluny there is a curious old picture in distemper attributed to King René of Provence, the father of our Margaret of Anjou, and famous for his skill as a limner. Mary Magdalene is standing on some steps,

¹ The print by Edelinck is considered as the masterpiece of that celebrated engraver.

² Dresden Gal.

³ See p. 379, *note*.



arrayed in loose white drapery, and a veil over her head. She is addressing earnestly a crowd of listeners, and among them we see King René and his wife Jeanne de Laval on thrones with crown and sceptre:—a trifling anachronism of about 1400 years, but it may be taken in a poetical and allegorical sense. The port of Marseilles is

seen in the background. The same subject has been classically treated in a series of bas-reliefs in the porch of the Certosa at Pavia: there is a mistake, however, in exhibiting her as half naked, clothed only in a skin, and her long hair flowing down over her person: for she was at this time the missionary saint, and not yet the penitent of the desert.

7. 'Mary Magdalene borne by angels above the summit of Mount Pilon,' called also 'The Assumption of the Magdalene,' is a charming subject when treated in the right spirit. Unfortunately, we are oftener reminded of a Pandora, sustained by a group of cupids, or a Venus rising out of the sea, than of the ecstatic trance of the reconciled penitent. It was very early a popular theme. In the treatment we find little variety. She is seen carried upwards very slightly draped, and often with no other veil than her redundant hair, flowing over her whole person. She is in the arms of four, five, or six angels. Sometimes one of the angels bears the alabaster box of ointment; far below is a wild mountainous landscape, with a hermit looking up at the vision, as it is related in the legend. The illustration is from a fine woodcut of Albert Dürer (96).

In a hymn to the Magdalene, by an old Provençal poet (Balthazar de la Burle), there is a passage describing her ascent in the arms of angels, which, from its vivid graphic naïveté, is worthy of being placed under this print of Albert Dürer:—

Ravengat lou jour los anges la portavan
 Ben plus hault que lou roc.
 Jamais per mauvais temps que fessa ne freddura,
 Autre abit non avia que la sien cabellura,
 Que como un mantel d'or tant eram bels e blonds
 La couvria de la testa fin al bas des talons.

The fresco by Giulio Romano, in which she is reclining amid clouds, and sustained by six angels, while her head is raised and her arms extended with the most ecstatic expression, was cut from the walls of a chapel in the Trinità di Monte, at Rome, and is now in our National Gallery.

One of the finest pictures ever painted by Ribera is the Assumption of the Magdalene in the Louvre, both for beauty of expression and colour. She is here draped, and her drapery well managed. The

Spanish painters never fell into the mistake of the Italians ; they give us no Magdalenes which recall the idea of a Venus Meretrix. The rules of the Inquisition were here absolute, and held the painters in wholesome check, rendering such irreligious innovations inadmissible and unknown. In the Turin Gallery there is an Assumption of the Magdalene by Dennis Calvert, admirably painted, in which she is carried up by four Apollo-like angels, who, with their outstretched arms, form a sort of throne on which she is seated : she is herself most lovely, draped in the thin undress of a Venus ; and the whole composition, at first view, brought to my fancy the idea of a Venus rising from the sea, throned in her shell and sustained by nymphs and cupids.

In general, the early painters, Albert Dürer, Vivarini, Lorenzo di Credi, Benedetto Montagna, represent her in an upright position, with hands folded in prayer, or crossed over her bosom, and thus soaring upwards, without effort of will or apparent consciousness ; while the painters of the seventeenth century (with whom this was a favourite subject) strained their imagination to render the form and attitude voluptuously graceful, and to vary the action of the attendant angels, until, in one or two instances, the representation became at once absurdly prosaic and offensively theatrical. F. Zucchero, Cambiasi, Lanfranco, Carlo Maratti, have all given us versions of this subject in a florid, mannered style.

Over the high altar of the Madeleine, at Paris, is the same subject in a marble group, by Marochetti, rather above life-size. Two angels bear her up, while on each side an archangel kneels in adoration.

8. The Last Communion of the Magdalene is represented in two different ways, according to the two different versions of the story : in the first, she expires in her cave, and angels administer the last sacrament ; one holds a taper, another presents the cup, a third the wafer. This has been painted by Domenichino. In the other version, she receives the sacrament from the hand of St. Maximin, who wears the episcopal robes, and the Magdalene kneels before him, half-naked, emaciated, and sustained by angels : the scene is the porch of a church.

9. The Magdalene dying in the Wilderness, extended on the bare

earth, and pressing the crucifix to her bosom, is a frequent subject in the seventeenth century. One of the finest examples is the picture of Rustichino in the Florence Gallery. The well-known 'Dying Magdalene' of Canova has the same merits and defects as his Penitent Magdalene.

I saw a picture at Bologna by Tiarini, of which the conception appeared to me very striking and poetical. The Virgin, 'La Madre Addolorata,' is seated, and holds in her hand the crown of thorns, which she contemplates with a mournful expression; at a little distance kneels Mary Magdalene with long dishevelled hair, in all the abandonment of grief. St. John stands behind, with his hands clasped, and his eyes raised to heaven.

When the Magdalene is introduced into pictures of the 'Incredulity of Thomas,' it is in allusion to a famous parallel in one of the Fathers, in which it is insisted 'that the faith of Mary Magdalene and the doubts of Thomas were equally serviceable to the cause of Christ.'

Among the many miracles imputed to the Magdalene, one only has become popular as a subject of Art. Besides being extremely naïve and poetical, it is extremely curious as illustrating the manners of the time. It was probably fabricated in the fourteenth century, and intended as a kind of parable, to show that those who trusted in Mary Magdalene, and invoked her aid, might in all cases reckon upon her powerful intercession. It is thus related:—

'Soon after Mary Magdalene landed in Provence, a certain prince of that country arrived in the city of Marseilles with his wife, for the purpose of sacrificing to the gods; but they were dissuaded from doing so by the preaching of Mary Magdalene: and the prince one day said to the saint, "We greatly desire to have a son. Canst thou obtain for us that grace from the God whom thou preachest?" And the Magdalene replied, "If thy prayer be granted, wilt thou then believe?" And he answered, "Yes, I will believe." But shortly afterwards, as he still doubted, he resolved to sail to Jerusalem to visit St. Peter, and to find out whether his preaching agreed with that of Mary Magdalene. His wife resolved to accompany him: but the husband said, "How shall that be possible, seeing that thou art with

child, and the dangers of the sea are very great?" But she insisted, and, throwing herself at his feet, she obtained her desire. Then, having laden a vessel with all that was necessary, they set sail, and when a day and a night were come and gone, there arose a terrible storm. The poor woman was seized prematurely with the pains of childbirth; in the midst of the tempest she brought forth her first-born son, and then died. The miserable father, seeing his wife dead, and his child deprived of its natural solace, and crying for food, wrung his hands in despair, and knew not what to do. And the sailors said, "Let us throw this dead body into the sea, for as long as it remains on board the tempest will not abate." But the prince, by his entreaties, and by giving them money, restrained them for a while. Just then, for so it pleased God, they arrived at a rocky island, and the prince laid the body of his wife on the shore, and, taking the infant in his arms, he wept greatly, and said, "O, Mary Magdalene! to my grief and sorrow didst thou come to Marseilles. Why didst thou ask thy God to give me a son only that I might lose both son and wife together? O, Mary Magdalene! have pity on my grief, and if thy prayers may avail, save at least the life of my child!" Then he laid down the infant on the bosom of the mother, and covered them both with his cloak, and went on his way, weeping. And when the prince and his attendants had arrived at Jerusalem, St. Peter showed him all the places where our Saviour had performed his miracles and the hill on which he had been crucified, and the spot from whence he had ascended into heaven. Having been instructed in the faith by St. Peter, at the end of two years the prince embarked to return to his own country, and passing near to the island in which he had left his wife, he landed in order to weep upon her grave.

'Now, wonderful to relate!—his infant child had been preserved alive by the prayers of the blessed Mary Magdalene: and he was accustomed to run about on the sands of the sea-shore, to gather up pebbles and shells; and when the child, who had never beheld a man, perceived the strangers, he was afraid, and ran and hid himself under the cloak which covered his dead mother; and the father, and all who were with him, were filled with astonishment; but their surprise was still greater when the woman opened her eyes, and stretched out her arms to her husband. Then they offered up thanks, and all

returned together to Marseilles, where they fell at the feet of Mary Magdalene, and received baptism. From that time forth, all the people of Marseilles and the surrounding country became Christians.'

The picturesque capabilities of this extravagant but beautiful legend will immediately suggest themselves to the fancy—the wild sea-shore—the lovely naked infant wandering on the beach—the mother, slumbering the sleep of death, covered with the mysterious drapery—the arrival of the mariners—what opportunity for scenery and grouping, colour and expression! It was popular in the Giotto school, which arose and flourished just about the period when the enthusiasm for Mary Magdalene was at its height; but later painters have avoided it, or, rather, it was not sufficiently accredited for a Church legend; and I have met with no example later than the end of the fourteenth century.

The old fresco of Taddeo Gaddi in the S. Croce at Florence will give some idea of the manner in which the subject was usually treated. In the foreground is a space representing an island; water flowing round it, the water being indicated by many strange fishes. On the island a woman lies extended with her hands crossed upon her bosom; an infant lifts up the mantle, and seems to show her to a man bending over her; the father on his knees, with hands joined, looks devoutly up to heaven; four others stand behind expressing astonishment or fixed attention. In the distance is a ship, in which sits a man with a long white beard, in red drapery; beside him another in dark drapery; beyond is a view of a port with a lighthouse, intended, I presume, for Marseilles. The story is here told in a sort of Chinese manner as regards the drawing, composition, and perspective; but the figures and heads are expressive and significant.

In the Chapel of the Magdalene at Assisi, the same subject is given with some variation. The bark containing the pilgrims is guided by an angel, and the infant is seated by the head of the mother, as if watching her.

The life of Mary Magdalene in a series of subjects, mingling the scriptural and legendary incidents, may often be found in the old

French and Italian churches, more especially in the chapels dedicated to her: and I should think that among the remains of ancient painting now in course of discovery in our own sacred edifices they cannot fail to occur.¹ In the mural frescoes, in the altar-pieces, the stained glass, and the sculpture of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, such a series perpetually presents itself; and, well or ill executed, will in general be found to comprise the following scenes:—

1. Her conversion at the feet of the Saviour. 2. Christ entertained in the house of Martha: Mary sits at his feet to hear his words. 3. The raising of Lazarus. 4. Mary Magdalene and her companions embark in a vessel without sails, oars, or rudder. 5. Steered by an angel, they land at Marseilles. 6. Mary Magdalene preaches to the people. 7. The miracle of the mother and child. 8. The penance of the Magdalene in a desert cave. 9. She is carried up in the arms of angels. 10. She receives the Sacraments from the hands of an angel or from St. Maximin. 11. She dies, and angels bear her spirit to heaven.²

The subjects vary of course in number and in treatment, but, with some attention to the foregoing legend, they will easily be understood and discriminated. Such a series was painted by Giotto in the Chapel of the Bargello at Florence (where the portrait of Dante was lately discovered), but they are nearly obliterated; the miracle of the mother and child is, however, to be distinguished on the left

¹ There are about 150 churches in England dedicated in honour of Mary Magdalene.

² There is a fine series of frescoes from the life of Mary Magdalene by Gaudenzio Ferrari, in the Church of St. Cristoforo at Vercelli. 1. Mary and Martha are seated, with a crowd of others, listening to Christ, who is preaching in a pulpit. Martha is veiled and thoughtful: Mary, richly dressed, looks up eagerly.—Half destroyed. 2. Mary anoints the feet of the Saviour: she lays her head down on his foot with a tender humiliation: in the background the Maries at the sepulchre and the *Noli me tangere*.—This also in great part ruined. 3. The legend of the Prince of Provence and his wife, who are kneeling before Lazarus and Mary. Martha is to the left, and Marcella behind. In the background are the various scenes of the legend—the embarkation; the scene on the island; the arrival at Jerusalem; the return to Marseilles with the child.—This is one of the best preserved, and the heads are remarkably fine. 4. Mary Magdalene sustained by angels, her feet resting between the wings of one of them, is borne upwards. All the upper part of the figure is destroyed. In the background are the last communion and burial of the Magdalene. I saw these frescoes in October 1855. They suffered greatly from the siege in 1638, when several bombs shattered this part of the wall, and will soon cease to exist. They are engraved in their present state in Pianazzi's 'Opere di Gaudenzio Ferrari,' No. 19.

near the entrance. The treatment of the whole has been imitated by Taddeo Gaddi in the Rinuccini Chapel at Florence, and by Giovanni da Milano and Giotto in the Chapel of the Magdalene at Assisi; on the windows of the Cathedrals of Chartres and Bourges; and in a series of bas-reliefs round the porch of the Certosa of Pavia, executed in the classical style of the sixteenth century.

On reviewing generally the infinite variety which has been given to these favourite subjects, the life and penance of the Magdalene, I must end where I began—in how few instances has the result been satisfactory to mind or heart, or soul or sense! Many have well represented the particular situation, the appropriate sentiment, the sorrow, the hope, the devotion: but who has given us the *character*? A noble creature, with strong sympathies and a strong will, with powerful faculties of every kind, working for good or evil—such a woman Mary Magdalene must have been, even in her humiliation; and the feeble, girlish, commonplace, and even vulgar women who appear to have been usually selected as models by the artists, turned into Magdalenes by throwing up their eyes and letting down their hair, ill represent the enthusiastic convert or the majestic patroness.

I must not quit the subject of the Magdalene without some allusion to those wild legends which suppose a tender attachment (but of course wholly pure and Platonic) to have existed between her and St. John the Evangelist.¹ In the enthusiasm which Mary Magdalene excited in the thirteenth century, no supposition that tended to exalt her was deemed too extravagant: some of her panegyrists go so far as to insist that the marriage at Cana, which our Saviour and his mother honoured by their presence, was the marriage of St. John with the Magdalene; and that Christ repaired to the wedding-feast on purpose to prevent the accomplishment of the marriage, having destined both to a state of greater perfection. This fable was never accepted by the Church; and among the works of Art consecrated to

¹ Bayle, Dict. Hist.; Molanus, lib. iv., de Hist. Sacrar. S. Mag., cap. xx. p. 428; Thomasium, p. 78. The authority usually cited is Abdius, a writer who pretended to have lived in the first century, and whom Bayle styles 'the most impudent of legendary impostors.'

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Marytha presents her sister Mary to our Lord

religious purposes I have never met with any which placed St. John and the Magdalene in particular relation to each other, except when they are seen together at the foot of the cross, or lamenting with the Virgin over the body of the Saviour: but such was the popularity of these extraordinary legends towards the end of the thirteenth and in the beginning of the fourteenth century, that I think it possible such may exist, and, for want of this key, may appear hopelessly enigmatical.

In a series of eight subjects which exhibit the life of St. John prefixed to a copy of the Revelation,¹ there is one which I think admits of this interpretation. The scene is the interior of a splendid building sustained by pillars. St. John is baptizing a beautiful woman, who is sitting in a tub; she has long golden hair. On the outside of the building seven men are endeavouring to see what is going forward: one peeps through the key-hole; one has thrown himself flat on the ground, and has his eye to an aperture; a third, mounted on the shoulders of another, is trying to look in at a window; a fifth, who cannot get near enough, tears his hair in an agony of impatience; and another is bawling into the ear of a deaf and blind comrade a description of what he has seen. The execution is French, of the fourteenth century; the taste, it will be said, is also *French*; the figures are drawn with a pen and slightly tinted: the design is incorrect; but the vivacity of gesture and expression, though verging on caricature, is so true, and so comically dramatic, and the whole composition so absurd, that it is impossible to look at it without a smile.

ST. MARTHA.

Ital. Santa Marta, Vergine, Albergatrice di Cristo. *Fr.* Sainte Marthe, la Travailleuse.
Patroness of cooks and housewives. (June 29, A.D. 84.)

MARTHA has shared in the veneration paid to her sister. The important part assigned to her in the history of Mary has already been adverted to; she is always represented as the instrument through whom Mary was converted, the one who led her first to the feet of the Saviour. 'Which thing,' says the story, 'should not be

¹ Paris, Bibliothèque du Roi, MS. 7013, fourteenth century.

accounted as the least of her merits, seeing that Martha was a chaste and prudent virgin, and the other publicly contemned for her evil life; notwithstanding which, Martha did not despise her, nor reject her as a sister, but wept for her shame and admonished her gently and with persuasive words; and reminded her of her noble birth, to which she was a disgrace, and that Lazarus, their brother, being a soldier, would certainly get into trouble on her account. So she prevailed, and conducted her sister to the presence of Christ, and afterwards, as it is well known, she lodged and entertained the Saviour in her own house.’¹

According to the Provençal legend, while Mary Magdalene converted the people of Marseilles, Martha preached to the people of Aix and its vicinity. In those days the country was ravaged by a fearful dragon, called the *Tarasque*, which during the day lay concealed in the river Rhône. Martha overcame this monster by sprinkling him with holy water, and having bound him with her girdle (or, as others say, her garter), the people speedily put an end to him. The scene of this legend is now the city of *Tarascon*, where there is, or was, a magnificent church, dedicated to St. Martha, and richly endowed by Louis XI.

The same legends assure us that St. Martha was the first who founded a monastery for women; the first, after the blessed Mother of Christ, who vowed her virginity to God; and that when she had passed many years in prayer and good works, feeling that her end was near, she desired to be carried to a spot where she could see the glorious sun in heaven, and that they should read to her the history of the passion of Christ; and when they came to the words, ‘Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit,’ she died.

As Mary Magdalene is the patroness of repentant frailty, so Martha is the especial patroness of female discretion and good house-keeping. In this character, she is often represented with a skimmer or ladle in her hand, or a large bunch of keys is attached to her girdle. For example, in a beautiful old German altar-piece attributed to Albert Dürer,² she is standing in a magnificent dress, a jewelled turban, and holding a well-known implement of cookery in her hand. In a missal of Henry VIII.³ she is represented with

¹ Il Perfetto Legendario.

² Queen’s Gal.

³ Bodleian MSS., Oxford.

the same utensil, and her name is inscribed beneath. In general, however, her dress is not rich but homely, and her usual attributes as patron saint are the pot of holy water, the asperge in her hand, and a dragon bound at her feet. In the chapels dedicated to the Magdalene, she finds her appropriate place as pendant to her sister, generally distinguished by her close coif and by being draped in blue or dark brown or grey; while the Magdalene is usually habited in red. When attended by her dragon, St. Martha is sometimes confounded with St. Margaret, who is also accompanied by a dragon: but it must be remembered that St. Margaret bears a crucifix or palm, and St. Martha the pot of holy water; and in general the early painters have been careful to distinguish these attributes.

St. Martha, besides being a model of female discretion, sobriety, and chastity, and the patroness of good housewives, was, according to the old legends, the same woman who was healed by Christ, and who in gratitude erected to his honour a bronze statue, which statue is said to have existed in the time of Eusebius, and to have been thrown down by Julian the Apostate.¹

When Martha and Mary stand together as patronesses, one represents the *active*, the other the *contemplative*, Christian life.

Martha is generally introduced among the holy women who attend the crucifixion and entombment of our Lord. In a most beautiful Entombment by Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Martha kisses the hand of the Saviour, while Mary Magdalene is seen behind with outspread arms: Lazarus and Maximin stand at the head of the Saviour.

LAZARUS, the brother of Martha and Mary, is revered as the first bishop and patron saint of Marseilles, and is generally represented with the mitre and stole. There are at least fifty saints who wear the same attire; but when a figure in episcopal robes is introduced into the same picture, or the same series, with Martha and Mary, it

¹ It is perhaps in reference to this tradition that St. Martha has become the patroness of an order of charitable women, who serve in the hospitals, particularly the military hospitals, in France and elsewhere—her brother Lazarus having been a soldier.

may be presumed, if not otherwise distinguished, to be St. Lazarus: sometimes, but rarely, the introduction of a bier, or his resurrection, in the background, serves to fix the identity. Grouped with these three saints, we occasionally find St. Marcella (or Martilla), who accompanied them from the East, but who is not distinguished by any attribute; nor is anything particular related of her, except that she wrote the life of Martha, and preached the Gospel in Slavonia.

There are beautiful full-length figures of Mary, Martha, Lazarus, and Marcella in the Brera at Milan—painted by one of the Luini school, and treated in a very classical and noble style—draped, and standing in niches to represent statues. At Munich are the separate figures of Mary, Martha, and Lazarus, by Grünewald; Lazarus is seen standing by his bier; Mary, in the rich costume of a German lady of rank, presents her vase; and Martha is habited like a German *hausfrau*, with her dragon at her feet. They are much larger than life, admirably painted, and full of character, though somewhat grotesque in treatment.

Over the altar of the church 'La Major,' at Marseilles, stands Lazarus as bishop; Mary on the right, and Martha on the left; underneath these three statues runs a series of bas-reliefs containing the history of Lazarus. 1. He is recalled to life. 2. Seated on the edge of his tomb, he addresses the spectators. 3. He entertains Christ. 4. The arrival at Marseilles. 5. He preaches to the people. 6. He is consecrated bishop. 7. He suffers martyrdom.

In a tabernacle or triptica by Nicolò Frumenti (A.D. 1461),¹ the central compartment represents the raising of Lazarus, who has the truest and most horrid expression of death and dawning life I ever beheld. On the volet to the right is the supper in the house of Levi, and the Magdalene anointing the feet of the Saviour; on the left volet, Martha meets him on his arrival at Bethany: 'Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died.'

In the chapel of Mary Magdalene at Assisi, we find, besides the history of her life, full-length figures of Mary, Martha, Lazarus, and Maximin. Mary, a beautiful dignified figure, as usual in rich red

¹ Fl. Gal.

drapery, stands to the right of the altar, holding out her hand to a kneeling Franciscan : on the left Martha stands in grey drapery with a close hood : Lazarus and Maximin as bishops.

This will give an idea of the manner in which these personages are either grouped together or placed in connection with each other.

ST. MARY OF EGYPT.

Ital. Santa Maria Egiziaca Penitente. *Fr.* Sainte Marie l'Égyptienne, La Gipesienne, La Jussienne. (April 2, A.D. 433.)

I PLACE the story of St. Mary of Egypt here, for though she had no real connection with the Magdalene, in works of art they are perpetually associated as *les bienheureuses pécheresses*, and in their personal and pictorial attributes not unfrequently confounded. The legend of Mary *Egyptiaca* is long anterior to that of Mary Magdalene. It was current in a written form so early as the sixth century, being then received as a true history ; but it appears to have been originally one of those instructive parables or religious romances which, in the early ages of the Church, were composed and circulated for the edification of the pious. In considering the manners of that time, we may easily believe that it may have had some foundation in fact. That a female anchoress of the name of Mary lived and died in a desert of Palestine near the river Jordan—that she there bewailed her sins in solitude for a long course of years, and was accidentally discovered—is a very ancient tradition, supported by contemporary evidence. The picturesque, miraculous, and romantic incidents with which the story has been adorned, appear to have been added to enhance the interest ; and, in its present form, the legend is attributed to St. Jerome.

'Towards the year of our Lord 365, there dwelt in Alexandria a woman whose name was Mary, and who in the infamy of her life far exceeded Mary Magdalene. After passing seventeen years in every species of vice, it happened that one day, while roving along the sea-

shore, she beheld a ship ready to sail, and a large company preparing to embark. She inquired whither they were going? They replied that they were going up to Jerusalem, to celebrate the feast of the true cross. She was seized with a sudden desire to accompany them; but having no money, she paid the price of her passage by selling herself to the sailors and pilgrims, whom she allured to sin by every means in her power. On their arrival at Jerusalem, she joined the crowds of worshippers who had assembled to enter the church; but all her attempts to pass the threshold were in vain; whenever she thought to enter the porch, a supernatural power drove her back in shame, in terror, in despair. Struck by the remembrance of her sins, and filled with repentance, she humbled herself and prayed for help; the interdiction was removed, and she entered the church of God, crawling on her knees. Thenceforward she renounced her wicked and shameful life, and, buying at a baker's three small loaves, she wandered forth into solitude, and never stopped or reposed till she had penetrated into the deserts beyond the Jordan, where she remained in severest penance, living on roots and fruits, and drinking water only; her garments dropped away in rags piecemeal, leaving her unclothed; and she prayed fervently not to be left thus exposed: suddenly her hair grew so long as to form a covering for her whole person (or, according to another version, an angel brought her a garment from heaven). Thus she dwelt in the wilderness in prayer and penance, supported only by her three small loaves, which, like the widow's meal failed her not, until, after the lapse of forty-seven years, she was discovered by a priest named Zosimus. Of him she requested silence, and that he would return at the end of a year, and bring with him the elements of the holy sacrament, that she might confess and communicate before she was released from earth. And Zosimus obeyed her, and returned after a year; but not being able to pass the Jordan, the penitent, supernaturally assisted, passed over the water to him; and having received the sacrament with tears, she desired the priest to leave her once more to her solitude, and to return in a year from that time. And when he returned he found her dead, her hands crossed on her bosom. And he wept greatly; and, looking around, he saw written in the sand these words:—"O Father Zosimus, bury the body of the poor sinner, Mary of Egypt! Give

earth to earth, and dust to dust, for Christ's sake!" He endeavoured to obey this last command, but being full of years, and troubled and weak, his strength failed him, and a lion came out of the wood and aided him, digging with his paws till the grave was sufficiently large to receive the body of the saint, which being committed to the earth, the lion retired gently, and the old man returned home praising God, who had shown mercy to the penitent.'

In single figures and devotional pictures, Mary of Egypt is portrayed as a meagre, wasted, aged woman, with long hair, and holding in her hand three small loaves. Sometimes she is united with Mary Magdalene, as joint emblems of female penitence; and not in painting only, but in poetry,—

Like redeemèd Magdalene,
Or that Egyptian penitent, whose tears
Fretted the rock, and moisten'd round her cave
The thirsty desert.

Thus they stand together in a little rare print by Marc' Antonio, the one distinguished by her vase, the other by her three loaves. Sometimes, when they stand together, Mary Magdalene is young, beautiful, richly dressed; and Mary of Egypt, a squalid, meagre, old woman, covered with rags: as in a rare and curious print by Israel von Mecken.¹

Pictures from her life are not common. The earliest I have met with is the series painted on the walls of the Chapel of the Bargello, at Florence, above the life of Mary Magdalene: they had been whitewashed over. In seeking for the portrait of Dante, this white-wash has been in part removed; and it is only just possible for those acquainted with the legend to trace in several compartments the history of Mary of Egypt.

1. Detached subjects are sometimes met with. In the church of San Pietro-in-Pò, at Cremona, they preserve relics said to be those of Mary of Egypt: and over the altar there is a large picture by

¹ B. Museum.

Malosso, representing the saint at the door of the Temple at Jerusalem, and repulsed by a miraculous power. She is richly dressed, with a broad brimmed hat, and stands on the step, as one endeavouring to enter, while several persons look on,—some amazed, others mocking.

2. Mary of Egypt doing penance in the desert is easily confounded with the penitent Magdalene. Where there is no skull, no vase of ointment, no crucifix near her, where the penitent is aged, or at least not young and beautiful, with little or no drapery, and black or grey hair, the picture may be presumed to represent Mary of Egypt, and not the Magdalene, however like in situation and sentiment. There is a large fine picture of this subject at Alton Towers.

3. The first meeting of Mary and the hermit Zosimus has been painted by Ribera: in this picture her hair is grey and short, her skin dark and sunburnt, and she is clothed in rags.

4. In another picture by the same painter she is passing over the Jordan by the help of angels; she is seen floating in the air with her hands clasped, and Zosimus is kneeling by. This subject might easily be confounded with the Assumption of the Magdalene, but the sentiment ought to distinguish them; for, instead of the ecstatic trance of the Magdalene, we have merely a miraculous incident: the figure is but little raised above the waters, and the hermit is kneeling on the shore.¹

5. St. Mary receives the last communion from the hands of Zosimus. I have known this subject to be confounded with the last communion of the Magdalene. The circumstances of the scene, as well as the character, should be attended to. Mary of Egypt receives the sacrament in the desert; a river is generally in the background: Zosimus is an aged monk. Where the Magdalene receives the sacrament from the hands of Maximin, the scene is a portico or chapel with rich architecture, and Maximin wears the habit of a bishop.

6. The death of Mary of Egypt. Zosimus is kneeling beside her, and the lion is licking her feet or digging her grave. The presence of the lion distinguishes this subject from the death of Mary Magdalene.

¹ It was in the Sp. Gal. in the Louvre, now dispersed.



St. Mary of Egypt was early a popular saint in France, and particularly venerated by the Parisians, till eclipsed by the increasing celebrity of the Magdalene. She was styled, familiarly, *La Gipsienne* (the Gipsy), softened by time into *La Jussienne*. The street in which stood a convent of reformed women, dedicated to her, is still *La Rue Jussienne*.

We find her whole story in one of the richly painted windows of the cathedral of Chartres; and again in the 'Vitreaux de Bourges,' where the inscription underneath is written 'Segiptiaca.'

Among the best modern frescoes which I saw at Paris, was the decoration of a chapel in the church of St. Merry, dedicated to *Ste. Marie l'Égyptienne*: the religious sentiment and manner of middle-age Art are as usual imitated, but with a certain unexpected originality

in the conception of some of the subjects which pleased me. 1. On the wall, to the right, she stands leaning on the pedestal of the statue of the Madonna in a meditative attitude, and having the dress and the dark complexion of an Egyptian dancing-girl; a crowd of people are seen behind entering the gates of the Temple, at which she alone has been repulsed. 2. She receives the communion from the hand of Zosimus, and is buried by a lion.

On the left-hand wall. 3. Her apotheosis. She is borne aloft by many angels, two of whom swing censers, and below is seen the empty grave watched by a lion. 4. Underneath is a group of hermits, to whom the aged Zosimus is relating the story of the penitence and death of St. Mary of Egypt.

I do not in general accept modern representations as authorities, nor quote them as examples; but this resuscitation of Mary of Egypt in a city where she was so long a favourite saint, appears to me a curious fact. Her real existence is doubted even by the writers of that Church which, for fourteen centuries, has celebrated her conversion and glorified her name. Yet the poetical, the moral significance of her story remains; and, as I have reason to know, can still impress the fancy, and, through the fancy, waken the conscience and touch the heart.

There were several other legends current in the early ages of Christianity, promulgated, it should seem, with the distinct purpose of calling the frail and sinning woman to repentance. If these were not pure inventions, if the names of these beatified penitents retained in the offices of the Church must be taken as evidence that they *did* exist, it is not less certain that the prototype in all these cases was the reclaimed woman of the Scriptures, and that it was the pitying charity of Christ which first taught men and angels to rejoice over the sinner that repenteth.

The legend of MARY, the niece of the hermit Abraham,¹ must not be confounded with that of Mary of Egypt. The scene of this story

¹ Santa Maria Penitente.

is placed in the deserts of Syria. The anchoret Abraham had a brother, who lived in the world and possessed great riches, and when he died, leaving an only daughter, she was brought to her uncle Abraham, apparently because of his great reputation for holiness, to be brought up as he should think fit. The ideas of this holy man, with regard to education, seem to have been those entertained by many wise and religious people since his time; but there was this difference, that he did not show her the steep and thorny way to heaven, and choose for himself 'the primrose path of dalliance.' Instead of applying to his charge a code of morality as distinct as possible from his own, he, more just, only brought up his niece in the same ascetic principles which he deemed necessary for the salvation of all men.

Mary, therefore, being brought to her uncle when she was only seven years old, he built a cell close to his own, in which he shut her up; and, through a little window, which opened between their cells, he taught her to say her prayers, to recite the Psalter, to sing hymns, and dedicated her to a life of holiness and solitude, praying continually that she might be delivered from the snares of the arch-enemy, and keeping her far, as he thought, from all possibility of temptation; while he daily instructed her to despise and hate all the pleasures and vanities of the world.

Thus Mary grew up in her cell till she was twenty years old; then it happened that a certain youth, who had turned hermit and dwelt in that desert, came to visit Abraham to receive his instructions; and he beheld through the window the face of the maiden as she prayed in her cell, and heard her voice as she sang the morning and the evening hymn; and he was inflamed with desire of her beauty, till his whole heart became as a furnace for the love of her; and forgetting his religious vocation, and moved thereto by the devil, he tempted Mary, and she fell. When she came to herself, her heart was troubled; she beat her breast and wept bitterly, thinking of what she had been, what she had now become; and she despaired, and said in her heart, 'For me there is no hope, no return; shame is my portion evermore!' So she fled, not daring to meet the face of her uncle, and went to a distant place, and lived a life of sin and shame for two years.

Now, on the same night that she fled from her cell, Abraham had a dream; and he saw in his dream a monstrous dragon, who came to his cell, and finding there a beautiful white dove, devoured it, and returned to his den. When the hermit awoke from his dream he was perplexed, and knew not what it might portend; but again he dreamt, and he saw the same dragon, and he put his foot on its head, and crushed it, and took from its maw the beautiful dove, and put it in his bosom, and it came to life again, and spread its wings and flew towards heaven.

Then the old man knew that this must relate to his niece Mary; so he took up his staff, and went forth through the world seeking her everywhere. At length he found her, and seeing her overpowered with shame and despair, he exhorted her to take courage, and comforted her, and promised to take her sin and her penance on himself. She wept and embraced his knees, and said, 'O my father! if thou thinkest there is hope for me, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest, and kiss thy footsteps which lead me out of this gulf of sin and death!' So he prayed with her, and reminded her that God did not desire the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live; and she was comforted. And the next morning Abraham rose up and took his niece by the hand, leaving behind them her gay attire and jewels and ill-gotten wealth.

And they returned together to the cell in the wilderness.

From this time did Mary lead a life of penitence and of great humility, ministering to her aged uncle, who died glorifying God: after his death, she lived on many years, praising God, and doing good in humbleness and singleness of heart, and having favour with the people; so that from all the country round they brought the sick, and those who were possessed, and she healed them,—such virtue was in her prayers, although she had been a sinner! Nay, it is written, that even the touch of her garment restored health to the afflicted.

At length she died, and the angels carried her spirit out of the shadow and the cloud of sin into the glory and the joy of heaven.

Although the legend of Mary the Penitent is accepted by the Church, which celebrates her conversion on the 29th of October,

effigies of her must be rare; I have never met with any devotional representation of her. A print attributed to Albert Dürer represents the hermit Abraham bringing back his penitent niece to his cell.¹

In the Louvre are two large landscapes by Philippe de Champagne, which in poetry and grandeur of conception come near to those of Niccolò Poussin; both represent scenes from the life of Mary the Penitent. In the first, amid a wild and rocky landscape, is the cell of Abraham, and Mary, sitting within it, is visited by the young hermit who tempted her to sin; in the second, we have the same wilderness, under another aspect; Mary, in a rude secluded hut, embowered in trees, is visited by pilgrims and votaries, who bring to her on their shoulders and on litters, the sick and the afflicted, to be healed by her prayers. The daughter of Champagne, whom he tenderly loved, was a nun at Port-Royal, and I think it probable that these pictures (like others of his works) were painted for that celebrated convent.

St. Thais, a renowned Greek saint, is another of these '*bienheureuses pécheresses*,' not the same who sat at Alexander's feast, and fired Persepolis, but a firebrand in her own way. St. Pelagia, called *Pelagia Meretrix* and *Pelagia Mima* (for she was also an actress), is another. These I pass over without further notice, because I have never seen nor read of any representation of them in Western Art.

St. Afra, who sealed her conversion with her blood, will be found among the Martyrs.

Poets have sung, and moralists and sages have taught, that for the frail woman there was nothing left but to die; or if more remained for her to suffer, there was at least nothing left for her to be or do: no choice between sackcloth and ashes and the livery of sin.

The beatified penitents of the early Christian Church spoke another lesson; spoke divinely of hope for the fallen, hope without self-abasement or defiance. We, in these days, acknowledge no such saints; we have even done our best to dethrone Mary Magdalene; but we have martyrs,—'by the pang without the palm,'—and *one*

¹ 'Leben und Werke von Albrecht Dürer,' No. 2067.

at least among these who has not died without lifting up a voice of eloquent and solemn warning; who has borne her palm on earth, and whose starry crown may be seen on high even now, amid the constellations of Genius.



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BY ANNA JAMESON

EDITED, WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES
BY ESTELLE M HURLL
AND
ABUNDANTLY ILLUSTRATED WITH DESIGNS
FROM ANCIENT AND MODERN ART

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOLUME II



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¹ The statue was begun by Niccolò da Bari, and finished by Angelo.

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SACRED AND LEGENDARY ART

VII. THE PATRON SAINTS OF CHRISTENDOM

BEFORE entering on the general subject of the early martyrs, I shall place together here the great Patron Saints of Eastern and Western Christendom. All saints are, in one sense, patron saints, either as protectors of some particular nation, province, or city; or of some particular avocation, trade, or condition of life; but there is a wide distinction to be drawn between the merely national and local saints, and those universally accepted and revered. St. Denis, for instance, is not much honored out of France; nor St. Januarius, the Lazzarone saint, out of Naples; but St. George, the patron of England, was at once the GREAT SAINT of the Greek Church and the patron of the chivalry of Europe; and triumphed wherever triumphed the cross, from the Euphrates to the Pillars of Hercules.

Those patron saints who had not, like St. Peter of Rome, St. Mark of Venice, St. James of Spain, St. Mary Magdalene, a scriptural and apostolic sanction, yet were invested by the popular and universal faith with a paramount dignity and authority, form a class apart. They are — St. George, St. Sebastian, St. Christopher, St. Cosmo and St. Damian, St. Roch and St. Nicholas. The virgin patronesses, to whom was rendered a like universal worship, are St. Catherine, St. Barbara, St. Margaret, and St. Ursula.

I place them here together, because I have observed that, in studying the legendary subjects of Art, they must be kept constantly in mind. In every sacred edifice of Europe which still retains its mediæval and primal character, whatever might be its destination, whether church, chapel, convent, *scuola*, or hospital, — in every work of art in which sacred personages are grouped together, without any direct reference to the scenes

or events of Scripture, one or other of these renowned patrons is sure to be found ; and it becomes of the utmost importance that their characters, persons, and attributes should be well discriminated. Those who were martyrs do not figure principally in that character. They each represent some phase of the beneficent power, or some particular aspect of the character, of Christ, that divine and universal model to which we all aspire ; but so little is really known of these glorified beings, their persons, their attributes, — the actions recorded of them are so mixed up with fable, and in some instances so completely fantastic and ideal, — that they may be fairly regarded as having succeeded to the honors and attributes of the tutelary divinities of the pagan mythology. It is really a most interesting speculation to observe how completely the prevalent state of society in the middle ages modified the popular notions of these impersonations of divine power. Every one knows by heart those exquisite lines in which Wordsworth has traced the rise and influence of the beautiful myths of ancient Greece : —

In that fair clime the lonely herdsman, stretch'd
 On the soft grass through half a summer's day,
 With music lull'd his indolent repose :
 And, in some fit of weariness, if he,
 When his own breath was silent, chanced to hear
 A distant strain, far sweeter than the sounds
 Which his poor skill could make, his Fancy fetch'd,
 Even from the blazing chariot of the sun,
 A beardless youth, who touched a golden lute,
 And fill'd the illumined groves with ravishment.
 The nightly hunter, lifting up his eyes
 Towards the crescent moon, with grateful heart
 Call'd on the lovely wanderer who bestow'd
 That timely light to share his joyous sport :
 And hence a blooming goddess and her nymphs.

[Excursion, book iv.]

Thus the mythology of the ancient Greeks was the deification of the aspects and harmonies of nature, while the mythology of Christianity was shaped by the aspirations of humanity : it was the apotheosis of the moral sentiments, colored by the passions and the sufferings of the time. So in an age of barbarity and violence did St. George, the redresser of wrongs with spear and shield, become the model of knighthood. So when disease and pestilence ravaged whole

provinces, the power to avert the plague was invoked in St. Sebastian; and the power to heal, ever a godlike attribute, revered in St. Cosmo and St. Damian. So at a time when human life was held cheap, and beset by casualties, when the intercourse between men and nations was interrupted by wide forests, by unaccustomed roads, by floods and swamps, and all perils of sea and land, did St. Christopher represent to the pious the immediate presence of divine aid in difficulty and danger. So also were the virgin patronesses to all intents and purposes *goddesses* in fact, though saints in name. The noble sufferance, the unblemished chastity, the enthusiastic faith of a St. Catherine or a St. Ursula, did not lose by a mingling of the antique grace, where a due reverence inspired the conception of the artist: Venus and Diana, and Pallas and Lucina, it should seem, could only gain by being invested with the loftier, purer attributes of Christianity. Still there was a diversity in the spirit which rendered the blending of these characters, however accepted in the abstract, not always happy in the representation; a consideration which will meet us under many aspects as we proceed.

There are fourteen saints who, in Germany, are especially distinguished as *NOTH-HELPER* (Helpers-in-need); but as this distinction does not pervade German art especially, and is not received in the rest of Europe, I have thought it unnecessary to do more than mention it.

I will now take these poetical and semi-deified personages in order; giving the precedence, as is most fit, to our own illustrious patron, the Champion of England and hero of the "Faerie Queen," St. George.

ST. GEORGE OF CAPPADOCIA

Lat. Sanctus Georgius. *Ital.* San Giorgio. *Fr.* St. Georges, le très-loyal Chevalier de la Chrétienté. *Ger.* Der Heilige Georgius, or, more popularly, Jorg or Georg. Patron of England, of Germany, of Venice. Patron saint of soldiers and of armorers. (April 23, A. D. 303.)

The legend of St. George came to us from the East; where, under various forms, as Apollo and the Python, as Bellerophon and the Chimera, as Perseus and the Sea-monster, we see perpetually recurring the mythic allegory by which was figured

the conquest achieved by beneficent power over the tyranny of wickedness, and which reappears in Christian Art in the legends of St. Michael and half a hundred other saints. At an early period we find this time-consecrated myth transplanted into Christendom, and assuming, by degrees, a peculiar coloring in conformity with the spirit of a martial and religious age, until the classical demi-god appears before us, transformed into that doughty slayer of the dragon and redresser of woman's wrongs, St. George —

Yclad in mighty arms and silver shield,
As one for nightly jousts and fierce encounters fit.

Spenser, however, makes his "patron of true holiness" rather unwilling to renounce his *knighthood* for his *sainthood* : —

But deeds of arms must I at last be fain
To leave, and lady's love so dearly bought ?

The legend of St. George, as it was accepted by the people and artists of the middle ages, runs thus : He was a native of Cappadocia, living in the time of the Emperor Diocletian, born of noble Christian parents, and a tribune in the army. It is related that in travelling to join his legion he came to a certain city in Libya called Selene.¹ The inhabitants of this city were in great trouble and consternation in consequence of the ravages of a monstrous dragon, which issued from a neighboring lake or marsh, and devoured the flocks and herds of the people, who had taken refuge within the walls : and to prevent him from approaching the city, the air of which was poisoned by his pestiferous breath, they offered him daily two sheep ; and when the sheep were exhausted, they were forced to sacrifice to him two of their children daily, to save the rest. The children were taken by lot (all under the age of fifteen) ; and the whole city was filled with mourning, with the lamentations of bereaved parents and the cries of the innocent victims.

Now the king of this city had one daughter, exceedingly fair, and her name was Cleodolinda. And after some time, when many people had perished, the lot fell upon her, and the monarch, in his despair, offered all his gold and treasures, and even the half of his kingdom, to redeem her ; but the people murmured, saying, "Is this just, O King ! that thou, by thine own edict, hast made us desolate, and, behold, now

¹ By some authors the scene is laid at Berytus (Bayreuth) in Syria.

thou wouldst withhold thine own child?" and they waxed more and more wroth, and they threatened to burn him in his palace unless the princess was delivered up. Then the king submitted, and asked only a delay of eight days to bewail her fate, which was granted; and at the end of eight days, the princess, being clothed in her royal robes, was led forth as a victim for sacrifice; and she fell at her father's feet and asked his blessing, saying that she was ready to die for her people: and then, amid tears and lamentations, she was put forth, and the gates shut against her. Slowly she walked towards the dwelling of the dragon, the path being drearily strewn with the bones of former victims, and she wept as she went on her way. Now, at this time, St. George was passing by, mounted on his good steed; and, being moved to see so beautiful a virgin in tears, he paused to ask her why she wept, and she told him. And he said, "Fear not, for I will deliver you!" and she replied, "O noble youth! tarry not here, lest thou perish with me! but fly, I beseech thee!" But St. George would not; and he said, "God forbid that I should fly! I will lift my hand against this loathly thing, and will deliver thee through the power of Jesus Christ!" At that moment the monster was seen emerging from his lair, and half-crawling, half-flying towards them. Then the virgin princess trembled exceedingly, and cried out, "Fly, I beseech thee, brave knight, and leave me here to die!" But he answered not; only making the sign of the cross and calling on the name of the Redeemer, he spurred towards the dragon, and, after a terrible and prolonged combat, he pinned him to the earth with his lance. Then he desired the princess to bring her girdle; and he bound the dragon fast, and gave the girdle to her hand, and the subdued monster crawled after them like a dog. In this guise they approached the city. The people being greatly terrified, St. George called out to them, saying, "Fear nothing; only believe in the God through whose might I have conquered this adversary, and be baptized, and I will destroy him before your eyes." So the king and his people believed, and were baptized,—twenty thousand people in one day. Then St. George slew the dragon and cut off his head; and the king bestowed great rewards and treasures on the victorious knight; but he distributed all to the poor, and kept nothing, and went on his

way, and came to Palestine. At that time the edict of the Emperor Diocletian against the Christians was published, and it was affixed to the gates of the temples, and in the public markets; and men read it with terror, and hid their faces; but St. George, when he saw it, was filled with indignation, the spirit of courage from on high came upon him, and he tore it down, and trampled it under his feet. Whereupon he was seized, and carried before Dacian the proconsul, and condemned to suffer during eight days the most cruel tortures. First they bound him on a wooden cross and tore his body with sharp iron nails, and then they scorched and burned him with torches, and rubbed salt into his smarting wounds. And when Dacian saw that St. George was not to be vanquished by torments, he called to his aid a certain enchanter, who, after invoking his demons, mingled strong poison with a cup of wine and presented it to the saint. He, having made the sign of the cross and recommended himself to God, drank it off without injury (an expressive allegory, signifying the power of Christian truth to expel and defeat evil). When the magician saw this miracle, he fell at the feet of the saint, and declared himself a Christian. Immediately the wicked judge caused the enchanter to be beheaded; and St. George was bound upon a wheel full of sharp blades; but the wheel was broken by two angels who descended from heaven. Thereupon they flung him into a caldron of boiling lead: and when they believed that they had subdued him by the force of torments, they brought him to the temple to assist at the sacrifice, and the people ran in crowds to behold his humiliation, and the priests mocked him. But St. George knelt down and prayed, and thunder and lightning from heaven fell upon the temple, and destroyed it and the idols; and the priests and many people were crushed beneath the ruins, as at the prayer of the son of Manoaah in ancient times. Then Dacian, seized with rage and terror, commanded that the Christian knight should be beheaded. He bent his neck to the sword of the executioner, and received bravely and thankfully the stroke of death.

St. George is particularly honored by the Greeks, who place him as captain at the head of the noble army of martyrs, with the title of **THE GREAT MARTYR**. The reverence paid



St. George (Albert Dürer)

to him in the East is of such antiquity, that one of the first churches erected by Constantine, after his profession of Christianity (consequently within twenty years after the supposed death of the saint), was in honor of St. George. In the West, however, his apocryphal legend was not accepted, and was, in fact, repudiated from the offices of the Church by Pope Gelasius in 494, when he reformed the calendar. It was then decided that St. George should be placed in the

category of those saints "whose names are justly revered among men, but whose actions are known only to God." After this period we do not hear much of him till the first crusade, when the assistance he is said to have vouchsafed to Godfrey of Boulogne made his name as a military saint famous throughout Europe. The particular veneration paid to him in England dates from the time of Richard I., who, in the wars of Palestine, placed himself and his army under the especial protection of St. George. In 1222 his feast was ordered to be kept as a holiday throughout England; and the institution of the Order of the Garter, in 1330, seems to have completed his inauguration as our patron saint. There is ample proof that St. George was popular in this country even in the Anglo-Saxon times; but, previous to the Normans, Edward the Confessor was patron saint of England. There are 162 churches in England dedicated in honor of St. George. (See Parker's Calendar of the Anglican Church.)

The devotional representations of St. George, which are of very frequent occurrence, may be divided into two classes. 1. Those in which he is standing as patron saint, alone, or grouped with other saints in the Madonna pictures. 2. Those in which he vanquishes the dragon.

1. In the single figures, St. George is usually represented young, or in the prime of life. In the Greek and Italian pictures he is generally beardless, but bearded in the German pictures. His air and expression should be serenely triumphant: he ought to wear a complete suit of armor, being the same specified by St. Paul (Ephes. vi.), — "The breastplate of righteousness, the shield of faith, the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God." Sometimes he wears the classical armor of a Roman soldier, sometimes he is armed as a knight of romance. In one hand he bears the palm, in the other a lance; from which, occasionally, floats a banner with a red cross. The lance is often broken, because in his legend it is said, that, "his lance being broken, he slew the dragon with his sword." The slain dragon lies at his feet. This is the usual manner of representation, but is occasionally varied; for instance, when he stands before us as the patron saint of England and of the Order of the Garter, he has the garter buckled round his

knee, and the star of the order embroidered on his mantle. When he figures as patron saint of Venice, he stands leaning on his sword, the lance and banner in his hand, and the dragon usually omitted.

Such representations in the early Italian pictures are often of exquisite beauty, combining the attitude and bearing of the victorious warrior with the mild, devout expression of the martyr saint. For example, in a picture by Cima da Conegliano (Academy, Venice), he stands to the right of the throne of the Madonna, one hand grasping the lance, the other resting on the pommel of his sword, and in his youthful features an expression divinely candid and serene: there is no dragon. Again, in the famous Madonna del Trono by Fra Bartolommeo (Pitti, Florence), St. George stands by the throne in a full suit of steel plate armor, with an air which Vasari has truly described as "*fiera, pronta, vivace*;" and yet, on his clear open brow, an expression becoming the Christian saint: he bears the standard furled.

I believe the beautiful little Venetian picture once in the collection of Mr. Rogers (and then called Gaston de Foix) to be a study for a St. George, either by Giorgione¹ or Bonifacio; and those to whom the Venetian altar-pieces are familiar can have no doubt as to the subject intended. It is now in our National Gallery [catalogued as "A Knight in Armor"].

In a picture by Tintoretto, St. George, as patron of Venice, is seated on the steps of the throne of the Madonna, like a celestial guard; while the Venetian signoria are approaching to worship. (Venice, SS. Gio. e Paolo.)



St. George (Donatello)

¹ [The resemblance between this picture and Giorgione's San Liberale at Castelfranco shows it to be either a genuine study for the latter, or, as some think, a copy.]

St. George, standing in armor, points upwards with one hand, and in the other holds an inscription, "Quid bono retribuā Dño." In a picture by Giolfino, in the S. Anastasia, Verona.

Among the most celebrated single figures of St. George must be mentioned the fine statue by Donatello on the exterior of the Or San Michele at Florence: he is in complete armor, without sword or lance, bareheaded, and leaning on his shield, which displays the cross. The noble, tranquil, serious dignity of this figure admirably expresses the Christian warrior: it is so exactly the conception of Spenser that it immediately suggests his lines —

Upon his shield the bloodie cross was scored,
For sovereign help, which in his need he had.
Right faithful, true he was, in deed and word;
But of his cheere did seem too solemn sad;
Yet nothing did he dread, but ever was ydrad.

As a signal example of a wholly different feeling and treatment, may be mentioned the St. George in Correggio's "Madonna di San Giorgio" (Dresden Gallery): here his habit is that of a Roman soldier; his attitude bold and martial; and, turning to the spectator with a look of radiant triumph, he sets his foot on the head of the vanquished dragon.

2. In the subject called familiarly *St. George and the Dragon*, we must be careful to distinguish between the *emblem* and the *action*. Where we have merely the figure of St. George in the act of vanquishing the dragon, — as in the insignia of the Order of the Garter, on coins, in the carvings of old Gothic churches, in ancient stained glass, etc., — the representation is strictly devotional and allegorical, signifying the victory of faith or holiness over all the powers of evil. But where St. George is seen as combatant, and the issue of the combat yet undecided; where accessories are introduced, as the walls of the city in the background, crowded with anxious spectators; or where the princess, praying with folded hands for her deliverer, is a conspicuous and important personage, — then the representation becomes dramatic and historical; it is clearly a scene, an incident. In the former instance, the treatment should be simple, ideal, sculptural; in the latter, picturesque, dramatic, fanciful.

There are two little pictures by Raphael which may be cited as signal examples of the two styles of treatment. The first, which is in the Louvre, a serenely elegant and purely allegorical conception, represents St. George as the Christian warrior, combating with spiritual arms, and assured of conquest; for thus he sits upon his milk-white steed, and with such a tranquil and even careless scorn prepares to strike off the head of the writhing monster beneath. Very different, as a conception, is the second picture, in which St. George figures as the champion of England; here he is rushing on the dragon as one who must conquer or die, and transfixes the monster with his lance; the rescued princess is seen in the background. This picture was painted as a present from the Duke of Urbino to Henry VII.; and St. George has the garter and motto round his knee. It is now at St. Petersburg.

When the princess is introduced in the devotional representations, she is clearly an allegorical personage, representing truth or innocence, — the *Una* of Spenser. I can recollect but one instance in which she has the lamb; in this example, however, the treatment is anything but devotional. It is an exquisite little print, by Lucas van Leyden, which appears to represent the meeting of St. George and the princess before the conquest of the dragon: she has been weeping, and is drying her eyes with the back of her hand, while St. George comforts her, as we may see, with gallant assurances of deliverance; his squire in the background holds his horse. Some other examples of this early treatment by the German painters are very curious: whether historical or allegorical, they conceived it wholly in a romantic and chivalrous spirit. We have the casque and floating plume, the twisted mail, the spurs, the long hair, the banner, the attendant squire. Albert Dürer has given us four prints of St. George: in one of them he is standing with the red-cross banner and has his hair confined in a kind of net cap, such as the knights of the fifteenth century wore under the helmet; his plumed casque and the vanquished dragon lie at his feet; he has rather a long beard, and all the air of a veteran knight. Sometimes St. George is seen on horseback, bareheaded, with his helmet at his saddle-bow, while the rescued princess walks beside him, leading the wounded dragon bound in her girdle. In Tintoretto's picture in our National Gallery, the conquest of the dragon is treated

quite in the dramatic and historical style: here the combat takes place in the background; and the princess, who is in front, seems to wish, yet dread, to look round.

In the spirited sketch by Tintoretto, at Hampton Court, St. George has bound the monster, and the princess Cleodolinda holds one end of the girdle. The same incident, but more dramatic and picturesque in treatment, we find in the Queen's Gallery, painted by Rubens for our Charles I. In this picture the saintly legend is exhibited as a scene in a melodrama, and made the vehicle for significant and not inappropriate flattery. The action passes in a rich landscape, representing in the background a distant view of the Thames, and Windsor Castle as it then stood. Near the centre is St. George, with his right foot on the neck of the vanquished dragon, presenting to the daughter of the king of Selene — the fair princess Cleodolinda — the end of the girdle which she had given him to bind the monster: the saint and the princess are portraits of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria. Nearer to the spectator, on the left, is a group of four females, bewailing the ravages of the beast, exhibited in the dead bodies lying near them, and from the sight of which two infants recoil with horror. Behind, the squire of the saintly knight is seen mounted and armed cap-à-pie, and bearing his banner with the red cross; a page holds his horse: beyond them is seen a group of persons on a high bank, and others mounted on trees, who survey the scene; and on the other side, three females, who are embracing each other, and, as the French catalogue has it, "*témoignent par leur attitude une frayeur mêlée de joie.*" Two angels from above descend with the palm and the laurel to crown the conqueror. The picture, like the St. George of Raphael, already mentioned, has to an Englishman a sort of national interest, being painted for one of our kings, in honor of our tutelary saint. After the death of Charles I. it was sold out of England, passed into the Orleans Gallery, was brought back to England in 1798, and subsequently purchased by George IV.

There is a beautiful modern bas-relief by Schwanthaler, in which St. George, with his foot on the dragon, is presenting the end of the girdle to the rescued princess.

It appears to me an unpardonable mistake in point of sentiment when the princess is fleeing in terror, as in one of L. Caracci's finest pictures, where she appears in the fore-

ground, and immediately commands attention.¹ Richardson praises the figure, and with justice: he says, "the lady, that flies in a fright, has the most noble and *gentile* attitude imaginable. She is dressed all in white, she runs away, her back is towards you, but her head, turning over her shoulder, shows a profile exquisitely beautiful, and with a fine expression." Fine expression of what? — of fear? It shocks our better judgment. The noble princess of the legend, who was ready to die for her people, and who entreated St. George to leave her rather than expose his life, was not likely to fly when he was combating for her sake; she puts up prayers for her deliverer, and abides the issue. So Spenser's Una, the Cleodolinda of the legend: —

With folded hands, and knees full lowly bent,
All night did watch, ne once adowne would lay
Her dainty limbs in her sad drearyment;
But praying, still did wake, and waking did lament.

And thus the ancient painters, with a true and elevated feeling, uniformly represent her.

Richardson, in his praise of this picture by Ludovico, which he calls a "miraculous picture," seems to have forgotten the principle he has himself laid down, with excellent taste, though the expression be somewhat homely. "If the workmanship be never so exquisite, if the pencil or chisel be in the utmost degree fine, and the idea of the persons or things represented is low or disagreeable, the work may be excellent, but the picture or sculpture is in the main contemptible, or of little worth. Whereas, on the other hand let the ideas we receive be great and noble, 't is comparatively of no importance whether the work is rough or delicate."

The devotional figures of the armed St. George, with his foot on the dragon, resemble in sentiment and significance the figures of St. Michael: where they are represented together, the wings or the balance distinguish the archangel; the palm, the martyr. There are other military saints who have also the dragon, from whom it is less easy to distinguish St. George. St. Theodore of Heraclea and St. Longinus have both this attribute. The reader will find in the legends of these saints the points which distinguish them.

¹ In the cloisters of the San Michele-in-Bosco, at Bologna, now nearly defaced; but the frescoes, once celebrated, are well known through engravings.

It must be observed, that the dragon in the myth of St. George never has the human or satanic lineaments, as in the legend of St. Michael; nor do I know of any instance in which the usual dragon-type, such as we see it in all the effigies of the conquering St. George, has been departed from: the gigantic crocodile head; the brazen scales, that, when he moved, were as "the clashing of an armor bright;" the enormous wings, "like unto sails in which the hollow wind is gathered full;" the voluminous tail, terminating in a sting; and the iron teeth and claws; compose the "dreadful beast," — which is a beast, and nothing more.

Pictures from the life of St. George as a series occur very seldom. I believe that the reason may be found in the rejection of his legend from the office of the Church of Rome as early as the sixth century, he being placed by Pope Gelasius in the number of those saints "whose names and whose virtues were rightly adored by men, but whose actions were known only to God." This has not prevented his legend from being one of the most popular in those European story-books where he figures as one of the Seven Champions of Christendom.

There is a series of early frescoes in the Chapel of San Giorgio at Padua, painted, as it is supposed, by the school of Giotto, principally by Jacopo Avanzi and Altichieri. They are arranged in the following order: —

1. The combat with the dragon; the city is seen in the background, with the walls crowded with spectators.

2. The baptism of the king, the queen, the princess, and all the court. The scene is the interior of the church, which, according to the legend, was built by the command of St. George, after the conquest of the dragon: the king is kneeling at the font, holding his crown in his hand; St. George is pouring water upon his head from a vase: the saint is not here in armor, but wears a white tunic, with the pointed shoes and spurs of a cavalier of the fourteenth century. The queen and princess kneel behind the king.

The four frescoes in the lower range represent the martyrdom of the saint. 1. St. George, habited in a long loose mantle, drinks off the poison presented by the magician, who looks on with surprise. 2. St. George stretched on the wheel, which is destroyed by angels. 3. The fall of the temple of Apollo at

the prayer of St. George, who is kneeling in front. 4. St. George is beheaded outside the city: the executioner stands beside him with his sword raised; the saint kneels with his hands joined, and with a mild, resigned expression. In all these compositions St. George is represented bearded, as a man in the prime of life, and not as a youth.

The history of St. George as patron of Venice, as victor, not as martyr, has been painted by Vittore Carpaccio in three beautiful pictures: 1. The combat with the dragon. 2. He is received by the king and people in triumph. 3. The conversion and baptism of the king and his court: the most conspicuous figure is that of the princess, who, with her long golden hair flowing over her shoulders, her hands joined, and with a most lovely expression, kneels to receive baptism from her pious and chivalrous deliver. (Venice, Church of S. Giorgio de' Schiavoni.)

[Sir Edward Burne-Jones has painted the history of St. George in the following series of subjects: 1. The Citizens appealing to the king for deliverance from the dragon. 2. The Princess of Egypt walking in the garden. 3. The drawing of lots in the basilica. 4. The Burgesses appealing to St. George. 5. The Princess chained to a tree in the forest. 6. The deliverance of the princess by St. George. 7. The triumphal procession of St. George and the Princess through the city. In the residence of Birket Foster, Esq., Witley, Eng.]

Of the martyrdom of St. George, as a separate subject, there are several fine examples, but I do not know any of very early date. The leading idea is in all the same: he kneels, and an executioner prepares to strike off his head with a sword. In the Church of San Giorgio, at Verona, I saw over the high altar this subject by Paul Veronese, treated in his usual gorgeous style: St. George, stripped to the waist, kneels to receive the blow; a monk stands at his side (we are left to wonder how he got there); the Virgin in glory, with St. Peter and St. Paul, and a host of angels, appear in the opening heavens above.¹ The composition by Rubens, painted for the Chapel of St. George de Lière, near Antwerp, is very fine and full of character. In the composition of Vandyck, he is represented

¹ In the same church is a series of pictures from the martyrdom of the tutelary saint, ["exceedingly rich with figures more varied and spirited, and with executioners more terrible than ever were seen."] Lanzi.

as sacrificed to an idol. The drawing [was], I think, in the collection of Sir Robert Peel.

St. George and the dragon, and his martyrdom, are the usual subjects in the many churches dedicated to this saint.

His church at Rome, at the foot of the Palatine, called, from its situation, San Giorgio-in-Velabro, was built by Leo II. in 682. In a casket under the altar is preserved, as a precious relic, a fragment of his banner; and on the vault of the apsis is an ancient painting, the copy of a more ancient mosaic, which once existed there. In the centre stands the Redeemer between the Virgin and St. Peter; on one side, St. George on horseback, with his palm as martyr, and his standard as the "Red-Cross Knight;" on the other side St. Sebastian standing, bearded, and with one long arrow. From the time that these two saints were united in the popular fancy as martyrs and warriors, they are most frequently found in companionship, particularly in the Italian works of Art. In the French pictures and Gothic sculpture, St. George does not often appear, and then usually in companionship with St. Maurice or St. Victor, who are likewise military saints. In the German pictures he is often accompanied by St. Florian.

ST. SEBASTIAN

Lat. Sanctus Sebastianus. *Ital.* San Sebastiano; or San Bastiano.

Fr. St. Sébastien. Patron saint against plague and pestilence. (January 20, A. D. 288.)

The story of St. Sebastian is of great beauty and great antiquity; it has also the rare merit of being better authenticated in the leading incidents, and less mixed up with incredible and fictitious matter, than most of the antique legends.

He was a native of Narbonne, in Gaul, the son of noble parents, who had held high offices in the empire. He was himself at an early age promoted to the command of a company in the Prætorian Guards, so that he was always near the person of the emperor, and held in especial favor. At this time he was secretly a Christian, but his faith only rendered him more loyal to his masters, more faithful in all his engagements, more mild, more charitable, while his favor with his prince, and his popularity with the troops, enabled him to protect those who were persecuted for Christ's sake, and to convert many to the truth.

Among his friends were two young men of noble family, soldiers like himself; their names were Marcus and Marcellinus. Being convicted of being Christians, they were condemned to the torture, which they endured with unshaken firmness, and were afterwards led forth to death; but their aged father and mother threw themselves in the way, and their wives and children gathered around them, beseeching them with tears and supplications to recant, and save themselves, even for the sake of those who loved and could not survive them. The two young heroes, who had endured tortures without shrinking, began to relent and to tremble; but at this critical moment St. Sebastian, neglecting his own safety, rushed forward, and, by his exhortations, encouraged them rather to die than to renounce their Redeemer; and such was the power of his eloquence, that not only were his friends strengthened and confirmed in their faith, but all those who were present were converted: the family of the condemned, the guards, and even the judge himself, yielding to the irresistible force of his arguments, were secretly baptized. Marcus and Marcellinus were for this time saved; but in a few months afterwards they were denounced with the whole Christian community, and put to death; they died together, singing with a loud voice, "Behold, how goodly and gracious a thing it is, brothers, to dwell together in amity;" and the other converts were put to cruel deaths. At length it came to the turn of Sebastian.

But previously the emperor, who loved him, sent for him, and remonstrated with him, saying, "Have I not always honored thee above the rest of my officers? Why hast thou disobeyed my commands, and insulted my gods?" To which Sebastian replied, with equal meekness and courage, "O Cæsar, I have ever prayed, in the name of Jesus Christ, for thy prosperity, and have been true to thy service; but as for the gods whom thou wouldst have me worship, they are devils, or, at best, idols of wood and stone."

Then Diocletian ordered that he should be bound to a stake and shot to death with arrows; and that it should be inscribed on the stake and published to the troops that he suffered for being a Christian, and not for any other fault. And Sebastian having been pierced with many arrows, the archers left him for dead; but in the middle of the night, Irene, the widow of

one of his martyred friends, came with her attendants to take his body away, that she might bury it honorably; and it was found that none of the arrows had pierced him in a vital part, and that he yet breathed. So they carried him to her house, and his wounds were dressed; and the pious widow tended him night and day, until he had wholly recovered.

When his Christian friends came around him, they counselled him to fly from Rome, knowing that if he were once discovered there would be no mercy shown to him. But Sebastian felt that this was not a time to hide himself, but to stand forth boldly and openly for the faith he professed; and he went to the palace and stood before the gate, on the steps which he knew the emperor must descend on his way to the Capitol; and he raised his voice, pleading for those who were condemned to suffer, and reproaching the emperor with his intolerance and cruelty; and the emperor, looking on him with amazement, said, "Art thou not Sebastian?" And he replied, "I am Sebastian, whom God hath delivered from thy hand, that I might testify to the faith of Jesus Christ and plead for his servants." Then Diocletian in his fury commanded that they should seize Sebastian and carry him to the Circus, and beat him to death with clubs; and, that his body might be forever hidden from his friends, it was thrown into the Cloaca Maxima. But these precautions were in vain, for a Christian lady, named Lucina, found means to recover the body of the saint, and interred it secretly in the catacombs, at the feet of St. Peter and St. Paul.

It is probably from the association of the arrows with his form and story, that St. Sebastian has been regarded from the first ages of Christianity as the protecting saint against plague and pestilence. Arrows have been from all antiquity the emblem of pestilence; Apollo was the deity who inflicted plague, therefore was invoked with prayer and sacrifice against it: and to the honors of Apollo, in this particular character, St. Sebastian has succeeded. It is in this character that numerous churches have been dedicated to him; for according to the legendary traditions there is scarcely a city of Europe that has not been saved by the intercession of St. Sebastian.

His church at Rome, built over that part of the catacombs called the cemetery of Calixtus, is one of the seven Basilicas,

and stands about two miles from the city on the Via Appia, outside the gate of San Sebastiano. All traces of the ancient church have disappeared, having been rebuilt in 1611. Under the high altar is the recumbent statue of the saint. The almost colossal form lies dead, the head resting on his helmet and armor. It is evidently modelled from nature, and is, perhaps, the finest thing ever designed by Bernini. The execution was intrusted to his pupil. There is a fine cast in the Crystal Palace.

The most interesting, though certainly not the most beautiful, effigy of St. Sebastian existing at Rome is a very ancient mosaic, preserved in the Church of San Pietro-in-Vincoli, and supposed to have been executed in 683. Nothing can be more unlike the modern conception of the aspect and character of this favorite saint. It represents him as a bearded warrior, in the Roman habit, wearing the cuirass, and over it the long garment or toga; in his hand what seems to be the crown of martyrdom. On a marble tablet on one side of the effigy is the following inscription in Latin: I give the translation from Mr. Percy's "Rome and Romanism:"—

"To ST. SEBASTIAN, Martyr, dispeller of the pestilence. In the year of salvation 680 a pernicious and severe pestilence invaded the city of Rome. It was of three months' duration, July, August, and September. Such was the multitude of the dead, that, on the same bier, parents and children, husbands and wives, with brothers and sisters, were borne out to burial places, which, everywhere filled with bodies, hardly sufficed. In addition to this, nocturnal miracles alarmed them; for two angels, one good and the other evil, went through the city; and this last bearing a rod in his hand, as many times as he struck the doors so many mortals fell in those houses. The disease spread for a length of time, until it was announced to a holy man that there would be an end of the calamity, if, in the Church of S. Peter ad Vincula, an altar should be consecrated to Sebastian the Martyr; which thing being done immediately, the pestilence, as if driven back by hand, was commanded to cease."

This was just a hundred years after the famous plague of the time of Gregory the Great. From this time, the end of the seventh century, St. Sebastian has been accepted as the universal patron against the plague.

He is especially popular as a subject of Art all down the

eastern coast of Italy, in consequence of the prevalence of plague in those districts; sometimes he is represented with his robe outspread, and protecting the people beneath from showers of arrows; sometimes as interceding at the feet of the Virgin, who at his entreaty commands the destroying angel to sheathe his sword.

The more modern devotional figures of St. Sebastian rarely exhibit him in any other character than that of the martyr: even as patron saint the leading idea is still the same, for the arrows by which he is transfixed symbolize also the shafts of the pestilence; and they are the attribute not merely of the suffering and death of the martyr, but of the power of the saint. He is a beautiful Apollo-like figure, in the bloom of youth, undraped, bound to a tree or a column, and pierced by one or several arrows. He is looking up to heaven with an expression of enthusiastic faith or mild resignation, while an angel descends from above with the crown and palm. The variations are merely those of attitude and detail; sometimes his armor is seen lying at his feet; sometimes he is not pierced by the arrows, only bound, and the arrows are lying at the foot of the tree. In the old pictures the background is frequently a court or hall of the imperial palace; in all the modern pictures the background is landscape — the garden on the Palatine Hill, where, according to tradition, the scene took place. Sometimes soldiers or archers are seen in the distance. Though generally young, he is not *always* so. Albert Dürer and the Germans give him a respectable beard. Domenichino has also represented him as a man about thirty, copying in this the ancient mosaic in San Pietro-in-Vincoli.

In the pictures of the throned Madonna, St. Sebastian is frequently introduced, standing on one side, arrow-pierced, with his hands bound behind him, and looking up to heaven. In some later pictures we see him kneeling, and presenting to the Virgin the arrows with which he is pierced; or he is in armor, and merely holds an arrow in his hand.

In general, the most ancient pictures and prints of this subject are not agreeable, from the stiff and defective drawing; and in the modern schools, when it became a favorite vehicle for the exhibition of elegant forms and fine anatomical modeling, it was too obviously a display of *art*. We must seek, therefore, for the most beautiful St. Sebastians in those works

which date between the two extremes; and accordingly we find them in the pictures of Perugino, Francia, Luini, and the old Venetian painters. I could not point to a more charming example of this treatment than the Francia in our National Gallery, nor to a more perfect specimen of the *savoir-faire* school than the Guido in the Dulwich Gallery. The St. Sebastian, as is well known, was Guido's favorite subject; he painted at least seven. Another instance of this kind of ostentatious sentiment in style is the Carlo Dolci in the Corsini Palace at Florence.

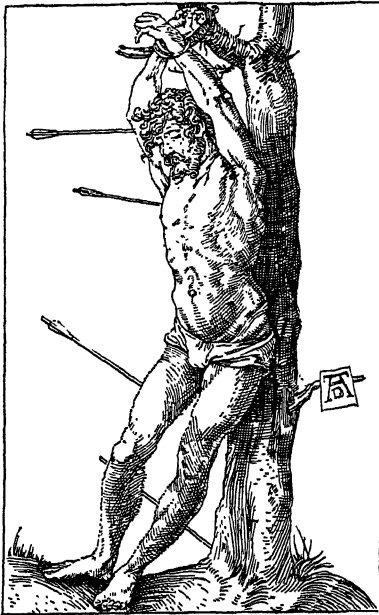
The display of beautiful form, permitted and even consecrated by devotion, is so rare in Christian representations, that we cannot wonder at the avidity with which this subject was seized on, as soon as the first difficulties of art were overcome, nor at the multiplicity of examples we find in the later schools, particularly the Venetian and Bolognese. It would take pages to enumerate even a few of these; but I must direct attention to some examples of very beautiful or very peculiar treatment.

1. B. Luini. A beautiful figure bound to a tree, from amid the boughs of which an angel looks down upon him. The expression of the head is not that of enthusiastic faith, but of mild devout resignation. (Certosa, Pavia.)

2. Beltraffio. Bound to a tree, he is wounded, but not



St. Sebastian (Guido Reni)



St. Sebastian (Albert Dürer)

transfixed, by the arrows. He is looking down, — not up as is usual; with long curling hair, and a charming expression of benignity and gentleness. It is the portrait, I believe, of Salaino, himself a painter, whom Vasari styles "*vaghi-simo, di grazia e di bellezza;*" and whose beautiful face and curling hair (*capelli ricci e inanellati*) continually appear in the pictures of Leonardo and his school. [The picture is called "*La Vierge de la Famille Casio,*" and is in the Louvre.]

3. Perugino. The saint, in red drapery, holds in one hand the palm, in the other three arrows. (Perugia, San Pietro.) Another, in which he is standing undraped, except that around his loins there is an embroidered scarf; his hands are bound behind him; he is transfixing by three arrows, and looking up with the usual enthusiastic expression, his long hair floating in curls upon his shoulders. (Florence, Uffizi.) Another, in which he kneels before the Virgin; in red drapery, transfixing by a single arrow. (Perugia, St. Agostino.)

4. Matteo da Siena. He stands on one side of the Madonna, covered with wounds, but not transfixing by arrows. In one hand a single arrow and a palm, in the other a martyr's crown. The head extremely fine. (Academy, Siena.)

5. A. Mantegna. He is bound to a pillar near a ruined triumphal arch. The *ruined* arch and the ruined temples, sometimes strewed round St. Sebastian, may signify the de-

struction of the heathen powers; otherwise, and in the historical representations, it is an anachronism. The Palatine was still in all its glory when Sebastian suffered. (Vienna Gallery.)

6. Giorgione. He is standing, bound to an orange-tree, with his arms bound above his head; the dark eyes raised towards heaven. His helmet and armor lie at his feet; his military mantle of green, embroidered with gold, is thrown round him. This picture, with the deep blue sky and the deep green foliage, struck me as one of the most solemn effects ever produced by feeling and color. He is neither wounded nor transpierced. On seeing this fine picture nearer in 1855, I was convinced that it is not by Giorgione, or has been mercilessly *cleaned*. (Milan, Brera.) [It is assigned by Morelli to Dosso Dossi, and is now so catalogued, 1892.]

7. Titian. Bound to a tree; head declined, and the long hair falling partly over the face; very fine and pathetic. It is the same figure which appears in the celebrated altar-piece dedicated by Averoldo in the Church of SS. Nazaro and Celso at Brescia. (Lichtenstein Gallery, Vienna.)

8. Razzi.¹ He is bound to a tree, pierced by three arrows,



St. Sebastian (Mantegna)

¹ [According to Layard's revision of Kugler's *Handbook*, the name is correctly written Bazzi. The painter is probably more widely known under the name Il Sodoma.]

looking up to heaven with an expression perfectly divine. This picture was formerly used as a standard, and carried in procession when the city was afflicted by pestilence. To my feeling it is the most beautiful example of the subject I have seen. (In the Uffizi, Florence.) [Mr. J. A. Symonds also pronounces the work the best St. Sebastian that has ever been painted.]

9. Liberale da Verona. Here also he is bound to the stem of an orange-tree; pierced with several arrows. [Brera, Milan; replica in Berlin.]

10. Baroccio. He is here fully draped, and holds two arrows in each hand, presenting them to the Virgin.

11. Hernando Yanez. The saint standing with a lily near him; the lily is unusual. (Louvre, Spanish Gallery [now dispersed].)

There are a great many fine examples in the Bologna and Flemish schools, in which I have found almost invariably the usual *motif*, combined in general with great beauty of execution.

12. Martin Schoen. In a rare print; St. Sebastian, suspended against the trunk of a tree, is transfixed by six arrows. The figure is ill-drawn and emaciated; but the expression in the head, declined and sickening into death, very pathetic and beautiful. It is seldom that he is represented as dying or fainting.

13. Some old representations of St. Sebastian, from the German and Spanish schools, are very curious. There was a small picture, by Villegas, in the collection of Louis Philippe [now dispersed], in which St. Sebastian wears the rich costume of the sixteenth century, — an embroidered vest, a hat and feather; an arrow in his breast; in one hand a bow, and in the other a crucifix. I have seen also a German drawing, in which St. Sebastian is dressed like a German cavalier, wearing a cap, a doublet, and an embroidered cloak; one hand on his sword, the other resting on his shield (which bears crests and arrowheads as the device); and pierced by three arrows, one of which has passed through his cheek: the expression of the youthful, almost boyish, face very beautiful.

14. He wears a full suit of black armor, over which is thrown a red mantle. In one hand he holds two arrows, in the other a cross. (In the Hotel de Cluny, Paris.)

15. In a picture by Raffaelino del Garbo, St. Sebastian wears a blue vest, elegantly embroidered with gold, black hose, and a crimson mantle. (Berlin.)

St. Sebastian has afforded an admirable subject for Christian sculpture.

1. By Matteo Civitale, there is a statue in white marble, in which he is bound to the trunk of a tree, pierced with several arrows. This statue, in spite of sundry faults of design, struck me by the beauty of the attitude and the beauty of expression. It is celebrated as being the first undraped statue of a male adult figure that had been produced since the revival of Art. The arrows are of metal, gilt. (About 1470. Duomo, Lucca.)

2. The statue by Puget in the Church of Carignano at Genoa is also celebrated. It is colossal, and represents him transfixed, with his armor at his feet; there is a good deal of expression, but a total want of simplicity.

3. The statue in his church at Rome has been already mentioned.

St. Sebastian is everywhere popular,¹ but more particularly in those countries and districts which were most exposed to the plague. For instance, all down the east coast of Italy, from Venice to Bari, St. Sebastian is constantly met with. In the more ancient pictures his usual pendant is either St. George or St. Nicholas; in the more modern pictures, St. Roch: very often the healing saints, St. Cosmo and St. Damian. Wherever these are grouped together, or round the Virgin and Child, the picture has been dedicated against the plague.

Some of these votive pictures have a very pathetic significance, when we consider them as commemorating the terrible visitations of pestilence which occasionally desolated the south of Europe. I will give one or two examples.

1. The Madonna di Misericordia is seen in the midst with her robes outspread, beneath which are gathered the afflicted votaries. (See Legends of the Madonna.) Above, the *Padre Eterno* looks down from heaven. On the left of the Virgin

¹ In England his effigies are not uncommon, and there are two churches dedicated to his honor, that of Gonerby in Lincolnshire, and Woodbastwick in Norfolk. (See Parker's *Calendar of the Anglican Church*, p. 284.) He has, however, been banished from the English calendar, in which many saints more apocryphal and less deserving still keep their place.

St. Sebastian, his hands bound and his whole body stuck full of arrows, looks up with a pleading expression. The votaries present to him a prayer or petition, which he is supposed to repeat to the Virgin, through whom it reaches the Supreme Being, at whose command St. Michael, the Angel of Judgment, utters the word *FIAT*, and sheathes his sword. This curious votive fresco is in a small chapel at Perugia.

2. The following example is also very expressive. St. Sebastian, in a rich military costume of blue, embroidered with gold, stands as patron; his large cloak, spread open and sustained by angels, intercepts and shelters his votaries from the plague-arrows, which fall thickly on its folds as they are shot from above. This votive fresco was painted by Benozzo Gozzoli in the Church of S. Agostino at San Gemignano, and commemorates the disastrous plague of 1464.

Scenes from the life of St. Sebastian are confined to a few subjects, which have been frequently treated.

Paul Veronese's "St. Sebastian exhorting and encouraging Marcus and Marcellinus, as they are led to death," in the Church of S. Sebastiano at Venice, appeared to me, when I saw it last, one of the finest *dramatic* pictures I had ever beheld, and preferable to every other work of the master. Here St. Sebastian stands on the summit of a flight of steps; his fine martial figure, in complete armor, is relieved against the blue sky; he waves a banner in his hand, and his whole air and expression are full of inspired faith and enthusiasm; Marcus and Marcellinus stand by his side as if irresolute, surrounded by their weeping friends. It struck me as a magnificent scene played before me — with such a glow of light and life and movement and color shed over it — such a triumphant enthusiasm in the martyrs — such variety of passionate energy and supplication and sympathy in the groups of relatives and spectators, that I felt as if in a theatre, looking at a well-played scene in a religious melodrama, and inclined to clap my hands and cry "Bravo!"

In curious contrast with this splendid composition, I remember a little old picture, in which St. Sebastian is calmly exhorting his friends to die, their mother alone kneeling in supplication; very stiff and dry, but the heads full of simple expression. (N. Semitecolo, 1367, Padua.)

Of the scene in which St. Sebastian confronts the emperor on the steps of his palace, and pleads for the persecuted Christians, I have never seen any picture; yet painting could hardly desire a finer subject.



Martyrdom of St. Sebastian (Pollajuolo)

The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian (for that is the name given to the scene in which he is shot with arrows) should be distinguished from those devotional figures which represent the saint as *martyr*, but not the act of martyrdom. His martyrdom, as an historical scene, is a subject of frequent occurrence, and in every variety of treatment, from three or four figures to thirty or forty. When the scene is supposed to be the garden on the Palatine Hill, he is bound to a tree (in once instance, as I remember, to an orange-tree); if the scene be the hall or court, he is bound to a pillar; and the inscription, "Sebastianus Christianus," is sometimes affixed.

1. The scene is a garden on the Palatine Hill. St. Sebastian is bound on high amid the branches of a tree. Eight soldiers are shooting at him with cross-bows. Above, the sky opens in glory, and two angels hold over his head the crown of martyrdom. Admirable for the picturesque and dramatic treatment. (Florence. Painter unknown.)

2. Pollajuolo. The masterpiece of the painter. He is bound high up to the stump of a tree; six executioners, with cross-bows, and other figures in strained and difficult attitudes. St. Sebastian is the portrait of Ludovico Capponi. [National Gallery.]

3. Pinturicchio. He is bound to a broken pillar; another broken column is near him. There are six executioners with bows and arrows, and a man with a kind of mitre on his head is commanding the execution. In the background the Coliseum. (Vatican.)

4. In contrast with this representation I will mention that of Vandyck, one of his finest pictures. St. Sebastian is bound to a tree, but not yet pierced: he appears to be preparing for his fate; with eyes raised to heaven, he seems to pray for strength to endure. The youthful undraped figure is placed in full light; admirable for the faultless drawing and the noble expression. There are several soldiers; and a centurion, mounted on a white horse, appears to direct the execution. (Munich Gallery.)

5. Palma. Two executioners bind St. Sebastian to a tree; soldiers are seen approaching with their bows and arrows; a cherub hovers above with the crown and the palm. (Engraved by Sadeler.)

6. G. da Santa Croce. St. Sebastian is bound to a pillar,

and prepares for death. The emperor on his throne and a number of spectators. (A. D. 1520. Berlin Gallery.)

7. The only celebrated St. Sebastian of the Spanish school which I can refer to is a martyrdom by Sebastian Muñoz, who appears to have painted his patron saint with equal love and power.¹ (Madrid Gallery.) Mr. Stirling mentions it with admiration, but does not describe the picture. There are few good representations of St. Sebastian in Spanish art, perhaps because the rigid ecclesiastical supervision forbade the undraped figure.

8. But the most celebrated example of all is the large picture by Domenichino, in the Church of S. Maria degli Angeli at Rome. Here the event is a grand dramatic scene, in which the attention is divided between the sufferings and resignation of the martyr, the ferocity of the executioners, and the various emotions of the spectators; there are about thirty-five figures, and the locality is a garden or landscape. The mosaic is in St. Peter's.

It is a great mistake, bespeaking the ignorance or carelessness of the painter, when in the representations of the martyred St. Sebastian an arrow is through his head (as in a composition by Tintoretto, and another by Albert Dürer), for such a wound must have been instantly mortal, and his recovery is always related as having taken place through natural and not through miraculous agency.

St. Sebastian recalled to life after his martyrdom is a beautiful subject. It is treated in two different ways: sometimes he is drooping in apparent death, one arm yet bound to the tree, while pitying angels draw the arrows from his wounds. It has been thus represented by Procaccino; by Vandyck in a beautiful picture now at St. Petersburg; and when conceived in a true religious spirit must be considered as strictly devotional: but I have seen some examples which rather suggested the idea of an Adonis bewept by Cupids, as in a picture by Alessandro Veronese. (Louvre.) The ministering angels in this and similar scenes ought never to be infant angels.

Another manner of treating this subject is more dramatic than ideal: St. Sebastian lies on the ground at the foot of a

¹ [Not mentioned under the name of Muñoz in the Prado catalogue, 1893.]

tree, insensible from his wounds; Irene and her maid minister to him; one unbinds him from the tree, the other extracts the arrows: sometimes Irene is attended by a physician. The subject has been thus treated by Correggio, by Padovanino, and others; but I have never seen any example which satisfied me either in sentiment or execution. [There is a modern example of this subject by Corot, in the Walters Collection, Baltimore. St. Sebastian lies in the heart of a forest, in the shadow of mighty trees growing at the base of a hill. Two women draw out the arrows from his body and support him in his agony. Angels hover over him with palm and crown.]

In the legend of St. Sebastian I find no account of his being tortured previous to his last martyrdom; but I have seen a large Italian print by [Cagliari] (described in Bartsch, *Peintre Graveur*, vol. xix. p. 282; see, also, in the same work, vol. xx. p. 201), in which he is bound on the rack — his armor lies near him; a pagan priest is seen exhorting him to renounce his faith; and there are numerous other figures, dogs, etc., introduced. (I conceive it to be an example of ignorance in the artist, if, indeed, it be intended for a St. Sebastian.)

The death of St. Sebastian, his second martyrdom, was painted by P. Veronese in his church. Unfortunately for this picture, it hangs opposite to the incomparable Marcus and Marcellinus already described, to which it is much inferior; it therefore receives little attention, and less than justice.

St. Sebastian is the favored saint of the Italian women, and more particularly of the Roman women. His youth, courage, and beauty of person, the interest of his story, in which the charity of women plays such an important part, and the attractive character of the representation, have led to this preference. Instances are recorded of the figure of St. Sebastian producing the same effect on an excitable southern fancy that the statue of the Apollo produced on the "Girl of Provence" — a devotion ending in passion, madness, and death.

From the fourteenth century the pendant of St. Sebastian in devotional pictures is generally St. Roch, of whom we are now to speak.

ST. ROCH

Lat. Sanctus Rochus. *Ital.* San Rocco. *Fr.* St. Roch, or Roque. Patron saint of those who languish in prison; of the sick in hospitals; and particularly of those who are stricken by the plague. (August 16, A. D. 1327.)

The legend of St. Roch is comparatively modern; the main facts, happily, are not incredible, and tolerably authentic; and in the decorative incidents there is even more of the pathetic than the wonderful. It appealed strongly to the sympathies of the people; it gave them a new patron and intercessor against that scourge of the middle ages, the plague; and as it became extensively known and popular just at the time of the revival of Art, it has followed that the effigy of this beneficent saint is one of those most frequently met with throughout the whole of Western Christendom: in Greek Art it is unknown.

“St. Roch was born at Montpellier, in Languedoc, the son of noble parents. Some authors place the date of his birth in 1280, others in 1295. His father’s name was John; he came into the world with a small red cross marked upon his breast; and his mother Libera, regarding him, therefore, as one consecrated even from his birth to a life of sanctity, watched over his education with peculiar care. The boy himself, as he grew up, was impressed with the same idea, and in all things acted as one called to the service of God; but with him this enthusiasm did not take the usual form—that of religious vows, or of an existence spent in cloistered solitude. His desire was to imitate the active virtues of the Redeemer, while treading humbly in His footsteps in regard to the purity and austerity of his life.

“The death of his father and mother, before he was twenty, placed him in possession of vast riches in money and land: he began by following literally the counsel of our Saviour to the young man who asked, ‘What shall I do to be saved?’ He sold all that the law enabled him to dispose of, and distributed the proceeds to the poor and to the hospitals. Then, leaving the administration of his lands to his father’s brother, he put on the dress of a pilgrim, and journeyed on foot

towards Rome. When he arrived at Aquapendente, the plague was raging in the town and the neighborhood, and the sick and the dying encumbered the streets. St. Roch went to the hospital, and offered to assist in tending the inmates; he was accepted; and such was the efficacy of his treatment, and his tender sympathy, that, as it was commonly said, a blessing more than human waited on his ministry; and the sick were healed merely by his prayers, or merely by the sign of the cross, as he stood over them: and when the plague ceased shortly afterwards, they, in the enthusiasm of their gratitude, imputed it solely to the intercession of this benign being, who, with his youth, his gentleness, and his fearless devotion, appeared to them little less than an angel."

That St. Roch himself, struck by the success of his ministry, should have believed that a peculiar blessing rested on his efforts, is not surprising, when we consider the prevalent belief in miracles and miraculous influences throughout the thirteenth century. Hearing that the plague was desolating the province of Romagna, he hastened thither, and, in the cities of Cesena and Rimini, devoted himself to the service of the sick. Thence he went to Rome, where a fearful pestilence had broken out, and spent three years in the same charitable ministry, always devoting himself to those who were most miserable and apparently abandoned by all other help. His incessant prayer to God was, that he might be found worthy to die as a martyr in the exercise of the duties he had voluntarily taken on himself; but for a long time his prayer was not heard; it seemed as if an unseen power shielded his life in the midst of the perils to which he was daily and hourly exposed.

"Thus some years passed away. He travelled from city to city: wherever he heard that there was pestilence and misery prevailing, there was he found; and everywhere a blessing waited on his presence. At length he came to the city of Piacenza, where an epidemic of a frightful and unknown kind had broken out amongst the people: he presented himself, as usual, to assist in the hospital; but here it pleased God to put him even to that trial for which he had so often prayed — to subject him to the same suffering and affliction which he had so often alleviated, and make him in his turn dependent on the charity of others for aid and for sympathy.

“ One night, being in the hospital, he sank down on the ground, overpowered by fatigue and want of sleep : on awaking, he found himself plague-stricken ; a fever burned in every limb, and a horrible ulcer had broken out in his left thigh. The pain was so insupportable that it obliged him to shriek aloud : fearing to disturb the inmates of the hospital, he crawled into the street ; but here the officers of the city would not allow him to remain, lest he should spread infection round. He yielded meekly ; and, supported only by his pilgrim’s staff, dragged himself to a wood or wilderness outside the gates of Piacenza, and there laid himself down, as he thought, to die.

“ But God did not forsake him ; far from all human help, all human sympathy, he was watched over and cared for. He had a little dog, which in all his pilgrimage had faithfully attended him ; this dog every day went to the city, and came back at evening with a loaf of bread in his mouth, though where he obtained it none could tell. Moreover, as the legend relates, an angel from heaven came and dressed his wound, and comforted him, and ministered to him in his solitude, until he was healed ; but others, less believing, say it was a man of that country whose name was Gothard, who on this occasion acted the part of a good angel towards him. However this may be, St. Roch, rejoicing that he had been found worthy to suffer in the cause of charity, which is truly the cause of Christ our Redeemer, went on his way as soon as he had strength to travel, and bent his steps toward his own home and country ; and being arrived at a little village near Montpelier, which was in fact his own, and the people his hereditary vassals, he was so changed by long suffering, so wasted and haggard, that they did not know him. The whole country being at that time full of suspicion and danger, because of hostilities and insurrections, he was arrested as a spy, and carried before the judge of Montpelier ; the judge, who was no other than his own uncle, looked upon him without knowing him, and ordered him to be carried to the public prison. St. Roch, believing that such an affliction could only be laid upon him by the hand of God, with the intent to try him further, held his peace, and instead of revealing himself, yielded meekly to the unjust sentence, and was shut up in a dungeon. Here, having no one to plead for him, and being resolved to leave his cause in the hands of God, and to endure patiently all that was inflicted, he languished

for five years. At the end of that time, as the jailer entered his cell one morning, to bring the usual pittance of bread and water, he was astonished and dazzled by a bright supernatural light, which filled the dungeon; he found the poor prisoner dead, and by his side a writing which revealed his name, and containing, moreover, these words: 'All those who are stricken by the plague, and who pray for aid through the merits and intercession of Roch, the servant of God, shall be healed.' When this writing was carried to his uncle the judge, he was seized with grief and remorse, and wept exceedingly, and caused his nephew to be buried honorably, amid the tears and prayers of the whole city."

The death of St. Roch is usually placed in the year 1327, when he was in his thirty-second year. The people of Montpellier and the neighborhood regarded his memory with the utmost devotion; but for nearly a hundred years afterwards we do not hear of St. Roch as an object of general veneration in Christendom. In the year 1414, when a council of the Church was held at Constance (the same which condemned Huss), the plague broke out in the city, and the prelates were about to separate and to fly from the danger. Then a young German monk, who had travelled in France, reminded them that there was a saint of that country, through whose merits many had been redeemed from the plague. The council, following his advice, ordered the effigy of St. Roch to be carried in procession through the streets, accompanied by prayers and litanies; and immediately the plague ceased. Such is the tradition to which St. Roch owes his universal fame as a patron saint. In the year 1485 the Venetians, who from their commerce with the Levant were continually exposed to the visitation of the plague, resolved to possess themselves of the relics of St. Roch. A kind of holy alliance was formed to commit this pious robbery. The conspirators sailed to Montpellier under pretence of performing a pilgrimage, and carried off the body of the saint, with which they returned to Venice, and were received by the doge, the senate, and the clergy, and all the people, with inexpressible joy.¹ The magnificent Church of St. Roch

¹ Baillet, *Vie de St. Roch*. The Venetian account is slightly varied: In 1485, "un monaco Camaldolese fu tanto felice da poter rapire il corpo di S. Rocco, ch' era con somma gelosia custodito in Ugheria, Castello nel Milanese, e portarlo a Venezia." *Origine delle Feste Veneziane di Giustina Renier Michiel*.

was built to receive the precious relics of the saint, by a community already formed under his auspices for the purpose of tending the sick and poor, and particularly those who were stricken by infectious disorders, in which many of the chief nobility were proud to enroll themselves. Such was the origin of the famous *Scuola di San Rocco* at Venice, on the decoration of which Tintoretto and his scholars lavished their utmost skill.

In devotional pictures the figure of St. Roch is easily distinguished. He is represented as a man in the prime of life, with a small beard, delicate and somewhat emaciated features, and a refined and compassionate expression. Those pictures which represent him as a robust coarse-featured man must be considered as mistaken in point of character. He is habited as a pilgrim, with the cockle-shell in his hat; the wallet at his side; in one hand the staff, while with the other he lifts his robe to show the plague-spot, or points to it. In general he is accompanied by his dog. This figure will give an idea of the usual manner of treatment in dress and deportment.

1. One of the happiest and truest representations of St. Roch I ever saw, consistently with the idea we form of his character, is a figure in an old Florentine picture, I think by Gerino da Pistoia; St. Roch is here a thin pale young man, with light hair and small beard, and mild delicate features. (Uffizi, Florence.)

2. St. Roch intercedes for Cardinal Alessandro d'Este (in a picture by Parmigiano). The cardinal kneels, with joined hands, and St. Roch, bending over him, with a benevolent air, lays his hand on his fur robe. The dog is in the background. This appears to have been a votive picture, on the occasion of the



St. Roch (Flandrin)

[A Camaldolese monk was so fortunate as to be able to abstract the body of St. Roch, which was guarded with greatest care in Ugheria, a castle in the Milanese territory, and carry it to Venice.]

cardinal being struck with illness, and healed at the intercession of St. Roch. Such votive figures of St. Roch are frequently met with in the chapels and churches dedicated to him, and more particularly in the hospitals, convents, and other institutions of the Order of Charity.

3. St. Roch, very richly dressed, stands in the usual attitude, pointing to the plague-spot; a small but very fine picture by Garofalo in the Belvedere Gallery at Vienna.

4. St. Roch with the Angel: a beautiful picture by Annibal Caracci, in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

5. The great altar-piece painted by Rubens for the church at Alost is strictly a devotional picture, though treated in the most dramatic manner. The upper part of the picture represents the interior of a prison, illuminated by a supernatural light. St. Roch, kneeling, not as a suppliant, but with an expression of the most animated gratitude, looks up in the face of Christ, and receives from him his mission as patron saint against the plague. An angel holds a tablet, on which is inscribed, "Eris in peste patronus," in allusion to the writing found within his cell after his death. The dog is near him. In the lower part of the picture a group of the sick and the afflicted (painted with all that power of expression which belonged to Rubens) invoke the intercession of the charitable saint. This picture has been erroneously described as St. Roch supplicating for those smitten by the plague; the *motif* is altogether different. Rubens painted it in eight days for the confraternity of St. Roch; he demanded for his work eight hundred florins, which the agents for the charitable brotherhood told down without making the slightest objection to the price. The painter, delighted with their generosity, presented to them three smaller pictures to be placed beneath the altar-piece; in the centre the crucifix; on one side St. Roch healed by the angel; on the other the saint dying in prison.

The separate pictures of his life are confined to few subjects, the most frequent of which are his charity and his ministrations to the sick.

1. Annibal Caracci. St. Roch distributes his goods to the poor before he sets out on his pilgrimage to Rome. One of his most celebrated pictures, full of beautiful and pathetic expression. It was painted for a benevolent canon of Reggio, who presented it to the charitable brotherhood of St. Roch in

his native city. Such pictures, whatever their merit as works of art, seem to me to lose much when transported from their original destination to the walls of a gallery.

2. Procaccino. St. Roch ministering to the sick. The patients are seen in beds in the background ; some are brought by their friends and laid at the feet of the saint. [Dresden.]

3. Finer is a picture by [Giacomo] Bassano, of which the intense and natural expression rivets the attention and melts the heart. Here the Virgin, a very majestic figure, stands alone in the sky above, interceding for the sufferers below. It is the finest and one of the largest pictures by Bassano I have ever seen. (Milan, Brera.) Pictures of this subject are often met with ; but perhaps the finest of all, at least the most effective, is that of Tintoretto ; the variety of expression in the sufferers and spectators is wonderfully dramatic. (Venice, Scuola di San Rocco.)

(We must distinguish this scene in the life of St. Roch from a similar subject in the life of St. Charles Borromeo. St. Roch wears the habit of a pilgrim ; St. Charles that of a bishop or cardinal.)

4. St. Roch in the desert is healed by an angel ; the dog is seen approaching with a loaf of bread in his mouth. The mild pathetic resignation and gratitude of the good saint, and the picturesque accompaniments, render this a very striking subject. The picture by Tintoretto is the finest example.

5. Guido. St. Roch in prison ; his dog at his side ; an angel from above comforts him. (At Modena. The same subject by Tintoretto at Venice.)

6. St. Roch dying in prison. He is extended on some straw, and his hands are folded in prayer. Sometimes he is alone ; but sometimes a jailer or attendant, entering the prison, looks at him with astonishment.

The statues of St. Roch exhibit him in the usual attitude, which, it must be confessed, is hardly fitted for sculpture ; yet some of these figures are very beautiful in sentiment, and make us forget the merely physical infliction in the sublime self-devotion.

The history of this saint, in a series of subjects, is often found in the churches and chapels dedicated to him ; we have generally the following scenes : 1. He distributes his goods to the poor, called "The Charity of St. Roch" (*L'Elemosina*

di San Rocco). 2. He ministers to the sick; the scene is generally a hospital. 3. St. Roch in the desert. He is prostrated by sickness, and points to an ulcer in his thigh. An angel and his dog are near him. 4. St. Roch standing before the Pope. 5. St. Roch in prison, visited by an angel. 6. His death.

In the upper hall of the Scuola di San Rocco, at Venice, where the brotherhood used to assemble, the tribune at the end is wainscoted by panels of oak, on which the whole history of the saint is carved in relief in twenty subjects. They were executed about the middle of the last century by Giovanni Marchiori and his pupils; the workmanship beautiful, but the designs in the mannered taste of the time.

Those works of art in which St. Sebastian and St. Roch figure in companionship as joint protectors against the plague are innumerable. The two beautiful figures by Francia, engraved by Marc Antonio, are examples of simplicity and benign graceful feeling. The contrast between the enthusiastic martyr and the compassionate pilgrim ought always to be strongly marked, not merely in the attitude and habiliments, but in the whole character and expression.

There are two saints who are easily confounded with St. Roch — St. Omobuono and St. Alexis. The reader will do well to turn to their respective legends, where I have particularized the points of difference.

With St. Sebastian and St. Roch, we often find in significant companionship the medical brothers, St. Cosmo and St. Damian. The first two saints as patrons of the sick; the last two as patrons of those who heal the sick.

ST. COSMO AND ST. DAMIAN

Lat. SS. Cosmus et Damianus. *Ital.* SS. Cosimo e Damiano, gli santi medici Arabi. *Fr.* SS. Côme et Damien. Patron saints of medicine and the medical profession. Patrons also of the Medici family; and as such they figure on the coins of Florence. (September 27, A. D. 301.)

“Cosmo and Damian were two brothers, Arabians by birth, but they dwelt in *Ægæ*, a city of Cilicia.¹ Their father having

¹ It is worth while to remark here, that in this city of *Ægæ* there was a temple of *Æsculapius*, famous for the miraculous cures wrought by the god, and destroyed by Constantine.

died while they were yet children, their pious mother, Theodora, brought them up with all diligence, and in the practice of every Christian virtue. Their charity was so great, that not only they lived in the greatest abstinence, distributing their goods to the infirm and poor, but they studied medicine and surgery, that they might be able to prescribe for the sick, and relieve the sufferings of the wounded and infirm; and the blessing of God being on all their endeavors, they became the most learned and the most perfect physicians that the world had ever seen. They ministered to all who applied to them, whether rich or poor. Even to suffering animals they did not deny their aid, and they constantly refused all payment or recompense, exercising their art only for charity and for the love of God; and thus they spent their days. At length those wicked emperors, Diocletian and Maximian, came to the throne, in whose time so many saints perished. Among them were the physicians, Cosmo and Damian, who, professing themselves Christians, were seized by Lycias the proconsul of Arabia, and cast into prison. And first they were thrown into the sea, but an angel saved them; and then into the fire, but the fire refused to consume them; and then they were bound on two crosses and stoned, but of the stones flung at them, none reached them, but fell on those who threw them and many were killed. So the proconsul, believing that they were enchanters, commanded that they should be beheaded, which was done."

This Oriental legend, which is of great antiquity, was transplanted into Western Europe in the first ages of Christianity. The Emperor Justinian, having been recovered, as he supposed, from a dangerous illness, by the intercession of these saints, erected a superb church in their honor. Among the Greeks they succeeded to the worship and attributes of Æsculapius; and from their disinterested refusal of all pay or reward they are distinguished by the honorable title of *Anargyres*, which signifies moneyless, or *without fees*.

One of the most interesting of the old Roman churches is that erected to the honor of these saints by Pope Felix IV. in 526. It stands in the Forum, near the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, on the site of the temple of Remus: the Greek mosaics in the apsis exhibit probably the most ancient representations of St. Cosmo and St. Damian which exist. In the

centre is the figure of Christ holding a roll (*i. e.* the Gospel) in his hand, a majestic figure; on one side St. Peter presents St. Cosmo, on the other St. Paul presents St. Damian, to the Saviour. They are exactly alike, in loose white draperies, and holding crowns of offering in their hands; colossal, ghastly, rigid, and solemn, after the manner of the old mosaics, and of course wholly ideal. Nearly contemporary are the mosaics in the ancient Church of San Michele at Ravenna, where the archangels Michael and Gabriel stand on each side of the Redeemer, and beyond them SS. Cosmo and Damian.

The representations of these benevolent brothers in later times are equally ideal, but more characteristic as personages.

In devotional pictures they are always represented together, attired in the habit of physicians, a loose dark red robe, trimmed with fur, and generally red caps. It is thus Chaucer describes the dress of a physician in his time — “In scarlet gown, furred well.”

They hold a little box of ointment in one hand, and a lancet or some surgical instrument in the other: sometimes it is a pestle and mortar. They occur frequently in the old Florentine pictures, particularly in those painted in the fifteenth century, in the time of Cosmo de' Medici. In several beautiful Madonna pictures in the Gallery of the Uffizi, and in the churches of Florence, they are grouped with other saints, from whom they are distinguished by their medical costume and a certain expression of grave attention, rather than devotion, which gives them often the look of portraits.

There is a picture by Bicci di Lorenzo, in the Uffizi, Florence, in which they stand together, in red gowns and caps, and red hose. This picture remained in the Duomo from the date of its execution, 1418, till 1844, and is curious as having been painted in the time of Giovanni de' Medici, the founder of the greatness of the family.

It is as the patron saints of the Medici family that their statues, designed by M. Angelo, stand on each side of the Madonna in the Medici Chapel [San Lorenzo] at Florence, where they are so overpowered by the stupendous grandeur of the other statues, that few visitors look at them, and fewer comprehend why they are there. They have no attributes; and it must be allowed that, whatever be their artistic merit, they are quite devoid of individual propriety of character.

These saints are very interesting when they occur in votive pictures, as significant of thanksgiving for restoration to health ; they are generally presenting a votary to Christ or the Madonna. Where they are kneeling or standing in company with



SS. Cosmo and Damian (Bicci di Lorenzo)

St. Sebastian and St. Roch, the picture commemorates some visitation of the plague or other epidemic disorder, as in 1. A most beautiful picture by Matteo da Siena, A. D. 1470, in the Academy of Siena : clothed in loose robes, they kneel in front before the Madonna ; St. George and St. Sebastian on each side. 2. And another, more beautiful, by Ghirlandajo, where St. John the Baptist, as patron of Florence, stands on one side, and Cosmo and Damian on the other. 3. Another, by Titian, in the Salute at Venice, where SS. Cosmo and Damian, with St. Roch and St. Sebastian, stand before the throne of St.

Mark — commemorative of the great plague in 1512. 4. And another, by Tintoretto; SS. Cosmo and Damian, in magnificent robes of crimson velvet with ermine capes, kneeling; one holds a palm, the other a pestle and mortar; they look up to the Madonna, who appears in a glory above with St. George, St. Mark, and St. Catherine, the patrons of Venice. (Venice Academy.)

5. SS. Cosmo and Damian kneeling in front before the throne of the Madonna. Standing by the throne, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Catherine, St. John B., and St. Francis. (Florence Academy.) [This picture has been assigned to various artists and is now catalogued to Botticelli, though Morelli considers this a mistake. Crowe and Cavalcaselle regard the painting as the work either of Botticelli or of Castagno.]

These are apparently votive pictures, expressing public or national gratitude; but others should seem to be the expression of private feeling. For example: SS. Cosmo and Damian are seated at a table, and consulting over a book; they wear loose robes, and red caps turned up with fur; the heads, which are very fine, have the air of portraits: a sick man, approaching from behind, reverently takes off his cap. (Rome, Corsini Palace.)

While devotional pictures of these helpful and beneficent saints are extremely common, and varied in treatment, subjects from their life and history are very rare; they are most frequently met with in the Florentine school of the fifteenth century, among the works of Angelico, Pesellino, and Ghirlandajo.

1. Old Italian. SS. Cosmo and Damian, visiting the sick, minister to Christ in the disguise of a pilgrim; a beautiful allegory, or rather a literal interpretation of the text, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." A quaint little picture, but very expressive. (Vatican.)

2. Pesellino. The two brothers minister to a sick man. (In the Louvre.)

They are sometimes surgeons as well as apothecaries, cutting off and replacing legs and arms; and sometimes they are letting blood.

3. It is related that a certain man, who was afflicted with a cancer in his leg, went to perform his devotions in the Church

of St. Cosmo and St. Damian at Rome, and he prayed most earnestly that these beneficent saints would be pleased to aid him. When he had prayed, a deep sleep fell upon him. Then he beheld St. Cosmo and St. Damian, who stood beside him; and one carried a box of ointment, the other a sharp knife. And one said, "What shall we do to replace this diseased leg when we have cut it off?" and the other replied, "There is a Moor who has been buried just now in San Pietro-in-Vincoli; let us take his leg for the purpose."



Martyrdom of SS. Cosmo and Damian (Pesellino)

Then they brought the leg of the dead man, and with it they replaced the leg of the sick man; anointing it with celestial ointment, so that he remained whole. When he awoke he almost doubted whether it could be himself; but his neighbors, seeing that he was healed, looked into the tomb of the Moor, and found that there had been an exchange of legs: and thus the truth of this great miracle was proved to all beholders. (*Legenda Aurea.*)

Of this story I have seen some grotesque representations. For example: The sick man is lying on a bed, and St. Cosmo and St. Damian are busy affixing a black leg; at a little distance on the ground lies the dead Moor, with a white leg lying beside him.

4. In a scene of their martyrdom by Pesellino — a beautiful little picture — they are beheaded. They wear the red tunics and red caps usual in Florentine representations. (Florence.)

About the year 1439, Cosmo de' Medici commissioned Fra Angelico to paint the altar-piece which he presented to the Church of San Marco at Florence. Underneath the group of the Virgin and Child, Angelico represented the legendary history of the patron saints of the Medici family in nine beautiful little miniatures; at Munich are three pictures which I suppose to belong to this series, which formed the predella of the altar-piece. 1. St. Cosmo and St. Damian, with their brethren, are bound and thrown into the sea, but saved by angels. On the right the unjust judge, Lysias, is healed by the prayer of the martyrs. 2. St. Cosmo and St. Damian are nailed to two crosses, and their three brethren below are shot to death with stones and arrows. 3. The third picture, which formed the centre, is a Pietà, very poetically treated. Sometimes in the scene of their martyrdom three other personages, their kinsmen, suffer with them. In other respects the legend as given above is, in all the examples I have seen, very exactly adhered to. These saints do not appear in the later schools. As, perhaps, a solitary instance, may be mentioned a picture by Salvator Rosa, where St. Cosmo and St. Damian on a pile of fagots are exposed to the flames, which refuse to consume them. I know the composition only from the engraving by Pierre Simon.

ST. CHRISTOPHER

Lat. St. Christophorus. *Ital.* San Cristofero, or Cristofano. *Fr.* St. Christophe, or St. Christofle. *Ger.* Der Heilige Christoph. (July 25, A. D. 364.)

Among the religious parables of the middle ages, there is not one more fanciful and more obvious in its application than the story of St. Christopher. But, although poetical and significant as a parable, it becomes as a mere legend prosaic and puerile: it is necessary to keep the latent meaning in view while we read the story, and when we look upon the extremely picturesque representations of the Canaanitish giant; for, otherwise, the peculiar superstition which has rendered him so

popular and so important as a subject of art will lose all its interest.

Christopher was of the land of Canaan, and the name by which he was there known was Offero. He was a man of colossal stature, and of a terrible aspect, and, being proud of his vast bulk and strength, he was resolved that he would serve no other than the greatest and the most powerful monarch that existed. So he travelled far and wide to seek this greatest of kings; and at length he came to the court of a certain monarch who was said to exceed in power and riches all the kings of the earth, and he offered to serve him. And the king, seeing his great height and strength, — for, surely, since the giant of Gath there had been none like to him, — entertained him with joy.

Now it happened one day, as Christopher stood by the king in his court, there came a minstrel who sang before the king, and in his story there was frequent mention of the Devil, and every time the king heard the name of the evil spirit he crossed himself. Christopher inquired the reason of this gesture, but the king did not answer. Then said Christopher, "If thou tellest me not, I leave thee!" So the king told him: "I make that sign to preserve me from the power of Satan, for I fear lest he overcome me and slay me." Then said Christopher, "If thou fearest Satan, then thou art not the most powerful prince in the world; thou hast deceived me. I will go seek this Satan, and him will I serve; for he is mightier than thou art." So he departed, and he travelled far and wide; and as he crossed a desert plain, he beheld a great crowd of armed men, and at their head marched a terrible and frightful being, with the air of a conqueror: and he stopped Christopher on his path, saying, "Man, where goest thou?" And Christopher answered, "I go to seek Satan, because he is the greatest prince in the world, and him would I serve." Then the other replied, "I am he: seek no farther." Then Christopher bowed down before him, and entered his service; and they travelled on together.

Now, when they had journeyed a long, long way, they came to a place where four roads met, and there was a cross by the way-side. When the Evil One saw the cross he was seized with fear, and trembled violently; and he turned back; and

made a great circuit to avoid it. When Christopher saw this he was astonished, and inquired, "Why hast thou done so?" and the Devil answered not. Then said Christopher, "If thou tellest me not, I leave thee." So, being thus constrained, the fiend replied, "Upon that cross died Jesus Christ; and when I behold it I must tremble and fly, for I fear Him." Then Christopher was more and more astonished; and he said, "How, then! this Jesus, whom thou fearest, must be more potent than thou art! I will go seek Him, and Him will I serve!" So he left the Devil, and travelled far and wide, seeking Christ; and, having sought Him for many days, he came to the cell of a holy hermit, and desired of him that he would show him Christ. Then the hermit began to instruct him diligently, and said, "This king, whom thou seekest, is, indeed, the great king of heaven and earth; but if thou wouldest serve Him, He will impose many and hard duties on thee. Thou must fast often." And Christopher said, "I will not fast; for surely, if I were to fast my strength would leave me." "And thou must pray!" added the hermit. Said Christopher, "I know nothing of prayers, and I will not be bound to such a service." Then said the hermit, "Knowest thou a certain river, stony and wide and deep, and often swelled by the rains, and wherein many people perish who attempt to pass over?" And he answered, "I know it." Then said the hermit, "Since thou wilt neither fast nor pray, go to that river, and use thy strength to aid and to save those who struggle with the stream, and those who are about to perish. It may be that this good work shall prove acceptable to Jesus Christ, whom thou desirest to serve; and that He may manifest Himself to thee!" To which Christopher replied, joyfully, "This can I do. It is a service that pleaseth me well!" So he went as the hermit had directed, and He dwelt by the side of the river; and, having rooted up a palm-tree from the forest, — so strong he was and tall, — he used it for a staff to support and guide his steps, and he aided those who were about to sink, and the weak he carried on his shoulders across the stream; and by day and by night he was always ready for his task, and failed not, and was never wearied of helping those who needed help.

So the thing that he did pleased our Lord, who looked down upon him out of heaven, and said within himself, "Behold

this strong man, who knoweth not yet the way to worship me, yet hath found the way to serve me!"

Now, when Christopher had spent many days in this toil, it came to pass one night, as he rested himself in a hut he had built of boughs, he heard a voice which called to him from the shore: it was the plaintive voice of a child, and it seemed to say, "Christopher, come forth and carry me over!" And he rose forthwith and looked out, but saw nothing; then he lay down again; but the voice called to him, in the same words, a second and a third time; and the third time he sought round about with a lantern; and at length he beheld a little child sitting on the bank, who entreated him, saying, "Christopher, carry me over this night." And Christopher lifted the child on his strong shoulders, and took his staff and entered the stream. And the waters rose higher and higher, and the waves roared, and the winds blew; and the infant on his shoulders became heavier and still heavier, till it seemed to him that he must sink under the excessive weight, and he began to fear; but nevertheless, taking courage, and staying his tottering steps with his palm-staff, he at length reached the opposite bank; and when he had laid the child down, safely and gently, he looked upon him with astonishment, and he said, "Who art thou, child, that hath placed me in such extreme peril? Had I carried the whole world on my shoulders, the burden had not been heavier!" And the child replied, "Wonder not, Christopher, for thou hast not only borne the world, but Him who made the world, upon thy shoulders. Me wouldst thou serve in this thy work of charity; and, behold, I have accepted thy service: and in testimony that I have accepted thy service and thee, plant thy staff in the ground, and it shall put forth leaves and fruit." Christopher did so, and the dry staff flourished as a palm-tree in the season, and was covered with clusters of dates, — but the miraculous child had vanished.

Then Christopher fell on his face and confessed and worshipped Christ.

Leaving that place, he came to Samos, a city of Lycia, where he found many Christians, who were tortured and persecuted; and he encouraged them and cheered them. One of the heathen struck him on the face; but Christopher only looked at him steadfastly, saying, "If I were not a Christian, I would

be avenged of that blow." The king of the country sent soldiers to seize him, and he permitted them to bind him and lead him before their master. The king, when he saw him, was so terrified by his gigantic stature, that he swooned on his throne. When he had recovered, he said, "Who art thou?" and he answered, "Formerly I was called Offero, the bearer; but now my name is Christopher, for I have borne Christ." Then the king, whose name was Dagnus, ordered him to be carried to prison, and sent two women to allure him to sin, knowing that if he could be seduced to sin, he would soon be enticed to idolatry. But Christopher stood firm; and the women, being terrified and awed, fell down and worshipped Christ, and were both put to death. And the tyrant, finding it impossible to subdue or to tempt the saint, commanded him to be scourged and tortured, and then beheaded. And, as they led him to death, he knelt down and prayed that those who looked upon him, trusting in God the Redeemer, should not suffer from tempest, earthquake, or fire.

Thus did Christopher display the greatness of his charity, and the meekness of his spirit; thus he sealed his faith with martyrdom; and it was believed that, in consequence of his prayer, those who beheld the figure of St. Christopher were exempt during that day from all perils of earthquake, fire, and flood. The mere sight of his image, that type of strength, was deemed sufficient to inspire with courage those who had to struggle with the evils and casualties of life, and to reinvigorate those who were exhausted by the labors of husbandry. The following is one of the many inscriptions inculcating this belief, and which usually accompanied his effigy, —

*Christophori Sancti speciem quicumque tuetur
Illo namque die nullo languore tenetur.*

Which may be rendered, "Whoever shall behold the image of St. Christopher, on that day shall not faint or fail."

Hence it became a custom to place his image in conspicuous places, to paint it of colossal size on the walls of churches and houses, where it is sometimes seen occupying the whole height of the building, and is visible from a great distance, being considered as a good omen for all those who look upon it. A mountain in Granada, which is first seen by ships arriving

from the African coast, is called San Christobal, in allusion to this poetical superstition.

At Florence, on the façade of the ancient Church of San Miniato-*tra-le-Torri*, Pollajuolo painted a gigantic figure of St. Christopher, about twenty feet in height, which served during many years as a model of form to the artists of his school; Michael Angelo, when young, copied it several times: it exists no longer. A St. Christopher, thirty-two feet high, was painted at Seville, by Matteo Perez de Alesio (A. D. 1584): and all who have travelled in France, Germany, Italy, particularly through the south of Germany and the Venetian States, will remember the colossal figures of St. Christopher, on the exterior, or some conspicuous part of the interior, of the churches, town halls, and other sacred or public buildings. These effigies were sometimes painted in vivid colors, often renewed, in order to render them more distinctly visible. On the walls of old English churches, figures of St. Christopher were very common. Many of these, which had been covered with whitewash, have been recently uncovered.¹

Since the very sight of St. Christopher is supposed to bring an accession of strength, fortitude, and confidence in the Divine aid, it is fortunate that there can be no mistake about it, and that it is so peculiar as to be instantly recognized. He stands above the ankles in water; his proportions are those of a Hercules: according to the Greek formula he should be beardless, and some of the Italian pictures so represent him, or with very little beard; but the Germans give him a strong black beard and a quantity of black bushy hair, the better to express the idea of physical strength and manliness. The infant Christ is seated on his shoulders, and bears in his hand the globe as Sovereign and Creator of the world; more rarely it is a cross, as Redeemer; but the former, considering the significance of the subject, is the more proper emblem. In general he is looking up to the divine Infant, but sometimes also he is looking down and making his way painfully and anxiously through the rising waters; he seems bending under the miraculous burden, and supports his tottering steps with a staff, which is often an entire palm-tree with the leaves and branches. In the background is a hermit, bearing a lamp or torch, to light him on his way.

¹ There are four churches still remaining dedicated in his name in England. (See Parker's *Calendar of the Anglican Church*, p. 205.)

Such is the religious representation. It is evident that at all times the Roman Church, while honoring the name of the



St. Christopher (Titian)

martyr, accepted the legend as an allegory merely; and the flood, through which he is wading, is, by some, interpreted to signify the Red Sea, that is, the waters of baptism; by others, the waters of affliction (a common oriental and scriptural metaphor); he carries Christ, and, with him, "the burden and the weight of all this unintelligible world:" the hermit of religious consolation lights him on his way. The allegory, in whatever sense we interpret it, is surely very beautiful: to my fancy there is something quite pathetic in these old pictures of St. Christopher, where the great simple-hearted, good-natured giant, tottering under his incomprehensible

burden, looks up with a face of wonder at the glorious Child, who smiles encouragement, and gives his benediction from above.

In later times, the artists desecrated this fine subject by employing it as a mere *tour de force*, a display of manly and muscular form, for which the Farnese Hercules, or, if that were not at hand, any vulgar porter or gondolier, served as a model. Thus the religious sentiment was obscured or lost, and the whole representation became coarse and commonplace, when not absolutely grotesque and ridiculous.

In the figure by Titian in the Ducal Palace at Venice, the attitude and character of the saint are precisely those of a gondolier, — only that the palm-tree has been substituted for the oar.

In the picture by Farinato, a small spirited sketch at Alton



St. Christopher (Albert Dürer)

Towers, the figure is that of a Hercules, but the expression in the head of the child extremely fine.

When St. Christopher is introduced standing near the Madonna, or grouped with other saints, the water is omitted, but he is never without his palm-staff. Where the artist has

varied the action or accessories, the figure ceases to be strictly devotional, and becomes fanciful and dramatic. This, however, is so seldom the case, that I know of very few examples.

1. The earliest woodcut which exists, and of which it is possible to fix the date, is a rude figure of St. Christopher, of German design and execution, represented in the usual manner, except that there is a watermill and a miller in the foreground. It is inscribed —

Cristofori faciem die quacunq̄ tueris
Illa nempe die morte mala non morieris.



St. Christopher (early German).

Literally, "On whatever day thou shalt behold the face of St. Christopher, surely on that day thou shalt not die an evil death." It was evidently intended to circulate among the laboring poor, as an emblem of strength and consolation, and quite as intelligible then as Bunyan's "Christian in the Slough of Despond" would be now. Only two impressions of the original are known to exist,—one in the Paris collection, and one in the library of Earl Spencer, at Althorp. In the "Athenæum" for October 4, 1845, there is an account of an earlier woodcut, dated 1418, and discovered in the library at Malines in 1844.

2. H. Memling. St. Christopher, bearing Christ, is wading through a deep river, the water rising to his knees. The hermit lights him as usual, but in the background the first beams of the sun are just seen illuminating the dark waste of waters; a circumstance beautifully imagined, and which adds to the significance of the allegory.¹

3. Elzheimer. St. Christopher as usual wading through the stream; precipitous rocks, and the hermit in the distance; the effect is night with a full moon. (Windsor.)

The following examples may be considered as exceptional.

4. Engraving, — Lucas v. Leyden. St. Christopher seated on the ground; on the other side of the river, Christ beckons to him for aid.

5. Engraving, — Old German. St. Christopher seated on the bank of a river; the Infant Christ is in the act of descending on his shoulders.

6. Engraving, — F. Amato. St. Christopher offers his services to the Infant Christ, who is seated on the ground.

7. I have seen an old coarse engraving, in which St. Christopher is represented on horseback, — the whim, I suppose, of an ignorant or capricious artist.

8. Engraving. St. Christopher wades through the waters, bearing Christ, who has one foot on a large globe, and, instead of the hand extended in benediction, he is impatiently urging the saint with a drawn sword, which he brandishes over his head. Full of spirit, but a most capricious and irreligious version of the subject.

9. In Van Eyck's wonderful altar-piece, at Ghent, the pil-

¹ [From this description it would seem that allusion is made to the picture in the Munich Gallery attributed to Dierick Bouts.]



St. Christopher (Lucas van Leyden)

grims, who approach to worship the Lamb of God, are led by the giant Christopher, who strides on before the rest, grasping his palm-tree; his voluminous crimson mantle sweeps the ground, and a heathenish turban decks his head. This is one of the few instances where he is without his divine burden; the poetry and significance of the allusion will be understood at once.

10. M. Didron tells us, that in the Greek churches he found St. Christopher often represented with the head of a

dog or wolf, like an Egyptian divinity; he adds, that he had never been able to obtain a satisfactory explanation of this peculiarity. These figures, which are ancient, have in some instances been blurred over and half effaced by the scruples of modern piety.¹

The history of St. Christopher, as painted in the chapels dedicated to him, for instance by Mantegna in the "Eremitani," at Padua, is comprised in three subjects: his passage across the river, the conversion of the heathen at Samos, and his martyrdom; the other circumstances of his legend being repudiated by the Church; some of them (for instance, the meeting with the arch-fiend and his host of demons) would furnish most picturesque subjects, but rather in the *genre* than in the historical style.

I have seen only three pictures of his martyrdom separately treated.

1. The scene is an open court, surrounded with rich architecture; the body of the giant-saint lies on the ground; here he is about twelve or fourteen feet in stature, and the severed head, beardless and with flowing hair, lies near it; soldiers and executioners are about to bear away the body; one lifts up the huge leg with both his hands; many others look on with astonishment. Most picturesque as a scene, but with no attempt at religious feeling or character.

2. Tintoretto. St. Christopher kneels, and the executioner prepares to strike off his head; no other figure, except an angel descending: here St. Christopher is not represented as of gigantic proportions. (Venice, S. Maria dell' Orto.)

3. Lionello Spada. In this picture the conception is wholly reversed: the giant kneels with his hands bound, and looking up with a mild resignation, which contrasts with his vast strength and size; the executioner, who has raised himself on a step to reach him, prepares to strike off his head, while an angel descends from above with the martyr's crown.

¹ Vasari relates an amusing anecdote of a patron who insisted on his painting a figure of St. Christopher six palms in height, within a space which measured only four palms, and desired that he would represent the Madonna with the Child on her knees, and by her side St. Christopher with another Christ on his shoulders. Vasari, to reconcile difficulties, painted the saint kneeling, with one foot in the water, while the Virgin, bending from the clouds, placed her divine Infant on his shoulders.

In color, expression, and simple powerful feeling, perhaps Spada's masterpiece; such, at least, is the opinion of Dr. Waagen. (In the Louvre.)

ST. NICHOLAS OF MYRA

Lat. Sanctus Nicholaus. *Ital.* San Niccolò, or Nicola di Bari. *Ger.* Der Heilige Nicolaus, or Niklas. Patron saint of children, and especially schoolboys; of poor maidens, of sailors, of travellers and merchants. Protector against thieves, and losses by robbery or violence. Chief patron saint of Russia. Patron of Bari, of Venice, of Freiberg, and of numerous other towns and cities, particularly of seaports and towns engaged in commerce. (December 6, A. D. 326.)

I place St. Nicholas here because, although he wears the paraphernalia of bishop, it is as the powerful and beneficent patron saint, seldom as the churchman, that he appears before us; and of all patron saints he is, perhaps, the most universally popular and interesting. While knighthood had its St. George, serfhood had its St. Nicholas. He was emphatically the saint of the people; the *bourgeois* saint invoked by the peaceable citizen, by the laborer who toiled for his daily bread, by the merchant who traded from shore to shore, by the mariner struggling with the stormy ocean. He was the protector of the weak against the strong, of the poor against the rich, of the captive, the prisoner, the slave; he was the guardian of young marriageable maidens, of schoolboys, and especially of the orphan poor. In Russia, Greece, and throughout all Catholic Europe, children are still taught to reverence St. Nicholas, and to consider themselves as placed under his peculiar care: if they are good, docile, and attentive to their studies, St. Nicholas, on the eve of his festival, will graciously fill their cap or their stocking with dainties; while he has, as certainly, a rod in pickle for the idle and unruly.

Effigies of this most benign bishop, with his splendid embroidered robes, all glittering with gold and jewels, his mitre, his crosier, and his three balls, or his three attendant children, meet us at every turn, and can never be regarded but with some kindly association of feeling. No saint in the calendar has so many churches, chapels, and altars dedicated to him. In England I suppose there is hardly a town without one church at least bearing his name.

It would be in vain to attempt to establish this popular predilection and wide-spread fame on anything like historical evidence. All that can be certainly known of him is, that a bishop of this name, venerable for his piety and benevolence, was honored in the East as early as the sixth century; that in the Greek Church he takes rank immediately after the great Fathers; that the Emperor Justinian dedicated to him a church in Constantinople about the year 560; and that since the tenth century he has been known and revered in the West, and became one of the greatest patron saints of Italy and the northern nations about the beginning of the twelfth century. There is no end to the stories and legends in which he appears as a chief actor. In this case, as in others, I must confine myself to such as have been treated in Art; and it will be necessary, however quaint and absurd some of these may be, to go into them in detail—otherwise the numerous representations of his life, acts, and miracles will lose half their interest, and more than half their significance.

Nicholas was born at Panthera, a city of the province of Lycia, in Asia Minor. His parents were Christians, and of illustrious birth, and, after they had been married for many years, a son was granted them, in recompense of the prayers, and tears, and alms that they offered up continually. This extraordinary child, on the first day he was born, stood up in his bath with his hands joined in thanksgiving that it had pleased God to bring him into the world. He no sooner knew what it was to feed than he knew what it was to fast, and every Wednesday and Friday he would only take the breast once. As he grew up he was distinguished among all other children for his gravity and his attention to his studies. His parents, seeing him full of these holy dispositions, thought that they could not do better than dedicate him to the service of God; and accordingly they did so.

When Nicholas was ordained priest, although he had been before remarkable for his sobriety and humility, he became more modest in countenance, more grave in speech, more rigorous in self-denial, than ever. When he was still a youth his father and mother died of the plague, and he remained sole heir of their vast riches: but he looked upon himself as merely the steward of God's mercies, giving largely to all who needed.

Now in that city there dwelt a certain nobleman who had three daughters, and, from being rich, he became poor, — so poor, that there remained no means of obtaining food for his daughters but by sacrificing them to an infamous life; and oftentimes it came into his mind to tell them so, but shame and sorrow held him dumb. Meantime the maidens wept continually, not knowing what to do, and not having bread to eat: and their father became more and more desperate.

When Nicholas heard of this, he thought it a shame that such a thing should happen in a Christian land; therefore one night, when the maidens were asleep, and their father alone sat watching and weeping, he took a handful of gold, and, tying it up in a handkerchief, he repaired to the dwelling of the poor man. He considered how he might bestow it without making himself known, and, while he stood irresolute, the moon coming from behind a cloud showed him a window open; so he threw it in, and it fell at the feet of the father, who, when he found it, returned thanks, and with it he portioned his eldest daughter. A second time Nicholas provided a similar sum, and again he threw it in by night; and with it the nobleman married his second daughter. But he greatly desired to know who it was that came to his aid; therefore he determined to watch, and when the good saint came for the third time, and prepared to throw in the third portion, he was discovered, for the nobleman seized him by the skirt of his robe, and flung himself at his feet, saying, "O Nicholas! servant of God! why seek to hide thyself?" and he kissed his feet and his hands. But Nicholas made him promise that he would tell no man. And many other charitable works did Nicholas perform in his native city.

And after some years he undertook a voyage to the Holy Land, and he embarked on board a ship; and there came on a terrible storm, so that the ship was nigh to perish. The sailors fell at his feet, and besought him to save them; and he rebuked the storm, which ceased immediately. It happened in the same voyage that one of the sailors fell overboard and was drowned; but by the prayers of St. Nicholas he was restored to life.

On returning from Palestine St. Nicholas repaired to the city of Myra, where he lived for some time unknown and in great humility. And the bishop of that city died. And it

was revealed to the clergy that the first man who entered the church on the following morning was the man chosen by God to succeed as bishop. Nicholas, who was accustomed to rise up very early in the morning to pray, appeared before the doors of the church at sunrise ; so they laid hold of him, and led him into the church, and consecrated him bishop. Having attained this dignity, he showed himself worthy of it by the practice of every saintly virtue, but more especially by a charity which knew no bounds. Some time afterwards the city and the province were desolated by a dreadful famine, and Nicholas was told that certain ships laden with wheat had arrived in the port of Myra. He went, therefore, and required of the captains of these vessels that they should give him out of each a hundred hogsheads of wheat for the relief of his people ; but they answered, " We dare not do this thing, for the wheat was measured at Alexandria, and we must deliver it into the granary of the emperor." And St. Nicholas said, " Do as I have ordered you, for it shall come to pass, by the grace of God, that, when ye discharge your cargo, there shall be found no diminution." So the men believed him, and when they arrived in Constantinople they found exactly the same quantity that they had received at Alexandria. In the mean time St. Nicholas distributed the corn to the people according to their wants : and it was miraculously multiplied in his hands, so that they had not only enough to eat, but sufficient to sow their lands for the following year.

It was during this famine that St. Nicholas performed one of his most stupendous miracles. As he was travelling through his diocese to visit and comfort his people, he lodged in the house of a certain host who was a son of Satan. This man, in the scarcity of provisions, was accustomed to steal little children, whom he murdered, and served up their limbs as meat to his guests. On the arrival of the bishop and his retinue, he had the audacity to serve up the dismembered limbs of these unhappy children before the man of God, who had no sooner cast his eyes on them than he was aware of the fraud. He reproached the host with his abominable crime, and going to the tub where their remains were salted down, he made over them the sign of the cross, and they rose up whole and well. The people who witnessed this great wonder were struck with astonishment (as, indeed, they might well be),

and the three children, who were the sons of a poor widow, were restored to their weeping mother.

Some time after these events, the Emperor Constantine sent certain tribunes of his army to put down a rebellion in Phrygia. They arrived at the city of Myra, and the bishop, in order to save his people from their exactions and their violence, invited them to his table, and entertained them honorably. As they were sitting down to the feast it was told to St. Nicholas that the prefect of the city had condemned three innocent men to death, and that they were about to be executed, and that all the city was in commotion because of this wickedness.

When St. Nicholas heard this, he rose hastily, and, followed by his guests, ran to the place of execution. And he found the three men with their eyes bound, kneeling there, and the executioner stood with his sword already bared; but when St. Nicholas arrived, he seized the sword and took it out of his hands, and caused the men to be unbound. No one dared to resist him, and even the prefect humbled himself before him, and entreated forgiveness, which the saint granted, not without difficulty. The tribunes looking on meanwhile were filled with wonder and admiration. When they had received the blessing of the good bishop they continued their voyage to Phrygia.

Now it happened, during their absence from Constantinople, that their enemies had turned the mind of the emperor against them, and filled him with suspicion. On their return they were accused of treason, and thrown into a dungeon, whence they were to be led to death on the following day. In their extremity they remembered St. Nicholas, and cried to him to save them: they did not cry in vain, for God heard them out of heaven, and St. Nicholas, in the distant land where he dwelt, also heard their supplication. And that same night he appeared to Constantine in a dream, and commanded him on his peril to release these men, threatening him with the anger of Heaven if he disobeyed. Constantine immediately pardoned the men, and the next morning he sent them to Myra to thank St. Nicholas, and to present to him a copy of the Gospels, written in letters of gold, and bound in a cover enriched with pearls and precious stones. The fame of this great miracle spread far and wide; and since that time all those who are in any way afflicted or distressed, and who stand

in great peril of their lives, invoke this glorious saint, and find succor at his hands. And thus it happened to certain mariners in the Ægean Sea, who, in the midst of a frightful tempest, in which they were like to founder, called upon Christ to deliver them through the intercession of the blessed St. Nicholas, who thereupon appeared to them and said, "Lo, here I am, my sons! put your trust in God, whose servant I am, and ye shall be saved." And immediately the sea became calm, and he conducted the vessel into a safe harbor. Wherefore those who peril their lives on the great deep do also invoke St. Nicholas; and all harbors of refuge, and many chapels and altars on the seacoast, are dedicated to him.

Many other great and good actions did St. Nicholas perform; but at length he died, yielding up his soul to God with great joy and thankfulness, on the sixth day of December, in the year of our Lord, 326, and he was buried in a magnificent church which was in the city of Myra.

It is related that St. Nicholas was summoned to the Council of Nice in the year 325, and that, in his zeal, he smote Arius on the face; but there are many who do not believe this, seeing that the name of Nicholas of Myra does not appear among the bishops cited on that occasion.

The miracles which St. Nicholas performed after his death were not less wonderful than those which he had performed during his lifetime, and for hundreds of years pilgrims from all parts of the East resorted to his tomb. In the year 807, Achmet, who commanded the fleet of Haroun Alraschid, attacked the sanctuary, intending to demolish it; but he was deceived by the vigilance of the monks, and, putting to sea again, he was destroyed with his whole fleet, as a punishment for this great sacrilege. After this event the body of St. Nicholas rested in his tomb for the space of 280 years; various attempts were made to carry it off, many cities and churches aspiring to the possession of so great a treasure. At length, in 1084, certain merchants of Bari, a city on the coast of Italy opposite to Ragusa, resolved to accomplish this great enterprise. In their trading voyages to the coast of Syria, they had heard of the miracles of St. Nicholas, and, in their pious enthusiasm, resolved to enrich their country with the possession of these wonder-working relics. They landed at Myra,

where they found the country desolated by the Saracens, the church in ruins, and the tomb guarded only by three monks. They had no difficulty in taking away the holy remains, which were received in the city of Bari with every demonstration of joy; and a magnificent church was built over them, which was dedicated by Pope Urban II. From this period the veneration for St. Nicholas extended over the West of Europe. It is proper to add, that the Venetians affirm that they have the true body of St. Nicholas, carried off from Myra by Venetian merchants in the year 1100. The pretensions, however, of the city of Bari are those generally acknowledged, and thence the saint has obtained the name, by which he is best known, of *St. Nicholas di Bari*.¹

Devotional figures of St. Nicholas exhibit him as standing in the habit of a bishop. In the Greek pictures he is dressed as a Greek bishop, without the mitre, bearing the cross instead of the crosier, and on his cope embroidered the three Persons of the Trinity:² but in Western Art his episcopal habit is that of the Western Church; he wears the mitre, the cope, in general gorgeously ornamented, the jewelled gloves, and the crosier. He has sometimes a short gray beard; sometimes he is beardless, in allusion to his youth when elected bishop. His proper attribute, the three balls, may be variously interpreted; but in general they are understood to signify the three purses of gold which he threw into the poor man's window. Some say they represent three loaves of bread, and allude to his feeding the poor during the famine; and others, again, interpret them into a general allusion to the Trinity. The first is, however, the most popular interpretation. These balls are sometimes placed upon his book; sometimes at his feet; and sometimes in his lap, as in a miniature engraved in Dibdin's "Decameron," where he is throned, and gives his benediction as patron. I have also seen them converted into an ornament for his crosier, when they could not conveniently be placed elsewhere, as in a picture by Bartolo Senese. Occasionally,

¹ As patron of seamen, St. Nicholas is especially popular in seaport towns. About 376 churches in England are dedicated in his honor.

² Figures and heads of St. Nicholas are especially frequent in the Greek devotional pictures, as he is the greatest, or, at least, the most popular, saint of the Greek Church.

instead of the three balls, there are three purses full of gold, which express more distinctly the allusion to his famous act of clarity, as in a statue in his church at Foligno. In this instance the three purses are laid on his book. In a picture by Angelico at Perugia, the three purses lie at his feet. I saw an etching from this picture in the possession of the Chevalier Bunsen. Another, and also a very frequent attribute, alludes to the miracle of the three children. They are represented in a tub or vase, looking up to him with joined hands.

I presume this story of the children to have been, in its primitive form, one of those religious allegories which express the conversion of sinners or unbelievers. I am the more inclined to this opinion, because I have seen pictures in which the wicked host is a manifest demon with hoofs and claws; and the tub, which contains the three children, has the form of a baptismal font.

As patron of seamen, St. Nicholas has often an anchor at his side, or a ship is seen in the background, as in a picture by Paul Veronese.

In consequence of his popularity as Patron and Protector, St. Nicholas frequently appears as an attendant on the enthroned Madonna and Child. (See *Legends of the Madonna*.) The most beautiful example I can refer to is Raphael's "*Madonna dei Ansidei*," where the benign and pensive dignity of St. Nicholas, holding the Gospel open in his hand, rivals in characteristic expression the refined loveliness of the Virgin and her Son. We may imagine him reading aloud from his book some divine precept of charity, as, "*Love your enemies ; do good to them that hate you :*" it seems reflected in his face. Of this celebrated picture, an engraving of wonderful beauty has been published by Louis Grüner. In the expression of the heads, the softness of the modelling in the flesh, and in the power and elegance of the drawing and execution, he has in this fine print equalled the greatest masters in his art. [The original painting is now in the National Gallery, having been purchased by the British government in 1885 for £72,000, the largest price ever paid for a single picture.]

I think it unnecessary to particularize further the devotional pictures in which St. Nicholas figures alone (or, which is much more frequent, grouped with other saints), because he is in gen-

eral easily discriminated, — the three balls, on his book or at his feet, being the most frequent attribute, and one which belongs to no other saint. As patron saint of children, a child is sometimes kissing his hand or the hem of his garment. I recollect, in a picture by Bonvicino [Moretto], at Brescia, an application of the religious character of this saint to portraiture and common life, which appears to me highly beautiful and poetical. St. Nicholas is presenting to the Virgin two orphans, while she looks down upon them from her throne with a benign air, pointing them out to the notice of the Infant Saviour, who is seated in her lap. The two boys, orphans of the noble family of Roncaglia, are richly dressed; one holds the mitre of the good bishop; the other, the three balls.

Separate scenes from his life do not often occur; in general we have two, three, or more together. The favorite subject, in a detached form, is that which is properly styled "The Charity of St. Nicholas." The leading idea does not vary. In one part of the composition the three maidens are represented as asleep; their father watching near them. Nicholas is seen outside in the act of throwing a purse (or, in some cases, a ball of gold) in at the window: he is young, and in a secular dress. There is an engraving, after a composition by Parmigiano, which can hardly be excelled for delicacy and grace: the figures and attitudes of the daughters are most elegant. In a series of the actions of St. Nicholas, whether it consists of many or few subjects, this beautiful incident is never omitted. As a Greek series we have generally two or three or more of the following subjects. Sometimes the selection of scenes is from his life; sometimes from the miracles performed after his death, or after his translation from the coast of Syria to the coast of Italy; or both are combined.

1. His infant piety. The scene is the interior of a room, where his mother is seen in bed; in the foreground, attendants are busied round the new-born saint, who, with a glory round his head, stands upright in his bath, his hands joined in prayer, and his eyes raised to heaven.

2. He stands, as a boy of about twelve years old, listening to the words of a preacher, who points him out to his congregation as the future saint.

3. His charity to the three poor girls: they are seen through a door, asleep in an inner chamber; the father sits in front; outside the house, the saint stands on tiptoe, and is



Charity of St. Nicholas (Angelico)

throwing the purse in at the window. [Angelico, Vatican Gallery.]

(In a small picture which I have seen, but cannot recollect the painter, two of the maidens are reposing, but the third is taking off her father's boot; he sits as one overpowered with

sorrow and fatigue: the saint is outside looking in at the window. This is an unusual version; and seems to express, not the act of charity, but the previous moment, and the filial attention of the daughters to their poor father.)

4. The consecration of St. Nicholas as bishop of Myra. We have this subject, by Paul Veronese, in our National Gallery.

5. The Famine at Myra. A seaport with ships in the distance; in front a number of sacks of corn, and men employed in measuring it out, or carrying it away; St. Nicholas in his episcopal robes stands by, as directing the whole.

6. The Storm at Sea. Seamen on board a sinking vessel; St. Nicholas appears as a vision above; in one hand he holds a lighted taper, with the other he appears to direct the course of the vessel.

(In a Greek series of the life of St. Nicholas, the subject which follows here is the Council of Nice. A number of bishops are seated in a semicircle; Constantine, with crown and sceptre, presides; in front Nicholas is in the act of giving Arius the memorable box on the ear. This incident I do not remember to have seen in Western Art.)

7. Three men are seen bound, with guards, etc., and an executioner raises his sword to strike. St. Nicholas (he is sometimes hovering in the air) stays the hand of the executioner.

8. The miracle of the three boys restored to life, when treated as an incident, and not a devotional representation, is given in a variety of ways: the mangled limbs are spread on a table, or underneath a board; the wicked host is on his knees; or he is endeavoring to escape; or the three boys, already made whole, are in an attitude of adoration before their benefactor.

9. The death of St. Nicholas, and angels bear his soul to heaven.

10. When the series is complete, the translation of the body and its reception at Bari are included.

The miracles, or rather the parables, which follow are to be found in the Chapel of St. Nicholas at Assisi, on the windows of the cathedrals at Chartres and Bourges, and in the ancient Gothic sculpture. As they were evidently fabricated after the translation of his relics, they are not likely to occur in genuine Byzantine Art.

1. A certain Jew of Calabria, hearing of the great miracles performed by St. Nicholas, stole his image out of a church, and placed it in his house. When he went out, he left under the care of the saint all his goods and treasures, threatening him (like an irreverent pagan as he was) that if he did not keep good watch he would chastise him. On a certain day the Jew went out, and robbers came and carried off all his treasures. When the Jew returned, he reproached St. Nicholas, and beat the sacred image and hacked it cruelly. The same night St. Nicholas appeared to the robbers, all bleeding and mutilated, and commanded them immediately to restore what they had taken. They, being terrified by the vision, repaired to the Jew, and gave up everything. And the Jew, being astonished at this miracle, was baptized, and became a true Christian.

This story is represented on one of the windows of the Cathedral at Chartres, and here St. Nicholas figures as the guardian of property.

2. A certain man, who was very desirous of having an heir to his estate, vowed that if his prayer were granted, the first time he took his son to church he would offer a cup of gold on the altar of St. Nicholas. A son was granted, and the father ordered the cup of gold to be prepared; but when it was finished, it was so wonderfully beautiful, that he resolved to keep the cup for himself, and caused another of less value to be made for the saint. After some time the man went on a journey to accomplish his vow; and being on the way, he ordered his little son to bring him water in the golden cup he had appropriated, but, in doing so, the child fell into the water and was drowned. Then the unhappy father lamented himself, and wept and repented of his great sin; and, repairing to the church of St. Nicholas, he offered up the silver cup: but it fell from the altar; and a second and a third time it fell; and while they all looked on astonished, behold! the drowned boy appeared before them, and stood on the steps of the altar bearing the golden cup in his hand. He related how the good St. Nicholas had preserved him alive, and brought him there. The father, full of gratitude, offered up both the cups, and returned home with his son in joy and thanksgiving.

Of this story there are many versions in prose and rhyme, and I have frequently seen it in sculpture, painting, and in

the old stained glass; it is on one of the windows of the Cathedral of Bourges: in a bas-relief engraved in Cicognara's work (*Storia della Scultura moderna*), the child, with the golden cup in his hand, is falling into the sea.

3. A rich merchant, who dwelt on the borders of a heathen country, but was himself a Christian, and a devout worshipper of St. Nicholas, had an only son; and it happened that the youth was taken captive by the heathen, and, being sold as a slave, he served the king of that country as cupbearer. One day, as he filled the cup at table, he remembered suddenly that it was the feast of St. Nicholas, and he wept. The king said, "Why weepest thou, that thy tears fall and mingle in my cup?" And the boy told him, saying, "This is the day when my parents and my kindred are met together in great joy to honor our good St. Nicholas; and I, alas! am far from them!" Then the king, most like a pagan blasphemer, answered, "Great as is thy St. Nicholas, he cannot save thee from my hand!" No sooner had he spoken the words, than a whirlwind shook the palace, and St. Nicholas, appearing in the midst, caught up the youth by the hair, and placed him, still holding the royal cup in his hand, suddenly before his family, at the very moment when his father had distributed the banquet to



St. Nicholas (Lorenzo di Credi)

the poor, and was beseeching their prayers in behalf of his captive son.

Of this story, also, there are innumerable versions; and as a boy with a cup in his hand figures in both stories, it is necessary to distinguish the circumstances and accessories: sometimes it is a daughter, not a son, who is delivered from captivity. In a fresco by Giotto¹ at Assisi, the family are

¹ [The name and work of Giotto having been confused with that of Maso and of Tommaso di Stefano, it is difficult to determine the real name of the

seated at table, and the captive, conducted by St. Nicholas, appears before them: the mother stretches out her arms, the father clasps his hands in thanksgiving, and a little dog recognizes the restored captive.

I have observed that St. Nicholas of Bari and St. Julian of Rimini are often found in the same group, as joint protectors of the eastern coast of Italy and all the commercial cities bordering the shore of the Adriatic, from Venice to Taranto. There is a conspicuous example in the Louvre, in a beautiful picture by Lorenzo di Credi. Another, an exquisite little Coronation of the Virgin, was in the collection of Mr. Rogers. [Collection of Lord Wantage.¹]

I must now take leave of the good St. Nicholas. So widely diffused and of such long standing is his fame, that a collection of his effigies and the subjects from his legend would comprise a history of art, of morals, of manners, of costume, for the last thousand years. I have said enough to lead the fancy of the reader in this direction: other and brighter forms beckon us forwards.

author of the Assisi fresco. It is undoubtedly by the same hand which painted the frescoes of San Spirito, Florence.]

¹ [See Redford's *Sales*, vol. i. p. 152.]

VIII. THE VIRGIN PATRONESSES

ST. CATHERINE, ST. BARBARA, ST. URSULA, ST. MARGARET.

WE owe to these beautiful and glorious impersonations of feminine intellect, heroism, purity, fortitude, and faith, some of the most excellent works of art which have been handed down to us. Other female martyrs were merely women glorified in heaven, for virtues exercised on earth; but *these* were absolutely, in all but the name, Divinities. With regard to the others, even the most apocryphal among them, we can still recognize some indications, however vague, however disguised, that they had been at one time or another substantial beings; but with regard to *these*, all such traces of an individual existence seem to have been completely merged in the abstract ideas they represented. The worship of the others was confined to certain localities, certain occasions; but *these* were invoked everywhere, and at all seasons; they were *powers* differing indeed from the sensuous divinities of ancient Greece, inasmuch as the moral attributes were infinitely higher and purer, but representing them in their superhuman might and majesty; and though the Church assumed that theirs was a delegated power, it was never so considered by the people. They were styled intercessors; but when a man addressed his prayers to St. Catherine to obtain a boon, it was with the full conviction that she had power to grant it.

I am not now speaking of the faith of the enlightened and reflecting Roman Catholics on such subjects, but of the feelings which existed and still exist, among the lower classes in Catholic countries, particularly Italy, respecting these poetical beings of whom I am now to speak.

Their wholly ideal character, the tacit setting aside of all human testimony with reference to their real or unreal existence, instead of weakening their influence, invested them with a divine glory, and kept alive the enthusiasm inspired by the dignified and graceful forms in which they stand embodied

before us. I know that there are excellent and conscientious persons who for this very reason look upon the pictures and effigies of St. Catherine and St. Barbara with an especial dislike, a terror in which there is a sort of fascination. I wish that what I am about to write may quiet their minds on the subject of these "mythic fancies:" they will see how impossible it is that these allegories (which by simplicity and ignorance were long accepted as facts) should ever hereafter be received but as one form of poetry; and that under this aspect they cannot die, and ought not.

If those who consider works of art would be content to regard them thus,—not merely as pretty pictures, nor yet as repudiated idols, but as lovely allegories to which the world listened in its dreamy childhood, and which, like the ballad or the fairy tale which kept the sleep from our eyes and our breath suspended in infancy, have still a charm for our latest years,—if they would not be afraid of attaching a meaning to them, but consider what we may be permitted, unreprieved, to seek and to find in them, both in sense and sentiment, how many pleasures and associations would be revealed in every picture, in every group or figure, which is now passed over either with indifference or repugnance! Can they believe there is danger that any rational being should fall back into a second childhood of credulity? Let them now judge. I begin with that *Gloriosissima Vergine*, St. Catherine.

ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA, VIRGIN AND MARTYR

Gr. Aikaterina, from *καθαρός*, pure, undefiled. *Lat.* Santa Catharina. *Ital.* Santa Catarina dei Studenti. Santa Catarina delle Ruote (or of the wheels, to distinguish her from five other saints of the same name). *Fr.* Madame Sainte Catherine. *Spa.* Santa Catalina. *Ger.* Die Heilige Katharina von Alexandrien. Patroness of education, philosophy, science; of students, philosophers, and theologians. Patroness of schools and colleges. As patroness of eloquence she was invoked in all diseases of the tongue. Perhaps from her royal dignity, a favorite patron saint of princesses and ladies of noble birth. Patroness of Venice. (November 25, A. D. 307.)

The legend of St. Catherine is not of high antiquity; even among the Greeks it cannot be traced farther back than the eighth century; and in the East it appears to have originated

with the monks of Mount Sinai. In a literary form, we find it first in the Greek Menology of the Emperor Basil in the ninth century. The crusaders of the eleventh century brought it from the East; and in gratitude for the aid and protection which this "*Inuitissima Eroina*" was supposed to have extended to the Christian warriors in the Holy Land, her Greek name, her romantic, captivating legend, and her worship as one of the most potent of saints, spread with such extraordinary rapidity over the whole of Western Christendom, that in the twelfth century it was all but universal. About the fifteenth century, some reasonable doubts having been cast, not only on the authenticity of her legend, but on her very existence, vain attempts were made to banish her from the calendar; her festival, after being one of the most solemn in the Church, was, by several prelates of France and Germany, suppressed altogether, and by others left free from all religious obligations: but in Art, and in the popular veneration, St. Catherine kept her ground. Even in the English reformed calendar she retains her place; even in London, churches and parishes and institutions, once placed under her protection, still retain her name. There are fifty-one churches in England dedicated in her name.

Of all the female saints, next to Mary Magdalene, St. Catherine is the most popular: venerated by the men as the divine patroness of learning; and by the women regarded as the type of female intellect and eloquence, as well as of courageous piety and chastity. She is the inspirer of wisdom and good counsel in time of need, — the Minerva of the heathen, softened and refined by the attributes of the Christian martyr. The scenes taken from her life and "acts" are so diversified, and of such perpetual recurrence, that I shall give the legend here with all its details of circumstances, only omitting the long speeches, and passing over without further remark that brave defiance of all historical probabilities which sets criticism at naught.

Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine the Great, had a first wife before he married the Empress Helena. She died in giving birth to a son, whose name was Costis, and whom his father married to the only daughter and heiress of the King of Egypt, a virtuous princess, whose name was

Sabinella ; with her he lived and reigned in great prosperity and happiness for several years, but after the law of the Pagans, for they were, unhappily, idolaters.

Like all mothers who bring forth saints, Queen Sabinella had a prophetic dream, in which was prefigured the glory of her first-born. In due time she gave birth to a daughter, who was named Catherine. At the moment she came into the world, a glory of light was seen to play around her head. From her earliest infancy she was the wonder of all who beheld her, for grace of mind and person. "She drank so plentifully from the well of wisdom," that at the age of fifteen there was none comparable in the learning and philosophy of the Gentiles. She could have "talked of stars and firmaments and fire-drakes," of "sines and cosines and fixed ratios;" she could have answered all those hard things which the Queen of Sheba propounded to King Solomon. The works of Plato were her favorite study; and the teaching of Socrates had prepared her to receive a higher and a purer doctrine.

The king her father, who loved her, ordained to wait upon her seven of the wisest masters that could be gotten together; but Catherine, divinely endowed, so far excelled them all, that they who came to teach her became her disciples. Moreover, he ordained for her a tower in his palace, with divers chambers furnished with all kinds of mathematical instruments, in which she might study at pleasure.

When Catherine was about fourteen, her father, King Costis, died, and left her heiress of his kingdom. But when she was queen, Catherine showed the same contempt for all worldly care and royal splendor that she had hitherto exhibited, for she shut herself up in her palace, and devoted herself to the study of philosophy.

"Therefore," says the old English legend, "when the people saw this, they were discontented. And the nobles of that country came to their lady and queen, and desired her to call a parliament. And the estates being met, they besought her, as she was so much given to study and learning, that she would be pleased to take a husband who should assist her in the government of the country, and lead them forth to war.

"When she heard this, she was much abashed and troubled. And she said, 'What manner of man is this that I must

marry ?' 'Madam,' said the speaker, 'you are our most sovereign lady and queen, and it is well known to all that ye possess four notable gifts; the first is, that ye be come of the most noble blood in the whole world; the second, that ye be a great inheritor, and the greatest that liveth of women to our knowledge; the third, that ye, in science, cunning, and wisdom, surpass all others; and the fourth, that in bodily shape and beauty there is none like you: wherefore we beseech ye, Lady, that these good gifts, in which the great God hath endowed you beyond all creatures else, may move you to take a lord to your husband, to the end that ye may have an heir, to the comfort and joy of your people.'

" 'Then,' answered the young Queen Catherine, with a grave countenance, 'if God and nature have wrought so great virtues in us, we are so much the more bound to love Him, and to please Him, and to think humbly of all His great gifts; therefore, my lords and lieges, give heed to my words. He that shall be my husband and the lord of mine heart shall also possess four notable gifts, and be so endowed that all creatures shall have need of him, and he shall have need of none. He shall be of so noble blood that all men shall worship him, and so great that I shall never think that I have made him king; so rich, that he shall pass all others in riches; so full of beauty, that the angels of God shall desire to behold him; and so benign, that he can gladly forgive all offences done unto him. And if ye find me such an one, I will take him for my husband and the lord of my heart.'

"With this she cast down her eyes meekly, and held her still. And all her lords and princes and councillors looked upon each other and knew not what to reply; for they said, 'Such a one as she hath devised there never was none, and never shall be;' and they saw there was no remedy in the matter. Her mother, Sabinella, also entreated her, saying, 'Alas, my daughter, where shall ye find such a husband?' and Catherine answered, 'If I do not find him, he shall find me, for other will I none;' and she had a great conflict and battle to keep her virginity.

"Now there was a certain holy hermit who dwelt in a desert about two days' journey from the city of Alexandria; to him the Virgin Mary appeared out of heaven, and sent him with a message of comfort to the young Queen Catherine, to

tell her that the husband whom she had desired was her son, who was greater than any monarch of this world, being himself the King of Glory, and the Lord of all power and might. Catherine desired to behold her future bridegroom. The hermit therefore gave her a picture representing the Virgin Mary and her divine Son; and when Catherine beheld the heavenly face of the Redeemer of the world, her heart was filled with love of his beauty and innocence: she forgot her books, her spheres, and her philosophers; Plato and Socrates became to her tedious as a twice-told tale. She placed the picture in her study, and that night as she slept upon her bed she had a dream.

“In her dream she journeyed by the side of the old hermit, who conducted her toward a sanctuary on the top of a high mountain; and when they reached the portal there came out to meet them a glorious company of angels clothed in white, and wearing chaplets of white lilies on their heads, and Catherine, being dazzled, fell on her face, and an angel said to her, ‘Stand up, our dear sister Catherine, and be right welcome.’ Then they led her to an inner court, where stood a second company of angels clothed in purple, and wearing chaplets of red roses on their heads; and Catherine fell down before them, but they said, ‘Stand up, our dear sister Catherine, for thee hath the King of Glory delighted to honor.’ Then Catherine, with a trembling joy, stood up and followed them. They led her on to an inner chamber in which was a royal queen standing in her state, whose beauty and majesty might no heart think, nor pen of man describe, and around her a glorious company of angels, saints, and martyrs: they, taking Catherine by the hand, presented her to the queen, saying, “Our most gracious sovereign Lady, Empress of Heaven, and Mother of the King of Blessedness, be pleased that we here present to you our dear sister, whose name is written in the book of life, beseeching you of your benign grace to receive her as your daughter and handmaiden.’

“Our Blessed Lady, full of all grace and goodness, bid her welcome, and, taking her by the hand, led her to our Lord, saying to him, ‘Most sovereign honor, joy, and glory be to you, King of Blessedness, my Lord and my Son! Lo! I have brought into your blessed presence your servant and maid Catherine, which for your love hath renounced all

earthly things!’ But the Lord turned away his head, and refused her saying, ‘She is not fair nor beautiful enough for me.’ The maiden, hearing these words, awoke in a passion of grief, and wept till it was morning.

“Then she called to her the hermit, and fell at his feet, and declared her vision, saying, ‘What shall I do to become worthy of my celestial bridegroom?’ The hermit, seeing she was still in the darkness of heathenism, instructed her fully in the Christian faith: then he baptized her, and, with her, her mother, Sabinella.

“That night, as Catherine slept upon her bed, the Blessed Virgin appeared to her again, accompanied by her divine Son, and with them a noble company of saints and angels. And Mary again presented Catherine to the Lord of Glory, saying, ‘Lo! she hath been baptized, and I myself have been her godmother!’ Then the Lord smiled upon her, and held out his hand and plighted his troth to her, putting a ring on her finger. When Catherine awoke, remembering her dream, she looked and saw the ring upon her finger; and henceforth regarding herself as the betrothed of Christ, she despised the world, and all the pomp of earthly sovereignty, thinking only of the day which should reunite her with her celestial and espoused Lord. Thus she dwelt in her palace in Alexandria, until the good queen Sabinella died, and she was left alone.”

At this time the tyrant Maximin, who is called by the Greeks Maxentius, greatly persecuted the Church, and, being come to Alexandria, he gathered all the Christians together, and commanded them, on pain of severest torments, to worship the heathen gods. St. Catherine, hearing in the recesses of her palace the cries of the people, sallied forth and confronted the tyrant on the steps of the temple, pleading for her fellow-Christians, and demonstrating “*avec force syllogismes*” the truth of the Christian and the falsehood of the Pagan religion. And when she had argued for a long time after the manner of the philosophers, quoting Plato and Socrates, and the books of the Sibyls, she looked round upon Maximin and the priests, and said, “Ye admire this temple, the work of human hands; these fair ornaments and precious gems, these statues, that look as if they could move and breathe: admire rather the temple of the universe — the heavens, the

earth, the sea, and all that is therein: admire rather the course of those eternal stars, which from the beginning of all creation have pursued their course towards the west and returned to us in the east, and never pause for rest. And when ye have admired these things, consider the greatness of HIM who made them, who is the great God, even the God of the Christians, unto whom these thy idols are less than the dust of the earth. Miserable are those who place their faith where they can neither find help in the moment of danger nor comfort in the hour of tribulation!"¹

Maximin being confounded by her arguments, and yet more by her eloquence, which left him without reply, ordered that fifty of the most learned philosophers and rhetoricians should be collected from all parts of his empire, and promised them exceeding great rewards if they overcame the Christian princess in argument. These philosophers were at first indignant at being assembled for such a futile purpose, esteeming nothing so easy; and they said "Place her, O Cæsar! before us, that her folly and rashness may be exposed to all the people." But Catherine, nowise afraid, recommended herself to God, praying that He would not allow the cause of truth to suffer through her feebleness and insufficiency. And she disputed with all these orators and sages, quoting against them the Law and the Prophets, the works of Plato and the books of the Sibyls, until they were utterly confounded, one after another, and struck dumb by her superior learning. In the end they confessed themselves vanquished and converted to the faith of Christ. The emperor, enraged, ordered them to be consumed by fire; and they went to death willingly, only regretting that they had not been baptized; but Catherine said to them, "Go, be of good courage, for your blood shall be accounted to you as baptism, and the flames as a crown of glory." And she did not cease to exhort and comfort them till they had all perished in the flames.

Then Maximin ordered that she should be dragged to his palace; and, being inflamed by her beauty, he endeavored to corrupt her virtue, but she rejected his offers with scorn; and being obliged at this time to depart on a warlike expedition,

¹ "The heaven indeed is high; the earth is great; the sea immense; the stars are beautiful: but *He* who made all these things must needs be greater and more beautiful." *Sermon of St. Eloy.*

he ordered his creature, Porphyry (called in the French legend "Le Chevalier Porphire"), to cast her into a dungeon, and starve her to death; but Catherine prayed to her heavenly bridegroom, and the angels descended and ministered to her. And at the end of twelve days the empress and Porphyry visited the dungeon, which, as they opened the door, appeared all filled with fragrance and light. Whereupon they fell down at the feet of St. Catherine, and with two hundred of their attendants declared themselves Christians.

When Maximin returned to Alexandria, he was seized with fury. He commanded his wife, the empress, with Porphyry and the other converts, to be put to a cruel death; but being more than ever inflamed by the beauty and wisdom of Catherine, he offered to make her his empress, and mistress of the whole world, if she would repudiate the name of Christ. But she replied with scorn, "Shall I forsake my glorious heavenly spouse to unite myself with thee, who art base-born, wicked, and deformed?" On hearing these words, Maximin roared like a lion in his wrath; and he commanded that they should construct four wheels, armed with sharp points and blades, — two revolving in one direction, two in another, — so that between them her tender body should be torn into ten thousand pieces. And St. Catherine made herself ready to go to this cruel death; and as she went, she prayed that the fearful instrument of torment prepared for her might be turned to the glory of God. So they bound her between the wheels, and, at the same moment, fire came down from heaven, sent by the destroying angel of God, who broke the wheels in pieces, and, by the fragments which flew around, the executioners and three thousand people perished in that day.

Yet for all this the thrice-hardened tyrant repented not, but ordered that Catherine should be carried outside the city, and there, after being scourged with rods, beheaded by the sword; which was done. And when she was dead, angels took up her body, and carried it over the desert, and over the Red Sea, till they deposited it on the summit of Mount Sinai. There it rested in a marble sarcophagus, and in the eighth century a monastery was built over her remains, which are revered to this day; but the wicked tyrant, Maximin, being overcome in battle, was slain, and the beasts and birds devoured him; or, as others relate, an inward fire consumed him till he died.

In this romantic legend what a storehouse of picturesque incident! And, accordingly, we find that poets and painters have equally availed themselves of it. As ballads, as drama, as romance, it circulated among the people, and lent an interest to the gracious and familiar effigies which everywhere abound. In England St. Catherine was especially popular. About the year 1119, Geoffrey, a learned Norman, was invited from the University of Paris to superintend the direction of the schools of the Abbey of Dunstable, where he composed a play entitled "St. Catherine," and caused it to be acted by his scholars. This was, perhaps, the first spectacle of the kind that was ever attempted, and the first trace of theatrical representation that ever appeared in England. Dryden's tragedy of "Tyranic Love" is founded on the legend of St. Catherine, and was intended to gratify the queen, Catherine of Braganza, by setting forth the glory of her patron saint.

In the original oriental legend the locality assigned for the story of St. Catherine was at least well chosen, and with a view to probability. Alexandria, famous for its philosophical and theological schools, produced, not one, but many women, who, under the tuition of Origen and other famous teachers, united the study of Greek literature with that of the Prophets and Evangelists; some of them also suffered in the cause of Christianity. But it is a curious fact connected with the history of St. Catherine, that the real martyr, the only one of whom there is any certain record, was not a Christian, but a heathen; and that her oppressors were not Pagan tyrants, but Christian fanatics.

Hypatia of Alexandria, daughter of Theon, a celebrated mathematician, had applied herself from childhood to the study of philosophy and science, and with such success that, while still a young woman, she was invited by the magistrates to preside over one of the principal schools in the city. She, like St. Catherine, was particularly addicted to the study of Plato, whom she preferred to Aristotle. She was also profoundly versed in the works of Euclid and Apollonius of Pergamus; and composed a treatise on Conic Sections, and other scientific works. She was remarkable, also, for her beauty, her contempt for feminine vanities, and the unblemished purity of her conduct. As, however, she resolutely refused to

declare herself a Christian, and was on terms of friendship with Orestes, the Pagan governor of Alexandria, she was marked out by the Christian populace as an object of vengeance. One day as she was proceeding to lecture in her school, a party of these wretched fanatics dragged her out of her chariot into a neighboring church, and murdered her there with circumstances of revolting barbarity.¹

I think it very probable that the traditions relating to her death were mixed up with the legend of St. Catherine, and took that particular character and coloring which belonged to the Greco-Christian legends of that time. It was perhaps the early relations of Venice with the East which rendered St. Catherine so popular in that city as patroness. Her festival is called the *Festa dei Dotti*, and was instituted in her honor by the Doge Pietro Gradenigo, in 1307.

All the colleges and universities of the Venetian States, Padua especially, were placed under her protection, and opened, after the recess, on the day of her festival.

The devotional representations of St. Catherine must be divided into two classes. 1. Those which exhibit her as the patron saint and martyr, alone or grouped with others. 2. The mystical subject called "The Marriage of St. Catherine."

As patroness she has several attributes. She bears the palm as martyr; the sword expresses the manner of her death; the crown is hers of right, as sovereign princess; she holds the book as significant of her learning; she tramples on the pagan tyrant. All these attributes may be found in the effigies of other saints; but the especial and peculiar attribute of St. Catherine is the wheel. When entire, it is an emblem of the torture to which she was exposed: in the later pictures it is oftener broken; it is then an historical attribute, it represents the instrument by which she was to have been tortured, and the miracle through which she was redeemed. She leans upon it, or it lies at her feet, or an angel bears it over her head. In Raphael's St. Catherine, in our National Gallery, she leans on the wheel, and no other attribute is introduced: this, however, is very uncommon; the characteristic sword and the book are generally present, even where the

¹ [See Charles Kingsley's *Hypatia*.]



St. Catherine (Luini)

crown and palm are omitted. The grim turbaned head of Maximin, placed beneath her feet, is confined, with very few exceptions, to the sculptural and Gothic effigies and the stained glass of the fourteenth century.

In the earliest Greek mosaics and pictures, St. Catherine wears the richly embroidered dress given in Greek Art to all royal personages; the diadem on her head, a book and a cross in her hand, and no wheel. She has, generally, a dignified but stern expression.

In the best examples of early Italian Art, and in those of the Giotto school, the prevailing character is simplicity and earnestness. In the Milan school there is, generally, more of intellect and refinement; and, in particular, an ample brow, with the long fair hair parted in front. In the Venetian pictures she is generally most sumptuously dressed in ermine and embroidery, and all the external attributes of royalty. In the

Florentine pictures she has great elegance, and in the Bologna school a more commanding majesty. In the early German school we find that neglect of beauty which is characteristic of the school, but the intellectual and meditative dignity proper to the saint is, in the best masters, powerfully rendered.

Representations of St. Catherine as patroness so abound in every form of Art, and are so easily recognized, that I shall mention only a few among them, either as examples of excellence, or of some particular treatment in the character and attributes which may lead the reader to observe such familiar effigies with more of interest and discrimination, and with reference to that appropriate character which the circumstances of her story should lead us to require.

1. School of Giotto. "St. Catherine, as patron saint and martyr, stands between two wheels, holding her book and palm;" a beautiful picture, in the possession of M. Auguste Valbreque: the *two* wheels are unusual.

2. Greco-Italian. St. Catherine is seated on a throne, wearing the royal crown, and with an air of profound meditation. Scattered around, and at her feet, a number of books, mathematical instruments, and tablets, on which are traced calculations and problems, also a celestial sphere. She is here the especial patroness of science and philosophy—the Urania of the Greeks. [Formerly in the Rinuccini Palace Collection (Florence), which is now dispersed.]

3. Siena school. She stands, crowned, and holding the book and palm. On the flat dark background of the picture are painted the implements of the mechanical arts, such as shears, hammers, saws, a carpenter's rule and plane, a pair of compasses, a pestle and mortar, combs for carding wool, a spindle and distaff, etc. She is here the especial patroness of the Arts—the Greek Minerva.

4. Gothic sculpture. She stands with a scroll in her raised hand, trampling a philosopher under her feet. On reflection, I am not sure that this fine figure is a St. Catherine, but perhaps Wisdom or Science in the allegorical sense.

5. [Catalogued Botticelli.] She stands, crowned, and partly veiled, with one hand on the wheel, the other sustains the folds of her drapery; a ring conspicuous on her finger, in

allusion to her mystical espousals. The face has little beauty and rather a severe expression, but the figure and attitude are full of dignity, and the drapery most elegant. (Florence Academy.)

6. Gothic sculpture. She stands with the book and sword, wearing the royal crown; under her feet the wheel and the Emperor Maximin. In the same style are the effigies in the stained glass of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

7. Raphael. She leans on her wheel, looking up. The beautiful picture is in our National Gallery. Raphael's original first thought for the head, sketched with a pen, is at Oxford; the more finished drawing is in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire.¹ [Chatsworth.]

8. Siena school. She stands, crowned, with her book and palm; a small broken wheel, worked in gold, suspended from her neck as an ornament.

9. Hans Memling (?). St. Catherine kneeling, in a Coronation of the Virgin. She is crowned and richly attired. The broken wheel is suspended as an ornament at the end of a gold chain, fastened to her girdle: just as a German woman wears her bunch of keys.²

10. Albert Dürer. She is crowned; seated on a chair, which looks like a professor's chair; at her side the sword; in front a portion of a broken wheel.

11. Intarsiatura. She stands, crowned; in the left hand the palm, in the other the sword. The head of the tyrant is at her feet, and the point of the sword pierces his mouth, showing that she had vanquished him in argument. A figure of singular elegance, in the Florentine manner, in the Church of S. Giovanni at Malta.



St. Catherine (Botticelli)

¹ [A facsimile of the Oxford drawing is in Müntz, *Raphael*. The original cartoon for the picture is in the Louvre.]

² The Coronation of the Virgin, in the gallery of Prince Wallerstein, Kensington Palace, is by some attributed to Memling.

12. Milan school: Leonardo, or Luini. She is crowned with myrtle, and holds her book; on each side a most beautiful angel, one of whom bears the wheel, the other the palm. The expression full of intellect and sweetness. [Hermitage, St. Petersburg. Catalogued to Luini.]

13. Cesare da Sesto.¹ She is looking down with a contemplative air, her long golden hair crowned with a wreath of myrtle, and leaning with both hands on her wheel. Most beautiful and refined. (Frankfort Museum.)

14. Francia. She is crowned, as patron saint, and looking down, one hand resting on her wheel. The figure amply draped and full of dignity. The engraving by Marc Antonio is rare and beautiful.

15. Luini school. She is between two wheels, with long, dishevelled hair, and hands clasped in supplication. She is here the martyr only. (Pitti, Florence.)

16. Palma. St. Catherine, crowned and richly draped, at the feet of the Madonna. It is the portrait of his daughter, the beautiful Violante.² (Vienna Gallery.)

The figures of St. Catherine by Titian, Paul Veronese, and Tintoretto, all have the air of portraits, and, in general, are sumptuously crowned and attired, with luxuriant fair hair, and holding the palm oftener than the book. She appears, in such pictures, as the patron saint of Venice. There is a famous picture, by Titian, of the unhappy Catherine Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus, in the character of St. Catherine.

17. Paul Veronese. St. Catherine, kneeling on her broken wheel, looks up at the Madonna and Child on a throne above. She is here attired as a Venetian lady of rank, and wears the royal crown.

18. Annibal Caracci. St. Catherine, as patroness of the arts and sciences, and St. Luke as patron saint of painting, on each side of the Madonna and Child.

19. Guido. She is kneeling, as martyr, with clasped hands and flowing hair; the figure, being taken from one of the disconsolate mothers in the famous Massacre of the Innocents,

¹ [Morelli says that the St. Catherine at Frankfort ascribed to Cesare da Sesto "is certainly not by him, but more probably by a Lombardo-Venetian painter."]

² [The so-called daughter Violante was probably a favorite model, as it is now known that Palma had no daughter.]

slightly altered, is deficient in character. The wheels are in the background. (Windsor Gallery.)

20. St. Catherine reading. To distinguish her from other



St. Catherine (Lucas van Leyden)

saints who also read, a small wheel is embroidered on her book.

21. Domenichino. She is standing, as patron saint, with crown, sword, palm, and wheel. The attributes crowded; the figure majestic, but mannered, and without much character. There is also the same figure, half length, at Windsor.

22. Domenichino. She is standing, as martyr; an angel descends with the crown and palm: very dignified and beautiful. (Sutherland Gallery.)

23. St. Catherine reading; she rests one hand, which holds the palm, on her wheel. In such pictures she is the patroness of students and scholars. There is an example at Hampton Court. [Attributed to Correggio, in Ernest Law's catalogue of the Hampton Gallery Collection, 1894.]

When St. Catherine is grouped with other saints, her usual pendant is St. Barbara, sometimes also Mary Magdalene; in the Venetian pictures, frequently St. George. In the German pictures, St. Catherine is often grouped with St. Ursula. As patroness of learning, she is sometimes in companionship with one or other of the Doctors of the Church; most frequently with St. Jerome.

The MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE, however treated, must be considered as a strictly devotional subject: it is not an incident; it is an allegorical vision, implying the spiritual union between Christ and the redeemed soul. This is the original signification of the subject, and there can be no doubt that the religious interpretation of the "Song of Solomon," with all its amatory and hymeneal imagery, led the fancy to this and similar representations. Whatever may be thought of the Marriage of St. Catherine in this mystical sense, we cannot but feel that as a subject of Art it is most attractive; even in the most simple form, with only three persons, it combines many elements of picturesque and poetical beauty. The matronly dignity of the maternal Virgin, the godlike infancy of the Saviour, the refined loveliness and graceful humility of the saint, form of themselves a group susceptible of the most various, the most delicate, shades of expression.

The introduction of angels as attendants, or of beatified personages as spectators, or other ideal accessories, must be considered as strictly in harmony with the subject, lending it a kind of scenic and dramatic interest, while it retains its mystical and devotional character.

The Marriage of St. Catherine is one of the subjects in early Greek Art; but it occurs very seldom in Italian Art before the middle of the fifteenth century: in the sixteenth it

became popular, and, for obvious reasons, it was a favorite subject in nunneries. Why, I do not know, but it has always been very rare in German Art; and therefore it is the more remarkable that the earliest example that I can cite is from one of the earliest artists of the genuine German school, the anonymous engraver whom we know only as "Le graveur de 1466." Whoever he may have been, he was certainly a man of a most original and poetical turn of mind; he lived in the very infancy of the art, being, I suppose, the first German who took the burin in hand after the invention of copperplate engraving; but his works, in spite of their rudeness in drawing and execution, are a storehouse of poetical ideas. What, for instance, can be more fanciful, and more true to the mysticism of the subject, than his arrangement of the "Marriage of St. Catherine?" The scene is Paradise; the Virgin Mother, seated on a flowery throne, is in the act of twining a wreath for which St. Dorothea presents the roses; in front of the Virgin kneels St. Catherine, and beside her stands the Infant Christ (here a child about five or six years old), and presents the ring: on one side, St. Agnes, St. Barbara, St. Agatha, and St. Margaret; on the other, St. Mary Magdalene and St. Apollonia; the figures being disposed in a semicircle. Behind the throne of the Virgin is seen a grand chorus of angels, holding scrolls of music in their hands, and singing "Gloria in excelsis Deo!" — the Holy Spirit, in form of a dove, is hovering over the whole. The conception, it must be admitted, is in the highest degree poetical; in the same degree, the execution is rude, and the drawing meagre.

1. Correggio. Two very celebrated pictures. In the first example (Louvre), which is life size, St. Catherine bends down with the softest, meekest tenderness and submission, and the Virgin unites her hand to that of the Infant Christ. St. Sebastian stands by holding his arrows. It is of this picture that Vasari truly said that the heads appeared to have been painted in Paradise. In the background is seen the martyrdom of the two saints.

The other example is a small picture, also of exquisite beauty: here the attendant is an angel. (Naples.)

2. Cola dell' Amatrice. The Virgin Mother is seated on a sort of low bench. The Child, standing on her knees, presents the ring to St. Catherine, who is also standing, simply attired,

and with no attribute but the sword, which she holds upright: this treatment is peculiar.

3. Titian. The Infant Christ is seated on a kind of pedestal, and sustained by the arms of the Virgin. St. Catherine kneels before Him, and St. Anna, the mother of the Virgin, gives St. Catherine away, presenting her hand to receive the ring: St. Joseph is standing on the other side; two angels behind the saint look on with an expression of celestial sympathy. In general the Venetian painters lavished on this favorite subject the richest, most fanciful, most joyous accompaniments: as in a picture by P. Veronese, where the scene is a palace or a luxurious landscape; St. Catherine is in the gorgeous bridal attire of a princess, and a choir of angels chant hymns of joy. There is a picture by Titian in which St. Catherine, kneeling by the cradle of the Infant Saviour, has taken Him in her arms, and presses Him to her bosom with the action of a fond nurse; so completely was the solemn and mystical allegory of the nuptial bond forgotten or set aside!¹

4. Perugino. The Virgin, seated, holds the Infant Saviour standing on her knee; He bends forward to put the ring on St. Catherine's right hand. Joseph is seen behind in meditation. (Grosvenor Gallery.)

5. Parmigiano. The Virgin as usual with the Infant Christ upon her knee; St. Catherine, resting one hand upon her wheel, presents the other; and the Infant Christ, while He puts the ring on her finger, throws himself back, looking up in His mother's face, as if He were at play. Beneath is the head of an old man, with a long gray beard, holding a book: whether the painter intended him for Joseph, who is often present on this occasion, or for the old hermit of the legend, is not clear. (Grosvenor Gallery.)

6. Rubens makes the ceremony take place in presence of St. Peter, St. Paul, and a vast company of saints and martyrs. A magnificent picture, containing more than twenty figures, in the church of the Augustines at Antwerp.

7. Vandyck. The Virgin holds a wreath of flowers in her hand ready to crown the saint at the same moment that she receives the ring from Christ; the expression of St. Catherine

¹ [The picture is in the National Gallery, London. A similar work, in the Pitti, Florence, is referred by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to Cesare Vecelli.]



MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE (CORREGGIO)

as she bends in adoration is most charming ; in one hand she holds the palm-branch, resting it upon the wheel. The exceeding beauty of the Virgin has obtained for this picture the appellation of "la plus belle des Vierges." (In the Queen's Gallery, Buckingham Palace.)

Sometimes the *Divoto* for whom the picture has been painted is supposed to be present. I remember a Marriage of St. Catherine in presence of the Emperor Matthias and his court. I have seen some instances in which the divine Infant, instead of presenting the nuptial ring, places a wreath of roses on her head. In all these examples Christ is represented as a child. In one instance only I have seen Him figured as a man about thirty, standing on one side attended by a company of angels, while Catherine stands opposite attended by a train of virgin martyrs.

I do not remember a single instance of "The Marriage of St. Catherine" in the stained glass of the fourteenth century ; but such may exist : the other subjects from her history are commonly met with.

The *Sposalizio* of St. Catherine of Alexandria, the princess martyr, must not be confounded with the *Sposalizio* of St. Catherine of Siena, who was a Dominican nun. (See the Monastic Orders.)

Both are sometimes represented in the same picture.

8. Ambrogio Borgognone. The Virgin is seated on a splendid throne, holding the divine Child ; on the right kneels St. Catherine of Alexandria ; on the left St. Catherine of Siena. The Infant presents a ring to each, the Mother guiding His little hands. A most beautiful picture. [National Gallery.]

Some of the most striking incidents in the life of St. Catherine have been treated historically, as separate subjects.

1. "The Dispute with the fifty Philosophers ;" the number of the philosophers generally represented by a few persons. Pinturicchio has painted this subject in a large crowded fresco. The scene is the interior of a temple : Maximin is on his throne ; and before him, standing, St. Catherine, attired in a richly embroidered dress ; in one hand her book, the other raised ; around the throne of the emperor, many philosophers, some arguing, some demonstrating, some meditating doubtfully, others searching their great books ; farther off, spectators and

attendants; about fifty figures in all. (Vatican, Rome [Appartamenti Borgia].)

Vasari. St. Catherine, with her robe and hair flying loose, and in a most theatrical attitude, disputes with the philosophers, who are turning over their books; the emperor looks down from a balcony above. (Capitol, Rome.)

Where St. Catherine is standing, or sitting on a raised throne, as one teaching, rather than disputing, and with seven philosophers around her, then the subject evidently represents the "seven wise masters" whom her father had assembled to



St. Catherine disputing with the Philosophers (Masolino)

teach her, and who became her disciples; and St. Catherine should look like the magnificent princess in Tennyson's poem —

Among her grave professors, scattering gems
Of art and science.

2. The subject usually called the "Martyrdom of St. Catherine," her exposure to the torture of the wheels, should rather be called the Deliverance of St. Catherine. It is one of the most frequent subjects in early Art. The leading idea is always the same, and the subject easily recognized, however varied in the representation. St. Catherine is seen between two or four wheels armed with iron teeth or spikes, while two or more executioners prepare to turn the wheels; or she is kneeling beside the instrument of torture: the emperor and his attendants are sometimes introduced: an angel, descending from heaven amid thunder and lightning, or bearing an avenging sword, breaks the wheels, and scatters horror and confusion among the pagans.

The most beautiful instance I can remember is the large picture by Gaudenzio Ferrari. She is represented in a front view, kneeling, her hair dishevelled, her hands clasped, and in the eyes, upraised to the opening heavens above, a most divine expression of faith and resignation; on each side are the wheels armed with spikes, which the executioners are preparing to turn: behind sits the emperor on an elevated throne, and an angel descends from above armed with a sword. In this grand picture the figures are life size. (In the Brera, Milan.)

By Albert Dürer, a most spirited woodcut, rather coarse, however, in execution. She is kneeling, with bowed head; the wheels are broken by a tempest from heaven; the executioners look paralyzed with horror.

There is a fine dramatic composition by Giulio Romano, in which the wheels are seen shivered by lightning and stones from heaven, which are flung down by angels; the executioners and spectators are struck dead or confounded.

3. "The Vision of St. Catherine." She is represented sleeping in the arms of an angel. Another angel with outspread wings appears to address her. Infant angels, bearing the palm, the crown, the wheel, and the sword, hover around. I have seen but one example of this subject; it is engraved in the Teniers Gallery.

4. "The Decapitation of St. Catherine" is, properly, her

martyrdom. This subject is of frequent occurrence, and little varied; in general, the broken wheels are introduced in the background, in order to distinguish St. Catherine from other female saints who were also decapitated. There is a very fine and curious engraving, in which St. Catherine is kneeling; the executioner stands near her, and three angels extend a linen cloth to receive and bear away her body. Maximin and others are behind. (Bartsch, *Le Peintre Graveur*, vol. vi. p. 374.)

Spinello. In the foreground, St. Catherine is decapitated; above are seen four angels bearing her body over sea and land;



St. Catherine borne by the Angels (Luini)

and in the far distance, two angels bury her on the summit of Mount Sinai. (Berlin.¹)

5. "St. Catherine buried by the Angels." Of this charming subject, so frequently introduced into the background of the scene of her martyrdom, there are many examples in a separate form.

There is a fresco by Luini, in the Brera at Milan, of exceeding beauty. Three angels sustain the body of St. Catherine, hovering above the tomb in which they prepare to lay her. The tranquil refined character of the head of the saint, and the expression of death, are exceedingly fine.

In an elegant little picture by Giles de Rye, two angels lay

¹ [There is no picture of this description attributed to Spinello in the Berlin catalogue of 1891.]

her in a marble sarcophagus, and a third scatters flowers. (Vienna Gallery.) There is another by Cespedes at Cordoba. (*Vide* Stirling's Artists of Spain.)

There is a modern version of this fine subject, by a German painter (Mücke), which has become popular: four angels bear the body of St. Catherine over sea and land to Mount Sinai; one of the foremost carries a sword, the instrument of her martyrdom. The floating, onward movement of the group is very beautifully expressed.

In the Spanish Gallery of the Louvre, now dispersed, there was a curious votive picture by F. Herrera, of which one would like to know the history. A nobleman of Seville and his family are imprisoned in a dungeon; they implore the aid of St. Catherine, who appears to them, habited in the rich Spanish costume of the time (about 1620), and promises them deliverance.

Another legend of St. Catherine is represented in a small old picture by Ambrogio di Lorenzo in the Berlin Gallery: ¹ on one side are seen two nuns vainly imploring a physician to heal one of the sisterhood who is sick; on the other, the sick nun is seen lying in her cell; St. Catherine descends from heaven to heal her. These and similar pictures may be considered as votive offerings to St. Catherine, as the giver of good counsel, in which character she is particularly venerated.

The life of St. Catherine forms a beautiful and dramatic series, and is often met with in the chapels dedicated to her. And it is worthy of remark that the mystical "marriage" is scarcely ever included in the historical series, but reserved as an altar-piece, or treated apart.

On a window of the cathedral at Angers —

1. St. Catherine disputes with the emperor and the philosophers. Maxentius sits on a throne with a sword in his hand; she stands before him with a book. 2. She is bound between two wheels; a hand out of heaven breaks the wheels. 3. St. Catherine, in prison, converts the empress. 4. Christ visits her in prison; an angel brings her a crown. 5. Catherine is bound and scourged by two executioners. 6. The empress is

¹ [There is no picture of this description attributed to Ambrogio di Lorenzo in the Berlin catalogue of 1891.]

beheaded on one side ; and St. Catherine on the other. 7. Three angels bury St. Catherine ; two lay her in the sepulchre ; one stands by, holding her severed head in a napkin.

The series in her chapel at Assisi is much ruined. It appeared to me to consist of the usual scenes. In the conversion of the empress she is seated inside the prison, listening to the instruction of Catherine, while Porphyry stands without, holding her palfrey.

I observed, in the last subject of the series, that St. Catherine, instead of being buried by three angels, which is the usual manner, is borne over land and sea by a whole troop of angels, ten or twelve in number.

By Masaccio. In the chapel of St. Catherine, in the Church of San Clemente, at Rome, we find this celebrated series ;¹ in spite of its ruined condition, the grave sentiment and refinement of the principal figures are still most striking. 1. She refuses to adore the idols. 2. She converts the empress. She is seen through a window seated inside a prison, and the empress is seated outside of the prison, opposite to her, in a graceful listening attitude. 3. The empress is beheaded, and her soul is carried by an angel into heaven. 4. St. Catherine disputes with the philosophers. She is standing in the midst of a hall, the forefinger of one hand laid on the other, as in the act of demonstrating. She is represented fair and girlish, dressed with great simplicity in a tunic and girdle, — no crown, nor any other attribute. The sages are ranged on each side, some lost in thought, others in astonishment ; the tyrant is seen behind, as if watching the conference ; while through an open window we behold the fire kindled for the converted philosophers, and the scene of their execution. 5. Catherine is delivered from the wheels, which are broken by an angel. 6. She is beheaded. In the background angels lay her in a sarcophagus on the summit of Mount Sinai.

¹ [These frescoes are attributed by Burckhardt and Sir Henry Layard to Masolino. For arguments see Layard's revision of Kugler's *Handbook*, vol. i. p. 140.]

ST. BARBARA

Ital. Santa Barbara. *Fr.* Sainte Barbe. Patron saint of armorers and gunsmiths; of firearms and fortifications. She is invoked against thunder and lightning, and all accidents arising from explosions of gunpowder. Patroness of Ferrara, Guastala, and Mantua. (December 4, A. D. 303.)

The legend of St. Barbara was introduced from the East about the same time with that of St. Catherine. She is the armed Pallas or Bellona of the antique mythology, reproduced under the aspect of a Christian martyr.

“There was a certain man named Dioscorus, who dwelt in Heliopolis; noble, and of great possessions; and he had an only daughter, named Barbara, whom he loved exceedingly. Fearful lest, from her singular beauty, she should be demanded in marriage and taken from him, he shut her up in a very high tower, and kept her secluded from the eyes of men. The virtuous Barbara, in her solitude, gave herself up to study and meditation; from the summit of her tower she contemplated the stars of heaven and their courses; and the result of her reflections was, that the idols of wood and stone worshipped by her parents could not be really gods—could not have created the wonders on which she meditated night and day. So she contemned, in her heart, these false gods; but as yet she knew not the true faith.

“Now, in the loneliness of her tower, the fame reached her of a certain sage who had demonstrated the vanity of idolatry and who taught a new and holy religion. This was no other than the famous doctor and teacher, Origen, who dwelt in the city of Alexandria. St. Barbara longed beyond measure to know more of his teaching. She therefore wrote to him secretly, and sent her letter by a sure messenger, who, on arriving at Alexandria, found Origen in the house of the Empress Mammea, occupied in expounding the Gospel. Origen, on reading the letter of St. Barbara, rejoiced greatly; he wrote to her with his own hand, and sent to her one of his disciples, disguised as a physician, who perfected her conversion, and she received baptism from his hands.

“Her father, Dioscorus, who was violently opposed to the Christians, was at this time absent: but previous to his departure he had sent skillful architects to construct within the

tower a bath-chamber of wonderful splendor. One day St. Barbara descended from her turret to view the progress of the workmen ; and seeing that they had constructed two windows, commanded them to insert a third. They hesitated to obey her, saying, 'We are afraid to depart from the orders we have received.' But she answered, 'Do as I command : ye shall be held guiltless.' When her father returned he was displeased ; and he said to his daughter, 'Why hast thou done this thing, and inserted three windows instead of two ?' — and she answered, 'Know, my father, that through three windows doth the soul receive light — the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost ; and the Three are One.' Then her father, being enraged, drew his sword to kill her, and she fled from him to the summit of the tower, and he pursued her ; but by angels she was wrapt from his view, and carried to a distance. A shepherd betrayed her by pointing silently to the place of her concealment ; and her father dragged her thence by the hair, and beat her, and shut her up in a dungeon, — all the love he formerly felt for his daughter being changed into unrelenting fury and indignation when he found she was a Christian. He denounced her to the proconsul Marcian, who was a cruel persecutor of the Christians : the proconsul, after vainly endeavoring to persuade her to sacrifice to his false gods, ordered her to be scourged and tortured horribly ; but St. Barbara only prayed for courage to endure what was inflicted, rejoicing to suffer for Christ's sake. Her father, seeing no hope of her yielding, carried her to a certain mountain near the city, drew his sword, and cut off her head with his own hands ; but as he descended the mountain, there came on a most fearful tempest, with thunder and lightning, and fire fell upon this cruel father and consumed him utterly, so that not a vestige of him remained." (*Legenda Aurea.*)

In the devotional pictures, St. Barbara bears the sword and palm in common with other martyrs ; when she wears the diadem, it is as martyr, not as princess : she has also the book, and is often reading, in allusion to her studious life ; but her peculiar, almost invariable, attribute is the tower, generally with three windows, in allusion to the legend.

St. Barbara, as protectress against thunder and lightning, firearms, and gunpowder, is also invoked against sudden death ;

for it was believed that those who devoted themselves to her should not die impenitent, nor without having first received the holy sacraments. She therefore carries the sacramental cup and wafer, and is the only female saint who bears this attribute. She is usually dressed with great magnificence, and almost always in red drapery. The tower is often a massy building in the background, and she holds the sword in one hand, and the Gospel or palm in the other: occasionally, in early pictures, and early German prints, she holds a little tower in her hand, merely as a distinguishing attribute; or she is leaning on it as a pedestal.

In a beautiful picture of the Van Eyck school which I saw in the museum at Rouen, representing the Virgin and Child throned in the midst of female saints, St. Barbara is seated on the left of the Madonna, bending over a book, and wearing on her head a rich and tasteful diadem of gems and gold, the front of which is worked into the form of a triple tower. I have seen the tower modelled in gold, suspended in a golden chain from her girdle.

I have seen several pictures of St. Barbara in which she holds a feather in her hand; generally a peacock's feather. I have never met with any explanation of this attribute; and am inclined to believe, as it is only found in the German pictures, that it refers to an old German version of her legend, which relates that when St. Barbara was scourged by her father, the angels changed the rods into feathers.

The expression of the head varies with the fancy of the painter; but in the best pictures, at least in all those that



· St. Barbara (Palma)

aspire to character, the countenance and attitude convey the idea of thoughtfulness, dignity, and power. Luini, in a fresco group in the Brera, where she stands opposite to St. Anthony, has given her this expression of "*umiltà superba*." Domen-

ichino has given her this look, with large lustrous eyes, full of inspiration.



St. Barbara (Holbein)

1. The most beautiful of the single figures to which I can refer is the *chef-d'œuvre* of Palma Vecchio, placed over the altar of St. Barbara in the Church of Santa Maria Formosa at Venice. She is standing in a majestic attitude, looking upwards with inspired eyes, and an expression like a Pallas. She wears a tunic or robe of a rich warm brown, with a mantle of crimson; and a white veil is twisted in her diadem and among the tresses of her pale golden hair: the whole picture is one glow of color, life, and beauty; I never saw a combination of expression and color at once so soft, so sober, and so splendid. Cannon are at her feet, and her tower is seen behind.¹ Beneath, in front of the altar, is a marble bas-relief of her martyrdom; she lies headless on the ground, and fire from heaven destroys the executioners.

There is a very fine single figure of St. Barbara holding her cup and wafer, by Ghirlandajo. (Berlin Gallery.²)

¹ This is the most celebrated of the numerous portraits of Violante, Titian's first love, according to the well-known tradition, and whose beautiful face and form are to be traced in some of his early pictures, as well as those of Giorgione and of Palma [whom early writers erroneously called her father]. Her portrait by Palma is at Dresden, and her portrait by Titian as Flora in the Uffizi, Florence; Giorgione's painting of her is in the Maufolini Palace [Venice]; she is holding a guitar.

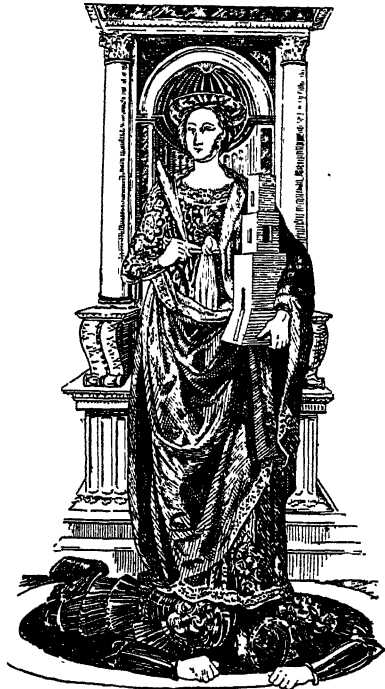
² [There is no St. Barbara attributed to Ghirlandajo in the Berlin catalogue of 1891.]

2. Almost equal in beauty, but quite in the German style, is a full length by Holbein in the Munich Gallery.

3. Matteo da Siena (1479). Enthroned as patron saint, she holds in her left hand a tower, within the door of which is seen the cup and wafer; her right hand holds the palm, and two angels, bearing a crown, hover above her head; two other angels with musical instruments are at her feet; on the right of St. Barbara stands St. Catherine, and on the left St. Mary Magdalene. (Siena, San Domenico.)

4. Cosimo Roselli. St. Barbara, holding the tower in one hand, in the other the palm, stands upon her father, who is literally sprawling on the ground under her feet; on one side stands St. John the Baptist, on the other St. Matthias the apostle. This is a strange, disagreeable picture, very characteristic of the eccentric painter: but for the introduction of the tower, I should have taken it for a St. Catherine trampling on the Emperor Maximin. [In the Academy, Florence.]

5. Michael Coxis. St. Barbara is represented holding a feather in her hand. In two pictures (old German) it is distinctly a white ostrich feather; in others, it is a peacock's feather. In a Madonna picture by Van der Goes, the Virgin is seated with the Child on her knee; two angels crown her; on the right, St. Catherine, with the sword and part of the wheel lying before her, presents an apple to the Infant Christ;



St. Barbara (Cosimo Roselli)



St. Barbara (Van Eyck)

on the left is St. Barbara, with a book on her knee, and holding a peacock's feather in her hand. The whole exquisite for finish and beauty of workmanship. (Uffizi, Florence.)

It is usual in a sacred group (*Sacra Conversazione*) to find St. Catherine and St. Barbara in companionship, particularly in German Art; and then it is clear to me that they represent the two powers which in the middle ages divided the Christian world between them. St. Catherine appears as the patroness of schoolmen, of theological learning, study, and seclusion; St. Barbara as patroness of the knight and the man-at-arms — of fortitude and

active courage. Or, in other words, they represent the active and the contemplative life, so often contrasted in the mediæval works of Art. (*Vide* Legends of the Madonna.)

There is a beautiful and well-known drawing by J. van Eyck, in which St. Barbara is seated in front, with outspread ample drapery and long fair hair flowing over her shoulders. Behind her is a magnificent Gothic tower, of most elaborate architecture, on which a number of masons and builders are employed. [Antwerp, Musée.]

St. Barbara is frequently introduced into pictures of the throned Madonna. The most celebrated example is the "Madonna di San Sisto" of Raphael [Dresden], in which she is kneeling to the left of the Virgin; on the other side is St.

Sixtus. The expression in the two saints is admirably discriminated. St. Sixtus implores the Virgin in favor of the brotherhood for whom the picture was painted; St. Barbara requires for the Virgin the devotions of the faithful. I have already observed that, where saints are grouped together, the usual pendant of St. Barbara is St. Catherine, unless there are special reasons for introducing some other personage, — as in this instance: the picture having been painted for the monastery of San Sisto at Piacenza.

Historical pictures of St. Barbara are confined to few subjects.

1. In a small ancient picture, evidently part of a predella, St. Barbara with two female attendants is seen standing before a tower, which has a drawbridge let down over a moat; she seems about to enter; several masons are at work building the tower. In the other half of the picture she is lying in a shrine hung with votive offerings, and the crippled and the sick appear before it as suppliants.

2. Pinturicchio, large fresco in the Vatican [Appartamenti Borgia]. In the centre the mystical tower; on one side, she is flying from her father; on the other, the wall opens, and she escapes. The treacherous shepherd is seen in the distance.

3. Rubens. St. Barbara flies from her father to the top of a tower; he, in the likeness of a "turbaned Turk" is seen pursuing her, sword in hand: a small sketch in the Dulwich Gallery.

In pictures of the martyrdom of St. Barbara, the leading idea or *motif* does not vary; she is on her knees, and her father, always in a turban, the heathen attribute, seizes her by the hair with one hand, holding his sword in the other. Generally we find the tower in the background, or a peaked mountain, to express the locality. Among many engravings of this scene may be mentioned a very curious and beautiful old print, in which Dioscorus is in the very act of striking off her head; the tower is seen behind, and in the window stands the sacramental cup. (By "Le Graveur de 1466." Bartsch, *Le Peintre Graveur*, vol. vi. p. 31.)

A picture of striking beauty is the Martyrdom of St. Barbara over her altar in the Church of S. Maria-delle-Grazie at Brescia. She kneels in a white tunic embroidered with gold.

Her pagan father, turbaned as usual, has seized her by the hair; she looks up full of faith and love divine. There are several spectators, two on horseback, others on foot; and, in the vigorous painting of the heads and magnificent color, the picture resembles Titian. It is by his Brescian pupil and friend, Pietro Rosa.¹

In the Church of St. Barbara at Mantua is her martyrdom by Brusasorci [Domenico del Riccio], over the high altar; and in the Church of St. Barbara at Ferrara there is a most beautiful altar-piece, by G. Mazzuoli, representing the saint in the midst of a choir of virgin martyrs, who seem to welcome her into their celestial community.

As patroness of firearms and against sudden death, the effigy of St. Barbara is a frequent ornament on shields, armor, and particularly great guns and fieldpieces. I found her whole history on a suit of armor which the Emperor Maximilian sent as a present to Henry VIII. in 1509, and which is now preserved in the Tower. On the breastplate is St. George as patron of England, vanquishing the dragon; on the backplate, St. Barbara standing majestic, with her tower, her cup, and her book. On the horse-armor we have the history of the two saints, disposed in a regular series, each scene from the life of St. George being accompanied by a corresponding scene from the life of St. Barbara. 1. St. George, mounted on horseback, like a knight of romance riding forth in search of adventures: St. Barbara, attended by two maidens, directs the building of her tower; a man is ascending a ladder with a hod full of bricks. 2. St. George is accused before the emperor. St. Barbara is pursued by her father. 3. St. George is tortured by the wheels. St. Barbara is scourged. 4. St. George is beheaded by an executioner. St. Barbara is beheaded by her father, who seizes her by the hair in the usual manner, amid the raging of a tempest.

The designs are in the manner of Hans Burgmair's Triumph of Maximilian, and, probably by the same hand, elaborately engraved on the plates of the armor; the figures about six inches high. The arabesque ornaments which surround the subjects are of singular elegance, intermingled with

¹ [According to Baedeker, Francesco da Prato.]

the rose and pomegranate, the badge of Henry and Catherine of Aragon. The armor, being now exhibited to advantage on a wooden man and horse, can easily be examined. In the description published in the "Archæologia," and the "Guide to the Tower," there are a few mistakes; for instance, the "scourging of St. Barbara" is styled "the scourging of St. Agatha," who had no concern in any way with war or armor. Altogether, this suit of armor is a curious and interesting illustration of the religious and chivalric application of the Fine Arts.¹

ST. URSULA AND HER COMPANIONS

Lat. S. Ursula. *Ital.* Santa Orsola. *Fr.* Sainte Ursule. Patroness of young girls, particularly schoolgirls, and of all women who devote themselves especially to the care and education of their own sex. (October 21.)

Certain writers in theology, pitifully hard of belief, have set their wits to work — rather unnecessarily, as it appears to me — to reduce this extravagant and picturesque legend within the bounds of probability: but when they have proved to their own satisfaction that XI. M. V. means eleven Martyr Virgins, and not eleven thousand; that the voyage over the unstable seas, amid storm and sunshine, the winds sometimes fair, sometimes furiously raging, signifies the voyage of life, with all its vicissitudes; and the whole story merely a religious allegory; — when this has all been laid down incontrovertibly, we are not much advanced: for one thing is clear; our ancestors, to whom all marvels and miracles in a religious garb came equally accredited, understood the story literally. Endowed with a sort of "chevril" faith, which stretched "from an inch narrow to an ell broad," they found it quite as easy to believe in eleven thousand virgins as in eleven; nor was there in its chronological and geographical absurdities anything to stagger the faith of the ignorant. In spite of the critical sneers of the learned, it kept its hold on the popular fancy. It was especially delightful to the women, whom it placed in a grand and poetical point of view, —

And though small credit doubting wits might give,
Yet maids and innocents would still believe!

¹ I find only one church in England dedicated to St. Barbara, at Ashton-under-Hill, in Gloucestershire.

The painters, in their efforts to give the story in a consistent form, have had the most difficult part of the task, inasmuch as it has been found embarrassing to bring the eleven thousand martyrs into any reasonable compass; and the contrivances to which they have resorted for the purpose are sometimes very picturesque and ingenious.

There are several different versions of this wild legend. In general it seems admitted as a fact, that, at a period when Christianity and civilization were contending for the mastery over paganism and barbarism in the north of Germany, a noble maiden and several of her companions were murdered for their faith, somewhere in the neighborhood of Cologne. Such incidents were not then uncommon. The exact date of the event is not fixed: some mention the year 237 as the probable date; others 383; and others again 451, when the Huns invaded Belgium and Gaul. The tradition can be traced back to the year 600; in the year 846 the German Martyrology of Wandelbert extended its popularity through the north of Europe. The first mention of the definite number of eleven thousand virgins was by Herman, bishop of Cologne, in 922, and is said to be founded on a mistake of the abbreviation XI. M. V., *i. e.*, eleven martyr virgins, for "undecimilla virginis," eleven thousand virgins. Others reduce the eleven thousand to one; they say that a virgin named *Undecimilla* perished with St. Ursula, which gave rise to the mistake.¹ All these attempts to reduce the legend to a fact leave us, however, in the same predicament: we must accept it in the popular form in which it has been handed down to us, and which, from the multiplicity of the representations in Germany and Italy, has assumed a high degree of importance. In some versions of the story — for instance, in the Spanish version of Ribadeneira — the journey to Rome is omitted; the names of the personages and the minor incidents vary in all. I shall adhere to the Cologne version, as that which has been the most popular, and, I believe, invariably followed in German and Italian Art.

"Once on a time there reigned in Brittany a certain king whose name was Theonotus,² and he was married to a Sicilian

¹ [A slight variation in this version of the legend is the theory that the virgin's name was Onesimilla, the diminutive of the Greek Onesima, which was easily mispronounced as Undecimilla.]

² In the Italian versions of the legend he is called "Il Re Mauro."

princess whose name was Daria. Both were Christians, and they were blessed with one daughter, whom they called Ursula and whom they educated with exceeding care.¹ When Ursula was about fifteen, her mother, Queen Daria, died, leaving the king almost inconsolable; but Ursula, though so young, supplied the place of her mother in the court. She was not only wonderfully beautiful, and gifted with all the external graces of her sex, but accomplished in all the learning of the time. Her mind was a perfect storehouse of wisdom and knowledge: she had read about the stars, and the courses of the winds; all that had ever happened in the world from the days of Adam she had by heart; the poets and the philosophers were to her what childish recreations are to others: but, above all, she was profoundly versed in theology and school divinity, so that the doctors were astonished and confounded by her argumentative powers. To these accomplishments were added the more excellent gifts of humility, piety, and charity, so that she was esteemed the most accomplished princess of the time. Her father, who loved her as the light of his eyes, desired nothing better than to keep her always at his side. But the fame of her beauty, her virtue, and her wondrous learning was spread through all the neighboring lands, so that many of the neighboring princes desired her in marriage; but Ursula refused every offer.

“Not far from Brittany, on the other side of the great ocean, was a country called England, vast and powerful, but the people were still in the darkness of paganism; and the king of this country had an only son, whose name was Conon, as celebrated for his beauty of person, his warlike prowess, and physical strength, as Ursula for her piety, her graces, and her learning. He was now old enough to seek a wife; and his father, King Agrippinus, hearing of the great beauty and virtue of Ursula, sent ambassadors to demand her in marriage for his son.

¹ The derivation and meaning of the name, since so popular in Europe, is thus given by Surius: “*Hinc itaque, quia exemplo David immanem ursam scilicet diabolum quandoque suffocatura erat, Deo disponente (qui quos vocat prædestinat), parentibus illi in baptismate præsagum nomen URSULA indicatum est.*” [This somewhat obscure passage in mediæval Latin may be freely translated thus: And so from this, because after the fashion of David, God (who calls those whom He predestinates) put away a fierce she-bear — to wit, the devil — at the time when she was about to choke (the child), the prophetic name Ursula was indicated to the parents at her baptism.]

“When the ambassadors arrived at the palace of the king of Brittany, they were very courteously received, but the king was secretly much embarrassed, for he knew that his daughter had made a vow of perpetual chastity, having dedicated herself to Christ; at the same time, he feared to offend the powerful monarch of England by refusing his request: therefore he delayed to give an answer, and, having commanded the ambassadors to be sumptuously lodged and entertained, he retired to his chamber, and, leaning his head on his hand, he meditated what was best to be done; but he could think of no help to deliver him from this strait.

“While thus he sat apart in doubt and sadness, the princess entered, and, learning the cause of his melancholy, she said with a smile, ‘Is this all? Be of good cheer, my king and father! for, if it please you, I will myself answer these ambassadors.’ And her father replied, ‘As thou wilt, my daughter.’ So the next day, when the ambassadors were again introduced, St. Ursula was seated on a throne by her father’s side, and, having received and returned their salutation with unspeakable grace and dignity, she thus addressed them: ‘I thank my lord the king of England, and Conon his princely son, and his noble barons, and you, sirs, his honorable ambassadors, for the honor ye have done me, so much greater than my deserving. I hold myself bound to your king as to a second father, and to the prince his son as to my brother and bridegroom, for to no other will I ever listen. But I have to ask three things. First, he shall give for me as my ladies and companions ten virgins of the noblest blood in his kingdom, and to each of these a thousand attendants, and to me also a thousand maidens to wait on me. Secondly, he shall permit me for the space of three years to honor my virginity, and, with my companions, to visit the holy shrines where repose the bodies of the saints. And my third demand is, that the prince and his court shall receive baptism; for other than a perfect Christian I cannot wed.’

“Now you shall understand that this wise princess, Ursula, made these conditions, thinking in her heart, ‘either the king of England will refuse these demands, or, if he grant them, then eleven thousand virgins are redeemed and dedicated to the service of God.’ The ambassadors, being dismissed with honor, returned to their own country, where they made

such a report of the unequalled beauty and wisdom of the princess that the king thought no conditions too hard, and the prince his son was inflamed by desire to obtain her; so he commanded himself to be forthwith baptized; and the king wrote letters to all his vassals in his kingdom of France, in Scotland, and in the province of Cornwall, to all his princes, dukes, counts, barons, and noble knights, desiring that they would send him the required number of maidens, spotless and beautiful, and of noble birth, to wait on the Princess Ursula, who was to wed his heir the prince Conon; and from all parts these noble virgins came trooping, fair and accomplished in all female learning, and attired in rich garments, wearing jewels of gold and silver. Being assembled in Brittany, in the capital of King Theonotus, Ursula received them not only with great gladness and courtesy, but with a sisterly tenderness, and with thanksgiving, praising God that so many of her own sex had been redeemed from the world's vanities: and the fame of this noble assembly of virgins having gone forth to all the countries round about, the barons and knights were gathered together from east and west to view this spectacle; and you may think how much they were amazed and edified by the sight of so much beauty and so much devotion.

“Now when Ursula had collected all her virgins together, on a fresh and fair morning in the springtime, she desired them to meet in a meadow near the city, which meadow was of the freshest green, all over enamelled with the brightest flowers; and she ascended a throne which was raised in the midst, and preached to all the assembled virgins of things concerning the glory of God, and of His Son our Lord and Saviour, with wonderful eloquence; and of Christian charity, and of a pure and holy life dedicated to Heaven. And all these virgins, being moved with a holy zeal, wept, and, lifting up their hands and their voices, promised to follow her whithersoever she should lead. And she blessed them and comforted them; and as there were many among them who had never received baptism, she ordered that they should be baptized in the clear stream which flowed through that flowery meadow.

“Then Ursula called for a pen, and wrote a letter to her bridegroom, the son of the king of England, saying, that as

he had complied with all her wishes and fulfilled all her demands, he had good leave to wait upon her forthwith. So he, as became a true knight, came immediately; and she received him with great honor; and, in presence of her father, she said to him, 'Sir, my gracious prince and consort, it has been revealed to me in a vision that I must depart hence on my pilgrimage to visit the shrines in the holy city of Rome, with these my companions; thou meanwhile shalt remain here to comfort my father and assist him in his government till my return; or if God should dispose of me otherwise, this kingdom shall be yours by right.' Some say that the prince remained, but others relate that he accompanied her on her voyage; however this may be, the glorious virgin embarked with all her maidens on board a fleet of ships prepared for them, and many holy prelates accompanied them. There were no sailors on board, and it was a wonder to see with what skill these wise virgins steered the vessels and managed the sails, being miraculously taught; we must therefore suppose that it was by no mistake of theirs, but by the providence of God, that they sailed to the north instead of the south, and were driven by the winds into the mouth of the Rhine as far as the port of Cologne. Here they reposed for a brief time, during which it was revealed to St. Ursula that on her return she and her companions should on that spot suffer martyrdom for the cause of God: all which she made known to her companions; and they all together lifted up their voices in hymns of thanksgiving that they should be found worthy so to die.

"So they proceeded on their voyage up the river till they came to the city of Basil; there they disembarked, and crossed over the high mountains into the plains of Liguria. Over the rocks and snows of the Alps they were miraculously conducted, for six angels went before them perpetually, clearing the road from all impediments, throwing bridges over the mountain torrents, and every night pitching tents for their shelter and refreshment. So they came at length to the river Tiber, and, descending the river, they reached Rome, that famous city where is the holy shrine of St. Peter and St. Paul.

"In those days was Cyriacus bishop of Rome: he was famous for his sanctity; and hearing of the arrival of St. Ursula and all her fair and glorious company of maidens, he

was, as you may suppose, greatly amazed and troubled in mind, not knowing what it might portend. So he went out to meet them, with all his clergy in procession. When St. Ursula, kneeling down before him, explained to him the cause of her coming, and implored his blessing for herself and her companions, who can express his admiration and contentment! He not only gave them his blessing, but commanded that they should be honorably lodged and entertained; and, to preserve their maidenly honor and decorum, tents were pitched for them outside the walls of the city on the plain towards Tivoli.

“Now it happened that the valiant son of King Agrippinus, who had been left in Brittany, became every day more and more impatient to learn some tidings of his princess bride, and at length he resolved to set out in search of her; and, by a miracle, he had arrived in the city of Rome on the selfsame day, but by a different route. Being happily reunited, he knelt with Ursula at the feet of Cyriacus and received baptism at his hands, changing his name from Conon to that of *Ethereus*, to express the purity and regeneration of his soul. He no longer aspired to the possession of Ursula, but fixed his hope on sharing with her the crown of martyrdom on earth, looking to a perpetual reunion in heaven, where neither sorrow nor separation should touch them more.

“After this blessed company had duly performed their devotions at the shrine of St. Peter and St. Paul, the good Cyriacus would fain have detained them longer; but Ursula showed him that it was necessary they should depart in order to receive the crown ‘already laid up for them in heaven.’ When the bishop heard this, he resolved to accompany her. In vain his clergy represented that it did not become a pope of Rome and a man of venerable years to run after a company of maidens, however immaculate they might be. Cyriacus had been counselled by an angel of God, and he made ready to set forth and embark with them on the river Rhine.

“Now it happened that there were at Rome in those days two great Roman captains, cruel heathens, who commanded all the imperial troops in Germania. They, being astonished at the sight of this multitude of virgins, said one to the other, ‘Shall we suffer this? If we allow these Christian maidens to return to Germania, they will convert the whole nation; or if they marry husbands, then they will have so many children

— no doubt all Christians — that our empire will cease ; therefore let us take counsel what is best to be done.’ So these wicked pagans consulted together, and wrote letters to a certain barbarian king of the Huns, who was then besieging Cologne, and instructed him what he should do.

“Meantime St. Ursula and her virgins, with her husband and his faithful knights, prepared to embark : with them went Cyriacus, and in his train Vincenzio and Giacomo, cardinals, and Solfino, archbishop of Ravenna, and Folatino, bishop of Lucca, and the bishop of Faenza, and the patriarch of Grado, and many other prelates ; and after a long and perilous journey they arrived in the port of Cologne.

“They found the city besieged by a great army of barbarians encamped on a plain outside the gates. These pagans, seeing a number of vessels, filled, not with fierce warriors, but beautiful virgins, unarmed youths, and venerable bearded men, stood still at first, staring with amazement ; but after a short pause, remembering their instructions, they rushed upon the unresisting victims. One of the first who perished was the Prince Ethereus, who fell, pierced through by an arrow, at the feet of his beloved princess. Then Cyriacus, the cardinals, and several barons, sank to the earth, or perished in the stream. When the men were dispatched, the fierce barbarians rushed upon the virgins just as a pack of gaunt hungry wolves might fall on a flock of milk-white lambs. Finding that the noble maidens resisted their brutality, their rage was excited, and they drew their swords and massacred them all. Then was it worthy of all admiration to behold these illustrious virgins, who had struggled to defend their virtue, now meekly resigned, and ready as sheep for the slaughter, embracing and encouraging each other ! Oh, then ! had you seen the glorious St. Ursula, worthy to be the captain and leader of this army of virgin martyrs, how she flew from one to the other, heartening them with brave words to die for their faith and honor ! Inspired by her voice, her aspect, they did not quail, but offered themselves to death ; and thus by hundreds and by thousands they perished, and the plain was strewed with their limbs and ran in rivers with their blood. But the barbarians, awed by the majestic beauty of St. Ursula, had no power to strike her, but carried her before their prince, who, looking on her with admiration, said to her, ‘ Weep not, for though thou

hast lost thy companions, I will be thy husband, and thou shalt be the greatest queen in all Germany.' To which St. Ursula, all glowing with indignation and a holy scorn, replied, 'O thou cruel man! — blind and senseless as thou art cruel! thinkest thou I can weep? or dost thou hold me so base, so cowardly, that I would consent to survive my dear companions and sisters? Thou art deceived, O son of Sathan! for I defy thee, and him whom thou servest!' When the proud pagan heard these words, he was seized with fury, and bending his bow, which he held in his hand, he, with three arrows, transfixing her pure breast, so that she fell dead, and her spirit ascended into heaven, with all the glorious sisterhood of martyrs whom she had led to death, and with her betrothed husband and his companions; and there, with palms in their hands and crowns upon their heads, they stand round the throne of Christ, and live in His light and in His approving smile, blessing Him and praising Him forever. Amen!"

In devotional pictures of St. Ursula the usual attributes are the crown as princess, the arrow as martyr, and the pilgrim's staff, surmounted by the white banner with the red cross, the Christian standard of victory. She has also a dove, because a dove revealed to St. Cunibert where she was buried. There is great variety in these representations of St. Ursula; and I shall give some examples.

1. As patron saint, she stands alone, wearing the royal crown, attired in a richly embroidered robe, and over it a scarlet mantle lined with ermine; in one hand a book, in the other an arrow. This, I think, is the usual manner, varied of course in expression and deportment by the taste of the artist.

2. She stands as patron saint, a majestic figure, in a rich dress with regal ornaments, a green or scarlet mantle lined with ermine; in one hand her arrow, and in the other her banner with the red cross. This is the Venetian idea of St. Ursula. She is thus represented by Cima da Conegliano, Carpaccio, and Palma Vecchio.

3. As martyr, she is kneeling or standing, her golden hair flowing upon her shoulders, sometimes crowned, sometimes not; her hands clasped, her bosom transfixing by an arrow; around her, on the ground, her maidens dead. She is thus represented in a most exquisite miniature in the "Heures

d'Anne de Bretagne;" and also in a large print after Lorenzini, in which she stands crowned with her standard of victory, and a steadfast, triumphant expression, while her attendant virgins are martyred in the background.

4. She is standing, or seated on a raised throne or pedestal; her hair bound by a fillet of gems: her arrow in her hand; on each side several of her virgin companions, two of whom bear standards; as in a picture by Martino da Udine,¹ wherein the idea of an immense and indefinite number is well conveyed by an open door or porch on each side, from which the virgins appear to issue. (In the Brera, Milan.)

5. She is standing, holding open with both hands her wide and ermined mantle; underneath its shelter are many virgins wearing crowns. She is here the patroness of young maidens in general, and is thus represented in a very curious picture by Caterina da Vigri, who was herself a saint, perhaps the only female artist who was ever canonized, and whose story is given among the Monastic Legends. [Bologna Academy.]

6. In the famous altar-piece of the Cathedral of Cologne, St. Ursula is standing, gorgeously crowned and attired, and surrounded by her train of virgins.

7. She stands to the left of the Virgin, crowned with flowers, and holding a dove: in a Madonna picture by Brusasorci. (Louvre.)

8. She is standing, with one or more arrows in one hand, and a book in the other. Around her, or sheltered under the wide ample folds of her royal robe, which is sometimes held open by angels, a number of young girls, some holding their books, others conning their tasks, others clasping their hands in adoration. She is here the especial patroness of school-girls, and is thus represented by Lorenzo di Credi, by Hans Memling [as on a panel of the shrine of St. Ursula at Bruges], and I. von Meckenen.

9. The marble statue of St. Ursula, lying dead with the dove at her feet, is very beautiful, and is said to have suggested to Rauch the pose of his reclining statue of Queen Louisa of Prussia. (Cologne, Church of St. Ursula.)

It is an exception when in devotional pictures of St. Ursula

¹ [Falsely assigned to this painter by Hartzen, but proved beyond dispute to be the work of Giovanni Martini, to whom it is now (1892) catalogued. *Vide History of Painting in North Italy*, by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. ii. p. 185.]



St. Ursula (attributed to Stephen Lothener)

the Prince Ethereus is introduced, as in a beautiful group by Hans Burgmair, where she is throned with her husband, both in sumptuous robes, and her virgins in the background.¹

We must be careful not to confound St. Ursula either with St. Christina or with St. Reparata. A female saint, with an



St. Ursula (Memling)

arrow in her hand or in her bosom, and no other attribute, may represent St. Christina; but Christina is never seen with the regal ornaments. In the Florentine pictures St. Reparata has the crown, the ermined robe, and the standard of victory, but never the arrow. Reparata has also the palm; while in pictures of St. Ursula the palm is often replaced by the standard or the arrow.

The separate historical subjects from her life are confined to two — her voyage, and her martyrdom.

1. In a bark, with swelling sails, St. Ursula is seated, wearing her crown; she holds a large open book, and is either reading, or chanting hymns; a number of virgins are seated round her, some with musical instruments, others

reading: at the helm, one of the virgins; sometimes, however, it is a priest or a winged angel. Of this beautiful subject I have seen few examples, and those anonymous, principally drawings or miniatures. If taken in its allegorical signification, as the religious voyage over the ocean of life, — Faith at the prow, and Charity at the helm, — the representation becomes mystical and devotional rather than historical, particularly where angels are introduced as steering or propelling the vessel.

¹ Augsburg. *Vide* Dibdin's *Decameron*.

2. The Martyrdom of St. Ursula is represented in two ways : either she and her maidens are massacred on board her vessel ; or she has landed, and presents herself to the enemy : in either case she is shot with arrows by a soldier (it is a deviation from the legend, as generally accepted, when St. Ursula perishes by the sword and not the arrow) ; the barbarian general stands by. Her virgins and companions are lying dead around her, or the slaughter is going on in the background ; and the locality is usually expressed by the well-known tower, or the Cathedral of Cologne in the distance.

There is a little picture in the collection of Prince Wallerstein, Kensington Palace, in which St. Ursula has just stepped on the shore, a sort of a quay with buildings ; she is attired like a princess, her hands meekly joined, her long golden hair flowing down on her shoulders, and in her face a most divine expression of mild melancholy resignation : two of her maidens bear her train behind, and seem to encourage each other ; two soldiers in rich warlike costume are bending their bows ; the massacre goes forward in the distance.

The history of St. Ursula treated as a series occurs frequently in the stained glass and Gothic sculpture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In painting we have two renowned examples ; the first Italian, the second Flemish ; and both nearly contemporary.

The earliest work of Vittore Carpaccio in Venice was the magnificent series of the life of St. Ursula, painted, in 1490, for the chapel of the Scuola di Sant' Orsola, a beneficent institution, founded for the support and education of female orphans, consequently placed under the protection of the patron saint of maidenhood. [The pictures are now in the Academy at Venice.] Carpaccio has taken the principal incidents of her life in the following order : —

1. The arrival of the ambassadors of the king of England, to require the hand of the Princess Ursula for his son. The king of Brittany receives them seated on a splendid throne, and surrounded by his attendants ; in a compartment to the right the king is again seen leaning his head on his hand in a melancholy mood, and Ursula, standing before her father, appears to comfort him : on the steps leading to the chamber sits an old duenna.

2. The king of Brittany dismisses the ambassadors of the king of England with the conditions imposed by advice of his daughter. In a compartment to the right, St. Ursula is seen sleeping on her bed: she has a vision of the crown of martyrdom prepared for her.

3. The ambassadors of the king of England return with the answer of the Princess Ursula, and the king's son declares his intention of going to see her.

4. On one side is seen the meeting between the prince of England and his bride, St. Ursula. On the other side they take leave of the king of Brittany to embark on their pilgrimage; the ships are seen in the background, with a great company of nobles and virgins.

5. St. Ursula, with her virgins and her companions, arrives at the port of Cologne.

6. St. Ursula, with the prince her husband, and the virgins her companions, arrives at Rome; they are met outside the gates of the city by the Pope Cyriacus, attended by the cardinals and bishops. She and the prince are seen kneeling at the feet of the Pope: two attendants behind carry the royal crowns. The virgins, with the pilgrims and their banners, are seen following; in the distance the Castle of St. Angelo, which marks the locality.

7. The martyrdom of St. Ursula and her companions at Cologne on one side: on the other is seen the interment of the saint; she is represented extended on the bier with her long golden hair; the bodies of other virgins follow in the distance.

8. The glorification of St. Ursula. She is seen standing on a kind of pedestal of green boughs, formed of the palms of the eleven thousand virgins bound together; she looks up, her hair flowing over her shoulders, and her hands joined in prayer; six little angels hover round her; two of them hold over her head the celestial crown. On each side kneels a virgin with a banner, and there are about thirty other kneeling figures; among them Pope Cyriacus, and several prelates: all the heads are full of beauty, life, and character. The background is a landscape seen through lofty arches. The figures throughout wear the Venetian costume of the fifteenth century.

The richness of fancy, the lively dramatic feeling, the originality and naïveté with which the story is told, render these series one of the most interesting examples of early Venetian Art.

Zanetti says that he used to go to the Chapel of St. Ursula and conceal himself, to observe the effect which these pictures produced on the minds of the people as expressed in their countenances. "I myself," he adds, "could hardly turn away my eyes from that charming figure of the saint, where, asleep on her maiden couch, — all grace, purity, and innocence, — she seems, by the expression on her beautiful features, to be visited by dreams from Paradise." A set of old engravings from this series has been lately purchased for the print-room of the British Museum.

About the same period, Hans Hemling painted the magnificent shrine of St. Ursula in St. John's Hospital at Bruges. It is a Gothic chest or casket, constructed to contain the arm of the saint, and adorned with a series of miniatures. The incidents selected by Hemling are not precisely those chosen by Vittore Carpaccio. He appears to have confined himself to her pilgrimage and her martyrdom : —

1. St. Ursula and her companions arrive at Cologne on their way to Rome. Ursula, in the attire of a princess, her hair braided with jewels, is in the act of stepping on shore; one of her virgins holds up her train, another holds out her arm to support and assist her. A number of her companions are seen entering the gates of the city; the cathedral and the towers of Cologne are in the background.

2. The arrival of St. Ursula and her companions at Basle. In the foreground of the picture are two vessels crowded with female figures. In the background the city and cathedral of Basle; and in the extreme distance the Alps, towards which the virgins are seen travelling along a road.

3. The arrival of St. Ursula at Rome. The Pope receives her under the portico of a church, and gives her his benediction; behind her kneels the bridegroom prince; on the other side is seen the baptism of several of the prince's companions, and in the background St. Ursula is seen confessing, and receiving the sacrament.

4. The second arrival in the neighborhood of Basle. Two vessels in the foreground, on board of which are seen St. Ursula with her husband, and Pope Cyriacus with a number of his prelates. Some of the virgins are seen going off in a boat.

5. The massacre of the pilgrims on their arrival at Cologne. The two vessels are seen crowded with the martyrs; soldiers

in the foreground are shooting at them with crossbows; a fierce soldier is seen plunging his sword into the bosom of the prince of England, who falls into the arms of St. Ursula.

6. The martyrdrom of St. Ursula. She is standing before the tent of the general of the barbarians; a number of soldiers are around; one of them, with his bow bent, prepares to transfix her.

Kugler's account of these subjects is not quite accurate;¹ but his praise of the beauty of the execution, and the truth of feeling and expression in some of the heads, is perfectly just. They are each about eighteen inches high, — historical pictures finished with all the precision and delicacy of a miniature on vellum. There is a good set of engravings (colored after the originals) in the British Museum.

I saw in the Hôtel de Cluny at Paris two curious pictures from the story of St. Ursula. In the first, the king of England sends ambassadors to the king of Brittany; in the second, the ambassadors are received by the king of Brittany, and Ursula, seated on a throne beside her father, delivers her answer to their request. The artist has taken great pains to distinguish the heathen and barbarous court of England from the civilized and Christian court of Brittany.

ST. MARGARET

Ital. Santa Margarita. *Fr.* Sainte Marguerite. *Ger.* Die Heilige Margaretha. Patron saint of women in childbirth. Patroness of Cremona. (July 20, A. D. 306.)

The legend of St. Margaret, which is of Greek origin, was certainly known in Europe as early as the fifth century, being among those which were repudiated as apocryphal by Pope Gelasius in 494. From that time we hear little of her till the eleventh century, when her legend and her name — which signifies a pearl, and has been given to that little lowly flower we call the daisy — were both introduced from the East by the first crusaders, and soon became popular all over Europe.²

¹ [In the revised editions of Kugler, the outline of subjects given both by Dr. Waagen and by Crowe agrees substantially with this.]

² The first personage of distinction in Europe who bore this name was Margaret, the sister of Edgar Atheling and Queen of Malcolm III. of Scotland. She received the name in Hungary, where she was born in 1046, and introduced it

In the fourteenth century we find her one of the most favorite saints, particularly amongst women, by whom she was invoked against the pains of childbirth. She was also the chosen type of female innocence and meekness; the only one of the four great patronesses who is not represented as profoundly learned: —

Mild Margarete, that was God's maid;

Maid Margarete, that was so meeke and mild;

and other such phrases, in the old metrical legends, show the *feeling* with which she was regarded. There are no less than 238 churches in England dedicated in her honor.

Her story is singularly wild. She was the daughter of a priest of Antioch named Theodosius; and in her infancy, being of feeble health, she was sent to a nurse in the country. This woman, who was secretly a Christian, brought up Margaret in the true faith. The holy maid, while employed in keeping the few sheep of her nurse, meditated on the mysteries of the Gospel, and devoted herself to the service of Christ. One day the governor of Antioch, whose name was Olybrius, in passing by the place, saw her, and was captivated by her beauty. He commanded that she should be carried to his palace, being resolved, if she were of free birth, to take her for his wife; but Margaret rejected his offers with scorn, and declared herself the servant of Jesus Christ. Her father and all her relations were struck with horror at this revelation. They fled, leaving her in the power of the governor, who endeavored to subdue her constancy by the keenest torments: they were so terrible that the tyrant himself, unable to endure the sight, covered his face with his robe; but St. Margaret did not quail beneath them. Then she was dragged to a dungeon, where Satan, in the form of a terrible dragon, came upon her with his inflamed and hideous mouth wide open, and sought to terrify and confound her; but she held up the cross of the Redeemer, and he fled before it. Or, according to the more popular version, he swallowed her up alive, but immediately burst; and she emerged unhurt: another form of the familiar allegory the power of sin overcome by the power of the cross. He returned in the form of a man, to tempt her further; but she overcame

into the west of Europe. She was herself canonized as a saint, and so greatly beloved in England and Scotland, that it contributed, perhaps, to render the name popular: there were then as many *Margarets* as there are now *Victorias*.

him, and, placing her foot on his head, forced him to confess his foul wickedness, and to answer to her questions. She was again brought before the tyrant, and, again refusing to abjure her faith, she was further tortured; but the sight of so much constancy in one so young and beautiful only increased the number of converts, so that in one day five thousand were baptized, and declared themselves ready to die with her. Therefore the governor took counsel how this might be prevented, and it was advised that she should be beheaded forthwith. And as they led her forth to death, she thanked and glorified God that her travail was ended; and she prayed that those who invoked her in the pains of childbirth should find help through the merits of her sufferings, and in memory of her deliverance from the womb of the great dragon. A voice from heaven assured her that her prayer was granted; so she went and received joyfully the crown of martyrdom, being beheaded by the sword.

In devotional pictures, the attribute of St. Margaret is the dragon. She is usually trampling him under her feet, holding up the cross in her hand. Sometimes the dragon is bound with a cord; or his jaws are distended as if to swallow her; or he is seen rent and burst, and St. Margaret stands upon him unharmed,—as in the old metrical legend in the Auchinleck MSS. :—

Maiden Margrete tho [*then*]
 Loked her beside,
 And sees a loathly dragon
 Out of an hirn [*corner*] glide:
 His eyen were ful griesly,
 His mouth opened wide,
 And Matgrete might no where flee,
 There she must abide.

Maiden Margrete
 Stood still as any stone,
 And that loathly worm,
 To her-ward gan gone,
 Took her in his foul mouth,
 And swallowed her flesh and bone.
 Anon he brast—
 Damage bath she none!
 Maiden Margrete
 Upon the dragon stood;
 Blyth was her harte,
 And joyful was her mood.



ST. MARGARET (RAPHAEL)

This is literally the picture which, in several instances, the artists have placed before us.

As martyr she bears, of right, the palm and the crown; and these, in general, serve to distinguish St. Margaret from St. Martha, who has also the attributes of the dragon and the cross. Here, however, setting the usual attributes aside, the character ought to be so distinctly marked, that there should be no possibility of confounding the beautiful and deified heroine of a spiritual warfare with the majestic maturity and staid simplicity of Martha.

In some pictures St. Margaret has a garland of pearls round her head, in allusion to her name; and I have seen one picture (in the Siena Academy), and only one, in which she wears a garland of daisies, and carries daisies in her lap and in her hand.

I shall now give some examples of St. Margaret treated devotionally.

1. The famous St. Margaret of Raphael (in the Louvre) was painted for Francis I., in compliment to his sister, Margaret of Navarre. It represents the saint in the moment of victory, just stepping forward with a buoyant and triumphant air, in which there is also something exquisitely sweet and girlish; one foot on the wing of the dragon, which crouches open-mouthed beneath: her right hand holds the palm, her left sustains her robe. Her face is youthful, mild, and beautiful; the hair without ornament; the simplicity and elegance of the whole figure quite worthy of Raphael, whose aim has evidently been to place before us an *allegory*, and not an action: it is innocence triumphant over the power of sin. The St. Margaret in the Vienna Gallery, which has been styled by Passavant and others a *duplicate* of this famous picture, is no duplicate, but altogether a different composition. The face is in profile, the attitude rather forced, and she holds the crucifix, instead of the palm. It is no doubt by Giulio Romano, and one of the many instances in which he took an *idea* from Raphael, and treated it in his own manner.

2. Parmigiano. The altar-piece, painted for the Giusti Chapel in the Convent of St. Margaret, at Bologna; it represents her kneeling, and caressing the Infant Christ, who is

seated in the lap of his mother; behind the Virgin sits St. Augustine, and on the other side is St. Jerome; at the feet of St. Margaret is seen the dragon, open-mouthed, as usual.

3. Lucas v. Leyden.¹ She is in a rich dress, stiff with embroidery, and reading a book; while seen, as crouching under the skirt of her robe, is the head of the dragon, which the painter has endeavored, and not in vain, to render as hideous, as terrible, and as real as possible: in consequence, the effect is disagreeable: but the picture is wonderfully painted. In another example by the same painter, she has issued from the back of the dragon, holding the cross, through which she has conquered, in her hand: a part of her robe in the jaws of the dragon signifies that he had just swallowed her up. (Munich Gallery.)

4. Luca Penni. She is trampling on the demon in human shape, which is unusual. Her martyrdom is seen in the background. (Copenhagen.)

5. Annibal Caracci. She is leaning on a pedestal in a meditative attitude, holding the Gospel; the dragon at her feet. A majestic figure life size. (Sutherland Gallery.)

6. Niccolò Poussin. She is kneeling on the vanquished dragon with extended arms, while two angels crown her. (Turin Gallery.)

Historical pictures of St. Margaret are uncommon.

In the Christian Museum in the Vatican there is a St. Margaret, standing, in green drapery, richly embroidered with gold flowers, and bearing the cross: the dragon, here extremely small, is beneath her feet. Around are nine small compartments: in the upper one, Christ in the sepulchre, with the Virgin and St. John; and on each side, four historical subjects. 1. St. Margaret, keeping sheep, is seen by the governor of Antioch. 2. She is brought before him, and declares her faith. 3. She is in prison, and visited by the Holy Spirit (or Peace) in form of a dove. 4. She is tortured cruelly, being suspended on a gallows, while executioners tear her with prongs. 5. She is swallowed up by the dragon in her dungeon. 6. She is in a caldron of boiling pitch. 7. She is decapitated. 8. Miracles are performed at her shrine.

¹ [The Bartolomäus altar, of which this figure is a part, is an anonymous work. See the *Geschichte der Deutschen Kunst*, by Dr. H. Janitschek, p. 514.]

We find the same selection of subjects in the ancient stained glass.

Vida has celebrated St. Margaret in two Latin hymns.

In the four illustrious virgin saints I have just described, there is an individuality which is strongly marked in their respective legends, and which ought to have been attended to in works of Art, though we seldom find it so. The distinctive character should be, in St. Catherine, dignity and intellect; in St. Barbara, fortitude and a resolute but reflecting air — she, too, was a *savante*; in St. Ursula, a devout enthusiasm, tempered with benignity; in St. Margaret, meekness and innocence, —

Si douce est la Marguerite.

IX. THE EARLY MARTYRS

“The noble army of martyrs praise thee!”

WHEN, in the daily service of our Church, we repeat these words of the sublime hymn, I wonder sometimes whether it be with a full appreciation of their meaning? whether we do really reflect on all that this noble army of martyrs hath conquered for us? Did they indeed glorify God through their courage, and seal their faith in their Redeemer with their blood? And if it be so, how is it that we Christians have learned to look coldly upon the effigies of those who sowed the seed of the harvest which we have reaped? *Sanguis martyrum semen Christianorum!* We may admit that the reverence paid to them in former days was unreasonable and excessive; that credulity and ignorance have in many instances falsified the actions imputed to them; that enthusiasm has magnified their numbers beyond all belief; that when the communion with martyrs was associated with the presence of their material remains, the passion for relics led to a thousand abuses, and the belief in their intercession to a thousand superstitions. But why, in uprooting the false, uproot also the beautiful and the true? Surely it is a thing not to be set aside or forgotten, that generous men and meek women, strong in the strength and elevated by the sacrifice of a Redeemer, did suffer, did endure, did triumph for the truth's sake, did leave us an example which ought to make our hearts glow within us, in admiration and gratitude! Surely, then, it is no unfit employment for the highest powers of Art, that of keeping alive their blessed and heroic memory; and no desecration of our places of worship, that their effigies, truly, or at least worthily expressed, should be held up to our veneration, and the story of their sublime devotion sometimes brought to remembrance. And this was the opinion strongly expressed by Dr. Arnold, whom no one, I suppose, will suspect of a leaning towards the idolatrous tendencies of Art. In speak-

ing of a visit which he paid to the church of San Stefano at Rome, he remarks, — “No doubt many of the particular stories thus painted will bear no critical examination; it is likely enough, too, that Gibbon has truly accused the general statements of exaggeration. But this is a thankless labor. Divide the sum total of reported martyrs by twenty — by fifty if you will; after all, you have a number of persons of all ages and sexes suffering cruel torments and death for conscience’ sake, and for Christ’s; and by their sufferings manifestly with God’s blessing insuring the triumph of Christ’s Gospel. Neither do I think that we consider the excellence of our martyr spirit half enough. I do not think that pleasure is a sin; but though pleasure is not a sin, yet surely the contemplation of suffering for Christ’s sake is a thing most needful for us in our days, from whom in our daily life suffering seems so far removed. And as God’s grace enabled rich and delicate persons, women and even children, to endure all extremities of pain and reproach in times past, so there is the same grace no less mighty now; and if we do not close ourselves against it, it might be in us no less glorified in a time of trial.”

And, why, indeed, should we shut up our hearts against such influences, and force ourselves to regard as a snare what ought to be a source of divine comfort and encouragement — of power, for the awakening up of those whose minds are absorbed in selfish sorrows, or for the strengthening of those who even now are contending for the truth among us, and who perish martyrs, because there prevails some form of social idolatry, against which they resist unto death!

Not that I quite sympathize with the occasion which gave rise to the above beautiful passage in Dr. Arnold’s journal. However I may admire the sentiments expressed, to my taste martyrdoms are abhorrent, and I remember that I never entered the Church of San Stefano without being sick at heart; those dolorous and sanguinary death-scenes, which make its walls hideous, are no more fitted for spiritual edification than the spectacle of public executions avails to teach humanity and respect for the law. It is, however, a circumstance worthy of remark, as true now, and truer in the middle ages, that the sympathy of the lower orders was less excited by the apparatus of physical agony than by the bearing of the victim. To them the indomitable courage, the patient endurance, the

glorious triumph of the sufferer were more than the stake, the wheel, the rack, the scourge, the knife. The former were heart-soothing, soul-lifting, light-giving! the latter had been rendered by the Eccellinos, the Visconti, and other insane monsters of those days, mere commonplaces, the daily spectacle of real life. The most beautiful and edifying representations of the martyrs are not those which place them before us agonized under the lash or the knife of the executioner, but those in which they look down upon us from their serene beatitude, — their work done, their triumph accomplished, holding their victorious palm and wearing their crown of glory; while the story of their sufferings is suggested to the memory by the accompanying attribute — the sword, the arrow, or the wheel.

The writers of Church history reckon ten persecutions during three hundred years which elapsed between the reign of Nero and that of Constantine, and the saints who suffered within this period are commemorated as the early martyrs. I have not, in the subsequent essays, arranged them chronologically; for any such arrangement, with reference to Art, could have produced nothing but confusion. The principle of association through which certain of these personages will be found grouped together under particular circumstances, in particular localities, is infinitely more suggestive and poetical; and I have endeavored to follow it out, as far as this could be done with any regard to order. But is it not unaccountable, and matter of regret as well as wonder, that some of the best-authenticated and most edifying of the early martyrdoms should be comparatively unknown as subjects of Art? In all the histories of the Christian Church, whether written by Protestant or Catholic, we find the mild heroism of Vivia Perpetua and the slave Felicitas, — the eloquence and courage of Justin, who exchanged the title of *Philosopher* for that of *Martyr*, — the fortitude of the aged Polycarp, — duly and honorably recorded. All these stories are beautifully narrated in Mr. Milman's "History of Christianity;" and I recommend them to the attention of those of our painters who may be seeking for incidents and characters connected with the history of our faith, at once new in Art, and unexceptionable in point of authenticity.

It appears that the first seven persecutions were local or

accidental. It was in the reign of Hadrian that the populace first began to demand that the Christians should be put to death at the great festivals; an example having been already recorded in the reign of Trajan, when St. Ignatius was thrown to the lions. Yet Hadrian, though incapable of comprehending or appreciating the spirit of Christianity, defended the Christians, and placed them under the protection of the laws. The first *general* persecution by imperial decree was in the reign of Decius, in which many Christians were martyred, and many also fell from the faith. The tenth and last persecution, under Diocletian, Galerius, and Maximin, was the most terrible of all; the number of Christian martyrs who perished was undoubtedly great, but has been much exaggerated. Almost all the legendary inventions and spurious acts of martyrs are referred to these bloodthirsty tyrants, who figure in the old legends as a sort of Ogres, demons incarnate, existing on earth for no other purpose but to rage, blaspheme, and invent tortures by which to test the heroism and constancy of the servants of Christ.

To understand some of these stories of martyrdom, we must transport ourselves in fancy to the primitive ages of the Church. It was then the established and universal belief among Christians that infernal spirits were at once the authors and the objects of idolatry. It was held for certain that the gods of the pagans were demons who had assumed the names and attributes of the popular divinities, and appropriated the incense offered on the altars. The Christians, therefore, believed in the real existence of these false gods; but their belief was mingled with detestation and horror. Idolatry was to them no mere speculative superstition; it was, if I may so apply the strong expression of Carlyle, "a truth clad in hell-fire." The slightest leaning towards the heathen worship was not only treason against the majesty of the true God, but a direct homage to those angels of darkness who had been in rebellion against Him from the beginning. Hence the language and bearing of the early martyrs were not only marked by resistance, but by abhorrence and defiance; hence a courage more than human sustained them; and hence, too, the furious indignation of the priests and people, when they found their gods not merely regarded with philosophical indifference as

images or allegories, but spurned as impure, malevolent, reprobate — yet living and immortal — spirits.

The beatified martyrs were early introduced into church decoration. I remember two instances as particularly striking. The first is an ancient mosaic in the Church of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna (A. D. 534). On the right hand as we enter, and immediately above the arches of the nave, we behold a long procession of twenty-one martyrs, carrying their crowns in their hands; they appear advancing towards a figure of our Saviour, who stands with an angel on each side, ready to receive them. On the wall to the left is a like procession of virgin martyrs, also bearing their crowns, and advancing to a figure of the throned Madonna, who, with an angel on each side, appears to be seated there to receive their homage.¹ These processions extend to the entrance of the choir, and the figures are colossal, — I suppose about seven or eight feet high. They are arranged in the following order: ² —

St. Clement.	St. Euphemia.	St. Ursinus.	St. Eulalia.
Justinus.	Paulina.	Apollinaris.	Agnes.
Laurence.	Daria. ³	Sebastian.	Agatha.
Hippolytus.	Anastasia.	Demetrius.	Pelagia.
Cyprian.	Justina.	Polycarp.	Sabina.
Cornelius.	Perpetua.	Vincent.	Christina.
Cassian.	Felicitas.	Pancratius.	Eugenia.
John and	Vincentia.	Chrysogonus.	Anatolia.
Paul.	Valeria.	Sabinus.	Victoria.
Vitalis,	Crispina.		
Gervasius, and	Lucia.		
Protasius.	Cecilia.		

This list of martyrs is of very great importance, as being, I believe, the earliest in the history of Art. It shows us what martyrs were most honored in the sixth century. It shows us that many names, then held in most honor, have since fallen into comparative neglect; and that others, then unknown or unacknowledged, have since become most celebrated. It will be remarked, that the virgins are led by St. Euphemia, and

¹ There is a beautiful modern imitation of this old mosaic decoration in the Church of St. Vincent de Paul at Paris, painted in fresco by M. Flandrin.

² According to Ciampini (*vide Vetera Monumenta*, vol. ii.), and a note I made on the spot; but, owing to a scaffolding raised against part of the wall, it was difficult to be accurate.

³ The proper companion of St. Daria would be St. Chrysanthus.

not by St. Catherine: that there is no St. Barbara, no St. Margaret, no St. George, no St. Christopher; all of whom figure conspicuously in the mosaics of Monreale at Palermo, executed five centuries later. In fact, of these forty-two figures executed at Ravenna, by Greek artists in the service of Justinian, only five — Euphemia, Cyprian and Justina, Polycarp and Demetrius — are properly Greek saints; all the rest are Latin saints, whose worship originated with the Western and not with the Eastern Church.

In the Church of Santa Prassede at Rome (A. D. 817) the arrangement is altogether different from that at Ravenna, and equally striking. Over the grand arch which separates the choir from the nave is a mosaic, representing the New Jerusalem, as described in the Revelation. It is a walled inclosure, with a gate at each end, guarded by angels. Within is seen the Saviour of the world, holding in His hand the orb of sovereignty; and a company of the blessed seated on thrones: outside, the noble army of martyrs are seen approaching, conducted and received by angels. They are all arrayed in white, and carry crowns in their hands. Lower down, on each side, a host of martyrs press forward, with palms and crowns, to do homage to the LAMB, throned in the midst. None of the martyrs are distinguished by name, except those to whom the church is dedicated — Santa Prassede and her sister Potentiana. The peculiar propriety and sentiment of the subject as relates to them, I shall point out when treating of their legend hereafter.

In later Art, we find that in all devotional pictures which represent Paradise, the Last Judgment, the Glorification of Christ, or the Coronation of the Virgin, the glorious company of beatified martyrs forms a part of the celestial pomp. Some of these compositions are of wonderful beauty, and much of the pleasure we derive from them will depend on our knowledge of the history and character of those heroes of the faith, and the origin of the attributes assigned to them.

I consider it a fault, when, in such pictures, the apostles figure as martyrs (as in Michael Angelo's Last Judgment), because they had a still higher claim to our veneration, and

should take their place accordingly ; not with the attributes of earthly suffering, as victims ; but with their books as the delegated teachers of mankind. Then, next after the apostles, come the martyrs ; and we find that in all works of Art which may be cited as authorities a certain order is maintained. The first place is usually given to St. Stephen, the second to St. Laurence : when the Innocents are introduced, their proper place is under the throne, or immediately at the feet of Christ. Next to these, the most conspicuous figures are usually St. George and St. Maurice as warriors ; St. Ignatius and St. Clement as bishops ; St. Christopher with his staff, and St. Sebastian with his arrows. The martyrs venerated in the particular locality for which the picture was painted will also have a conspicuous place : for example, in the German pictures we shall probably find St. Boniface and St. Florian ; in the Brescian pictures, St. Faustinus and St. Jovita ; while, in pictures painted for the Dominicans, Peter, the famous martyr of their order, is conspicuous with his bleeding head and his monk's habit. The female martyrs are generally placed together, forming a beautiful group. St. Catherine, in general, takes the first place ; next to her, St. Barbara with her tower ; St. Agnes with her lamb ; St. Lucia with her lamp (or her eyes) ; St. Cecilia crowned with roses ; and behind them a crowd of figures, with palms and glories not otherwise individualized. In such representations the leading idea is obviously borrowed from that magnificent passage in the seventh chapter of the Revelation : "Lo ! a great multitude, which no man could number, clothed with white robes, and with palms in their hands." "These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb ; therefore are they before the throne of God ; and He shall feed them, and shall lead them to living fountains of waters, and shall wipe away all tears from their eyes."

THE INNOCENTS

Ital. Gli Innocenti Fanciulli Martiri. I Santi Bambini Martiri.
Fr. Les Innocents. *Ger.* Die Unschuldigen Kindlein. (December 28.)

The "Massacre of the Innocents," as an action or event, belongs to the history of our Saviour, and I shall say nothing of it here. But the Innocents themselves, as personages, as the first-fruits of martyrdom, have been regarded with an especial homage from the earliest ages of the Church. Not the least divine trait in the character of the Saviour was the love, the reverence, He inculcated for "little children;" and is there not something most natural, most touching, in the early belief that He would regard with peculiar favor, with a more compassionate tenderness, the souls of those innocents who perished, if not in His cause, at least because of *Him*? In their character of martyrs they find an appropriate place in devotional and ecclesiastical Art; and some of these representations are of peculiar interest and beauty. I shall give one or two examples.

In the mosaics of the old Basilica of St. Paul, at Rome, the Innocents are represented by a group of small figures holding palms, and placed immediately beneath the altar or throne, sustaining the Gospel, the cross, and the instruments of the passion of our Lord. Over these figures was the inscription, *HI. S. INNOCENTES*.¹

I saw in one of the old French cathedrals, I think at Aix, a picture, not good nor agreeable as a work of Art, but striking from the peculiar conception. In the midst an altar, and on it the cross, and the Lamb without blemish; around, on the earth, lay the martyred Innocents, bleeding, dead; a little higher up, their spirits were seen ascending with palms in their hands; and above all, the Infant Christ, enthroned, received them into heaven with outstretched arms.

In a "Flight into Egypt," by F. Vanni [S. Quirico, Siena], three or four martyred Innocents lie in the foreground. (*Vide Etruria Pittrice*.)

But the most beautiful devotional representation of the martyred Innocents, the most appropriate, the most significant

¹ A. D. 450. Since the great fire of 1823 these mosaics have been restored.

in sentiment I could cite, is the altar-piece in the church of the Foundling Hospital at Florence (which I may observe, *en passant*, preceded by two hundred years the first institution of that kind in France, by more than three hundred the first in England¹). This altar-piece represents the Virgin and the Infant Christ enthroned in glory; around the throne the elect; and among them, the most conspicuous are the Innocents, lovely children, with every variety of sweet infantine faces, who look up to the Saviour as in supplication, and point to their wounds, which yet are not rendered too obtrusive. The sentiment conveyed is this: "Behold us, who have suffered because of thee, O Saviour! and, for our sake, have mercy and have pity on the forsaken little ones who are brought hither and laid down at thy feet!" [The painting is by Domenico Ghirlandajo, and is considered his finest panel. The two lovely children kneeling in front are attributed to Filippo Lippi.]

There is a picture in the Louvre by Rubens, known as "La Vièrge aux Anges." It represents the Virgin and Child, surrounded by a host of children,—for they are beatified children, not winged angels; many bear palms: they are exquisite for infantine beauty, and I have sometimes thought that Rubens must have intended them for the souls of the Innocents, and not for angels; but I have no authority for this supposition, and can only say that such was the impression conveyed to my mind. On a further examination of this picture, I came to the conclusion that Rubens had not intended to represent either the Innocents or Cherubim, but the Spirits (angels) of beatified children, in allusion to the text, *Matt. xviii. 10.*

ST. STEPHEN, DEACON AND PROTO-MARTYR

Lat. S. Stephanus. *Ital.* San Stefano. *Fr.* St. Etienne. *Ger.* Der Heilige Stefan. (December 26.)

The brief and simple account of Stephen, as given in the sixth and seventh chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, I presume to be familiar to the reader. Little has been added by

¹ I speak of the present magnificent foundation at Florence, dating from 1448. So early as 1193 there was a hospital there for poor forsaken children,—the first, in all probability, that ever existed.

the fancy or the veneration of his votaries. He is held in the highest honor as the first who shed his blood in testimony to Christ, and described as a man full of faith and power and of the Holy Ghost. Having been chosen deacon during the first ministry of Peter, and before the conversion of Paul, and after performing "great wonders and miracles among the people," he was, upon the evidence of false witnesses, accused of speaking blasphemous words against the Temple and against the Jewish law — that temple which is now destroyed, that law which has been superseded by a diviner, a more universal law of "peace on earth, and good-will towards men;" whereupon he was condemned to death, and stoned by the infuriated people outside the gates of the city.

So far the Scripture record. The legend, which accounts for the discovery of his relics, and their present resting-place in the Basilica of San Lorenzo at Rome, is thus given:—

"No one knew what had become of the body of the saint till about four hundred years afterwards; when Lucian, a priest of Carsagamala in Palestine, was visited in a dream by Gamaliel, the doctor of the law at whose feet Paul was brought up in all the learning of the Jews; and Gamaliel revealed to him that after the death of Stephen he had carried away the body of the martyred saint, and had buried it in his own sepulchre, and had also deposited near to it the bodies of Nicodemus and other saints; and this dream having been repeated three times, Lucian went with others deputed by the bishop, and dug with mattocks and spades in the spot which had been indicated, — a sepulchre in a garden, — and found what they supposed to be the remains of St. Stephen, their peculiar sanctity being proved by many miracles. These relics were first deposited in Jerusalem, in the church of Sion, and afterwards by the younger Theodosius carried to Constantinople, and thence by Pope Pelagius conveyed to Rome, and placed in the same tomb with St. Laurence. It is related that when they opened the sarcophagus and lowered into it the body of St. Stephen, St. Laurence moved on one side, giving the place of honor on the right hand to St. Stephen: hence the common people of Rome have conferred on St. Laurence the title of 'Il cortese Spagnuolo,' — 'the courteous Spaniard.'" St. Stephen is not so popular as many saints less accredited. There are only forty churches in England dedicated to him.

In devotional pictures, the figure of St. Stephen, which is of constant recurrence, seldom varies in character, though it does so in the choice and arrangement of the attributes. He is generally represented young, of a mild and beautiful aspect, habited in the rich dress of a deacon, the dalmatica being generally of crimson, covered with embroidery; it is square and straight at the bottom, with loose sleeves and heavy gold tassels hanging down from the shoulders before and behind. He bears the palm almost invariably, as proto-martyr. The stones, which are his peculiar attribute, are either in his hand or in his drapery, or on his head and shoulders, or lying at his feet; or sometimes on the Scriptures, which he holds in his hand, showing the manner of death he suffered for the Gospel, and in allusion also to his preaching before his death. In such figures, when imperfectly executed, it is necessary to distinguish the three balls of St. Nicholas from the stones of St. Stephen. When the stones are introduced, and are palpably and indubitably stones, then it is impossible to mistake Stephen for any other saint: but they are often omitted; it then becomes difficult to distinguish St. Stephen from St. Vincent, who also bears the palm and the deacon's habit. In the Scripture story there is no allusion to the age of Stephen at the time he suffered; but in Italian Art he is always young and beardless, perhaps in allusion to the description of his appearance when accused: "They saw his face as it had been the face of an angel," which of course could not well apply to an old or bearded man; and he has always a meek expression, being not only proto-martyr, but also considered as the type, next to Christ, of forgiveness of injuries, — "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge!"

This is the conception in Italian and German Art, but in Spanish Art I have seen St. Stephen bearded, and with the lineaments of a man of thirty.

I will give a few examples in which St. Stephen figures as proto-martyr or as deacon: —

1. Mosaic. (Monreale, Palermo.) As deacon, he stands with St. Laurence; each holds a censer (*turibolo*), anciently the office of the deacon, but not in the time of Stephen. The use of incense in churches dates from the fourth century.

2. He stands holding his palm in one hand, in the other a

book; stones upon his head and upon his shoulders: as in a picture by Carpaccio. (Brera, Milan.)

3. In a beautiful fresco by Brusasorci, he presents the martyred Innocents to Christ. The children go before him, bearing palms in their little hands. He, with a paternal air, seems to recommend them to Christ, who is in a glory above. (Verona.)

4. Francia. St. Stephen as martyr, his palm in one hand, in the other a book, on which are three stones stained with blood.

5. He stands holding a banner, on which is a white lamb and a red cross; stones on his head: in an anonymous Siena picture. This is the only instance in which I have seen St. Stephen holding a banner. The painters of the Siena school indulged in various caprices and peculiarities, often highly poetical; but they must never be regarded as authorities, except in their own local saints.

6. St. Stephen stands on a throne as patron, holding his palm and book; two angels from above crown him: on each side, St. Augustine and St. Nicholas, in a very fine picture by Calisto Piazza. (Brera, Milan.)

7. He stands with other saints, distinguished by his palm, his deacon's dress, and his wounded and bleeding head. (The wounds on his *head* distinguish him from St. Laurence and St. Vincent.)

8. Albert Dürer. St. Stephen standing with his palm in one hand, with the other holds up the skirt of his deacon's robe, in which are seen several stones stained with blood.



St. Stephen (Martin Schoen)

The martyrdom of St. Stephen (which led the way to so many other martyrdoms in the same righteous and sacred

cause, and is the first event of any essential importance after the disciples were left to fight the battle of their Lord on earth) has been often represented; and is so easily recognized that I shall not dwell upon it further than to mention a few striking examples. Of course the *motif* does not vary; we have the infuriated crowd, the mild unresisting victim, and Saul, looking on and "consenting to his death:" but, from the number of figures, the arrangement and the sentiment are capable of great variety.

1. The earliest example I have ever seen is an old Greek picture. St. Stephen is kneeling; around him are seen rude



Martyrdom of St. Stephen (Giulio Romano)

representations of walls and gates, eight figures throwing stones, and the Almighty hand, holding the martyr's crown, is over his head. (Eng. in D'Agincourt, pl. 34.)

2. Raphael has treated the subject classically. The figure of Stephen kneeling, with outstretched arms, as if he offered himself as victim, is very fine. The other figures look more like Romans than Jews; Saul, in the dress of a Roman warrior, is seated under a tree. [The composition is one of the series of Raphael's famous tapestries now in the Vatican.]

In the Martyrdom of St. Stephen at Genoa, painted by Giulio Romano (*it is said* from a cartoon by Raphael), the composition seemed to me confused, and the picture when at Paris was shamefully repainted.

3. Cigoli. A composition of eight figures. Stephen, struck down by a stone, falls backward. The ferocity of the executioners is painfully prominent; one of them kicks him. The Trinity is seen in a glory above, and an angel descends with a crown and palm. The picture is admirable for vigor and for pathos; but it is more like a murder than a martyrdom. (Florence Academy.)

4. The martyrdom of St. Stephen, in a fine engraving, by C. Cort (1576), after Marcello Venusti. A little child is bringing stones in its vest to help the executioners. This has always appeared to me a fault both of taste and feeling: the introduction of a child thus employed adds a touch of horror, but is surely unchristian in spirit, and unwarranted by the text. The incident, however, occurs so frequently in pictures that it may possibly be founded on some legend of St. Stephen unknown to me.

5. Domenichino. In our National Gallery, a picture in which the subject is very dramatically treated.

6. Annibal Caracci has treated the same subject several times with great force of expression. There is a beautiful sketch in the Sutherland Gallery.

7. Le Brun. St. Stephen, lying on the ground, his face turned towards heaven with an expression of mild trusting faith, has just received his death-blow; the executioners stand, as it were, in suspense, looking on. This is, beyond all comparison, the finest picture which Lebrun ever painted; the pathos and truth of the sentiment and the absence of everything forced or theatrical, are so unlike the usual character of his works, that I could not at first believe it to be his. (In the Louvre.)

8. Le Sueur. St. Stephen, lying dead on the ground, is bewailed by the disciples and the women, who prepare to carry him to the tomb. (Acts viii. 2.)

The life of St. Stephen, in a succession of subjects, is frequent in the ancient stained glass, and has been treated in mural frescoes and as a series of pictures. Some examples are famous in the history of Art, and in all the instances I can remember the incidents represented are the same.

I. Fra Angelico, when summoned to Rome by Nicholas V. in 1447, painted the history of St. Stephen and St. Laurence on the walls of a chapel in the Vatican, now called "la Cappella di Niccolò V.," and sometimes "la Cappella di San Lorenzo." The scenes from the life of St. Stephen are arranged in the following order: —

1. St. Stephen is invested with the office of deacon. It is not said in the Acts that he was appointed by St. Peter, but it is so represented by Angelico: kneeling, he receives from St.

Peter the sacramental cup. In the early Church it was the office of the deacon to take charge of the cup and of all things pertaining to the altar. The six other deacons are in the background. 2. St. Stephen ministers to the poor: for this purpose he was appointed deacon. Three of the figures represent widows, in allusion to the text, Acts vi. 1. 3. St.



St. Stephen Preaching (Angelico)

Stephen preaches to the people. He is standing on a step; his audience, consisting chiefly of women and children, are seated before him. Several men, evidently unconverted, stand in the background, — “But they were not able to resist the wisdom and the spirit by which he spake; then they suborned false witnesses, and brought him to the council.” (Acts vi. 10.) 4. “Then said the high-priest, Are these things so?”

Stephen stands in front, the high-priest has just put the interrogation, and Stephen, with his hand raised, is about to reply: "Men, brethren, and fathers, hearken!" (Acts vii. 2.) Several old men stand round with malicious faces; one of these, evidently his accuser, has the dress and shaven crown of a monk. 5. Stephen is dragged forth to martyrdom. The scene represents the walls of the city, and they are haling him through the gate. "They cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord." (Acts vii. 57.) 6. The Martyrdom of Stephen. He is kneeling, with clasped hands; Saul, who is not here a young man, but with the bald head and pointed beard, which is the characteristic type, stands to the left, calmly looking on. The last composition is ineffective, and inferior to all the others.

Angelico has represented Stephen as a young man, beardless, and with a most mild and candid expression. His dress is the deacon's habit, of a vivid blue.

II. The set of pictures by Carpaccio, which once existed entire in Venice, is now distributed through several galleries.

1. St. Stephen consecrated deacon by St. Peter, with six others; they are all kneeling before him: in the background, sea and mountains. (Berlin Gallery.) 2. The preaching of Stephen. He stands upon a pedestal or pulpit, in the court of the Temple, in an attitude of demonstration. The multitude around him; many in strange dresses from different parts of the world. (Louvre.) 3. St. Stephen disputing with the doctors. (Milan, Brera.) 4. The last picture of the series, the Martyrdom, I have not met with. [It is at Stuttgart. The fifth, representing the saint between St. Nicholas and St. Thomas Aquinas, is lost.]

Carpaccio also has represented Stephen as young and of a beautiful countenance; he wears the deacon's habit, which is red, embroidered with gold.

III. Much finer than either of these is the series by Juan Juanes. It consists of the usual subjects, but the treatment is very peculiar, and stamped by the character of the Spanish school. The figures are life size. (Madrid Gallery.)

1. The series commences with his consecration as deacon. 2. Then follows the dispute in the synagogue. There are ten figures of doctors, "Cyrenians, Alexandrians, and those of Cilicia and Asia;" the heads extremely fine and varied. Stephen

stands with one hand extended as demonstrating; in the other he holds the Scriptures of the Old Testament, out of which he confuted his opponents. 3. Stephen accused. The doctors stop their ears: he points through an open window, where Christ is seen in glory, — “Behold! I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God!” The high-priest is on a throne, and the architecture and all the accessories are magnificent. 4. Stephen is dragged forth to martyrdom. The executioners have their mouths open with a dog-like grin of malice; one raises his hand to strike the saint; Saul walks by his side, with the dignified, resolute air of a persecutor from conviction, who is discharging a solemn duty, and is well contrasted with the vulgar cruelty of the mob. Studies for such scenes must have been common in Spain; many a Dominican inquisitor might have sat for Saul.¹ 5. St. Stephen is stoned in the act of prayer: “Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.” 6. He is buried by the disciples, being laid in the tomb in his deacon’s dress. Many are weeping, and the whole composition is extremely fine and solemn.

In this series Stephen is represented as a man about thirty, with a short black beard and the Spanish physiognomy; his deacon’s habit is blue (as in the series by Angelico); which is remarkable, because this color is now never used in sacred vestments.

St. Stephen and St. Laurence, both deacons, both martyrs, both young, and having the same character of mild devotion, are frequently represented in companionship.

ST. LAURENCE, DEACON AND MARTYR

Lat. S. Laurentius. *Ital.* San Lorenzo. *Fr.* St. Laurent. *Ger.* Der Heilige Laurentius or Lorenz. Patron of Nuremberg, of the Escorial, and of Genoa. (August 10, A. D. 258.)

It is singular that of this young and renowned martyr, honored at Rome next to St. Peter and St. Paul, so little should be known, and it is no less singular that there has been no attempt to fill up the lack of material by invention. Of his existence, and the main circumstances of his martyrdom, as

¹ *Vide* Sir E. Head’s *Handbook of Spanish Art*, p. 71, for a good description of this series. Also, Stirling-Maxwell’s *Annals of the Artists of Spain* [vol. ii. p. 424.]

handed down by tradition, there can be little doubt. The place of his birth, the period at which he lived, and the events of his life, have all been matters of dispute, and have been left uncertain by the best writers. His legend is thus related in the "Flos Sanctorum."

About the time when Valerian was a prisoner to Sapor, king of Persia, and his son Gallienus reigned in the East, lived Sixtus II., bishop of Rome, the twenty-fourth in succession from St. Peter; and he had for his deacon a young and pious priest named Laurence, who was a Spaniard, a native of Osca, or Huesca, in the kingdom of Aragon (in which city the father and mother of St. Laurence are honored as saints, under the names of Orentius and Patienza). Being very young on his arrival in Rome, he walked so meekly and so blamelessly before God, that Sixtus chose him for his arch-deacon, and gave into his care the treasures of the Church, as they were then styled; which treasures consisted in a little money, some vessels of gold and silver, and copes of rich embroidery for the service of the altar, which had been presented to the Church by certain great and devout persons, Julia Mammea, mother of the Emperor Alexander Severus, Flavia Domitilla, the Emperor Philip, and others. And Sixtus, being denounced to the prefect of Rome as a Christian, was led away to prison and soon after sentenced to death; which when Laurence the deacon saw, he was in great affliction, and he clung to his friend and pastor, saying, "Whither goest thou, O my father, without thy son and servant? am I found unworthy to accompany thee to death, and to pour out my blood with thine in testimony to the truth of Christ? St. Peter suffered Stephen, his deacon, to die before him: wilt thou not also suffer me to prepare thy way?" All this he said, and much more, shedding many tears; but the holy man replied, "I do not leave thee, my son; in three days thou shalt follow after me, and thy battle shall be harder than mine; for I am old and weak, and my course shall soon be finished; but thou, who art young and strong and brave, thy torments will be longer and more severe, and thy triumph the greater: therefore grieve not, for Laurence the Levite shall follow Sixtus the Priest." Thus he comforted the young man, and moreover commanded him to take all the possessions of the Church and distribute them to the poor, that they might

in no case fall into the hands of the tyrant. And after this Sixtus was put to death. Then Laurence took the money and treasures of the Church, and walked through all the city of Rome, seeking out the poor and the sick, the naked and the hungry; and he arrived by night at a house on the Celian Hill where dwelt a devout Christian widow whose name was Cyriaca, who kept many fugitive Christians concealed in her house, and ministered to them with unceasing charity. And when Laurence came there he found her sick, and healed her by laying his hands upon her. Then he washed the feet of the Christians who were in the house, and gave them alms; and in this manner he went from one dwelling to another, consoling the persecuted, and dispensing alms and performing works of charity and humility. Thus he prepared himself for his impending martyrdom.

The satellites of the tyrant, hearing that the treasures of the Church had been confided to Laurence, carried him before the tribunal, and he was questioned, but replied not one word; therefore he was put into a dungeon, under the charge of a man named Hippolytus, whom with his whole family he converted to the faith of Christ and baptized; and when he was called again before the prefect, and required to say where the treasures were concealed, he answered that in three days he would show them. The third being come, St. Laurence gathered together the sick and the poor to whom he had dispensed alms, and, placing them before the prefect, said, "Behold, here are the treasures of Christ's Church." Upon this the prefect, thinking he was mocked, fell into a great rage, and ordered St. Laurence to be tortured till he had made known where the treasures were concealed; but no suffering could subdue the patience and constancy of the holy martyr. Then the prefect commanded that he should be carried by night to the baths of Olympias, near the villa of Sallust the historian, and that a new kind of torture should be prepared for him, more strange and cruel than had ever entered into the heart of a tyrant to conceive; for he ordered him to be stretched on a sort of bed, formed of iron bars in the manner of a gridiron, and a fire to be lighted beneath, which should gradually consume his body to ashes; and the executioners did as they were commanded, kindling the fire, and adding coals from time to time, so that the victim was in a manner roasted alive; and

those who were present looked on with horror, and wondered at the cruelty of the prefect who could condemn to such torments a youth of such fair person and courteous and gentle bearing, and all for the lust of gold.

And in the midst of torments, Laurence, to triumph further over the cruelty of the tyrant, said to him, "Seest thou not, O thou foolish man, that I am already roasted on one side, and that, if thou wouldst have me well cooked, it is time to turn me on the other?" And the tyrant and executioners were confounded by his constancy. Then St. Laurence lifted up his eyes to heaven and said, "I thank thee, O my God and Saviour, that I have been found worthy to enter into thy beatitude!" and with these words his pure and invincible spirit fled to heaven.

The prefect and his executioners, seeing that the saint was dead, went their way in great wonder and consternation, leaving his body on the gridiron: and in the morning came Hippolytus and took it away, and buried it reverently in a secret place, in the Via Tiburtina. When this was known to the prefect, he seized Hippolytus, and commanded him to be tied to the tail of a wild horse, and thus he perished. But God suffered not that this wicked and cruel prefect should escape the punishment of his crimes; for, some time afterwards, as he sat in the amphitheatre of Vespasian, and presided over the public games, all of a sudden miserable pangs came over him, and he cried out upon St. Laurence and Hippolytus, and gave up the ghost!

But to St. Laurence was given a crown of glory in heaven, and upon earth eternal and universal praise and fame; for there is scarcely a city or town in all Christendom which does not contain a church and altar dedicated to his honor. The first of these was built by Constantine outside the gates of Rome, on the spot where he was buried; and another was built on the summit of the Viminal Hill, where he was martyred; and besides these, there are at Rome four others; and in Spain, the Escorial; and in Genoa, the Cathedral. In England about two hundred and fifty churches are dedicated in honor of St. Laurence.

Figures of St. Laurence in devotional pictures occur perpetually. He, as well as St. Stephen, wears the deacon's dress,

and has the palm as martyr; and where he bears his familiar attribute, the gridiron (*la graticola*), he is not to be mistaken; but there are instances in which the gridiron is omitted, and he carries a dish full of gold and silver money in his hand—the treasures of the Church confided to his keeping; or he swings a censer; or carries a cross, for it was the province of the deacon to carry the cross in processions and other religious ceremonies. The deacon's dress has been described; in pictures of St. Laurence, who was the first archdeacon, the dress is usually splendid; in some pictures he wears a tunic covered with flames of fire, in allusion to his martyrdom. He is represented younger than Stephen, and with a look of calm sweetness almost angelic. The gridiron varies in form: it is sometimes a parallelogram, formed of transverse bars, on which he leans or sets his foot in triumph; sometimes it has the form of the common kitchen utensil; it is then no longer the attribute, but a mere emblem of the death he suffered. Sometimes a little gridiron is suspended round his neck, or he holds it in his hand, or it is embroidered on his robe. I saw in one of the Italian churches, I think at Cremona, an antique fragment representing the story of Mucius Scævola thrusting his hand into the flames, which the guide pointed out as, “un invitto soldato, che sarà, per certo, un santo martire!” and which the people venerated as a St. Laurence.

1. In a picture by Pinturicchio at Spello, St. Laurence stands with St. Francis by the throne of a beautiful Madonna; he leans on his *graticola*, and, with a truly poetical anticipation, has his martyrdom embroidered on his deacon's robe.

One of the most beautiful devotional figures of St. Laurence I have ever seen is by Ghirlandajo; it represents him looking up with an expression of ecstatic faith: his deacon's tunic is of crimson, with a green mantle in rich folds: it forms one wing of an altar-piece. (Munich.)

The subjects from his life are few; the most frequent is, of course, his famous and frightful martyrdom,—a theme difficult to be treated, so as to render it bearable; we have it in every variety of style—sublime, horrible, grotesque; but it is so peculiar that it can never be mistaken, and admits of little variation in the sentiment. The moment chosen is not, however, always the same; sometimes he is addressing to the prefect the famous ironical speech, which is but too near to

the burlesque; it is literally, "I am done, or roasted, — now turn me, and eat me." (*Assatus est; jam versa et manduca.*) Sometimes he is looking up to the opening heavens, whence the angel floats downward with the palm and crown; executioners are blowing the fire, and bringing fuel to feed it. The time, which was night, the effect of the lurid fire, the undraped beautiful form of the young saint, whose attitude, in spite of the cruel manner of his agony, is susceptible of much grace, the crowd of spectators, with every variety of expression, — all these picturesque circumstances have been admirably employed by Titian in one of the most famous of his compositions, that which he painted for Philip II., to be placed in the Escorial, which was dedicated to St. Laurence. There are many repetitions and engravings.



St. Laurence (Martin Schoen)

The "Martyrdom of St. Laurence," by Baccio Bandinelli the sculptor, is arranged as a scenic bas-relief, and is well known to artists as a study for attitude and form, and to collectors for the beauty of the engraving by Marc' Antonio.

"St. Laurence preparing for his martyrdom." He stands with hands bound in a loose white tunic, which one of the executioners is about to remove; a very pretty pathetic picture by Elzheimer. (Munich.)

A series of subjects from the life of St. Laurence is frequent in the stained glass of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. There is a fine example in the Cathedral at Chartres.

The series of frescoes by Angelico in the Chapel of Nicholas

V. has that delicacy of sentiment which characterizes the painter. 1. He is ordained deacon by Pope Sixtus, who, seated on a throne, gives to his keeping the consecrated cup. 2. He receives from Sixtus the treasures of the Church. 3. He distributes them to the poor Christians.¹ 4. He stands bound before the prefect Decius. Scourges and instruments of torture are lying on the ground. 5. He lies stretched on the gridiron.

In the series of old frescoes under the portico of the Basilica of San Lorenzo [fuori Mura, Rome], the events of his life are most elaborately and minutely expressed: the series consists of the following subjects; they are on the right hand as you enter, but in such a state of ruin as to be nearly unintelligible: ²—

1. Nearly effaced; it probably represented his investiture as deacon. 2. St. Laurence washes the feet of the poor Christians. 3. He heals Cyriaca. 4. He distributes alms. 5. He meets St. Sixtus led to death, and receives his blessing. 6. He is brought before the prefect. 7. He restores sight to Lucillus. 8. He is scourged with thongs loaded with lead. 9. He baptizes Hippolytus. 10. (Effaced.) 11. He refuses to deliver the treasures of the Church. 12. (Effaced.) 13, 14, 15. His body wrapped in a shroud, carried away, and buried by Hippolytus.

Four of the compartments on the right hand, and now with difficulty made out, represent the contention between the devil and the angel for the soul of the Emperor Henry II., here represented because St. Laurence plays a conspicuous part in it. This wild legend is an amusing instance of the stories or parables invented by the churchmen of the time, and their obvious purpose:—

“One night a certain hermit sat meditating in his solitary hut, and he heard a sound as of a host of wild men rushing and trampling by; and he opened his window and called out, and demanded who it was that thus disturbed the quiet of his solitude; and a voice answered, ‘We are demons; Henry the

¹ “The charity of St. Laurence,” after this beautiful fresco, has lately been engraved by Louis Grüner, for the Arundel Society, with a precision and purity of taste in the drawing and a flowing ease and elegance in the management of the burin, which recall the old engravers of the Raffaelesque school.

² [The frescoes were restored in 1870, but are still in a very bad condition.]



ST. LAURENCE DISTRIBUTING ALMS (ANGELICO)

emperor is about to die in this moment, and we go to seize his soul.' Then the hermit called out again, 'I conjure thee, that, on thy return, thou appear before me, and tell me the result.' The demon promised, and went on his way; and in the same night the same ghastly sounds were again heard, and one knocked at the window, and the hermit hastened to open it, and behold it was the same demon whom he had spoken to before. 'Now,' said the hermit, 'how has it fared with thee?' 'Ill! to desperation!' answered the fiend in a fury. 'We came at the right moment; the emperor had just expired, and we hastened to prefer our claim! when, lo! his good angel came to save him. We disputed long, and at last the Angel of Judgment (St. Michael) laid his good and evil deeds in the scales, and behold! our scale descended and touched the earth; — the victory was ours! when, all at once, yonder roasted fellow' (for so he blasphemously styled the blessed St. Laurence) 'appeared on his side, and flung a great golden pot' (so the reprobate styled the holy cup) 'into the other scale, and ours flew up, and we were forced to make off in a hurry; but at least I was avenged on the golden pot, for I broke off the handle, and here it is:' and having said these words, the whole company of demons vanished. Then the hermit rose up in the morning, hastened to the city, and found the emperor dead; and the golden cup which he had piously presented to the Church of St. Laurence was found with only one handle, the other having disappeared that same night."

The old frescoes give us this strange but significant story at full length. In the first compartment, a hermit is looking out of a window, and there are some fragmentary portions of the devils just visible: the second represents the death-bed of the emperor; at the foot of it appear the demons: in the next, the angel and the demons are contending; the soul of the emperor clasps the knees of the angel as if for refuge: in the fourth appears St. Laurence to the rescue, one of the fiends has fallen on his knees before him. The whole series in a barbarous style, and in a most ruined state. They are engraved in a small size in D'Agincourt's "*Histoire de l'Art*," pl. xcix. No. 8.

I met with this legend again in the famous Strozzi Chapel in the S. Maria Novella at Florence. The great frescoes of the Last Judgment, so often pointed out as worthy of especial

attention, generally engross the mind of the spectator to the exclusion of minor objects; few, therefore, have examined the curious and beautiful old altar-piece, also by Orcagna (A. D. 1349). It represents Christ giving the keys to St. Peter, and attended by St. John, St. Paul, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Catherine, St. Michael, St. Laurence. In the predella below are scenes from the life of each of the saints represented above. For example, under the figure of St. Laurence we have the contention for the soul of the Emperor Henry. In the centre the emperor is seen expiring amid his attendants: on one side, the flight of the demons through the desert, the hermit looking out of his cave: on the other, St. Michael holds the scales; the merits of the emperor are weighed in the balance and found wanting; St. Laurence descends and places the vase in one scale; the demons are in a rage, and one of them seems to threaten St. Laurence. The whole conception very odd and grotesque, but the story told with infinitely more skill and spirit than in the rude old frescoes in the Church of San Lorenzo.

Doublet, in his history of the Abbey of St. Denis, cites a passage in an ancient chronicle, wherein the demons lament, "that wishing to carry away the soul of Charlemagne, they did not succeed because of the opposition of Michael the archangel, and the weight of the offerings made to the Church, which, being thrown into the scale of good works, weighed it down." Such fabrications were frequent in those days, and are very suggestive in ours.

As the story of St. Hippolytus is closely connected with that of St. Laurence, I place it here.

ST. HIPPOLYTUS

Ital. Sant' Ippolito. *Fr.* Saint Hippolyte. (August 13, A. D. 258.)

Hippolytus was the name of the soldier who was stationed as guard over the illustrious martyr St. Laurence, by whose invincible courage and affectionate exhortations he was so moved that he became a Christian with all his family. After the terrible death of St. Laurence, at which he had been present, he, with some other Christians, carried away the body of

the saint by night and buried it : all which has been already related ; and it remains only to show how Hippolytus honored the teaching of his master, and proved his faith.

Being brought before the tribunal of Decius, and accused of being a Christian, Hippolytus acknowledged himself as such, and declared that he was ready to die like St. Laurence rather than deny his Redeemer. Decius sent his lictors to the house of Hippolytus with orders to arrest all who were found there ; and among others was his aged nurse, whose name was Concordia, and who, in consequence of the boldness with which she replied to the demands of the judge, was condemned to be scourged until she died ; and Hippolytus, looking on, thanked God that his nurse, from whose bosom he had fed, had died worthily for Christ's sake ; and having seen nineteen of his family beheaded, and still refusing to listen to the temptations of these wicked pagans, he was tied to the tails of wild horses, and, in this cruel and terrible martyrdom, perished.

By a curious mingling of the Pagan mythology and Christian traditions, Hippolytus has partaken of the attributes of his namesake the son of Theseus, and has been chosen as the patron saint of horses. His name in Greek signifies "one who is destroyed by horses." His popularity in France is probably owing to the translation of his relics from Rome to the Abbey of St. Denis in the eighth century ; but in the legends of this saint there prevails a more than usual degree of obscurity and uncertainty.

1. In the old mosaic in the Church of San Lorenzo, Rome, St. Hippolytus in a warrior's dress stands behind St. Laurence.

The ancient devotional pictures of Hippolytus often represent him as the jailer of St. Laurence, with a bunch of keys hanging to his girdle.

2. In a little picture in the Academy of Florence he is thus represented, and also holds in his hand an instrument of torture something like a currycomb with iron teeth.

3. The Martyrdom of St. Hippolytus was painted by Subleyras. The picture, which is one of his most beautiful, is in the Louvre ; Hippolytus lies on the ground, his hands bound, his feet tied to the tails of two wild horses, which, starting, rearing, and with their manes blown by the wind, are with diffi-

culty restrained by a number of soldiers ; the head of the saint is remarkably fine as he looks up to heaven with an expression of enthusiastic faith.

4. El Mudo painted for the Escorial, which, it will be remembered, was dedicated to St. Laurence, Hippolytus and his companions burying the body of the saint by night. It is praised for the solemn and pathetic effect of the composition, and is in truth a beautiful subject.

5. In St. Salvator, Bruges, is the Martyrdom of Hippolytus, [formerly ascribed to] Hans Memling [but now attributed to Dierick Bouts.]

I have seen the story of Hippolytus frequently in the stained glass and sculpture of the old French churches. In the modern Church of Notre Dame de Lorette, at Paris, the story of St. Hippolytus is painted in three compartments. 1. He is baptized by St. Laurence. 2. He buries the body of the saint. 3. He is tied to a wild horse.

ST. VINCENT, DEACON AND MARTYR

Lat. S. Vincentius Levita. *Ital.* San Vincenzo Diacono, San Vincenzino. *Fr.* Saint Vincent. Patron of Lisbon, of Valencia, of Saragossa; one of the patrons of Milan; patron saint of Chalons, and many other places in France. (Jan. 22, A. D. 304.)

This renowned saint and martyr of the early Christian Church has been most popular in Spain, the scene of his legend, and in France, where he has been an object of particular veneration from the sixth century. It is generally allowed that the main circumstances of the history of Vincent, deacon of Saragossa, of his sufferings for the cause of Christ, and his invincible courage, expressed by his name, rest on concurrent testimony of the highest antiquity, which cannot be rejected; but it has been extravagantly *embroidered*. I give his legend as here accepted by the poets and artists.

“He was born in Saragossa, in the kingdom of Aragon. Prudentius, in his famous Hymn, congratulates this city on having produced more saints and martyrs than any other city in Spain. During the persecution under Diocletian, the cruel proconsul Dacian, infamous in the annals of Spanish martyrdom, caused all the Christians of Saragossa, men, women, and children, whom he collected together by a promise of immu-

nity, to be massacred. Among these were the virgin EUGRACIA, and the eighteen Christian cavaliers who attended her to death. At this time lived St. Vincent: he had been early instructed in the Christian faith, and with all the ardor of youth devoted himself to the service of Christ. At the time of the persecution, being not more than twenty years of age, he was already a deacon. The dangers and the sufferings of the Christians only excited his charity and his zeal; and after having encouraged and sustained many of his brethren in the torments inflicted upon them, he was himself called to receive the crown of martyrdom. Being brought before the tribunal of DACIAN, together with his bishop, VALERIUS, they were accused of being Christians and contemners of the gods. VALERIUS, who was very old, and had an impediment in his speech, answered to the accusation in a voice so low that he could scarcely be heard. On this, St. Vincent burst forth with Christian fervor, — ‘How is this, my father! canst thou not speak aloud, and defy this pagan dog? Speak, that all the world may hear; or suffer me, who am only thy servant, to speak in thy stead!’ The bishop having given him leave to speak, St. Vincent stood forth, and proclaimed his faith aloud, defying the tortures with which they were threatened; so that the Christians who were present were lifted up in heart and full of gratitude to God, and the wicked proconsul was in the same degree filled with indignation. He ordered the old bishop to be banished from the city; but Vincent, who had defied him, he reserved as an example to the rest, and was resolved to bend him to submission by the most terrible and ingenious tortures that cruelty could invent. The young saint endured them unflinching. ‘When his body was lacerated by iron forks, he only smiled on his tormentors: the pangs they inflicted were to him delights; thorns were his roses; the flames a refreshing bath; death itself was but the entrance to life.’¹ They laid him, torn, bleeding, and half consumed by fire, on the ground strewn with potsherds, and left him there; but God sent down his angels to comfort him; and when his guards looked into the dungeon, they beheld it filled with light and fragrance; they heard the angels singing songs of triumph, and the unconquerable martyr pouring forth his soul

¹ Prudentius, *Hymn to St. Laurence*. He calls the iron forks *rastrelli*, or rakes.

in hymns of thanksgiving: he even called to his jailers to enter and partake of the celestial delight and solace which had been vouchsafed to him; and they, being amazed, fell upon their knees and acknowledged the true God.

“But Dacian, perfidious as he was cruel, began to consider what other means might remain to conquer his unconquerable victim. Having tried tortures in vain, he determined to try seduction. He ordered a bed of down to be prepared, strewn with roses; commanded the sufferer to be laid upon it, and allowed his friends and disciples to approach him: they, weeping, stanchd his wounds, and dipped their kerchiefs in his flowing blood, and kissed his hands and brow, and besought him to live. But the martyr, who had held out through such protracted torments, had no sooner been laid upon the bed, than his pure spirit, disdaining as it were these treacherous indulgences, fled to heaven; the angels received him on their wings, and he entered into bliss ineffable and eternal.

“The proconsul, furious that his victim had escaped him, ordered his body to be thrown out to the wild beasts: but behold the goodness of God! who sent a raven to guard his sacred remains; and when a wolf approached to devour them, the raven obliged it to retire. And when Dacian was informed that after many days the body of Vincent remained untouched, he was ready to tear himself for despite: he ordered his minions to take the body of the holy martyr, to sew it up in an ox-hide, as was done towards parricides, and to throw it into the sea. These impious satellites therefore took the body, and, placing it in a bark, they rowed out far into the sea, and flung it, attached to a millstone, overboard: they then rowed back again to the shore; but what was their astonishment, when, on landing, they found that the body of St. Vincent had arrived before them, and was lying on the sand! They were so terrified that they fled; and there being none to bury him, the waves of the sea, by the command of God, performed that pious office, and hollowed a tomb for him in the sands, where he lay, protected from all indignity, hidden from all human knowledge; until, after many years, the spot was miraculously revealed to certain Christians, who carried his body to the city of Valencia, and buried it there.

“In the eighth century, when the Christians of Valencia were obliged to flee from the Moors, they carried with them

the body of St. Vincent. The vessel in which they had embarked was driven by the winds through the straits of Hercules, until they arrived at a promontory, where they landed and deposited the remains of the saint; and this promontory has since been called Cape St. Vincent. Here the sacred relics were again guarded by the ravens or crows, and hence a part of the cliff is called *el Monte de las Cuervas*. About the year 1147, Alonzo I. removed the relics to Lisbon, — two of the crows, one at the prow and one at the stern, piloting the ship. Thus, after many wanderings, the blessed St. Vincent rested in the Cathedral of Lisbon; and the crows which accompanied him having multiplied greatly, rents were assigned to the chapter for their support.”

The legend of this illustrious martyr is one of the most ancient in the Church. The famous Latin Hymn of Prudentius (A. D. 403) recites all the details of his horrible martyrdom in a style which may pass in Latin, but would certainly be intolerable in English. St. Augustine and St. Ambrose testify that, in their time, the fame of St. Vincent the *Invincible* had penetrated wherever the name of Christ was known.¹ He has been honored since the fourth century throughout Christendom, but more particularly in Spain, where, we are told, “there is scarcely a city in the whole Peninsula without a church dedicated to him, in which he may be seen carved or painted:” and the same may be said of France, where he has been honored since the year 542. The church, now “St.-Germain-des-Prés” at Paris, was originally dedicated to St. Vincent in 559. The pretended translation of the relics to France, by means of a thieving, lying monk, I pass over, because it is discredited, and unconnected with my purpose in these Essays.²

In works of Art it is not always easy to distinguish St. Vincent from St. Stephen and St. Laurence; for he, too, is young and mild and beautiful; he also wears the deacon’s dress, and carries the palm: but his peculiar attribute is a crow or a raven, sometimes perched upon a millstone. Mr.

¹ There are four churches in England dedicated in his honor.

² It is because of the supposed deposition of the relics of St. Vincent in the church of St. Germain, that St. Vincent and St. Germain are so often found together in French pictures. There is one in the Louvre painted by Vien.

Ford mentions an effigy of St. Vincent at Seville, in which the saint is painted with his "familiar crow, holding a pitchfork in his mouth:" "a rudder," he thinks, "would have been more appropriate." I imagine that the iron fork is here the instrument of his martyrdom, and quite appropriate. In the Italian pictures St. Vincent has seldom any attribute but the palm, while St. Laurence and St. Stephen are seldom without their respective gridiron and stones. St. Vincent is frequently grouped with St. Laurence: the Spanish legend makes them brothers, but I find no authority for this relationship in the French and Italian Martyrologies.



St. Vincent (Pollajuolo)

crimson dalmatica is embroidered with gold. (Uffizi, Florence.)

A fresco by Aurelio Luini, once in the Church of S. Vincenzino at Milan, now in the Brera, represents the youthful saint preparing to undergo the torture which he suffered with such marvelous constancy. He is bound to a tree, and two executioners, with iron hooks in their hands, seem about to tear him.

A series of subjects from his life, frequent in the stained glass and sculpture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, consists of the following scenes: 1. He is brought before the proconsul with the aged priest Valerius, who is attired as a bishop, while Vincent wears the deacon's dress. 2. He is tortured in various ways: he is torn with iron hooks, laid on a bed of red-hot iron, stretched upon the ground on potsherds. 3. Angels visit him in his dungeon. 4. He dies on the bed of roses. 5. His body lies exposed, guarded by a raven; a wolf is also generally introduced. 6. His body, fastened to a millstone, floats on the surface of the sea. In this manner his story is represented on one of the windows at Bourges, and on another at Chartres; also in St. Vincent's at Rouen.

The very ancient frescoes in the portico of his church at the "Tre Fontane," near Rome, have perished, at least I could scarcely discern the traces of them, but they may be found in D'Agincourt. (*Hist. de l'Art par les Monumens*, pl. xcvi.) In this church he is honored, in conjunction with St. Anastasius the Persian, a young saint who, being in Persia at the time the true cross was carried thither by Chosroes, in 614, was converted by the miracles it performed, or rather occasioned, and was martyred in consequence. His obscure legend I have not found, except in these defaced old paintings. He was first strangled, and then beheaded; and his proper attribute is the axe.

ST. VITUS

Ital. San Vito. *Fr.* St. Vite, or St. Guy. *Ger.* Der Heilige Veit, Vit, or Vituz. Patron of Saxony, Bohemia, and Sicily. (June 15, A. D. 303.)

Vitus, or Vito, was the son of a noble Sicilian. His parents were heathens; but his nurse, Crescentia, and his foster-father, Modestus, who were secretly Christians, brought him up in the faith, and caused him to be baptized. At twelve years old, he openly professed himself a Christian, to the great indignation of his father, and the cruel governor, Valerian, who attempted, by the usual terrors and tortures, to subdue his constancy. He was beaten, and shut up in a dungeon; but his father, looking through the keyhole, beheld him dancing with seven beautiful angels; and he was so amazed and daz-

zled by their celestial radiance, that he became blind in the same moment, and only recovered his sight by the intercession of his son. But his heart being hardened, he again persecuted Vitus, and treated him cruelly; therefore the youth fled with his nurse and Modestus, and crossed the sea to Italy, in a little boat, an angel steering at the helm. But, soon after their arrival, they were accused before the satellites of the Emperor Diocletian, plunged into a caldron of boiling oil, and thus received the crown of martyrdom. This popular saint has been revered in every part of Christendom from time immemorial. In Germany he is one of the fourteen *Nothhelfers* or patron saints, and as such figures often in the old German pictures, as in a remarkable picture by Wohlgenuth in the Burg at Nuremberg, and another still finer in the Moritz-Kapell. He is the patron saint of dancers and actors, and invoked against that nervous affection commonly called "*St. Vitus' Dance*." He is represented as a beautiful boy holding his palm; he has a cock in his hand, or near him, whence he is invoked against too much sleep, by those who find a difficulty in early rising.¹ Other attributes are—the lion, because in his martyrdom he was exposed to lions; a wolf, because his remains were watched by a wolf—a legend common to many saints; a caldron of boiling oil, the instrument of his martyrdom.

St. Vitus is found in the sacred pictures, principally at Venice and at Prague. The fine cathedral at Prague is dedicated to him, and on his shrine there is a very good modern statue of him, standing, mild, beautiful, and young, with a cock beside him.

The Martyrdom of St. Vitus, standing in a caldron with fire underneath, and St. George and St. Wolfgang, as protectors of Bavaria, on each side, by Bassetti of Verona, I saw at Munich.

¹ The origin of the cock as an attribute of St. Vitus is a disputed point. It appears that from very ancient times it was a custom to offer up a cock to him, and so late as the beginning of the eighteenth century this was done by the common people of Prague.

X. THE GREEK MARTYRS

I SHALL group together here those Greek martyrs who have been accepted and particularly revered by the Latin Church, though as subjects of Art and patron saints they have not become popular.

ST. THECLA, VIRGIN AND MARTYR

Ital. San Tecla. *Fr.* Sainte Thècle. *Ger.* Die Heilige Thekla.
Patroness of Tarragona. (Sept. 23.)

Such was the veneration paid to this saint in the East, and in the early ages of Christianity, that it was considered the greatest praise that could be given to a woman to compare her to St. Thecla. Some of the ancient fathers assure us that she had studied profane literature and philosophy, and was famous for her eloquence.¹

Her story is contained in a work entitled "The Acts of Paul and Thecla," known and circulated in the first century, but condemned as spurious by St. John the Evangelist.

"It is related that when the apostle Paul arrived at Anconium, he preached in the house of Onesiphorus: and a certain virgin, named Thecla, sat at a window in her house, from whence, by the advantage of a window in the house where Paul was, she listened to his sermons concerning God, concerning charity, concerning faith in Christ, and concerning prayer, until with exceeding joy she was subdued to the doctrines of the faith.

"Now this virgin Thecla was betrothed to a youth named Thamyris, who loved her much; but when she would not be prevailed upon to depart from the window, her mother sent to Thamyris, and complained to him that her daughter would not move from the window, nor eat, nor drink, so intent was she to hear the discourses of Paul. So Thamyris went and spoke

¹ Baillet, *Vies des Saints*, Tillemont, tom. ii. p. 66.

to her, and said, 'Thecla! my betrothed! why sittest thou in this melancholy posture? turn to Thamyris, and blush!' Her mother, Theoclea, also chid her, but it was to no purpose. Then they wept exceedingly, — Thamyris that he had lost his betrothed, Theoclea that she had lost her daughter, and the maids that they had lost their mistress: so there was an universal mourning in the house. But all these things made no impression upon Thecla, who did not even turn her head; for she regarded only the discourse of Paul, and his words, which made her heart burn within her.

"Then the young man complained to the governor, and the governor ordered Paul to be bound, and to be put in prison till he should be at leisure to hear him fully. But in the night, Thecla, taking off her earrings, gave them to the turnkey of the prison, who opened the doors of the prison and let her in; and when she had made a present of a silver looking-glass to the jailer, she was allowed to enter the room where Paul was: and she sat down at his feet, and heard from him the great things of God. And when she beheld his courage, and listened to his eloquence, she kissed his chains in a transport of faith and admiration.

"When the governor heard these things, he ordered Paul to be scourged and driven out of the city, and Thecla to be burned. Then the young men and women gathered wood and straw for the burning of Thecla, who being brought naked to the stake extorted tears from the governor, for he was surprised, beholding the greatness of her beauty. Then the people kindled the pile; but though the flame was exceedingly large, it did not touch her, for God took compassion on her; the fire was extinguished, and she was preserved, and made her escape. And Paul, taking Thecla along with him, went for Antioch. There a man named Alexander accused her before the governor, and she was condemned to be thrown among the beasts, which when the people saw, they cried out, saying, 'The judgments declared in this city are unjust!'

"But Thecla desired no other favor of the governor than that her chastity might be guarded till she should be cast to the wild beasts. The day arrived, and she was brought to the amphitheatre, in the presence of a multitude of spectators, and, being stripped of her drapery, she had a girdle put round her body, and was thrown into the place appointed for fighting

with the beasts, and the lions and the bears were let loose upon her. But the women who were in the theatre were struck with compassion, and groaned and cried out, 'Oh, unrighteous judgment! Oh, cruel sight! The whole city ought to suffer for such crimes!' and one of them, called Trissina, wept aloud. Meantime a lioness which was of all the most fierce, ran upon Thecla, and fell down at her feet; and the bears and the he-lions lay as though they were fast asleep, and did not touch her. Upon this the governor called Thecla from among the beasts, and said to her, 'Who art thou, woman, that not one of the beasts will touch thee?' and Thecla replied, 'I am a servant of the living God, and a believer in Jesus Christ his Son.' Then the governor ordered her clothes to be brought, and said to her, 'Put on your apparel,' and he released her.

"Then Thecla went home with Trissina: but desiring much to see Paul, she resolved to travel in search of him; and Trissina sent large sums of money to Paul by her hands, and also much clothing for the poor. So Thecla journeyed till she found Paul preaching the word of God at Myra, in Lycia. Thence she returned to Iconium, and after many years spent in preaching and converting the people she was led by the Spirit to a mountain near Seleucia, where she abode many years, and underwent many grievous temptations, which she overcame by the help of the Lord. She enlightened many people, and wrought so many miraculous cures, that all the inhabitants of the city and adjacent countries brought their sick to that mountain, and when they came to the door of her cave they were instantly cured; such great power had God bestowed on the Virgin Thecla! — insomuch that the physicians of Seleucia were held of no account, and lost all the profit of their trade, for no one regarded them. And they were filled with envy, and began to contrive how they should destroy her; for they said within themselves, 'This woman must be a priestess of the great Goddess Diana, and the wonders she performs are by virtue of her chastity; and if we can destroy that, she will be vanquished:' and they hired some fellows, sons of Belial, to go to the mountain and offer her violence. So they went, and the blessed Thecla came out to meet them, and they laid hold upon her, and she fled from them, praying for deliverance. And behold! the rock opened behind her, forming a cavity so large that a man might enter

in; and she ran thither, and the rock closed upon her, and she was seen no more. The men stood perfectly astonished at so prodigious a miracle, and having caught hold of her veil, a piece of it remained in their hands as evidence of this great wonder.

“Thus suffered the blessed virgin and martyr Thecla, who came from Iconium at eighteen years of age, and afterwards, partly in journeys and travels, and partly in monastic life in the cave, lived seventy-two years; so that she was ninety years of age when the Lord translated her.”

Although the lions spared St. Thecla, she is considered the first female martyr, and is honored as such in the Greek Church. In the Latin Church the particular veneration professed for her by St. Martin of Tours, in the fourth century, contributed to render her highly popular; yet I have met with very few representations of her.

In the devotional pictures and miniatures she generally wears a loose mantle of dark brown or gray, and holds the palm. Several wild beasts are around her.

In a Madonna picture by Lorenzo Costa she stands on one side of the Virgin and Child, arrayed in a long robe of a violet color, holding the palm; and with no other attribute: the figure and attitude are singularly elegant; the countenance mild, thoughtful, and sweet. [Bologna Gallery.]

In a picture by Marinari she is seen in prison, her hands fettered, and an angel presents to her fruit and flowers;¹ of this incident there is no mention in the legend I have cited. As yet I have not met with any picture in which Paul and Thecla are represented together: such may possibly exist. The scene in the dungeon, with Paul teaching and Thecla seated at his feet, would be a beautiful subject.

ST. EUPHEMIA OF CHALCEDONIA, VIRGIN AND MARTYR

Ital. Sant' Eufemia. *Fr.* Sainte Euphémie. (September 16, A. D. 307.)

This Greek saint, with her soft musical name and the fame of her beauty and her fortitude, is one of those whom the Eastern Church has distinguished by the epithet *Great*. She is particularly interesting in the history of Art, for all that can be cer-

¹ Engraved under this name in the *Etruria Pittrice*; perhaps a St. Dorothea.

tainly known of her rests on the description of a picture, which description, however, is so ancient, and so well authenticated, that it leaves no doubt as to the principal circumstances pertaining to her — her existence, her name, the manner of her martyrdom, and the place where she suffered. I have already alluded to this picture as an evidence of the style and signification of such representations in very early times.

It has happened that a few of the homilies of Asterius, bishop of Amasea in Pontus, who lived and wrote between 350 and 400, have been preserved to us, and among them is a homily preached on the day consecrated to the memory of St. Euphemia. It is cited in the collection of "Les Pères de l'Eglise," vol. v. The bishop, to excite the imagination and the zeal of his congregation, displays a picture of the saint, at the same time describing it most eloquently in detail.

"We see her," he says, "in this picture, portrayed with all that beauty and grace which distinguished her in her lifetime, yet with that modesty and gravity which showed her inward spirit, and attired in the plain dark brown mantle which in Greece was worn by the philosophers, and which expressed a renunciation of all worldly pleasures and vain ornaments.

"We see her brought before the Judge Priscus by two soldiers, one of whom drags her forward; the other pushes her on behind. But though from modesty her eyes are cast down, there is an expression in her face which shows it is not fear. We see her, in another part of the picture, tortured by two executioners, one of whom has seized her long hair, and pulls back her head, to force her to raise it; the other strikes her on the mouth with a wooden mallet; the blood flows from her lips; and at the piteous sight tears flow from the eyes of the spectators; their hearts melt within them.

"In the background is seen the interior of a dungeon. St. Euphemia, seated on the earth, raises her hands to heaven, and prays for mercy, and for strength to bear her sufferings: over her head, behold! the cross appears; either to show her confidence in the sign of our redemption, or to signify that she too must suffer. Then, near to the prison, we see a pile of fagots kindled, and in the midst stands the beautiful and courageous martyr. She extends her arms towards heaven; her countenance is radiant with hope, with faith, with joy."

The description ends here, and Asterius does not mention any further circumstances attending her martyrdom ; but, according to the legend, the flames, as was usual in such cases, were rendered innocuous by miraculous intervention : she was then thrown to the lions, but they crouched and licked her feet, and



St. Euphemia (Mosaic)

refused to harm her. Priscus, on seeing this, was like to swoon with despite and mortification ; so one of his soldiers, to do him a pleasure, rushed upon the maiden, and transfixing her with his sword. This form of the legend must have prevailed in the time of St. Ambrose ; but in other Legendaries it is related that the lions attacked her, but did not devour her, and that the executioner finished her with the sword.

St. Euphemia suffered in the tenth persecution, at Chalcedonia in Bithynia, not far from Byzantium, and about the year 307 or 311. The picture described by Asterius must have been executed soon after the death of the saint, when her memory was fresh in the minds of the people, and at a period when classical Art, though on the decline, retained at least its splendid forms, and influenced all the Christian representations. We may therefore infer the beauty and the accuracy of the delineation; it shows also that the manner of representing many scenes in the same picture already prevailed.

So ancient was the worship paid to St. Euphemia, that within a century after her death there were four churches dedicated to her in Constantinople alone; others in Rome, Alexandria, Carthage; in short, throughout the East and West, temples rose everywhere to her honor, and many wonderful miracles were imputed to her. In the beginning of the eighth century, Leo the Iconoclast ordered her church to be profaned, and her relics to be cast into the sea; but this only increased the devotion paid to her; the relics reappeared in the island of Lemnos, and thence were dispersed to many places, even to France. In the Western Church she was accepted as a saint in the fourth century, and a church was dedicated to her in Rome in the fifth. Every one who has visited Verona will recollect the beautiful church which bears her name.¹ Though so celebrated in the early times, her popularity has diminished; or has been superseded by the fame of later saints.

A very early mosaic represents St. Euphemia standing between two serpents, but I do not find any mention of serpents in the legends I have consulted.² In all the representations since the revival of Art, she has the lion and the sword. Thus she appears in a beautiful and dignified figure by Andrea Mantegna, with the lily, emblem of chastity, in one hand, in the other the palm. The sword in her bosom, the lion at her side. [Naples.³]

¹ Whether the St. Euphemia who is revered all through Lombardy be identical with the Greek saint is not clear. In the Italian legend she has a sister, *Innocentia*, who suffered martyrdom with her. The remains of St. Euphemia and St. Innocentia are said to have been brought from Aquileia and deposited in the Cathedral of Vicenza about 1350. *Vide Cat. Sanctorum Italiae*, p. 595.

² At Florence St. Verdiana is represented between two serpents. She was a Vallombrosian nun. See *Legends of the Monastic Orders*.

³ [The authenticity of this picture is discredited by Morelli, who considers

In the Church of St. Euphemia at Milan there is one most admirable picture, a throned Virgin and Child, by Marco Og-gione. The Virgin has all the intellectual dignity and character of the school of Leonardo; the Child bends towards St. Catherine, who kneels, presented by St. Ambrose; on the other side kneels St. Euphemia, presented by John the Baptist; she has an instrument of torture at her feet which looks like a saw. It is a magnificent example of the Milanese school.



St. Euphemia (attributed to Mantegna)

In a picture by Simone Cantarini she is represented standing with her lion at her side, and pointing to the Virgin in glory: she wears a yellow tunic buttoned down the front, a crimson mantle, and a white veil thrown over her head. (Bologna Gallery.)

In her church at Verona she stands over one of the altars, bearing her palm, and accompanied by her lions. I have never met with any historical picture from her life. In the San Maurizio at Milan there is a lovely figure of a female saint, crowned, with a sword in her bosom, called a St. Ursula, which I believe to represent St. Euphemia.

Many other Christian martyrs were exposed in the amphitheatres, principally at Rome, at Carthage, and at Lyons, where the taste for these horrid spectacles was most prevalent; but they are not interesting as subjects of Art. I must regret that the martyrdom of Vivia Perpetua and Felicitas has never been worthily treated; in fact, I have never seen any ancient representation of St. Perpetua, except in the mosaic at the inscription a forgery. See *Critical Studies of the Italian Painters*, vol. ii. p. 175. There is a St. Euphemia by Mantegna in the Brera, Milan.]

Ravenna ; and therefore, confining myself within the limits assigned to this work, I shall not dwell upon her fate. The well-authenticated story of these two women, of their high-hearted constancy and meek fortitude, has been told so beautifully by Mr. Milman, that I pass it over with the less regret ; only observing, that as her history is accepted as authentic by Protestants, it remains open to Protestant artists. It affords not one, but many scenes of surpassing interest, full of picturesque and dramatic sentiment, and capable of being treated with the utmost tragic pathos, without touching on the horrible and revolting. Perpetua binding up her tresses in the amphitheatre, after she had been exposed before the people and wounded by the wild beasts let loose upon her, is an image one can hardly endure to bring before the fancy ; but Perpetua in prison ; before her judges ; turning from her father ; taking leave of her infant child ;¹ and rising superior to every temptation, every allurements, to deny her Redeemer ; Perpetua going forth, accompanied by the slave Felicitas (herself recently a mother), to meet a frightful death, with a mild, womanly spirit, without assumption or defiance ; both young, with nothing to sustain them but faith, and that courage from on high which has never been denied to those who steadfastly trust in the *Hereafter*, — these, surely, are themes which, in their lofty beauty, might be held not unworthy of Christian Art and Christian sympathy in our times. It is rare to find any sacred subject of deep and general interest almost untouched ; but here the field is open. “The Acts of St. Perpetua and St. Felicitas,” though considered authentic by all the best ecclesiastical writers, were unknown to the early artists. She is commemorated by Tertullian and St. Augustine, and her story at length may be found in Baillet, “Vies des Saints,” March 7. See, also, “Vivia Perpetua, a Dramatic Poem, in Five Acts,” by Sarah Flower Adams.

St. Felicitas, the African slave and companion of St. Perpetua, must not be confounded with St. Felicitas, the noble Roman matron, whose story I have placed among the Roman Martyrs.

¹ Herr Vogel of Dresden has lately painted a fine picture of St. Perpetua looking through the bars of her prison at her infant child.

ST. PHOCAS OF SINOPE, MARTYR

Ital. San Focà. The Greek patron of gardens and gardeners. (July 3, A. D. 303.)

Towards the end of the third century a holy man named Phocas dwelt outside the gate of the city of Sinope, in Pontus, and lived by cultivating a little garden, the produce of which, after supplying his own necessities, he distributed to the poor. Uniting prayer and contemplation with labor and charity, his garden was to him an instructive book, his flowers supplied him with a fund of holy meditation, and his little cottage was open to all strangers and travellers who were in want of a lodging.

One night, as he sat at his frugal supper of herbs, some strangers knocked at his door, and he invited them to enter and repose themselves. He set food before them, and gave them water for their feet, and when they had eaten and were refreshed, he asked them concerning their business. They told him that they were sent there in search of a certain Phocas, who had been denounced as a Christian, and that they were commissioned to kill him wherever they should find him. The servant of God, without betraying any surprise, conducted them to a chamber of repose, and when they were at rest, he went into his garden and dug a grave amid the flowers. The next morning he went to his guests and told them that Phocas was found; and they, rejoicing, asked, "Where is the man?" He replied, "I myself am he." They started back, unwilling to imbrue their hands in the blood of their host; but he encouraged them, saying, "Since it is the will of God, I am willing to die in His cause." Then they led him to the brink of the grave, struck off his head, and buried him therein.

This interesting old saint appears in the Greek pictures and mosaics. Those who visit St. Mark's at Venice will find him in the vestibule on the left hand, among the saints who figure singly on the vault, standing in colossal guise, with a venerable beard, in the dress of a gardener, and holding a spade in his hand. His name is inscribed, and also distinguishes a similar figure in the Cathedral of Monreale, at Palermo. Except in genuine Byzantine Art, I have not met with St. Phocas. The

Latin patron saint of gardeners is St. Fiacre, an Irish saint domiciliated in France.

ST. PANTALEON OF NICOMEDIA, MARTYR

In Greek, Panteleemon, which signifies "all-merciful." *Ital.* San Pantaleone. Patron of physicians. (July 27, fourth century.)

It is interesting to observe that saints of the medical profession have been especially popular in the great trading towns, such as Venice, Florence, Lyons, Marseilles, — cities which, through their intercourse with the East, and the influx of strangers, were constantly exposed to the plague and other epidemic disorders. I have already spoken of St. Roch, St. Cosmo, and St. Damian, with reference to those localities. St. Pantaleon, another of these beatified physicians, is particularly interesting in Venetian Art, and his odd Greek name familiar to all who remember Venice. Those critics who seem inclined to doubt his real existence, and who have derived his name from the Venetian war-cry, *Pianta Leone!* (Plant the Lion!) are, I think, mistaken, for he was a Greek saint of celebrity in the sixth century, when Justinian dedicated to him a church at Constantinople; and I think it more probable that the Venetians introduced him into their city from the Levant.

According to the legend, Pantaleon was born at Nicomedia in Bithynia, the son of a heathen father and a Christian mother, and, after having made himself master of all the learning and science of the Greeks, he attached himself particularly to the study of medicine. The legend adds that he was remarkable for his beautiful person and graceful manners, and that he became the favorite physician of the Emperor Galerius Maximian.

During his residence in this heathen court, Pantaleon was in danger of forgetting all the Christian precepts which he had learned from his mother. But, fortunately, a venerable Christian priest, named Hermolaus, undertook to instruct him, and Pantaleon became an ardent Christian. When the persecution broke out, knowing that he could not remain concealed, like his master Hermolaus, he saw plainly that he must anticipate a cruel martyrdom; and, instead of endeavoring to escape, he prepared himself to meet it by those acts of charity for which

his profession as physician afforded so many opportunities. He went about healing the sick, restoring sight to the blind, raising the dead, or those who were nigh to death. And being, in the midst of these good works, accused before the emperor, he obtained, as he had desired, the glorious crown of martyrdom, being beheaded together with his aged master Hermolaus, who came forth from his retreat to share his fate; but for Pautaleon, they first bound him to an olive-tree, and, according to the poetical legend, no sooner had his blood bathed the roots of the tree than it burst forth into leaves and fruit.

This saint is uniformly represented young, beardless, and of a beautiful countenance. As patron, he wears the long loose robe of a physician, and sometimes, in allusion to the circumstances of his martyrdom, he holds the olive instead of the palm, or both together. As martyr, he stands bound to an olive-tree, with both hands over his head, and a nail driven through them into the trunk of the tree; the sword at his feet. In such pictures we must distinguish between St. Pantaleon and St. Sebastian.

His church at Venice is particularly interesting to those who love to study Venetian character. It is the parish church of a dense and populous neighborhood, and I used to go there more for the sake of looking at the people — the picturesque mothers with their infants, the little children reciting their catechism — than to study Art and pictures. The walls are covered with the beneficent actions of the saint, and with scriptural incidents which have reference to the healing art. None of these, however, are particularly good. Among them are the following subjects: —

1. The saint heals a sick child: by Paul Veronese.
2. He raises a dead man.
3. His charities to the poor and various miracles are upon the ceiling, by Fumiani; while in other parts of the church we see the pool of Bethesda, the miracle of the loaves and fishes, and other works of healing and charity.

St. Pantaleon was at one time very popular at Lyons, but I know not whether any vestiges remain of the reverence formerly paid to him there; nor do I remember any picture representing him except at Venice.

ST. DOROTHEA OF CAPPADOCIA, VIRGIN AND MARTYR

Ital. Santa Dorotea. *Fr.* Sainte Dorothee. (February 6, A. D. 303.)

“In the province of Cappadocia, and in the city of Cesarea, dwelt a noble virgin, whose name was Dorothea. In the whole city there was none to be compared to her in beauty and grace of person. She was a Christian, and served God day and night with prayers, with fasting, and with alms.

“The governor of the city, by name Sapritius (or Fabricius), was a very terrible persecutor of the Christians, and hearing of the maiden, and of her great beauty, he ordered her to be brought before him. She came, with her mantle folded on her bosom; and her eyes meekly cast down. The governor asked, ‘Who art thou?’ and she replied, ‘I am Dorothea, a virgin, and a servant of Jesus Christ.’ He said, ‘Thou must serve our gods, or die.’ She answered mildly, ‘Be it so; the sooner shall I stand in the presence of Him whom I most desire to behold.’ Then the governor asked her, ‘Whom meanest thou?’ She replied, ‘I mean the Son of God, Christ, mine espoused! his dwelling is Paradise; by his side are joys eternal; and in his garden grow celestial fruits and roses that never fade.’ Then Sapritius, overcome by her eloquence and beauty, ordered her to be carried back to her dungeon. And he sent to her two sisters, whose names were Calista and Christeta, who had once been Christians, but who, from terror of the torments with which they were threatened, had renounced their faith in Christ. To these women the governor promised large rewards if they would induce Dorothea to follow their evil example; and they, nothing doubting of success, boldly undertook the task. The result, however, was far different; for Dorothea, full of courage and constancy, reproved them as one having authority, and drew such a picture of the joys they had forfeited through their falsehood and cowardice, that they fell at her feet, saying, ‘O blessed Dorothea, pray for us, that, through thy intercession, our sin may be forgiven and our penitence accepted!’ And she did so. And when they had left the dungeon they proclaimed aloud that they were servants of Christ.

“Then the governor, furious, commanded that they should be burned, and that Dorothea should witness their torments.

And she stood by, bravely encouraging them, and saying, 'O my sisters, fear not! suffer to the end! for these transient pangs shall be followed by the joys of eternal life!' Thus they died: and Dorothea herself was condemned to be tortured cruelly, and then beheaded. The first part of her sentence she endured with invincible fortitude. She was then led forth to death; and, as she went, a young man, a lawyer of the city, named Theophilus, who had been present when she was first brought before the governor, called to her mockingly, 'Ha! fair maiden, goest thou to join thy bridegroom? Send me, I pray thee, of the fruits and flowers of that same garden of which thou hast spoken: I would fain taste of them!' And Dorothea, looking on him, inclined her head with a gentle smile, and said, 'Thy request, O Theophilus, is granted!' Whereat he laughed aloud with his companions; but she went on cheerfully to death.

"When she came to the place of execution, she knelt down and prayed; and suddenly appeared at her side a beautiful boy, with hair bright as sunbeams —

*A smooth-faced, glorious thing,
With thousand blessings dancing in his eyes.*

In his hand he held a basket containing three apples, and three fresh gathered and fragrant roses. She said to him, 'Carry these to Theophilus, say that Dorothea hath sent them, and that I go before him to the garden whence they came, and await him there.' With these words she bent her neck, and received the death-stroke.

"Meantime the angel (for it was an angel) went to seek Theophilus, and found him still laughing in merry mood over the idea of the promised gift. The angel placed before him the basket of celestial fruit and flowers, saying, 'Dorothea sends thee these,' and vanished. What words can express the wonder of Theophilus? Struck by the prodigy operated in his favor, his heart melted within him; he tasted of the celestial fruit, and a new life was his; he proclaimed himself a servant of Christ, and, following the example of Dorothea, suffered with like constancy in the cause of truth, and obtained the crown of martyrdom."

St. Dorothea is represented with roses in her hand; or crowned with roses;¹ or offering a basket of fruit and flowers

¹ It is usual in catalogues and descriptions of pictures to find St. Dorothea

to the Virgin or the Infant Christ; or attended by an angel holding a basket, in which are three apples and three roses. The last is the most peculiar and the most characteristic attribute; other saints have flowers, or are crowned with roses; Dorothea alone has the attendant angel holding the basket of fruit and flowers. She bears the palm, of course, and occasionally the crown as martyr.

St. Dorothea is more popular in the German and Flemish than the Italian schools, and there are few early pictures of her. I found her in an old Siena picture, with roses in her lap, and holding a bouquet of roses in her hand. (Siena Academy.) Rubens and Vandyck have both painted her crowned with roses, and holding her palm. In a beautiful Madonna picture by Von Melem, she stands on the left of the Virgin, crowned with roses, and with a basket of roses before her. (Boisserée Gallery.¹)



St. Dorothea

St. Dorothea and her companions, St. Calista and St. Christeta, are represented in three ancient marble statues in the Chiesa dell' Abazia at Venice, attributed to the Maestro Bartolomeo (fourteenth century).

The principal incident of her legend is so picturesque and poetical, that one is surprised not to meet with it oftener; in fact, I have never met with it; yet the interview between Dorothea and Theophilus, and afterwards between Theophilus and the angel, are beautiful subjects: the first scene has a tragic interest, and the latter an allegorical significance as well called St. Rosalia or St. Rosa; a mistake arising from the attribute of the roses. St. Rosalia and St. Rosa will be found among the *Monastic Legends*.

¹ [Since 1827 the Boisserée Gallery has formed a part of the collection in the Old Pinakothek at Munich. The current Munich catalogue contains no mention of this picture by Von Melem.]

as a picturesque beauty, which should have recommended them to painters.

The martyrdom of St. Dorothea has been several times painted. The picture by Jacopo Ligozzi is a grand scenic composition, in the style of his master Paul Veronese and almost equal to him. The scaffold, and near it, on horseback, the inexorable Sapritius, who has just given the command to strike, the ferocious executioner, the figure of the gentle and beautiful victim, kneeling with an expression of placid faith, the angels hovering with garlands of roses above, and the various attitudes of the spectators, — are all admirably painted in the dramatic, or rather scenic, style proper to the school. (Pescia, Conventuali.)

Carlo Dolci. St. Dorothea kneeling, with hands bound, and by her side the angel with his basket of celestial fruit and flowers: one of his best pictures; the sweetness and elegance of his manner suited the subject, and he is here less tame than usual. (Darmstadt.)

Rubens. St. Dorothea standing, with roses and palm.

Vandyck. St. Dorothea standing, with her palm, roses, and apples from Paradise. Both pictures are engraved by Galle.

The legend of Dorothea is the subject of Massinger's tragedy of "The Virgin Martyr;" he was assisted by Decker, to whom the critics attribute much that is coarse, offensive, and profane in the dialogue. It contains, however, scenes and passages of great beauty; and these are given without alloy in Murray's "Family Library." (Dramatic Series, vol. i.) One critic observes that of the character of the heroine "it is impossible to speak too highly; her genuine and dignified piety, her unshaken constancy, her lofty pity for her persecutors, her calm contempt of torture, and her heroic death, exalt the mind in no ordinary degree." The religious action is varied and rendered more romantic by making Antoninus, the brave and amiable son of the cruel Sapritius, in love with Dorothea; for her sake he refuses the daughter of Diocletian, and Dorothea's last prayer is for him: —

Grant that the love of this young man for me,
In which he languishes to death, may be
Changed to the love of Heaven!

Her prayer is granted; Antoninus is converted, and dies of

grief on witnessing her cruel martyrdom. The last scene between Theophilus and the Emperor Diocletian is ascribed wholly to Massinger. It contains the fine passage in which the Christian saint is exalted above the classical heroines of antiquity:—

Dorothea but hereafter named
 You will rise up with reverence, and no more,
 As things unworthy of your thoughts, remember
 What the canonized Spartan ladies were,
 Which lying Greece so boasts of. Your own matrons,
 Your Roman dames, whose figures you yet keep
 As holy relics, in her history
 Will find a second urn: Gracchus' Cornelia,
 Paulina, that in death desired to follow
 Her husband Seneca, nor Brutus' Portia,
 That swallowed burning coals to overtake him, —
 Though all their several worths were given to one,
 With this is to be mention'd.

They, out of desperation,
 Or for vainglory of an after-name,
 Parted with life: this had not mutinous sons
 As the rash Gracchi were; nor was this saint
 A dotting mother as Cornelia was.
 This lost no husband in whose overthrow
 Her wealth and honor sank; no fear of want
 Did make her being tedious; but aiming
 At an immortal crown, and in his cause
 Who only can bestow it, who sent down
 Legions of mini-tering angels to bear up
 Her spotless soul to heaven, who entertained it
 With choice celestial music equal to
 The motion of the spheres; she, uncompell'd,
 Changed this life for a better.

ST. CYPRIAN AND ST. JUSTINA OF ANTIOCH

Ital. San Cipriano il Mago e Santa Giustina. *Fr.* St. Cyprien le Magicien et Sainte Justine. (Sept. 26, A. D. 304.)

It is surprising that this very beautiful and antique legend has not oftener been treated as a subject of Art. It is full of picturesque capabilities of every kind. Calderon founded on it one of his finest *autos*, the "Magico Prodigioso;" part of which — the scene in which the maiden is tempted by demons — Shelley has beautifully translated. Though I have never met with the story in Western Art, except in one or two miniatures, others may have been more fortunate, for which reason, and because of its singular beauty, I give it at length.

“In the city of Antioch dwelt a virgin wonderfully fair, and good, and wise; her name was Justina. She was the daughter of a priest of the idols; but having listened to the teaching of the Gospel, she not only became a Christian herself, but converted her parents to the true faith. Many looked upon this beautiful maiden with eyes of love; among them a noble youth of the city of Antioch, whose name was Aglaides; and he wooed her with soft words and gifts, but all in vain, for Justina had devoted herself to the service of God and a life of chastity and good works, and she refused to listen to him; and he was wellnigh in desperation.

“Now in the same city of Antioch dwelt Cyprian the magician, a man deeply versed in all the learning of the pagan philosophers, and moreover addicted from his youth to the study of astrology and necromancy. When he had exhausted all the learning of his own country, he travelled into the East, into the land of the Chaldees, and into Egypt; and to Argos, and to Athens; and he had made himself familiar with all terrible and forbidden arts. He had subjected to his might the spirits of darkness and the elements; he could command the powers of hell; he could raise storms and tempests, and transform men and women into beasts of burden. It was said that he offered the blood of children to his demons, and many other crimes were imputed to him, too dreadful to be here related.

“Aglaides being, as I have said, in despair and confusion of mind because of the coldness of Justina, repaired to Cyprian; for he said, ‘Surely this great magician, who can command the demons and the elements, can command the will of a weak maiden:’ then he explained the matter to him, and required his help. But no sooner had Cyprian beheld the beautiful and virtuous maiden, than he became himself so deeply enamored, that all rest departed from him, and he resolved to possess her. As yet, nothing had been able to resist his power, and, full of confidence, he summoned his demons to his aid. He commanded them to fill the mind of the chaste Justina with images of earthly beauty, and to inflame and pollute her fancy with visions of voluptuous delight. She was oppressed, she was alarmed, she felt that these were promptings of the Evil One, and she resisted with all her might, being well assured that as long as her will

remained unconquered, Christ and the Virgin would help her ; — and it was so ; for when she invoked them against her enemy, he left her in peace, and fled.

“ When Cyprian found that his demon was foiled, he called up another, and then another, and at length the Prince of Darkness himself came to his aid : but it was all in vain. Justina was fearfully troubled, her pure and innocent mind became the prey of tumultuous thoughts ; demons beset her couch, haunted her sleep, poisoned the very atmosphere she breathed ; but she said to her almost failing heart, ‘ I will not be discouraged, I will strive with the evil which besets me ; thought is not in our power, but action is ; my spirit may be weak, but my will is firm ; what I do not *will*, can have no power over me.’ Thus, although grievously tempted and tormented, she stood fast, trusting in the God whom she worshipped, and conquered at last, not by contending, but by never owning herself subdued, and strong in her humility only by not consenting to ill. So the baffled demon returned to his master, and said, ‘ I can do nothing against this woman ; for, being pure and sinless in will, she is protected by a power greater than thine or mine !’

“ Then Cyprian was astonished, and his heart was melted ; and he said to the demon, ‘ Since it is so, I condemn thee and thy power ; and I will henceforth serve the God of Justina.’ He went therefore, full of repentance and sorrow, and, falling at her feet, acknowledged the might of her purity and innocence, and confessed himself vanquished ; upon which she forgave him freely, and rejoiced over him ; and in her great joy she cut off her beautiful hair, and made an offering of it before the altar of the Virgin, and gave much alms to the poor.

“ Soon afterwards Cyprian was baptized and became a fervent Christian ; all his goods he distributed to the poor, and became as remarkable for his piety, abstinence, and profound knowledge of the Scriptures, as he had formerly been for his diabolical arts, his wickedness, his luxury, and his pride. Such was his humility that he undertook the meanest offices for the service of the faithful, and he and Justina mutually strengthened and edified each other by their virtues and by their holy conversation.

“ At this time broke forth the last and most terrible persecution against the Christians ; and when the governor of Antioch found that no menaces could shake the faith of Cyprian

and Justina, he ordered them to be thrown together into a caldron of boiling pitch; but by a miracle they escaped unharmed. The governor then, fearing the people, who venerated Cyprian and Justina, sent them with an escort to the Emperor Diocletian, who was then at Nicomedia, languishing in sickness; and the emperor, hearing that they were Christians, without any form of trial ordered them to be instantly beheaded; which was done. Thus they received together the crown of martyrdom, and in name and in fame have become inseparable."

When St. Cyprian and St. Justina are represented together, he is arrayed in the habit of a Greek bishop, without a mitre, bearing the palm and sword, and trampling his magical books under his feet: she holds the palm; and a unicorn, the emblem of chastity, crouches at her feet.

In that Greek MS. of the works of Gregory Nazianzen to which I have so often referred, as containing the earliest known examples of the treatment of legendary subjects, I found the story of Cyprian and Justina in four miniatures. (Paris Bib. Nat. MSS. grecs, A. D. 867.)

1. Justina seeks refuge at the feet of Christ from the demon who pursues her. 2. Cyprian engaged in his magical incantations, burning incense, etc., and a demon rises behind him. 3. He is kneeling as a penitent at the feet of Justina. 4. They suffer martyrdom together. The figures, ruined as they are, most freely and nobly designed.

Every one who has been at Vienna will probably remember the St. Justina of the Belvedere, so long attributed to Porde none, but now known to be the production of a much greater man, Bonvicino of Brescia (Il Moretto). She stands in a landscape; one hand sustains her drapery, the other holds her palm; she looks down, with an air of saintly dignity blended with the most benign sweetness, on a kneeling votary. This illustration will give an idea of the composition; but nothing — no reproduction, no description — could convey the expression of the countenance, which has the character of Venetian beauty, elevated by such a serious and refined grace, that the effect of the combination is quite inconceivable. There is a tradition relative to this picture which greatly enhances its interest; it is said to represent Alphonso I. of Ferrara at the feet of Donna Laura Eustochio: she was a beautiful woman of low origin,



ST. JUSTINA AND ALPHONSO I. (MORETTO)

whom Alphonso married after the death of Lucretia Borgia; some say she had been his mistress, but this is not certain; and, at all events, when Duchess of Ferrara she won by her virtues the respect and love of all classes: the people of Ferrara held her in such reverence, that once, when threatened by an inundation, they imputed their preservation solely to her prayers. According to Ticozzi, Titian painted her several times, *e nuda e vestita*. I have never seen in any gallery a portrait by Titian recognized as the portrait of Donna Laura; but, for several reasons, on which I cannot enlarge in this place, I believe the famous picture in the Louvre, styled "Titian's Mistress," to be the portrait of this peasant duchess.¹ She died in 1573.

It is not easy to distinguish St. Justina of Antioch from another saint of the same name, St. Justina of Padua, the more especially as the painters themselves appear to have confounded them. The reader, therefore, will do well to turn at once to the legend of Justina of Padua, farther on: she is much more popular in Western Art than the Greek heroine and martyr of Antioch, but not nearly so interesting.

ST. APOLLONIA OF ALEXANDRIA, VIRGIN AND MARTYR

Fr. Sainte Apolline. Patroness against toothache, and all diseases of the teeth. (Feb. 9, A. D. 250.)

"There dwelt in the city of Alexandria a magistrate who had great riches, but he and his wife also were heathens. They had no children, and day and night they besought their false gods to grant them a son or a daughter to inherit their wealth. Meantime, for so it pleased God, three pious pilgrims, servants of the Lord, arrived in the city, and, being hungry and weary, they begged an alms for the love of the Redeemer and the Blessed Virgin his mother. Now as they were thus begging opposite to the house of the magistrate, his wife, being astonished, called to them and said, 'What new manner of begging is this? in whose name do ye ask alms?' Then the pilgrims preached to her the merits of Christ and of the Virgin. The woman,

¹ [Mrs. Jameson's opinion in regard to this picture is now quite generally accepted, although Crowe and Cavalcaselle do not consider the point definitely proved.]

being greatly moved by their words, asked whether it were possible that the Virgin-mother of God, of whom they spoke, could grant her prayer to have a child? And they answered, 'Without doubt.' Thereupon she called them in, and gave them alms, and meat and drink; and addressed her prayer, full of faith, to the Holy Virgin. Her prayer was heard, and she brought forth a daughter, to whom she gave the name of Apollonia.

"As the maiden grew up and flourished as a flower in grace and beauty, her mother ceased not to relate to her the wonderful circumstances of her birth: and thus she became a true Christian at heart, and with a longing wish to be baptized. With this purpose, and directed by an angel, she found her way to St. Leonine, the disciple of St. Anthony, and desired to be made a Christian; so he baptized her; and suddenly there appeared an angel holding a garment of dazzling white, which he threw over the maiden, saying, 'This is Apollonia, the servant of Jesus! go now to Alexandria, and preach the faith of Christ.' She, hearing the divine voice, obeyed, and preached to the people with wondrous eloquence. Many were converted; others ran to complain to her father, and to accuse her of breaking the law; but she defended herself; and her father, incensed, gave her up to the power of the heathen governor, who commanded her instantly to fall down and worship the idol set up in the city. Then St. Apollonia, being brought before the idol, made the sign of the cross, and commanded the demon who dwelt within it to depart; and the demon, uttering a loud cry, broke the statue, and fled, shrieking out, 'The Holy Virgin Apollonia drives me forth!' The tyrant, seeing this, ordered her to be bound to a column; and all her beautiful teeth were pulled out, one by one, with a pair of pincers; then a fire was kindled, and as she persisted in the faith, she was flung into it, and gave up her soul to God, being carried into heaven by His angels."

The cautious Baillet admits that the Virgin Apollonia was put to death in a tumult of the people against the Christians, and that "ils lui cassèrent d'abord toutes les dents par des coups horribles." But the above is the legend followed by the painters.

St. Apollonia is represented with the palm as martyr, and

holding a pair of pincers with a tooth : or the pincers, as in later pictures, are placed near her ; in the beautiful picture of St. Apollonia in our National Gallery, the pincers are lying on a table ; in a picture by Memling, she wears a golden tooth, suspended as an ornament to her neck-chain. There is a St. Apollonia by Furini in the Rinuccini Palace¹ at Florence, a head of singular beauty, bent back, as if preparing for the



St. Apollonia (Carlo Dolci)

torture ; the ferocious executioner seen behind. She does not, however, appear to be popular as a patron saint, nor are pictures of her very common. The finest I have seen is that by Francesco Granacci in the Munich Gallery. It is a single figure, nearly life size, and forms one wing of a beautiful altarpiece, which Granacci painted for the sake of a favorite niece,

¹ [The collection of the Rinuccini Palace is now dispersed.]

who was a nun in the convent of St. Apollonia at Florence. Granacci was a favorite pupil of Michael Angelo, and caught some of his grandeur of form; but in his treatment of a subject he rather resembles Ghirlandajo. On the predella beneath he represented in six compartments the life of the saint. 1. St. Apollonia, after her baptism, hears the voice of angels sending her forth to preach the Gospel. 2. She is preaching to the people, — a noble figure; her auditors are principally old men, who appear to be pondering her words. 3. She is brought before the judge, who, according to one version of the legend, was her father, and just such a cruel pagan as the father of St. Barbara. 4. She is bound to a pillar and scourged; the scene is a guard-room or prison, with soldiers in the background. 5. She is seated with her hands bound, and has all her teeth pulled out by an executioner. 6. She kneels, and a soldier behind is about to strike off her head with an axe. This predella, separated, as it often happens, from the principal subject, is now in the Accademia delle Belle Arti, at Florence.

It is necessary to observe that St. Apollonia has a pair of pincers, and St. Agatha a pair of shears, which in some of the old pictures are not well discriminated.

The Martyrdom of St. Apollonia is sometimes found in the chapels dedicated to her. She is generally bound to a pillar, and an executioner stands near: I have never seen him in the very act of pulling out her teeth, except in one or two coarse miniatures. In the Duomo at Milan, which does not abound in good pictures, one of the best is Procaccino's Martyrdom of St. Apollonia.

THE SEVEN SLEEPERS OF EPHEBUS

Ital. I Sette Dormienti. *Fr.* Les Sept Dormants. Les Sept Enfants d'Éphèse. *Ger.* Die Sieben Schläfer. (June 27.)

During the persecution under the Emperor Decius, there lived in the city of Ephesus seven young men, who were Christians; their names were Maximian, Malchus, Marcian, Dionysius, John, Serapion, and Constantine; and as they refused to offer sacrifice to the idols, they were accused before the tribunal. But they fled and escaped to Mount Cœlian, where they hid themselves in a cave. Being discovered, the tyrant ordered that they should roll great stones to the mouth

of the cavern, in order that they might die of hunger. They, embracing each other, fell asleep.

And it came to pass in the thirtieth year of the reign of the Emperor Theodosius, that there broke out that dangerous heresy which denied the resurrection of the dead. The pious emperor, being greatly afflicted, retired to the interior of his palace, putting on sackcloth and covering his head with ashes: therefore God took pity on him, and restored his faith by bringing back these just men to life; which came to pass in this manner. A certain inhabitant of Ephesus, repairing to the top of Mount Cœlian to build a stable for his cattle, discovered the cavern; and when the light penetrated therein, the sleepers awoke, believing that their slumber had only lasted for a single night; they rose up, and Malchus, one of the number, was dispatched to the city to purchase food. He, advancing cautiously and fearfully, beheld, to his astonishment, the image of the cross surmounting the city gate. He went to another gate, and there he found another cross. He rubbed his eyes, believing himself still asleep, or in a dream, and entering the city he heard everywhere the name of Christ pronounced openly; and he was more and more confounded. When he repaired to the baker's, he offered in payment an ancient coin of the time of the Emperor Decius, and they looked at him with astonishment, thinking that he had found a hidden treasure. And when they accused him, he knew not what to reply. Seeing his confusion, they bound him and dragged him through the streets with contumely; and he looked round, seeking some one whom he knew, but not a face in all the crowd was familiar to him. And being brought before the bishop, the truth was disclosed to the great amazement of all. The bishop, the governor, and the principal inhabitants of the city, followed him to the entrance of the cavern, where the other six youths were found. Their faces had the freshness of roses, and the brightness of a holy light was around them. Theodosius himself, being informed of this great wonder, hastened to the cavern, and one of the sleepers said to him, "Believe in us, O Emperor! for we have been raised before the Day of Judgment, in order that thou mightest trust in the resurrection of the dead!" And having said this, they bowed their heads and gave up their spirits to God. They had slept in their cavern for one hundred and ninety-six years.

Gibbon, in quoting this poetical fable, observes that the tradition may be traced to within half a century of the supposed miracle. About the end of the sixth century it was translated from the Syriac into the Latin, and was spread over the whole of Western Christendom. Nor was it confined to the Christian world. Mahomet has introduced it as a divine revelation into the Koran. It has penetrated into Abyssinia. It has been found in Scandinavia: in fact, in the remotest regions of the Old World, this singular tradition, in one form or another, appears to have been known and accepted.

The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, extended in their cave, side by side, occur perpetually in the miniatures, ancient sculpture, and stained glass of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Thus they are represented in the frieze of the Chapel of Edward the Confessor at Westminster. In general the name of each is written over his head. They carry palms as martyrs. I have never seen them with any other attributes, but in the German "Iconographie" it is said that "In an old representation," not otherwise described as to age or locality, the Seven Sleepers are thus individualized: John and Constantine bear each a club, Maximian has a knotted club, Malchus and Marcian have axes, Serapion a torch, and Dionysius a large nail. What these attributes may signify — whether alluding to the trades they exercised, or the kind of martyrdom to which they were condemned, but did not suffer — is not explained; and I have never met with any effigies thus discriminated.

XI. THE LATIN MARTYRS

THE FOUR GREAT VIRGINS OF THE LATIN CHURCH

ST. CECILIA, VIRGIN AND MARTYR

Fr. Sainte Cécile. The name in Italian, German, and Spanish is the same as in English and Latin. Patroness of music and musicians. (Nov. 22, A. D. 280.)

ST. CECILIA and St. Catherine present themselves before the fancy as the muses of Christian poetic art, — the former presiding over music and song, the latter over literature and philosophy. In their character of patron saints, we might therefore expect to find them oftener combined in the same picture; for the appropriate difference of expression in each — the grave, intellectual, contemplative dignity of St. Catherine, and the rapt inspiration of St. Cecilia — present the most beautiful contrast that a painter could desire. It is, however, but seldom that we find them together: when grouped with other saints, St. Cecilia is generally in companionship with St. Agnes, and St. Catherine with St. Barbara or Mary Magdalene. To understand this apparent anomaly, we must bear in mind that, while the Greek patronesses, St. Catherine, St. Euphemia, St. Barbara, St. Margaret, are renowned throughout all Christendom, the FOUR GREAT VIRGINS OF THE LATIN CHURCH (for such is their proper designation), St. Cecilia, St. Agnes, St. Agatha, and St. Lucia, are almost entirely confined to Western Art, and fall naturally into companionship. Of these, the two first were Roman, and the two last Sicilian martyrs.

The beautiful legend of St. Cecilia is one of the most ancient handed down to us by the early Church. The veneration paid to her can be traced back to the third century, in which she is supposed to have lived; and there can be little doubt that the main incidents of her life and martyrdom are founded in fact, though mixed up with the usual amount of marvels, parables and precepts, poetry and allegory, not the

less attractive and profitable for edification in times when men listened and believed with the undoubting faith of children. In this, as in other instances, I shall make no attempt to separate historic truth from poetic fiction, but give the legend according to the ancient version, on which the painters founded their representations.

“St. Cecilia was a noble Roman lady, who lived in the reign of the Emperor Alexander Severus. Her parents, who secretly professed Christianity, brought her up in their own faith, and from her earliest childhood she was remarkable for her enthusiastic piety: she carried night and day a copy of the Gospel concealed within the folds of her robe; and she made a secret but solemn vow to preserve her chastity, devoting herself to heavenly things, and shunning the pleasures and vanities of the world. As she excelled in music, she turned her good gift to the glory of God, and composed hymns, which she sang herself with such ravishing sweetness that even the angels descended from heaven to listen to her, or to join their voices with hers. She played on all instruments, but none sufficed to breathe forth that flood of harmony with which her whole soul was filled: therefore she invented the organ, consecrating it to the service of God.

“When she was about sixteen, her parents married her to a young Roman, virtuous, rich, and of noble birth, named Valerian. He was, however, still in the darkness of the old religion. Cecilia, in obedience to her parents, accepted of the husband they had ordained for her; but beneath her bridal robes she put on a coarse garment of penance, and, as she walked to the temple, renewed her vow of chastity, praying to God that she might have strength to keep it—and it so fell out; for, by her fervent eloquence, she not only persuaded her husband Valerian to respect her vow, but converted him to the true faith. She told him that she had a guardian angel who watched over her night and day, and would suffer no earthly lover to approach her, —

I have an angel which thus loveth me —
That with great love, whether I wake or sleep,
Is ready aye my body for to keep.¹

And when Valerian desired to see this angel, she sent him to

¹ *Vide* Chaucer, who has given an almost literal version of the old legend in the “Second Nonnes Tale.”



St. Cecilia (Donatello)

seek the aged St. Urban, who, being persecuted by the heathen, had sought refuge in the catacombs. After listening to the instruction of that holy man, the conversion of Valerian was perfected, and he was baptized. Returning then to his wife, he heard, as he entered, the most enchanting music; and, on reaching her chamber, beheld an angel, who was standing near her, and who held in his hand two crowns of roses gathered in Paradise, immortal in their freshness and perfume, but invisible to the eyes of unbelievers. With these he encircled the brows of Cecilia and Valerian, as they knelt before him; and he said to Valerian, 'Because thou hast followed the chaste counsel of thy wife, and hast believed her words, ask what thou wilt, it shall be granted to thee.' And Valerian replied, 'I have a brother named Tiburtius, whom I love as my own soul; grant that his eyes also may be opened to the truth.' And the angel replied with a celestial smile, 'Thy request, O Valerian, is pleasing to God, and ye shall both ascend to His presence, bearing the palm of martyrdom.' And

the angel, having spoken these words, vanished. Soon afterwards Tiburtius entered the chamber, and perceiving the fragrance of the celestial roses, but not seeing them, and knowing that it was not the season for flowers, he was astonished. Then Cecilia, turning to him, explained to him the doctrines of the Gospel, and set before him all that Christ had done for us, contrasting his divine mission, and all he had done and suffered for men, with the gross worship of idols, made of wood and stone; and she spoke with such a convincing fervor, such a heaven inspired eloquence, that Tiburtius yielded at once, and hastened to Urban to be baptized and strengthened in the faith. And all three went about doing good, giving alms, and encouraging those who were put to death for Christ's sake, whose bodies they buried honorably.

“Now there was in those days a wicked prefect of Rome named Almachius, who governed in the emperor's absence; and he sent for Cecilia and her husband and brother, and commanded them to desist from the practices of Christian charity. And they said, ‘How can we desist from that which is our duty, for fear of anything that man can do unto us?’ The two brothers were then thrown into a dungeon, and committed to the charge of a centurion named Maximus, whom they converted, and all three, refusing to join in the sacrifice to Jupiter, were put to death. And Cecilia, having washed their bodies with her tears, and wrapped them in her robes, buried them together in the cemetery of Calixtus. Then the wicked Almachius, covetous of the wealth which Cecilia had inherited, sent for her, and commanded her to sacrifice to the gods, threatening her with horrible tortures in case of refusal; she only smiled in scorn; and those who stood by wept to see one so young and so beautiful persisting in what they termed obstinacy and rashness, and entreated her to yield; but she refused, and by her eloquent appeal so touched their hearts, that forty persons declared themselves Christians, and ready to die with her. Then Almachius, struck with terror and rage, exclaimed, ‘What art thou, woman?’ and she answered, ‘I am a Roman of noble race.’ He said, ‘I ask of thy religion?’ and she said, ‘Thou blind one, thou art already answered!’ Almachius, more and more enraged, commanded that they should carry her back to her own house, and fill her bath with boiling water, and cast her into it; but it had no more

effect on her body than if she had bathed in a fresh spring. Then Almachius sent an executioner to put her to death with the sword ; but his hand trembled, so that after having given her three wounds in the neck and breast, he went his way, leaving her bleeding and half dead. She lived, however, for the space of three days, which she spent in prayers and exhortations to the converts, distributing to the poor all she possessed ; and she called to her St. Urban, and desired that her house, in which she then lay dying, should be converted into a place of worship for the Christians. Thus, full of faith and charity, and singing with her sweet voice praises and hymns to the last moments, she died at the end of three days. The Christians embalmed her body, and she was buried by Urban in the same cemetery with her husband."

According to her wish, the house of Cecilia was consecrated as a church, the chamber in which she suffered martyrdom being regarded as a spot of peculiar sanctity. There is mention of a council held in the Church of St. Cecilia by Pope Symmachus, in the year 500. Afterwards, in the troubles and invasions of the barbarians, this ancient church fell into ruin, and was rebuilt by Pope Paschal I. in the ninth century. It is related that, while engaged in this work, Paschal had a dream, in which St. Cecilia appeared to him, and revealed the spot in which she lay buried ; accordingly search was made, and her body was found in the cemetery of Calixtus, wrapt in a shroud of gold tissue, and round her feet a linen cloth dipped in her blood : near her were the remains of Valerian, Tiburtius, and Maximus, which, together with hers, were deposited in the same church, now St. Cecilia-in-Trastevere. The little room containing her bath, in which she was murdered or martyred, is now a chapel. The rich frescoes with which it was decorated are in a state of utter ruin from age and damp ; but the machinery for heating the bath, the pipes, the stoves, yet remain. This church, having again fallen into ruin, was again repaired, and sumptuously embellished in the taste of the sixteenth century, by Cardinal Sfondrati. On this occasion the sarcophagus containing the body of St. Cecilia was opened with great solemnity in the presence of several cardinals and dignitaries of the Church, among others Cardinal Baronius, who has given us an exact description of the appearance of the body, which had been buried by Pope Paschal in 820, when

exhumed in 1599. "She was lying," says Baronius, "within a coffin of cypress wood, inclosed in a marble sarcophagus; not in the manner of one dead and buried, that is, on her back, but on her right side, as one asleep; and in a very modest attitude; covered with a simple stuff of taffeta, having her head bound with cloth, and at her feet the remains of the cloth of gold and silk which Pope Paschal had found in her tomb." Clement VIII. ordered that the relics should remain untouched, inviolate; and the cypress coffin was inclosed in a



Shrine of St. Cecilia (Maderno)

silver shrine and replaced under the altar. This reinterment took place in presence of the pope and clergy, with great pomp and solemnity, and the people crowded in from the neighboring towns to assist at the ceremony. Stefano Maderno, who was then in the employment of the Cardinal Sfondrati as sculptor and architect, and acted as his secretary, was not, we may suppose, absent on this occasion; by the order of the cardinal he executed the beautiful and celebrated statue of "St. Cecilia lying dead," which was intended to commemorate the attitude in which she was found. It is thus described by Sir Charles Bell: "The body lies on its side, the limbs a little drawn up; the hands are delicate and fine, — they are not locked, but crossed at the wrists: the arms are stretched out. The drapery is beautifully modelled, and modestly covers the limbs. The head is enveloped in linen, but the general form is seen, and the artist has contrived to convey by its position, though not offensively, that it is separated from the body. A gold circlet is round the neck, to conceal the place of decollation (?). It is the statue of a lady, perfect in form, and affecting from the resemblance to reality in the drapery of white marble, and the unspotted appearance of the

statue altogether. It lies as no living body could lie, and yet correctly, as the dead when left to expire, — I mean in the gravitation of the limbs.”

It must be remembered that Cecilia did not suffer decollation; that her head was *not* separated from the body; and the gold band is to conceal the wound in the neck: otherwise, this description of the statue agrees exactly with the description which Cardinal Baronius has given of the body of the saint when found in 1599.

The ornaments round the shrine, of bronze and rare and precious marbles, are in the worst taste, and do not harmonize with the pathetic simplicity of the figure.

At what period St. Cecilia came to be regarded as the patron saint of music, and accompanied by the musical attributes, I cannot decide. It is certain that in the ancient devotional representations she is not so distinguished; nor in the old Italian series of subjects from her life have I found any in which she is figured as singing, or playing upon instruments.

The oldest representation of St. Cecilia I have met with is a rude picture or drawing discovered on the wall of the catacomb called the cemetery of San Lorenzo. It is a half length, with the martyr's crown on her head, and her name inscribed. (D'Agincourt, pl. xi., sixth or seventh century.)

Next to this is the colossal mosaic figure in the apsis of her church at Rome. The composition is one of the most majestic of these grand devotional groups. In the centre stands the Redeemer; the right hand, raised, gives the benediction in the Greek manner; in the left he has a roll of writing; on his left hand stands St. Peter, with the keys, beyond him St. Cecilia with a crown in her hand and her husband St. Valerian: on the right of Christ is St. Paul, and behind him St. Agatha, with a crown on her head, and Pope Paschal I., by whom the edifice was dedicated. The date of this mosaic is about 817.

The third in point of antiquity to which I can refer is an undoubted picture of Cimabue, painted for the old church of St. Cecilia at Florence (now destroyed). She is here quite unlike all our conventional ideas of the youthful and beautiful patroness of music, — a grand matronly figure seated on a throne, holding in one hand the Gospel, in the other the palm. The headdress is a kind of veil; the drapery, of a dark blue, which has turned greenish from age, is disposed with great

breadth and simplicity : altogether it is as solemn and striking as the old mosaic. This picture stood over the high altar of her church, and around it are eight small compartments representing scenes from her life ; the incidents selected being precisely those which were painted in the portico of her church at Rome, and which in the time of Cimabue existed entire. [Uffizi, Florence.]

Previous to the beginning of the fifteenth century St. Cecilia is seldom seen with her musical instruments. She has generally, when grouped with other martyrs, the palm and the crown of red and white roses, with occasionally an attendant angel. But St. Dorothea has also the palm, the crown of roses, and the angel ; it is therefore necessary to observe, first, that Dorothea generally carries a book, while St. Cecilia, when she has anything in her hand besides the palm, has a scroll of music ; secondly, St. Dorothea, besides the roses on her head, has frequently roses in her hand, or in a basket ; thirdly, the angel attending on St. Cecilia carries a garland, or some musical instrument, while the angel attending on St. Dorothea carries fruit and flowers in a basket. When accompanied by her musical attributes, St. Cecilia is easily distinguished ; she is in general richly dressed, wearing jewels, or a turban on her head, when she does not wear her wreath of red and white roses, — the roses gathered in Paradise ; she holds the palm and music in her hand ; an organ or some other musical instrument is placed near her. Sometimes she is touching the organ, and singing to her own accompaniment ; or she is playing on the viol ; the attendant angel near her either holds the scroll or the palm, or he crowns her with roses. [In the popular modern picture by Naujak she is seated, richly dressed, at an organ, while angels shower roses upon her.]

The most celebrated of the modern representations of St. Cecilia, as patroness of music, is the picture by Raphael, painted by him for the altar-piece of her chapel in the Church of San Giovanni-in-Monte, near Bologna [and now in the Bologna Academy]. She stands in the centre, habited in a rich robe of golden tint, and her hair confined by a band of jewels. In her hand she bears a small organ — but seems about to drop it as she looks up, listening with ecstatic expres-

sion to a group of angels, who are singing above. Scattered and broken at her feet lie the instruments of secular music, the pipe, flute, tabor, etc. To the right of St. Cecilia stand St. Paul, leaning on his sword; behind him is St. John the Evangelist, with the eagle at his feet; to the left, in front, the Magdalene, as already described, and behind her St. Augustine.

Raphael's original drawing, engraved by Marc Antonio, has always appeared to me preferable to the finished picture.

Sir Joshua Reynolds has given us a parody of this famous picture, in his portrait of Mrs. Billington; but, instead of the organ, he has placed a music-book in her hands — a change which showed both his taste



St. Cecilia (Raphael)

and his judgment, and lent to the borrowed figure an original significance. It gave occasion, also, to the happy compliment paid to the singer by Haydn. "What have you done?" said he to Sir Joshua. "You have made her listening to the angels; you should have represented the angels listening to her." [The picture is now in the Lenox Gallery, New York.]

We will turn now to a German St. Cecilia. In the [Bartolomäus altar], in the Munich Gallery, she is standing, magnificently attired in a violet-colored tunic, and over it a crimson mantle; her hair bound with a small jewelled turban; a little angel with frizzled hair, much like a wig, sustains a small organ, on which she plays with one hand, blowing the bellows with the other. The expression of the face as she listens, rapt,

to her own sweet music, the odd but poetical conception, and the vivid splendor of the coloring, are very remarkable. The figure is about one third the size of life.

By Moretto we have two beautiful representations of St. Cecilia as patroness, attended by other saints.

1. She stands in the centre of the picture, holding the organ under her left arm; with the right she embraces St. Lucia; on the other side stands St. Barbara gracefully leaning on her tower; St. Agnes and St. Agatha are seen behind, and the Holy Spirit descends upon the group from above. (San Clemente, Brescia.)

2. In the picture in San Giorgio at Verona. Here the composition is varied. St. Cecilia is in the centre, crowned with roses, and attired in magnificent red drapery; she looks up with an expression of adoration; the organ and scrolls of music are at her feet. On the right are St. Lucia looking down, and St. Catherine looking up; on the left St. Barbara, also looking up, and St. Agnes with her lamb, looking down.¹ Both these pictures are full of character and expression; and here St. Cecilia is not only patroness of music, but patron saint in a more general and exalted sense.

Sometimes a dramatic feeling has been given to these representations; for instance, where St. Cecilia is playing to the Virgin, and St. Antony of Padua is listening, as in a picture by Garofalo. Again, where St. Cecilia is seated before an organ, attired in the rich Florentine costume of the sixteenth century; near her stands St. Catherine listening to the heavenly strains of her companion: as in a picture by Giulio Campi. (Cremona, S. Sigismondo.) In a composition by Parmigiano she is playing on the spinet, which is held before her by two angels—an idea which appears to have been borrowed by Paul Delaroche.

Domenichino was at Rome on the occasion of the opening of the sarcophagus of St. Cecilia in the reign of Clement VIII., and when the discovery of the relics entire had kindled the popular enthusiasm to an extraordinary degree; during the next half century there were few artists who did not attempt a St. Cecilia; but Domenichino led the way. He painted six single

¹ When standing before this picture with a friend who had given more attention to physiology than to art, he was struck by the peculiar expression in the eyes of St. Cecilia, which he said he had often remarked as characteristic of musicians by profession, or those devoted to music,—an expression of *listening* rather than *seeing*.

figures of St. Cecilia as patron saint. Of these, one of the most beautiful is the half length which represents her in rich drapery of violet and amber, crowned with red and white roses; an angel bearing her palm is seen behind, and an organ to the left; she holds a scroll of music in her hand.¹ The noble air of the head, and the calm intellectual expression of the features, seem, however, better suited to a St. Catherine than to a St. Cecilia. She is here a great-patron saint in the general sense, and the attributes serve to individualize her. In the picture in the Louvre, an angel stands before her, holding open the music-book, from which she sings, accompanying herself on the viol. In the Borghese picture²

she wears a magnificent jewelled turban, and is listening with an entranced expression to the song of invisible angels.

But, in *expression*, Lord Lansdowne's Domenichino [Lansdowne House, London] excels all the rest; and here St. Cecilia combines the two characters of Christian martyr and patroness of music. Her tunic is of a deep red with white sleeves, and on her head she wears a kind of white turban, which, in the artless disposition of its folds, recalls the linen head-dress in which her body was found, and no doubt was intended to imitate it.

She holds the viol gracefully, and you almost hear the tender tones she draws from it; she looks up to heaven; her expression is not ecstatic, as of one listening



St. Cecilia and St. Catherine (Campi)

¹ It was in the collection of Mr. Wells of Red-leaf, and there is a fine engraving by Sharp. [It was sold by Mr. Wells in 1848; *vide* Redford's *Sales*, vol. ii. p. 229.]

² [The picture usually known as the "Cumean Sibyl."]

to the angels, but devout, tender, melancholy — as one who anticipated her fate, and was resigned to it; she is listening to her own song, and her song is, “Thy will be done!”

I might cite many other beautiful examples of St. Cecilia exhibited as patroness of music, but the subject is one which needs no interpretation. It is a frequent and appropriate decoration on the doors of organs. I remember an organ on the inner doors of which were painted, on one side St. Gregory teaching the choristers, on the other St. Cecilia singing with the angels.

She is very seldom represented in devotional pictures as the virgin martyr only; but I remember one striking example; it is in a picture by Giulio Procaccino. She leans back, dying, in the arms of an angel; her hands bound, her hair dishevelled; the countenance raised to heaven, full of tender enthusiastic faith: one angel draws the weapon from her breast; another, weeping, holds the palm and a wreath of roses. This picture was evidently painted for a particular locality, being on a high, narrow panel, the figure larger than life, and the management of the space and the foreshortening very skilful and fine. (Milan, Brera.)

I know not any picture of St. Cecilia *sleeping*, except Alfred Tennyson's:—

There, in a clear wall'd city on the sea,
Near gilded organ-pipes — her hair
Bound with white roses — slept St. Cecily; —
An angel looked at her!

Very charming! — but the roses brought from Paradise should be *red* and *white*, symbolical of love and purity, for in Paradise the two are inseparable, and purity without love as impossible as love without purity. There is a very lovely figure of St. Cecilia by Luini; she stands crowned with white roses and anemones, with the palm and book and organ-pipes at her feet. (San Maurizio, Milan.)

Detached scenes from the life of St. Cecilia do not often occur. Those generally selected are “the angel crowning her and her husband,” and her “martyrdom.”

The first, which is a most attractive subject, I have never seen well treated; all the examples which have fallen under my notice are vapid or theatrical. There is one in the gallery of Count Harrach at Vienna, a Venetian picture of the Cagliari school, which is interesting: the faces are like portraits.

Her martyrdom is represented in two ways; she is either exposed to the flames in her bath, or stabbed by the executioner.

In the Illuminated Greek Menology (ninth century), perhaps the oldest existing example, she is murdered in her bath; Valerian and Tiburtius lie headless on the ground. The bath is often in the form of a great cauldron, with flames beneath, and sometimes we find the superscription (Ps. lxvi. 12), "Per ignem et aquam," etc., "We went through fire and through water, but Thou broughtest us out into a wealthy place."

There can be no doubt that the so-called "*Martyrdom of St. Felicità*," engraved after Raphael by Marc Antonio, and one of his finest prints, is the Martyrdom of St. Cecilia, and that the two headless figures on the ground represent Valerian and Tiburtius. There exists a woodcut of the same composition, executed before the death of Raphael (about 1517), inscribed "The Martyrdom of St. Cecilia," which seems to set the question at rest.

In the later examples she is generally kneeling, and the executioner seizes her by the long hair and prepares to plunge his sword into her bosom; the organ is in the background, a violin and a book lie near her, and an angel descends from above with the wreath of roses: as in a much-praised picture by Riminaldini, painted for the chapel of St. Cecilia at Pisa. (Florence, Pitti Gallery.)

The composition by Poussin is very fine and dramatic. Cecilia has received her death-wound, and is dying on the marble floor of her palace, supported in the arms of her women; St. Urban and others stand by lamenting. Here, as well as in Domenichino's fresco, two women are occupied in wiping up the blood which flows from her wounds. The introduction of this disagreeable and superfluous incident may be accounted for by the tradition that the napkin stained with her blood was found in the catacombs at her feet.

The Martyrdom of St. Cecilia, by Lionello Spada, in the San Michele-in-Bosco at Bologna, is much praised by Lanzi. She is exposed to the flames in her bath: "Con un fuoco così vero e vivace che in solo mirando rende calore." It is now scarcely visible.

[There is] a half-length St. Cecilia attributed to Leonardo, but not by him [once in the Munich Gallery, but now prob-

ably at Schleissheim], which rather reminded me, in dress and arrangement, of [Raphael's] Giovanna d'Arragona in the Louvre. [Morelli pronounces it a feeble copy of this portrait.]

The life of St. Cecilia treated as a series affords a number of beautiful and dramatic subjects. There are several examples, some of them famous in the history of Art. The most ancient of which there is any mention is, or rather *was*, a set of frescoes painted in the portico of her church at Rome, supposed to have been executed by Byzantine painters in the ninth century by order of Pope Paschal I. These were utterly destroyed when the church was rebuilt in the seventeenth century, with the exception of one compartment; but correct copies had been previously made, which exist in the library of the Barberini Palace.¹ The series comprises the following subjects: —

1. The marriage feast of Valerian and St. Cecilia. 2. St. Cecilia seated in discourse with her husband.

3. Valerian mounts his horse and goes to seek St. Urban.

4. The baptism of Valerian.

5. An angel crowns Valerian and Cecilia. 6. Cecilia preaches to the guards.

7. She is exposed to the flames in her bath. 8. Her martyrdom.

9. She is laid in the tomb. 10. She appears in a vision to Pope Paschal.

The compartment containing the last two subjects remains entire, and is fixed against the wall in the interior of her church to the right of the high altar. Pope Paschal is seen asleep on his throne with his tiara on his head; the saint stands before him, and appears to be revealing the place of her burial in the catacombs; on the other side the same pope is seen with his attendants in the act of laying her body in the sarcophagus: the story is very expressively though artlessly told; the style Greco-Italian. It is worth remarking, that St. Cecilia here wears a headdress like a turban, and that when her body was found her head was bound in folds of cloth. As

¹ [The copies referred to are in water colors, made in 1630: Barberini Palace, Inventory XLIX., 2; Catalogue, Codice Cartaceo Barberiniano IL., 11, 19-29. An examination of the series, December, 1894, shows only nine, there being no copy of the subject "St. Cecilia Exposed to the Flames."]

great attention was drawn to these remains just when Domenichino and others of the Caracci school were painting at Rome, the idea may have been thus suggested of representing her in a sort of turban, as we see her in so many pictures of the seventeenth century.

On each side of the figure of St. Cecilia by Cimabue (already described) are four small subjects from her life; the scenes selected are the same as in the old frescoes of Pope Paschal, but the treatment is widely different.

1. Cecilia, seated at a banquet with three others, and five attendants, of whom two are playing on the tabor and pipe.
2. Cecilia, seated on a couch, converses with her husband Valerian, who stands before her. She is exhorting him to observe the vow she had made to Heaven before her nuptial vow to him.
3. Urban baptizes Valerian.
4. An angel crowns Cecilia and Valerian.
5. Cecilia converts Tiburtius.
6. Cecilia preaches to the people.
7. She is brought before the prefect.
8. She is put into the bath full of boiling water: three executioners surround her.

Francia, assisted by Lorenzo Costa, painted the life of St. Cecilia in ten compartments round the walls of her chapel at Bologna. The building is now desecrated, and forms a kind of public passage leading from one street to another. The only compartment in tolerable preservation is the scene of the marriage of St. Cecilia and Valerian, charming for simplicity and expression; she seems to shrink back reluctant, while her mother takes her hand and places it in that of Valerian. In the same series, Urban instructing Valerian, and the alms of St. Cecilia, both by Lorenzo Costa, are very beautiful. Of the other compartments only a figure here and there can be made out.

Lastly, there is the series by Domenichino, celebrated in the history of Art. A short time after the discovery of the relics of St. Cecilia, a chapel was dedicated to her in the Church of San Luigi at Rome, and Domenichino was employed to decorate it with the history of the saint.

The story is told in five large compositions.

1. Cecilia distributes her possessions to the poor. She is in the background standing on the terrace or balcony of her

house, while a crowd of eager half-naked wretches are seen in the front; twenty-two figures in all. It is a rich dramatic composition, but the attention, instead of being concentrated on the benign saint, is distracted by the accessories, among which are two naughty boys quarrelling for a garment. This is surely a discord in point of sentiment. 2. An angel crowns with roses St. Cecilia and Valerian as they kneel on each side. 3. St. Cecilia refuses to sacrifice to idols. 4. Her martyrdom. She lies wounded to death on some marble steps; her attitude very graceful and pathetic. St. Urban looks on pitying; two women are wiping up the blood. In all, fifteen figures.

On the ceiling of the chapel is the apotheosis of the saint. She is carried into heaven by angels. One bears the organ, others the sword, the palm, and the crown.

On the whole, St. Cecilia is not so frequent a subject of painting as we might have expected from the beauty and antiquity of her legend. She is seldom seen in the old French works of Art: she has been a favorite with the Roman and Bolognese schools, but comparatively neglected by Venetian, Spanish, and German painters; and in point of general popularity she yields both to St. Catherine and St. Barbara.¹

ST. AGNES, VIRGIN AND MARTYR

Lat. Sancta Agnes. *Ital.* Sant' Agnese. *Spa.* Santa Inez. *Fr.* Sainte Agnès. (Jan. 21, A. D. 304.)

The legend of this illustrious virgin is one of the oldest in the Christian Church. It is also, in its main points, one of the most authentic. St. Jerome, writing in the fourth century, informs us that, in his time, the fame of St. Agnes was spread through all nations, and that homilies and hymns, and other effusions in prose and verse, had been written in her honor in all languages. Her tender sex, her almost childish years, her beauty, innocence, and heroic defence of her chastity, the high antiquity of the veneration paid to her, have all combined to invest the person and character of St. Agnes with a charm, an interest, a reality, to which the most sceptical are not wholly insensible.

¹ We have two churches in England dedicated to her; one at Adstock in Bucks, and another at West Bilney in Norfolk.

The legend does not tell us who were her parents, nor what their rank in life, but takes up her history abruptly. Thus:—

“There lived in the city of Rome a maiden whose name was Agnes (whether this name was her own, or given to her because of her lamb-like meekness and innocence, does not seem clear). She was not more than thirteen years old, but was filled with all good gifts of the Holy Spirit, having loved and followed Christ from her infancy, and was as distinguished for her gracious sweetness and humility as for her surpassing beauty.

“It chanced that the son of the prefect of Rome beheld her one day as he rode through the city, and became violently enamored, and desired to have her for his wife. He asked her in marriage of her parents, but the maiden repelled all his advances. Then he brought rich presents, bracelets of gold and gems, and rare jewels and precious ornaments, and promised her all the delights of the world if she would consent to be his wife. But she rejected him and his gifts, saying, ‘Away



St. Agnes (Martin Schoen)

from me, tempter! for I am already betrothed to a lover who is greater and fairer than any earthly suitor. To him I have pledged my faith, and he will crown me with jewels, compared to which thy gifts are dross. I have tasted of the milk and honey of his lips, and the music of his divine voice has sounded in mine ears: he is so fair that the sun and moon are ravished by his beauty, and so mighty that the angels of heaven are his servants!’

“On hearing these words, the son of the prefect was seized with such jealousy and rage that he went to his home and fell upon his bed and became sick almost to death; and when the physicians were called, they said to the father, ‘This youth is sick of unrequited love, and our art can avail nothing.’ Then the prefect questioned his son, and the young man confessed, saying, ‘My father, unless thou procure me Agnes to be my wife, I die.’

“Now the prefect, whose name was Sempronius, tenderly loved his son; and he repaired, weeping, to Agnes and to her parents, and besought them to accept his son; but Agnes made the same answer as before, and the prefect was angered to think that another should be preferred before his son, and he inquired of the neighbors to what great prince Agnes was betrothed? And one said, ‘Knowest thou not that Agnes has been a Christian from her infancy upwards, and the husband of whom she speaks is no other than Jesus Christ?’ When the prefect heard this he rejoiced greatly, for an edict had gone forth against the Christians, and he knew that she was in his power. He sent for her, therefore, and said, ‘Since thou art so resolved against an earthly husband, thou shalt enter the service of the goddess Vesta.’ To which Agnes replied with disdain, ‘Thinkest thou that I, who would not listen to thy son, who yet is a man, and can hear and see, and move and speak, will bow down to vain images, which are but insensible wood and stone, or, which is worse, to the demons who inhabit them?’

“When Sempronius heard these words he fell into a fury; he threatened her with death in the most hideous forms; he loaded her tender limbs with chains; and ordered her to be dragged before the altars of the gods; but she remained firm. And as neither temptation nor the fear of death could prevail, he thought of other means to vanquish her resistance; he ordered her to be carried by force to a place of infamy, and exposed to the most degrading outrages. The soldiers, who dragged her thither, stripped her of her garments; and when she saw herself thus exposed, she bent down her head in meek shame and prayed; and immediately her hair, which was already long and abundant, became like a veil, covering her whole person from head to foot; and those who looked upon her were seized with awe and fear as of something sacred, and dared not lift their eyes. So they shut her up in a chamber,

and she prayed that the limbs that had been consecrated to Jesus Christ should not be dishonored. And suddenly she saw before her a white and shining garment, with which she clothed herself joyfully, praising God, and saying, 'I thank thee, O Lord, that I am found worthy to put on the garment of thy elect!' And the whole place was filled with miraculous light, brighter than the sun at noonday.

"But meantime the young Sempronius thought within himself, 'Now is this proud maiden subdued to my will.' So he came into the chamber; but the moment he approached her he was struck with blindness, and fell down in convulsions, and was carried forth as one dead. His father and his mother and all his relations ran thither, weeping and lamenting, until Agnes, melted to compassion by their tears, and moved by that spirit of charity which became the espoused of Christ, prayed that he might be restored to health; and her prayer was granted.

"When Sempronius saw this great miracle, he would fain have saved St. Agnes; but the people, instigated by the priests, cried out, 'This is a sorceress and a witch, who kills men with a look and restores them to life with a word. Let her die!' And the tumult increased. So the prefect, being afraid, sent one of his deputies to judge the maiden.

"As the people persisted in their clamorous cries against her, and as she openly and boldly professed herself a Christian, the deputy ordered a pile of fagots to be heaped together, and a fire to be kindled, and they threw Agnes into the midst; but when they looked to see her consumed, behold the flames were suddenly extinguished, and she stood unharmed, while the executioners around were slain by the force of the fire, which had had no power over her.

"But the people and the idolatrous priests, instead of seeing in this miracle the hand of God, cried out the more, 'She is a sorceress, and must die!' Then Agnes, raising her hands and her eyes to heaven, thanked and blessed the Lord, who had thus openly asserted his power and defended her innocence; but the wicked deputy, incited by the tumult of the people, and fearing for himself, commanded one of the executioners to ascend the pile and end her with the sword: which was done; and she, looking steadfastly up to heaven, yielded up her pure spirit, and fell bathed in her blood.

“Her parents and her relatives took her body and carried it, weeping and singing hymns, to the cemetery outside the city on the Via Nomentana; and there they laid her in a tomb. And day and night the Christians assembled in that place to offer up their devotions. And it happened that, on a certain day, as her parents with many others were praying by her sepulchre, St. Agnes herself appeared before them, all radiant of aspect; by her side was a lamb, whiter than the driven snow. And she said, ‘Weep not, dry your tears, and rejoice with exceeding joy; for me a throne is prepared by the side of Him whom on earth I preferred to all others, and to whom I am united forever in heaven.’ And having said these words, she vanished. Then the Christian mourners wiped away their tears, and returned to their houses with joy and thanksgiving.”

St. Agnes is the favorite saint of the Roman women: the traditional reverence paid to her memory has been kept alive even to this hour by their local associations, and by the two famous churches at Rome bearing her name, one within and one without the walls.

The first stands on the west side of the Piazza Navona, on the very spot where stood the house of infamy to which she was dragged by the soldiers. The chamber which, for her preservation, was filled with heavenly light, has become, from the change of level all over Rome, as well as the position of the church, a subterranean cell, and is now a chapel of peculiar sanctity, into which you descend by torchlight. The floor retains the old mosaic, and over the altar is a bas-relief, representing St. Agnes, with clasped hands, and covered only by her long tresses, while two ferocious soldiers drive her before them. The upper church, as a piece of architecture, is beautiful, and rich in precious marbles and antique columns. The works of Art are all mediocre, and of the seventeenth century, but the statue over her altar has considerable elegance. Often have I seen the steps of this church, and the church itself, so crowded with kneeling worshippers at matins and vespers that I could not make my way among them, — principally the women of the lower orders, with their distaffs and market-baskets, who had come there to pray, through the intercession of the patron saint, for the gifts of meekness and chastity — gifts not abounding in those regions.

The other church of St. Agnes — the Sant' Agnese beyond the Porta-Pia — is yet more interesting. According to the old tradition, it was erected by Constantine the Great at the earnest request of his daughter Constantia, only a few years after the death of Agnes, and to commemorate the spot in which she was laid. This has been controverted, but it remains certain that the church was in 625 an ancient edifice, and at that time restored. Notwithstanding many subsequent renovations, it retains its antique form and most of its antique decorations, and is certainly one of the most remarkable and venerable of the old churches of Rome. So deep below the present level of the soil is the floor of the church, that we have to descend into it by a flight of marble steps. The statue of the saint, of bronze and oriental alabaster, stands over the high altar: beneath it is the sarcophagus, containing her remains — more authentic than such relics usually are. The mosaic in the apsis (A. D. 625–638) represents her standing, crowned, and holding a book in her hand, in the Byzantine manner. Out of the earth spring flowers, and a sword lies at her feet, both in allusion to her martyrdom. On the right is Pope Honorius, holding the church; and on the other side, Pope Symmachus, holding a book.

So ancient is the worship paid to St. Agnes, that, next to the Evangelists and Apostles, there is no saint whose effigy is older. It is found on the ancient glass and earthenware vessels used by the Christians in the early part of the third century, with her name inscribed, which leaves no doubt of her identity. But neither in these images nor in the mosaic is the



St. Agnes (Mosaic)

lamb introduced, which in later times has become her inseparable attribute as the patroness of maidens and maidenly modesty. She bears the palm as martyr, — seldom the book. I have seen her holding a branch of olive together with the palm, and sometimes crowned with olive.

As her effigies are not easily mistaken, and abound in every form and every school of Art, I shall confine myself to a few celebrated examples.



St. Agnes (Andrea del Sarto)

1. She is often looking down meekly, as in a beautiful and rare engraving by Martin Schoen.

2. As martyr. She is seated, partly veiled, holding her palm in the right hand, with the other embracing her lamb, and looking up with a mild trusting faith; the drapery amber and violet; as in a picture by Andrea del Sarto in the Duomo at Pisa. It is the head of his beautiful but

worthless wife, more idealized than usual. This sketch will show the attitude, but it is the color and expression which render the picture enchanting.

3. As martyr, she presents her palm to Christ; as in a picture by Titian in the Louvre.

4. As patroness of maidenhood she presents a nun to the Madonna; as in a lovely picture by Paul Veronese¹ in the Venice Academy.

5. In the altar-piece by Domenichino at Windsor she stands leaning on a pedestal, in the likeness of a young girl of about twelve or thirteen, magnificently attired, and her long hair con-

¹ [The catalogue of the Venice Academy for 1893 does not mention any picture of this description by Veronese.]

fined by a tiara ; her hands are joined in supplication, yet she looks up to heaven as one trusting and assured ; at her side an angel caresses a lamb ; another angel descends from above with the palm : a splendid picture, well remembered by all who have visited the Windsor collection, and universally known by the famous engraving of Strange. I do not admire it, however. It is not in character ; it is too regal, too sumptuous, too triumphant ; and the portrait-like head, and rather heavy figure, deficient altogether in ideal sanctity and elevation. There is a tradition that it is the portrait of the artist's daughter.

Domenichino professed an especial veneration for St. Agnes, and was often called upon to paint her. Besides the single figure at Windsor, he painted for her church at Bologna the famous Martyrdom which is now in the gallery there. The saint kneels upon the pile of fagots ; the fire has just been extinguished by divine interposition ; two of the executioners lie prostrate on the ground ; a third has seized her hair, and, drawing back her head, plunges the sword into her bosom : there are several spectators, and among them the usual group of frightened women and children. Above, the heavens open in glory, and Christ delivers to an angel the palm and crown which are to recompense the martyr. This picture, which has always been reckoned amongst the most celebrated productions of the Bologna school as a masterpiece of dramatic arrangement and expression, is to me sovereignly displeasing. In the first place, there is something not only shocking, but positively unnatural, in the stupid, brutal indifference with which the executioner slaughters the young and beautiful saint. It is a murder, and not a martyrdom, which we see before us ; the women who look on ought to fly, or hide their faces, from such a spectacle. To complete the discordant feeling, and in contrast with the cold-blooded horror of the lower part of the picture, we behold a chorus of angels piping and fiddling up in the sky, with the most unsympathizing self-complacency.

The Martyrdom of St. Agnes by Tintoretto, in the S. Maria dell' Orto at Venice, is treated like a theatrical scene ; there is a flight of steps, on which are a number of spectators, and on the summit is the saint, kneeling, attired in virgin white, and prepared to receive the stroke of the executioner.

The same subject by Joanes, at Madrid, "contains some beautiful Raphaellesque heads." I know not how the action is represented.

With St. Agnes is sometimes introduced her friend and foster sister, Ermentiana, who was stoned because she reproved the pagans for their barbarity.

Other subjects from the life of St. Agnes must occur rarely. I remember but one: she restores the son of Sempronius to life. The vision of the glorified saint to the Christian mourners appears to me capable of the most beautiful treatment, but I have not met with one example. It is generally as the patron saint of innocence, or as the virgin martyr, that St. Agnes is brought before us. We have only two churches in England dedicated in her name.

Richardson describes a picture of a young saint kneeling, and protected from violence by the apparition of an angel, who fills the whole chamber with light. He calls the subject St. Cecilia, but it is evidently St. Agnes. In his time this picture was in the Borghese Palace, and attributed to Correggio. I have no recollection of such a picture.

ST. AGATHA, VIRGIN AND MARTYR

Lat. Sancta Agatha. *Fr.* Sainte Agathe. *Ital.* Santa Agata. *Ger.* Die Heilige Agathe. Patroness against fire, and all diseases of the breast. Patroness of Malta and of Catania. (February 5, A. D. 251.)

"There dwelt in the city of Catania, in Sicily, a certain Christian maiden whose name was Agatha. In those days reigned the Emperor Decius, who had strangled his predecessor Philip; and, to make it believed by all that he had put him to death out of great zeal, and for being a Christian, not from motives of ambition, this Decius sent his emissaries throughout the empire to oppress and persecute the Christians, and many were put to death. And to Sicily Decius sent his creature Quintianus, and made him king over the whole island. Not long had Quintianus reigned in Sicily when he heard of the great beauty and perfection of the maiden Agatha, and he sent to have her brought before him; and he tempted her with rich presents, and flatteries, and promises, but she rejected all with disdain. Then Quintianus sent for a courtesan, named

Frondisia, who had nine daughters, more wicked and abandoned than herself, and he delivered Agatha into their hands, and he said, 'Subdue this damsel to my will, and I will give ye great riches.' Then Frondisia took Agatha home to her house, and kept her there for thirty-three days, and tempted her with great promises, and flattered and cajoled her; but seeing this availed not, they persecuted her day and night: and her heart was fixed as a rock in the faith of Jesus Christ, and all their promises and all their threats were as the empty air. At the end of thirty-three days, Frondisia returned to Quintianus and said to him, 'Sooner shall that sword at thy side become like liquid lead, and the rocks dissolve and flow like water, than the heart of this damsel be subdued to thy will.' Then Quintianus, in a fury, commanded her to be brought to him, and said, 'Who, and what art thou, audacious girl?' And Agatha replied, 'I am a free woman, and the servant of Jesus Christ.' And he said, 'Dost thou call thyself free who art constrained to serve?' And she said, 'I am the handmaid of Christ, whom to serve is perfect freedom.' Then Quintianus said, 'Abjure thy master, and serve our gods, or I will have thee tortured.' To which St. Agatha replied, 'If thou shouldst throw me to the wild beasts, the power of Christ would render them meek as lambs; if thou shouldst kindle a fire to consume me, the angels would quench it with dews from heaven; if thou shouldst tear me with scourges, the Holy Spirit within me would render thy tortures harmless.' Then this accursed tyrant ordered St. Agatha to be bound and beaten with rods; and he commanded two of his slaves to tear her tender bosom cruelly with iron shears; and as her blood flowed forth, she said to him, 'O thou tyrant! shamest thou not to treat me so — thou who hast been nourished and fed from the breast of a mother?' And this was her only plaint. Then she was carried from the place of torture into a dark dungeon. And about midnight there came to her a man of a fair and venerable aspect, carrying in his hand a vase of ointment; and before him walked a youth bearing a waxen torch; it was the holy apostle Peter, and the youth was one of the angels of God; but St. Agatha knew it not, and such a glorious light filled the prison that the guards were seized with terror and fled, leaving the door open. Then came one to St. Agatha and cried, 'Arise and fly!' But she said, 'God

forbid that I should fly from my crown of martyrdom, and be the occasion that my keepers should suffer, for my flight, tortures and death: I will not fly!' Then St. Peter said to her, 'I am come to heal thee, O my daughter!' But she drew her veil more closely over her wounded bosom, and replied with virgin modesty, 'If it be the will of my Saviour Christ that I should be healed, He will himself heal me.' St. Peter answered, 'Fear not, for Christ has sent me to minister to thee!' So he ministered to her, restoring with celestial medicines her mutilated bosom, and her body torn with stripes; and when he had done so, he vanished, and St. Agatha knelt and blessed the power of Christ, who had visited her with this great mercy.

"The rage and fury of Quintianus not being appeased, he sent again to have her brought before him, and being astonished to behold her restored, he said, 'Who hath healed thee?' She replied, 'He whom I confess and adore with my heart and with my lips, hath sent his apostle and healed me and delivered me!' Then Quintianus ordered a great fire to be kindled, and they bound the holy maiden hand and foot and flung her upon it; and in that moment a terrible earthquake ensued, which made the city quake, and the people ran armed to the palace, and cried out, 'This has fallen upon us because of the sufferings of this Christian damsel!' and they threatened, that if Quintianus did not desist from tormenting her they would burn him in his palace with all his family. So Quintianus ordered her to be taken from the flames, and again cast into the dungeon, scorched and in miserable pain; and she prayed that, having thus far suffered and proved her faith, she might be permitted to see the glory of God; which prayer was heard, for her pure spirit immediately departed and ascended to eternal glory. The Christians who dwelt in Catania came to the prison and carried away her sacred remains, and embalmed them, and buried her with great devotion in a tomb of porphyry.

"Now you shall know that nigh to the city of Catania in Sicily there is a huge mountain, and on the summit a vast gaping chasm, whence are vomited fire and smoke: the blessed St. Gregory saith that it is one of the mouths of hell, but the people call it Mongibello (Mount Etna). In about a year after the martyrdom of St. Agatha this mountain opened itself,

and there flowed forth a stream of fire, consuming all before it; and the inhabitants of the city of Catania, men and women, Christians and Pagans, fled for refuge to the tomb of the martyr Agatha, and taking her silken veil, which lay upon it, they fixed it on the top of a lance, and went forth in long procession to meet the torrent of fire, which had already reached the walls of the city; but it pleased God that by the virtue of this sacred relic the fire was turned aside, and the mountain ceased to bellow, and there was calm. On beholding this great miracle, all the heathen who dwelt in the city were converted to the faith of Christ and received baptism." (Legende delle SS. Vergini.)

When represented as patron saint, either as a single figure or grouped with other saints, St. Agatha bears in one hand the palm, in the other a dish or salver, on which is the female breast, in allusion to her martyrdom; if she wears the crown, as in some early representations, it is the crown of the bride and martyr of Christ. The shears, the instrument of her cruel martyrdom, are sometimes in her hand, or beside her. She generally wears a long veil in allusion to her legend. The expression should be that of majesty as well as modesty.

Over the high altar of her church at Brescia is a large picture by Calisto da Lodi, representing St. Agatha suspended on a cross. She is dressed in a dark olive-green tunic; the attitude fine and simple; and the expression of complete but dying resignation in the head most lovely; the manner of her suffering indicated by a few spots of blood on her bosom, which, however, is delicately veiled. At the foot of the cross stands St. Peter, St. Paul, and two martyr virgins — I think St. Lucia and St. Barbara.

The atrocious subject of her martyrdom has been seldom represented, and is rarely seen exhibited in any church, perhaps because of the effect it is likely to produce on the feelings and fancies of women. In spite of all possible discretion on the part of the painter, and every attempt to soften the circumstances, they remain in the highest degree horrible and revolting. She is usually bound to a pillar (in the early representations always to a cross), undraped to the waist, and on each side a slave or executioner with a pair of shears. The most famous picture of this subject is that of Sebastian del Piombo,

painted for the Cardinal of Aragon, and now in the Pitti Palace, on which are lavished wonderful powers of expression and color—as it is said, for I never could look at it steadily. Vandyck also has treated it with horrible force and truth, and to both these painters one might address the reproach which St. Agatha addressed to her tormentor. In some pictures she is merely bound and preparing for the torture, the bosom bared, and the eyes uplifted with an expression of devout faith and resignation;¹ as in the noble fresco by Parmigiano [S. Giovanni, Parma], and in two other compositions by Campi and by Tiepolo. In the Duomo at Verona there is an altar in marble dedicated to St. Agatha. At the top she is on a cross, suffering her cruel martyrdom, an executioner with the shears on each side; beneath, she lies in the tomb, with her long veil gracefully thrown over her; the whole treated with singular elegance and good taste, and more endurable in sculpture than in painting.

“St. Peter healing St. Agatha in prison” is a subject sometimes met with. The scene is a dungeon; St. Agatha lies extended on the ground, her drapery drawn over her bosom. The apostle, a venerable man with a long white beard, bends over her, a vase of ointment in his hand, and beside him a box like a medicine-chest, containing vials, etc.; a youth (or an angel) bears a torch. This is the obvious and usual treatment, slightly varied; and it would be a beautiful subject if the associations were less intensely painful.

Among the remains of Art relative to St. Agatha may be mentioned the subterranean chapel at Malta. According to a tradition of the island, the ground once belonged to her family: it is carved out of the living rock, and the walls covered with frescoes, containing at least twenty-four figures nearly life size; most of them have peeled off the surface, but those which remain are of extraordinary beauty. The style is that of the early Tuscan school; the date about the middle of the fifteenth century.

¹ The fine head by Domenichino, in the collection of Lord Ellesmere, called a St. Agatha, I believe to be Domenichino's favorite patroness, St. Agnes, whose bosom was transfixed by a sword.

ST. LUCIA, VIRGIN AND MARTYR.

Eng. St. Luce, or Lucy. *Fr.* Sainte Luce, or Lucie. Patroness of the city of Syracuse. Patroness against all diseases of the eyes; and patron saint of the laboring poor. (Dec. 13, A. D. 303.)

“When the wicked Diocletian, and the yet more wicked Maximian, ascended the throne of the empire, they sent as governor to Sicily one of their creatures, a man sold to all evil, named Pascasius. At that time there lived in the city of Syracuse a noble and virtuous damsel, whose name was Lucia; her mother being a widow named Eutychia. Lucia, who had been early instructed in Christianity, secretly dedicated her maidenhood to Jesus Christ; but her mother did not know it, and, at the age of fourteen, Lucia was betrothed by her relations to a youth of the same city, noble and of great riches; but he was a pagan.

“Now it happened that the mother of Lucia had long suffered from a grievous disorder, and her daughter counselled her to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of the glorious virgin St. Agatha, assuring her that by her intercession, and the power of Christ, she would certainly be restored to health. Accordingly they journeyed together to the city of Catania, and while praying fervently beside the tomb, for the restoration of her mother, Lucia beheld in a vision the martyr St. Agatha, who appeared to her, surrounded by a choir of angels, clad in precious stones, and brighter than the sun, and said, ‘O my sister-handmaid of Christ! well art thou called Lucia, who art indeed a light and a mirror to the faithful! What dost thou ask of me which shall not be granted to thine own faith and sanctity? Behold! thy mother is from this hour healed; and as the city of Catania has been through me defended, so shall the city of Syracuse be for thy sake favored and protected of Heaven.’ When Lucia heard these words, she awoke from her vision with great joy, and found her mother healed; and she persuaded her mother to allow her to remain unmarried, and moreover entreated that her dowry might be given to the poor. Her mother was troubled at that request; but she answered ‘My child, I am content; do with all my possessions as thou wilt, only let me die first, lest during my lifetime I become a beggar.’ Whereupon Lucia smiled, and said, ‘Of a certainty, O my mother, God hath little care for



St. Lucia (Luini)

that which a man dedicates to His service only when he can no longer enjoy it himself. What doth it profit to leave behind that which we cannot carry away?' Then her mother, being struck with these words, said, 'Do as thou wilt, my daughter.' So Lucia sold all their possessions, and gave the money to the poor and the sick, and the widows and the orphans. And when the young man to whom she was betrothed saw this, he was enraged, and he went and denounced her to the governor as being a Christian: so Pascasius ordered her to be brought before him, and commanded her to sacrifice to his idols; and when she refused, he ordered her to

be carried to a place of shame, and treated with indignity, and humbled to his will. And she said, 'My body is in thy power; but know, that there can be neither sin nor shame to which the mind doth not consent. If thou shouldst cut off my hand and with it offer incense to thine idols, God would not impute it to me as sin. Thou mayest not force my will, for that is beyond thy power.' Then Pascasius, in his fury, commanded that they should drag her away; but, behold a miracle! — for when these bold and wicked and shameless men advanced to seize her, she became suddenly, by the power of God, immovable. They brought ropes, fastening them to her waist, her arms, and legs; and men and oxen pulled with all their might, but in vain; the more they pulled the more firmly she stood there. Then Pascasius sent for the magicians and enchanters; but they also failed, with all their spells and enchantments, to move her from the spot. Then he ordered a great fire to be kindled around her; but she prayed that the fire might not

harm her, and that the enemies of Christ might be confounded. Pascasius, seeing that she was not destroyed by these means, became more and more furious; whereupon one of his servants, to do him pleasure, pierced her throat with a sword or poniard. Thus she died, and the Christians took her body and buried it exactly on the very spot where she had suffered martyrdom. There a church was erected soon afterwards, and called by her most blessed name."

There is no mention here, nor in any of the oldest legends, of the loss of her eyes. The device of some of the early painters, to express her name, Lucia, *light*, by the emblem of an eye or eyes placed near her, seems to have given rise to the invention of this additional incident in her story: a signal instance of that conversion of the image or metaphor into a fact, which I have so often had occasion to notice.

The story in the more modern legend is thus related:—

"In the city wherein the blessed Lucia dwelt, there dwelt also a youth, who, having once beheld her, became enamored of her beauty, and, by messages and promises and gifts, he ceased not to woo her; but Lucia, being a Christian and fearing God, resisted all these attacks on her virtue. Now this youth, in his letters and his tender speeches, was accustomed to protest that it was the brightness of her eyes which inflamed him, and that it was for the sake of those beautiful eyes he pursued her, leaving her no rest, because those eyes left him no rest, by day or by night. Lucia, considering these things, and calling to mind the words of Christ, 'If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee,' and fearing lest her eyes should be the cause of damnation to the young man, and perhaps also to herself, called for a knife, and took out her beautiful eyes, and sent them to her lover in a dish, with these words: 'Here hast thou what thou hast so much desired; and for the rest, I beseech thee, leave me now in peace.' Whereat the young man, being utterly astonished and full of grief and remorse, not only ceased his pursuit, but became also a convert of Christ, and lived ever afterwards an example of virtue and chastity.

"But God would not suffer that the blessed Lucia, having given this proof of her courage and piety, should remain blind: for one day, as she knelt in prayer, behold! her eyes were

restored to her more beautiful than before. And if any one doubts of this great miracle, let him consult the writings of that learned and praiseworthy man, Filippo Bergomense, and also of that famous Spaniard Don Juan Maldonato, where they will find it all set down as I have related. And this is the reason that St. Lucia is invoked against blindness and all diseases of the eyes, and that in her effigy she is represented bearing two eyes in a dish.”¹

There is a version of her legend which represents her as having suffered martyrdom by the loss of her eyes, and this has sometimes been followed by the painters; but it is no authority.

Devotional pictures of St. Lucia bearing her eyes in a dish, or on a salver, are commonly met with. As her eyes were bored out by an awl, she often carries this instrument in her hand: I have seen her with her two eyes on it as on a skewer; but this is utterly bad taste: neither are the eyes an invariable attribute; much more beautiful, and far superior in significance and feeling, are those figures which represent her as carrying a flaming lamp in her hand. When she stands with her lamp, she appears in the character given to her by Dante — the type of celestial light or wisdom; as in the picture of St. John Chrysostom [by Sebastian del Piombo, at Venice]. She is thus represented in a graceful bas-relief, by Luca della Robbia,² over the door of her church at Florence. In an altar-piece within the same church she stands on one side of the Madonna, with her eyes in a dish: this picture is remarkable and interesting, as being the only undoubted production of Domenico Veneziano, who [according to Vasari] was assassinated by Andrea del Castagno.³ F. Angelico represents her with her lamp, beautiful, fair-haired, and in pale green drapery.

In a picture by Baroccio, St. Lucia presents her palm to the Madonna, while an angel holds her eyes in a cup, and St. Antony is in deep meditation. (Louvre.)

She has sometimes a sword or poniard in her neck; or a

¹ There are only two churches dedicated to her in England; at Dumbleby in Lincolnshire, and Great Upton in Shropshire.

² [Cavalucci and Molinier attribute this bas-relief to the atelier of Giovanni della Robbia. *Vide Les della Robbia*, p. 208.]

³ [See foot-note on Castagno in preceding volume, p. 271.]



St. Lucia (Giovanni della Robbia)

wound in her neck, from which rays of *light* proceed, in allusion to her name; as in a picture by Carlo Dolci in the Uffizi, Florence. I have not found in the old masters any characteristic type of expression.

Pictures from her history are not commonly met with. In her martyrdom she is seen with ropes about her waist, her neck, her arms; men and oxen are tugging with all their might in vain: as in the ancient fresco at Padua, where her air and attitude, so expressive of meek confidence, are charming. Or she is bound to a stake, and a soldier is about to pierce her neck with a sword: as in a picture by Massarotti in her church at Cremona, and in a picture by Pesellino,¹ where the tyrant orders her execution, and the executioner pierces her neck with a poniard. (Berlin.) In her apotheosis, she is borne into heaven in a glory of angels, one of whom carries her eyes: as in a picture by Palma in her church at Venice.

The German patroness of eyes is St. Ottilia, a princess who was born blind, and became abbess of Hohenberg in the eighth century. She will be found among the monastic saints. In several German catalogues I have seen the St. Lucia of the Italian pictures styled St. Ottilia, who was an abbess, and not a martyr.

¹ [Attributed to Domenico Veneziano in the catalogue of 1891.]

In looking back to the legends of these famous Virgin Martyrs, we cannot but feel that they rise up in the fancy with a distinct individuality which has not always—indeed has but seldom—been attended to by the best painters: in general, when grouped together, they are too much alike; and in the separate figures the old painters give us certain abstractions of feminine purity and grace without much regard to characteristic discrimination.

In St. Cecilia, the Roman Lady and the Muse, we should have majesty and a rapt inspiration; the eyes should listen rather than look.

The expression in St. Agnes should be extreme simplicity and meekness, and the girlhood should not be forgotten: she may look down. In St. Agatha, the character should be a noble fortitude, with a look, perhaps, of trustful supplication for the power to endure. In St. Lucia should prevail a calm intellectual expression; with eyes as beautiful and refulgent as possible: she is the type—not of learning and knowledge, for this is St. Catherine's department—but of wisdom, "the wisdom from above, which is pure and gentle." Thus Dante has introduced her as the messenger from the Virgin to Beatrice—

Lucia, nimica di ciascun crudele,

— the gentleness, and the "*occhi belli, lucenti*," not being forgotten. (Inf. c. ii.; Purg. ix.; Par. xxxii.)

XII. THE ROMAN MARTYRS

THE following martyrs are to be found most frequently in the Roman churches and works of Art. Many of them are exclusively Roman: they are, in fact, merely local saints. But at Rome local influences fill the mind, as Rome itself once filled the universe.

The effect produced upon the fancy by the remains of early Christian Art, still existing within the walls of Rome, will vary of course with the character, turn of mind, and early associations of those who visit them; but to none can they be wholly indifferent, and on many they will leave a profound and even melancholy impression. Whether contemplated in connection with religious feeling or religious history, they are full of interest.

For myself, I must say that I know nothing to compare with a pilgrimage among the antique churches scattered over the Esquiline, the Cælian, and the Aventine Hills. They stand apart, each in its solitude, amid gardens, and vineyards, and heaps of nameless ruins,—here a group of cypresses, there a lofty pine or solitary palm; the tutelary saint, perhaps some *Sant' Achilleo*, or *Santa Bibiana*, whom we never heard of before,—an altar rich in precious marbles—columns of porphyry—the old frescoes dropping from the walls—the everlasting colossal mosaics looking down so solemn, so dim, so spectral,—these grow upon us, until at each succeeding visit they themselves, and the associations with which they are surrounded, become a part of our daily life, and may be said to hallow that daily life when considered in a right spirit. True, what is most sacred, what is most poetical, is often desecrated to the fancy by the intrusion of those prosaic realities which easily strike prosaic minds; by disgust at the foolish fabrications which those who recite them do not believe, by lying inscriptions, by tawdry pictures, by tasteless and even profane restorations; by much that saddens, much that offends, much that disappoints. But then so much remains!—so much to

awaken, to elevate, to touch the heart — so much that will not from the memory, so much that makes a part of our after-life.

The pleasure and the interest that I had in connecting these venerable and desolate old churches with the traditions of the early faith, I would now share with others. And first, in that hollow at the foot of the Esquiline, and near to the Santa Maria Maggiore, we come upon two ancient churches dedicated to two charitable sisters: one of which is considered as the first building ever consecrated publicly for Christian worship, — in other words, as the most ancient church in the known world.

ST. PRAEDES AND ST. PUDENTIANA

Ital. Santa Prassede e Santa Pudenziana. *Fr.* Sainte Prassède et Sainte Potentielle. (July 21, May 19, A. D. 148.)

It is related, that when St. Peter came to Rome he lodged in the house of a patrician whose name was Pudens, and that, in a short space of time, this Pudens, with his wife Sabinella, his son Novatus, and his two daughters, Praxedes and Pudentiana, were converted to the faith and baptized. Soon afterwards, their parents and brothers being dead, the sisters were left alone, inheriting great riches, among which were certain public baths, and several houses at the foot of the Esquiline. At this time began the first great persecution of the Church, in which St. Peter and many saints perished. And these two sisters, Praxedes and Pudentiana, went about aiding and comforting and encouraging their poorer brethren. They sought out those who had been tortured and mutilated, received them into their houses, and ministered to them; they visited those who were in prison, sending them food and clothing. Such works of mercy as tenderly nurtured women shrink from, they performed fearlessly; the bodies of the martyred Christians, which were cast out in numbers without burial, they sought for, and reverently washed and shrouded, and laid in the caves beneath their house; and the blood they collected with a sponge, and deposited in a certain well. In all these things they were assisted by a certain holy man named Pastorius, who waited upon them with exceeding devotion. Thus they passed their lives in works of piety, daily braving, for the sake of their suffering brethren, the power of the tyrant and the terrors

of the law, yet by some miracle escaping the fate to which they were ever exposed: at length they died, after distributing all their remaining goods to the poor, and were buried in the cemetery of Priscilla. Pastorius, who survived them, wrote a brief chronicle of their virtues. The house of Pudens, already sanctified by the preaching of Peter and by the good works of the two holy sisters, was consecrated as a place of Christian worship by Pope Pius I. in the year 141.

Their churches are among the most interesting relics of ancient Christian Rome. That of Santa Prassede is remarkable for the poetical significance and richness of the mosaics executed by order of Pope Paschal I. about the year 817, when he restored the then ancient and ruined church. The decoration of the apsis nearly resembles that of the Church of St. Cosmo and St. Damian. The Saviour, a majestic colossal figure, stands in the midst, one hand extended, the other holding the Gospel as a roll. On the right, St. Peter presenting St. Praxedes; on the left, St. Paul presenting St. Pudentiana: the two saints are richly draped, and bear crowns of offering in their hands. Farther to the left is seen St. Zeno, holding the book of the Gospel;¹ last on the right is Pope Paschal, the restorer of the edifice, bearing a church in his hands, and with the square nimbus over his head, denoting that he still existed at the time, and had not the dignity of saint. Palms close the composition on each side: on one of them sits the phoenix, emblem of immortality; beneath this, and running round the apsis, are seen Christ as the Lamb, and the twelve apostles as sheep, in the usual manner. In front of the arch over the tribune, we have the Lamb of God throned, and the glorification of the martyrs as described in the Revelation. Lower down, the elders bearing crowns in their hands; and in front of the arch, over the choir, the same *motif* continued. The heavenly Jerusalem is seen above, guarded by angels, Christ standing in the midst: the blessed company of saints and martyrs are seen in multitudes, on each side; some bearing crowns and some palms; all assisting, as it were, as witnesses of the exaltation of the two pious and devoted sisters, who had been their refuge on earth.

¹ This St. Zeno is not the bishop of Verona who will be found among the bishops, but one of many martyrs who suffered in the time of St. Praxedes, and to whom she and her sister ministered. *Catalogus Sanctorum Italiae*, Julii ix.

In the same church are some bad modern frescoes representing Pudens and Sabinella, and in the centre is the well which received the blood of the martyrs. They show among the relics in the sacristy the holy sponge of St. Praxedes, in a silver shrine remarkable for its execrable taste and bad workmanship.

The Church of St. Pudentiana — the more ancient of the two — is even more curious and interesting, though the mosaic decorations are less rich.¹ The mosaic of the apsis represents Christ in the midst, and on each side St. Praxedes and St. Pudentiana bearing martyr crowns in their hands, in gold and green drapery, and, as far as I could understand, presenting each five martyrs in white garments to the Saviour. The modern altar-piece, by Pomerancio, exhibits the two sisters wiping up the blood of the martyrs; one squeezes the sponge into a cup; the priest assisting represents Pastorus. Above, in a glory, is the apotheosis of St. Pudentiana. In the Gaetani Chapel, on the left, there is a fine modern mosaic after the cartoon of Frederic Zuccherò, representing again the two sisters wiping up the blood of the slaughtered saints. There is here another well, containing, as it is said, the relics of three thousand martyrs; and a modern picture, representing St. Peter baptizing Pudens and his family.

Elsewhere I have not met with any picture of these earliest Sisters of Charity. I have seen a print bearing the name of Correggio, representing a beautiful female saint with flowing hair and a veil; a cup in one hand, and in the other a sponge distilling drops of blood; underneath is inscribed, "Ste. Potentienne." Of St. Praxedes I have never met with any separate representation. There is an altar dedicated to her in the cathedral at Milan, which perplexed me till I recollected that St. Charles Borromeo [archbishop of Milan] was cardinal of Santa Prassede. (*Vide* Legends of Monastic Orders.)

On the other side of the Esquiline, and on the road leading from the Colosseum to the Lateran, surmounting a heap of sand and ruins, we come to the Church of the "Quattro Coronati," the Four Crowned Brothers. On this spot, some time in the

¹ [The mosaics of this church are ascribed by some to the eighth, by others to the fourth century. De Rossi considers them the first of all ancient Christian mosaics.]

fourth century, were found the bodies of four men who had suffered decapitation, whose names being then unknown, they were merely distinguished as *CORONATI*, *crowned*, that is, with the crown of martyrdom. There is great obscurity and confusion in the history of these saints, and their companions, the five martyrs, "I Cinque Martiri," who are honored in the same place and on the same day. It is plain that the early painters did not distinguish them, and therefore I shall not attempt to do so.

The legend relates that in the reign of Diocletian there lived in Rome four brothers, who were Christians, and who were cunning artificers in wood and stone, excelling in sculpture and architecture. "In those days," says Gibbon, "every art and every trade that was in the least concerned in the framing or adorning of idols was, in the opinion of the Christians, polluted by the stain of idolatry; a severe sentence, since it devoted to eternal misery the far greater part of the community employed in the liberal mechanical professions;" while those who refused to profane their art were certainly condemned to poverty and starvation, if not to martyrdom. And this was the fate of the four crowned brothers. They refused to exercise their known skill in obedience to the emperor, saying, "We cannot build a temple to false gods, nor shape images of wood or stone to ensnare the souls of others." Whereupon some of them were scourged, and some were inclosed in iron cages and thrown into the sea, and some were decapitated (November 4, A. D. 400). We are not told how these punishments were awarded, nor how their names and fate were afterwards revealed to a "*santo huomo*:" but here stands their church to witness to their conscientious piety and courage, and here it has stood for fourteen centuries. It is held in particular respect by the builders and stone-cutters of Rome, who are the proprietors of the principal chapel in it, which is dedicated to St. Sylvester, while the convent attached to the church belongs to a Sisterhood of Charity, who have the care and education of deserted orphans.

These "Santi Coronati," and their companions the "Cinque Martiri," of the same trade, are found not only in Roman Art, for I have seen them in the old sculpture and stained glass of Germany, and, as I remember, in a curious old picture in Nuremberg. They are easily distinguished when they do occur, for

they stand sometimes four, sometimes five, in a row, bearing palms, with crowns upon their heads, and various implements of art, such as the rule, the square, the mallet, the chisel, at their feet. Scenes from their legend are very uncommon: in those I have seen, the subjects selected have been the same.

1. They refuse to build the idolatrous temple: they are kneeling before the emperor, holding their implements in their hands; six guards around. 2. They are bound to four pillars, and tortured. 3. They are shut up in an iron cage, and cast into the sea.

These three pictures I found in a predella by Alfani, highly finished, and full of expression. (Perugia Academy.)

4. They are lying together in a sarcophagus, with crowns upon their heads. This subject I found in their church.

The names differ, and therefore I give those usually inscribed either within their glories or over their heads: Severianus, Carpophorus, Severus (or Secundus), Victorinus, Claudius, Symphorian, Castorius, Simplicius.

On the other side of this solitary lane stands the far more celebrated church of San Clemente, one of the most extraordinary monuments of Christian Rome. Here, according to an ancient tradition, repose together the reliques of St. Ignatius, the famous bishop of Antioch, and ST. CLEMENT, the fellow-laborer of St. Paul. I shall not here give a description of this singular and interesting church, the favorite study of artists and antiquaries; it may be found in Plattner, Vasi, Murray, and every German, Italian, and English guide to the antiquities of Rome; but content myself with telling what they do not tell, — the legend of St. Clement, whose dwelling stood upon this spot.

He was the disciple of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the third bishop of Rome. He is also considered as one of the Fathers of the Church, and the same person to whom St. Paul alludes in his Epistle to the Philippians (ch. iv. 3), "I entreat thee also, true yokefellow, help those women which labored with me in the gospel; with Clement also, and with other my fellow-laborers, whose names are in the book of life."

According to the legendary story of St. Clement, he presided over the church at Rome for many years, converting numbers of people to the true faith, and amongst others Domitilla, the

niece of the Emperor Domitian, and another noble Roman lady whose name was Theodora. Through the protection of Domitilla, his life was secure during the reign of Domitian. In the year 100, under Trajan, began the third general persecution, which was the more afflicting because this emperor was in other respects famous for his humanity and his justice.

The prefect who governed Rome, during the absence of Trajan on his expedition against the Dacians, commanded Clement to be brought before him, and on his refusal to sacrifice to the false gods, he ordered him to be banished to an island whither many convicts were sent and obliged to work in the quarries of stone. There did many Christians already sigh in chains, and several voluntarily accompanied the good bishop, willing to partake of his banishment. Clement found the unhappy prisoners not only condemned to hard labor, but suffering cruelly from the want of water, which they had to bring from a distance of ten miles. The saint, moved with compassion, knelt down and prayed; and, raising his eyes, he suddenly saw a lamb standing upon the summit of a rising ground, which, remaining invisible to all beside himself, he knew could be none other than the Lamb of God; therefore St. Clement took up a pickaxe, and went before the people to the hill, and, digging there, a clear and abundant stream gushed forth, to the great consolation of the people. (Observe the beautiful and significant allegory!) This miracle only the more incensed his enemies, and they ordered him to be bound to an anchor and cast into the sea. But short was their triumph! for, at the prayer of the Christian disciples, the sea withdrew for the space of three miles, and they discovered a little ruined temple which had been formerly buried by the waters: and, wonderful to relate, within it was found the body of St. Clement with the anchor round his neck; and, as it is related by credible witnesses, this miracle did not happen only once, but every year at the anniversary of his martyrdom the sea retired during seven days, leaving a dry path for those who went to honor the relics of the saint in this new species of submarine tomb. And this lasted for many years; and many grave authors, who affirm this miracle, also relate, that a certain woman, accompanied by her son, being at prayer within the temple, her child fell asleep, and the sea rising suddenly the mother fled, leaving him behind in her fear, and when

she reached the shore she wrung her hands, weeping bitterly, and passed that year in great affliction. The next year, returning to pay her devotions at the shrine, to her joyful surprise she found her son there, sleeping, just as she had left him.

St. Clement, in the devotional pictures, appears habited as pope, sometimes with the tiara, but generally without it; an anchor at his side, or a small anchor suspended round his neck. In the ancient mosaic in his church at Rome (twelfth century), he is thus represented seated by St. Peter and holding the anchor in his hand. In the frescoes of the little chapel already alluded to, on the wall opposite to the life of St. Catherine, Masaccio, or one of his scholars, painted a series of the life of St. Clement, now in a most ruined state;¹ we can distinguish the scene of the flood, and St. Clement discovering the fountain of living waters — the waters of religious truth and consolation — to his thirsty and fainting disciples. The other subjects are scarcely to be recognized. The Church of St. Clement, in the Strand [London], is dedicated to this saint. The device of the parish is an anchor, which the beadles and other officials bear on their buttons, etc., and which also surmounts the weathercock on the steeple. To choose the anchor — the symbol of stability — for a weathercock, appears strangely absurd till we know the reason. There are in England forty-seven churches dedicated to St. Clement.

Far away from these churches, and in a desolate spot amid vineyards and ruins, between the Santa Croce and the Porte Maggiore, stands the small ancient church of SANTA BIBIANA, dedicated to her about the year 468. She was a young Roman lady, who, with her father, Flavianus, her mother, Dafrosa, and her sister, Demetria, suffered martyrdom in the reign of Julian the Apostate. Persisting in her faith, she was scourged to death, or, according to another authority, first scourged and then pierced with a dagger (Dec. 2, A. D. 362). The column to which she was bound is shown within the church, placed there by Urban VIII. when he restored the ruined edifice in 1622.

The statue of St. Bibiana, in marble, by Bernini, stands

¹ [These frescoes are attributed by Dr. Burckhardt and by Sir Henry Layard to Masolino.]

upon the altar ; a graceful figure, leaning against a pillar, and holding the palm in her hand. The nave of the church is painted with a series of large frescoes, which exhibit her story in detail. 1. Bibiana refuses to sacrifice to idols.¹ 2. The death of Demetria, who, according to the legend, fell dead to the earth before she was touched by the executioner. 3. Bibiana bound to a column, and scourged. 4. Her body, being cast forth unburied, is found by a dog. 5. Olympia, a noble Roman matron, founds the church, which is dedicated by Pope Simplicius.

Between these large historical subjects are single devotional figures, of a colossal size, representing Bibiana, Dafrosa, Flavianus, Demetria, and Olympia. Though in a mannered taste, they have much grandeur, and are reckoned by Lanzi among the finest works of the master — Pietro da Cortona.

On the brow of the Cælian Hill, and in a most striking situation, looking across to the ruins on the Palatine, stands the church of the two brothers ST. JOHN and ST. PAUL, who were martyred in the same year with Bibiana, and whose church has existed since the year 499. They were officers in the service of Constantia, whom the old legends persist in representing as a most virtuous Christian (though, I believe, she was far otherwise), and were put to death by Julian the Apostate. Their house stood upon this spot, one of the most beautiful sites in ancient Rome.

In devotional pictures these saints are always represented standing together in the Roman military costume, and bearing the sword and the palm.

Their famous church at Venice, the SS. Giovanni e Paolo, can never be forgotten by those who have lingered around its wondrous and precious monuments ; but among them we may seek in vain for the Roman tutelary saints — at least I did : and I believe, notwithstanding the magnificence of their church, the Venetians knew nothing about them. The Dominicans, who raised this edifice in the thirteenth century, were emigrants from the Convent of St. John and St. Paul, at Rome, and carried their patrons with them.

On the southern side of the Cælian Hill stand the San

¹ Eng. by Mercati, 1626. Bartsch, xx. p. 140.

Stefano and the Santa Maria della Navicella; then, as we descend into the valley, in that desolate hollow between the Cælian and the Aventine, and close to the baths of Caracalla, stands the old Church of SS. NEREO and ACHILLEO.

These two saints, Nereus and Achilleus, are peculiar to Rome. They were the chamberlains of Flavia Domitilla, grand-niece of the Emperor Domitian, and daughter of Flavius Clemens and the elder Domitilla, both of whom had suffered for their adhesion to Christianity. Flavia Domitilla was betrothed to Aurelian, son of the consul; but her two chamberlains, zealous Christians, prevailed upon her to refuse this union with an idolater; for which cause they were beheaded, and Domitilla was at the same time put to death at Terracina (May 12).

St. Nereus and St. Achilleus are represented standing in secular habits, bearing palms in their hands, on each side of Domitilla, who is richly dressed as princess, and bears her palm: as in a picture by Rubens, painted when he was in Rome in 1604, and now over the high altar of S. Maria della Vallicella.

The Martyrdom of SS. Nereo and Achilleo, in the Church of S. Maddalena de' Pazzi at Florence, is a *chef-d'œuvre* of Pocetti.

Not far from this church is another of great antiquity, dedicated to St. CESAREO, who perished at Terracina, because he opposed himself to the worship of Apollo. Though very little is known of him, he was celebrated in the sixth century, both in the East and in the West. At present his name and fame seem to be confined entirely to Rome.

On the other side of the baths of Caracalla, and at the foot of the Aventine, we come upon the little Church of SANTA BALBINA. Of its foundation all that we know is that it was an ancient church in the time of Gregory the Great (A. D. 590).

St. Balbina is another saint peculiar to Rome. According to the legend, she was the daughter of the prefect Quirinus, and discovered the chains of St. Peter, which had long been lost (March 31, A. D. 130). She is represented veiled, and holding a chain in her hand, or with fetters near her.

On the summit of the Aventine are several of the most interesting of these old churches. That of St. SABINA was dedicated to a noble Roman matron, who suffered martyrdom in the time of the Emperor Hadrian (August 29, second century). This church, built upon the site of her house, existed in 423. Though spoiled, as usual, by whitewashing and restoration, it is singularly elegant. [A painting in the apsis, by Silvagni,] represents St. Sabina as dragged up the marble steps of a temple by an executioner with a drawn sword. With her was martyred her Greek slave, Seraphia, who was also a zealous Christian, and, as the legend relates, had converted her mistress. St. Sabina, though a Roman saint, is among those not confined to Rome. I saw at Venice, in the San Zaccaria, a most lovely picture by the Vivarini of Murano,¹ in which she is represented with her palm and crown, richly dressed, and surrounded by worshipping angels; on the right, St. Jerome; and on the left, another saint in a short tunic, fastened with a gold belt, bearing a palm. The exquisite softness of this picture, the lovely color, and the divine expression in the faces, render it one of the most beautiful productions of the early Venetian school.

Not far from the Church of St. Sabina is that of St. PRISCA.

On this spot, according to the old tradition, stood the house of Aquila and Priscilla, where St. Peter lodged when at Rome, and who are the same mentioned by St. Paul as tent-makers; and here is shown the font from which, according to the same tradition, St. Peter baptized the first Roman converts to Christianity. The altar-piece represents the baptism of St. Prisca, whose remains being afterwards placed in this church, it has since borne her name. According to the legend, she was a Roman virgin of illustrious birth, who at the age of thirteen was exposed in the amphitheatre. A fierce lion was let loose upon her, but her youth and innocence disarmed the fury of the savage beast, which, instead of tearing her in pieces, humbly licked her feet—to the great consolation of the Christians and the confusion of the idolaters. Being led back to prison, she was there beheaded. St. Prisca is not peculiar

¹ [Giovanni and Antonio of Murano, who are now believed to have no real claim to the name Vivarini.]

to Rome; she appears in old prints and pictures, and in French sculpture and stained glass, bearing her palm, and with a lion at her side; sometimes also an eagle, because it is related that an eagle watched by her body till it was laid in the grave; for thus, says the story, was virgin innocence honored by the kingly bird as well as by the kingly beast. St. Prisca was so much venerated in England that her name is preserved in our reformed calendar.

In the valley behind the Esquiline, in that long, lonely road between Santa Maria Maggiore and the Lateran, stands the Church of *SS. Pietro e Marcellino*, whom we style ST. PETER EXORCISTA and MARCELLINUS. They are always represented together. Their legend relates that in the last persecution under Diocletian they were cast into prison. Artemius, keeper of the dungeon, had a daughter named Paulina, and she fell sick; and St. Peter offered to restore her to health if her father would believe in the true God. And the jailer mocked him, saying, "If I put thee into the deepest dungeon, and load thee with heavier chains, will thy God then deliver thee? If he doth, I will believe in him." And Peter answered, "Be it so; not out of regard to thee, for it matters little to our God whether such an one as thou believe in him or not, but that the name of Christ may be glorified, and thyself confounded."

And in the middle of the night Peter and Marcellinus, in white shining garments, entered the chamber of Artemius as he lay asleep, who, being struck with awe, fell down and worshipped the name of Christ, and he, his wife, his daughter, and three hundred others were baptized. After this the two holy men were condemned to die for the faith. And the executioner was ordered to lead them to a forest three miles from Rome, that the Christians might not discover their place of sepulture. And when he had brought them to a solitary thicket overgrown with brambles and thorns, he declared to them that they were to die, upon which they cheerfully fell to work and cleared away a space fit for the purpose, and dug the grave in which they were to be laid. Then they were beheaded, and died encouraging each other (June 2).

The fame of *SS. Pietro e Marcellino* is not confined to Rome. In the reign of Charlemagne they were venerated as

martyrs throughout Italy and Gaul; and Eginhard, the secretary of Charlemagne, who married his daughter Emma, is said to have held them in particular honor. Every one, I believe, knows the beautiful story of Eginhard and Emma. And the connection of these saints with them as their chosen protectors lends an interest to their solitary deserted church.

They are always represented together, in priestly habits, bearing their palms. In the "Roma Sotterranea" of Bosio, p. 126, there is an ancient fragment found in the catacombs which represents St. Peter Exorcista, St. Marcellinus, and Paulina standing together. In a picture by Gervasio Gatti, over the altar of their church at Cremona, the two saints, habited as priests, baptize Paulina, the daughter of the jailer—the rest of the family and many converts being present.

On the western brow of the Aventine, and not far from the Priorata, there stood, in the year 305 or 306, a little oratory, which a Greek woman of birth and fortune, named AGLÆ, had reared over the remains of her lover BONIFACE. According to the story, they had lived together in sin and luxury for many years; but when the last dreadful persecution of the Christians burst forth like a storm, both were seized with a deep compassion for the sufferers, and with compunction for their own sinful and shameful life; and Aglae sent away her lover with much gold and treasure for the purpose of redeeming the Christian martyrs from torture, or at least their precious remains from insult. Boniface did as he was commanded, but in his zeal he exposed himself to death, and expiated his former sins by a glorious martyrdom. His mutilated body being brought home to Aglae, she immediately retired from the world, distributed her goods to the poor, and built a hermitage and an oratory, in which she deposited the remains of Boniface, and spent the rest of her life in prayers, tears, and penitence. Both were subsequently canonized.

ST. ALEXIS

Lat. S. Aletius. *Ital.* Sant' Alessio. *Fr.* St. Alexis. *Ger.* Der Heilige Alexius. Patron saint of pilgrims and beggars. (July 17, A. D. 400.)

The story of St. Alexis, as given in the *Legendario Romano*, is one of the most beautiful of the sacred romances of the mid-

dle ages. Baillet says distinctly, " Cette histoire de St. Alexis semble être plutôt une exhortation faite à la manière des paraboles pour exciter au mépris du monde et à l'amour des humiliations, que la relation de quelque histoire véritable. Il paroît pourtant que l'auteur n'a point produit du néant le fonds sur lequel il a voulu travailler et que l'Eglise n'a point cru que Saint Alexis ne fût qu'une idée de sainteté ou un saint imaginaire, puisqu'elle lui a décerné un culte public en Orient et en Occident." [This story of Alexis seems to be an exhortation made, after the manner of parables, to arouse hatred of the world and love of humiliation rather than the account of some authentic story. It seems, however, that the author did not entirely invent the foundation upon which he has worked, and that the church did not believe that St. Alexis was merely an idea of holiness or an imaginary saint, since it has decreed for him a public worship both in the East and in the West.] (Baillet, *Vies des Saints*, Juillet xvii.)

In the days when Innocent I. was pope, and Arcadius and Honorius reigned over the East and West, there lived a man in Rome whose name was Euphémian, rich and of senatorial rank; he had a house and great possessions on the Cælian Hill, but he had no son to inherit his wealth. He and his wife, whose name was Aglae, besought the Lord earnestly to grant them offspring, and their prayer was heard; for after many years they had a son, and called him Alexis. And Alexis from his childhood had devoted himself to the service of God, and became remarked by all for his humility, his piety, and his charity. Although outwardly he went clothed in silk and gold, as became his rank, yet he wore a hair shirt next his body; and though he had a smiling and pleasant countenance towards all, yet in his chamber he wept incessantly, bewailing his own sinful state and that of the world, and made a secret vow to devote himself wholly to the service of God.

And when he was of a proper age his father wished him to marry, and chose out for his wife a maiden of noble birth, beautiful and graceful and virtuous, one whom it was impossible to look on without being irresistibly attracted. Alexis, who had never disobeyed his parents from his infancy upwards, trembled within himself for the vow he had spoken, and seeing his bride, how fair she was and how virtuous, he trembled yet the more; but he did not dare to gainsay the words of his father. On

the appointed day the nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and festivity; but when evening came the bridegroom had disappeared, and they sought him everywhere in vain; and when they questioned the bride, she answered, "Behold, he came into my chamber and gave me this ring of gold, and this girdle of precious stones, and this veil of purple, and then he bade me farewell, and I know not whither he has gone!" And they were all astonished, and, seeing he returned not, they gave themselves up to grief: his mother spread sackcloth on the earth, and sprinkled it with ashes, and sat down upon it: and his wife took off her jewels and bridal robes, and darkened her windows and put on widow's attire, weeping continually; and Euphemian sent servants and messengers to all parts of the world to seek his son, but he was nowhere to be found.

In the mean time, Alexis, after taking leave of his bride, disguised himself in the habit of a pilgrim, fled from his father's house, and throwing himself into a little boat he reached the mouth of the Tiber; at Ostia he embarked in a vessel bound for Laodicea, and thence he repaired to Edessa, a city of Mesopotamia, and dwelt there in great poverty and humility, spending his days in ministering to the sick and poor, and in devotion to the Madonna, until the people, who beheld his great piety, cried out "A saint!" Then, fearing for his virtue, he left that place and embarked in a ship bound for Tarsus, in order to pay his devotions to St. Paul. But a great tempest arose, and after many days the ship, instead of reaching the desired port, was driven to the mouth of the Tiber, and entered the port of Ostia.

When Alexis found himself again near his native home, he thought, "It is better for me to live by the charity of my parents, than to be a burden to strangers;" and, hoping that he was so much changed that no one would recognize him, he entered the city of Rome. As he approached his father's house, he saw him come forth with a great retinue of servants, and accosting him humbly, besought a corner of refuge beneath his roof, and to eat of the crumbs which fell from his table; and Euphemian, looking on him, knew not that it was his son; nevertheless he felt his heart moved with unusual pity, and granted his petition, thinking within himself, "Alas for my son Alexis! perhaps he is now a wanderer and poor, even as

this man!" So he gave Alexis in charge to his servants, commanding that he should have all things needful.

But, as it often happens with rich men who have many servitors and slaves, Euphemian was ill obeyed; for, believing Alexis to be what he appeared, a poor, ragged, wayworn beggar, they gave him no other lodging than a hole under the marble steps which led to his father's door, and all who passed and repassed looked on his misery; and the servants, seeing that he bore all uncomplaining, mocked at him, thinking him an idiot, and pulled his matted beard, and threw dirt on his head; but he endured in silence. A far greater trial was to witness every day the grief of his mother and his wife: for his wife, like another Ruth, refused to go back to the house of her fathers; and often, as he lay in his dark hole under the steps, he heard her weeping in her chamber, and crying, "O my Alexis! whither art thou gone? why hast thou espoused me only to forsake me?" And hearing her thus tenderly lamenting and upbraiding his absence, he was sorely tempted: nevertheless, he remained steadfast.

Thus many years passed away, until his emaciated frame sank under his sufferings, and it was revealed to him that he should die. Then he procured from a servant of the house pen and ink, and wrote a full account of all these things, and all that had happened to him in his life, and put the letter in his bosom, expecting death.

It happened about this time, on a certain feast-day, that Pope Innocent was celebrating high mass before the Emperor Honorius and all his court, and suddenly a voice was heard which said, "Seek the servant of God who is about to depart from this life, and who shall pray for the city of Rome!" So the people fell on their faces, and another voice said, "Where shall we seek him?" And the first voice answered, "In the house of Euphemian the patrician." And Euphemian was standing next to the emperor, who said to him, "What! hast thou such a treasure in thy house, and hast not divulged it? Let us now repair thither immediately." So Euphemian went before to prepare the way; and as he approached his house, a servant met him, saying, "The poor beggar whom thou hast sheltered has died within this hour, and we have laid him on the steps before the door." And Euphemian ran up the steps and uncovered the face of the

beggar, and it seemed to him the face of an angel, such a glory of light proceeded from it; and his heart melted within him, and he fell on his knees; and as the emperor and his court came near, he said, "This is the servant of God of whom the voice spake just now." And when the pope saw the letter which was in the dead hand of Alexis, he humbly asked him to deliver it; and the hand relinquished it forthwith, and the chancellor read it aloud before all the assembly.

But now what words shall describe the emotions of his father, when he knew that it was his son who lay before him? and how the mother and the wife, rushing forth distracted, flung themselves on the senseless body, and could with difficulty be separated from it? and how for seven days they watched and wept beside him? and how the people crowded to touch his sacred remains, and many sick and infirm were healed thereby? But all this I pass over: let it suffice that on the spot where stood the house of Euphemia the Church of St. Alexis now stands. The marble steps beneath which he died are preserved in the church, in a chapel to the left of the entrance, and beneath them is seen the statue of the saint lying extended on a mat in the mean dress of a poor pilgrim, his staff beside him, and the letter in his hand. The remains of Aglae and the martyr Boniface also rest in this church under the high altar.

Although St. Alexis did not perish by a violent death, yet, through his extreme sufferings, and the spirit of resolute yet humble resignation in which they were met and endured, he is supposed to have merited the honors of martyrdom. I have seen figures of St. Alexis in which, in addition to the pilgrim's habit, ragged and worn, and the beggar's dish, he carries the palm. In the mosaics of Monreale he stands among the glorified martyrs, of colossal size, in a white vest, a blue mantle, the crown on his head, and the cross, through which he triumphed, in his hand.

But in general we find St. Alexis represented in the old pictures and prints as penitent, pilgrim, and beggar; in the churches of the ascetic orders, and in hospitals and houses of refuge for the poor, which are placed under his protection, we find his effigy with the characteristic ragged attire, and expression of pathetic resignation and humility.

1. There is a fine statue of St. Alexis on the façade of the Church of the Trinità at Florence.

2. In a picture by Pietro da Cortona at Alton Towers,¹ St. Alexis is dying under the steps of his father's door, holding the cross and a paper pressed to his bosom. The figure is life size, and very forcible in color and expression.

3. In a very fine picture by Annibal Caracci, painted for the Mendicanti at Bologna, St. Alexis, as pilgrim and beggar, stands with St. Louis, St. Catherine, St. Clara, and St. John the Baptist: he might be mistaken for St. Roch, but that the last-named saint has always the plague-spot, which distinguishes his effigies from those of St. Alexis. [Bologna Academy.]



St. Martina (Menghino)

At the foot of the Capitoline Hill, on the left hand as we descend from the Ara Cœli into the Forum, there stood in very ancient times a small chapel dedicated to the memory of St. MARTINA, a Roman virgin who was martyred in the persecution under Alexander Severus. The veneration paid to her was of very early date, and the Roman people were accustomed to assemble there on the first day of the year. This observance was, however, confined to the people, and not very general till 1634; an era which connects her in rather an interesting manner with the history of Art. In this year, as they were about to repair to her chapel, they discovered, walled into the foundations, a sarcophagus of terra-cotta, in which was the body of a young female, whose severed head reposed in a separate casket. These remains were very naturally supposed

¹ [The Alton Towers collection was dispersed by a sale in 1857.]

to be those of the saint who had so long been honored on that spot. The discovery was hailed with the utmost exultation, not by the people only, but by those who led the minds and the consciences of the people. The pope himself, Urban VIII., composed hymns in her praise; and Cardinal Francesco Barberini undertook to rebuild her church. Amongst those who shared the general enthusiasm was the painter Pietro da Cortona, who was at Rome at the time, and who very earnestly dedicated himself and his powers to the glorification of St. Martina. Her church had already been given to the Academy of Painters, and consecrated to St. Luke, their patron saint. It is now "San Luca e Santa Martina." Pietro da Cortona erected at his own cost the chapel of St. Martina, and, when he died, endowed it with his whole fortune. He painted for the altar-piece his best picture, in which the saint is represented as triumphing over the idols, while the temple, in which she had been led to sacrifice, is struck by lightning from heaven, and falls in ruins around her.¹ In a votive picture of St. Martina kneeling at the feet of the Virgin and Child, she is represented as very young and lovely; near her, a horrid instrument of torture, a two-pronged fork with barbed extremities, and the lictor's axe, signify the manner of her death. The picture called "*une Jeune Martyre*," by Guido Cagnacci, in the Orleans Gallery, is a St. Martina.

Not far from the Church of San Gregorio, and just under the Palatine Hill, we find the Church of ST. ANASTASIA, who, notwithstanding her beautiful Greek name, and her fame as one of the great saints of the Greek calendar, is represented as a noble Roman lady, who perished during the persecution of Diocletian: the same, I presume, who, in Didron's "Manual of Greek Art," is styled "Anastasië la Romaine." Her story is mixed up with that of St. Chrysogonus (Grisogono), who also suffered martyrdom at that time, and is chiefly celebrated for his influence over the mind of Anastasia, and the courage with which he inspired her. She was persecuted by her husband and family for openly professing the Christian faith, exposed to many trials, sorrows, and temptations, and through all these, being sustained by the eloquent exhortations of Chrysogonus, she passed triumphantly, receiving in due time

¹ There is a small copy of this once-admired picture in the Dulwich Gallery.

the crown of martyrdom, being condemned to the flames. Chrysogonus was put to death by the sword, and his body thrown into the sea.

According to the best authorities, these two saints did not suffer at Rome, but in Illyria; yet at Rome we are assured that Anastasia, after her martyrdom, was buried by her friend Apollina in the garden of her house, under the Palatine Hill, and close to the Circus Maximus. There stood the church dedicated to her in the fourth century, and there it now stands.

It was one of the principal churches in Rome in the time of St. Jerome, who, according to an ancient tradition, celebrated mass at one of the altars, which is still regarded on this account with peculiar veneration. To St. Anastasia is dedicated a beautiful church at Verona; where, however, I looked in vain for any picture representing her. The proper attributes are the palm, the stake, and the fagots.

With regard to St. Chrysogonus, his fine church in the Trastevere, existing since 599, was modernized by Scipio Borghese, cardinal of San Grisogono, in 1623, when Guercino painted for the ceiling of the nave his grand picture of the saint carried up to heaven by angels. This picture now decorates the ceiling of the Duke of Sutherland's gallery at Stafford House [London]. I have never seen any other picture of St. Chrysogonus: his proper attributes are the sword and the palm, which in Guercino's picture are borne by angels.

Not far from the Church of San Grisogono, and on a rising ground, stands the Church of *San Pancrazio*, our ST. PANCRAS. In the persecution under Diocletian, this young saint, who was only fourteen years of age, offered himself voluntarily as a martyr, defending boldly before the emperor the cause of the Christians. He was thereupon beheaded by the sword, and his body was honorably buried by the Christian women. His church near the Gate of San Pancrazio, at Rome, has existed since the year 500.

St. Pancras was in the middle ages regarded as the protector against false oaths, and the avenger of perjury. It was believed that those who swore by St. Pancras falsely were immediately and visibly punished; hence his popularity. We have a church dedicated to him in London, and a large parish bearing his name: French kings anciently confirmed their

treaties in the name of St. Pancras. I recollect no effigy of him ; but he ought to be represented as a boy of a very beautiful countenance, richly dressed in the secular habit, and bearing his palm and sword.

Except at Rome, I have never seen any effigy of St. SUSANNA ; but I think it probable that such may exist. It appears, however, that those who bore the name of Susanna preferred as their patroness the chaste matron of the Old Testament to the virgin martyr of the Roman legend. It is related that this Susanna was of illustrious birth, the daughter of Gabinius, who was the brother of Pope Caius, and also nearly related to the Emperor Diocletian. She was very fair, but more especially remarkable for her learning and her subtle and penetrating intellect. Diocletian, hearing everywhere of her praises, was desirous to marry her to his adopted son, Maximus ; but she, who had made a vow of perpetual chastity, refused to listen to these tempting offers. Whereupon the emperor desired his wife, the Empress Serena, to send for her, and to endeavor to overcome her obstinacy. Now the empress, unknown to her husband, was really a Christian ; therefore she rather encouraged Susanna in her resistance. Diocletian, being enraged at her firmness, sent an executioner, who put her to death in her own house (August 11, A. D. 290).

She is chiefly honored at Rome, and would appear to be little known out of that city. Her statue in marble by Fiamingo, over her altar in the Church of Santa Maria di Loreto, near the Forum of Trajan, is one of his finest works, and very simple and elegant. She holds the sword and palm as martyr ; but I know not any other attribute by which she is distinguished.

ST. CHRYSANTHUS (or San Grisante) and ST. DARIA suffered martyrdom together at Rome, about the year 257 ; or, as others say, under the reign of Numerian, about 284. Their story is very obscure. One legend represents St. Daria as a Vestal virgin, who, on her conversion to Christianity, extinguished the sacred fire, and was consequently buried alive ; and it is also related that she was married to St. Chrysanthus, who converted her. I mention them here because they appear in the early mosaics at Ravenna, and have been introduced into the

magnificent altar-piece, by Giulio Campi, in the Church of St. Sigismond at Cremona. This church was dedicated by Francesco Sforza, on the occasion of his marriage with Bianca Maria Visconti, the heiress of Milan, which was celebrated on the festival of St. Chrysanthus and St. Daria (October 25). For a further account of this picture, see the "Legends of the Monastic Orders."

ST. EUGENIA, anciently one of the most popular and potential saints in the Roman calendar, was the daughter of Philip, proconsul of Egypt in the reign of Commodus. She was brought up at Alexandria in all the wisdom of the Gentiles, was converted to Christianity, and, in learning, eloquence, and courage, seems to have been the prototype of St. Catherine, by whom, however, she has been completely eclipsed. According to the legend, she put on man's attire, and became a monk in Egypt, under the name of the abbot Eugenius; but afterwards, returning to Rome, she suffered martyrdom by the sword, under the Emperor Severus. She rarely appears in works of Art, having lost her popularity before the period of the revival. We find her in the procession of martyrs at Ravenna; and I have seen a picture of her martyrdom in the Bologna Gallery, by Giovanni Sementi, treated with much sentiment.

The two saints who follow, though counted among the Roman martyrs, are of general interest. They have many chapels at Rome, but no church dedicated in their name.

ST. FELICITAS AND HER SEVEN SONS, MARTYRS

Ital. Santa Felicità. *Fr.* Sainte Félicité. Patroness of male heirs. (Nov. 23, A. D. 173.)

"In the reign of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus there was a great persecution of the Christians. They were deemed the cause, if not the authors, of all the terrible calamities, the plagues and wars, famines and earthquakes, which at that time desolated the empire, and an inexorable edict condemned them either to sacrifice or to die. In this persecution, Polycarp perished in the East, and Justin in the West.

"At the same time there dwelt in Rome an illustrious

matron named Felicitas, a widow having seven sons, whom she brought up in the Christian faith, devoting herself to a life of virtuous retirement, and employing her days in works of piety and charity. Her influence and example, and the virtuous and modest deportment of her sons, caused many to become Christians, so that the enemies of the faith were greatly enraged against her; and as she was exceedingly rich, those who shared in the spoil of the martyrs were eager to accuse her. She was accordingly cited before the tribunal of Publius, the prefect of the city, who, at first with mildness and then with threatening words, endeavored in vain to induce her to deny Christ, and sacrifice to the false gods. And the prefect said to her, 'If thou hast no regard for thyself, at least have compassion on thy sons, and persuade them to yield to the law.' But she replied that her sons would know how to choose between everlasting death and everlasting life. Then the prefect called them all one after another before him, and commanded them to abjure Christ on pain of torments and death; but their mother encouraged them to persevere in resistance, saying to them, 'My sons, be strong in heart, and look up to heaven, where Christ and all his saints await your coming; and defy this tyrant boldly, for so shall the King of glory reward you greatly.' On hearing these words the prefect was enraged, and he commanded the executioners to strike her on the mouth, and put her to silence; but she continued to exhort her sons to die rather than to yield. Then, one after another, they were tortured and put to death before the eyes of their mother: first, the eldest, whose name was Januarius, was scourged with thongs loaded with lead until he died; next to him, Felix and Philip were beaten with clubs; Sylvanus was flung from a rock; and Alexander, Vitalis, and Martial were decapitated. During their sufferings the mother heroically stood by, and ceased not to comfort and encourage them; and when she beheld them extended in death before her, she lifted up her voice and blessed God that she had brought forth seven sons worthy to be saints in paradise. Her hope was to follow them speedily; but the tyrant, through a refinement of cruelty, caused her life to be prolonged for four months in prison, in order that she might suffer a daily martyrdom of agony, hoping to subdue her spirit through affliction: but she remained firm in the faith, still refusing steadily and meekly to yield, and desiring no other

mercy but that of speedily following her martyred children. At length the time of her deliverance arrived, and, being dragged from prison, she was tortured in various ways, and then beheaded; or, as some say, thrown into a cauldron of boiling oil. This happened on the 23d day of November, A. D. 173.”

St. Felicitas bears the palm as martyr; as matron and widow she is hooded or veiled, with ample drapery, as in a beautiful figure by Spinello, one of the attendant figures in a Coronation of the Virgin, in the Florence Academy.¹ She is usually



St. Felicita and her Seven Sons (S. Clemente)

accompanied by her seven sons. The earliest example is a most curious fragment of fresco, found in the catacombs, and now preserved in the Vatican. She is standing in the midst of her sons, with arms outspread in prayer, and of colossal proportions compared with the other figures, who are ranged in a line on each side, and their names inscribed above.

In a singular picture, attributed to Neri di Bicci (A. D. 1476),

¹ [Spinello was assisted in painting this picture by Niccolò Gerini and Lorenzo di Niccolò Gerini.]

and now preserved in the sacristy of the Church of Santa Felicità at Florence, she is seated on a throne, a majestic colossal figure, holding in one hand the Gospel, which rests on her knee, in the other the palm, while her sons, small in proportion, and treated as accessories or attributes, are ranged on each side, the youngest standing rather in front. All have palms and golden glories, and wear rich dresses; and all but the youngest appear as warriors.

By Garbieri. St. Felicitas presents her seven sons at the feet of the Madonna and Child. In the Church of St. Maurice at Mantua.

In the so-called "Martyrdom of St. Felicitas," a famous composition by Raphael, a female saint is represented standing in a cauldron or bath, her hands clasped in prayer. Two headless bodies lie on the ground: the prefect is seen on his tribunal surrounded by his lictors, and groups of amazed or sympathizing spectators are standing around. An angel, exquisite for grace and movement, and cleaving the air like a bird, comes down from above with the crown of martyrdom. There can be no doubt that we have here the death of St. Cecilia, and not the death of St. Felicitas; that this was the subject designed by Raphael probably about the time that he painted the St. Cecilia at Bologna, and that the print was afterwards misnamed. The composition was painted by one of the pupils of Raphael on the left wall of the chapel of the Villa Magliana, near Rome; but it is nearly destroyed. The fine engraving of Marc Antonio has, however, preserved the original design in all its beauty.

The seven Jewish brethren, who with their heroic mother are celebrated in the Second Book of Maccabees, are sometimes introduced into ecclesiastical decoration. They have a place among the Greek martyrs, and the representation is so exactly like that of St. Felicitas and her sons, that I know not how to distinguish them further than to observe, that in churches constructed under the influence of Byzantine Art, seven young martyrs grouped together with their mother most probably represent the Jewish brethren (*les sept Machabées*); for St. Felicitas, though so famous in the West, was not accepted in the East. The confusion which anciently existed between these Jewish and Christian martyrs was such that the

name of Felicitas was given to the mother of the Maccabees. The Church of Santa Felicità at Florence stands where stood a chapel dedicated to the *Sette Maccabei*, and the hymn in the ancient office of the Church shows that the two mothers were confounded under the same name: —

Salve ! Sancta Felicitas
 Nobilibus cum filiis,
 Tu florida fecunditas
 Ornata septem filiis,
 Vos lege sub Mosaica
 Vixistis corde simplice,
 Præceptaque Dominica
 Servastis mente supplice !

Vide Richa, Chiese Fiorentine, ix.

ST. VERONICA

Ital. Santa Veronica. *Fr.* Sainte Véronique. The festival of St Veronica (La Sainte Face de J. C.) is held on Shrove Tuesday.

It is an ancient tradition, that when our Saviour was on his way to Calvary, bearing his cross, he passed by the door of a compassionate woman, who, beholding the drops of agony on his brow, wiped his face with a napkin, or, as others say, with her veil, and the features of Christ remained miraculously impressed upon the linen. To this image was given the name of Vera Icon, the *true* image, and the cloth itself was styled the *Sudarium* (*Ital.* Il Sudario; *Fr.* Le Saint Suaire). All the stories relative to the sudarium belong properly to the legendary life of Christ; I shall therefore only observe here, that the name given to the image was insensibly transferred to the woman of whom the legend is related. The active imagination of the people invented a story for her, according to which she was Veronica or Berenice, the niece of King Herod, being the daughter of his sister Salome, who had been devoted to the pomps and vanities of the world, but, on witnessing the suffering and meekness of the Saviour, was suddenly converted. The miraculous power of the sacred image impressed upon her napkin being universally recognized, she was sent for by the Emperor Tiberius to cure him of a moral malady. But the wicked emperor having already breathed his last, she remained at Rome in company with St. Peter and St. Paul until she suffered martyrdom under Nero; or, according to

another legend, she came to Europe in the same vessel with Lazarus and Mary Magdalene, and suffered martyrdom either in Provence or Aquitaine. I think it unnecessary to enter further into these legends, which have been rejected by the



St. Veronica (Memling)

Church since the eleventh century. But the memory of the compassionate woman, and the legend of the miraculous image, continue to be blended in the imaginations of the people. In the ancient pictures of the procession to Calvary, St. Veronica is seldom omitted.

The devotional figures always represent her as displaying the sacred handkerchief. Sometimes, in allusion to the legend, she is standing between St. Peter and St. Paul, as in a picture by Ugo da Carpi in the sacristy of St. Peter's; and in a woodcut by Albert Dürer—very fine and solemn. Sometimes the miraculous image is of colossal proportions; as in a very curious old picture in the Boisserée Gallery. In St. Peter's at Rome, one of the chapels under the dome is dedicated to St.

Veronica. An ancient image of our Saviour, painted on linen, and styled the Vera Icon,¹ is regarded by the people as the veritable napkin of St. Veronica, and is exhibited among the relics of the church. In this chapel the mosaic over the altar, after a design by Andrea Sacchi, represents the Saviour sinking under the weight of the cross, and St. Veronica kneeling beside him in white. It is a simple, elegant composition, very matter of fact, and not in the least either mysterious or poetical.

I have now done with the Roman Martyrs. Those which follow here are honored principally in the north of Italy, and their effigies are to be found in the works of Art in Tuscany, Lombardy, and Venice. I have added those few French and Spanish saints who have a *general* interest in connection with Art, either because their celebrity has been widely diffused, or because of the beauty and importance of those productions in which they have been represented.

¹ Whence it is supposed that the name of *Veronica* is derived.

XIII. MARTYRS OF TUSCANY, LOMBARDY, SPAIN, AND FRANCE

THE early martyrs, who figure almost exclusively in pictures of the Tuscan schools, are rather curious as subjects of ancient Art, than either interesting or celebrated.

St. Reparata was for six hundred years (from 680 to 1298) the chief patroness of Florence. According to the old Florentine legend, she was a virgin of Cesarea in the province of Cappadocia, and bravely suffered a cruel martyrdom in the persecution under Decius, when only twelve years old. She was, after many tortures, beheaded by the sword; and as she fell dead, her pure spirit was seen to issue from her mouth in form of a dove, which winged its way to heaven.

The Duomo at Florence was formerly dedicated to St. Reparata: but about 1298 she appears to have been deposed from her dignity as sole patroness; the city was placed under the immediate tutelage of the Virgin and St. John the Baptist, and the church of St. Reparata was dedicated anew under the title of Santa Maria-del-Fiore.

I have never seen any representation of Santa Reparata except in the old Florentine pictures. In these she is frequently introduced standing alone or near the Madonna, bearing the crown and palm as martyr, and sometimes also a banner, on which is a red cross on a white ground.



St. Reparata (Niccolò
d'Arezzo)

In a picture by Agnolo Gaddi she wears a green robe, and bears the crown, book, and banner. In another ancient Florentine picture she is in a white robe and red mantle, with the same attributes. In a grand composition of Fra Bartolommeo, representing the Madonna surrounded by many saints, and especially the protectors of Florence, St. Reparata, who is on the left of the Virgin, bears the palm, and leans her hand on the book. She is sometimes represented standing with St. Ansano, the patron of Siena, as in a picture by Simone Memmi. All the above pictures are in the Florence Gallery. Such pictures, I apprehend, must have been painted when Florence and Siena were at peace. It is difficult to distinguish St. Reparata from St. Ursula, unless where the latter saint bears her javelin: where there is a doubt, and the picture is undeniably Florentine, the locality and the traditions must be consulted.

Another saint, who is sometimes represented in the old Florentine pictures, is ST. VERDIANA (A. D. 1222), usually dressed as a Vallombrosian nun, but she did not belong to any order. She is represented with serpents feeding from her basket.

Who, that remembers Florence, does not remember well the SAN MINIATO-IN-MONTE towering on its lofty eminence above the city, and visible along the Lung' Arno from the Ponte alle Grazie to the Ponte alla Carraja? — and the enchanting views of the valley of the Arno as seen from the marble steps of the ancient church? — and the old dismantled fortress defended by Michael Angelo against the Medici? — and the long avenue of cypresses and the declivities robed in vineyards and olive grounds between the gate of San Miniato and the lofty heights above? But for the old saint himself, he has fared not much better than St. Reparata.

According to the Florentine legend, St. Minias or Miniato was an Armenian prince serving in the Roman army under Decius. Being denounced as a Christian, he was brought before the emperor, who was then encamped upon a hill outside the gates of Florence, and who ordered him to be thrown to the beasts in the amphitheatre. A panther was let loose upon him, but when he called upon our Lord he was delivered;

he then suffered the usual torments, being cast into a boiling cauldron, and afterwards suspended to a gallows, stoned, and shot with javelins; but in his agony an angel descended to comfort him, and clothed him in a garment of light: finally he was beheaded. His martyrdom is placed in the year 254.

There is a town bearing his name half way between Florence and Pisa, celebrated as the birthplace of Francesco Sforza, and the first seat of the Buonaparte family.

Effigies of this saint are confined to Tuscany; all those I have seen are in his church near Florence, never having visited the cathedral at San Miniato. He is represented in the attire of a prince with a scarlet robe, a golden crown, one or two javelins in his hand, a lily and a palm; and is thus exhibited in a very old picture of the Giotto school, with his life in eight small compartments painted around the principal figure.

The Greek mosaic in the choir of his church (eleventh century), represents him as standing on one side of Christ (the Virgin and St. John on the other); he wears the regal crown and mantle, and holds the Greek cross. An old fresco, engraved in the "Etruria Pittrice," represents him with similar attributes.

ST. ANSANO appears only in the pictures of the ancient Siena school. He was, until the end of the thirteenth century, the chief patron of the city of Siena; but his popularity has waned before that of the modern patrons, St. Bernardino and St. Catherine.

Ansanus Tranquillinus was the son of a noble Roman. His nurse, Maxima, a Christian woman, caused him to be secretly baptized: he grew up to the age of nineteen in the faith of Christ, and then disclosed his religion, converting and baptizing many; hence he is considered as the apostle of Siena. In the terrible persecution under Diocletian, after many sufferings and many miracles, operated through faith and charity, Ansanus was beheaded on the banks of the river Arbia. (*Catalogus Sanctorum Italiae*.)

St. Ansano appears in the Siena pictures as a youth richly dressed, bearing the palm. The city with its massive towers is often introduced into the background: sometimes as patron, he carries it in his hand. As one who preached the faith, and baptized, he bears also the standard of the cross.

There is a graceful figure of St. Ansano in a picture by Simone Memmi, in which he holds a palm with a cluster of dates depending from it; the companion figure, called in a catalogue St. Julitta, a saint who had no connection with this part of Italy, I suppose to be St. Reparata. (Uffizi, Florence.) A fine statue of St. Ansano baptizing the Sienese converts is in the Duomo of Siena.



St. Gregory announcing to St. Fina her approaching death (Ghirlandajo)

SANTA FINA is scarcely known, I believe, beyond the walls of the little town of San Gemignano. She was not properly a martyr, not having died a violent death; but long and cruel sufferings from disease, endured not only with patience but cheerfulness, during which she worked with her hands as long as it was possible, and ministered to the poor, procured her the honor of canonization. The people regarded her, while living, with enthusiastic veneration; and it is related, that at the moment of her death all the bells in San Gemignano tolled spontaneously, untouched by human hands, — a poetical figure of speech, expressing the intense and universal grief. She had been warned of her approaching end by a vision of St. Gregory,

whom she held in especial honor ; and when borne to the place of sepulture, she was seen to raise her emaciated hand and bless her aged nurse, who was thereupon delivered from a grievous malady.

All these incidents were painted in the beautiful little chapel of Santa Fina, in the Cathedral of San Gemignano, by Sebastian Mainardi, with a delicate and pathetic grace, and a truth and tenderness of sentiment, worthy of Angelico himself. There are no tragic horrors, little to strike the eye or seize the attention ; but the whole story, as expressed in Art, is the glorification of feminine patience, fortitude, and charity. St. Fina died on the 12th of March, 1253.

Effigies of ST. TORPÈ, or TORPET, appear to be peculiar to the locality of Pisa ; he was the patron saint of that city until superseded by San Ranieri. According to the Pisan legend, he was a noble Roman, who served in the guards of the Emperor Nero, was converted by the Apostle Paul, and suffered martyrdom for the faith in the year 70 (May 17). The perpetual intercourse between the ports of Western Italy and those of Provence introduced St. Torpè into France, where he was long known and venerated under the name of St. Tropès. The port of Saint Tropez, east of Marseilles, bears his name, and has a fine old church dedicated to his memory.

Except in the churches of Pisa, I have not met with St. Torpè. In the Duomo there is a picture representing him as a Roman warrior, and bearing the white banner with a red cross : anywhere else he might be mistaken for a St. George. In the same church is his martyrdom ; he is beheaded by an executioner.

The old Pisan chronicle relates that in a frightful dearth caused by the want of rain, the bed of the Arno being completely dry, the head of St. Torpè was carried in grand procession through the city ; and such was the efficacy of his intercession, that a sudden flood descending from the mountains not only overflowed the banks of the river, but swept away part of the pious procession, and with it the head of the saint. The people were in despair ; but, lo ! two angels appeared to the rescue, dived under the waves, and brought up the head, which they restored to the hands of the archbishop. This picturesque story is also represented in the Duomo at Pisa.

St. Torpè does not appear in the most ancient works of Pisan Art, not even in the Campo Santo: before the thirteenth century he had been completely eclipsed by St. Ranieri; but in the seventeenth century his celebrity revived, and all the pictures I saw of him were of that period.

ST. EPHEBUS and ST. POTITUS (Sant' Efeso and San Potito) are also, I believe, peculiar to Pisa. The legend relates that St. Ephesus, an officer in the service of the Emperor Diocletian, was sent to destroy all the Christians in Sardinia; but, being warned in a dream not to persecute the servants of the Lord, he turned his arms against the pagans, and with his friend St. Pontitus, a native of Cagliari, suffered martyrdom in the Christian cause.

The Pisans having subdued the island of Sardinia in the eleventh century, bore the relics of these two Sardinian saints in triumph to their city, and placed them within the precincts of the Duomo.

The legend of St. Ephesus is among the frescoes of the Campo Santo, painted by Spinello Aretino.

1. He kneels in the habit of a warrior before the Roman emperor, and receives his commission to extirpate the Christians. On the other side is seen the apparition of our Lord, who commands him to desist from persecuting the servants of Christ.

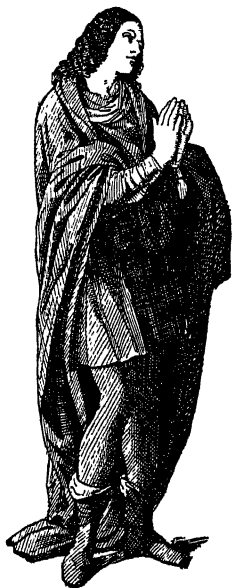
2. St. Ephesus, having become a Christian soldier, fights against the heathen, and receives from St. Michael, an armed angelic warrior on horseback, the Christian standard (the cross on the red ground, which is the standard of Pisa); in the next compartment he is seen combating the pagans, assisted by St. Michael. The insular position of Sardinia, with regard to Pisa, is expressed by water flowing round it, with fishes, etc.

3. The Martyrdom of St. Ephesus; he is seen in a blue robe, embroidered with stars, kneeling, unharmed, in the midst of a fiery furnace, while the flames issuing from it destroy the soldiers and executioners.

Three other compositions, which represented the martyrdom of St. Potito and the translation of the relics from Sardinia to Pisa, are now wholly ruined and effaced.

ST. LIBERALE (April 27), venerated in the Friuli, is said to be represented by Giorgione in a beautiful picture now in the Duomo at Castelfranco, and in a picture by Varotari, in S. M. dei Carmine at Venice.

The patron saint of Rimini is ST. JULIAN of Cilicia, one of the Greek martyrs who have been celebrated in Western Art. Nothing is known or recorded of him but the courage with which he endured a cruel and prolonged martyrdom, of which St. Chrysostom has given a full account. I imagine that it is this St. Julian of Rimini who is introduced into a splendid picture by Lorenzo di Credi [Louvre], as the pendant of St. Nicholas of Bari; they would naturally be placed together as patron saints of two of the greatest ports on the eastern shore of the Adriatic. He is also standing with St. Nicholas, and accompanied by St. Barbara and St. Christina kneeling, in a beautiful little "Coronation of the Virgin," by the same painter. [Lord Wantage.]



St. Julian (Lorenzo di Credi)

In the devotional pictures, St. Julian is represented young and graceful, often with flowing hair; with a melancholy yet benign aspect, richly dressed in the secular habit, bearing his palm, sometimes the standard of victory, and the sword.

His whole history is painted in the Church of San Giuliano at Rimini. One of the scenes represents him as thrown into the sea in a sack full of serpents: in another the sarcophagus containing his body is guided over the waves by angels till it arrives on the shores of the territory of Rimini. I have never seen these pictures, which are by Bettino, an early artist of Rimini, and dated 1408; but Lord Lindsay praises them highly.¹

¹ [Vide *History of Christian Art* (2d ed. 1885), vol. i. p. 16.]

In the same church is the Martyrdom of the saint, over the high altar, by Paul Veronese.

There are no less than twelve saints of this name; but the two most famous are this St. Julian the Martyr, who is represented young and with the palm and sword; and St. Julian Hospitator, the patron saint of travellers, who is generally in the dress of a hermit, and accompanied by a stag.

The Martyrs who appear in the pictures of the Lombard school, though in some instances obscure, and confined to certain localities, are interesting from the beauty and value of the pictures in which they are represented.

I begin with those of Milan.

ST. GERVASIUS AND ST. PROTASIUS

Ital. SS. Gervasio e Protasio. *Fr.* Saint Gervais et Saint Protais. (June 19, A. D. 69.)

The passion for relics (for I can call it by no other name), which prevailed from the third to the fourteenth century, had been introduced from the imaginative East; and, as I have already observed, may be accounted for on the most natural grounds. The remains of those who had perished nobly for an oppressed faith were first buried with reverential tears, and then guarded with reverential care. Periodical feasts were celebrated on their tombs — the love-feasts (*agapæ*) of the ancient Christians: subsequently, their remains were transferred to places of worship, and deposited under the table or altar from which the sacrament was distributed. Such places of worship were supposed, of course, to derive an especial sanctity, and thence an especial celebrity, from the possession of the relics of martyrs highly and universally honored. I have not time to trace more in detail the growing influence of such impressions on the popular mind; but to this particular aspect of religious enthusiasm we owe some of the grandest remains of ancient Art, in architecture, sculpture, and painting.

Already, in the fourth century, no sacred edifice was deemed complete, or could lay claim to the reverence of the people, unless it could boast the possession of some hallowed remains; and as the offerings of the faithful were multiplied by their

devotion, it became too much the interest of the priesthood to lend themselves to these pious impositions; and even the churchmen of the highest rank for energy and intellect were either seized by the prevalent enthusiasm, or turned it to account for their own interests and purposes.

When St. Ambrose founded a new church at Milan (A. D. 387), the people besought him to consecrate it by some holy relics: these, however, were not easily procured; at that time they had not become articles of barter or merchandise. St. Ambrose was most anxious to gratify his faithful people; it was also an object of importance to intercept some of the



St. Gervasius (Mosaic)



St. Protasius (Mosaic)

pilgrims who day by day passed by the city of Milan on their way to the shrines at Rome. The legend goes on to relate, that, "while possessed with these thoughts, St. Ambrose went to pray in the Church of St. Nabor and St. Felix; and as he knelt a kind of trance, which was not exactly sleep, fell upon him. In a vision he beheld two young men of incomparable

beauty, clothed in white garments; with them were St. Peter and St. Paul: and it was revealed to St. Ambrose that these two young men were martyrs whose bodies lay near the spot where he dwelt. He then convoked his clergy, and commanded that search should be made, and the bodies of two men were discovered in the spot indicated. They were of gigantic size, their heads were found separated from the bodies, and a quantity of blood was in the tomb; also a record or writing disclosing their names and fate."

They were Gervasius and Protasius — twin brothers, who had suffered for the faith under the Emperor Nero. Having been sent bound to Milan, together with Nazarius and Celsus, they were brought before Count Artesius, who, sharing in the enmity of his master against the Christians, commanded them to sacrifice to his idols. On their refusal, he condemned Gervasius to be beaten to death with scourges loaded with lead; and ordered Protasius to be beheaded. A good man, whose name was Philip, carried home their bodies and buried them honorably in his own garden; and they remained undiscovered until this wonderful revelation to St. Ambrose. On the second day after the discovery of the relics, they were borne in solemn procession to the Basilica. And as they passed along the streets, many of those who were sick or possessed by evil spirits threw themselves in the way, that they might touch the drapery with which the bodies were covered, and immediately they were healed. Among these was a man named Severus, well known to all the city, who had been blind for many years, and was reduced to live upon the alms of the charitable: having obtained permission to touch the bones of these holy martyrs, he was restored to sight; which miracle, being performed before all the multitude who accompanied the procession, admitted of no doubt, and raised the popular enthusiasm to its height. St. Ambrose gave thanks to God for his mercy, and laid the bones of the martyrs beneath the altar, saying, "Let the victims be borne in triumph to the place where Christ is the sacrifice: He upon the altar, who suffered for all; they beneath the altar, who were redeemed by his suffering!" The Arians, the enemies of Ambrose, did not only mock at this revelation, they even accused him of having bribed Severus and others to play a part in this religious drama; but this authority carried everywhere conviction, and

the church was dedicated under the names of the new saints Gervasius and Protasius. After the death of St. Ambrose, who was laid in the same spot, it took his name, and is now "Sant' Ambrogio Maggiore," one of the most remarkable churches in Christendom. It does not appear that St. Gervasius and St. Protasius obtained great popularity either in Italy or Spain; even at Milan they are less esteemed than several other saints. But it is otherwise in France. Some part of their relics having been carried thither by St. Germain, bishop of Paris, in 560, their story at once seized upon the popular imagination; under their French names *St. Gervais et St. Protais*, they became the patron saints of five or six cathedrals, and of parish churches innumerable. The best pictures of these saints are to be met with in the French school. In the devotional effigies they usually stand together, Gervasius bearing a scourge with the thongs loaded with lead, as in the legend, and Protasius bearing the sword. Where one only is represented, it is St. Gervasius.

At Venice, in the Church of SS. Protasio-e-Gervasio, called by the people, after their peculiar manner of abbreviation, San Trovaso, there is a picture by Lazzarini, of the two saints in glory, carrying palms, not very good.

The fine pictures relating to the history of these saints, executed when the convent of St. Gervais at Paris was at the height of its riches and popularity, are now dispersed: they were the *chefs-d'œuvre* of the French school of the seventeenth century, when distinguished by such artists as Niccolò Poussin, Le Sueur, and Champaigne.

1. St. Ambrose sees in a vision Gervasius and Protasius, who are presented to him by St. Paul. 2. St. Ambrose, attended by his clergy, digs for the relics. Two designs by Le Sueur, to be executed in stained glass; very fine and simple. Engraved in Landon, and in the Musée, but not now in the Louvre.

3. St. Gervasius and Protasius, being brought before the statue of Jupiter, refuse to sacrifice: many figures, life size, and more dramatic than is usual with Le Sueur; the heads of the two young saints have a pale, meek, refined grace, most expressive of their vocation as Christians, and in contrast with the coarse forms, furious looks, and violent gestures of the pagan priests and soldiers around them.

Far inferior are the pictures of Champagne, in the Louvre, also large life-size compositions, each about twenty feet in length.

1. Protasius and Gervasius appear to St. Ambrose, who is not asleep, but at prayer. 2. The relics of the saints conveyed in grand procession to the basilica of St. Ambrose (not to the cathedral, where they never reposed): the martyred brothers lie extended on a bier, the faces seen as if newly dead; which is a deviation from the legend; the sick and possessed crowd to kiss the white drapery which lies over them, covered with flowers. Among those who press forward is the blind man Severus; St. Ambrose and his clergy follow, singing hymns; both pictures are scenic and theatrical, and the heads commonplace. Neither in this picture, nor in any others I have seen, are St. Gervasius and St. Protasius represented as giants, which, in strict adherence to the story, they ought to have been.

According to the Ambrosian legend, ST. VITALIS, the famous martyr and patron saint of Ravenna, was the father of SS. Gervasius and Protasius, served in the army of the Emperor Nero, and was one of the converts of St. Peter. Seeing a Christian martyr led to death whose courage appeared to be sinking, he exhorted him to endure bravely to the end, carried off his body, and buried it honorably; for which crime, as it was then considered, he was first tortured, and then buried alive. His wife Valeria, and his two sons Gervasius and Protasius, fled to Milan. The church at Ravenna, dedicated to this saint in the reign of the Emperor Justinian, is one of the most remarkable monuments of Byzantine architecture in Italy. It was erected over the spot where he was buried alive, and dedicated by St. Ecclesias about the year 547. The Greek mosaics in the vault of the tribune represent the Saviour seated on the Globe of the universe; on his right hand St. Vitalis offers his crown of martyrdom; and on the left St. Ecclesias presents his church. Round the arch of the choir are the heads of the Twelve Apostles, St. Vitalis, St. Gervasius, and St. Protasius, in medallions. For this church, Baroccio painted the Martyrdom of the patron saint now in the Brera at Milan. It is a crowded composition; the executioners thrust him down into the pit, and fling earth and stones upon him: and

among the spectators are a mother and her two children, one of whom presents a cherry to a magpie. I have seen this incident praised as expressing the complete innocence and unconsciousness of the child; but it interferes with the tragic solemnity of the scene, and is, to my taste, trivial and disagreeable. The celebrity of San Vitalis extended, with that of St. Gervasius and St. Protasius, all over Europe; there are churches dedicated to him not only in Italy, but in France and Germany.

For the high altar of the Church of San Vitale, at Venice, Carpaccio painted his masterpiece, — the saint, habited as a Roman soldier, mounted on a white charger, and bearing the Christian standard of victory.

It was in the Church of ST. NABOR and ST. FELIX that Ambrose knelt when he was visited by “the revelation,” as described above. St. Nabor and St. Felix were two Christians of whom nothing more is related than that they died for the faith in the reign of Diocletian. They were martyred in the city of Milan, buried by a Christian named Philip in his garden, and an oratory was built over their remains, which in the time of St. Ambrose had become the Church of SS. Nabor and Felix; it is now San Francesco. The old mosaics in the Chapel of San Satiro represent them in secular and classical costume; but in a picture by Sammacchini (a Coronation of the Virgin with several saints), SS. Nabore and Felice stand in front in complete armor. (Bologna Gallery.)

ST. NAZARIUS and ST. CELSUS (*Ital.* SS. Nazaro-e-Celso) are two Milanese martyrs of great celebrity in Art.

St. Nazarius was the son of a Jew named Africanus, but his mother Perpetua was a Christian, and caused her son to be baptized by St. Peter. Nazarius grew up under his mother's tuition a fervent Christian, and, accompanied by a young disciple named Celsus, he travelled through Cisalpine Gaul, preaching the Gospel and converting many. They came to Genoa, where the people, being obstinate pagans, laid hold of them and flung them into the sea; but the sea refused to drown them; and, after many wanderings, they came to Milan, where Gervasius and Protasius had testified to the truth, and Nazarius comforted and strengthened them. Some short time afterwards he and his youthful disciple Celsus suffered together,

being beheaded outside the Porta Romana at Milan. The beautiful antique Church of San Nazaro Maggiore, at Milan, still stands a record of their names and fate.

Even more remarkable is that extraordinary monument of Byzantine Art, the Church of SS. Nazaro-e-Celso at Ravenna, better known as the "Mausoleum of Galla Placidia," built and dedicated by that empress about the year 447. Among the antique mosaics with which the walls are covered I sought in vain for the tutelary saints.

They are always represented together, St. Nazarius old, and St. Celsus as a youth, and sometimes even as a boy. They



SS. Nazarius and Celsus (G. B. Campi)

bear the palm and the sword as martyrs, but are not otherwise distinguished; there are effigies of them in the Church of St. Nazaro at Milan, but probably not of very great merit, for I confess that I have no recollection of them, while Titian's altar-piece in their church at Brescia cannot easily be forgotten. The central subject is the resurrection of Christ; on the left

wing is the portrait of the provost Averoldi, for whom the picture was painted, and who is recommended to the Divine favor by St. Nazarius and St. Celsus. St. Nazarius is bearded; St. Celsus, as a youth, stands in front, and both are in armor. On the right wing is a beautiful figure of St. Sebastian, drooping and half dead. The picture is a votive offering in commemoration of a pestilence.

ST. LUPO, Duke of Bergamo, his wife ST. ADELAIDE, their daughter ST. GRATA, and ST. ALEXANDER, the Martyr, form a group of saints interesting only at Bergamo. The two last are patron saints of the city.

St. Grata, after the death of her husband, was converted to Christianity, and led a most chaste and holy life; and when Alexander, one of the soldiers of the Theban legion, was decapitated outside the gate of Bergamo, she wrapped up the severed head in a napkin, and buried the sacred remains honorably. According to the Bergamesque chronicle, St. Grata converted her father and mother from the superstition of the pagans; and Duke Lupo, by her advice, founded the cathedral at Bergamo. After the death of her parents, Grata governed the republic of Bergamo with singular prudence, "ruling the people more by kindness than by fear, and more by example than by the terrors of the law;" and everywhere protecting and propagating Christianity. She built three churches, and founded a hospital for the poor and sick, in which she ministered to the sufferers with her own hands; and, after governing the state in great prosperity for several years, she died, and her pure spirit ascended into heaven, there to receive the due reward of her righteousness. (A. D. 300.)

In the pictures of Cariani, Salmeggia, and Lorenzo Lotto, all excellent painters of Bergamo, we find these saints constantly represented. St. Alexander is habited as a Roman warrior, bearing the palm; St. Grata is usually carrying the head of St. Alexander, which is her proper attribute; St. Lupo wears a royal crown, and St. Adelaide a crown and long veil: as in a picture by Salmeggia, now in the Brera at Milan.¹ There is a fine statue of St. Lupo in a tabernacle above the porch of the Cathedral of Bergamo.

¹ [There is in the Brera a Madonna by Cariani, with St. Grata, St. Adelaide, and other saints.]

In the Church of Sant' Alessandro-in-Colonna, at Bergamo, I found two very poetical and dramatic pictures of the martyrdom of St. Alexander. In the first he is decapitated; in the second he is borne to the tomb by two Christian converts: St. Grata follows, carrying the severed head reverently folded in a napkin: as the drops of blood fall to the earth, flowers spring forth, which are gathered by the maidens attending on St. Grata. Here we have, in a novel form, the familiar and poetical allegory which represents flowers, or fountains of pure water, or branches of olive, springing from the blood of the martyr.

St. Adelaide of Bergamo must not be confounded with the German St. Adelaide, wife of the Emperor Otho the Second.

ST. JULIA, a noble virgin, martyred in Corsica about the third century, sometimes appears grouped with the Brescian saints as one of the patronesses of the city. Her relics were brought from Corsica to Brescia, and a beautiful church and convent were dedicated to her.

An altar-piece by Andrea del Sarto, in the Berlin Gallery, represents the throned Virgin and Child; on her right hand, St. Peter, St. Benedict, and St. Onofrio; on the left, St. Paul, St. Anthony with fire in his hand, and St. Catherine; in front, half length, St. Celsus in a rich secular costume, and St. Julia, young, beautiful, and richly dressed, holding her palm. I presume the picture to have been originally painted for the convent of Santa Giulia, in Brescia. St. Julia and St. Afra are sometimes found together in the Brescian pictures.

ST. PANACEA. I have only seen this saint in one picture painted by Gaudenzio Ferrari, in an altar-piece in San Giovanni at Varallo: she was a poor girl of the Vallais, canonized for her chastity, her industry, and the perfect patience with which she suffered the injuries of a cruel stepmother. This is the local legend. I do not find her in any catalogue of saints.

The other patron saints of Brescia, SAN FAUSTINO and SAN GIOVITA (Faustinus et Jovita), and ST. AFRA, appear in some beautiful pictures of the Brescian school.

At the time that St. Apollonius preached the Gospel at Brescia, Faustino and Giovita, two brothers, were converted to Christianity, and led a most holy and exemplary life, preach-

ing to the people, ministering to the poor, and being zealous in all good works. They were seized by order of the Emperor Adrian, and thrown into the amphitheatre; but as the wild beasts refused to attack them, they were beheaded outside the gates of Brescia, in the year 119 or 121.

The Brescians honor, as their patroness, St. Afra. With regard to the identity of this saint, there is some inexplicable confusion, which leads us to suppose that there were two saints of this name.

The Brescian St. Afra, whose noble church is one of the chief ornaments of the city, appears to have been a woman of patrician birth, who was converted by witnessing the good works of San Faustino and San Giovita; she also suffered a cruel martyrdom, together with a certain Galocerus. These saints appear in the pictures of the best Brescian painters, Moretto, Foppa, Romanino,¹ Gambara, and Cossale; and only in the churches of Brescia, where the group of the Bishop Apollonius with Faustino and Giovita, sometimes with and sometimes without St. Afra, constantly recurs; Apollonius in the episcopal robes, and Faustino and Giovita sometimes habited as deacons.

1. Bassano. In her church at Brescia, St. Afra, and other converts baptized by St. Apollonius: Faustino and Giovita administer the sacrament. A scene by torchlight, ill composed, but very effective.

2. Paul Veronese. Over her altar, on the left side of the same church, is the martyrdom of St. Afra; she is upon a high scaffold, attired in a rich dress of gold network, and looking up to heaven with a beautiful expression of resigned faith; the headless bodies of Faustino and Giovita lie on the ground (one of the severed heads is the portrait of Paolo himself, and very fine), and St. Apollonius is exhorting and comforting the martyr; one of the finest works of the painter for color and dramatic expression.

3. Grazio Cossale. During the siege of Brescia by Niccolò Piccinino (A. D. 1439), Faustino and Giovita are seen defending the city, and hurling back the cannon-balls of the enemy.

¹ In S. Maria-Calchera, at Brescia, is the masterpiece of G. Romanino, representing the Bishop Apollonius dispensing the holy sacrament to Faustino, Giovita, Calocero, and Afra, who kneel before him.

The other ST. AFRA, whom I will mention here to prevent confusion, is the patroness of Augsburg. "She was a woman of that city who had for a long time followed the profession of courtesan; and it happened that a certain holy man whose name was Narcissus, flying from the persecution which afflicted the Christians in the reign of Aurelian, took refuge in the house of Afra without knowing that she was abandoned to sin. When she found out that it was a Christian priest, she was overcome with fear and respect, and by a feeling of shame for a profession which it cost her, for the first time, an effort to avow. The good man took the opportunity to exhort her to repentance; she listened to him weeping, and fell at his feet, entreating to be baptized; he, knowing that Christ had never rejected a repentant sinner, administered to her baptism, and assured her of forgiveness.

"And Afra had three handmaidens, who, like herself, had led a dissolute life. She brought them to the feet of the Christian priest, and begged that he would instruct them also in the way to salvation. Meantime those who were in pursuit of the priest came to search for him in the dwelling of Afra; but she concealed him, first in her own house, and then in that of her mother Hilaria; and, by her help, he afterwards escaped to his own country, which was Spain.

"But the idolaters seized upon Afra, and accused her of having assisted in the escape of a Christian, and of being a Christian herself. The judge, whose name was Gaius, and who had known her former profession, was astonished at the modesty and dignity with which she replied to his questions, and acknowledged herself to be a follower of Christ. 'How!' said he, 'do *you*, a woman of evil life, expect to be accepted by the God of the Christians?' To which Afra meekly replied, 'It is true I am unworthy to bear the name of Christian; nevertheless, he who did not reject Mary Magdalene, when she washed his feet with her tears, will not reject me.' And, continuing constant in the faith, she was condemned to be burned alive; so they tied her to a stake, and heaped round her a pile of vine-branches. Then she lifted up her eyes to heaven, and prayed, saying, 'O thou, who didst call, not the righteous, but the erring, to repentance, and who hast promised that even at the eleventh hour thou wouldst receive the sinner who called upon thee, accept of my penitence, and let the torments I am

about to suffer be received as an expiation of my sin, that through this temporal fire I may be delivered from the eternal fire which shall consume both body and soul!' Having said these words, her spirit departed, and was carried by the angels into heaven; and a few days afterwards her mother, Hilaria, and her three maidens, Digna, Eunomia, and Eutropia, also perished for the faith with a like constancy." (August 5, A. D. 307.)

This St. Afra appears only in the German pictures of the Suabian school. Behind the choir of the cathedral at Augsburg there is a large altar-piece by Christoph Amberger, in which the painter has represented in the centre the Madonna and Child; on the left wing, the bishop patron of Augsburg, St. Ulrich; on the right, the martyrdom of St. Afra. In the predella beneath, five half-length figures: St. Hilaria in the centre, and on each side St. Eunomia, St. Eutropia, St. Digna, and the holy man, St. Narcissus. I saw this picture in 1855. It has a peculiar mixture of German and Italian feeling; is correctly drawn, and full of refined sentiment in the expression, particularly in the St. Hilaria. Over the high altar in the same church, the same saints are represented in colored sculpture, modern, but in an admirable style.

When a bishop is seen in company with the German St. Afra, it is St. Ulrich, bishop of Augsburg in 973; while the companion of the Brescian St. Afra is St. Apollonius, bishop of Brescia in 300.

ST. CHRISTINA AND ST. JUSTINA

These are two famous virgin martyrs who figure in the churches all over the north of Italy, both being patronesses of the Venetian States. There is, however, this difference: that while the fame of St. Justina of Padua is confined to Italy, and her effigy to Italian Art, St. Christina is venerated in France, Sicily, and Bohemia.

ST. CHRISTINA

Ital. Santa Cristina. *Fr.* Sainte Christine. Patroness of Bolsena, and one of the patronesses of the Venetian States. (July 24, A. D. 295.)

The legend of this saint is one of those which have been rejected by the Roman Catholic Church. The little town of

Tiro, on the borders of Lake Bolsena, which, according to tradition, was her birthplace, has since been swallowed up by the waters of the lake, and no trace of it remains. She is celebrated, however, all over northern and central Italy; and is the subject of some beautiful pictures of the Venetian school.

Her legend, as given in the "Perfetto Legendario," represents her as the daughter of Urbanus, a Roman patrician, and governor of the city. He was an idolater, but his daughter, who had been early converted to the faith of Christ, called herself therefore Christina. "One day, as she stood at her window, she saw many poor and sick, who begged alms, and she had nothing to give them. But suddenly she remembered that her father had many idols of gold and silver; and, being filled with the holy zeal of piety and charity, she took these false gods and broke them in pieces, and divided them amongst the poor. Strange it was to see one carrying away the head of Jove, and another the hand of Venus, and a third the lyre of Apollo, and a fourth the trident of Neptune. But, alas! when her father returned, and beheld what had been done, what words could express his rage and fury! He ordered his servants to seize her and to beat her with rods, and throw her into a dark dungeon; but the angels of heaven visited and comforted her, and healed her wounds. Then her father, seeing that torments did not prevail, ordered them to tie a millstone round her neck, and throw her into the lake of Bolsena: but the angels still watched over her: they sustained the stone, so that she did not sink, but floated on the surface of the lake; and the Lord, who beheld from heaven all that this glorious virgin suffered for his sake, sent an angel to clothe her in a white garment, and to conduct her safe to land. Then her father, utterly astonished, struck his forehead and exclaimed, 'What meaneth this witchcraft?' And he ordered that they should light a fiery furnace and throw her in; but she remained there five days unharmed, singing the praises of God. Then he ordered that her head should be shaved, and that she should be dragged to the temple of Apollo to sacrifice; but no sooner had she looked upon the idol, than it fell down before her. When her father saw this, his terror was so great that he gave up the ghost.

"But the patrician Julian, who succeeded him as governor, was not less barbarous, for, hearing that Christina in her prison

sang perpetually the praises of God, he ordered her tongue to be cut out, but — oh miracle! she only sang more sweetly than ever, and uttered her thanksgivings aloud, to the wonder of all who heard her. Then he shut her up in a dungeon with serpents and venomous reptiles; but they became in her presence harmless as doves. So, being wellnigh in despair, this perverse pagan caused her to be bound to a post, and ordered his soldiers to shoot her with arrows till she died. Thus she at length received the hardly-earned crown of martyrdom; and the angels, full of joy and wonder at such invincible fortitude, bore her pure spirit into heaven.”

In the island of Bisentina, in the lake of Bolsena, is a small church dedicated to her, and painted, it is said, by the Caracci; but few, I believe, have visited it. The superb Cathedral of Bolsena is also consecrated in her name.

In devotional pictures, the proper attribute of St. Christina is the millstone. She has also the arrow or arrows in her hand, and bears, of course, the palm and crown as martyr. When she bears the arrow only, it is not easy to distinguish her from St. Ursula; but in early Italian Art, a female saint bearing the arrow, and not distinguished by any of the royal attributes, is certainly St. Christina. Pictures of her are common in all the cities of northern and central Italy, but more especially at Bolsena, Venice, and Treviso. We find her frequently grouped with the other patrons of this part of Italy; for example, with St. Barbara of Ferrara, with St. Catherine of Venice, with St. Justina of Padua, etc.

I shall give a few examples.

1. St. Christina, as patron saint, stands, crowned and bearing her palm, between SS. Peter and Paul. In a beautiful picture by D. Mazza. (Venice, Abbazia.)

2. Johan Scorel. She stands as martyr, one hand on a millstone, the other bearing a palm; her dress is that of a lady in the time of Henry VIII.

3. Vincenzo Catena. St. Christina kneeling on the surface of Lake Bolsena: angels sustain the millstone, which is fastened round her neck by a long rope; in the skies above, our Saviour appears with his banner, as victor over sin and death, and gives to an angel a white shining garment in which to clothe the martyr. This is a variation from the commonplace angel with the crown and palm; and the whole picture is as

pure and charming in sentiment as it is sweet and harmonious in color. (Venice, S. Maria-Mater-Domini.)

4. Lorenzo di Credi. St. Christina kneeling and holding the arrow, grouped with St. Nicholas of Bari, St. Julian of Rimini, and St. Barbara of Ferrara. Above is the Coronation of the Virgin.¹

St. Christina is sometimes represented with a sword in her bosom, as in an altar-piece by Bissolo at Treviso, and another by Palina: it is then difficult to distinguish her from St. Justina.² In an ancient picture by Jacopo Avanzi, in the Bologna Gallery, she is bound to a tree, and two executioners shoot her with arrows, in presence of the prefect Julian.

Paul Veronese painted the whole history of St. Christina in a series of ten pictures, which existed formerly in the Church of Sant' Antonio in the island of Torcello at Venice. I saw six of these in the Academy at Venice; the others apparently are dispersed or lost. 1. St. Christina is baptized. 2. She refuses to adore the statue of Apollo. 3. She breaks the gold and silver idols, and gives them to the poor. 4. She is scourged. 5. She is comforted by angels, who bring to her fruits and flowers in her dungeon. 6. She is in a boat on Lake Bolsena; two men prepare to throw her overboard with a millstone round her neck, while her father is seen giving his orders from the shore.

ST. JUSTINA OF PADUA, VIRGIN AND MARTYR

Lat. Justina Patavina Urbis Protectrix. *Ital.* Santa Giustina di Padova. *Fr.* Sainte Justine de Padoue. Patron saint of Padua and of Venice. (Oct. 7, A. D. 303.)

This saint, famous in the Paduan and Venetian territories, was, according to the legend, a virgin of royal birth, who dwelt in the city of Padua. King Vitalicino, her father, having been baptized by St. Prodocimo (Prosdocimus), a disciple of the Apostle Peter, brought up his daughter in the true

¹ It was in the collection of Mr. Rogers. When I first remember this picture it used to hang in his bedroom out of sight of visitors, and I used often to go up to look at it. "No one else," he said, "cared about it." Of late years it was brought down, covered with plate glass, and hung in his drawing-room — admired by all. [Now in collection of Lord Wantage.]

² Perhaps, in these and similar instances, the figures are miscalled, and do really represent St. Justina.

faith. After the death of her father, Justina being accused before the Emperor Maximian as a Christian, he commanded that she should be slain by the sword; and she, opening her arms to receive the stroke of the executioner, was pierced through the bosom, and fell dead.

In the year 453, Opilio, a citizen of Padua, founded in her honor the magnificent church which bears her name: and as early as the sixth century we find her almost as celebrated in the West as her namesake, the illustrious virgin and martyr of Antioch, was in the East. Her church at Padua, having fallen into ruin, was sumptuously restored by the Benedictine Order in the beginning of the sixteenth century. The collections made for this purpose throughout the north of Italy awakened the enthusiasm of the neighboring states, and it is from this time that we find Justina represented in the pictures of the Paduan and Venetian schools, and most frequently in the pictures of Paul Veronese. In the single figures she is richly dressed, wearing the crown and bearing her palm, as princess and as martyr, and in general with the sword transfixing her bosom, which is her proper attribute. She is thus represented in a beautiful figure by Vittore Carpaccio (Milan, Brera¹); and in the fresco by Luini in San Maurizio, at Milan, where she is called by some mistake St. Ursula. In the Venetian altar-pieces St. Justina is often placed on one side of the Madonna, accompanied either by St. Mark or St. Catherine. As patroness of Venice, we find her interceding in heaven for the Venetians, as in a picture in the Arsenal at Venice: in another, we have St. Justina and St. Mark presenting Venice (under the form of a beautiful woman, crowned and sumptuously attired) to the Virgin; the naval battle of Carolari is seen below: a grand, scenic, votive picture, painted for the State by Paul Veronese. (Venice, Ducal Palace.)

In the magnificent Church of Santa Giustina at Padua, the altar-piece by Paul Veronese represents the scene of her martyrdom: amid a crowd of people, the executioner plunges a sword into her bosom; Christ, with the Virgin, St. John, and a numerous company of saints and angels, receive her into glory above. This, to my taste, is a heavy, crowded picture;

¹ [The current, 1892, catalogue of the Brera contains no picture of this description attributed to Carpaccio. The gallery contains, however, a painting of St. Justina by Cima.]

the fine engraving by Agostino Caracci has given it more celebrity than it deserves. In the same church, in the centre of the choir, stands a chest or shrine, on which is sculptured the history of the life of Santa Giustina in five compartments. 1. She is baptized by St. Prodocimo. 2. The baptism of her parents. 3. She is seized by the emissaries of Maximian, and dragged out of her chariot. 4. She is martyred by the sword. 5. She is borne to the grave by St. Prodocimo and others.

In some Venetian pictures the attribute of the unicorn, which belongs properly to St. Justina of Antioch, has been given to St. Justina of Padua; and when this is the case it is not easy to determine whether the mistake arose from ignorance or design. In Domenichino's picture of St. Justina caressing a unicorn in a forest, it is, I imagine, St. Justina of Antioch who is represented.¹ In Moretto's splendid picture (Vienna) of the Duke Alfonso I. at the feet of St. Justina [previously mentioned under subject "St. Cyprian"], I should suppose that the artist had the patroness of Padua and Venice, and not the martyr of Antioch, in his mind; or, perhaps, confounded the two. Neither must it be forgotten that a beautiful female attended by a unicorn is sometimes merely allegorical, representing Chastity; but when the palm and sword are added, it is undoubtedly a St. Justina; and if the picture be by a Venetian artist; if the figures be in the Venetian costume; if Venice be seen in the distance; or St. Mark introduced, — then it is probably St. Justina of Padua: otherwise, when a female saint appears alone, or in a company of martyrs, attended by a unicorn, it is St. Justina of Antioch.

St. Justina figures on the Venetian coins struck by the Doges Leonardo Donato and Pasquale Cicogna.

The last of these Italian martyrs who appears worthy of record, as a subject of painting, is one of very recent celebrity, and, perhaps, the most apocryphal saint in the whole calendar, — which is saying much.

¹ Or the allegory of Chastity.

ST. FILOMENA

Lat. Sancta Philumena. *Fr.* Sainte Philomène. (August 10, 303.)

In the year 1802, while some excavations were going forward in the catacomb of Priscilla at Rome, a sepulchre was discovered containing the skeleton of a young female; on the exterior were rudely painted some of the symbols constantly recurring in these chambers of the dead: an anchor, an olive branch (emblems of Hope and Peace), a scourge, two arrows, and a javelin: above them the following inscription, of which the beginning and end were destroyed:—

—LUMENA PAX TE CUM FI—

The remains, reasonably supposed to be those of one of the early martyrs for the faith, were sealed up and deposited in the treasury of relics in the Lateran; here they remained for some years unthought of. On the return of Pius VII. from France, a Neapolitan prelate was sent to congratulate him. One of the priests in his train, who wished to create a sensation in his district, where the long residence of the French had probably caused some decay of piety, begged for a few relics to carry home, and these recently discovered remains were bestowed on him; the inscription was translated, somewhat freely, to signify *Santa Philumena, rest in peace. Amen.* Another priest, whose name is suppressed *because of his great humility*, was favored by a vision in the broad noon-day, in which he beheld the glorious virgin Filomena, who was pleased to reveal to him that she had suffered death for preferring the Christian faith and her vow of chastity to the addresses of the emperor, who wished to make her his wife. This vision leaving much of her history obscure, a certain young artist, whose name is also suppressed, perhaps because of his great humility, was informed in a vision that the emperor alluded to was Diocletian, and at the same time the torments and persecutions suffered by the Christian virgin Filomena, as well as her wonderful constancy, were also revealed to him. There were some difficulties in the way of the Emperor Diocletian, which incline the writer of the historical account to incline to the opinion that the young artist in his vision may have made a mistake, and that the emperor may

have been not Diocletian but Maximian. The facts, however, now admitted of no doubt: the relics were carried by the priest Francesco da Lucia to Naples; they were inclosed in a case of wood resembling in form the human body; this figure was habited in a petticoat of white satin, and over it a crimson tunic after the Greek fashion; the face was painted to represent nature, a garland of flowers was placed on the head, and in the hands a lily and a javelin with the point reversed to express her purity and her martyrdom; then she was laid in a half-sitting posture in a sarcophagus, of which the sides were glass; and, after lying for some time in state in the chapel of the Torres family in the Church of Sant' Angiolo, she was carried in grand procession to Mugnano, a little town about twenty miles from Naples, amid the acclamations of the people, working many and surprising miracles by the way.

Such is the legend of St. Filomena, and such the authority on which she has become within the last twenty years one of the most popular saints in Italy. Jewels to the value of many thousand crowns have been offered at her shrine, and solemnly placed round the neck of her image or suspended to her girdle. I found her effigy in the Venetian churches, and in those of Bologna and Lombardy. Her worship has extended to enlightened Tuscany. At Pisa the Church of San Francesco contains a chapel dedicated lately to Santa Filomena; over the altar is a picture by Sabatelli representing the saint as a beautiful nymph-like figure floating down from heaven, attended by two angels bearing the lily, palm, and javelin, and beneath in the foreground the sick and maimed who are healed by her intercession; round the chapel are suspended hundreds of votive offerings, displaying the power and the popularity of the saint. There is also a graceful German print after Führich, representing her in the same attitude in which the image lies in the shrine. I did not expect to encounter St. Filomena at Paris; but, to my surprise, I found a chapel dedicated to her in the Church of St. Gervais; a statue of her with the flowers, the dart, the scourge, and the anchor under her feet; and two pictures, one surrounded, after the antique fashion, with scenes from her life. In the Church of Saint-Merry, at Paris, there is a chapel recently dedicated to "Sainte Philomène;" the walls covered with a

series of frescoes from her legend, painted by Amaury Duval ; — a very fair imitation of the old Italian style.

I have heard that St. Filomena is patronized by the Jesuits ; even so, it is difficult to account for the extension and popularity of her story in this nineteenth century.

ST. OMOBUONO, the protector of Cremona, and patron saint of tailors, was neither a martyr, nor a monk, nor even a hermit ; but as effigies of him are confined entirely to pictures of the Cremonese and Venetian schools, I shall place him here to make my chapter of these local Italian saints complete. He is regarded all over the north of Italy as the patron and example of good citizens, and is the subject of some beautiful pictures.

According to the legend, Omobuono was a merchant of Cremona, who had received from his father but little school learning, yet, from the moment he entered on the management of his own affairs, a wisdom more than human seemed to inspire every action of his life ; diligent and thrifty, his stores increased daily, and, with his possessions, his almost boundless charity ; nor did his charity consist merely in giving his money in alms, nor in founding hospitals, but in the devotion of his whole heart towards relieving the sorrows as well as the necessities of the poor, and in exhorting and converting to repentance those who had been led into evil courses : neither did this good saint think it necessary to lead a life of celibacy ; he was married to a prudent and virtuous wife, who was sometimes uneasy lest her husband's excessive bounty to the poor should bring her children to beggary ; but it was far otherwise : Omobuono increased daily in riches and prosperity, so that the people of the city believed that his stores were miraculously multiplied. It is related of him, that being on a journey with his family, and meeting some poor pilgrims who were ready to faint by the wayside with hunger and thirst, he gave them freely all the bread and wine he had provided for his own necessities, and going afterwards to fill his empty wine-flasks from a running stream, the water when poured out proved to be most excellent wine, and his wallet was found full of wheaten bread, supplied by the angels in lieu of that which he had given away.

As the life of Omobuono had been in all respects most

blessed, so was his death; for one morning, being at his early devotions in the Church of St. Egidio, and kneeling before a crucifix, just as the choir were singing the "*Gloria in excelsis*," he stretched out his arms in the form of a cross, and in this attitude expired. He was canonized by Pope Innocent III. on the earnest petition of his fellow-citizens.

Figures of this amiable citizen saint occur in the pictures of Giulio Campi, Malosso, Andrea Mainardi, Borroni, and other painters of Cremona. He is generally habited in a loose tunic trimmed with fur, and a cap also trimmed with fur, and is in the act of distributing food and alms to the poor; sometimes wine-flasks stand near him, in allusion to the famous miracle in his legend. In a fine enthroned Madonna by Bartolommeo Montagna, Omobuono stands in an attitude of compassionate thoughtfulness, with a poor beggar at his feet. (Berlin Gallery.) In the Church of St. Egidio-ed-Omobuono at Cremona I found a series of pictures from his life. 1. He fills his empty flasks at the stream, and finds them full of wine. 2. The bread which he distributes to the poor is miraculously multiplied in his hands. 3. He clothes the ragged and naked poor. 4. He expires before the crucifix, sustained by angels. In the cupola of the same church he is seen carried into Paradise by a troop of rejoicing spirits. These were painted by Borroni in 1684.

I have met with very few among the French and Spanish martyrs who have attained to any general importance as subjects of Art. The most interesting of the Spanish saints are those of the monastic orders, and they will be found in their proper place among the monastic legends. St. Vincent, whose fame has become universal, is the most distinguished of the Spanish early martyrs.¹ There are some others almost peculiar to Spanish Art, who, from the beauty of the representations by Murillo and Zurbaran, are interesting to a lover and hunter of pictures; but as very few, even of the best, of these are known through engravings, and as my own acquaintance with Spanish Art is limited, I shall confine myself to those most popular.

¹ [See the subject of St. Vincent, p. 533.]

ST. JUSTA AND ST. RUFINA, PATRONESSES OF SEVILLE

(July 19, A. D. 304.)

These were two Christian sisters dwelling in that city. They were the daughters of a potter, and made a living by selling earthenware; and contenting themselves with the bare necessities of life, they gave all the rest to the poor. Certain women who lived near them, and who were worshippers of the



St. Justa and St. Rufina (Murillo)

goddess Venus, came to their shop to buy vessels for their idolatrous sacrifice. The two sisters answered that they had no vessels for such a purpose; that their ware should be used for the service of God, and not in the worship of stocks and stones. Upon this the pagan women broke all the earthenware in their shop. Justa and Rufina retaliated by falling

upon the image of Venus, which they broke to pieces and flung into the kennel. The populace immediately collected before their door, seized them, and carried them before the prefect. On being accused of sacrilege, they boldly avowed themselves to be Christians; and being condemned to the torture, Justa expired on the rack, and Rufina was strangled. This came to pass in the year 304.

The two sisters are represented as Spanish girls, bearing the palm as martyrs, and holding in their hands earthenware pots. Pictures of them are entirely confined to the Seville school. They are generally represented with the Giralda (which is supposed to be under their especial care and patronage) between them. According to Mr. Ford (Murray's Handbook of Spain), their great miracle was the preservation of this beautiful and far-famed tower in a thunderstorm, in 1504. When Espartero bombarded Seville in 1843, the people still believed that the Giralda was encompassed by invisible angels led by Rufina and Justa, who turned aside every bomb.

Murillo has frequently painted them. The Duke of Sutherland [Stafford House] has two beautiful half-length figures of these two saints, holding each their palms and *alcarrazas* (earthenware pots). In the Spanish gallery of the Louvre [now dispersed] there [were] several representations of them by Zurbaran and others. Zurbaran represents them richly dressed; but Murillo has generally painted them as *muchachas*, Spanish girls of the lower class.

There was a magnificent sketch by Murillo in the Aguado Gallery [now dispersed], representing the Virgin in glory; and, kneeling in adoration before her, St. Rufina and St. Justa with their *alcarrazas* at their feet, accompanied by St. Francis and St. John the Baptist: painted, I presume, for the Capuchins of Seville.

ST. EULALIA OF MERIDA (December 10) was a Spanish martyr, whose story is related in one of the hymns of Prudentius. He tells us that at the time the terrible edict of Diocletian was published, Eulalia, who was only twelve years old, escaped from her mother's house, and confronted the tyrant prefect, who was sitting in judgment on the Christians, and reproached him with his cruelty and impiety. The governor, astonished at her audacity, commanded her to be seized,

and placed on one side of her the instruments of torture prepared for the disobedient, and on the other the salt and frankincense which they were about to offer to their idol. Eulalia immediately flung down the idol, and trampled the offering under her feet, and spit in the face of the judge, an action which, as Butler observes, "could only be excused by her extreme youth." She was immediately put to death in the midst of tortures; and at the moment she expired a white dove issued from her mouth (the usual allegory of the soul or spirit), and winged its way towards heaven.

She is renowned in Spain, and I believe only to be met with in the Spanish churches and works of Art. Mr. Ford, in his "Handbook," warns "ignorant infidels" against confounding this St. Eulalia with another St. Eulalia of Barcelona, whose story is so similar that the difficulty would consist, it should seem, in proving any distinction between them. It is true there are two different bodies, one lying at Merida and the other at Barcelona; but this might have been arranged by a miracle. One of these two saints must have been early and widely celebrated, for we find a St. Eulalia in the grand procession of Virgin Martyrs [in the mosaic] at Ravenna [previously described].¹

ST. LEOCADIA (April 26), the renowned patroness of Toledo, was a native of that city, and in the persecution of Diocletian she was seized by the cruel governor and thrown into a deep dark dungeon. After being kept there for some time in daily expectation of death, she heard in her prison of the martyrdom of her friend St. Eulalia, and earnestly prayed to be united with her by a glorious death. Her prayer was granted; for she expired in prison, and her relics have ever since been preserved in that city, where three of the grandest churches in Spain, dedicated to her honor, show the reverence in which she was held. But, according to another legend, she was cast down from the rocks by an order of Dacian. A chapel was built on the spot where she fell, and there, as it is related, angels appeared and removed the stone from her sepulchre, when she arose clad in a mantilla, and revealed to St. Ildefonso, who had written a treatise in honor of the Virgin, the approbation with which his work was regarded in

¹ [Vide page 516.]

heaven. Before she had time to disappear, St. Ildefonso cut off a part of her veil, which was preserved amongst the treasures of the church.

St. Leocadia is represented only in Spanish works of Art. At Toledo, in the magnificent church dedicated to her, there is a series of pictures from her life by F. Ricci; and in the hospital of Santa Cruz is a picture which represents her rising from the tomb to speak to St. Ildefonso. There is a statue of this saint over the gate of Toledo (Puerta del Cambron), executed by Berruguete, which Mr. Ford describes as "Florentine in style, tender and beautiful in form, and sweet, gentle, and serious in expression."

ST. CRISPIN AND ST. CRISPIANUS

Ital. San Crispino e San Crispiano. *Fr.* SS. Crespin et Crespinien. Patron saints of Soissons. (Oct. 25, A. D. 287, according to Baillet; and according to the Roman legend, A. D. 300.)

The two holy brothers, Crispin and Crispianus, departed from Rome with St. Denis to preach the Gospel in France; and, not willing to be a burden upon others, they, after the example of St. Paul, labored with their hands, being by trade shoemakers, "which is a very honest and peaceable calling." And these good saints made shoes for the poor without fee or reward (for which the angels supplied them with leather), until, denounced as Christians, they suffered martyrdom at Soissons, being, after many tortures, beheaded by the sword.

The devotional figures, which are common in old French prints, represent these saints standing together, holding the palm in one hand, and in the other the awl or the shoemaker's knife. They are very often met with in the old stained glass, working at their trade, or making shoes for the poor, — the usual subjects in the shoemakers' guilds all over France and Germany. Italian pictures of these saints are rare. There is, however, one by Guido, which represents the throned Madonna and St. Crispin presenting to her his brother St. Crispianus, while angels from above scatter flowers on the group. (Dresden.) Looking over the old French prints of St. Crispin and St. Crespinien, which are in general either grotesque or commonplace, I met with one not easily to be forgotten; it represents these two famous saints proceeding on their mission

to preach the Gospel in France: they are careering over the sea in a bark drawn by sea-horses and attended by tritons, and are attired in the full court-dress of the time of Louis XV., with laced coats, cocked hats, and rapiers.

These French saints were very popular in England as protectors of the guild of shoemakers; and are retained, not without reason, in our reformed calendar, the day on which they are celebrated being famous in English history and English poetry. The readers of Shakespeare will remember it as the anniversary of the battle of Agincourt: —

And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
From this day to the ending of the world,
But we in it shall be remembered.

It appears to have been celebrated as a holiday all over England; to which Westmoreland alludes: —

Oh that we now had here
But one ten thousand of those men in England
Who do no work to-day!

XIV. THE EARLY BISHOPS

THE early Bishops of the Church — those who lived in the first five or six centuries, and did not belong to any of the regular monastic orders — form, in their relation to Art, a very interesting and picturesque group of saints. Their importance, general or local, in the propagation of Christianity, renders them indispensable in ecclesiastical decoration; and whether they stand alone, or in a *sacra conversazione*, as the pastors and founders of their respective churches, blessing from their tabernacle above the porch, or shining from the storied window, or presenting the votary at the altar, or interceding for their flock at the feet of the Virgin and Child, their mild, majestic air, venerable beards, and splendid sacerdotal robes, render them extremely effective and ornamental as subjects of Art: to the educated eye and reflecting mind, they have, however, a far deeper value and interest.

In general, we find that the first Christian missionary who preached the Gospel in any city or locality, and gathered a Christian community around him, was regarded as the founder and first bishop of that church; subsequently, he came to be venerated by the inhabitants as their celestial protector and intercessor, as continuing in heaven that care and superintendence he had exercised on earth. Though removed from his place among them, he was still their bishop, they were still his flock: his effigy stood conspicuously in their churches, and still extended the hand in benediction over them.

In the days of the free republics of Italy, their coinage bore, instead of the head of a potentate or tyrant, that of their tutelary saint; in most cases, the bishop who had been the first to bring to them the glad tidings of salvation, or who had shed his blood, either in testimony to his faith or in defence of his flock. Thus, on the coins of Arezzo, we find the effigy of St. Donatus; on those of Bologna, St. Petronius; on those of Ferrara, St. Maurelius; on those of Naples, St. Januarius. In the

fourteenth century, all the coinage of Italy was solemnly placed under the protection of the guardian saints. On the coins of Milan we have on one side St. Ambrose, on the reverse St. Gervasius and St. Protasius; on those of Florence, St. John the Baptist, and St. Cosmo and St. Damian. Perhaps it was some association with the sanctity of the image impressed on it which made the counterfeiting of money a sort of sacrilege, and induced Dante to place a coiner in one of the lowest circles of hell. (*Inferno*, c. xxx.)

The representations of these primitive bishops have an especial interest and propriety, I might almost say a sanctity, when contemplated within the walls of the church consecrated to their honor in a spirit of grateful veneration. We may conceive this sort of interest by imagining how we should feel, if, within the walls of Westminster Abbey, we were shown the figure, however idealized, of him who first brought the tidings of the Gospel to this island. Is there any one who could turn away from it with indifference or inattention?—who would not feel it to be more in harmony with the place than General Monk or Sir Cloudesley Shovel?

It is not, however, the less true that with some of these mediæval bishops the impression of the sacred and the venerable is somewhat spoiled by the legendary attributes which accompany them. It is not pleasant to see a bishop walking without his head, like St. Denis, or flourishing a scourge, like St. Ambrose; but even such representations, however grotesque they may appear, strike us in quite another point of view when we consider the meaning of these attributes and their relation to history, to the character of the individual, and the manners and morals of the age in which he lived.

In former times the Christianity of the city or district was, like a patent of nobility, the more honorable for its antiquity. A community traced back its Christianity as a noble traced back his genealogy, as far as it was possible. The object was to prove that one of the apostles, or at least some immediate delegate or disciple of Peter or Paul, had been the first to gather them within the pale of salvation. Each, too, jealous for the dignity of the local patron, multiplied and boasted of his miracles; and if St. Petronius performed a wonder at Bologna, it was immediately emulated by St. Gaudenzio at Rimini, or St. Maurelius at Ferrara. Hence the uncertainty

which has been studiously thrown round the origin of the early churches; and hence the amount of legendary inventions with which the people surrounded the memory of their founders, till the simplicity and credibility of the old tradition were wholly lost. Hence, too, the perpetual repetition of the same extravagant stories, only varying the names of the actors; so that, when these venerable personages appear in Art, it becomes, from the moment they are removed from the locality for which they were painted, very difficult — often impossible — to discriminate them aright, they are so much alike in appearance and habiliments, and the same stories and attributes are so constantly repeated.

A bishop is immediately recognized by his dress; and here the grand distinction is between the Greek and the Latin bishops. The primitive Greek bishops wear the *alba* or surplice, always white, and over that the white *planeta* or *chasuble* embroidered with purple crosses. Their crosier, where they have one, is a staff surmounted by a cross, and they wear no mitre. The later artists frequently commit the error of giving to the Greek bishops the Latin mitre, and to the Latin bishops the Greek crosier.

In Western Art the vestments given to the bishops, merely as distinctive of the episcopal rank, were not those proper to the age in which they lived, but those of the time in which the picture was painted. The difference, however, was only in the cut of the garb, the garb itself was the same. They wear, first, the white tunic (*alba*) fastened round the waist with a girdle, and which has a wide lace border falling to the feet, and seen beneath the upper vestments. Over this is thrown, in the manner of a scarf, the *stole*, a long narrow piece of cloth richly embroidered with crosses: the two ends, fringed, are crossed upon the breast and hang down on each side, and often appear below the chasuble (or *planeta*), which is the proper eucharistic robe. The *planeta* was at first only a circular piece of cloth with an aperture in the middle, but for the sake of convenience it was cut shorter and shorter on each side, till it hung only before and behind, the back part being embroidered with a large cross. The *pallium*, the insignia of dignity worn over the *planeta* only by archbishops and patriarchs, resembles the *stole*: it is a white woolen band about

three fingers in breadth passed round the shoulders, and from which depend three short bands embroidered with crosses; two hang behind, and one towards the right shoulder hangs in front. Over the whole is thrown the cope or *pluviale* (literally, rain-cloak), because first adopted merely as a covering from the weather, in the processions from one church to another. Subsequently, it became a part of the episcopal costume, falling over the whole person, generally of purple or scarlet, most richly embroidered, open in the front, and fastened across the breast with a jewelled clasp. The gloves, with the ruby on the back of the hand, figuring the wounds of Christ, and the official ring on the forefinger of the right hand, are sometimes, but not always, introduced; the mitre almost always; the *infulæ*, two bands or lappets, depending from the mitre behind, distinguish the bishop from the abbot. The staff, in the form of a shepherd's crook (*baculus pastoralis*), completes the episcopal habit and attributes. What is properly the *crozier*, the staff surmounted by a cross, is borne by archbishops.

At the head of the early bishops we place the Hierarchs of Rome, first styled POPES about the year 500. Few are of general interest in their pontifical character, considered, I mean, as subjects of Art. St. Gregory, for instance, does not figure as pope but as a doctor of the Church; nor St. Clement as pope, but as martyr: of both I have already spoken at length. St. Sixtus figures in the pictures of St. Laurence; and St. Urban in those of St. Cecilia. St. Cornelius, pope in 250, and St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, are generally found in the same picture, because they were friends, contemporaries, and, as martyrs, commemorated on the same day. A saint, wearing the triple tiara and holding a horn (*cornu*), is St. Cornelius, but he is very rarely met with.

St. Leo, surnamed the Great, when Rome was threatened by Attila, preserved it by his bold and eloquent intercession. "The apparition," says Gibbon, "of the two apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, who menaced the barbarian with instant death if he rejected the prayer of their successor, is one of the noblest legends of ecclesiastical tradition. The safety of Rome might deserve the interposition of celestial beings; and some indulgence is due to a fable which has been represented by the pencil of a Raphael and the chisel of Algardi."

Raphael's fresco, styled "the Attila," is in the Vatican [Stanza d' Eliodoro]; it is rather historically than religiously treated; it is, in fact, an historical picture. The marble altar-piece of Algardi is placed in St. Peter's, over the chapel of St. Leo. The King of the Huns, terrified by the apparition of the two apostles in the air, turns his back and flies. We have here a picture in marble, with all the faults of taste and style which prevailed at that time, but the workmanship is excellent; it is, perhaps, the largest bas-relief in existence, excepting the rock sculpture of the Indians and Egyptians — at least fifteen feet in height.

There is an effigy in mosaic and a grand fresco representing St. Mark (the only pope who bore this name, and who lived in 340), in the Church of San Marco at Rome.

The popes, as bishops of Rome, are distinguished by the triple tiara, and the crosier surmounted by a double cross. The tiara, I believe, was first adopted by Boniface VIII., and supposed to signify the triple crown of our Saviour, — the crown of glory, the crown of mercy, and the crown of martyrdom; but others have interpreted it to signify the triple dominion asserted by the Roman pontiff, as God's vicegerent over heaven, earth, and hell.

Cardinal priests did not exist before the eighth century, and among the early prelates only St. Jerome wears, by usage and courtesy, the cardinal attributes. The earliest cardinal saint, properly so styled, was St. Bonaventura the Franciscan, whose curious legend will be found among those of the Monastic Orders.

Next after the popes and cardinals follow the Greek bishops; at the head of these we place the Greek doctors, and immediately after them the universal bishop patron St. Nicholas, who, in Western Art, is always attired in the vestments proper to the Latin Church. Next to him the Greek bishops most universally honored in their effigies are St. Ignatius, St. Blaise, and St. Erasmus.

At the head of the Latin bishops we place St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, who generally appear in their higher character of Fathers of the Church.

The other Latin bishops who figure in Art fall naturally into two groups, — those who were martyrs, and who take the

first rank by virtue of their palm; and those who were confessors.

The obscure pastors of the early Italian churches are in a manner consecrated anew by the exceeding beauty and value of those works of Art in which they figure. I shall, therefore, particularize a few of the most interesting among them.

I begin my chapter of Bishops with the story of St. Sylvester, patriarch of Rome, giving him the precedence as such; the title of POPE was not in use for two centuries at least after his time.

ST. SYLVESTER, POPE

Ital. San Silvestro. *Fr.* Saint Silvestre. (Dec. 31, A. D. 335.)

“Sylvester was born at Rome of virtuous parents; and at the time when Constantine was still in the darkness of idolatry, and persecuted the Christians, Sylvester, who had been elected bishop of Rome, fled from the persecution, and dwelt for some time in a cavern, near the summit of Monte Calvo. While he lay there concealed, the emperor was attacked by a horrible leprosy; and having called to him the priests of his false gods, they advised that he should bathe himself in a bath of children’s blood, and three thousand children were collected for this purpose. And as he proceeded in his chariot to the place where the bath was to be prepared, the mothers of these children threw themselves in his way with dishevelled hair, weeping, and crying aloud for mercy. Then Constantine was moved to tears, and he ordered his chariot to stop, and he said to his nobles and to his attendants who were around him, ‘Far better is it that I should die than cause the death of these innocents!’ And then he commanded that the children should be restored to their mothers with great gifts, in recompense of what they had suffered; so they went away full of joy and gratitude, and the emperor returned to his palace.

“On that same night, as he lay asleep, St. Peter and St. Paul appeared at his bedside; and they stretched their hands over him and said, ‘Because thou hast feared to spill the innocent blood, Jesus Christ has sent us to bring thee good counsel. Send to Sylvester, who lies hidden among the mountains, and he shall show thee the pool, in which, having washed three times, thou shalt be clean of thy leprosy; and henceforth thou

shalt adore the God of the Christians, and thou shalt cease to persecute and to oppress them.' Then Constantine, awaking from this vision, sent his soldiers in search of Sylvester. And when they took him, he supposed that it was to lead him to death; nevertheless he went cheerfully; and when he appeared before the emperor, Constantine arose and saluted him, and said, 'I would know of thee who are those two gods who appeared to me in the visions of the night?' And Sylvester replied, 'They were not gods, but the apostles of the Lord Jesus Christ.' Then Constantine desired that he would show him the effigies of these two apostles; and Sylvester sent for two pictures of St. Peter and St. Paul, which were in the possession of certain pious Christians. Constantine, having beheld them, saw that they were the same who had appeared to him in his dream. Then Sylvester baptized him, and he came out of the font cured of his malady.¹ And, the first day after his baptism, he ordered that Jesus Christ should be adored throughout Rome as the only true God; on the second day, that those who blasphemed against Him should be put to death; on the third day, that whoever should insult a Christian should have the half of his goods confiscated; on the fourth day he decreed that thenceforth the bishop of Rome should be the chief over all the bishops of Christendom — as the emperor of Rome was the first among the sovereigns of the earth; on the fifth day he granted the privilege of sanctuary to all the Christian churches; on the sixth day he decreed that no one should build a church without the authority of the bishop; on the seventh day, that the tithes of all the Roman domains should be granted to the Church. On the eighth day, after confessing his sins and receiving forgiveness, he took a spade and dug with his own hands the foundation of a new basilica; and he carried upon his shoulders twelve hods full of the earth that he had dug out. Then he laid the first stone of the great basilica of St. John the Baptist, since called the Lateran.

"Now when the Empress Helena, the mother of Constan-

¹ Constantine was not baptized till a few days before his death, and then by Eusebius. I hope it is not necessary to remind the reader of the wide difference between the Constantine of history and the St. Constantine of the legends. The donation of Constantine to the bishops of Rome was for ages considered a genuine grant, but is now universally regarded as spurious.

tine, heard these things, she reproached him, and told him it would have been better for him to have followed the God of the Jews than the God of the Christians (for Helena at this time inclined to Judaism). And Constantine wrote to her that she should bring with her the wisest of the Jewish Rabbis, and that they should hold an argument with Sylvester. So she repaired to Rome, bringing with her one hundred and forty of the doctors most learned in the law ; and the emperor appointed a day on which to listen to them. He named as arbitrators two famous Greek philosophers, Crato and Zeno ; and it was wisely decreed beforehand, that only one should speak at a time, and all the others should keep silence till he had finished. And Sylvester, being inspired by the Holy Ghost, clearly convicted these men out of the Scriptures, and put them to silence. Then the most learned among the doctors, who was also a magician, defied Sylvester to a trial of the power of his God, and said to him with scorn, 'Dost thou know the name of the Omnipotent, that name which no creature can hear and live ? I know it ; let them bring me a wild bull, the fiercest that can be found, and when I have uttered that name in his ear he will fall dead.' Then they brought in a fierce bull, which it required a hundred men to restrain. And when Zambri the magician had whispered that terrible name in his ear, he rolled his eyes and fell dead to the ground. Then the Jews cried out aloud, and threw themselves with fury upon Sylvester ; the two philosophers were struck dumb, and even Constantine was staggered. But Sylvester said calmly, 'The name which he has pronounced cannot be that of God, but of Satan ; for Christ, who is our Redeemer, does not strike dead the living, but restores life to the dead ; the power to kill belongs equally to men and to wild beasts : lions, tigers, serpents, can destroy life. Let Zambri restore with a word the creature he has slain ; as it is written, "I will kill, I will make alive."' Therefore the judges desired Zambri to restore the bull to life, but he could not do it. Then Sylvester made the sign of the cross, and commanded the bull to rise and go in peace. And the bull rose up, as tame and as gentle as if he had been in the yoke from the hour of his birth. Then the Jews and the doctors, and all others present, being confounded by this miracle, believed and were baptized."

The story which follows is rather a parable than a legend : —

“ Some time after the baptism of the emperor, the priests of the idols came to him and said, ‘ Most Sacred Emperor, since you have embraced the faith of Christ, the great dragon which dwelleth in the moat hath destroyed every day more than three hundred men by his envenomed breath.’ The emperor consulted Sylvester, who replied, ‘ Have faith only, and I will subdue this beast.’ Having said this, he went down into the moat, to which there was a descent of one hundred and forty-two steps, and having exorcised the dragon in the name of Him who was born of a virgin, crucified, buried, and raised from the dead, he closed and bound up the mouth of the dragon with a thread, twisting it round three times, and sealing it with the sign of the cross ; and thus he delivered the people from a double death, — the death of idolatry and the death of sin. (Here the obvious allegory requires no explanation ; it is merely another form of the ancient myth of the dragon overcome and cast out.)

“ Also it is related of Sylvester, that he gave a refuge in his house to a Christian whose name was Timotheus, and who afterwards suffered martyrdom for having preached the faith of Christ. The governor, Tarquinian, being persuaded that Timotheus had left great riches, called upon Sylvester to deliver them up, threatening him with death and divers tortures. And Sylvester said, ‘ Thou fool ! this night shall thy soul be required of thee, and shall be delivered up to torments.’ And so it came to pass ; for when Tarquinian was at dinner, a fish-bone stuck in his throat, choked him, and he gave up the ghost.

“ After this, Sylvester was present at the great council which was held at Nicea, a city of Bithynia, in which Arius was condemned, and many ordinances did Sylvester make for the good of the Church. When he had governed for twenty-three years and ten months, he died, and was buried in the cemetery of Priscilla at Rome.”

The single figures of Sylvester represent him in the pontifical robes, and wearing, sometimes, a plain mitre ; sometimes the triple tiara, with the book and the crosier as bishop. I have seen a small full-length figure, in which he carries in his hand, merely as his attribute, a small dragon, and around its

mouth are the three twisted threads. (In the collection of Mr. Bromley of Wootten.) He has a bull crouching at his feet, which is his proper attribute, and generally accompanies his Gothic effigies, whether in sculpture or stained glass; in such examples, it is necessary to observe that his episcopal attire alone distinguishes him from St. Luke, who also has the ox. Sometimes he holds in his hands the portraits of St. Peter and St. Paul, or points to them. There is a full-length figure of a pope holding the pictures, *en buste*, of the two apostles, called the portrait of Urban V.; but if it be really a portrait, and represent this pope (which I doubt much), it is in the character of St. Sylvester. (Bologna Gallery.)

Constantine is represented in the dress of a Roman emperor, or a Roman warrior; in one hand the *labarum*, or standard of the cross, which is sometimes a banner, and sometimes a lance surmounted by the monogram of Christ.

As the legend of Sylvester and Constantine, half romantic, half allegorical, is one of the most curious and important in very early Art, I shall give one or two examples which may render others intelligible and interesting.

1. In the chapel of St. Sylvester in the Santa Croce at Florence, Giotto painted, in three compartments, the dispute with the Jews; the legend of the resuscitation of the bull; and the dragon bound and silenced forever by the power of



St. Constantine (Antique Sculpture)

the cross. These frescoes, which cover the right hand wall, though much ruined, are still quite intelligible; and the compositions, for spirit and dramatic power, surprising, considering the period at which they were painted.

2. The whole story of Constantine and Sylvester, in a series of very antique frescoes, as old perhaps as the eleventh century, at the upper end of the chapel of San Silvestro in the church of the "Quattro Incononati" [Rome]. 1. Constantine, in his chariot, is encountered by the bereaved and weeping mothers, to whom he restores their children. 2. He sees in a vision St. Peter and St. Paul. 3. He sends messengers to summon Sylvester. 4. The messengers arrive at Sylvester's cell on the Monte Calvo; he looks out of the grated window. 5. He shows to the emperor the effigies of St. Peter and St. Paul. 6. The baptism of Constantine. 7. He is crowned by St. Sylvester. The three compartments which follow are in a most ruined state, but we can just discern the miracle of the wild bull. The whole series is engraved in D'Agincourt's work [and is described in Hemans' *Mediæval and Christian Art*].

3. [Two pictures of the legend of St. Sylvester by Pesellino were formerly in the Doria Gallery, Rome, and are described in Morelli, vol. ii. p. 255. The catalogue of the gallery for 1894 does not, however, mention them.]

4. The story of St. Sylvester and Timotheus is most elaborately painted in thirty-one different subjects on one of the windows of the Cathedral of Chartres.

5. Constantine and Pope Sylvester are seated on a throne together. The bishops and the Empress Helena seated in a circle; several executioners are burning the heretical books, and the Holy Ghost descends in a glory from above. I believe this ancient picture represents the first council of Nice. (Ciampini, vol. ii. p. 183.)

6. Constantine bestows, by a deed of gift, the city and territory of Rome on Pope Sylvester and his successors. (A. D. 325.) One of the grand frescoes in the Vatican. [Sala di Constantino.] The scene represents the interior of the old Church of St. Peter; to the left St. Sylvester, in the pontifical habit and seated on a throne, receives from the kneeling emperor the gift of the city of Rome, which is here represented by a symbolical figure in gold; the head of Sylvester is

the portrait of Clement VII., the reigning pontiff. Among the numerous personages who surrounded the pope and the emperor as attendants are several distinguished characters of that time; for instance, Count Castiglione, the friend of Raphael, and Giulio Romano, to whom the design as well as the execution of the fresco is ascribed by Passavant.¹ (Rafael [Ger. ed.], vol. ii. p. 373 [Eng. ed. p. 285].)

In the same hall are eight grand ideal figures of the most celebrated of the early popes, attended by allegorical figures representing the virtues for which each pontiff was remarkable, or expressive of some leading point in his life and character.

1. St. Peter, in the pontifical habit, attended by the Church and Eternity. 2. Clement I. (the martyr), attended by Moderation and Gentleness. The beautiful figure of Gentleness, with the lamb at her feet, has been engraved by Strange, and might be mistaken for a St. Agnes. 3. Alexander I. (or Sylvester), attended by Faith and Religion. 4. Urban I., the friend of St. Cecilia, attended by Justice and Charity. 5. Damasus I. (A. D. 366-384), attended by Foresight and Peace. 6. Leo I. (A. D. 440-462) attended by Purity and Truth. 7. Felix III. attended by Strength. 8. Gregory VII. (the famous Hildebrand, A. D. 1073-1085), attended by a single female figure holding a thunderbolt in one hand, in the other the Gospel; according to Passavant, signifying Spiritual Might.

Much might be said of this series of Popes and their attendant virtues; and, indeed, the whole of this Hall of Constantine suggests a thousand thoughts, which I must leave the reader to think out for himself. I will only repeat, that the papal saints, with the exception of St. Sylvester and St. Gregory, are not of general interest in the history of Art.

¹ [It is usually ascribed to Raffaellino dal Colle. *Vide* Layard's Revision of Kugler's *Handbook*, p. 500.]

ST. IGNATIUS THEOPHORUS, BISHOP AND MARTYR

Ital. Sant' Ignazio. *Fr.* Saint Ignace. *Ger.* Der Heilige Ignaz.
(Feb. 1, A. D. 107.)

“Ignatius and Polycarp were disciples together of St. John the Evangelist, and linked together in friendship, as they were associated in good works. It is a tradition that St. Ignatius had seen the face of the Lord; that he was the same whom, as a child, the Saviour had taken in his arms, and set in the midst of the disciples, saying, ‘Of such is the kingdom of heaven.’ It is also related of him that he grew up in such innocence of heart and purity of life, that to him it was granted to hear the angels sing; hence, when he afterwards became bishop of Antioch, he introduced into the service of his church the practice of singing the praises of God in responses, as he had heard the choirs of angels answering each other.

“And it happened in those days that the Emperor Trajan went to fight against the Scythians and Dacians, and obtained a great victory over them. And he commanded that thanksgivings and sacrifice to the false gods should be offered up in all the provinces of his vast empire. Only the Christians refused to obey.

“When Trajan came to Antioch he ordered Ignatius to be brought before him, and reproached him for seducing the people from the worship of their gods, promising him infinite rewards if he would sacrifice in the temple; but Ignatius replied, ‘O Cæsar, wert thou to offer me all the treasures of thy empire, yet would I not cease to adore the only true and living God!’ And Trajan said, ‘What! talkest thou of a living God? Thy God is dead upon the cross. Our gods reign upon Olympus.’ And Ignatius said, ‘Your gods were vicious mortals, and have died as such: your Jove is buried in Candia; your Esculapius was shot with an arrow; your Venus lies in the island of Paphos; and your Hercules burned himself in a great fire because he could not endure pain. These be your gods, O Emperor!’¹ When Trajan heard this, he caused his mouth to be stopped, and commanded him to be led

¹ This reply of Ignatius does not seem consistent with the notions of the early Christians respecting the false gods. I give it, however, from the *Perfetto Legendario*.

forth to a dungeon; and at first he resolved to put him at once to death, but afterwards he reserved him for the amphitheatre.

“When Ignatius heard his sentence, he rejoiced greatly; he assisted his guards in fastening the chains on his limbs, and set forth on his journey; and being come to Smyrna, he met Polycarp and other of his friends, to whom he recommended the care of his church. And all wept, and Polycarp said, ‘Would to God that I too might be found worthy to suffer for this cause!’ To which Ignatius replied, ‘Doubt not, brother,



Martyrdom of St. Ignatius (Greek MS.)

that thy time will come; but for the present the Church has need of thee.’ So they embraced, weeping, and his friends kissed his hands, his garments, his chains, and bid him farewell, rejoicing in his courage and fervor. Then Ignatius and his guards embarked in a vessel and sailed for Rome; and being come there, the prefect on a certain feast-day ordered him to be brought forth and placed in the midst of the amphitheatre. And Ignatius, standing in the midst, lifted up his voice and cried, ‘Men and Romans, know ye that it is not for any crime that I am placed here, but for the glory of that God whom I worship. I am as the wheat of his field, and must be ground by the teeth of the lions that I may become bread worthy of being served up to Him.’ Such were the words of

this holy and courageous man as they have been truly recorded; and no sooner were they uttered than two furious lions were let loose upon him, and they tore him to pieces and devoured him, so that nothing was left of him but a few bones." (But according to another version of the story he fell down dead before the lions reached him, and his body remained untouched.)

A few days after his death his remains were collected by his disciples and carried to Antioch; and, according to tradition, some relics were brought to Rome, about the year 540, and deposited in the ancient Church of San Clemente.

The story and the fate of Ignatius are so well attested, and so sublimely affecting, that it has always been to me a cause of surprise as well as regret to find so few representations of him. I do not remember any figure of him in a devotional picture; but he ought to be represented in the dress of a Greek bishop, with a lion or two lions at his side.

His martyrdom is a more frequent subject. The illustration is from a curious miniature in the Greek Menology, executed for the Emperor Basil in the ninth century. The original is on a gold ground, the colors still most vivid. At Seville there is a picture of St. Ignatius exposed in the amphitheatre, by P. Roelas; and I have seen one at Vienna by Creutzfelder. None of these are worthy of the subject; but in truth it is one which we could more easily endure to see ill than well expressed. The horror with which we regard it is increased by the recollection that St. Ignatius only represents one of many hundreds who perished in the same manner for the atrocious pleasure of a sanguinary populace.

On the side walls of the Church of San Clemente are some large and very bad frescoes, or rather distemper paintings, representing scenes from the life of St. Ignatius. They appear to be of the time of Clement XI., that is, about 1700. I am informed that the modern frescoes in the Church of St. Ignatius at Mayence are extremely fine; but cannot speak of them from my own knowledge.

There are several dramas on the story of St. Ignatius. A tragedy entitled "The Martyrdom of St. Ignatius," written in 1740, was acted at Hull in 1781, and the part of Ignatius performed by Stephen Kemble: I do not know with what success, but it was pronounced more pious than poetical.

ST. POLYCARP, bishop of Smyrna, was condemned many years afterwards to the same cruel death; but the games being over, he was burned alive, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Of this celebrated martyr and father of the Church I have never seen any effigy. Some of the scenes of his life—for instance, the parting with Ignatius, or his condemnation by the people—would furnish fine picturesque subjects, and the authenticity of his story renders the neglect of it the more extraordinary.

ST. BLAISE, BISHOP OF SEBASTE

Ital. San Biagio. *Fr.* Saint Blaise. *Ger.* Der Heilige Blasius. Patron saint of wool-combers; of all who suffer from diseases of the throat, and of wild animals. Patron of Ragusa. (Feb. 3, A. D. 289.)

The legend of St. Blaise, a popular saint in England and France, is of Greek origin. He was bishop over the Christian church at Sebaste in Cappadocia, and governed his flock for many years with great vigilance, till the persecution under Diocletian obliged him to fly, and he took refuge in a mountain cave at some distance from the city. This mountain was the haunt of wild beasts, bears, lions, and tigers; but these animals were so completely subdued by the gentleness and piety of the good old man, that, far from doing him any harm, they came every morning to ask his blessing; if they found him kneeling at his devotions, they waited duteously till he had finished, and having received the accustomed benediction they retired. Now in the city of Sebaste, and in the whole province, so many Christians were put to death, that there began to be a scarcity of wild beasts for the amphitheatres; and Agricolaus, the governor, sent his hunters into the mountain to collect as many lions, tigers, and bears as possible; and it happened that these hunters, arriving one day before the mouth of the cave in which St. Blaise had taken refuge, found him seated in front of it, and surrounded by a variety of animals of different species. The lion and the lamb, the hind and the leopard, seemed to have put off their nature, and were standing amicably together, as though there had been everlasting peace between them; and some he blessed with holy words, knowing that God careth for all things that He has made; and to others

that were sick or wounded he ministered gently, and others he reprehended because of their rapacity and gluttony. And when the hunters beheld this, they were like men in a dream, they stood astonished, thinking they had found some enchanter; and they seized him and carried him before the governor, and, as they went, the good bishop returned thanks to God, and rejoiced greatly, that, at length, he had been found worthy to die for the cause of Christ. On the journey, they met a poor woman whose only child had swallowed a fish-bone, which had stuck in his throat, and he was on the point of being choked; and seeing the bishop, the mother fell at his feet, saying, "O servant of Christ, have mercy upon me!" and he, being moved with compassion, laid his hand upon the throat of the child and prayed, and the child was healed, and he restored him to his mother: and going a little farther, they found another poor woman whose only worldly riches had consisted in a pig, which the wolf had carried off; and he who had obtained power over all the savage beasts, told her to be of good cheer, for her pig should be restored to her; and the wolf, at his command, brought it back unharmed.

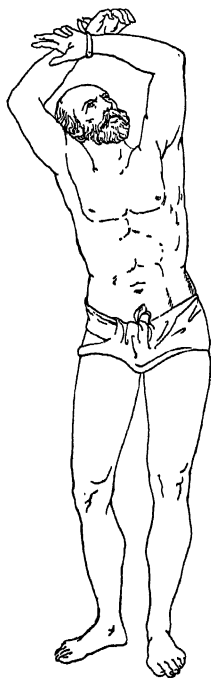
When, at length, he appeared before the tribunal, the cruel governor ordered him to be scourged, and cast into a dungeon without food; but the poor woman, whose pig he had saved, having meanwhile providentially killed her pig, brought him a part of it cooked, with some bread and fruit, so that he did not perish; and he blessed this woman, with whom all things prospered from that time forth. Then he was brought a second time before the governor, and he, far more savage than the beasts of the forest, ordered St. Blaise first to be tortured by having his flesh torn with iron combs, such as they use to card wool; and finding that his constancy was not to be subdued by this or any other torments, he commanded his head to be struck off, which was done. Thus the good bishop received the crown of martyrdom; and seven pious women wiped up his blood.

Pictures of St. Blaise are not frequent. In single figures and devotional pictures he is represented as an old man with a white beard, attired as a bishop with the planeta and mitre, holding in one hand a crosier, in the other an iron comb, such as is used by the wool-combers, the instrument of his torture; this is his peculiar attribute. He is thus represented on the coins of Ragusa.

A picture by Monsignor¹ (of Verona), engraved in Rosini's "History of Painting," represents him stripped ready for the torture, his hands tied above his head; on one side stands an angel holding an iron comb, on the other an angel holding the crosier and mitre. St. Blaise sitting at the mouth of his cave, and surrounded by a variety of animals, with his hand raised in the act of benediction, is a subject frequent in the ancient miniatures and stained glass.

In "The Martyrdom of San Biagio," by Carlo Maratti (in the Carignano, at Genoa), he has, with great good taste, avoided the dreadful and disgusting as far as possible. The executioners are in the act of raising the aged saint by means of a pulley, to suspend him to a gallows; others are standing by with the iron combs prepared to torture him; while he, with an expression of pious resignation, raises his eyes to heaven, and seems to pray for fortitude to endure the impending torment. In allusion to the "pious women" mentioned in the legend, one or two women are generally introduced into the martyrdom of St. Blaise.

This saint keeps his place in the English reformed calendar, and as patron and protector of wool-combers and wool-staplers is especially popular in Yorkshire, where he is regarded as the inventor of wool-combing, and still commemorated in the town of Bradford by a festival held every seven years, wherein Prince Jason and the Princess Medea, Bishop Blaise and his chaplain, all walk together in grand procession. He has three churches dedicated to his honor in England.



St. Blaise (Bonsignori)

ST. CYPRIAN, bishop of Carthage, who perished in the persecution under Valerian, and whose martyrdom is one of the

¹ [Usually written Bonsignori.]

most authentic and interesting in the history of the Christian Church, is so rarely met with as a subject of Art, that I can recollect but one example, in a picture by Paul Veronese, in the Brera at Milan, where St. Augustine sits enthroned, and before him stands St. Cyprian with the palm and mitre at his feet, and on the other side his friend St. Cornelius, pope in 251.

ST. ERASMUS

Ital. Sant' Elmo or Erasmo. *Sp.* St. Ermo or Eramo. *Fr.* Saint Elmo. (June 3, A. D. 296.)

This saint was one of the bishops of the early Church, and was martyred in the persecution of the Christians under Diocletian and Maximian at Formia, now Mola di Gaeta, between Rome and Naples. As his firmness withstood all ordinary tortures, for him a new and horrible death was prepared; he was cut open, and his entrails wound off on a sort of wheel such as they use to wind off skeins of wool or silk. Such an implement is placed in his hand, and is his peculiar attribute. He is represented as an aged man attired as a bishop.

His supposed martyrdom — for the affrighted imagination is obliged to take refuge in doubt or incredulity — is the only subject from his life which I have met with in a picture, and fortunately it is very rare. It was painted by Niccolò Poussin — though how his tender and refined mind could be brought to study all the details of a subject so abominable is difficult to conceive; it was commanded by the pope, Urban VIII., and is perpetuated in a mosaic which is over the altar of St. Erasmo in St. Peter's. It is said to be in point of *expression* one of Poussin's best works; and that the head of the saint, agonized at once and full of heavenly faith and resignation, is a masterpiece. I never could look at the picture long enough or steadily enough to certify to the truth of this eulogium, and I should rather subscribe to the just remarks of Sir Edmund Head: after observing that the French artists in general do not seem to feel "the limits which separate the horrible from the pathetic," he adds, "the subject is no excuse for the painter. Such subjects, as has been well observed, should be treated by the selection of a moment before the horror is complete;" as in Parmigiano's St. Agatha [Parma].

St. Erasmus, under the name of Sant' Elmo, is famous on

the shores of the Mediterranean, in Calabria, Sicily, and Spain, where the mariners invoke him against storms and tempests : he is sometimes represented with a taper in his hand or on his head. Every one who has visited Naples will remember the celebrated monastery and fortress placed under his protection.

ST. APOLLINARIS OF RAVENNA

Ital. Sant' Apollinare. *Fr.* Saint Appollinaire. (July 23, A. D. 79.)

In the last year of the reign of the Emperor Vespasian, Apollinaris, first bishop of Ravenna, was martyred outside the gate of that city.

It is related of him that he accompanied the apostle Peter from Antioch, and was for some time his companion and assistant at Rome ; but, after a while, St. Peter sent him to preach the Gospel on the eastern coast of Italy, having first laid his hands on him and communicated to him those gifts of the Holy Spirit which were vouchsafed to the apostles.

Apollinaris, therefore, came to the city of Ravenna, where he preached the faith of Christ with so much success that he collected around him a large congregation, and performed miracles, silencing, wherever he came, the voice of the false oracles, and overcoming the demons ; but the heathen, being filled with rage, threw him into prison, whence escaping by the favor of his jailer, he fled from the city by the gate which leads to Rimini. His enemies pursued him, and, having overtaken him about three miles from the gate, they fell upon him, and beat him, and pierced him with many wounds, so that when his disciples found him soon afterwards he died in their arms, and his spirit fled to heaven.

On the spot where he suffered, about five hundred and thirty-four years afterwards, was built and dedicated to his honor the magnificent basilica of St. Apollinaris-in-Classe. It is still seen standing in the midst of a solitary marshy plain near Ravenna, surrounded with rice-grounds and on the verge of that vast melancholy pine-forest made famous in the works of Boccaccio, Dante, and Byron. The full-length figure in mosaic, in the apsis of this antique church, exhibits the oldest of the few representations I have met with of this saint, whose celebrity and worship are chiefly confined to Ravenna. He is in

the habit of a Greek bishop, that is, in white, the pallium embroidered with black crosses, no mitre, and with gray hair and beard. He stands with hands outspread, preaching to his congregation of converts, who are represented by several sheep—the common symbol. Another of the wonderful old churches of this city, also dedicated to the saint, stands within the walls: it was built by Theodoric, as the chief place of worship for the Arians, and close to his palace. The interior is covered with mosaics in the Greek style. Among them is the grand procession of martyrs, already described.

At Remagen, on the Rhine, a very beautiful church has lately been dedicated to St. Apollinaris; the whole of the interior is painted in fresco by the most celebrated painters of the modern German school.

ST. DONATO OF AREZZO

Lat. S. Donatus. *Fr.* Saint Donat. (August 7.)

In the time of the Emperor Julian the Apostate, was martyred St. Donatus, bishop of Arezzo. He was of illustrious birth, and was brought up with Julian, both being educated in the Christian faith; but when Julian became emperor, and apostatized from the truth, he persecuted the Christians, and put many of them to death, and among them was the father of Donatus; therefore Donatus fled from Rome, and took refuge in Arezzo. He had for his companion the monk Hilarion, a man of most holy life, and together they performed many miracles, healing the sick and curing those who were possessed by evil spirits. There was a certain man who was the taxgatherer of the province, who, having occasion to go on a journey, left all the money in his possession due to the imperial treasury in the care of his wife Euphrosina. It was a large sum, and she, fearing to be robbed, dug a hole in a corner of her house and buried it. Having done this, she died suddenly without having revealed the spot in which she had hidden the money. When her husband returned he was in great trouble, fearing to be put to death as a defaulter, and he had recourse to St. Donatus. The holy man, having compassion on him, went with him to the sepulchre of his wife; and having first prayed earnestly, he called out with a loud voice, "Euphrosina, make known to us where thou hast hidden the treasure;" and she

from the tomb answered him, which was a great wonder, and witnessed by many people. And after these things, being made bishop of Arezzo, it happened that on a certain day, as he was celebrating the communion, the sacramental cup, which was of glass, was broken by some rude pagans who thought to insult the Christians; but, at the prayer of the holy bishop, the fragments reunited in his hand, and it became as before, and spilt no drop. This miracle, which is related by St. Gregory in his Dialogues, was the cause that many were converted, and so enraged the heathen that the Roman prefect ordered Hilarion to be scourged to death, and St. Donatus, after being tortured, was decapitated. The bodies of both lie buried under the high altar of the Cathedral of Arezzo.

The shrine of San Donato, executed for the people of Arezzo by Giovanni Pisano, A. D. 1286, stands upon the altar, which is isolated in the choir, and is covered on all sides with bas-reliefs representing the life and miracles of the saint. It is very celebrated as a monument of Italian middle-age Art, but appeared to me extremely unequal: some of the figures full of grace and feeling; others rude, clumsy, and disproportioned. Parts of it are engraved in Cicognara's work [*Scultura Moderna*].

Several pictures from the life of St. Donato are also in the cathedral, among which his martyrdom is the best. His effigy appears on the ancient coins of Arezzo.

ST. ZENOBIO of Florence is extremely interesting as connected with the beautiful ecclesiastical edifices of Florence, and with some of the finest and most important works of the early Florentine school, both in painting and sculpture.

St. Zenobio was born in the last year of the reign of Constantine, of a noble family. His father's name was Lucian, his mother's name was Sophia. They brought him up in all the wisdom and learning of the Gentiles, but he was converted secretly by his teachers, and afterwards converted his parents. He became himself distinguished by his pious and modest deportment, and by his eloquence as a preacher of the faith. He afterwards resided with Pope Damasus I. as deacon and secretary, and being sent to appease the religious dissensions in his native city, was unanimously elected bishop by the Catholics and Arians. He continued to lead a life of poverty and self-

denial, honored by the good, respected by the wicked, converting numbers to Christianity, not less by his example than his teaching; and died at length in the reign of Honorius (May 25, A. D. 417).

In the picture of St. Zenobio suspended against one of the pillars opposite to the principal entrance of the Duomo at Florence, he is represented enthroned, in his episcopal robes, and with his hand raised in the act of benediction. He has no particular attribute, but occasionally in the old Florentine prints some legend from his life is represented in the background, and this serves to fix the identity: a tree bursting into leaf is, I think, the attribute usually adopted. Sometimes it is a mother kneeling by her dead child; but this, being applicable to several other saints, is deceptive.

"It is related that when they were bearing the remains of St. Zenobio through the city in order to deposit them under the high altar of the cathedral, the people crowded round the bearers and pressed upon the bier in order to kiss the hands or touch the garments of their beloved old bishop. In passing through the Piazza del Duomo, the body of the saint was thrown against the trunk of a withered elm standing near the spot where the baptistery now stands, and suddenly the tree, which had for years been dead and dried up, burst into fresh leaves." (Ezek. xvii. 24; Job xiv. 7.)

This story is the subject of an admirable picture by Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, in which there are heads worthy of Raphael for beauty and intense expression. (Uffizi, Florence.)

"St. Zenobio made a journey to a city among the Apennines, in order to consecrate a Christian church. On this occasion his friend St. Ambrose sent messengers to him with gifts of precious relics. But it happened that the chief of the messengers, in passing through a gorge in the mountains, fell, with his mule, down a steep precipice, and was crushed to death. His companions, in great grief and consternation, brought his mutilated body and laid it down at the feet of St. Zenobio; and at the prayer of the good bishop the man revived, and rose up, and pursued his journey homewards with prayer and thanksgiving.

"A French lady of noble lineage, who was performing a pilgrimage to Rome, stopped at Florence on the way, in order to see the good bishop Zenobio, of whom she had heard so much,

and, having received his blessing, she proceeded on to Rome, leaving in his care her little son. The day before her return to Florence, the child died. She was overwhelmed with grief, and took the child and laid him down at the feet of St. Zenobio, who, by the efficacy of his prayers, restored the child to life, and gave him back to the arms of his mother."



St. Zenobio restoring the dead child (Masaccio)

This popular legend appears in several of the most beautiful works of the early Florentine school :—

1. In a picture by Masaccio. Here the resuscitation of the child is represented in the artless manner usual with the early artists. The dead child lies on the ground, and the living child stands beside the lifeless effigy of himself.

2. In the picture by Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, the dead child lies on the earth, crowned with flowers, as if prepared for the grave : the mother kneels with dishevelled hair, and the bishop and his attendants stand near. The scene of this miracle was the Borgo degli Albizzi, well known to those who have visited Florence. [Uffizi, Florence.]

"A little child, having strayed from his mother in the streets of Florence, was run over and trampled upon by a car drawn by two unruly oxen, but restored to life by the prayers of the holy bishop Zenobio." This story also frequently occurs in the Florentine works of Art.

3. On the bronze sarcophagus executed [for the Duomo, Florence] by Lorenzo Ghiberti to contain the remains of St. Zenobio, are three beautiful groups in bas-relief. 1. The Restoration of the Son of the French Lady. 2. The Resuscita-

tion of the Messenger of St. Ambrose. 3. The Story of the Child trampled by the Oxen.

“The Miracles and Death of St. Zenobio,” by Sandro Botticelli [is in the Dresden Gallery], and engraved by J. Thäter.

ST. REGULUS is interesting only at Lucca ; his statue, and the bas-relief beneath representing his martyrdom, in the Duomo there, rank among the finest works of one of the finest of the middle-age sculptors, Matteo Civitale di Lucca. This St. Regulus was an African bishop, who, in the disputes between the Catholics and Arians, fled from his diocese in Africa, and took refuge in Tuscany, where for some time he lived in holy solitude ; but on the invasion of Italy by Totila, king of the Goths, he suffered martyrdom, being beheaded by some barbarian soldiers on refusing to appear before their king. The legend relates, that he took his head in his hands and walked with it to the distance of two stadia, and there sat down, when, two of his disciples coming up, he delivered to them his head, which they with great awe and reverence buried on the spot. I do not remember that this incident is introduced in Civitale’s bas-relief, nor do I recollect in genuine Italian Art any bishop represented without his head, even where the legend justifies it.

ST. FREDIANO (Frigidianus), the other patron of Lucca, was an Irish saint, who migrated to Lucca, and became bishop of that city in the sixth century (A. D. 560). It is related that in a terrible inundation which threatened to destroy Lucca he turned the course of the river Serchio, tracing the direction in which it was to flow by drawing a harrow along the ground, and the river obediently followed the steps of the holy man. Thus we find poetically shadowed forth those costly embankments through which the course of the Serchio was changed, and its terrible annual inundations rendered less destructive. In the extraordinary old church of San Frediano at Lucca (dating from the seventh century), Francia painted the whole history of the saint.¹

¹ [The frescoes in the chapel of St. Augustine, San Frediano, Lucca, are assigned by Kugler and Crowe and Cavalcaselle to Amico Aspertini, a pupil of Francia.]

ST. ZENO, bishop of Verona in the fourth century, has the title of martyr, but on uncertain grounds. He was celebrated for his charity and Christian virtues, and for the manner in which he kept together his flock in times of great tribulation. According to one version of his legend, he was martyred by Julian the Apostate (April 12, A. D. 380).

He is honored chiefly at Verona, where his very ancient church is one of the most interesting monuments of Art in all Italy. In this church is a statue of him held in great veneration by the people. It is of wood, painted to imitate life. He is seated in his pastoral chair, and holds a long fishing-rod (or reed) in his hand, with a fish hanging to the line. The complexion is very dark, and the expression not only good-humored, but jovial. The dark color is probably given to indicate his African birth. According to the legend at Verona, he was very fond of fishing in the Adige; but I imagine that the fish is here the ancient Christian symbol which represented conversion and the rite of baptism.

The "Coppa di San Zenone," preserved in this church, is a large vase of porphyry, in which the saint used to baptize his converts. According to the Veronese legend, it was brought by a demon from Palestine, by command of the bishop, and in a single night.

In the early pictures of the Veronese school, those for instance by Liberale and Morando, a saint in the habit of a bishop, and with a fish suspended from his crosier, may be presumed to represent St. Zeno. In a picture by Girolamo da' Libri (Berlin Gallery), St. Zeno appears without the mitre.

It is related that King Pepin held this saint in such estimation that he desired to be buried in the same grave with him.

ST. GEMINIANUS was bishop of Modena about the year 450; pictures of the legends related of him appear only in the churches of that city. He was sent for to Constantinople to dispossess the daughter of the emperor, who suffered grievously from a demon;¹ he also by his intercession saved the city of Modena, when threatened by Attila, king of the Huns; and lastly (after his death), preserved the cathedral from being destroyed in a great inundation.

¹ I presume the Princess Honoria, whose story is so graphically related by Gibbon in his thirty-fifth chapter.

He figures on the coins of Modena, and also in some celebrated pictures, as patron and protector of the city.

1. Correggio, in his famous picture, "the Madonna di San Giorgio," painted for the Dominicans at Modena, and now at Dresden, has represented San Geminiano taking from an angel the model of a church, and about to present it to the Infant Redeemer, whose hands are eagerly stretched out as if to save it. This, I believe, alludes, very poetically, either to the dedication or the preservation of the cathedral. On the other side are St. Peter Martyr the Dominican, St. John the Baptist, and the admirable figure of St. George.

2. Paul Veronese. St. Geminiano, bishop of Modena, and St. Severus, bishop of Ravenna, are seen reading the Gospel out of the same book; this alludes to the legend that St. Severus, while reading the epistle in the service at Ravenna, suddenly fell asleep, and beheld in a vision the death and obsequies of St. Geminianus. (At Venice, but I now forget in what church.)

3. Guercino. St. Geminiano, in his episcopal habit and wearing the mitre, receives from an angel the city of Modena (represented as a small model of the city), which he is about to present to the Saviour. This alludes, poetically, to the preservation of the city from Attila. (Louvre.)

SANT' ERCOLANO (Herculanus) was bishop of Perugia about the year 546. At this time took place the invasion of the Goths under Totila. During the long siege of Perugia the good bishop assisted and encouraged his people; and when the city was at length taken, Totila ordered him to be beheaded on the ramparts. His body was thrown into the ditch, where being afterwards found with a little child lying dead beside him, they were both buried in the same grave. His effigy is on the coinage of Perugia.

Of ST. COSTANZO (Costantius), bishop of Perugia in the third or fourth century, nothing is known but that he was martyred in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. He is venerated in this part of Italy, and the territory between Perugia and Foligno is called the Strada di Costanza.

These two saints are interesting at Perugia, as they occur in some beautiful pictures of that school, particularly in those of Perugino: for instance, in one of his finest works, the altar-

piece now in the Vatican, called the "*Madonna con quattro Santi*," which was one of the pictures carried off from Perugia to France in 1797.

ST. PETRONIUS, bishop and patron saint of Bologna, was a Roman of illustrious birth, and an early convert to Christianity. He distinguished himself by banishing the Arians from Bologna, which appears to have been his chief merit; he died October 4, A. D. 430, and is not entitled to the honors of a martyr.

Pictures of this saint are confined to Bologna. Every traveller in Italy will remember his beautiful church in that city. The most ancient representation of him is the full-length effigy, carved in wood, and painted, which stands within his church, on the left-hand side. He wears the episcopal robes, mitre, and crosier, with a thick black beard, a characteristic not usually followed by the Bologna painters, who exhibit him either with no beard at all or with very little. In the devotional pictures he holds in his hand the city of Bologna, distinguished by the tall central tower (the Torre Asinelli), and the leaning tower near it.



St. Petronius (Michael Angelo)

As he is the subject of many celebrated pictures, I shall give a few examples.

He is enthroned as patron and bishop, between St. Francis d'Assisi and St. Thomas Aquinas the Dominican; by Lorenzo Costa. (Bologna Gallery.)

St. Petronius, seated, holds the city in his hand, opposite to him St. John the Evangelist reading his gospel; by Francesco Cossa.

In a beautiful figure by Lorenzo Costa, he stands on the right of the Virgin, holding the city; St. Thecla is on the left. [Bologna Gallery.]

“The Descent of the Holy Ghost;” the Virgin as well as the apostles being present, and St. Gregory and St. Petronius standing by as witnesses of this stupendous scene. This appears an unaccountable combination, till we learn that the picture was painted for the brotherhood of the Santo Spirito.

But the most celebrated picture in which St. Petronius appears is the masterpiece of Guido, the *Pietà* in the Bologna Gallery.

Another picture, one of Guido’s finest works, was dedicated on the cessation of a terrible plague in 1630. St. Petronius is represented as interceding for his city at the feet of the Madonna and Child in glory.

ST. PROCULUS is another bishop of Bologna who appears in the Bolognese pictures; he was martyred by Totila, king of the Goths, about 445. He must not be confounded with St. Proculus the *soldier*, also a Bolognese saint.¹

ST. MERCURIALE, first bishop of Forlì in the second century, appears as patron saint in some fine pictures in the churches at Forlì. He has the common attribute of the dragon, as having vanquished sin and idolatry in that part of Italy, as in a picture by Cigoli.

SAN ROMULO (Romulus), first bishop and apostle of Fiesole. According to the legend he was a noble Roman, one of the converts of St. Peter, who sent him to preach the Gospel to the people of Fiesole, then one of the greatest of the Etruscan cities. Romulus, accused of being a Christian, and taken before the prætor, was condemned to death; he was first bound hand and foot and thrown into a dungeon, where he remained four days, and then, after many torments, dispatched with a dagger. He suffered under Nero (July 23).

The old Cathedral of Fiesole is dedicated to him [and has a colossal statue of him over the door, from the atelier of Giovanni della Robbia]. The fine altar-piece by Allori [now in the sacristy] represents St. Romulus baptizing the converts. He is found also in the sculptures of Mino da Fiesole and Andrea Feracci; by the latter is the fine basso-relievo in his church representing his martyrdom. I have also found St.

¹ See the “Warrior Saints,” farther on.

Romulo in the churches of Florence ; he wears the episcopal habit, and carries the palm. [There was formerly a church dedicated to San Romolo in or near the Piazza della Signoria, but every vestige of it has disappeared.]

SAN MAURELIO (Maurelius), first bishop and patron of Ferrara and Imola : he was beheaded. This saint appears on the coinage of Ferrara. The Martyrdom of San Maurelio, painted by Guercino for the abbot of San Giorgio, is now in the public gallery of Ferrara.

SAN CASCIANO (St. Cassian), patron of Imola, was a school-master of that city, and being denounced as a Christian, the judge gave him up to the fury of his scholars, whom the severity of his discipline had inspired with the deepest hatred ; the boys revenged themselves by putting him to a slow and cruel death, piercing him with the iron styles used in writing : his story is told by Prudentius, and is represented, as I have been informed, in the cathedral at Imola.

ST. GAUDENZIO (Gaudentius), bishop and patron of Rimini, was scourged, and then stoned, by the Arian party, which at that time had the upper hand in Italy. (October 14, A. D. 359.) His effigy is on the early coinage of Rimini.

Another ST. GAUDENTIUS was bishop of Novaro, and appears as patron of that city.

ST. SIRO (Syrus), first bishop of Pavia in the fourth century, governed the church there for fifty-six years : whether he was martyred is uncertain. His effigy is on the early coins of Pavia, and a beautiful statue of him is in the cathedral.

ST. ABBONDIO, fourth bishop of Como, was a native of Thessalonica, contemporary with Leo I. He is the apostle and patron of that part of Italy, and figures in the cathedral at Como.

ST. HILARY, though properly a French saint (he was bishop of Poitiers in the fourth century), is considered as one of the lights of the early Italian Church, and distinguished himself

in Lombardy by opposing the Arians; hence he is revered through the north of Italy under the name of Sant' Ilario. As one of the patrons of Parma, where some of his relics are said to repose, he is the subject of one of Coreggio's splendid frescoes in the cathedral there. He has a church at Cremona, where I remember a very fine picture by Giulio Campi, representing the grand old bishop seated on a raised throne reading the Gospel, which lies open on his knees, while St. Catherine and St. Apollonia stand on each side. It recalls the best manner of Parmigiano in style and color, and is about the same date (1537). This St. Hilary, patron of Parma, who died January 13, 363, must not be confounded with another St. Hilary, bishop of Arles in the fifth century, and not in any way associated with Italy or Italian Art. Hilary of Poitiers left behind him writings which have been quoted with admiration by Erasmus, Locke, and Gibbon. The latter observes, in his sneering way, that Hilary "had *unwarily* deviated into the style of a Christian philosopher." (Decline and Fall, chap. xxi.) Correggio has given him a countenance full of pensive benignity.

ST. JANUARIUS (*Ital.* San Gennaro; *Fr.* Saint Janvier) is the great patron of Naples and protector of the city against the eruptions of Mount Vesuvius; as such he figures in the pictures of the Neapolitan school, and in pictures painted for the churches of Naples.

The legend relates that he was bishop of Benevento; and in the tenth persecution he came with six of his companions to Naples, to encourage and comfort the Christians: they were seized and carried to Pozzuoli, and there exposed to the wild beasts in the amphitheatre; but the beasts refused to touch them. Then St. Januarius was thrown into a burning fiery furnace, and came out of it unharmed; finally he was beheaded (September 19, A. D. 303).

In the devotional figures he is represented in the robes and mitre of a bishop, holding his palm, with Mount Vesuvius in the background.

The miraculous preservation of the city of Naples when menaced by torrents of lava, is a frequent subject in the churches there.

Domenichino, when at Naples, painted his large fresco of

St. Januarius appearing to the Neapolitans during the eruption of 1631. And by Spagnoletto I have seen the martyrdom of St. Januarius: he is thrown into a furnace. Except at Naples, I have never met with any pictures relating to this saint.

XV. FRENCH BISHOPS

ST. DENIS OF FRANCE ; ST. DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE
Lat. Sanctus Dionysius. *Ital.* San Dionisio or Dionigi. *Fr.* Saint Denis. Patron saint of France. (Oct. 9.)

THE legend which confounds Dionysius the Areopagite with ST. DENIS of France (bishop of Paris in the third century) will not bear any critical remark or investigation ; but as it is that which presents itself everywhere in Art, I give it here as it was popularly received.

“Dionysius was an Athenian philosopher who, for his great wisdom in heavenly things, was named Theosophus, and being a judge of the Areopagus, was also called the Areopagite. He travelled into Egypt to study astrology under the priests of that country. Being at Heliopolis with his companion, the philosopher Apollophanes, and studying together the courses of the stars, they beheld the heavens darkened, and there was darkness over the heaven and earth for three hours ; and Dionysius was much troubled in spirit, not knowing what this might signify. He knew not then, though he afterwards learned, that this was the darkness which fell upon the earth in the same hour that the Redeemer died for our sins, — the darkness which preceded the dawning of the true light. And on these things did Dionysius meditate continually. Some time after his return to Athens, St. Paul arrived there, and preached to the people : and he preached to them THE UNKNOWN GOD. Dionysius listened with wonder, and afterwards he sought Paul, and asked him concerning this unknown God. Then Paul explained all the mysteries of the Christian religion, and Dionysius believed, and was baptized in the faith. The apostle ordained him priest, and he became the first bishop of Athens.

“Among the writings attributed to this great saint are certain letters, in which he tells us that he travelled to Jerusalem to pay a visit to the holy Virgin, and that he was struck with ad-

miration and wonder to behold the glory which shone around her, and dazzled by the glorious company of angels which continually attend upon her. Also the same Dionysius tells us that he was present at her death and burial, and he has recorded the names of the apostles who were also present on that occasion.

“Afterwards he returned to Athens, and thence travelled into Italy and France, and having joined Paul at Rome, he attended him to his martyrdom. After that he was sent by Pope Clement, the successor of Peter, to preach the Gospel in the kingdom of France. And Clement gave him for his companions, to aid him in his labors, a priest whose name was Rusticus, and a deacon who was called Eleutherius.

“St. Denis (for so the French afterwards called him) arrived at Paris, the capital of that country, an exceedingly great and rich city, full of inhabitants, and well provided with all the good things of this earth; the skies were bright, and the lands fertile: ‘it seemed to Dionysius another Athens.’ So he resolved to fix his residence there, and to teach these people, who were learned, and happy, and rich in all things but those which concerned their salvation, the way of truth and righteousness. Therefore Dionysius preached to them the Gospel, and converted many. Moreover, he sent missionaries to all the provinces of France, and even into Germany.

“Now you can easily believe that these things were particularly displeasing to Satan, that enemy of the human race. He stirred up many of the nobles and others against the good bishop, and certain of their emissaries accused him to the Emperor Trajan; but others say it was the Emperor Domitian, and that this wicked emperor dispatched the proconsul Fescennius from Rome to Paris with orders to seize St. Denis, and throw him into prison, together with his companions, Rusticus and Eleutherius. The prefect ordered them to be brought before him, and, finding that they persisted in denying and contemning his gods, he commanded that they should be dragged forth to death; and being come to the place of execution, Dionysius knelt down, and raising his hands and his eyes to heaven, he commended himself to God, and Rusticus and Eleutherius responded with a loud amen. Then the venerable and holy prelate Dionysius said to the executioner, ‘Do thine office;’ and he, being diligent, in a few minutes struck off all

their heads, and left them there, as was usual, to be devoured by the wild beasts. But the Lord did not forget his servants, nor was it his will that their holy remains should be dishonored; therefore he permitted a most stupendous miracle, namely, that the body of Dionysius rose up on its feet, and, taking up the head in his hands, walked the space of two miles, to a place called the Mount of Martyrs (since called Mont Martre), the angels singing hymns by the way. Many were converted by this great miracle, particularly Lactia, the wife of Lubrius, who, having declared herself a Christian, was also beheaded."

The bodies of St. Denis, of St. Eleutherius, and St. Rusticus were buried afterwards on this spot, and the first person who raised a church to their honor was St. Geneviève, assisted by the people of Paris. In the reign of King Dagobert, the holy relics were removed to the abbey of St. Denis. The saint became the patron saint of the French monarchy, his name the war-cry of the French armies. The famous oriflamme — the standard of France — was the banner consecrated upon his tomb. About the year 744, Pope Stephen II., who had been educated in the monastery of St. Denis, transplanted his native saint to Rome, and from this period the name of St. Denis has been known and venerated through all Europe. In the time of Louis le Débonnaire (A. D. 814), certain writings, said to be those of Dionysius the Areopagite, were brought to France, and then it became a point of honor among the French legendary writers to prove *their* St. Denis of Paris identical with the famous convert and disciple of St. Paul; in which they have so far succeeded, that in sacred Art it has become difficult to consider them as distinct persons.

The popular effigies of St. Denis, those which are usually met with in the French and German prints, in the Gothic sculpture and stained glass of the French churches, represent him in his episcopal robes, carrying his head in his hand; sometimes, while he wears his own mitred head, he carries also a head in his hand, — which I have heard sneered at, as adding the practical blunder of the two heads to the original absurdity of the story: but the fact is, that in both instances the original signification is the same; the attribute of the severed head expresses merely martyrdom by decapitation, and

that the martyr brings his head an offering to the Church of Christ. Such figures appear to have suggested the legends of several headless saints promulgated to gratify the popular taste for marvels and miracles.

Devotional figures of St. Denis are not common in the Italian schools, and in these I recollect no instance in which he is without his head.

There is a very fine picture by Ghirlandajo (Florence Academy), in which San Dionigi and St. Thomas Aquinas stand on each side of the Virgin: the former, a most majestic and venerable figure, stands in his episcopal robes, richly and elaborately embroidered, holding his crosier; St. Thomas, in his Dominican habit as a doctor of theology, holding his book: they are here significantly and intentionally associated as two great lights of the Church who have both treated especially of the heavenly mysteries and the angelic hierarchies. St. Clement, who was the spiritual father of St. Denis, and St. Dominick, who stood in the same relation to St. Thomas, are kneeling as secondary personages. The picture was of course painted for the Dominicans.

The Sicilians have oddly enough mixed up the saint Dionysius with the tyrant Dionysius, and claim him as a saint of their own. There is a picture over the high altar of his church at Messina, in which he is seated in his episcopal throne, as the superior saint, and surrounded in the usual manner by other saints standing.

Subjects from the life of St. Denis are very common as a series, in the sculpture and stained glass of the French cathedrals, and in the modern restorations of the Cathedral of St. Denis: one of the finest is the grand window in the cathedral at Chartres. The separate pictures and prints from his legendary story are principally confined to the French school.

1. St. Denis at Heliopolis, seated on the summit of a tower or observatory; he is contemplating, *through a telescope*, the crucifixion of our Saviour, which is seen in the far distance. This subject I saw once in an old French print; underneath, in Latin, the verse from Isaiah (xxiv. 23), "Confundetur sol," etc. "Then the moon shall be confounded and the sun ashamed, when the Lord of Hosts shall reign on Mount Sion."

2. St. Denis converted by St. Paul is a frequent subject in old French prints. In Raphael's cartoon of "Paul preaching

at Athens" [South Kensington Museum], the figure of the man in front, who, as Sir Joshua says, "appears to be thinking all over," is probably Dionysius.

3. Le Sueur. St. Denis at Rome takes leave of Pope Clement, and receives his blessing before he departs on his mission to Paris. (Methuen Collection.)

4. Joseph-Marie Vien. St. Denis preaching to the Parisians. (Paris, St. Roch.)

5. The martyrdom of St. Denis. He is seen walking with his head in his hand, and sustained on each side by angels,—*"en pareil cas,"* as the witty Frenchwoman observed, *"ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte;"* nevertheless, it must be conceded that the sustaining angels greatly diminished the incredibility of the story.

6. St. Denis, St. Maurice, and St. Martin rescue the soul of King Dagobert from demons: represented within the Gothic recess over the tomb of King Dagobert, on which he lies in effigy, full length. [Cathedral of St. Denis.] The story is told in three compartments, one above the other. 1. The anchorite John is seen asleep, and St. Denis reveals to him in a vision that the soul of King Dagobert is tormented and in danger; to the right is seen Dagobert, standing in a little boat; demons seize him forcibly, and one of them takes off his crown. 2. St. Martin, St. Maurice, and St. Denis come to the rescue of Dagobert; they are attended by two angels, one of whom swings a censer, and the other holds a vase of holy water; St. Martin and St. Denis seize upon the soul of Dagobert, while St. Maurice, sword in hand, attacks the demons. 3. The three saints, attended by angels, hold a sheet extended, on which stands the soul of Dagobert in the attitude of prayer. The Divine hand appears in a glory above, as if about to lift him into heaven. The whole is executed with extraordinary spirit, but I should be doubtful as to the date assigned by Le Noir (A. D. 632-645); or rather, I have no doubt that it is a mistake; the style is that of the fourteenth century.

A very remarkable monument appertaining to St. Denis is a manuscript memoir of his life (according to the legend must be understood), which exists in the Royal Library at Paris, and which cannot be of later date than the year 1322. The miniatures in this beautiful manuscript I did not count, but

they must have exceeded, I think, a hundred and fifty, drawn with a pen, and slightly tinted; the figures Gothic in taste and feeling, yet with a certain delicacy in the character, and a lengthiness in the forms, such as we see in the best Gothic sculpture of that period. I can only mention here a few of the subjects, which from their beauty and peculiarity struck me most.

1. The Athenians raise to *The Unknown God* an altar, on which Dionysius is in the act of writing the inscription DEO IGNOTO. 2. Paul preaching to the Athenian philosophers; in the background the altar, to which he points. 3. Paul converts Dionysius and Damaris. 4. Paul consecrates Dionysius first bishop of Athens. 5. Dionysius writing his famous treatise on the celestial hierarchy. The nine choirs of angels are hovering over him, surmounted by the Trinity. 6. He carries his head (two angels sustaining him on either side) and presents it to the Christian woman, here called Catulla: she receives it in a napkin. 7. The spirits of the three martyrs (in the usual form of naked infants) are carried into heaven by angels.

The compositions throughout are superior in spirited and dramatic expression, but inferior in purity and grace, to the contemporary Italian school — that of Giotto.

There are several other saints who are represented in Gothic Art in the same manner as St. Denis, that is, in the act of carrying their own heads. In every instance the original meaning of the attribute must be borne in mind.

ST. CHERON, bishop of Chartres, was a contemporary and disciple of St. Denis. Being on his way from Chartres to Paris, to visit St. Denis, he was attacked by robbers, who struck off his head; whereupon the saint, taking his head up in his hands, continued his journey. His whole history is represented on one of the magnificent windows of the Cathedral of Chartres.

ST. CLAIR, carrying his head, I saw on one of the fine windows of St. Maclou at Rouen: he was martyred between Rouen and Pontoise in the third century.

ST. NICAISE (*Lat.* Nicasius), bishop of Rheims, famous for his success in preaching the Gospel, was besieged in Rheims by the Vandals, A. D. 400, and he went forth attended by his

clergy to meet the enemy, singing hymns : one of the barbarian soldiers struck off the upper half of his head ; nevertheless, the saint continued singing his stave until, after a few steps, he fell dead. A picture by Jan Scorel represents St. Nicasius in his episcopal robes, without the upper part of his head, which, with the mitre on it, he carries in his hand. (Munich Gallery.¹)

“ST. VALERIE, or Sainte Valère, without her head, which she carries in her hands, approaches the altar and presents her head to ST. MARTIAL.” I saw this strange subject in a large mosaic in the Studio de' Mosaici, at Rome : it was executed for St. Peter's, but some misgiving happily prevented it from being placed there. These two saints, patrons of Aquitaine, lived in the third century. The legend sets forth that Martial was first bishop of Limoges ; that among his early converts was a beautiful virgin, whose name was Valérie ; she refusing to listen to the addresses of the Duke de Guyenne, “il entra en une telle rage qu'il luy fit trancher la teste, couronnant sa virginité d'un martyre bien signalé, car à la veuë d'un chacun elle prit sa teste, et la porta jusques au pied de l'Autel où S. Marcial disoit la messe ; le bourreau, la suivant pas-à-pas, mourut dans l'Eglise, après avoir clairement protesté qu'il voyoit les anges à l'entour de son corps.”² I have been thus particular in giving this old French legend because the story of St. Martial and St. Valérie appears so frequently in the chased and enamel work for which Limoges was famous from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. St. Martial did not suffer martyrdom. I have seen him standing in his bishop's robes, and St. Valérie holding her palm with a streak or mark round her neck, in some ivory carved work which served as the cover of a book ; the whole story is represented on one of the windows of the Cathedral of Limoges.

ST. ROMAIN, who was bishop of Rouen in the time of Clovis I., is generally considered as the apostle of Normandy. He overthrew the heathen temples, and preached Christianity

¹ [There is no picture of this description attributed to Scorel in the current (1894) official catalogue of the Munich Gallery.]

² [Literally: He became so enraged that he caused her head to be cut off, crowning her virginity with a remarkable martyrdom ; for, in sight of every one, she took her head and carried it to the foot of the altar, where St. Martial was saying mass ; the executioner, following her step by step, died in the church after positively declaring that he saw angels around her body.]

among the Gauls of that district. The Seine, having overflowed its banks, nearly destroyed the city of Rouen : St. Romain commanded the waters to retire to their channel, but from the mud and slime left by the receding flood was born a monstrous dragon, called in the French legend *La Gargouille*, which spread terror along the shores. St. Romain went forth against the venomous beast, and by the aid of a wicked murderer, vanquished and bound the monster. Hence, down to the time of the Revolution, it was a privilege of the chapter of Rouen to deliver and pardon a criminal condemned to death. The whole history of St. Romain is painted on the windows of the Cathedral of Rouen, and is commonly met with in the Norman churches, and the dragon-legend of the *Gargouille* is merely the usual allegory so often referred to — the conquest of Christianity over Paganism. St. Romain died October 23, 639, and was succeeded by Saint Ouen.

ST. TROPHIME of Arles (whose church is one of the most magnificent in all France, and one of the few which escaped destruction in the time of the first Revolution) was the disciple of St. Paul. (Acts xx. 4 ; xxi. 29.) I mention him here because the sculpture of the Cathedral of Arles is celebrated in the history of sacred Art.

ST. MARTIN OF TOURS

Lat. Sanctus Martinus. *Ital.* San Martino. Patron of Tours, Lucca, etc., and of penitent drunkards. (Nov. 11, A. D. 397.)

This illustrious saint, second to St. Nicholas only because confined to Western Christendom, is one of those whom the middle ages most delighted to honor. There can be no doubt of the extraordinary character of the man, nor of the extraordinary influence he exercised at the time in which he lived, nor is there any saint of whom so many stories and legends have been promulgated on such high ecclesiastical authority, and so universally believed ; still, though so generally venerated throughout Christendom, he has never been so great a favorite in Italy and Germany as in France, the scene of his life and miracles ; we find him, consequently, less popular as a subject of Art than many saints who may be considered as comparatively obscure.

St. Martin was born in the reign of Constantine the Great, at Saberia, a city of Pannonia. (*Now Stain in Hungary.*) He was the son of a Roman soldier, a tribune in the army, and his parents were heathens; but for himself, even when a child, he was touched by the truth of the Christian religion, and received as a catechumen at the age of fifteen; but before he could be baptized he was enrolled in the cavalry and sent to join the army in Gaul. Notwithstanding his extreme youth and the license of his profession, St. Martin was a striking example that the gentler virtues of the Christian were not incompatible with the duties of a valiant soldier; and from his humility, his mildness of temper, his sobriety, chastity, and, above all, his boundless charity, he excited at once the admiration and the love of his comrades. The legion in which he served was quartered at Amiens in the year 332, and the winter of that year was of such exceeding severity that men died in the streets from excessive cold. It happened one day that St. Martin, on going out of the gate of the city, was met by a poor naked beggar, shivering with cold; and he felt compassion for him, and having nothing but his cloak and his arms, he, with his sword, divided his cloak in twain, and gave one half of it to the beggar, covering himself as well as he might with the other half. And that same night, being asleep, he beheld in a dream the Lord Jesus, who stood before him, having on his shoulders the half of the cloak which he had bestowed on the beggar; and Jesus said to the angels who were around him, "Know ye who hath thus arrayed me? My servant Martin, though yet unbaptized, hath done this!" And St. Martin, after this vision, hastened to receive baptism, being then in his twenty-third year.

He remained in the army until he was forty, and then, wishing to devote himself wholly to a religious life, he requested to be dismissed: but the emperor (Julian the Apostate, according to the legend) reproached him scornfully, saying, that he desired to be dismissed because he wished to shun an impending fight; but St. Martin replied boldly, "Place me naked, and without defence, in front of the battle: then shalt thou see that, armed with the Cross alone, I shall not fear to encounter the legions of the enemy." The emperor took him at his word, and commanded a guard to be placed over him for the night; but early the next morning the barbarians sent to

offer terms of capitulation; and thus to the faith of St. Martin the victory was granted, though not exactly as he or his enemies might have anticipated.

After leaving the army, he led for many years a retired and religious life, and at length, in 371, he was elected bishop of Tours. One day, when preparing to celebrate mass in the cathedral, he beheld a wretched naked beggar, and desired his attendant deacon to clothe the man; the deacon showing no haste to comply, St. Martin took off his sacerdotal habit and threw it himself around the beggar; and that day, while officiating at mass, a globe of fire was seen above his head, and when he elevated the Host, his arms being exposed by the shortness of the sleeves, they were miraculously covered with chains of gold and silver suspended there by angels, to the great astonishment and admiration of the spectators. At another time, the son of a poor widow having died, St. Martin, through his prayers, restored him to his disconsolate mother. He also healed a favorite slave of the proconsul who was possessed by an evil spirit; and many other wonderful things did this holy man perform, to the great wonder and edification of those who witnessed them. The devil, who was particularly envious of his virtues, detested above all his exceeding charity, because it was the most inimical to his own power, and one day reproached him mockingly that he so soon received into favor the fallen and the repentant; and St. Martin answered him sorrowfully, saying, "Oh! most miserable that thou art! if thou also couldst cease to persecute and seduce wretched men, if thou also couldst repent, thou also shouldst find mercy and forgiveness through Jesus Christ!" What peculiarly distinguished St. Martin was his sweet, serious, unfailling serenity; no one had ever seen him angry, or sad, or gay; there was nothing in his heart but piety to God and pity for men. He was particularly distinguished by the determined manner in which he rooted paganism out of the land. Neither the difficulty of the enterprise, nor the fury of the Gentiles, nor his own danger, nor the superb magnificence of the idolatrous temples, had any power to daunt or to restrain him. Everywhere he set fire to the temples of the false gods, threw down their altars, broke their images. The complete uprooting of heathenism in that part of Gaul is attributed to this pious and indefatigable bishop. The demons

against whom he waged this determined war made a thousand attempts to terrify and to delude him, sometimes appearing to him as Jupiter, sometimes as Mercury, and sometimes as Venus or Minerva ; but he overcame them all.

In order to avoid the great concourse of people who crowded around him, he withdrew to a solitude about two miles from the city, and built himself a cell between the rocks and the Loire. This was the origin of the celebrated monastery of Marmoutier, one of the greatest and richest in the north of Christendom.

While St. Martin was inexorable in breaking down the altars of the heathen, he appears to have opposed himself to some of the superstitions of the people. In the neighborhood of Tours there was a little chapel in which the people worshipped a supposed martyr. The saint, believing their worship misplaced, went and stood upon the sepulchre, and prayed that the Lord would reveal to him who was buried there. Suddenly he beheld a dark spectral form, of horrible aspect, standing near ; and he said, "Who art thou ?" and the shade replied that he was a robber, who had been executed there for his crimes, and was now suffering the torments of hell.

Then St. Martin destroyed the chapel, and the people resorted to it no more.

Among the innumerable stories related of St. Martin, there is one which ought to be noted here as an admirable subject for a picture, though I am not aware that it has ever been painted. On some occasion the emperor invited him to a banquet, and, wishing to show the saint particular honor, he handed the wine-cup to him before he drank, expecting, according to the usual custom, that St. Martin would touch it with his lips, and then present it respectfully to his imperial host ; but, equally to the astonishment and admiration of the guests, St. Martin turned round and presented the brimming goblet to a poor priest who stood behind him ; thus showing that he accounted the least of the servants of God before the greatest of the rulers of the earth. From this incident, St. Martin has been chosen as the patron saint of drinking, and of all jovial meetings.

Also the empress, whose name was Helena, and who was the daughter of a wealthy lord of Caernarvonshire, entertained him

with great honor. It was somewhat against his will, as he avoided all converse with women, but she clung to his feet, and would not be separated from him, washing them with her tears. She prepared for him a supper, she alone, allowing no other service; she cooked the viands herself, she arranged his seat, offered the water for his hands, and while he sat at meat she stood immovable before him, according to the custom of menials. She poured out the wine, and presented it to him herself, and, when the repast was over, she collected the crumbs that had fallen from his table, preferring them to the banquet of the emperor. This story, also, would be a most picturesque subject.

After governing his diocese in great honor for nearly thirty years, and having destroyed many temples and cut down many groves dedicated to the false gods, the blessed St. Martin died, and many heard the songs of the angels as they bore his soul to Paradise.

From the hour that he was laid in the tomb he became an object for the worship of the people. The church dedicated to him in Rome (San Martino-in-Monte) existed within a hundred years after his death; and when St. Augustine of Canterbury first arrived in England, he found here a chapel which had been dedicated to St. Martin in the middle of the fifth century, and in this chapel he baptized his first converts.

In the single devotional figures St. Martin is always represented in his sacerdotal, never in his military character. When it is necessary to distinguish him from other bishops, he has a naked beggar at his feet, looking up with adoration. In the old French ecclesiastical sculpture and stained glass, he has frequently a goose at his side. This attribute alludes, I believe, to the season at which his festival was celebrated, the season when geese are killed and eaten, called with us Martinmas-tide, which used to be solemnized in France, like the last day of carnival, as a period of licensed excess. We have in England about one hundred and sixty churches dedicated to St. Martin.

The famous subject called "La Charité de St. Martin," or, in English, "St. Martin dividing his cloak," is sometimes devotionally, sometimes historically treated.

It is a devotional subject when the act of charity is expressed so simply, and with so few accessories, that it is to be understood not so much as the representation of an action, but rather as a general symbol of this particular form of charity: "I was naked, and ye clothed me." I will cite, as an instance of this religious sentiment in the treatment, a picture by Carotto, which I remember over one of the altars in the Church of St. Anastasia at Verona. The saint, in military attire, but bareheaded, and with a pensive, pitying air, bends down towards the poor beggar, who has, in his extremity, already wrapped one end of the mantle around his naked shivering body, while St. Martin prepares to yield it to him by dividing it with his sword. There is nothing here of the



St. Martin (Martin Schoen)

heroic self-complacency of the saint in Vandyck's picture; but the expression is so calm, so simple — the benign humility of the air and countenance is in such affecting contrast with the prancing steed and panoply of war, that it is impossible not to feel that the painter must have been penetrated by the beauty and significance of the story, as well as by the character of the saint.

The famous picture by Vandyck at Windsor is a striking instance of the historical treatment in style and conception. Here St. Martin, a fine martial figure wearing a cap and feather, brilliant

with youth and grace, and a sort of condescending good-nature, advances on his white charger, and turning, with his drawn sword, is in act to divide his rich scarlet cloak with a coarse squalid beggar, while a gypsy-looking woman, with black hair

streaming to the winds, holds up her child to receive the benediction of the saint. It is said that Vandyck has here represented himself mounted on the white charger which Rubens had presented to him; certainly the whole picture glows with life, animated expression, and dramatic power; but it is wholly deficient in that deep religious feeling which strikes us in the altar-piece of Carotto, and leaves an impression on the memory not trivial nor transitory, —

Whence grace, through which the heart may understand,
And vows, that bind the will, in silence made!

The other incidents in the life of St. Martin are less peculiar and attractive, and are not often met with separately. The miracle of the globe of fire, called "La Messe de Saint Martin," was painted by Le Sueur for the abbey of Marmoutier. It is a composition of fifteen figures. St. Martin stands before the altar; he is characteristically represented as of low stature and feeble frame, but with a most divinely expressive face; the astonishment in the countenances of those around, particularly of a priest and a kneeling woman, is admirably portrayed, without interfering with the saintly calm of the scene and place. (Louvre.)

"St. Martin raising the dead Child," by Lazzaro Baldi, is in the Vienna Gallery. "The slave of the Proconsul healed" is the subject of a coarse but animated composition by Jordans. St. Martin is in full episcopal robes — the possessed man writhing at his feet — the lord of the slave, attended by his falconer, is seen behind watching the performance of the miracle. (Brussels Gallery.)

On a certain occasion St. Martin appeared before the Emperor Valentinian, who, at the approach of the holy man, did not show due respect by rising to receive him; whereupon the chair on which he sat took fire under him, and forced him to rise. This rather grotesque incident I have seen represented, I think, at Assisi.

A series of subjects from the life of St. Martin often occurs in the French stained glass of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. We find it at Bourges, at Chartres, at Angers, and others of the old French cathedrals. In the San Francesco at Assisi there is a chapel dedicated to him covered with beauti-

ful frescoes from his life — many of them, unhappily, in a most ruined state. In the first, he appears as a youth before the Roman emperor, and is enrolled as a soldier in the Roman cavalry; in the second, he divides his cloak with the beggar; in the third, he is asleep on his bed, and Christ appears to him in a vision, attended by four angels; in the fourth, he is ordained by St. Hilary. The rest I could not well make out, but the figures and heads have great expression and elegance. These frescoes are attributed to Simone Memmi.

ST. ELOY

Lat. Sanctus Eligius. *Eng.* St. Loo. *Ital.* Sant' Alò or Lò, Sant' Eligio. Patron of Bologna, of Noyon; of goldsmiths, locksmiths, blacksmiths, and all workers in metal; also of farriers and horses. (Dec. 1, A. D. 659.)

St. Eloy was born of obscure parents in the little village of Chatelas. He was first sent to school at Limoges, and afterwards bound apprentice to a goldsmith of that city. His progress in the art of design, and in chasing and working in gold, was so rapid that he soon excelled his master. He then went to Paris, where his talents as a worker in metal introduced him to the notice of Bobbo, treasurer to Clotaire II. About this time it happened that King Clotaire desired to have a throne overlaid with gold and set with precious stones,¹ but he knew not to whom to intrust the execution of a work which required not merely skill, but probity. The treasurer introduced Eloy to the king, who weighed out to him a quantity of gold sufficient for the work; but Eloy constructed, with the precious materials intrusted to him, not one throne, but two thrones; and with such wonderful skill that the king was filled with admiration for the perfection of the work, yet more for the probity of the workman, and thenceforth employed him in state affairs. In a word, he seems to have been much in the same circumstances as those of George Heriot at the court of our King James. The successor of King Clotaire, Dagobert, also held him in the highest esteem, and appointed him Master of the Mint. It appears that Eloy cut the dies for the money coined in these two reigns; thirteen pieces are known which bear his name inscribed. After the death of

¹ Or a saddle. See Maitland's *Dark Ages*, p. 81, for the story of St. Eloy refusing to take oaths.

Dagobert, Eloy was so much distinguished by the holiness and purity of his life that he was thought a fit successor to the bishop of Noyon, and he was consecrated at Rouen in the third year of Clovis II.

After he had attained to this high dignity, Eloy was not less distinguished than before for his humanity, his simplicity, and his laborious life. Out of a vast number of sermons and homilies composed for his flock, many remain to this day; and as he was remarkable for his eloquence and his power over the minds of the people, he was sent to preach the Gospel to the idolaters of Belgium, and it is even said that he was the first to carry the Gospel to Sweden and Denmark.

In the midst of all these labors and hardships, and journeyings to and fro, he still found time for his original and beloved vocation; but, instead of devoting his labor to the formation of objects of vanity and luxury, he employed himself upon the shrines of the saints and the holy vessels of the church. Thus he decorated with wonderful skill the tombs of St. Martin and St. Denis; and executed, moreover, the shrines of St. Germain, St. Quentin, St. Geneviève, and many others. Also he decorated with precious utensils the Church of St. Columba; but soon afterwards, some robbers having carried off these riches, the inhabitants ran in haste to implore the assistance of St. Eloy. He immediately went to the church, and kneeling down in the oratory of the patron saint, he thus addressed her in a loud voice, "Hearken, Columba, to my words. Our Redeemer commands that forthwith thou restore to me the jewels of gold which have been taken from this church, for otherwise I will close up the entrance thereof with thorns, so that henceforth thou shalt be no more honored or served within these walls." Of course the saint delayed not, but caused the thief to restore the jewels.

Like all holy men of that time, St. Eloy was much beset by the persecutions of the arch-enemy. On one occasion, when the pious artist was troubled by him in the midst of his work, he took his tongs out of the fire and seized the demon by the nose. The same story is told of our Saxon Saint Dunstan. On another occasion a horse was brought to him to be shod which was possessed by a demon, and kicked and plunged so violently that all the bystanders fled in dismay; but St. Eloy, no whit discomfited by these inventions of Satan, cut off

the leg of the horse, placed it on his anvil, fastened on the shoe leisurely, and then, by making the sign of the cross, replaced the leg, to the great astonishment and edification of the faithful. This legend is represented in bas-relief on the pedestal of his statue, in one of the niches of the exterior of Or San Michele at Florence.



St. Eloy (attributed to Nanni di Banco)

It was executed in marble by Nanni di Banco, of the school of Donatello, and dedicated by the guild of blacksmiths about 1420.

In single figures and devotional pictures, St. Eloy is sometimes represented in the short tunic and secular dress of an artisan, but more generally in the robes of a bishop, with a book or a crozier in one hand, and a hammer or tongs in the other; or the hammer, an anvil, a pair of bellows, or other implements of smith's work, lie at his feet. There is a very famous picture of him in the Strada dei Orefici at Genoa, painted by the Genoese, Pelegrino Piola, in which he is represented as the patron saint of the craft; Napoleon gave orders that it should be sent to Paris, but was so firmly resisted by the company of goldsmiths that he allowed it to remain. In an ancient statue in the cathedral at Senars, St. Eloy in the habit of a smith, wearing a small cap, a leathern apron tied round his neck, and with a hammer in his hand, stands beside his anvil, on which lies a horse's leg. He

is here the patron saint of blacksmiths. As one of the patrons of Bologna, he is frequently represented in the Bologna pictures. There is a picture by Innocenzo da Imola, in which St. Eloy (or Aldò) figures as pendant to St. Petronius: the legend of the demoniac horse is seen in the background. (Berlin Gallery.)

The scenes from his life are not unfrequent.

1. St. Eloy, employed in chasing a cup, is seated in front,

an assistant behind. (In an old print. Bartsch, vol. ix. p. 146.)

2. St. Eloy forging a piece of work in presence of King Dagobert; his assistant blows the bellows. (In an old print.)

3. In an altar-piece by Botticelli, St. Eloy stands as bishop. In the predella underneath he is seen at his forge, and on his anvil the horse's leg: Satan, in female attire, stands near him. (Florence Academy.)

4. St. Eloy seizes the demon by the nose (who is here in the form of an *impudica femina*), and shoes the possessed horse: by Cavedone, — a fine picture, notwithstanding the grotesqueness of the subject. (Bologna.)

5. St. Eloy, in his workshop, presents a beautiful shrine to King Dagobert; painted for the company of goldsmiths by [Matteo Rosselli]. The painter has given to King Dagobert and his goldsmith the costumes of Francis I. and Benvenuto Cellini. (Florence Academy.)

6. St. Eloy had once a heaven-sent dream. He dreamed that he saw the sun eclipsed in the beginning of his course, and the moon and three bright stars reigned in the heavens. The moon was eclipsed in her turn, and the three stars approached the meridian; but lo! one of them was hidden from sight. Soon afterwards a second disappeared, but the third shone out with increasing splendor. This dream foreshadowed the fate of the royal family. Clovis II. died young; his queen, Bathilde, after reigning for ten years as regent, followed him; two sons died successively; the third, Thiery, reigned in prosperity. This vision I have found in an old French print; St. Eloy is in bed, an angel draws the curtain, and points to the skies, where the sun is seen eclipsed.¹

ST. LAMBERT, bishop of Maestricht, and St. HUBERT, bishop of Liège, are important personages in the Flemish and German works of Art.

St. LAMBERT, who lived in the distracted time of the later Merovingian kings, was distinguished by his efforts to keep his Christian community together, and to alleviate as far as possible the horrible tyrannies, lawless oppression, and miseries of that dark period. He had, however, dared to remonstrate with

¹ "The church of Durraston in Dorsetshire is named in his honor, and his legend is sculptured over the doorway." *Calendar of the Anglican Church.*

Pepin d'Heristal (then *Maire du Palais*, under, or rather *over*, the weak Childeric) on his attachment to his beautiful mistress Alpaïde, the grandmother of Charlemagne. A relation of Alpaïde, revenged the interference of the bishop after the manner of that barbarous time; surprised him in his dwelling near Maestricht, and slew him, as he knelt, unresisting, with his arms extended in the form of a cross, to receive the stroke of death. He is thence honored as a martyr, and is represented in the episcopal dress, bearing a palm, with a lance or javelin at his feet.

It is related of St. Lambert, that, when he was only an acolyte, he brought burning coals in the folds of his surplice to rekindle the incense before the altar, — a poetical allegory to express the fervor of his piety. I saw this story in a picture in the Church of St. Bavon at Ghent. A good picture of the martyrdom of St. Lambert by Carlo Saraceni is in the St. Maria dell' Anima, Rome. St. Lambert keeps his place in the English reformed calendar. (September 17, A. D. 709.)

ST. HUBERT, a far more celebrated saint, has, on the contrary, been banished from our English calendar. He was a nobleman of Aquitaine, who lived for some years in the court of Pepin d'Heristal, — a court, as we have seen, not remarkable for severe morality. Here Hubert abandoned himself to all worldly and sinful pleasures, but more especially to the chase, which he sometimes pursued on the days set apart by Holy Church for fasting and for prayer.

One day in the Holy Week, when all good Christians were at their devotions, as he was hunting in the forest of Ardennes, he encountered a milk-white stag bearing the crucifix between his horns. Filled with awe and astonishment, he immediately renounced all the sinful pursuits and vanities to which he had been addicted. At first he turned hermit in that very forest of Ardennes which had been the scene of his former wickedness; afterwards, placing himself under the tutelage of St. Lambert, he was ordained priest, and for twenty years distinguished himself by a life of the most edifying piety; finally he became bishop of Liége, and died November 3, 727.

The forest of Ardennes, which we can never bring before the fancy but as a scene of romance, was at this period the haunt of robbers, and the inhabitants of the neighborhood were still hea-

then and idolaters. St. Hubert appears to have been one of those ecclesiastics who, in the darkest of the dark ages, carried not only religious discipline but social civilization into the depths of the forests; and whose effigies were anciently represented, sometimes with wild animals, as wolves and bears, around them, showing that they had extirpated savage beasts and savage life, as in the pictures and statues of St. Magnus; sometimes with the stag bearing the crucifix, which among the antique symbols either expressed piety or religious aspiration in a general sense, or the conversion of some reckless lover of the chase, who, like the Wild Huntsman of the German ballad, had pursued his sport in defiance of the sacred ordinances and the claims of humanity. In this latter sense it was anciently applied, till, *realized* in the fancy of the people, the instructive allegory became an actual miracle or a wondrous legend; as in this story of St. Hubert, and that of St. Eustace, who is often confounded with him.

According to his own desire, St. Hubert was buried first in the Church of St. Peter at Liège. Thirteen years after his death his body was disinterred in presence of Carloman, king of the Franks, and found entire; even the episcopal robes in which he had been interred were without spot or stain; and his tomb became famous for the miracles and cures performed there. About a century after his death, at the request of the Benedictine monks of Ardennes, his body was removed from Liège and deposited in their abbey church, and St. Hubert became thenceforth St. Hubert of Ardennes. The emperor, Louis le Débonnaire, then at Aix-la-Chapelle, assisted at the translation of the relics, and the day was long kept as a festival throughout this part of Flanders.

I believe this translation of the body of St. Hubert from Liège to Ardennes, and his reinterment in the abbey church, to be the subject of an old Flemish picture [once] in the possession of Sir Charles Eastlake. It was formerly styled the burial of St. Thomas à Becket, — I know not on what grounds, for here we find none of the attributes of a martyr, nor any of the miraculous picturesque circumstances attending the burial of St. Thomas à Becket. On the altar, behind the principal group, stands a shrine, on which is a little figure of St. Hubert with his hunting-horn, just as I have seen him represented in the old French and Flemish carvings. The royal personage

assisting is probably intended for Louis le Débonnaire. This picture, which is of wonderful beauty, finished in every part, and the heads like miniature portraits in character and delicacy of execution, is attributed [by some] to Justus of Ghent (a scholar of Hubert van Eyck), and was probably painted about 1474. [Purchased for the National Gallery in 1868.]

To St. Hubert, as patron saint of the chase, chapels were often erected within the precincts of the forest, where the huntsman might pay his devotions to his favorite saint before he began his favorite sport. [There is such a chapel at Amboise. The portal is ornamented with a rich bas-relief representing the conversion of St. Hubert.] As he was also the patron saint of dogs, we often find them introduced into pictures of him; bread blessed at his shrine was considered as a holy charm against hydrophobia.

In the devotional figures so frequent in the old French and Flemish churches, St. Hubert is represented in his episcopal habit, with a book in one hand and a hunting-horn in the other; or the stag, with the crucifix between its horns, stands at his side; or, more rarely, he holds the breviary horizontally in his hands, and on it stands the miraculous stag. Where St. Hubert, as bishop, bears the hunting-horn, I believe he must be considered as the patron saint of the military order of St. Hubert, instituted in 1444 by Girard, duke of Guelders; the knights bear as their insignia a golden *cor de chasse*. It is necessary to distinguish carefully between the *hunting-horn* and the *drinking-horn*; a bishop with a drinking-horn in his hand represents St. Cornelius, and the attribute of the horn is merely in allusion to his name; he was bishop of Rome in the third century.¹

The vision of the miraculous stag is styled "The Conversion of St. Hubert;" and here it becomes necessary, but sometimes difficult, to distinguish him from St. Eustace. We must bear in mind that St. Hubert seldom (as far as I know, never) appears in Italian Art, while St. Eustace seldom appears in Northern Europe; St. Hubert wears the dress of a hunter,

¹ The horn was used in ancient times to hold the consecrated oil; it was then called the Horn of Sacrament, and in the pictures of St. Cornelius may have a religious significance.



CONVERSION OF ST. HUBERT (ALBERT DÜRER)

St. Eustace that of a Roman soldier. He will be found among the Warrior Saints.

[There is] a beautiful miniature in the "Heures d'Anne de Bretagne," which gives an idea of the manner in which the conversion of St. Hubert is generally represented. The angel who flies towards him, bearing the stole in his hand, is intended to show that he exchanged the life of a hunter for that of an ecclesiastic. In the French legend it is related that when "Monseigneur Saint Hubert" was consecrated bishop, an angel brought down from heaven the stole with which he was invested.

The most celebrated example, however, is the rare and exquisite print of Albert Dürer, so well known to collectors. St. Hubert is kneeling, in the hunting costume of the fifteenth century, with his horn and *couteau de chasse* suspended at his side, and wearing the furred cap and the knightly spurs; his horse is near him, and his panting dogs in the foreground. On a wooded eminence stands the visionary hart, with the crucifix between his horns. This celebrated composition, having no title, has sometimes been styled St. Eustace; but I believe that in the French and German works of Art the subject may be understood to refer to the legend of St. Hubert the Hunter; in Italian pictures it is generally St. Eustatius.¹

In our National Gallery are two pictures from the story of St. Hubert. 1. His Conversion by the Miraculous Stag. 2. The Angel Descending with the Stole. These are attributed to the Meister von Werden. In another picture by the same old German, St. Hubert is attired as bishop, with the stag on his book.

Among the early Spanish bishops, ST. LEANDER and ST. ISIDORE, two brothers who were successively bishops of Seville, and became the patrons of the city, are found represented in the pictures of the Seville school. Both these saints were chiefly distinguished as the determined opponents of Arianism

¹ The Life of St. Hubert, in a series of eight bas-reliefs, has been lately executed by Wilhelm Geefs, a Belgian sculptor of great reputation, for the shrine in the Church of St. Hubert in Ardennes. They are designed with much poetic feeling in the picturesque style of the early Renaissance. There are fine casts in the Crystal Palace (French Court); and for a full description see the *Hand-book to the Modern Sculpture*, p. 41.

in Spain. St. Leander is styled the "Apostle of the Goths;" St. Isidore, the "Egregius Doctor of Spain."

In the dissensions between the Catholics and the Arians, Hermengildus, son of King Leovigild, relinquished the Arian faith, and was put to death by his father; he has been regarded as one of the famous martyrs of Spain. The arms of the city of Seville exhibit St. Ferdinand, king of Castile and Leon; on a throne, with St. Leandro on one side and St. Isidore on the other. And in the pictures of Roelas and Herrera we often find the princely martyr, St. Hermengildo, attended by the two bishops; or sometimes St. Justa and St. Rufina, St. Leander and St. Isidore, the four patrons of Seville, are in the same picture.

Among the *chefs-d'œuvre* of Murillo are counted the San Leandro and the San Isidoro, each enthroned, robed in white, and wearing their mitres, — noble and characteristic heads, now in the cathedral at Seville. The masterpiece of Roelas is the fine picture of the death of St. Isidore (*el Tránsito de San Isidoro*), where he is expiring on the steps of the altar, after dividing his substance among the poor [an altar-piece in the Church of St. Isidore, Seville]; and the masterpiece of Herrera is the apotheosis of St. Hermengild, where, after his martyrdom, the Gothic prince is seen carried into glory, arrayed in a cuirass of blue steel and a red mantle, and holding a cross. St. Isidore stands on the left, St. Leander on the right; and the son of Hermengild, a beautiful fair-haired boy, is gazing rapturously upwards, as his sainted father mounts to heaven. [Now in Seville Museum.]

For a further account of these pictures, see Mr. Stirling's "Annals of the Artists of Spain." He thus describes the death of St. Isidore: "Clad in pontifical robes, and a dark mantle, the prelate kneels in the foreground expiring in the arms of a group of venerable priests, whose snowy hair and beards are finely relieved by the youthful bloom of two beautiful children of the choir, who kneel beside them; the background is filled up with the far-receding aisle of the church, some altars, and a multitude of sorrowing people. At the top of the picture, in a blaze of light, are seen our Lord and the Virgin enthroned on clouds." He adds: "For majesty of design, depth of feeling, richness of color, and the various beauty of the heads, and for the perfect mastery which the

painter has displayed in the use of his materials, this altarpiece (in the Church of St. Isidore at Seville) may be ranked amongst the greatest productions of the pencil ;” and he compares it with Domenichino’s “Communion of St. Jerome” in the Vatican. Juan de las Roelas was one of the earliest and greatest painters of the Spanish school. I cannot but remember that a most admirable and interesting picture by Roelas was sold in the Soult collection for less than one half of the sum which the former (not the present) managers of the National Gallery thought fit to give for a coarse, bedaubed, fifth-rate Titian. For the story of Hermengild see Gibbon, c. xxxvii.

The other Spanish bishops who are most remarkable as subjects of Art—for example, St. Ildefonso, St. Thomas of Villanova, etc.—belonged to the regular Monastic Orders. (See Legends of the Monastic Orders.)

XVI. THE HERMIT SAINTS

ST. PAUL, ST. ANTHONY, AND THE HERMITS OF SYRIA AND EGYPT IN THE THIRD AND FOURTH CENTURIES

AMONGST the most interesting, most picturesque, most imaginative productions of the early ages of Art are the representations of the Hermits of the Desert. Every one who has looked at pictures recognizes at once the image of their chief and leader, St. Anthony the abbot, with his long white beard, his crutch, his bell, and his pig; but we must look back to the contemporary state of society, and to a most curious and most interesting period of Church history, to comprehend the large circle of suggestive association which such effigies, however rude in themselves, may excite in the thinking mind.

Towards the end of the third century, the Roman Empire, though it still held together, was fast crumbling to dissolution. It was in a state analogous to that of the decrepit human frame when we say it is breaking up; the vital functions go on for a time, but weak and intermitting; neither potions nor physicians can do more than postpone the evil hour.

The throes of the perishing Colossus were, however, fearful. A glance at the countries which composed the vast heterogeneous mass of the Roman Empire will show us rotteness and corruption at the centre, and utter disorganization towards the extremities. In the distant governments there was no security for life or for property: wars, famines, tyrannies, had desolated the provinces. The religious persecutions which had broken out in the days of the last heathen emperors, and the dissensions caused by that very religion which preached peace, added to the horrors of the time.

In this state of things, the promises of the millennium had seized on the imaginations of the Christians. Many of them believed that the end of the world was near, that there was no help for man in his fellow-man, nor profit in the labor of his hands; no good anywhere, no hope, no rest, no peace, but in heaven.

In the persecution under the Emperor Decius, PAUL of Thebes, a Christian youth of noble family, terrified less by the tortures which were threatened than by the allurements which were tried to induce him to deny his faith, fled to the desert to the east of the Nile; and, wandering there alone, he found a cavern, near to which was a date-tree and a fountain of clear water; and he chose this for his dwelling-place, eating of the fruit of the date-tree, drinking from the stream which bathed its roots, and, when the raiment which he wore had fallen to rags, clothing his wasted frame in a sort of mat formed of the palm-leaves woven together.

Thus he lived for the space of ninety-eight years, far from the haunts of men, and having, in all that time, only casual communication, and at long intervals, with his kind. But it was the Divine will that his long penance, and his wondrous virtues, as they were then deemed, should be made known for the edification of men, through the medium of another saint even more renowned, the blessed St. Anthony. As Paul is regarded as the founder of the anchorites or solitary hermits, so Anthony is regarded as the founder of the Cenobites, or hermits living in communities: in other words, the founder of Monachism. Under his immediate disciple, Pachomius, the first cloister was erected in an island surrounded by the Nile. Hilarion, a native of Gaza, in Palestine, who had been sent by his parents to study philosophy at Alexandria, was also converted by St. Anthony, and became the founder of the first monastery in Syria: Basil, his disciple, founded the first in Asia Minor. Jerome, who had visited Anthony in his desert, carried the fashion into Italy and Gaul; and thus Monachism, which originated in the hermit life in Egypt, spread, in a short time, over the whole of Eastern and Western Christendom.

The hermits were at first bound by no very strict rules. They took no vows; and many wandered about in companies, mingling with the people; like certain modern fanatics, they held in scorn all human learning, and founded their notions of orthodoxy on some obscure feeling of what was, or was not, true piety. Thus, while they turned away the exercise of human intellect and reason from all objects of utility, from all elevating, all strengthening purposes, their traditional theology shut out all improvement, all research; and their ignorant

enthusiasm, if it sometimes assisted, often endangered, the progress of religion. To them the laws of the state presented no barriers; they did not acknowledge the authority of the civil magistrates; they united to their religious fanaticism a cynical indifference to the social duties and the proprieties of life. Such was the state of Monachism in its commencement, from the middle of the fourth century down to the great monastic reformation, and the institution of the first regular order of monks by Benedict, in the middle of the fifth century. In reading the stories which are related of these solitaries, it is sometimes with feelings of disgust, sometimes with pity, sometimes not without a sense of amusement, at their childish absurdities. But in the midst of all this we are not seldom charmed by instances of sincerity and self-denial, and by pictures of simplicity and tranquillity of life, intermingled with beautiful and poetical parables, which, when reproduced in the old works of Art, strongly interest the imagination.

ST. ANTHONY AND ST. PAUL, HERMITS

Ital. Sant' Antonio Abbate, or l'Eremita. *Fr.* St. Antoine l'Abbé.
Ger. Der. Heilige Anton, or Antonius. (Jan. 17, A. D. 357.)

“Anthony was born at Alexandria in Egypt; his parents died when he was only eighteen, and left him with a noble name, great riches, and an only sister, whom he loved tenderly; but from his childhood he had been of a melancholy, contemplative disposition; and now that he was left master of himself, with power and wealth, he was troubled by the fear of the temptations of the world, and by the burden of the responsibilities which his possessions imposed upon him.

“One day, as he entered into a church to pray, he heard these words: ‘Every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name’s sake, shall receive a hundred fold, and shall inherit everlasting life.’ (Matt. xix. 29; Acts iv. 32.) And he left the house of God sad and disturbed; and while he was yet meditating on their import, on another day he entered into another church, and at the moment he entered the priest was reading these words: ‘If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven.’ (Matt. xix. 21.) Anthony received this

repeated admonition as a warning voice from heaven ; and he went forthwith, and dividing his hereditary possessions with his sister, he sold his own share, distributing the money to the poor ; and then, with no other raiment than what he wore at the time, and with his staff in his hand, he departed from the city and joined a company of hermits, who had already fled from the persecutions of the heathen and the corruptions of the time, and who lived in community, but in separate cells.

“ Here he dwelt for some time in great sanctity and rigid self-denial ; and observing the lives of the hermits around him, he thought to attain perfection by imitating from each the virtue for which he was most distinguished, — the chastity of one, the humility of another, the silent devotion of a third. He would pray with him who prayed, fast with him who mortified his body, and mingle contrite tears with him who wept. Thus he united in himself all their various merits, and became even in his youth an object of admiration and wonder and reverence to all.

“ But the sight of such amazing virtue and sanctity was naturally displeasing to the enemy of mankind, who had sagacity enough to foresee that the example of this admirable saint would lessen his own power in the world, and deprive him of many votaries ; therefore he singled him out as an object of especial persecution, and gave him over to his demons to be tormented in every possible way. They began by whispering to him, in the silence of his cell, of all that he had sacrificed for this weary life of perpetual rigor and self-denial ; they brought to mind his noble birth, his riches, and all that riches could obtain, — delicate food, rich clothing, social delights. They pictured to him the fatigue of virtue, the fragility of his own frame, the brevity of human life ; and they sang to him in sweetest accents, ‘ While thou livest, enjoy the good things which have been provided for thee.’ The saint endeavored to drown these promptings of the devil in the voice of prayer ; he prayed till the drops stood on his brow, and at length the demon ceased to whisper to him, but only to have recourse to stronger weapons ; for, seeing that wicked suggestions availed not, Satan raised up in his sight the sensible images of forbidden things. He clothed his demons in human forms ; they spread before Anthony a table covered with delicious viands ; they hovered round him in the shape of beautiful women, who,

with the softest blandishments, allured him to sin. The saint strove against this temptation with all his might, and prayed, and conquered. But, in his anguish, he resolved to flee yet farther from men and from the world; and, leaving the company of the hermits, travelled far, far away into the burning desert, and took up his abode in a cave, whither, as he hoped, Satan would not follow to molest him. He fasted more rigorously than ever; ate but once a day, or once in two or three days; slept on the bare earth, and refused to look upon any living creature. But not for this did the cruel demon relax in his persecution. As he had already tried in vain the allurements of appetite and pleasure, so now he thought to subdue the saint by the influence of pain. Spirits in hideous forms pressed round him in crowds, scourged him, tore him with their talons, chased him from his cell; and one of the hermits he had left behind, who was wont to carry him food, found him lying on the sands senseless, apparently dead. Then he flung down the food he had brought, and taking the miserable sufferer in his arms, he carried him to one of the cells, where, after a long time, he was restored to his senses and recollection.

“But no sooner had Anthony opened his eyes, and beheld around him his sympathizing brethren, than he closed them again, and desired to be taken back to his cave; which was done, and they laid him on the ground and left him; and Anthony cried out and defied the demon, saying, ‘Ha! thou archtempter! didst thou think I had fled? lo, here I am again, I, Anthony! I challenge all thy malice! I spit on thee! I have strength to combat still!’ When he had said these words, the cavern shook, and Satan, rendered furious by his discomfiture, called up his fiends, and said, ‘Let us now affright him with all the terrors that can overwhelm the soul of man.’ Then hideous sounds were heard; lions, tigers, wolves, dragons, serpents, scorpions, all shapes of horror, ‘worse than fancy ever feigned, or fear conceived,’ came roaring, howling, hissing, shrieking in his ears, scaring him, stunning him; but in the midst of these abominable and appalling shapes and sounds suddenly there shone from heaven a great light, which fell upon Anthony, and all these terrors vanished at once, and he arose unhurt and strong to endure. And he said, looking up, ‘O Lord Jesus Christ! where wert thou in those moments of

anguish?’ And Christ replied, in a mild and tender voice, ‘Anthony, I was here beside thee, and rejoiced to see thee contend and overcome. Be of good heart; for I will make thy name famous through all the world.’

“So he was comforted; but he resolved to go yet farther from all human intercourse, all human aid; and he took his staff and wandered forth; and as he traversed the desert he saw heaps of gold and vases of silver lying in his path; but he knew full well they were delusions of Satan; he would not look upon them, but turned his eyes away, and lo! they dissolved into air.

“And Anthony was thirty-five years of age when he shut himself up in the cavern in which he dwelt for twenty years. During all that time he never saw nor was seen of any: and when at last he reappeared, it was plainly perceived that miraculous comfort and aid had been granted to him; for he was not wasted by the fasts he had endured, nor was he pale of cheer, though he had scarcely seen the sun in all that time; nor was he changed, except that his hair was white, and his beard of venerable length. On the contrary, he was of a mild and serene aspect, and he spoke kindly words to all; and consoled the afflicted; and healed those who were sick; and expelled demons (who, we are told, after their signal defeat, held him in such awe and terror, that his very name was sufficient to make them flee); reconciled those who were at feud; and preached to all men the love of God, and abstinence, and purity of life: and multitudes were so convinced by his example and his eloquence, that they retired to the desert, and became his disciples, living in caves hollowed out of the sandy hills, and in the ancient tombs; and at one time there were more than five thousand hermits assembled round him, and he performed many wonders and many miracles in the desert.

“One night, as Anthony sat in his cell, he heard a knocking at the door, and, going to see who it was there, he beheld a man of a terrible aspect, and of gigantic stature; and he said, ‘Who art thou?’ The stranger answered, ‘I am Satan, and I come to ask thee how it is that thou and all thy disciples, whenever ye stray into sin, or any evil befall ye, lay the blame and the shame on me, and load me with curses?’ And Anthony said, ‘Have we not cause? Dost thou not go about seeking whom thou mayest devour, and tempt us and torment

us? And art thou not the occasion of fall to many?' And the demon replied, 'It is false! I do none of these things of which men accuse me; it is their own fault; they allure each other to sin; they torment and oppress each other; they are tempted of their own evil propensities; they go about seeking occasion to sin; and then they weakly lay the cause at my door; for, since God came upon earth, and was made man to redeem man, my power is at an end. Lo! I have no arms, I have no dwelling-place, and, wanting everything, can perform nothing. Let men complain of themselves, not of me; not I, but they alone are guilty.' To which the saint, marvelling at so much sense and truth from the lips of the devil, replied, 'Although thou art called the father of lies, in this thou hast spoken the truth; and even for this, blessed be the name of Christ!' And when Satan heard the holy name of the Redeemer, he vanished into air with a loud cry; and Anthony, looking out, saw nothing but the desert and the darkness of the night.

"On another occasion, as the hermits around him were communing together, there arose a question as to which of all the virtues was most necessary to perfection. One said, chastity; another, humility; a third, justice. St. Anthony remained silent until all had given their opinion, and then he spoke. 'Ye have all said well, but none of you have said aright: the virtue most necessary to perfection is prudence; for the most virtuous actions of men, unless governed and directed by prudence, are neither pleasing to God, nor serviceable to others, nor profitable to ourselves.'

"These are some of the parables and wise sayings with which the blessed St. Anthony instructed his disciples.

"And when he had reached the great age of ninety years, and had lived in the desert seventy-five years, his heart was lifted up by the thought that no one had lived so long in solitude and self-denial as he had done. But there came to him a vision in the deep midnight, and a voice said to him, 'There is one holier than thou art, for Paul the hermit has served God in solitude and penance for ninety years.' And when Anthony awoke, he resolved to go and seek Paul, and took his staff and set forth. As he journeyed across the desert, he met a creature half man and half horse, which by the poets is called a centaur, and he asked him the way to the cave of Paul, which the

centaur, who could not speak intelligible words, indicated by pointing with his hand; and farther on, coming to a deep narrow valley, he met a satyr; and the satyr bowed down before him and said, 'I am one of those creatures who haunt the woods and fields, and who are worshipped by the blind Gentiles as gods. But we are mortals, as thou knowest, and I come to beseech thee that thou wouldst pray for me and my people, to thy God, who is my God, and the God of all.' And when Anthony heard these words, the tears ran down his venerable face, and trickled down his long white beard, and he stretched out his arms towards Thebes; and he said, 'Such be your gods, O ye pagans! Woe unto you when such as these confess the name of Christ, whom ye, blind and perverse generation, deny!' ¹

"So Anthony continued his journey all that day and the next; and on the third day, early in the morning, he came to a cavern overhung with wild and savage rocks, with a palm-tree, and a fountain flowing near, and there he found the hermit Paul, who had dwelt in this solitude for ninety years.

"It was not without difficulty, and yielding to his prayers and tears, that Paul at length admitted him. Then these two venerable men, after gazing for a while upon each other, embraced with tears of joy, and sat down by the fountain, which, as I have said, flowed by the mouth of the cave; and Paul asked of Anthony concerning the world, and if there yet existed idolaters; and many other things; and they held long communion together. While they talked, forgetting the flight of time and the wants of nature, there came a raven, which alighted on the tree, and then, after a little space, flew away, and returned carrying in his beak a small loaf, and let it fall between them; then Paul, lifting up his eyes, blessed the goodness of God, and said, 'For sixty years, every day, hath this raven brought me half a loaf; but because thou art come, my brother, lo! the portion is doubled, and we are fed as Elijah was fed in the wilderness.' Then there arose between these two holy men a contention, out of their great modesty

¹ St. Jerome, in telling this story, adds, that though this apparition of the satyr may appear to some to be incredible, yet all the world knows that one of these monsters was brought to the Emperor Constantine at Alexandria, and that afterwards the body was preserved for the edification of those who were curious in such matters.

and humility, which of the two should break the bread ; at last they both took hold of the loaf and broke it between them. Then they ate, and drank of the water of the fountain, and returned thanks. Then Paul said to Anthony, ' My brother ! God hath sent thee here that thou mightest receive my last breath and bury me. Go, return to thy dwelling ; bring here the cloak which was given to thee by that holy bishop, Athanasius, wrap me in it, and lay me in the earth.' Greatly did Anthony wonder to hear these words, for the gift of the cloak, which Athanasius had bestowed on him some years before, was unknown to all ; but he could only weep, and he kissed the aged Paul, and left him and returned to his monastery. And thinking only of Paul, for no other thought could enter his mind, he took down the cloak, and went forth again, and hastened on his way, fearing lest Paul should have breathed his last breath ere he could arrive at the cave. When he was at the distance of about three hours' journey from the cavern, he heard of a sudden the most ravishing music, and, looking up, he beheld the spirit of Paul, bright as a star, and white as the driven snow, carried up to heaven by the prophets and apostles, and a company of angels, who were singing hymns of triumph as they bore him through the air, until all had disappeared. Then Anthony fell upon his face and scattered dust on his head, and wept bitterly, saying, ' Alas ! Paul, alas ! my brother, why hast thou left me ? why have I known thee so late, to lose thee so early ? ' And when he had thus lamented, he rose in haste, and, with all the speed of which his aged limbs were capable, he ran to the cave of Paul, and when he reached it he found Paul dead in the attitude of prayer. Then he took him in his arms, and pressed him, and wept abundant tears, and recited over the cold remains the last offices of the dead ; and when he had done this, he thought how he might bury him, for he had no strength to dig a grave, and it was three days' journey from the convent ; and he thought, ' What shall I do ? would it might please God that I might lie down and die at thy side, O my brother ! ' And as he said these words, behold, two lions came walking towards him over the sandy desert ; and when they saw the body of Paul, and Anthony weeping beside it, they, by their roaring, expressed their sympathy after their manner, and they began to dig in the sand with their paws, and in a short time they had dug a grave.

When Anthony saw this, he was amazed, and blessed them, saying, 'O Lord, without whose divine providence no leaf can stir upon the tree, no little bird fall to the ground, bless these creatures according to their nature, who have thus honored the dead!' — and the lions departed.

"Then Anthony took the dead body, and, having wrapped it in the cloak of Athanasius, laid it reverently in the grave.

"When these things were accomplished, he returned to his convent and related all to his disciples, and not only they believed, but the whole Catholic Church; so that, without any further testimony, Paul has been canonized, and has since been universally honored as a saint.

"After this, Anthony lived fourteen years; and when he was in his hundred and fifth year, he showed to his disciples that he must shortly die. And they were filled with the profoundest grief, and fell at his feet, and kissed them, and bathed them with tears, saying, 'Alas! what shall we do on earth without thee, O Anthony! our father, instructor, and friend?' But he comforted them; and withdrawing to a solitary place, with a few of his monks, he exacted from them a solemn promise, that they would reveal to no man the spot in which he was buried: then, as they prayed around him, he gently drew his last breath, being full of days and good works; and the angels received his spirit, and carried it up to heaven, to taste of bliss eternal. Amen!"

The devotional figures of Paul the Hermit represent him as a man in extreme old age; meagre, half naked, his only clothing a mat of palm-leaves, having his legs and arms bare, his beard and hair white and of great length. He is generally seated on a rock, in deep meditation. There ought to be a palm-tree near him, and a fountain at his feet; but these are not always attended to. He is not often introduced in the Madonna pictures, or grouped with other saints; but is often a solitary figure in a landscape. Sometimes a raven is introduced, bringing him food; and then it is necessary to observe the peculiar dress of interwoven leaves, and the meagre, superannuated look, to distinguish the pictures of Paul (*Primo Eremita*) from those of Elijah in the wilderness, — the haggard, wasted, self-abased penitent from the majestic prophet.

The most important, and I must add the most disagreeable

representation I have seen of St. Paul the Hermit, is a figure, by Spagnoletto, life size, seated, undraped except by a girdle of palm-leaves, with a skull at his side: in the background St. Anthony is seen crossing the desert; and in the air is seen the raven who brought them bread. (Turin Gallery.)

Devotional figures of St. Anthony occur more frequently, and are easily recognized. He has several distinctive attributes, each significant of some trait in his life or character, or of the sanctity and spiritual privileges popularly ascribed to him.

1. He wears the monk's habit and cowl, as founder of monachism; it is usually black or brown. In the Greek pictures, and in the schools of art particularly influenced by Greek traditions, the figures of Anthony, besides the monkish garb, bear the letter T on the left shoulder, or on the cope; it is always blue. In Revelation xiv. 1, the elect, who are redeemed from the earth, bear the name of God the Father written on their foreheads: the first letter of the Greek word *Theos*, God, is T, and Anthony and his monks are represented bearing the T.—For “these are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. These were redeemed from among men, and in their mouth was found no guile: for they are without fault before the throne of God.” In a specimen of painted glass (from *St. Denis*) a man in a turban or crown marks another with the T on the forehead; three others stand bareheaded, and over the whole in Gothic letters is inscribed, “Signum Tau.”

2. The crutch given to St. Anthony marks his age and feebleness.

3. The bell, which he carries in his hand, or suspended to his crutch, or to a cross near him, has reference to his power to exorcise evil spirits. According to Durandus, the devil cannot endure the sound of a consecrated bell. “It is said that the wicked spirits that be in the region of the air fear much when they hear the bells ringen: and this is the cause why the bells be ringen when it thundereth; to the end that the foul fiends and wicked spirits should be abashed, and flee, and cease from moving of the tempest.” When the passing bell tolled in the house of death, it was conceived to answer a double purpose; it advertised all good Christians to pray for the departing soul, and it scared away the demons who were hover-

ing around, either with the hope of seizing the liberated spirit as their prey, or at least to molest and impede it in its flight to heaven. With great propriety, therefore, is the bell placed near St. Anthony, who had so great occasion for it in his own person, and was besides renowned for the aid he gave to others in the same predicament.

4. For the same reason, and as an instrument of exorcism, the asperges — the rod for sprinkling holy water — is put into the hand of St. Anthony; but it is not peculiar to him, for we find it an attribute of St. Benedict, St. Martha, and other saints famous for their contests with the devil.

5. I have read somewhere that the hog is given to St. Anthony because he had been a swineherd, and cured the diseases of swine. This is quite a mistake. The hog was the representative of the demon of sensuality and gluttony, which Anthony is supposed to have vanquished by the exercises of piety and by Divine aid. The ancient custom of placing in all his effigies a black pig at his feet, or under his feet, gave rise to the superstition, that this unclean animal was especially dedicated to him, and under his protection. The monks of the Order of St. Anthony kept herds of consecrated pigs, which were allowed to feed at the public charge, and which it was a profanation to steal or kill; hence the proverb about the fatness of a "Tantony pig."

6. Flames of fire are often placed near St. Anthony and under his feet, or a city or a house is burning in the background, signifying his spiritual aid as patron saint against fire in all shapes, in the next world as well as in this. Thus, in the beautiful Madonna by Bonvicino in the Museum at Frankfort, she is attended on one side by St. Anthony, the protector against fire, and on the other by St. Sebastian, the protector against pestilence.

With one or more of these attributes St. Anthony is seen alone, or in the Madonna pictures grouped with other saints. I shall give a few instances only, for in such representations he is not easily mistaken.

1. In an ancient Greek panel-picture of the twelfth century, St. Anthony is seen half length, in the habit of a Greek monk, and wearing a sort of coif on his head; with the right hand he gives the benediction in the Greek form; in the left he bears a scroll with a Greek inscription, signifying that he



St. Anthony (Albert Dürer)

knows all the arts of Satan, and has weapons to oppose them. (D'Agincourt, Pl. 86.)

2. Col' Antonio del Fiore. St. Anthony, seated in a monk's habit, with a bald head and very long white beard, holds in one hand a book, the other is raised in the act of benediction; two angels, kneeling before him, hymn his praise with harp and dulcimer, and two cherubim are seen above. (Naples, A. D. 1371.)

3. St. Anthony, seated, with flames under his feet. A beautiful miniature, in the "Heures d'Anne de Bretagne." (MS. Paris, Bib. Imp.)

4. In a print by Albert Dürer, St. Anthony is seated on the ground, reading intently, his face hidden in his cowl; by his side stands a cross, to which is suspended a bell; in the background the citadel of Nuremberg, which I suppose to be a caprice of the artist. This print is celebrated for the beauty of the execution, as well as for its fine solemn feeling.

St. Anthony reading or meditating in his cell, with the skull and crucifix (the general symbols of penitence) beside him, is a common subject; and where there is no attribute peculiarly significant, he might be confounded with St. Jerome: this,

however, is seldom the case, and in general there is a distinct character attended to. There ought, in fact, to be a marked difference between the simple-minded portly old hermit Anthony in his long robes, and the acute theological doctor doing penance for his learning — emaciated, eager, and half naked. As Anthony despised all learning, the book which is often put into his hand is less appropriate to him than the other attributes. It must, however, be borne in mind, that a book is given to all the early fathers who left writings behind them : and St. Anthony is the author of seven theological epistles still extant.

With regard to the historical representations, the subject called the “Temptation of St. Anthony” is by far the most common.

In the earlier pictures it is very simply treated : St. Anthony is praying in his cell, and the fiend, in shape like a beautiful woman, stands behind him ; the saint appears fearful to turn his head. In the later schools, and particularly the Dutch schools, the artists have tasked their fancy to the utmost to reproduce all the foul and terrible shapes, all the ghastly and obscene vagaries, which solitude could have engendered in a diseased and excited brain. Such is the celebrated engraving of Martin Schoen, in which St. Anthony is lifted up into the air by demons of the most horrible and grotesque forms ; such are the pictures of Teniers, who had such a predilection for this subject, that he painted it twelve times with every variety of uncreated abominations. Such are the poetical demoniac scenes of Breughel ; such is the famous print by Callot, of which the original picture is at Malahide Castle, near Dublin. In a picture by Salvator Rosa, a single gigantic demon bestrides the prostrate saint like a horrid nightmare. In a picture by Ribera, the demon, in female shape, has seized on the bell, and rings it in his ears to interrupt his prayers. The description in the legend has been closely followed in the picture by Annibal Caracci, now in our National Gallery.

I recollect a picture in which St. Anthony is tempted by three beautiful women, who have much the air of operadancers, long and thin, in scanty draperies ; one pulls his beard, another twitches his robe, a third gazes up in his face ; the miserable saint, seated on the ground, with a look of intense suf-



Temptation of St. Anthony (Martin Schoen)

fering, and his hands clenched in prayer, seems to have set himself to endure: mocking demons fill the air behind.

The locality of the temptation of St. Anthony ought to be the interior of an Egyptian sepulchre or temple. The legend relates that he took refuge in a *ruin*; and the painters, unfamiliar with those grand and solemn and gigantic remains which

would have given a strange sublimity to the fearful scene, sometimes make the ruin an old brick house or Gothic chapel.

Other subjects from the life of St. Anthony occur less frequently.

By L. Caracci, we have St. Anthony instructing the hermits. (Brera, Milan.)

The death of St. Anthony, surrounded by his monks, is a frequent subject. Sometimes angels are seen carrying his soul into heaven; in a picture by Rubens, the pig is seen looking out from under the bed of the dying saint, — a grotesque accessory, which might well have been omitted.

The legend of the meeting between St. Paul and St. Anthony has been very popular in Art, and a favorite subject in convents. It is capable of the most beautiful and picturesque treatment. I shall give a few celebrated examples.

1. Pinturicchio. Paul and Anthony divide the loaf which is brought by a raven; three evil spirits, in the form of beautiful women, stand behind St. Anthony, and two disciples behind St. Paul. (Vatican [Appartamenti Borgia].)

2. Lucas v. Leyden. St. Paul and St. Anthony (who wears his large cowl drawn over his head) are seated in the wilderness; the raven, after depositing the loaf, flutters along the ground in front: a very quaint and curious little picture, full of character. (Lichtenstein Gallery, Vienna.)

3. Velasquez. St. Anthony visits Paul the hermit; he appears before the door of the cavern, and craves admittance. (Madrid Gallery.)

There are in the Berlin Gallery four small pictures [School of Pisa] forming the predella of an altar-piece, and representing the story of St. Paul and St. Anthony.

In general, however, there are only the two figures in a solitary landscape, which is much more striking; as in [a painting by Brusasorci in the Brera, Milan]. In the original picture the satyr and the centaur are seen far off and diminutive in the background. [There is] also a fine picture by Guido (Berlin Gallery): the two lions, or the centaur, are sometimes introduced into the background.

4. B. Passari. The death of Paul the hermit; angels are kneeling by, and two lions dig his grave.

5. St. Anthony, coming to visit Paul, finds him dead, lying

on a mat, with a skull, a book, and a rosary near him. In the background the two lions are digging a grave in the sand. A large engraving, signed "Biscaino." (Bartsch, "Le Peintre Graveur," vol. xxi. p. 200.) There is a good impression in the British Museum.

I have said enough of these celebrated saints to render the subjects in which they figure intelligible and interesting. The other hermits of the desert who appear in Art are much less popular; and as they are generally found grouped together, I shall so treat them.

ST. ONUPHRIUS (Onofrio, Honofrio, Onuphre), a monk of Thebes, retired to the desert far from the sight of men, and dwelt there in a cave for sixty years, and during all that time he never beheld one human being, nor uttered one word of his mother tongue except in prayer. He was unclothed, except by some leaves twisted round his body, and his beard and hair had become like the face of a wild beast. In this state he was discovered by a holy man whose name was Paphnutius, who, seeing him crawling along the ground, knew not, at first, what like thing it might be, and was afraid; but when he found it was indeed a man, he was filled with amazement and admiration at so much sanctity, and threw himself at his feet. Then the hermit showed him what trials he had endured in his solitude, what pains of hunger and of thirst, what parching heat and pinching cold, what direful temptations, and how God had sent his angel to comfort him and to feed him. Then he prayed that Paphnutius would remain to bury him, as his end was now approaching; and, having blessed his visitor, he died. So Paphnutius took off his own cloak, and having torn it in two pieces, he wrapped the body of the holy hermit in one half of it, and laid him in a hole of the rock, and covered him with stones; and it was revealed that he should not remain there, but depart and make known to all the world the merits of this glorious saint and hermit.

The name and fame of this saint came to us from the East: and he is interesting because many convents in which the rule of solitude and exclusion was rigorously enforced were placed under his protection. Every one who has been at Rome will remember the beautiful Franciscan monastery of Sant' Onofrio

in the Trastevere, where Tasso breathed his last, and in which he lies buried.

St. Onofrio is represented as a meagre old man, with long hair and beard, gray and matted; a leafy branch twisted round his loins, a stick in his hand. The artist generally endeavors to make him look as haggard and unhuman as possible, and I have seen him in some early prints and pictures very much like an old ourang-outang, — I must write the word, for nothing else could express the unseemliness of the effigy. I have seen him standing, covered with his long hair, a crown, a sceptre, and gold and silver money lying on the ground at his feet, to express his contempt for earthly glory and riches; as in a Spanish picture once in the Louvre.

ST. JOB (San Giobbe), a saint who figures only in the Venetian pictures with the attributes of St. Onofrio, and who has a church at Venice, was, I believe, the patriarch of the Old Testament. The intercourse of Venice with the East introduced the prophet Job as a saint into the north of Italy. St. Job was a favorite patron of hospitals, and particularly of lepers. It is in this character we find him in the Venetian pictures; for example, in a beautiful group by Bellini, now in the Academy at Venice, [but originally painted for a chapel at S. Giobbe].

ST. MOSES (San Moisè), who is also confined to Venetian Art, was a converted robber who turned hermit.

ST. EPHREM of Edessa was a hermit of Syria, who, on account of some homilies and epistles of great authority, takes rank as one of the Fathers of the Greek Church. He is memorable in Art as the subject of a most ancient and curious Greek picture. It represents the "Obsequies of St. Ephrem;" in front he lies dead, wept by many hermits; and in the background are seen the caves of the anchorites, some reading, some doing penance, others in conversation. In the centre of the picture is seen the famous anchorite, Simeon Stylites, who passed thirty years on the top of a pillar, exposed to all the vicissitudes of the seasons: he brought this kind of penance into fashion, for we find it frequently imitated. The picture of the "Obsequies of St. Ephrem" is engraved in D'Agincourt's

work, and in Pistolesi's "Vaticano," and should be considered (by those who have these works at hand) with reference to the illustration of the hermit-life as I have endeavored to describe it.

But the most interesting of all these representations is the great fresco in the Campo Santo at Pisa; and a repetition, with some variations, in a small picture in the Florentine Gallery [the Uffizi]; both by Pietro Laurati,¹ containing, in a variety of groups, the occupations of the hermits, with distinct scenes and incidents from the lives of the most celebrated among them. In the annexed illustration, I have given a sketch from this composition. We have — 1. The visit of Anthony to the hermit Paul. 2. The death of Paul, and the lions digging his grave. 3, 4. The temptation of Anthony, first haunted, tormented, and flagellated by demons; 5. then comforted by a vision of our Saviour, as in the legend. 6. In one place he is beating the demon out of his cave with his crutch; in another, carving wooden spoons. 7. Farther to the right is St. Hilarion, riding on his ass; 8. and by the sign of the cross vanquishing a great dragon which ravaged Dalmatia, and commanding the beast to leap into the fire and be consumed and destroyed forever; his companion is seen fleeing in terror. 9. On the left, St. Mary of Egypt receives the sacrament from Zosimus. 10. Demons, in the disguise of monks or of women, are seen tempting the hermits; 11. to the right is the story of St. Paphnutius and St. Onofrio; 12. and when Paphnutius, forgetful of the last commands of Onofrio, defers his return to the monastery, the cell in which he had taken refuge, and the date-tree, are overthrown by an earthquake. 13. In the lower part of the picture, to the right, we have the story of Paphnutius, who, being tempted by a beautiful woman, thrusts his hands into the fire; the temptress, on this, falls down dead; but, at the prayer of the saint, is recalled to life and repentance, and is seen kneeling as a hermitess in the dress of a nun. 14. The other groups express the usual occupations of the hermits; 15. the hermit Arsenius, who, before he turned hermit, had been the tutor of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius, is weaving baskets of palm-leaves; 16. another is cutting wooden spoons; another fishing.

¹ [So misnamed by Vasari; better known to-day as Pietro Lorenzetti.]



HERMITS OF TH



E. DESERT (LORENZETTI)

In the centre of the picture is a hermit looking down upon a skull, which he is touching with his staff; this figure represents St. Macarius of Alexandria, one of the most famous of these anchorites, and of whom many stories were current in the middle ages. The figure with the skull alludes to one of the most popular and significant of these religious apologues:

“One day, as Macarius wandered amongst those ancient Egyptian tombs wherein he had made himself a dwelling-place, he found the skull of a mummy, and, turning it over with his crutch, he inquired to whom it belonged; and it replied, ‘To a pagan.’ And Macarius, looking into the empty eyes, said, ‘Where, then, is thy soul?’ And the head replied, ‘In hell.’ Macarius asked, ‘How deep?’ And the head replied, ‘The depth is greater than the distance from heaven to earth.’ Then Macarius asked, ‘Are there any deeper than thou art?’ The skull replied, ‘Yes, the Jews are deeper still.’ And Macarius asked, ‘Are there any deeper than the Jews?’ To which the head replied, ‘Yes, in sooth! for the Christians whom Jesus Christ hath redeemed, and who show in their actions that they despise his doctrine, are deeper still.’”

17. The monk, or rather the woman in the disguise of a monk, seated in the lower part of the picture, with a child in her arms, represents the story of St. Marina:—

“A certain man, who had turned hermit, left behind him, in the city, his little daughter Marina; and, after a while, he greatly longed to see his child; but fearing that if it were known that he had a daughter, she would not be permitted to come to him, he disguised her in boy’s attire, and she came and dwelt with her father, under the name of Brother Marinus; and she grew up, and became an example of piety, wisdom, and humility to all the monks of the convent: and her father commanded her strictly, that she should discover herself to no human being.

“And Marinus, for so she was called, was often sent by the abbot, with a wagon and oxen, to a man who lived upon the shores of the Red Sea, in order to bring back things necessary for the convent. And it happened that the daughter of this man fell into sin, and, when her father threatened her, she, being instigated by Satan, accused Marina of being the father of her child; and as Marina, in her great humility, answered not a word, the abbot, in his indignation and wrath, ordered

her to be scourged, and thrust out of the gate; and the wicked mother came and put the child into her arms, saying, 'There, as you are its father, take care of it.' But Marina endured all in silence; she took the child, she brought it up tenderly outside the gate of the convent, begging for it, and living on the alms which were thrown to her with grudging and contumely, as to a shameless sinner: and thus she lived in bitter but undeserved penance for many years; nor was the secret discovered till after her death; and then great was the mourning and lamentation, because of the unmerited sufferings of this pure and lowly-minded virgin, who, through obedience and humility had endured to the end!"¹

St. Marina is usually represented with the face of a young and beautiful woman, but the dress of a monk, and often with a child in her arms or at her feet. The legend is popular at Venice, where there was formerly a church dedicated to her.

I have said enough of these hermits of Egypt and Syria to lend an interest to the pictures in which they are represented. And there is one circumstance gravely suggestive to those who look beyond the technicalities and historical associations to the moral significance of Art. There are few of these pictures of the early hermits in which we do not find some obscene fiendish horror, or Satan himself in person, figuring as an indispensable, or at least important, accessory. There is no need to set down all this to pure invention or imposture. That ignorance of the natural laws which govern our being and a miserable credulity should impute to infernal agency what was the inevitable result of diseased, repressed, and misdirected feeling, is a common case in the annals of religious fanaticism.² The sanctity, so called, which in the absence of social temptations of every kind peopled the desert with more "devils than vast hell could hold," has its parallel even in our own days. For myself, I have sometimes looked at the most grotesque of these representations of Anthony and his compeers with more dis-

¹ The same legend is related of St. Theodora. [See the description of a print of St. Theodora and the Child, in *Le Peintre Graveur*,] Bartsch, vol. xx. p. 158.

² The contests of Balfour of Burley with the demon, which Walter Scott has not invented, only recorded, and Luther's battle with the visible arch-fiend in the castle of Wartburg, differ but little from the stories related of the poor haunted hermits of the Egyptian desert in the fourth century.

position to sorrow than to laughter, for no doubt the worst abominations to which the pencil could give form did not equal the *reality* — if I may so use the word. It may be interesting to add, that the cells of St. Anthony and St. Paul still remain, with the monasteries appended, which are inhabited by Coptic monks; they are about one hundred and sixty-seven miles east of Cairo, in the valley called Wady el-Arabah, and the cell of St. Paul is about fourteen miles to the southeast of the cell of St. Anthony.

Leaving, however, these hermits of the East, let us turn to some of the anchorites of the West who did not belong to the regular monastic orders, and who, as subjects of Art, are also very suggestive and interesting; the most important are St. Ranieri of Pisa, St. Julian Hospitator, St. Leonard of Aquitaine, St. Giles, and St. Geneviève of Paris.

ST. RANIERI.

Ital. San Ranieri. *Fr.* Saint Regnier. (July 17, A. D. 1161.)

San Ranieri is the patron saint and protector of Pisa, and, except in the edifices of Pisa, and in pictures of the Pisan school, I do not remember to have met with any representation of him. His legend, though confined to the city and its precincts, has become interesting from the importance attached to the old frescoes in the Campo Santo at Pisa, in which the whole history of his life was painted by Simone Memmi [or Andrea da Firenze] and Antonio Veneziano. These are of the highest importance in the history of early Art.

Ranieri was born in the city of Pisa, of the noble family of the Scaccieri, about the year 1100; and being a young man in the bondage of vanity, and addicted to the pleasures of this world, he was on a certain day singing and playing on the lyre in company with several beautiful damsels. While he sang and played a holy man passed that way, who turned and looked upon him with pity. And Ranieri, struck with sudden compunction and shame, threw down his lyre and followed the man of God, bewailing his sins and his dissolute life, till he was blind with weeping. He embarked for the Holy Land, and at Jerusalem he took off his own vestments, and received from the hands of the priests the *schivvina* or slave-shirt, a

scanty tunic of coarse wool with short sleeves, which he wore ever after, in token of humility; and for twenty years he dwelt a hermit in the deserts of Palestine, performing many penances and pilgrimages, and being favored with many miraculous visions.

On one occasion, when the abstinence to which he had vowed himself was sorely felt, he beheld in his sleep a rich vase of silver and gold wrought with precious stones; but it was full of pitch and oil and sulphur. These being kindled with fire, the vase was burning to destruction — none could quench the flames. And there was put into his hands a little ewer full of water, two or three drops of which extinguished the flames. And he understood that the vase signified his human frame, that the pitch and sulphur burning within it were the appetites and passions, that the water was the water of temperance. Thenceforward Ranieri lived wholly on coarse bread and water. He had, moreover, a particular reverence for water, and most of his miracles were performed by means of water, whence he was called in his own city San Ranieri dell' Acqua. In a Roman Catholic country, St. Ranieri would now be the patron of temperance societies. This, however, did not prevent him punishing a fraudulent host of Messina, who mixed water with the wine he sold his customers, and to whom the saint revealed the arch-enemy seated on one of his casks, in the shape of a huge cat with bat-like wings, to the great horror of the said host, and to the wonder and edification of all believers. Returning to his own city of Pisa, after many years, he edified the people by the extreme sanctity of his life; and after performing many miracles, healing the sick, restoring the blind to sight, and expelling demons, so that the most obstinate were converted, he died, and was by angels carried into heaven.

His body was reverently laid in a tomb within the walls of the Duomo, where pictures representing various scenes from his life are hung near the altar dedicated to him, but none of great merit, nor older than the seventeenth century.

Being, however, a saint of merely local interest, it is unnecessary to say more of San Ranieri. The legend as I have given it above is sufficient to render the picture of the Campo Santo intelligible and interesting. The three upper compartments contain —

1. The conversion of St. Ranieri.
2. St. Ranieri embarks for the Holy Land.
3. He puts on the dress of a hermit.
4. He has many visions and temptations in his hermit life.
[The lower compartments] : —
5. St. Ranieri returns to Pisa.
6. The detection of the fraudulent innkeeper.
7. The death and obsequies of the saint.
8. The miracles of Ranieri after his death.

As there is a very accurate account of these celebrated old frescoes in Murray's "Handbook," and every guide to Pisa, I do not dwell upon them further.

ST. JULIAN HOSPITATOR

Ital. San Giuliano Ospitale. *Fr.* Saint Julien l'Hospitalier. Patron saint of travellers; of ferrymen and boatmen; also of travelling minstrels who wander from door to door. (Jan. 9, A. D. 313.)

Here we have again one of the most celebrated and popular of the religious romances of the middle ages. In those days, when the privileged orders of illiterate hunters and iron warriors trampled and tortured at their will man and beast, it is edifying to find in these old legends the human sympathies appealed to, not merely in behalf of the woman and the serf, the feeble, the sick, and the poor; but even in favor of the dumb creatures; and that divine Christian precept everywhere inculcated —

Never to blend our pleasure or our pride
With suttering of the meanest thing that feels.

Count Julian was a nobleman, who lived in his castle in great state and prosperity; he spent his days in hunting, and his nights in feasting. One day, as he was hunting in the forest, he started a deer, and pursued it over hill and dale. Suddenly the miserable and affrighted creature turned round and opened his mouth and said, "Thou, who pursuest me to the death, shalt cause the death of thy father and thy mother!" And when Julian heard these words, he stood still; remorse and fear came over him, and, as the only means of averting this fatal prophecy, he resolved to flee from his home. So he turned his horse's head and travelled into a far-distant country.

Now it happened that the king of that country was a munificent and a gracious prince, who received Julian with all honor and entertained him in his service. Julian distinguished himself greatly, both at the court and in war, so that the king knighted him, and gave him to wife a rich and beautiful widow, with whom he lived for some years in great happiness, and had wellnigh forgotten the terrible prophecy.

In the mean time the father and the mother of Julian lamented the loss of their only son, and they sent messengers everywhere into all the surrounding provinces in search of him; and, hearing no tidings, they put on the habits of pilgrims, and went themselves in search of their lost son.

And it happened that one night, when Julian was absent at the court, they arrived at his castle, and knocked at the gate; and, Basilissa, the wife of Julian, who was a good and a pious woman, received them hospitably; but when she learned who they were, she was filled with exceeding joy, waited upon them at supper as became a dutiful daughter, and yielded them her own bed in which to repose after their journey; and the next morning, at early matins, she went to the neighboring church to thank God for this great mercy. In the mean time Julian returned, and straightway entered his own chamber, and seeing by the imperfect light two people in bed, and one of them a bearded man, he was seized with jealous fury, and drawing his sword slew them both on the spot. Then rushing out of the house he met his wife, who was returning from the church, and he asked her, staring wide in astonishment, "Who then are in my bed?" And she replied, "Thy father, and thy mother, who have been seeking thee for long years over all the world, and I have laid them in our bed." And when he heard these words, Julian remained as one stupefied and half dead. And then he wept bitterly and wrung his hands, and said, "Alas! by what evil fortune is this, that what I sought to avoid has come to pass? Farewell, my sweet sister! I can never again lie by thy side until I have been pardoned by Christ Jesus for this great sin!" And she answered him, "Nay, my brother, can I allow thee to depart, and without me? Thy grief is my grief, and whither thou goest I will go." So they departed together, and travelled till they came to the bank of a great river, which was often swollen by torrents from the mountains, so that many in

endeavoring to pass it perished miserably. And there did Julian found a cell of penance for himself, and near to it an hospital for the poor; and by day and night, in summer and winter, he ferried the travellers across this torrent without fee or reward.

One night in the depth of winter, when the flood had broken its icy bounds, and was raging horribly, he heard, in



Hospitality of St. Julian (Allori)

the pauses of the storm, a mournful voice, which called to him across the stream. And he arose immediately, and found on the opposite bank a youth who was a leper, and who appeared to be dying from fatigue and cold. He brought him

over the river, and carried him in his arms, and laid him in his own bed, notwithstanding that he was a leper; and he and his wife watched by him till the morning. When it dawned, the leper rose up in the bed, and his face was transformed, and appeared to them as that of an angel of light, and he said, "Julian, the Lord hath sent me to thee, for thy penitence is accepted, and thy rest is near at hand," and then vanished from their sight. Then Julian and his wife fell upon their faces and thanked God for all his mercies; and shortly afterwards, being full of years and good works, they slept with the Lord.

The single figures of St. Julian represent him in rich secular attire, as a cavalier or courtier, young, with a mild and melancholy expression: often he has a hunting-horn in his hand, and a stag is behind him or at his feet. To distinguish him from St. Hubert, who has the same attributes, there is generally a river and a boat in the background; but it must also be observed, that in pictures of St. Julian the stag ought not to have the crucifix between his horns, as in the pictures of St. Hubert.

The beautiful subject called "The Hospitality of St. Julian" represents him ferrying travellers over the stream, while his wife stands at the door of their house holding a light. The picture by [Cristoforo] Allori, in the Palazzo Pitti, is a *chef-d'œuvre* as regards both painting and expression. The bark with the leprous youth has just touched the shore, a man stands at the helm, and Julian, with an expression of benign solicitude, receives the fainting pilgrim in his arms. In the background, his wife, with a light in her hand, appears to be welcoming some poor travellers. Here St. Julian is arrayed as a hermit and penitent, with a loose gown and a venerable beard. The principal figures are rather above life size.

"The angel guest throws off his disguise, and ascends in a glory of light; Julian and his wife fall prostrate." I saw this subject in a picture in the Brussels Gallery. [By Crayer.]

St. Julian slays his father and mother. Ant. della Corna, Cremonese, 1478. (Lanzi.)

The legend of St. Julian Hospitator is often found as a

series of subjects in ecclesiastical decoration, and in the old stained glass. It is beautifully told in a series of subjects on one of the windows of the Cathedral of Rouen, presented by the company of boatmen (*bateliers-pêcheurs*) of that city, in the fourteenth century.

ST. LEONARD

Ital. San Leonardo. *Fr.* St. Léonard, or Lionart. Patron saint of all prisoners, captives, and slaves. (Nov. 6, A. D. 559.)

Here we have another beneficent saint. Nothing is more touching in these old Christian legends than the variety of forms in which Charity is deified.

St. Leonard was of France. His father held a high office in the palace of King Theodobert, and Leonard himself, being well educated, modest, and of a cheerful and gracious presence, the king honored him and greatly delighted in his company. He had been early converted and baptized by St. Benignus, and, without giving up his duties as a courtier, fulfilled those of a devout and charitable Christian. He particularly delighted in visiting the prisons, and ministering to the prisoners — the Howard of his day; and those for whom he interceded the king pardoned. He also devoted great part of his substance to the liberation of captives from slavery. The cares and pleasures of a court becoming daily more distasteful to him, he withdrew secretly to a desert place near Limoges, and turned hermit, and spent several years in penance and in prayer.

And it happened, that the king going to the chase in company with the queen and all his court, she, being suddenly seized with the pangs of childbirth, was in great peril and agony, and like to die; and the king and his attendants stood around her in utter affliction and perplexity. When St. Leonard, who dwelt in that vicinity, heard of this grief, he prayed to the Lord, and, at his prayer, the queen was relieved and happily delivered. The king then presented to St. Leonard a portion of that forest land, and he cleared the ground, and gathered round him a religious community; and, after many years spent in works of piety and charity, he died there in the year 559.

St. Leonard is invoked by all those who languish in cap-

tivity, whether they be prisoners or slaves; it was also a custom for those who had been delivered from captivity to hang up their fetters in the churches or chapels dedicated to him: hence he is usually represented with fetters in his hand, his proper attribute. He is claimed by the Benedictines as a member of their Order, and either wears the white or the black tunic fastened round the waist with a girdle; and sometimes he has a crosier, as abbot of the religious community he founded; but sometimes also he wears the dress of a deacon, because, from his great humility, he would never accept of any higher ecclesiastical dignity.

The ancient basso-relievo over the entrance of the Scuola della Carità at Venice exhibits the effigy of St. Leonard standing full length with fetters in his hand, a liberated slave kneeling on each side. This Scuola was a confraternity founded for the liberation of prisoners and slaves; and it is interesting to find that in Venice, where, from the commercial pursuits of the people, and their perpetual wars with the Turks, imprisonment for debt at home, and slavery abroad, became not rarely the destiny of their most distinguished men, St. Leonard was particularly honored. Among the mosaics in St. Mark's, high up in the transept, to the right of the choir, I found his whole story in a series of subjects. 1. He is baptized by St. Benignus. 2. He raises water miraculously for the thirsty poor. (The common allegory to signify Christian instruction.) 3. He delivers the captives, who bring their fetters, and cast them at his feet. 4. He saves the life of the queen, who is represented in a dying state, under a sort of tent, and surrounded by her weeping attendants. 5. He founds his monastery. I am unable to fix the date of this mosaic, which is not mentioned in any of the Venetian guide-books that I have met with, but it appears to be of the sixteenth century. The groups have much dramatic expression.

Among the bas-reliefs on the exterior of St. Mark's, the figure of St. Leonard occurs more than once. There is a curious old effigy of him near the northern entrance.

"St. Leonard, kneeling, presents fetters to the Virgin and Child; St. Joseph behind:" in a fine composition by Razzi.¹ (Siena.)

¹ [More correctly written Bazzi.]

“St. Leonard, standing in a long white tunic, holds in one hand a book and a crosier, as superior of his monastery; in the other, the fetters as usual:” in a curious old *pictà*, attributed to Buonfigli of Perugia. (Perugia.)

“St. Leonard in the white habit, and holding the fetters, stands with St. Peter, Mary Magdalene, and Martha:” painted by Correggio for the Oratorio della Misericordia at Correggio. (A large picture in the collection of Lord Ashburton.)

“St. Leonard, in the habit of a deacon, stands on one side of St. Lawrence, throned; on the other side, St. Stephen:” in a picture by Perugino.¹ (Florence, San Lorenzo.)

I found the whole story of St. Leonard in the beautiful illuminations of the far-famed Bedford missal (Paris, Bibliothèque Impériale) where he is called *St. Lionart*. The group of the fainting queen and the king sustaining her in his arms is particularly graceful. Here the king is named Clovis, and the bishop who baptizes St. Leonard is St. Remy. In other respects the legend, as I have given it above, is closely followed. St. Leonard, perhaps for the same reasons as at Venice, has been much honored in England. He keeps his place in the English calendar, and we have about one hundred and fifty churches dedicated to him.

ST. GILES

Lat. Sanctus Egidius. *Ital.* Sant' Egidio. *Fr.* Saint Gilles or Gil. (Sept. 1, A. D. 725.)

This renowned saint is one of those whose celebrity bears no proportion whatever to his real importance. I shall give his legend in a few words. He was an Athenian of royal blood and appears to have been a saint by nature; for one day, on going into the church, he found a poor sick man extended upon the pavement; St. Giles thereupon took off his mantle and spread it over him, when the man was immediately healed. This and other miracles having attracted the veneration of the people, St. Giles fled from his country and turned hermit; he wandered from one solitude to another until he came to a retired wilderness, near the mouth of the Rhone, about twelve miles to the south of Nismes.

¹ [Attributed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to Raffaellino del Garbo.]

Here he dwelt in a cave, by the side of a clear spring, living upon the herbs and fruits of the forest, and upon the milk of a hind, which had taken up its abode with him. Now it came to pass that the king of France (or, according to another legend, Wamba, king of the Goths) was hunting in the neighborhood, and the hind, pursued by the dogs and wounded by an arrow, fled to the cavern of the saint, and took refuge in his arms; the hunters, following on its track, were surprised to find a venerable old man, kneeling in prayer, and the wounded hind crouching at his side. Thereupon the king and his followers, perceiving that it was a holy man, prostrated themselves before him, and entreated forgiveness.

The saint, resisting all the attempts of the king to withdraw him from his solitude, died in his cave, about the year 541. But the place becoming sanctified by the extreme veneration which the people bore to his memory, there arose on the spot a magnificent monastery, and around it a populous city bearing his name and giving the same title to the Counts of Lower Languedoc, who were styled Comtes de Saint-Gilles.

The Abbey of Saint-Gilles was one of the greatest of the Benedictine communities, and the abbots were powerful temporal as well as spiritual lords. Of the two splendid churches which existed here, one has been utterly destroyed; the other remains one of the most remarkable monuments of the middle ages now existing in France. It was built in the eleventh century; the portico is considered as the most perfect type of the Byzantine style on this side of the Alps, and the whole of the exterior of the church is described as one mass of bas-reliefs. In the interior, among other curiosities of antique Art, must be mentioned an extraordinary winding staircase of stone, the construction of which is considered a miracle of skill.¹

St. Giles has been especially venerated in England and Scotland. There are one hundred and forty-six churches in England dedicated to St. Giles. They are frequently near the outskirts of a city or town; St. Giles, Cripplegate, St. Giles-in-the-Fields, St. Giles, Camberwell, were all on the outside of London as it existed when these churches were erected, and there are other examples at Oxford, Cambridge, etc. (See Parker's Anglican

¹ This staircase, called in the country "La vis de Saint-Gilles," was formerly "le but des pèlerinages de tous les compagnons-tailleurs de pierre." *Voyages au Midi de la France.*



St. Giles (Early Flemish School)

(Calendar.) In 1117, Matilda, wife of Henry I., founded a hospital for lepers outside the city of London, which she dedicated to St. Giles, and which has since given its name to an extensive parish. The parish church of Edinburgh existed under the invocation of St. Giles, as early as 1359. And still, in spite of the Reformation, this popular saint is retained in our calendar. He was the patron saint of the woodland, of lepers, beggars, cripples; and of those struck by some sudden

misery, and driven into solitude like the wounded hart or hind.

He is generally represented as an aged man in the dress of a Benedictine monk, a long black tunic with loose sleeves; and a hind pierced by an arrow is either in his arms or at his feet,

Ane Hynde set up beside Sanct Geill.

Sometimes the arrow is in his own bosom, and the hind is fawning on him. In our National Gallery [Meister von Werden] there is a figure of St. Giles, wearing the black Benedictine habit, and with the hind fawning upon him. Sometimes the habit is white in pictures which date subsequently to the period when the Abbey of St. Giles became the property of the Reformed Benedictines, who had adopted the white habit.

Representations of St. Giles are seldom met with in Italy, but very frequently in early French and German Art. It is necessary to distinguish between St. Giles the Hermit and St. Giles the Franciscan. It is the latter who is represented standing in a transport of religious ecstasy before Pope Gregory IX. The picture, which was painted by Murillo for the Franciscan convent at Seville, is now, I believe, in England. [Collection of Mr. Philip W. S. Miles, King's Weston, Gloucestershire.]

The story of St. PROCOPIUS is very like that of St. Giles. He was a Bohemian king, who resigned his crown, and, retiring to a solitude, became a hermit. He lived unknown for many years, till a certain Prince Ulrich pursuing a hind through the forest, the creature took refuge in the arms of St. Procopius, and thus he was discovered. St. Procopius and the other Bohemian saints became popular as subjects of Art when the Emperor Rodolph II. distinguished himself as a patron of the Fine Arts, and drew many painters from Italy to Prague. To this period may be referred an etching by L. Caracci which has sometimes, from the similarity of the attribute, been called St. Giles.

ST. GENEVIÈVE OF PARIS

Eng. Ger. Ital. Saint Genoveva. (Jan. 3, A. D. 509.)

The popularity of St. Geneviève, as a subject of artistic representation; is almost wholly confined to Paris and the French school of Art. I have met with only two instances of the treatment of her story by Italian painters; yet among the female enthusiasts of the middle ages she is one of the most important and the most interesting.

She was a peasant girl, born at Nanterre, a little village two leagues and a half from Paris, in the year 421, and in her childhood was employed by a neighboring farmer to keep his sheep. When she was about seven years old, St. Germain, bishop of Auxerre, passing through Paris on his way to England, spent one night at Nanterre; the inhabitants crowded around him to obtain his benediction; and among them came the parents of *la pucelette Geneviève*, already distinguished in the village by her graceful piety and humility. St. Germain had no sooner cast his eyes upon her, than he became aware, through divine inspiration, of her predestined glory. He called her to him, questioned her, and when she expressed, with childish fervor, a strong desire to become the handmaid of Christ, he hung round her neck a small copper coin marked with the sign of the cross, and consecrated her to the service of God. Thenceforth did Geneviève regard herself as separated from the world and dedicated to Heaven.

Even while yet a child, many wondrous things are related of her. On a certain occasion, her mother, being transported by anger (though otherwise a good woman), gave her pious daughter a box on the ear: but in the same moment she was struck blind: and so she remained deprived of the sun's light for twenty-one months, until restored by the prayers of St. Geneviève, who, having drawn water from the well and made over it the sign of the cross, bathed her mother's eyes with it, and she saw clearly as before. And Geneviève at the age of fifteen renewed her vow of perpetual chastity; remaining, however, still subject to her parents till both were dead. She then betook herself to the city of Paris, where she dwelt with an aged kinswoman, and where her extraordinary gifts of piety and humility, and, above all, her devoted and active benevo-

lence, rendered her an object of popular veneration. At the same time there were not wanting those who treated her as a hypocrite and a visionary, and much did the holy maiden suffer from the slanders and contumelies of the evil-disposed. She had to undergo not merely the persecutions of men, but of demons; often, during her nightly vigils, the tapers lighted for the service of God were maliciously blown out by the enemy of mankind; but Geneviève, not dismayed, rekindled them by her faith and her prayers. God never left her in darkness when she prayed for light. When beset by the fiend she held up one of the tapers thus miraculously rekindled, and he fled. On another occasion, when she went with a company of pious women to pray at the shrine of St. Denis, on the road a storm arose which blew out their tapers; but Geneviève holding hers aloft, it was immediately rekindled by her prayers, or, as some aver, by an angel who descended expressly from heaven for that purpose.

After being for many years maltreated and condemned by one party of her fellow-citizens, as much as she was revered and trusted by the other, Heaven was pleased to grant a signal and public proof of the efficacy of her piety, and to silence forever the voice of the envious and unbelieving.

A certain barbarian king, called in the story Attila, king of the Huns, threatened to lay siege to the city of Paris. The inhabitants prepared to fly, but Geneviève, leaving her solitude, addressed the multitude, and entreated them not to forsake their homes, nor allow them to be profaned by a ferocious pagan, assuring them that Heaven would interfere for their deliverance. The people, being overcome by her enthusiastic eloquence, hesitated; and while they remained irresolute, the news was brought that the barbarians, without any visible reason, had changed the order of their march, and had withdrawn from the vicinity of the capital. The people fell prostrate at her feet; and from this time she became, in a manner, the mother of the whole city. In all maladies and afflictions her prayers were required; and many miracles of healing and consolation proved the efficacy of her intercession.

When Childeric invested Paris, the people suffered greatly from sickness and famine. Geneviève was not only indefatigable in her benevolent ministry, but she also, laying aside the habit of the religious recluse, took the command of the boats

which were sent up the Seine to Troyes for succor, stilled by her prayers a furious tempest which threatened to overwhelm them, and brought them back safely, laden with provisions. When the city was taken by Childeric, he treated Geneviève with extreme respect: his son Clovis, even before his conversion to Christianity, regarded her with great veneration; and it is related that he frequently liberated prisoners, and pardoned malefactors, through her intercession. Moreover, it was through the influence of St. Geneviève over the mind of this prince and his wife Clotilde that paganism was banished from Paris, and that the first Christian church was erected on the summit of that eminence which has since been consecrated to St. Geneviève and known by her name. She died at the age of eighty-nine, and was buried by the side of King Clovis and Queen Clotilde.

In the year 550, St. Eloy executed a magnificent shrine, in which her remains were inclosed. This shrine, doubly interesting and curious, if not sacred, was during the Revolution broken up, and the relics of the patroness and preserver of Paris burned publicly in the Place de Grève.

Among the miracles imputed to St. Geneviève, was the cessation of a horrible plague, called the *mal ardent*, which desolated Paris in the reign of Louis le Gros; and on the spot where stood the house of St. Geneviève, a small church, known as Ste. Geneviève des Ardents, existed so late as 1747, when it was pulled down, and a Foundling Hospital built on the site. The present superb church of St. Geneviève was the Pantheon of the Revolution; the painting of the dome, which is in the worst possible taste, represents St. Geneviève in glory, receiving the homage of Clovis, Charlemagne, St. Louis, and Louis XVIII. *Au reste*, the classic cold magnificence of the whole structure is as little in harmony with the character of the peasant patroness, as the church of the Madeleine with that of the Syrian penitent and castaway.¹

¹ [Since the first publication of *Sacred and Legendary Art* the interior of the Pantheon has been decorated with scenes from the life of St. Geneviève. In the nave on the right is the Childhood of Ste. Geneviève by Puvion de Chavannes (1874), a work which has won high praise for its sincerity and poetic charm. At the end of the right transept is the Pilgrimage of Ste. Geneviève and Procession with her relics, by Maillot. To the right of the choir is the Death of Ste. Geneviève, by J. P. Laurens.]

The most ancient effigies of St. Geneviève as patroness of Paris represent her veiled, holding in one hand a lighted taper, in the other, a breviary; beneath her feet, or at her side, crouches the demon holding a pair of bellows. In this instance, the obvious allegory of the light of faith or holiness extinguished by the power of sin, and rekindled by prayer, seems to have given rise to the legend. She is thus represented in a graceful statue under the porch of St. Germain l'Auxerrois; and in general wherever she figures among the female saints in the decorative architecture of the old French churches. But all the more modern representations exhibit her as the pious *bergerette* of Nanterre, seated or standing in a landscape, with her sheep around her, generally with her distaff and spindle, but sometimes with a book — though it is nowhere asserted that the poor shepherdess possessed the then rare accomplishment of reading her mother tongue. Sometimes she has a basket of provisions on her arm, and holds a loaf of bread, in allusion to the miraculous deliverance of Paris.

Such is the conception in the pictures of Le Brun, Philippe de Champaigne, Bourdon, Vanloo, St. Gros, and all the French painters. In the picture of Vanloo, St. Geneviève is reading at the foot of a tree; a few sheep and goats are browsing near; her spindle and sabots are lying beside her; the hair and dress reminding us irresistibly of a French grisette seized with a sudden fit of piety. A charming little picture by Watteau (Paris, St. Médard) exhibits St. Geneviève keeping sheep, and reading a volume of the Scriptures which lies open on her knee. This picture has all the painter's sweet harmonious coloring and mannered grace; and St. Geneviève here reminds us of one of the learned shepherdesses in Sir Philip Sidney's "Arcadia."

Le Brun. St. Geneviève kneels, holding her taper; at her feet, the keys of Paris, distaff, sheep, and book; in the distance the city of Paris, and the barbarians dispersed by a storm.

In the church of St. Etienne-du-Mont is a chapel dedicated to her, in which they preserve a tomb of solid stonework said to be the same in which her remains were originally deposited. When I visited this church in 1847, I found the tomb surrounded by worshippers, and stuck over with at least fifty lighted tapers, the offerings of the poor, while votive pictures

in honor of the saint covered the walls. In the Church of St. Germain is a chapel dedicated to her, and painted with modern frescoes from her life. 1. She receives, as a child, the blessing of St. Germain. 2. She harangues the Parisians, and promises them aid from heaven.

In the church at St. Gervais, over the altar of her chapel, she is represented as restoring sight to her mother.

In no picture or statue that I have seen is St. Geneviève, the patroness of Paris, worthily placed before us. The heroine who twice saved the capital of France by her courage and constancy, if not by her prayers, who ought to be placed in companionship with Joan of Arc, is ill expressed by the mawkish, feeble, or theatrical effigies which figure in the Parisian churches; and we have reason to regret that the same hand which gave us Joan of Arc, as the woman and the warrior, did not leave us also a St. Geneviève commanding the storm to cease, or pleading the cause of humanity against the barbarian Clovis.

The legend of St. Geneviève (or Genoveva) of Brabant must not be confounded with that of St. Geneviève of Paris. St. Geneviève of Brabant was the wife of a certain Count Siegfried, who, misled by the representations of his treacherous steward, a sort of Iago, ordered his innocent wife to be put to death. The assassins spared her, and only exposed her in the forest, where she brought forth a child, which was tended and nursed by a white doe. After some years had passed in the savage wilderness, her husband while hunting came upon her retreat; the conscience-stricken steward confessed her innocence and his own misdeeds; was duly put to death, and Geneviève restored to happiness. This romantic legend, which has afforded an inexhaustible subject for poetry, painting, and the drama, hardly belongs to the domain of religious art; but there are beautiful pictures from her history by Riepenhausen, Fühlich, and others of the modern German school. A well-known print by Albert Dürer, sometimes entitled "St. Geneviève of Brabant," represents a legend much more ancient and altogether different. (See vol. i. p. 324 *et seq.*: The story of The Penance of St. John Chrysostom.)

Another famous rustic saint is ST. ISIDORE the ploughman

(in Spanish, San Isidro el Labrador; and in Italian Sant' Isidoro Agricola), the patron of the city of Madrid, and of those who cultivate the soil. According to the Spanish legend, he was the son of a poor husbandman, and could neither read nor write. He hired himself as laborer to a rich farmer, whose name was Juan de Vargas. His master was a hard man, and he grudged his poor servant even the time spent in his prayers and in works of charity. On a certain day, Juan went into the field intending to reprimand his laborer for loss of time and neglect of his work. Being come to the field, he beheld with great amazement Isidro kneeling at his devotions, while two angels were engaged guiding his plough. Thereupon, being struck with awe and shame, he turned back to his house and thenceforth dealt less hardly with his pious servant.

Also it is related, that his master being on a certain day athirst in his field, Isidro, taking up the goad wherewith he guided his oxen, struck the hard rock, and immediately there gushed forth a fountain of the purest water. And when his little son fell into a well, Isidro, by his prayers, miraculously restored him to life.

St. Isidro is still revered by the peasantry round Madrid, where his festival (May 15th) is kept with great devotion and hilarity. He is represented only in the Spanish pictures, wearing the dress of a laborer, and sometimes with a spade in his hand: an angel ploughing in the background is his proper attribute.

A saint who is often confounded with St. Geneviève of Paris is St. GUDULA, patroness of the city of Brussels. She was a virgin of noble lineage, her father, Count Wittiger, and her mother, St. Amalaberga, who was a niece of Pepin d'Heristal, consecrated her early to the service of Christ, and she was educated by her godmother, St. Gertrude of Nivelles. (See *Legends of the Monastic Orders.*) Nothing particular is recorded of St. Gudula beyond the singular holiness of her life and the usual miracles, — except the legend of her miraculous lantern. She was accustomed to rise in the middle of the night, in order to perform her devotions in the church of Morselle, at a great distance. She guided her steps with a lantern, which Satan, in his envy of so much piety and virtue, frequently extinguished, hoping thereby to lead her astray; but

whenever he blew out the light, the prayer of the saint re-kindled it.

In the devotional figures, St. Gudula bears a lantern, and near it hovers a malicious demon, who is trying to blow it out. There is a beautiful votive picture of this saint by Jan Scorel (Munich Gallery),¹ in which she is thus represented, and there are various effigies of her in the splendid Cathedral of Brussels, which bears her name. Where she carries a lamp or lantern she may be mistaken for St. Lucia. Her death is placed about 712.

¹ [In the current catalogue, 1894, this picture is anonymous.]

XVII. THE WARRIOR SAINTS OF CHRISTENDOM

THE legendary histories commemorate many hundred military saints and martyrs, of whom the far greater number are obscure, known only by name, or of merely local interest, but about twenty might be selected, as illustrious and popular throughout Christendom, and representing in Art the combined sanctity and chivalry of the middle ages. They form a most interesting and picturesque group of saints, not only through the fine effect produced by their compact martial figures, lucid armor, and glittering weapons, when associated with the pacific ecclesiastical saints and melancholy monks; but from the charming and often pathetic contrast which the fancy suggests between the prowess of the warrior and the humility of the Christian.

As an interesting example of the manner in which the military and the ecclesiastical saints were not unfrequently combined, as representing the Church Militant and the Church Spiritual, we may observe the two pictures (evidently part of one altar-piece) in our National Gallery. In the first, St. George, with the red cross on his shield, stands between the two Fathers of the Church, St. Gregory and St. Augustine; in the second, St. Maurice, with the cross on his breast, stands between the Fathers St. Ambrose and St. Jerome.¹

¹ In the catalogue of the National Gallery, the two military saints in these pictures by the "Meister von Liesborn" are styled *St. Exuperius* and *St. Hilary*, on the authority of Herr Krüger of Minden, from whom they were purchased. St. Exuperius (one of the companions of St. Maurice) was honored in Brabant; and of St. Hilary (or St. Illier), martyr, a French saint, nothing whatever is known but his name and that he perished by the hands of the pagan barbarians about the year 406. Neither of these saints was anywhere of sufficient consequence to represent the Church Militant, in companionship, almost on an equality, with the Church Spiritual: this distinction would belong naturally to St. George and St. Maurice, the two great military patron saints of the Western Church, and, as such, worthy of being grouped with the four great Doctors of the Western

We distinguish between the Greek and the Latin warriors.

In the Byzantine mosaics and pictures, we find St. George, St. Theodore, St. Demetrius, and St. Mercurius. The costume is always strictly classical: they wear the breastplate and chlamys, are armed with the short sword and lance, are bare-headed, and in general beardless. Of St. George I have spoken at length; in the Greek pictures he appears as the patron of Constantinople, and generally in companionship with St. Demetrius, the patron of Salonica (who figures in the procession of martyrs at Ravenna). Next to Demetrius we generally find St. Mercurius; these two saints are peculiar to Greek Art, and the legend of Mercurius is extremely wild and striking. Julian the Apostate, who figures in these sacred romances not merely as a tyrant and persecutor, but as a terrible and potent necromancer who had sold himself to the devil, had put his officer Mercurius to death, because of his adhesion to the Christian faith. The story then relates that when Julian led his army against the Persians, and on the eve of the battle in which he perished, St. Basil the Great was favored by a miraculous vision. He beheld a woman of resplendent beauty seated on a throne, and around her a great multitude of angels; and she commanded one of them, saying, "Go forthwith, and awaken Mercurius, who sleepeth in the sepulchre, that he may slay Julian the Apostate, that proud blasphemer against me and against my Son!" And when Basil awoke, he went to the tomb in which Mercurius had been laid not long before, with his armor and weapons by his side, and, to his great astonishment, he found neither the body nor the weapons. But on returning to the place the next day, and again looking into the tomb, he found there the body of Mercurius lying as before; but the lance was stained with blood; "for on the day of battle, when the wicked emperor was at the head of his army, an unknown warrior, bareheaded, and of a pale and ghastly countenance, was seen mounted on a white charger, which he spurred forward, and, brandishing his lance, he pierced Julian through the body, and then vanished as sud-

church. If, however, there existed in the abbey of Liesborn, for which these pictures were painted, any relicts of these obscure saints, it is just possible they might be thus honored: in any case the significance of the grouping is the same.

denly as he had appeared.¹ And Julian being carried to his tent, he took a handful of the blood which flowed from his wound, and flung it into the air, exclaiming with his last breath, 'Thou hast conquered, Galilean! thou hast conquered!' Then the demons received his parting spirit. But Mercurius, having performed the behest of the blessed Virgin, reëntered his tomb, and laid himself down to sleep till the Day of Judgment."

I found this romantic and picturesque legend among the Greek miniatures already so often alluded to (ninth century, Paris Bib., Gr. MSS.), where the resurrection of the martyr, his apparition on the field of battle, and the death of Julian, who is falling from his horse, are represented with great spirit.²

ST. THEODORE held a high rank in the armies of the Emperor Licinius; being converted to Christianity, in his zeal he set fire to the temple of Cybele, and was beheaded or burned alive (Nov. 9, A. D. 300). His legend was early brought from the East by the Venetians, and he was the patron saint of Venice before he was superseded by St. Mark. He is represented in armor, with a dragon under his feet; which dragon, in the famous old statue on the column in front of the Piazzetta at Venice, is distinctly a sort of crocodile, and very like the huge fossil reptiles in the British Museum.

In a very curious old Greek picture of the fourteenth century, two St. Theodores are seen on horseback, armed with lances, with glories round their heads, and careering at full speed. (D'Agincourt, pl. 90.) By the description we find that one represents St. Theodore of Heraclea, and the other St. Theodore Tyro or the younger; the latter is, I believe, the patron of Venice, and the same whom we find in the early Venetian pictures, young and beautiful, with long dark hair, armed, not as a Roman soldier, but as a Christian knight, bearing his sword and palm, and generally in companionship with St. George. (Mosaic, Sacristy of St. Mark's.) In the Crystal Palace at Sydenham are two casts from ancient bas-reliefs at Venice, representing St. Theodore and St. George, both mounted, and both combating the dragon.

¹ Julian was killed by a javelin flung by an unknown hand. Gibbon.

² *Vide Waagen's Kunstwerke und Künstler in Paris*, p. 315. It appears, from his description of these miniatures, that he was not acquainted with the Greek legend.

I found his whole story on one of the magnificent windows at Chartres, where he is represented firing the temple of Cybele.

To which of these two Theodores is dedicated the very ancient Church of San Teodoro at Rome, I am unable to decide; the figure of the saint is there represented in mosaic over the altar, in company with St. Peter and St. Paul.

The six colossal warrior saints, who stand in the Cathedral of Monreale (Palermo) over the arch which separates the choir from the nave, as if guarding the sanctuary, are the four Greek soldiers, St. George, St. Demetrius, St. Mercurius, and St. Theodore: and the two Roman warriors, St. John and St. Paul.

On one of the old windows in the Cathedral of Cologne we have the Nativity of our Lord attended by four warriors, — St. George, St. Maurice, St. Adrian, and St. Gereon.

Among the saints who were imported from the Levant by Venice in her palmy days, we find ST. MENNA, a Greek warrior, who was martyred in Phrygia, by order of Galerius Maximian (Nov. 11, A. D. 301). I have met with but one effigy of this saint: a noble figure by Paul Veronese, standing in a niche, in complete armor, bareheaded, and leaning on his sword.

In Western Art, the warrior saints, who have been accepted by the Latin Church, are sometimes represented in the classical military costume; more frequently in the mail shirt or plate armor of the fifteenth century, with the spurs, the lance, the banner, and other accoutrements of a Christian knight. But sometimes also they wear the court dress of a cavalier of the fifteenth century, or of the time the picture was painted; a vest or short tunic, furred or embroidered; hose of some vivid color, crimson or violet; a mantle, and a cap and feather; the sword either girded on, or held in the hand, as in the figure of St. Sebastian, and that of St. Proculus.

St. George, that universal type of Christian chivalry, stands at the head of the Latin as well as of the Greek warriors. Next to him, in Italian Art, the Roman St. Sebastian takes the place of the Greek St. Demetrius. But in French and German Art, the warrior who is usually found as a pendant to St. George is St. Maurice. In the Coronation of the Virgin, in Prince Wallerstein's collection (Kensington Palace), one of the

most interesting and important pictures ever brought to England, five great warrior saints of the West are grouped together in the lower part of the composition; they are all in armor, with embroidered tunics, and all crowned with laurel, "meed of mighty conquerors;" and these were mighty conquerors in the spiritual as well as the earthly sense. St. George, conspicuous in front, wears a white tunic, with the red cross on the clasp of his baldric; St. Maurice has the large cross of the Order of Savoy embroidered in front of his crimson vest; St. Adrian wears a black velvet tunic over his chain armor, and a collar composed of the letters **A. D. R. F. A. P. U. S** worked in gold. The saint with the nine balls on the sleeve of his dress I suppose to be St. Quirinus; the fifth saint, not otherwise distinguished than by his armor and his laurel wreath, I suppose to be either the Italian St. Sebastian, or the German St. Florian, probably the latter. Like all the other figures in this wonderful picture, each head is finished like the most exquisite miniature, and has the look of a portrait from nature.

ST. MAURICE

Lat. Sanctus Mauritius. *Ital.* San Maurizio. Patron saint of foot-soldiers; patron of Savoy; one of the patrons of Austria, and of the city of Mantua. (Sept. 22, A. D. 286.)

The legend of St. Maurice and the Theban legion is of great antiquity, and has been so universally received as authentic as to assume almost the importance and credibility of an historical fact: as early as the fourth century the veneration paid to the Theban martyrs had extended through Switzerland, France, Germany, and the north of Italy. The story is thus related:—

Among the legions which composed the Roman army, in the time of Diocletian and Maximin, was one styled the "Theban Legion," because levied originally in the Thebaïd. The number of soldiers composing this corps was 6,666, and all were Christians, as remarkable for their valor and discipline as for their piety and fidelity. This legion had obtained the title of *Felix*; it was commanded by an excellent Christian officer, a man of illustrious birth, whose name was Maurice, or Mauritius.

About the year 286, Maximin summoned the Theban legion

from the East to reinforce the army with which he was about to march into Gaul. The passage of the Alps being effected, some companies of the Theban legion were dispatched to the Rhine; the rest of the army halted on the banks of the lake of Geneva, where Maximin ordered a great sacrifice to the gods, accompanied by the games and ceremonies usual on such occasions. But Maurice and his Christian soldiers withdrew from these idolatrous rites, and, retiring to a distance of about three leagues, they pitched their camp at a place called Aganum (now St. Maurice). Maximin insisted on obedience to his commands, at the same time making it known that the service for which he required their aid was to extirpate the Christians, whose destruction he had sworn.

The Theban legion with one voice refused either to join in the idolatrous sacrifice or to be led against their fellow-Christians; and the emperor ordered the soldiers to be decimated. Those upon whom the lot fell rejoiced as though they had been elected to a great honor; and their companions, who seemed less to fear than to emulate their fate, repeated their protest, and were a second time decimated. Their officers encouraged them to perish rather than yield; and when summoned for the third time, Maurice, in the name of his soldiers, a third time refused compliance. "O Cæsar!" (it was thus he addressed the emperor) "we are thy soldiers, but we are also the soldiers of Jesus Christ. From thee we receive our pay, but from Him we have received eternal life. To thee we owe service, to Him obedience. We are ready to follow thee against the barbarians, but we are also ready to suffer death, rather than renounce our faith, or fight against our brethren." Thus he spoke, with the mild courage becoming the Christian warrior; but the cruel tyrant, unmoved by such generous heroism, ordered that the rest of the army should hem round the devoted legion, and that a general massacre should take place, leaving not one alive; and he was obeyed: if he expected resistance, he found it not, neither in the victims nor the executioners. The Christian soldiers flung away their arms, and, in emulation of their Divine Master, resigned themselves as "sheep to the slaughter." Some were trampled down by the cavalry; some hanged on trees and shot with arrows; some were killed with the sword; Maurice and others of the officers knelt down, and in this attitude their heads were struck off: thus they all perished.

Other companies of the Theban legion, under the command of Gereon, reached the city of Cologne on the Rhine, where the prefect Varus, by order of the emperor, required them either to forsake their faith or suffer death; Gereon, with fifty (or, as others tell, 318) of his companions, were accordingly put to death in one day, and their bodies were thrown into a pit. And, besides these, many other soldiers of the Theban legion suffered martyrdom for the sake of Christ, so that their names form a long list. St. Maurice and St. Gereon are the most honored in Germany. Piedmont, Savoy, and the neighborhood of Cologne abound in saints of the Theban legion. There are five churches in England dedicated in honor of St. Maurice.

St. Maurice is usually represented in complete armor; he bears the palm in one hand, and a standard in the other. In Italian works of Art, he is habited as a Roman soldier, and bears the large red cross, the badge of the Sardinian Order of St. Maurice, on his breast. In old German pictures he is often represented as a Moor, either in allusion to his name or his African origin. There is such a picture in the Munich Gallery [attributed to Grünewald].

In San Maurizio, at Milan, over the altar, we have on the left St. Maurice, kneeling, and beheaded, and his companions standing round; on the right, St. Maurice standing on a pedestal, while St. Sigismond presents to him the model of the church; fine frescoes by Luini.

In a small full-length figure by Heemskerck, he wears a suit of black armor, with a crimson mantle, and bears on his shield and banner the Austrian eagle: he is here one of the patrons of Austria. He stands on the left of the Madonna in Mantegna's famous Madonna della Vittoria in the Louvre. He is here one of the patrons of Mantua.

Other saints of the Theban legion, venerated through the north of Italy, are St. Secundus (Asti), St. Alexander¹ (Bergamo), St. Theonestus (Vercelli), St. Antoninus (Piacenza).

In the account book of Guercino, published by Calvi and Malvasia, we find an entry of 400 ducats received for a pic-

¹ There is a splendid church at Milan dedicated to this military Sant' Alessandro. Over the high altar is the martyrdom of the saint, and St. Grata receiving the severed head, which is offered in a napkin.

ture, ordered by Madame Royale of Savoy, "of the Virgin in glory; and below, three Warrior Saints, wearing on their breast the cross of the Order of St. Maurice, who were SS. Aventore, Auditore, and Ottavio," three of the companions of St. Maurice mentioned in the legend. (Turin, in the church of the "Gesuiti," which is dedicated to them.)

The Martyrdom of the Theban legion is not a common subject, but there are some remarkable examples. In the Pitti Palace there is a picture by Pontormo, with numerous small figures, exquisitely painted; but the conception is displeasing; a great number of the martyrs are crucified, and the figures are undraped. Another picture of the same subject, by the same painter, in the Florence Gallery, is equally unpleasing and inappropriate in treatment; the Christian soldiers are seen contending with their adversaries, which is contrary to the spirit and the tenor of the legend as handed down to us. In the Munich Gallery, upon two wings of an altar-piece by Peter de Marés, we have, on one side, St. Maurice and his companions refusing to sacrifice to idols; and on the other, St. Maurice beheaded, while the Emperor Maximin looks on, mounted on a white horse: both pieces are very curious and expressive, and, though grotesque in the accessories, infinitely more true in feeling than the classical and elaborate pictures by Pontormo. There is a celebrated woodcut by Albert Dürer, which represents a multitude of martyrs suffering every variety of death; some are crucified, some are flung from rocks. At first view, this might be mistaken for the martyrdom of the Theban legion; but it is a different story, and represents the massacre of the Christians by Sapor, king of Persia, popularly known as the "Legend of the Ten Thousand Martyrs."

There is another wild legend of ten thousand martyrs, all crucified together by order of the Emperor Adrian, "on a certain great mountain called Mount Ararat." (See the *Legenda Aurea*.) It is this legend which I suppose to be represented by Carpaccio in a picture now in the Academy at Venice, and which is known to collectors by the large wood-engraving in eight sheets: it is very fine as a study; the martyrs are tied to the stems of vast trees in grand attitudes, and there are nearly three hundred figures in all (see Vasari, *Vita di Scarpaccia*); and the same subject I believe to be represented in the two pictures by Pontormo called the Theban Martyrs. Between

1500 and 1520 this extravagant legend appears to have been popular.

ST. GEREON also wears the armor, and carries the standard and the palm; sometimes he has the Emperor Maximin under his foot, to express the spiritual triumph of faith over tyranny. The celebrity of St. Gereon appears to be confined to that part of Germany which was the scene of his martyrdom: at Cologne there is a church dedicated to him; and he is frequently met with in the sculpture and stained glass of the old German churches.

1. In the famous old altar-piece [attributed to] Master Stephen of Cologne, now in the Cathedral, he is standing on one side in a suit of gilt armor and a blue mantle, attended by his companion martyrs (his pendant on the other side is St. Ursula with *her* companions).

2. In a fine old Crucifixion by Bartholomew de Bruyn, St. Gereon is standing in armor, with his banner and shield, and a votary kneeling before him (here his pendant is St. Stephen). (Munich Gallery.)

3. "St. Gereon and his Companions;" in the Moritzkapelle at Nuremberg (here his pendant is St. Maurice with *his* companions). I remember no Italian picture in which St. Gereon is represented.

4. In a Crucifixion by Israel v. Meckenen,¹ St. Ursula stands on one side presenting a group of young maidens, and St. Gereon on the other. (He is called in the catalogue St. Hippolytus; a mistake. Munich.)

ST. LONGINUS

Ital. San Longino. *Fr.* Saint Longin. *Saint* Longis. Patron saint of Mantua. (March 15, A. D. 45.)

St. Longinus is the name given in the legends to the centurion who pierced the side of our Saviour, and who, on seeing the wonders and omens which accompanied his death, exclaimed, "Truly this man was the Son of God!" (Matt. xxvii. 54; Mark xv. 39; John xix. 34.) Thus he became involuntarily the first of the Gentiles who acknowledged the divine mission

¹ [There is no picture of this description attributed to Von Meckenen in the current (1894) official catalogue of the Munich Gallery.]

of Christ. It is related that, shortly after he had uttered these words, he placed his hands, stained with the blood of our Lord, before his eyes; and immediately a great imperfection and weakness in his sight (*i. e.* spiritual blindness), which had afflicted him for many years, was healed; and he turned away repentant, and sought the apostles, by whom he was baptized and received into the Church of Christ. Afterwards he retired to Cæsarea, and dwelt there for twenty-eight years, converting numbers to the Christian faith; but at the end of that time he was seized by order of the governor, and ordered to sacrifice to the false gods. Longinus not only refused, but being impatient to receive the crown of martyrdom, he assured the governor, who was blind, that he would recover his sight only after putting him to death. Accordingly, the governor commanded that he should be beheaded, and immediately his sight was restored; and he also became a Christian; but Longinus was received into eternal glory, being "the first fruits of the Gentiles."

This wild legend, which is of great antiquity, was early repudiated by the Church; it remained, however, popular among the people; and it is necessary to keep it in mind, in order to understand the significance given to the figure of the centurion in most of the ancient pictures of the Crucifixion. Sometimes he is gazing up at the Saviour with an expression of adoration; sometimes his hands are clasped in devotion; sometimes he is seen wringing his hands, as one in an agony of grief and repentance; and I have seen an old carving in which he covers his eyes with his hands, in allusion to the legend. In the Crucifixion by Michele da Verona he is on horseback, and looks up, his hands clasped, and holding his cap, which he has reverently removed. (Milan, Brera.)

In the Crucifixion by Simone Memmi,¹ in the chapel de' Spagnuoli [Santa Maria Novella] at Florence, Longinus is conspicuous in a rich suit of black and gold armor, looking up with fervent devotion.

When introduced into pictures or sculpture, either as a single figure, or grouped with other saints, St. Longinus wears the habit of a Roman soldier, and carries a lance or spear in his hand. He is thus represented in the colossal marble statue which stands under the dome of St. Peter's at

¹ [Attributed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to Antonio Veneziano.]



The Risen Christ between St. Andrew and St. Longinus (Mantegna)

Rome. The reason of his being placed there is the tradition that the spear wherewith he pierced the side of our Saviour is preserved to this day among the treasures of the Church.

Some relics, said to be those of St. Longinus, were brought to Mantua in the eleventh century, and he has since been revered as one of the patron saints of that city.

For the chapel dedicated to him in the Church of Sant' Andrea, at Mantua, Giulio Romano painted a famous Nativity, in which the saint is standing on one side, holding a pyx or reliquary, containing a portion of the blood of our Saviour, which, according to the tradition, had been preserved by St. Longinus, and brought to Mantua from the Holy Land. This picture, once in possession of our Charles I., is now in the Louvre. For the altar-piece of the same chapel, Andrea Man-

teguna painted the Saviour as risen from the tomb, with St. Andrew on one side and St. Longinus on the other. In the Madonna della Vittoria, painted by Mantegna for Federigo Gonzago, St. Longinus stands behind, on the left of the Virgin, in a Roman helmet, and distinguished by his tall lance. (Louvre.)

ST. VICTOR

Ital. San Vittore. (July 21, A. D. 303.)

There are two St. Victors who figure in works of Art.

ST. VICTOR OF MARSEILLES was a Roman soldier serving in the armies of Diocletian; being denounced as a Christian in the tenth great persecution, neither tortures nor bribes could induce him to forsake his faith. In the midst of the torments to which he was condemned, a small altar was brought to him, on which to offer incense to Jupiter, and thus save himself from death; but in the fervor of his zeal he overthrew it with his foot, and broke the idol. He was then crushed with a millstone, and finally beheaded with three of his companions, whom he had converted. At the moment of his death, angels were heard singing in chorus, "Vicisti, Victor beate, vicisti!"

The reverence paid to this saint is principally confined to France. He is generally represented in the dress of a Roman soldier, with a millstone near him. I have seen him on one of the windows of Strasburg Cathedral in a full suit of chain armor, with shield and spurs, like a knight of romance.

ST. VICTOR OF MILAN was also a Roman soldier, and suffered in the same persecution. He was a native of Mauritania, but quartered at that time in the city of Milan. He was denounced as a Christian, and, after suffering severe torments, he was beheaded by order of the Emperor Maximian (May 8).

This saint is greatly honored throughout Lombardy, and is the favorite military saint in the north of Italy. He is often introduced into the pictures of the Milan and Brescian schools; and is sometimes represented as a Moor ("*San Vittore-il-Moro*"), wearing the habit of a Roman soldier. In his church at Milan (which, at the time I visited it, was crowded with soldiers) there is a fine picture on the left of the high altar,

by Enea Salmeggia, representing St. Victor as *victorious* (in allusion to his name), mounted on a white horse, which is bounding forward. In his church at Cremona there is a splendid Madonna picture by Andrea Campi, in which St. Victor is the principal saint, standing *victorious*, with his foot on a broken altar. According to some authorities, this St. Victor was thrown into a flaming oven; and is therefore represented with an oven near him, from which the flames are issuing; but I have never yet met with an instance of this attribute.

ST. EUSTACE

Lat. Sanctus Eustatius. *Ital.* Sant' Eustachio. *Fr.* Saint Eustache.
(Sept. 20, A. D. 118.)

“St. Eustace was a Roman soldier, and captain of the guards to the Emperor Trajan. His name before his conversion was Placidus, and he had a beautiful wife and two sons, and lived with great magnificence, practising all the heathen virtues, particularly those of loyalty to his sovereign and charity to the poor. He was also a great lover of the chase, spending much of his time in that noble diversion.

“One day, while hunting in the forest, he saw before him a white stag of marvellous beauty, and he pursued it eagerly, and the stag fled before him, and ascended a high rock. Then Placidus, looking up, beheld, between the horns of the stag, a cross of radiant light, and on it the image of the crucified Redeemer; and being astonished and dazzled by this vision, he fell on his knees, and a voice, which seemed to come from the crucifix, cried to him, and said, ‘Placidus! why dost thou pursue me? I am Christ, whom thou hast hitherto served without knowing me. Dost thou now believe?’ And Placidus fell with his face to the earth, and said, ‘Lord, I believe!’ And the voice answered, saying, ‘Thou shalt suffer many tribulations for my sake, and shalt be tried by many temptations; but be strong and of good courage, and I will not forsake thee.’ To which Placidus replied, ‘Lord, I am content. Do Thou give me patience to suffer!’ And when he looked up again the wondrous vision had departed. Then he arose and returned to his house, and the next day he and his wife and his two sons were baptized, and he took the name of Eustace. But it happened as it was foretold to him;

for all his possessions were spoiled by robbers, and pirates took away his beautiful and loving wife; and, being reduced to poverty, and in deep affliction, he wandered forth with his two children, and, coming to a river swollen with torrents, he considered how he might cross it. He took one of his children in his arms, and swam across, and having safely laid the child on the opposite bank, he returned for the other: but, just as he had reached the middle of the stream, a wolf came up and seized on the child he had left, and ran off with it into the forest; and when he turned to his other child, behold, a lion was in the act of carrying it off! And the wretched father tore his hair, and burst into lamentations, till remembering that he had accepted of sorrow and trial, and that he was to have patience in the hour of tribulation, he dried his tears and prayed for resignation; and, coming to a village, he abode there for fifteen years, living by the labor of his hands. At the end of that time, the Emperor Adrian, being then on the throne, and requiring the services of Placidus, sent out soldiers to seek him through all the kingdoms of the earth. At length they found him, and he was restored to all his former honors, and again led on his troops to victory; and the emperor loaded him with favors and riches; but his heart was sad for the loss of his wife and children. Meanwhile, his sons had been rescued from the jaws of the wild beasts, and his wife had escaped from the pirates; and, after many years, they met and recognized each other, and were reunited; and Eustace said in his heart, 'Surely all my tribulation is at an end!' But it was not so;



St. Eustace (Pollajuolo)

for the Emperor Adrian commanded a great sacrifice and thanksgiving to his false gods, in consequence of a victory he had gained over the barbarians. St. Eustace and his family refused to offer incense, remaining steadfast in the Christian faith.

Whereupon the emperor ordered that they should be shut up in a brazen bull, and a fire kindled under it; and thus they perished together."

There is nothing in this legendary romance to recommend it, but it has been popular from the earliest times, and is constantly met with in Art.

In the devotional pictures, St. Eustace is represented either as a Roman soldier, or armed as a knight; near him the miraculous stag. In a picture by N. Soggi (a rare master, who lived and worked about 1512) he stands armed with a kind of mace or battle-axe, and his two sons, as boys with palms and glories, stand behind him. (Pitti, Florence.)

The "Conversion of St. Eustace" is only distinguished from the legend of St. Hubert by the classical or warrior costume. The martyrdom of St. Eustace and his family in the brazen bull I have frequently met with; and a series of subjects from this legend is often found in the stained glass and sculpture of the old French cathedrals. St. Eustace has been banished from the English calendar; there are, however, three churches in England dedicated in his name.

ST. QUIRINUS was another Roman soldier, serving under the Emperor Aurelian. As he did not hesitate both to profess and preach openly the Christian faith, he suffered martyrdom by being dragged to death by horses; his tongue was first thrown to a hawk. He is represented in armor, with a horse and a hawk near him, bearing a shield with nine balls, and the palm as martyr. Of this military saint I have met with only one representation, in an old German picture, where he stands in complete armor, bearing the standard, on which are nine balls. A St. Quirinus, bishop of Sissek in Croatia, and martyr (June 4, A. D. 309), is one of the eight tutelar saints of Austria; he was thrown into a river with a millstone round his neck; he figures in Albert Dürer's fine print of the patrons of the Emperor Maximilian.)

ST. FLORIAN, one of the eight tutelar saints of Austria, was another Roman soldier, who, professing Christianity, was martyred in the reign of Galerius. He was a native of Enns, in Lower Austria, and worked many miracles: among others he

is said to have extinguished a conflagration by throwing a pitcherful of water over the flames. A stone was tied round his neck, and he was flung into the river Enns (May 4).

St. Florian is rarely met with in Italian Art, but he occurs frequently in the old German prints and pictures; and in Austria and Bohemia we encounter him in almost every town and village, standing, in a sort of half-military, half-ecclesiastical costume, at the corner of a street or in an open space, generally marking the spot on which some destructive fire occurred or was arrested. I have often found his statue on a pump or fountain. He is also painted on the outside of houses, in armor, and in the act of throwing water from a bucket or pitcher on a house in flames. The magnificent monastery of St. Florian, which is also a famous seminary, commemorates the scene and the legend of his life and martyrdom. "St. Florian in a deacon's dress, his right hand on a millstone, his martyrdom in the background," is described in a picture by Murillo. (Petersburg, Hermitage.) The costume is, I think, a mistake.

The legend of ST. HIPPOLYTUS (Sant' Ippolito Romano), the friend of St. Laurence, I have already given at length, and shall only add, that in the fine Coronation of the Virgin in the Wallerstein collection he stands behind St. Laurence, in armor, and with the head of a Moor or negro: for this peculiarity I find no authority; there seems to have been some confusion in the painter's mind between the Moorish saints, St. Maurice and St. Victor, and St. Hippolytus the Roman.

When we find St. Hippolytus in the Brescian pictures, it is because the inhabitants of Brescia claim to possess his relics. They insist that the body of the saint reposes, with that of St. Julia, in the convent of Santa Giulia in Brescia. There was a fine figure of St. Hippolytus, accompanied by St. Catherine (St. Julia?), by Moretto di Brescia, in the collection of Mr. W. Coningham, and probably painted for this convent. [The picture was presented to the National Gallery in 1884 by Mr. Francis Y. Palgrave.]

St. PROCULUS, military protector of Bologna, is often found in the pictures of that school of Art, and sometimes also in the



St. Proculus (Lorenzo
Monaco)

north of Italy. This is the only saint, as far as I can recollect, of whom an act of violence and resistance is recorded. When the tenth persecution broke out, a cruel officer named Marinus was sent to Bologna to enforce the imperial edict; and Proculus, more of a Roman than a Christian, being moved with indignation and pity because of the sufferings of the martyrs, entered the house of Marinus, and put him to death with an axe: this axe is usually placed in his hand. In Guido's picture [Bologna Gallery], dedicated after the plague at Bologna, St. Proculus appears as a fine martial figure, with an angel holding the axe. In some effigies he carries a head in both hands; whether his own, or that of Marinus, does not seem clear. In the Bolognese pictures, *San Proculo Vescovo* and *San Proculo Soldato* are sometimes found together as joint patrons.

In a beautiful altar-piece by Don Lorenzo Monaco, St. Proculus is represented as a young saint, leaning on a sword, the belt of which he holds in one hand. The name is inscribed underneath. (Academy, Florence.)

The Martyrdom of St. Proculus, by Palma Vecchio, is at Venice, in the Church of St. Zaccaria.

ST. QUINTIN, the son of Zeno, held a high command in the Roman army, and being converted to the Christian faith, he threw away his arms and preached to the people of Gaul, particularly at Amiens and in the country of Belgium; but being denounced before the prefect Rictius Varus, he suffered a cruel martyrdom. He is represented in armor, and his proper attribute is an iron spit on which he was impaled; but this is often omitted: he is famous in the old French and Flemish ecclesiastical decorations, but so rare in Italian Art that I can remember no example.

The last of these military saints who may be considered of sufficient importance to require a detailed notice is Sr. ADRIAN, illustrious throughout all Christendom, both in the East and in the West; but less popular as a subject of Art than might have been expected from the antiquity of his worship, and the picturesque as well as pathetic circumstances of the legend.

“ Adrian, the son of Probus, was a noble Roman; he served in the guards of the Emperor Galerius Maximian, at the time when the tenth persecution against the servants of our Lord first broke out in the city of Nicomedia in Bithynia (A. D. 290). Adrian was then not more than twenty-eight years old, and he was married to a wife exceedingly fair and virtuous, whose name was Natalia, and she was secretly a Christian.

“ When the imperial edict was first promulgated, it had been torn down by the brave St. George, which so incensed the wicked emperors, that in one day thirty-four Christians were condemned to the torture; and it fell to the lot of Adrian to superintend the execution; and as he stood by, wondering at the constancy with which these men suffered for the cause of Christ, his heart was suddenly touched, and he threw away his arms, and sat down in the midst of the condemned, and said aloud, ‘ Consider me also as one of ye, for I too will be a Christian!’ Then he was carried to prison with the rest.

“ But when his wife, Natalia, heard these things, she was transported with joy; and came to the prison, and fell upon her husband’s neck and kissed his chains, and encouraged him to suffer for the truth.

“ And shortly afterwards, Adrian, being condemned to die, on the night before he was to suffer prevailed upon the jailer by large bribes, and by giving sureties for his return, to permit him to visit his wife.

“ And Natalia was spinning in her chamber when the news was brought that her husband had fled from prison; and when she heard it she tore her garments, and threw herself upon the earth and lamented, and exclaimed aloud, ‘ Alas! miserable that I am! I have not deserved to be the wife of a martyr! Now will men point at me, and say, “ Behold the wife of the coward and apostate, who, for fear of death, hath denied his God.” ’

“Now Adrian, standing outside the door, heard these words ; and he lifted up his voice, and said, ‘O thou noble and strong-hearted woman ! I bless God that I am not unworthy of thee ! Open the door, that I may bid thee farewell before I die.’ So she arose joyfully, and opened the door to him, and took him in her arms and embraced him, and they returned to the prison together.

“The next day Adrian was dragged before the tribunal ; and after being cruelly scourged and tortured, he was carried back to his dungeon ; but the tyrants, hearing of the devotion of his wife and other Christian women, who ministered to the prisoners, ordered that no woman should be allowed to enter the dungeon. Thereupon Natalia cut off all her beautiful hair, and put on the dress of a man ; and thus she gained access to the presence of her husband, whom she found lying on the earth, torn and bleeding. And she took him in her arms, saying tenderly, ‘O light of mine eyes, and husband of mine heart ! blessed art thou, who art called to suffer for Christ’s sake !’ And Adrian was comforted, and prepared himself to endure bravely to the end.

“And the next day, the tyrants ordered that Adrian should have his limbs struck off on a blacksmith’s anvil, and afterwards be beheaded, and so it was done to him ; and Natalia held him and sustained him in his sufferings, and before the last blow was struck he expired in her arms.

“Then Natalia kissed him upon the brow, and, stooping, took up one of the severed hands, and put it in her bosom ; and, returning to her house, she folded up the hand in a kerchief of fine linen, with spices and perfumes, and placed it at the head of her bed ; but the bodies of Adrian and his companions were carried by the Christians to Byzantium, which was afterwards Constantinople.

“And it happened after these things, that the emperor threatened to marry Natalia, by force, to one of the tribunes of the army. Therefore she fled, and embarked on board a vessel, and sailed for Argyropolis, a port near Byzantium ; and the remainder of her life did she pass in widowhood, near the tomb of her husband. And often, in the silence of the night, when sleep came upon her eyes, heavy with weeping, did Adrian, clothed in the glory of beatitude, visit her dreams, and invite her to follow him. Nor long did she remain behind

him ; for it pleased God to release her pure and noble spirit from its earthly bondage ; and Adrian, accompanied by a troop of rejoicing angels, descended from heaven to meet her ; and they entered into the joy of the Lord, with the prophets and with the saints and those whose names are written in the book of life ; and they dwell in the light of His presence, reunited for ever and ever.

“ The Greek Church counts St. Natalia among the most distinguished female martyrs, with honors equal to those of her husband ; for, not less precious was her death in the sight of God, than if she had perished by the sword of the persecutors, seeing that she had endured a more terrible martyrdom than any that the ingenuity of man could inflict ; therefore they place the palm in her hand and the crown upon her head, as one victorious over worse than death.”

St. Adrian and St. Natalia are commemorated on the 8th of September, and the story in its main points is one of the most ancient and authentic in the calendar. St. Adrian was for ages the chief military saint of the north of Europe, next to St. George ; and was, in Flanders and Germany and the north of France, what Sebastian was in Italy — the patron of soldiers, and the protector against the plague. He is also the patron of the Flemish brewers. According to an ancient tradition, his relics have reposed since the ninth century in the convent of St. Adrian at Grammont, in Flanders. His sword, long preserved as a most precious relic at Walbeck, in Saxony, was taken from its shrine by the Emperor Henry II. (St Henry), and girded on by that pious emperor when preparing for his expedition against the Turks and Hungarians.

St. Adrian is represented armed, with an anvil in his hands or at his feet ; the anvil is his proper attribute ; sometimes a sword or an axe is lying beside it, and sometimes he has a lion at his feet.

1. In a picture by Memling [once] belonging to Mr. Harcourt Vernon, St. Adrian is thus represented, armed as a Roman soldier, with a magnificent helmet and cuirass, and carrying the anvil in his arms.

2. St. Adrian, in a short tunic richly embroidered, but without helmet or cuirass, holds his sword, the point of which rests on the anvil ; in the left hand he holds the banner of victory. (Italian print.)

3. St. Adrian, crowned with laurel and in complete armor, holds the sword and anvil; a lion, here the emblem of fortitude, crouches at his feet. A beautiful miniature in the breviary of Marie de Médicis. (Oxford, Bodleian.)

4. St. Adrian, with the lion at his feet (engraved in Carter's Specimens of Ancient English Painting and Sculpture).

It is necessary to observe these effigies with attention, for I have seen figures of St. Adrian in which the anvil in his hand is so small as to look like a casket; others, in which the anvil placed at his feet is like a block or a large stone.

SS. Adrian and Natalia are represented by Domenichino in the chapel of St. Nilo at Grotta Ferrata, because this chapel had been originally dedicated to these Greek saints.

I regret that I can cite no other separate figure of St. Natalia, nor any series of subjects from this beautiful legend. No doubt many examples might be found in the old Flemish churches. In the collection of Mr. M'Lellan, of Glasgow, I saw a small picture representing St. Adrian in complete armor, with a helmet and floating plumes; the anvil, on which he was mutilated, at his feet, and a crouching lion near him. In the collection of the late Mr. Dennistoun, at Edinburgh, I saw (in November, 1854) a small and very beautiful picture — by Memling, I think — which represented St. Nathalie, bearing the severed hands of her husband.

According to the Greek and German authorities, St. Natalia bears the lion as her proper attribute: if it be so, the lion is not here expressive of martyrdom, but is given to her as the received emblem of magnanimity and invincible fortitude. She is the type of womanly love and constancy exalted by religious enthusiasm; and though the circumstances of her heroic devotion have been deemed exaggerated, we may find in the pages of sober and authentic history warrant for belief. Every one, in reading the legend of St. Natalia, will be reminded of the story of Gertrude de Wart, who, when her husband was broken on the wheel, stood by, and never left the scaffold, during the three days and three nights of his protracted torture: —

For, mightier far
Than strength of nerve or sinew, or the sway
Of magic, potent over sun and star,
Is Love, though oft to agony distrest,
And though his favorite seat be feeble woman's breast.

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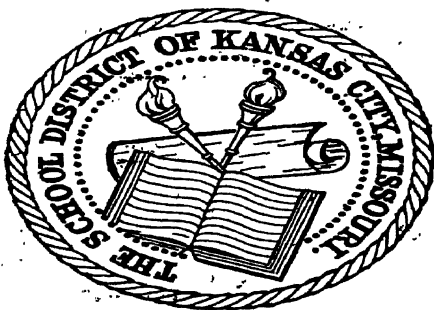
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