SAN MICHELE IN FORO
REPRESENTATIVE OF LATE ROMANESQUE ARCHITECTURE IN LUCCA

by

Muriel Beatrice Wolverton

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Department of Fine Arts

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver 8, Canada

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ABSTRACT

The phenomenal expansion of church building during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries can be noted in Lucca as elsewhere. The power of the Benedictine Order and the Bishopric, the increase in wealth because of the silk industry as well as a prime position on the trade route between Italy and North Europe, and rivalries with Florence and Pisa, all promoted a flourishing of the arts in Lucca during the Romanesque period.

An attempt has been made in this paper to draw attention to the architectural background in Lucca during the Romanesque period. The architecture appears to be divided into two phases. The first phase demonstrates a classic simplicity that appears to relate to the Early Christian basilical church with the possible intrusion of Lombard ideas. The second phase demonstrates a noticeable change in the facade which becomes a decorative screen with blind arcading, doors and windows with splayed arches and free standing galleries with carving or intarsia in the structural components. The structural and decorative aspects of the facade appear to have been adopted from the school of architecture at Pisa but at Lucca they are stamped with a local exuberance which has a lively and plastic quality not seen at Pisa.

There is an underlying classical tradition which appears to be a fundamental characteristic of Tuscan architecture. The use of arcading, intarsia and sculpture, all of classical heritage, when adopted at Lucca, seem to find closer parallels in the Eastern tradition. Super-imposed levels of arches are used in Lombard and Saracenic architecture and appear at Lucca as a reflection of the facade of the cathedral at Pisa. The
spandrel intarsia decoration varies from that at Pisa and seems to reflect the designs of Byzantine and Saracenic textiles, on the other hand, the columnar intarsia at Lucca appears to have parallels in the architectural decoration adopted by the Normans after their defeat of the Arabs in Sicily. The carved relief of the columns finds still other parallels in Lombard, Byzantine and Saracenic work. The decoration of the facades of San Martino and San Michele at Lucca indicates, however, that if the concept was of Eastern origin there was no direct adoption of any particular prototype but interpretation perhaps even second hand interpretation which resulted in a mode of expression that remained unique to Lucca.
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ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure

1  San Michele in Foro, Lucca. Alinari Photo.

2  San Martino, Lucca. Alinari Photo.


4  Silvergilt relic box. Museo Sacro, Vatican City Photo.

I would like to thank Professor Ian McNairn for his encouragement to explore and to raise questions when my interest in the churches at Lucca surfaced.
San Michele in Foro, Representative of Late Romanesque Architecture in Lucca

Chapter I

San Michele in Foro (fig. 1) was rebuilt late in the Romanesque period. It is a distinctive example of strong regional characteristics in the ecclesiastical architecture of Lucca and Pisa at that time. These centres produced work rooted in the so-called classical tradition, but with what would appear to be Lombard, Byzantine and Saracen influences. San Michele can be placed in the second of two phases of Romanesque architecture at Lucca. In the first phase, there was a characteristic simplicity of the church interior. In the second phase, the cruciform plan was introduced, but the most remarkable change came in the exterior where the facade became the domain of the sculptor. The facade was turned into a screen of sculpture and polychrome inlay which covered the solid walls. This type of decorative facade appears to have been influenced by the Cathedral at Pisa, but when it comes to Lucca, possibly first to the cathedral of San Martino (fig. 2) and then to San Michele, it is presented with an exuberance to the sculpture and intarsia that is purely local.

San Michele stands as a white marble mass at the north-east corner of a large piazza, on the site of an old Roman forum. Although the church was founded in 795, the date 1143 found in the left pilaster of the presbytery is generally regarded as the completion date of the rebuilding of the basilican structure, including the blind arcading encompassing the exterior. This blind arcading comprises the first of three zones of a remarkable facade.

The blind arcading of this zone with six columns, two lateral pilasters, and bichromatic voussoirs, scans seven compartments. The central arch is
larger than the others and it contains the main portal with a cornice and an architrave in carved relief. Above this there is a wheel window framed by a carved archivolt springing from the back of a lion on either side. In contrast the two lateral portals are unadorned. Apart from the central arch, recessed lozenge shaped panels appear under the heads of the arches. This scheme reflects the parallel zone in the cathedral at Pisa and the style of the arcading encompassing the church is close to that of the Baptistery of Pisa. Because of these relationships, Salmi confirms Ridolf's suggestion that the arcading of San Michele was finished by Diotisalvi who initiated the Baptistery at Pisa in 1152. Certainly there is an elegance and harmony in the arcading of the Baptistery similar to that seen at San Michele.

The second zone of the facade wall has mullioned windows with splayed arches in Lombard fashion first noted in the eighth century Lombard work at S. Pietro in Tuscania. The third zone contains a wheel window, a round window and an arched opening. Over these two zones a screen is super imposed, consisting of four levels of arcaded galleries with elaborate sculpture and inlay. The third zone is remarkably higher than the body of the church for some unaccountable reason. Perhaps this was done with a view to making the facade more impressive and to making the church appear externally larger than it was. 'False' facades which do not define the actual roof over the nave and the aisles are found in earlier churches such as Sant' Ambrogio, Milan, first quarter of eleventh century, and at San Michele Maggiore, Pavia, first quarter of twelfth century. Surmounting the facade there is a large awkward Statue of the Archangel Michael and two tabernacles on the slope at either side, all of uncertain date. These factors effect a marked vertical disposition in the facade. Stylistically the arcaded gallery
at the apse end appears to predate the facade galleries while that of the side walls is of a much later date. The blind arcading and the arcaded galleries give a strong contrast to the light and shadow in the exterior of San Michele.

This contrast is also seen at San Martino where the lower zone is an open portico with three arches with solid heavy piers recalling the early eleventh century Lombard piers in the narthex and atrium at Sant' Ambrogio, Milan. The upper facade wall also retains the Lombard influence in the splayed arches of the mullioned windows which have three orders of jamb shafts and corresponding square archivolts. This facade also presents three zones but only a single level of arcades in the top zone. Consideration of this and also of the projection of the open portico could suggest that the original intent might have been to deal with the upper portion of the facade in a different fashion. Two methods of dealing with the narthex may be seen in earlier churches. Many churches in Rome integrate the lower narthex with the upper gable by means of a sloping roof undoubtedly derived from old St. Peter's and also seen in the reconstruction drawings for the Benedictine Abbey of 1075 at Montecassino. At Sant' Ambrogio, Milan, the narthex has a simple unbroken outline with two stories of broad open arches screening the articulations of the interior. The contrast of the narthex at San Martino with rows of arcades above suggests that there is a discrepancy in the date of execution of the design between these two areas. It appears that the arcades were modified at some stage to accommodate the campanile. At San Michele there is a more harmonious relationship between the high arches of the blind arcading at the lower level and the arches of the free standing galleries above although the classical feeling of the lower zone finds its direct antithesis in the anti-classical feeling of the upper zones. It is
generally suggested that these two areas were executed at different periods. The free standing galleries with their sculpture and inlay, appear to be a local expression of the highly ornamented surfaces of Eastern magnificence which screen facade walls and the interior articulations.

In the interior at San Michele the elements are well coordinated and reflect the simple and compact basilical churches of the first phase of Lucchese Romanesque architecture with the addition of the cruciform plan. The bays of the nave have twice the breadth as the bays of the side aisles. The length of the central nave is 47.90 meters. The breadth of the nave is 18.70 meters. The breadth of the transept is 32.10 meters and the minor axis of the transept is 8.28 meters. The lateral walls of the nave contain clerestory windows and a horizontal moulding at the height of the aisles that continues around the wall of the raised apse. The nave is divided by arcades each containing six monolithic columns with broad bases and Romanesque capitals in imitation of the Corinthian and the Composite orders. The triumphal arch rests upon two pilasters; The original trussed ceiling was replaced in the sixteenth century by the present vaulted ceiling. Overall there is a fine sense of proportion and classic simplicity. This same sense of security of proportion and sparseness of decoration is seen in the eleventh century churches of San Alessandro, Lucca, and San Giorgio de Brancoli in the district and it is also seen in the twelfth century portion of San Frediano, Lucca. An earlier version of the facade at San Martino might have been like this. The projecting transepts at San Michele might be an influence from Pisa but the early twelfth century cruciform church, San Michele Maggiore, Pavia; must not be overlooked. There is some question as to the date of the addition of the projecting transepts at San Martino.

The homogeneity in the Lucchese Romanesque architecture of the first
The phase is translated into San Michele in terms of a fine sense of proportion and a clarity of line, in relation to the interior and to the blind arcading of the exterior. The decorative aspects of the facade reflect ideas probably introduced from Pisa, the cruciform plan, the blind arcading, the rhythmic succession of galleries and the use of polychrome. Lucca offers a plastic sculpture and an elaboration of inlay in polychrome not seen at Pisa. The fusion of influences at Lucca is handled in a creative, imaginative manner. However, variations in the different level of arcades in San Michele as well as San Martino (fig. 3) suggests a range in the dates of execution and without this decorative screen both church facades would relate more closely to the churches of the first phase in Romanesque building at Lucca. The covering of sculpture and intarsia must surely reflect the secure position of the city as a centre of trade and prosperity.
Chapter II

Both Lucca and Pisa were experiencing the peak of their political and economic power during the Romanesque period. There was undoubtedly frequent exchange as well as rivalry between these two cities. Church expansion and elaboration during this period was probably dedicated to civic power as much as to the glory of God. It appears that commerical enterprise and creative initiative were taking place at the same time as civil wars, invasions and murderous rivalry between factions in the cities and republics of Northern Italy, during the middle ages. In the course of the eleventh century, Pisa joined with Genoa, rose to great maritime power and subsequent prosperity. Together they drove the Saracens out of Sardinia and Corsica and divided the islands into fiefs distributed to both states. The ships of these two republics engaged in the profitable trade of transporting soldiers of the First Crusade to the Holy Land. They further increased their wealth from plunder when they joined with the count of Barcelona in liberating the Balaeric Islands from the Saracens and when they joined with the Normans to capture Palermo from the Saracens in 1062. The Pisan republic extended trade on a large scale throughout the Mediterranean, establishing trade quarters in Sicily, North Africa, and the Near East and inevitably established commerical and cultural contacts with the Saracens.

In the eleventh century many towns in Northern Italy such as Siena, Florence, Pisa, Lucca, Milan, Pavia, Brescia and Bologna organized extensive rights of self government for maintenance and extension of civil liberties. At this time the commune, a sworn body of citizens and nobles, came into being. Each commune was anxious to control its own trade outlet as well as that of its neighbours. The Pisan Republic expanded rapidly on land in order
to gain this power as well as a wide subject territory. They had military strength and the support of the Emperor. Their expansion of the north was curtailed by the republic of Lucca and on the east by the republic of Florence. The alliance with the Emperor bound Pisa to the Ghibelline party. During the long struggle between the Popes and the Emperors the names Guelph and Ghibelline were used to designate the papal and imperial parties, respectively. Originally, the names had been associated with dynastic rivalries in Germany, the Guelphs being the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria and the Ghibellines the lords of Hohenstaufen. Guelph lost all trace of its original association and became applied to the supporters of the papacy in the struggle against the emperor. The names outlived this struggle to survive in Italian civic politics. At no time did either party clearly represent any particular doctrine or social class but these two rival factions plunged Italy into internal warfare for many years.

The geography of Tuscany and the development of land trade routes was largely responsible for the rivalries of the provinces. The Via Francigena was the main route for pilgrims and trade from France and Northwest Europe to Rome. Lucca held both the Northern outlet of the Via Francigena and its crossing at the Arno. The Lucchese sought to extract dues from all trade passing through their city from the north. Pisa sought a foothold on the road before it reached Lucca. It is not surprising that by 1003, before these cities were communes, they were fighting. In the 12th century, friction between Genoa and Pisa turned into open warfare and at this time Lucca allied herself with Genoa in the struggle against Pisa. Before Florence became a strong commercial centre she joined with Pisa in the fight in order to gain free trade and concessions for Florentines in Pisa. Of course, their mutual interest evoked hostility and war erupted between
these two by 1218. The peace in Tuscany was continually disrupted by this fight for commercial supremacy.

Lucca, capital of the county of Tuscany and home of the reigning count was an important centre throughout this period. Next to Rome, Lucca was the most important pilgrimage centre in Italy. The 'Volto Santo' the large sculptured crucifix in San Martino, the cathedral of Lucca, became famous for its miracles throughout Europe. William II of England frequently swore 'per sanctum Bultum de Luca'. A legend grew to authenticate the antiquity of this crucifix. It was claimed that Nicodemus carved it in the likeness of Christ and that it had arrived in Lucca in the 8th century. Regardless, the crucifix played some role in the rise of Lucca's power and it remained an attraction to the pilgrims throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

A powerful line of bishops effected reform in the church and monastic orders at Lucca. These ecclesiastical and monastic reforms had begun with the founding of Cluny in 910 by the Benedictine order. This reform coupled with the wars overlay investiture by the rulers of Europe reawakened religious zeal throughout Europe. Accompanied by the commercial enterprise which was arising at this time, the stage was set for a flourishing of the arts. At Lucca in the second half of the eleventh century the nobility, wealthy bankers and merchants and clergy began a program of founding and rebuilding churches and monasteries, most of which were placed under the increasingly powerful Benedictine order.

Significant events in the late eleventh century and early twelfth century brought fame to the diocese. Anselmo da Baggio was called from Milan to Lucca as Bishop in 1060. The next year he rose to prominence when he became Pope Alexander II. He retained his episcopacy at Lucca and
returned frequently. At this time the atmosphere was ideal for an increase in church building at Lucca as elsewhere. The recurring mention of the episcopacy of Lucca in documents referring to S. Pietro in Valdottavo, S. Giorgia di Brancoli, and S. Alessandro might indicate direct intervention of the bishop in their construction, a point to remember when considering the homogeneity of these churches. This pope and two wealthy Lucchese, Lambertus and Blancarius, were instrumental in bringing about the reconstruction of San Martino at this time. Pope Urban II stopped in Lucca on his return from the Council of Clermont called in 1095 to deal with this reforms and to organize the first Crusade. Later the crusaders congregated there on their way to the Holy Land. The oath of the money changers of San Martino, dating to 1111, indicates the importance of this Cathedral as the centre of the community at that time, with activities which could be conveniently conducted under an open portico.

Lucca's position in the network of roads leading north and south was of prime importance in the establishment of her flourishing silk industry. Rulers had long regarded the silk industry as a necessary cultural art. Imperial workshops for weavers date to the pre-Christian era in the Eastern world. The superiority of the Persian textiles exercised an influence throughout the world. Myth and symbol was adopted into the patterning for costuming and decoration for pomp and display. After the introduction of Christianity, weavers adjusted their skills to meet the requirement for resplendent hangings and vestments for the church. Papal inventories mention textiles imported from the Byzantine and Sassanian empires. Bagdad, known as Baldaccio in Italy, provided costly fabrics called 'baldacchino' a term later associated with canopies made of such fabrics. Lucca became famous for its production of fabrics called 'diasperati' or 'diaspri'. These
textiles had figures of animals or birds with heads, feet and sometimes wings brocaded in silver or gold. Santangelo states that these 'panni lucani' were frequently mentioned in church inventories of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Barsali states the first mention of weavers in Lucca dates to 846 and that silk manufacture had a phase of flowering and expansion in the twelfth century: the oldest known example of this silk at Florence is from the tomb of Bernardino of Uberti who died in 1133. There is also a fragment of silk attributed to the twelfth century weavers at Lucca in the State Museum, Berlin. This could indicate that the silk industry at Lucca was well established before the exodus of silk weavers at Palermo in 1265 when Charles I of Anjou defeated the Hohenstaufens in South Italy and Sicily. This is not to underestimate the influence of the weaving ateliers at Palermo on Lucca before that date. The atelier or 'Hotel de Tiraz' attached to the courts of the Saracen emirs at Palermo were taken over by Roger I after the Norman conquest. The Normans adopted much of the Eastern luxurious way of life. Roger II brought back Greek weavers to strengthen the Imperial workshop after his conquest at Corinth, Thebes and Athens in 1147. This would account for the blending of Saracenic and Byzantine motifs in Sicily. A relationship can be seen between the textile designs of Lucca and those of Sicily. In 1186 the marriage of the German Emperor Henry VI to Constantine, the heiress to the Norman crown, established close relations between Sicily and Central Europe. Imperial robes of the Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire were made in Palermo for the Norman kings and through Henry VI they came into the possession of the Hohenstaufens. Another route opened for the transfer of motifs and techniques of textiles from the east to the west, an expansion facilitated by political and economic power of this period.
Chapter III

In the early part of the 13th century the cultural arts were flourishing at Lucca. Sculpture and decoration was seen in abundance in the facades of San Martino and San Michele. In these facades the spandrels of the arcades are decorated in a crowded fashion with geometrical and figured inlay motifs that appear to relate directly to the patterns of eastern origin that were used in the famous silks of Lucca. Certain columns are inlaid in a manner also reflecting an Eastern influence other columns are sculptured in what appears to be a Lombardesque style. These decorative forms are a lively addition to a structural complex that recalls the facade of the cathedral at Pisa. At Pisa, the cathedral was erected between 1063 and 1150, and the unique facade was created after the nave was extended westward the length of two and one half bays.

At Pisa, the facade seems to reflect the renaissance of the antique in architectural detail combined with the chromatic oriental conception of intarsia found in the 11th century facade at San Miniato al Monte at Florence, but the essentially flat effect at San Miniato is given a third dimension at Pisa. The three horizontal divisions of these facades have been given a more plastic effect at Pisa by the creation of free standing arcades and by the application of relief sculpture to the string courses, capitals, impost blocks and at the lower stage to the column shafts.

There were possibly three architects responsible for this facade which could account for the lack of regularity in the placement of the interval of the arches at the different levels. At the ground level there is a slight inequality of the interval of the seven arches. In the third story, the interval of the arches in the wedge shaped ends increases to six from the five below. The fourth story has eight over nine of the third story. The irregularity of the interval of the arches at different levels gives a
lively effect and enforces a horizontal disposition, a result of the columns not lining up one over the other. This horizontal disposition is reenforced by the dimensions of the facade, for the base is much wider than the height of the side walls. At Lucca in both the facades, the columns of the superimposed galleries line up one over the other, and it is the sculptural and inlay decoration that creates a lively effect. At San Martino the rhythmic succession of blind arches in the lower level is recessed under and arcaded portico and the upper level of the arcaded galleries appears incomplete. In the portico, one of these arcades is smaller than the other two, in order to accommodate the bell tower. Again the base is much wider than the height of the side walls effecting a horizontal disposition. The lower stage of San Michele bears more resemblance to that of the cathedral at Pisa but the arcade intervals are narrower and more regular except for the one at the central portal. The marked vertical disposition at San Michele is the result of several factors. The width of the base is almost equal to that of the side walls, the columns of the galleries line up one over the other, the upper level stands higher than the body of the church and the sculpture of Saint Michael at the top with the two tabernacles on the slopes, all emphasize the vertical line.

The source of the graceful arcading at the lower zone of the facades at Pisa and Lucca is somewhat puzzling. Salmi sees it as a reflection of architectural elements at Ravenna. It is true that strong blind arcades frame the windows of the fifth century mausoleum of Gallà Placidia. Similarly, arcades frame the windows of the sixth century S. Apollinare in Classe, but these were structural elements as well as decorative and they were incorporated to lighten the framework because the ground at Ravenna was soft. Lavigno presents a developmental sequence for the change of these
structural elements to decorative elements between the seventh and tenth centuries. Decorative arcading developing out of this Ravenna style is seen in S. Martino of Arliano, which according to Luporini is a Lombard Romanesque church of the tenth century. A church of this style raises the question as to how much the local taste was formed by the penetration of Lombard influence into the Lucca territory. It is worth noting again that Rivoira relates S. Martino of Arliano and S. Pietro of Tuscania in regard to their Lombard workmanship. The original eight century portion of the walls of the nave are finished with blind arcading and Rivoira finds the earliest known form of this decoration in exterior recessed arches at the basilica of Eski-Djuma at Salonica, fifth century, where these arcades were filled by transennae intended to transmit a modified light to the gallery, but of course three hundred years is a long span of time and direct contact would have to be known to establish this relationship. The atrium carried out by Archbishop Anspert at San Ambrogio, Milan, in the ninth century has blocked in arcading which gives the appearance of blind arcading. Of course one must not overlook Roman architecture as a source for arcading, both open and blind.

The screen-like structural form of the facade at Pisa with its emphasis on light and dark shadows may be a synthesis of Lombard and Saracen architectural and decorative ideas. The Lombard practice of using a free standing gallery at the apse end, and the Lombard practice of using decorative mullioned windows in each of the rising stages of the campanile, both lend themselves to ideas formulated in the free standing galleries at Pisa. In the exterior of the major apse at Pisa there is a free standing arcade surmounted by a free standing colonnade. Twelfth century free standing galleries exist at Lucca in the apse of San Frediano and the apse of San Michele. Rivoira
suggests that these galleries might have developed from the use of recessed arched niches as seen in the ninth century apse of San Ambrogio. Mullioned windows rising in tiers in Lombard campaniles are seen early in their development in the towers of the cathedral of Ivrea at the end of the tenth century.

On the other hand the use of multi-levelled arcades has a long history in the architecture of the Saracens. They were used in both their mosques and in the courtyards and frequently in conjunction with ornamental surface design that is not unrelated in feeling to the facade arcades at Pisa and Lucca. Superimposed level of arches can be seen in the ninth century mosque at Cairo, and at the mosque at Cordova built during the eighth to tenth centuries. A courtyard at Damascus of the beginning of the eighth century also has these superimposed levels. The Normans adopted this form into their architecture in the south of Italy and in Sicily as seen in the twelfth century churches of Cefalu, Monreale and Palermo. An earlier example is seen in the Norman cathedral of S. Maria Degli Angeli at Salerno consecrated in 1084. The lower level of the atrium has columns brought from Paestum, both levels have bichromatic stilted arches in the Saracen fashion. Also Saracen is the intarsia in the lower spandrels of roundels and geometrical patterns similar to those in the cathedral at Pisa. Superimposed arcading is also present in the Norman cathedral at Amalfi, the tenth century structure, rebuilt in 1208, has the Saracen decorative surface treatment applied to a facade which is not unrelated to Lombard in outline.

The use of the arcaded galleries at Lucca reflect the facade at Pisa, but the treatment of the decorative surface is handled in a unique manner. The decorative appearance seems to relate to material other than stone, such
as that of illuminated MSS., ivory carving, or metal work. Who is responsibly for the sculpture and inlay of the columns? The idea of the intarsia in the spandrels seems to have been foreign to the person charged with its execution. Salmi attributes Guidetto with the direction of the decorative programs of the facades not only at San Martino but also at San Michele. Variation in the different galleries and in the facade wall suggest that others had a hand in the responsibility. Although Guidetto is mentioned in documents of the period, nothing is known as to where he came from and as his name changes from the diminutive there is some confusion in regard to his works for the name is used by other masters of this period. Leader Scott refers to Guido and Guidetto in relation to sculpture and architecture at Lucca, signifying that Guido was the father and that he was a Comacine worker but the inscriptions that Scott uses for his sources make no mention of Como. The name Guido is inscribed in a ciborium of 1168 in the church of S. Maria di Castello "JOHANNES ET GUIDO HOC OPUS FECERUNT" and in the church of S. Maria Corteorlandi was built in 1187 for the feudal lords of Rolandinga on the occasion of one of their family joining the crusades, the name Guido is inscribed in the passage leading to the sacristy "Guidus Maiser Edificavit". At San Martino, in the first level in the column near the campanile a figure stands holding a scroll which reads "MILLE CC LLLL CONDIDIT ELECTI TAM PULCHRAS DEXTRA GUIDECTI" Salmi distinguishes Guidetto from the Guido in the inscriptions of 1168 and 1187 and again from Guido Bigatelli da Como who worked later than these two at Lucca as well as Pisa and Pistoia. This confusion of names of the twelfth century has created problems of confusion in the attribution of work to these sculptors and architects. Salmi confirms the identity of Guidetto with "Guido marmolarius sancti Martini di Lucca" who on June 4, 1211 contracted to work at S. Stefano, Prato, until the work was finished,
returning four times a year to Lucca and no more, indicating that he was the head of a school. Drawings of the old facade of S. Stefano, now the Duomo at Prato, show a direct relation in the plastic quality of the recessed molding with bichromatic voussoirs of the arched windows to those in the facade of San Martino. Salmi also points out a relationship in the intarsia of the doors at Prato and that of the galleries at Lucca.

If this style of window is Guidetto's he left his mark on the upper facade wall of San Martino, for at every level there are three windows of uniform design and all but one have a white marble mullion. The one without is adjacent to the campanile in the first level of the middle zone. Each window has splayed arches with alternating green and white voussoirs and an inlay of three roundels with geometric design in the spandrels.

This type of window is seen on two of the levels of the second zone at San Michele. Those of the first level do not have the same regular recession of columnar shafts as the others and only the centre one has a mullion. It could be that these windows were a modification of earlier ones in the facade. The mullion shaft in these windows is green porphyry. At San Martino grey porphyry shafts appear in the splayed arches of the windows of the second level of the middle zone in single pairs and also in double pairs in the top zone. This top zone is the only zone which has porphyry columns in the arcade. At San Michele the roundels of geometric design in the spandrels of the windows are handled with less uniformity than at San Martino.

The facades at both churches present problems in sorting out the different periods when additions were made. At San Martino apparently there was a 'porticalum' in 767 and it is not clear just what comprised the facade when Anselmo enlarged the church in the eleventh century but
a bird's eye view of the exterior indicates that additions have been made at different levels in different periods. Surface finish at the side of the projecting facade wall varies at different levels. Barsali indicates that in 1196 "l'Opera de Frontespizio," initiated work on the facade starting from the atrium of Anselmo, with the new facade resting upon two arches of the earlier facade of equal size and of the depth of the atrium above the vault of the atrium. It appears that the present facade at San Martino was modified to accommodate the campanile. In the portico neither the height of the smaller arch nor the handling of the bichromatic vousoirs is similar to that in the two larger arches. One would also wonder at the appearance of the upper facade where the symmetry of the arcades is disrupted by the campanile. It seems possible that in the original intent and execution, it must have appeared in symmetrical form.

San Michele also raises questions in regard to the facade for here it appears the additions were made at different periods. At what point was the facade altered in the second zone so that it no longer indicated the outline of the aisles' roofs? Does the eight spoked wheel window belong to the facade of 1143 or was it introduced later? At San Pietro in Tuscania there is an early twelfth century rose window set in a square above the portal, but the spokes of the wheel number twelve, not eight as at San Michele. There is evidence at San Pietro of Cosmati work. The Pieve of Massa Cararra has an eight spoked wheel and in Lucca the portals of San Michele, S. Cristoforo and S. Giovanni have eight spoked wheels. These windows might have been additions to existing structures. The portals of the two latter churches have splayed arches and bichromatic vousoirs similar to those seen in the windows of San Martino and San
Michele. It is interesting to note the wheel window in the relief of Nicolo Pisano, *Presentation of Christ in the Temple*, in the pulpit of the Pisa Baptistery of 1260. The placement in the facade gable is similar to the way it might have appeared at San Michele before the facade was extended.

The columnar shaft on the small portico arch at San Martino and the molding of the arch is carved in a fashion similar to that of the concentric frames of the wheel window of San Michele, where it appears in a more exaggerated form. This method of carving spirals or chevrons is seen in the north at Lombardy and Como and frequently in Rome. Both these areas developed the rose window in the twelfth century but these windows have twelve spokes. Brackets with human figures and crouching lions appear in the portico, those with humans are strangely placed in the spandrels and those with crouching lions at the springing of the arches. S. Giovanni with bichromatic voussoirs and a wheel window has human figures at the springing of the inner arch and at the outer arch crouching lions are placed above the brackets and human figures below.

There is a uniformity of the decorative arcading at San Martino and San Michele which suggests the concept arose in one mind. But variations arise which suggest that the idea fell into the hands of more than one master. The first gallery of the middle zone at San Martino is the only one where all the columns are decorated. The intarsia of the spandrels at this gallery also exhibit characteristics that differ at other levels. Roundels with geometric designs are more abundant and larger in this gallery, suggesting the hand active here is missing from the other galleries. The cornice under this arcade is comprised of human and animal, as well as vegetal motifs, whereas the other three cornices pertain to plants. There
seems to be more uniformity at all levels in the rosettes of the impost blocks and the human and animal heads that appear at the springing of the arches. These motifs appear to be related to similar motifs at the Baptistry of Pisa. At San Martino, the second level of the middle zone differs from the other galleries for there are no columns with intarsia and in the spandrels the intarsia is of a different design. The roundels with geometric design are reduced in size and number from those of the first level. There are more heraldic compositions of animals in confrontation and in combat as well as the king on horseback with the falcon, all designs from textiles of this period. At this level and in the zone above a stylized tree appears in the triangle of the spandrel. It is unique to these levels, appearing three times in the middle zone and twice in the top. These variations would tend to relate the work of these spandrels to the same period.

Garzelli suggests that the hand of Guido da Como can be seen in the intarsia decoration of the upper gallery at San Martino. Guido, pupil of master Bonaggiunta Bigarelli of Arogno in the bishopric of Como, known as Guido da Como is first mentioned at Lucca in documents of 1244 and in others of 1253-54. To the right of the main portal an inscription indicates that the decoration with inlay and sculpture of this zone was begun in 1233. The elegance of the intarsia with the chevron motif in the columnar shafts and in the archivolts of the main portal relates to the framing of the pluteii in the font of the Baptistery at Pisa which was also executed by Guido da Como in 1246. His work seems to have a characteristic plastic quality and clearness of representation. The banding of green porphyry in the top zone and the integration with the porphyry voussoir of the window to give an added depth coupled with the geometric banding which is similar
to that between the portals and also on the font gives rise to the suggestion that Guido da Como was responsible for work in this top zone.

The knotted column that appears laterally at this zone appears also in each of the first level of the upper zones at San Michele. It is possible that it appeared first at San Michele. Columns of the top level of San Michele are inlaid. At the other levels they appear with intarsia, sculpture or plain surfaces. In the decoration of the double archivolt of the arcades the outer ones alternate between carved foliage in relief and leaves of a more three-dimensional form. This matches the treatment in the arcade of the first level at San Martino, whereas the remaining levels at San Martino make use of the standing leaf form only.

This might indicate that the facade of San Michele was executed in the first half of the twelfth century before Guido da Como incorporated two more levels of arcades at San Martino. Note should be taken that the intarsia of the spandrels of the two zones at San Michele were executed if not under different direction certainly by different hands. In the intarsia of the spandrels in the middle zone geometric motifs appear under the rectangular designs. In the upper zone animals and birds appear under the rectangles which are much more uniform in shape and form a strong horizontal line. This delightful intarsia design appears somewhat foreign to the scheme of things at Lucca. Certainly it was foreign to the hand and mind charged with its execution.
Chapter IV

The polychrome and sculptural decoration at Lucca appears to relate to the profusion of intricate decoration seen in the Byzantine and the Saracen world. Lucca's prime position in the trade route north and south would undoubtedly bring her into contact with objects readily portable such as ivory carvings, reliquaries and illuminated MSS., a logical source for the introduction of new ideas to Lucca. Lucca's unique political and economic position, the power of her Bishopric and Monastic orders and her rivalry with Pisa help to explain her leading role in the artistic revival in Tuscany. There are a considerable number of works that attest to the eminence of her scriptorium in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. It is reasonable to assume that MSS. brought to Lucca would be copied in the scriptorium and might serve as models for major art such as sculpture and architecture.

The arcading at both these churches brings to mind the decorative arcading seen in the Canon Tables, where the spandrels are crowded with designs and fanciful motifs cover the surface of the columns. There appear four knotted columns, each comprised of four knotted colonettes, laterally placed, on the lower level of each of the two upper zones at San Michele, and there are two laterally placed knotted columns on the upper zone at San Martino. These columns are looped together in the middle giving the effect of a knot. There are a few other examples of this type of column in Tuscany but they are of uncertain date. In the facade of San Quirico d'Orcia (Siena), the Lombard style portal with splayed arches has knotted columns on either side, each consisting of four shafts which rest on the backs of animals. According to Salmi, this facade portal is dated in the twelfth century and it was incorporated into the church facade at the time of the rebuilding
in the first decades of the thirteenth century. Because these particular columns project from the doorway, it is not certain if they were executed at the same time as the engaged columns of the portal. At Arezzo in the parish church at Gropina, there are two examples of the knotted columns with two shafts rather than four: one in the free standing gallery at the apse end and one in the ambone. Both knotted columns are of uncertain date, but are close enough in style to have been executed by the same hand, or at least at the same time. There is also one of these columns in the campanile at Arezzo and two are in the Museum. One of the latter columns is dated to the thirteenth century. The others are of unknown date. There is a plaque in the spandrel above the door at San Paolo a Ripa at Pisa with a figure in orans position and two knotted columns on either side, each comprised of two shafts. However, the manner in which the knotted columns were used at Lucca finds a closer parallel to the examples found in illuminated MSS.

Several interesting examples of the knotted column appear in Byzantine MSS. Because of the two dimensional nature of the picture, it appears as though these columns are comprised of two shafts. In the library of the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, eight knotted columns appear in an illustration at the start of a liturgical roll dated to the late eleventh or early twelfth century. The figures in a liturgical roll appear upside down so that they would appear right side to the congregation as the roll passed over the back of the ambo. In this particular illustration the enthroned Christ appears in the middle of a quadrilobed medallion. Above, there is an arcade containing six knotted columns. Under the arcade: in the centre, the Virgin and child: to the left, Saint Jean Chrysostome and St. Georges: to the right, Saint Basile and an unidentified saint. The liturgy of the
orthodox church is credited to St. Jean Chrysostome and Saint Basile. There is an outer frame comprised of an arch with decorative leafy scroll supported by two knotted columns each arising from an urn supported by a base and topped with an ornate leafy capital. A knotted column appears in a New Testament MS. of the early twelfth century. The knotted column appears in a trumeau below an ornate tympanum. There is a foliate base and an impost block above the leafy capital. Two knotted columns appear on either side of a double arch in a Canon Table from Messina. Both columns have leafy bases and capitals and impost blocks. This MS. might have been copied in S. Salvatore from a Greek model and it is dated to the thirteenth century.

The use of the knotted column in an architectural setting appears in Greek MSS. frequently in connection with a multidomed church. In the illustrated MSS. of the Homilies of Gregory, an author portrait of the liturgical edition, none of which can be dated earlier than the first half of the eleventh century, Gregory is shown dressed as a monk seated beneath a tripartite arch supported by knotted columns with bases and capitals composed of leaves. Above the arch there is some ambiguity as to how many domes the church has. In the Homilies of the Virgin by Monk James of Kokkinobaphos, a scene of the ascension shows the facade of a five domed church with four knotted columns in the arches at the lower level, the bases and the capitals are leaf-like. The ascension scene occupies the centre arch and the figures of saints appear in the side arches. The frontispiece of a Liturgical Roll of the twelfth century, shows a similar five-domed church with four knotted columns at the lower stage of the facade. The bases here are indistinguishable but the capitals again appear leaf-like. Two priests and two servers appear in the centre trefoil arch and there is a server in each of the side arches. Another Frontispiece of a
Liturgical Roll of the thirteenth century shows two lateral knotted columns in a more extended facade, with a cleric figure in each of the three arches. These domed churches resemble San Marco, Venice which was begun about 1070; a filiation of Justinian's Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. The Church of the Holy Apostles was begun in 540, rebuilt in the second third of the tenth century and destroyed by Mehmed the Conqueror in 1461. Galvaris, in reference to the architectural setting of the author portrait of Gregory Nazianus, states that the architectural complex does not represent any specific building. Krautheimer believes that there are four depictions of the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople; one mentioned already from the sermons of the monk James Kokkinobophos, the other three from the Menologium of Basil 11. MSS. with a five domed church might well depict the Church of the Holy Apostles as it was rebuilt in the second third of the tenth century with five domes. Therefore, since these MSS. also show the knotted column, it might have been an essential of the structure. The knotted column found its way into the architecture of San Marco in the tympanum of the Porta Sant' Alipo. Demus dates the tendril framing the tympanum after the middle of the thirteenth century but makes no mention of the arcade with the knotted columns and the screens of the interval which might have been executed at an earlier date. The knotted columns at San Michele are shorter than the other columns of the arcade in which they are placed. They stand on a high pedestal with a plinth. There is an abacus above the capital. The two lateral knotted columns at the second zone have capitals with figurative sculpture, the lateral knotted columns of the upper zone have capitals with stylized acanthus leaves. The two lower columns have inserts of contrasting marble in the knot. The height of these columns recalls the placement of
the ones at San Quirico D'Orcia. These at San Michele would adapt readily to this type that surmounts a beast and supports a projecting portico.

In any creative society, craftsmen are keenly aware of the objects within their sphere whether native or imported. From these objects, influences are adapted into their work either consciously or unconsciously. In the adaption of new ideas, those allied to a familiar concept coalesce readily, but alien ideas can gain acceptance when conveyed with impact through drama or simplicity. Because of this concept, portable objects provide sources for design. An eleventh century Byzantine silver gilt relic box might have readily supplied a source for the knotted column in architectural decoration (fig. 4). The top of this reliquary now in the Museo Sacro, Vatican City depicts the enthroned Christ and the four Martyrs of Trebizond standing under an arcade comprised of rope-like knotted columns with stylized leaf bases and capitals. It is an exquisite piece case in relief. It is not difficult to understand the migration of Byzantine influences to the west when considering works of this nature. Byzantine metal work of a monumental native, bronze church doors, were also of some influence in the spread of techniques and motifs in the West. The merchant republics established compounds in Constantinople. The powerful Pantaleon family from Amalfi, established at Constantinople, ordered bronze doors which they donated to the duomo of Amalfi, San Salvatore of Atrani, San Michele of Monte Gargano, San Paolo fuori le mura, Rome and Monte Cassino. Four of the 24 panels in the pair ordered for the Cathedral of Amalfi were incised with figures of Christ, the Virgin, St. Peter and St. Andrew. These doors are each standing in an arch comprised of knotted columns.

Landulfo Butromilo and his wife Guesa presented bronze doors from Constantinople to the Cathedral at Salerno, ca. 1084. These doors are
an imitation of those at Amalfi but larger, containing fifty-four panels. Eight panels are filled with figures and ornaments. The figures are set in arches with highly stylized knotted columns, bases and capitals. Two sets of magnificent bronze doors of San Marco, Venice date to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Those of the chapel of San Clemente were either brought to San Marco with the spoils of the Byzantine conquest of 1204 or they were a gift of the Emperor Alexus Comnenus, 1087-1118 A.D. As doors were frequently donated as tribute, the latter possibility seems likely.

These doors have twenty-eight panels, twenty-two contain stilted arches with knotted columns, two with crosses and the remainder with Christ and the saints. The knotted column is an interesting motif for it cannot be traced back earlier than the tenth century. It appears in Byzantine MSS. and in the architecture and decoration of the Lombards.

The small rectangles of these bronze doors were cast separately, incised and then silver was hammered into this line or it was filled with green or red enamel. Frequently faces, hands and feet appeared as separate inserts with incised detail. This technique relates to the Byzantine art of cloisonne and is probably of Persian origin.

Metalwork inlay and marble polychrome inlay are closely allied. Polychrome inlay has a long history dating back to the terracotta cones of chevron or chequerboard pattern executed at Ur, ca. 2600 B.C. Intarsia or opus sectile was a decorative technique employed extensively by the Romans. It might well be an indigenous Italian modification of opus vermiculatum, with small tesserae, which was introduced from the east. Incredible skill and labour is required to cut and piece together white marble with contrasting pietra dura, porphyry or serpentine. Geometric and figurative inlay of walls and floors became firmly established in Roman decoration and is still
practiced up to the present day in Italy.

The intarsia in San Michele might have come from the cathedral workshop. The motifs of the columns are predominantly geometric, consisting of chevrons, spirals, chequerboards, roundels with stars and crosses, there are a few with curvilinear tendrils and one with winged dragons. Intarsia decoration is found in profusion in Sicily where it was possibly introduced by the Arabs from Spain or North Africa. This technique was adopted by the Norman builders after their conquest of Sicily.

Saracen craftsmen employed the chequerboard motif in the mosaics in the Cappella Palatina, Palermo in the first half of the twelfth century. Al Monreale Cathedral, in the cloister of the twelfth century, the shafts of the columns have sculpture and inlaid chevron, chequerboard and spiral motifs.

The chevron becomes a popular motif in sculpture and intarsia after the eleventh century. Examples before this date do not seem to be known in the west and seem to be rare in the east. From Baouit, Egypt a carved relief, ca. 600 shows the chevron quite clearly in a portion of a colonnette. Large zig-zag bordering appears on the façade of the palace of Mshatta, which Creswell dates to the Umayyad Dynasty. This chevron motif is inlaid of the shafts of columns at Monreale. The Paschal candlestick at Salerno, dating to 1175, has eight and four pointed stars set in chevron bands, executed by workmen imported from Sicily.

The inlaid column with the curvilinear symmetrical tendrils is similar to those of the window arches at Cefalu of 1148. The columns inlaid with geometric roundels appear to relate to motifs found in the mosaic pavements such as those at Florence in the Baptistery and San Martino, 1207, perhaps indicating related workshops. The source of these roundel motifs
appears to be traditional patterns from Saracen textiles. In textiles large tangent roundels of geometric design were used to enclose a pair of animals. Undoubtedly, the limitation imposed by Mohammed upon the representation of natural objects would account for the development of geometric forms in textile, as well as other arts, however, the followers of Mohammed avoided literal interpretation of the limitations and thereby introduced birds and animals into their design in a stylized form. Inlay work in this manner was also taken up by the Cosmati of Rome. They were responsible for the inlaid, plain and twisted columns in the cloister of San Paolo fuori le mura begun in 1205 and finished ca. 1235. Motifs of the columns at San Martino and San Michele are similar to those seen in Sicily and also in Rome but they are handled in a different fashion.

At San Michele one unique column is symmetrically divided in black and white with reverse images of a winged dragon amongst tendrils. A winged dragon of similar style, with a looped tail, appears in the zoomorphic frieze in the lower part of the campanile at Pisa, executed by Biduino ca. 1174. Also there is a winged dragon in the choir screen at San Miniato, of a slightly later date. Could this suggest again a relationship of workshops between these areas?

The columns of foliage carved in low relief and seen laterally in the top arcade of the second and third zones at San Michele as well as laterally in the middle zone at San Martino bear some resemblance to columns seen in the cloister at Monreale and also to the columns of the main portal in the cathedral at Pisa.

There are six columns carved with a plastic Romanesque liveliness that appears to relate to the school of Biduino. These columns all depict paired animals, some with interlaced tails, and three also depict a double-tailed
siren, a survival of the antique form, popular in Lombard art and used again in Romanesque times. The interlace forms also goes back to the seventh century Lombard art and survived in sculpture, and illuminated MSS. Two illuminated MSS. from St. Martial now at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, show animals in combat with interlocked tails, they date from the end of the eleventh and end of the twelfth century respectively.

The sculpture of the Lombards was rich and varied and frequently depicts animal interlace. There are two examples of sculpture with dragon tails interlocking, in the architectural sculpture of San Michele, Pavia, ca. 1180. One is seen in a capital where intertwining dragon tails are locked around the human form and the other is seen in a base where lizard-like dragons have heads as well as tails interlaced. The siren which appears in these Lombardesque columns is seen in earlier examples in Tuscany. The most immediate connection is the siren in the architrave of the main portal at San Michele. Among the unfinished leaf spray there is also a female centaur, griffins and animals in combat and in the centre there is a medieval-like archangel standing on a dragon. In the architrave over the tribune amongst the vine scroll there are griffins, animals in combat and a centaur. Salmi places these architraves to the middle of the twelfth century. The motif of the double tailed siren also dating to the same time is seen in a corbel at the Baptistery at Pisa.

A unique siren in low relief with fin-like tails, is seen in the pulpit of Gropina. Another late twelfth century siren appears in a capital from the cloister of the Abbey of Torrey. The siren is a motif from Roman times and probably survived into the Romanesque period because of the adoption by the Lombard carvers. The spiral column also is frequently in sarcophagi and architecture.
The intarsia, or opus sectile that spreads from under the cornice at each level and into the spandrels at San Michele presents another interesting study. Opus sectile was utilized extensively in Byzantine and Islamic spandrel decoration and it appears to have been re-introduced through these channels to Pisa and Lucca. A relationship can be seen between the polychrome ornamentation of Santa Sophia, Constantinople and that of the facades of Pisa and Lucca. In the profusion of geometric motifs and fine scroll work found at Pisa at Lucca there is added fantastic heraldic creatures in hunting scenes, in combat and in confrontation at San Michele. The intarsia of the spandrels of the second zone differs from that of the third zone suggesting that the work was done by two different hands. There is more regularity to the design of the upper zone. The rectangular frames of the animals in the second zone are not as regular in dimensions as those above, and stars and crosses are used to fill the space beneath these rectangles, whereas in the above animals and birds fill these spaces. The regular placement of the rectangular forms in the upper zone creates a strong horizontal line that is missing from the second zone. The placement of design in this manner is at variance with the free flow of design with a continuous border at top and bottom as seen at Hagia Sophia.

The manner of framing the design in a rectangle is reminiscent of the bands of animals in the facade of S. Michele Maggine, Pavia and also sculptured architrave from S. Benedetto, Brindisi begun around 1080. In each of three rectangles a monstrous creature is depicted with a hunter and spear. There appears to be a relationship between the stylized animals at San Michele and those appearing in lozenges in the border of the cathedral of San Nicola, Bari dating to 1098. In the cathedral the lozenges and animals are carved in low relief and contrasted with a background of brown
cement, comprised of wax and marble powder. Stylized birds and animals are framed in squares separated by curvilinear tendrils in the pulpit of Bishop Agnello, Ravenna, dating to the fifth century. It is interesting to note that this Eastern presentation of a frieze of stylized animals also appears in the Bayeux Tapestry dating to 1073-83.

Jairazbhoy draws attention to the kinship in feeling and decorative technique underlaying the coffer in the Treasury of the Capella Palatina and the facade of San Michele. In the coffer the stylized animals are carved from ivory and contrasted with a brown background whereas the inlay at San Michele is white marble and green serpentine. The relationship in techniques used in Sicily and Apulia suggest that workmen from these areas could have been employed at Lucca. Considering the flow of traffic and trade from the South via Pisa and Lucca to the Hohenstaufen Empire, it would be reasonable to assume that craftsmen migrated to different centres along this route.

The fundamental design of this related intarsia appears to find its source in traditional patterning of Saracenic and Byzantine textiles. These traditions were fused in the Imperial workshop established at Palermo, with skilled artisans from Byzantium, Persia and India, immediately after the Arab conquest in 827. These Sicilian weavers produced patterns in roundels or bands with bird and animal forms interspersed with geometrical stars and crosses or arabesques within square or rectangular panels. Undoubtedly, the Lucchese silk industry was well established before the Sicilian weavers came to Lucca after the disintegration of the kingdom of Frederick II, thirteenth century, but interconnection between designs can be seen earlier.

A hunting scene from early thirteenth century Lucchese silk shows a
king with a falcon on horseback and a hound attacking a rabbit. Such a scene reflects the interest of Frederick II of Sicily who adopted the science of falconry from his contact with Muslim civilization. The three representations of the king with falcon on horseback at San Michele appear to relate to this type of textile design but show more freedom of movement. The early Lucchese fabrics have many of the characteristic features of textiles from Palermo, but gradually the distinctive Sicilian patterning of animal and bird forms was eliminated. It would, therefore, appear that designs of intarsia at San Michele are related to the textiles of Lucca using motifs from the East. The framing disappears and the animals are distributed symmetrically over the fabric with rosettes or stars placed in the intervals. The animals that appear in the intarsia reflect the designs of the textiles. The designs at Lucca become freer in handling in the textiles and this is reflected in the intarsia.
Chapter V

Regional schools of architecture emerged in Tuscany in the eleventh century with main centres in Florence, Pisa and Lucca. It appears that all three were influenced by so-called classical traditions blended with what appears to be Lombard, Byzantine and Saracen elements. The majority of Romanesque churches were of modest dimension and reflected the form of some important church of regional example. The most characteristic of Florentine architecture is San Miniato al Monte. The characterizing feature is the facade decoration consisting of bold black and white inlay covering the wall surface. Influences of San Miniato are reflected in the twelfth century Badia of Fiesole and the late eleventh century church of S. Andrea 1 at Empoli.

The expansion of the Pisan Romanesque school was considerable. It is characterized by elements found in the cruciform cathedral, bichromatic banding, blind arcading, lozenge decoration, super-imposed free standing galleries, areas of intarsia and a timbered roof. Basilicas in Pisan style were built in Sardinia, S. Gavino at Porto Torres, late eleventh century, the Trinita di Saccargia at Codrongianus, during the twelfth century and Sta. Maria de Castello at Cagliari in the thirteenth century. On the mainland, examples seem countless. One of the most notable is S. Paolo a Ripa d'Arno at Pisa and it might have been a forerunner of the cathedral with its cruciform plan and dome. There is one less stage on the facade and the columns are plain and twisted. The architect Gruamons, whose name appears in inscriptions of the twelfth century, influenced important buildings in Pistoia such as the cathedral S. Andrea and S. Giovanni 3 Fuorcivitas. The latter presents a south flank with three levels of bichromatic banding, blind arcading and lozenge decoration.
The doorway characteristics of Pisa with splayed columnar shafts flanking pilasters topped by a carved lintel and recessed molding in the arch above was frequently used as a decorative motif as in S. Giovanni at Lucca.

At Lucca, it would appear that classical and Lombard features were in evidence in the first phase of Romanesque building. This seems to set the stage for the entrance of influence direct from Pisa. Free standing galleries at the apse end might be derived from sources other than Pisa yet the super-imposed levels of galleries of the facade could have been directly influenced by Pisa. The blind arcading was not new to the district of Lucca, it was known in the eighth century at S. Pietro in Tuscania and at S. Martino, Arliano, in the tenth century. How much did the arcading at Pisa influence that of San Michele? The idea of the facade screen no longer outlining the shape of the roof was known in the eleventh century in Lombardy at San Ambrogio and S. Michele Maggiore, Pavia. The form at San Michele varies greatly but seems to relate to the basic idea of wishing to add grandeur to the church. This idea of the false facade does not come from Pisa. The idea is seen again in the thirteenth century Pieve of S. Maria in Arezzo where the west front bears no relation to the interior. The first of four stories is a blind arcade and the other three consist of two open arcaded galleries with a open colonnade above. The interval of the arches is very irregular and the columns are plain and carved. The facade really presents a wild deviation from what can be seen at Pisa or Lucca.

In addition to the free standing galleries the third dimension of the facades at Lucca increased with the introduction of carved columns, windows with splayed arches and the wheel window at San Michele with the richly
carved frame. These features seem to characterize the school which was active at Lucca in the second phase of Romanesque building. The eight-spoked wheel was not introduced from Pisa and its appearance at Lucca is puzzling for the Lombard and Roman rose wheels of the eleventh century all have twelve spokes. The additional characteristic, the horizontal bands of rectangular intarsia with figures of animals and men remains unique to Lucca. The intarsia in the spandrels, an idea that appears to be adopted from Pisa, is unique in its format and motifs. This intarsia, as well as the carved and inlaid columns, seem to reflect a local interpretation of a cosmopolitan idea that attempts to give the churches at Lucca an air of eastern splendour.

At Lucca in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the power of the Benedictine Order, the strong line of Bishops, the rise of the silk industry with the subsequent increase in wealth, the flow of cosmopolitan travellers, scholars, clerics, pilgrims and workers all combined to create an atmosphere where the unique facades of San Martino and San Michele could be expressed in such a remarkable fashion.
Fig. 1 San Michele in Foro, Lucca
Fig. 2 San Martino, Lucca
Fig. 3 Facade, San Martino
Fig. 4 Silvergilt relic box

Byzantine, Eleventh Century
Fig. 5 Plan of San Martino, Lucca
NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1See Appendix.


3Ibid., p. 46 n 40.

4G. T. Rivoira, Lombardic Architecture, Oxford, Claredon Press, 1933, pp. 139 and 152. According to Rivoira this church dates back to the reign of Luitprand in the eight century, at the zenith of Lombard domination. He also relates San Pietro to the church at Arliano which he dates to the eight century which is not in agreement of Luporini's date of the tenth century which is pointed out on page 14. Rivoira also claims Roman 'marmorami' were responsible for the Lombardesque portal with splayed arches in the remodelled front of San Pietro at the close of the twelfth century.

5Ibid., pp. 261 and 269.

6Salmi, (1927), p. 49 n 43. Salmi places the upper galleries and the archangel in the second half of the thirteenth century.

7Kenneth John Conant, Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture, Harmondsworth, 1959 pl. VIII A.

8Isa Belli Barsali, Guida Di Lucca, Lucca, 1970, p. 120
NOTES TO CHAPTER II


2 Antonio Santangelo, Great Italian Textiles, Translated by Peggy Craig, New York, 194, p. 17.


4 Santangelo, (194), pl. 8. This fragment shows pairs of eagles and double-headed eagles of gray-green on red ground, now faded pink, apparently the heads were originally white. This is bordered in blue with bands of animals and the lower portion of the double headed eagle from the centre section appearing in yellow.
NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1 Salmi, (1927) p. 11.
2 Ibid., p. 9.
3 Ibid., p. 11.


5 Rivoira, (1933), p. 140, fig. 17c.

6 Ibid., p. 259.

7 Ibid., p. 210, fig. 269.


9 Ibid., p. 45.


15 Marchini, (1957), fig. c opposite p. 16.

16 Salmi, 1927, pl. 51

17 Barsali, op. cit. fig. c opp. p. 16.

18 Salmi, 1927 pl. 82. 13 , 111, 227.

19 Joseph Polzor, The Lucca Reliefs and Nicola Pisano, fig. 5.

20 Salmi, 1928, pl. 116.

21 Ibid. p. 117.

22 Ibid p. 115.
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1 Salmi, (1927), p. 52 n 56.
2 Salmi, (1928), pl. 74.
3 Ibid., p. 49 n 9.
5 Byzantine Art and European Art, Athens, 1964, fig. 296, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Auct T infra 1, 10, fol. 16v.
6 Lattanzi, Linamenti, di Storia della Minatura in Sicilia, Firenze, 1966, fig. 13, University Library, F.S. Salvatore 88c 18r.
9 Byzantine and European Art, fig. 358, Athens National Library, 2759.
10 Ibid., fig. 359, Patmos, Monastery of St. John the Theologian, 707.
12 Krautheimer, Studies in Early Christian Medieval and Renaissance Art, Middlesex, 1955, fig. 75, 76, and 77. Vat. Gr. 1613 under the dates of January 22 Fol. 314 January 27, fol. 353 and October 18, Fol. 121.
14 Le Porte Bizantine Di San Marco, p. 15, fig. 8.
15 Ibid. Fig. 2, 7, 9, 10, Plate 1, p. 14.
17 Grabar, L'age d'or, fig. 303.
21 Salmi, (1927), pl. 24 and 34.

22 Adele Coulin Weibel, Two Thousand Years of Textiles, New York, 1952, pl. 66.


24 Salmi, (1928), p. 74, fig. 177.

25 Ibid., fig. 104.


29 Salmi, (1928), p. 73.

30 Ibid., fig. 214.

31 Ibid., fig. 74.

32 Ibid., fig. 49.

33 Alfredo Petrucci, Cattedrali di Puglia, fig. 201 and p. 557.

34 C. A. Willemsen and D. Odenthal, Apulia, New York, 1959, fig. 185 and p. 250.

35 W. Lowrie, Art In the Early Church, New York, 1947, pl. 50.


37 R. A. Jairazbhoy, (1965), pl. 1 and p. 49.


39 Ernst Flemming, An Encyclopædia of Textiles, New York, 1927, p. 49.
NOTES TO CHAPTER V

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3 Salmi, (1928), pl. 114.
4 Ibid., pl. 121, 123 and 124.
5 Ibid., pl. 203.
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The edifices of the first phase of Romanesque architecture in Lucca, from the end of the tenth century until the end of the twelfth century, are simple and compact, presenting a balanced coordination of all the elements. Overall there is a fine sense of proportion and a classic simplicity in these buildings of white limestone. This security of proportion and sparseness of decoration is seen in the eleventh century churches of San Alessandro at Lucca and San Giorgio de Brancoli and S. Pietro in Valdottavo. San Frediano follows in this pattern in the twelfth century portion of the church. In these churches the breadth of the nave bays is twice that of the side ailes. It was not the local practice in this first phase to build basilical churches with projecting transepts.

In the surrounding district there are also edifices less showy but of equal interest in this early plan. Some remarkable examples of these buildings in white limestone with a unique nave, are to be found in the Val di Serchio, the Pieve and S. Lorenzo of Moriano, S. Lorenzo in Corte and S. Maria in Piazza of Brancoli, S. Guisto of Puticiano and others such as S. Stefano at the Villa at Roggio, S. Ilaria at Brancoli, the Pieve of Cerrito, and in the Pisan Mountains, S. Andrea at Gattaiola, S. Quirico of Guamo, S. Leonardo in Treponzio and not the least of these, S. Tommaso in Lucca. With the exception of San Frediano, all the churches mentioned have raised choirs.

This unity and fine sense of proportion is synthesized into San Michele's concise, pure, geometrical monochromatic coverings of internal and external design, but this integrity in use of materials and in design is not trans-
lated into the two upper zones of the decorative facade.

It is very difficult to relate San Martino to this homogeneity in the Lucca architecture of the first phase. The cathedral was built by St. Frigidianus around 560. It was rebuilt first after its destruction by the Lombards in the seventh century and then by Bishop Anselmo, later Pope Alexander II, who consecrated it in 1070 in the presence of the Countess Matilda and her mother. Further reconstruction started at the end of the twelfth century and the church in its present aspect was finished in the second half of the fifteenth century. The proportion of the bays of the nave is equal to the side aisles - a notable difference from the other churches at Lucca and in the district. The raised level at the end of the fifth bay suggests the choir might have been located there at one time. The facade must have included an open portico for at this time there was a gallery built directly above its regular opening in the marble facade. This suggests that the blind arcading around the corner and also adjoining the lateral nave at the top might have been continued across this level of the facade. Building technique as seen from the side view indicates that the levels above were constructed at a different time. This would also account for the variation of the cornice below the first gallery, where it is composed of human and animal heads as opposed to the cornices above of curvilinear tendrils.

It is hard to discern when the campanile was added because it is not well documented but the plan indicates it could have caused the existing facade to be modified. (fig. 5).