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# COLOUR AND CONTEXT: RECONSTRUCTING THE POLYCHROMY OF THE STUCCO SAINTS IN THE TEMPIETTO LONGOBARDO AT CIVIDALE

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In the early 21<sup>st</sup> century the polychromy of ancient sculpture has become subject to increasing interest and research. There have been exhibitions of coloured casts placed next to colourless originals, conferences on the issue of polychromy and many publications discussing the technical and aesthetic implications of paint on sculpture.<sup>1</sup> Advances in scientific methods have made it possible to gain more insight into the physical nature of the colours and at times attest the existence of micro traces of pigments not visible to the eye. The current renewed interest in polychromy is particularly strong in classical art and archaeology, but there has also been focus on medieval ecclesiastical and architectural sculpture, especially the bright colours of church portals.<sup>2</sup>

The present study discusses the hypothetical polychromy of the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century stuccoes in the Tempietto Longobardo at Cividale del Friuli, with the aim of presenting a tentative graphic restitution of the colours of the unique female figures. The reconstructions are made by analogy, i.e., by taking recourse to art historical and archaeological material. It must be stressed that the coloured sketches and graphic reconstructions here presented do not pretend to do justice to the original work. Due to lack of physical evidence, it is impossible to recreate the original appearance of the figures; but the sketches serve to give an idea of the potential range of colours and to illustrate the profound difference between a polychrome and a monochrome surface.<sup>3</sup>

## THE LOST COLOURS OF THE TEMPIETTO STUCCOES

The church of Santa Maria in Valle, better known as the Tempietto Longobardo, at Cividale del Friuli (Udine) was built and decorated around the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century. Situated in the local seat of the *gastaldus*, it was a royal Longobard foundation functioning as a *cappella palatina*.<sup>4</sup> The commissioners – referred to in the dedicatory inscription as ‘*p̄ies auctores*’ – were probably Aistulf and Giseltrude (749-756) or Desiderius and Adelchis (756-774). The small oratory (ca 10 x 6.25 m int.) consists of a presbytery covered by three barrel vaults and a square *aula* covered by a groin vault.<sup>5</sup> The interior is lavishly decorated: the floor has remains of black and white *opus sectile*, and the lower part of the walls shows traces of marble facing. On the *aula* walls are paintings by artists trained in the Byzantine tradition.<sup>6</sup> Stucco is used for openwork ornaments and low and high relief. The vaults of the presbytery were also originally embellished with mosaics, and so probably were the top of the walls and the vault of the *aula*.

Most astounding are the large scale figures in stucco. Female saints in high relief are placed in the zone above the paintings on the west wall, with three on either side of a central window [1].<sup>7</sup> Traces show that two further groups each of three, male or female, figures originally occupied the space between the windows of the north and south walls, giving a total of twelve stucco sculptures. Measuring between 1.94 and 1.99 m in height, the female saints have a truly monumental, statuesque appearance. Today they are white all over, but in his thorough study of the stuccoes Hans Peter L’Orange observed

faint traces of red and purple colour on lips, eyes and brows of three figures, and he was convinced that the stuccoes had been painted.<sup>8</sup> However, based on such minuscule visual evidence the question of polychromy is highly problematic. Indeed being accustomed to seeing the figures uncoloured, it is difficult to imagine them in colour. All the same, since stucco was normally painted, it is reasonable to assume that so in all likelihood were the Tempietto stuccoes.<sup>9</sup>

To some extent the turbulent history of the monument may explain why colour is not preserved. Following an earthquake in 1222-1223, the *aula* vault collapsed together with parts of the walls. The small oratory then stood unroofed for more than twenty years until it was restored by the abbess Gisla Boiani de Pertice between 1242 and 1250. In the intervening period rain and snow had come into the building and the moist atmosphere had led to vegetal growth. Actually in the 20<sup>th</sup> century there were still traces of ivy roots on the interior walls of the *aula*.<sup>10</sup> Both pigments and surfaces are corrupted over time, and a degradation process takes place in contact with the humidity of the air which causes pigments to disappear. Evidence from various sites proves that monuments once brightly painted can be totally colourless now. For instance, it is generally acknowledged that Greek sculpture, both freestanding and architectural, was polychrome; this includes the Parthenon marbles. But like the Tempietto stuccoes barely a trace of colour can be substantiated on them today.<sup>11</sup> Comparisons of descriptions of sculptures in early publications and the current state of the works show that in less than a century remains of colour have often faded dramatically. Moreover slight evidence of polychromy is often overlooked by accident or even deliberately disregarded.<sup>12</sup>

In the Tempietto various interventions in the later Middle Ages have also made their mark. In the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century new paintings were put on top of the original wall paintings which were thus totally covered. Whether the stuccoes were left untouched is unknown. Finally from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century till around 1915 the building underwent several restorations. The restorer Giuseppe Valentinis recorded in 1860 that the surfaces of the female saints were retouched and the ornaments of their dresses redone («a tutte le statue vennero rimessi gli ornamenti deperiti nelle vesti»).<sup>13</sup> The extent of these stucco restorations is uncertain, but it cannot be ruled out that due to changing aesthetic ideals, whatever remained of colour may have been removed or covered deliberately. In fact much of the present surfaces were at some point in time coated with a chalk layer («una velatura moderna a calce»).<sup>14</sup> In the 1990s Paolo Casadio *et alii* examined the stuccoes; although they did not search for or discover remains of polychromy, they concluded unequivocally that the stuccoes must originally have been painted.<sup>15</sup> Actually, there are several indirect indications in support of colour.

## Reasons for polychromy

Stucco is used mainly for architectural sculpture and ornaments. At times it substitutes marble as it is cheaper and easier to work. Unfortunately it totally lacks the beauty and shine of marble. Since a fine and valuable material like marble was normally painted, it would indeed be surprising if stucco was



1. Cividale del Friuli, Tempietto Longobardo, west wall of aula (photo Author).



2. Cividale del Friuli, Tempietto Longobardo, detail of stucco saints A and F (after Torr, Il Tempietto longobardo).

left raw. With its dull and lifeless surface, it required some kind of surface treatment. Both ancient and medieval stuccoes from both East and West, including other Longobard sites such as Brescia, show remain of colour and sometimes of gilt.<sup>16</sup> Similarly written sources mention the polychromy of stuccoes: thus Hrabanus Maurus explains that ‘the plastic art is the decorating of walls with images and signs in gypsum painted in colours’ (*«plastice est parietum ex gypso effigies signaque exprimere, pingereque coloribus»*, *De universo* XXI, 8).

In the Tempietto, ornaments in elegant open-work stucco frame lunettes and windows, while bands of stucco rosettes

border the saintly figures. In the centre of some rosettes are still fragments of inlay in green glass proving that the plastic decoration was not intended to be monochrome.<sup>17</sup> As for the female figures a detail such as pierced earlobes for separately attached earrings shows that colouristic accents were part of their design.

The incised surface of the garments with detailed pattern and ornament is difficult to make out from a distance without colour. It seems likely that these incised lines, as in Archaic Greek sculpture, served to demarcate coloured areas and to guide the painter. Placed high above the floor, flowers, tendrils and lightly incised patterns are barely visible without colour. Similarly, not being highlighted in colour, it is difficult to make out the individual elements of the garments – three, four, even five clothe items are worn on top of each other [2].

Colours are intelligible visible formulae with a communicative value. The variously coloured borders, ornaments, belts and jewellery are signifiers of social status. Foremost is the relationship between colour and holiness: colours animate a figure. In hagiographical iconography crosses and crowns are essential in order to identify the persons as saints. The figures are more convincing representations of holy women when important insignia, haloes and garments of symbolic value are defined by means of colour as in painting and mosaic. Without colour the images appear rather ghost-like.

Thus material, technical, aesthetic, semantic and symbolic considerations all speak in favour of polychromy. Conventions also play a part, thus in mediaeval sculpture, whether in stone,



3. Ravenna, San Vitale, Theodora mosaic panel (after I maestri del colore. La pittura bizantina, Fratelli Fabbri Editori, pl. II).



4. Cividale, Tempietto Longobardo, Christ between archangels in west lunette (photo Author).



5. Cividale, Tempietto Longobardo, painting on ochre ground (photo H. Torp).

wood, terracotta or other material, a purely monochromatic aesthetic hardly exists.<sup>18</sup> For the Tempietto it is therefore less a question of whether or not the stuccoes were polychrome, as a question of the nature of this polychromy in terms of hue, intensity and luminosity.

#### METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In the reconstruction of the Tempietto's hypothetical polychromy the main problem is that visible evidence of paint is lacking. Therefore the reconstruction by necessity will be by analogy, that is the colours to be suggested for garments and insignia must be based on textile remains, literary descriptions

and representations in various media such as wall and floor mosaics, paintings and illuminated manuscripts. As for representations in artistic media, certain techniques to some extent distort the colours represented. Being set mainly in natural stone, the hues of floor mosaics are limited and they seldom have strong colours such as, for instance, ultramarine or bright orange. As a consequence it can be surmised that the colour of clothes represented in floors are generally paler and less intense than real garments, i.e., a vermillion set with natural stones tends to be closer to terracotta and a purple to have a brownish tint. This must be taken into account when referring to pavements in the discussion. In the glass mosaics of walls and vaults colours were far less restricted. Here we have recourse to a large number of visual sources from Rome, Ravenna and elsewhere. The wall paintings in the

Tempietto itself provide an important clue to possible colours used.

Another methodological problem is the issue of real clothes versus representations of clothes. An important instance is the Theodora panel in San Vitale, Ravenna where the empress and her court present a varied imagery of 6<sup>th</sup>-century fashions [3].<sup>19</sup> Recently Liz James and Shaun Tougher propose that the representation in San Vitale need not reflect real clothes actually worn at the court.<sup>20</sup> This is not convincing. Although artists were restricted by pictorial conventions, and one must allow for some artistic licence, there would be no point in illustrating court fashions which were not in fashion. With a thriving silk industry in the East and a Byzantine love of *poikilia*, court attire would undoubtedly have been rich, varied and colourful.<sup>21</sup>

A significant point is that the artists did not simply invent clothes at their own fancy. Each item had its intrinsic meaning and there were regulations as to which colours and which fabrics could be worn and by whom.<sup>22</sup> Clothes and jewellery are important signifiers and markers of status. It is hardly a coincidence that the San Vitale mosaic depicts Empress Theodora's gold earrings as enhanced with emerald, pearl and sapphire. Precisely these stones were reserved for imperial use (*Cod. Iust.* XI.11). Just as the empress is dressed in a purple *chlamys*, reflecting her actual appearance (and the artist could not possibly have dressed her in, for instance, light blue), the escorting women must likewise be assumed to illustrate fashions appropriate for their rank and position at the court. It is worthwhile to record the colours and patterns of these female garments. On Theodora's left (our right) are seven women, the five in the front displaying colourful dresses: the first wears a *dalmatica* (over-tunic) in a patterned two-tone purple weave, on top of which is a *palla* (large shawl) in white and grey (silver); the *dalmatica* of the second displays blue birds on a silvery ground, the *palla* has red flowers on yellow (gold); the third woman wears what looks like shot silk in silver with greenish-blue floral decoration; while the fourth is dressed in a green *dalmatica* decorated with red birds, and with a dark orange (vermillion) *palla*; finally the partly concealed woman at the outmost right wears a white *dalmatica* and a yellowish *palla*. If some should suspect that these colours were chosen at random, it pertains to note the dominant hues of the attires: purple + silver, silver + gold, silver + white, green + red, white + yellow/gold. Since purple, silver and gold are higher values than white, green and red, it is obvious that the women are depicted in diminishing scale of importance in accordance with their intimacy to the empress. Similarly, the faces of the first two women are more individualized than those of the rest.

The third woman is singled out by her elaborate *Juwelkrage* with pendant blue sapphires. She displays an elaborate border at the hem of her dress: a reticulate pattern of white and yellow on dark purplish ground and with a red 'bud' in the centre of each grid. The reticulate pattern is one of the most common in extant textiles, for instance a related design in white on red is preserved in an 8<sup>th</sup>-century Coptic silk fragment in the Benaki Museum, Athens and on many Coptic fragments at Ravenna.<sup>23</sup> Should one still doubt the documentary value of the mosaic, a detail can be noted. The lady next to the empress is dressed in a purple *dalmatica* with *clavi* (vertical bands down the front and back). The *clavi* are lined with a border of consecutive 'triangles'. The latter detail is not a whim from the artist's side; the triangles are probably weft twining or *fausses tresses*, which reinforce the weave on the weak points, such as both sides of tapestry *clavi*.<sup>24</sup> Similarly, details of dress, insignia and weapons in the Justinian panel appear strictly realistic. Accordingly there is no reason to doubt that multicoloured clothes like the ones depicted in the Ravenna mosaic were, or could potentially be, worn by ladies at the Byzantine court.

For the reconstruction of the polychromy in the Tempietto, comparative material serves as an index of the colours used in representations and in preserved textiles. While as far as possible near contemporary parallels will be sought, the comparative material adduced covers the period from ca. 400 to ca. 800. Although a dress item from the 8<sup>th</sup> century was not made precisely like one from the 5<sup>th</sup>, fashions did not change as rapidly as today and garments remained quite consistent in design over several centuries. Most important, the clothes worn by the holy women in the Tempietto are hieratic and therefore bound to adhere to a conservative rather than to an avant-garde dress code. Besides the choice of various colours another problem consists in evaluating their intensity and style. Were colours – and gilding – used mainly to accentuate details such as insignia and decorated borders, or were the figures coloured all over, leaving only skin parts bare? Was paint applied in a thin wash or were the stucco figures brightly coloured? Such questions can only be approximated by analogy. While modern taste tends to prefer a delicate look, from the appearance of remains of polychromy on medieval sculpture, I rather suspect that the Tempietto saints could have been brightly polychrome.<sup>25</sup>

#### RECONSTRUCTING THE POLYCHROMY OF THE SAINTS

In the hypothetical reconstructions discussed here I present various solutions based on the visual evidence of late antique/early medieval representations. In particular I take as a guiding line the colours in the 8<sup>th</sup>-century paintings in the Tempietto. Samples taken from the Christ lunette [4] below the stucco women are established as yellow ochre, red ochre, terra verde, chalk white and 'false blue' (a colour without blue pigments which appears bluish to the eye).<sup>26</sup> With these pigments other hues could be obtained through mixing: dark purple, reddish purple, blue, golden yellow and shades of white [5]. The style of the paintings leaves little doubt that they were made by Byzantine artists or by artists trained in the Byzantine tradition. It is not inconceivable that artists who fled from Constantinople in the Iconoclastic period may have come to work for the Longobard court.<sup>27</sup> The walls of the *aula* are laid out in accordance with a Byzantine modular system of proportions with sculpted and painted zones of equal height. As can be deduced from the fact that some wall-painting at places overlaps the stucco, the stuccoes must have been applied to the wall before the wall-paintings were executed.<sup>28</sup> Because of the integrated layout, it is reasonable to assume a common workshop responsible for the entire decoration and consequently that the artists who made the frescoes were also assigned to painting the stuccoes. Accordingly the pigments used for the frescoes may likewise have been employed for the figures and reliefs in stucco. This implies that some of the colour preferences and combinations of the wall-paintings are likely to have been reflected in the polychromy of the plastic figures.

The stucco figures presumably stood out against a coloured ground. Blue is used for the background in the Tempietto paintings, and is the colour most frequently encountered in late antique and early medieval painting, mosaic (either blue or gold), and polychrome relief: tellingly it is established for the 8<sup>th</sup>-century Altar of Ratchis at Cividale, further one can refer, e.g., to the dedication page of the Vienna Dioscurides and the ceiling paintings from the Palace at Trier.<sup>29</sup> Therefore blue is the most likely background colour.

Since the Tempietto was a *cappella palatina* decorated by Byzantine or Italo-Byzantine artists, and since the female saints are dressed like aristocratic or imperial women, it will be



6. Cividale, Tempietto Longobardo, the six female saints in stucco (photo E. Ciol).

assumed that the aesthetic expressed in the polychromy was an aulic aesthetic in keeping with the Byzantine tradition. It is further assumed that since the female figures flank a window, symbol of *Christus Lux*, their appearance reflected ideas of light and hence hues associated with light and brilliance, such as yellow, red and purple. Thus the internal criteria to be used as a guiding line in the reconstruction of polychromy are respectively material: the colours of the Tempietto frescoes, ideological: the Longobards' staging of a *cappella palatina* according to Byzantine court aesthetics, and, most importantly, religious: the association of the saints with the symbolic apparition of the Divine light emerging from the window between them [6].<sup>30</sup>

The identity of the female saints has not been established, so the stuccoes will be referred to by letters from *A* through *F* (from left to right). Since the figures to some extent form pairs: *C* and *D* (the figures flanking the central window) are mirrored images, *A* and *F* (closest to the walls) are dressed alike, as are *B* and *E*, they will be presented according to the typology of their garments.

#### Saints *C* and *D*: palla

*C* and *D* stand on either side of the window which they are turned towards in three-quarter profile acclaiming. Their attire consists of a *palla* (*maphorion*) that covers the head and falls to well below the middle of the body; under this they wear a *dalmatica* (*tunica*). Under that again they have an under-tunic, the tight sleeves of which are visible at the wrists. Without colour it is difficult to distinguish the three pieces of the attire [7]. That *C* and *D* are not to be imagined in versicoloured patterned dresses can be deduced from the fact that except for the sleeve band of the inner tunic and a shallow wavy hemline of the *dalmatica*, their garments have no incised decoration.

Dark purple *palla* over dark purple *dalmatica* is by far the most common combination: the personifications of *Ecclesia ex circumcissione* and *Ecclesia ex gentibus* in Santa Sabina, Rome, ca 430, the Virgin enthroned and the donor Turtura in the Commodilla catacomb, 528-530 [8], the Virgin in the Basilica of Euphrasius at Parenzo, ca 550, the Virgin in the Rabbula Gospels, Ascension scene, 586, the Virgin next to Saint Theodore in a 7<sup>th</sup> century mosaic at Saint Demetrios, Thessaloniki,

7. Cividale, Tempietto Longobardo, saint *D* (after TORP, Il Tempietto Longobardo).





8. Rome, Commodilla catacomb, Virgin and donor Turtura dressed in palla (after Romana pictura).



9. Cividale del Friuli, Tempietto Longobardo, Virgin and Child in north lunette (photo H. Torp).

and the Virgin in the Crucifixion scene in the Chapel of Theodotus, Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome, 741-753.<sup>31</sup> In these images *dalmatica* and *palla* share a single colour in comparatively dark purple. A dark red is seen in Santi Nereo e Achilleo, Rome, 795-816.<sup>32</sup> In these cases the dress items make up a set.

While single colour is usual, there are also instances of a distinction between the *dalmatica* and the *palla*: the Theotokos in the Panagia Angeloktistos at Kiti on Cyprus, probably 7<sup>th</sup> century, wears reddish violet *palla* on top of darker violet.<sup>33</sup> Purple (reddish violet) *palla* over white *dalmatica* with golden *clavi*, is worn by the 7<sup>th</sup>-century Maria Solomone in Santa Maria

11. Rome, Santa Maria Antiqua, Maria Regina dressed in diagonal dalmatica (after HUBERT ET ALII, L'Europe).



10. Cividale del Friuli, Tempietto Longobardo, saints C and D, hypothetical reconstruction of polychromy (drawing Author).

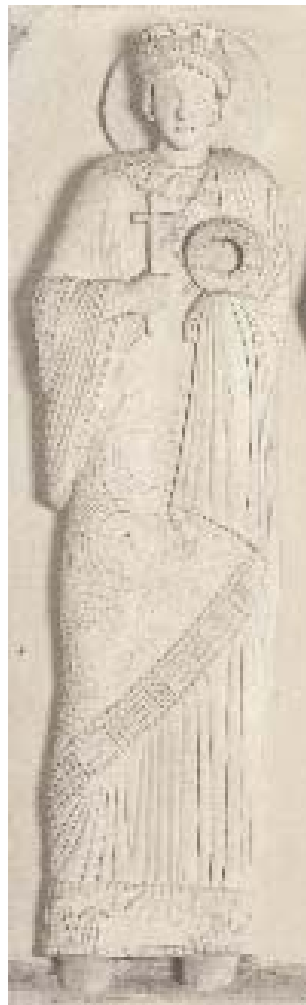




12. Cividale del Friuli, Tempietto Longobardo, saint A, hypothetical reconstruction of polychromy (drawing Author).

13. Rome, Basilica of Santa Susanna, saint dressed in dalmatica (photo Author).

14 (left). Cividale del Friuli, Tempietto Longobardo, saint A (after TORP, Il Tempietto Longobardo).



15 (centre). Cividale del Friuli, Tempietto Longobardo, saint B (after TORP, Il Tempietto Longobardo).



16 (right). Cividale del Friuli, Tempietto Longobardo, saint E (after TORP, Il Tempietto Longobardo).





Antiqua.<sup>34</sup> Bluish violet *palla* over yellow/golden *dalmatica* is presented by the enigmatic figure on Christ's left in the Adoration scene on the triumphal arch, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome 432-440.<sup>35</sup> Red *palla* over ochre are the colours chosen for the unknown female saint in the Theodotus chapel, Santa Maria Antiqua.<sup>36</sup> In the Visitation in the Euphrasiana, Parenzo, Elizabeth wears a yellow *palla* and a purple *dalmatica*.<sup>37</sup>

The colour combinations then are purple with yellow, white or red, or two tones of purple. But most often, both *palla* and *dalmatica* are purple or violet. In the Tempietto wall-paintings the Virgin's *palla* is dark purple [9]. Unfortunately it is difficult to establish the exact hue of her tunic of which there are only very slight remains. The fragments appear dark greenish suggesting a bluish or yellowish pigment.<sup>38</sup> Whatever the hue, it is conceivable that the stucco saints would not have been dressed exactly like the Virgin. On the combined evidence it seems likely that the *pallae* and *dalmaticae* of *C* and *D* were purple, although a contrasting *dalmatica* cannot be excluded [10]. If the dress was purple, the hemline probably contrasted in golden ochre.<sup>39</sup> Since *C* and *D* are identically formed and placed symmetrically, it is reasonable to assume that they wear the same colours.

#### Saint A: diagonal dalmatica

By far the most elaborate attire is presented by *A* and *F*, the figures next to the lateral south and north walls. Since *F* is less well preserved, I take my point of departure in *A*. She is dressed in complex multi-layered garments: the sleeve of the under-tunic is visible at the right wrist; over this is a wide-sleeved tunic; then the *dalmatica* or over-tunic. These three pieces are worn also by saints *B* and *E*, but over this again, *A* and *F* wear the distinctive diagonal *dalmatica* decorated with floral medallions, and with a *palla* or shawl thrown over the left shoulder [14]. Colours would have helped to distinguish the various dress items.

The lower border of the dalmatic is badly preserved but it seems partly to echo the stucco ornament framing the west window. The richly patterned fabric with medallions containing a four-petal rose is detailed with petals, small leaves and with a small tendril between the roundels. Such pearl-bordered medallions are common both on silk, wool and linen textiles.<sup>40</sup> The motifs inside the roundels vary from geometric to floral and figural. On a fragment from Antinoë the ground of the fabric is blue, that of the roundels red bordered by white pearls on black.<sup>41</sup> Another fragment from Egypt preserves a flower very close to the one on *A*'s dress.<sup>42</sup> The colours are red, green and yellow on a blue ground. The floral decoration of *A*'s diagonal *dalmatica* could be either multicoloured, as in the Egyptian fragments, or it could be a bi-coloured silken weave in purple and gold. The latter is an imperial colour symbolism, stressed in literary sources (e.g. Claudian, de Stil. II, 333-334: 'Twice have we dipped the thread that goes to make the cloth in purple dye and interwoven therewith ... gold.').

Visual representations show different fashions in diagonal dalmatic. In the Vienna Dioscurides, ca 512, the princess Anicia Juliana wears a golden dalmatic with purple *clavi*. There seems to be slight remains of purple patches on top, suggesting that the *contabulata* originally had some decoration.<sup>43</sup> Similarly Maria Regina in Santa Maria Antiqua, ca 550, is sumptuously dressed in a purple diagonal dalmatic [11]. It is heavily bejewelled and has golden pearl-lined decoration as well as golden embroideries on the sleeve-bands of the under-tunic. Since the diagonal dalmatic worn by figure *A* is lined with a jewelled border the imperial connotation is strong. In mosaics the ovals are usually represented as blue sapphires, with the squares as green emeralds.<sup>44</sup>

The colour of the *palla* is open to discussion. Thrown over the shoulder, it is smaller and more shawl-like than the type covering the head (as worn by *C* and *D*). In the Vienna Dioscurides, Anicia Juliana is flanked by the personification of *Megalopsychia* with a greenish *palla* thrown over one shoulder, while her companion, *Phronesis*, wears a red *palla*. In other instances, the fabric may be white. In the hypothetical reconstructions I have left the *palla* white, painting the *dalmatica* purple in accordance with imperial dress codes [12].

#### Saint F: diagonal dalmatica

The holy woman *F* is badly preserved; in fact most of the surface is worn off and the lower half of her body is restored in stucco.<sup>45</sup> It seems that the border of *F*'s contabulated garment bears a variant design from that of *A*. A look at the crown discloses difference in the pearl setting: while the pearls of *A* are identical round, those of *F* alternates in the central row with ovals as in an astragal border [2]. Minor variations in design may suggest variation in colour. While such variation could be partly an aesthetic choice, it is reasonable to see it as a deliberate way of individuating the saints represented. However on account of *F*'s poor state of preservation I refrain from a reconstruction, suffice to say that for the sake of symmetry, *F* would plausibly have been dressed predominantly in purple with variation chiefly in the colouring of ornaments.

The prevalence of purple suggested for *A*, *F* and *C*, *D*, is supported by the prominence of that hue in the Tempietto's wall-paintings (mixed by red and false blue or black pigments). It is used in a dark red-violet for the Theotokos' *palla*, a medium red-violet for Christ's *pallium* and for the *chlamys* of a military saint on the north wall, furthermore for the *clavi* on the archangel's tunic, for the background to the monumental dedicatory inscription, in addition to on various ornaments.<sup>46</sup>

#### Saint B: dalmatica with clavi

The middle figure *B* is dressed in under-tunic, a second tunic (both visible only at the sleeves) and a wide-sleeved *dalmatica* with *clavi* down the front and back and with a high-set jewelled belt. At each shoulder is an *orbiculus* with incised tendril. The pearl-lined *clavi* and the sleeve-bands are likewise ornamented with tendrils. Along the hemline runs an elaborate border with floral ornaments in pearl-lined lozenges [15].

The *dalmatica*, or over-tunic, was the usual female everyday wear, found both in sacred and secular images and in a variety of colours. The status of the dress would be determined by the fabric – linen, wool, silk – and by the richness of its decoration. A significant feature is the flaring sleeve with wide opening. From late antiquity through the Middle Age it is apparent that wide impractical sleeves were a status symbol.<sup>47</sup> They are conspicuous also in the presentation of Maria Regina in Santa Maria Antiqua. Finely decorated bands at neckline, hemline and cuffs, and *clavi* would signify the social position of the wearer. Indeed, such bands may be seen as diacritical signs, much in the manner that colour codes in Roman dress, by means of different coloured bands, showed what kind of person one was facing.<sup>48</sup>

The vertical bands usually contrast with the rest of the dress: dark *clavi* on light dalmatic or vice versa. In the Benaki museum, Athens, a fragment from a looped hanging with two standing orants, from 4<sup>th</sup> century Egypt, shows a bright red dalmatic with black and orange patterned *clavi* and dark red *palla*.<sup>49</sup> The *rinceau* on *B*'s *clavi* is found in almost identical form both in real and represented clothes, for instance, in purple on white on Coptic textile fragments.<sup>50</sup> Similarly a purple-clad orant in the Priscilla catacomb in Rome displays a purple *rinceau* on ochre ground.<sup>51</sup> In depictions of the Byzantine court

the high-ranking woman next to the empress in the San Vitale mosaic wears a purple *dalmatica* with floral *clavi* [3]. While it is possible to reconstruct *B*'s garment in accordance with this evidence, due to the fact that both *A* and *C* in all likelihood were dressed predominantly in purple, it seems more likely that *B* (and *E*) wore contrasting colours.

A late 4<sup>th</sup>-century mosaic from Mariamin in Syria (Hama museum) is of interest for displaying various elegant garments of varied design worn by six female musicians: a white *dalmatica* with high-set belt and with golden sleeves, a white with zig-zag trimmings at neckline and hem and a sort of golden *stola*, a silver-striped white *dalmatica* with a red belt and a dark border at the neckline, a fine purplish tunic with golden sleeve-bands worn with a golden wide-sleeved *dalmatic*, a tunic in white with round golden appliqué on a dark red ground and a white *dalmatica* with black *clavi*, on which are remains of silver.<sup>52</sup> Although it is difficult to tell how far costumes worn on stage differed from clothes worn off-stage, the dresses represented at Mariamin intimate a certain hierarchy inasmuch as the finest costumes, in purple and with rich gold trimmings are worn by the most accomplished musicians. Although the Mariamin dresses differ from those at Cividale, they provide a good illustration of the colours and designs of late antique *dalmaticae*.

#### Saint *E*: *dalmatica* without *clavi*

At first sight *B* and *E* look quite alike, but there are variations. *E*'s sleeves are less voluminous and her *dalmatica* are without *clavi* [16]. Even though some restoration of the surface must be reckoned with (next to the heavily damaged *F*, *E* is the second most damaged sculpture), there is no evidence for her having had these vertical bands. In the Theodora panel in San Vitale only the woman next to the empress sports *clavi*. Thus based on attire, *E* appears to be of slightly lower rank than *B*. Yet the border at the hem is the broadest and most elaborate of all. The heart-shaped floral motif of this border is preserved in various designs: in one textile are purple hearts, while in another blue, green, yellow and red alternate.<sup>53</sup>

As extant textiles prove, Byzantine silks came in a wide colour range.<sup>54</sup> Yellow is a favoured hue in the Tempietto paintings, both for dresses and as background colour to a classicizing floral ornament [5]. In mosaic and painting female saints are often depicted in yellow garments: the female saints in the Sant'Apollinare procession at Ravenna, as well as those in medallions at Parenzo are dressed in yellow suggesting gold.<sup>55</sup> A good example is the fragmentary late 8<sup>th</sup>-century wall-paintings from Santa Susanna, Rome, where Santa Agatha and her companion, probably Susanna, both wear pearl-studded *dalmaticae* in yellow ochre [13].<sup>56</sup> Yellow is also worn in the early 9<sup>th</sup>-century by Santa Prassede and other female saints, both in the Santa Prassede apse and in the San Zeno chapel [18]; similarly in the apse of Santa Cecilia, the titular saint displays a golden yellow *dalmatica* with high-set belt.<sup>57</sup>

Taking a lead from the various representations of female dresses – the white, yellow, purple range at Mariamin and the golden ochre present on male saints in the Tempietto – it may be proposed that in order to set a different accord from that of the saints flanking them, the colours for *E* and *B* lie in the golden-yellow range [19]. Since *E* and *B*'s dresses are of different type and design, they may, however, have been differently coloured. As a minor indication, with coloured stones, *E*'s cross would have stood out more clearly against an ochre-based garment than *B*'s cross. Accordingly in the tentative restitution here proposed I have chosen yellow ochre for *E*, but have left open the possibility that *B* also could have worn either red, light yellow or white [20].



17. Athens, Byzantine and Christian Museum, pair of Coptic shoes (after KONSTANTIOS ET ALII, *Byzantines Sylloges*).

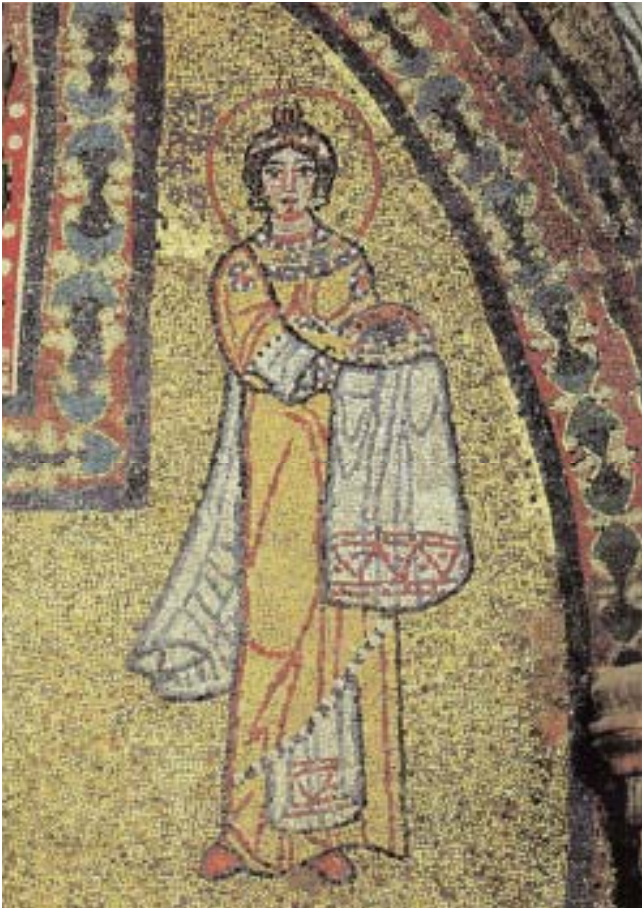
#### Belts and shoes

*B* and *E*'s *dalmaticae* are belted. Weather in metal, leather or encrusted with stones belts are a further indicator of social rank, the more sumptuous, the higher the status. While most belted *dalmaticae* simply had a string or band tied in front or at the side, as in the Mariamin mosaic, pearl- and jewel-studded belts were worn only by the top levels of society. For example, a statue of a late antique empress in Naples presents a high-set belt with two rows of pearls and a central jewel, almost like a large diadem.<sup>58</sup> On the Monza diptych, ca 400, the emperor Theodosius's adoptive daughter Serena wears a high-set, buckled belt, decorated with ovals and squares, suggesting blue sapphires and green emeralds.<sup>59</sup> In the Tempietto the single row of white pearls may have been set off against a red band.

In most late antique and early medieval depictions female shoes are red, although other colours are seen.<sup>60</sup> Examples of red shoes: the two *Ecclesiae* in Santa Sabina, the enigmatic palla-clad woman on the triumphal arch in Santa Maria Maggiore, the female saints in Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, the Virgin at Kiti, the ladies in waiting of Theodora in San Vitale, and Anicia Juliana in the Vienna Dioscurides. *C* and *D* wear strapped shoes, partly covered by the ankle-length dress. A Coptic shoe in the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens preserves part of the vertical strap. The shoe is red and decorated with a gold leaf cross in a circle [17].<sup>61</sup> A dark red ankle-boot is adorned with a bust in an eight-pointed star; another pair has various squares, while a child's shoe shows remains of a cross. The shoes, of different design with rounded, pointed or square toe, are made of leather coloured red or perhaps purple. Archaeological remains therefore confirm that footwear was brightly coloured with gilded decoration and, not least, that the decoration carried a symbolic meaning, crosses and magic squares being apotropaic devices.<sup>62</sup> It is here suggested that the Tempietto ladies' shoes were red, perhaps highlighted with gilt.<sup>63</sup>

#### Jewellery and insignia

Except for *C* and *D*, the saints wear earrings and a jewelled collar. Jewelled collars are found in both ecclesiastical and secular contexts in late antiquity: human and divine figures on the Piazza Armerina floors, personifications in Antioch pavements, holy women in Santa Maria Maggiore, etc.<sup>64</sup> The variety in colour and design is conspicuous. In the Tempietto merely two designs are employed: jewels arranged like a *fleur-de-lis* (*A*, *E*, *F*)



19. Cividale del Friuli, Tempietto Longobardo, saints B and E, hypothetical reconstruction of polychromy (drawing Author).

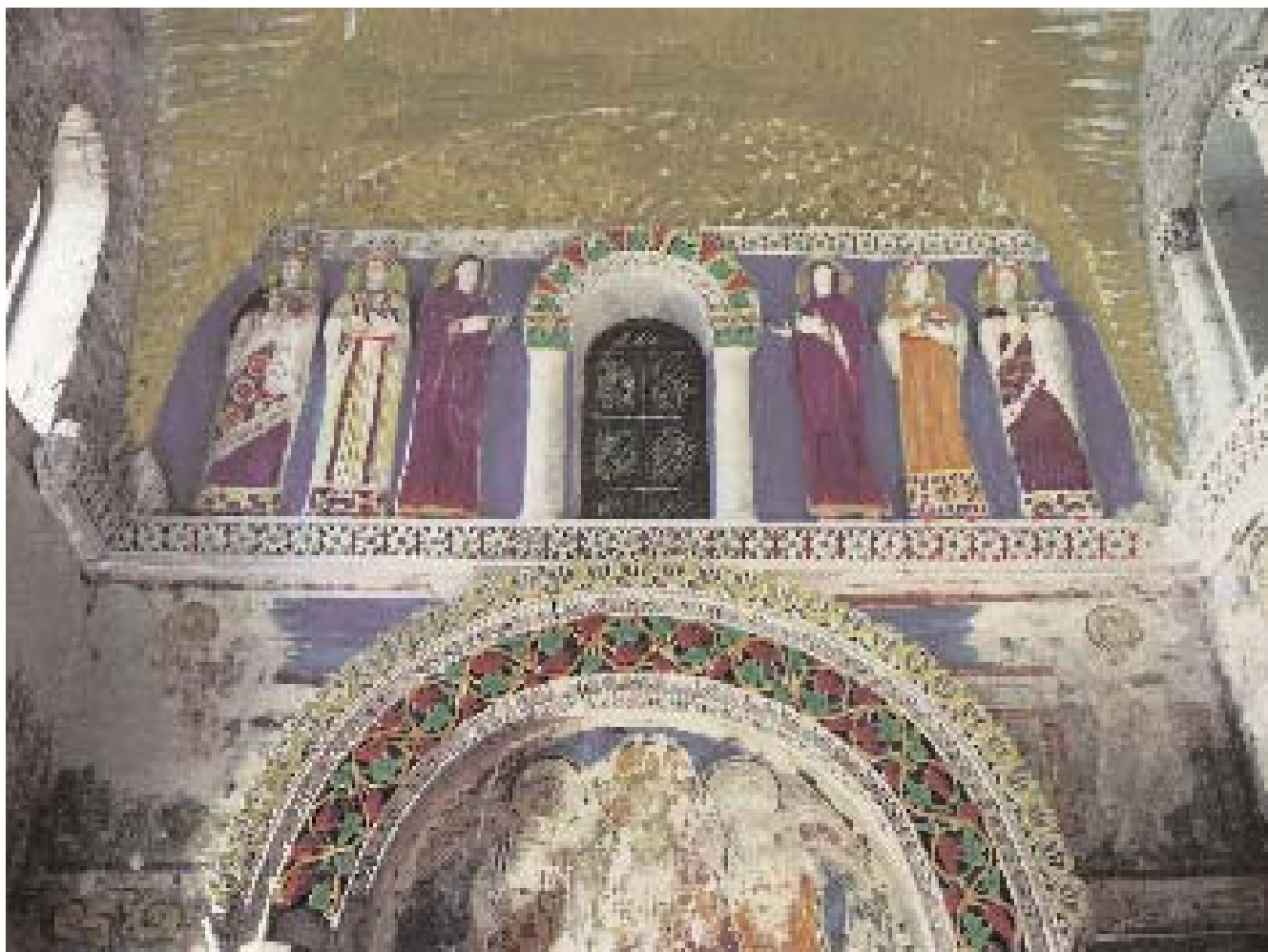
18. Rome, Basilica of Santa Prassede, San Zeno chapel, mosaic showing Santa Prassede (photo Marconi, Genova).



20. Cividale del Friuli, Tempietto Longobardo, saint B, hypothetical reconstruction of alternative colours (drawing Author).



21. Cividale del Friuli, Tempietto Longobardo, hypothetical reconstruction of polychromy on saints A, B and C (drawing Author).



22. Cividale del Friuli, Tempietto Longobardo, west wall of aula with reconstruction of hypothetical polychromy (drawing Author).

and a uniform design of elongated jewels (*B*). Based on the crowning element of Theodora's diadem in San Vitale, it is here proposed that the *fleur-de-lis* could consist of a central blue stone flanked by two white ones. The variant worn by *B* could be all blue, although other colours are of course possible [19-20].

The holes in the earlobes indicate that the saints were adorned with attached earrings, the distance from earlobe to shoulder defining their maximum length.<sup>65</sup> Since it is reasonable to suppose that the items would harmonize, the elongated ovals of the jewelled collar may indicate a design. Thus it is possible that the earrings had large, elongated ovals. Since *B* shows a variant collar design, her earrings may have differed somewhat. It is likely that precious stones were imitated in glass paste, thus a sapphire could be designed in dark blue glass, and emerald in green glass or emerald root (*smaragdoritza*) while a bronze wire could suggest gold. In order to be visible from the ground, the earrings must have had a comparatively simple design with two, maximum three elements suspended from the ring. Among preserved jewellery, gold and glass paste earrings in the Benaki and in the Byzantine Museum, Athens, give an idea of late antique designs. Similarly the early 5<sup>th</sup>-century Carthage treasure in the British Museum includes a pair with a square green stone set in gold and an oval blue/lilac stone.<sup>66</sup> When not found in a datable context such earrings are difficult to date, because the style did not change radically from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> century, when more complex designs came into vogue.<sup>67</sup> For represented earrings,

those of Theodora in San Vitale, as noted, are composed of a golden ring, a square emerald set in gold, a large pearl and finally a blue oval sapphire [3]. The design is close to the earrings preserved in Athens and London, and they have been adapted also for the Tempietto ladies.

The crowns worn by *A*, *B*, *E* and *F* differ slightly. But the defining feature of all is the *fleur-de-lis*. This triple jewel is common in imperial iconography, surmounting diadems and crowns from ca 425 onwards, and remaining a distinguishing feature of medieval insignia.<sup>68</sup> Again variation may suggest different rank, *B*'s crown being the most elaborate. Theodora's diadem consists of square emeralds and oval rubies set in gold, lined with two rows of pearls and topped with a blue and two white sapphires set in a *fleur-de-lis*; these colours are used in the Tempietto reconstructions [19].

Four saints carry crosses and crowns. *A* holds a *stephane* with *palla*-covered hand, *B* and *E* present their crowns in their open palms, while with *palla*-clad hand *F* tilts her crown in diagonal view. In the fragmentary wall-paintings from Santa Susanna, Rome, two saints flank the enthroned Maria Regina with Child. The frontally presented haloed saints are comparable to our figures *B* and *E* with regard to hairstyle, elaborate crown, pendant earrings, dalmatic with sumptuous jewelled collar and *orbiculi*, cross in right hand, crown in the left.<sup>69</sup>

Since the crowns presented by *B*, *E* and *F* are similar to the ones on their heads, they are likely to have had similar colours.

### Hair and eye colour

The ladies' faces and hands were presumably left white, or only lightly tinted. Their hair is parted in the middle, falling to the ear in striated waves, and caught up at the back. If we consider a golden/ochre halo, golden diadem and light skin, then dark hair would obviously be easier to see. Still, for instance in Sant'Apollinare Nuovo the hair of the female saints is light-brown. In the Tempietto's west lunette Christ's hair is mainly rendered in yellow ochre, whereas the male saints have red-brown hair painted in red ochre. This colour would suite the female saints, a dark reddish brown being set off against the golden nimbus. However less naturalistic colours should not be excluded, since the Christ child on the north wall has purple hair.<sup>70</sup> Although the thought of purple hair for female saints may appear unlikely, in effect the majority of the male saints in the early Byzantine mosaics in the Rotunda at Thessaloniki have purplish hair – and eyes.<sup>71</sup> Moreover H.P. L'Orange noted purple on the right eyebrow of D.<sup>72</sup>

### GARMENTS AS COMMUNICATION

In the preceding pages I have discussed the use of colour as an artistic medium. Yet the (presumed) colours and designs presented by the Tempietto saints are not simply a matter of aesthetics, but of symbolic significance. The specific choices of attire are a means to an end, namely to define and show the rank and social position of the female saints. Colour, fabric, texture, ornamental bands, accessories and insignia, all serve to communicate to the viewer the status of the persons presented.

There is a striking contrast between the ornate fashions worn by saintly figures in visual representations and written sources' prescription of the proper manner for a pious woman to dress.<sup>73</sup> Many like Caesarius of Arles (ca 470-542) had spoken against bright colours, purple trim, purple dye and silk, tokens of earthly and imperial splendour.<sup>74</sup> In the suggested reconstructions I have argued that purple hues were prominent. In addition to its prevalence in the Tempietto wall-paintings, the fact that the Tempietto is a *cappella palatina*, a royal foundation, supports this assumption.

In late antiquity there were strict regulations regarding which purple hues were generally allowed and which were exclusive to the emperor. Thus *blatta* (presumably dark reddish purple), *oxyblatta* (a sharper more reddish hue) and *hyacinthos* (bluish purple) made from the murex shells were reserved for the imperial house (*Cod. Iust.* 4.40.1). Concerning purple silk made for the household of the emperor, the *Codex Theodosiani* prescribes that outside imperial control 'no threads dyed with purple dye shall be interwoven, nor shall threads coloured by the same dye be spun out' (*Cod. Th.* 10.2.3, year 424). Woven gold borders and silk interwoven with gold were likewise forbidden (10.21.1-2).<sup>75</sup> By virtue of its connotations with the imperial realm purple would give an image authority. In addition to being a colour of opulence, purple (*porphyreos*, *purpura*) was also perceived as a colour of light, the word denoting brilliance and lustre. Pliny had noted that Tyrian purple from the murex shell 'illuminates every garment' (NH IX 36, 127). Describing different types of dye stuff, he distinguished one with a dark hue, another with a red sheen, a precious purple which 'gleams with the hue of a dark rose' (IX, 36, 126).<sup>76</sup>

Whereas pious men and women were expected to refrain from such luxury and wear plain, drab, simple clothes, after having suffered martyrdom the holy person appeared in different splendour, a splendour which could best be visualised by

mimicking earthly exuberance. In the early Byzantine mosaics in the Rotunda at Thessaloniki, the military saints are portrayed as men of high social rank. But while most soldier saints are dressed in white *chlamydes*, two stand out in purple as elect officers of the imperial court.<sup>77</sup> It is my contention that the female saints in the Tempietto in similar manner are characterized by visual means; it is not simply a matter of *varietas* which lead to theirs being depicted in different style garments.

The Tempietto saints are clearly delineated as belonging to three different categories [21]. A and F are dressed in the diagonal *dalmatica*, a female 'power suit' derived from the male *toga contabulata* (*toga picta*); it was worn particularly by imperial women who displayed status by adopting versions of male dresses which connoted power and authority. B's *orbiculi* were also originally a male dress element, placed at each shoulder and over the knees. Displayed by high-ranking officers and members of the imperial guard, these roundels were enriched by gilded embroidery.<sup>78</sup>

Although the diagonal *dalmatica* is not exclusively imperial, it was in the 5<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries more or less restricted to the imperial house and the aristocracy, showing the wearer as *femina clarissima*. Similarly, although the *dalmatica* was the usual female garment in late antiquity, the fine borders and jewelled belts of B and E prove that these are most elaborate versions, again pointing to elite culture. The pearl-lined *clavi* of B's dress is a further mark of distinction, since tapestry-woven ornaments in silk and gold *filé* made the clothes particularly valuable. From Diocletian's Price Edict of 301 it goes forth that with purple *clavi* the price of a dress might be tripled.<sup>79</sup> It is obviously difficult to correlate the costs recorded in the Edict and represented clothes, but it is beyond doubt that the more ornate and the finer the workmanship, the more expensive and prestigious the garment.<sup>80</sup> Hence patterned dresses like those worn by A and F, if in purple and gold, would have been the most expensive and prestigious, followed by clothes with woven decoration or embroidery in gold, as presented by B and E.

The *palla* (*maphorion*) is less socially specific. Since a figure dressed in this can represent a whole range of personages, the garments of C and D are polyvalent. The *palla* is often presented as the dress of the Roman *matrona*, that is, the simple, everyday dress, worn also by the lower classes. In late antique and medieval art, *pallatae* are seen in various contexts. The problems of interpretation are illustrated by the enigmatic seated figure in the Adoration scene depicted on the triumphal arch in Santa Maria Maggiore. Dressed in bluish violet *palla* and golden *dalmatica* her identity has been sought in some ten different personifications and Biblical figures.<sup>81</sup>

In Christian iconography, the dress of the Roman *matrona* had become the garment worn by the Virgin and saintly and devout women. While four stucco figures wear aristocratic garments, their holiness indicated by crowns and crosses, two are portrayed in accordance with the manner of representing pious women devoted to Christ. Leading the procession of saints converging from north and south towards the centre of the western wall, saints C and D are best understood as intercessors addressing *Christus Lux* on behalf of the believers present in the chapel. This is in keeping with Hjalmar Torp's interpretation of the total pictorial programme as a visual prayer.<sup>82</sup> In the final years of their rule, the Longobards were squeezed politically and militarily between the rivalling powers of East and West. The Tempietto and its decoration to some extent can be perceived as a visual manifestation of hope through belief in Christ. When power stability is threatened conservative visual images function as symbols of continuity. It can be claimed that in their conservative dresses with connotations of richness, power and faith, the saintly figures served the rhetorical

function of proclaiming the catholic orthodoxy and legitimacy of Longobard rule. If this line of thought is accepted, female attire is no trivial matter.

#### CONCLUSION

Given that the female saints in the Tempietto – and their now lost companions on the two adjacent walls – were originally polychrome, colours served to define the individual parts of the garments and make the saints and their insignia more easily visible from the floor. Framing the presentation of the saintly women, the plastic rosettes above and below with green glass, colour and potential gilding would have put the final touches on the visual impression of opulence and beauty [22]. Colours would have been chosen for their symbolic value, to animate the figures and make them more convincing images of holy persons. It is argued here that certain hues are more likely to have

been used than others. As a lead in the reconstruction of the polychromy, the Tempietto's wall-paintings with their dominance of purple, red-purple and golden ochre have been taken to strike the general tenor of the colour scale. In addition to this material evidence, the context into which the saints are set, the royal foundation of the chapel, has been considered. Four of the saintly women are dressed in early Byzantine court attire; therefore it is reasonable to assume that the prestigious imperial purple would have been prevalent. Since the women take part in a procession heading for *Christus Lux*, it is more than likely that their garments would have been illuminated by colours of light: yellow or red together with purple.

The graphic reconstructions here presented do not pretend to recreate the original appearance of the saints, and precise hues are obviously open to discussion. Still, the various colour combinations lay bare the difference between a monochrome and polychrome aesthetics of stucco, and compel one to reconsider the question of colour in medieval art.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., *Color in Ancient Greece: the Role of Color in Ancient Greek Art and Architecture (700-31 B.C.)*, «Proceedings of the conference held in Thessaloniki, 12<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> april 2000», ed. by M.A. Tiverios, D.S. Tsifakis, Thessaloniki 2002; *Couleurs et vision dans l'antiquité classique*, ed. by L. Villard, Rouen 2002; *I colori nel mondo antico. Esperienze linguistiche e quadri simbolici*, «Atti della Giornata di studio, Siena 28 marzo 2001», ed. by S. Beta, M.M. Sassi, Fiesole 2003; *Bunte Götter. Die Farbigkeit antiker Skulptur*, ed. by V. Brinkmann, R. Wünsche, München 2004; *Colour in the Ancient Mediterranean World* («BAR international series», 1267), ed. by L. Cleland, K. Stears, Oxford 2004; *Couleurs et matières dans l'antiquité: texts, techniques et pratiques*, ed. by A. Rouveret, Paris 2006; *Peinture et couleur dans le monde grec antique*, «Actes de colloque, Musée du Louvre, 10 et 27 mars 2004», ed. by S. Descamps-Lequime, Paris 2007; *The Color of Life: Polychromy in Sculpture from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. by R. Panzaneli et alii, Los Angeles 2008; M. BRADLEY, *The Importance of Colour on Ancient Marble Sculpture*, «Art History», XXXII (2009), 3, pp. 427-457. Exhibitions in the Vatican Museums, Munich Glyptothek and Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen in 2003-2004, followed by, e.g., *Gods in Color: Painted Sculpture of Classical Antiquity*, The Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard 2007-2008; *Rediscovering Color: New Perspectives on Polychrome Sculpture*, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles 2008; *Bunte Götter*, Kassel 2009. Most recently polychromy was the subject of the colloquium *Les arts de la couleur en Grèce ancienne et ailleurs*, Ecole française d'Athènes, Athens 23-25 April 2009.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., *La bellezza del sacro. Sculture medievali policrome*, ed. by M. Armandi, Arezzo 2002; S. BOLDRICK, D. PARK, P. WILLIAMSON, *Wonder: Painted Sculpture from Medieval England*, Leeds 2002; F. JEANNEAU ET ALII, *La restauration de la façade occidentale de Notre-Dame-la-Grande à Poitiers, in Sauvetage du patrimoine culturelle. Projets autour de la Méditerranée*, «Schriften des Hornemann Instituts», III (2000), pp. 179-190; *La couleur et la pierre. Polichromie des portails gothiques*, «Actes du colloque, Amiens 12-14 octobre 2000», ed. by D. Verret, D. Steyaert, Paris 2002. See further M. COLLARETA, *From color to black and white, and back again: the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times*, in *The Color of Life*, pp. 62-77. One should also note an earlier work: A. MELUCCO VACCARO, *Policromie e patinature architettoniche: antico e medioevo nelle evidenze dei restauri in corso*, «Arte medievale», s. II, II (1988), 2, pp. 177-204.

<sup>3</sup> Preliminary considerations were presented at the conference *L'VIII secolo: un secolo inquieto*, see B. KILLERICH, *The Rhetoric of Materials in the Tempietto Longobardo at Cividale*, in *L'VIII secolo: un secolo inquieto*, «Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte, Cividale 4-7 Dicembre 2008», ed. by V. Pace, Cividale 2010, pp. 93-102; cf. also B. KILLERICH, *Antik mode i langobardisk regi*, «Klassisk Forum», (2009), 1, pp. 38-51. The present study brings together a larger comparative material and gives a more in depth analysis of the individual dresses.

<sup>4</sup> For the Tempietto see, H.P. L'ORANGE, H. TORP, *Il tempietto longobardo di Cividale* («Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia», VII, 1-3), Roma 1977-1979 (VII, 1: TORP, *L'architettura del Tempietto*, Roma 1977; VII, 2: L'ORANGE, *La scultura in stucco e in pietra del Tempietto*, Roma 1979); A. DEGANI, *Il Tempietto Longobardo di Cividale. Ancora un apporto alla sua conoscenza*, Bottenicco 1981 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1990); E. CIOL, P. and E. RUGO, L. PERISINOTTO, *Il Tempietto Longobardo di Cividale del Friuli*, Pordenone 1990; S. TAVANO, *Il Tempietto Longobardo di Cividale*, Udine 1990; *Cividale Longobarda. Materiali per una rilettura archeologica*, ed. by S. Lusuardi Siena, Milano 2002; H. TORP, *Il Tempietto Longobardo. La cappella palatina di Cividale*, Cividale del Friuli 2006.

<sup>5</sup> The barrel vaults are original, whereas the groin vault of the aula was reconstructed in the thirteenth century, TORP, *L'architettura*, pp. 15-16.

<sup>6</sup> H. TORP, *Note sugli affreschi più antichi dell'oratorio di S. Maria in Valle a Cividale*, «Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo», Spoleto 1953, pp. 3-15; ID., *Il problema della decorazione originaria del Tempietto longobardo di Cividale del Friuli*, «Quaderni della FACE», XVIII (1959); ID., *Una Vergine Hodigitria del periodo iconoclastico nel 'Tempietto Longobardo' di Cividale*, in *Arte d'occidente. Temi e metodi. Studi in onore di Angiola Maria Romanini*, ed. by A. Cadei et alii, II, Roma 1999, pp. 583-599.

<sup>7</sup> For the stucco figures, see L'ORANGE, *La scultura*.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30: «La policromia è per appunto il medium attraverso cui l'arte in stucco realizza pienamente se stessa e le sue intenzioni intrinseche».

<sup>9</sup> Polychromy was suggested already by P. TOESCA, *Storia dell'arte italiana. Il medioevo*, II, Torino 1927, p. 792 («forse un tempo colori coprivano gli stucchi») and C. CECHELLI, *I monumenti del Friuli dal secolo IV all'XI*, I, Cividale, Milano-Roma 1943, p. 138.

<sup>10</sup> TORP, *L'architettura*, pp. 103-104. The later history of the Tempietto is discussed by V. FORAMITTI, *Il tempietto longobardo nell'ottocento*, Udine 2008.

<sup>11</sup> I. JENKINS, A. MIDDLETON, *Paint on the Parthenon Sculptures*, «Annual of the British School at Athens», LXXXIII (1988), pp. 183-207; CH. VLASSOPOULOU, *Neue Untersuchungen zur Farbigkeit des Parthenon*, in *Bunte Götter*, 2009, pp. 145-147 with figs. 145-146: rider West 17 after laser cleaning shows slight traces of blue-green. For early, in part fanciful reconstruction, see D. VAN ZANTEN, *The Parthenon Imagined Painted*, in *The Parthenon and its Impact in Modern Times*, ed. by P. Tournikotis, Athens 1994, pp. 258-277.

<sup>12</sup> B. BOURGEOIS, P. JOCKEY, *Polychrome Hellenistic Sculpture in Delos: Research on Surface Treatments of Ancient Marble Sculpture*, «ASMOSIA», VI (2002), pp. 497-506: 497, refer to the «non-discovery» of polychromy at the turn of the twentieth century. That little attention was given to colour is apparent even in later instances. For example, the 1952 publication of the royal palace at Persepolis makes no mention of polychromy on sculptural or architectural elements, yet in his diaries from the 1930s the excavator Herzfeld records remains of paint and slight gilding on some members. I owe this information to Dr Alexander Nagel.

<sup>13</sup> A detailed account of restorations in FORAMITTI, *Il tempietto*, esp. pp. 38-49 and documents pp. 83-118. Citation from p. 99.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>15</sup> P. CASADIO, T. PERUSINI, P. SPADEA, *Zur Stuckdekoration des 'Tempietto longobardo' in Cividale: Technische und naturwissenschaftliche Untersuchungsergebnisse, in Stuck des frühen und hohen Mittelalters*, ed. by M. Exner, Munich 1996, pp. 37-51: 48, «Man muss dabei an den funkelnden Glanz einer starken Farbigkeit denken».

<sup>16</sup> For medieval stucco see M.T. CAMUS, *Stucs du prieuré de Saint-Pierre de Vouneuil, in De la création à la restauration*, Toulouse 1992, pp. 69-83; *Stuck des frühen und hohen Mittelalters*; L. PASQUINI, *La decorazione a stucco in Italia fra tardo antico e alto medioevo*, Ravenna 2002; *Stucs et décors de la fin de l'antiquité au moyen âge (V<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, ed. by C. Sapin, Turnhout 2004. For colour, esp. R. MÖLLER, *Zur Farbigkeit mittelalterlicher Stuckplastik, in Stuck des frühen und hohen Mittelalters*, pp. 79-93; chemical composition: H. KÜHN, *Was ist Stuck?*, *ibid.*, pp. 17-24; B. PALAZZO-BERTHOLON, *La nature des stucs entre le V<sup>e</sup> et le XII<sup>e</sup> siècle dans l'Europe médiévale, in Stucs et décors*, pp. 13-47. C. SAPIN ET ALII, *Les stucs de l'Antiquité tardive de Vouneuil-sous-Biard*, Paris 2009.

<sup>17</sup> For the glass, see F. DELL'ACQUA, «...Mundus habet noctem, detinet aula diem». *Il vetro nelle architetture di Brescia, Cividale, Salerno, San Vincenzo al Volturno, Farfa. Nuovi dati scientifici, in I longobardi dei Ducati di Spoleto e Benevento*, «Atti del XVI Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, Spoleto 20-23 ottobre 2002, Benevento 24-27 ottobre 2002», Spoleto 2003, pp. 1351-1375. For suggested colours of the ornamental stuccoes framing the lunettes, see KIILERICH, *Rhetoric of Materials*, p. 97.

<sup>18</sup> For medieval polychromy in general, BOLDRICK, PARK, WILLIAMSON, *Wonder*; ARMANDI, *La bellezza del sacro; La couleur et la pierre*; COLLARETA, *From Color to Black and White*. See further B. KIILERICH, *Monochromy, Dichromy and Polychromy in Byzantine Art*, in *Festschrift J.O. Rosenqvist* (forthcoming).

<sup>19</sup> P.A. ANGIOLINI MARTINELLI, *Il costume femminile nei mosaici ravennati*, «Corsi di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina», XVI (1969), pp. 26-54; E. MANARA, *Di un'ipotesi per l'individuazione dei personaggi nei pannelli del S. Vitale a Ravenna e per la loro interpretazione*, «Felix Ravenna», CXXV-CXXVI (1983, ma 1984), pp. 13-37: 22-24; S. COSENTINO, *Simbologia e colore nei palatini del mosaico giustiniano di San Vitale, in Studi in memoria di Patrizia Angiolini Martinelli*, ed. by S. Pasi, Bologna 2005, pp. 109-123.

<sup>20</sup> L. JAMES, S. TOUGHER, *Get Your Kit On! Issues in the Depiction of Clothing in Byzantium*, in *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, ed. by L. Cleland et alii, Oxford 2005, pp. 154-161. For various aspects of late antique and Byzantine clothing: P. KALAMARA, *Le système vestimentaire à Byzance du IV<sup>e</sup> jusque à la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1995; *Costume et société dans l'Antiquité et le haut Moyen Age*, ed. by F. Chausson, H. Inglebert, Paris 2003; *Tissus et vêtements dans l'Antiquité tardive*, «Antiquité tardive», XII (2004), pp. 9-252, with extensive bibliography, pp. 45-54 (J.-M. CARRIÉ); J.L. BALL, *Byzantine Dress. Representations of Secular Dress in eighth- to twelfth-century Painting*, New York 2005; T. DAWSON, *Propriety, Practicality and Pleasure: the Parameters of Women's Dress in Byzantium, A.D.1000-1200*, in *Byzantine Women. Varieties of Experience AD 800-1200*, ed. by L. Garland, Aldershot 2006, pp. 41-75.

<sup>21</sup> A. MUTHESIUS, *Constantinople and its Hinterland: Issues of Raw Silk Supply*, in EAD., *Studies in Byzantine and Islamic Silk Weaving*, London 1995, pp. 315-335, points to production in Syria and import of raw silk from Persia.

<sup>22</sup> M. REINHOLD, *A History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity*, («Collections Latomus», 116), Brussels 1970; G. STEIGERWALD, *Das kaiserliche Purpurprivileg in spätromischer und frühbyzantinischer Zeit*, «Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum», XXXIII (1990), pp. 209-239; *La porpora: realtà e immaginario di un colore simbolico*, «Atti del Convegno di Studio, Venezia 24-25 ottobre 1996», ed. by O. Longo, Venezia 1998. Compare the minute rendering of clothes and insignia on the missorium of Theodosius, B. KIILERICH, *Representing an Emperor. Style and Meaning on the Missorium of Theodosius I*, in *El disco de Teodosio*, ed. by M. Almagro Gorbea, Madrid 2000, pp. 273-280.

<sup>23</sup> Reticulate lozenge patterns in cream on red, C. RIZZARDI, *I tessuti copti del museo nazionale di Ravenna*, Roma 1993, cat. nos. 36-42, perhaps 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>24</sup> If I have understood it correctly, see R. CORTOPASSI, *Late Roman and*

*Byzantine Linen Tunics in the Louvre Museum*, in C. GILLIS, M.-L. NOSCH, *Ancient Textiles. Production, Craft and Society*, Oxford 2007, pp. 139-142: 140.

<sup>25</sup> Of special interest to the Tempietto is the reconstruction of the colours on the Altar of Ratchis, Cividale, from 737-743: L. CHINELLATO, M.T. COSTANTINI, *L'altare di Ratchis. L'originaria finitura policroma: prospetto frontale e posteriore*, «Forum Iulii», XXVIII (2004), pp. 133-156; EADD., *L'altare di Ratchis. Proposta per la ricostruzione dell'originaria finitura policroma*, «Vultus Ecclesiae», VI (2005), pp. 7-17. The colours are strong in medium and dark red, green, yellow and blue.

<sup>26</sup> A. CAGNANA ET ALII, *Indagini archeometriche sui materiali da costruzione del "Tempietto" di Santa Maria in Valle di Cividale del Friuli. I Parte: Gli affreschi altomedievali*, «Archeologia dell'architettura», VIII (2004), pp. 69-87; A. ZUCCHIATTI ET ALII, *Characterisation of Early Medieval Frescoes by  $\mu$ -PIXE, SEM, Raman Spectroscopy*, «Nuclear Instruments and Methods in Physics Research», B219-220 (2004), pp. 20-25.

<sup>27</sup> TORP, *Una Vergine*, p. 588; ID., *La cappella*, pp. 20-22, 68-69.

<sup>28</sup> ID., *Sul principio geometrico e l'uso dei moduli nella decorazione del Tempietto Longobardo di Cividale del Friuli*, in *Venezia e l'Europa*, «Atti del XVIII Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte», Venezia 1956, pp. 140-145; ID., *The Integrating System of Proportion in Byzantine Art*, Rome 1984, pp. 90-103.

<sup>29</sup> Altar of Ratchis, reconstruction of colours: CHINELLATO, COSTANTINI, *L'altare di Ratchis. L'Originaria*, pp. 144-147, pl. 1-2; EADD., *L'altare di Ratchis. Proposta*, p. 10, pl. 1-2. Dioskurides: colour photo in K. WEITZMANN, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination*, New York 1977, p. 60, pl. 15; Trier: W. WEBER, *Constantinische Deckengemälde aus dem römischen Palast unter dem Dom*, Trier 1990.

<sup>30</sup> H.P. L'ORANGE, *Lux Aeterna, l'adorazione della luce nell'arte tardo-antica ed altomedievale*, «Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Rendiconti», XLVII (1974-1975), pp. 191-202; see also V. PACE, *Cristo-Luce a Santa Prassede, in Per assiduum studium scientiae adipisci margaritam. Festgabe für Ursula Nilgen*, ed. by A. Amberger et alii, St. Otilien 1997, pp. 185-200.

<sup>31</sup> Colour reproductions in J. WILPERT, W.N. SCHUMACHER, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV.-XIII. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg 1976?, pl. 24a-b (Ecclesiae); *Romana pictura. La pittura romana dalle origini all'età bizantina*, ed. by A. Donati, Milano 1998, pp. 192-193, figs. 81-82 (Commodilla catacomb); A. TERRY, H. MAGUIRE, *Dynamic Splendor. The Wall Mosaics in the Cathedral of Eufrasius at Porc*, University Park 2007, pl. 127; WEITZMANN, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination*, p. 102, pl. 36 (Rabbula), E. KOURKOUTIDOU-NIKOLAIDOU, A. TOURTA, *Wandering in Byzantine Thessaloniki*, Thessaloniki n.d., p. 170, fig. 198 (Demetrius); P. ROMANELLI, P.J. NORDHAGEN, *S. Maria Antiqua*, Roma 1964, colour pl. VII (Theodotus chapel).

<sup>32</sup> G. GUERRIERI, *La chiesa dei SS. Nereo e Achilleo*, Città del Vaticano 1951; S. ANTELLINI, *Il restauro del mosaico dell'arco absidale nella chiesa dei SS. Nereo ed Achilleo a Roma, in Mosaici a S. Vitale e altri restauri*, «Atti del Convegno Nazionale sul restauro in situ di mosaici parietali, Ravenna 1 - 3 ottobre 1990», ed. by A.M. Iannucci, C. Fiori, C. Muscolino, Ravenna 1992, pp. 191-196, figs. 2-3.

<sup>33</sup> Colour photo in: D. MICHAELIDES, *Cypriot Mosaics*, Nicosia 1992, p. 120, fig. 69. For the optical blending of red and blue in the Virgin's dress, see B. KIILERICH, H. TORP, *Bilder og billedbruk i Bysants*, Oslo 1998, p. 292.

<sup>34</sup> Colour photo in L. VENDITELLI, *Le produzioni di lusso, l'abbigliamento e l'ornamento a Roma in epoca tardo-antica e altomedievale*, in *Moda, costume e bellezza nella Roma antica*, ed. by D. Candilio, Milano 2004, pp. 69-80: 72.

<sup>34</sup> Colour plate in WILPERT, SCHUMACHER, *Die römischen*, pl. 62.

<sup>36</sup> Colour photo in J. HUBERT ET ALII, *L'Europe des invasions*, Paris 1967, p. 127, fig. 140.

<sup>37</sup> TERRY, MAGUIRE, *Dynamic Splendor*, pl. 126, pl. 132.

<sup>38</sup> TORP, *Una Vergine*, p. 585: «verdastro scuro».

<sup>39</sup> Of interest is the correspondence to real clothes, thus from Cividale, S. AHUMADA SILVA ET ALII, *La necropoli di S. Stefano 'in Pertica'. Campagne di scavo 1987-1988*, Cividale 1990, p. 174 refers to textile with golden thread: «alcuni fili d'oro che facevano parte di tessuti broccati».

<sup>40</sup> See, e.g., A. MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving AD 400 to AD 1200*,

Vienna 1997, pls. 48A-B, 50A-B, the 'pearls' of these middle Byzantine examples are either white, red or dark; cf. also BALL, *Byzantine Dress*, p. 109: «roundels were the most popular design for any type of textile».

<sup>41</sup> W.F. VOLBACH, *Early Decorative Textiles*, London 1969, p. 61, fig. 27: wool decorated with pegasoi. Other examples of Coptic textiles, e.g., A. STAUFFER, *Spätantike und koptische Wirkereien: Untersuchungen zur ikonographischen Tradition in spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Textilwerkstätten*, Bern 1992; L. TÖRÖK, *Coptic Antiquities II. Textiles*, Rome 1993; A. LORQUIN, *Étoffes égyptiennes. De l'antiquité tardive du musée Georges-Labit*, Toulouse 1999.

<sup>42</sup> M. MARTINIANI-REBER, *Textiles et mode sassanides*, Paris 1997, p. 106, no. 53.

<sup>43</sup> B. KILLERICH, *The Image of Anicia Juliana in the Vienna Dioskurides: Flattery or Appropriation of Imperial Imagery?*, «Symbolae Osloenses», LXXVI (2001), pp. 169-190; colour plate in WEITZMANN, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination*, p. 60, pl. 15.

<sup>44</sup> Colour photo in HUBERT ET ALII, *L'Europe*, p. 106, fig. 122.

<sup>45</sup> The lower part of F was reconstructed in 1860, see FORAMITTI, *Il tempietto*, p. 99.

<sup>46</sup> For the inscription see C.G. MOR, *La grande iscrizione dipinta del Tempietto Longobardo di Cividale*, «Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia», ser. Alt., II, Roma 1982, pp. 95-122; S. LOMARTIRE, *I titoli dipinti del Tempietto longobardo di Cividale*, in *Paolo Diacono e il Friuli altomedievale* (sec. VI-X), «Atti del XIV Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, Cividale 1999», Spoleto 2001, pp. 455-491.

<sup>47</sup> In the Middle Byzantine period the sleeves could reach a span of around 80 cm, DAWSON, *Propriety, Practicality and Pleasure*, p. 50. In the late medieval West, the span increased still further, see, M. SCOTT, *Medieval Dress and Fashion*, London 2007, e.g., p. 138, fig. 83. For the importance of sleeves in various cultures, see E.J.W. BARBER, *The Curious Tale of the Ultra-long Sleeve*, in *Folk Dress in Europe and Anatolia*, ed. by L. Welters, Oxford 1999, pp. 111-134.

<sup>48</sup> In the Roman period a wearer of a triumphal trabea could be distinguished by the colour of the bands, thus the god wore purple with gold, the emperor purple with white and others purple with scarlet border, see L. WILSON, *The Roman Toga*, Baltimore 1924; A. ALFÖLDI, *Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser*, «Römische Mitteilungen», L (1935), pp. 3-158.

<sup>49</sup> S. TSOURINAKI, *Looped-Pile Textiles in the Benaki Museum (Athens)*, in C. GILLIS, M.-L. NOSCH, *Ancient Textiles. Production, Craft and Society*, Oxford 2007, pp. 143-149: 144, fig. 23.5 (acc. no. 7145).

<sup>50</sup> P. DU BOURGUET, *Les Étoffes coptes du Musée du Louvre*, Paris 1964, p. 127, no. D24: purple, seventh century.

<sup>51</sup> Colour plate in A. GRABAR, *Le premier art chrétien*, Paris 1966, p. 100, fig. 96. See, in general, R. MARTORELLI, *Influenze religiose sulla scelta dell'abito nei primi secoli cristiani*, «Antiquité tardive», XII (2004), pp. 231-248. The orant of the Giordani catacomb has a related clavus design, p. 238, fig. 14.

<sup>52</sup> B. KILLERICH, *The Mosaic of the Female Musicians from Mariamin*, «Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia», XXII, Roma (in print); EAD., *What is Ugly? Art and Taste in Late Antiquity*, «Arte medievale», n.s., VI (2007), 2, pp. 9-20: 15, figs. 11-12.

<sup>53</sup> DU BOURGUET, *Les Étoffes*, p. 111, no. C65: purple hearts, 6<sup>th</sup> century; L. KYBALOVÁ, *Koptische Stoffe*, Prague 1967, p. 139, fig. 91: many colours, 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century; L'ORANGE, *La scultura*, figs. 140-145, for examples in marble, silver and floor mosaic.

<sup>54</sup> According to MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving*, pp. 27-33: 31, bright reds, blues, greens and yellows were prevalent in the 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> centuries, and purple was always popular (bibl. pp. 32-33). It is sometimes uncertain whether a silk fragment derives from a dress or from a curtain or hanging.

<sup>55</sup> TERRY, MAGUIRE, *Dynamic Splendor*, figs. 70-80.

<sup>56</sup> M. CECHELLI, M. ANDALORO, *Santa Susanna. Le indagini archeologiche. Gli affreschi frammentati, in Roma dall'antichità al medioevo I. Archeologia e storia*, ed. by M.S. Arena, et alii, Milano 2001, pp. 641-645, with colour photo fig. 245, proposing a late eighth century date; U. NILGEN, *Eine neu aufgefundene Maria Regina in Santa Susanna, Rom*, in *Bedeutung in der Bildern, Festschrift für Jörg Traeger zu 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by K. Möseneder, G. Schüssler, Regensburg 2002, pp. 231-245; M. ANDALORO, *I dipinti murali depositati nel sarcofago nell'area*

*di S. Susanna a Roma*, in 1983-1993: *Dieci anni di archeologia cristiana in Italia*, «Atti del VII congresso nazionale di Archeologia Cristiana, Cassino 1993», ed. by E. Russo, Roma 2003, pp. 377-383; *Dipinti murali in frammenti del Monastero di Santa Susanna a Roma*, ed. by G. Basile, Roma 2004; M. CECHELLI et alii, *Santa Susanna*, in *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo II*, ed. by M.S. Arena et alii, Milano 2004, pp. 328-335; A. THEMELLY, *Immagini di Maria nella pittura e nei mosaici romani dalla crisi monotelita agli inizi della seconda iconoclastia (640-819)*, «Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia», XXI, Roma 2009, pp.107-138: 119, figs. 9-10.

<sup>57</sup> Colour photo in G. MATTHIAE, *Mosaici medievali delle chiese di Roma*, Roma 1967, pl. XXXVIII.

<sup>58</sup> M. BERGMANN, *Chiragan, Aphrodisias, Constantinople. Zur mythologischen Skulptur der Spätantike*, Wiesbaden 1999, pl. 80.1-2, 81.1.

<sup>59</sup> B. KILLERICH, H. TORP, *Hic est: hic Stilicho. The Date and Interpretation of a Notable Diptych*, «Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts», CIV (1989), pp. 319-371: 321, fig. 2.

<sup>60</sup> KALAMARA, *Le système vestimentaire à Byzance*, pp. 52-55; DAWSON, *Propriety, Practicality and Pleasure*, pp. 57-59, noting red as the most popular colour for female shoes.

<sup>61</sup> D. KONSTANTIOS ET ALII, *Byzantines Sylloges. Êmonimē ekthesē*, Athens 2007, fig. 55, 5<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> century. Unfortunately there is no exact provenance or date for these items.

<sup>62</sup> For clothes and magic imagery, see H. MAGUIRE, *Garments Pleasing to God: the Significance of Domestic Textile Designs in the Early Byzantine Period*, «Dumbarton Oaks Papers», XLIV (1990), pp. 215-224; further, S.J. DAVIS, *Fashioning a Divine Body: Coptic Christology and Ritualized Dress*, «Harvard Theological Review», XCVIII (2005), 3, pp. 335-362.

<sup>63</sup> A headless marble statue of an empress (?) in the Norwegian Institute in Rome wears a particularly elaborate pair of shoes. Since the toes are visible through the fabric the shoes were plausibly made of either very thin leather or of a soft fabric. They have front lacing and are decorated with nail-heads or pearls, B. KILLERICH, *Late Fourth Century Classicism in the Plastic Arts. Studies in the so-called Theodosian Renaissance*, Odense 1993, pp. 98-100, fig. 47; S. SANDE, *Statua di Augusta o personificazione*, in *Moda, costume*, pp. 81-89.

<sup>64</sup> I. BALDINI LIPPOLIS, *Loreficeria nell'impero di Costantinopoli tra IV e VII secolo*, Bari 1999, discusses various types of jewellery (except *Juwelkrage*). See further B. KILLERICH, *The Abundance of Nature – the Wealth of Man: Reflections on an Early Byzantine Seasons Mosaic from Syria*, in *Kairos. Studies in Honour of G. Åkerström-Hougen*, ed. by E. Piltz, P. Åström, Jonsered 1998, pp. 22-36; M.G. PARANI, *Defining Personal Space: Dress and Accessories in Late Antiquity*, in *Objects in Context, Objects in Use* («Late Antique Archaeology», 5), ed. by L. Lavan et alii, Leiden 2007, pp. 497-529.

<sup>65</sup> BALDINI LIPPOLIS, *Loreficeria nell'impero di Costantinopoli*, pp. 67-112: earrings.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3, fig. 11, and colourplate p. 33, pl. 11.

<sup>67</sup> The minutely detailed Longobard jewellery is too complex, see, e.g., G.C. MENIS, *Italia longobarda*, Venezia 1991, pp. 44-45, figs. 11, 14-15.

<sup>68</sup> U. KOENEN, *Symbol und Zierde auf Diadem und Kronreif spätantiker und byzantinischer Herrscher und die Kreuzauffindungslegende bei Ambrosius*, «Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum», XXXIX (1996), pp. 170-199; BALDINI LIPPOLIS, *Loreficeria nell'impero di Costantinopoli*, pp. 52-66. For further examples, see L'ORANGE, *La scultura*, figs. 159-174.

<sup>69</sup> *Dipinti murali in frammenti*, for colour photos and restoration history.

<sup>70</sup> TORP, *Una Vergine*, p. 586.

<sup>71</sup> B. KILLERICH, *Picturing Ideal Beauty: The Saints in the Rotunda at Thessaloniki*, «Antiquité tardive», XV (2007), pp. 321-336: 334-336.

<sup>72</sup> L'ORANGE, *La scultura*, p. 30: red on the lips of B, red lips, iris and eyebrows of C, purple on right eyebrow of D. It cannot be excluded that red was a preparation layer for gilding, a practice used on Greek marbles statues.

<sup>73</sup> Whether a sumptuous dalmatic or a hair-shirt, garments are important signifiers, cf. R. KRAWIEC, 'Garments of Salvation': Representations of Monastic Clothing in Late Antiquity, «Journal of Early Christian Studies», XVII (2009), 1, pp. 125-150, discussing the ethos of dressing poorly. For the Church and dress, see M. HARLOW, *The Impossible Art of Dressing to Please: Jerome and the Rhetoric of Dress*, in *Objects in Context*, pp. 531-547.



<sup>74</sup> L.L. COON, *Sacred Fictions. Holy Women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity*, Philadelphia 1997, p. 39, with n. 48.

<sup>75</sup> W.T. AVERY, *The Adoratio Purpureae and the Importance of the Imperial Purple in the Fourth Century*, «Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome», XVII (1940), pp. 66-80; REINHOLD, *History of Purple*, pp. 62-70; STEIGERWALD, *Das kaiserliche Purpurprivileg*; B. KIILERICH, *The Obelisk Base in Constantinople. Court Art and Imperial Ideology*, Rome 1998, pp. 53-55; *La porpora*. The prestige of purple led to the exploiting of various substitute materials such as purple-reds derived from plants and insects, see J.H. MUNRO, *The Medieval Scarlet and the Economics of Sartorial Splendour*, in *Cloth and Clothing in Medieval Europe: Essays in Memory of Prof. E.M. Carus-Wilson*, ed. by N.B. Harte, K.G. Ponting, London 1983, pp. 13-70.

<sup>76</sup> J. GAGE, *Colour and Meaning*, London 1999, pp. 71-73.

<sup>77</sup> For the colours of the martyrs, see KIILERICH, *Picturing Ideal Beauty*, pp. 334-336. The identities of the individual martyrs are discussed by H. TORP, *An Interpretation of the early Byzantine Martyr Inscriptions of the Rotunda at Thessaloniki*, «Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia», XXIV (forthcoming). See also ID., *Dogmatic Themes in the Mosaics of the Rotunda at Thessaloniki*, «Arte medievale», n.s., I (2002), 1, pp. 11-34; ID., *La iconizzazione musiva dell'enunciato politi-*

*co-religioso di un editto imperiale*, in *Medioevo: immagine e racconto* («I convegni di Parma», 3), «Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Parma 27-30 settembre 2000», ed. by A.C. Quintavalle, Milano 2003, pp. 77-86.

<sup>78</sup> M.P. SPEIDEL, *Late-Roman Military Decorations II: Gold-embroidered Capes and Tunics*, «Antiquité tardive», V (1997), pp. 231-237; F. BARATTE, *Le vêtement dans l'antiquité tardive: rupture ou continuité?*, ivi, XXII (2004), pp. 121-135: 124-126. See also M.L. RINALDI, *Il costume romano e i mosaici di Piazza Armerina*, «Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte», n.s., XIII-XIV (1964-1965), pp. 200-262.

<sup>79</sup> V. GERVERS, *Medieval Garments in the Mediterranean World*, in *Cloth and Clothing*, pp. 279-315: 289, 296 and table 16.3.

<sup>80</sup> G. STEIGERWALD, *Die Purporsorten im Preisedikkt Diokletians vom Jahre 301*, «Byzantinische Forschungen», XV (1990), pp. 219-276; F. MORELLI, *Tessuti e indumenti nel contesto economico tardoantico: i prezzi*, «Antiquité tardive», XII (2004), pp. 55-78.

<sup>81</sup> For a summary of the various interpretations, see P.O. FOLGERØ, *The Sistine Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome*, «Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia», XXI, Roma 2009, pp. 33-64: 40-44, 48.

<sup>82</sup> TORP, *Una Vergine*, pp. 594-596.

#### COLORE E CONTESTO: RICOSTRUIRE LA POLICROMIA DELLE SANTE IN STUCCO NEL TEMPIETTO LONGOBARDO DI CIVIDALE

Bente Kiilerich

L'articolo discute la policromia delle sante in stucco conservate sulla parete occidentale del Tempietto Longobardo di Cividale, databili intorno agli anni 750-770. Sebbene siano rimaste solo scarse tracce di colore (su occhi e labbra), non c'è dubbio che le sculture in origine fossero dipinte. La presenza di fori ai lobi delle orecchie suggerisce anche l'esistenza di orecchini in metallo. Le sante indossano vesti composte. A distanza, sarebbe stato difficile individuare i singoli indumenti se non fossero stati colorati. I vestiti di quattro delle sante sono inoltre abbelliti di ornamenti incisi, praticamente invisibili senza colori. Dal punto di vista tecnico, le figure presuppongono quindi senz'altro la policromia. Più importante però è il fatto che la policromia ha avuto un significato del tutto parti-

colare, dato che le vesti e le insegne sono d'importanza essenziale per indicare lo *status* sociale e agiografico delle donne.

Nel tentativo di ricostruire la policromia delle sante mi sono servita soprattutto degli affreschi coevi nel Tempietto stesso; credo infatti che gli autori delle pitture abbiano colorato anche gli stucchi. Di conseguenza, la gamma coloristica essenziale delle pitture parietali – blu, porpora, rosso e giallo oro – si può estendere agli stucchi. Largamente usato negli affreschi, il giallo oro era probabilmente molto usato anche per le vesti delle sante donne. Lo stesso vale per il rosso, altro colore che esprime la luce. Per le vesti, ulteriori indicazioni di colore sono date da pitture e mosaici tardo antichi e bizantini, da descrizioni di abbigliamento nelle fonti scritte e da frammenti tessili conservati. Poiché il Tempietto fungeva da cappella palatina prevaleva probabilmente il color porpora imperiale.

La colorazione delle sante qui proposta non è che un suggerimento. Importante non è stato ricostruire l'aspetto esatto delle sante – impresa impossibile vista l'assenza di prove materiali – ma suggerire come i colori cambino l'aspetto generale dell'opera e ne rinsaldino l'interpretazione storica e iconologica.