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NATURE IN DESIGN

PLATE I

FIG. I. PART OF A PAINTED STUCCO FRIEZE (RECONSTRUCTED)
From the North Portico, Knossos. Middle Minoan III

NATURE IN DESIGN

A STUDY OF NATURALISM IN DECORATIVE ART FROM THE BRONZE AGE TO THE RENAISSANCE

By

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D.Litt. Oxon., D.Lit, Land.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON: HUMPHREY MILFORD
1933

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS
Amen House, E.C. 4
London Edinburgh Glasgow
Leipzig New York Toronto
Melbourne Capetown Bombay
Calcutta Madras Shanghai
HUMPHREY MILFORD
Publisher to the
University

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

To R. E. P.

Thou shalt, at one glance, behold
The daisy and the marigold;
White plum'd lilies, and the Jirst
Hedgegrown primrose that hath burst;
. . . And every leaf, and every flower
Pearled with the self-same shower.

PREFACE

IN March 1932 I had the honour of giving three lectures on *Naturalism in European Decoration* at University College on the invitation of the University of London. Those lectures are the basis of this book; they have been expanded and elaborated, but continue to be primarily addressed to students. If their first composition was due to the University of London, so in some measure is their publication, which has been made possible by a grant from the Publication Fund of the University. For these opportunities, and for the friendly encouragement given by Dr. Tancred Borenius, Burning Lawrence Professor of the History of Art at University College, I wish to express my sincere gratitude.

My researches, particularly for the earlier period, have been considerably facilitated by the use of the Conway Library of Photographs, lately given by Lord Conway of Allington to the Courtauld Institute of Art in the University of London. I think I can claim that mine was the first piece of work to benefit by the Collection being thus made public; and my expression of thanks for this privilege will be the first of many.

I have to thank several friends for help concerning the art and literature of periods on which they are specially qualified to advise: and especially Miss E. A. Francis of St. Hugh's College and Professor J. D. Beazley of Christ Church, Oxford, who have both given me the most ungrudging help. Mrs. Murdo Mackenzie and Miss Scott-Thomson have read and criticized the book in manuscript, a friendly service for which I am grateful.

My brother, Sir Arthur Evans, Mr. Dyson Perrins, Mr. E.T. Newell, Mr. R. W. S. Weir, and the Warden and Fellows of New College have kindly allowed me to illustrate objects in their possession; and Mr. O. M. Dalton, Sir Arthur Evans, Mr. E. J. Forsdyke, Messrs. MacMillan & Co., the Society

for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, have generously permitted me to use blocks or photographs belonging to them.

I have written on medieval and Renaissance naturalistic decoration in my previous book, *Pattern.*[1] My point of view remains unchanged, and thus, though I have tried to find fresh instances, some repetitions may be found. For these I can only ask the indulgence of the few who will read both books.

J.E.

[1] Clarendon Press, 1931. 2 vols.

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Chapter I

THE ANCIENT WORLD

I

THE purpose of the study of the History of Art is twofold: the better understanding of the successive civilizations of which the art is studied, and the fuller comprehension of the circumstances that made their artists see the world as they did. It differs from pure history in that it is chiefly concerned with documents that are not written and with men who did not influence events; and it differs from pure art criticism in that it is concerned rather with the mind of the artist than with the mind of the spectator.

Both these purposes are indeed in essence one: the understanding of the environment that produced the work of art. For, taking an average over recorded time, we cannot assume that the temperament of the artist has greatly varied: rather we must assume it to be constant in kind, if varying in degree in the individual artist. One of the characteristics of this temperament is its sensitiveness of perception and eagerness of response to the stimulus of environment; and it is the infinite variety of environment that creates the infinite variety of artistic response. The peculiar interest of the study of such a genre as naturalistic decoration is that it recurs throughout historic time, and that since the stimulus of natural beauty and the quality of the artistic temperament both remain constant we are free to study in its development the other factors which influence the creation of art.

When we are studying the fine arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture since the fifteenth century, we have generally some exact knowledge of the life and circumstances of the artist to help us in our study of the action of environment on temperament; but in minor arts, and in art

of an earlier day, this knowledge is usually lacking, and we have to deduce the relation that exists between the work of art we know and the surroundings at which we can only guess. In such deduction we must beware of too facile generalizations. If we look at a thirteenth-century coffer adorned with Gothic arcading, or an eighteenth-century candlestick shaped as a Corinthian column, it is obvious and right to regard them as the products of ages in which architecture was indeed the Mistress Art; but deduction is not always as simple as this. We must not merely examine the work of art, and deduce what we can from it, but we must also try to understand from other sources, literary, historical and archaeological, the state of the civilization which produced it, and then, having both sets of data, examine the relation that exists between them. This is always close, but sometimes unexpected.

The easiest and least true of these facile generalizations is that which regards naturalistic decoration—by which I mean decoration of which the motives are taken from plant or animal forms, with comparatively little stylization—as the inevitable reflection of a rather primitive civilization in which, to use the hallowed phrase, men lived close to nature. The exact opposite is in fact the case: such naturalistic decoration is produced in courtly civilizations in which men live in surroundings urban enough for distance to lend enchantment to their view of nature. It is in isolation that the bough, the flower, or the living creature have their greatest decorative value; and how rarely does one who lives in purely natural surroundings see them isolated! He lacks the open door, the reflecting pavement, the margined window, the simplified background of wall, that isolate and enhance the single elements of natural beauty for the civilized man, and that by their framing turn it half-way into a work of art.[1]

[1] Cf. F. B. Gummere, *The Beginnings of Poetry,* 1901, p. 469: 'Nature grew "poetic" only by reason of man's social organization.'

The dominant factor in the relation between the artist and his environment is that *of interest:* he sees what he wants to see. Each of us, in so far as we are artists, to a great extent makes his own environment, inasmuch as the only environment that matters artistically is that which we consciously or almost consciously perceive. Actually, of course, the visible world has changed remarkably little in the course of history; we have to remember that roses blossomed and trees came into leaf before the Cretan painters saw them, that the light lay cold on snow before Breughel, and that poplars turned pale in the wind before Corot: but that such being was unperceived and unexpressed. Therefore our study of the influence of environment must include a study of the interests that bring the environment within the perception of the individual.

2

Primitive man, whether prehistoric or not, has no such interest to bring within his consciousness any aspect of nature but the animals he hunts. When he represents even these—and palaeolithic man has left magnificent animal paintings and fine ivory carvings of his prey in the caves of Spain and France—it is not in decorative art; for palaeolithic man had no concern with simple decoration. This is not the place to consider what magical intent drove him to paint these masterpieces upon the walls of dark and almost inaccessible caves or to carve them upon strange wands of ivory; but that intent did not include any decorative aim. Neither do any of these paintings give evidence of decorative composition: the beasts are never grouped; their superposition and juxtaposition seem to be merely accidental. The palaeolithic painter wanted, for obscure magical reasons, to represent his prey; and represented it singly on the best blank space available on the cave wall. In another and less artistically interesting group of paintings, it is true, he goes further and represents not only the beast hunted

but also the hunters: yet here it is all reduced to a schematic form, to a magical formula. Decorative art, moreover, presupposes a field for decoration limited by definition: it is only in response to the appeal of such a field that it can be created. Such fields were almost completely lacking in palaeolithic times; a piece of bone or a flat pebble was all that was available. It is only on these that any representation of the world of leaves and flowers occurs: a bone has been found at Arcy-sur-Cure in Burgundy incised with what may be a spray of lanceolated leaves, and a stone at Gourdan with what may be a branch of pine and a leafy sprig.[1] But, broadly speaking, it is true to say that there is no true decorative art of the Palaeolithic Age, and that these—which may be otherwise interpreted—are at the most the exceptions that prove the rule.

It is to the succeeding Neolithic Age that the true beginnings of decoration belong; and here it grows out of psychological need for reassurance in the face of change. When man grew civilized enough to become a nomad driving his flocks before him, he needed unbreakable vessels in which to carry their milk, and perhaps, if the feeding-ground were downland with few visible springs, water too; and he made these vessels by sewing together with tendons or thongs pieces of leather that he cured from the hides of his flock. Time was valueless, and he had in him the makings of a good workman: so he sewed well and evenly that his vessels might leak the less. Then very slowly men turned from a nomadic way of life; they learned to till and sow and reap. They were still much dependent on their flocks, but they no longer lived moving with them over great tracts of land. In Biblical phrase[2] the lambs were for thair clothing, and the goats were the price of the field; and they had goat's milk enough for their food, for the food of their household,

[1] Reinach, *Repertoire de Vart quaternaire,* pp. 20, 89. Others of the same sort have been found at Goyet, Laugerie Basse, Mas d'Azil and Lourdes.

[2] Proverbs xxvii. 22.

and for maintenance of their maidens. Their need was for milk and water-vessels which though they might travel less well would leak less and wear longer. For these vessels they found a perfect material in moulded and baked clay.[1] Both probability and analogy with primitive peoples point to the fact that pottery was women's work: and women have ever been the guardians of tradition. So, to give reassurance that these pots were indeed as good and strong as the old vessels of leather, they performed a mimesis, and darkened them in the smoke to a sombre grey and reproduced upon them the fine stitching on the leather by scratching them with a pointed tool before they were baked.[2] Plato[3] makes Socrates say that 'Strength is ever fair and weakness ever unlovely': and the first purely decorative art is an assurance of strength by analogy. In some countries it was longer before pottery came into general use, and there was an intermediate stage when vessels of woven grass or rushes were used.[4] It is easy to colour grasses, and soon they seem to have been dyed and worked into geometric patterns such as come naturally to the weaver of such things from the necessities of his technique. In these countries, and notably in Thessaly,[5] it is these woven patterns that are reproduced upon the early pottery with the same intention as caused the seams of leatherwork to be reproduced upon the other wares: they are there as an assurance of strength.

[1] W. Wundt associates the development of ceramics with a totemic culture, and gives an interesting series of modern savage parallels. *Elements of Folk Psychology,* 1916, p. 259.

[2] Some of the earliest of these settled villages were probably in the Nile Valley; early examples of such pottery, e.g. from Naquada near Thebes are in the Petrie Collection at University College. Incised wares are found in Phrygia, Bosnia, Servia, the Troad, and most of the Aegean area. On those from Knossos, see Evans, *Palaces of Minos*, i. 41.

[3] *Hippias Major,* 259.

[4] This happens in a fairly damp climate where these will remain watertight. Cf. their use in Finland almost up to the present day.

[5] Where bronze was introduced at a much later date than in the southern Aegean area and consequently the local neolithic civilization developed more fully and independently. Such painted wares are also found in Galicia and the adjacent lands.

It may seem strange to us, when we think of the vast treasure of decorative themes that has been accumulated in historic time, and is still being added to, that primitive man should have been so long content with these patterns not of beauty but of reassurance. Yet we forget that the infinite variety of things, that for us is a delightful stimulus, is for the savage a heavy burden; so that in the beginning he does not want patterns that will give diversification in a world of monotony, but those that will help to give unification in a world of bewildering variety. He has the same need for repetition and monotony in decoration as he has for the repeated sounds and stresses and refrains of poetry in language.[1] This need is universally felt at a certain level of civilization, and therefore varieties of these imitative wares occur in all the vast area of neolithic civilization from Kief to Bohemia; and, to judge from the stratification, they were in use over very long periods.[2]

3

It is in the succeeding Bronze Age that true naturalism was born.[3] Only then was civilization complex enough to develop in characteristic variety in different centres of population: and so only thus was that contact and clash of civilization achieved which always sets up impulses of artistic creation. Most of the great centres of Bronze Age civilization lie outside Europe and outside our scope: but

[1] Even the primitive liking for red was a reaction against a too-prevailing greenness. 'To men who behold only the green of nature, a red spectrum is always potentially present. Their retina needs this complementary colour as a refreshment, and the primitive artist, in his fondness for red, employed it in unconscious obedience to a physiological law.' Colley March, 'Evolution and Psychology in Art', in AftW, N.S. v, 1896, p. 444.

[2] At Knossos, for example, the neolithic strata are 26 ft. deep, and probably represent an era of more than 4,000 years. Evans, *P. of M.* i. 13. White chalk fillings are found about 5 m. up from the virgin soil. Mackenzie, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxiii, 1903, p. 159.

[3] For an admirable short study of this aspect of Minoan art the reader is referred to E. J. Forsdyke, *Minoan Art*, Annual Lecture on Aspects of Art, Henriette Hertz Trust of the British Academy, 1929.

one, the island" of Crete, lies on the fringes of this continent, and must form the chief matter of our study. For there, towards the close of the fourth millennium before our era, for the first time in Europe a civilization was created not of shepherds, but of aristocrats; not of scattered farm-settlements, but of towns and palaces. Homer's epithet for Crete is 'hundred-citied': he speaks of the men that possessed 'Knossos and Gortys of the great walls, Lyktos and Miletos and chalky Lykastos and Phaestos and Rhytion, established cities all: and of all others that dwelt in Crete of the hundred cities'.[1] It is in the cities that the true characteristics of Cretan civilization are to be found. For the cities were great enough to isolate man for a little space from wild nature; and architectural enough to provide a frame and background for the beauty of such natural things as might there be seen. Their walls of ashlar and alabaster set man a little apart from the overwhelming mass of nature: and within them he had leisure to see her beauty. It was to fit the fancy of town dwellers that the first European naturalism in decoration was evolved, and evolved first in one of the new arts of luxury created in the Bronze Age, in gold work. The fragile jewellery of thin gold found in the tombs of Mochlos, dating from the second Early Minoan period, somewhere between 2800 and 2400 B.C., has pins and ornaments fashioned as daisies, lilies, crocuses and roses, trefoil and other leaves and pendent sprays of olive. It was only very gradually that such direct observation of nature came to be generally practised by the Minoan craftsman. In the third Early Minoan Age he observed birds and beasts rather than plants; he shaped seals as doves and monkeys and boar's heads, and carved a sleeping dog upon the lid of a box (Fig. 2)—'the sprawling, restless sheep-dog of a Cretan village'.[2] At the beginning of the Middle Minoan period there was a new development, with the transference of these beasts and birds in the round

[1] *Iliad*, ii. 645-9. [2] Forsdyke, op. cit.

from harder materials to clay and so to pottery. From the round they were sometimes reduced to the flat, to simple silhouettes of animals, naturalistic in style, painted upon vases; there are fragments from Knossos with the heads of

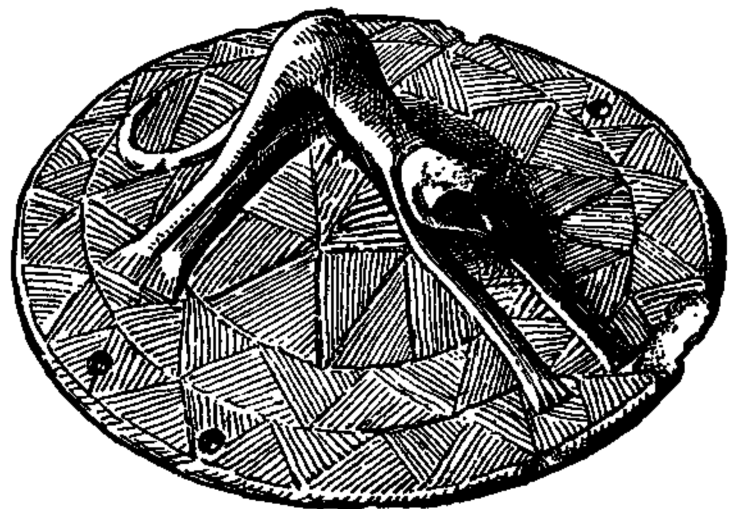


FIG. 2. Green steatite lid from Mochlos, Crete. Early Minoan II.

wild goats and a water-beetle[1] and another from Gournia with a long-legged heron.[2] In the succeeding age the progress of naturalism seems delayed, and there is only a very slow infiltration of formal flower and leaf motives into ceramic decoration: and then, in the second Middle Minoan period, naturalism appears full blown, and so accomplished, that, in spite of its long germination, it seems to come into being as quickly as a flower into bloom. The dominant art, whose works time has unfortunately for the most part destroyed, was that of fresco painting. The fragments of the earliest such painting found at Knossos belong to what may be claimed to be the earliest European idyll: a fresco of a boy gathering saffron flowers. At once the thesis of the relation between the pastoral and urban life is confirmed:

[1] Evans, *P. of M.* i, Fig. 132. [2] Boyd Hawes, *Gournia,* p. 38.

for the time of its creation—the second Middle Minoan period—was the time when the scattered units of the Knossian settlement were deliberately fused into an urban whole, with rectangular planning and courts and porticoes

FIG. 3. Jar with triple groups of palm-trees from Knossos, Crete. Middle Minoan II.

and corridors and colonnades set on terraces that meant great artificial modifications of the natural lie of the land.[1] For the first time European men had a setting of formal 3plendour; and for the first time they felt a need for naturalistic decoration. From the wall-paintings naturalistic motives began to spread into every field of decorative art, and carried the poetic style of creative artists into the workshop of the artisan. A vase painted with three splendid palm-trees[2] (Fig. 3) must represent the influence of some

[1] Evans, *P. of M.* i. 206.

[2] Ibid. i. 253. The type survived in Crete until the end of L.M. I b, and in a degenerate form is found even later on the mainland. Another M.M. II representation of trees on the 'Town Mosaic* from Knossos is much less well characterized; they appear as leafy sprays, delicate but rather characterless.

great fresco that has perished. On a vase from the Camares Cave[1] saffron flowers like those that the boy gathers on the fresco rise from the earth and are visibly stirred by the wind.

But it is in the next epoch, the third Middle Minoan period, that the elements of natural beauty are most freely isolated, realized and expressed. For the urban and courtly quality of Knossian civilization was then intensified with the remodelling of the Palace on a yet more splendid and complex scale.

With this more developed civilization of the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries before Christ, Knossos must, like the Homeric palace of Mycenae, have been bright with the gleam of bronze through the echoing rooms, and the flashing of gold and of amber and of silver and of ivory; and all these varied arts of civilization were swayed by a single current of taste, and that taste naturalistic. One of the most important motives at this time was the lily, the royal flower of Crete. A fresco[2] is painted with white lilies with orange anthers and green foliage on a dark-red ground (Fig. 4); some of the petals of one of the lower flowers seem to have been detached by the breeze. Yet more picturesque is a fresco from the palace of Hagia Triada,[3] with towering spikes of lilies. A lily modelled almost in the round is among the faience models which were found dedicated in the shrine of the Snake goddess at Knossos;[4] it is as remarkable for its plastic beauty as are the frescoes for their linear grace The lily is often, like other royal badges in every age, repeated in a more formal design; a fragment of a miniature fresco from Knossos has rows of lily heads, and a painted

[1] They are painted in white with red pistils and stamens. Another from Knossos has lily sprays, white with red anthers. Evans, *P. of M.* i. 264.

[2] From the SE. House at Knossos. Evans, *P. of M.* i. 537.

[3] Ibid. i. 603. The same subject, a little stylized to fit a more restricted field, adorns jars of the same period found at Knossos.

[4] Ibid. i. 500. A group of saffron flowers in relief and a fruit—perhaps a plum—was found with it.

frieze of this date from Phylakopi shows a powdering of these flowers. The same motive decorates one of the most beautiful of the inlaid bronze daggers from the shaft graves of Mycenae: the hilt is wrought with lilies in chased gold, and the dark blade is inlaid with others with petals of pale electrum and anthers of a redder gold.[1] But it must not be supposed that the royal lily was the only flower whose beauty was appreciated by the Minoan craftsman and his patron;[2] or indeed that flowers were all that he felt to be fit theme for his art. For he was equally sensitive to the beauty of leaves, as witness three painted faience chalices from the Knossian ritual treasure, one with a spray of rose leaves in relief inside the lip, one painted with fern sprays and the other with myrtle leaves. From this point of view few things are more revealing than a fragment of fresco of this date from the South-East House at Knossos with spikelets of flowering rushes.[3] I cannot recall that this motive recurs in all the decorative art of Europe until the end of the eighteenth century, when such flowering grasses were sometimes embroidered on the Lyons satins to be worn at Versailles.[4]

The later Minoan period is also remarkable for its development of that observation of animal nature which had had its beginnings in the third Early Minoan period. The faience models from the Temple deposit at Knossos contain two well-known plaques: one of a goat and kids (Fig. 5), the

[1] For a coloured reproduction see Perrot and Chipiez, vi, PL xix, 5. The same theme is carved in ivory on a plaque from Palaikastro.

[2] By the beginning of the late Minoan period flowers werj grown in pots in the courts and lightwclls of Knosss. Some of the surviving pots are decorated with reeds and grasses. Evans, *P.ofM.in.zji.*

[3] There is enough left to show that a little mouse was painted climbing up the rushes.

[4] Examples in the Mus6e historique des tissus at Lyons. One characteristic of this time—a characteristic that recurs in apogees of naturalism, for instance, in the early thirteenth century of our era—is a certain hybridism, a mixing of quite naturalistic flowers from one plant with quite naturalistic leaves from one of another order; on a fresco from Hagia Triada, for instance, white violets are painted with bramble-like leaves. See Halbherr in *Monumenti Antichi,* xiii, p. 57.

other of a cow and calf.[1] They are in very low relief, intended probably for application to a painted background, but the modeller has given an impression of depth by the overlapping of the bodies and legs. The scenes are, as it were, instantaneous snapshots: the cow on one relief has her tongue half out, ready to lick the calf; and on the other a kid is in the act of bleating. Moreover, though the effect is admirable, there is an element of impressionism: in order to simplify the composition the sucking kid has only three legs. To this period also belongs a steatite rhyton from Knossos shaped as a bull's head, remarkable for its monumental quality. An even more splendid relic of this animal art has come down to us in a fragmentary state, though indeed its preservation at all is almost miraculous. The north portico of Knossos—the Sea Gate—was adorned with a painted frieze on relief, with scenes of bull-grappling. From its fragments, and from other evidence, it has been possible to reconstruct a part (Fig. i). The strength of the bull and its forward urge are magnificently rendered. From our point of view the olive-tree in the background is of almost equal interest. For it is one of the earliest surviving instances of a whole tree—not merely a symbolic spray—in art; and its treatment is very skilful. The lines not only of the trunk but also of the small branches and even of the masses of the leafy sprays, are in relief, and the leaves are painted in green, red, and black, to show the light upper surface and dark lining of the living leaves and the rusty red of those which are about to fall. The little flowers are painted in white.[2]

This development of Minoan civilization had its splendours, especially at Knossos, checked and restricted by a great earthquake. Much of the Palace was destroyed, many of the great works of art that made it beautiful were

[1] Evans, P. *of M.* i. 510.

[2] This scheme of colouring appears more clearly in an olive of a denser growth that filled one end of a bull-grappling scene. On the traditions of this colouring, and its imitation in Egypt, see ibid. iii. 168.

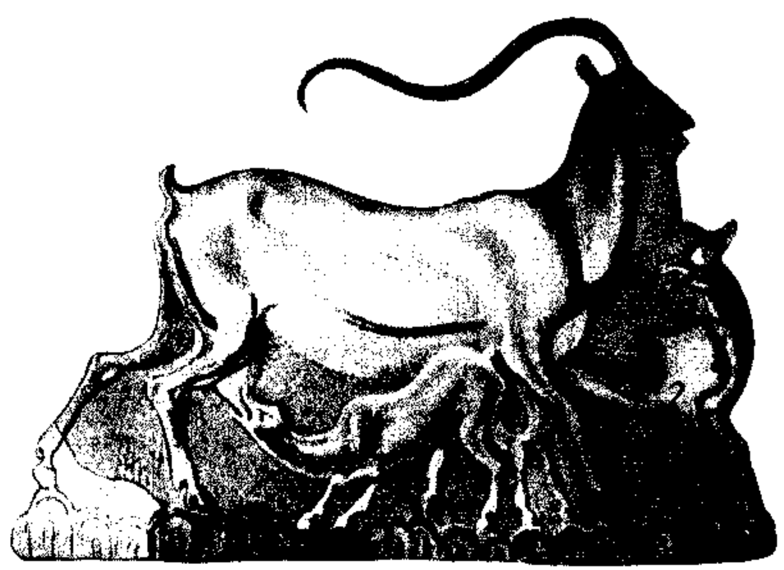


FIG. 4. FAIENCE PANEE WITH GOAT AND KIDS
From the Temple Repository, Knossos. Middle Minoan III

FIG. 5. MINOAN GEM
Engraved with swans
Sir Arthur Evans

FIG. 6. MINOAN GEM
Engraved with a dog barking at a goat
Sir Arthur Evans

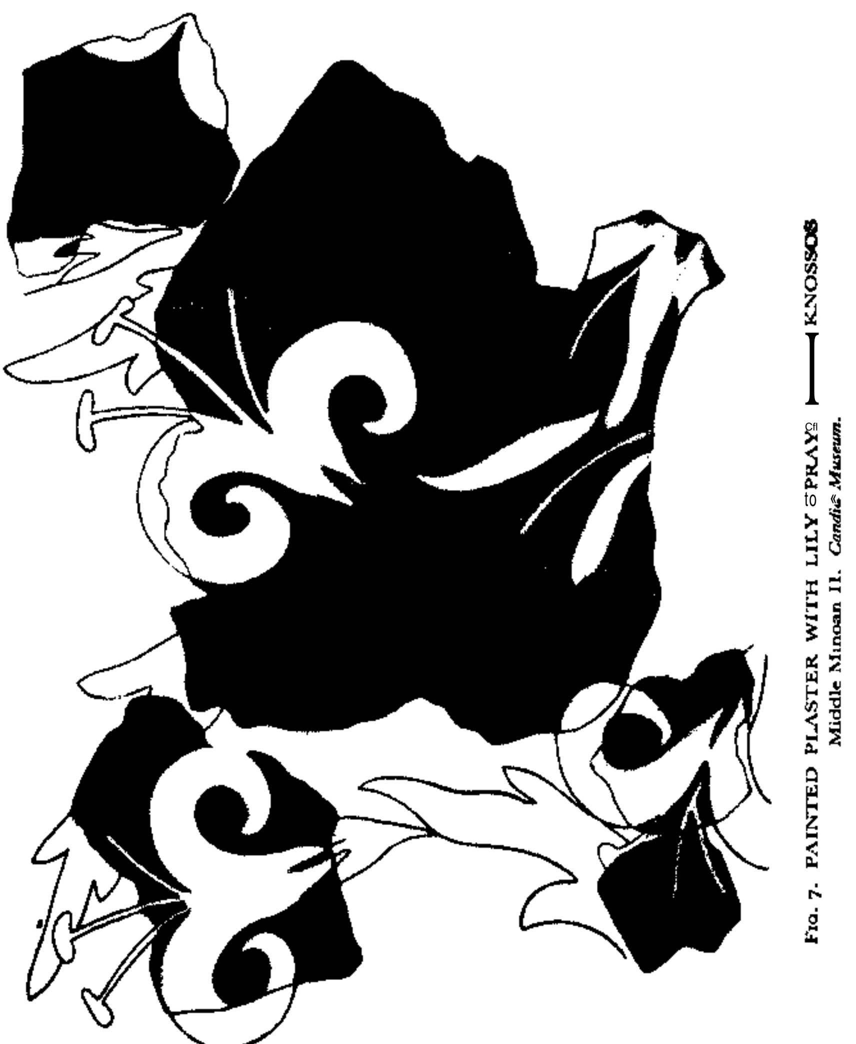


Fig. 7. PAINTED PLASTER WITH LILY SPRAYS — KNOSSOS
Middle Minoan II. *Candia Museum.*

knocked to fragments, and buried out of sight. After a time Knossos was reconstituted, but with a difference: the Palace itself was a little diminished, the fine houses of the city were a little increased; and as a consequence there was much more decoration, and often on a larger scale, but of a less uniformly high quality. Some, indeed, is no more than house-painter's work,[1] though the best carries on the tradition of direct observation of the preceding age. The style and subject of the great reliefs with bulls and olive-trees were taken over into gold work in the Vapheio cups, undoubtedly of Cretan origin, and of the earliest phase of this late Minoan period. On one, with the lassoing of a bull, there is even a similar treatment of an olive-tree with a bossing of the trunk and of the mass of the leaves. Myrtle shoots as delicate as those of the faience cup adorn a frieze from the 'House of the Frescoes' at Knossos;[2] and other fragments from the same house show flowering rushes and crocuses in the old tradition.[3] But men were beginning to see more than the isolated elements of natural beauty, and with the fashion for frescoes on a larger scale, consequent on the use of walls of plastered rubble, these elements were combined into a complete landscape, with a few animals to turn them into a genre subject. On one such fresco from the little Palace of Hagia Triada there is a cat hunting a pheasant, and a leaping roe-deer,[4] in a scene of rocks from which grow ivy and plantains and wild pinks. Another from 'the House of the Frescoes shows a bird—a roller, conventionally blue—sitting on rocks from which spring wild peas, dwarf Cretan iris, pancratium lilies, and charming wild roses.[5] Once more fresco painting influenced ceramics;

[1] e.g. the diaper of crocus clumps from the House of the Frescoes: ibid, ii. 459.

[2] Ibid. ii. 458.

[3] These show a certain freedom of colouring: e.g. there are not only white, blue, and yellow crocuses, but also pink.

[4] Ibid. ii. 355.

[5] Ibid. ii. 454. The artist has given the roses six petals instead of five, and the leaves are grouped in threes. A frieze of partridges from the Caravanserai at Knossos shows this style reduced to the industrial level, though it is interesting for the representation of mimosa and dittany. Ibid. ii. 110.

FIG. 8. Detail of jar with vetches or wild peas from Knossos. Late Minoan I a.

PLATE IV

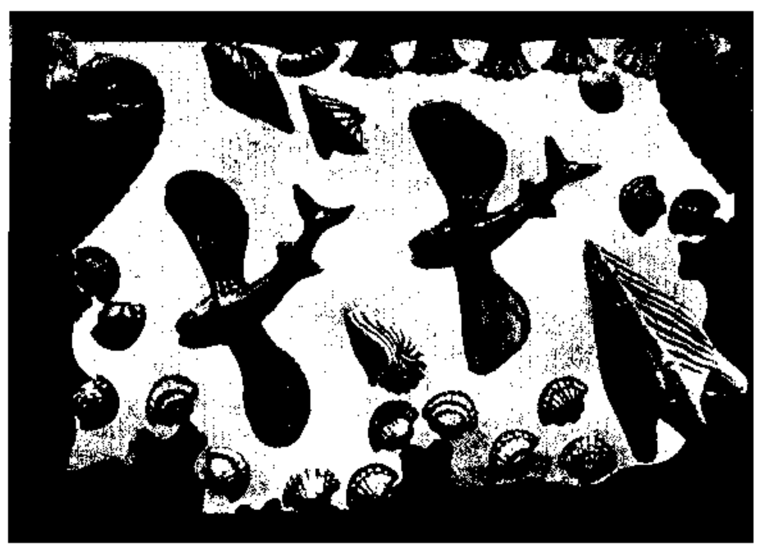


FIG. 9. DECORATIVE AFFIXES OF FAIENCE FOR APPLYING TO A WOODEN PANEL
From the Temple Repository, Knossos. Middle Minoan III

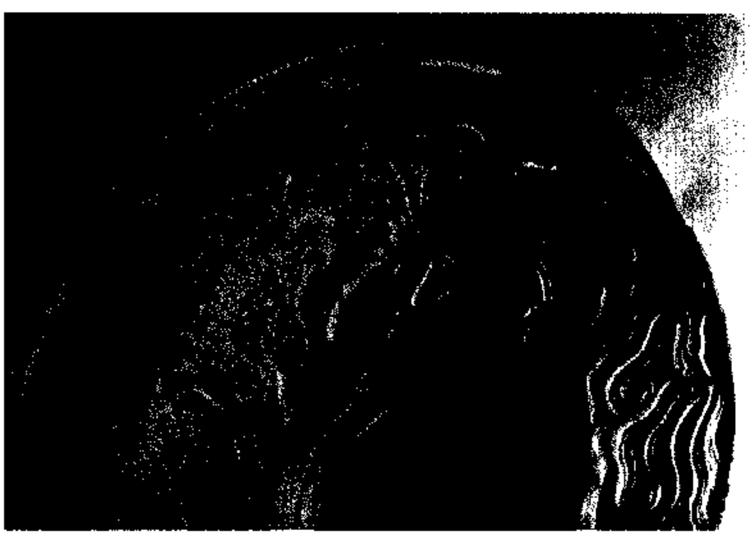


FIG. 10. DETAIL OF A GOLD CUP FROM DENDRA, WITH SWIMMING OCTOPUSES
Late Minoan I

there are several pots of this date with peas or vetches like those of the fresco (Fig. 8).[1]

The beauties of flower and tree and bird and beast could be seen by Minoan eyes: and they could both behold the land and pierce below the water. For Crete was not only bounded by a lovely and rocky coast, but economically looked seawards, to shore and deep-water fishing, to diving for sponges, to overseas commerce, and to a maritime empire. Therefore the things of the sea had significance in Minoan eyes,[2] and therefore they entered into Minoan art. An analysis of nearly two hundred objects decorated with land and sea beasts and birds, shows more than half of them to be decorated with sea-creatures.[3] As early as the first Middle Minoan period—that is, between about 2100 and 1900 B.C.—silhouettes of swimming fish were painted on Cretan pottery;[4] in the next period a few highly stylized octopuses[5] appear on pottery, rocks on engraved seal-stones, and formal shells in sculpture in relief:[6] and in the third Middle Minoan period the marine style, like other forms of

[1] M.M. I11 from Palaikastro, ibid, i. 606; Early L.M. I from Knossos, ibid. ii. 381 and 471.

[2] On this see R. C. Bosanquet, 'Some late Minoan vases found in Greece', *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* xxiv, 1904, p. 321. 'The sea was the highway of the populous unfortified settlements which fringed the shores of prehistoric Crete. The ruling class derived its wealth from trade oversea, and then, as now, the sea provided a good part of the food of the poor. The modern inhabitant of the Cretan coast... is generally half a fisherman. He works with line or spear or basket trap from the rocks, catches the cuttle fish with a primitive pine bark lure ... and esteems its flesh a delicacy. The triton is a rarer prize: its contents are eaten and the shell furnishes a trumpet for the village field guard.' It may seem unnecessary to stress this point; but it must be remembered what a small part marine ornament has played in Mediterranean decoration after the classical period. It is not until the dominion of the seas was re-established by Venice and Portugal soon after 1500 that it reappears. See Joan Evans, *Pattern,* i, p. 178.

[3] M. Oulié, *Les Animaux dans lapeinture de la Crlte préhellénique,* p. 149. The figures are fish 26, other sea-creatures 73, birds 40, quadrupeds 39 and reptiles 11.

[4] Evans, *P. of M.* i. 182; and iv. US-

[5] e.g. ibid, i, fig. 186: *Annual of the British School at Athens,* xix, PL x. It was found with the vase mentioned above painted with crocuses blown by the wind.

[6] These, like some plants mentioned above, are composite in form; see *P. of M.* iv. 118.

naturalism, reaches its full development. It appears among the treasures of the Temple repository in the form of flying fish and shells (Fig. 9) of coloured faience, made for fixing

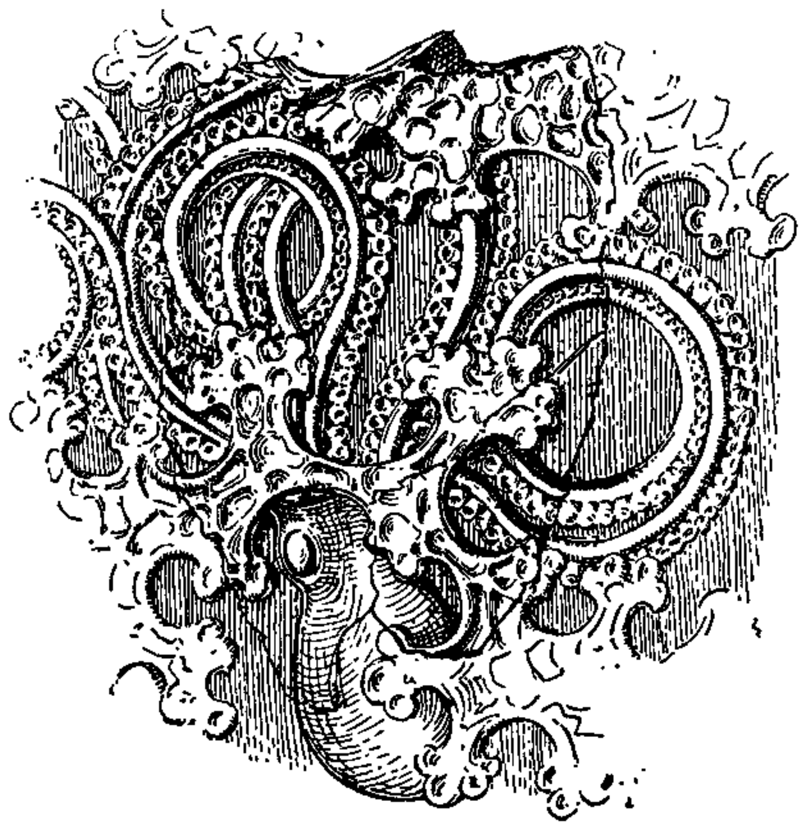


FIG. 11. Detail of steatite rhyton from Knossos: octopus hiding in the rocks. Middle Minoan III.

to a painted background,[1] and in other reliefs with seaweed and little crabs, apparently moulded direct from nature; it appears in wall-painting in a splendid fresco of dolphins[2] painted in deep blue, with a band of orange along their sides and bellies of creamy white, swimming through

[1] Cf. a fresco, also Middle Minoan from Phylakopi in Melos; ibid, i, Fig. 393«

[2] From Knossos, ibid. iii. 377. Cf. a steatite relief, also from Knossos and M.M. iii, with a dolphin swimming above rocks. Ibid. ii. 504.

wreaths of spray, that give a sense of motion to the whole; it appears in relief in a fragment of a steatite rhyton (Fig. 11) of an octopus hiding behind coralline growths,[1] in gold work in a wonderful cup from Dendra, with four swimming

FIG. 12. Jar with dolphins from Pachyammos, Crete. Middle Minoan III.

octopuses (Fig. io),[2] and in sculpture in the round in great ritual vessels shaped as shells.[3] A Minoan gem is engraved with three swans beside a river, a delicate water idyll[4]

[1] From Knossos, ibid j i . 227,502; cf. one rather more stylized from Mycenae: H. J. Bossert, *Alt Kreta,* Fig. 81.

[2] See A. W. Persson, *The Royal Tombs at Dendra near Medea,* Paris 1931.

[3] One of limestone in the form of a triton shell from Knossos; and one in the form of a dolium shell in liparite from Hagia Triada. *P. of M.* ii. 820.

[4] Forsdyke, op. cit., p. 25: 'Astudy of three swans beside a river has an air of tranquillity made more intense by the curiously smooth plastic style in which the stone is cut. The birds are scarcely conscious of their own existence.'

(Fig. 5). The influence of all these sources causes the marine style to become an important feature in the ceramic decoration of the late Middle Minoan and early late Minoan periods. Dolphins like those of the Knossian fresco swim

FIG. 13. Vase in marine style from Gournia, Crete. Late Minoan I b.

round jars of the late Middle Minoan period from Pachyammos (Fig. is),[1] and on vases of the next period appear shells and fish and octopods (Fig. 13), corallines and seaweed, tritons and argonauts, derived from the more precious vessels of gold and gilded steatite. But in the succeeding period interest was shifted from the beauties of nature to the splendours of material riches: a point of view of which the tradition survives in the first four books of the *Odyssey*. This age of splendour stylized the more vital naturalistic motives of the preceding age, and they pass out of our sphere of inquiry. This period came to an end in forgotten horrors

[1] Evans, *P. ofM.* i. 608

of earthquake and fire. When urban life ended naturalism ended with it; there is a suspension of sculpture and painting, and in pottery wretched survivals of more developed ornament,[1] and a recrudescence of primitive styles influenced by weaving.

4

If Minoan civilization perished, some faint echo of its tradition must have yet remained. There is an extraordinary feeling of movement in Minoan art: there, for the first time we see a petal falling and a tree blown by the wind: and this survives in the Homeric joy in motion rather than in static beauty. It is the movement of a ship sailing on the sea, of a wave breaking on the shore, of corn waving in the wind or falling before the scythe, of a winter torrent leaping in its bed, that expresses human movement in the similes of the *Iliad.* When beasts and birds and plants figure in these similes it is always because of their pose or their motion: the wild geese and cranes that flee from the coming of winter and sudden rain; the flies that hover over a herdsman's steading; the goats that crowd into a courtyard to be milked; the spreading poplar that falls with a crash. A lovely and typical example is the description of Gorgythion:[2] 'Even as in a garden a poppy droopeth its head aside, being heavy with fruit and the showers of spring; so bowed he aside his head laden with his helm.[5] In just such wise does a tulip droop its head upon a painted vase from Phylakopi in Melos.[3] The themes of Minoan art, indeed, are frequently recalled, as in the description of the cuttlefish 'dragged forth from his chamber, the many pebbles clinging to his suckers'.[4] Most of all is this true of the description of the shield of Achilles,[5] in which we seem to see reflections of a series of masterpieces of the later

[1] See H. G. G. Payne, 'Early Greek Vases from Knossos', in *Annual of the British School at Athens,* xxix, 1927-8, p. 224.
[2] *Iliad,* viii, c. 300.
[3] Late Minoan I. T. D. Atkinson, *Excavations at Phylakopi,* PL 21.
[4] *Odyssey,* v. 432.
[5] *Iliad,* xviii.

Middle Minoan style, comparable with the Vapheio cups and the Mycenae dagger blades.[1] But such descriptions were but memories of past splendours, echoes of a literary tradition finding no reflection in visible art.

The next great civilization, that of Greece, was essentially urban and in some degree aristocratic: a civilization of a kind in which naturalism might be expected to flourish. And indeed a double current of naturalism and idealism runs side by side through Greek literature and art. The idealism is the more obvious, since the *style noble* is what we accept as the more characteristic of Hellas; but in the close observation of Aristophanic birds and wasps, in the phrases of the Greek epigrams, on vases and coins and gems and in animal sculpture,[2] the other current is clearly evident. And it is beautifully evident, for its style has been tempered and cleansed from imitation of the more servile sort by the parallel current of idealism.

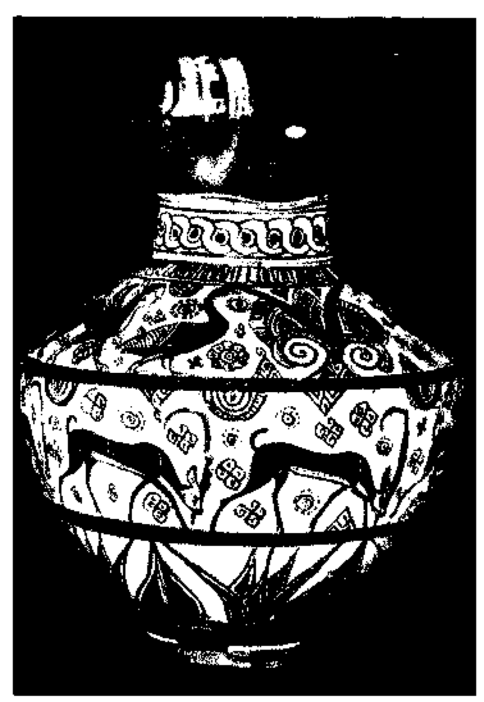
In the appreciation of the Greeks for natural beauty the Homeric tradition yet lingers. For they were interested less in form than in life: not in fields and mountains but in growing things; and in these they were interested less in being than in motion. The anthropocentric tendencies of Greek thought focused their interest on creatures that could be approximated to humanity, a point of view that finds expression in the *Battle of the Frogs and Mice,* the *Fables* of Aesop, and the *Birds* and *Wasps* of Aristophanes.

These tendencies, however, found expression by modifying an existing tradition rather than by creating one *de novo.* For in the seventh and sixth centuries most of the Greek world had a share in the oriental style of decoration with friezes of more or less stylized animals. Hardly any of these can be said to show direct observation of nature,

[1] Some eminent archaeologists would rather see in them a reflection of the engraved 'orientalizing' bronzes of the eighth century, but the analogy with earlier work seems definitely closer both in style and theme.

[2] See, for example, the bronzes in the British Museum: Greek Bronze Room, cases, 10-11.

PLATE V



FKI. 14. RHODIAN OENOCHOK WITH DUCKS AND GOATS
Seventh century B.C.

FIG. 15. RED-FIGURLD FISH GUP
Fifth century B.C.

yet they are far from being as stylized as the angular creatures of the Dipylon pottery. There is a sense of movement alike in the Ore tan bronze reliefs of the primitive classical period,[1] with friezes of lions and bulls and stags, and in the Rhodian vases of the seventh century (Fig. 14) with rabbits, deer, wild goats, boar, and geese. When this sense of movement[2] is absent, as it is in the animal friezes of Corinthian pottery of the late seventh and early sixth centuries, they yet show a sense of articulation that saves them from complete stylization.[3] Even in this period certain exceptional pieces[4] escape from the oriental tradition and show a revival of interest in living creatures, if not of careful observation; for the protocorinthian perfume vases modelled in the round as partridges, lions, owls, ducks, pigeons, and toads give charming impressions of vivid, if rather inaccurate, memories of their living prototypes.[5] Nor was Corinth the only place where this feeling for animals and their movement was manifest. It is evident in many of the Hellenic styles of the sixth century: in pottery, in an Attic cup by Klitias, with a tiny picture of three dolphins and a fish;[6] in the animals of the Chalcidian vases, in the lively hares of the so-called Caeretan pottery, that is probably Ionian; in the oxen and sheep of the Boeotian bronzes;[7] in sculpture, in such work as a charming frieze of feeding does from Sardis, and in the lions and bulls on the basis from Lorima, with all the movement of a Minoan gem.

[1] See E. Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs,* Stuttgart 1931.

[2] On these and cognate styles see Morin Jean, *Le Dessin des animaux en Grèce d'après les vases peints.*

[3] For an excellent study of this style see H. G. G. Payne, *Necrocorinthia: a Study of Corinthian Art in the Archaic Period,* Oxford 1931, ch. ii and *passim.*

[4] See for example the duck's head, horse's head, ram's head, calf, goat, and bird of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. from the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, now in the Constantinople Museum.

[5] On these see ibid., pp. lyoet seqq., and PL 44. The same feeling is manifest in other arts; a matrix, probably Corinthian, in the Ashmolean Museum has two lively hare-hunts represented against a stylized background of thorny bushes.

[6] Hoppin, *Black-figured Vases,* p. 149; Koerte, *Gordion,* PI. 7.

[7] e.g. National Museum, Athens, 264.

The Attic painters of black-figured vases, primarily interested in the human form though they were, had yet not wholly forgotten the animals of their seventh-century predecessors. A cup with the signature of the potter Tleson[1] has its centre medallion painted with goats standing on their hind legs and butting each other, with a palmette plant between them: formal, yet full of life. An early fifth-century amphora by Exekias[2] may serve as a type of the animal-painting of the black-figured style. It represents Castor starting out with his horse Kyllaros; his father pats the horse's nose, his brother Polydeuces stoops to fondle a welcoming hound, and his mother offers him a flower. Dog and horse[3] are alike admirable, and on a small scale and in modest art exemplify that union of naturalism and nobility that makes such great sculptures as the horses of the Parthenon memorable, and that inspired the Greek poets to celebrate the Cow of Myron.

Such sculpture lies outside the scope of this book;[4] but it is paralleled by other work of simpler intention. The gem-cutters and coin engravers of the fifth century drew all the living creatures of their world within their sphere, just as did the writers of epigram:[5] the ant by the threshing floor, the tame partridge, Lampo the hound, and the cows that came to the farm-yard through the snow unherded when evening fell, since their master lay dead in the hills:

αὐτόμαται δειλῇ ποτὶ ταὔλιον αἱ βόες ἦλθον
ἐξ ὄρεος πολλῇ νιψόμεναι χιόνι.

Even the recognized and almost heraldic coin types of the cities were treated with vivid naturalism; the swans beat

[1] In the collection of the Marquess of Northampton at Castle Ashby. J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black Figure: a Sketch.* Annual Lecture on Aspects of Art, Henriette Hertz trust of the British Academy, 1928, PL **v.i.**

[2] In the Vatican; Beazley, op. cit., PL 6 and p. 19.

[3] On horses in Greek vase-painting see v. Lieres u. Wilhau, *Beitrdge zur Geschichte der Pfertiedarstellung in der alien Vasenmalerei,* Strassburg 1914.

[4] For an excellent *catalogue raisonne"* with an introduction, see G. M. A. Richter, *Animals in Greek Sculpture, a Survey,* Oxford 1930.

[5] See N. Douglas, *Birds and Beasts of the Greek Anthology,* 1928.

PLATE VI

FIG. 16. GEM WITH ANGRY BULL
c, 400 B.C.

FIG. 17. GEM WITH SOW AND LITTLE PIGS
Second half of fifth century B.C.

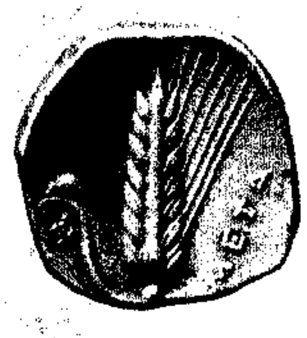


FIG. 18. MOUSE ON A BARLEY LEAF
Coin of Metapontum, *c.* 350 B.C.

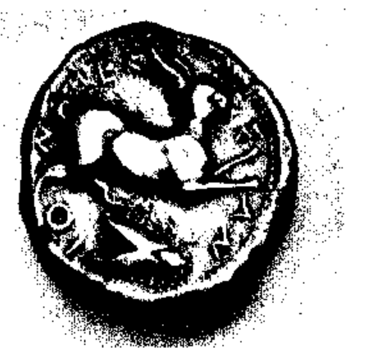


FIG. 19. RUNNING HARE AND FLY
Coin of Messana, *c.* 430 B.C.

their wings on the coins of Clazomenae,[1] and a tiny mouse sits on the blade beside the ear of barley on a coin of Metapontum[2] (Fig. 18). The splendid lions on the coins of Velia and Akanthos, the Messanian hare (Fig. 19), the Kaulonian stags, the goats of Ainos and Aigai, and the cocks of Himera,[3] are treated with almost equal naturalism; and on the engraved gems the themes are more diverse and the treatment still more free. It becomes apparent that the favourite creatures are those kept for pets, grasshoppers,[4] dogs, and cranes[5] (Fig. 24), or those hunted for sport, bears,[6] stags[7] and boars. One gem shows hounds after the boar; another[8] a boar in flight;[9] and a third the kill of a stag-hunt with a tree in the background.[10] To the same sporting category belong the splendid race-horses, whether yoked to the chariot[11]—and these show tremendous sense of movement, especially those which depict them swerving round the bend—or high-bred riding horses, like one that has thrown its rider[12] and another that walks dragging its broken reins.[13] These are no tall; a surprising contrast is afforded by an early fourth-century gem engraved with a wretched donkey,[14] old and emaciated, with protruding ribs and swollen

[1] Richter, Fig. 202. Cf. *Birds,* 772: **πτεροῖς κρέκοντες ἴαχον Ἀπόλλω.**

[2] A silver tetradrachm, *c.* 350 B.C.; *B.M. Catalogue of Coins, Italy,* 1873, p. 254, no. 122; Richter, Fig. 184.

[3] On these and others see Imhoof Burner and O. Keller, *Tier und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Alterthums,* Leipzig 1889.

[4] e.g. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen,* xii. 42; xlv. 64 and 65.

[5] On these see J. D. Beazley, *The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems,* Oxford 1920, no. 76, p. 60. Similar *dogs** grasshoppers, and a cat appear as pets on the Attic grave reliefs. See H. Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs des* 5. *und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.,* Berlin 1931, Figs. 6 and 25.

[6] e.g. Furtwängler, xi, 7.

[7] e.g. Beazley, *Lewes House,* 75.

[8] Furtwängler xi. 35; cf. Beazley, *Lewes House,* 70, a wild sow with two sucking pigs.

[9] Furtwängler, xii. 7.

[10] Ibid. xlv. 32.

[11] Furtwängler, ix. 52,53,54. Cf.the agonistic coin-types of chariot racing, especially at Syracuse. See A. J. Evans, *Syracusan Medallions and their Engravers,* 1892, pp. 128 et seqq., and *The 'Horsemen' of Tarentum,* 1889, pp. 4 et seqq.

[12] In Leningrad; probably by Dexamenos.

[13] Beazley, *Lewes House,* 67.

[14] Ibid.83. The only parallel is afforded by such rather later terracottas of human figures as the Old Woman in the Ashmolean, and by similar Alexandrian statues.

veins and a sore on its neck: a strange and compassionate study of decrepitude. Nor was the marine world forgotten; sea perch and fresh-water crabs figure on the coins of Akragas (Fig. 21), a limpet on those of Kyme in Campania, and octopods on the coins of Kroton, Syracuse, Populonia in Etruria, Eretria, and other places. These, too, found a place even on red-figured vases, which drew so little for their decoration on the animal world: the Attic 'fish-cups' (Fig. 15) carry on the Mediterranean tradition of marine ornament, which their Campanian imitations perpetuate in Italy.[1]

The great artists of Greece portrayed animals both in free sculpture and in the minuter art of the die-cutter and the gem-engraver; and their humbler brethren used them to decorate such objects as drinking-vessels. The fifth-century graves of South Russia[2] have yielded examples in gold and silver, of which the best show real observation and feeling[3] (Fig. 22). In Greece itself the finer and frailer wares of terracotta seem to have been preferred; and here in the period of the fine red-figured style, splendid rhytons were produced shaped as the heads of rams, horses, boars, mules, and eagles.[4] In the painted decoration of red-figured vases there are far fewer animals, if much finer ones, than on the earlier black-figured wares. Some noble

[1] See Morin Jean, *Le dessin des animaux en Grke d'aprts les vases peints,* pp. 220 et seqq.

[2] Nearly all in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.

[3] Cf. a silver rhyton shaped as a calf's head from Taranto in the Trieste Museum. Phot. Alinari 2115. Some of this work, wherever it was produced, was definitely intended for the South Russian market, and shows horsemen in native dress: e.g. the silver amphora from Tschertomlyk (Nikopol) which is also remarkable for the swans, doves, and partridges in the formal foliage that decorates its body (Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasen,* Berlin 1927, PL 143). The monstrous and perverted naturalism of the Vettersfeld fish (in Brandenburg) which has on the body lions attacking boar and deer, and a shoal of fish led by a triton, on the tail an eagle, and the tail fins ending in rams' heads, also probably represents barbarian taste. Furtwängler, *Der Goldfund von Vettersfelde,* PL i, and p. 27.

[4] Examples in the British Museum. Another strange naturalistic form is an Askos shaped as a crab's claw: B.M. E 765.

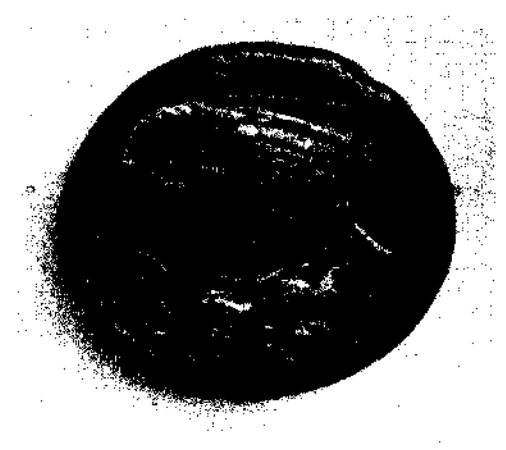


FIG. 20. EAGLE ABOUT TO DEVOUR A HARE
Coin of Akragas, *c.* 415-406 B.C.

FIG. 21. SEA PERCH AND FRESH-WATER CRAB
Coin of Akragas, *c.* 415-406 B.C.

FIG. 22. SILVER RHYTON FROM SOUTH RUSSIA
Greek, fifth century B.C.

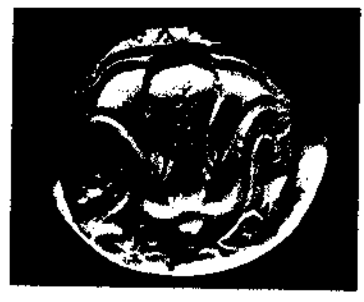


FIG. 23. GOLD COIN OF RHODES
First quarter of the fourth century B.C.

FIG. 24. GEM WITH FLYING HERON
Second half of the fifth century B.C.

horses, notably by the Andokides painter, and a few bulls and boars[1] almost exhaust the painter's repertory.

Yet if the animals of Greek decoration were full of life and dignity, its plants and trees tended to be swiftly stylized. It was not that the Greeks were unconscious of their beauty. Hesiod is full of phrases and passages that show real appreciation; the pastoral plenty of a golden age is defined as the time when 'on the hills the oak's top beareth acorns, the oak's midst bees',[2] and men may set sail in the spring, 'when first on the topmost spray of the fig-tree leaves appear as the foot-print of a crow for size'.[3] Observation of just this kind is evident in the gems and coins of the great engravers of the fifth century: a chalcedony with a hazel nut dropped from its leafy cup, its texture most admirably shown;[4] another gem with oak leaves and acorns,[5] others with vine[6] and violet leaves;[7] coins of Rhodes with roses and rose-buds (Fig. 23), of Selinus with a parsley-leaf, of Melos with a pomegranate. On some Attic vases of the black-figured class there are trees that are just recognizable; on an amphora by the Antimenes painter[8] olive-trees are barely characterized; on another of the time of Exekias[9] there are evident pines and plane-trees; and a white ground cup by Sotades[10] is painted with an apple-tree. But outside these limited fields plant life was viewed differently.

When we think of plants in Greek Art, instinctively we see palmette and anthemion, vine and acanthus, lotus and lortus buds, intellectualized, dominated by proportion and mathematical principles, and remote from nature. It is

[1] See Morin Jean, *Le Dessin des animaux en Grèce d'aprts les vases peints,* pp. 200 et seqq.

[2] *Works and Days,* trans. Mair, Oxford 1908, p. 9.

[3] Ibid., p. 25.

[4] Beazley, *Lewes House,* 68.

[5] Imhoof Blumer and Keller, op. cit. **xxxv.** 10.

[6] *FurtwanglcrrAntikeGemmen,xlv.63.*

[7] Imhoof Blumer and Keller, op. cit. xxv. n.

[8] Beazley, *Attic Block-figure,* PL 8; in the British Museum.

[9] Ibid., PL 8; in the Vatican.

[10] In the British Museum. The fourth-century Etruscan wall-paintings show even more stylized trees: e.g. Pfuhl, op. cit., Fig. 448.

almost startling to look through a series of Greek vases[1] and to find them adorned with palmettes and other conventional forms, numerous, skilful, elaborate, and consistent in every art, and in every instance with nothing imitated from nature but the curves of growth.[2] This does indeed represent one attitude to nature in Hellenic art. Proclus in Plato's *Timaeus* says: 'He who takes for his model such forms as nature produces, and confines himself to an exact imitation of them, will never attain to what is perfectly beautiful. For the works of nature are full of disproportion and fall very short of the true standard of beauty.' For Plato architecture was one of the noblest of the arts, since, next to music, it was the most under the rule of proportion: and it was this typical preoccupation with proportion that served to dominate naturalism in Greek Architecture. Since the other most characteristic art of Greece, red-figured Attic vase-painting, was conditioned by a technique in which a naturalistic treatment of plant forms is difficult, and by architectonic schemes to which it is alien, we tend to ignore the existence of Greek naturalism in plant design. In architecture and vase-painting we see the principle of natural forms expressed, but in both we see them so intellectualized that the result is not naturalism. The cornice from an Athenian monument of 394 B.C.[3] (Fig. 25) and any fine Corinthian capital[4] of the time (Fig. 26) show just this quality: leaves and buds that are natural, combined with curving forms, natural only in their sweetness

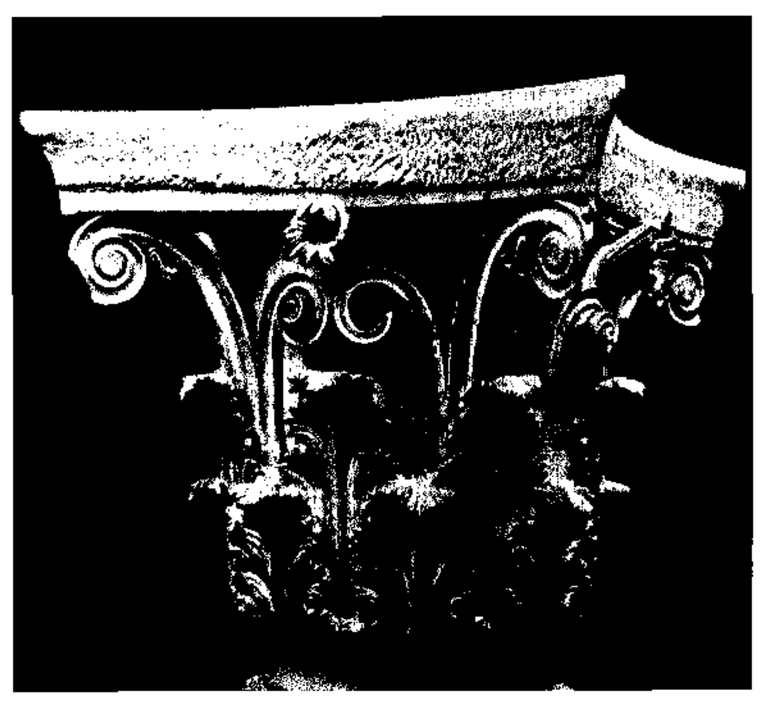
[1] e.g. P. Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasen,* Berlin 1927, 2 vols.

[2] The earliest Greek herbals, dating from the middle of the fourth century onwards, were strictly medical. See C. Singer, 'The Herbal in Antiquity', in *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* xlvii, 1927, p. 2.

[3] For an important study of such ornaments see Möbius, *Die Ornamente der griechischen Grabstelen.*

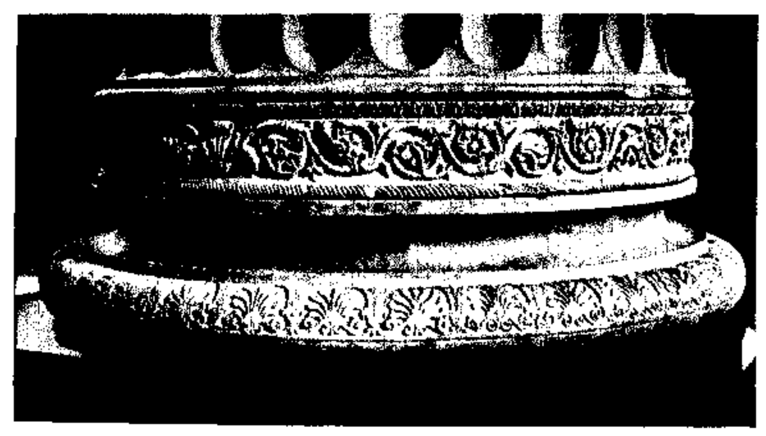
[4] The Corinthian capital provides a parallel series of conventional forms to the graves tone-finials. An early example from the Tholos at Epidaurus *(c.* 400 B.C.) has a double row of acanthus, a bud rosette showing some slight naturalistic tendencies, and very metallic volutes. Another early instance of its use is in the temple of the Phigaleian Apollo at Bassae, 430 B.C.

FIG. 25. CORNICE OF A FUNERARY MONUMENT AT ATHENS
Erected in 394 B.C.

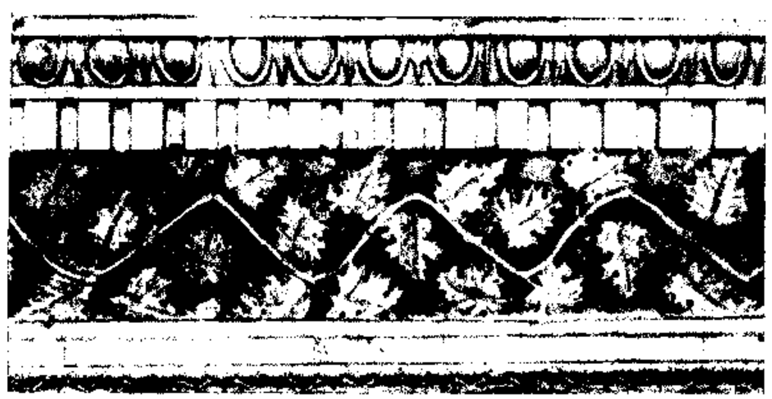


FIG, 26. CORINTHIAN CAPITAL FOUND AT ATHENS
End of the fifth century B.C.

PLATE X



FIG, 28. BASE OF A COLUMN OF THE TEMPLE OF THE DIDYMAEAN APOLLO AT MILETUS
Laie third century B.C.



FIG, 29. DETAIL OF THE FRIEZE OF THE SARCOPHAGUS
called that of Alexander
Early fourth century B.C.

of line,[1] to form an architectural whole. The limits of Greek naturalism in this field are shown by the finial of the Choragic monument of Lysicrates erected in 335-334 B.C., destined to receive a tripod of victory (Fig. 27); it is freer of architectural tradition than a part of a larger building could be. The bell of the Corinthian capital is surrounded at the base

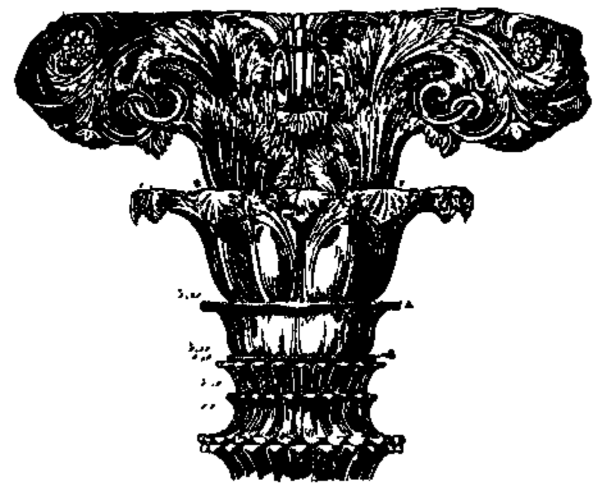


FIG. 27. Finial of the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates at Athens, 335-334 B.C.

by a row of hart's tongue fern or petals;[2] out of these spring acanthus leaves, and from these volutes. Where the smaller volutes meet in the middle there is an upright palmette; between the acanthus leaves are rosettes. The whole is a deliberate composition of elements ultimately derived from nature, by way of metal work, but so stylized, so proportioned, and so disciplined that the result is an architectural concept and not naturalistic decoration.

This tendency ip Greek architecture was emphasized by its want of change. Once the motives of ornament had been accepted, they underwent remarkably little modification.

[1] This sense of natural growth applied to purely conventional ornament is evident in such work as the sculptures of the second temple of Apollo at Delos (fifth century B.C.).

[2] Cf. a capital from the theatre of Dionysos at Athens; Meurer, xxii. 4.

The world of Greek architecture was so self-contained and so self-sufficing that it needed no new elements once the canon had been defined; and so the casual stimuli of natural environment could not easily find expression therein.

In some slightly later work this tendency is modified; and whether by coincidence or no, this work comes not from Attica but from the Ionian coast. On the beautiful sarcophagus sometimes ascribed to Alexander himself,[1] but probably made for one of his generals, there is carved a frieze of vine branches, painted not in natural colours, but in yellow on a purple ground[2] (Fig. 29). With equal daring by Greek standards, some of the columns of the Temple of the Didymaean Apollo at Miletus are adorned with a sculptured cyma on which appears—so far as we know for the first time—that scheme of scrolling leafage, a *rinceau* (Fig. 38), that has been in almost continuous artistic use ever since. It is in Asia, too, on the Telephos frieze of the monument dedicated about 180 B.C. by Eumenes II at Pergamon, that for the first time there is an attempt at a naturalistic background in sculpture, with trees of delicate leafage, plane and oak, and rocks.[3] In all this Asiatic work naturalism is strictly conditioned by style; but yet they go further than the freest Corinthian capital ever sculptured in Greece itself.

5

Alexandria was the first modern city, so urban that its inhabitants, oppressed by their surroundings, set their hearts upon the country. Men became almost painfully

[1] Found at Sidon, now in the Constantinople Museum. It may be compared with a sarcophagus in the Museum of Jerusalem found near Gaesarea on the Palestinian coast, with trees at the corners of the short side. The Alexander sarcophagus—and presumably the Jerusalem one also—are by some archaeologists regarded as importations from Attica.

[2] See F. Winter in *Arch. Anzeiger,* 1894, p. 22.

[3] Cf. the frieze of the Choragic monument of Lysicrates at Athens (335-4 B.C.) which has only a bare tree-trunk to indicate the setting. Even in the great painting of the Battle of Issus two or three stones, a blasted tree, and a rock sufficed to define the background.

conscious of their environment and aware of a *desiderium* for the rural life they had lost. 'The charm of the country was, perhaps for the first time, fully realized; the life of gardens became a passion,[1] and hardly less so the life of the opener air, of the hill and meadow, of the shepherd and hunter, the farmer and fisherman.'[2] There, too, if men lived in town, they drew much of their income from scientific agriculture,[3] and (as happened later in Imperial Rome) thus found another fresh interest in country things. The result was the pastoral, alike in literature and in art. 'Sick of cities, the imagination turned to an Arcadia that thenceforth was to fill all poetry with the music of its names and the fresh chill of its pastoral air; the lilied banks of Ladon, the Erymanthian water, the deep woodland of Pholoë and the grey steep of Cyllene.'[4] The Alexandrian poets turned from the Homeric saga to a local mythology, often to stories of the metamorphosis of a stream or a rock or some other natural feature:[5] and so mythology itself laid a new stress on landscape backgrounds. In their descriptions there is exactly the emphasis on isolated details[6] which qualifies them to inspire naturalistic ornament. The pastoral odes

[1] The study of botany was developed, and for the first time the medical herbals were illustrated. The type of such illustrations is probably preserved in the Johnson papyrus, *c.* A.D. 400, found by Dr. J. de M. Johnson at Antinoe in 1904. See G. Singer, 'The Herbal in Antiquity', in *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* xlvii, 1927, 65 and 31.

[2] Mackail, *Greek Anthology,* p. 46 (1890). See also Woermann, *Ueber den landschaftlichen Natursinn der Griechen und Römer,* Professor p. A. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture,* p. 438; and G. Dickins, *Hellenistic Sculpture,* p. 14. A very interesting parallel is the connexion between the modern love of mountains and the growth of industrial life, worked out by G. M. Trevelyan in *The Call and Claims of Natural Beauty,* 3rd Rickman Godlee Lecture, University College, London, 1931, p. 22.

[3] See Rostovstev, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the third century* B.C., Wisconsin, 1922; and J. B. Bury, E. A. Barber, E. Bevan, and W. W. Tarn, *The Hellenistic Age,* Cambridge 1923, p. 10.

[4] Mackail, loc. cit.

[5] See Bury, Barber, Bevan, and Tarn, p. 47.

[6] Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought,* p. 297: 'It is not the vast aspects, the large views, the splendour of mountain or sea, that delight or raise them, but the humming of the bee, the sound of falling water, the leafy shade of trees while the grasshopper revels in the sun.'

of Theocritus find visible parallels in sculptured panels for letting into walls, pastorals in relief, with all the background of an Alexandrian idyll; the spreading pine, the running brook, the bramble thicket,

> δεῦρ' ὑπὸ τὰν πτελέαν ἑσδώμεθα, τῶ τε Πριήπω
> καὶ τᾶν κραναιᾶν κατεναντίον, ᾇπερ ὁ θῶκος
> τῆνος ὁ ποιμενικὸς καὶ ταὶ δρύες.[1]

The subjects, too, are those of the poet: satyrs, nymphs, and such mythological shepherds as Paris; and scenes of country life: a herdsman minding cattle or milking, a group of animals, set against a background of rocks and trees and perhaps a barn, or a rustic shrine. One relief[2] shows a peasant driving an ox to market, with two lambs hanging from its back (Fig. 30). Behind is a wayside chapel of lacchus,[3] with a tree growing by the door. The peasant carries a pig over his shoulder and a little basket of grapes in his hand. The whole in its pictorial quality illustrates the fact that naturalism flourishes when true sculpture in marble is not the dominant art: it flourished in Crete, where metal and stucco and fresco painting were dominant, and it flourished in Alexandria and in Rome where the technique of clay was dominant,[4] and marble sculpture was an art dependent on clay models. For this influence is equally evident in the versions of Alexandrian themes produced in Italy, often, no doubt, by Greek workmen. Some stucchi of the first century from the Farnesina[5] have very lightly sketched versions of such pastoral scenes, that recall eigh-[1]

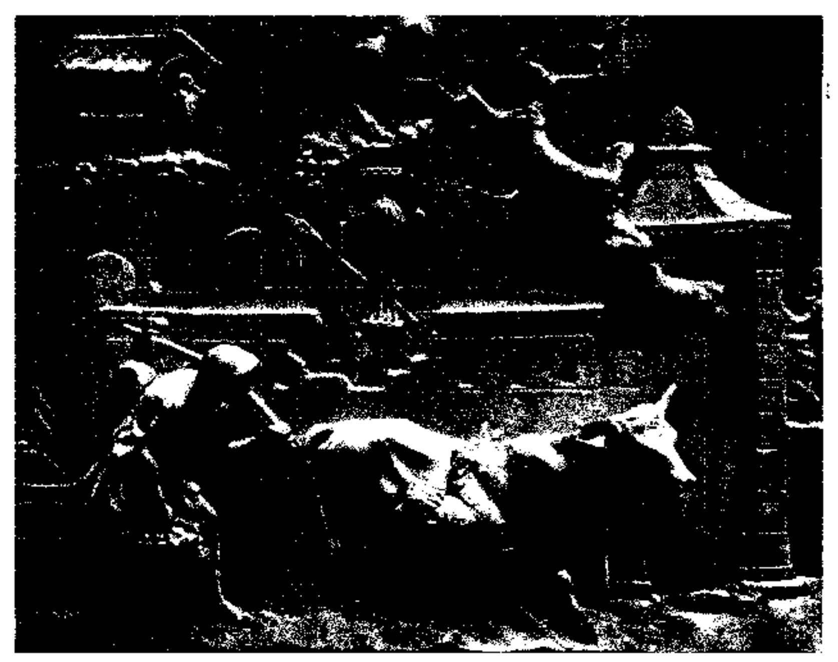
[1] *Idyll,* i. 20. For a more detailed study see E. Courbaud, *Le bas-relief romain d representations historiques,* 1899, ch. ii; 'Le réalisme et le pittoresque dans Tart hellénistique, Pergame et Alexandrie'.

[2] In the Munich Glyptothek.

[3] Gourbaud, p. 241, notes how the cult of rustic chapels and sacred trees gains in importance at this date.

[4] See Wickhoff, *Roman Art,* p. 40; and Schreiber, *Die Wiener Brunnenreliefs aus Palazzo Grimani,* Leipzig 1888, pp. 24-9. Pasiteles, who was alive *c.* 35 B.C. according to Pliny said that modelling was the mother of chasing, staVuary, and sculpture, and, though he excelled in all these arts, he never executed any work without first making a clay model. *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 156.

[5] Now in the Museo delle Terme at Rome. Most recently described in Grenier, *The Roman Spirit,* p. 250.



[FIG. 30. ALEXANDRIAN MARBLE RELIEF
A peasant going to market
First century A.D.

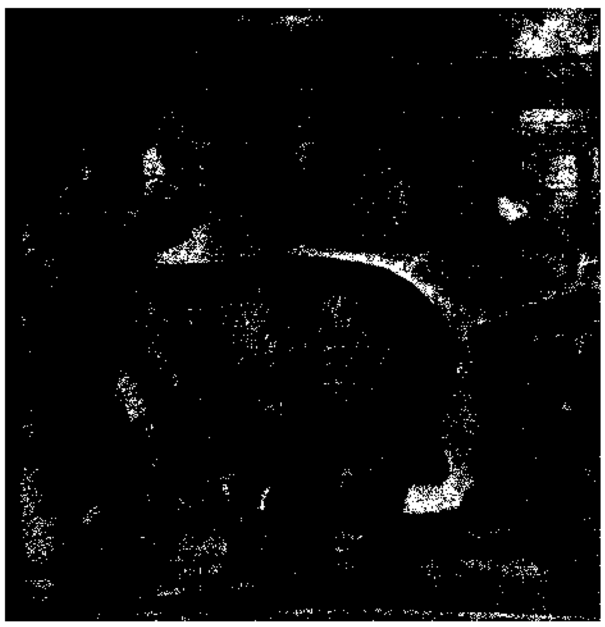


FIG. 31. RELIEF WITH EWE AND LAMB
First century A.D.

teenth-century *chinoiseries* in their lightness of touch and deliberate fantasy of composition. Little mythological and rustic scenes are depicted against a picturesque background: an altar beneath the shade of an old tree, the entrance to a farm, or a bridge spanning a little stream, in a style half-way between relief and painting. The famous first-century reliefs from the Palazzo Grimani[1] (Fig. 31) have been described as Alexandrian, but seem rather to be the Roman development of an Alexandrian theme. They again show the naturalistic treatment proper to clay modelling, in a style that makes it difficult to believe, when one sees them in a reproduction, that they are indeed marble.

The influence of Alexandrian art at this date was as strongly felt at Rome as was that of Alexandrian literature.[2] Virgil's signs of the weather in the first Georgic are borrowed from the Alexandrian Aratus; even Horace is poet of 'the midday hour, when the lizard sleeps in the wall and the larks ... cease to hover' that inspired Theocritus.[3] Motives Alexandrian not only in spirit but also in detail simultaneously appear in Roman decoration. Several small silver vases from Boscoreale are chased with storks and cranes, flying, flapping their wings, and feeding their young,[4] a motive derived rather from the banks of the Nile than of the Tiber. The grotto of the Oracle at Palestrina, rebuilt about 82 B.C., had the apse paved with representations of Egyptian river scenes, definitely Nilotic, with trees and temples on the banks;[5] and Pompeian mosaics are equally Egyptian in theme (Fig. 39).

[1] See Schreiber, *Die Wiener Brunnenreliefs aus Palazzo Grimani;* Wickhoff, p. 35. They are of what appears to be Italian marble. For reproductions of these and of decoration of later dates the reader is referred to P. Gusman, *L'Art décoratif de Rome, de la fin de la République au IVe siècle*, Paris, n.d. (c. 1926).

[2] On this see Sellar, *Roman Poets of the Augustan Age, Virgil,* pp. 42 et seqq.; Mahaffy, *Greek Life,* p. 243.

[3] *Idyll,* vii. 21-4.

[4] See Mrs. Arthur Strong, *Art in Ancient Rome,* i. 79. How far this Alexandrian motive travelled through the Roman world may be judged from a bowl in the fourth-century treasure of Traprain in the National Museum of Scotland, with a fishing scene with ibis on the river bank.

[5] A. Heron de Villefosse, in *Monuments Piot,* v, 1899, 10, 11, and 12. Cf.

The most important Roman modification of the Alexandrian pastoral style was the development of the background at the expense of the other elements. The scene was viewed and represented as a whole, and not as a group with a background; and thus an element of impressionism was developed. Lucretius could see a pastoral landscape thus:

> Nam saepe in colli tondentes pabula laeta
> lanigerae reptant pecudes quo quamque vocantes
> invitant herbae gemmantes rore recenti,
> et satiati agni ludunt blandeque coruscant;
> omnia quae nobis longe confusa videntur
> et velut in viridi candor consistere colli:[1]

the woolly sheep on the dewy grass appear as a kind of whiteness resting on the green hill. In the wall-paintings of Pompeii there are landscapes Alexandrian in theme, but with this same impressionistic element influencing their style: woodland scenes beneath high cliffs, rustic shrines and their worshippers, sea-side villages nestling among trees: nearly all with human figures, but with these figures merged, artistically speaking, into their background in a way not seen before.[2] This same sense of pictorial values is evident in a fine mosaic[3] from the villa of Hadrian at Tivoli, probably dating from A.D. 125-35: a pastoral scene with goats, in a landscape in which a brook runs beside the bronze image of a rustic deity.

Pure pictorial landscape, however, cannot easily be fitted into a decorative frame. The Romans had recourse to the

a silver bowl in the British Museum, of the first half of the first century A.D.: *Catalogue of the Silver Plate, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman,* 1921, no. 72, and a tray-shaped dish with swimming ducks from Hildesheim.

[1] *De rerum natura,* ii. 317.

[2] On such landscapes see M. Rostovzev, 'Die Hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft', in *Mitteilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archdologischen Institute, Rdmische Abteilung,* xxvi, 1911, p. i; and E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen,* ii, pp. 848 et seqq.

[3] Now in the Vatican. Another from the same villa is in the Gabinetto delle Maschere. See Mrs. Arthur Strong, *Ancient Rome* (Ars Una), ii, p. 97. Cf. a painting of bulls from the Villa of the Quintili. An interesting comparison may be made with mosaics from a Roman Villa at Corinth, reproduced in Theodore L. Sheer, *Corinth.*

device, often recurring in decoration, of making the inhabitants of the room feel themselves part of the landscape. A fresco in the Augustan Villa of Livia at Prima Porta makes the spectator feel that he is in a garden.[1] All round the room is depicted the wooden edge of a garden bed; behind it flowers grow in a border and trees and shrubs rise behind them into the clear Italian sky.[2]

Rome received the idea of the landscape from Alexandria; and from Alexandria, too, she inherited the tradition of flower and foliage decoration in bronze and silver, fresco and relief.[3] Just as Virgil imitates Theocritus in his description of the cup on which 'a clinging vine raised by the light graver enfolds pale ivy with her scattered berries',[4] so did the Roman silversmiths imitate the wreathing ivy and plane and vine and olive of the Alexandrian craftsmen, till it is hard to tell the ultimate provenance of such portable things.[5] A cup in the Hermitage, from the Kutais Government, with

[1] Similar decoration was used for the so-called 'Auditorium of Maecenas', which was probably a garden house. The appreciation of gardens at this date can best be understood by reading Virgil, *Georgics,* Bk. IV; trans. Mackail, p. 103.

[2] The elements of such painting appear even in monumental sculpture in the first century. A memorial to Volusia and her husband in the Louvre (Fig. 34) has a tree carved upon its side, and so have several altars: for instance, one to Mercury in the Musée Galvet at Avignon, and another at Spello, of the second or third century, with birds in the branches. Such trees even appear in the round; a first-century lampstand from Pompeii (in the Naples Museum) is shaped as a tree, with a lopped stem and two branches that end in little supports for the lamps, that are shaped like birds.

[3] See Breccia, 'Ghirlandomania Alessandrina', in M. G. Maspero, *Le Musée Égyptien,* iii, 1915, p. 13: Helbig, *Campanische Wandmalerei,* p. 281. In Ptolemaic times Alexandria was famed for its garlands for brow, and cup, and wall, and Egypt for its flowers. They were reproduced in bronze and terracotta for funerary use and transferred to the decorative arts.

[4] *Eclogue,* iii; trans. Mackail, *Eclogues and Georgics of Vergil,* p. 10; cf. Theocritus, *Idyll,* i.

[5] See Th. Schreiber, 'Die alexandrinische Toreutik', in *Abhandlungen der Philologisch-historischen Classe der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften,* Leipzig 1894, xxiv, p. 271. On the rather disappointing versions of the same themes in painted pottery see G. Leroux, *Lagynos; recherches sur la céramique et l'art ornemental hellénistiques,* Paris 1913. On Pompeiian examples of the style in bronze see F. Winter, *Die hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji.* Gefässe und Geräte aus Bronze. Bearbeitet von Erich Pernier. Berlin and Leipzig 1925.

ivy and plane leaves, is probably Alexandrian; others, from Boscoreale[1] and from Alésia, wreathed in olive, and from Hildesheim, wreathed with laurel, are probably Roman; but the inspiration is identical.

Rome's chief modification of the Alexandrian foliage style was its transference to monumental art. She not only took the *rinceau* of scrolling leafage, such as had appeared on the cyma of the temple at Miletus, and made it more naturalistic,[2] but also transferred naturalistic boughs and sprays from Alexandrian silver to Roman stone. Few artistic parallels could be closer than that between a pair of silver cups chased with plane leaves from Boscoreale[3] (Fig. 33) and an Augustan altar[4] with similar decoration (Fig. 32). A fine and early instance of the usage is the Ara Pacis of Augustus, erected at Rome in the years following 14 B.C.[5] Here the whole gamut of Roman naturalism sounds together; graceful sprays of flowers and spreading branches in very low relief are used to indicate an outdoor background in some of the panels; the great scrolling *rinceaux* of the lower part of the surrounding walls are full of naturalistic details: the conventional acanthus volutes are finished by peonies and poppies as well as by anthemia and rosettes, sparrows peck at flowers, little owls and an eagle perch on the branches, lizards run along the stems, and insects shelter below the leaves: and there is a fresh development of Alexandrian style in the heavy hanging garlands

[1] *Monuments Plot,* v, 1899, nos. 17 and 18.

[2] e.g. on the frieze from the Forum of Trajan. In the third century the development of the *rinceau* continued in Roman territory outside Italy. A frieze from Burgundy in the Musée Lapidaire de Sens shows a more flowing movement and more varied leafage; and one from Provence in the Musée Calvet, Avignon, has squirrels and rabbits to enliven it. A similar process may be observed in the development of the Corinthian capital, first used at Rome in the Porticus Octavia in 168 B.C.

[3] *Monuments Piot,* v, 1899, nos. 19-20.

[4] Found in the Theatre of Apollo on the banks of the Tiber; now in the Museo delle Terme, Wickhoff, P- 34-

[5] On its decoration see Mrs. Arthur Strong, *Roman sculpture from Augustus to Constantine,* 1907, ch. ii.

FIG. 32. ALTAR DECORATED WITH PLANK BRANCHES
Augustan

FIG. 33. SILVER CUP DECORATED WITH PLANE LEAVES
Treasure of Boscoreale. First century A.D.

PLATE XIII

FIG. 34. MONUMENT OF VOLUSIA AND HER HUSBAND
First centxiry A..O.

FIG. 35. FRAGMENT OF A SCULPTURED FRIEZE
From the Ara Pacis of Augustus, *c.* 10 B.C.

of fruit[1] and flowers that adorn the frieze[2] (Fig. 35): grapes, ears of corn, apples, pears, plums, cherries, figs, nuts, olives, acorns, ivy berries, laurel and poppy heads.[3] Even in the great sculptured relief of Italy as foster-mother[4] naturalism is turned to symbolic use. She sits on a rock, nursing two children, her lap full of flowers and fruit. A tree grows behind her, a clump of flowers to one side. Below, an urn symbolizes a spring; its stream flows through rich pasture, a bird comes to drink, and beside it lie a browsing sheep and a great ox, chewing the cud.

This fresh development in decorative style occurred at the very moment when the appreciation and description of nature had reached new heights in literature. Lucretius had begun to see nature in a fresh light before he died in 45 B.C.; Virgil began his *Eclogues*[5] in 42 B.C., his *Georgics* five years later; Varro published his *De re rustica* in 36, and Horace died five years after the Ara Pacis was begun. Such a sequence proves how closely naturalism in any art is a reflection of a point of view, of an intenser consciousness of environment, rather than a consequence of a passing influence of fashion in a single artistic sphere. For the poets had all contributed to the great work of giving a picture of a whole countryside, its soil tilled and fallow, its vineyards and oliveyards, its woods and fens, the marching seasons and the changing weather, the heifer snuffing the breeze

[1] Pliny says that according to Varro fruit was in the time of Augustus imitated in marble by one Possis, 'a quo facta poma et uvas alitem nescisse aspectu discernere a veris'. Quoted WickhofT, p. 34.

[2] A type of decoration also used in fresco painting: cf. those from the House of Germanicus on the Palatine. WickhofT, Fig. 43. For an interesting study of such garlands, especially on sarcophagi, see G. Rodenwaldt, *Der Sarkophag Cafarelli,* Drei und achtzigstes Winckelmanns-programm der archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin, Berlin 1925. See also W. Altmann, *Architektur und Ornamentik der antiken Sarkophage,* Berlin 1902, pp. 59 et seqq.

[3] Petersen, *Ara Pacis,* p. 38.

[4] In the Uffizi, Florence; see A. W. van Buren, *Journal of Roman Studies,* 1913, p. 134.

[5] An early imperial terracotta lamp in the Lewis Collection, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is an actual illustration of the first Eclogue. It is decorated with 'Tityrus' (so inscribed) with his sheep and goats.

and the ant carrying out her eggs before rain, the rooks leaving their feeding-ground in a long column, and the bees swarming in the oaks: and in making a nation conscious of that countryside as its richest heritage and its chiefest glory.

This patriotic view of nature helped to endow its elements with symbolic associations that confirmed their use in decoration. The closed wreath came into decoration when the civic crown was bestowed upon Augustus in 34 B.C.:[1] it appears on an altar of the Lares,[2] which has on the back the oak wreath between two laurel trees; and again on two altars in the Museum of Aries, one with a wreath of the common oak and another with one of the long-leaved ilex. Pliny ascribes olive, oak, myrtle, and laurel to the victors in the games; crowns of ivy, acanthus, narcissus, and pomegranate to those who feast; laurel for triumphs, and, as a symbol of peace, for the adornment of houses: and these are the kinds of foliage that recur most often in Roman decoration.[3]

An example of naturalism of the very end of the first century is the pilasters of the monument of the Haterii[4] (Fig. 36). There is great subtlety and illusion in the modelling: the baluster vases are wreathed with roses so frail that they seem to be stirred by the wind. Yet, if you look closer, it is a memory of roses rather than exact observation that has inspired the sculptor, for the open roses have only four petals. Again, as on the Ara Pacis, there are living creatures to enliven the scheme; parrots[5] have settled at the top of the vases, and one of them has seized a bee from those who have

[1] Mrs. Arthur Strong, *Roman Sculpture,* p. 73.

[2] In the Uffizi. Cf. the very delicate trees on an Augustan trilateral altar in the Louvre, with a man sacrificing to the Lares. Mrs. Strong, *Art in Ancient Rome,* i. 145.

[3] A rather unusual example is the wreath of the third-century Arch at Glanum, near Saint Re" my in Provence. It is divided into sections of oak, fruit, rushes, vine, and so on.

[4] From near Centoulle: now in the Lateran Museum.

[5] 'There was a fashionable cult of parrots in Imperial Rome; both Ovid and Statius have written poems on the death of parrots, and Apicius gives an appetizing recipe for cooking them.' Norman Douglas, *Birds and Beasts of the Greek Anthology,* p. 89. Varro, in his *De re rustica,* gives a long account of aviaries for birds with beautiful voice or plumage.

FIG. 36. PILASTER FROM THE MONUMENT OF THE HATERII
Augustan

FIG. 37. PANEL WITH LEMONS AND QUINCES
Trajanic. Second century A.D.

been attracted by its sweet contents. The extreme subtlety of modelling was modified with time, but the subjects continued to be not less Virgilian. A Trajanic panel (Fig. 37) with lemons and quinces might serve as an illustration to the second Eclogue: 'Myself will gather quinces with delicate silvery bloom, and the chestnuts that my Amaryllis loved, and waxen plums withal. . . .'[1] Such purity of style soon degenerated; a pilaster from the Forum of Trajan[2] shows confusion alike in its design and in the heavy undercutting used to emphasize the relief. Already, too, the influence of naturalism was sometimes allowed to dominate the fundamental principles of form: and we get such anomalies as the half-transformation of a column wreathed in leaves and fruit into a gnarled tree-trunk.[3]

From the time of Augustus beast and bird forms had been used to diversify foliage in architectural decoration. The Temple of Concord at Rome, built in A.D. 10 in the reign of Tiberius, had its Corinthian capitals carved with springing rams at the angles; the galleys of Nemi ended in fine bronze animals' heads, lions and wolves;[4] the Trajanic balustrades in the Roman Forum were carved with noble reliefs of the victims of the Suovetaurilia—bull, ram, and pig—and the marble furniture of the Flavian age was adorned with heads of bulls and goats and lions. Few pieces of Roman sculpture are better known than the famous eagle now in the porch of the Santi Apostoli at Rome[5] (Fig. 38). Its

[1] J. W. Mackail, *Eclogues and Georgics of Virgil,* p. 8.

[2] For an illustration see WickhofF.

[3] Gusman, *UArt dfaoratif de Rome,* PL 104. **Cf.** the complaint of Vitruvius (BL vii, ch. v, of the use of painting in buildings, trans. Gwilt, 1826, p. 211). 'For columns reeds are substituted; for pediments the stalks, leaves and tendrils of plants. . . . How is it possible for a reed to support a roof... or a small and pliant stalk to carry a sitting figure; or that half-figures and flowers at the same time should spread out of roots and stalks? And yet the public, so far from discouraging these falsehoods, are delighted with them ...'

[4] Of the Julio-Claudian period; now in the Museo delle Terme, Rome. The use is, of course, found much earlier in Greek art; see, for example, the swan's head from Ruvo in the British Museum.

[5] WickhofF, p. 62, notes the presence of a setting for a paste stone in

naturalism is the more significant because it is applied to the symbol—almost heraldic—of Rome herself. It comes from the Forum of Trajan, but may probably date from its completion by Hadrian; it is therefore interesting to compare it with the splendid bronze peacock from the Mausoleum of Hadrian that is now one of the treasures of the gardens of the Vatican.[1] Nor must we forget the revival of the 'marine style' in the Roman mosaics,[2] (Fig. 40) where all the 'dumb swimming tribes of scaly fish'[3] are represented.

Under the later Roman Empire naturalism of a baser sort, that is apt to recur in any rather vulgar age, came into fashion. A dining-room at Pompeii has its mosaic floor inlaid with fragments of food that might have fallen from the table; and another mosaic pavement by Heracleitus in the Lateran Museum is similarly strewn, with each fragment represented as if in relief, casting a shadow on the ground. Aelius Lampridius tells us[4] that the table-cloths of Heliogabalus were embroidered with the dishes of the different courses to be served upon them. Such naturalism is artistically insignificant; but a kindred genre that had not a much more noble origin, is artistically important since it established the tradition of paintings of still life. On the second day of his visit a guest in a Roman house was offered a formal present of provisions, fruit and the like, known as Xenia, sometimes accompanied by verses of

the wreath, and assumes that the whole was coloured naturalistically. The architectural use of animal sculpture is paralleled not only by many free-standing statuettes of animals—see, for instance, the large collection in the Naples Museum from Pompeii—but also by rather vulgar mosaics of cats and dogs and fish and birds, of merely commercial quality, from Pompeii.

[1] The varied naturalism of the age is illustrated by the Hadrianic pine-cone from the same Mausoleum, also in the gardens, that is almost Japanese in its respect for the monumental quality of a natural object.

[2] Some excellent examples are in the Naples Museum.

[3] Lucretius, *De rerum natura,* ii. 342. For their use on silver see a patera from Boscoreale that has a little cupid riding on a dolphin on the handle, and round him shells, shrimps, and little crabs. *Monuments Piot,* v, 1899, no. 49.

[4] *Antoninus Heliogabalus,* ch. **xxvi.**

FIG. 38. RELIEF FROM THE FORUM OF **TRAJAN**
Second century A.D.

FIG. 39. MOSAIC WITH AN EGYPTIAN RIVER SCENE
Before A.D. 79

PLATE XVI

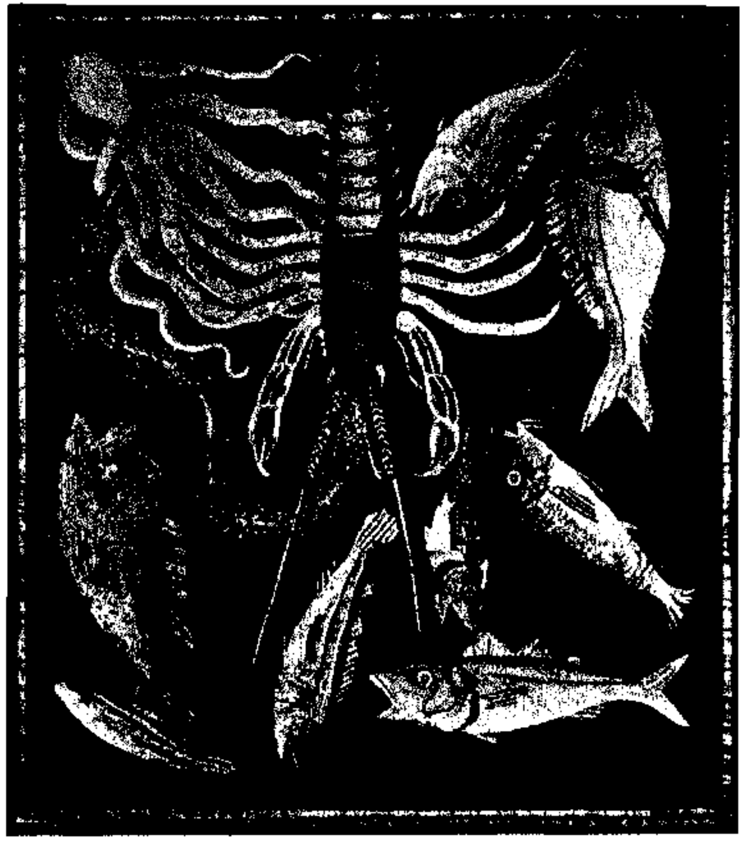


FIG. 40. MOSAIC WITH FISH, LOBSTER, AND OCTOPUS
Roman

welcome and affection. Such gifts were portrayed on frescoed panels, especially in dining-rooms; some still survive at Pompeii, with fruit set on foliage, pomegranates, peaches, asparagus, game, and fish very skilfully painted as if set in stone niches or on stone shelves, in a general tonality of greyish yellow.[1] We might not realize what they were but for one of the descriptions of Philostratus, who wrote at Rome in the first half of the third century A.D. a set of descriptions of real or imaginary pictures.[2] One of these is entitled *Xenia,* which may be rendered 'the stranger's portion'.

'Here are black figs piled upon vineleaves, and oozing sweetness. They are painted with bursting skins. Some, half open, let their juice escape; others are breaking with ripeness. Nearby a branch is thrown, that is not yet useless or empty of fruit, but still shadows other figs, some green, some ripe and wrinkled, some burst and shedding their shining juice. The sweetest, at the top of the branch, have been pecked by a bird. The ground is scattered with nuts, some shelled, some still in their shells, some opened . . .'

He goes on to enumerate and describe cherries, grapes in a basket woven of their own tendrils, a honeycomb set upon a mat of fig leaves, a junket just turned and still trembling, and ajar of creamy milk.

Here is a true still life: and students of painting will realize what the invention of the genre has meant to subsequent generations, and the strangeness of the link between Roman courtesy to a guest and the paintings of Chardin and Cézanne.

[1] See WickhofF, p. 146. For good illustrations, and a detailed study of the chronological deveippment of the style, see H. G. Beyer, *Ueber Stilleben aus Pompeji undHerculaneum,* The Hague 1928. It is occasionally found on silver; for instance, a scyphus from Boscoreale *(Monuments Plot,* v, 1899, no. 15) has a basket of prawns, a fat goose, a hare, little birds, a basket of flowers, three turnips, a boar, and a patera and ewer on a table: while its pair has a hare, mushrooms, a pomegranate branch, birds, a basket of food, a market bunch of celery, and a sucking pig.

[2] *Eikones:* Teubner, ii, p. 338. See also E. Bertrand, *Un critique d'art dans Vantiquitt: Philostrate,* Paris 1881.

6

It is a commonplace of artistic history that at first Christianity was content to take the themes of classical art and to endow them with a new and esoteric significance. It was not only the theme, but the scheme of decoration that was borrowed,[1] though this tended to break down when its purpose was obscured by a fresh symbolic emphasis. Where the theme was definitely and avowedly Christian the treatment was classical, and so included a certain naturalism of style. Some of the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome are typical of the late second and early third centuries[2] in their landscape setting and pastoral style: some that date from the time before gold had become the universal background, have mountains and clouds, rocks and a tree or two;[3] a few have a tree appearing behind a roof in the manner of the Hellenistic reliefs;[4] one is a pastoral scene with grazing and resting sheep; and the scene of Jacob's blessing includes a garden rich in buds and flowers, with the corn and vines that are part of his heritage.[5] The same classical feeling is evident in Christian art of the fourth

[1] Some thirty years ago an early Christian house was discovered under the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo on the Gaelian hill. One room still keeps its second-century decoration: it is painted with figures of winged naked youths, standing with a bird on either side of them between heavy-hanging garlands of flowers. The garlands, the birds, and the winged figures are all elements in classical decoration: yet the character of the house, and an air of dignity and an absence of subsidiary ornament in the paintings themselves, suggest the possibility of a Christian interpreting the scene as a representation of angels in Paradise. J. P. Richter and A. Cameron Taylor, *The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art,* 1904, p. 20. Cf. the chapel of St. Januarius in the cemetery of Pretextatus on the Via Appia dating from about A.D. 175. It is decorated with very ordinary light-scrolling patterns of leafage, with a few birds among them.

[2] On this point see Richter and Cameron Taylor, p. 44 and *passim;* if the mosaics themselves are not as early as this they derive from a prototype of this time.

[3] e.g. the scene with the oak of Mamre.

[4] e.g. the scene with the separation of Lot from Abraham.

[5] Cf. a pastoral painting from the Hypogaeum of the Aurelii at Rome, with the Good Shepherd on a flowery hill among his flock, and a background of landscape and farm-house. Strong, *Ancient Rome* (Ars Una), ii. '55-

PLATE XVII

Fie;. 41. MOSAIC) OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD
Fifth century A.D.
Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna

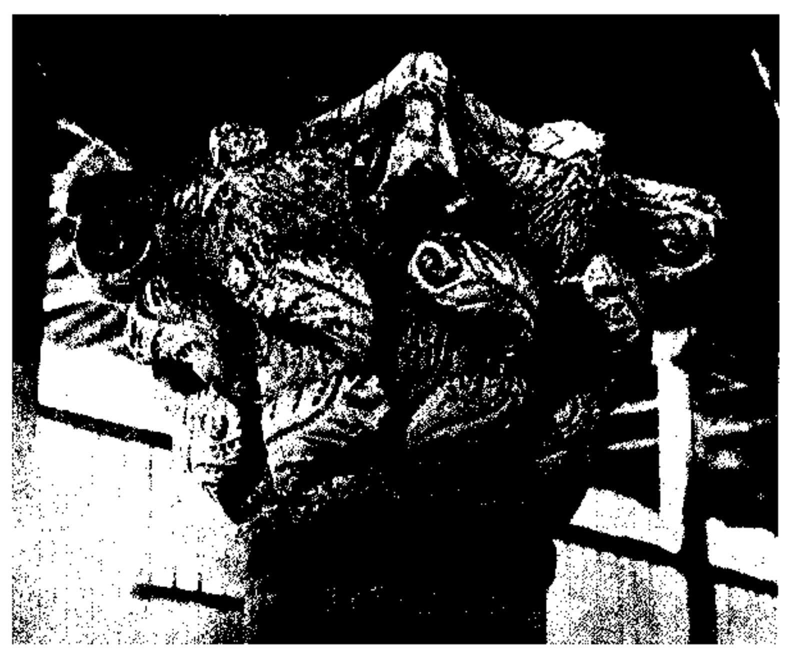


FIG. 42. CAPITAL IN THE CHURCH OF S. DEMETRIUS, SALONIKA

century, whether it be in the poems of Ausonius, writing on new-blown roses as every lyrist should, or in representational art. A later copy of an early fourth-century Psalter[1] shows David sitting on a wooded hill, with Melody leaning over his shoulder and Echo answering him from a wood, while round him the beasts that Orpheus was wont to charm stand listening to his lyre. There is much that is Roman and little that is Christian in the fourth-century mosaics in the church of Santa Costanza at Rome; originally there was a fishing scene round the base of the cupola;[2] there still exist charming vine trails, and a scene of vintage with birds and *amorini.*[3] At Ravenna the church called the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia contains a fifth-century mosaic that is in the same tradition as the manuscript illumination of David: the Good Shepherd, seated with his flock in a wooded rocky landscape (Fig. 41):[4] a pastoral theme, that has been given a fresh symbolic significance. A classical *rinceau* serves as a background to an allegorical scene of harts beside a water-brook. Other symbolical stags appear on the vault of the Baptistery of Soter at Naples, built by him in the second half of the fifth century; and this has, as the decoration of the angles, a great classical garland of fruit and flowers, at which bright-feathered birds are pecking.[5] Similar garlands appear on the ribs of the sixth-century vault of S. Vitale

[1] Paris, Biblioth&que Nationale, MS. Grec. 139; Wickhoff, p. 182.

[2] It has now disappeared and its details are doubtful. See M. van Berchem and E. Clouzot, *Mosaïques chrétiennes du IV au X^9 stick,* Geneva 1924, p. i .

[3] Another mosaic in the church shows a disarray of objects of the most varied kind, a development of the Xenia theme influenced by the floor mosaics representing the remains of a meal: boughs of orange, lemon, fig, pomegranate and pine, grapes, pears, corn, a peacock, a pheasant, a partridge, a parrot, a lark, a jay, a hoopoe, shells, vases, and kitchen utensils: a curious example of a quite meaningless survival of a classical theme invented for another purpose. Van Berchem and Clouzot, Fig. 120.

[4] Cf. a late fifth-century ivory in the Carrand Collection, Bargello Museum. Florence, with Adam in Paradise, with an eagle and fourteen animals. *Burlington Fine Arts Club, Catalogue of an Exhibition of Art in the Dark Ages in Europe,* 1930, p. 53, and PL ix.

[5] The figures of the apse, too, stand on ground from which spring lilies and other flowers, naturalistically treated.

at Ravenna, though here the birds flutter in the classical *rinceaux* of the background.[1] Such decoration was less congenial to Eastern Europe,[2] where the ideals if not the practice of asceticism flourished: when Constantine had the walls of the church of St. Mary at Blachernae decorated with animals and birds amid wreaths of foliage, he was accused of having converted the church into an orchard or an aviary.[3]

In the naturalism of the Ravenna and Naples mosaics there is a certain want of freshness: theme and style, however accomplished, have long lost the thrill of creation. For though this period witnessed an extension and intensifying of man's sensibility to certain aspects of nature, they were not aspects which could inspire purely decorative art. In the poetry of Ausonius, Prudentius, Tiberianus, and Agathias of Mysia we pass beyond the chiselling of Virgil and the impressionism of Lucretius to a view of the more fleeting elements of landscape that can find no echo in decoration, because it is the result of a complete fusion of the elements of landscape from which no single motive can be isolated. Take, for instance, Ausonius's study of reflections in the Moselle: 'the blue depths give back the river's wooded banks, the waters seem full of leaves and the stream planted with vines ... all the slopes swim in the ripples which hold them suspended; the vine wreaths—that are not there—tremble; the grapes swell beneath the crystal water': the elements of beauty are seen not in isolation but fused together as completely as the reflections are with the changing stream.

Decoration began instead to be influenced by the tech-

[1] Cf. the fifth-century mosaic in the dome of the church of St. George, Salonika: O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, 1911, Fig. 204.

[2] Though it flourished in Coptic Egypt. There are some lively rabbits, ducks, and fishes on Coptic tapestries of the third and sixth centuries A.D.: see I. Errera, Musées Royaux des Arts décoratifs de Bruxelles, Catalogue des Étoffes anciennes et modernes, 1907, no. i u; and O. M. Dalton, op. cit., Fig. 46.

[3] T. G. Jackson, *Byzantine and Romanesque Architecture*, i, p. 119.

nique of oriental sculpture. The style of architectural foliage-sculpture was gradually modified; the leaves of capitals were more indented, with drilling to add to the intensity of the contrast of light and shade; and yet a loss of plastic quality makes this naturalism strangely artificial. The change of style was felt as strongly at Rome as at Constantinople; the ciborium erected by Pope John II in 514-23 at S. Clemente with ivy-twined columns and vine-wreathed basket capitals, has little that is classical left. By the seventh century another Byzantine modification was to show the leafage on capitals as if blown by the wind.[1] Sometimes it is not blown one way only, but bent by conflicting winds, with a curiously confused effect (Fig. 42). Among the most characteristic of the decorations of this period are panels of peacocks,[2] symbolizing immortality, set against the vine of life: a seventh-century example (Fig. 43) from S. Apollinare in Classe, shows a certain naturalism, which gradually disappears in rather later examples from Torcello and Venice.[3]

For a short time, indeed, classicism, and naturalism with it, survived more vigorously in Gaul than in Italy itself. Venantius Fortunatus, who died about 603, wrote a poem on an apple orchard, and verses to accompany a gift of violets to Radegonde of Poitiers,[4] both of which show a certain feeling for the details of natural beauty. An early

[1] Foliage of this sort first appears in the church of S. Demetrius, Salonika, and at S. Sophia in the same city, finished in 495. Capitals of the kind were used on the principal portal of St. Mark's, Venice, and seem also to be of fifth-century date.

[2] A type found a goo'd deal earlier in minor art: e.g. a mirror from a woman's grave near Sofia, third century A.D., now in the British Museum. *Catalogue of the Silver Plate, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman,* 1921, p. 106. The type is found in the East for capitals as early as the sixth century; e.g. a capital from Salona, Spalato: O. M. Dal ton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology,* Fig. 104.

[3] See also a fine Venetian example of the early seventh century in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

[4] Cf. Dill, *Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age,* p. 251: 'In Gregory's visits to the haunts of the hermits of Auvergne we have a sight of charming gardens, stocked with pot-herbs and fruit-bearing trees, like that pleasance under whose whispering boughs the old monk Martius had sat for three generations.'

seventh-century capital from the crypt of Saint Paul de Jouarre shows the tradition of the classical acanthus still living; a Merovingian sarcophagus from Moissac (Fig. 44) shows the classical vine yet surviving in the midst of stiffer and more oriental leafage.[1] But everywhere naturalism was menaced. In Eastern Europe the Iconoclast controversy, beginning about 725, restricted its sphere: and elsewhere it foundered before the successive waves of barbarian invasion.[2] While the virgins of the sixth-century mosaic at S. Apollinare Nuovo of Ravenna are seen against a realistic background of the palms of victory and the lilies of virginity, the ninth-century mosaic in the Basilica of Theodulf at Germigny les Prés shows stiff conventional palms that mark a break in the tradition of naturalism. By the eighth century, indeed, naturalism in Italy and France was dead, as the style of the balustrade of Sigualdus in the baptistery of Gividale, made between 762 and 776, is itself enough to show.[3] It is the destruction of the city basis of society that makes the gulf between the latest classical period and the beginning of the Middle Ages; and when the cities were laid waste and deserted the roots of naturalism were destroyed.

The Tribes of the Great Migrations might come into the heritage of a classical tradition of ornament, but they could neither fully understand it, nor successfully imitate it. Even their own tradition, ultimately Scythian, of animal ornament, ever tended to break down into meaningless meanders and interfacings.[4] When the gradual spread of Christianity

[1] Cf. another from Saint Seurin, Gironde, in the Bordeaux Museum, another at Saint Guilhem du Désert, and a broken one at Angoulême. They are probably derived from such work as a fifth-century altar (of Carrara marble) from the chapel of St. Cassian in St. Victor's, Marseilles, now in the Musée Borely.

[2] The great Arab invasion of Southern France occurred in the same year—725—as the beginnings of the Iconoclast quarrel at Constantinople.

[3] Cf. the contemporary, and equally conventional, balustrade in the cathedral of Aquileia.

[4] Dr. Haddon has shown *(Evolution in Art,* Pt. I) how formal pat terns may be reached through the degeneration of a representation of human or animal figures. This, however, appears only to happen when the tradition of these figures is inherited from a higher

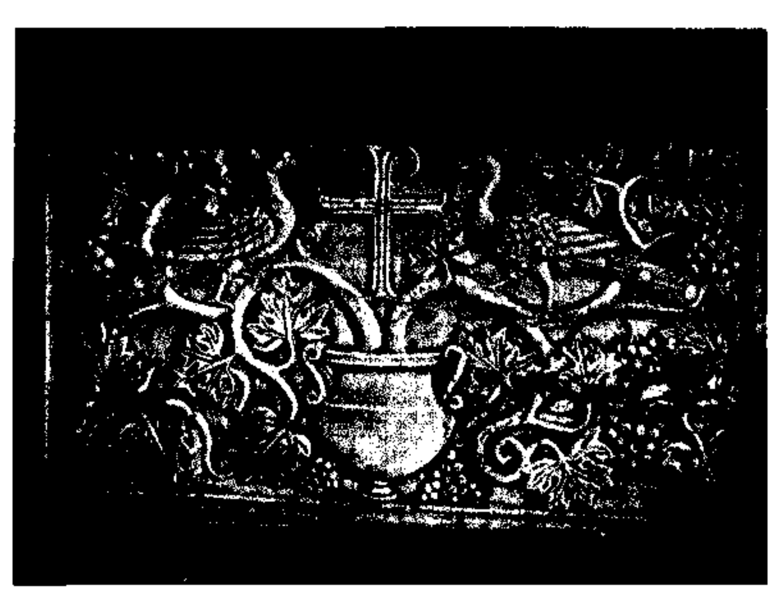


FIG. 43. RELIEF IN S. APOLLINARE IN CEASSE, RAVENNA
Seventh century A.D.

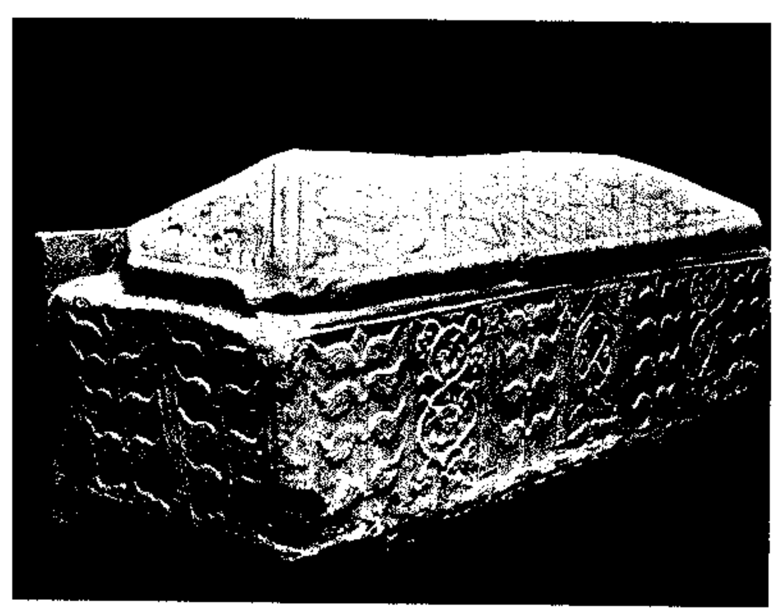


FIG. 44. MEROVINGIAN SARCOPHAGUS
Early seventh century A.D.

PLATE XIX

Fia-45. **FRAGMENT** OF A CROSS **SHAFT**
From Kasby, Yorks. ***c.*** **700**

Fie. 46, CORINTHIAN CAPITA!, **FROM** THE **ABBEY OF CLUNY**

brought naturalism of a Byzantine kind to England, it could not take root. The birds and beasts on the cross shaft from Easby are still living and moving[1] (Fig. 45); the Bewcastle Cross—fairly certainly of the late seventh century—in spite of its squirrels and birds, is rather a remote copy of a naturalistic type than itself naturalistic.[2] Gradually the leafage became petrified; at Jedburgh, though the birds and mouse keep a little vitality, formal scrolls have taken the place of foliage.[3] The duck on the eighth-century cross at Auckland St. Andrew, Durham, is the last creature to retain a breath of life. Celtic and Saxon literature show nature as a gloomy background to man's sufferings. They paint the withered sedge, the icy mere, the barren heath, and the wood eternally bent by the wind. Sometimes the ash may be in bud and the gorse in bloom; but it is by the fireside and in the hall that men find their solace, and not in the world outside. Life in western Europe was neither urban nor courtly, and held no place for naturalism.[4]

civilization (e.g. Scythian to Barbarian) or a freer art (e.g. painting to basketwork).

[1] It is interesting to compare its decoration with similar ornament on a limestone frieze of the sixth or seventh century in the Cairo Museum: O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology,* 1911, Fig. 25.

[2] The same is true of the Ruthwell Gross, very probably from the same workshop.

[3] Cf. the changing of the vine pattern, as on the seventh-century cross at Ottley, into spirals at Ruthwell.

[4] In the eighth century the classical tradition was kept alive at the courts of the Caliphs of Asia Minor. The mosaics with which the Omeyyad Caliph of Damascus, Walid I (705-15), decorated the converted church of St. John are remarkable for their background of landscape and trees, a further development of the classical style. See E. de Lorey in *Monuments Plot,* 1930, p. i n .

Chapter II

MONASTERY AND CATHEDRAL

I

IT is not until the tenth and eleventh centuries that a true aristocracy again arises, and this not an aristocracy of the Court, but of the monastery: an aristocracy of monks, vowed, it is true, to individual poverty, but collectively rich; freed from the yoke of feudal duty and of manual labour, leading lives devoted to prayer and praise in the first instance and to study and meditation for the rest. Once more there were men able to take the necessities and securities of life for granted, men who led in the little world of the monastery a life regular enough, and in a setting sufficiently architectural, to make the observation of nature a pleasure. The monks of the Benedictine Order in France lived in a land where sculptured *rinceaux* and Corinthian capitals yet adorned Roman buildings, and where the tradition of manuscript illumination and the importation of Byzantine silks and ivories kept alive other traditions with some elements of naturalism. In sensibility to nature, too, the classical tradition yet lived. Even in the time of Charlemagne[1] those who lived in monastery gardens found time and inclination for a loving observation of nature that is definitely classical in its inspiration. Aldhelm, with the *Georgics* beside him, versifies on bees, and Bede perpetuates

[1] The visual art of Carolingian times did no more than echo the distant naturalism of Byzantium, or the conventional landscape backgrounds of Early Christian art. Two ninth-century manuscripts are typical. The Alcuin Bible, written at Tours (in the Bamberg Library) has a page with frieze-like illustrations divided by trees, not naturalistic, but with their leaves differentiated. The Evangeliary of Ebbo, written at Rheims, in the Municipal Library of Epernay, has the canon pages crowned by a gable along the top of which runs a sort of landscape: but it is extremely perfunctorily executed, though in the tradition of classical naturalism.

the Virgilian tradition 'arboris umbriferae moestus sub tegmine solus'.[1] Alcuin describes the garden of his cell,[2] and the lilies that grow there among the red rose-trees; Walafrid Strabo towards the end of his life—he died in 849 —writes in the cloister of Reichenau his *Hortulus,* on the beauty and uses of the plants of that long-vanished monastery garden—sage and rue and southernwood, fennel and orris, lily, poppy and rose;[3] and in his dedication of it to the Abbot of St. Gall describes the dappled shadows of the apple and peach trees beneath which he is wont to sit, while his schoolboys bring him fruit with the downy bloom yet upon it.[4]

Unlike certain ascetics of other ages, they were not debarred by any scruple of conscience from the contemplation of natural beauty: rather did it form a part of the contemplative life to which they were vowed, since natural things were for them but symbols of spiritual realities. By their study the learned man might arrive at the intuitive knowledge of God; as the Cluniac Radulphus Glaber writes:[5] 'Multipliers figuris formisque Deus conditor universorum distinguens ea quae fecit, ut per ea quae vident oculi, vel intelligit animus, sublevaret hominem eruditum ad simplicem Deitatis intuitum.' They inherited the Augustinian tradition of symbolism on a minute scale, and enriched it and gave it new life through their own observation of natural things.

Adam of Saint-Victor could find in a nutshell a symbol of Christ: the green sheath is His flesh, His humanity; the shell is the body that hides his Godhead; and the kernel within, the sweet food of man, His divinity.

[1] See George Gord&n, *Virgil in English Poetry,* Warton Lecture on English Poetry, British Academy, I93i> P-5-

[2] Garm. 23; Dummler, *Poetae latinae medii aevi,* Berlin 1881, i, p. 243.

[3] See R. Lambert, *The Little Garden,* London 1924.

[4] Cf. the ninth-century manuscript plan of St. Gall, which shows that apples, pears, plums, medlars, laurel, chestnut, and figs were grown in the cemetery garth.

[5] *Hist,* i, cap. i; Migne, *Pat. Lot.* cxlii, col. 613.

Contemplemur adhuc nucem . . .
Nux est Christus; cortex nucis
Circa camera poena crucis;
Testa, corpus osseum,
Carne tecta Deltas,
Et Christi suavitas
Signatur per nucleum.[1]

Peter de Mora, Cardinal Archbishop of Capua, looking upon his garden, found in it a beauty not merely of the senses. The rose alone had for him more than forty symbolic meanings.[2] 'The rose is the choir of martyrs, or rather of virgins. When it is red, it is the blood of those who have died for the faith, and when white it is original purity. It blossoms among thorns, like the martyrs who blossom among heretics and persecutors, or like a pure virgin who shines in the midst of sin.[5] Similarly Bernard sees it as an image of the Passion of Christ; its colour comes from His Blood; it shuts during a cold night as Christ was shut away after the fall of man; and like Him in the fullness of time it opens again in the sun of love.[3] The expression of such symbolic thought in art gradually led to naturalism. There are in the Darmstadt Museum[4] six enamelled plaques—which probably once formed part of a set of eight—Rhenish work of the twelfth century, each enamelled with a tree. Their inscriptions show that they are part of a series with the Virtues and the Gifts of the Spirit symbolized by the trees mentioned in Ecclesiasticus.[5] Humility is typified by the

[1] *Migne9Pat. Lat.* clxxxvi, col. 1433.

[2] See his *Rosa Alphabetica,* in *Spicilegium Solesmense,* iii, p. 489.

[3] *Homeliae in Evangelia,* lib. ii, cap. 38; quoted by Mgr. de la Bouillerie, *£tude sur le symbolisme chritien de la nature,* 1866, p. 267.

[4] Museum nos. 1005-10.

[5] Ecclesiasticus xxiv. 13-18. 'I was exalted like a cedar in Libanus, and as a cypress tree upon the mountains of Hermon. I was exalted like a palm tree in En-gaddi, and as a rose plant in Jericho, as a fair olive tree in a pleasant field, and grew up as a plane tree by the water. . . . As the turpentine tree I stretched out my branches of honour and grace. As the vine brought forth pleasant savour, and my flowers are the fruit of honour and riches. I am the mother of fair love, and fear, and knowledge, and holy hope. . .'

cedar, 'quasi cedrus exaltata sum in Libano', Piety by the cypress, 'quasi cupressus in monte Syon', Knowledge by the palm, 'quasi palma exaltata sum in Cades', Fortitude by the rose-tree, 'et quasi plantatio rosae in lericho', Wisdom by the terebinth, 'ego quasi terebinthus extendi ramos meos', and Temperance by the vine, 'ego quasi vitis fructificavi suavitatem odoris'. The interesting point is the attempt—and, allowing for the difficulties of the enameller's technique, a successful attempt—to differentiate the different species.

The transition from such symbolical interpretation to direct observation for its own sake was natural and inevitable. It is echoed in the verses of the monastic writers. There is a new sense of the beauty and mysterious grandeur of trees and woods in the *De mundi universitate* of Bernard Sylvester of Chartres, who died in 1167;[1] he describes not only the trees of the Latin and the Jewish poets, but also the trees he has himself seen in the fertile valleys of France. The same feeling for nature is evident in his contemporary, Peter the Venerable, who like him was an accomplished classical scholar. Sometimes, he tells us, he joined for rest and recreation a little colony of hermit monks of his own abbey who went to dwell for a time in the wooded hills of the Charolais. There, he wrote in 1147, 'wearied with dwelling in towns, we live in the forests and love the meadows'.[2] The enclosed atmosphere of Cluny was forgotten under the open sky: and the long-repressed creative impulses of those who sojourned there found lyric expression. 'When you come,' writes Brother Robert, 'you will find neither hermitage nor hermits; we have a Parnassus with a triple peak, and not a double like that of which the ancient poets speak: do not seek here horned feuns or dancing satyrs, but cowled poets, monks robed in black, brethren devoted to piety, prayer and reading.' We cease to wonder that we find among the monks of Cluny a new appreciation of natural beauty: that

[1] Ed. C. S. Barach and J. Wrobel, Innsbruck 1876, p. 23.
[2] *Epist.* iv. 30.

Gerard, Prior of Saint-Sauveur-de-Nevers, who had spent his whole conscious life in the cloister, should retire to Cluny to live on the top of a neighbouring hill, whence, Peter tells us,[1] 'when the rounded clouds, heavy with rain, sank down into the valleys, he could see above them the Italian Alps, and a great part of France lying below': or that Peter himself, turning a classical compliment on a friend's white hairs, should write of the silvery olive that by its shining whiteness surpasses all the surrounding green.

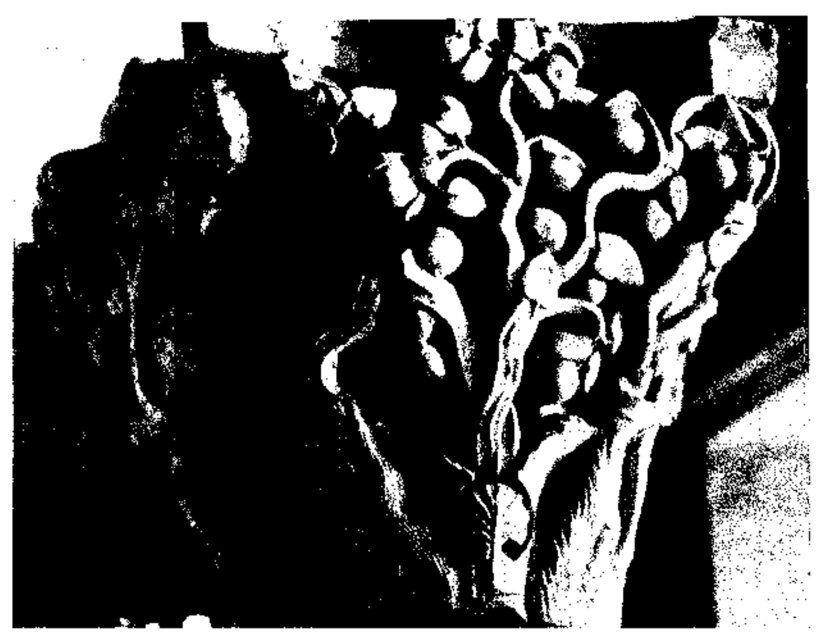
> Pulchrior in sylvis nusquam frondescit oliva,
> dum candore suo deprimit omne virens . . .[2]

It is in the Benedictine monasteries, and especially in Peter's abbey of Cluny and its dependent houses, that the naturalism of the Middle Ages has its roots. The last abbey church of Cluny—the greatest in Christendom until St. Peter's was rebuilt at the Renaissance—was begun in 1088 and finished by 1113. All of it but a single transept was wantonly destroyed little more than a century ago; but a few capitals have escaped destruction. These include remarkably classical Corinthian capitals (Fig. 46) with a revival of the Greco-Roman feeling for plastic modelling and natural growth, and certain symbolic capitals in which a renewed observation of nature is evident. One in particular is carved with figures of the four rivers of Paradise standing between four symbolic trees: the fig of the Fall, the apple of Knowledge (Fig. 47), the vine of Life and the almond of Resurrection.[3] In their curving stems and springing leaves can be seen a revival of the observation of nature that in its quality seems to return to days long before the barbarian invasions. Such naturalism is found not only at Cluny, but also in other dependencies of the abbey. Nearly seven years ago I began to seek out the Cluniac

[1] *De Mirac,* i. 8: Marrier, *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis,* col. 1258.

[2] *Epist.* iv. 23; Marrier, col. 855.

[3] See *Revue de l'art chrétien,* xxxv, 1885, p. 39. The almond has often been called an olive, with loss of its symbolic meaning. See Joan Evans, *Monastic Life at Cluny,* p. 121.



FIQ, 47, DETAIL OF **CAPITAL** FROM THE ABBEY OF **CLUNY**
c. 1095

FiG, 48, IJNTKL OF THE WEST **DOOR, CHURCH** OF **SAINT** PIERRE, **MAGUELONK.** 1178

abbeys and priories in France of which any architectural remains survived. One of the strongest impressions left on my mind from the large number I have seen—about a hundred and eighty churches—is the prevalence of naturalistic decoration, to an extent which is certainly not found in any corresponding degree outside the Order. The naturalistic acanthus, already noticed on some of the capitals from Cluny, reappears with hardly any modification, in the Cluniac abbey of Vézelay; again, rather differently shaped, in the Cluniac cloister of Moissac; again, in the Cluniac abbey of Mozat; in the lesser Cluniac priories of Saint-Leu-d'Esserent, Pont-du-Château and Manglieu; in the Cluniac priory of La Charité; at Saint-Gilles, in capitals dating, I think, from the time when that abbey was in the Cluniac Order: and indeed in any number of Romanesque Cluniac churches up and down the length and breadth of France. When it is found outside the Order it is in the great Benedictine abbeys that were in relation with Cluny though not dependent on it: at Saint-Trophime-d'Aries, Sainte-Radegonde-de-Poitiers, Saint-Remi-de-Reims, Saint-Germain-des-Prés, at Saint-Julien-de-Brioude, at Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire, at Le-Monastier-Saint-Chaffre; or in certain churches in Burgundy, where Cluniac influence was everywhere felt, such as Saulieu and Autun. The classical *rinceau* again was revived: and though there is here less evidence that the revival had its centre in the Cluniac Order—for no *rinceau* has been found among the fragmentary sculptures from Cluny—it is again significant that nearly all the finest surviving Romanesque *rinceaux* come from Cluniac churches: from Charlieu, probably built before the death of Peter the Venerable in 1156, where it is treated with an ivory-like elaboration and complexity of modelling not seen before; from Saint-Lazare-d'Avallon, and from churches as far distant as Sainte-Jalle, hidden in the mountains behind Orange, and Mantes, north of Paris; and that the others come from churches like the cathedral of Langres, which

show strong Burgundian influence in the details of their decoration, or from those, like Saint-Gilles, that are known to have been in relation with Cluny. One of the finest is that from Maguelone in the Hérault (Fig. 48): this is doubly important as it is dated by the inscription to nyS.[1]

In many of the Cluniac churches, and in some under their influence, a naturalism is found like that of the capital with the four trees at Cluny. It is significant that the little Romanesque priory church of Mornac, a village on the western coast of France, some three hundred miles from the mother abbey of Cluny, should have a capital with the Temptation grouped round trees almost as naturalistic as the one at Cluny itself. A similar naturalism is to be found in the Cluniac abbeys of Vézelay and Moissac, in the Cluniac priories of Donzy-le-Pré and Charlieu, and even in the remote Cluniac priory of Saint-C6me-du-Mont near Carentan; and in some of those churches where the presence of the classical acanthus was noted: at Saint-Trophime, at Saulieu and at Autun.[2]

Not only capitals, but even mouldings were influenced: on the early twelfth-century fagade of the forgotten little Cluniac church of Condéon in the Charente there is a charming little moulding of buds that reappears on the neighbouring Cluniac church of Chalais.

The fullest development of the Romanesque Corinthian foliage is to be found in the south, where the classical tradition lingered longest and classical remains were more plentiful; the fullest development of the purely naturalistic Romanesque style is to be found in northern France. It is in the Cluniac churches of Saint-Julien-le-Pauvre at Paris and Saint-Leu-d'Esserent that the classic form is invaded

[1] A slightly less fine one on the Portal of Saint Trophime d'Arles is probably contemporary. It is worthy of note that the font in the Baptistery of Parma, that in its decoration offers a certain parallel with the lintel from Maguelone, is definitely later, dating only from 1294.

[2] Naturalistic foliage of the sort may also be seen on the capitals of the cloister of San Benito de Bages, near Manresa.

by fresh natural motives; and the same influences are at work in the capitals of Saint-Laumer-de-Blois, where the acanthus has a new and more swinging curve, its leaves a fresher and more natural growth.

Nor was leafage the only type of naturalistic decoration to be revived and developed by monastic sensibility. The *Bestiaires* of the early Middle Ages are for the most part traditional and symbolical; but even in their pages there is sometimes a description that rings true. Philippe de Thaon, writing between 1121 and 1135, describes the lion:

> II at le vis herdu
> Gros le col et kernu
> Quaré le piz devant,
> Hardi e cumbatant;
> Graille at le trait deriere,
> Cue de grant maniere,
> Et les jambes at plates,
> Juste les piez aates (agiles)
> Les piez at gros culpez
> Lus ungles e curvez.

Nor were monks without feeling for animals; if St. Bernard saw a hare pursued by dogs, or birds threatened by a hawk, he could not resist making the sign of the cross, that his benediction might bring them safety.[1]

There is not a capital carved with birds among the few surviving capitals of the church at Cluny itself: but whenever I see such a capital in a Romanesque church I have learned that it is worth while to discover if that church were not Cluniac or Benedictine.

The type was originally a Byzantine one: it appears, for instance, in the church of St. Demetrius near Salonika,[2] and in the sixth-century cathedral of Parenzo,[3] Its European use was no doubt propagated by the diffusion of

[1] Quoted, Countess Evelyn Martinengo Gesaresco, *The Place of Animals in human Thought,* p. 256.

[2] Some examples have been reused in the building of St. Mark's, Venice.

[3] O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology,* 1911, Fig. 20.

Byzantine silks with formal affronted birds, of a type represented in France by the 'Suaire de Saint Germain' at Auxerre and the 'Suaire de Saint Potentinien' at Sens. The most formal version of the theme on a Cluniac capital occurs in the cloister at Moissac[1] (Fig. 49); at Layrac and at Moirax, both Cluniac, and in the Burgundian church of Anzy-le-Duc it is beginning to be infused with naturalistic feeling; there are examples of the same stage from the Benedictine abbeys of Saint-Germain-des-Prés at Paris, Aigues-Vives in the Loir-et-Cher and Monreale in Sicily. At Chalais, Saint Loup de Naud and Mozat[2] (Fig. 50) the naturalizing process is continued, and the leafy background is given greater importance. At Châlons-sur-Marne the treatment is more advanced, and in the Cluniac church of Saint-Leu-d'Esserent there is a final break-up into a naturalistic grouping. Two other types of bird capitals, both ultimately Byzantine in origin, suffered a similar transformation. The first—found originally in Ravennate and Venetian reliefs—shows a pair of birds drinking from a vessel that stands between them. The series here starts with a capital from the Cluniac priory of Saint-Révérien in the Nièvre; another, very little more naturalistic, is in the Cluniac abbey of La Charité;[3] and eventually the type changes into naturalistic parrakeets pecking delicately at fruit, in the Cluniac abbey of Montierneuf at Poitiers,[4] and the abbey of Saint-Menoux that was in close relation with the Cluniac abbey of Souvigny.

The third type series starts at Moissac (Fig. 51): the sculptor, with well-founded fears of misunderstanding, has labelled them 'aquilae'. His eagles appear again at La

[1] Cf. a capital from the choir of Lescar in the Basses Pyrenees, of which the sculpture shows many analogues with that of Moissac, and some very beautiful and rather more stylized examples in the cloister of Santo Domingo de Silos, which date from about 1075.

[2] These still show traces of red and green colouring.

[3] Another is in the church of Lamps-en-Val, Somme.

[4] A sub-species is afforded by the four pairs of birds eating berries on an engaged capital from the church of Thil-Chatel, Côte d'Or.

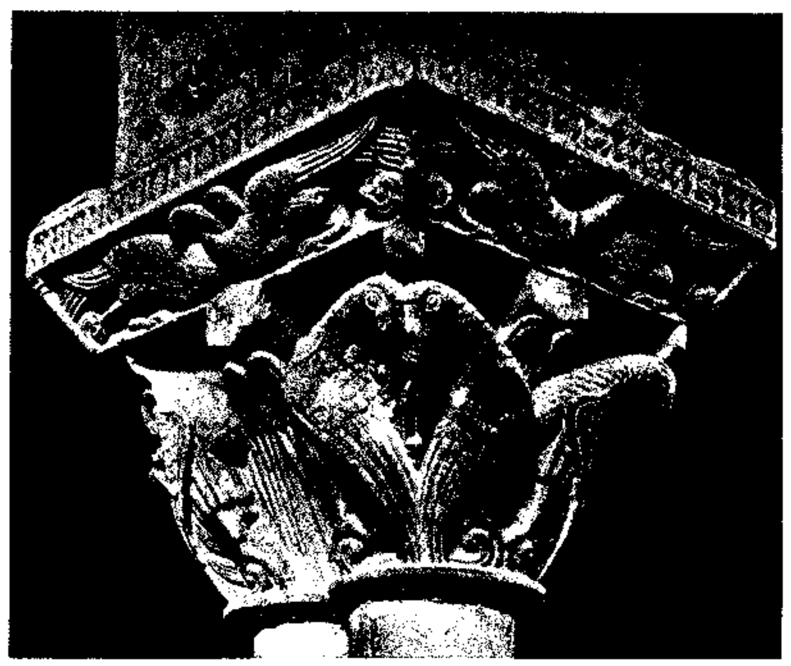


FIG. 49. CAPITAL WITH BIRDS, CLOISTER OF MOISSAC
c. 1100

FIG. 50. CAPITALS OF THE NAVE, ABBEY OF MOZAT
c. 1120

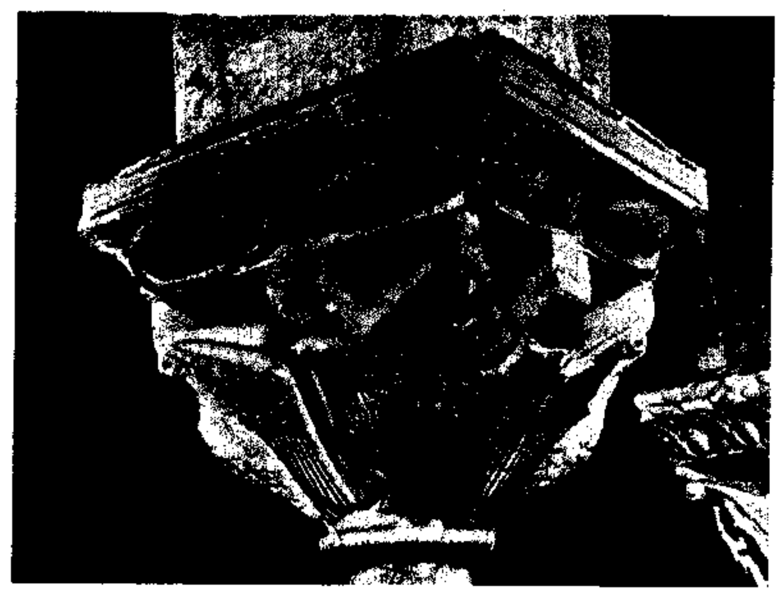


FIG. 51. CAPITAL WITH EAGLES, CLOISTER OF MOISSAC
c. 1100

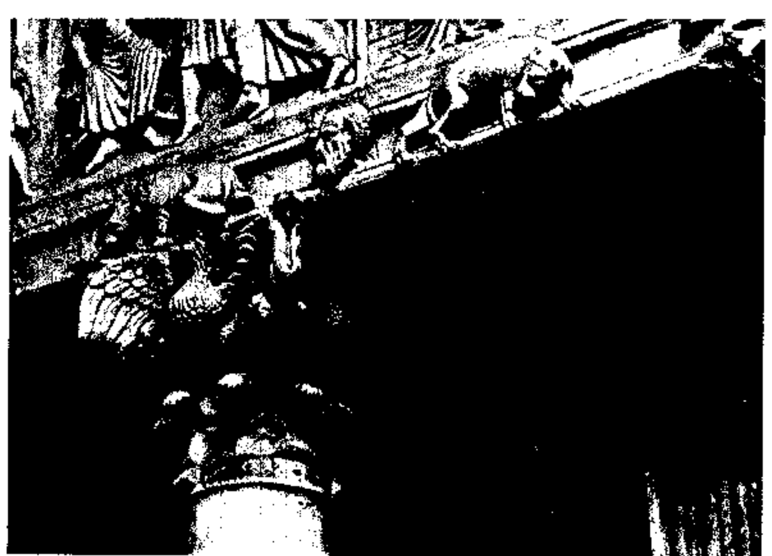


FIG. 52. DETAIL OF THE WEST FRONT OF SAINT GILLES, GARD
c. 1120

Charité; that they are definitely derived from Moissac is suggested by the presence on the same capital of a rather unusual motive of ducks with entwined necks, which is found on another of the Moissac capitals. Then the eagles appear at Saint-Révérien, little changed; and one of them is translated into goldwork in the mounting of that vase of porphyry[1] which Abbot Suger found in a cupboard at St. Denis and had adapted in this unusual fashion as a vessel for the altar.

Finally, the eagles are carved in almost Roman magnificence on a capital from Saint-Gilles (Fig. 52). The frieze above has two splendid naturalistic lions creeping along its base moulding. By this date there is considerable variety in animal sculpture:[2] at Maillezais is a frieze of ducks, at Sainte-Foy-de-Morlaas there are ducks, eels, and carp carved on the moulding of the portal, and at Moissac rats and pheasants and a capital with a fox and geese.[3] On a capital at Saulieu there is a lively cock-fight, and on another an owl.[4] On a column base[5] from the Cluniac abbey of La Daurade at Toulouse there are two little birds worrying an owl. In the museum at Avignon is a Romanesque capital—said, appropriately enough, to come from Marseilles—with fish leaping from the waves.

It is as yet uncertain how far this development of naturalism

[1] When we remember that Suger was present at the consecration of the abbey church of La Charité it is easy to consider this to be derived as directly from the abbey capital as is the capital at Saint Révérien. See Joan Evans, 'Die Adlervase des Sugerius', in *Pantheon,* July 1932, p. 221.

[2] It may well be compared with the friezes of animals on a well-known ivory of the time now in the Victoria and Albert Museum: M. Longhurst, *English Ivories*, 1926, p. 23, no. xxii.

[3] The rats show considerable characterization; some are plump and well-liking, others of a skeleton thinness. Some seem not to be rats at all, but rather resemble shapeless newborn puppies and kittens. One of the other mouldings is decorated with curious grotesques with fish bodies and heads of ducks, cats, owls and other creatures.

[4] Cf. engaged capital with owls at the corners on the portal of the church of Saint-Savin in the Hautes Pyrenées; and the two owls among the fantastic grotesques of the door of the south transept of Saint-Pierre-d'Aulnay.

[5] Now in the Musée des Augustins, Toulouse.

was, as it appears to be, a spontaneous flowering of the spirit, and how far it was inspired by alien influences. Certain manuscript types had their influence: the elaborate conventional leafage of the illuminator is sometimes quickened into natural growth under the sculptor's chisel, notably in the Gharente district; the bestiary animals sometimes—though rarely before the thirteenth century—wake to life: the palm-tree of a Beatus manuscript may appear on a capital, as it does, for example, in the widely separated Cluniac churches of Binson in the Aisne, Souvigny in the Allier, and Torsac in the Dordogne. It is tempting, of course, to bring the naturalistic leafage into relation with the rare examples of naturalistic plants in early herbals;[1] but comparison seems to establish a parallel rather than a source.

The bird capitals have Byzantine parallels, both in sculpture and in textiles. There is no doubt that certain types of capitals with lions, elephants, griffins, and other monstrous beasts have a similar origin:[2] but in all these it is the theme and not the naturalistic treatment that is derived from the East. The most relevant parallel in this group is that between a capital at Moissac[3] with leafage and upward-looking birds, and certain oriental silks: but this is an almost isolated instance of naturalistic feeling. The influence of oriental ivories on certain scroll and medallion work of a more or less naturalistic kind is equally certain: such ninth-century plaques as those in Paris with the signs of the Zodiac are

[1] e.g. a manuscript of the herbal of Apuleius Barbatus (Bodleian MS. Bodl. 130) edited for the Roxburghe Club by R. T. Gunther (at the expense of Captain E. G. Spencer Churchill, 1925). This manuscript, written at Bury St. Edmunds about 1120, probably goes back to a still earlier French original, but there seems no evidence to prove a Cluniac origin. See C. Singer, 'The Herbal in Antiquity', in *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* xlvii, 1927, pp. 39 et seqq.

[2] That Cluniac monasteries owned such textiles is proved, if proof were needed, by a Byzantine silk of the eleventh century with horses, birds, and lions, from the abbey of Mozat, now in the Musée historique des tissus at Lyons.

[3] It is almost exactly copied at Saint Révérien.

FIG, 53, FRIEZE FROM THE WEST DOOR, NOTRE DAME DK PARIS
c. 1220

Fig. 34. PANEL OF SCULPTURED STONE FROM AN INTERIOR WALL, CATHEDRAL OF RHEIMS. *c.* 1280

in obvious relation with certain capitals from Sainte-Marie-de-la-Daurade at Toulouse with a similar scheme of scrolls and medallions; but in these the naturalism is rather of the figure than of the leafage. If we turn from Byzantium to the other end of the Mediterranean there are other questions to be considered. The capitals of the Panteón de los Reyes at Leon, dedicated in 1063, show a freedom of treatment allied to the Cluniac 'classical' style applied to a Spanish tenth-century type of capital that is itself of classical origin.[1] It has been pointed out that leafage of a Cluniac type is found in certain oriental decorative sculptures of the eleventh century[2] and on a capital of the crypt of San Niccolo at Bari, dating from 1090. A naturalism that has affinities with the Cluniac style is evident in the frescoes of the lower church of San Clemente at Rome, built between 1073 and 1084. There can be little doubt that Cluny, as a centre of inspiration for pilgrimage, was in close touch alike with Leon, on the way to Compostella, with Bari, a starting-point for the voyage to Jerusalem, and with Rome; but yet the evidence is hardly conclusive that its naturalistic style in sculpture was drawn from any of these sources. In the south the tradition of classical Roman naturalism was certainly alive, but it seems rather to have been reawakened by Cluniac influence than to have inspired Cluniac style. Its strength is greatest about the middle of the twelfth century, when the artistic traditions of Cluny were already established.[3] In sum, though the germ of the naturalistic tradition may—perhaps must—have reached France from other sources, it quickened in Cluniac art.

[1] For an illustration see V. Lampe'rez y Romea, *Historic, He la Arquitectura Cristiana Española en la Edad Media,* i, p. 316.

[2] e.g. a sculptured column in the Museum of Tschinili Kiosk, Constantinople; Kingsley Porter, op. cit. i, p. 8.

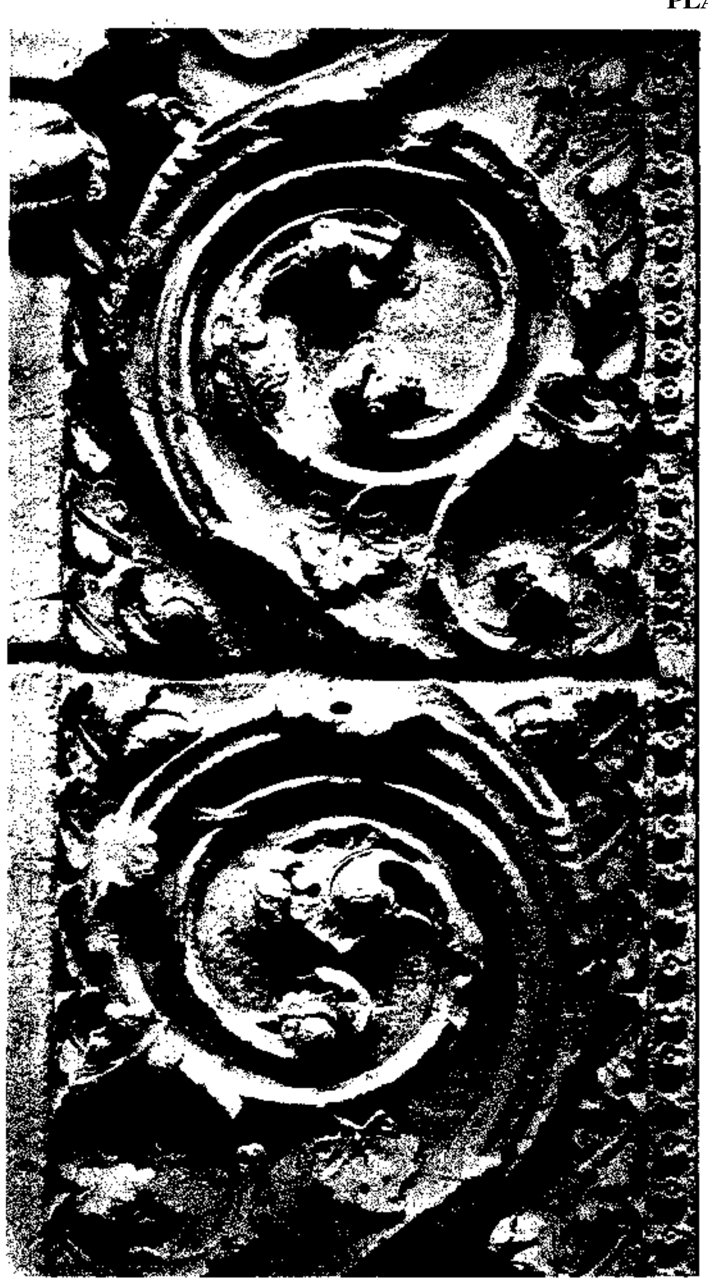
[3] The markedly classical style of a few later sculptures from northern France, of which the Rheims *Visitation* is the most important, raises the question whether some accidental find of classical sculpture in that district, including both figure work and naturalistic foliage reliefs, afforded the sculptors of Champagne new inspiration; but the hypothesis has no real evidence to support it.

The preservation and rebirth of a style based on the observation of natural beauty is one of the debts we owe to the Benedictine humanism of the early Middle Ages.

2

The end of the twelfth century witnessed the decline of Cluniac glory, yet its influence lived on in other spheres. Peter the Venerable himself speaks of the urban quality of Cluniac life; its strength had lain not in its seclusion from the world, but in its relations with the world. In its great abbey and in its dependencies, nearly one thousand four hundred in number in the twelfth century, men of monastic learning came into contact with men of action from the world outside; the pilgrimages and Crusades which it inspired and helped to organize were links between distant provinces and nations. Institutions chiefly Cluniac in their inspiration spanned the transition from the age of Monasticism to the age of Feudalism, and their influences were still fruitful in the latter time. From Cluny was drawn the inspiration of the sculptures of the great cathedrals of the thirteenth century, both for the great iconographic schemes and for the naturalistic detail. Yet by this time their symbolic interest had been forgotten. Guillaume Durand finished in 1284 a *Rationale* that finds a symbolic meaning for every part of the Church and its services; but all he can find to say about naturalistic decoration is that 'sometimes they add flowers and trees with their fruit, to represent the fruits of good works, that grow from the roots of virtue.'[1] The monastic churches had been adorned for a monkish congregation that could understand symbolic allusions; the cathedrals were the home of the 'sainte plebe de Dieu' that had no such lore. It was not from an elaboration of symbolism but simply from an enrichment of architecture that the flower ornament of such churches as Notre-Dame-de-Paris and Rheims Cathedral was evolved. The principle

[1] Bk. i, ch. xxi; ed. Barthélemy, i, p. 51.



FIG, 55. DETAIL OF THE PORTE SAINT JEAN,
ROUEN CATHEDRAL
c. 1240

PLATE XXVI

FIG. 56. GABLE OF THE TOMB OF SAINT ETIENNE, AUBAZINE. *c.* 1280

that permitted a capital to be adorned with acanthus foliage was gradually extended to every decorated part of the structure: friezes, mouldings, spandrels, finials, crockets,[1] and panels. Each architectural feature was transmuted into the appropriate vegetable form. The development was gradual; at first, though the general effect is naturalistic, the leaves are not in fact identifiable, since there is no real indication of species. But by the beginning of the thirteenth century they are clearly distinguishable; on the transept portals of Chartres there are leaves of hepatica, ivy, holly, hawthorn, fig, and rose; at Noyon there is maple, gooseberry, ivy, and vine. On the west door of Notre-Dame-de-Paris there is a frieze of watercress (Fig. 53) and another of celandine, crockets of snapdragon flowers, and copings of hepatica leaves. The Porte Rouge of about 1270 has a frieze of rose and hawthorn;[2] the Porte de la Vierge has the exterior moulding of the arch formed of oblong panels of half-naturalized plants—plantain, oak and the rest—with a few beasts among them. At Norrey[3] the windows have an exterior moulding of fern leaves; at Rouen the south door has crockets of bracken. At Rheims some of the interior walls are panelled with stone reliefs of a naturalistic kind (Fig. 54)—pictures of plants in stone of a kind not seen before. On the Porte-Saint-Jean of the cathedral of Rouen, the *rinceau* reappears again in an exquisite naturalistic form (Fig. 55); and it is adapted to fill a trilobed arcading on the tomb of John of Salisbury, who died in i i8o.[4] At the abbey of Larchand[5] the *voussure* of the porch is adorned with a moulding of a water-lily leaf, with a watercress leaf in front; in the Sainte-Chapelle, built between 1243 and 1248,

[1] On the development of naturalistic crockets see D. Jalabert, 'La flore gothique, ses origines, son Evolution du XIIe au XVe stecle', in *Bulletin Monumental,* xci, 1932, p. 217.

[2] Found a little later at Selles-sur-Cher, and Fyfield, Essex, and fairly common in fourteenth-century France. In the cathedral of St. Maurice of Vienne, Isère, it is adapted to a capital.

[3] Calvados.

[4] From the former abbey of L£ves, near Chartres.

[5] Seine ct Marne.

there are capitals with oak, fig, hawthorn, ivy, holly, wormwood, ranunculus, maple, hops, hepatica, vine, and rose.

Even in the Gothic Age naturalism still developed in the cloister, although creation passed from the Benedictine abbeys into other Orders. In the Cistercian abbey of Aubazine near Brive, the tomb of Saint-Etienne, carved about 1280, has the whole of its gable (Fig. 56) filled with oak, pear, and cherry trees,[1] its cresting of chestnut leaves, its moulding of roses, and its spandrels filled with ivy, willow, hawthorn, maple, oak, blackberry, rose, and strawberry. The great enameller, Godefroid de Claire, an Augustinian canon of Neufmoustier, used running patterns of flowers, leaves, and berries on the reliquary of the True Cross that he made for the church of Sainte-Croix at Liége; and in the Augustinian priory of Oignies on the Sambre, founded in 1187, Hugo d'Oignies and his three brothers practised a style of the most delicate and accomplished naturalism in gold work: naturalistic not merely in its filigree leafage and enamelled flowers, its iris finials and cornflower-bud crockets, but also in the sweetness of its curves and the reasonable beauty of its proportion.

The use of naturalistic foliage quickly modified the form of capitals. The evolution was from that simplified form of Corinthian capital fairly common in Romanesque churches, in which a single tier of leaves takes the place of the more elaborate superpositions of the classical type. By 1180 such leaves were being carved with the strong curves of nature, for example on the Burgundian church of Montréal, in the nave of Santiago of Compostella, and on the door of the Cluniac church of Saint-Marcel-lès-Sauzet. A little later such leaves were applied to capitals more nearly of the Corinthian form, and the curve of the leaves was yet more

[1] The great priority of France in such design is shown by a comparison of these trees with those that form a background to the scene of the Creation of Eve on the Campanile at Florence: the three trees carved are nearly identical, but the Aubazine ones date from about 1280, the Florentine ones from at least eighty years later.

Fig. 57. CAPITAL FROM THE TRIFORIUM OF THE NAVE, CATHEDRAL OF RHEIMS. c. 1245

PLATE XXVIII

FIG. 58. CAPITAL OF THE TRIFORIUM, CATHEDRAL OF LAON
c. 1230

emphasized; they were soon developed to form true crockets, which were sometimes allowed to break into bud and leaf. There is an interesting series of these capitals with a single row of leaves, all of the late twelfth or very early thirteenth century, and all from the Royal domain not far from Paris—from Notre-Dame-de-Paris,[1] from Lisieux, from Saint-Germer-de-Fly, from Louviers, from Saint-Leu-d'Esserent, from Saint-Quiriace at Provins, from Voulton in the Seine-et-Marne, from Champeauxin the same department, from Beaumont-sur-Oise, all following much the same development. They are based on Romanesque prototypes; their leaves are absolutely generalized; yet they are informed by a new sense of growth. From this the transition was easy to a freer style, such as is found in the nave of Rouen Cathedral and in the church of Norrey.[2] In some of the capitals of the triforium of the nave at Rheims, leaf and crocket are merging into a spray[3] (Fig. 57). Few examples of this transition are more beautiful than a capital (Fig. 58) of the triforium in the cathedral of Laon, dating from about 1230; its form achieves the complete fusion of the tradition of the crocket and the tradition of the Romanesque Corinthian capital. Both traditions endured into the second half of the thirteenth century, but by then—for example in the choir of Auxerre Cathedral—such crocket-forms as remained were almost lost in the surrounding foliage. The introduction of great piers of grouped columns, with a single frieze-like capital, as at Rheims (Fig. 59), meant the renunciation of the Corinthian tradition. Naturalistic friezes were then adapted to form capitals. Their leafage was drawn from

[1] See an interesting study by D. Jalabert, 'La première flore gothique aux chapiteaux de N.D. de Paris', in *Gazette des Beaux Arts,* 6th series, v, 1931» P- 283; and another fuller study by her in *Bulletin Monumental,* xci, 1932, p. 181.

[2] Calvados. An interesting example of the style far afield occurs in one of the arcades of the cathedral of Nidaros (Trondjhem).

[3] A good example is in the church of Baulne, Aisne. Such crockets were rather later used as a moulding, e.g. in the friezes of the church of Norrey, on the door of the church of Rampillon,c. 1290, and round the window of the thirteenth-century chapter house of Noyon.

every kind of plant and tree—oak, maple, pear, fig, ash, poplar, holly, elm, ivy, chestnut, vine, laurel, olive, wild rose, water-lily, bracken, raspberry, and mulberry.[1] These are not the plants of the medieval herbals, which were purely traditional and ultimately derived from Greek sources, but those of the garden orchards within or just outside a city wall, such as Albertus Magnus describes.[2]

'It includes', he says, 'first a grass-plot of fine grass carefully weeded and trampled underfoot, a true carpet of green turf with no projections on its uniform surface. At one end, on the south side, are trees: pears, apples, pomegranates, laurels, cypress and others of that kind, with climbing vines whose foliage protects the turf to some extent and furnishes a cool and delightful shade. Behind the grass-plot are planted aromatic and medicinal herbs in quantity: for example, rue, sage, and basil, the scent of which pleases the sense of smell; also some flowers such as the violet, columbine, lily, rose, iris and others of the sort, which by their diversity charm the eye and excite admiration.'

Such a description shows how completely early Gothic naturalism was an art of direct observation, with no ulterior motive of allusion or symbolism. The colouring that was applied to these capitals was less naturalistic than the form, though not altogether contrary to nature: a capital from Mainz Cathedral, dating from between 1229 and 1234, has pale-green thorn leaves on a dark-blue ground; the capitals of the Sainte-Chapelle at Saint-Germer-de-Fly, dating from the middle of the century, have their leaves coloured yellow and green, and a capital of about the same date, now in the Museum at Agen, has plane leaves painted alternately blue and yellow on a ground of purplish-grey.

Such naturalism was not practised all over France. It has

[1] A botanist, M. Saubinet, has counted more than thirty varieties in the flora of Chartres Cathedral, and Rheims is even more rich. See Lambin, *La Flore des grandes cathidrales de la France* (1897) and *La Flore gothique* (1893).

[2] *De vegetabilibus,* cap. de plantatione viridiariorum, Venice, 1517, lib. vii, fol. 122.

PLATE XXIX

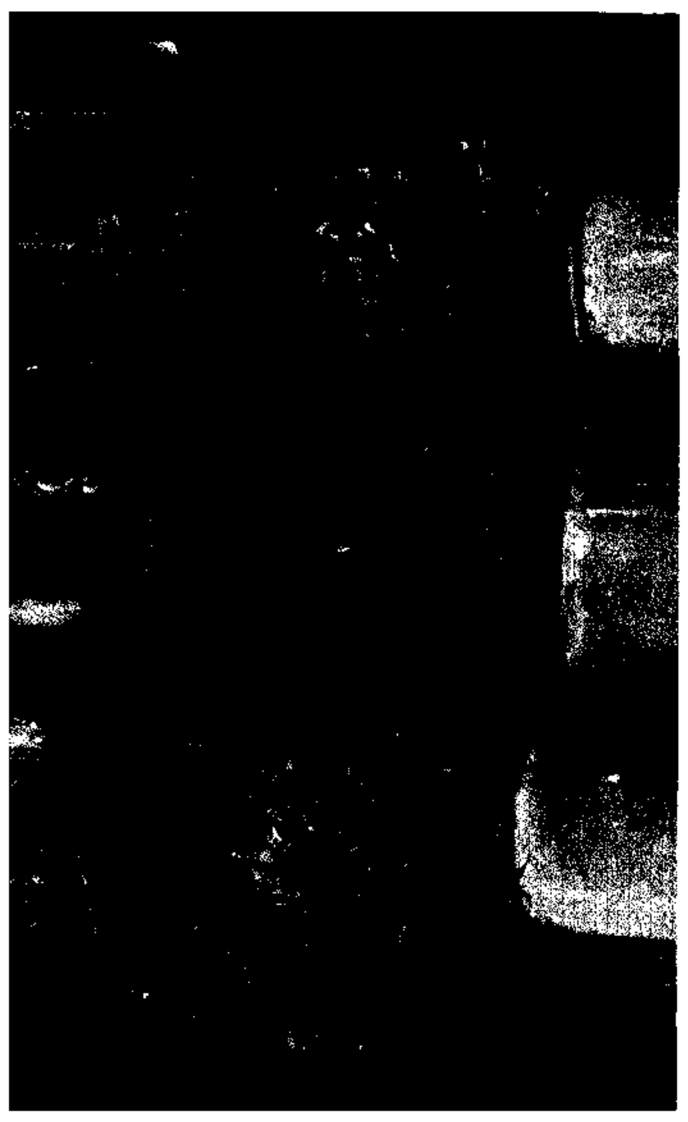


FIG. 59. CAPITAL OF A PIER OF THE NAVE, CATHEDRAL OF RHEIMS. c. 1250

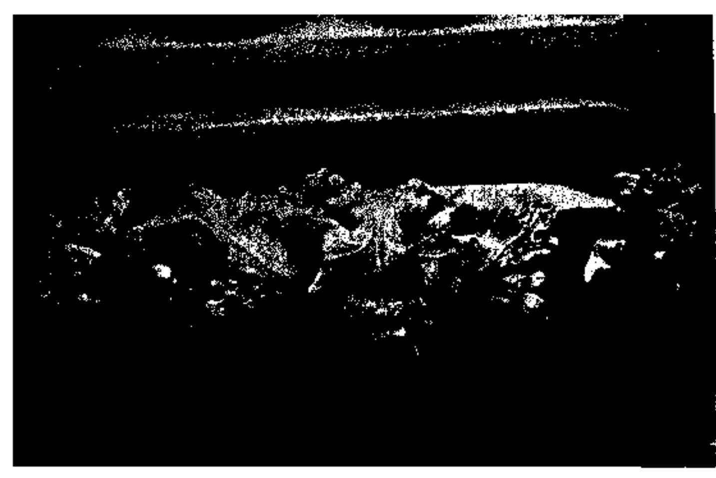
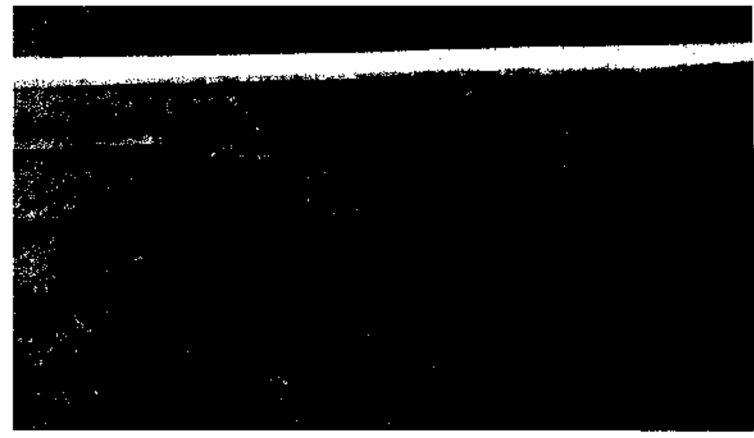


FIG. 60. CONSOLE FROM THE PUITS DE MOISE, CHARTREUSE DE CHAMPMOL, DIJON
School of Claus Sluter. 1399



'K;. Gi. DLIAIL OF THE PISCINA OF THE SAINTE CHAPELLE, CHATEAU DE VINCENNES

its roots in the Royal domains, where courtly culture and urban life flourished. Outside the Xle-de-France it is chiefly to be found in the domains of Champagne and Burgundy, where the courts of the Counts of Champagne and Dukes of Burgundy exercised an influence not merely on courtly art but also on the art of the churches and cathedrals. In Burgundy there was a preference for the more strongly indented leaves of local plants, columbine, chrysanthemum, parsley, scabious, and the young vine, or, as at Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay, holly and rose, ivy and chestnut. This tendency became general by the end of the thirteenth century, when vine, oak, bryony, geranium, large-leafed ferns, chestnut, maple, passion flower, and ivy (Fig. 60) were almost alone represented in sculpture, all carved with slight exaggeration of contour and relief, with leaves always fully developed and often crumpled or twisted or wind-blown.[1] The fourteenth-century work in this style is perhaps technically the finest Gothic leaf-sculpture that exists: such mouldings as that of the cloister door of Saint-Wandrille, of about 1360, with trails of vine, ivy, and plane leaves,[2] in a simple arrangement that would be monotonous were not each leaf individualized; and such decoration as that of the Sainte-Chapelle of the Château de Vincennes, characterized by the repeated use of the winged seeds of the maple,[3] (Fig. 61) have reached a level of accomplishment that marks the technical apogee of the style. Yet already the first signs of decadence appear: for in Charles V's Donjon at Vincennes

[1] The tradition of wind-blown leaves may possibly have come down through Byzantine sources. The church of Barzy, Aisne, has some late Romanesque capitals with slightly wind-blown leaves; it is more marked in those of the refectory door at Rievaulx, *c.* 1180; and at Rampillon there is a thirteenth-century moulding of slightly blown leaves.

[2] Cf. the rather earlier decoration of the sacristy door of the cathedral of Clermont-Ferrand, and the contemporary mouldings of the vine, passion flower, and endive on the archivolt of the fa9ade of Sainte-Chapelle of Vincennes.

[3] Cf. the use of the seeds a little earlier in Bristol Cathedral, where a careless workman has set them with hawthorn foliage. Coulton, *Art and the Reformation,* p. 206.

oak leaves, though true in outline, are modelled in so contorted a fashion that were it not for the acorns their identification would be difficult.

This characteristic development of the style spread in the early fifteenth century to Normandy. The church of Saint-Jean at Caen, built soon after 1417, and Notre-Dame-de-Gaudebec, begun in 1426, have fine mouldings of rather twisted foliage, with as much, or more, emphasis on their stems and stalks as on the leaves themselves. The nave of the Trinity at Falaise, begun in 1438, has capitals with good, if rather over-emphatic, vine and passion-flower foliage, and one with little conventional trees.

In the early sixteenth century this contortion becomes more evident, and the style less vital. The choir stalls of the cathedral of Amiens, finished in 1522, are carved with blackberry, nightshade, passion flower, thistle, clematis, and vine, all with as much twisting and movement as the chisel can express. At Louviers the vine, thistle, passion flower, and endive foliage is rather lifeless, and the influence of the scrolling acanthus foliage of the Renaissance is making itself felt; while the sea-weed-like foliage of Belem in Portugal in its curious limpness suggests that the foliage of Gothic ornament is indeed dying. The style could not draw new vigour from its application to fresh architectural fields, even though at Amboise the colonnettes on the facade of the chapel are carved as trees with roots and lopped branches,[1] and at Worms the sculptures of the Resurrection in the cloister, carved in 1488, are enshrined in quasi-architectural canopies entirely formed of entwined boughs.

Such was the evolution of Gothic naturalistic leafage in France. From France nearly all the variations of its style reached England,[2] there to be merged in the local tradition.

[1] Cf. the door of the Sacristy at Alcoba^a, Portugal, made between 1500 and 1520.

[2] e.g. capitals of the Rheims type at Southwell, of the passion flower and bryony type in the triforium of the nave, St. Albans, and of the later sea-weed type at Burford and in Bishop Ramryge's Chantry at St. Albans.

PLATE XXXI

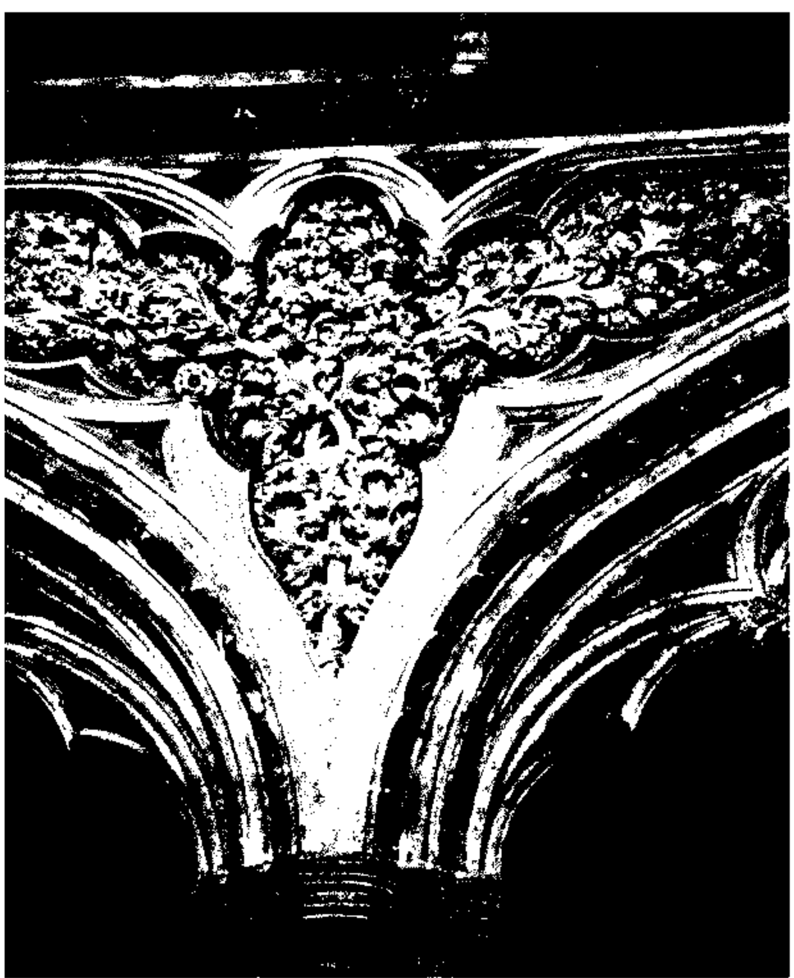


FIG. 62. DETAIL OF TIIK CHOIR SCREEN, EXETER CATHEDRAL
1324

FIG. 63. GROCKETED MOULDINGS OF OWLS AND MONKEYS
Cathedral of Bourgcs, *c.* 1280

For here the beginnings were different; instead of the richness of French Romanesque a ruder Saxon style was the starting-point, and instead of the French naturalism in Corinthian shape the English 'stiff-leaf' style was achieved, and developed into the strange half-naturalistic conventionalism of Wells. This difference influenced the imported styles in some degree; and the want of the Corinthian tradition likewise made itself felt in a greater confusion of form. Some of the most beautiful English work was achieved on other and less structural parts of the edifice than the capital; such are the delicate bryony scrolls of the spandrels of Exeter screen (Fig. 62), the corbels of the nave, and the varied foliage of St. Frideswide's shrine at Oxford.

3

This naturalism of flower and leaf was not the only visible expression in the churches of the medieval interest in nature. It is significant that Villard de Honnecourt, the thirteenth-century architect of the cathedral of Cambrai, not only wrote down in his note-book a recipe for preserving flowers, but also included drawings of a snail, a swan, a grasshopper, a lion, two parrots, a wild boar, a rabbit, a bear, a stag, and a dog. The conventional type of bird had come to life in the twelfth century, and in the thirteenth century birds and beasts continued to play a minor part in the forests of sculptured stone. Just as the formal Gothic crocket developed into bud and leaf, so occasionally it developed into bird and beast; at Bourges, for example, is a late thirteenth-century moulding with crockets formed as owls and monkeys (Fig. 63). A snail crawls on the column of the thirteenth-century Porte des Bleds at Semur-en-Auxois; and birds and beasts innumerable support miserere seats on medieval stalls alike in France and in England. At Gloucester, Norwich, and Beverley are a crowd of little birds mobbing an owl; at All Saints', Hereford, rats, mice, weevils, and woodlice appear; at Wells hares and cocks,

parrots and puppies (Fig. 64). The fourteenth-century medallions of the lower part of the portal of the cathedral of Lyons are carved with two fowls scratching themselves; a squirrel in a nut-tree; a cock perched on a dead rabbit; a water-bird catching an eel; a snail on a leaf, and a pig searching for acorns. Similarly the English embroiderers of the fourteenth century worked an infinity of birds on orphreys[1] and copes[2] and altar frontals,[3] mixing them, regardless of scale, with scenes from the life of Christ and similar subjects. On the Pienza cope are medallions of the legendary phoenix and pelican, of a cock, a peacock, a falcon, a hawk, a heron, a partridge, a pheasant, thrushes, finches, magpies, and a pair of swallows; on the cope of Clement V there are not only many medallions of birds, but also of foxes, dogs of all sorts, squirrels, rabbits, and sheep[4], alternating with medallions of scenes of the Passion and figures of priest-prophets.

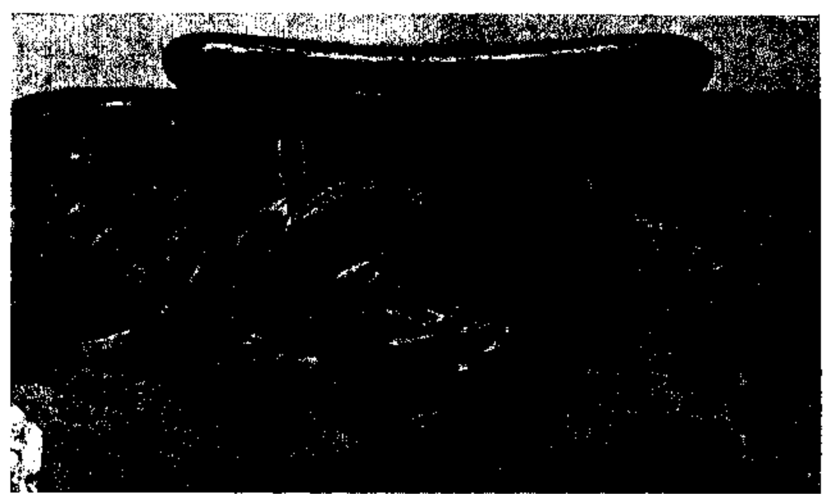
Such then is the history of naturalism in the representation of plants and creatures in the early and medieval church: a history that shows how the contemplation of mystics trained in traditional symbolism may merge into the simpler observation of nature for its own sake; that tells how the great Cluniac abbeys, cities in miniature, recreated and developed the naturalistic style for it to become one of the most appealing characteristics of the cathedrals of the

[1] e.g. Spitzer Collection, *fitoffes,* PL m: a tree of Jesse with birds nesting in the branches.

[2] e.g. Papal Treasury 1361 (E. Muntz and A. L. Frothingham, // *tesoro delta Basilica di S. Pietro in Vaticano,* Rome 1883, pp. 18, 19): 'ad figuras animalium et avium.' Cope of Cardinal Carrillo de Albornoz, cathedral of Toledo: Pienza cope; cope of Clement V, Saint Bertrand de Comminges, &c.

[3] e.g. inventory of Jean, Due de Berry, 1402: Guiflfrey II, p. 101, embroidered with scenes of the Passion 'assizes entre plusieurs tabernacles faiz en manière de magonnerie, entre lesquelz a oiseaulx de plusieurs manières'.

[4] Cf. with such embroideries the drawings of birds and beasts in the English manuscript of the early fourteenth century, Pepysian Library, no. 1916, Magdalene College, Cambridge, published by M. R. James, 'An English Medieval Sketch-book', in Walpole Society, *Annual,* xiii, 1924-5, pp. 1-17. For other examples see below, p. 90.



Fio. 64. MISERICORDS, WELLS CATHEDRAL
c. 1300

PLATE XXXIV

Fig. 65. CARVED PANEL ABOVE A WINDOW OUTSIDE A HOUSE AT CHARTRES. c. 1240

great medieval cities; and that proves that though St. Francis may have been the first to write a canticle of the Creatures that praise God for our Sister the Earth, 'that as a mother sustaineth and feedeth us, and after its kind bringeth forth fruit and grass and many coloured flowers', yet that he had learned to love her from France, where the expression of the love of natural beauty hardly faltered and never entirely ceased from classical times throughout the Middle Ages.

Chapter HI

CITY AND CASTLE

i

THE medieval cathedral was a part of the city it crowned and dominated, and in its parvise and within its walls clerics and laymen met. Its canons were in a measure citizens, and the chapter often held a number of houses in the city, either kept for occupation by its members or let to lay tenants. In the decoration of certain of these houses the characteristic naturalism of the thirteenth-century cathedral is reflected; indeed, they may well have been adorned by the same workmen who sculptured the church. In cities like Chartres (Fig. 65) and Rheims such decoration is not uncommon; but outside them, naturalistic decoration of the civil sort is very rare in the early Middle Ages. Its evolution in the castle and the palace was definitely later in time than in the church and the cathedral.

Long after the monk had found leisure for contemplation in his cloister, and the canon in his cathedral, the knight was still too deeply engaged in private or public warfare and in the endless business and lawsuits involved in the establishment and maintenance of a feudal estate, to feel any inclination to think of the natural beauty of the lands he owned. Such men learned to appreciate movement before they learned to appreciate growth; and it is as a background to human action that naturalism enters the castle.

Gaston de Foix summed up the occupations of the knightly class as being war, love, and the chase: and it was through the chase that they first became interested in Nature, and aware of her infinite variety. Such interest comes into feudal decoration by way of the technical books on hunting.[1] The manuscripts of such treatises as Frederic

[1] Their traditionalism may go back to Byzantine prototypes. The tenth-century manuscript of the *Cynegetica* of Oppian in the Marcian Library at

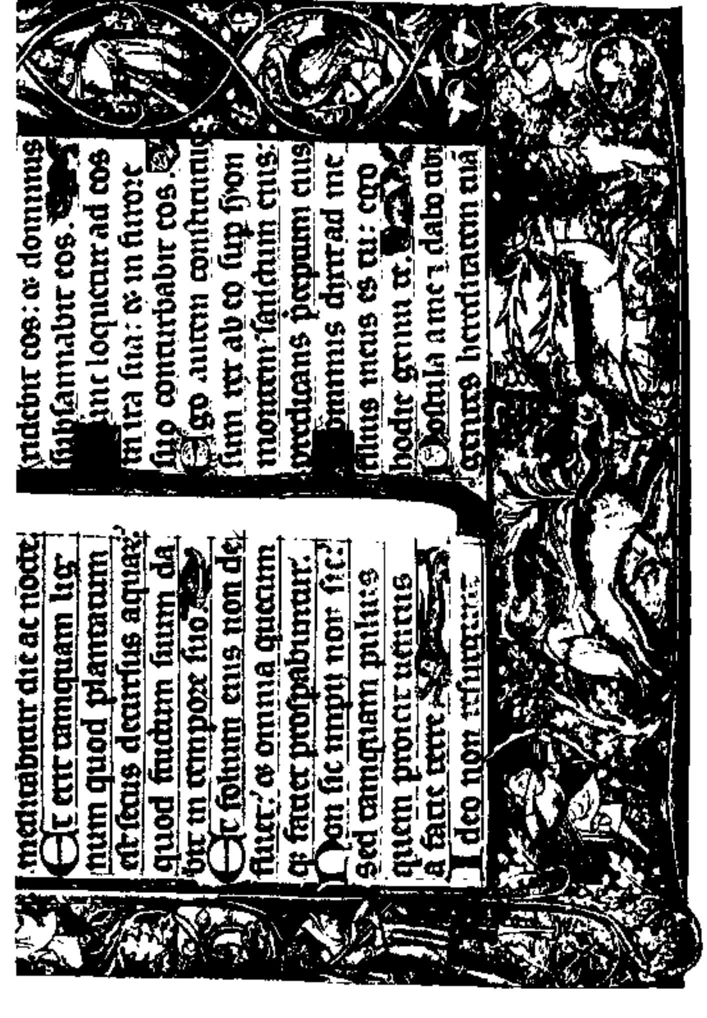


FIG. 66. PART OF A PAGE FROM THE PETERBOROUGH PSALTER
c. 1280. *Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels. MSS 9961–2*

PLATE XXXVI

Fro. 67. WALL-PAINTING OF HAWKING
In the Wardrobe Tower, Palace of the Popes, Avignon
c. 1350

IPs *De arte venandi cum avibus*[1] were by the middle of the thirteenth century being illustrated with pictures of birds and falconers, hounds and huntsmen, that were fresh and naturalistic. In many subjects—especially in herbals and bestiaries—the medieval illuminator was too closely held in the bondage of tradition for observation to be a possible source of inspiration; here there was no such tradition to restrain him, and in illustrating technical treatises he evolved a new style. For men's interest in hunting was such that scenes of the chase rapidly passed from the technical treatises into every field of decorative art. Even on the Bayeux tapestry it is noteworthy that the most naturalistic scenes in the borders are those of the chase. After the middle of the thirteenth century hunting scenes were used for every kind of manuscript: for English (Fig. 66),[2] French,[3] and Flemish[4] Psalters and Books of Hours; for books of feudal law;[5] for the French apocalypse written for Edward I as Prince;[6] for painted tiles; and for the splendid frescoes in the palace of Avignon, of hunting and fishing, fowling and hawking, that were painted about 1350 in tones of a dark-bluish green like the trees of Provence seen under a cloudy sky (Fig. 67).

Even the oriental designs of silks were influenced, and a new naturalism is evident in the hinds and hounds of Italian brocades of about 1300 that is not to be found in their Persian prototypes. By this time such scenes appeared in churches: a rider blows his horn in a windswept forest, while all the beasts he has roused fly before him, on a fragment of the thirteenth-century *jubi* at Ghartres; and a man hawking is carved on the spandrel of one of the choir

Venice has hunting scenes in the same style as the thirteenth-century occidental illustrations.

[1] e.g. Vatican Cod. Pal. Lat. 1071, Sicilian or South Italian, *c.* 1260.

[2] e.g. the Gorleston Psalter and the Tay mouth Horae.

[3] e.g. Heures de TheVouanne: Bibliothèque Nationale Lat. 14284, fol. 19, &c.

[4] e.g. Bodleian, Douce MSS. 5-6, first half of fourteenth century.

[5] e.g. Mr. Dyson Perrin's Spanish manuscript of the *Fueros de Aragon.*

[6] Bodleian, Douce MS. 180.

stalls at Winchester. At Saint-Memme, near Châlons-sur-Marne, a thirteenth-century tomb depicts its occupant riding with falcon on wrist and hounds running below.[1]

Such scenes remained in decorative use all through the Middle Ages. Less popular in the first three quarters of the fourteenth century, about 1380 they were revived under Charles V, who not only had his litter painted with a hind-hunt in an oak forest Tait d'après le vif[2] but also had his manuscript of the French translation of Livy enlivened with scenes of dogs hunting hares at the bottom of the page.[3] In the fifteenth-century, hunting treatises like the *Livre de chasse* of Gaston Phoebus, Comte de Foix,[4] were illustrated with pictures of rabbits and other game in warren and thicket and wood.[5] There was a recrudescence of hunting scenes on every possible decorative field: on manuscripts for the calendar scenes of the *Trh-riches heures* of the Due de Berri,[6] and many less famous Books of Hours,[7] and for other less appropriate pages;[8] in tapestry[9] and embroidery,[10] whether on single cushions or for whole sets of hangings for a large room; in gold and enamel for the drinking-cups

[1] W. F. Greeny, *Illustrations of Incised Slabs on the Continent of Europe,* p. i o.

[2] Orders to the painter, Jean Petit, called Jean de Troyes, in 1380. Quoted Michel, *Histoire de Vart,* iii, p. 113.

[3] H. Martin, *La Miniature fran false.*

[4] Bib. Lat. fonds franç.ais, 616. They are very tapestry-like in composition. Though naturalistic in style, they still have the sky covered with chequer and scroll patterns.

[5] And such simpler work as the illustrations of *The Boke of huntyng that is cleped maystere of game,* Bodleian, Douce MS. 335.

[6] At Chantilly. Lord Conway has shown that for some of the details of these scenes the Brothers de Limbourg were indebted to Taddeo Gaddi and Giovannino de Grassi. *Burlington Magazine,* xviii, 1910-11, p. 144.

[7] e.g. Bodleian, Douce MS. 135.

[8] e.g. Bodleian, Douce MS. 336, *Le Mirour du monde,* probably written for Louis d'Estouteville, *c.* 1460: scenes of coursing and stag-hunting in all its stages.

[9] e.g. tapestries of Philippe le Bon with 'chasses à Tours' in 1428 (Pinchart, *Histoire de la tapisserie dans les Flandres,* p. 25; and bankers in the 1422 inventory of the King of France. Guiffrey, *Histoire de la tapisserie en France,* p. 29).

[10] e.g. inventory of Jean, due de Berri, 1416: 'Une autre chambre blanche de taffetas, brodée d'arbres de pin et de chesne, a lions, ours, un chevalier et une dame montez sur chevaulx, et y a levriers et autres bestes.' Guiffrey, ii, p. 240.

of the Due de Guyenne,[1] the famous English cup at King's Lynn and the standing salt of Bishop Foxe at his College at Oxford,[2] and even for the base of the fifteenth-century crystal reliquary of the Holy Thorn at Rheims Cathedral. Nor must we forget the ennoblement of the theme by its transference from decoration to the fine arts, whether it be in Pisanello's 'Vision of St. Eustace[5],[3] that is like the embroidered hangings of the inventories not only in the absence of sky but in every detail of the dark forest, from the herons in the boughs and the stags and rabbits under the trees to the clover, daisies, and anemones that star the grass: or in Paolo Uccello's 'Midnight Hunt'[4] that shows a tapestry type transformed into a masterpiece.

This long tradition of hunting scenes in decoration was not the only contribution of the chase to ornament. Each of its elements, the animals and the woods they lived in, eventually provided a type of decoration. Of the first sort, with animals alone, the illuminated manuscripts provide a superb series:

> The litel conyes to hir play gunne hye,
> And further al aboute I gan espye
> The dredful roo, the buk, the hert and hinde,
> Squerels, and bestes small of gentil kinde.[5]

The secret of the vitality of these animal drawings was that they lay outside the scope of traditional formulas. Cenno Cennini says, writing about 1400: 'I shall not speak of irrational animals, because they appear to have no certain proportions. Draw them as frequently as you can from nature, and try for yourself. And this requires much practice.'[6] The lovely drawings of animals by Pisanello[7] and Jacopo Bellini[8] show that his advice was followed by

[1] Pannier, 'Les joyaux du Due de Guyenne', in *Revue archtologique,* 1873, xxvi, p. 316.

[2] The salt was made between 1487 and 1492.

[3] *c.* 1440; in the National Gallery.

[4] In the University Galleries, Oxford.

[5] Chaucer, *Parlement of Foules,* ed. Skeat, i, p. 343.

[6] *Book of the Art of Cenno Cennini,* trans. C. J. Herringham, 1899, p. 78.

[7] In the Recueil Vallardi of the Louvre.

[8] In his early sketch-book, dated 1430, in the British Museum.

the great painters of the time; and manuscripts, tapestries, and sculpture—such as the bears and monkeys fighting and playing together on the chimney-piece of the Palais Ducal at Bourges—show that they played a large part in civil decoration. It is characteristic of the freedom with which they were treated that on the tomb of Jeanne de Montejean,[1] who died before 1456, the dogs at her feet, instead of being quietly couchant, are sporting together; and that the 'Paradise' of Giovanni di Paolo has little grey rabbits for the Holy Innocents to play with.

On the other hand, the backgrounds of the hunting scenes were developed as landscape decoration. The huntsman riding home after the kill may see familiar woods and valleys with a new observation and a new pleasure, and may afterwards look on a pictured landscape with a new interest. Sometimes the knights and ladies rode in the woods and meadows, for mere delight. About 1405 Pero Niño, a Spanish knight, stayed with Renaud de Trie, Admiral of France, in his country house in Normandy. He describes[2] the cavalcade of knights and ladies riding through the country, making chaplets of flowers and singing lays and ballads in the morning, and in the afternoon hawking by the river and picnicking in the meadows: and tells the tale without any actual description of scenery, but in so vivid a fashion that the reader is conscious of the background living on in his memory.

Really to understand the feeling of the knightly class for nature one must know some such fortified castle as Polignac, or better still, some such walled town as Provins, that lies like a ship in an ocean of country. Within the walls either is a place of grey stone, with narrow gardens hidden in courtyards; beyond the walls lies a different world, that at

[1] In the church of Bueil, Indre et Loire.

[2] See Joan Evans, *The Unconquered Knight*, A chronicle of deeds of Don Pero Niño, Count of Buelna, by his standard-bearer, Gutierre Diaz de Gamez, 1928, p. 136.

every season strikes the man who passes through the gate with a fresh shock of beauty, whether it be the leafage and blossom of wayside trees in spring, the painted meadows of summer, the golden corn-fields and vineyards of autumn, or the outlined bareness of winter.

The knightly sensibility to natural beauty which was fostered in such an environment was reflected in courtly verse, just as the earlier monastic sensibility had been reflected in monastic verse. But in this literary expression there is a certain conventionality, that comes from a classical tradition perpetuated in the literary code of the age.[1] Ovid in his *Heroides*[2] had written of 'the hour when the earth is first spread with glassy rime, and the birds hidden in the leafage raise their plaint'; and the description might be transferred without incongruity to many an Old French lyric. It was rarely that the theme was turned to a description of a definite season:

> Au tans d'aoust que fueille de boschet
> Chiet et matist a petit de vanter
> Flours n'a duree,
> Verdure est passee,
> Remaint chant d'oisel.
> Blanche jalee
> A la matinee
> S'apert ou praiel.[3]

More rarely still new inspiration was given, and the poet wrote of the daisies that shone dimly in the moonlight at the feet of Nicolette.[4] It would seem that the consciousness

[1] Cf. the *Art pottique* written by Matthieu de Vendôme, *c.* 1175: Faral, *Les Arts pottiques,* 1923, p. 146. It gives advice on how to describe a garden according to Cicero: first the flowers, then the trees, then the birds; an order commonly followed by the medieval poets.

[2] *Ep.* x; Ariadne to Theseus.

[3] Bartsch, *Romanzen und Pastourellen,* Leipzig 1870, 73. ii. The same collection includes few allusions to nature of any importance; 44. ii, a phrase for the olive, 'blanche est la flour et noire Tespine'; 63. i, an orchard hedged with wild rose; and 52. ii, the shepherd picking lily of the valley to make a garland.

[4] As Vernon Lee remarks in her study of Outdoor Poetry: '. . . this Medieval Spring is the spring neither of the shepherd, nor of the farmer, nor

of the natural background was sincere and fresh, but that its expression was nearly always hampered by the traditional code. It was recognized that sensibility whether to joy or sorrow was intensified with the blossoming spring. An unknown poet wrote in the first half of the thirteenth century:

> Au renouvel de la dou$or d'esté
> Que resclarcit li dois en la fontaine,
> Et que sont vers bois et vergiers et prés
> Et le rosier en mai florist et graine,
> Lors chanterai quand trop m'aurai grevé
> Ire et esmai qui m'est au cueur prochaine.[1]

But here again the sentiment became conventional, and little more than a convenient beginning to a love-song.

It was in England rather than in France that direct literary description was achieved. The English poet sang in *The Flower and the Leaf of a.* wood

> In which were oakës great, straight as a line,
> Under the which the grass, so fresh of hue,
> Was newly sprung; and an eight foot or nine
> Every tree well from his fellow grew,
> With branches broad, laden with leavës new,
> That sprangen out against the sunnë sheen;
> Some very red, and some a glad light green.

But in French decoration such backgrounds gradually came to be represented with all the freedom that was denied them in literature. In manuscripts of the thirteenth century there is a sharp distinction between the free decorative hunting scenes of the borders and the landscape back-

of any man to whom spring brings work and anxiety and hope of gain; it is a mere vague spring of gentle-folk.' *Euphorion,* i, p. 109.

[1] *Les Chansons de Thibaut de Champagne, roi de Navarre* 1851, p. 7. The poem is not now attributed to Thibaut de Champagne. The same theme is expressed by the ChatellaindeCouci (F. Fath, *Die Lieder des Castellans von Coney*', Heidelberg, 1883 pp. 54 and 65):

'Li noviaus tens et mais et violete
Et rosignols me semont de canter,'

and by many other poets of the time; and in prose at a later date, for instance, in 1416 by the Seigneur de Caumont. *(Voyage du seigneur de Caumont,* ed. de la Grange, 1858, p. vi.)

grounds of the miniatures: in the French Apocalypse written for the young Edward I, for instance, the margin has dogs chasing rabbits Taits d'apr&s le vif', but the trees behind the figures in the miniature, though oaks and chestnuts are summarily indicated, are essentially conventional. Gradually an interest in woods for their own sake increased. In such decoration as the Avignon frescoes the forest background is quite as important as the figures of huntsmen and the different kinds of trees, oak and olive, pines and chestnut, are differentiated. After the middle of the fourteenth century this background was represented without fowler or falcons, huntsman or hounds. In 1366 Charles V had the Salle Basse of the Louvre painted with birds and beasts and stags roaming through the countryside;[1] in 1380 Louis d'Anjou had a golden goblet enamelled with a green meadow and a thicket with rabbits 'de plusieurs couleurs et contenances parmi', with tall trees growing therefrom all up the bowl of the goblet, among which were hinds, some feeding, some standing, and some lying down, Tais sur le vif '.[2]

By about 1400 Cenno Cennini was giving a formula for such decoration. The tree-trunks should be black, and the leaves dark green and dense, growing smaller towards the top of the tree, and touched with lighter green. 'When you have painted the tree with black at the base, and also a few of the branches, let leaves shoot above, and then put the fruits, and scatter a few flowers and birds on the green grass.'[3] Some thirty years later Masolino was painting one room of the Cardinal's Palace at Castiglione d'Olona with frescoes that are pure landscape, and another with fruit-trees alone.[4]

[1] Sauval, quoted Michel, *Histoire de l'art,* iii. 113. The same tendency is evident in the Calendar Scenes of the Breviaire de Belleville, also of the late fourteenth century.

[2] Moranvillé", *Inventaire de Louis due d'Anjou,* p. 85.

[3] *Book of the Art of Cenno Cennini,* trans. C. J. Herringham, 1899, p. 78.

[4] Cf. the tribute to the landscape backgrounds of Pisanello paid by Guarini in a poem written soon after 1438; translated in G. F. Hill, *Pisanello,* p. 114. For an interesting study of

The style was even adapted to comparatively small objects, like the coco-nut cup at New College with its stem formed as the trunk of a tree, from which spring branches to hold the bowl (Fig. 68), while on the foot there were once little figures of beasts.[1] At the very close of the Middle Ages it was modified in the so-called 'wilderness' tapestries (Fig. 69), of which some figure in the inventories of Cardinal Wolsey, with a background partly of conventional acanthus, partly of bramble and ragged robin, with birds and beasts half-hidden among the leaves.[2]

2

It has been said that it was as a background to human activities that naturalism entered the castle; and this is true not only of hunting scenes but also of the representations of the labours of the months that traditionally adorned the calendar.[3] The classical tradition of representing an entire scene continued in the earliest medieval representations,[4]

landscape backgrounds in Italian painting see E. G. Salter, *Nature in Italian Art; a study of Landscape Backgrounds from Giotto to Tintoretto,* 1912.

[1] Cf. inventory of Louis d'Anjou, 1379-80: a gold hanap with the bowl 'embouti à VI arbres dont les trois sont de vignete et les autres trois à fueilles de treffle', Moranvillé, p. 75.

[2] A fine example hangs on the main staircase at Hardwicke Hall.

[3] On the classical prototypes see J. Strzygowski, *Die Calenderbilder der Chronographen vom Jahre 354,* Berlin 1888, and 'Die Monatscyclen in der byzantinischen Kunst', in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft,* xi. 231, and xiii. 214. J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts,* 1911, p. 3. All that remains is a seventeenth-century copy, in the Barberini Library at Rome, of a ninth-century copy of a lost fourth-century original. It shows the cities of Rome, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Trier; the planets, sun and moon, and zodiac; and the months personified by youths. March is a shepherd boy, pointing to a swallow; October, with a basket of fruit, is taking a hare from a trap.

[4] See Herbert, op. cit., p. 113. The earliest is Vatican MS. Reg. 438, written in France or Western Germany at the beginning of the tenth century. The earliest English examples are B.M. Cott. MSS. Jul. A. vi (probably derived from a French original) and Tib. B. v. These also have complete pictures of the occupations, with the zodiacal sign in a roundel at the foot of the page. January, ploughing with four oxen and sowing; February, pruning trees; March, breaking the soil and sowing; April, feasting; May, shepherds and their flocks; June, felling trees; July, hay-making; August, reaping; September, boar hunting; October, hawking; November, the Hallowe'en fire;

FIG. 68. COCO-NUT CUP WITH TREE MOUNT
English, *c.* **1380**
*New College, **Oxford***

PLATE XXXVIII

FIG. 69. WILDERNESS TAPESTRY
Flemish (Enghien), c. 1520
A fusee des Arts decoratifs, Pans

though the background was hardly indicated. But with the rise of Romanesque sculpture the types were simplified for architectural use. The occupations vary a little,[1] but the general scheme is summed up in some verses found in Books of Hours:[2]

> Poto, ligna cremo, de vite superflua demo,
> Do gramen gratum, michi flos servat, michi pratum,
> Fenum declino, messes meto, vina propino.
> Semen humi jacto, mihi pasco sues, mihi macto.[3]

Roundels carved alternately with the zodiacal signs and with single figures engaged in the typical occupations of the months are commonly found on the portals of the great abbey churches, as at Vézelay; on their dependencies, as at Saint-Lazare-d'Avallon, and on the Romanesque cathedrals in northern Italy.[4] This single-figure type is repre-

December, threshing and winnowing. They should be compared with the ninth-century verses of Wandalbert of Priim, though there are some considerable differences.

[1] A few instances of such variations in manuscripts are collected in J. F. Willard, 'Occupations of the Months in Mediaeval Calendars', in *Bodleian Quarterly Record,* vii, 1932, pp. 33-9. Among the literary sources for the types the *De proprietatibus rerum* of Albertus Magnus and the *Breviaire d'amour* of Matfre Ermengand of Béziers *(c.* 1288) should be cited.

[2] E. G. Fitzwilliam MS. u8a.

'Pocula Janus amat, et Februus algeo clamat;
Martius de vite superflua demit; Aprilis florida prodit;
Frons et flos nemorum Maio sunt fomes amorum.
Dat Junius foena; Julio resecatur avena;
Augustus spicas; September colligit uvas.
Seminat October; spoliat virgulta November;
Querit amare cibum porcum mactando December.'

[3] From a Book of Hours of Sarum use. Quoted Fowler, in *Archaeologia,* xliv, 1883, p. 202.

[4] For a full account of those at Parma, Modena (where there is no zodiac), St. Zeno at Verona, Lucca and Cremona, see J. Fowler, 'On mediaeval representations of the months and seasons', in *Archaeologia,* xliv, 1883, p. 137, which remains one of the most comprehensive studies of the whole subject. See also Riegl, 'Die mittelalterliche Kalenderillustration,' in *Mittheilungen fur Oesterreichishe Geschichtsforschung,* x, 1889, Innsbruck, pp. 1-74. For a more recent but slighter study of the thirteenth-century examples see E. Male, *UArt religiewc du XIIP siècle en France,* 1902, pp. 86 et seqq. The fullest and most recent study is the work of a Frenchman killed in the Great War at the age of 22: J. Le S£néal, 'Les occupations des mois dans l'iconographie du moyen &ge', in *Bulletin de la sociiii des antiquaires de Normandie,* xxxv, 1921-3, pp. 1-218.

sented in painting in the psalter-calendars of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. In the famous psalter by Walter de Brailes[1] each month's work is performed by one man, whose figure is set in a medallion with a gold background. Gradually, however, as men grew more interested in country surroundings, the painters began to introduce naturalistic backgrounds. In the Gothic sculptures of Notre-Dame-de-Paris the figure of one month—June—has a charming rose-tree beside him, though on the whole they are represented with a minimum of background, and that conventional. At Rampillon there is a little more, especially for the man shaking acorns from an oak-tree for his pigs in November. On the pedestal of the west porch at Amiens the background is complete: trees, leafy and in their winter bareness, hay-fields starred with flowers, long lines of growing corn, provide a setting: and even the creatures of the zodiac are treated naturalistically and given backgrounds of grass and trees.[2] This development was later transferred from the sculptures to the illuminations.[3] Moreover, under the influence of the landscapes that had come in with the hunting scenes, the labours of the months came in the fourteenth century to be detached from their calendar

[1] New College MS. 322; middle of the century. Other typical examples are the Gorleston Psalter, Dyson Perrins MS. 13, 1300-6; and 11, second half of thirteenth century. The type is found not only in English manuscripts, but also in French (e.g. Bodleian, Douce, 5 and 24, late thirteenth century) and Douce 48, early fourteenth century, Flemish (e.g. B.M. Add. MS. 19899, thirteenth century); and Dutch (e.g. Bodleian, Can. Liturg. 126, early fourteenth century, and Douce 38, thirteenth century).

[2] It is worth noting that the type without background survived alongside the naturalistic type; for instance, the fourteenth-century reliefs inside the choir of the church of Tour-en-Bessin, Calvados, have no background, nor have the illustrations of Fitzwilliam MS. 62, a French mid-fifteenth century Book of Hours. On these see—besides the general works already quoted—V. Leroquais, *Les Livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothtque Nationale,* p. xlii.

[3] Oddly enough, the signs have naturalistic backgrounds earlier than the occupations of the months: in several fifteenth-century French Books of Hours the sign has a background of field or wood, while the occupation has a setting of formal scrolls or chequers: e.g. Bodleian, Douce 144, 1407; Fitzwilliam 64, *c.* 1480-90; Bodleian, Can. Liturg. 283, late fifteenth century.

setting and to be elaborated into independent decorative schemes, especially in civil decoration.[1] They appear among the fourteenth-century frescoes of the great hall at Padua; they adorn a fourteenth-century capital of the Ducal Palace at Venice;[2] they are carved on the misericords of Worcester Cathedral that date from 1379, and on a similar but imperfect set at Malvern; they appear on the watching loft of St. Alban's Abbey and on many sets of Chertsey tiles.[3] They are adapted, too, to illustrate other themes. From them are derived the scenes of sowing, ploughing, pruning, and threshing[4] in the wall-painting of 'Good Government'[5] in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena, which has taken also the background: hills, dotted over with stunted trees, a lake, gardens, roads, and a red-roofed farmstead; and from them, yet more glorified, is derived the vintage scene in Benozzo Gozzoli's painting in the Campo Santo at Pisa, and his background to the frescoes of the Riccardi Chapel at Florence, with huntsmen and hounds, herdsmen and their flocks of sheep and herds of cattle.[6]

Single scenes were likewise taken from the calendars and used decoratively. Capitals at Southwell Minster are derived from the typical November scene, and are carved with oak leaves, with pigs eating acorns beneath; and a similar capital in the chapter-house at York has not only swine below, but squirrels on the bough above. Another capital at York has the September vintage, with vine branches laden with grapes which two men are cutting. It is from the same source that the ploughing, digging, reaping,

[1] An exceptionally early instance is the ploughing scene in the border of the Bayeux tapestry.

[2] See Ruskin, *Stones of Venice,* ch. v, § cxiii, twenty-fifth capital.

[3] See Fowler, loc. cit., p. 167; and on glass, p. 178.

[4] The scene of hawking, which frequently occurs for March in Italian Calendars is also included in the scheme.

[5] By Ambrogio Lorenzetti, who was working from 1323 to 1348.

[6] From them, too, were derived the illustrations of books on country life, for instance, the manuscript of the French translation of Pietro Crescenzi's *Le Rustican* (Chantilly MS. 663).

and sheepfold scenes of the Luttrell Psalter are probably derived.

By the middle of the fourteenth century the Court was sophisticated enough for its members to feel a certain sentimental yearning for a pastoral life, and as they rode by the shepherds and farm lads in the fields, to imagine that it was in their life and not in the life of palaces that true happiness was to be found. *Thepastourelle,* that tells the tale, humorous or sentimental, of love passages between a knight and a shepherdess, gives to the scene an emotional connotation like that given to the orchard in earlier lyrics; but it does little more than sketch in the background as lightly as possible.

> En ma forest entrai Pautrier
> Pour moi deduire et solacier,
> Si truis pastore gente,
> Aigniax gardoit en un vergier
> Desouz l'onbre d'une ente.[1]

It was by taking calendar scenes and developing them that this pastoral interest was expressed in decoration.

An early instance of such an adaptation is a red velvet cap that figures in the royal accounts for 1352,' embroidered with children knocking down acorns (of pearls) with pigs in a flowery meadow under the trees eating the acorns. In 1389, the Duke of Burgundy wore for the queen's state entry into Paris a pourpoint of green velvet, embroidered with oak-trees and hawthorns with a flock of sheep feeding beneath, all wrought in pearls and gold thread.[3] Gradually the designers freed themselves from the yoke of the traditional types, and designed pure pastorals, like the set of green hangings embroidered with shepherds and shepherdesses eating nuts and cherries that Louis d'Anjou owned in I4-O3,[4] or his cup, enamelled with shepherdesses playing the bagpipes, wearing little mantles of gold and

[1] H. Spanke, *Ein altfransjösische Liedersammlung)* Halle, 1925, p. 239.

[2] *'La.borde>Glossairedese'mauXyp.2o69* s.v. *Chapel.*

[3] Farcy, *La Broderie,* p. 94.

[4] Laborde, *Les dues de Bourgogne,* iii. 206.

blue, and hats each of a different fashion, and each holding her dog by a silver cord.[1] Though such subjects were first used in civil decoration, they found a place even in the churches. A capital in Southwell Minster is carved with a goatherd blowing his horn, and the next capital is carved with a goat eating ivy. Early in the fifteenth century when men hunted less in the open countryside and more in forests where the game was preserved, interest shifted a little from herdsmen to woodcutters,[2] and fine tapestries of woodcutters were woven, and plate was enamelled with them at their work.[3] At the same time the results of their labours—knopped and pollarded branches, faggots of lesser boughs and the sprigs cut off from them—took their place as motives of decoration. Borders of lopped tree-trunks, for example, were used on Flemish tapestries;[4] and cups were formed, as the inventories say, 'fagot-fashion'. The famous salt of 1493 at New College, Oxford, is one of the best examples of the type. The inventories record many pieces of plate chased or engraved with acorns and oak leaves,[5] maple, lime, hawthorn, willow, holly, ash, beech, and pine.

It was not long before these new developments reacted upon the calendar scenes. Instead of occupying small medallions in the margin, they were in the more splendid books enlarged to fill the page. The archetype is the *Trh-riches heures* of the Due de Berri,[6] of which ten of the calendar scenes were finished before 1416. Here a new freedom is found in every detail. For January, it is the Duke himself who feasts, surrounded by his retinue. The

[1] Moranvillé, p. 35.

[2] e.g. Philippe le Bon in 1420 owned a green tapestry 'sem£ de bergiers et bergières, dont les aucuns font des fagoz'. Laborde, *Les dues de Bourgogne,* ii. 267.

[3] In 1380 the Due d'Anjou had a silver-gilt flask enamelled with men engaged in various occupations, 'comme couper arbres et autres besognes'. Moranvillé, p. 451.

[4] e.g. Bodleian, Gaignières MS. 18361, p. 14; tapestry made for Franchise de Luxembourg, Comtesse d'Egmont, between 1528 and 1537-

[5] See *Pattern,* i, p. 51.

[6] Fully described and reproduced in P. Durrieu, *Les ires-riches heures de Jean de France due de Berry,* 1904.

February scene depicts a farm in the snow. Inside the house the farmer's wife and her two servants warm their toes at the fire. The farmer, with his mantle wrapped round his head to keep out the cold, is coming through the yard (where even the bee-skeps are powdered with snow) to look at his sheep, safe in the fold. A few birds peck at the corn that has been thrown down for them. Outside the yard wall a man is cutting down a tree, and farther away another is driving a burdened ass towards the village. It is a perfect picture of the season,

> When icicles hang by the wall,
> And Dick the shepherd blows his nail,
> And Tom bears logs into the hall
> And milk comes frozen home in pail.

Here the ancient type of a man warming himself by the fire has been amplified and elaborated, but the scene is still a country pastoral; but in the pictures of the other months the influence of the Court is beginning to transform the series. Each has for its background one of the castles of the Due de Berri. In March the feeling of spring is in the air, and the sun shines on the fortress of Lusignan. In the fields that lie at its foot a man is ploughing, and others are pruning vines. In April there is a betrothal scene, not of the farm but of the Court: behind it the river Orge runs through meadows where ladies are picking violets; at the side is a trellised garden, and in the background rises the castle of Dourdan. In May the cavalcade of knights and ladies garlanded with fresh green leaves rides out from Riom to greet May morning. In June we go back to the farm again, to people cutting and making hay in a meadow by a river; but the river is the Seine, and the Palais and the Sainte-Chapelle rise on the opposite bank. July shows sheep-shearing and the early harvest in the valley of the Clain, with the castle of Poitiers beyond; and in August the Court sets out hawking from the castle of Etampes, while the harvest is being carried in from the fields. October de-

picts harrowing and sowing, with the birds stealing the seed; beyond the Seine the citizens of Paris walk in the sun under the walls of the Louvre. In December the original series ends in a scene of the kill of a stag hunt in the forest of Vincennes.[1]

This courtly modification of the traditional occupations was imitated in other ways by the bourgeois of the towns. For instance, a book of private prayers made in Flanders for the English market about 1500[2] has many of the occupations given with an urban twist. In March a lady is supervising the setting up of garden ornaments; in August corn is being taken to a miller's in the town; September shows not the vintage but the winepress; for November cattle are being driven to market; and for December the booths of a fair are depicted.[3] Such a modification serves to

[1] The September and November scenes belong to the late fifteenth century. The calendar of the *Très-riches heures* is followed with some modifications by the Grimani Breviary in the Biblioteca Marciana at Venice. Such topographical exactitude of background is occasionally found even in the sixteenth century. On a book of hours of the school of Tours (Dyson Perrins MS. 48) not only the calendar scenes but even the zodiacal signs have backgrounds in which the spires of Tours and the river Loire frequently appear.

[2] Bodleian, Gough Liturg. MS. 7; the calendar is inset into the picture, as in many Flemish manuscripts of the time. The tendency is evident in another bourgeois book of hours, those called 'of the Duchess of Burgundy', Chantilly MS 1362. The occupations of the fields, except for reaping in July and ploughing in October, are absent or unimportant; games and feasts like 'Twelfth Night' take their place. See J. Bouissonnouse, *Jeuxe t Travauxd'apres un livre d9 heures du XV' siecle*, 1925.

[3] In some examples these fresh occupations are shown in addition to the traditional scenes. A Franco-Flemish book of hours of the early sixteenth century (Bodleian, Douce MS. 135) has the traditional occupations and zodiacal signs at the top of the page, and more urban occupations at the foot; a game of 'Choule' for January, feasting in February, an Ash Wednesday scene in church for March, pilgrims at a shrine in April, feasting in a garden for May, a wedding procession for June, games of hodman blind for August and September, coopers at work on wine-casks for October, shops for November, and snow-balling for December. Cf. another manuscript, Flemish, of the early sixteenth century, Bodleian, Douce 8. This shows a warm interior for January; cleaning a brook, cutting trees, and mending a fence for February; pruning and faggot ting for March; music in a garden and in a boat for April; a walk, and the bringing of a present for May; mowing and carrying hay for June; harvesting and carrying the corn for July; threshing and putting the corn in the barn for

show that the appreciation of natural backgrounds was to some extent the prerogative of the courtiers rather than of the bourgeois, who found the life of towns more interesting than the labours of the countryside.

3

By the beginning of the fourteenth century men of the knightly class had begun to appreciate the beauty of flowers. Small enclosed gardens came to be included in the plan of their castles. Such gardens, according to the *Lime dou treśor* written by Brunetto Latini about 1265, were characteristic of France rather than of Italy. Naturalism in medieval decoration, indeed, was the creation of France and Angevin England in the castle as in the church.

Just as the flowers and leafage of the cloister garden had made their way into the abbey church and so into the cathedral, so the flowers and leafage of the castle garden made their way into its halls. There, however, they held a more important place. In the cathedral they had been necessarily subsidiary alike to the ordered elaboration of the architecture and to the ordered story of the sculptured figures; in the castle they could take the place of the scenes of battle and tournament that had hitherto adorned the walls. It is more difficult, however, to reconstruct this feudal naturalism except from its written records; for in the cathedral, however limited its sphere, such ornament was carved in lasting stone, whereas in the castle it was either painted on the walls—or more often embroidered or woven on wall-

August; a winepress and bean-picking for September; sowing and harrowing for October; pigs and acorns for November; and killing and cooking a pig for December. The two types, the courtly and the bourgeois, are well exemplified by two manuscripts related to the *Grandes Heures* of Anne of Brittany. (See L. Delisle, *Les Grandes Heures de la reine Anne de Bretagne et l'atelier de Jean Bourdichon,* 1913.) One (the Rothschild MS.) is of the Court type with country scenes of the traditional sort varied by huntsmen and falconers; the other (Bib. Nat. Lat. 10548) is of the town, with the bourgeois returning to his house and feasting there, and young men and maidens wearing garlands and bearing the May.

hangings that could be moved from place to place—or used to adorn plate in precious metals that has long since disappeared. The chief visible materials for the study of this civil naturalism in its early stages seem to be half-religious: the psalters and books of hours written to the orders of laymen, that, whatever their content, do in fact reflect lay rather than clerical taste. By the end of the thirteenth century the illuminated borders of such manuscripts are full of trails of vine leaves and trefoils. The fourteenth-century East-Anglian psalters are adorned with plants in greater variety. In the Gorleston psalter there are oak and holly, daisies, marigolds and periwinkles besides.[1] On the margins of the Ormesby Psalter there is foliage of a passion-flower type like that which was coming into fashion in contemporary sculpture: but there is more than this. In the words of Mr. Laurence Binyon,[2] 'the more we look into it, the more we see. The whole complex formal pattern of design seems to be breaking into life at some magic touch. Leaves sprout, buds shoot; birds clap their wings and sing. . . .'

It was in the second half of the fourteenth century that flowers began to play their part in the adornment of the castles.[3] The earlier gardens had been almost entirely utilitarian. The bill for replanting the garden of the Louvre in 1367 mentions sage, hyssop, lavender, strawberries, and other such useful plants;[4] but by 1398 Charles VI had the garden of his Hôtel Saint-Pol planted with three hundred clumps of red and white roses, three hundred lily bulbs, three hundred irises and eight laurels.[5] Such flowers were brought within doors by the custom of the *jonchée,* that caused the floors of stone or tiles to be strewn

[1] The French development in this branch seems to have been slower. For example, the *Bréviare de Belleville,* written shortly before 1343, has only some rather conventional ivy and hop tendrils and a snapdragon, all very inconspicuous. H. Martin, *La Miniature franfaise,* p. 33.

[2] *Landscape in English Art and Poetry,* p. 21.

[3] It is at about this date that definite naturalistic influences become evident in the manuscript herbals.

[4] *Berty9TopographiedeParis9i9p.i^.*

[5] Sauval, *Histoire et antiquiUs de la ville de Paris,* 1725, ii, p. 283.

thick with plants and herbs. Froissart describes how in August 1391 the Comte de Foix returned to his room in his castle 'et la trouva toute jonchée de verdure fraiche et nouvelle, et les parois d'environ toutes couvertes de verds rameaux pour y faire plus frais et plus odorant'.[1] This *jonchte* was done not only with rushes, but also with roses, iris, lilies of the valley, and such-like flowers, and it is these that appear in decoration. A book of hours of about 1420 of the use of Paris[2] has eighteen borders of such flowers, drawn with great naturalism on a comparatively large scale; another, of the use of Châlons-sur-Marne[3] (Fig. 70), probably by the same hand, has each miniature framed in a border of flowers of one kind, equally delicate in treatment. The inclusion in the border of the personal motto Tour son vouloir[5] shows how far such decoration falls into the civil rather than the religious category. On the plate of Louis d'Anjou all the flowers *of the jonchee*—roses, lilies, columbines, violets, marguerites, poppies, iris, borage, marigolds, cornflowers, and periwinkles[4]—appear, together with the kitchen-garden parsley, gourds, and leeks. A typical piece is a gold cup engraved with a chaplet of loosely twined lilies with a rose in the middle surrounded by wreaths of roses and holly;[5] a surviving example of the type is a silver-gilt plate of about 1340 in the Victoria and Albert Museum decorated with vine and holly (Fig. 7i).[6] Sometimes the very form was naturalistic; a French enamelled reliquary of the early fourteenth century at Cividale da Friuli, decorated with a tree on which birds are perched, is itself shaped as an ivy leaf. On dresses a

[1] Froissart, *Chroniques,* vol.xii,p. 369.

[2] Collection of Mr. Hamilton E. Fields, Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition, 1908, no. 204.

[3] Collection of Mr. Dyson Perrins, ibid., no. 205.

[4] Compare the similar flowers recorded in the inventory of the plate of Charles the Bold in 1461. Laborde, *Les Dues de Bourgogne,* ii. 36.

[5] Moranvillé, p. 73.

[6] Another, a little later in date and more formal in treatment, is the foundress's cup of Christ's College, Cambridge, of about 1440, with diagonal bands filled with sprays of roses, oak, and vine in relief. Jones, *Old Plate of the Cambridge Colleges,* RL LXXV.

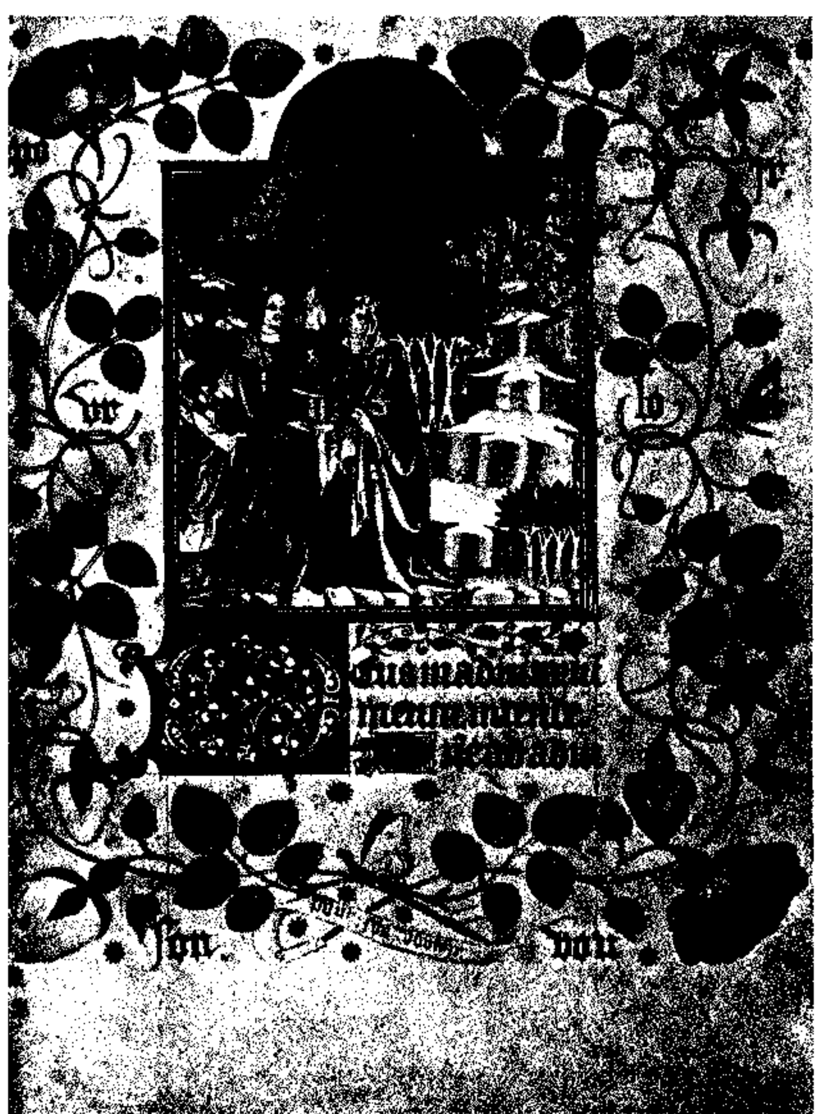


FIG. 70. PAGE FROM A BOOK OF HOURS OF THE USE OF CHALONS-SUR-MARNE

French, *c.* 1420. *Mr. Dyson Perrins*

PLATE XL

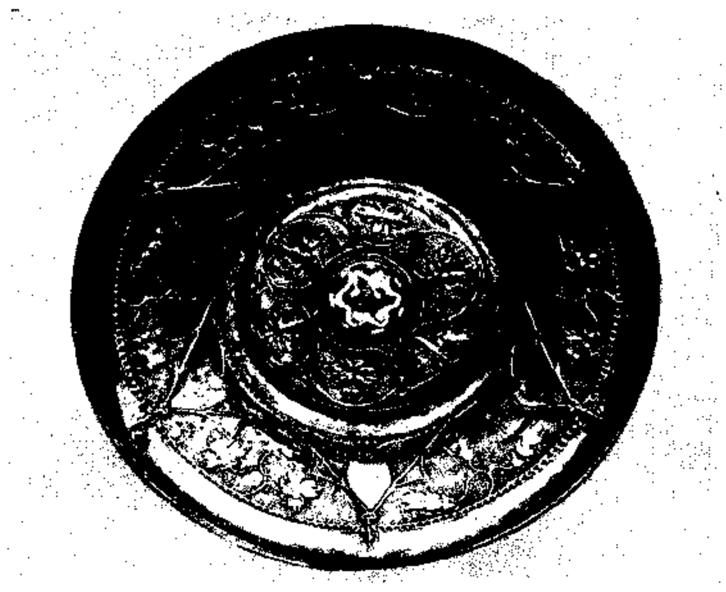


FIG1, SILVER-GILT **DISH**
French, c\ 1340

FUJ. 72, INITIAL FROM A **PACK OF AN ANTI**PHONAL,
Flemish, *c.* 1490. *Mime ties Arts* ***decoratifs,*** *Paris*

smaller selection of the same flowers was used; instances are a *côte-hardie* embroidered in pearls with borage flowers, and two houppelandes embroidered with rose trails in green silk and pearls belonging to Valentine de Milan in 1389.[1] Unfortunately no such dress has come down to us; there are only some manuscript illustrations, very small in scale, and cognate church embroidery (Fig.73) to show the style. The cope illustrated is, like the silver-gilt dish, decorated with vine leaves, and shows in how similar a fashion the same theme was treated in different arts. In 1403, Louis d'Orléans owned tapestry hangings powdered with iris[2], and a little later Philippe le Bon bought others with trails of roses growing on a trellis from top to bottom.[3]

It was definitely from gardens that the fourteenth-century designers drew their inspiration. Their aim, indeed, was that which had inspired the designers of the frescoes in the Augustan villa of Prima Porta nearly fifteen centuries before: to bring the beauty of the garden within doors. Charles V had the gallery of the queen's apartment in the Hôtel Saint-Pol painted as a garden between 1350 and 1360.[4] The bottom of the walls was painted with lilies and roses and other flowers as if growing in a garden bed, from which trees of apples, pears, cherries, and plums rose up with branches soaring into the vault, which was painted like the sky. About fifty years later Jean sans Peur had the staircase of his Hôtel de Bourgogne decorated with sculptured trees growing out of tubs, their branches serving as the ribs of the vaulted ceiling. A room in the Castle of Chanzé was painted all with gooseberry bushes, 'dont les groyselles sont rouges'.[5] From such decoration garden backgrounds were

[1] F. M. Graves, *Deux inventaires de la maison d'Orléans*, p. 72.

[2] Laborde, op. cit. iii. 208.

[3] Ibid. ii. 268. It is from such tapestries that backgrounds of such pictures as the *Vierge aux fraises*, c. 1430, in the Musée de Soleure, are derived.

[4] Sauval, *Histoire de Paris*, quoted Michel, iii, p. 112.

[5] Havard, *Dictionnaire d'ameublement*, s.v. 'Peintre'.

transferred to the masterpieces of the Italian painters.[1] Fra Angelico has a rose hedge, with cherries and pomegranates growing out of it, for his 'Madonna' at Bergamo, and flowery meads for his 'Annunciation' and his 'Paradise'. The Cortona 'Annunciation' has exquisite pinks, roses, and narcissus, blossoming by a low paling. Giovanni di Paolo has hedges of fruit-trees and meadows with violets and pinks for backgrounds to his Virgins; and in his 'Paradise' the blessed souls embrace among strawberries, violets, pinks and lilies growing before a line of fruit-trees. Botticelli's flowers are so exquisite that their relation with ordinary decoration is forgotten; but his cornflowers and roses, his pinks and daisies and wild strawberries, his grape hyacinths and iris, come from the same garden as the flowers of the tapestry-weavers. Pinturicchio and Signorelli go rather to the meadows than the gardens: a dandelion clock, lords-and-ladies with scarlet seed-pods, daisies, poppies, and lilies of the valley grow in the grass at the feet of the Holy Family in Pinturicchio's Siena tondo; and Signorelli paints such plants together with campions, anemones, herb Robert and wild strawberries, to make his foregrounds gay.

Flower and plant decoration flourished in France in the second half of the fifteenth century, but with a difference. On the borders of illuminations single sprigs of flowers were painted as if sprinkled in some celestial *jonchée:* and on tapestries similar little plants were woven as if growing on some paradisal lawn,

> When daisies pied and violets blue
> And lady smocks all silver white
> And cuckoo buds of yellow hue
> Do paint the meadows with delight.

There were flower borders for every kind of illuminated book, from books of prayers to Monstrelet's *Chroniques.*[2] A

[1] For a detailed study see E. G. Salter, op. cit.

[2] Leiden, University Library, MS. Voss GGF 2.

FIG. 73. PART OF A RED SILK COPE
Embroidered with the Tree of Jesse
English, *c.* 1300

PLATE XLII

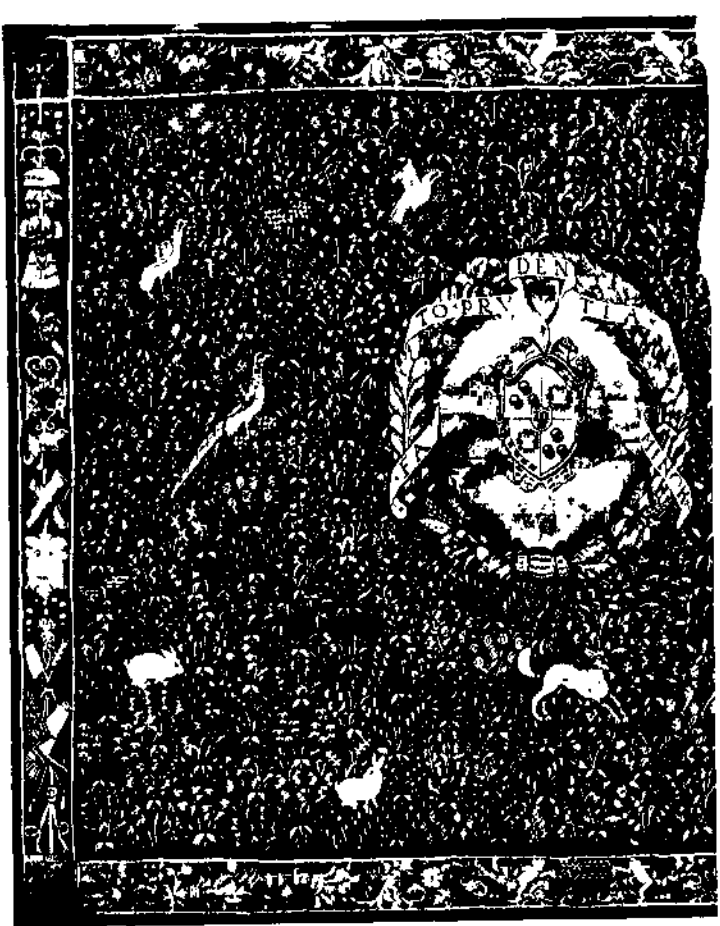


FIG. 75. PART OF A TAPESTRY HANGING FROM THE PALAZZO GIOVIO, COMO

Flemish, *c.* 1540

book of hours painted in the Netherlands about I488[1] has borders adorned with detached sprays of flowers and plants of every sort and kind, daffodils, roses, pinks, violets, daisies, oak leaves, iris, gentians, harebells, red currants and strawberries, all delicately and naturalistically painted; and others, notably the famous Grimani Breviary,[2] have flowers painted as casting shadows on the parchment background.

The *millefleurs* style in tapestry is represented in the pictures of a manuscript of Froissart written about I47O[3] and forms the background to a tapestry captured by the Swiss from Charles the Bold at the Battle of Granson in 1477.[4] In such early examples the flowers are comparatively sparse and scattered; in those of the early sixteenth century they are denser. Sometimes they carpet a meadow from which trees are growing; more often they cover the whole field (Fig. 75), scattered over a ground of blue or green or red, in a composition absolutely conventional in its general disposition and absolutely natural in its details. They include nearly all the flowers of the manuscript borders, the plants that Jean le Maire des Beiges enumerates at the end of the century: 'mariolaines, poliot, cyprès, spic romarin, euroine, mente, basilisque, marguerites, soucie, ancolies, jennettes, giroflées, coquelez, percelles, bacinetz, passeroses, passeveloux, glays, noyelles, liz, pencées, muguets, roses et ceilletz herbuz.'[5]

4

As flowers became more closely observed and particularized, so too did birds. They do not merely sing in the orchard at dawn, but sing according to their kind.

[1] Bodleian, Douce MS. 311. Another typical and beautiful manuscript of the kind is the book of hours in Sir John Soane's Museum, MS. 4.

[2] In the Marcian Library, Venice. It was written before 1520. See Durrieu, *La Miniature flamande au temps de la cour de Bourgogne,* Brussels 1921, p. 34, Pis. LXXI' et seqq. Giovanni de Paolo, *c.* 1403-^. 1482, uses narrow strips like these borders, with roses, strawberries, periwinkles, wall-flowers, and so on, to divide the panels of his pictures.

[3] British Museum, Harley MS. 4380, fols. 1,4,40, 170.

[4] Now in the Museum of Berne.

[5] Quoted, Laborde, *Glossaire des tmaux,* p. 130.

Pour la doucor du tens nouvel
Si me levai par un matin,
S'oi chanter sur Parbroisel
Un oiselet en son latin . . .
Je vi Poriou
Et le rosignou
Si vi le pinion
Et resmerillon . . .'

The Owl and the Nightingale shows touches of true observation, both in its description of their outward seeming and of their habits;[2] and the same spirit is evident in the next century alike in Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules* and in the scientific treatise of Albertus Magnus.

If the flowers entered the castle with the *jonche'e,* so did the birds with the aviary. In 1377 and 1378 the royal accounts mention the King of France's doves and his nightingales and white finches and other birds at the Louvre.[3] At that time the bird sellers of Paris were allowed to hang their cages in front of the shops of the goldsmiths and money-changers on the Pont au Change, and seem to have driven a thriving trade. It is not surprising to find the lovely creatures they sold figuring not only on the ecclesiastical embroideries of the time[4] but also on every other field of decoration; finches on the King's coat in I3I7,[5] a woodcock, peacocks, finches, swans, an egret, pigeons, sparrows, owls, and parrots on the plate of Louis d'Anjouin 1380, doves on Valentine de Milan's plate in I4o8,[6] parrots on tapestries in the castle of Middelbourg in I477,[7] and a whole aviary in the margins of the illuminated manuscripts

[1] H. Spanke, *Ein altfranzošische Liedersammlung,* Halle 1925, p. 241.

[2] On this see H. B. Hinckley, 'Science and Folk-lore in "The Owl and the Nightingale" ', in *P.M.L.A.* xlvii, 1932, p. 303.

[3] Laborde, ii. 408; Havard, *Dietionnaire d'ameublement,* s.v. 'Voliere'.

[4] e.g. on the Lateran cope and on the cope at Saint Bertrand de Comminges: see Evans, *Pattern,* 1931, i, p. 66 and *supra* p. 66.

[5] Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France,* xxii, p. 771.

[6] F. M. Graves, op. cit., p. 137.

[7] Pinchart, *Histoire de la tapisserie dans les Flandres,* p. 7.

FIG. 74. Gesso decoration from the Coronation Chair of the Kings of England. By the King's painter, Master Walter, 1300-1. Westminster Abbey.

(From *a drawing by Sir T. G. Jackson.)*

for more than a century after 1360.[1] The *Beau Brtviaire* of Charles V, mentioned in an inventory of 1380, has marginal decorations of stylized hop and ivy leaves on which perch and flutter swans, pheasants, cocks, eagles, owls, ospreys, magpies, hoopoes, parrots, wrens, siskins, torn-tits, yellow-hammers, and every kind of finch, as well as a few butterflies and grasshoppers. At the end of the fourteenth century Cybo of Hyères, one of the most remarkable illuminators of the Middle Ages, likewise adorned one of his pages with birds,[2] though it is perhaps his insects—spiders, bees, hornets, caterpillars, grasshoppers, dragonflies, moths, snails, and stag-beetles—that most take one's fancy[3] (Fig. 76). By 1454 the *Histoires romaines* illuminated for Philippe le Bon by Loyset Lyedet[4] has a charming collection of jays, quails, sparrows, owls, cocks, hens, ducks, dancing cranes, peacocks, and pheasants. It was from fields of pure decoration that birds winged their way into fine art, and earned for Paolo Doni his nickname of Uccello.

5

Such were the chief naturalistic styles of the Middle Ages; but to enumerate them gives but little idea of their far-reaching influence. There was hardly any medieval style that

[1] e.g. Peterborough Psalter, Brussels, Bib. royale de Belgique MSS. 9961-2; Hours of about 1390, Bodleian, MS. lat. liturg., f. 3; Dutch or English; Hours called those of Isabel of Castille, *c.* 1400, Hague Royal Library, MS. F. 7. 6. Latin Bible of 1453 in the Herzogliche Bibliothek, Gotha; book of hours written *c.* 1477-82 in the Netherlands, Bodleian, Douce MSS. 219-20; Italian Psalter, second half of fifteenth century, Bodleian MS., Canonici liturg. 114; and another, Canonici liturg. 8; Flemish Hours, *c.* 1520, Museum Mermanno-Westreenianum, The Hague, MS. 10 E. 3. Workshop of Simon Bening.

[2] Diversified by a couple of lions, one wrestling with a bear, a stag, and a few rabbits in the line-endings: B.M. Add. 28841. Another page gives a giraffe, elephant, camel, and savages; and a third, shells, shrimps, prawns, and sea-horses.

[3] Cf. the snails and caterpillars carved on the jamb of the west door of the Sainte Chapelle of Vincennes; and the Red Admiral and other butterflies in the background of the portrait of a Princess of the House of Este, probably Ginevra, in the Louvre. A dragonfly and a snail appear in the margins of the Luttrell Psalter (ff. 37 and 160).

[4] Paris, Biblioth£que de l'Arsenal, 5087-8.

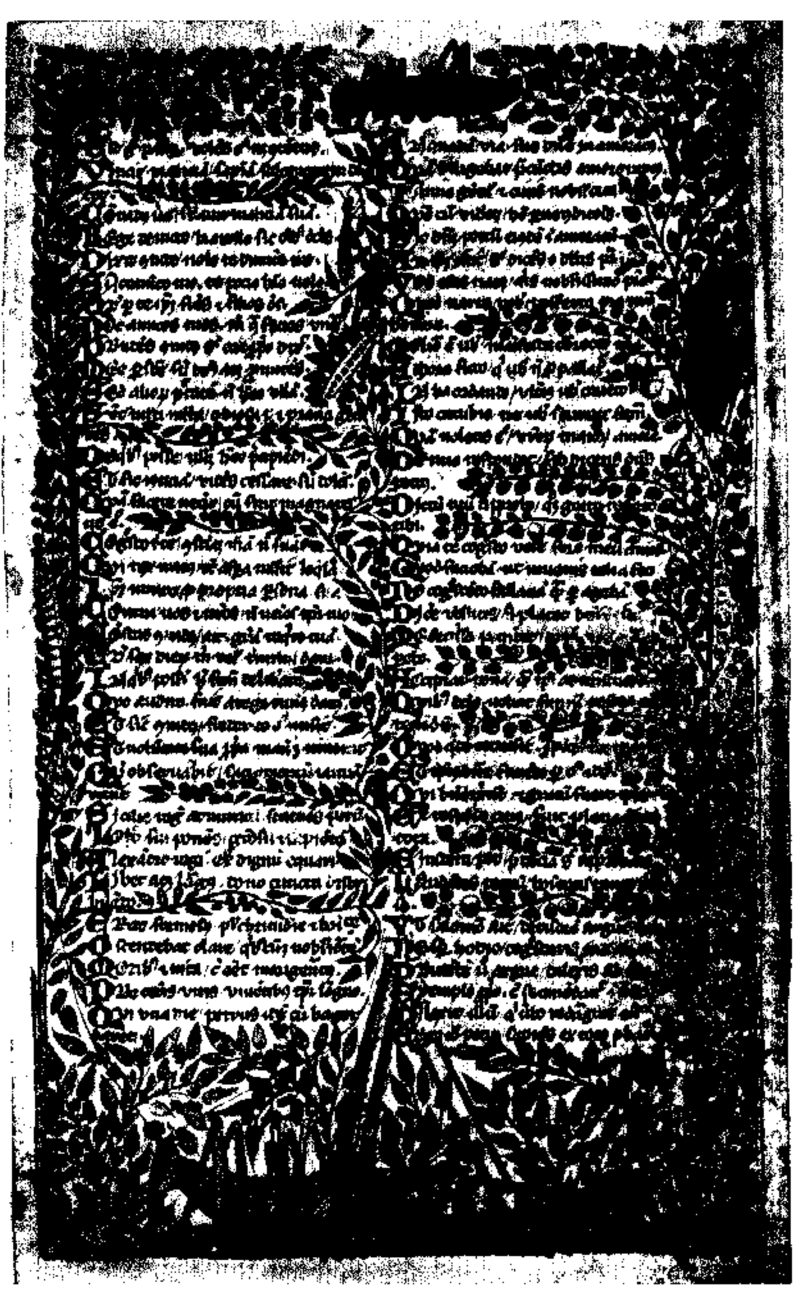


FIG. 76. PAGE ILLUMINATED BY CYBO OF HYÈRES, *c.* 1390

British Museum MS. Add. 27695, fol. 7

was not affected by naturalism. At the end of the Middle Ages the symbolic aspect of flowers was once more appreciated. In the borders of the obituary roll of John Islip, Abbot of Westminster between 1500 and 1532, are flowers each of which symbolizes a virtue or a spiritual gift, like the trees of Ecclesiasticus in the enamels of four centuries before.[1] The columbine, through a verbal analogy between *ancolie* and *mttancolie,* was the flower of sadness; so Louis d'Anjou made his own melancholy poetically evident by wearing a tunic of red velvet embroidered with five hundred and sixteen columbines. It was often with this sense that the flower was used in illuminations; a formal pattern of columbines frames an exquisite wistful Virgin in a book of hours painted by Jean Foucquet.[2] In the *Tres riches heures* of Jean de Berri, written before 1416, the office for the Fourth Sunday in Lent is bordered with the snails of Resurrection and the columbines of sadness; while for the prayers for the dead of the *Heures de Boussu* columbines are used with the pansies of thought and the forget-me-nots of remembrance.

Even architecture was deeply affected: it is enough to mention the canopies and pillars of branches of the latest Gothic style. The schemes of heraldic decoration, a characteristic medieval invention, were profoundly influenced. There is no need to enumerate badges of red and white roses, of broom and nettle, pimpernel and may, nor to describe the setting of achievements of arms on tapestries and embroidered hangings against a flowered field. Fleurs-de-lis and natural lilies were used together and almost interchangeably,[3] and whole schemes of heraldic display were based on naturalistic decoration, the commonest scheme

[1] See p. 48. An even more exact parallel is provided by a picture by an unknown painter in the Pinacoteca at Lucca, from which Francia derived his *Immaculate Conception* in San Frediano, Lucca, with the symbolical cedar, cypress, palm, pomegranate, rose-garden iand vases of myrrh and balsam. See M. Carmichael, *Francia's masterpieces,* 1909, p. 20.

[2] *c.* 1455, Royal Library, The Hague, 74 G. 37 ii, f. i.

[3] e.g. royal accounts for 1351: 'une cuillier d'or, dont le manche est esquartelle' de fleurs de lis d'armoierie et de fleurs de lis après le vif.'

being the shield hung from a tree, as it hung in the lists before a tournament. The seal used by Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, about 1385,[1] has the shield hung from a tree growing within a paling and surrounded by water, on which float two swans as badges of his wife Eleanor de Bohun; and a tapestry with the heraldic beasts of Charles VII of France shows them in a park with wattled fences.

6

It is false to suppose that there was any great new revelation of nature at the Renaissance; rather is it true to say that the medieval tradition of naturalism was strong enough to survive in spite of everything. For if the men of the fifteenth century had striven to make their houses like gardens, the men of the Renaissance strove to make their gardens like architecture. The loving observation that had spent itself upon flower and fruit was to be turned, if the humanists had their way, to the observation of classical antiquity. Just as there were exact patterns of different kinds of poetry preserved on some visionary Parnassus to inspire the imitations of the epic or tragic writer, so there were types of classical *rinceau* and arabesque to which the decorative artist might by meditation and contemplation at last attain. The simple observation of things as they are was not admirable to the Italian scholars of the Renaissance; and the artist, though he perforce observed, yet observed only with a view to recomposition. Michelangelo himself spoke with disdain of the Flemish school, 'who are content to paint hovels, over-green fields shaded by trees, rivers, and bridges, what are called *landscapes,* with many figures here and there, in which, though it may in some eyes make a good effect, there is in truth neither art nor reason: no proportion, no

[1] W. St. John Hope, *Heraldry for Craftsmen and Designers,* p. 213. The shield hanging from a tree occurs as late as the Hôtel d'Escoville at Caen, built between 1535 and 1540. It appears over the statue of Judith with the head of Holofernes in the courtyard.

PLATE XLIV

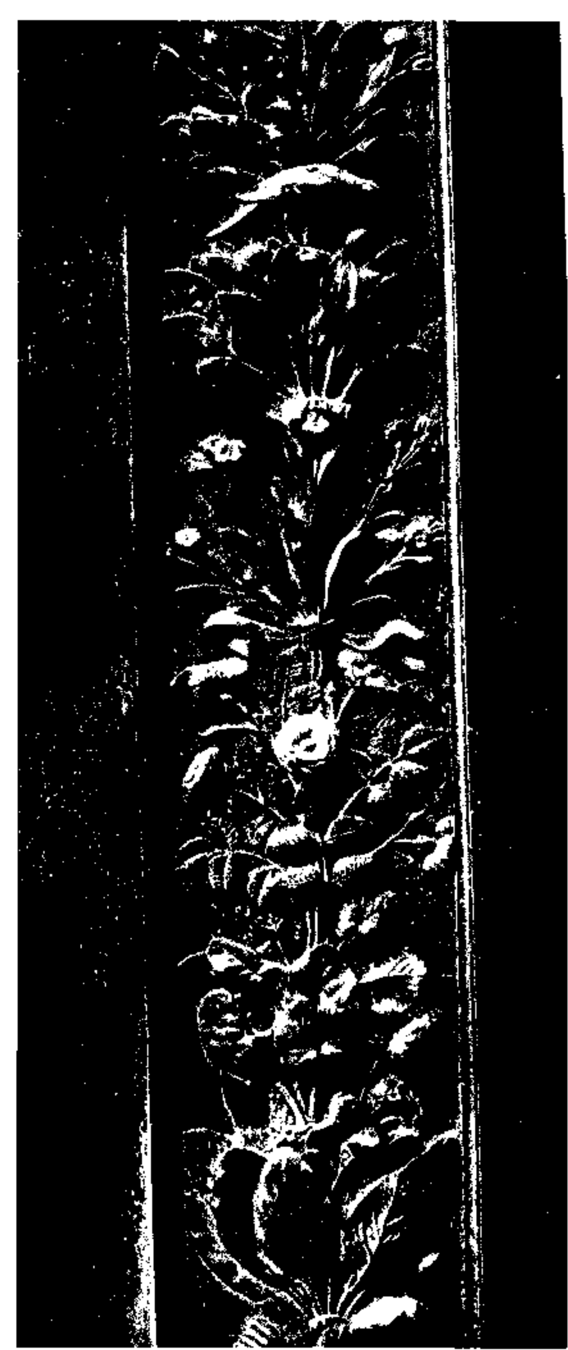


FIG. 77. DETAIL OF THE JAMB OF THE BRONZE NORTH DOOR OF THE BAPTISTERY, FLORENCE
By Lorenzo Ghiberti, 1403-24

symmetry, no selective care, no greatness.'[1] Scaliger declared that there was little need to go directly to nature, when they had in Virgil a second nature;[2] and just as Politian took his descriptions of rustic life from Hesiod or Pliny, Lucretius or Varro, so the Florentine decorators borrowed their acanthus, their oak and their olive from classical reliefs and not from the gardens of Fiesole. The Renaissance view was summed up by our English Sidney in his *Defence of Poesy:*

'the poet doth grow, in effect, into another nature, in making things either better than nature bringeth forth, or quite anew, forms such as never were in nature, as sea-horses, demi-gods, cyclops, chimeras, furies and such like. . . . Nature never set forth the earth in so rich tapestry as divers poets have done; neither with pleasant rivers, fruitful trees, sweet-smelling flowers, nor whatsoever else may make the too-much-loved earth more lovely; her world is brazen, the poets only deliver a golden.'

But the pioneers of the Italian Renaissance were men of the Middle Ages, and shared in the medieval heritage. Lorenzo de' Medici had a medieval love of flowers, and in his *Ambra* paints the olives on the hill-side changing from grey to green and from green to silver as the wind stirs them; Luca della Robbia could wreath his compositions in lovely garlands of flowers and fruit, Andrea could use them architecturally, and Ghiberti, writing of his great bronze doors of the Baptistery at Florence, could say Tor the outer frieze I have made a suitable ornamentation of leaves, birds and animals'—a frieze (Fig. 77) which we can see to be purely medieval in its style.[3] Leonardo da Vinci did not disdain

[1] Quoted E. Michel, *Nouvelles ttudes sur rhistoire de Vart,* p. 175; cf. Sturge Moore, *Correggio,* p. 85: Michelangelo 'brushes aside the beauty of flowers, of trees, of gardens, of palaces... in order to insist that the nature of virtue is action and the symbol of action the naked human body'.

[2] *Poe^ices,* lib. iii, cap. iv: 'Haec omnia, quae imitaris, habes apud alternam naturam, id est, Virgilium.'

[3] Cf. rather similar work on the Palace at Urbino, the Capella Colleoni at Bergamo, and Jacopo della Quercia's door in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena. Equally remarkable are a pair of North Italian bronze mortars formerly in the Martin le Roy Collection,

but enriched the medieval tradition. He wrote in his note-book that 'sometimes a leaf has three accidents (of colour): shadow, lustre, and transparence',[1] and described the gradual change in the character of the vegetation that may be perceived when descending a mountain, the stronger trees of denser leafage to be found near its foot, and the paler hue of the plants growing on stretches of poor soil. He has left exquisite drawings[2] of blackberry sprays, lilies, and anemones; and he sets iris, columbine, and narcissus in the foreground of his pictures. But the humanists were soon at work. Lorenzo's Italian songs were superseded by the Latin verse of the next generation; a distant landscape or a shadowed tree sufficed the painters for a background; Ghiberti's flowers and birds were soon stiffened and formalized into classical garlands; and silvery acanthus scrolls crept in among the pinks and thistles, the strawberries and sweet-peas, of the manuscript illuminations,[3] until the naturalistic style was transformed into classical *rinceaux.*[4] Only occasionally did men remember that imperial Rome had not disdained flowers and leafage: Donatello designed an almost perfect balustrade with vases of flowers (Fig. 78); the pillars of the Scuola di San Rocco at Venice, begun in 1517, are girdled one with vine, one with laurel, and one with oak, and have little figures of elephants and lions and bears on their capitals; and the windows of the Loggie of the Vatican, designed by Giovanni da Udine, have dropping strings with clusters of flowers and fruit on the archi-

of which one (now in the Musée des Arts décoratifs at Paris) is signed 'Nicolaus Fabiani Balneoregiensis (Bagnorea) MCCCCLXXXXI'. One is wreathed in vine, one with olive, most realistically treated.

[1] *Traité de la peinture,* ed. Peladan, Paris 1919, p. 245.

[2] In the Royal Collection at Windsor.

[3] e.g. in Bodleian, MS. Douce 382A, Romance of Gyron le Courtois illuminated for Engelbrecht of Nassau, d. 1504.

[4] See, for instance, the book of hours written *c.* 1527 for Bona Sforza, wife of Sigismund I of Poland, probably in Milan. Bodleian, Douce MS. 40. Some intermediate examples—e.g. Bodleian, Douce 223, Flemish—show gold, silver, and grisaille acanthus and endive accompanied with naturalistic-coloured blossoms—pansy, pimpernel, violet, pea, stock, &c.

FIG. 78. DETAIL OF THE BALUSTRADE OF THE SACRISTY OF SAN LORENZO
Designed by Donatello, *c.* 1435

FIG. 79. PLAQUE OF STEEL DAMASCENED WITH OAK LEAVES
The badge of the dell a Rovere
Milanese, *c.* 1560

trave. Certain great families, too, continued to use canting badges of flowers and plants,[1] and these were naturalisticaliy treated: the oaks of the della Rovere appear alike in the Sistine Chapel and on their trifling possessions (Fig. 79).

But it was outside Italy, in its real home in France and England, that medieval naturalism lived on and developed in undiminished fruitfulness. The naturalism of the garden—tree, flower, and fruit—dominated Tudor design in England. The inventories of Henry VIII are full of new plate that might figure without incongruity in a French inventory of 1380, such as 'a salte of golde wrought wt. braunches of strawburyes wt. a tufte of strawburyes or hawse upon the cover'.[2] Hall's descriptions of his tournaments and pageants are full of such dresses and horse trappings as those 'of black velvet covered all ouer with braunches of hony suckels of fine flat gold of damaske, of lose worke, euery lefe of the braunche moving,'[3] and of hangings 'all new' worked with flowers that 'appered so freshly that they seemed as if they were growyng in dede'.[4] Foreign influence under Mary Tudor checked the style somewhat, but it broke into new vigour under Elizabeth. The coloured plaster frieze of the Pleasaunce Chamber at Hardwicke, decorated in 1597, is adorned with a medley of medieval and Renaissance themes—a stag-hunt, Diana and her nymphs, elephants and camels, another hunt, rabbits and stags, a boar hunt, a unicorn, and a man reaping—all set against a background of rather sparsely leaved trees, each differentiated according to its kind, that serve to give a decorative unity to the whole. Such trees, complete with both fruit and bird's nests, were painted on the walls of

[1] Ludovico Sforza 'took for his device the mulberry tree, symbol, in its long delay and sudden yielding of flowers and fruit together, of a wisdom which economizes all forces for opportunity of sudden and sure effect'. Pater, 'Leonardo da Vinci', in *The Renaissance.*

[2] Palgrave, *Kalendars and Inventories,* ii. 291.

[3] 1809 ed., p. 584: Tournament in honour of his sister, the Queen of Scots.

[4] Ibid., p. 734. Decoration of the Banqueting Chamber at Greenwich for the visit of the French Ambassadors.

the Hall at Theobalds.[1] Holinshed describes the Banqueting House at Whitehall in 1581 all 'wrought most cunningly upon canvas [with] works of ivie and hollie, . . . garnished with baie, rue, and all maner of strange flowers garnished with spangles of gold[5], with hanging tassels of 'all maner of strange fruits, as pomegranats, orenges, pompions, cucumbers, grapes, carrets, with such other like, spangled with gold and most richly hanged'. Shakespeare could name his fairies Peasblossom and Mustardseed, and Elizabethan decoration was often contented with flowers and fruits that could not be called strange. An English carpet[2] dated 1614 is adorned with all the familiar produce of the medieval garden; and the will of Dame Anne Shirley, who died in 1622, includes carpets with gilly flowers, woodbines, cucumbers, and cabbages. The insects of the medieval borders were allowed to creep upon Elizabeth's dress: witness 'one kirtle of aishe-colour cloth of golde, with workes of snailes, wormes, flies, and spiders', included in her wardrobe in 1600.[3] All the variants of the naturalistic style continued in fashion through the Tudor period—heraldic tapestries with naturalistic frames or backgrounds, such as the famous Cotehele carpet made between 1514 and 1538, tapestries and embroideries of hawking and hunting,[4] and scenes of rustic or courtly life with naturalistic backgrounds, such as appear in certain Elizabethan petit-point embroideries, and on Sheldon Tapestries.

In Austria a peculiarly pitiless naturalism—*le style rustique'*—developed as a posthumous child of the medieval style.

[1] W. B. Rye, *England as seen by foreigners in the days of Elizabeth and James*, p. 44.

[2] Belonging to Sir Hamilton Hulse, at present lent to the Victoria and Albert Museum.

[3] Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth*, iii. 506.

[4] See, for example, the inventory of Cardinal Wolsey, 1530; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, iv, Pt. 3, p. 3045.

[5] See E. Kris, 'Der Stil "Rustique"', in *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, neue Folge, Band I, 1926, p. 137. Engraved patterns in this style were produced after the middle of the century: a covered cup by the 'Master of 1551' and a jug by Virgil Solis before 1562.

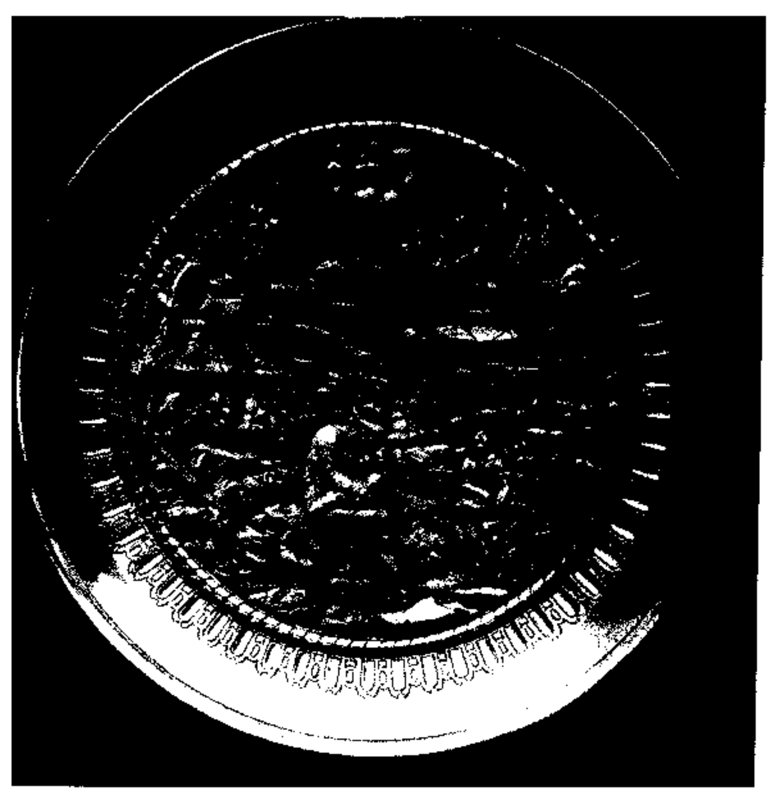


FIG. 80. SILVER PLATE WITH THE OCCUPATIONS OF JUNE
Swiss, perhaps Zurich, *c.* 1570

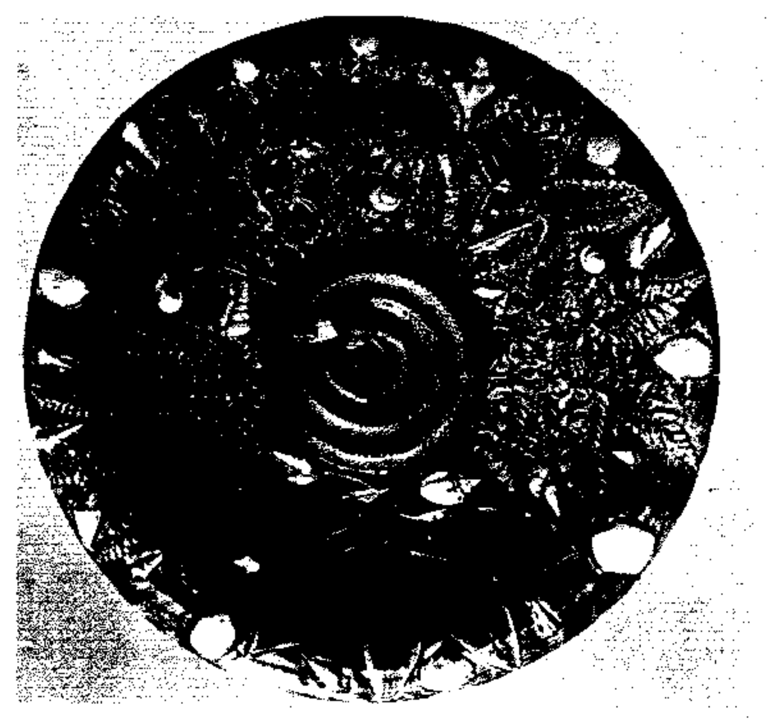


FIG. 81. PLATE BY BERNARD PALISSY
c. 1565

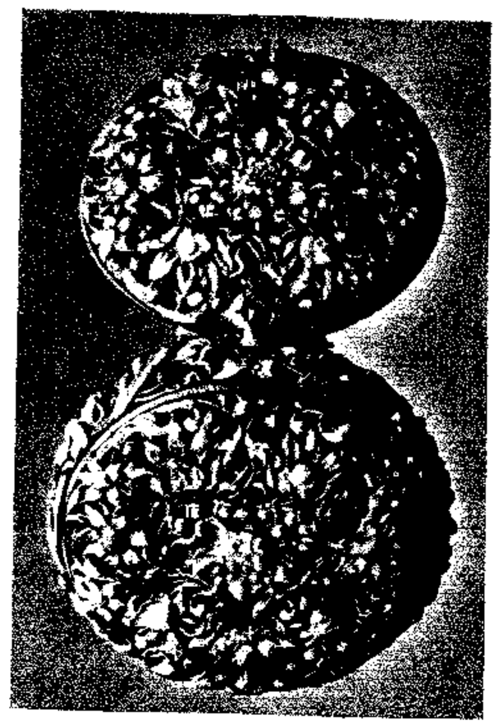


FIG. 82. WATCH ENAMELLED WITH FLOWERS IN RELIEF
Signed Claude Pascal a la Haye, *c.* 1640

Wenzel Jamnitzer and Andrea Riccio evolved it about 1500, making bronze snakes, shells and insects from moulds cast from the actual creatures, and using them to adorn boxes and plates.[1] The same rather horrible style was practised by Bernard Palissy, who cast snakes of all the common kinds, slow worms, lizards, fishes, frogs, shells of all sorts and leaves, and used them to decorate the pottery he made and glazed (Fig. 81). Two excuses may be pleaded for him: he was far more interested in the glazing than in the design of his dishes, and once he came to Court he adopted a severer style, casting his moulds from pewter dishes by Etienne Briot and other smiths of the time.

For in France if naturalism still lingered, it did not linger unchanged. The influence of the classical style modified and restrained it: its architectural field was greatly restricted, and its part in the minor arts greatly lessened in importance. Yet classical grandeur did not dominate art in France as it did in Italy. Men felt with Du Bellay:

> Plus que le marbre dur me plait Pardoise fine,
> Et plus que 1'air romain, la douceur angevine.

French Renaissance pattern may be described as Sébillet described the eclogue: Greek by invention, Latin by usurpation, and French by imitation; yet in art even more than in literature the French Middle Ages lived on. Foliage, flowers, and animals play a part in French Renaissance capitals that though classical in spirit has no classical parallel. The tradition of the Gothic tapestries with children and animals playing in a garden is there classicized and transmuted into stone, but it is not lost. The same fundamentally Gothic spirit is expressed in Philibert de 1'Orme's *Premier lime de I'architecture:*

'Au lieu de la frise je voudrois employer quelque fagon de lierre, qui seroit conduit en mani£re de frise, avec une fort bonne grâce. Quant k la corniche, couronnes, denticules, gueulle, cymace,

[1] e.g. box by Wenzel Jamnitzer plate in the Treasury of Ragusa; and in Kun&historisches Museum, Vienna; another *c.* 1548 in the Louvre.

cymation, astragales, filet quarré et autres ie voudrois disposer tout cela par liaisons, comme si c'estoient branches d'arbres qui sortissent par le dehors.[5]

The feeling is evident in the work of the early years of the century, for instance, in the little fruit-wreath mouldings banded with ribbons that appear on the *jubê* at Chartres, begun in 1514, and in the elaborate landscape backgrounds of the Grosse Horloge at Rouen, carved in 1527;[z] but it was not until the middle of the century that naturalism was really incorporated in French classicism. Then the centre seems to have been in Burgundy and Champagne. The retable at Bouilly, Aube, dated 1556, has dropping bunches of fruit on its square columns, and a double swag of fruit and flowers hanging from the arch; the pillars of the courtyard of the Hôtel de Mauroy at Troyes have Corinthian foliage at their base, with trails of naturalistic ivy climbing up the shaft; on the upper floor ivy is similarly carved over a fluted shaft, with no very happy effect. Such a fusion, indeed, was not architecturally successful;[2] the result is far happier in such work as the wooden doors of the north transept of Saint-Maclou at Rouen, covered with natural trails of ivy, or those of the screen of the Palais de Justice of Dijon, with charming panels of rose-sprays. It was in Germany, where the classic spirit was not yet acclimatized, that the worst results were obtained, for example in the Elizabeth Pforte at Heidelberg, built of red sandstone in 1615, with strange naturalistic Corinthian capitals to columns that are formed in the late medieval manner like gnarled trees wreathed in climbing ivy.

In English architectural ornament, side by side with purely medieval survivals, the successive stages of continental design are represented: the first and most classical natural-

[1] The H6tel de Bourgth^roulde has the outside of the tower carved with a complete pastoral; sheep shearing, shepherds, reaping and fishing, all with a background of trees and treated in medieval style. It dates from the early years of the sixteenth century.

[2] Cf. the parts of the Château de Sully, Saône et Loire, built in 1507.

ism by such work as Torrigiano's tomb of Henry VII, with circular wreaths of fruit, oak, and roses; and French design of the later sort in such plaster work as that at Speke.[1]

It is outside architecture, in the minor arts, that the true Renaissance development of naturalism must be sought. The chief influence of Renaissance scholarship upon the style was through the development of scientific botany. The *De natura stirpium* published by Jean Ruel in 1536 was a serious and scientific treatise, compiled from Greek and Latin writers, which served to re-establish the science. Already an interest in botany had been aroused, and had even influenced decoration; certain tapestries of the time show a considerable variety of plants, and show them as in the herbals, complete with their roots. The *Grandes Heures* of Anne of Brittany, painted by Jean Bourdichon and his associates between 1501 and 1508,[2] has three hundred and thirty-seven pages decorated with pictures of three hundred and twenty-nine plants—nearly always only one kind of plant to a page—exquisitely painted in an extremely naturalistic style. All the usual garden plants are there—cherry, iris, strawberries, periwinkles, daisies, columbines, lilies, roses, violets, and cornflowers—with many that have crept in from the woods and fields: broom, clover, poppies, snowdrops, ragged robin, mallow, scabious, cranesbill, bachelor's buttons, rowan, blackberry, and many more, and jasmine, stocks, and larkspur as new garden plants. In each case the whole plant is shown—flower, leaves, fruit, stem, and roots—and the French and Latin botanical names are written in above and below.[3]

From this it was an easy step to the herbals illustrated with engravings, of which Gerard's is that which Englishmen

[1] On English Tudor plate there is a certain naturalistic tendency in the treatment of acanthus, e.g. in the Goldsmiths' Company's hour-glass salt of 1522.

[2] Fully studied in L. Delisle, *Les Grandes Heures de la reine Anne de Bretagne et l'atelier de Jean Bourdichon*, Paris, 1913.

[3] For a book of hours of the same school with similar decoration see *Catalogue of Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts*, 1908, no. 169.

know best. The influence of Italian architecture made the garden in the course of the sixteenth century an integral part of the house in French architectural design; but, however formal and stony the Italian prototype might be, a real growth of interest was soon felt in garden flowers, and a consequent importation of new species was encouraged. By the end of the century there were such enthusiasts as Claude Fabri de Peiresc, who cultivated in his fertile Provencal garden plants sent him by friends all over France, in Holland, Italy, and Portugal, and even from Africa, Japan, China, Persia, and the Cape of Good Hope.[1] Such interest was not confined to a few enthusiasts nor to the owners of great castles framed in parterres. Tusser, writing his *Points of Husbandry* for the mistresses of manor-houses and farm-houses in 1573, has nothing on flower-gardens, and only includes marigolds and primroses for strewing the floor in medieval fashion, violets for salads, and a few plants for windows and pots; but Parkinson, writing fifty-six years later, puts the flower-garden first and relegates the kitchen-gardens to the side of the house.

This horticultural interest had a real influence on design. Robert, the accredited embroidery designer to Gaston d'Orléans, started a garden with hot-houses, where rare plants could be cultivated to serve as models. His scheme proved to be a great success; in a few years Henry IV bought the establishment, and as the Jardin du Roi (later the Jardin des Plantes) it continued to be a focus of interest in rare and beautiful blossoms. Robert's work in painting the flowers was continued by Joubert, Aubier, and Mile Basseporte, until the collection included over 6,000 miniatures of plants. At the same time such artists as Jerome Pini were painting pictures of flowers like extremely botanical tapestries.[2] Already the engravers were busy producing neat botanical patterns for ladies to embroider, either in

[1] Michel, *Nouvelles tiudes,* p. 261.

[2] Examples in the Musée des Arts décoratifs, Paris, dated 1614.

detached sprays, like those published by Paul Flindt in 1593, or in vases, like the bouquets designed by Jacob Kempener and engraved by Theodore de Bry in 1604, that included not only the medieval garden-flowers but also the newly imported tulip, fritillary, calceolaria, and crown imperial.[1] Robert himself—the founder of the Jardin des Plantes—followed suit with engravings of his miniatures, that though botanical in intention are graceful enough to serve as models to any embroiderer.[2] How naturalistically the embroiderers treated them may be understood from the description of Etienne Binet,[3] who says that they must be 'tellement naïvés qu'il faut qu'on croye que ce sont les vrayes fleurs, collées là dessus, et non pas des figures mortes'. With the development of the technique of painted enamel[4] it became possible to treat them with equal naturalism on jewels and watches (Fig. 82), in a style yet more beautiful for the necessity of adapting the flowers to fit a small and definite field.

7

Even in its mature stage under Louis XIV French classicism did not altogether renounce naturalism. For amid the splendours of Versailles and its newly planted gardens—with an Italian minimum of flowers—men were glad to look upon something that recalled natural growth. By 1663 the King's rooms at Versailles were already full of pots of his favourite flower, the jasmine,[5] and there was even a pastoral revival in the fêtes of the Court, inspired by the

[1] Other vases of flowers after Michael Snyders were published in 1612 and 1614.

[2] Cf. the very similar botanical engravings published by Nicolas de la Fleur at Rome in 1638, and those published by Guillaume Toulouse, 'maistre brodeur de Montpelier' in 1656.

[3] *Essai des merveilles de la nature,* p. 358.

[4] See, Joan Evans, 'Les Émaux français du xvn[e] siècle à decoration florale et leurs imitations', in *Compte rendu analytique du Congrès de l'Histoire de l'Art, Paris* 1921, p. 194. Engraved pattern books specifically intended for enamellers are those of Johann Paul Hauer, 1650, François le Febvre, 1661, and Salomon Saury, 1679, a copy of Le Febvre.

[5] *Lettres, instructions et mémoires de Colbert,* vi, p. 470.

shepherds and shepherdesses of *L'Astreé.*[1] La Grande Mademoiselle wanted to be able to be a shepherdess in the meadows, with a crook and a floppy hat; and des Yveteaux liked to dress when he was at his town house as a shepherd, with a straw hat lined with pink satin on his head.[2]

Perrault, one of the most philosophical of the architects of the time, published his *ParalUles* in 1688 to prove that nature remains the same from one age to another, and is never degenerate; the moderns can therefore claim the same divine heritage of beauty and variety that inspired the Ancients. Naturalistic decoration found a place in French classical architecture of the mature period—in spite of the protests of Bernini[3]—that was denied it in Italy. Le Brun employed Monnoyer the flower-painter[4] to paint garlands in the Galerie d'Apollon of the Louvre, the Chambres du Roi at Versailles, Saint-Germain, and the Tuileries, and to design flower borders for the tapestries of the Gobelins; and like Philibert de L'Orme, used natural flowers and leafage to decorate his architectural members when occasion demanded. There are wreaths of leaves and seaweed in the Galerie des Glaces; the cornice of the Salon de la Paix at Versailles is decorated with the fruits of peace—branches of olive, ears of corn, bunches and wreaths of flowers—and on the door of the Salon d'Abondance there are the olive of

[1] Published a good deal earlier, in 1607. See Lemonnier, *UArt moderne,* p. 217. There had been a slight earlier revival at the height of the botanical style in the earlier part of the century. Sidney's *Arcadia* was twice translated into French, by Baudoin (1620 and 1624), and by Mile Chaplain in 1625. Racan's *Bergeries* of 1625 and the performance in 1627 of the pastoral *Sylvie* had a great success. Critics could exclaim with M. Jourdain, Tourquoi toujours des bergers? On ne voit que cela partout.'

[2] Arnoud, *Racan,* p. 204. Compare the truer taste of Madame de Sdvigne", writing from Vichy in 1676: 'Je vais être seule, et j'en suis fort aise; pourvu qu'on ne m'ôte pas le pays charmant, la rivière d'Allier, mille petits bois, des ruisseaux, des prairies, des moutons, des chèvres, des paysannes qui dansent la bourrée dans les champs, je consens de dire adieu à tout le reste; le pays seul me guériroit.'

[3] Who said when he was in Rome in 1665: 'Qu'il ne faut point de fleurs aux bordures des tapisseries . . . parce qu'ils brillent trop': Perrault, *Mémoires,* 1702, ed. Bonnington, p. 77.

[4] 1634-99.

peace, the oak of strength, and the fruits of prosperity hanging in autumnal abundance from the scrolling initials of the King. Even when classical *rinceaux* were used, they were infinitely enriched with natural flowers.

Outside France architectural usage was less restrained. The designs for the Town Hall of Amsterdam published by Artus Quellin about 1645 show quasi-classical garlands formed of the most unclassical elements—one with peas, beans, turnips, and carrots, and another with shells, coral, and lobsters.[1] It was such elements that were perpetuated in English decoration by the Dutch craftsman Grinling Gibbons. Others were more restrained; in 1694, for instance, Wren designed a room at Hampton Court[2] with long, narrow panels painted in the manner of Monnoyer on a dark ground, and in 1699 Verrio painted the King's dressing-room there with orange-trees in pots and vases between jasmines and other shrubs, with parrots and other birds flying and perched among them.[3]

Perhaps the most characteristic naturalism of the period was the French and Flemish revival of forest tapestries, inspired by the landscapes of such men as Poussin and Claude: pictures that owed their ultimate inspiration to the tapestries of the Middle Ages. For in the seventeenth century the life of castle and chase was once more revived, and with it the love of woods.[4] Madame de Sévigné was sensitive to the *sainte horreur* of her dark Breton oak forests; she could hear the horn 'au fond des bois' as clearly as any romantic, medieval or modern. The splendid blue-green forests of the tapestries of Audenarde and Beauvais perpetuate the seventeenth-century vision; they figure, like the *mille-fleurs* verdure of the Middle Ages, in every style and theme; as the

[1] Cf. the later designs published at Augsburg in 1691 by Johann Conrad Reuttiman.

[2] Design in the Wren portfolio, Soane Museum. See F. Lenygon, *Decoration in England 1660-1770*, p. 4.

[3] Law, *History of Hampton Court*, iii. 68.

[4] On the whole question see Phyllis E. Crump, *Mature in the age of Louis XIV*, 1928.

background to the famous series of Gobelins of the Maisons de Plaisance, that show the country houses of Louis XIV much as the *Très riches heures* had shown the castles of the Due de Berri; as a background to the endless series of mythological scenes, generally occupying half the field while an architectural composition of temple or palace fills the rest; and most beautifully of all as self-contained compositions, once more bringing the green peace of the woods into the halls of kings.

There let us leave the theme. For if we carry it further we come to the moment when a less true classicism disdained the particularities of nature, and Johnson declared that man 'should not number the streaks of the tulip or describe the different shapes in the verdure of the forest', but must generalize, 'neglecting minuter discriminations'.[1] And if we continue we come first, it is true, to the charming revival of flower study initiated by Thomson's *Seasons,* but then to a time when in decoration it degenerates into the cockney naturalism of the industrial age, and it is only in poetry that it finds compensating beauty; illustrating, perhaps, more perfectly than the art of any other age the thesis that naturalism is a growth of urban civilization, but, if we study it too long, giving us a distaste for the whole style. Yet, if it be indeed an urban style, we should have no distaste for it, but instead find in it that lost simplicity and poetry that have always moved our predecessors in the towns.

[1] It was women, who were less hampered by classical education, who still saw nature in detail. Let us thankfully remember Lady Winchelsea's *Reverie* of 1713, with its night scene:

'Whilst now a paler hue the foxglove takes,
Yet chequers still with red the dusky brakes.'

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PRINTED IN
GREAT BRITAIN
AT THE
UNIVERSITY PRESS
OXFORD
BY
JOHN JOHNSON
PRINTER
TO THE
UNIVERSITY